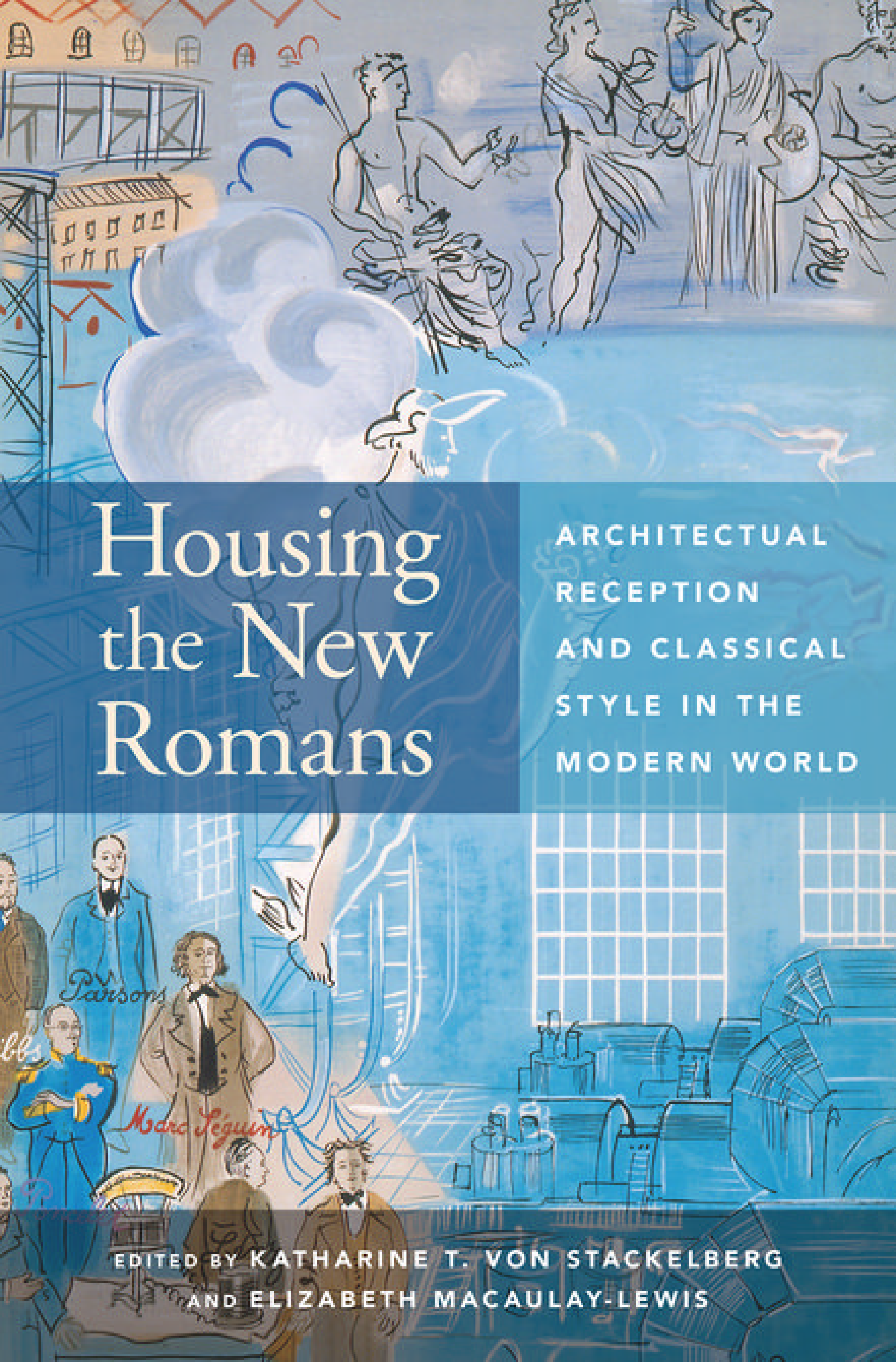

Housing the New Romans

ARCHITECTURAL RECEPTION AND CLASSICAL STYLE IN THE MODERN WORLD

EDITED BY KATHARINE T. VON STACKELBERG
AND ELIZABETH MACAULAY-LEWIS

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Introduction

Architectural Reception and the Neo-Antique

KATHARINE T. VON STACKELBERG AND
ELIZABETH MACAULAY-LEWIS

> [I am] working on the assumption that our psychical mechanism has come into being by a process of stratification: the material present in the form of memory-traces being subjected from time to time to a *re-arrangement* in accordance with fresh circumstances—to a *re-transcription*. (Sigmund Freud to Wilhelm Fleiss, December 6, 1896, quoted in Kuspit 1989, 140)

IT IS A FUNDAMENTAL axiom of architectural theory and practice that buildings reflect the times, the culture, and even the psyches of their builders. But their creation is not constrained by time's arrow; architects and patrons alike can (and do) look back to previous models for inspiration, sometimes even going so far as to recreate entire structures from the distant past. For the most part these recreations are lauded or criticized, as circumstances warrant, and are then relegated to the status of curios. However, if buildings reflect psyches, then Sigmund Freud's observation to Wilhelm Fleiss prompts us to look beyond the physical *re-arrangement* of architecture and engage with its *re-transcription*, its meaning. Few architectural styles are more saturated with cultural and historical meaning than those of the Romans, Greeks, and Egyptians. The essays collected in this volume aim to provide a framework for understanding the reception of these ancient styles, their appropriation and recreation in the architecture and decor of the modern age.

The Romans were often derided as imitators of their predecessors even in antiquity. The unoriginal Romans collected Greek sculpture, which they carried off from temples and *gymnasia*, and made "copies"[1] that adorned their villas and urban residences—so the historical narrative once went. Latin literature paled in comparison to its Greek cousins; the *Aeneid* was a poor man's copy of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, rolled up into one. Horace's oft quoted phrase, "*Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit*," that captive Greece captured her rude conqueror (*Ep*. 2.1.156),[2] seemed to sum up this relationship: the Greeks were culturally superior in art, literature, and just about everything despite being bested in the realm of politics and warfare by the Romans.

Scholars have now much revised this picture. Rather than understanding the Romans as the passive inheritors of Greek, Egyptian, and Near Eastern ideas, artistic traditions, and architectural forms, the Romans are appreciated for their originality, for their role as innovators in multiple cultural spheres, including art and architecture.[3] The Pantheon and the vast interiors of the Imperial Thermae would not have been possible without the ingenuity and creativity of Roman architectural theory, engineering practice, or the development of concrete. The Romans engaged with the traditions of the great civilizations around them—Egypt and its culturally innovative capital of Alexandria; the Hellenistic Kingdoms of Asia Minor, Greece, and further East; and the traditions of the Celtic and non-Roman populations in Western, Northern, and Eastern Europe. These cultural interactions, especially those with the Hellenistic world, were dynamic ones, in which the Romans actively interpreted, transformed, and ultimately incorporated aspects of previous artistic, architectural, and literary forms into their own distinctive traditions. In other words, the Romans were actively engaged in the reception of previous and contemporary material culture.

Hence, this volume, *Housing the New Romans,* conceptualizes the reception of previous material culture and its reinterpretation in an alternative context as a transformative process. Since the end of antiquity, the civilizations of the ancient world—their literature, art, and most relevant to this volume, architecture—have been a fertile ground, rich with cultural resonances that reverberated in multifarious ways to countless later individuals and civilizations. This volume addresses the gap between ancient and modern by investigating ways in which appropriation, allusion, and *enchaînement* facilitated the reception of Egypt, Classical Greece, and

[1] See Gazda 2002, 1–24, on the origin of the idea of "copies" in the interpretation of Roman sculpture and the problems of this framework.
[2] For a clever and now famous inversion of this phrase, see Alcock 1996.
[3] For example, Gazda 2002; Koortbojian 2002; Kousser 2008.

Rome through place-making, specifically through the redeployment of Classical, classicizing, Egyptian, and Egyptianizing tropes in private sites in the late eighteenth through early twentieth centuries. These tropes are a medium for "thick description" (Geertz 1973, 3), social practice that operated on elite and popular levels of visual, material, and literary culture in Europe and America. The essays in this volume investigate how Europeans and Americans, "New Romans" if you will, requisitioned and redeployed the architectural and visual traditions of the ancient world from *c.* 1750 to 1970, specifically the Classical and Egyptian world, to create new sites of "dwelling"—primarily interiors, homes, estates, gardens, and tombs. In doing so, this volume expands the existing conversation on the reception of Classical architecture, which has hitherto focused on large-scale public and civic architecture, such as banks, law courts, and museums (e.g., Dyson 2001). While the use of Greco-Roman and, to a lesser extent, Egyptian forms in such architecture was undoubtedly a key manifestation of the reception of ancient architecture, the reinterpretation of ancient architecture was a far more diverse and complex phenomenon than has been appreciated. Ancient architecture offered an unparalleled breadth of functional forms and culturally meaningful motifs, as well as a symbolic architectural and sculptural language that could be successfully and creatively deployed within the private and quasi-private sphere.

This introduction has several aims: first, to provide an overview of the state of the fields of Classical reception and architectural reception studies to contextualize this work; second, to reconstitute the idea of Neoclassical and the Neo-Antique as a more useful frame of analysis and understanding of these architectural and landscape projects; third, to identify the various approaches that are pursued in the volume's chapters and how these approaches and others might also be applied; and fourth, to introduce the individual chapters, their approaches, and case studies.

Classical Reception Studies

As Stephanie Moser noted, "Reception studies have transformed the discipline of Classics, bringing about a much greater awareness of how responses to antiquity have shaped understandings of the Classical world" (Moser 2014, 1267). The bulk of Classical reception studies has focused on how later authors interpreted and transformed ancient works of literature. Drawing upon the scholarship of Hans Robert Jauss, who argued for literary interpretations to be framed within a *Rezeptionsästhetik*, or the poetics of reception, Classicists have used the frame of Jauss's reception studies to allow for multiple readings of the text as mediated through the experience of the reader (Martindale 2006, 3). By the late 1980s and early 1990s, Classical philologists and literary scholars began to incorporate Jauss's theories of reception studies into their research. Charles Martindale's *Redeeming the Text* (1993) marked a key moment in reception studies when reception studies entered the theoretical frameworks and vocabulary of Classical philologists.

Scholars debate the terminology and framing of this process,[4] differing in the choice to use Classical reception,[5] as we use throughout, or Classical tradition.[6] Regardless, the groups agree that the interaction (whether defined as tradition or reception) with Classical material culture is an active process of transformation. We use "reception" throughout this volume, because this term is used in architectural studies (e.g., Stead and Freeman 2013) and therefore communicates across the disciplinary boundaries that this volume crosses.

Many of these discussions have thrust Classics as a discipline into new dialogues and discussion with other disciplines and expanded its own scope as a field and, arguably, at least in the United Kingdom, enabled the discipline to stay relevant to a new generation of students, who are not raised on the storied verses of Homer and Virgil (Martindale 2006, 2). Such a focus has meant that reinterpretations of Classical poetry and drama are no longer seen as derivative works, but rather they have become respected in their own right as works with artistic merits.

Material Culture in Classical Reception Studies and Architectural Reception Studies

While reception studies of literature is a thriving subfield in the Classics, considerations of receptions of Classical art and, even more so, architecture are largely absent from the major discussions within the field of Classical receptions and its theoretical framework. Elizabeth Prettejohn accurately assessed the situation as early as 2006: "It is strange that

[4] Budelmann and Haubold 2011, 13–25; Hardwick and Stray 2011, 5; Jenkins 2015, 22–25.
[5] Martindale 1993 and 2006; Hardwick 2003; Hardwick and Stray 2011, 1.
[6] See Highet 1949; Bolgar 1954. On the history of "the Classical traditions," see Budelmann and Haubold 2011. Other argue that the transmission of Classical art forms was an active process (e.g., Greenhalgh 1978, 8). The most recent advocates for the Classical tradition are Kallendorf 2010 and Silk, Gildenhard, and Barrow 2014.

reception theory has made so little impact on the historical study of the visual arts" (Prettejohn 2006, 228). There are exceptions, such as the recent and stimulating explorations of the receptions of Pompeii, Herculaneum, and the Bay of Naples,[7] as well as specific studies on the history of the collecting of Classical sculptures;[8] the Crystal Palace (Moser 2012 and 2014; Nichols 2015); and the influence of ancient art on modern sculpture (Prettejohn 2012).

Despite this, studies of the reception of Classical material culture are largely underrepresented in many of the recent major companions and edited works on Classical receptions.[9] Writing in 2008, James Porter noted that material reception studies were a specific area that required further study (Porter 2011, 477). This absence reflects the fact that scholars interested in Classical material culture have not engaged in the larger debates and discussions in reception studies. Much of the art and the architecture that was informed, inspired, or influenced by the material culture of the Classical world has been largely neglected in this scholarship.[10] Why are studies of Classical art and, in particular, architecture underrepresented in Classical reception studies?

Underrepresentation of Material Culture in Reception Studies

Reception studies had its genesis in literary studies. Therefore, the divisions between those who study material culture and those who work on texts within Classical studies inadvertently created a barrier to entry to the field of reception studies by archaeologists, art historians, and architectural historians. To some extent, there is a perception among some archaeologists and scholars of material culture that reception scholarship is predominantly the purview of philologists. For example, the Society for Classical Studies has a committee dedicated to the Classical tradition and reception and typically hosts at least one or more panels dedicated to reception at their annual meeting, while the Archaeological Institute of

[7] Gardner Coates and Seydl 2007; Hales and Paul 2011; Gardner Coates, Lapatin, and Seydl 2012.
[8] Haskell and Penny 1981; Kurtz 2000 and 2004; Coltman 2009; Hughes 2011, 1–28.
[9] Hardwick and Stray 2011; Kallendorf 2010, although Levin's 2007 chapter is an exception—see Levin 2007, 371–392.
[10] Many of the works on Classical reception have not focused on the physical remains, although Dyson's chapter in Hingley 2001 touches on some of these aspects; his focus on Rome means that the Greek models and points of reference are entirely neglected.

America, which largely focuses on Classical and Mediterranean archaeology, rarely has panels on reception.[11]

Classical archaeologists often have lagged behind their colleagues in other archaeological fields and literary Classical colleagues in the exploration and deployment of theoretical frameworks to their studies.[12] This has several implications. Scholars, who work on material and visual culture and their receptions must read the scholarship on the receptions of ancient texts and examine the theoretical frameworks, approaches, and issues in text-focused scholarship. Scholars of material culture need to challenge these existing frameworks, because such frameworks, which derive from the realm of literary studies, may or may not apply to understanding the process of creating buildings, monuments and works of art that reference the architecture, art, and texts of the ancient world. This theoretical inquiry then needs to go a step further. Therefore in this introduction we aim to propose new and diverse theoretical structures from a range of disciplines—including architectural history, art history, philosophy, geography, and others—that can be applied to the reception of Classical material culture and architecture. Each essay in this volume offers new and different but rigorous frameworks for addressing the receptions of Classical material culture and built environment. This diversity of approaches aims to catalyze future scholarship and the exploration of other methods and theoretical frameworks in Classical reception studies.

While the evolution of reception studies in Classics partially explains the absence of scholars of material culture in reception studies, there are other important considerations. Many scholars who work on ancient material culture simply have not been interested in the relationship between ancient remains and the architecture and art of later periods, especially in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Classically inspired buildings might serve as a good visual for a lecture, but they were poor imitations.

This attitude is underscored by the hostile critical response to many of these Neoclassical buildings in the mid-to-late twentieth century. Unlike Renaissance art and architecture, which was prized for its reinterpretation of ancient forms, critics like Lewis Mumford did not consider the Neoclassical buildings of twentieth-century New York outstanding architecture, but saw them as derivative (Wojtowicz 1998, 69). With the

[11] This book had its start as a panel presented at 2014 Chicago annual meeting of the Society for Classical Studies (known as the American Philological Association at this time).
[12] This difference is perhaps best expressed in an amusing cartoon in Bahn 2000, 73.

exception of Fascist architecture in Italy, which hijacked countless ancient Roman forms in the service of Mussolini's ambitions,[13] and the iconography and monuments of Nazi Germany, which coopted Classical forms and the Olympics in pursuit of their ideological agenda,[14] most receptions of Classical architecture in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries have been overlooked and viewed as poor-knocks or pastiches of truly great monuments by scholars in the fields of art history and architectural history. They are not seen as evidence that can inform us about the era in which they were created and about the period or monuments that they reference.

The Neoclassical, Neo-Egyptian, and the Emergence of the Neo-Antique

These criticisms of Neoclassical architecture ignore the origins of Neoclassical architecture. When Neoclassicism emerged in mid-eighteenth-century Europe it was revolutionary both because it articulated a visual idiom for dramatic political change and because it was "the first international aesthetic style that was fueled on the one end by the productive capacities of the industrial revolution and bolstered on the other by the rising purchasing abilities of consumers across the Atlantic" (Winterer 2007, 102). The Neoclassical was an architectural and decorative style that used Classical motifs from the Greco-Roman world. It reinterpreted and transformed the architectural, artistic, and decorative styles that developed from *c.* fifth century BC to fifth century AD Greece and Rome. It emerged in the eighteenth century as a statement of cultural stability, social progress, and scientific inquiry. Originally confined to aristocratic households, Neoclassicism became widespread through the purchasing power of the industrial revolution middle class.

Neoclassicism maintained its dominance through the mid-nineteenth century, but from the 1870s one begins to see emergence of a more eclectic sensibility more accurately described as Neo-Antique, which prefers to mix and match its styles as a comment (protest). "The grandiose Neoclassical architecture of the turn of the nineteenth century, moreover, rested in an increasingly eclectic cultural context that made the Classical tradition one among many alternatives for both national celebration and cultural criticism. An enervated antimodern,

[13] Stone 1999; Painter 2005; Nelis 2007; Marcello 2011; Arthurs 2012.

[14] Losemann 1999; Fischer-Lichte 2008.

for example, could embrace medievalism, Buddhist ascetism, tropical primitivism, or Classicism as a way to retreat from civilization's excesses" (Winterer 2002, 143). This embrace of eclecticism which, as the volume shows, was well established throughout the nineteenth century was a key aspect of Neo-Antique architecture and interiors.

This shift to eclecticism should remind us that the reinterpretation of Classical forms did not exist in a vacuum, but rather was part of a larger conversation with antiquity. A very important part of this discussion, and one often overlooked, was the interest in Egypt and the creation of Neo-Egyptian forms. Although this volume focuses primarily on the reception of Classical architecture in the private or quasi-private realm, the receptions of Egyptian material culture are key, especially in the essays by Caroline van Eck and Miguel John Versluys about the Hôtel de Beauharnais and by Elizabeth Macaulay-Lewis about the Neoclassical and Neo-Egyptian tombs in Woodlawn. These examples shed light on how Egyptian elements coexisted with Greco-Roman forms, as in the interiors of the Hôtel de Beauharnais, or served as an alternative past for reinterpretation. Examples of Egyptomania—any kind of repurposing of ancient Egypt—and what scholars call the "Egyptian Revival Style" of architecture were important aspects of the architectural vocabularies of the eighteenth century through the early twentieth century in the United States and Europe.[15] They are key to the formation of the Neo-Antique as a broader, eclectic design style.

The popularity of Egyptian forms results directly from Napoleon's invasion of Egypt (1789–1801), the publication of the *Description of Egypt* (1809–1828), the deciphering of hieroglyphs (1822), the opening of the Suez Canal (1869), and the discovery of Tutankhamun's tomb (1922) (Price and Humbert 2003, 13). World Fairs were also important for creating more interest in ancient Egypt (Price and Humbert 2003, 14), as were the development of Egyptian collections in museums. Egyptian forms were another viable option for architects and patrons who wanted to bring cultural authority to their buildings and monuments through the use of architectural forms with an illustrious history (Giguere 2014, 2–3). The use of Egyptian architectural forms, motifs, and design elements was especially popular in nineteenth-century and the early twentieth-century funerary architecture and memorials (Price and Humbert 2003, 3, 5; Giguere 2014,

[15] See Moser 2014, 1279–1281, arguing for Egyptomania as the most comprehensive term for the reinterpretation of Egyptian forms in the eighteenth to twentieth centuries. For general bibliographic information on Egyptomania, see Carrott 1978; Brier 1992; Curl 1994; Jeffreys 2003; Price and Humbert 2003; Ucko and Champion 2003; Colla 2007; Rice and MacDonald 2009; and Giguere 2014.

3–4), due to the association of Egyptian forms with the ideas of timelessness, solemnity, solidity, and technological achievements (Giguere 2014, 5–7). The repurposing of Egyptian architecture, particularly in the United States, predominantly, but not entirely,[16] connected to funerary and commemorative monuments (Giguere 2013, 62–84; Giguere 2014).

In America and Europe, the Neoclassical and the Neo-Egyptian were part of a larger, connected process of translating ancient architecture into the creation of new contemporary architecture. As Giguere, whose monograph argues that the Neo-Egyptian style became an American style and one preferred for memorial and funerary contexts, noted, "Egyptian obelisks and Neoclassical temples were a reflection of a people striving to find a national identity with a useable past" (Giguere 2014, 7). Her observation highlights a critical point: Egyptian architecture and material culture were being reinterpreted in a manner that is very similar to the reinterpretation of Classical architecture and material culture. The study of the Neoclassical and Egyptomania has also been a siloed affair, due to the nature of academic specialties (Egyptologists vs. nineteenth-century art historians vs. Classical archaeologists).

Therefore, we propose a new analytical framework to consider the transcription and transformation of Neoclassical and Neo-Egyptian to produce a new architectural and decorative style: the Neo-Antique. This style consciously combined the motifs that had emerged during the Neoclassic and Egyptomania/Neo-Egyptian revival of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries into a bricolage of eclectic and/or achronic elements. As the papers in this volume demonstrate, this often had a destabilizing effect, the sites under discussion serving as a criticism of contemporaneity, or claiming a sureness of purpose against perceived cultural instability.

"Look, it's Roman!" and the Problems of Parallelism

For the reasons given above, Neo-Antique structures have received less critical attention than their more aristocratic Neoclassical and Neo-Egyptian precursors. Furthermore, much of what has been written often suffers from what one might term the "Look, it's Roman!" or "Look, it's Greek!" model of interpretation. In these studies (sometimes amounting to little more than guidebook), the obvious Classical forms are identified—the

[16] The Murray Hill Distribution Center of the Croton Reservoir and the Tombs, a court and prison complex, in New York City are important examples of non-funerary Neo-Egyptian architecture. See Carrott 1978, 47–79, plates 111–125, 127–128.

triumphal arch, the honorific column, the temple architrave—with little indication as to how or why such design decisions were made and how they were received. Reception studies experience a similar problem that one might call "parallelism." In such studies, the questions about design decisions and viewer reception that are often glossed over with the "Look, it's Roman!" model are asked, but the parallels between the source and the finished work are taken *prima facie*, without investigating if an apparent connection reflects a deeper intellectual, creative, or cultural dialogue with Classical culture. Reception studies founded on parallelism tend toward reductive and positivist interpretations in which evidence is not pressed and examined critically.[17] For example, just because New York City erected the Croton aqueduct, a daring feat of engineering between 1837 and 1842, it does not follow that the aqueduct was inspired by those of ancient Rome, with New York making a bid to be seen as a new Rome. In fact, John B. Jarvis, the engineer responsible for the aqueduct, had no knowledge of Latin or Greek or of the aqueducts of Rome (Evans 2015). Thus, as Porter noted, there needs to be a reception of material culture that is not just focused on the forms, but on sensuous perception (Porter 2011, 477). We need to move beyond observing formal parallels to consider how architects transcribed the Classical and Egyptian worlds for their patrons and the significance of the buildings and interrogate those parallels.

The reception of ancient art and architecture has a firm intellectual and academic foundation. These monuments are significant in their own eras; they reference and transform the past. The works of art, monuments, and buildings that interpret the history, myths, artistic forms, architecture, and ideologies of the Classical world serve as an interface between the past and present and the tensions that are inherent in this relationship—thus they are fundamentally interesting. They are unique nexuses through which we can explore how the Classical world was understood and how the Classical past was constructed and manufactured in a range of contexts. Such questions and points of intersection should interest Classical scholars. The conceptualization and framing of the past and historical events are central concerns in Roman art. The historical reliefs that adorned arches and columns present highly manufactured views of specific events that have been the focus of much scholarly work.[18] Through exploring how these

[17] Martindale aims this criticism at many Classicists in their approach to texts (2006, 2, 12). But this criticism has been leveled at a recent work on Pompeii and its reception, see Campbell's review of *Pompeii in the Public Imagination from Its Discovery to Today* (Hales and Paul 2011) in the *Bryn Mawr Classical Review*.

[18] Hannestad 1988; Hölscher 2004; Shaya 2013.

post-Classical monuments utilized the past and its connection to the present, we may be better able to understand how the ancients used and abused the past and how they did this through the media of sculpture, painting, architecture, and landscape architecture. These post-Classical monuments, like their textual counterparts, allow us to connect, in the words of Martindale, the past to the present and future.[19] Because reception studies often stand at the intersections of multiple disciplines and disparate chronological periods, scholars from a diverse range of fields with a wide breadth of chronological expertise should be engaged in reception studies, including the scholars who work on the material and visual culture of the Classical world and ancient Egypt.

The Roles of the Classical Archaeologist, Art Historian, Architectural Historian, and Egyptologist in Reception Studies

Although reception studies are highly relevant to the disciplines of art history and architectural studies, Classical archaeologists and Egyptologists bring a unique perspective to the field. Classical archaeologists often study buildings, monuments, landscapes, and works of art where the patron, architect, artisans, and craftsmen are unknown. Rather they look to the remains of the built environment, signs of use, decoration, and other characteristics to understand the building and its use. They regularly deal with the reception and afterlife of the architecture. While many Classical scholars are interested in design,[20] scholars are also very interested in a whole host of other questions—the use and the afterlife of a building, the materials, the construction techniques, the economics of production, and inscriptions among other things. We are often dealing with the reception of architecture in addition to its design, as the *oeuvre* of famous architects, such as Apollodorus of Damascus, only survive in stone carvings on the Column of Trajan. Thus the focus of much of the scholarship on Classical architecture is different than other later (Renaissance and post-Renaissance) periods in architectural history, where the focus is on the design and the intention of the architect. Typically Classical archaeologists do not know the identity of an architect of a specific building, and so scholarship does not focus solely on "the author" of an architectural

[19] Martindale 2006, 13.
[20] E.g., Coulton 1977; Gleason 1994 and 2013; Lancaster 2005 and 2015; Wilson Jones 2000.

work. Scholarship regularly focuses on the experience and use of space—in other words, the afterlife of a building. Intellectually the historians of Classical architecture are ideally positioned to understand and consider the reception of Classical material culture in a later period because we have many of the tools vital to conduct architectural reception studies and are already actively engaged in reception studies, although such scholarship has not been framed this way.

The Role of Architectural Reception Theory

More generally, reception studies are undertheorized and represented in architectural scholarship (Stead and Freeman 2013, 268), another fact that likely contributes to why reception studies of Neo-Antique architecture have been slow to take off. It was only in 2013 that the *Architectural Theory Review* published a volume dedicated to considering reception within architectural theory and scholarship. Stead and Freeman, in their introduction to this important collections of essays on architectural reception (267–271), observed that "reception theory has not been the subject of sustained or systematic attention in architectural scholarship" (Stead and Freeman 2013, 268). They noted that buildings are often approached by examining their architects, patrons, clients, and design concepts before and during construction, but their "expanded social life (or afterlife) beyond practical completion" is not always considered (Stead and Freeman 2013, 268). Reception is a two-way process that offers scholars an opportunity to understand the architecture and its legacy and afterlife. Reception theory also moves scholarship away from construction and patron to consider the cultural practices that inform a building's erection and critical reception, as well as the specific cultural circumstances that surround it (Stead and Freeman 2013, 269). As noted above, Classical archaeologists and historians of ancient architecture have already considered the afterlife and social dynamics of buildings, because the patrons and architects of ancient architecture are often unknown.

Stead and Freeman also note that there is considerable interest in the genealogy of buildings in the study of the architectural canon, specifically how buildings influence each other; however, this has not been framed in the context of reception (2013, 268). Reception offers a rich framework for understanding not only the reinterpretation of ancient forms in later eras, but also how these buildings interact with each other. The reception of ancient architecture in the United States was often informed by the reception of ancient culture and architecture in Europe, and went through what scholars have identified as a process of triangulation (Macaulay-Lewis 2016, 447–478). In this volume, Marden Nichols examines how America's architectural and artistic translation of Pompeii was refracted through the lens of Europe's reception of Pompeii.

Scholars of architectural reception have also challenged how scholars should approach the study of buildings. Gough, also writing in Stead and Freeman's edited volume, argues that an architectural theory could be posited based on reader-response criticism. This is an affective architecture, where the intersection of subject and object becomes the main focus of concern (Gough 2013, 279). Reception studies should collapse the subject-object divide that often pervades architectural studies (Gough 2013, 280). The interest in such intersections is fundamental to the study of the reception of ancient architecture, as well as to the construction of architecture. Caroline van Eck and Miguel John Versluys's paper looks at the "subject-object divide" by exploring the symbiotic relationship between architecture and the viewer that was critical in eighteenth-century theories of ornament. More generally, the papers in this volume seek to understand the multiple points of interaction between the architecture of the ancient world and the architecture of eighteenth-, nineteenth-, and twentieth-century Europe and United States and study the fluid connectivity between them.

Although he recognizes the affinity between reader-response criticism and architectural reception, Gough challenges the idea of reading architecture like a book, stating "Is the reading of architecture an appropriate way of characterizing either its reality or a critical approach to it?" (Gough 2013, 280). The concept of architecture as a text is particularly germane to the reinterpretation of ancient architecture, since texts play a vital role in the reception of ancient architecture. Until the discoveries of Pompeii and Herculaneum in the eighteenth century, knowledge of the ancient world was almost entirely text-based and its architectural reception rested upon a limited set of quotations drawn from the works of Cicero, Vitruvius, and Pliny the Younger. Even after archaeological evidence was available, places that had no direct connection to Classical texts were viewed through the lens of reading; an example of this can be found in Melody Deusner's study of American *exedrae* which opens with a text embedded in a picture, Lawrence Alma-Tadema's *A Reading from Homer* (1885).

Reading architecture as a text is therefore essential to understanding Neo-Antique place-making. Gough's question, however, prompts us to reconsider the limitations of this approach: if it can be read, then architecture could be seen as a conventional text, where meaning could be read off as a didactic message (Gough 2013, 281). But this premise is predicated on an oversimplistic understanding of how texts are read, with a fixed meaning to a uniform audience. Instead reception studies have shown that the (re)interpretation of (ancient) texts is diverse and complex. How is this diversity reflected in the reception of ancient architecture? Partly through the identification of source material. Many eighteenth- and nineteenth-century architects and patrons gained their knowledge of Classical antiquity and ancient Egypt through archaeological publications rather than firsthand experience; van Eck and Versluys's study of the Hôtel de Beauharnais in this volume demonstrates the centrality of Piranesi's published designs in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century French design and the Empire Style. Likewise, the first publications of archaeological discoveries, like those from the Bay of Naples, were often collected by architects and patrons and served as direct inspirations for their houses and interiors, as Ann Kuttner explains in her chapter on the Neo-Antique residences of Sir John Soane. The initial effect of these guides and handbooks may well have resulted in the kind of direct-messaging that Gough describes, but their proliferation (as folios, competing editions, multivolume sets, and unattached plates) very quickly produced the kinds of multiple and contrary readings that elide easy distinctions between subject and object, as demonstrated by Sir John Soane's labyrinthine *Crude Hints towards an History of my House in Lincoln's Inn Fields* (1812).

Fictional texts are also vital to reception of ancient architecture in this era. Edward Bulwer-Lytton's extremely popular *The Last Days of Pompeii* (1834) informed not only the nineteenth-century perception of Pompeii, but it also influenced the architectural reception of Pompeii. Shelley Hales's chapter notes that the French translation of *Last Days of Pompeii* was key to receptions of Charles Garnier's Roman houses at the 1889 Paris Expo. In America, the perception of Pompeii as symbolic of Roman decadence and decline was due in no small part to Bulwer-Lytton's novel, and prompted conflicting reactions to the vogue for Pompeian rooms. The most notable reactions, discussed by Nichols, include *The House of Mirth* (1905) and *The Age of Innocence* (1920) by Edith Wharton, an author who had no small influence on American taste-making. Finally, as Katharine von Stackelberg demonstrates, different readings of the *The Last Days of Pompeii* inspired other iterations of Neo-Antique place-making, producing new layers of textual interpretation in the form of reportage, critical reviews, travel writing, and think pieces. Even in instances where the text would appear to function as a programmatic manifesto of Neo-Antique place-making, as with J. Paul Getty's "A Journey from Corinth," the "re-transcription" between text and building is not a static relationship, but an ongoing process of viewing and reviewing where each informs and affects the other.

Critical Approaches to Architectural Reception of the Neo-Antique

The variety of expertise from different fields of study, and the interpretative nuances inherent to each re-transcription of architectural reception, require a diversity of critical approaches. As already noted, studies of Classical reception in architecture often restrict themselves to documenting the source material used for Neoclassical and Neo-Antique place-making. Although it is useful to know that a place was modeled on the Parthenon or the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus, the "Look! It's Greek (or Roman)!" approach usually offers little in the way of interpretation beyond the commonplace observation that such sites were expressions of the cultural prestige attached to Classics in the western canon. The observation is fundamentally correct, but limited in scope. The power and agency encoded within such place-making is not immutable, it changes depending on context. Is the patron/visitor a man or a woman? Citizen or foreigner? What is their source of income? Their level of education? How different is the site from anything they may have encountered before? What is its wider topographical context? All these factors affect how the meanings encoded within Neoclassical and Neo-Antique sites are received and further promulgated. Engaging with these questions requires that we think about place-making within a wider critical framework, one that combines the social and cultural parameters for production of space with a historicized attention to context.

The chapters of this volume therefore present a cross-section of critical approaches that help to frame the questions raised by architectural reception. The aim of doing so is twofold. First, it recognizes that cultural prestige attached to Classics is not undifferentiated, but intersects with other historical and cultural forces such as gender, class, colonialism, and capitalism. Second, by presenting a variety of approaches it mitigates against the tendency of theory to seal itself into a neat hermeneutical package that "can only say what it is allowed to say." (Borden and Russell 2000, 4). Considering different critical approaches allows the reader not only to consider the question of how a theoretical approach can help to understand architectural reception, but also its limitations and ways in which it might be supplemented or contradicted by other approaches.

Place-making and Dwelling

There is one concept, however, that links all the contributions in this collection, the idea of place-making. The creation of place out of space, endowing certain locations or buildings with special meaning, is a fundamental human activity, and one closely tied to self-identity (Schneekloth and Shibley 1995, 1). Place has the power, as Edward Casey noted, "to direct and stabilize us, to memorialize and identify us, to tell us who and what we are in terms of *where we are* (as well as where we are *not*)" (Casey 2009, xv). It is also fundamental to architecture. Christian Norberg-Schulz argued that the goal of architecture is to make meaningful places—where man can dwell (Wilken 2013, 242). Place-making is intimately connected to the idea of dwelling. If one does not have a habitable place, then one must create one and, as Casey notes, "dwelling places offer not just bare shelter but the possibility of sojourns of upbringing, of education, of contemplation, of conviviality, lingerings of many kinds and durations" (Casey 2009, 112).

Both Casey and Norberg-Schulz conceptualize dwelling as an essentially introverted process, a form of individual self-realization that is primarily oriented inwards. Although Norberg-Schulz characterized the private home as a stage, he framed it "as a 'refuge' where man gathers and expresses those memories which make up his personal world" (Norberg-Schulz 1985, 13). It is true that place-making is especially pronounced in the private realm; it is highly personal, and the way one wants to live does not have the same functional requirements as certain public buildings. There is much more scope for innovation and personalization in a private home than in a public bath, train station, library, or religious structure. However, this approach both privileges the private home as the paradigmatic architectural expression of dwelling and marginalizes the more communal aspect of creating a place to dwell. As Schneekloth and Shibley observe, place-making faces outwards as well as inwards, it is not only about people and their relationship to places, but it also "creates relationships among people in places" (Schneekloth and Shibley 1995, 1). Nor are these relationships always in harmony; they can affirm inclusion within a particular group or they can express a defiance of communal norms, a symbol of individuality. Therefore, in this volume, private houses such as the residences created by Sir John Soane (Kuttner) and Eugène de Beauharnais (van Eck and Versluys) are joined by other forms of quasi-domestic place-making that host the encounters and reflective "lingerings" noted by Casey. These kind of dwelling places include tombs

(Macaulay-Lewis), model homes (Hales), hotels (Nichols), gardens (von Stackelberg), and park benches (Deusner).

Some Historical Context

Place-making, as noted above, is a fundamental human activity and thus not unique to any given period. However, late eighteenth- to mid-twentieth-century Europe and the United States witnessed dynamic cultural, social, economic, and political change that lent an added charge to place-making. The construction of domestic architecture, gardens, and tombs was not only a technical and rational action but an essential, poetic one; expressions of self, status, culture, and one's position in the socioeconomic, cultural, and/or political hierarchies and systems of the day. For many individuals, aristocratic and bourgeois, Classical and Egyptian art and architecture offered a flexible template with rich, diverse cultural resonances that could be exploited in the creation of newly fabricated Pompeian parlors, Egyptian tombs, and Roman gardens. While each paper provides its own historical context, some key points should be briefly noted.

The first is that, as already noted, the architectural re-transcription of ancient into modern was no longer confined to the princely elite but adopted by the *haute bourgeoisie* and mercantile middle class. A large-scale act of place-making such as the Hôtel de Beauharnais that could only have been realized by a prince at the start of the nineteenth century was within the capabilities of a prosperous hardware merchant by the end of the century. As Eric Hobsbawm observed, the nineteenth century was a period of "profound and rapid social transformation" which required "new devices to ensure or express social cohesion and identity and to structure social relations," with architecture serving as one of these devices (Hobsbawm 1983, 263). Sites that therefore would have been used in a previous age to express aristocratic exclusivity were now accessible to anyone with enough disposable income regardless of their social or educational status.

This leads us to our second key point: that the creation of Neo-Antique sites was part of what Walter Benjamin identified as the "phantasmagoria of capitalist culture" that endeavored to establish the historic value of the present through the furnishings of interior space that collected objects whose primary value was through their association with other places and times (Benjamin 1968, 83). The ready availability of items that referenced the worlds of ancient Egypt, Classical Greece, and Imperial Rome meant that the place-making did not have to be a large-scale undertaking. Instead of requiring an entire building, architectural reception could be confined to a room or series of rooms. It became a modular expression that could be scaled up or down and combined with any number of other historical elements—a bricolage of historicized decorative effects that confronted the viewer with simultaneously orthodox and heterodox reconstructions of "Classicism."

Which brings us to the third point: that the eclectism of the Neo-Antique style is not a postmodern interpretation of nineteenth-century decor but something of which its contemporaries were well aware. When Henry Adams sat down to write his memoirs in 1905 the original title was "The Education of Henry Adams: A Study of Twentieth-Century Multiplicity" (Adams 2010, 5). Multiplicity, fragmentation, and eclecticism were established hallmarks of the long nineteenth century, and never better illustrated than at the smorgasbord of national tastes and styles that were World Fairs. The London and Paris Expositions were the ultimate expression of a heterogenic aesthetic; visitors wandered from Japanese pavilions to Romanesque arches, admiring the latest developments in modern technology amid folk-art displays. It was the International Exhibitions of the nineteenth century that established the European vogue for Pompeian style, and disseminated it to the United States. In this respect the Paris Exposition Universelle of 1889 was especially important, marking a hinge moment that completed the transition from Neoclassicism to Neo-Antique.

Finally, despite their optimistic appropriation of Classical stability, these sites are acutely unstable and potentially destabilizing, readily subject to what Umberto Eco has identified as "aberrant decoding." The architectural reception of Imperial Rome that alarmed American moralists of the mid-nineteenth century with its suggestion of louche debauches and moral decline was, by the mid-twentieth century, read as lifeless and drily academic. Visiting the Getty Villa, Reyner Banham declared "The erudition and workmanship are as impeccable, and absolutely deathly, as this kind of pluperfect recreation must always be . . . no blood was spilled here, nor sperm, nor wine, nor other vital juice" (Jencks 1991, 80). For much of the twentieth century the eclectic and anachronistic aesthetic of Neo-Antique and Neo-Egyptian sites has prompted reactions ranging from befuddlement to outright hostility. In consequence, many suffered from a combination of cultural marginalization, urban neglect, and physical destruction. However, by the late twentieth century, postmodernist theory had begun to reconsider sites that had been dismissed as minor or idiosyncratic affirmations of elitist memory, traditional values, and high culture "for these are not only the emblem of a contemporary movement in aesthetics, but define the impersonal, machinelike processes by which social power is formed, exerted, and cultural effects produced" (Marcus 1990, 329).

Critical Approaches: Some Reading Strategies

This collection of essays follows a roughly chronological sequence, focusing initially on European sites before moving on to consider the architectural reception of the ancient world in the United States of America. Broadly speaking, the reader moves from a consideration of individual structures (Sir John Soane's house, the Hôtel de Beauharnais) to collections of buildings (Charles Garnier's model houses, the tombs of Woodlawn Cemetery), and from the elements of interior decoration (Pompeian rooms, Classical *exedrae*) to exterior landscaping (the gardens of the Getty Villa).

Ann Kuttner initiates the discussion with the question "what makes a Classical house? And why?" in her study of Sir John Soane's place-making at his residences of Pitzhanger Manor and Lincoln's Inn Fields. Soane's work occupied a key transitional moment when the kind of Classically inflected self-fashioning that had in previous generations only been available to the aristocracy became accessible to the non-elite through prints, plaster copies, and the dawn of European tourism. As the protégé of the Earl Bishop of Derry, accompanying him on his Italian travels, Soane understood the legacy of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Neoclassicism, but his autodidactic and idiosyncratic reception of Roman architecture signaled a new, eclectic turn towards the Neo-Antique.

Kuttner's chapter establishes many of the points that inform possible critical approaches to the Neo-Antique (see below). However, Soane's houses were only tangentially influenced by two important factors in the material reception of the Classical world: the rediscovery of Ancient Egypt and the development of French Empire Style. These are addressed by Caroline van Eck and Miguel John Versluys in their case study of the Hôtel de Beauharnais. As the adopted son of Napoleon Bonaparte, Eugène de Beauharnais was the embodiment of the new, post-revolution, Parisian elite. His Neo-Egyptian residence in the Faubourg Saint Germain staged Paris as a new Alexandria, and its interior marked a definitive break with the eighteenth-century design principle of the *parti*—whereby the designer imposed his unilateral vision on the occupants of a space—in favor of the *marche*, where movement through a series of staged *tableaux* allowed the occupants to formulate more diverse, individualized responses. In van Eck and Versluys's account, immersive architecture uses the "poetics of eclecticism" to effect a change of emphasis from a consensus interpretation of architecture toward promoting a unique and individual experience.

Shelley Hales's chapter on Charles Garnier's attempt to translate the Classicizing Empire Style aesthetic of princely mansions such as the Hôtel de Beauharnais and the Maison Pompéienne into demotic examples at the 1889 Paris Expo demonstrates how the Neo-Antique could serve as a critique of contemporary architectural practice. Whereas the Maison Pompéienne concretized the kind of "resurrectionist fantasies" inspired by Bulwer-Lytton's work, Garnier emphasized the reciprocal dynamic involved in combining ancient with modern styles. By presenting his Roman, Greek, Gallo-Roman, and Byzantine houses as part of an ethnographic journey, his exhibit implicitly critiqued the academic aesthetic of the École des Beaux Arts by prompting visitors to consider how they participate in and influence each other's architectural traditions. Garnier's focus was not on the re-creation of historic houses, but on the development and continuance of a livable type as an extension of (specifically French) national identity.

World Fairs, such as the 1889 Expo, proved instrumental in encouraging the dissemination of the eclectic Neo-Antique style from Europe to the New World. Marden Nichols discusses their impact on American interiors, transforming the American home into a mini-Exposition with rooms displaying Turkish carpets, Sèvres porcelain, and Japanese bentwood furniture within walls of "Pompeiian red." In Nichols's analysis these rooms were subject to repeated "aberrant decoding," their patrons' proud references to Rome's political and cultural heritage variously interpreted as decadent, vulgar, or tawdry, or in the case of the Doheny mansion, ignored entirely by the visitors they wished to impress. The perceived potential of decor to influence bodily habitus meant that the Pompeian Revival Style in the United States could never be viewed neutrally, promoting either a stifling restriction of manners, as in Edith Wharton's *The Age of Innocence*, or serving as an invitation to run riot, as at Chicago's Congress Hotel.

The potential for Neo-Antique sites to promote mixed messages is further addressed by Melody Barnett Deusner in her study of American *exedrae*. By moving the focus away from architectural facades or interior assemblages to a granular analysis of one specifically Roman feature, Deusner establishes that the "mixed messages" present in sites of Neo-Antique place-making were not simply a product of their visual eclecticism but intrinsic to the very elements that constituted that eclecticism. These marble "sofas" elided the distinction between public monumental space and private domestic space, prompting conflicted reactions as to what constituted appropriate bodily behavior in their curved seats that depended on the gender, class, and location of the sitter.

This elision between public monument and private dwelling is explored more fully in Elizabeth Macaulay-Lewis's chapter on the tombs of New York's Woodlawn Cemetery. Approaching the subject from perspective of a trained archaeologist, Macaulay-Lewis presents a formal analysis of the site that considers the source evidence for private tombs in the context of their combined spatial and social relationships. At Woodlawn, the sustained interaction of many different patrons with a variety of Classical and Egyptianizing interests worked in concert to create an entire Neo-Antique "neighborhood," complete with appropriate landscaping.

The integration of Neo-Antique place-making into the landscape via gardens and garden rooms is the subject of Katharine von Stackelberg's concluding chapter. Using Umberto Eco's formulation of hyperreality as a lens through which to examine responses to the Neo-Antique, von Stackelberg discusses three sites: the Getty Villa in Malibu, the Pompeia in Saratoga Springs, and the Crowninshield garden in Wilmington, Delaware. In each of these sites, hyperreal "greenspace" closes the experiential distance between Ancient and Modern, transforming the past into a commentary on the present, and providing new avenues of approach for the study of the Neo-Antique.

When read consecutively, the essays collected within this volume supply a comprehensive study of issues and approaches on the subject of the architectural reception of the Classical world in the nineteenth- and twentieth-centuries. While all are concerned with place-making of one kind or another, readers can focus on European sites (Kuttner, van Eck and Versluys, Hales) or American (Nichols, Deusner, Macaulay-Lewis, von Stackelberg), heterogeneous Classical themes (Kuttner, Hales, Deusner), specifically Pompeian references (Nichols, von Stackelberg), or Neo-Egyptian examples (van Eck and Versluys, Macaulay-Lewis). However, readers who wish to concentrate on specific critical approaches can pursue alternate reading strategies that focus on other commonalities. For example, although all the instances of architectural reception in this volume draw upon the surge of archaeological data available to patrons and designers, some chose to focus on the idea of ruination and landscapes of memory, as with the ruins that Sir John Soane created at Pitzhanger Manor, or Louise du Pont Crowninshield's garden in Delaware (Kuttner, von Stackelberg). In contrast, other sites were subject to the same information and their authors used it to re-create and revise ancient monumental practice in places of active memorialization (Deusner, Macaulay-Lewis).

One of the strongest themes to emerge is the direction of scopic program through movement, as demonstrated by the spatial relationship between Garnier's exhibition and the surrounding context of the Exposition Universelle and the Eiffel Tower (Hales); the dialogue between the Farragut Memorial and Fifth Avenue traffic in New York City (Deusner); and the pattern of visitors strolling along the paths between the tombs of Woodlawn Cemetery (Macaulay-Lewis). In some cases, the scopic programs are directed by specific aesthetic or technological developments, as with the principles of theatrical set design (van Eck and Versluys), or the emergence of photography and aerial views (Hales). In others, the scopic program is shaped by objects and framed itineraries that create a series of triggers and prompts to shape visitors' reactions in planned and unplanned ways (Deusner, Macaulay-Lewis, von Stackelberg).

Another critical approach would be to follow the genderization of Neo-Antique sites. Although the residences of Sir John Soane, the Hôtel de Beauharnais, and the Getty Villa can be read as examples of masculine self-fashioning (Kuttner, van Eck and Versluys, von Stackelberg), there was an equally strong tendency to perceive Neo-Antique sites as feminized places, either through their decor and association with women's fashion (Nichols, Deusner), or through promotional materials that targeted a female market (Hales, von Stackelberg). Similarly, one might choose to read chapters in a sequence that that follows issues of class consciousness and the reactions to the democratization of a style previously confined to formally educated elites. Autodidacts such as Sir John Soane received public validation, but Constantino Brumidi's paintings for the U.S. Capitol's Naval Affairs Committee Room, Richard Morris Hunt's plans for Central Park, and the Getty Villa were met with varying degrees of bafflement and hostility (Kuttner, Nichols, Deusner, von Stackelberg).

Such considerations of how Neo-Antique sites intersected with the gender and class of their visitors follow the approach set by John Dixon Hunt (2004) in his study of the "afterlife" of made places (von Stackelberg, Macaulay-Lewis). These places are usually intelligible because they are part of the thick description of a culture. "Thick description," a phrase coined by Clifford Geertz (1973), roughly encompasses the semiotic body of shared information in a given culture. Thus visitors to the Paris Expo in 1889 found Garnier's historicized and ethnographicized street of ancient housing far more intelligible than the Eiffel tower because even its strangeness corresponded to a received acceptance of the Other (Hales). Thick description is what allowed J. P. Morgan's mansion to be described as Pompeian, even though the element of *romanitas* was very slight, because the Classical motifs cued visitors to read it as such even though they were overwhelmed by a wealth of other decorative elements (Nichols). Yet taking into consideration the implied viewer or visitor necessitates recognizing differences of gender and class, especially since this intersectionality can effect “aberrant decoding” in Neo-Antique place-making, such as the perception that public *exedrae* would be used not as places of democratic conversation and contemplation in the mode of Classical Greece and Republican Rome but as dossing places for tramps and loiterers (Deusner).

Commonalities can also be found by approaching Neo-Antique place-making through the intersecting concepts of heterotopias, hyperreality and *enchaînement*. The heterotopia—an ideal, nonhegemonic site of “otherness”—gains potency through the intervention of the hyperreal, a spatial and temporal concept that erases the distinction between authentic and recreated places (Hales, von Stackelberg). In many of the sites under discussion the proliferation of copies—as plaster casts, book illustrations, decorative prints—operates as a form on *enchaînement*, the fragmentation of Greco-Roman literary and visual tropes as part of a socially anchored process of generating meaning (Kuttner, Deusner, von Stackelberg).

The approaches present within this volume are not prescriptive, and the editors hope that in reading it you may discover new ways of looking at ancient architecture in a modern setting.

CHAPTER 1 | (Re)presenting *Romanitas* at Sir John Soane's House and Villa

ANN KUTTNER

Introduction*

This essay's focus is chronologically the earliest of this volume: the residences of Sir John Soane, architect (1753–1837). One was his urban seat in London, at nos. 12–14 Lincoln's Inn Fields, houses purchased over a span of years (number 12 in 1792, 13 in 1807, 14 in 1824) that he joined together and remodeled. The other, Pitzhanger Manor, some nine miles outside London at Ealing, was a country house complete with a twenty-eight-acre park, purchased in 1800. He extensively built here while keeping a south wing erected in 1768 by his old master George Dance, but sold it in 1810 to reside thereafter only in London. Both houses variously evoked the ancient Roman world (and a bit of the Greek too) by means of aspects of architectural form and space, decoration of facades and interiors, and displays of antiquities. With such elements in place, Pitzhanger Manor could naturally evoke the idea of a Roman villa; this essay discusses below how the young Soane first engaged with such evocations in a project for a wealthy patron's country seat. Over his career Soane acquired fine artifacts and images—ranging from painted Greek

* I am very grateful to the editors of this volume, Elizabeth Macaulay-Lewis and Katharine von Stackelberg, for inviting me into this project, and for their sound and patient editorial responses. I also owe special thanks to Miranda Routh for her learned support of my interest in John Soane architect and her affectionate toleration of my speculations. All faults here are my own. This essay's image apparatus is necessarily brief; references are made to illustrations in print, but the reader is also invited to look to images on the open web, searching "Soane Pitzhanger Manor" and "Soane House Museum" for photographs and period documentation.

vases and Roman urns to reliefs, statuary, and sculptural casts—and he assembled architectural elements, both actual fragments and a cast collection, in addition to models of ancient Roman buildings. Initially some of his holdings were displayed at Pitzhanger Manor, in the house and its garden conservatory; after the Manor was sold in 1810, all were at Lincoln's Inn Fields, where he had his office. Many were on show to visitors, as well as to architecture students, in designated areas of his residences, which Soane eventually came to think of as museum spaces. That culminated in his successful plan to establish his London property under a board of trustees as a House Museum in perpetuity, winning in 1833 an Act of Parliament to assure this. In various ways both sites suggested that viewers think about Greco-Roman antiquity and the world of the Roman house and villa, in addition to any other pasts evoked (such as the medieval world or even, in the London residence, ancient Egypt too). Any Classical fragments, decors, and documentation were, like contemporary Neoclassical pieces, meant to assist design work that looked to Greco-Roman antiquity and form taste to appreciate it.

These two inventively fashioned sites are often discussed by those interested in the history of collecting and the early modern museum, in the age of the Grand Tour and the decades succeeding it, and of course by those interested in a major English architect, one whose style of expression in public building closely engaged a distinctive Neoclassicism. The London House Museum draws the most general notice, because, well preserved and restored in a metropolis, it is so engaging in the inventive forms and light effects of many of its spaces, some of spectacular grandeur, and in its character of being crammed with objects. Those include antiquities eclectically arranged in its public spaces, as well as many other works of art, architectural drawings, and artifacts, and a room of architectural models too, archaeological as well as post-Antique. It has also the fascination of period rooms which preserve or reconstruct Soane's domestic decors, in spite of alterations made in later eras and the need to house modern activities still. And Soane's world emphatically exists in the digital realm: a fine website at once popular and scholarly[1] catalogues Soane's library, his working papers and sketchbooks, precious graphics made by associates like Gandy about his architectural projects (his residences included), and many of his thousands of objects and images

[1] The site hosts a master bibliography for the House Museum and short references for Soane's other major works, under Sir John Soane's Museum, London, Soane Bibliography, http://www.soane.org/sites/default/files/downloads/soane-bibliography.pdf.

are catalogued (Egyptian and Greco-Roman antiquities included).[2] By contrast, most of what Soane executed at Pitzhanger after he bought the property in 1800 is gone, either having been altered right after he sold the property in 1810, or having been heavily reconstructed; though further restoration plans are underway, the site is since 1987 a functioning art museum. Besides the main house structure, some documents and precious visual testimonies do exist, in addition to physical remains, to witness aspects of what Soane developed there. It's worth visiting both again for this volume, to set off by analogy and difference my colleagues' explorations of what it could mean to revive the Roman landscape and the Roman *domus* in the course of the long nineteenth century and after, and to think about what could make a "Classical house" in early modern and modern Britain. This essay has thoughts on that project and its social contexts as they frame both Soane's residences; an exploration of Soane's young encounters with the archaeology of the Roman house and his engagement with recreating it for an eccentric patron (the Earl Bishop of Derry); a discussion of Pitzhanger Manor in its Neo-Roman characters that include an archaeologically informed evocation of Roman house painting; and a closing section on the evocation of that Roman exemplar by displaying its illustrations, in the London house.

By the mid-to-late eighteenth century, the formative period of Soane's youth and early career, English elites had enthusiastically taken to living with ideas of Rome that were suggested to them in two ways: the first—physical and visible—through the architecture, landscapes, and artifacts that they owned; the second through willed recall of ancient Roman texts about life in house and villa (some of it easily read as exemplary, some fascinatingly not). Living with ideas of Rome, though, did not entail the visual suggestion of Roman domestic architecture as such. Almost all that was built and decorated to classicizing effect in the house of the eighteenth and earlier nineteenth century drew heavily on an eclectic range of remains of Roman (and some Greek) public architecture. Life with Roman artifacts as well as with new classicizing objects was an important expression of Neo-Antique tastes; there was certainly awareness that Romans privately collected art, since actual or imagined Roman house and villa sites in Italy were the source of so much statuary like that which British tourists and dealers brought home in Soane's era. The grand Renaissance and later

[2] Cornelius Vermeule updated in 1973 the *Catalogue of the Classical Antiquities at Sir John Soane's House Museum* that he wrote between 1951 and 1953; ten copies of the typescript were made then, ten more in 1975, held variously at libraries in the United States and Europe.

Italian gardens and mansions which Grand Tourists could see, packed with ancient stuff, endorsed that model further, a well-known narrative to scholars. For the educated, Roman texts also had telling descriptions of art-collecting practices (and of sharing of public collections too). The actual Greek and Roman artifacts that Soane and other collectors owned might easily come from public, religious, and funerary contexts, not residential ones. Yet texts and antiquarian and archaeological knowledge could make the very actions of collecting and domestic display exemplary of Roman practice. Insofar as this post-Antique culture valued “Greek” art, as it did, to esteem it was good Roman practice, as the material and textual evidence enforced. To live like a Roman by any of these means could be taken either in the sense of a sociocultural or sociopolitical commitment, as an adherence to meaningful canons of Roman aesthetics or (also) in the sense of recreating key material and visual elements of Roman *domus* and *villa*. How perfectly aware Soane was of the Classical package, as it were, and when, is debatable, but he could have picked up a good deal of it in his working life, starting young, and the signs are that he worked hard, even exuberantly, to show that he understood its codes.

Soane lived and worked at a very interesting cusp, right at the beginnings of much more copious knowledge about actual Roman decorated domestic interiors, thanks not just to chance excavations at Rome (as at the Villa Negroni) but especially to excavations of the Vesuvian cities, to supplement remains at Rome long known like those of the Domus Aurea. When designers and patrons in the eighteenth century wanted to know how to decorate the surfaces of a domestic room in the way in which a Roman would have, the corpus to inform them up to this point was pitifully small. This is one reason that a rather finely painted extensive *domus* excavated at the Villa Negroni in Rome in 1777 made such an impression, including on Soane’s early patron and on Soane himself. In Soane’s youth the excavations at Pompeii, Herculaneum, and other Roman sites buried by Vesuvius at the Bay of Naples were still in their early stages, and the Bourbon court fiercely guarded physical access and visual documentation, but Soane (who visited Pompeii as young man) bought up what he could get. An important source for knowledge of the decorated Roman interior, whose motifs began quickly to be imitated, the eight volumes of the massive *Le Antichità di Ercolano esposte* were published between 1757 and 1792 to document the Bourbon excavations around the Vesuvian sites. It is very telling that Soane managed to acquire a set, even if we don’t know when (the binding is nineteenth-century). He also acquired many more of the great publications of Pompeii and Herculaneum that emerged throughout his life,[3] and by the mid-1780s had the means to buy books steadily (not all copies have a date of purchase inscription), as well as archaeological prints. An idea of archaeological authenticity was in the air: Soane's country house at the turn of the nineteenth century was among a series of domestic projects in Britain and Ireland in the Neoclassical period that knowingly took elements of archaeologically retrieved Roman residential wall decors as a guideline to design, in ways slightly different to what had been confected as a "Pompeian" or "Etruscan" room by the generation before Soane in the circle of Robert Adam and others. At the same time Soane imitated predecessors and contemporaries among the well-to-do, and other established architects, by living with the Romans by means of their collected material remains, as well as by eclectically applying elements derived from Greco-Roman public forms to his residences.

Soane's varied aims for his impressive dwellings included an evidently fervent wish to earn social standing for his profession and himself. Son of a bricklayer, Soane had whatever formal education he received cut short by entering at age 15 into an architect's office under George Dance. There is no evidence that he was exposed to Latin (let alone Greek) in anything like the rigorous immersion in ancient Roman language and texts of upper-class education in his era. That immersion aimed to inculcate fine literary and rhetorical taste but also an approach to Greco-Roman antiquity as giving suitable models for thinking, acting, feeling, and living. It's a truism that gaining the polish of acquaintance with Classical letters was a key means of asserting social standing, a code for bonding with one's caste, elevating one above the level of mere farmer, artisan, shopkeeper, or merchant. From the Renaissance onwards, a wealth of translations, too, helped European and British elites and would-be elites to indulge engagement with Greco-Roman antiquity for pleasure and learning. Soane, grown to adulthood, was passionate about educating himself when he built over the

[3] Soane owned William Gell's *Pompeiana: The Topography, Edifices and Ornaments of Pompeii*, published 1817–1819; earlier works, on discoveries at Herculaneum by Venuti (1748), Bayardi (1755), and Piranesi (1783); Piroli's French engraved multi–volume edition (1804–1806), *Antiquités d'Herculanum*, of the *Antichità d'Ercolano*, which included the other Vesuvian sites too; the Accademia Ercolanese publication (1796–1808) of graphic records of Pompeian walls and mosaic floors; Piranesi's *Topographià della Fabbriche scoperte nella Città di Pompei . . . sino al 1792*; and architect John Goldicutt's 1825 *Specimens of Ancient Decorations from Pompeii*. He had two copies, the first bought in 1831, of Wilhelm Zahn's fascinating 1828–1829 project to illustrate, in accurate color, records of wall painting at Pompei as he had noted them in the excavations of 1825–1827, contained in *Die schönsten Ornamente und merkwürdigsten Gemälde aus Pompeji, Herkulanum und Stabiae nebst eingen Grundrissen und Ansichten nach den an Ort und Stelle gemachten Originalzeichnungen von Wilhelm Zahn*. Bibliographic data for Soane's library comes from the catalogue of the online House Museum site.

years the large library preserved at the House Museum in London. Very much in it is about architecture, but some of it engages Roman texts, as well as antiquities. One of Soane's early book purchases, revealingly made in 1780 when the young designer had recently come back from his traveling architectural fellowship in Italy, was Robert Castell's influential *The Villas of the Ancients Illustrated*, first published in 1729. Soane bought it again in 1813, 1818, and 1823. Its text had translation and commentary for the famous letters of Pliny the Younger describing the villas he built at Laurentum and Tuscum (*Ep*. 2.17 and 5.6), as well as for Varro's descriptions of fine and useful villa architecture including a complex of *piscina*, aviary, and decorated lodge (*De re rustica* 3.5). Castell used these and other Roman texts for an overview of Roman practices for designing the house and villa; large folio plates gave marvelously detailed reconstructions of plans for these structures and gardens.[4]

Soane accumulated over the years the trappings (usually in translations, English and some French) of a Classical education and reference apparatus: Vitruvius's treatise on architecture, naturally, in multiple editions (both translated and in Latin); the younger Pliny's *Epistles* (with letters about Pliny's villas and his style of living there); Plutarch's *Live*s (some, like that of Lucullus, describing house and villa); Suetonius's *Lives of the Caesars* (with their asides on emperors' residences); Horace (with important villa poetry); and Cicero's works and *Letters to Atticus* (which included letters about designing and stocking a villa with statuary). The poetry of Virgil, Ovid, Propertius, Catullus, Tibullus, and more, as well as Pliny the Elder's *Natural History*, gave additional elements of Classical culture. Soane's labor to teach himself French to read the important literature on design is described eloquently by David Watkin;[5] well past school age, he worked to give himself the same classicizing cultural frame of reference as his more educated clients among the gentry and aristocrats on whom he depended for commissions and support. In addition, his determined acquisition of the major modern works on Roman antiquities and structures let him share a bond not only with fellow professionals but with any of the antiquities-minded and Grand Tourists, who could comprise important clients and patrons.

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[4] The text was republished in 1982, with small images of only some of the illustrations and picturesque in-text vignettes and emblems. It is very well worth examining the original with its graphic project, which deserves an extended appraisal, see Levine 1999, 207–208. Soane also bought a book describing a hypothetical grand Roman aristocratic house of the Late Republic by Charles Francois Mazois, *Le palais de Scaurus, ou description d'une maison romaine: Fragment d'un voyage fait à Rome, vers la fin de la république, par Mérovir, prince des Suèves* (Paris 1819).
[5] Watkin 2000a, 26.

This taste for books, including Roman house and villa texts, is paralleled by the intense self-fashioning that Soane exercised by means of his own authorship about his life as an architect and about his houses, some as straightforward narrative memoirs or guidebooks, some playing with other genres like epistle, essay, and history. Soane's houses should be similarly understood as aspirational. In the Roman as in the post-Antique world, to construct a house, a domestic landscape, an interior was to construct a self, and Soane's projects were no exception. That's not a new observation, but for this volume's project it bears reflection. It was and is clear to post-Antique readers that the reason that the Roman house, palace, villa repeatedly appeared in Roman texts as it did was because Romans embraced the premise that one's dwelling expresses one's persona in communal as well as in private terms. Vitruvius's *On Architecture* 6.5 famously makes the point that houses' design and elegance should suit social status: a large *atrium* fits those over middling rank, elegance and spaciousness for hospitality befit lawyers and men of letters, but for the noble, princely vestibules, lofty *atria*, in the country groves and garden walks, libraries, and picture galleries are all necessary for elite magnificence. By those rules, Soane's residences with their grand facades well befit a person of culture and elegance. His library in Lincoln's Inn Fields, the "Picture Gallery," his sculpture gallery so like a soaring *atrium* (the "Dome") further mark him as *nobilis*. As architect and owner Soane aspired to show off what he could do to his private taste, at dwellings which were designed for hospitality, sometimes on a very broad scale. At Pitzhanger and then especially at Lincoln's Inn Fields, where he had his offices, he treated much of the space of his collections as quasi-public space not only eventually for his architecture students from the Royal Academy (where he lectured from 1806 to 1836), but also to welcome the genteel public as much as they liked to visit his gallery-like rooms and halls. These residences with their exuberantly impressive fronts printed an image of Soane's status and taste on countryside or urban streetscape;[6] they were determined bids for social standing—for himself as much as for his profession—using the wealth gained by his talents, and also by legacy from his wife's family, to turn him into a man of visible propertied standing, talent, and culture. Soane's near-mania for acquisition of casts and fragments of Roman architecture and antiquity was partly shared, as far as architectural elements were concerned, by other architects of his era. (His architectural casts and fragments

[6] See Jackson 1992, for the emphatic intervention in the London streetscape by Soane's elaboration of a facade for the house complex in Lincoln's Inn Fields.

were very much gathered from sales of their effects.) But his displays also claimed a cultured persona interested in all the fine arts (expanding Vitruvius's prescription for an architect's realms of competence from *On Architecture* 1.1–18); by adding works of art to architectural artifact, he asserted a role as elite collector and connoisseur. Previously, the Adam brothers had used a fine London townhouse to position themselves well in relation to their clients; other architects as well as eminent collectors made their dwellings containing antiquities open to the interested. Still, what we can call Soane's investment of energy in design as well as collecting made his properties stand out in the annals of artist and architect dwellings to date.

This is not to say that the house decors aimed to give an art history of Roman antiquity. It was very important that a given work or Neoclassical referent really had existed, Roman history being made real; but within that broad terrain of the Antique, the eye and mind were expected to wander at will through times as through places, as we know so well for Neoclassical architectural design in general in the eighteenth century and much after.[7] The fine cast of the Apollo Belvedere that eventually governed the "Dome" of the house at Lincoln's Inn Fields, an admired work of art and emblem of Classical inspiration come to live with Soane, had nothing to do with chronological or generic relation to, say, a middle Imperial Roman sarcophagus set near it. Elsewhere in the house, the cast of the so-called Archelaos Relief, with its evocative images of Homer and of Muses signed by Archelaos of Priene, had a thematic not a narrative relationship to the Apollo, where it graced Soane's little Study (Fig. 1.1). (And in the house, sometimes in the same spaces, antiquities were matched by remains of ages ranging from ancient Egypt and the medieval to Soane's modern day, all itemized in Soane's 1835 description.)

Although Soane's houses and collections did allude to the idea of norms, sometimes Neoclassical ones, their vivid idiosyncracies aided his aspirational project also, and not only his claim to showcase his own talent, a style special to him as designer.[8] For the exhibition of eccentricity, willfulness in design, even extreme visual self-expression, made a claim that Soane as designing owner-occupant had standing to be a licensed personality,

[7] On the curious elision of concrete visions of history at the House Museum, in the context of the development of museums of history, see (briefly but with point) Bann 1990, 137.

[8] On the importance of the House Museum to show off Soane's efforts at achieving singularity as a designer, using the Classical but in the service of identifiably individual intention, and the appreciation of his appeal to fancy and imagination by contemporaries like Hofland and Britton, see, for example, Furján 2011, 11–15.

FIG. 1.1. View of Soane's Study in Lincoln's Inn Fields. Over the doorway is a cast of the Apotheosis of Homer relief by Archelaos of Priene (Hellenistic original from Bovillae, now in the British Museum). From Plate VII of Soane's *Description of the House and Museum*, 1835.
Fisher Fine Arts Library, University of Pennsylvania.

like aristocrat Horace Walpole at *his* so distinctive, eclectic, and eccentric villa Strawberry Hill, even though what Soane could build remained on a small scale compared to what the aristocracy could achieve at grand country houses. This is true whether we think of the facade and grounds at Pitzhanger Manor with their faked Roman ruins, caryatid facade, and triumphal arch estate portal, or the London house at Lincoln's Inn Fields with its own eclectic caryatid facade and fictive medieval remains, where the amassing of a large personal library and picture collection—in addition to Soane's myriad of antiquities and casts—were accompanied by many additional collecting passions, artistically significant or otherwise (like that for memorabilia of Napoleon).

The "Classical Home"

What makes a house "Classical"? One reader of the prospectus for this volume asked that the piece on Soane give a wider context for "the Classical house" in Britain. It seems easiest to look first for correspondence to the country house, the *villa*, used for pleasures of withdrawal from the city and official or business duties, so much a distinctive part of Roman life and extant Roman letters. In many cultures at many times such a "house of retirement" has come into being, as Nicholas Cooper termed it, when tracking the evidence for well-to-do urban citizens using a countryside retreat starting in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (Cooper 2007, 11–12).[9] Indeed, but extraurban retreats from a house in town, ranging from small and compact pleasure lodges to larger houses, were a feature in England (as in Europe) since at least the late Middle Ages. All it took to think of them as having an air of antiquity, of the Roman, was a state of mind informed by texts like the villa poems of Horace, or the villa letters of Cicero and Pliny the Younger, and Plutarch's *Life of Lucullus* had been translated into English by the sixteenth century. There's much debate over what our periods of study would call a villa, and what we should include in it. The word "villa" was used in English for a contemporary site for the first time in 1549, by William Thomas in his *History of Italy*, for an Italian country-house;[10] some modern authors wish it to mean a place of relaxation not business, not a productive landed estate, as did some British authors in the late seventeenth century ("quasy a lodge, for the sake of a garden, to retire to injoy and sleep, without pretence of entertainement of many persons"[11]). These kinds of (secondary) residence were often

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[9] The essays in Airs and Tyack 2007 are important throughout.
[10] Cited by Henderson 2007, 25–26.
[11] Henderson 2007, 28, quoting Roger North (1653–1734) (Colvin and Newman 1981, 92); compare, cited by Cooper 2007, 10, Timothy Nourse writing around 1700, "a little House of Pleasure and Retreat, where Gentlemen and Citizens betake themselves in Summer for their private Diversion, there to pass an Evening or two, or perhaps a Week, in the Conversation of a Friend or

relatively compact compared to great principal houses at large landed estates or town. The latter corresponded in fact to many a Roman villa and *hortus*, of a type included in Castell (above), and though less imposing sites may have afforded a respite from some kinds of formal protocol and large entertainment, they were still seats of interaction with guests profitable for business and social maneuvers (as for Soane at Pitzhanger Manor) and even politics, just as they had been in Roman antiquity. Soane's own landscaped house in the country was meant to be a place of pleasing retreat, the impressive dwelling of a successful architect and local man of standing, where he could entertain potential patrons and elite associates; its many evocations of the Roman were surely meant also to evoke the Roman villa.

Fine Renaissance and early modern country houses in Britain, Ireland, Scotland, and the kind of suburban residence that Pitzhanger Manor was to be for Soane,[12] eventually could have exteriors informed by classicizing forms drawn from antiquity via their Italian translations, even if many did not. The story of the entry of Palladian forms into grand English architecture is often told—shepherded in the seventeenth century by Inigo Jones, who on his trip to Italy, begun in 1613, inspected Palladio's villas in the Veneto. He also very carefully eyed actual Roman remains, and familiarized himself with Vitruvius as well as the post-Antique writings of Palladio and others. An extraurban house might look Classical in terms of some principal architectural forms and have the aura of *romanitas*; it might, for those who knew their texts and even something of the Italian sites, turn to specific iconographic and artifactual elements that posed a Classical frame of reference. A good seventeenth-century benchmark for the Romanized house is the site that Lord Francis Bacon elaborated near Gorhamsbury, on a property he inherited from his father in 1601, and began to rework in 1608. He called it Verulam House, proud to link his property to antiquity via some Roman remains there identified with those of the ancient town of Verulamium (something Soane unknowingly emulated when he constructed "Roman" ruins next to his country house). Its water gardens had "a curious banqueting house of Roman architecture . . . paved with black

two, in some neat little House amid a Vinyard or a Garden, sequestered from the Noise of a City, and the Embarrass or Distraction of Business, or perhaps the anxious and servile Attendance of a Court" (*Campania Felix*, London, 1700, 297).

[12] By suburban I mean, as would most, a site within a day's ride of the city, and in the case of Pitzhanger Manor a substantial but doable walk.

and white marble . . .”; the main house displayed Classical iconography, with over-lifesized painted gods.[13] Analogously, the main family mansion at Gorhambury itself had what Horace Walpole noted as “porticos and Loggia, . . . Italianized,” and decorations including “heads and busts of Greek and Roman enperours and heroes” to compliment modern worthies (Bacon, King James, “and several illustrious persons of his time”).[14] Bacon’s programmatic displays made the same Romanizing exhortation, as did a century later the impressive statuary and ornaments of Lord Burlington’s outstandingly Neoclassical, Neo-Palladian villa Chiswick House in west London, completed in 1729. Certainly Soane would have seen it; we can assume that as an active and competitive architect he visited outstanding houses whenever he could, whether or not he worked at them, and the Royal Academy lectures displayed such an acquaintance.

Sensibilities

Living with Romans, perhaps like Romans, could be messaged in a code of forms and signs, with styles of rendering potentially in support. By living like a Roman I mean the well-known elite appropriation in Britain as elsewhere in Europe of select Roman civic, philosophic, and private virtues, with their respect for the realms both of *otium* and *negotium*. Furthermore, by the eighteenth century the aristocracy and any political and even mercantile elites could think of themselves in England’s particular constitution as embodying Roman Republican or benevolently Imperial values: Roman esteem for law, justice, public engagement, and benefactions, all textually mediated. What the Roman exemplar could seem to sanction varied at need—Whig or Tory platforms, the oligarchy of noble blood or the thriving municipal elites and citizens, country life or good urban infrastructure and sophistications. Soane, if he thought in sociopolitical terms, surely subscribed to the proposition that

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[13] Henderson 2007, 35–37 at 35, quoting from John Aubrey’s 1656 account in Bodleian Library, Oxford, Aubrey MS 6, fols 68–74; plate 1 is Aubrey’s colored sketch of Verulam House. Henderson is surely right to surmise that the learned Bacon could have been thinking both of Pliny’s villa letters by a Roman owner-designer of gardens and residence, and of Pliny’s particular praises of his secluded life of writing at Laurentum away from business. She gestures (37) to the appeal of such passages after Bacon retreated here to write his essays and philosophical works, having been dismissed from court for charges of bribery and corruption. She might not be correct to see reference to the water gardens of Hadrian’s Tivoli in Bacon’s constructions.

[14] Platt 1994, 96, quoting further from the Bodleian MS of John Aubrey, and from Horace Walpole’s correspondence.

British private and public good order was well imaged in appropriate Greco-Roman allusions stylistic, artifactual, or iconographic. At the same time Rome could grip the Romantic visual imagination. The cult of the antique ruin and evocative fragment, key to Soane's sensibilities, had flourished in the circle of Robert Adam, however much we associate Adam's finished architectural projects and decorative systems with a polished perfection.[15] It can easily have been with a sensibility for the picturesque or the Romantic that viewers reacted to some of Piranesi's graphic corpus, so popular among the antiquity-minded and influential on architects (like Soane) as well as clients. Inseparable from Neoclassical Soane was the "accidental Romantic," as Darley (1999) titled her fine Soane monograph on this master: famously a master of evocative space, light, and shadow, and at his houses committed to creating stirring and plangent effects by a range of cultural retrospectives onto the deep and deeper past. From the younger Soane's encounter with Pompeii he kept all his life a fragment of plaster painted with classic "Pompeiian red,"[16] a color he used himself at Lincoln's Inn Fields to Neo-Roman effect. Much of his collection of antiquities was imbued with memory and so with feeling, for even casts could be mementos of encounters with the original buildings and images. He went to Pompeii for an adventure of discovering more of the history of Roman form, but right into his later years he also liked to evoke, as we know from his Royal Academy lectures, that it was by moonlight that he met and sketched the Temple of Isis "by stealth" (circumventing formal barriers to access), a picturesque scenario.[17]

Well-discussed, the models of important Roman buildings in an accurate state of partial ruination, which occupied an important place at the House Museum, invited meditation on fragmentation and dissolution, as well as on the project to restore, make pristine, and rework (other, plaster models were of buildings in restored form).[18] Equally well known is how Soane and his favored architectural artist Joseph Michael Gandy collaborated to imagine a future state of ruination for Soane's own work (the Bank

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[15] See, e.g. Salmon 2000a, 43–45. Also see Salmon 2000b on archaeology's impact on British architects.

[16] Watkin 2000b, 107, and Thornton and Dorey 1992a, 14, commenting on this fragment as a model for painting schemes in the London house (Library and Dining Room) in 1792. Already by the mid-eighteenth century the cognoscenti perceived the color red as characteristic of decors in the cities buried by Vesuvius: "the general ground of all the painting is red," says Horace Walpole in a letter of June 14, 1740, of a temple and houses at Herculaneum (see *Pompeii as Source and Inspiration* 1997, 13).

[17] Watkin 2000a, 77 (Royal Academy lecture III).

[18] See Elsner 1994 for extended commentary.

of England) and so, implied, of its entire London,[19] in presentation drawings for Soane's use and viewing shared in a restricted circle at his house but also displayed at the Royal Academy. Their analogue is Soane's textual creation, much discussed, of archaeological imagination applied to his own house in London, in the curious private essay of 1812 called *Crude Hints towards a History of my House in L(incoln's) I(nn) Fields*. It imagines the house abandoned, decayed, found by later visitors to London and provoking their wonder as to what it is the remnant of;[20] Soane lugubriously prays that the future visitor will be able to tell it was the residence of a (great) architect committed to the best principles of design, a place of inspiration and education. This temporal meditation was well served by the existence at the house of so many fragments. Just so the artificial ruins of the Middle Ages invited, in Soane's telling, a "pious monk'" at Pitzhanger's ruins and a Padre Giovanni [John] at Lincoln's Inn Fields in the Monk's Yard, completed in 1824.[21] (See later in this chapter on the "Letter to a Friend" on the supposed Roman ruins at Pitzhanger.) His approach to his two residences shows him committed to a project of self-definition, individuation, and expression that could reverberate well with Romantic understanding of the individual. Soane was the maker and occupant of inventively shaped and furnished houses, in which the evocation of sensation and emotion coexisted with the evocation of perfected forms; the Neoclassical for him as for others was one important element in a framework for living both rationally and with feeling, with sensibility as well as sense, fancy as well as reason, and it was an element to be manipulated with wit and for play

[19] Gandy also painted on commission for Soane in 1798 *The Bank of England, London: View of the Rotunda Imagined as a Ruin*, with staffage of laborers building or unbuilding, exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1832 *as Architectural Ruins—A Vision*, http://collections.soane.org/object-p127 and catalogued as *Imaginary View of the Rotunda and the Four Per Cent Office in Ruins* (Richardson and Stevens 1999, 231, cat. 133; Woodward 2001, 160–165). In 1830 Gandy painted *A Birds-eye View of the Bank of England,* also shown, in that year, at the Royal Academy, a spectacular aerial view as a cutaway axonometric with structure revealed by advanced ruination like a giant Pompeian *insula* (*Visions of Ruin*, 1999, cat. 35 [Christopher Woodward]; Abramson 1999, 222 [source of the quotation] cat. 199), http://collections.soane.org/object-p267. For Soane's fascination with construction, akin to ruination, see Hill 2012, 88–108, discussing Soane's engagement with ruins built, painted, written; see further also *Visions of Ruin* 1999, and Woodward 2001.

[20] For a discussion of "Crude Hints," and an authoritative transcript with notes of the handwritten manuscript, see Dorey 1999. The manuscript was written in August and September of 1812, while 13 Lincoln's Inn Fields was being rebuilt as Soane's residence—as Dorey notes (53), the site of demolition evolving into completed building is a strange mirror to an imagined building subsiding into ruin.

[21] Soane, *Memoirs* 1835a, 65–66, and on the visitor to the Monk's Yard, Soane, *Description of the House and Museum*, 1835b, 26.

in the house of a successful and civilized man, an appreciator of the arts as well as a maker himself.

Archaeology in the House

Just how versed was the young Soane already in what one can call the cult of the classicized gentleman? He made his early career and connections not least in a whole series of domestic commissions in the 1780s, and he would have had ample opportunities to get to know his patrons' perspectives on the Classical and what it could stand for. Before that he would have received in Italy, from 1778 to 1779, an intensive introduction to the cult of retrospection, for which his studies and apprenticeship would have prepared him. A quite successful architecture student, Soane received in 1777 a Royal Academy travel scholarship to take him to Rome and Italy; he reached the city in May 1778. At only 60 pounds per year, this stipend didn't afford Soane the chance at genteel society that had been enjoyed by the independently wealthy young Robert Adam. (Adam could bring 5000 pounds with him, rent a very fine lodging, hire his own architectural assistants, and move socially as much as possible in elite circles.) Soane's natural companions as he prowled the antiquities of Rome and its environs would typically have been other young architects of roughly his standing, like close associate Thomas Hardwick with whom he collaborated in Rome to make measured drawings and plans; he also was able to have polite contacts with some potential patrons. He thought he had realized the young professional's dream of being taken up by a wealthy and well-connected patron when the Fourth Earl of Bristol, Frederick Hervey, Bishop of Derry, took him under his wing. This avid Grand Tourist would have waxed eloquent about the past when on Christmas Day 1778 they explored the ruins of what was thought to be a villa of Lucullus, near Terracina. Such a site had great allure as the remains of a great Roman famous or infamous for luxurious mansion and villa life, praised for making his residences sites of culture and learning with libraries open to the educated Greek (or Roman) (Plutarch, *Lucullus*, 39–42). Soane came up with the idea of adding details to a summer dining room for Hervey's estate at Downhill that would be reminiscent in some way of the large structure here that Hervey thought was the *triclinium* dining room of Lucullus; Soane drew it roughly and took measurements. Doubtless it was Hervey who alluded to Soane about Lucullus's "Apollo," an especially fine dining room for spectacular feasts (Plutarch, *Lucullus* 41), a reference echoed by the older Soane many years on; the pair indeed picnicked in the ruins,[22] and a Roman house lived again by reinhabitation.

This anecdotal encounter, much mentioned in scholarship, for my purposes deserves especial meditation. Even if Soane's experience actually working for Hervey in Ireland in 1780 ended badly, commissions evaporating and remuneration not made,[23] the originary experience here counts for Soane's education in a domesticated Romanness. Soane kept the measured and archaeologically annotated sketchbook[24] with its comments on stonework, plaster, brickwork, and placement. From this encounter with ruins, he evolved a significant house module with its inspiration in actual remains, a modern dining room inflected by an ancient one of supposedly historical repute. Even if one doubted the actual attribution, it was a fine fantasy and meaningful. Had the banquet hall actually been made for Downhill, surely its patron would have made guests aware of its Lucullan pedigree; as too would have the architect in discussing portfolio with other clients; Soane had his field notes to show if a friend was interested. This is a fine reconstructable example of how verbal information would have glossed with specific Roman reference a structure that could well have seemed simply to have some potentially Neoclassical design elements, as can have so often been the case for the exact resonances of other public and private structures. Hervey's other plans for his mansion included, in fact, the installation of actual wall-paintings from a Roman house, a plan which Soane must have known about and been fascinated by; Soane's evocation of some of those same paintings at Pitzhanger Manor and, later, at Lincoln's Inn Fields were a response to Hervey's project.

This was a house whose now lost paintings, as they survive in graphic records, we think we can date to the second century AD (roughly

[22] On the Bishop, a problematic patron of needy designers, the sights and events of this trip, and the fish banquet procured from the lake by the villa, see Darley 1999, 29–32: to a design he had already proposed Soane "sketched a pair of alcoves from the villa which might make a pleasing detail in the new room." (Hervey also commissioned a Neoclassical dogkennel.) Watkin 1996c quotes from Soane's 1835a *Memoirs* (15): "after wandering over those monuments of departed greatness, we determined the site of the Apollo and banqueted within the ruins on mullet fresh from the ancient reservoirs."

[23] For a detailed account of Soane's travails working for Hervey in Ireland, see Darley 1999, 56–60.

[24] See http://collections.soane.org/PAGE68 for the online entry to Soane's sketchbooks, 5 to 10 (SM volume 164). Note on the so-called Villa of Lucullus near Terracina, 25 December 1778, with some bibliography; see also http://collections.soane.org/PAGE64 (SM volume 164) 6/7.
The so-called Villa of Lucullus near Terracina has a fine view of the sketchbook pages with the rough sketch, its measurements, and archaeological notes transcribed, describing the sketch ("Plan of half-elliptical compartment . . . ." etc.); see http://collections.soane.org/PAGE65 8 (SM volume 164), also details for a Corinthian capital and column base.

Hadrianic?), discovered on the grounds of the Villa Negroni at Rome, in June 1777. The excavation of a Roman dwelling with impressive paintings in good condition was a stirring event for all who liked to look at antiquities, and the site drew many visitors to see its several painted rooms. Some were distinguished by mythological images as well as ornament. A dealer, Henry Tresham, purchased the wall-paintings of three rooms for fifty crowns and promptly sold them to Hervey the Earl Bishop of Derry, who wrote to his daughter on November 9, 1777:

> Tis difficult to say wh. pleases me the most: the magnificence of ancient or elegance of modern Rome, for my own part I have been singularly fortunate—several ancient rooms have been unearthed since my arrival—the ptgs were in fresco & almost as perfect as at first—the secret was soon found of detaching the ptd stucco from the walls, & I have bought three complete rooms with which I propose to adorn Downhill & *le rendre un morceau unique*. (Wallace-Hadrill 2011, 193)

Indeed the country-house Downhill would have been unique to incorporate not just a piece or so of Roman wall painting (though that would have been spectacular enough) but entire room cycles, and to juxtapose ancient magnificence with modern and referentially Roman elegance! The Earl Bishop called his country estate "my Tusculum"[25] to recall Cicero's decorated retreat, so often mentioned in his letters to Atticus and others. He intended it to evoke Rome with Neoclassical architectural references, certainly much from the public realm, as so often for fine residences;[26] living in actual Roman domestic splendor would set his villa apart from any other fine seat in his world. However, after Hervey bought the paintings the transfer never came to pass, it seems, and sadly there's no record of how the frescoes were lost. The young Philip Yorke, later Earl of Hardwicke, a Grand Tourist who met the then young Soane to Soane's later profit, is recorded giving a disapproving opinion of the detaching and sale, writing his uncle stating that the paintings ought to have been left in place as "a rare and valuable example of an ancient house," when the rumor went round that Hervey had bought them for some 300 pounds.[27]

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[25] Joyce 1983, 426.

[26] Hervey already had a version of a grand Roman tomb, the Monument of the Julii at St Remy, set up as a memorial to his dead brother here; he now formulated a plan for a version of the so-called Temple of Vesta at Tivoli, which he had Soane draw for this aim. See Darley 1999, 56 and 59.

[27] See Darley 1999, 38. It's of interest that Yorke may have known the Villa Negroni images or the prints of them: it has been suggested that a presentation drawing made for him in 1792 for his "Withdrawing Room" at Wimpole Hall, which shows vividly colored silk wall hangings (gold

Some of the painting schemes were, interestingly, recorded by Thomas Hardwick, Soane's classmate, friend, and associate in recording antiquities, in a study emphasizing richly saturated colors (he may have been working for the Earl Bishop).[28] Fortunately, those walls with figural panels were recorded in a series of engravings, hand-colored with gouache, published by Camillo Buti (Fig. 1.2, see insert). They came out only gradually: three in 1778, five more between 1779 and 1786, making up a set of eight purchased by Soane among others.[29] That the four last plates (1793, 1800, 1801, 1802) were dedicated to Hervey shows his continued close interest in the site finds.[30] Hervey, then, would have had the plates as well as the originals in his house if all had passed as he wished. This would have been an interesting juxtaposition, because the perfectly entire wall schemes and some individual pictorial details of the prints that were issued by Camillo Buti look to have been perhaps improved from more fragmentary originals and influenced by what was becoming known of wall painting at Pompeii and circulating in the *Antichità de Ercolano esposte*.[31]

Soane very likely listened to enthusiastic conversation from talkative Hervey about the Villa Negroni house remains amid other plans for Downhill, and Hardwick (and others) can have told him more. The paintings had an additional allure in that either now or later he thought them to be from "the Villa of Antoninus Pius," his 1835 description of his House Museum was to claim (below) when describing the set of I through VIII in

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ochre panels with narrow cobalt blue borders on Prussian blue backgrounds), may have been partly inspired in its "strong colours and antique scheme" by the Villa Negroni paintings. See Soane House Museum reference number SM (23) 6/1/5, quoting the online catalogue entry http://collections.soane.org/OBJECT4962 which cites David Adshead for the theory of influence, 2007, *Wimpole: architectural drawings and topographical view*s, National Trust, 76–77.

[28] Joyce 1983, 433–434, fig. 18, and 19, now London, Royal Institute of British Architects; color detail, Salmon 2000a, plate VII.

[29] This telling of basic events and personalities is much based on Wallace-Hadrill 2011, who has one color plate of the Buti cycle, engraved by Angelo Campanella; for a study of the archaeology and art, antiquarian image production, and the prints, see Joyce 1983, who also discussed the Earl Bishop's plans and the (lack of) documentation on the paintings after their removal. The first three plates were based on renderings by Spanish court painter Anton Raphael Mengs in 1778 (he died in 1779); a Spanish courtier, procurator of Charles III of Spain, Cavalier José Nicolàs de Azara, was the guest of the Villa Montalto proprietors, the Marchesi Negroni, and was invited by them to excavate and offered a third of the finds to keep. Meng's brother-in-law Anton von Maron then produced the other plates by 1786. After a break of seven years, four last plates (IX–XII) came out in 1793, 1800, 1801, and 1802, which Soane did not own.

[30] Wallace-Hadrill 2011, 197; he speculates that the paintings may still have been in Rome until 1798 when the French army of occupation in Rome took much that Hervey had collected there.

[31] Joyce 1983, 432–435; Wallace-Hadrill 2011, 199–201 notes Joyce's work but also argues well that the mythological drawings are authentically Roman, independent of Pompeian parallels discovered only in the nineteenth century.

his Breakfast Room,[32] a wishful misreading of the information in the Buti prints' captions. One wonders strongly if there's any chance that Soane could have seen these frescoes in storage for the Earl Bishop of Derry if they had not yet been shipped out in his years of stay 1778–1779. It would also be good to know if Soane purchased the prints that he came to own (the set I–VIII, and also two each of I, III, IV, and VIII[33]) right when the first 1786 set of eight emerged, or after; he may have bought them quickly, by a route unknown to us. His ownership of the images documents his own desire for a record of special Roman domestic splendor, and later I discuss his hanging of I through VIII in the Breakfast Room at Lincoln's Inn Fields. Insofar as the prints made more perfect and to some extent reworked their archaeological exemplars, and succumbed slightly to modern modes in rendering the figuration, Soane would have been aware of that distinction. His own embedding of displays of fictitious ruins at both his houses was among other things a way to invoke an awareness that there were archaeological sources behind his more finished production. It was in a charming send-up of the style of such field notes and archaeological diaries from Italy that he described the supposed discovery of the Roman temple remains that he confected at Pitzhanger Manor,[34] and

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32 Those inscriptions actually said the images were from "ruins of a private *domus*" of the age of Antoninus Pius, ". . . Picturas . . . ruderibus privatae Domus Divi Antonini Pii aevo depictas." Full text, in the British Museum database; for one of their Buti prints ("Venus Shaking a Tree" print), see http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1610636&partId=1; the uncropped label is visible online on some of the House Museum's print holdings, e.g. http://collections.soane.org/THES76810.

33 See Joyce 1983, 427 for the all too brief list of examples of the prints currently known, observing how even more rare are IX–XII; n. 43 notes that the single plates in the Soane collection are inscribed with the name of Soane's master G. Dance on the reverse, with one in each colored pair only partly colored. His Breakfast Room set, inscriptions cropped away, is catalogued online with the main entry and some bibliography attached to P158 (Fig. 1.2). This is the wall showing Venus, nymph and bathing Cupids that was the source for the Royal Academy lecture image, 26/3/1 http://collections.soane.org/THES68193, which is labeled as being painted decoration from the Villa of Antoninus Pius at the Villa Negroni, Rome. Query the Collections search function (http://collections.soane.org/home) for "Negroni" to find P158 (http://collections.soane.org/object-p158), P204, P202 (no image), P200 (no image), P199 (no image), P191, P190, and P188 (no image), in the Breakfast Room set. This search also yields the sheet pairs independent of the set I–VIII, the Royal Academy Lecture derivative image, and (above) Yorke's *all' antica* silk hangings, perhaps derivative also of the Villa Negroni paintings and prints.

34 Watkin 1999, 13, sees these as inspired by ruins at the Villa Albani (further developed in Watkin 1996c, 104), and puts them in a line of development from the eighteenth century; Soane clearly knew of the landscape of ruin (re)creations in Britain (and Italy?), and Watkin observes that he had his own students make copies from drawings in his possession of Thomas Sandby's designs for Virginia Water in the 1760s. The famous medieval ruins in the London House, much discussed (a "Monks's Parlour" of a Padre Giovanni [a serious joke on his own name]), and "Ruins of a Monastery," incorporated actual medieval architectural fragments; Watkin 1999, 13 and 1996a, 19–21.

their documentation (!) and restoration, in a description of his house in its twenty-eight-acre estate that he confected as if in "a Letter to a Friend," the title of the account.[35] The imitation of the frame of a letter for a friend used by Pliny the Younger for his two villa letters (we've seen, above, that Soane could have read them by 1780 if not before) could itself seem Neo-Roman.

Pitzhanger Manor

As a young assistant to George Dance Soane's first task was to help construct an extension to a house owned here by Thomas Gurnell; he kept that extension when he demolished the rest of the house, no doubt because he admired and honored his old master's work, and in so doing preserved a memento of his own early career. Buying it in 1800 for 4,500 pounds signaled his arrival as a professional, and an ability to pose as a man of property able to afford a suburban retreat. Putting elements of his growing art and antiquities collections here gave it extra importance, and solicited audiences of rank. A basement gallery of fragments and casts aimed to be a resource for young architects; indeed, Soane hoped the house and its collections would inspire his two sons to follow in his profession, and would house the eldest when he graduated from Cambridge to become an architect. But when it became clear that young John was not going to be an architect at all, Soane, dispirited, sold the house. It is a strange episode, for the style in which Soane lived as a classic county gentleman was more than just an extension of his office self; at any rate, he regrouped in London. Subsequently much of the house's interior decor and key elements of its grounds were altered, beginning when it first came into private hands, and continuing right until it was remodeled as a public library when bought in 1900 by the Ealing Urban District Council; gone now, for instance, are the servants' wing, the fake Roman ruins, and the conservatory. However,

[35] Quotation in Hill 2012, discussing Soane, Gandy, and ruins, from the *Plans, Elevations, and Perspective Views of Pitzhanger Manor-House, and of the Ruins of an Edifice of Roman Architecture, Situated on the Border of Ealing Green, with a Description of the Ancient and Present State of the Manor-House, in a Letter to a Friend*, dated June 30, 1802 and printed in 1833, a text later absorbed into his 1835 *Memoirs of the Professional Life of an Architect, between the Years 1768 and 1835. Written by Himself* (passage, *Memoirs* 1835a, 65). For a discussion of the fascinating set of drawings (by Richardson, probably) giving perspectives of the ruins and pseudo-reconstructions, along with images of ornaments from the house facade (as if it were also a ruin), and Soane's recommendation to guests (and his son) to play with reconstructing, see the House Museum catalogue http://collections.soane.org/OBJECT2532 and briefly Woodward in *Visions of Ruin* 1999, 31.

Soane's determination to show off not only the house as structure but also his lovingly elaborated interiors with their furnishings resulted in views of those rooms painted for display at the Royal Academy by Gandy, precious documents of lost arrangements. They may not be in all regards factual, but they do present Soane's aims. It has been since 1987 the PM Gallery and House, a museum for the London Borough of Ealing, with some rooms' surface decors restored; there are plans for further restoration.

The spectacular main facade of the house combines references to Roman and Greek antiquity.[36] Four sizable Ionic columns in a reticulated arrangement grace the central block, reminiscent of the columned facades of the Arch of Constantine in Rome and the attached colonnade of the Forum Transitorium; each column is crowned by a replica of a caryatid from the Erechtheion (the London house's grand facade would have some too). The house front also referenced Soane's own work at the Bank of England, echoing the Arch of Constantine-derived entrance to the Bullion Court in Lothbury Courtyard, as scholars observe. Although the dominant theme of the facade is Romanization, the combination of references to Rome and the evocation of the "Grecian," as Soane would have called it, was not new to Neoclassicism; these facade caryatids surface again at the fully elaborated London house, and references to the Greek would be carried through in the art collections we know of here and then especially at Lincoln's Inn Fields. On the facade at Pitzhanger there are embedded, besides purely ornamental motifs, pairs of representational reliefs with antique or antique-seeming images, in symmetrical arrangement; they recall the manner of displaying antiquities in the grand palazzo facades Soane would have seen in Rome, and not least include duplicates of the noted Roman relief of eagle within beribboned corona installed since the Renaissance at SS. Apostoli in Rome.[37] This architect has arrived, a thorough Romanizer and selective

[36] For a fine dossier of images, see Ewing 2000; fig. 125 is the evocative birds-eye view of the estate drawn by C. J. Richardson for Soane's *Memoirs* of 1835, which nicely conveys the slightly toy-box character of this compaction of so many elements of very grand estates—river, gardens, portal, drive, ruins . . . ; p. 142 has the only labeled plan in print; good photographs follow for the main facade and details of the estate portal arch; fig./cat. 60 discusses the architectural references for the facade; fig. 61 is Gandy's perspective of the Breakfast Room and fig. 62, the Library; fig./cat. 63 comments to designs for alterations to the conservatory with contemporary comments by Hughson (below, n. 39) as to its use for displaying sculpture; fig./cat. 64 are sketches by Soane for the estate portal. For some detail on the acquisition of the estate and work on it, see Stroud 1982; extensively, Darley 1999, ch. 9, 150–160, with details on acquisition, aims, occupation, and describing Soane's extensive social circle of clients and friends (157) and wide hospitality.

[37] Watkin 1996c, 102–104, on the facade at Pitzhanger and Soane's debt here as in other features of the house to what he had seen at the Villa Albani at Rome, caryatids included; more details in Watkin 2000b, 112–117.

Hellenizer, stony garlands crowning his door under a fine fanlight. Notes Soane made for Royal Academy lectures some years on characterize this portal "as 'a picture, a sort of portrait' of a man who was architect to the Bank of England and a collector of antiquities."[38] Before the viewer even reached Soane's front door, first impressions had welcomed him to a Neoclassical seat: the estate was reached through a redbrick and stone version of a Roman triumphal arch motif, playfully eclectic, mixing brick and stone, decorated with wreaths, and, framed by acanthus and auspicious cornucopia motifs, yet another eagle-in-wreath.

In the finely landscaped little estate, its garden and park features (including a watercourse with rusticated stone bridge) designed by John Haverfield (with whom Soane had collaborated on work at another estate [Tyringham]), the main house block with the old Dance extension was essentially separate from a further wing, the Kitchen Court. This modular arrangement could seem a Romanizing feature as well as a useful one; Soane knew from Castell and his illustrations at least, if not from other sources too, that a Roman villa had a utilitarian *pars rustica* as well as the commodious *pars urbana* housing the owner. It was on the far side of this block that a gallery and then the imitation Roman ruins stood. Completing the house's leisure amenities was a substantial tall glassed conservatory attached to the rear of the house, entered from the Library. Here, plantings graced a show of antiquities; one would so much wish to know details of the installation formats in this evocative salon of greenery. This location, "integral to Pitzhanger's role as a place of entertainment, display and repose," was singled out for description and praise in Hughson's 1809 "Circuit of London."[39] The idea of a gallery-conservatory is a wonderful

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[38] Richardson and Stevens 1999, text to cat. 60 at 146, Gandy's perspective of 1801 for rebuilding Pitzhanger, and citing Soane's *Extracts, Hints Etc. for Lectures*, 1813–1818, 134–35. See 142–149 for a fine selection of graphic sources, facade and arch photographs, and key information. Figure 125 is the colored birdseye view by C. J. Richardson for Soane's 1835a *Memoirs*; p. 142 has a small but invaluable labeled plan of the house rooms, the only one in print; cat. 61 is Gandy's 1802 design perspective for the Breakfast Room that quotes the Villa Negroni house (SM P95), cat. 62 that for the Library of 1802 (SM P94).

[39] Richardson and Stevens 1999, text to cat. 63, showing the view of an unexecuted design for alterations to the conservatory's garden front, *c.* 1806–1810: Hughson called the conservatory a place where "the antiquary and the artist may usefully be gratified, in ascertaining the inscriptions on the several Roman altars, and curious urns, which Mr. Soane has collected into this place; in contemplating the fine statue of the Dea Naturae; or, in looking over the fine landscape at the back of the house." (Hughson 1809, 508–509) Soane (Stroud 1982, 43) described it as "enriched with antique cinerary urns, sepulchral vases, statues, and other sculptures, vines and odoriferous plants, the whole producing a succession of beautiful effects, particularly when seen by moonlight, or when illuminated, and the lawn enriched with company enjoying the delights of cheerful society." For the use of greenery to Classical effect see von Stackelberg in this volume.

response, adapted to a British climate's rigors, to the display of statuary in a villa garden, in the grand Roman and post-Antique classicizing manner.

In the interior two rooms stood out, as we know them from Gandy, the Breakfast Room (Fig. 1.3, see insert) and the Library (Fig. 1.4). The Breakfast Room had a splendid shallow canopy vault, with a radiating linear pattern developed from a meander, and Victories in its spandrels; the corners of the room had caryatid-like painted figures. In Gandy's most finished perspective,[40] the dome was yellow, and yellow, with additional framing elements in blue and in red, was a prominent color on the walls. Modern conservators' testing of pigment remains indicates that the finished room, however, used a different palette, with dark and lighter blue for panel and frame, over a dark porphyry plinth, in marbled and grained finishes themselves meant to evoke Roman antiquity, as did other colors in the overall scheme, along with bronzing effects for the caryatids, and a light sky-blue oculus. Importantly, the wall scheme of framed panels and elements of the coloration as Soane first had Gandy envision it were partly based on the Roman house at the Villa Negroni, discussed above—a remarkable and meaningful adaptation of a decorated Roman interior

FIG. 1.4. Library at Pitzhanger Manor, looking toward the Breakfast Room, watercolor drawing by J. M. Gandy made for the Royal Academy exhibition, 1803.
Sir John Soane's House Museum.

[40] See de Divitiis 2005, 163–165, for some discussion of the drawings and watercolors by Gandy and others in Soane's office that document stages in the planning of the room decors; Soane began planning design of interiors here in the second half of 1801.

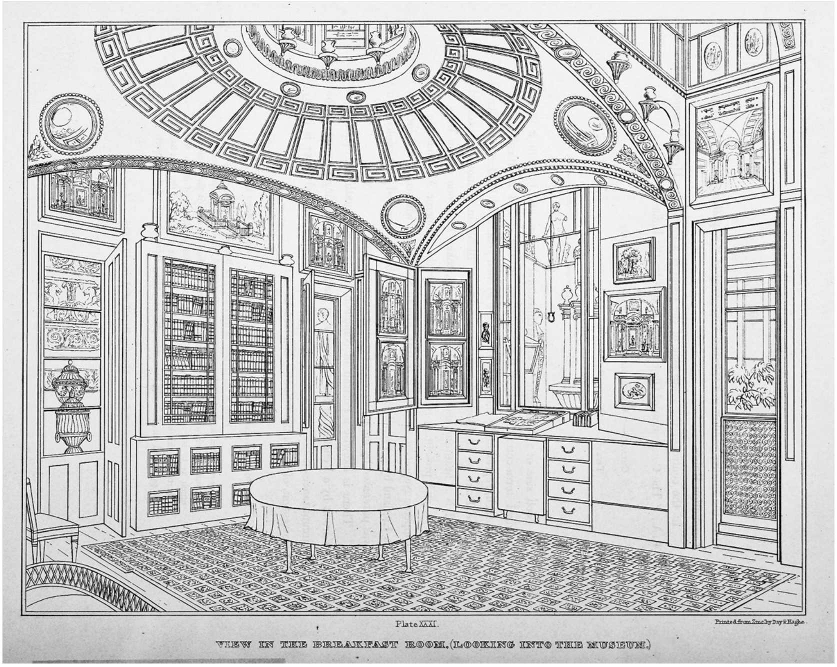

FIG. 1.6. The Breakfast Room of Sir John Soane's House Museum, "view looking into the Museum," with the series of Buti plates. Plate XXXI of Soane's *Description of the House and Museum*, 1835.
Fisher Fine Arts Library, University of Pennsylvania.

are prominently visible, the arch of their lunettes pleasingly echoing the curves of the canopy-vaulted ceiling; pl. XXX (Fig. 1.7) gives two sections of the multipartite room with its domical ceiling in which the prints are very strongly marked on walls, as if considered a design element important to the room's architectonic play of forms. These are prospects from some distance; at the same time the images solicit close viewing of their intricate polychromy and figural compositions, iterations, and variations.

What do artifacts mean to an owner? It's legitimate to hypothesize, even if not to flatly assert: to this owner, the print set could bring very personal sensations of memory, nostalgia, joy, regret. They could call up for Soane his Pitzhanger Manor years (which his wife shared), where he had nicely adapted elements of these paintings' format and color; they could seem tokens also of his youthful time in Rome, even if the wall paintings had been taken down at the end of 1777, before he arrived in Rome in 1778. Surely they could also awaken the complex of thoughts and emotions he might have had about the frustrating but educational Earl Bishop of Derry who had bought (and lost) the wall-paintings the prints documented. Some of this and its striking polychromy to a modern English interior, for which Soane adapted the side panels of Buti prints I and III, with the room plinth painted to imitate porphyry.[41]

This was fit backdrop to the antiquities here: a large painted southern Italian vase (the Cawdor Vase) and, in stacked round-headed niches flanking the fireplace, carved Roman ornamental and cinerary urns, as if at a columbarium wall of the kind Soane could see in Italy.[42] He may also have seen by 1801 the house museum of Thomas Hope at Duchess Street, or simply heard Hope or others describe the columbarium-style niches there for antiquities display.[43] John Summerson saw this motif, and the canopy vault that seemed to him to derive from a Roman tomb, as marking a distinctively funereal note in this decor as elsewhere in Soane's work, whose engagement with the idea of the mausoleum (and not just for tombs) Summerson wanted to trace.[44] This elegiac note might be what was intended, with Roman antiquity to suggest reverie, but surely, and in a "breakfast room," the decor was also meant to a be gentle stimulation. Soane's architectural source for this ceiling form of which he was fond—another was for the Breakfast Room at 13 Lincoln's Inn Fields—need not have been a signifying one. Visitors knew an urn when they saw one, and those who followed Roman antiquities might catch an allusion

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[41] Joyce 1983, 438. For restorations of original polychromies here, see Bristow 1986, in a conservator's report, and Cruickshank 1989, reporting the painter's account for Pitzhanger.

[42] After the legacy obtained by his wife in 1790, and with his own prosperity increasing, Soane could buy art in England as he had not been able to do in Italy. See, briefly, Scott 2003, 247 at 247–250; the Cawdor Vase just cited (fig. 185) was one such purchase, in 1800 and more antiquities here came from the Bessborough sale.

[43] See de Divitiis 2005, 164 and nn. 8, 12: Soane knew Hope and could have called on him at a house in 1801 "probably already complete." Soane will have seen columbaria in Rome, can have seen images of such sepulchral chambers real and imagined in books and graphics that he owned (below) and had himself in 1778 drawn a plan and section of what he called "burying places" at Pozzuoli. For an exhibition catalog of working drawings of the Breakfast Room niches see *Trackers* 2004, "Sir John Soane's Pitzhanger," exhibition catalogue, PM Gallery and House, 23), http://collections.soane.org/OBJECT2511.

[44] Summerson 1990 [1978], "Sir John Soane and the Furniture of Death." I disagree with Summerson that Gandy's watercolor of the Breakfast Room (his Fig. 105, with similar comments to the Gandy image of the Library, fig. 106; see Fig. 1.4) has a funereal rather than simply tranquil light; these are too subjective judgments. For more on Soane, his engagement with the Roman funerary tradition, and period understandings of the mausoleum as a site of feeling, see Watkin 1996a, essay in the exhibition catalogue for *Soane and Death* (Waterfield 1996); he discusses how the Egyptian Belzoni Sarcophagus was displayed in the London house, where it formed one of Soane's most precious pieces, his plans for a Monk's Tomb there and his displays of real and of miniature skeletons in the House Museum's "Catacombs" part of the Crypt; this feature had itself a lining of three tiers of recesses for cinerary urns, very much suggestive of a columbarium such as was illustrated in a book Soane owned (printed at Rome in 1794, *Via Appia illustrata ab urbe Roma ad Capuam*) and that he can have seen himself in Rome.

to columbarium niche-walls, but how many could trace this ceiling type? More antiquities were arranged around the rooms of the Library, in arcuated niches over the bookshelves—vase-shaped urns standing upon squared cinerary containers. Simply to have a special library room marked a gentleman's fine house; using it to show off ancient ornaments distinguished it as a space to receive guests as well as for family intimacies.

London Years

An enormous amount of ink has been spilled on the effects, aims, and strategies of the art and antiquities displayed at Lincoln's Inn Fields; this little essay is not the place to rehearse that in any depth.[45] An eccentric loggia-like screen with two caryatids after those of the Erechtheion (as at Pitzhanger), standing out strongly in the streetscape, came to mark the front of this house-office-"museum" complex. Within were not only tasteful and interesting rooms fit for any functioning house, but also the eccentric crowded spaces, from basement crypt to top floor, within which and on whose walls Soane packed his antiquities—some Greek, most Roman, and also (in the lower section) pseudo-medieval ruins and eventually even a famous, enormous Egyptian sarcophagus. The ancient Roman elite house let the public space of *negotium*, and its display of rank and culture, interpenetrate familial space; so did Soane's House Museum. Roman house and palace layout are not what inspired his especial choreographies of structure and space, though at moments when he may for some reason have wished to read Vitruvius on houses (*On Architecture* 6.5), the "lofty atria," soaring central front halls for persons of rank, can have seemed mirrored in his own home with the soaring space of the Dome. Soane evoked Rome most obviously by living with Roman things, whether real or as casts or models; there was to him no contradiction between assembling these elements of a lost golden age of superlative taste and rules of decorum, for which his Apollo Belvedere (in cast) could be an icon, and arranging them in ways and in spaces which appealed strongly to sensation and sensibility, as well as to reason, historical logic, and aesthetic propriety. I want to close out this essay looking away from all that ancient stone and its plaster simulacra, into one of Soane's private apartments, for a glimpse at

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[45] For a good image dossier mixing some photography with a wealth of period graphic records by Soane's artists, in color, see Dorey 2000; for a miscellany of objects and some period views of furnished rooms, Thornton and Dorey 1992a and 1992b.

his continuing evocation of a particular Roman house—and so, by extension, any Roman house—within his own.

When Pitzhanger Manor was sold, Soane lost the room he had decorated with an archaeologically informed, partly Neo-Roman interior. But in London, he could live with the Roman remains that had inspired him at Pitzhanger in a new way: the Buti prints of the Villa Negroni house's painted walls were put on show, trimmed of their inscriptions and framed, in the Breakfast Parlour (Fig. 1.5, see insert). They share the walls with bookshelves and other images, but their bright color contrasts, the strong patterning of the decorative partitioning of the depicted walls, and obvious identity as a set of analogous yet varied displays, make them stand out in the 1825 watercolor as they do today.[46] A Roman house's decoration has been anatomized to embrace the occupant of a modern English house. Because the Villa Negroni house's walls showcased fictive mythological paintings, "picture" within image, the well-hung prints of the valuable set hover on the boundary between art and archaeology. They are pleasing graphics in their own right, offering a little mythological cycle with cheerful, poignant, or mildly amusing figural imagery,[47] as well as documents of already lost Roman remains. (That Soane included at least one image of one of the figural panels in its delicate architectural frame in his lecture images for the Royal Academy shows that he felt they could profitably illustrate Roman taste.[48]) Even across a room the images awake curiosity as to what it is that's been thought worth framing and prominently hanging up in intriguing seriality, why what seems to be a wall is on a wall. The strong curving and orthogonal contours set up by the depiction of lunette over picture-panel, rectangular panels to either side, stand out where the prints are massed framing and crowning window openings.

In Soane's 1835 *Description* of the House Museum and the images there (certainly approved by the author), the prints stand out: pl. XXIX and pl. XXXI (Fig. 1.6) give views into the Breakfast Room in which they

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[46] A watercolor of 1825, Thornton and Dorey 1992a, fig. 95 at 93, and matching photograph and commentary, fig. 96 at 94; a fine photograph of the Breakfast Room looking north, Dorey 2000, fig. 143; fig./cat. 76 is a sectional perspective of the Dome area and Breakfast Room looking east by Frank Copland that has the Buti prints prominent, along with other less colorful images of ancient structures (see enlarged detail p. 169).

[47] For the subjects of the images, see Joyce 1983, 428: I, Venus with cupids; II, Venus and wounded Adonis; III, Venus and nymph with cupids; IV, Adonis and youth; V, Drunken Hercules; VI, Venus and Adonis; VII, Bacchus and Ariadne; and VIII, Minerva with trophy. Wallace-Hadrill 2011 discusses two in particular.

[48] Catalogued, reference number 26/3/1, as RA Lecture Drawing to illustrate decoration, http://collections.soane.org/THES68193; the scene is one of Venus, a nymph, and bathing Amores, adapted from Buti plate III with the surround of the *aedicula* altered to solid blue.

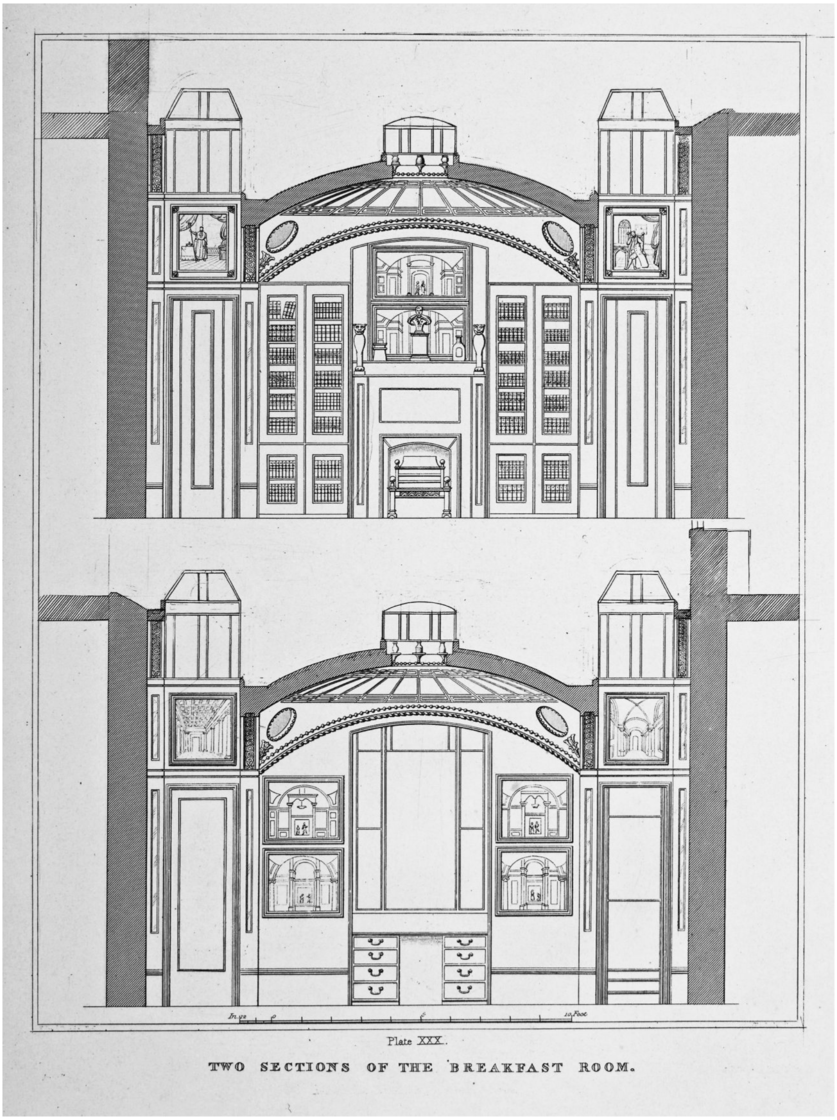

FIG. 1.7. The Breakfast Room of Sir John Soane, two sections showing the series of Buti plates of the Roman house at the Villa Negroni. Plate XXX of Soane's *Description of the House and Museum*, 1835.
Fisher Fine Arts Library, University of Pennsylvania.

Soane may sometimes have explained, if a guest came here and asked about the pictures, or if he felt in an expository mood. We can certainly imagine he gave some of the Italian background to his wife and friends.

Would a visitor know immediately that the images depicted antiquities in the first place, rather than, say, a modern Neoclassical fantasy?

That question is not easy to answer, but the importance given them in the room scheme and the patently Classical feel of their figural panels could probably signal antiquarian documentation to more cultured visitors. This room could serve intimate family moments, but also gatherings with friends, clients, patrons, including the sorts of persons likely to be able to hazard that the prints might show Roman wall paintings. As time passed this could become more not less likely, with graphic documentation of Pompeii and other Vesuvian sites in wider circulation. The images of the Villa Negroni Roman house's wall paintings could be an *aide-memoire* in multiple ways, for ancient pasts and for personal pasts. That can have been true of very many of his multitudinous possessions; in the case of these images of this Roman house, we have the accidental opportunity to tease out especial strands.

The prints make their impact by the appeal of the delicate miniature, in strong contrast to much else in the spaces of the House Museum, but they do significantly articulate the salon in which they hang, affording a fantasy of reassembling disarticulated Roman domestic space to enter it in imagination. They are hung to emphasize seriation; the Roman wall schemes use decorative fields and framing to give an essentially architectural articulation to those walls, and in reproduction and careful hanging, the prints lend essentially architectural surface pattern to the forms of Soane's room. How they performed that function is made clear in the "section" of the Breakfast Room in Soane's 1835 guidebook to his house. The room decorations further evoked the Roman interior too, in a nice play with scale, adding to the cheerful prints in the final arrangement more archaeological and imperial residential decor:

> "Over the bookcase in the centre of the north side of the room is a Drawing of the Monumental Tomb erected to the memory of my lamented wife [Eliza, d. 1815]. On each side of this drawing is a coloured print, representing the decorations of an apartment in the Villa of Antoninus Pius, in the Villa Negroni at Rome. Beneath are two highly finished Drawings; that on the right-hand side is a Ceiling from the Baths of Livia in the Imperial Palace [on the Palatine, Rome]; that on the left, the Soffite of part of a room in the Villa of Adrian at Tivoli" (Soane 1835b, 48).[49]

The room was and is crowded with books, objects, and other images, including images of Soane's own architectural works, but within the

[49] Joyce 1983, 328. She notes that Buti was "ahead of his time" in that "interest in the design of ancient walls as a whole, rather than in extracted motifs, reveals itself in the nineteenth century"; Soane was, then, in the vanguard of the newer sensibility.

assemblage the images of the Villa Negroni house walls are cohesive graphic, polychrome, iconic images which stand out well in the ensemble, walls upon walls. The cycle, which helps gives a pleasing unity to the space, aims at easy, reconstructed charm, complete with mythological images, and not only archaeological or architectural witness. In that regard this relatively small interior can bear comparison to the spirit behind the antiquities displays outside the room and the dizzying array of statues, reliefs, and architectural elements in the more public parts and work areas of the House Museum, open to general visitors and architectural students in the same way it was meant to delight Soane and friends. Much was meant to document ancient architectural practice, supposedly, but the interest and potential aesthetic impact of figural sculpture, fragmentary or whole, could easily please those with no interest in Roman moldings, as could so many of Soane's other *bibelots* and works of art. The Breakfast Room was a space for pleasure, not just professional and general culture, and the little Roman walls punctuating that modern space surely pleased their owner.

CHAPTER 2 The Hôtel de Beauharnais in Paris

Egypt, Greece, Rome, and the Dynamics of Stylistic Transformation

CAROLINE VAN ECK AND MIGUEL JOHN VERSLUYS

J'avoue que le style Empire m'a toujours impressionnée. Mais, chez les Iéna, là, c'est vraiment comme une hallucination. Cette espèce, comment vous dire, de [. . .] reflux de l'expédition d'Égypte, et puis aussi de remontée jusqu'à nous de l'Antiquité, tout cela qui envahit nos maisons, les Sphinx qui viennent se mettre aux pieds des fauteuils, les serpents qui s'enroulent aux candélabres, une Muse énorme qui vous tend un petit flambeau pour jouer à la bouillotte ou qui est tranquillement montée sur votre cheminée et s'accoude à votre pendule, et puis toutes les lampes pompéiennes, les petits lits en bateau qui ont l'air d'avoir été trouvés sur le Nil et d'où on s'attend à voir sortir Moïse, ces quadriges antiques qui galopent le long des tables de nuit. (Proust 1988 [1920–1921], vol. 2, 109)

Introduction*

The Empire Style often suffers from a bad press. It is criticized on aesthetic grounds for its heaviness, lack of originality, *nouveau riche* indulgence in costly materials, and too much gilt; it is dismissed for political reasons because of its association with Napoleon's regime. Among

* The authors wish to thank Anja Snellman and Sigrid de Jong for making it possible to visit the Hôtel de Beauharnais; Jürgen Ebeling, Librarian of the Centre Allemand d'Histoire de l'Art in Paris; and Odile Nouvel-Kammerer, emerita curator at the Musée des Arts Décoratifs in Paris, for their generous assistance and advice.

nineteenth-century authors its furniture had a reputation for coldness, doom, artificiality, and an uncanny ability to appear to become alive wittily summarized by Proust's Duchesse de Guermantes quoted here.[1] Art-historical research has been hindered by a notorious absence of sources by the main patrons, artists, or the public, and a lack of surviving artistic theory, and as a consequence tends to concentrate on identification, attribution, provenance, and iconographical analysis.[2] In this chapter we will explore a different understanding of the Empire Style. We argue that this final flowering of Neoclassicism in a period in which the French had lived through the Revolution, abolished the monarchy, and saw the rise and double fall of Napoleon's empire, offers a unique case to study the dynamics of the transformation of Greek, Roman, and Egyptian forms. Those who lived through these events often felt separated by an unbridgeable gap from the past. Stranded in the present they witnessed Napoleon's attempt to create a new past by modeling the style of his rule almost compulsively on that of Augustus.[3] And as in Augustus's time, the conquest of Egypt led to a considerable influx of Egyptian objects, which were imitated, represented, and integrated into other design styles.[4] The Empire Style thus offers a very particular moment in the history of Greek, Roman, and Egyptian forms. It is the last attempt to create a new French court style, devised consciously, like the court ceremonial Napoleon reinstated, as a successor to the styles of the Bourbons. It is a reprisal of Greek and Roman forms, but renewed by the discovery of Herculaneum and Pompeii, and nourished by Piranesi's widening of the range of forms available to designers to include Etruscan, Roman Republican, or Egyptian forms. Also, it announces nineteenth-century (neo)styles and eclecticism in its systematic combination of design styles and forms from different periods and places, both European and non-European, in one piece or one interior.

The Hôtel de Beauharnais is the laboratory chosen here to study what may be called, for the time being, the poetics of eclecticism at work.

[1] Praz 1969 [1940], quoting Heine, Zola, Taine, Dickens, Flaubert, Montesquieu, Proust, and Henry James.

[2] For summaries of the state of research and good bibliographies see Nouvel-Kammerer 2007–2008; Samoyault 2009; Sarmant et al. 2015.

[3] The phrase was coined by Fritzsche 2004. On Napoleon's artistic program see Rosenberg and Dupuy-Vachey 1999–2000; Samoyault 2007–2008; Quéquet 2013–2014; Sarmant et al. 2015, 185–247.

[4] See most recently "*Du haut de ses pyramides. . .". L'Éxpédition d'Égypte et la naissance de l'égyptologie*, exh. cat. La Roche-sur-Yon: Musée (Grimal 2013–2014), in particular the article by Quéquet; Humbert 2009; Pillepich 1999–2000.

It is located in the Rue de Lille of the Faubourg Saint-Germain on the Left Bank in Paris, now the residence of the German ambassador to France, and was originally built by Germain Boffrand in 1713 for the eldest son of Colbert, the prime minister of Louis XIV. Acquired in 1803 by Eugène de Beauharnais (1781–1824), the son of Alexandre and Joséphine de Beauharnais, who was adopted by Napoleon in 1796, it was redecorated from 1803 to 1809 by Jean Augustin Renard, Laurent-Edmé Bataille, and others. In Eugène's absence as viceroy of Italy Joséphine and his sister Hortense oversaw most of the rebuilding and redecoration. It is one of the earliest monuments of Empire domestic architecture, combining Egyptianizing elements such as the portico of the *corps de logis* with furniture, chimney pieces, and wall paintings that are transformations of Roman and Egyptian motifs. Despite its great interest, comparatively little has been written about this town house, possibly because most archival material for the Empire period has not survived.[5]

The central position of those involved in the transformation of an eighteenth-century *hôtel particulier* into a statement of Empire artistic politics, combined with its excellent state of preservation, allow us to consider in some detail how such a princely town house functioned as a major moment of the Empire Style. In our contribution we will not, as most previous studies have done, start from the perspective of the persons involved with it—the patron, architects, or designers—or focus on an iconographical analysis of dominant motifs such as the swan or the eagle. Instead, we will develop an analysis of the building's interior decoration that takes the notion of transformation as its starting point.

In the opening section we will briefly discuss the building's history; in the next sections we will present its Empire interior decoration against the background of late eighteenth-century debates about ornament and interior decoration, to obtain a clearer idea of what characterizes this new style. In the following section we will give some historical context to these decorations. Armed with all this background knowledge we will then in the final section zoom in on a number of conspicuous Egyptian elements in the interior.

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[5] See Hammer 1983; Pons 1989; Pillepich 1999–2000; Leben and Ebeling 2005; Gaehtgens, Ebeling, and Leben 2007–2008, with bibliography; and Ebeling 2013. The Centre Allemand d'Histoire de l'Art in Paris coordinates an ongoing project that focuses on the origins, authorship, and material condition of the interior, its restorations, and the history of its use until the present day. The results are published in Ebeling and Leben 2016.

Building History 1713–1815

The Hôtel de Beauharnais started life as an early Regency town house, designed by Germain Boffrand (1667–1754), who sold it in 1713 to Jean-Baptiste Colbert, Marquis de Torcy, the eldest son of Louis XIV's prime minister and himself Minister of Foreign Affairs from 1695–1715.[6] It was one of the first *hôtels particuliers* to be built in the Faubourg Saint Germain, and changed ownership several times during the eighteenth century to end in the possession of two speculators after 1789.

As the images in Jean Mariette's *Architecture Française* (Paris 1727, 255–260) show, it was a typical Parisian design of the Regency period of the variety that Boffrand did much to develop, but still adheres to the traditional *enfilade* lay-out of rooms (Figs. 2.1–2.2).[7] Not much remains of the original state, except the basic layout of the staircase and the outside walls, but its twin, the neighboring Hôtel de Seignelay, gives some idea of its original interior decoration.

Colbert de Torcy died in 1746; his wife in 1756. In 1766 the house was sold after an auction for the family's creditors to Georges-Louis de Neufville, Duc de Villeroy. In the last decades of the Torcy period not much changed because of lack of money, but Villeroy commissioned some landscape paintings by Hubert Robert, which remained intact and *in situ* until the early nineteenth century. In 1794 Villeroy was guillotined. The house was robbed of its *boiseries*, chimney pieces, and hangings, to leave only the walls. After a spell under the ownership of the speculators A. P. Bachelier and P.-J. Garnier, Eugène de Beauharnais acquired it in 1803 (de Goncourt 1992 [1864], 33–34). He went to live in the house in 1804, when he was not away in Italy. Laurent-Edmé Bataille (1758–1819), at the time director of the royal furniture storage, was the architect who replaced Boffrand's court facade portico by a plaster Egyptian portico (Fig. 2.3, see insert).[8] Jörg Ebeling has recently argued that it should be attributed not to Bataille, but to Jean-Augustin Renard (1744–1807), who had designed a similar pavillion for Talleyrand in Valençay (Fig. 2.4).

In this either Bataille or Renard may have followed the example of Jean-Baptiste Kléber (1753–1800), Napoleon's general, who originally trained

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[6] This overview of the building history is based on Hammer 1983, 9–45, and Ebeling and Leben 2016. On Boffrand see Boffrand 2002, x–xiv.

[7] See also Blondel 1752–1756, vol. 1, 182, and the description of the interior by Germain Brice, *Nouvelle Description de Paris* (Paris 1725), vol. 4, 148; and in the 1752 edition vol. 4, 139.

[8] On Bataille see Szambien 1989.

(A)

(B)

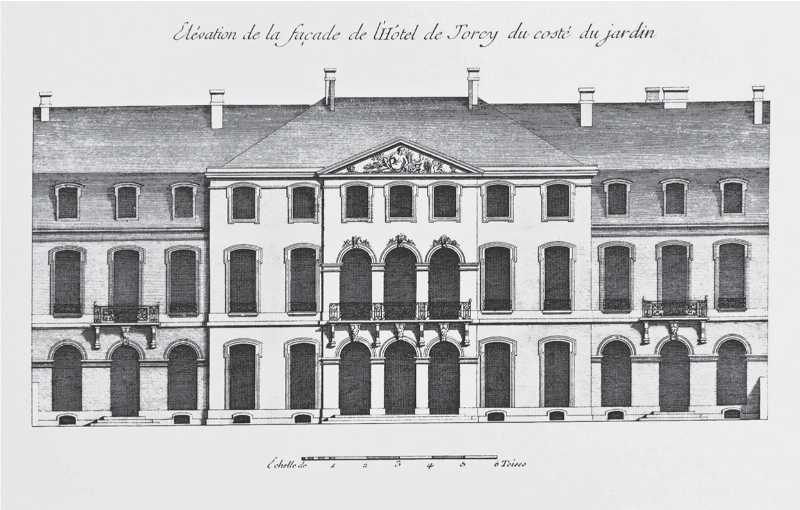

FIG. 2.1A AND B. *Hôtel de Torcy*, courtyard facade (a) and the garden facade oriented toward the Seine (b), Germain Boffrand, from Jean Mariette's *Architecture Française*, Paris, 1727.

Institut National d'Histoire de l'Art, Paris.

as an architect, and built an Egyptian temple near his Château d'Étupes.[9] In any case, the portico was part of a campaign to scatter Egyptianizing monuments across Paris, which was also to include six fountains (only the one in the Rue de Sèvres by Bralle et Beauvallet survives), an Egyptian temple, an obelisk on the Pont Neuf, and to introduce reliefs of Isis, designed by

[9] See Curl 2005, 197–198. These designs are documented in Krafft and Dubois 1809–1810, 17 and 31–35, and Humbert 1989, 40.

(A)

(B)

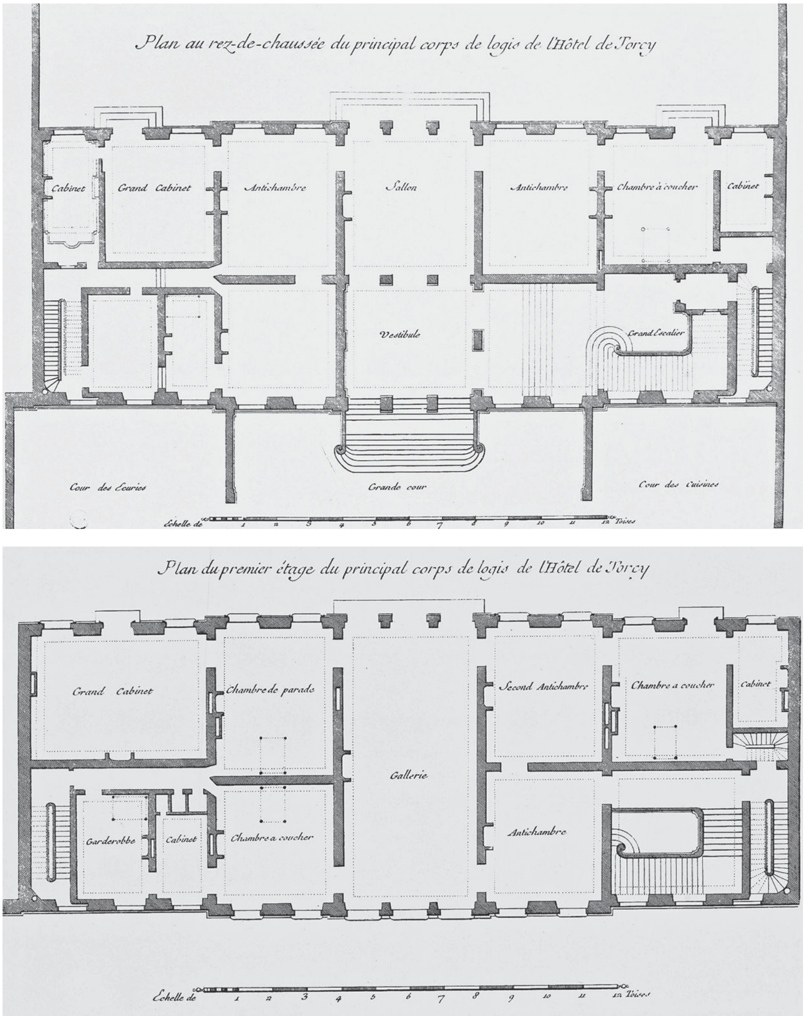

FIG. 2.2A AND B. *Hôtel de Torcy*, plans of the ground floor (a) and first floor (b), Germain Boffrand, from Jean Mariette's *Architecture Française*, Paris, 1727.
Institut National d'Histoire de l'Art, Paris.

Jean-Guillaume Moitte in the pediments of the Cour Carré in the Louvre (Humbert 2009, 274; Hubert 1972). Because the excessive costs of the redecoration Napoleon decided in 1806 to take the building from Eugène, and used it from 1809 onwards to lodge important guests.

After the fall of Napoleon Eugène left for Munich in 1817, where he found hospitality at the court of his father-in-law, the King of Bavaria. There, as the Duke of Leuchtenberg, he continued his predilection for

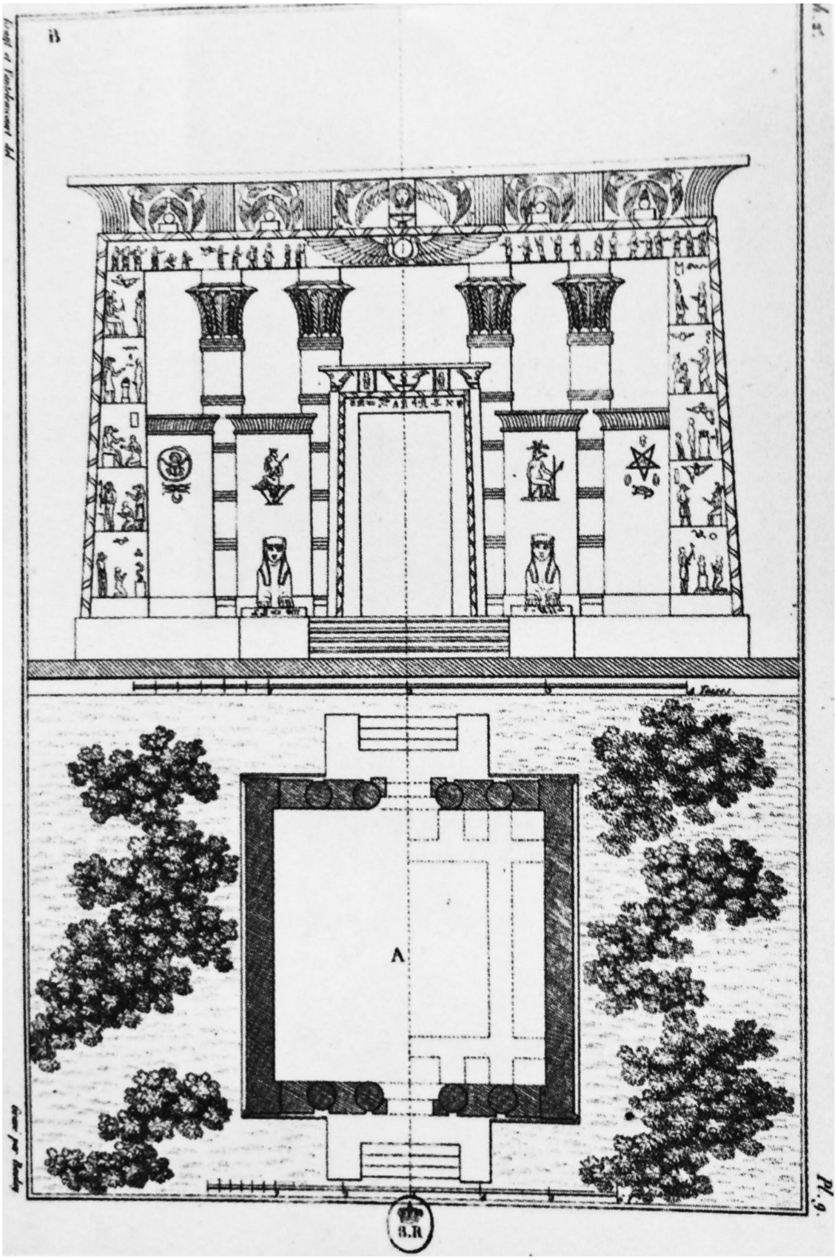

FIG. 2.4. Design for an Egyptian Temple and Portico for the Château de Valençay, Jean-Augustin Renard.

Institut National d'Histoire de l'Art, Paris.

Egyptian motifs, transporting substantial parts of the Egyptian artifacts at Malmaison there, including the sumptuous set of chairs sporting remarkable Egyptianizing decorations, now in Palais Nymphenburg.[10] Eugène's archives relating to the Hôtel de Beauharnais were burned by his widow; surviving documents have mainly ended up in Munich and Princeton. The house was sold in 1818 to Friedrich Wilhelm III, King of Prussia; since then it has remained in German possession, becoming the residence of the Prussian, subsequently German, ambassador. Restoration works started in 1820 under the direction of Jacob Ignaz Hittorff (1792–1867), a former student of Percier and Fontaine, who was appointed on the advice of Alexander von Humboldt, and worked on the building until his death. During the tenure of successive ambassadors, above all that of Prince Hugo von Ridolin, various attempts were made to restore the Hôtel to its Empire state. Since 2000, consistent efforts have been made to retrieve the original Empire furniture, restore the fabrics and hangings, and bring back the original color schemes, which consisted of reds, greens, and blues on ochre backgrounds with black borders. Thus the Salon Vert on the ground floor has been restored in 2002, the Salon Cerise in 2009, and the Library on the ground floor in 2010.[11]

Major Interventions in the Period 1803–1815

The original design by Boffrand follows the pattern of Regency aristocratic town houses, but still observes the quite static symmetrical division into series of antichambers, salons, and bedrooms that recall the *enfilade* system of the seventeenth century. Behind the wall opening on the Rue de Bourbon there are stables with their courtyard flanking the gate on the left, and kitchens with their garden on the right. The *corps de logis* consists of two floors and cellars. The original facade, with a short flight of steps leading to it, was a sober, quite flat temple front placed before a screen wall topped by a mansard roof, consisting of three bays with arches decorated with consoles (ground floor) and masks (first floor). The front overlooking the garden stretching out to the Seine was somewhat more ornate,

[10] Grimm-Stadelmann and Grimm 2011, 165 and catalogue no. 531.
[11] On the history of the building and its uses see Hammer 1983, 9–57; Pons 1989, 89–121; Ebeling 2010, 43–57; and Ebeling and Leben 2016. The research team at the Centre Allemand d'Histoire de l'Art working on the Hôtel has now established a complete list, with attributions, of the inventory during the Empire. The preparatory research showed that much more of the original Empire furniture and decoration remained than was previously expected. For a summary of the findings see Ebeling and Leben 2010 and 2016.

with a sculpted frieze and wrought iron balcony railings. The first floor was divided symmetrically by a gallery, with the staircase on the right, a grand cabinet and *chambre de parade* on the left, and a second antechamber, bedroom, and cabinet on the right.

On the ground floor the main changes made for Eugène include the replacement of the court portico by a stucco Egyptian temple portico generally thought to be inspired by the portico in Denderah; the introduction in niches along the stairs of two life-size statues of Antinous, attributed to Pierre-Nicolas Beauvallet (Fig. 2.5) (Leben and Ebeling 2005, 70); the Salon Vert of Egyptian inspiration, and the introduction of a library, to the left of the vestibule, for which Boffrand's original scheme with three open arcades had been replaced by a wall.

At the time of Eugène the large room functioning as picture gallery and ballroom, to the right of the vestibule, was decorated with green hangings bordered in the shade of ochre known as "Terre d'Égypte." Originally there was an Egyptian chimney decorated with capitals sporting palmettes, Egyptian heads, etc. by Bataille, now replaced by another one in blue granite by Hittorff; the original design by Lucien-François Feuchère is preserved in a design now in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs in Paris (Fig. 2.6). A porphyry obelisk, one meter high, and two candelabra in the shape of "nubiennes agenouillées" stood on the chimney (Fig. 2.7). To the right of the vestibule is the *escalier d'honneur*, which dates back to the original Boffrand design, and a lifesize plaster statue of a woman holding a swan, put there by Eugène.

On the first floor, on the right-hand part of the building, connected to the ground floor by the *escalier d'honneur*, the second antechamber was transformed into a *salon égyptien*, which led into the dining room and large reception room. Its appearance under Eugène is very well documented: "Terre d'Égypte" hangings bordered by strips of black velvet on a blue background; on them portraits of six sheiks that were Napoleon's allies during the Egyptian campaign. A console-table with two winged caryatides by Marcion survives, as well as a palmette frieze that runs along the cornice of the entire room.

The "Grand Salon," now Salon des Quatre Saisons, replaced the large gallery that originally ran along the entire garden front. Three large paintings by Hubert Robert representing Tivoli were replaced by four allegories of the seasons attributed to the studio of Girodet-Trioson (Fig. 2.8, see insert). The salon was decorated with a scheme of allusions to the four seasons, twelve signs of the zodiac, twelve months, and four ages of man. The original furniture by Bellangé survives *in situ*, such as the chimney and console table with its sphinxes and the pendulum and flanking vases by Thomire.

FIG. 2.5. *Antinous*, Pierre-Nicolas Beauvallet (attr.), turquoise marble, *c.* 1803–1806. Currently in the Musée Marmottan.

C. van Eck and M. J. Versluys.

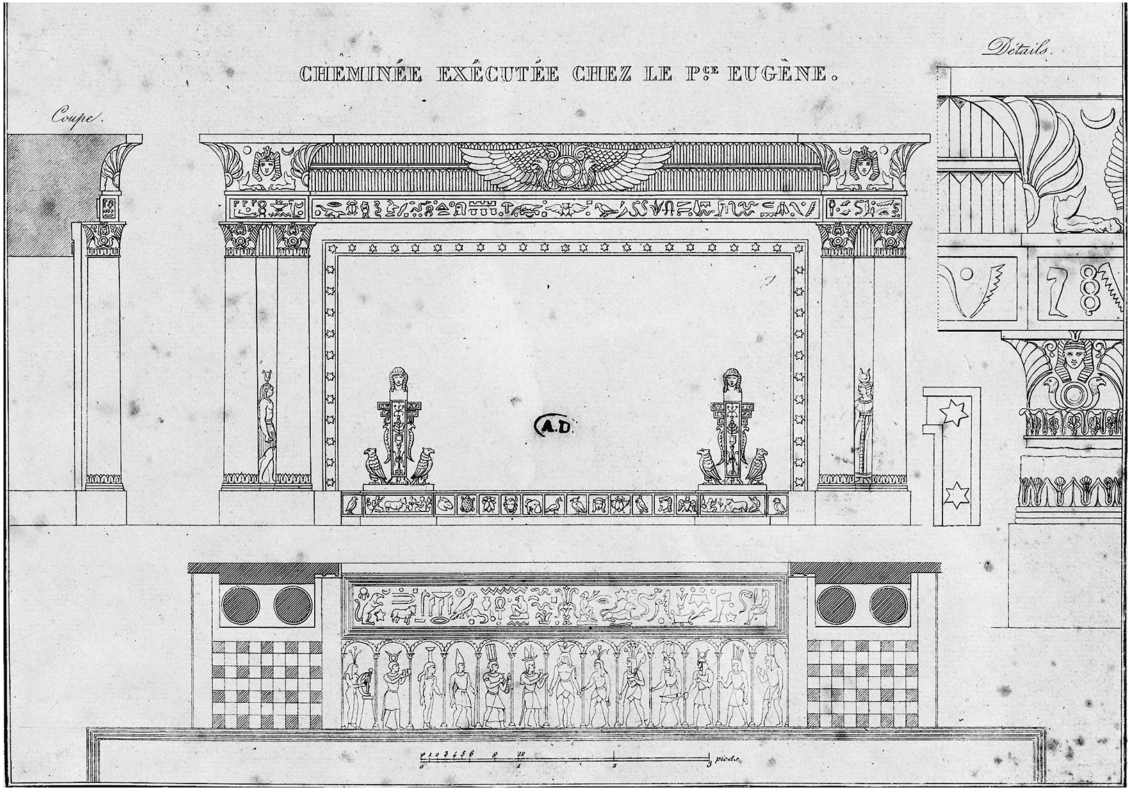

FIG. 2.6. *Cheminée exécutée chez le Prince Eugène*, frontal view, details and view of the chimney mantle surface, Lucien-François Feuchère, 1804–1806.

Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris.

FIG. 2.7. Kneeling Nubian Women Candelabra, gilt bronze, Lucien-François Feuchère, 1804–1806.
Deutsches Forum für Kunstgeschichte Paris.

The Salon de Musique, on the right side of the vestibule was also newly installed for Eugène (Fig. 2.9). It is directly connected to the Salon Cerise and the Salon des Quatre Saisons. Fixed elements such as chimneys, console-tables, and *boiseries* offer by their color, use of materials, contours, and polychromy very good evidence for the style of the 1790s. The ceiling was redecorated by Hittorff for structural reasons; there is a wall covering in imitation green granite; figures of the Muses, larger than life, are depicted on the walls; birds and grotesques by Jacques Barrabant parade on the painted pilasters; below the muses are friezes with swans, festoons, and medusas.

FIG. 2.9. Hôtel de Beauharnais, Salon de Musique, with paintings attributed to the studio of Anne Girodet-Trioson, 1803–1806.
Deutsches Forum für Kunstgeschichte, Paris.

Eugène's bedroom is a unique Empire ensemble, surviving almost entirely intact. The bed is based on a design by Percier and Fontaine. Ceiling paintings behind glass recall Roman painting. Next to it, the *cabinet des bains* is an illusionistic space with mirrors sending each other their reflections (Fig. 2.10).

Finally in the Turkish Boudoir the immersive atmosphere is continued by means of a suggestive series of scenes from Ottoman life, depicting the journey of a woman from her paternal home to the Sultan's harem (Fig. 2.11).

Next to these major changes in the layout, function, and decoration of the rooms, the new Empire furniture included two candelabra in the shape of Winged Victories by the bronze specialist Ravrio. Clocks were designed by Revel, chairs by Jacob-Desmalter and Marcion, and the bronze fixtures are attributed to Thomire.

Therefore, the overall impression created by the Hôtel de Beauharnais is that of a dazzling series of interiors, in which vivid blues, red, and greens are displayed on a background of the ochre variety called "Terre d'Égypte," with its black borders. The glossy silk that reflects the light of day and of the many candles lit at night contrasts with the background textiles that absorb light instead of reflecting it. The newly restored interior, like the rooms at Malmaison, or the Empire apartments at Fontainebleau or Compiègne, strikes the visitor above all by the sheer effect of its brilliance. The light strikes the

FIG. 2.10. Hôtel de Beauharnais, *Cabinet des bains* with reflecting mirrors, 1803–1806. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York/Deutsches Forum für Kunstgeschichte, Paris.

gilt surfaces of the bronze appliqués that are scattered over tables, beds, chairs, chimneys, or wash stands; the gilt stucco *moulures* of friezes running along walls, ceilings, and doors dematerialize their material supports. Instead of representing the functions of columns or roofs as they would have done in previous styles, they transport the viewer into distant mythological realms. The larger-than-life paintings of the seasons and muses add to this atmosphere of illusion, since they are very similar, in the way they seem to come forward from their hazy background, to the way figures appear and take tangible form from a background of smoke and gauze in phantasmagorias and other multimedial shows, a new theatrical genre that was born at exactly the same time as the Empire Style.[12] The figure of Winter, for

[12] On the rise of these new genres see Warner 2006, 147–159, and Sawicki 1999. For eighteenth-century accounts of such immersive mirror spaces see for instance Casanova 1960, vol. 4, 48, describing a room "toute tapissée de glaces:" "Elle était surprise du prestige qui lui faisait voir partout, et en même temps, malgré qu'elle se tint immobile, sa personne en cent différents points de vue. Ses portraits multipliés que les miroirs lui offraient à la clarté de toutes les bougies placées auprès de lui présentaient un spectacle nouveau qui la rendait amoureuse d'elle-même." We are much indebted to Alexia Lebeurre for this reference.

FIG. 2.11. Hôtel de Beauharnais, Turkish Boudoir with scenes from Ottoman life, 1803–1806.
Deutsches Forum für Kunstgeschichte.

instance, in the Salon of the Four Seasons seems to move weightlessly in a mysteriously lit space, where a lamp seems to shine behind a veil of gauze. A similar play of smoke and mirrors, now with the user of the room as the main actor, is performed in the *Cabinet des bains*, where mutually reflecting mirrors transform the viewer into an endlessly receding play of images.

The Hôtel de Beauharnais thus operates as an immersive space, and the portico indicates this very clearly. Based on a the temple portico such as the one at Denderah, it acts, like its adaptation for the frontispiece of the *Description de l'Égypte* published in 1809, as a gateway that signals that the viewer is entering a fictional space, leaving the banks of the Seine for those of the Nile (Fig. 2.12).

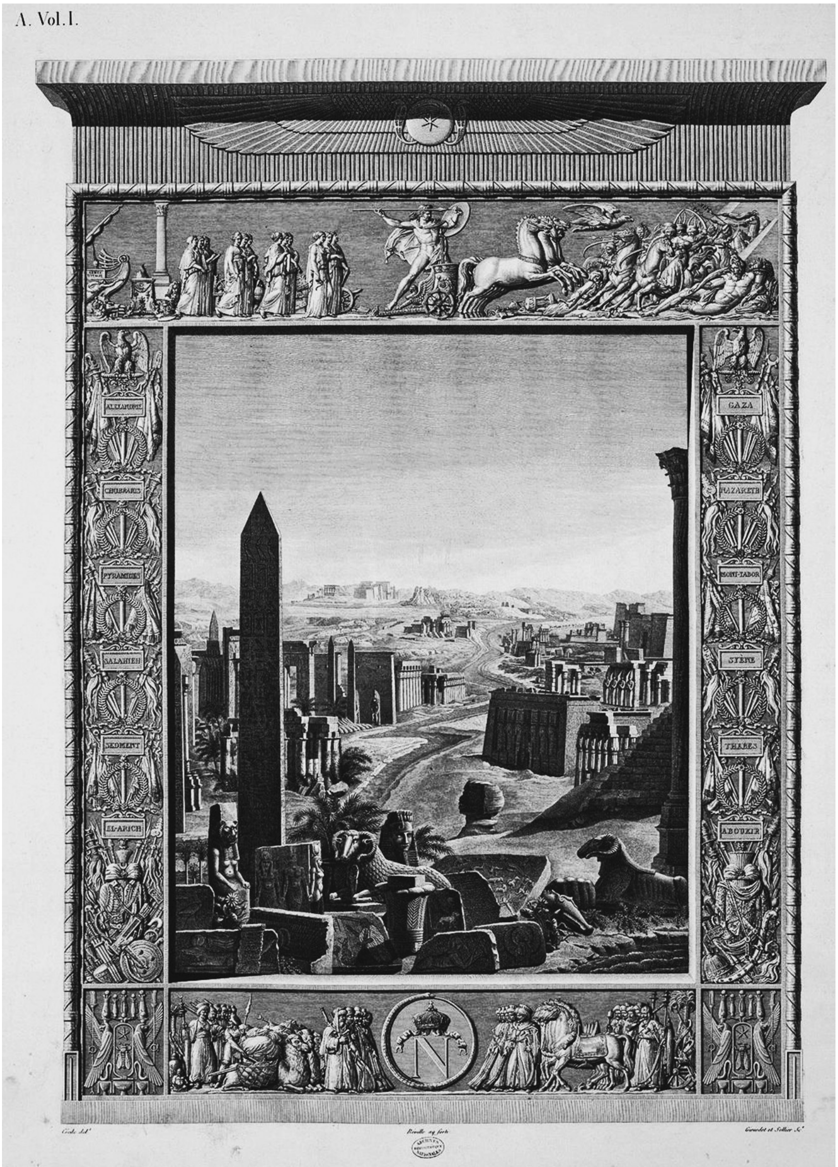

FIG. 2.12. Frontispiece of the *Description de l'Égypte*, Antoine Cécile, Paris 1809. Centre historique des Archives nationales-Atelier de photographie.

Can we give a historical foundation for this interpretation of the Hôtel de Beauharnais as an immersive space, transporting the visitor to an imaginary realm that juxtaposes Greek, Roman, and Egyptian spaces? Since a traditional analysis in terms of patrons' and artists' intentions, design, and reception history is very difficult to achieve, we propose a different approach, which consists of four stages. First, we will compare the Empire decoration with eighteenth-century ornament theories, starting with Boffrand's ideas, which are very well documented in his *Livre d'Architecture* (1754). By analyzing the Empire ornament at the Hôtel de Beauharnais against the background of eighteenth-century French theories on interior decoration and ornament, we hope to discern more clearly what defines the Empire Style, and understand how its transformation of Greek, Roman, and Egyptian forms and motifs works. Second, we will discuss Piranesi's polemic against French artists and theorists in the *Parere*, and the new approach to ornament design he displayed to the public in his treatise on chimney design, the *Diverse Maniere* of 1769, one of the main sources for the Empire Style. Next, we will historicize immersion by turning to design theory around 1800. We will use the distinction introduced by Julien-David Le Roy and further developed by Percier and Fontaine, between the *parti*, the formal choices for typology, prototypes, or models made by the architect in developing a first design concept; and the *marche*, the series of imaginary scenes or *tableaux* evoked as if in a walk through the building. Finally, we will consider how the main Egyptian features of Eugène's town house provide such a series of immersive *tableaux* by zooming in on the most conspicuous Egyptianizing artifacts to show how they create this immersive atmosphere. Presenting their pedigree enables us to become aware of the layers of the past they carry with them, adding to the agency of these artifacts as material presences of absent pasts.

Eighteenth-Century Theories of Ornament (I): *Caractère* Versus *Immersion*

Boffrand set out a conceptual framework that governed the design of interior decoration and ornament in which the relation between the object or ornament and its users or viewers is an essential consideration. That relation is defined in terms of *caractère*. It is based on the theatrical metaphors of the building providing the stage for social interaction, and the Classical orders of architecture figuring as actors on a stage, who, as Boffrand put it, announce by their very form the character and mood of the building, as if they are the *dramatis personae* of a play.[13] Design, structure, and style depend on the character to be expressed, and are governed by considerations of *convenance* and *bienséance*. In expressing character the architect should, like the dramatic poet, follow these considerations. Buildings, both their exterior and interior, here become communicators, if not actors, whose design is predicated on the presence of a viewer for whom they perform their expressive characters.

Considered against this background it becomes clear that the interior design of the Hôtel de Beauharnais no longer uses these traditional means to establish a relation with the viewer. Although there are indeed two main decorative themes drawing on iconographical conventions—Eugène's exploits as a soldier and his artistic disposition—the way they are presented to the viewer, and the way the relation between viewer and building is conceived, has become very different from late eighteenth-century interior design.[14] The crucial difference is that in the Hôtel de Beauharnais, instead of admiring a codified display of *caractère*, the viewer is now invited to a much more private immersive experience. The Classical orders for instance, whose use was subject to the highest degree of codified rules, play a far less prominent role as the main generators of ornamental forms than in designs by Boffrand or contemporaries. In interior design from the period 1750–1790 most conspicuous ornaments could easily be traced back to an element of the orders (capitals, friezes, moldings, and *modénature* such as egg-and-dart lists), and often there would be no mixing of elements from different orders in one ornamental feature. Here ornament often combines Greek, Roman, Etruscan, and Egyptian elements, and it is derived not from the orders, but from ancient furniture: from tripods, sarcophagi, funerary urns, statuary, or lamps. The gilt frieze running below the ceiling in the Music Room for instance integrates griffins within a transformation of an egg-and-dart list. The gilt stucco mouldings over the door of the small gallery on the first floor combine sphinxes with festoons and acanthus-derived vegetal forms that suggest a common origin in the Corinthian order. This very wide range of forms and great variety in their combinations points us to an important earlier case of this design concept in the Hellenistic-Roman world, which we call "Alexandrianism" after the innovative and what we might now call eclective combinations of different repetoires of forms or styles that were developed in Alexandria from the third century BC onwards. In the

[13] Boffrand 2002, 8–10 and Introduction, xx–xxii. See also van Eck 2017 for an overview of the development of *caractère* and other ways of conceiving the relations between buildings and their spectators in the period 1750–1815.

[14] Gaehtgens, Ebeling, and Leben 2007–2008, 79 for these iconographical conventions.

conclusion to this essay we will return in greater detail to this concept and its usefulness to understanding the design of the Hôtel de Beauharnais.

The locus where the *caractère* of a building or a room is established thus moves from the orders and ornament derived from them, to decorative elements that have a much wider origin in ancient interior decoration and statuary from both the Greco-Roman world and Egypt. With this change, the relation between interior design and the viewer also changes. It develops, we would argue, from a relation conceived in the theatrical, psychological, and highly conventionalized terms of *caractère* to the equally theatrical, but much more private atmosphere of *immersion*. The fabrics, wall paintings, statues, lamps, fireplaces, and furniture operate in a far less codified way. They suggest the presence of antiquity and the orient, but their wide range of borrowings and transformations from Greek, Roman, and Egyptian antiquity and oriental themes does not add up to a coherent, rational, and codified whole in the way eighteenth-century interiors did. It was also noted by critics of the Empire Style, for instance in Pierre-Louis Roederer's satirical account of the style in the *Journal de Paris* of 1801: "Tu ne connais pas le prix de tes meubles [. . .]. Plus de dix mille estampes, de cinq cent médailles, de deux cent camées ont été mis à contribution pour former ce beau tout" (Samoyault 2009, 39). The objects populating the Hôtel de Beauharnais invite an analysis in terms of origins and iconography, but that analysis is often blocked by the multiplicity of references and the insistence on what we might call the very materiality of the ornament. Instead, the use of materials, in all their glittering richness and color, seduces the viewer into physical enjoyment rather than rational analysis. The *Candelabres Nubiennes* by Lucien-François Feuchère on the chimney mantle of Eugène's ballroom, for instance, draw attention in an almost excessive way to their materiality, with their profusion of glittering branches holding candles, their vertical succession of Egyptian ornaments whose meaning does not add up to a coherent iconography, and glossy gilt bodies.[15]

Eighteenth-Century Theories of Ornament (II): Piranesi's *Parere* and *Diverse Maniere di Adornare I Cammini*

In order to better understand the change from *caractère* to immersion we therefore have to turn from mainstream handbooks, in which ornaments are mainly

[15] Cf. Starcky and Rottermund 2015, 103, and Grimm-Stadelmann and Grimm 2011, 161, who discuss very similar copies. The German candelabra belonged to the collection of Prince Joseph von Schwartzenberg (1769–1833) and are now in the collection of the Nymphenburg Palace; the one shown in Compiègne may have belonged to General Murat in his Hôtel Thélusson, and is now in the Ministère des Finances in Paris.

derived from the Classical orders, to different sources: the late eighteenth-century publications of the findings in Herculaneum and Pompeii, particularly the *Antichità di Ercolano* (publication started in 1759), and their adoption by Percier and Fontaine in their Roman publications; and Piranesi's publications of Roman Republican trophies in the *Trofei di Ottaviano Augusto*, offering an unprecedented extension of the available range of Roman forms by including Etruscan forms and motifs, and by moving beyond monumental buildings to include vases, candelabra, sarcophagi, tripods, and other forms.[16] But there is another important and in this respect rather neglected category of source material that had a huge impact on processes of appropriation, adaption, and transformation: the foreign objects themselves. As Daniela Gallo has shown, sometimes we can pinpoint the impact of the arrival in Paris of a Roman object; the appearance in Paris in the early eighteenth century of the Amemptus altar (first century AD, now in the Louvre), coming from the Della Valle and Borghese collections, directly influenced French design, and its dissemination can be documented from the *Annales du Musée et de l'École des Beaux-Arts* (which started to appear in 1801) the *Musée Français* (1803), and *Les Monuments antiques du Musée Napoléon* (Gallo 2007–2008, 30; Denon 1803a, 10).

Egyptian artifacts played a similar constituent role in the formation of the Empire Style. The conspicuous and consistent display of Egyptian elements in fireplaces in the Hôtel de Beauharnais also suggests that we turn to Piranesi's treatise on fireplace design, *Diverse Maniere d' Adornare i Cammini* (1769), which was an important factor in introducing Egyptianizing elements to European interior design. Behind it lies a conception of ornament, with its origins, functions, and meanings very different from the French paradigm of *caractère, convenance*, and *bienséance*. It is not based on a social, conventional, and normative conceptual structure, but results from a primitivist enquiry into the origins of society, in which liminality is thematized. The trophy—and not the Classical orders—is an important generator of decorative forms; and what we would now call, in anachronistic terms, hybridity or eclecticism replaces stylistic purity.[17] With all their richness of invention, Piranesi's fireplace designs prefigure the question of the poetics of eclecticism that is also posed by the Empire Style. While the *Diverse Maniere* shows the forms and design concepts that Piranesi propagated, the arguments behind it are presented in the *Parere* of 1765 and

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[16] As was already noted by Mario Praz in his book on Neoclassicism (Praz 1969 [1940]). See also Bourgeois 1930 for its careful analysis of eighteenth-century and Classical sources, and Gardner Coates and Seydl 2007.

[17] Some of the differences in architectural thinking between Piranesi and his French contemporaries (Laugier, Le Roy, etc.) are identified in Piranesi 2002, 40–51; but see also Delbeke 2013, 59–60.

the rarely read *Ragionamento apologetico in diffesa dell'architettura egizia, e toscana* that serves as a preface to the *Diverse Maniere*.

In the *Parere*, Piranesi's sardonic attempt at Socratic dialogue, the author's spokesman develops a philosophy of ornament design that breaks with the humanist tradition of *ut poesis architectura* and with the protofunctionalist myths of Vitruvianism. Ornaments are not the representation of the functions of various parts of the orders, nor is their composition determined by the same laws as poetical composition, because the eye can take in much more in one glance than the reader can grasp when reading a poem. Freedom, variety, and invention are the main considerations; architects should allow themselves to be inspired by Roman Imperial architecture (Piranesi 2002, 33). Therefore architects should use the entire repertoire of forms used in the age of Augustus and Hadrian: festoons, fillets, masks, heads of stags and oxen, griffins, labyrinth frets, arabesques, hippogriffs, and sphinxes (Piranesi 2002, 113).

In the *Ragionamento* Piranesi extends this argument in favor of all ornament styles used in the Roman Empire to include Egyptian and Etruscan forms as well. Here as well he advocates the use of medals, intaglios, and cameos, artistic genres that are distinguished by their stylistic variety and geographical origins from all over the Roman Empire, and which Roederer, as we saw above, identified as major constituents of the Empire Style. These are all artifacts that in the Vitruvian tradition did not serve as the main models for the architect, because they are what would now be called hybrids. Again, decorum, tradition, and attempts to reduce architecture to its tectonic essence are thrown out in favor of variety and above all invention: "Rome is certainly the most fruitful magazine of this kind," he concludes in the *Ragionamento*, not in the least because Roman Imperial architecture integrated Egyptian, Etruscan, and Greek or Hellenistic elements (Piranesi 1769, 12–33). The chimney designs that follow present what looks at first sight like a stylistic riot of forms, but on closer scrutiny reveal careful ordering in size and prominence. The various elements very often appear to grow out of each other, in transformations of snakes into egg-and-dart lists into capitals, or of acanthus scrolls into grotesque figurations. Many forms return in the Hôtel de Beauharnais, for instance the lion's legs with a head form that returns, in a slightly more sober form, in the console-tables in Paris (Ficacci 2011, no. 656).

Piranesi's plates for the *Observations* and *Diverse Maniere* show combinations of motifs and forms that are often difficult to decipher (and the iconography of Piranesi's etchings is a notoriously underdeveloped field) except that they often thematize metamorphosis and transformation, from the mineral to the vegetal and the animal, from the natural to the supernatural, or from one element to another.[18] It is not accidental that he put a passage from the *Metamorphoses* by Ovid as an inscription of Plate VII for the *Observations on the Letter of Monsieur Mariette*: "Rerumque novatrix ex aliis arias reddit natura figuras."[19]

In fact Piranesi's combinations of heterogeneous elements from various styles, periods, materials, and genres, linked by the most tenuous connections, but nonetheless endowed with a compelling visual opulence, very much recall one of the best-known instances of Alexandrianism, the Second Pompeian Style, which shows the same desire to force the most persuasive, striking, and intriguing elements into improbable but absorbing new combinations of elements that seem to grow out of each other (Versluys 2015).

Historicizing Immersion

So far, we have considered various ways of understanding the origins and poetics of Empire artifacts and architecture, arguing that their design is based on an aesthetics of immersion, and draws on a formal repertoire that very much recalls the richness and variety of Hellenistic-Roman architectural design and interior decoration as exemplified in the Second Pompeian Style. Piranesi may be considered as the connection between this Hellenistic-Roman style and the Empire Style. But can we complete this interpretation by providing a historical context for immersion itself? For eighteenth-century French painting, much work has been done by Michael Fried, Thomas Crow, and others on the related concept of absorption, but in architectural history it has received far less attention. We would argue however that the aesthetics of architecture developed by Julien-David Le Roy, the teacher of Percier and Fontaine, who played a major role in the formation of the curriculum and design philosophy of the École des Beaux-Arts, offers important clues to the ways in which late eighteenth- or early nineteenth-century architects conceived the relation between buildings, interior design, and their viewers (Chafee 1977; Van Zanten 1977).

The design philosophy of the École des Beaux-Arts is based on a distinction between what was called the *parti*, the fundamental decision made by the architect about the shape of his design or possible models, and the *marche*, the imaginary walk through a building, in which the designer describes a series of *tableaux* of the building masses and interior spaces; in

[18] A notable exception is Nevola 2009, but he only treats the artist's early years; see also Pressouyre 1978.
[19] Ovid, *Metamorphoses* XV.253, which has "reparat" instead of "reddit."

other words, a distinction between the architectural design in itself, and the way it appears to the viewer. In the Vitruvian tradition, design was conceived as a composition, regulated by considerations of proportion, function, or decorum, in which smaller elements are combined to produce a building. The École broke with this approach to develop a system in which light and shadow, masses and space, movement and visual apprehension unfolding as a person approaches and walks through a building, become guiding considerations. Percier and Fontaine for instance describe their designs for the Louvre and Tuileries in a series of *tableaux* in which the viewer is taken on an imaginary walk through Paris from Vincennes to Chaillot (Percier and Fontaine 1833, 43 and 60–61).

Its origins lie in late eighteenth-century architectural theory. The second, much expanded edition of Julien-David Le Roy's *Les ruines des plus beaux monuments de la Grèce* (1770) included a description of the experience of walking through the Colonnade of the Louvre.[20] This is not only a statement of the new sensationalist philosophy of perception, but also takes its leave, like Lessing did in his contemporary essay on the Laöcoon, of the *ut pictura poesis* tradition:

> Run your eye along the full extent of the Colonnade of the Louvre while walking the length of the row of houses opposite; stand back to take in the whole; then come close enough to discern the richness of its soffit, its niches, its medallions; [. . .] Catch the moment when the Sun's rays adds the most striking effects by picking out certain parts while plunging others in shadows: how many enchanting views are supplied by the magnificence of the back wall of this colonnade combined with the pleasing outline of the columns in front of it and with the fall of the light! [. . .]
>
> Even after several hours, the spectator will not exhaust the prospects afforded by the colonnade of the Louvre; indeed, new ones will appear at every hour of the day. Every new position of the Sun causes the shadows of the columns or of the soffit they support to fall on different parts of the wall; just as every change of its altitude will cause their shadows to rise or fall against the back of the colonnade [. . .].
>
> But if we enter beneath the colonnade itself, an entirely new spectacle offers itself to our eyes; every step we take adds change and variety to the relation between the positions of the columns and the scene outside the

20 On Le Roy's book, its intellectual origins and context in Empiricist thought and Enlightenment archaeology see Middleton 2004 and Armstrong 2012a. On the transition from the Académie Royale d'Architecture to the École des Beaux-Arts, see Armstrong 2012b.

> colonnade, whether this be a landscape, or the picturesque dispositions of the houses of a city, or the magnificence of an interior. (Le Roy 2004, 372–373)

With a sensitivity to the slightest changes in perception and a capacity to articulate his experiences that is quite unique in eighteenth-century architectural theory, Le Roy here formulates for the first time an aesthetics of immersion: if the architect has become a *créateur de tableaux*, and the building a *machine à spectacles*, the viewer becomes the spectator, totally absorbed in the succession of new vistas that the building offers. The similarity with watching a play in the theatre becomes even more explicit when Le Roy adds that not all senses should be affected at the same time; there should be a sequence, an unfolding through time. Hence, he concludes:

> The art [of the architect] consists in increasing sensations by making them succeed one another, just as the poet in his works makes sensations increase by making them successive [. . .]. It is perhaps this kind of movement in which poetry keeps our soul, which makes that we prefer it to painting. (Le Roy 2004, 10–11)

The full effect of a building on the viewer is only achieved in a gradual unfolding, through time, of the various sensations its features produce. Many small details in a facade produce a different effect from large ones; divisions and openings in walls also act differently on the sense of sight, affect the speed of perception, and thereby the intensity of the sensations they create.[21]

In 1810, much closer in time to the Empire redecoration of the Hôtel de Beauharnais, Jean-François Sobry, the author of an earlier entirely conventional treatise on architecture published in 1776, would draw the position developed by Le Roy to its logical conclusion: that perceiving architecture is a matter of moving in time through buildings; and that accordingly, the highest beauty of architecture is movement:

> Movement is one of the principal beauties of architecture. The effect of protruding parts is called movement in architecture. A naked wall is without

[21] See also Le Roy 1764, 60–62 and 85, for his application of this spectacular approach to contemporary buildings and designs, in particular the Panthéon and Contant d'Ivry's design for the Madeleine. Here he speaks of the "spectacle enchanteur causé par la lumière qui anime les intérieurs."

movement. If one adds to this wall an entablature, pilasters, doors, windows, frames, it acquires movement; because one perceives parts that advance, and others that retreat; some that are covered, others that are left open; all this produces parts that are shadowed, and others that are lit; light and shadow. [. . .] Movement becomes most intense when columns, arches and pillars are free-standing, and one discovers peristyles and porticos. This disposition offers to the viewer the sight of openings, recesses, perspectives, and the aspects are then even more varied, either according to the varying projection of light, or according to the changing position of the viewer. (Sobry 1810, 197 and 302–303, trans. C. van Eck)[22]

When the architect becomes a stage director the viewer becomes totally immersed in the spectacle, like somebody watching a play. In the views of Le Roy and Boullée or their successors such as Sobry, the narrative that unfolds in the *marche* is a rather abstract and general one, consisting of the play of light and shadow, the unfolding and closing of space, and the cycles of nature. In the *Dictionnaire des arts de dessin* by J.-B.-B. Boutard of 1826, the *marche* is defined in the case of painting as "*Marche*," used in speaking of the composition of a painting to signify the order in which the figures, groups, masses of light and shadow, the sequence of planes of a picture are presented, how they follow one another, and are linked together (Van Zanten 1977, 163).

Empire architecture and interior design however offer a very characteristic combination, as we have seen, of elements that have a well-defined reference, such as the ochre wall coverings called "Terre d'Égypte" at the time, or combinations of Greek, Roman, and Egyptian elements whose iconography does not add up, and whose semiotic coherence, one might say, is subverted by the immersive effects of their materiality. Acting together the *tableaux* offered by the Hôtel de Beauharnais tell a much more particular story, a story, we would argue of cultural transformation, in which Napoleonic Paris becomes the Hellenistic-Roman world of the Augustan age, and the river banks of the Seine miraculously appear to change into those of the Nile.

Egyptian Objects and the Material Presence of the Absent Past

In the previous sections we have argued that the Hôtel de Beauharnais is an immersive space and that its effect on viewers can be historically

[22] On Sobry see Soane 2000, 383 and 704.

contextualized in terms of the Beaux-Arts approach to architectural design, which distinguishes between the *parti*—the formal choices for typology, prototypes, or models made by the architect in developing a first design concept—and the *marche*, the series of imaginary scenes or *tableaux* that are evoked as if by walking through the building. This section will consider how the main parts of Eugène's town house constitute such a series of immersive *tableaux* and focus on the major Egyptianizing features, their contemporary use, and their pedigree in order to understand how these *tableaux* achieve their immersive effect. A remarkable feature of the Hôtel de Beauharnais is the fact that the semiotic coherence of its interior decoration was, as it were, subverted by the immersive effects of objects and their materiality. The result, as will become clear, was not so much a semiotic system with specific and neatly circumscribed references, but rather a visual and tactile *frons scaenae* designed to draw the viewer into imaginary worlds. This theatrical interpretation is supported by the origin of the bedroom design, which was based on a stage set designed by Percier and Fontaine for the Parisian performance of *Die Zauberflöte* and subsequently reused for their design for the bedroom of Malmaison.[23] To examine how the process of cultural immersion works and to account for the revival of specific objects, object-forms, and motives, we will focus more closely on a number of conspicuous elements: the Egyptian portico, the Antinous statues, the Egyptian chimney, the porphyry obelisk, and the Nubian candelabra.

The Egyptian Portico

The famous portico of the Hôtel de Beauharnais (Fig. 2.3, see insert) is made of plaster and shows no attempt to imitate the dark stone varieties that were characteristic of Egyptian architecture, like basalt or greywacke, and is therefore Egyptian in style alone. The protruding corniche is decorated with a winged solar disc flanked by two snakes (*uraei*) in the middle and supported by two palmette columns: both clearly demarcate the central entrance. The front of the broad walls are decorated with Egyptian images left and right. The depictions have been interpreted as the mother goddess Mut, but have a variety of eighteenth-century visual sources (Humbert 1989, 51). Perhaps, therefore, the reliefs were meant to be deliberately ambiguous, signaling not a specific goddess but "Egypt" in more general

[23] Humbert 1989, 308, n. 24 and, for this aspect of the *Magic Flute* more in general, Assmann 2005.

terms, like the common and much-used symbol of the winged sun-disc. The sticks held by the two goddesses add to the ceremonial character of the portico; it is as if they are servants with torches inviting you in.

The portico forms a liminal space between the courtyard and the house, and thereby signals and defines what the viewer is about to experience. Within seconds, the strange and unfamiliar Egypt seen from afar will turn into an almost lived reality. The famous frontispiece of the *Description de l'Égypte* by Antoine Cécile, published in 1809 but already widely circulated in the years before (Fig. 2.12), functions in exactly the same way. It has a distinctly Classical, Napoleonic frame that surrounds a bird's-eye view of Egypt, from Alexandria to Philae. The image invites viewers to the book as well as the country, and seduces them to follow the road that is shown. The portico has the same purpose. It plays with imagination and reality by presenting two-dimensional Egyptian gods in relief on the outside, while soon after it surprises the visitors that mount the stairs and pass under the winged sun disc with three-dimensional statues of Antinous (Fig. 2.5).[24] These statues were displayed in the niches to the left and right side of the stairs and confronted visitors as soon as they entered.[25] This effect of immersion, namely, the transition from looking *at* Egypt to appearing to be *in* Egypt, increased further down the central hall where, through the house, the visitor could see the accompanying natural backdrop: a lush vegetation with the running water of the Seine/Nile behind it (Fig. 2.3, see insert).[26] Such an identification was not entirely fictitious: in 1809 a committee was formed under the direction of Louis Petit-Radel to investigate the truth behind the legend that Isis and Egypt were related to the origins of Paris. After a thorough investigation, the committee not only concluded that there had been a cult for Isis in Roman Paris, but also that there was a relation between *le navire de Paris* and Isis, who was associated with marine elements in antiquity, as well. Official *lettres patentes* from January 20, 1811 state that the Isiac origin of Paris had now officially been proven, and from that moment onwards the goddess is represented in the Parisian arms, seated on the prow of an ancient ship (Baltrusaitis 1967, 67–68).

[24] The statues of Antinous are now in the Musée Marmottan—see Humbert, Pantazzi, and Ziegler 1994–1995, 269–271, sv. 154–155.

[25] This is indeed the most logical reconstruction for their emplacement. See Pérouse de Montclos 1994, 278.

[26] The importance of this axis is underlined by one of the few surviving drawings, an aquarelle made in 1816 by Thibault (see Ebeling and Leben 2010, 4–5), that shows a view on the *cour* with the central door of the Hôtel open and providing a view on the *rive droîte*.

Architecture imitating Egyptian temples was popular in Paris during the first decade of the nineteenth century. This fashion was largely inspired by prints and drawings of the well-preserved temples at Denderah and Edfu. These complexes had already been known in the eighteenth century, but they became famous through their depictions in Vivant Denon's *Voyage dans le Basse et Haute Égypte* from 1802 and the *Description de l'Égypte* from 1809, among others (Humbert 1994). In his writings, Denon appears to have been particularly impressed by the Denderah temple.[27] Fittingly the iconic building served as the main inspiration for the special book-cases designed by Jomard to hold the twenty-two volumes of the *Description de l'Égypte*, which were executed without interruption by the *ébeniste* Charles Morel until 1836.[28] Denderah thus revealed an imaginary Egypt. Already in 1800, the architect Jean-François Chalgrin designed a monument for Napoleon's generals Desaix and Kléber, to be placed on the *Place des Victoires*, which was based on sketches of Vivant Denon and resembled the Denderah and Edfu temples. On September 23, 1800, a symbolic first stone was laid and Chalgrin subsequently set up a full-size maquette. This remained in place for two months (!), demonstrating that the Place des Victoires was much too small for his 14 × 9 meter structure. The project was quickly abandoned. More generally, Egyptian temples were mainly evoked in designs for funerary monuments at that time,[29] but not at all exclusively, as a remarkable pendule dated to 1806 and featuring a mechanism by Lépine illustrates (Fig. 2.13).[30]

The pendule almost exactly imitates the Denderah fronton and seems to allude to its main function during that period: demarcating the transition from the French present to the Egyptian past and thus establishing a relation between the two. Although the Beauharnais portico has a similar function, it was not exactly modeled on Denderah. Remarkably, the eye-catching Hathor capitals, often used as typical Egyptian elements in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century furniture, have been replaced here by palmette capitals. The portico did not evoke

[27] Denon 1803b I, preface, 9: "Denderah (Tintyris) m'apprit que ce n'étoit point dans les seuls ordres dorique, ionique, et corinthien, qu'il falloit chercher la beauté de l'architecture; que partout où existoit l'harmonie des parties, là étoit la beauté."
[28] Humbert, Pantazzi, and Ziegler 1994–1995, 264–266, sv. 151.
[29] Humbert 1989, 34–95, *Les émules d'Imhotep*, with many examples.
[30] Humbert 1989, 167 and Humbert, Pantazzi, and Ziegler 1994–1995, 211–213, sv. 110 "Pendule Denderah." Private collection, made from "bronze ciselé et doré, tôle patinée imitant le porphyre."

FIG. 2.13. *Pendule "portique à l'égyptienne"*, 1807–1808, gilt copper alliage, with a mechanism by Lépine.
Musée National du Palais de Compiègne.

Denderah or Edfu specifically, but rather the transition to an overall Egyptian realm.[31]

Architecture imitating Egyptian-style temples has a long and influential pedigree in the Hellenistic-Roman world. It is important to point out that the Denderah and Edfu temples themselves are, in fact, Hellenistic and Roman appropriations and innovations of Egyptian architecture. The

[31] "based on a mix of elements from the temples of Denderah and Edfu" (as Gaehtgens, Ebeling, and Leben argue in Nouvel-Kammerer 2007–2008, 78) might be too specific.

immense temple complex for Horus in Edfu was largely built during the Hellenistic period; Denderah, a smaller temple dedicated to the goddess Hathor, was built between 125 BC and 60 AD. Both draw heavily on older Egyptian examples.[32] The revival of Egyptian temple architecture was less common outside the land of the Nile, although certainly not unknown. For instance, temples for gods associated with Egypt, like Isis and Sarapis, sometimes feature a revival of iconic Egyptian temple design to demonstrate that these Hellenistic-Roman gods also had an *Egyptian* character, which might have made them more attractive to a wider range of believers. In the Roman world, Egyptian-style architecture thus played a role in imagining Egypt, but mainly in the religious sphere and by means of other kinds of material culture, in particular architectural decoration.[33] In contrast, the evocation of Egypt in elite Roman houses is well-known, but this effect is never achieved through a revival of Egyptian temple architecture.[34]

The Antinous Statues

Blue-turquoise marble statues of Antinous were placed in niches that flank the portico stairs on the left and right (Fig. 2.5).[35] Their role in the immersive *marche* that the Hôtel de Beauharnais provided has already been described above: they signaled that the visitor now really had entered a new historical realm. The statues themselves greatly enhanced this effect. They were life-size (1.75 m) and looked directly at the visitor from their slightly elevated positions. The combination of their nakedness, simple skirt, Pharaonic headdress, and self-conscious, archaicizing pose would have evoked estrangement. Everything about these statues was special, including the color of the marble that they were made of. These statues were not meant to be ignored or even simply gazed at: they almost forced the viewer to engage with them in a more profound way.

Around 1460 AD, telamones that represent Antinous in a distinct Roman-Egyptian style were found in the Villa Hadriana near Tivoli. Distributed through drawings and prints from the sixteenth century onwards, these statues were installed in the Vatican Museums around 1780 to support the monumental entrance of the new Museo Pio-Clementino. This type of sculptural support had an immense impact from the moment it

[32] *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, Band 1, sv. Denderah, Edfu.
[33] For an overview of the debate and examples, see Versluys 2013.
[34] See the recent overview and interpretation by Mol 2015.
[35] These are now in the Musée Marmottan, see n. 24 above.

became known in Europe: Antinous sculptures are undoubtedly one of the most frequently revived Egyptian elements in European cultural history (Humbert 1989, 111). Their impact began around 1530, when the sculptor Rosso Fiorentino created two female caryatids in the *Porte Egyptienne du Pavillon des Armes* at Fontainebleau that were clearly modeled after the Hadrianic statues. In the first quarter of the nineteenth century, the importance of this sculptural type, which was well known and frequently used by then, was reinforced through the presence of the originals in Paris, after they had been taken from Rome by Napoleon. In the years 1806–1809, Bralle and Beauvallet constructed the so-called "Fontaine du fellah" (at 42 Rue de Sèvres) and modeled their water-carrier on the original Antinous that was on display in the Louvre until 1815. The strong conceptual relation that had grown between "Egypt", one the one hand, and "*Geheimnissreligion*" (a secret and therefore older and more profound form of religion), on the other hand, would certainly have played an additional role in the popularity of the Antinous figure in this period.[36] When Mozart's *Zauberflöte* (1791) was staged in Paris in 1801, with designs by Percier and Fontaine that in many respects announced their subsequent work in Malmaison, it was performed under the title *Les mystères d'Isis*.

The new image type of Antinous exercised a comparable impact in Imperial Rome itself.[37] Antinous was the emperor Hadrian's lover, who allegedly drowned in the Nile when visiting Egypt as part of the emperor's entourage in 130 AD. Whether this is a historical fact or a myth constructed by the imperial court is debatable; it is certain that the new image type, which combined Greek, Egyptian, and Roman elements, was almost unparalleled in success throughout the Roman world.[38] Soon after 130 AD, Antinous was venerated almost everywhere—the fact that Antinuous sculptures constitute one of the highest number of surviving statue types from antiquity is illustrative of this. The second century AD Greek aristocrat, Roman senator, and public intellectual Herodes Atticus had several Antinous statues on display in his *villae* to show his close relations with the court. But we find Antinous statues in many more and diverse contexts after 130 AD. This was probably related to these statues' ability to engage the viewer in a totally different, more personal way.[39] This new image type was striking both in terms of its cultural "inbetweenness"—being Greek, Roman,

[36] For *Geheimnissreligion* or *Religio duplex* and the impact of this idea, see Assmann 2010. Also see the fascinating collection of eighteenth-century texts compiled by Assmann and Ebeling 2011.
[37] Summarizing with earlier bibliography, see Parlasca 2005.
[38] See Versluys 2012 with a discussion of the earlier bibliography.
[39] The best exploration of this important issue can be found in Vout 2005.

and Egyptian simultaneously—and in terms of its "inbetweenness" as an imperial symbol. Because of their almost erotic presence, Antinous statues appeared to make imperial power more seductive, approachable, and, one could say, tangible than ever before. Being enabled to admire the physical beauty of the emperor's lover must have been an unsettling experience for viewers, an effect that was enhanced by his divinity and the play between Greco-Roman self and Egyptian other. It seems that these characteristics were appropriated and understood very differently throughout the ages, but the statue type never lost the power to create such a relation with the viewer.

The Egyptian Chimney

One of the most eye-catching decorations of the Hôtel de Beauharnais was the Egyptian chimney. It formed the key decorative element in a large room that overlooked the garden and functioned as both picture gallery and ballroom. In fact, Egyptian forms affected all aspects of this room's decor.[40] The chimney was designed by Lucien-François Feuchère and Nicolas Bataille, who used the *mensa isiaca*, found around 1530 and made famous through the publication by Lorenzo Pignoria in 1605, as one of their sources for the Egyptianizing features. It has not been preserved in its original state due to reconstructions undertaken around 1850 by Hittorff. A drawing of the original state, however, allows a reconstruction (Fig. 2.6).[41] It was made of gray-green granite, probably in imitation of Egyptian porphyry. Its shining bronze mounts are still preserved. These show a Pharaoh with typical headdress amidst all kinds of stylized palmette and lotus motifs. Above these mounts, a register decorated with hieroglyphic motifs continued along the full width of the chimney. This was topped by an upper register that again showed stylized floral motifs around a Pharaoh-head at the corners, and a winged sun disc was flanked by snakes (*uraei*) in the middle, strongly recalling the portico decoration. The ground floor register likewise consisted of a band of hieroglyphic motives. Goddesses standing at the left and right, probably depicting Isis, served as flanking figures. The chimney pieces consist of Egyptianizing herms, flanked by the falcons of Horus.[42] Seen from a distance, the

[40] Gaehtgens, Ebeling, and Leben 2007–2008, 79: "Egyptian forms dominated." They mention armchairs, chairs, and benches with Egyptian motifs and lavish curtains in *Terre d'Égypte*.

[41] Paris, Musée des Arts décoratifs, Album Maciet, 143.

[42] Marie-Antoinette often had Egyptian sphinxes represented in her living quarters, also as chimney pieces. Her 1770 bedroom decorated by Antoine Rousseau shows sphinxes, as well as a salon in

chimney certainly looks Egyptian, but in a rather conventional way. It only reveals its real impact when approached and inspected from nearby. To draw the viewer near, the upper part of the fireplace was decorated with a large band with depictions of a large variety of Egyptian gods and goddesses, seen through some kind of arcade with a smaller register featuring hieroglyphs above it.[43] While a frontal view of the chimney provides rather general and standard associations from a distance, the viewer is rewarded for approaching it with more specific and remarkable images. These depictions of gods, goddesses, and hieroglyphs were reflected in the mirror that hung above the chimney. In combination with the grey-green granite and the light from the candles, this will have provided a unique effect, especially at night.[44] The immersive effect of the chimney becomes particularly clear when studied in combination with the objects on and around it: namely, the porphyry obelisk flanked by the Nubian candelabra and the large mirror reflecting these objects, as well as the room itself in its entirety. Therefore, we will describe these objects and their pedigrees in further detail below.

Regarding possible models for the chimney itself, Giovanni Piranesi's *Diverse manière d' adornare I cammini* from 1769 immediately springs to mind.[45] The imitation of Egyptian hieroglyphs and the iconography of Egyptian gods and goddesses in a nonreligious context has a very long pedigree in itself however. We already find hieroglyphs imitated as images and not as coherent textual signs in twelfth century BC Mycenae, and the Roman world shows many examples of this practice.[46] While such imitations were initially meant to testify to the fascination for a foreign and unknown visual style in general terms, a subsequent discourse on hieroglyphs as mystical signs aims at revealing a deeper truth. This idea originated with Herodotus and was taken up in the Renaissance.[47] This association may also have played a role in the Hôtel, albeit only indirectly: there is no indication of a direct relation with Freemasonry or similar associations, although Eugène, his mother, and Napoleon were all Freemasons.

Fontainebleau decorated in 1786. This contributed to a wider popularity of sphinxes and other Egyptian decorative elements in the second part of the eighteenth century, see Humbert 1989, 102.

43 As depicted in the lower part of the drawing from the chimney preserved in the Album Maciet, see n. 41 above.

44 Recalling noctural viewings of famous ancient statues like the Laocoön; see van Eck 2015, 152–155, 197–198 and Fig. 78.

45 Described and illustrated in Humbert, Pantazzi, and Ziegler 1994–1995, 69–74, sv. nos. 16–21.

46 For Mycenae, see Kelder 2009; for the Roman period, see Baines and Whitehouse 2005.

47 See Assmann and Assmann 2003 and for Renaissance architecture in particular still Wittkower 1972.

The Porphyry Obelisk

The porphyry obelisk is placed on the mantelpiece. By the combination of the impressive chimney that supports it, the Nubian candelabra at its left and right, and the reflecting mirror behind it, the object is transformed into the centerpiece of the room, even though it is not conspicuous in itself. Made of porphyry and relatively large in size for a miniature obelisk (around one meter), it is mounted on a white marble base that itself is placed on an onyx platform in the shape of a staircase. The use of three different materials and the selection of real porphyry is significant, especially because the chimney itself was made of granite in order to imitate porphyry and its imperial associations. The platform was placed on top of the band of images depicting Egyptian gods and goddesses and, in this way, planted in Egyptian soil. It is unknown whether the obelisk was made from ancient porphyry or was antique itself; it is often assumed that Eugène had brought it from Egypt himself.[48] If this is true, it would explain the object's central place within the decorative program and the imaginary walk through the Hôtel de Beauharnais, as if the owner and the immersive space he created came together in the porphyry obelisk.

In ancient Egypt, obelisks were already heavily charged with meaning. They were regarded as petrified rays of light and could act as symbols of the sun, or represent the pharaoh as the personification of the country's unity. Because Ptolemaic kings and Roman emperors appropriated this symbolism, obelisks became *the* symbol of dynastic legitimation. This is one of the reasons why Popes went to great lengths to re-erect obelisks—that is, to demonstrate that their city equaled Imperial Rome. Seen from this perspective, the obelisk was a highly appropriate element for the hotel's decoration. Eugène was not the only one to align himself with the power of the obelisk. A project for a monument for General Desaix on the Place des Victoires was approved in 1803: it showed Desaix standing naked, like a Roman general, with his left hand resting on an obelisk.[49] Napoleon's plans for the erection of an obelisk on the

48 Ebeling and Leben 2010, 33 "probablement un souvenir de voyage du Prince Eugène:" Gaehtgens, Ebeling, and Leben 2007–2008, 80, have "as a Grand Tour souvenir." Both qualifications, we think, are underplaying its importance. In the library Eugène displayed a collection of Egyptian statues of cats he had collected himself while in Egypt. After his departure for Munich he had them sent after him; cf. Ebeling and Leben 2010, 29.

49 This was an ancient obelisk from the Villa Albani. The socle of the monument showed all kinds of Egyptian elements. It was inaugurated in 1800 and highly criticized because of the nakedness

Pont Neuf were not executed.[50] But with the erection of the obelisk from Luxor on the Place de la Concorde in 1833, Paris finally got the obelisk it deserved. From the sixteenth century onwards, the obelisk, as form, gained a much wider resonance for the practical reason that the obelisk provides ideal support as a sculptural element.[51] Evidently, something very different is going on with the porphyry obelisk from the chimney of the Hôtel de Beauharnais.

The Nubian Candelabra

Two Nubian candelabra flank the obelisk (Fig. 2.7).[52] They starkly contrast with the obelisk in terms of both material (dark stone versus shining gold) and execution (simple versus elaborate). They consist of a high pedestal decorated with Egyptian scenes on four sides and a Horus bird at the corner. This decoration is a continuation of the frieze with Egyptian deities on which the candelabra are placed. The decorated platforms depict women with bent knees and raised hands holding the candelabra proper. They feature an intricate vegetal design with mythical elements and Egyptian motifs, which develops into the seven branches that hold the candles. This grotesque ends in the form of a *sistrum*; a rattle-instrument associated with the cults of Isis. Fully gilded and displayed in front of a large mirror, these candelabra were true eyecatchers, especially when lit.

This type of *candélabre à l'Égyptienne* became popular towards the end of Louis XVI's reign and remained *en vogue* throughout the nineteenth century.[53] The imperial collection featured a remarkable specimen made by Pierre-Philippe Thomire around 1805, showing a standing woman *en patine noire* with all kinds of gilded Egyptianizing elements and carrying a second candelabrum on her headdress.[54] The Nubian examples from the Hôtel de Beauharnais are an exclusive variation on this type and form part of a series made by Lucien-François

of Desaix. It was torn down in 1814. See Humbert, Pantazzi, and Ziegler 1994–1995, 213–215, sv. 111.

[50] Humbert, Pantazzi, and Ziegler 1994–1995, 216–19, sv. 112–115.
[51] Humbert 1989, 97: "L'obélisque miniature est apparu lui-même comme objet indépendant dès le XVIe siècle dans les cabinets des amateurs. Depuis, il n'y a jamais cessé d'être à la mode."
[52] Ebeling and Leben 2010, 33: "deux imposants candélabres ornés du modèle des 'Nubiennes agenouillées.' "
[53] Humbert, Pantazzi, and Ziegler 1994–1995, 284, fig. 1.
[54] Such figures were modelled after the design for an Egyptian console by Percier from around 1800, see Humbert, Pantazzi, and Ziegler 1994–1995, 286–287, sv. 167.

Feuchère together with Nicolas Bataille. Eugène had two pairs, one of which was preserved in the Hôtel; the other one was taken to Germany and is now in Munich. Prince Schwarzenberg obtained his pair in 1805; a fourth pair may also have belonged to the Prince and Princess Murat. There are only small differences in execution.[55] This type of candelabra plays with the contrast between the bare-breasted women's dark bodies and the flickering candlelight. It is therefore remarkable that the Nubian candelabra preserved in the Hôtel are fully gilded, unlike the other examples.

Unformulated Realities: Creative Aemulation and Innovative Eclecticism on the Banks of the Seine and the Nile

> Ornament says more than it shows to the eye, and what it expresses takes the viewer into areas that are rich in unformulated realities. (Nouvel-Kammerer 2007–2008, 27)

In this essay we have argued that the Hôtel de Beauharnais should primarily be understood as an immersive space. This interpretation we have presented against the background of the emerging Beaux-Arts distinction between *parti* and *marche*. To understand how the *marche* with its succession of immersive *tableaux* functioned, we have analyzed some conspicuous Egyptian and other features of the building. This analysis showed that we are dealing here not so much with an established semiotic or iconographical program, but primarily with the immersive effects of objects and their materiality. That Eugène used Egyptian elements to give a public statement of his allegiance to Napoleon and that the decoration of the Hôtel de Beauharnais represents Eugène as soldier and music lover is, to a certain extent, stating the obvious. All dynastic residences are about legitimation in one way or another and many of them about showing that its builder excels in domains like warfare or culture. We have argued that the decoration of the Hôtel de Beauharnais does much more than referring to these rather general associations through its qualities as visual and tactile *frons scaenae*. Where earlier scholars often had difficulties coming to terms with the various heritages and particular new forms of the Empire Style, recent research suggests that it might be precisely this creative emulation that gives the Empire Style its distinct power and effect.[56] This is

[55] Humbert, Pantazzi, and Ziegler 1994–1995, 290–292, sv. 170.
[56] Early studies by Bourgeois and Francastel already signalled the problem of understanding the way in which the Empire Style combined so many different styles, but the groundbreaking

what we have described for the Hôtel de Beauharnais. Its decorations referred back to many different pasts: primarily the Egyptian, but also the Classical Greek and Imperial Roman past. In our analysis of these appropriations and transformations we have shown these certainly did not limit themselves to allusions to original Greek, Roman, or Egyptian meanings and associations, but also included references to contemporary reprises of such elements, for instance in the Antinous statues or the obelisk. Thus the decoration of the Hôtel de Beauharnais became a material embodiment of cultural memory, constantly playing on absent pasts and their material presence. Its immersive impact, we argue, is based on this power to make present many layers of the past.[57]

If we look for a pedigree of such a form of innovative eclecticism, we will have to turn again to the Nile. Founded by Alexander the Great, the city of Alexandria developed into the economic and cultural center of the ancient world during the third century BC. In the last two centuries BC Alexandria truly was a world city, a cosmopolis full of people and artifacts from all over the *oikumene*. This coming together of almost global connections resulted in the shaping of distinctly new constellations and styles of material culture. These new styles were so much more than the "hybrid" sum of their parts that scholars have coined the term Alexandrianism to characterize them.[58] Many of these Alexandrian innovations were successful and immediately taken up in the Mediterranean and Near East at large. They had an impact because they were novel and because they were formed from a combination of elements that already possessed historical meanings in themselves but that had even more impact because of their novel combinations. Innovative eclecticism can thus be defined as the practice of integrating a variety of selected decorative forms in order to produce something new that causes amazement through its originality and layers of temporality. For various sociopolitical, economic, and geographic reasons Alexandria was a uniquely important cosmopolitan hub, but it is important to realize that there was much more innovative eclecticism around in all parts of the Hellenistic world. Soon, Rome would develop into one of its main centers. There is, therefore, a lot of Alexandrianism beyond Alexandria.

To understand fully the innovative character of Alexandrianism in both the Hellenistic-Roman world and the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries,

exhibition catalogue and essay by Odile Nouvel-Kammerer (2007–2008) offers a more fundamental analysis.

[57] For such an interpretation of the meaning and impact of objects more in general, see van Eck, Versluys, and Ter Keurs 2015.

[58] For the question of Alexandrianism, see Queyrel 2012, Connelly 2015, and Versluys 2015.

it may be helpful to use the distinction between *design concepts* and *formal languages*, developed in recent studies of nineteenth-century architectural eclecticism.[59] Design concepts are approaches to how artifacts, artworks, or buildings are put together: by means of bricolage, adding one part after another as they become available, or by the thorough planning based on a pre-existing intellectual concept of the whole that is the basis of Renaissance theories of *disegno*. Similarly, the Beaux-Arts distinction between *parti* and *marche* is a design concept as well. But such concepts can be applied to different formal languages or styles: the Houses of Parliament in London for instance combine a late Tudor repertoire of forms with a Beaux-Arts *parti*. This dissociation of design concept and formal language occurs for the first time, we would argue, in Hellenistic *kosmopoleis* such as Alexandria from *c.* 200 BC onwards. It is exemplified in Hellenistic poetry with its hitherto unseen stylistic variety, but also in the interior design style of, for instance, the so-called Second Pompeian style. In the period 1450–1750 this dissociation was obscured by the merging of design concepts and formal language in the revival of Classical art and architecture, but the discovery of Herculaneum and Pompeii sparked off its re-emergence in Piranesi's polemic against Vitruvian design concepts. His examples of such a style in the *Diverse Maniere*, with their accumulation of forms and styles from very different periods and regions and apparent lack of premeditated formal organization, are a visual polemic against the Renaissance design concept of *disegno*, and its French eighteenth-century descendants of *convenance* and *bienséance*.

Alexandrianism emerges in cosmopolitan contexts, often with the aim of demonstrating the extraordinary possibilities and status of the patron.[60] The Hôtel de Beauharnais embodies both aspects. It was part of a style that could only emerge after Napoleon had conquered Egypt and established the idea of a world empire. It presents a complete break with eighteenth-century design concepts based on *caractère* and *convenance*, and offers instead a series of immersive experiences to the visitor in which the portico, statues, chimney piece, obelisk, and candelabra all make present, in all their historical layeredness, an ideal absent past.

59 See, for example, the Introduction to van der Woud 2002.

60 For innovative eclecticism in the Hellenistic and Roman worlds see Versluys 2017.

CHAPTER 3

The History of Human Habitation

Ancient Domestic Architecture in Nineteenth-Century Europe

SHELLEY HALES

ON MAY 5, 1889, that year's Exposition Universelle opened on the Champ de Mars in Paris. The most extensive World Fair to date and an enormous success, it would welcome some 32 million visitors before it closed on October 31 and would leave the most enduring icon of nineteenth-century modernity: Gustave Eiffel's tower (de Andia et al. 2005, 104). But visitors to the Eiffel Tower during the exhibition could not have experienced it without encountering antiquity. At its feet stood the houses of the *L'Histoire de l'habitation humaine* exhibit created by the architect Jean-Louis Charles Garnier (Fig. 3.1).

Most famous for the new Paris Opera House, the architect created forty-four "reconstructions" of past house-types arranged along the Quai D'Orsay to allow visitors literally to walk the history of the world. Classical antiquity was represented by a Greek, Roman and, most innovatively, a Gallo-Roman house; their ancestry was conveyed by the presence of an Etruscan House and their trajectories in west and east demonstrated through Romanesque and Byzantine Houses respectively.[1] Garnier's ancient houses are largely forgotten by Classicists, but they offer great insight into a recalibration of understanding of the nature and value of the relation between antiquity and modernity in the later nineteenth century, documenting an ethnographic turn that allows us to look back at the century's domestic reconstructions through a different (and perhaps less comfortable) lens.

[1] Bouvier 2005 offers a rare and most recent treatment of Garnier's project. On Garnier's career more generally, see Leniaud 2003.

FIG. 3.1. View of *L'Histoire de l'habitation humaine* exhibition from the corner of the Roman House (N.B. This is an inverted image).
The Marine Corps Archives and Special Collections; official USMC photograph.

Garnier's Classical-era houses reflect the culmination of a sequence of reconstructed ancient houses in Europe. From the mid-century, international exhibitions had provided a major venue for the display of ancient domestic culture, most obviously the Pompeian Court of the 1854 Sydenham Crystal Palace, but also the Maison Pompéienne, built in Paris as a "private" commission for Prince Jérôme Napoléon but intimately connected with the Expositions Universelles.[2] In many ways, Garnier's houses and reactions to them reflect the kind of attitudes and experiences with which these predecessors had been associated. Like them, his houses were equally feted and berated for their fakery and toylike nature and plunged antiquity into an eclectic melange of exoticism and familiarity. Like them, they reflect the intriguing reliance of the relentlessly totalizing, public and grandiose Expositions and Exhibitions on private, individual experience.

[2] On the Sydenham Pompeian Court, see Hales 2006; Nichols 2015. On the Maison Pompéienne see de la Batie 1976; de Gary 1979; Pinot de Villechenon 2001; Baudez 2014; Hales 2016.

In this exhibition, the essential characteristics of peoples across the whole world could be expressed through domestic dwelling, the houses of antiquity pressed into service alongside novel temporal and geographical neighbors; the African, Chinese, and Indian. But this mode of display not only potentially changed the force of those responses but opened to challenge the assumptions on which his Classical-era houses' predecessors had been created. Emphasis on painted interiors gave way to function and facade; a new emphasis on cultural specificity threatened to alienate rather than close the gap between past and present; and Pompeii was displaced by Roman Gaul.

The narratives woven around Garnier's lost houses offer a means of exploring the ways in which the physical resurrection of the domestic past became a powerful means of literal and metaphorical place-making for visitors to Exhibitions in Britain and France throughout the nineteenth century. They provide an opportunity to articulate more closely the changing perceptions in European culture both of the roles of these reconstructions and of the nature of antiquity's relationship to contemporary personal and national identity.

The History of Human Habitation

Unlike the Tower that rose above them, and despite a petition to save them, the houses of the *L'Histoire de l'habitation humaine* exhibit were destroyed in the immediate aftermath of the Expo and so they are only known through a series of photographs, images reproduced on postcards and trade cards, reviews, and commemorative texts, including one by the Belgian architect Frantz Jourdain and most importantly, one by Garnier himself.[3]

Photographs, along with the ground plan of the Expo site give the best indication of the presentation of the exhibition, which ran along the park-side of the quay. The houses could not be presented in continual consecutive order since the path was bisected by that coming from the Trocadero across the Pont d'Iéna and under the Tower toward the main Expo galleries (Fig. 3.2, see insert).

This arrangement not only disrupted the space but also the control of visitors who could be arriving from any one of four directions. Garnier's

[3] Jourdain 1889; Garnier and Ammann 1892; Champier 1889. On the rescued models, see Bouvier 2005, 51.

solution was to create a sense of evolution from outer edges to center. Most of the houses were strung along the quay paths, with the most primitive sites (ancient primitive on one side and "contemporary" primitives on the other) at the far ends. At the central intersection stood his key houses; on the right, a group of the Romanesque, Medieval, and Renaissance Houses and, on the left, the Roman House. Otherwise the order might not have seemed overtly obvious to the visitor who, walking to the Expo from the southern end of the quay, would have passed the Arab, Russian, and then Byzantine Houses immediately before reaching the Renaissance.[4] The houses were of substantial size and, as the photographs suggest, all enterable. The one interior view (of the Roman House) that Garnier provides in his publication of the exhibition suggests that they were decorated if not furnished.

In order to make sense of Garnier's vision, we are now reliant on his book, *L'Histoire d'habitation humaine*, a vastly expanded version of the original guidebook, written in conjunction with Auguste Ammann, a history teacher from the Gymnasium Louis le Grand. Published in 1892 and comprising over 1000 pages and plates of each building, the book was translated into several languages and prolonged and extended the impact of his project, if never reaching such a vast audience as that which sauntered down the Quai d'Orsay during the Expo.[5] By the time of publication, his houses had already been demolished. Both he and Jourdain emphasized that their volumes rebuilt the lost exhibition in durable form and emphasized the scrupulous exactitude with which they had documented it, just as Garnier would use the book to authenticate the exhibition models themselves.[6] The real locus of the architect's restorative powers, then, perhaps lay less in the buildings themselves than in the lithographs that revived them in the plates of these publications.

The reason for the collaboration with Ammann is made clear in the introduction to the volume, which opens with the image of the architect limping along the paths of history, enlisting an historian who is blind to the architecture they pass. Together, they are able to complement each other, creating an ethnographic account of the history of human habitation

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[4] Champier 1889, 118 expresses bemusement on this score. On the difference between the routes visitors actually took through Exhibition spaces and the guiding narrative set out so carefully in guidebook texts, see Nichols 2015; Hales and Earle 2017, 179–208. See Champier 1889, 118 on that very issue with regard to Garnier's exhibition.

[5] Garnier and Ammann 1892, iv. See, for example, Sabatino 2010, 38–40.

[6] Garnier and Ammann 1892, v; promotional flyer for Jourdain 1889, kept with the copy of the book in the Bodleian.

in which aesthetics and social history will combine to demonstrate that domestic architecture reflects the character of the peoples for whom it is designed. As a result, the narrative sets out to demonstrate how each model house featured the archetypal domestic features which the authors felt best reflected a culture's spirit and needs. The houses were organized in three categories: prehistoric, historic, and contemporary primitive. Classical antiquity featured in the second category, itself subdivided between primitive civilizations (including the Egyptians and Etruscans) and those arising from Aryan invasion (conveniently allowing Gallic architecture to sit alongside the Greek and Roman). The contemporary primitive group included peoples identified as yellow, black, and red (i.e., the peoples of Asia, equatorial Africa, and the Americas), who were understood to have remained in isolation from the second group and to have been static in terms of development, both without and outside history, and physically and conceptually peripheral.

This ethnographical narrative was not entirely original, though its architectural demonstration in the form of the Expo models certainly was. In 1875, the architect and theorist Eugène Emmanuel Viollet le Duc (who died a few years later and so never saw Garnier's project) had published his own *Histoire de l'habitation humaine, depuis les temps préhistoriques jusqu'à nos jours*, in which two characters, Épergos and Doxi, traveled through time experiencing the different domestic architectures of successive peoples, discoursing as they went on their opposing attitudes to architectural endeavor, one arguing for the value of the precedents of the past and one staunchly for the spirit of progress (Viollet le Duc 1875). While Viollet le Duc's architectural background and training was very different from Garnier's (the former deliberately in opposition to the École des Beaux Arts and the latter a star pupil thereof) and though both used this ethnographic turn for slightly different contemporary purposes, both took as their starting point the opinion that architecture is a mirror of the society of the inhabitants who built it and is thus peculiar to its environment. This conceit was enthusiastically taken up by Jourdain in his brief monograph on Garnier's exhibition. Architecture told a continuous story of development, since each step was a link in a chain as generations of people took from their ancestors and neighbors and adapted the inherited models to their own ideas, needs, and materials (Jourdain 1889, 2). As Jourdain put it, although man tries to deceive future peoples with the stories he builds of himself, architecture restores truth and transmits secrets—buildings are "poems of stone" (Jourdain 1889, 1). By presenting the oldest, most fully expressed archetypal home of any one civilization, Garnier and Ammann, then, were promising to reveal these civilizations' very essence.

The anthropological turn of this exhibit provided an unprecedented context for ancient domestic reconstruction but was well judged for the Expo. In the 1854 Sydenham Crystal Palace, the Pompeian Court, which took the form of an entire Pompeian house, designed by Matthew Digby Wyatt and decorated with paintings traced on site by the Neapolitan draughtsman Giuseppe Abbate, had been resolutely part of the Fine Art Courts, so although it had invited much chatter about the domestic arrangements and lifestyles of its imputed inhabitants, it was essentially there to invite admiration of its aesthetic qualities.[7] It had no interaction with the Ethnology exhibit, the entrance to which was only feet away and which had set the trend for such Expo exhibits with model tableaux of primitive peoples in their appropriate dress and environments. Such ethnographical displays played a significant role in the educational remit, scientific posturing, and colonial politics of the European World Fairs. A hangover from the Great Exhibition of 1851, living "primitives" from the colonial world continued to be regular features. In 1889, the Palais des Arts Libéraux hosted a major anthropology exhibition, which included a number of tableaux that suggested some crossover with Garnier's exhibition (both including a display about lake-dwellers).[8] Reviewers of neither exhibit appear to have cross-referenced, perhaps exposing somewhat the lie of the accumulative, encyclopedic education that Expo organizers apparently expected their visitors to absorb, though a set of trade cards which includes each of the houses of Garnier's exhibition alongside an image of a corresponding "native" with appropriate dress and physiology suggests that the ethnographical thrust of Garnier's work was appreciated.

In the evolutionary sequence, European culture was clearly traced back to the Aryan invasions. Jourdain's narrative is particularly emphatic on this point: still in the nineteenth century we are subjected to their influence, which stubbornly persists no matter what cataclysm threatens it (Jourdain 1889, 7). That influence is aesthetic as much as social or technical: it is the Aryans who have cherished the art of the architect and so alleviated the clumsy practical solutions of the builder (Jourdain 1889, 9). In Jourdain's opinion, the Greek house with its "parfum de poésie" represents the true

[7] On the Fine Arts Courts, see Piggott 2004, 67–122.
[8] Wilson 1890. On the presence of archaeology and anthropology at World Fairs, see Muller-Scheessel 2001; Kaufman 2004, 275. On ethnography at the Crystal Palace in particular, see Qureshi 2011.

triumph of this artistry (Jourdain 1889, 12). Garnier's narrative is slightly more circumspect but the order of his book makes clear his preference. At twenty-two chapters long, the book did not dedicate a chapter to each house. Instead it bunched several houses into a developmental category. So, for example, the Etruscan House was covered as part of chapter 6 on the primitive civilizations of Mediterranean Europe and the Byzantine House in chapter 14 on Byzantine civilization and its influence on Europe. Between these, only two house types get a whole chapter to themselves: the Greek and the Roman. Of these, the chapter on the Roman House is by far the greater, inviting almost one hundred pages of comment, and (as chapter 11 of 22) is presented both materially and conceptually as the heart of the narrative, reflecting the "real" model's physical location at the heart of the exhibition (Garnier and Ammann 1892, 489–570).

The Roman House featured a shop front, in which metal vessels were displayed under a canopy and extended its sphere with a small garden featuring a stepped fountain flanked by herms clearly based on that excavated in the House of Marcus Lucretius (IX.3.5/24) in Pompeii in 1846–1847 (Fig. 3.3).[9] This being the one interior that Garnier chose to illustrate, we can also see an impluviate atrium, which is cast rather more like a three-sided peristyle as in the House of the Tragic Poet (VI.8.5), excavated in the 1820s. It was appropriately, if austerely, decorated with blank fields between painted candelabra above a dado with painted plants, an image of perspectival architecture over the doorway the one concession to the fantastic world of Pompeian wall painting (Fig. 3.4).

However, although dependent on these Pompeian models for inspiration, Garnier was keen to explain that this house was not a Pompeian house per se and this perhaps marks the most significant departure from the earlier ancient domestic reconstructions. Such deviance from precedent arose from the necessity for the Roman House to conform to the tenets of the overall project. Pompeian domestic architecture could not be understood as archetypal of Roman practice, since the city's ruins predominantly consisted of housing built after the AD 62 earthquake and not in the period in which Roman character and domestic arrangement were formulated (Garnier and Ammann 1892, 491–494). Nevertheless, expectation and familiarity appear to have overwhelmed this careful explanation, with

9 On the House of Marcus Lucretius and a more recent exhibition reconstruction of its fountain in Helsinki, see Tammisto and Wassholm 2016, 245–271.

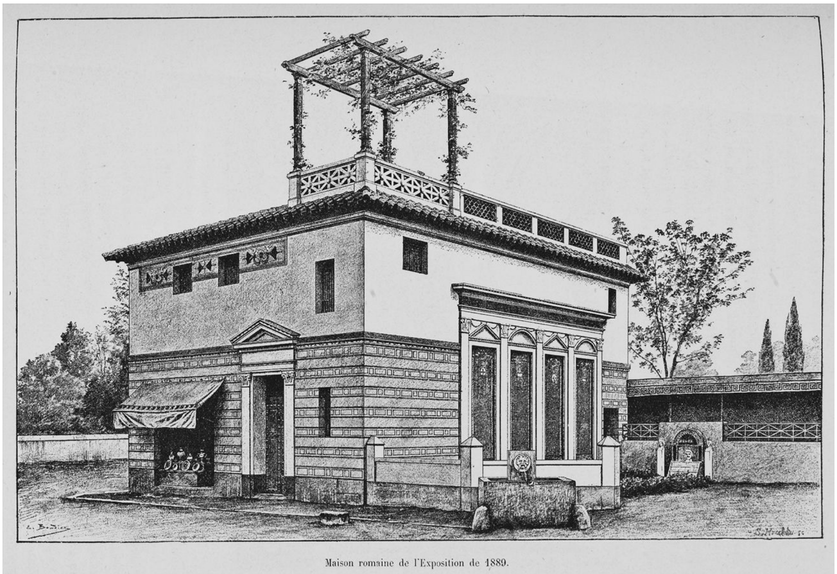

FIG. 3.3. The Roman House. Lithograph by C. Garnier & A. Ammann from *L'Histoire d'habitation humaine*, 1892.

Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.

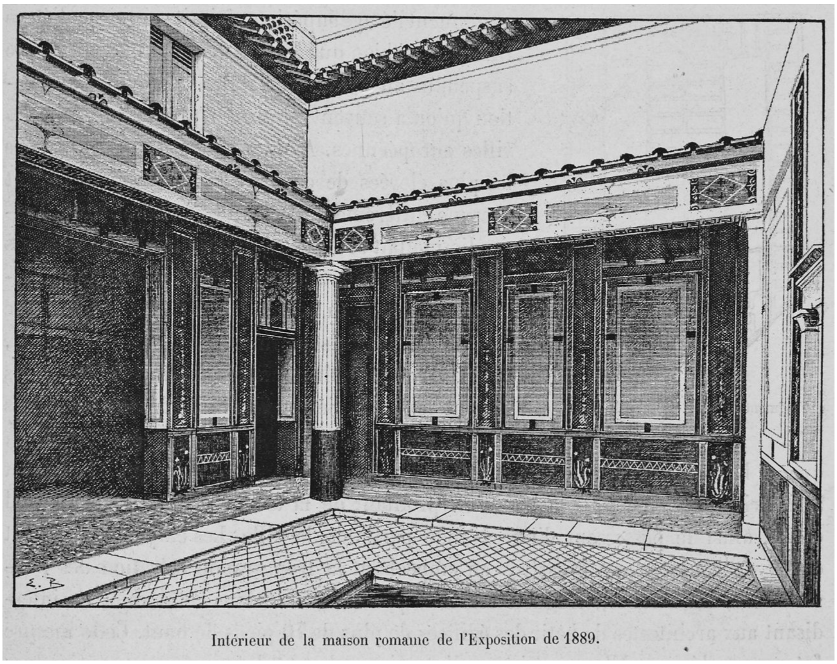

FIG. 3.4. Interior of the Roman House. Lithograph by C. Garnier & A. Ammann from *L'Histoire d'habitation humaine*, 1892.

Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.

some clearly content to believe that the house was essentially a "Pompeian villa" (Jourdain 1889, 12).

The nature of the Roman atrium house type caused some difficulty for Garnier and Ammann's project. Its dependence on Greek and Etruscan influence threatened to disrupt a narrative which depended on cultural specificity. They were particularly concerned by the ways in which Romans appeared to have depended for inspiration on the homes of the very people they had conquered since this implied both a lack of identity on the Romans' part and a survival of the Greek that rather went against evolutionary survival of the fittest. The mature Roman house was "l'accouplement bizarre de deux maisons d'origine differente" (Garnier and Ammann 1892, 544). In Garnier's scheme, the different influences acting on the Roman home can never quite coalesce. They sit awkwardly next to each other, meeting different needs of the domestic sphere; the Etruscan atrium for the reception of guests, the Greek peristyle for private leisure.

Nevertheless, despite its inability to conform to the schema, the Roman House remained crucial to the sequence. The reason becomes clear in the following chapter, which concerns itself with the epoch of invasions from the fifth to the tenth centuries, the second part of which demonstrates the invasion architecture of the Gallo-Romans and Gallo-Franks (Garnier and Ammann 1892, 571–597, esp. 584–597). The Roman house is both the sum of all antiquity's domestic traditions (drawing as it does on Etruscan and the Greek) and the font of future progress, preparing the reader/viewer for the Middle Ages and from there the modern world. The Roman empire had brought its basic house type to all the civilized peoples of the world by the fourth century AD, and retained its impression on the peoples of that world as they moved forward after its fall (Garnier and Ammann 1892, 571–572). Jourdain has to agree. Although he finds the Roman House less refined than the ideal Greek on which it relies so heavily, he sees Garnier's model evocation to be the perfect resurrection of an epoch that never disappeared (Jourdain 1889, 12).

The prominent position given to the Roman House makes it all the more surprising that throughout their discussions neither he nor Jourdain mentioned the Maison Pompéienne, the full-scale reconstruction of a Pompeian house which stood on the Avenue Montaigne just across the Seine, even when Garnier has cause to mention the Villa of Diomedes, the villa just outside Pompeii's Herculaneum Gate which had been its inspiration (Garnier and Ammann 1892, 567). Garnier's lack of engagement with the Maison is perhaps surprising both because of his own interactions with that building and its creators and the Maison's associations with previous Expositions Universelles. Admittedly not in great shape in 1889, having been abandoned during the Prussian Siege of 1871, the Maison Pompéienne was nevertheless the most extensive and academic reconstruction of an ancient house in Europe, comparable only to Ludwig of Bavaria's Pompejanum (Bergmann 2016, 183–215). It had been built between 1856 and 1860 by the architect Alfred Normand as a commission for Prince Jérôme Napoléon, cousin of Emperor Napoléon III and nephew of Napoléon I. The figure paintings in the panels on its interior walls had been painted by academicians like Sébastien Cournu and Jean-Léon Gérôme and the place was frequented by Jérôme's literary favorites, including Théophile Gautier and Arsène Houssaye. Garnier had travelled overseas with Gautier and was, like the creators of the Maison, a proper old-school academician, trained at the École des Beaux-Arts and, on receipt of the Premier Grand Prix de Rome in 1848, at the Académie de France à Rome where he was a *pensionnaire* in 1849. Like the younger Normand, he had therefore plenty of experience of drafting restorations of ancient buildings in Rome and Pompeii, the expected activity of *pensionnaires* while in Italy, and shared a sensibility that might have set him at odds with Viollet le Duc and Jourdain, who were both outsiders to and critical of the École des Beaux-Arts and its ongoing deference to past models.[10]

Moreover, Garnier had actually reviewed, with some admiration, the drawings of the Maison that Normand displayed at the 1867 Exposition Universelle. The Maison itself was built on land that Jérôme had acquired for the 1855 Expo, over which he had presided. When Jérôme's antagonistic relationship with his uncle, Napoléon III, forced him into exile, the Maison was sold to a syndicate of his former associates, among them Houssaye. In a bid to make a return on their investment, the new owners attempted to take advantage of the crowds coming to the 1867 Expo by opening it to the paying public and a guidebook was produced, authored by no less than Houssaye and Gautier themselves. But the Maison did not share in the Expo's success.[11] The steps by which Garnier worked around the failures and increasingly uncomfortable presence of the Maison help show the ways in which his own Roman House helped to reassert the aesthetic and spiritual role of the Roman in the French present while he

[10] On the activities of *pensionnaires* and contemporary debates over the status of their drawn restorations, see *Pompei* 1981; Royo 2001.
[11] Houssaye 1885, Bk 39.1, 170–177, on the travails of attracting visitors.

learned from the Maison's shortcomings as an exhibit to deliver a more satisfying experience to his audience.

Reconstruction as Exhibition Strategy

By 1889, the sight of reconstructed buildings of exotic pasts and locales were a familiar topos of Expo culture. The main exhibition building of the 1867 Expo had been surrounded by full-scale model buildings of cultures, past and present (Rimmel 1868, 23). There perhaps should have been a happy union between the Maison Pompéienne, and these exhibits. The novelist Ernest Feydeau's enthusiastic review of the Maison in *Le Moniteur Universel*, the official journal of the Second Empire, included the comment that the building reconstructed "a whole civilization scratched from the surface of the earth" an almost exact precursor of the perfumist Eugene Rimmel's reaction to seeing the whole world brought together on the Champ de Mars (*Le Moniteur Universel* March 28, 1858, 393; Rimmel 1868). Normand himself had considered the model buildings to be the most important, innovative feature of the 1867 Exposition and his beautiful, subsequently published elevations of them mimic those that represented his own building in the main Expo hall, further eliding their authentic status (Normand 1869, 1–8). No surprise, then, that Houssaye was confident of the Maison Pompéienne's potential as exhibition model, "a book opened on the past," a true school of antiquity for the spirit and eyes (Gautier et al. 1867, 31–32).

The emphasis on the eyes is key to understanding the preference for reconstruction during the nineteenth century. Inspectable and habitable models, such as those provided in the 1867 Expo, promised to sate visitors' *curiosité*, which would seek the sensationalist thrill of literally grasping the past through the offering of a tangible experience of the exotic worlds they represented, despite their being entirely "fake" and the work of Parisian architects.[12] The thirst for new visual experiences has come to play a crucial role in our understanding of the century's exhibition strategies under the influence of recent studies into the novel scopic regimes of the nineteenth century. Photographic developments and innovations such as aerial travel are understood to have created the "mobile self," freeing the nineteenth-century eye to roam in the middle rather than on the edge of the

[12] On the influence of these exhibits, see Kaufman 2004, 273–289. On the kinds of scale models which predate them see, for example, Kockel 2004. On the nature of *curiosité*, see House 1998.

visual field, and to see the world from new angles. The Expos thrived on presenting such unusual viewpoints; both their panoramas and reconstructions created a world which revolved around visitors and, in fact, those two modes of visual experience have been paralleled.[13] Stephen Bann sees displays of the past moving from a "pictorial" display of individual relics to an increasingly "panoramic" immersion and the *Crystal Palace Expositor* did not hesitate to describe the Palace exhibitions as such.[14] Commodifying these new viewpoints for leisure and entertainment, the Expos allowed visitors to exercise a voyeuristic, penetrative gaze over the foreign and otherwise unattainable past. Garnier was clearly keenly aware of this trend and was careful to provide his own houses with such power: in reverie, they seem like a sort of moving panorama.[15]

Back in 1854, enthusiasm for the Pompeian Court had revealed the extent of the satisfaction and confidence placed in this visually replete experience (Fig. 3.5). Although more sophisticated viewers, such as Lady Eastlake, questioned the possibility or desirability of "literal correctness,"[16] popular responses and guidebook cues nevertheless embraced its authenticity: "the illusion is perfect; it is the thing itself, and requires no imagination to piece it out." There was no longer any need to take an inconvenient tour through Europe hassled by a "chattering cicerone."[17] Perceived authenticity began to win the reconstruction an entirely bogus status as original source. The artist Lawrence Alma-Tadema's extensive collection of photographs of Pompeian houses includes one of the Court (which has not been recognized as "fake" by its curators) while even recent reappraisals of the Niccolini brothers' *Case ed i monumenti di Pompei* have failed to notice that the purported restoration of a house from Regio VIII, Insula 2 published in the final volume of 1896 is actually of the Pompeian Court.[18]

Confidence in the power of the reconstruction to transcend its own fakeness was still running high in 1889, which included the most extensive reconstruction ever seen in an Expo; not one house but an entire Cairo

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[13] Galperin 1993, esp. 42–46 (on Pompeian panoramas, see 53–54). On the bracketing of exhibitions and panoramas, see Flint 2000, 4. For immersive exhibition strategy see, for example, Bann 1988; Blix 2009, 62–71; Greenhalgh 2000 [1989], 89–95. Royo 2001, 219 notes that *pensionnaires* were playing with similar vantage points in their drawn restorations. The resurgence of interest in these visual strategies is perhaps not unconnected to our own experience of the digital revolution and the immersive possibilities of virtual worlds. See Hales and Earle 2017, 179–208.

[14] Bann 1988, 56–60; Piggott 2004, 67; Virtue 1854, 143.

[15] Garnier and Ammann 1892, iii.

[16] *Ten Chief Courts* 1854, 40; Eastlake 1855, 317. On the conversation around the reconstructions at the Palace, see Nichols 2015, 87–98.

[17] MacDermott 1854, 40; 51. See also Scharf 1854, 65.

[18] Niccolini 1896. See, for example, Cassanelli et al. 2002, 198–199, pl. 164.

FIG. 3.5. The Pompeian Court, Sydenham Crystal Palace. Lithograph by Day & Son after photograph by P. Delamotte from *Views of the Crystal Palace and Park, Sydenham* pl. IX, 1854.
British Library.

street, so extensive and enlivened that it was "as real as it can be" (Beale 1890, 129). While Garnier's houses might seem knowingly well placed to share in this enthusiasm, they also had to negotiate its attendant problematics. The power of reconstruction, of creating a convincing fake, lay in the willingness of the audience to believe in its authenticity.[19] The extent to which the critical reception of Garnier's exhibit concentrated on the accuracy or otherwise of his reconstructions rather than the viability of his accompanying historical narrative reveals both the extent to which the demand for visual experience dominated Expo culture and the often-criticized power of reconstruction to deflect critical engagement of its content by parading the technology of reproduction (Walsh 1992, 112; House 1998, 39–40). Garnier's preface presented a markedly defensive apology for his buildings, emphasizing the financial and time constraints under which they were delivered (Garnier and Ammann 1892, iii). Other voices were apparently more defiant. Jourdain is explicit in refusing to whine about such things, preferring to enter into the spirit of the exhibit

[19] On the nature of authenticity and viewers' expectations thereof, see Lowenthal 1992; 1998. On the impossibility of achieving authenticity, see Maleuvre 1999, 17.

(Jourdain 1889, 3). The tension lying beneath the criticisms is picked up by Champier's posing of the question apparently on so many critics' minds: were Garnier's flights of fancy the work of a poet or an architect (Champier 1889, 115–116)? Such accusations drove home the emerging tension between the scientific engineer and the art of the architectural. Was he being too adventurous? How had he filled the gaps? Suspicion rested in particular with Garnier's prehistoric homes, for which there were barely any sources. Most agreed that a certain amount of license might be allowed in such circumstances but errors made in the houses of the historical era were eagerly listed and authenticity accepted most readily where houses could be ratified because they were either copies of some particular house or dependent on portions of several recognizable models (Beale 1890, 121). In anticipation of such criticism, Garnier employed a tactic used at Sydenham, explicitly identifying the exact source for specific individual elements while insisting that the whole was not one model but a distillation of key elements into a believable "type." In insisting that the plausible was truer than the truth, Garnier saw off critics by removing any direct comparator but also risked exposing the truth that "authenticity" ultimately relied on the complicity of the beholder and not on any once "real" past.[20]

The Greek and Roman Houses were the most open to scrutiny since the sources for both were so multiple and well known by the classically educated, with the result that here the beholder's sense of what was plausible would be most closely aligned with the source material. From the outset of the Roman chapter, Garnier emphasizes that this reconstruction is the one in which nothing has been left to chance. It is absolutely exact in both its details and ensemble, the result of documentation accrued during his own time in Pompeii (Garnier and Ammann 1892, 557). The reference to the city offers some insight into the way in which Pompeii's role in reconstruction had changed in Garnier's project. No longer the sought after reconstructed, the city is now cast as the ideal source, the archetypal living ruin that offers "la réalité même." Throughout the volume, Pompeii remains the ideal evidence set: pausing from his description of Angkor Wat, he laments the lack of a "cochin-chinoise Pompéi" to aid his work and in modeling his archetypal Byzantine house on abandoned homes in

[20] Garnier and Ammann 1892, iii. Nichols 2015, 90–91; 120–121 offers some particularly insightful analysis on the status of such origin-less reconstruction, which becomes a *simulacrum*, in the language of Baudrillard 1994. See also Hales and Earle 2017, 179–208. Kaufman 2004, 276 thinks that Garnier's "history" was much more oriented toward popular expectation than "accuracy." On the extent to which the past is always conceived in, by, and from the perspective of the present, see Maleuvre 1999, 56–63.

Hauran, he assures the reader of their authenticity by describing the area as a Syrian Pompeii (Garnier and Ammann 1892, 331; 673). To that end there might be no greater compliment to Garnier's work than the acclamation (however playfully intended) that the exhibition offered a similar evidence set for world history as Pompeii did for Roman civilization. As with the Sydenham Pompeian Court, the model becomes the source: the reality itself.[21]

Facade

One of the most obvious differences between the Maison Pompéienne and Garnier's houses was Garnier's emphasis of facade over interior. Although ground plans are included for several houses, and textual references are made to interiors in his volume and in others such as Jourdain's, they are always (with the exception of the Roman House) drawn from the outside with closed doors, despite the fact that the buildings were enterable and at least one, the Gallo-Roman, was apparently open as a brasserie, selling German lager (Fig. 3.6).[22]

The decision seems particularly odd since the interior view was so important to both the Maison Pompéienne and the Pompeian Court. They were almost always imagined from the inside and it was from this perspective that the most engaged reports were composed, perhaps because the voyeuristic intrusion into private space perfectly suited the inquisitive, thirsty gaze of the audience. The closed interior also concentrated the vision, heightening the experience of surrender to a panoramic fantasy of the past. Visitors to the Maison Pompéienne recounted the experience of being plunged into Jérôme's "rêve" or "fantaisie," expressing their shock at being catapulted back into the present as they emerged onto the street.[23] The building's strictly inward orientation encouraged such immersion. The *atrium* was completely closed to the outside world, lit only from above by the *compluvium* (which was veiled by a gauze curtain).

The Sydenham Pompeian Court had likewise encouraged such fancies of "step(ping) bodily" into the past. One guide imagined the light touch of a priest of Isis brushing past, the chatter of household slaves, and

[21] Champier 1889, 117. On the elision of the completely real and the completely fake, see Eco 1986, 1–8.
[22] Beale 1890, 121.
[23] *L'Illustration* January 1858, 78; *Journal Illustré*, May 6, 1866, 130.

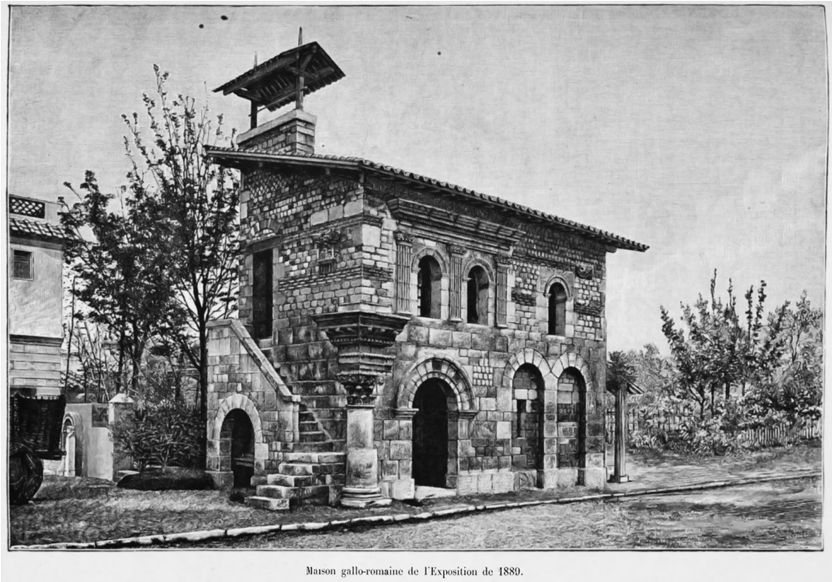

FIG. 3.6. The Gallo-Roman House. Lithograph by C. Garnier & A. Ammann from *L'Histoire d'habitation humaine*, 1892.
Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.

the perfume of flowers in the peristyle, while no end of Roman celebrity ghosts could be summoned there.[24] As a privately owned, inhabited house, the Maison Pompéienne could realize these fantasies to a much greater extent. Gustave Boulanger's 1861 painting, *Répétition du Joueur de flûte et de la Femme de Diomède dans l'atrium de la maison de S. A. I. le Prince Napoléon*, remains the most popularly reproduced image of the Maison, presumably because it transforms a transient culmination of that fantasy into a permanent record of the experience of its interior (Fig. 3.7, see insert). His scene is set in the claustrophobic atrium: the doors are closed and we cannot see through the *compluvium*. Within this sealed tomb of a house, moderns become ancient, a transformation that affects both the living (that is the bearded, togate Gautier at the rear) and the represented (the statue of Jupiter is in fact Napoléon Bonaparte).

For both houses, their link to Pompeii was key to such resurrectionist fantasy. Through expanded excavation and publication, the opening up of the site to a paying audience, and the expanding tourist industry, Pompeii

[24] *Ten Chief Courts* 1854, 40. Likewise *Leisure Hour*, April 13, 1854, 231 has a policeman on duty in the Court relieved of his post by a togate Roman. See also *Athenaeum*, February 27, 1858, 270.

was more physically and imaginatively accessible than ever before.[25] In France, the ongoing influence of Edward Bulwer-Lytton's *Last Days of Pompeii* via Amédée Pichot's French translation, and numerous other works including, most pertinent in this context, Théophile Gautier's *Arria Marcella*, the story of the seduction of a young French tourist by a Pompeian ghost, ensured Pompeii's literary presence.[26] The city's artistic influence had extended from the first interloping of Herculanean motifs in Charles Percier and Pierre-François-Léonard Fontaine's interiors, through to the Pompeian scenes of artists such as Alfred de Curzon, Jean-Louis Hamon, Théodore Chassériau, and Jean-Léon Gérôme.[27] And, of course, to the Maison Pompéienne. Pompeii's peculiarly domestic character, noted from the outset of the century, most notably by François René de Chateaubriand, made her appear relatable, familiar and, above all, inhabitable.[28] At the same time, for Chateaubriand as for many others, the dreadful disaster wreaked on that domesticity provided a motif with which to think through the traumas that had beset France during the last century from Revolution to, most lately, the Siege and the Commune.[29]

The influence of these kinds of sources on the resurrectionist fantasies of visitors to both the Crystal Palace and the Maison Pompéienne are clear. Of all the ghosts haunting the Sydenham Pompeii, the most popular were the cast of Lytton's novel.[30] The Court itself encouraged this, taking a number of details from the House of the Tragic Poet (the real Pompeian house in which Lytton had lodged his hero Glaucus and which is seemingly distantly echoed in Garnier's design) and by the guidebook's prefiguration of its own description of the Court with Lytton's tour of Glaucus' home (a tactic also regularly employed in guidebooks to Pompeii itself).[31] By this means, the Court authenticated

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[25] The reception of Pompeii is a burgeoning field. On the history of excavations, see Cooley 2003. Recent collections considering the range of Pompeii's influence since its rediscovery include Gardner Coates and Seydl 2007; Cremante et al. 2008; Hales and Paul 2011; Jacobelli 2008; Moorman 2015.

[26] On the French reception of Pompeii, see Blix 2009; Harper 1993; *Pompei* 1981, 46; Bulwer-Lytton 1834b; Gautier 2002 [1852].

[27] Percier and Fontaine 1812. On the *Néo-grecs,* see Ackerman 1990; Sciama and Viguier-Dutheil 2014.

[28] Blix 2009, 78–84; de Chateaubriand 1827 [1804].

[29] This is the central tenet of Blix 2009.

[30] See, for example, *The Builder,* January 7, 1854, 1.

[31] Bulwer-Lytton 1834a, Bk I, Ch. 3; Scharf 1854, 33–37. On the links between the Court and the novel, see further Hales 2006, 104–109; Nichols 2015, 60–62.

itself to its audience by feeding off the familiarity, and hence plausibility, of Bulwer-Lytton's Pompeii even while thereby admitting the fantasy of inhabiting the past.

The game was even more thoroughly played out in the Maison Pompéienne where the intricate appeal of Pompeii's ruins as a site for potential reanimation and the transportational power of reconstruction came together under the expert necromantic direction of Théophile Gautier. Gautier was intimately connected with the Maison as both friend of Jérôme Napoléon, author of the 1866 guidebook and playwright of *La femme de Diomède*, which was composed for the Maison's opening night in 1860.[32] Boulanger's painting commemorates that performance, casting the playwright himself as a togate Roman conversing with the actress playing his lead character, Arria Marcella. The fantasy is so powerful because Arria herself was both literally in the narrative of the prologue, and creatively in terms of intertext with Gautier's earlier work, resurrected in the Maison Pompéienne which was modeled on the Villa of Diomedes, the setting for that earlier work, in which the protagonist's desire for the eponymous Pompeian recalls her and her home temporarily from the dead.

Garnier's disinclination to embrace Pompeii and his almost total emphasis on facade, both in terms of the buildings themselves and his illustrations, seems to have largely fended off the fantasies instigated inside the Maison Pompéienne. One has to look to trade cards to find any attempt to imagine the lived interiors of his houses. The Dijon based company, Biscuits Pernot, published a series of cards, each revealing a predominantly female domestic world within one of the exhibition houses. In the Greek House, a woman sits at a loom while in the Roman House two suitably imperious women sweep through their vestibule past a black slave on their way to the garden, inadvertently making clear the circumstances under which those primitives housed on the edge of the exhibition might play a role in the center (Fig. 3.8).

These cards promoted to the company's consumers a comfortable lifestyle lived in ideal pasts. But while it may have been easy enough to imagine Gautier munching away on their products in the elegant splendor of the Maison Pompéienne, it was rather harder to make such a leap in the actual, austere interior of Garnier's Roman House.

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[32] *Le Moniteur Universel*, March 28, 1858, 393; April 4, 1858, 426–427; Gautier et al. 1867; Gautier 1863.

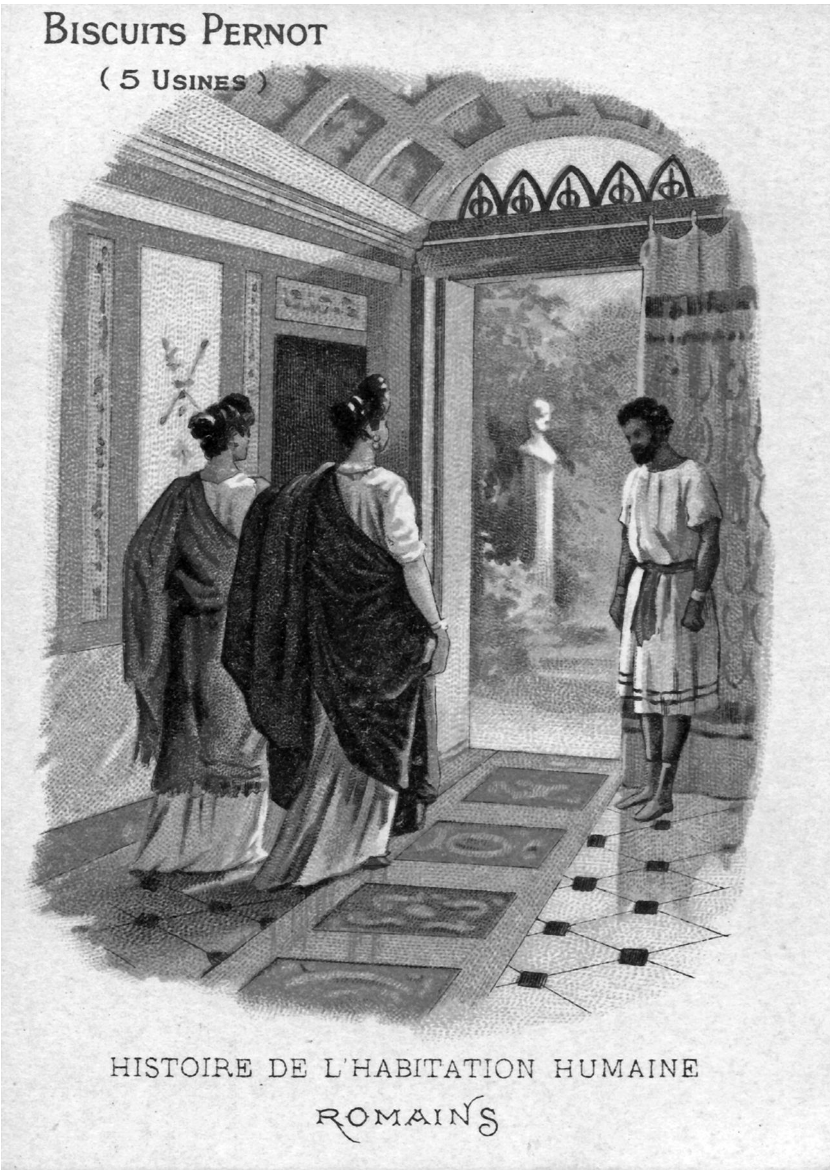

FIG 3.8. The Roman House. Trade card distributed by Biscuits Pernot.
Public Domain.

The lithographs published in Garnier and Ammann's volume would rather suggest that Garnier himself was uninterested in the transportational effects of reconstruction. Although each house appears to stand in a natural environment, surrounded by trees and vegetation, free of the background "noise" of the Expo, as shown most clearly in the plate of the Byzantine House (Fig. 3.9), which erases the Eiffel Tower, whose base rose up directly behind it (Fig. 3.10), they are never animated by the presence of humans. Instead, figure-free drawings concentrate on architectural elements, revealing the eye of the architect and not the showman.

In this respect they owed much more to Normand's drawings of the 1867 Expo model buildings and of his own Maison Pompéienne. The restoration lent authenticity to his buildings as lost source rather than as artificial reconstruction, based on a non-existent original (Baudrillard 1994, 1–2).

But Garnier was clearly not altogether indisposed to fantasy and reverie: it is after all in such a state that he could imagine his houses as a moving panorama and the flyer for Jourdain's volume is explicit in imagining the entire Expo as a city of "rêve et de féerie."[33] Others had been

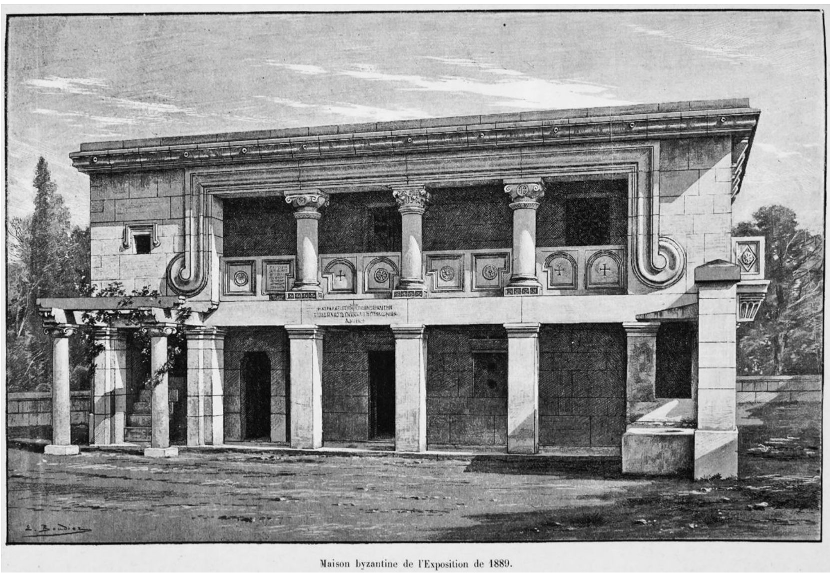

FIG. 3.9. The Byzantine House. Lithograph by C. Garnier & A. Ammann from *L'Histoire d'habitation humaine*, 1892.
The Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.

[33] Flyer accompanying Jourdain 1889.

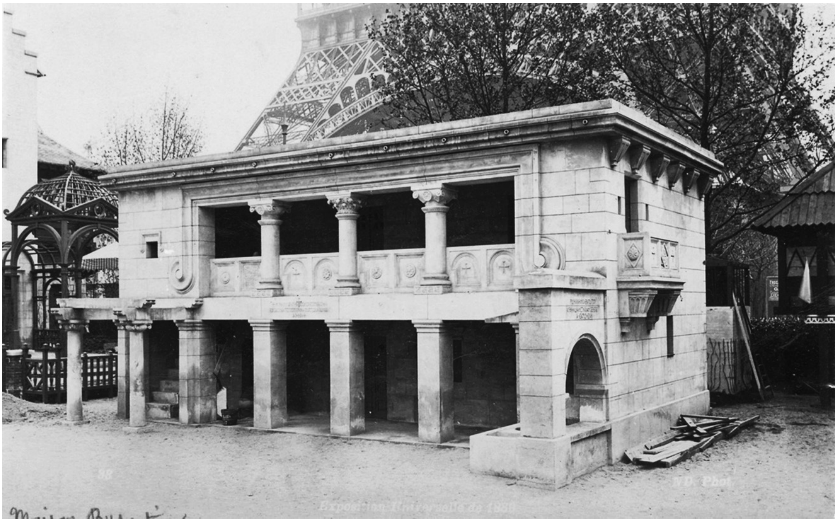

FIG. 3.10. The Byzantine House, with the Eiffel Tower.
Public Domain.

more inclined to surrender to the fantasy of ghosts arising Arria-like from Garnier's restored houses. Just as Pompeii's remains have unlocked the secrets of Roman civilization, so Garnier's houses will do the same for the whole planet, reviving all aspects of humanity with the charm of an "exhumation," an imaginative feat powered by archaeological exactitude (Champier 1889, 117–118). The fantasy remained strong enough for another reviewer to joke about the signage in every language, ancient and modern, on the Expo railway: "Whether the company thinks it is likely that the Celts, the Etruscans, the Romans and the ancient Slavs will rise up from their new dwellings, I wot not; but if they do, ignorance of modern languages will be no excuse for their breaking their necks upon the Décauville railway" (Beale 1890, 130)!

Time travel fantasies are given freer rein in the images of Jourdain's volume, in which each house is plunged more overtly into a historical context. So, in that volume, the reused architectural elements of the Gallo-Roman house are emphasized by the ruins of Classical-era architectural form scattered around the landscape: a fallen column in the foreground, lumps of architrave heaped up in the background (Fig. 3.11).

More evocatively, a cloaked wayfarer stands outside, transporting us to the fifth century AD. The trick is repeated in several other of the plates, for example, in that of the Greek House in front of which a hoplite leans on his spear. A set of trade cards distributed by Chocolat d'Aiguebelle reflects the

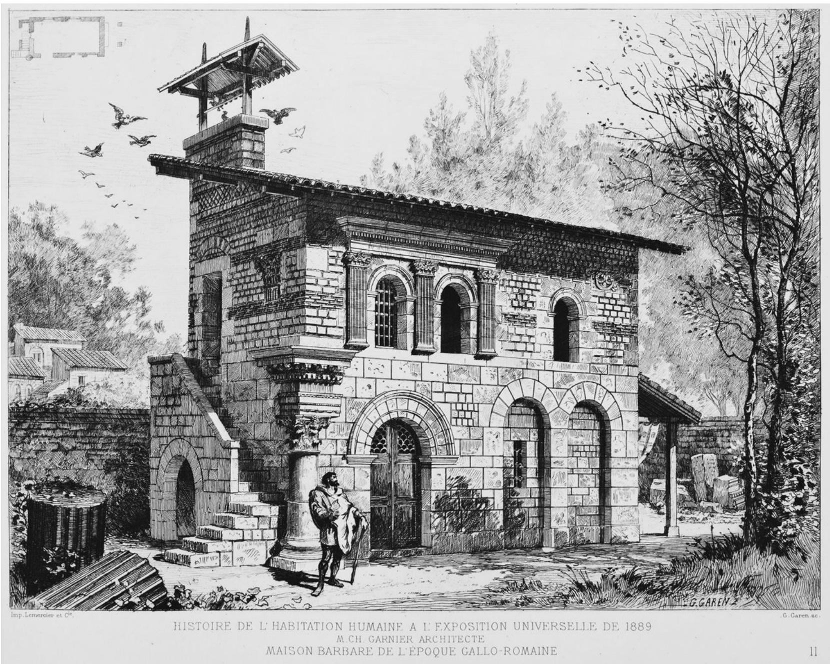

FIG. 3.11. The Gallo-Roman House. Lithograph by F. Jourdain, from *Constructions elevées au Champ de Mars par M. Charles Garnier pour servir a l'histoire de l'habitation humaine*, 1889.
Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.

ongoing popularity of immersive experiences promised by such reconstruction. Each card in the series takes one of Garnier's houses as their basis for a period scene, in which the houses are placed back into their populated landscapes. In their Roman card, the view has panned out from the exterior of the Roman House across the street to where two young boys hang out at the street corner fountain with the lion head spout, the expansion of the scene effected by pulling the fountain to the other side of the imagined street from the location Garnier had given it directly in front of the house (Fig. 3.12). As whimsical perhaps as the scenes created for Biscuits Pernot, these restorations stayed firmly in the open air, in the communal sphere.

Evolutionary Sequence

The reason for Garnier's reluctance to engage directly with such fantasy is perhaps elucidated by returning to his lithographs, which show that although he was happy to brush out the intrusion of other elements of the Expo and although each plate features one house in isolation, some mirror

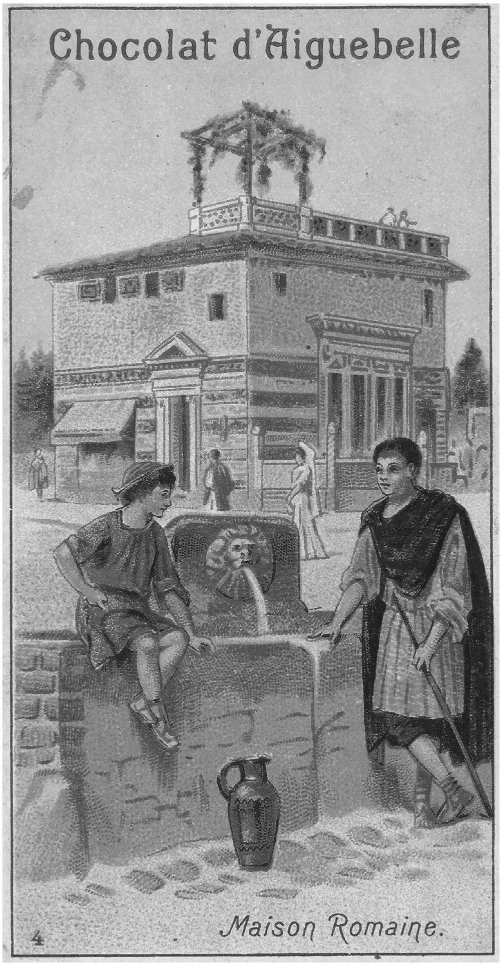

FIG. 3.12. The Roman House. Trade card distributed by Chocolat d'Aiguebelle. Public Domain.

the layout of the exhibition by offering a glimpse of the building located next door on the Quai d'Orsay. So, for example, the corner of the plate of the Gallo-Roman House shows the fountain of the Roman House, emphasizing their physical and conceptual neighborliness, which is further reinforced by the reused architrave, Ionic pilasters, and Corinthian capital in the former's facade. These plates reflect the experience of encountering the exhibition in person, where the emphasis on the exterior made it difficult to experience each house in isolation; each was always potentially in the same frame as its neighbors. The experience was, therefore, very different from physical encounters with the Maison Pompéienne or the Sydenham Court, whose interiors engulfed visitors and their vision.

The consequence of seeing Garnier's Roman House always in conjunction with other buildings was an inescapable awareness of its being part of a bigger set. Even when gazing at the trade cards, of which owners may only have had a partial set, the numbers on each card reminded them that the current spectacle was part of a larger whole. While the overall concept of that exhibition may have eluded those who did not venture into every one of Garnier's specimen models, buy the original guidebook, or wade through the eventual publication, the repeated emphasis on facade in images generated by others than Garnier shows the extent to which the emphasis of his exhibition had taken hold. This was a tale of the nature of civilizations, it was essentially a social and masculine history that overtook the peculiarities of the private, feminized interior, as imagined by the trade cards distributed by Biscuits Pernot. The forsaking of the interior reflected an entirely new role for the ancient model.

In fact, the evolutionary rationale of Garnier's project bore a devastating aesthetic implication for the resonance of Pompeian models that far outweighed its realigning of viewpoints. While the Roman House lay at the physical and narrative center of both the exhibition and the book, the overall sequence emphasized its separation from modernity by the intervening centuries of development. Such had not been the case in the Pompeian Court or the Maison Pompéienne, whose isolation had put them in direct contact with the present and whose interiors had offered the fantasy of transporting the gap between. Commentators frequently referred to the Pompeian Court's rooms and inhabitants with reference to respectable Victorian bedrooms, parlors, and household staff.[34] The link between the Court and modern, domestic life was also made explicit in the ways in which its contents were both explained by reference to and imitated by contemporary manufacture.[35] The *Palace Gazette* thought that the Court's decorations would provide great inspiration for British art and manufacture and went so far as to expect (rather optimistically) "to see the Pompeian house established as a dwelling-house style among us."[36] They reflected a genuine interest in recovering elements of Roman domestic arrangement, particularly the peristyle, for contemporary building projects (Amaury-Duval 1819–1821, 434).

But it was only in Second Empire Paris that such a prophecy would be actually attempted. In the Maison Pompéienne the gap between ancient and modern was compressed as far as, and perhaps beyond what, could

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[34] Shenton 1879, 53; *Penny Guide* 1863, 17.
[35] *Illustrated London News*, November 5, 1853, 383; Phillips 1854, 167.
[36] *Illustrated Crystal Palace Gazette* 1.6, March 1854, 66 and 68.

be plausibly or healthily maintained. All the modern amenities required to make life comfortable for Jérôme and his guests were carefully disguised as ancient appurtenances: gas lamps were sunk in bronze vases, electric cables and acoustic pipes were set in the walls, clocks were hidden in statue bases and all had to be laboriously justified as innovations that Romans would have embraced had they ever witnessed them.[37] Even a taste for Persian rugs and Turkish baths was explained away as reflections of Romans' own Orientalist tastes, allowing the Maison to satisfy the *néo-Grec* aesthetic as a melange of Greek, Roman, and Oriental elements, a satisfying but fantastic concoction that stood in obvious juxtaposition to Garnier's determination to disaggregate the eclecticism of the Roman house-type.[38]

The increased interest of aesthetes in Roman domestic architectural arrangements and interior decoration was more loaded than simply retrospective fantasy—it bore a heavy weight in response to a perceived crisis in contemporary craft and architectural practices. The Sydenham Fine Arts Courts had been specifically designed to promote good design among contemporary craftsmen as much as to instruct the public. Back in Paris, Gautier had famously already used Pompeii as an antidote to what he saw as the "barbarisms" of modern life. In his preface to *Mademoiselle de Maupin*, he had imagined the aftermath of a Vesuvian eruption over Paris, in which only the contents of the Louvre would convince future excavators that they were not digging a barbarian encampment. As for household implements, he hoped they would be "destroyed to the very last vestige" (Gautier I 2002 [1834], 235). The Maison Pompéienne was a vibrant beacon in bleak, modern Paris and the guidebook made clear that it had been rescued in the nick of time from transformation into another faceless block as part of the relentless, uniform modernization of the capital ordered by Napoléon III and executed by Georges-Eugène Haussmann (Gautier et al. 1867, 1; 30; Baguley 2000, 181–208; Blix 2009, 2). The aesthetic generated from and demonstrated in the Maison could fashion itself as a living aesthetic with which to confront the blandness of real life beyond its doors. It was the culmination of the *néo-Grec* experiment to create an audacious, very modern antiquity, or perhaps a very antique modernity, and it was for this reason perhaps more than any other that the project had to be a success (Baudez 2014, 130; Kearns 1998, 76).

By the 1889 Expo, Paris was an even further transformed city. The destruction wreaked by the Prussian Siege of 1871, which had realized Gautier's imagined eruption and exposed Paris as a kind of Pompeii for

[37] Gautier in *Paris qui s'en va* 1860, 1–4; Gautier et al. 1867, 19; *Le Moniteur Universel*, April 4, 1858, 426–427.
[38] Baudez 2014; Hales 2016, 217–244. See, more generally, Blix 2009, 17.

English commentators, had forcibly accelerated modernization in the name of recovery.[39] As one British guide to the Expo commented, visitors would find Paris much changed but while its historical interest might be lost, the new city was uniformly elegant and fresh to the extent that the "past will be willingly forgotten by most visitors," visitors who perhaps preferred their history served up in dioramas and reconstructions within the safe confines of the Expo park instead of haunting their present, especially within a city whose past was quite so threatening and turbulent (Meissas 1889, 28–29).

But the aesthetic fight was now not confined to Paris. It was being fought on a truly global scale. It is one of the ironies of the Expos, of course, that they paraded ethnic difference and tradition (though all built from a French point of view by French architects)[40] just as the commercial and political progress of modernity, which they championed, and its attendant uniformity threatened to annihilate that difference. It is in this light that the need to consider the ways in which past architectural practice might reflect on the present became so pressing. It is there at the heart of both Viollet le Duc and Garnier's projects (Viollet le Duc 1875, 421). Jourdain's account of Garnier's exhibition specifically deplores uniformity, using not Paris but Japan as an example: a whole country's indigenous architecture is about to collapse under the influence of western culture. While the rallying cry may sound reassuringly Gautierian, the answer is not. While Gautier had appealed to the past, Jourdain exhorts his readers to shake off the hypnotic effect of the ruins of Greece and Italy, the work of our dead masters, and to stop looking to our neighbors (Jourdain 1889, 17–19). In his own 1875 publication, Viollet le Duc's character Doxi had offered a warning to readers that seems very mindful of the Maison Pompéienne. These houses may seem perfect in the Bay of Naples, but that should not fool us into translating them to our own times and climate (Bouvier 2005, 43). The lesson of cultural specificity is contemporary diversity not past paradigms. Viollet le Duc's anthropological turn inevitably alienated the Roman model as an antidote to encroaching modernity. Both he and Jourdain demanded that the creativity of contemporary architects should be freed from the Classical restrictions of the École des Beaux Arts in order to find a coherent style appropriate to the age.

Garnier, an academician himself, who had perhaps more in common aesthetically with the creators of the Maison Pompéienne than with Jourdain and Viollet le Duc, is rather more cautious. It is surely significant that the

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39 Plessis 1985, 119–121; Baguley 2000, 196–201. On the physical effects of the siege, see Clayson 2002. On Paris as Pompeii, see Blix 2009, 232–236; *Belgravia* May 1871, 337; *All The Year Round*, October 8, 1870, 443; *Temple Bar*, April 1871, 91. On the fortunes of the Maison Pompéienne, see de Gary 1979, 9–10.

40 Kaufman 2004, 273–275.

only interior view he offers is of the Roman House and he gets as near as he can within the overriding schema to posing it as a possible model—"it would be possible to live other than we live ourselves, we'd have to admit that this house has attained real perfection" (Garnier and Ammann 1892, 539). Nevertheless, like Viollet le Duc, his main aim in exploring the relationship between history and architecture was to ram home the danger of uniformity (Bouvier 2005, 44). He carried an explicit message: architects should restore picturesque diversity over uniform utilitarianism. The role that the Roman atrium house might serve in the delivery of this message is not as model answer but as a brilliant but slightly sinister precursor of modern uniformity, which arrives in conquered territory and is adopted by the local population, causing them to forget their indigenous types.

That the contentious debates about the creation of a modern style should find itself played out around a set of models of ancient buildings was particularly apposite since, while his theory looked askance on eclecticism and dependence on past models, Viollet le Duc's own career was largely centered on the creative restoration of France's medieval buildings. This argument about architectural aesthetics thus looked both forwards and backwards, affecting both source and model. What role might the past have in meeting the aesthetic and practical needs of modern buildings and to what extent could modern tastes and requirements play a legitimate role in "re-building" the past?[41]

Toys

While the Maison Pompéienne's simultaneous existence as modern home and ancient model made it a perfect place in which to live, rather than simply demonstrate or theorize a particular aesthetic response to the tensions between past and present, that very simultaneity made living no easy challenge. The Boulanger painting evokes a properly inhabited, animated space that renders its inhabitants both ancient and modern in a way that images of the Pompeii Court or Garnier's houses, in which the figures are always either ancient or modern, simply could not. As models, they could only exist as either inanimate objects subject to the modern gaze or as objects of fantasy, animated only in dream. Even before it had officially opened, a reviewer in *L'Illustration* asserted this fundamental difference

[41] Maleuvre 1999, 117; Royo 2001; and *Pompei* 1981 lay out the nature of debates about the means, aims, and effects of restoration. For Viollet le Duc's opinions on restoration, see *Pompei* 1981, 73–74.

by showing his disdain for the Sydenham Court: beside the Maison, it was merely a "joujou" or toy (*L'Illustration*, January 1858, 78). This term of abuse came to hold an extraordinary power in the second half of the century and all reconstructions had to tackle such criticism. The anxiety surrounding being outed as "toy" appears to have rested on the obvious similarities with the nature of the toy (particularly the dollhouse) as miniaturized, nostalgic devices for fantasy that could be useful and empowering but carried with them associations of being trivial, inauthentic, and essentially distracting.[42] Already, back in 1855, Lady Eastlake had worried that the uneducated would simply be distracted by the delightful dollhouse effect of the Fine Arts Courts, which she described as "gingerbread toys" (Eastlake 1855, 311). Three years later, the novelist Herman Melville reflected on his own Sydenham experience by deriding the Egyptian Court as a "vast toy" (Leyda 1951, 576).

In these circumstances the aggressive stance taken by Maison apologists becomes more recognizable as a defensive gesture, protecting both the Maison and its objects (particularly its prize object, itself a model reconstruction, Jacques-Ignace Hittorff's scale model of the Temple of Melpomene, which was displayed in the Maison's winter garden as a kind of dollhouse within a dollhouse)[43] from charges which would negate the project's value as an intellectual, aesthetic, fully lived reconstruction. To configure the Pompeian Court, the Maison, or its objects as amusing trinkets rich to the eye but ultimately inaccessible and useless, begins to expose the stress on reconstructions' visual impact as a means of masking their lack of life.

The successive failed attempts to inhabit the Maison only served to expose the unlivable nature of ancient models. Jérôme himself seems never to have settled there and Houssaye recalls the prince's attempts to shake off the finished gem "like a painter who has worked long on a painting and cannot bear to look on it anymore" (Houssaye 1885, Bk. 39.1, 170–177). Equally, Houssaye's own later attempt to spend a season there ends with him forcibly shaking off the "shroud of the past" to become again a living inhabitant of Paris (Houssaye 1885, Bk. 29.2, 163–170). In Susan Stewart's terms, this might be understood as the failure to sustain the fantasy reverie world that ensured the animation of the toy, which instead reverts to an inanimate tableau, an object which has removed itself into the distance

[42] Stewart 1993 [1984], 48–68 remains a Classic discussion of the toy. Maleuvre 1999, 115–187 offers a brilliant discussion of the nature of the "toy" in nineteenth-century French domestic context. On the toy as device for both fantasy and distraction, see Stewart 1993 [1984], 56. On the latter, see also Maleuvre 1999, 157. On the dollhouse specifically, see Stewart 1993 [1984], 61–62.
[43] *Le Moniteur Universel*, April 4, 1858, 426.

of its own image (Stewart 1993 [1984], 57; Maleuvre 1999, 137–138). As a home, the Maison is revealed to be nothing but a repellant *joujou*, alienating and unliveable. In this respect, it might be symptomatic of the innate redundancy of Second Empire overtly material, object-stuffed bourgeois interiors and their eagerly acquired but innately redundant trinkets.[44] Its ultimate failure as living space might have occurred to Emmanuel Pontrémoli, the architect of the Villa Kerylos, a villa modeled on ancient Greek architecture built on the côte d'Azur in the early twentieth century for the archaeologist Theodore Reinach. He acknowledged that a reconstruction based merely on so-called archaeological truth could only be "le jouet d'un moment" (Royo 2001, 233).

Contemptuous critics of Garnier's could, then, easily be imagined as deriding the diminutive scale of his houses, mocking them as nothing but pasteboard models, "joujoux des enfants." But it could be considered a triumph to have distilled reconstruction to its toy-like essence: attractive, curious, but ultimately repellent and inevitably disposable. The Expo thrived on temporality and translation, and Garnier's model houses celebrated artificiality and incongruity, the inevitable qualities of restoration. It was perhaps precisely their toy nature that sustained the popularity of those restorations, which, by accepting their nature and encouraging play, offered themselves a positive way of being a toy in the world.[45] Celebrants of Garnier's work were more willing to concede that the "fragiles édicules" should be understood for the amusement, rather than instruction of visitors.[46] Champier acknowledged that perhaps even pedantic archaeologists could look on them with a smile, and that leisurely visitors to the Expo couldn't possibly be taking in all these fine details but, "si fugitive que sont leur attention" would retain something from the experience (Champier 1889, 123).

Free of the necessity to fight the inevitable state of reconstruction, Garnier could face his houses' transitory nature with apparent equanimity. In fact, the introduction to the expanded volume dismissed the physical reconstructions themselves as merely the scenario for the book itself (Garnier and Ammann 1892, iii). His accepting stance shows a complex attitude to restoration: as source for the "real" restorations, the lithographs, the house themselves were perhaps better lost. This was a salutary correction to the

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[44] Maleuvre 1999, 115–187; Stewart 1993 [1984], 62; Hales 2017, 135–148.

[45] Greenhalgh 2000 [1989] discusses how successive Paris Expos retained the power of play and entertainment as a central part of their remit and were, as a result, more successful.

[46] Champier 1889, 115. Stewart 1993 [1984], 57 emphasizes that the appeal of the toy is to experience, not come to know. On contemporary hopes for the educational possibilities of the former state, see Nichols 2015.

ongoing jitters that the Maison's creators and admirers felt with regard to its longevity. It was essentially the fear of its destruction that prompted Houssaye and friends to buy it in 1866.[47] Normand seems to have been always anxious about its future, making great efforts to record it in every last detail, publishing his drawings in the *Moniteur des Architectes* as well as exhibiting at the 1861 Salon and the 1867 and 1869 Expos. Ironically, a review by Garnier himself recognized that the interest in the drawings presented at those Expos lay in the knowledge that "it is perhaps only this that will one day remain of this charming creation" (de Gary 1979, 10). It may have been better for its status if this had already been the case.

The Exhibition

In essence, Garnier's success seems to have lain in his apparent embrace of his place in the Expo. Despite losing the Eiffel Tower in his own lithographs, his acceptance of the role of his houses as exhibition toy showed his deference to but also awareness of the playful possibilities of the Expo context as a means to express his own aesthetic agenda. The ambitious scope of Garnier's project, encompassing all civilizations from the dawn of man, was typical of the relentlessly encyclopedic turn of the World Fairs (Bouvier 2005, 45). A voracious appetite for completeness had begun with the Sydenham Crystal Palace, twice the size of the Hyde Park Palace and offering nothing less than a comprehensive, visual encyclopedia of the world. In the expanded reconstructive environments of the Paris Expos, the world came to the Parisian. At the 1867 Expo, visitors were able to study the everyday life of foreign peoples in its most minute detail "without running the risk of being frozen in the North or melted in the South" (Rimmel 1868). The 1889 Expo, however, would trump that, offering the visitor the chance to roam the world in a couple of hours "without danger of being killed or eaten" (Beale 1890, 122–128). As well as Garnier's exhibition, the 1889 park included numerous pavilions designed to evoke the architecture of the parts of the colonial world that they represented: the Algerian Palace, the Ceylon Tea House, the Aztec Temple, and was so extensive that it necessitated its own mini-railway, another conceit that suggested the play of travelling the world even while staying safely at home on the banks of the Seine.

Kaufman sums up the fragmentation of this vision of completeness: each building, however perfectly realized, was always trapped in fractured time

[47] See, for example, *Le Monde Illustré*, April 28, 1866, 265.

and space (Kaufman 2004, 277). The space created by such dissonance invites reference to Foucault's concept of heterochronic heterotopia: that is a place of otherness in which time and place might be freed temporarily from the restrictions of the real world around it, allowing inhabitants a brief respite from those rules in which to recast themselves.[48] As a place of fantastic retreat, the Maison Pompéienne was equally such but the need to cast it simultaneously as liveable, domestic space had rather constrained its success.[49] The Expo models had rather more freedom. They occupied a space apart from modern Paris but equally right in the heart of and an essential part of that city's understanding of itself as modern; a space of festivity and play within which individual buildings presented ideal examples of apparently clear-cut periods and places, but which as a group offered a gloriously heterochronic vista rendered safe by its ordered containment in the Expo park. To this end, the crowd of these exhibition spaces became part of the spectacle, the Parisian *flâneurs* enlivening the exhibition spaces, as they moved between houses in the photographs or in the lithographs accompanying Champier's review, and further throwing them into temporal and spatial disarray (Nichols 2015, 55). Conversely, however, the presence of the crowd helped domesticate the disorder of the fair and make it coherent as a whole. An observation made of the British crowds in the Crystal Palace, that "they look like a people in their own house" perhaps gets somewhere near the heart of Expo culture: an effort to domesticate and commodify the world and reorient it around Paris (Virtue 1854, 12). The Expo begins to look more like a communal, bourgeois interior.[50]

Held in the centenary of the Revolution, this Expo more than any other staged the performance of being French. The organizers wrestled with the presentation of nationhood, particularly in terms of the past. What should be forgotten or marginalized in order to provide a platform for a collective optimistic future?[51] Exhibits such as the model of the Storming of the Bastille or the panorama of the History of the Century in the Tuileries were explicit commemorations of Revolution while another project instigated to commemorate the Revolution became instead, after much wrestling, a monument to the future, the Fountain of Progress, offering a politically easier slogan for both internal and foreign visitors (Ory 2005; Michaux

[48] On the museum as heterotopia, see Foucault 2008 [1967], 20.
[49] On the heterotopic nature of the Maison, see Hales 2016.
[50] In particular, Maleuvre's (1999, 133–135) discussion of miniaturization as a strategy of such interiors is particularly reminiscent of the model worlds of the Expos.
[51] Eco's (1986, 29–31) suggestion that preoccupation with the absolute fake is often symptomatic of a vacuum of memories might possibly be a useful way of understanding the appeal of the models to the French Expos at a time in which memories of and connections with the past had been repeatedly shattered by the upheavals of the century, not least the Revolution. See Blix 2009.

2005). Garnier's exhibition was arranged such that the Roman House on one corner and the Romanesque/Middle Ages and Renaissance Houses on the other framed the main vista of the exhibition through the park toward the Central Dome of the Palais des Industries Diverses. More importantly, walking from that corner toward the Eiffel Tower, the last house of Garnier's exhibition appearing on the visitor's left as he strode toward the main industrial and trade exhibits was the Gallo-Roman house, right under the foot of the tower and therefore poised to be encountered in the most direct juxtaposition with that icon of France's present and future, as well as Jules Félix Coutan's stirring sculpture of the thrice-daily illuminated Fountain of Progress and Eugène Delaplanche's 30 ft. statue of France on top of the Central Dome. Their juxtaposition created the communal, heterotopic mirror that allowed Parisians to look askance at their relation with the past and present and to find a way forward after a century of upheaval.

In these circumstances, Garnier's exhibition was perhaps unlikely to look back to the Maison Pompéienne, a remnant of Second Empire Paris and its dated academic aesthetic. Significantly, Garnier's praise of the Roman house type had not extended to its interior decoration, which, in its preference for borrowed Greek motifs, he criticized as tending toward a bad taste in rococo, peculiar to the "good bourgeoisie" (Garnier and Ammann 1892, 544). The criticism was surely pointed. The domestic had been the defining sphere of the Second Empire and the Neo-Pompeian interior's ongoing link with the tastes of the fallen regime may have sounded another death knell for it. By 1889, the owner, artists, and guests of the Maison Pompéienne and their Classical tastes were old news. Gautier was dead.[52] The worth of Pompeian art itself was also increasingly under attack. Bosc had already consigned the infatuation with Pompeian art to the past and declared Neo-Pompeian styles as nothing better than Louis Quinze or Pompadour, nothing but pastiche.[53]

The exhibit's juxtaposition with the Eiffel Tower further drew the contrast between modern life in the Third Republic and that under Napoléon and his descendants. The Tower has been presented as a deliberate challenge to that most antique of Napoleonic monuments, the Arc de Triomphe; its light upward-thrusting iron frame emphasizing the heavy stone squatness of the arch, its commemoration of the French scientists, engineers, and mathematicians, whose work contributed to the engineering achievement, a retort against both Napoleon's own self-serving boasts on his monument and the precious artistry of masonry architects (Ory 2005, 104–105; Seitz 2005, 119–121). An

[52] Blix 2009, 204–216; Kearns 1998, 59; Maleuvre 1999, 136; House 1998, 44.
[53] *Pompei* 1981, 87–89; Bosc III 1877–1880, 552.

interest in bourgeois retrospective interiors would have looked even sillier against such a backdrop. Just as Eiffel's project mocked the aesthetic authority of antiquity, its skeletal transparency also challenged the world of the hidden domestic interior. To this end, Garnier's avoidance of the kind of feminized, bourgeois domestic interior imagined in the cards distributed by Biscuits Pernot in favor of an insistence on facade and emphasis on the relationship between architectural form and ethnic and social identity makes more sense.

If this context helps explain the demise of the Pompeian interior, it also helps make sense of the emergence of the Gallo-Roman House and its key role in both Garnier and Jourdain's narrative despite its impoverished aesthetics. The barbarian invaders had destroyed civilized, Roman domesticity in the provinces; the Huns' nomadic barbarism was demonstrated by their cart home, parked ominously outside the Roman House. In the absence of artists and materials, the survivors of the invasion period were forced to cobble together new homes from the Roman ruins, hence the fragments so prominent in the Gallo-Roman House, but they were now free to fashion their own futures. The French will not find their aesthetic in Roman ruins—it is the Frankish farmsteads of late antiquity that become, in Garnier's words, "proto-chateaux" (Garnier and Ammann 1892, 587). In Jourdain's account too, the Gallo-Roman house, crucially conceived as being contemporary to the rule of Clovis, the Frankish king to whom was often credited the seeds of the idea of a French nation, is a new beginning that will lead to the most admirable phases of France's architectural history, the most seductive part of Garnier's museum: medieval France (Jourdain 1889, 13–14). In the course of the century commemorated at the Expo, aristocratic Frankish, popularist Celtic, and civilized Roman identities had been variously deployed by different groups in a bid to lend historical legitimacy to their political standpoint. As a result, leading figures attempting to draw these together had found themselves playing contradictory parts; Napoléon III simultaneously Caesar and Vercingetorix (Dietler 1994, 588–591; Baguley 2000, 69–95). Garnier's Gallo-Roman House finds a way to fuse these traditions and to meet the spirit of the Expo by finding a coherent ancient model of national unity.

Conclusion

Garnier's insertion of the Roman House into a narrative of anthropological evolution reworked the role of the antique reconstruction for the political needs of the 1889 Expo. By doing so, he managed to save a role for the Roman, responding to contemporary antagonisms whilst safeguarding its centrality and importance to modern aesthetics. His creation of an ancestral home for the visitors of 1889 suited the theme of the Expo while his publication allowed him to emphasize the Roman. Himself an academician, nothing exposed his traditionalism more than his decision to add his name to the letter of protest published in *Le Temps* in 1887 against the Eiffel project (Seitz 2005, 122; *Le Temps*, February 14, 1887). Despite the Tower's survival and his own houses' destruction, his championing and demonstration of architectural artistry stood fast against Eiffel's laudation of the engineer as tomorrow's builder (Royo 2001, 203–204). Although the subsequent volume apparently played the Exposition game in dismissing the exhibits as merely the precursor of the text, that text ended with a clear return to the models. The reader is addressed directly: if you liked this narrative then lobby the state to appoint an archaeologist to devise "la reconstitution complete et méthodique des logis du passé," since this will be better than all that texts and descriptions could provide—the history of art and architecture must, above all, tell itself through the material example (Garnier and Ammann 1892, 885). Nevertheless, his exhibition perhaps helped squash the possibility of residing in a Maison Pompéienne in contemporary Paris. The political and aesthetic experience of the 1889 Expo made its resurgence absolutely impossible: within two years it would succumb to the bulldozers that had claimed Garnier's homes.

But neither had Garnier scored a blow in terms of safeguarding the future of antiquity in subsequent Expos. By 1889, the relentlessly acquisitive quest for encyclopedic completeness was beginning to age. The exotic was now the expected. The juxtapositions no longer alarmed. Everything appeared familiar and safe in this vision of the modern world (Walsh 1992, 103). Some critics began to rile at the ways in which these exoticisms were commodified (Shields 2003, 4–13): the Expo was in danger of becoming one big shop.[54] In a way, the problem was the same at that faced by the Maison Pompéienne. The acceptance of the Expo's reconstructions as mere toys gave temporary life in the heterotopic atmosphere of the Expo but that admission also shed light back on the pretensions of the entire Expo format itself. It is one thing to build and admire, another to live and sustain.

[54] *British Architect*, June 21, 1889. See also Rimmel 1868. Shields 2003, 4–13 discusses this tendency of models in the context of the virtual.

CHAPTER 4

Domestic Interiors, National Concerns

The Pompeian Style in the United States

MARDEN FITZPATRICK NICHOLS

IN THE GILDED AGE novels of Edith Wharton, domestic interiors instantiate moral, psychological, and financial crises left unspoken. A "Pompeian vestibule," for example, features in both the well-appointed home Newland Archer shares with his society wife May in *The Age of Innocence*, set in the 1870s, and the dilapidated boarding house where Lily Bart resides after "circumstances . . . had combined to cut her off more and more from her few remaining friends" in Wharton's evocation of the 1890s, *The House of Mirth* (2005, 333). Archer first visualizes this type of foyer upon grudgingly deciding that his "fate [is] sealed: for the rest of his life he would go up every evening between the cast-iron railings of that greenish-yellow doorstep, and pass through a Pompeian vestibule" (Wharton 2002, 112). Just so, the house materializes: "In New York, during the previous winter, after he and May had settled down in the new greenish-yellow house with the bow-window and the Pompeian vestibule, he had dropped back with relief into the old routine" (2002, 220). *The House of Mirth*'s Lily Bart, like Newland Archer, chafes against the restrictiveness of high society. Unlike his actions, however, hers result in a free fall from respectability. Escorted home by her latest suitor, "Lily felt that Rosedale was taking contemptuous note of the neighborhood; and before the doorstep at which she finally paused he looked up with an air of incredulous disgust . . . He continued to scan the blistered brown stone front, the windows draped with discoloured lace, and the Pompeian decoration of the muddy vestibule" (Wharton 2005, 333). The visual effect is not one of unassuming humility, but of deteriorated finery.

Such references to Pompeii, an ancient Roman town buried in ashes by the eruption of Vesuvius in 79 AD, operate as a foreshadowing device: a Pompeian vestibule forms the entryway to a moribund phase of life.[1] Yet for Wharton, an allusion to Pompeian decoration was still more complex: in the first quarter of the twentieth century, when these novels first appeared, the Pompeian style was a widely recognized form of interior design with a rich, decades-long history in the United States.[2] Despite a wealth of published research on classicizing American interiors (Cooper 1993), the popularity of the Pompeian style in the United States remains underresearched.[3] Select publications on individual American examples acknowledge a national trend (Bonino 2008, 157–172; Strazdes 2001, 233–235), but elsewhere one reads of Pompeian interiors as chiefly a European phenomenon,[4] which had limited impact overseas.[5] Few historic American Pompeian rooms survive.[6] Evidence for their prevalence and cultural connotations, however, surfaces in event descriptions and decorative arts feature articles in newspapers and magazines; in letters, postcards, and photographs; and in notices advertising the showrooms of interior decorators. The parameters of the Pompeian and advice for how to achieve it circulated in pattern books, pamphlets, and manuals, as well as in trade periodicals geared to both a wide readership and the growing number of professional upholsters, designers, and decorators (Dethier 1991).

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[1] This trope also appears in literary descriptions of European homes. See a similar interpretation of the Pompeian decor in Rita's dining room in Joseph Conrad's 1919 *The Arrow of Gold* (Levin 2005), and the continual references to a Pompeian parlor in Evelyn Waugh's *Brideshead Revisited* (1945), a letter of farewell to England's fading aristocracy.

[2] Pompeian decoration, in fact, figures in the author's reminiscences of her own affluent childhood home. Good fortune, for Wharton, ever contains the seeds of its own dissolution. Thus in descriptions of her upbringing, she recalls her father's financial anxieties as much as the family's wealth (Lee 2007, 27). Wharton's *The Decoration of Houses* (Wharton and Codman, Jr. 1897) presents alternatives to her parents' heavy Victorian decor.

[3] The spelling "Pompeiian" is also common. In this chapter I will use the phrase "Pompeian style." Across primary and secondary literature, the term "Pompeian Revival Style" also appears.

[4] The *Grove Dictionary* portrays the style as European. Cf. Wilton-Ely 2000, 246–251.

[5] Curtis Dahl (1955, 3–7) hails the "Pompeia" in Saratoga Springs (1889) as the American incarnation of a Pompeian decorative tradition he traces through Germany, France, and England. The hardware merchant Franklin Webster Smith built the "Pompeia," a complete reconstruction of the House of the Pansa, as an open attraction for the public. Smith's fastidious attention to archaeological accuracy and educational motivations place him outside my discussion. Lapatin (2011) argues that J. Paul Getty's villa likewise does not belong to the tradition of Pompeian rooms (Fig. 7.1, see insert; Figs. 7.2–7.5). See von Stackelberg in this volume.

[6] The Pompeian bathroom suite in Victoria Mansion in Portland, Maine (1858–1860) and the Pompeian Room of the Doheny Mansion in Los Angeles (1913) are two notable extant examples in American homes. Many other historic homes preserve wall decoration of Pompeian derivation, including the San Francisco Plantation in Garyville, Louisiana, completed in 1855.

This chapter contextualizes Pompeian interior decoration from the mid-nineteenth to the mid-twentieth centuries within a larger effort by U.S. elites to create the trappings of a European-style aristocracy. I argue that in this phenomenon we often see a triangulation of ancient sites, European models, and American decor, such that the influence of Pompeii on New York has been mediated by Paris, as it were. What allowed the Pompeian style to retain its cultural currency through time, across the country, and in various architectural and social contexts, however, was its very openness to multiple interpretations, each grounded in a reading of historical associations. The Pompeian room in the United States can therefore profitably be understood in light of what Umberto Eco terms "aberrant decoding," the phenomenon whereby the receiver makes sense of a text, image, or sign using a different "code" than the one intended by its creator (Eco 1972). To return to *The House of Mirth*, while in Lily's eyes a Pompeian vestibule betokens continued inclusion within an exalted social milieu, Rosedale sees only an index of decline; the vestibule betrays its occupant's muddied reputation and frustrated aspirations. For Wharton's readers, who foresee what is to come, there is added symbolism of decadence and death. Attention to varying responses to the Pompeian style throughout the period of its popularity advances our understanding of Neo-Antique decoration by explaining the survival of architectural styles and motifs in the face of cultural resistance or change.

Roots of the American Pompeian Style

Soon after Pompeii, Herculaneum, and the surrounding sites were discovered in the eighteenth century, their highly ornamented, remarkably preserved buildings and furnishings began to exert a transformative and lasting impact on interior design in Europe. *Le Antichità di Ercolano esposte*, the official publication of the finds at Herculaneum, was published in eight volumes from 1757 to 1792 and intended solely for use by the Bourbon king, who had political control of the region, and his chosen friends. Royal resistance to the public airing of the volumes formed part of a broader attempt to restrict visitor access, the collection of artifacts, and even the spread of images, in order to increase prestige through exclusivity. Since no sketching was allowed, the first drawings that circulated were based on artists' memories. Despite the ban, copies of the *Antichità* were leaked almost immediately, and the volumes were widely available by 1773. Sir William Hamilton, as early as the late 1770s, provided the Society of Antiquaries of London with descriptions of total painted schemes at Pompeii. He also sent colored sketches, which the Society distributed in the form of line engravings in the fourth volume (1786) of their transactions, *Archaeologia* (Wilton-Ely 2000, 248). The end of the restrictive Bourbon government at the dawn of the nineteenth century resulted not only in an increase in excavation activity at the Vesuvian sites, but also a more plentiful supply of objects on the market for purchase. Access by Grand Tourists, likewise, became more open. Across both Europe and the United States, there was a remarkably broad readership of publications written by archaeologists, architects, and other learned visitors. Numerous recent studies have investigated the history of excavations in this region, which began in 1709 with the recovery of objects from a well at Resina and continues to the present day.[7]

The finds from Pompeii influenced the course of Neoclassicism and provided major contributions to the Adamesque[8] and Empire styles, among others.[9] The most zealous enthusiasts for the Antique went so far as to construct full-scale replicas of ancient houses and to incorporate imaginative period environments called "Pompeian rooms" within their palaces and manors.[10] By the time Pompeian interior decoration first became popular in the Unites States, during the late 1850s,[11] the mode had already enjoyed a robust history across Europe, and in some regions would soon become outdated.[12] The earliest known Pompeian room is still in use today at Packington Hall in Warwickshire, England (Fig. 4.1, see insert). The design, which dates to 1785–1788, reflects collaboration between Heneage Finch, Fourth Earl of Aylesford and a fellow of the Society of

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[7] Research on how information about the sites circulated—and the resultant effects on popular thought and contemporary decorative arts—is a field in itself (e.g., Mattusch 2013; Badea-Päun 2009; Mattusch 2008; Amery and Curran, Jr. 2002; Werner 1970).

[8] Paradigmatic of the style is the Red Drawing Room at Syon House, Middlesex, designed by Robert Adam for Lord Northumberland in the 1760s; its ceiling pattern mimicked ancient designs.

[9] Elaborate designs in the *Recueil de décorations intérieures* (1801) by Charles Percier and P. F. L. Fontaine manifest the influence of new discoveries in the Vesuvian region upon the Empire style.

[10] Ludwig I of Bavaria's Pompejanum in his castle garden at Aschaffenburg (1840–1848), designed by Friedrich von Gärtner, imitated the so-called House of Castor and Pollux in Pompeii. Pompeian exhibits were popular features of many of the World Fair Exhibitions, but the Pompeian Court at the Crystal Palace (1851), designed by Digby Wyatt for a series of fine arts courts overseen by Owen Jones, was by far the most famous (Fig. 3.5). Modeled after no one house in particular, the Pompeian Court was in fact a kind of hodgepodge of motifs like those Jones collected and circulated in his *Grammar of Ornament* (1856). See further discussion of these examples and Prince Napoleon's Maison Pompéienne (1856) in von Stackelberg and Macaulay-Lewis, Hales, and von Stackelberg in this volume (Fig. 3.7, see insert).

[11] Decor in the Pompeian style, if not totalizing period environments, appeared earlier in American homes, for example, in Pompeii-inspired wallpapers imported from France (Lynn 1980, 94–96).

[12] The Pompeian Room at Ickworth, for example, decorated in 1879 by F. C. Penrose and J. D. Crace with frescoes closely modeled on those from the Villa Negroni (Fig. 1.2, see insert), has been deemed by scholars the swansong of a fading tradition (Joyce 1983).

Antiquaries, the architect Joseph Bonomi, and a team of craftsmen and decorative painters under the direction of John Francis Rigaud (Coltman 2006, 111–119; Wilton-Ely 1989; Fitz-gerald 1972). The striking color scheme of red, gold, and black extended from the modular panel designs on the walls, applied using an ancient encaustic technique, to the curtains and the upholstery of classicizing "klismos" chairs that once furnished the room. Painted on the ceiling were figures replicated from a recently published archaeological folio, which float in the midst of black rectangular panels, bordered with vines. Smaller panels also drew heavily on subjects familiar from wall paintings discovered on the Bay of Naples: cupids dancing or playing with shields; birds approaching vessels of fruit; pastoral scenes of wandering sheep; stone altars festooned with garlands.

Several features of the Pompeian Room at Packington Hall became typical of the movement on both sides of the Atlantic: the use of strong colors (red, yellow, gold, and black were most common); the walls' decoration in rectangular, monochrome fields with elaborate, illusionistic framing devices at the center of which were depicted human (usually female) figures;[13] the broad dado; the Classical columns and pilasters; the furniture modeled after the antique; and the ancient (or ancient-looking) art objects. Fountains and pools, evoking the water features so prevalent in ancient courtyards, often completed the effect.[14] However, although the creation and promulgation of the Pompeian resulted from intense interest in the classification and categorization of cultures and styles, the denotation of a Pompeian room remained fluid. As Owen Jones argued in his *Grammar of Ornament*, the origins of this malleability were rooted in the mores of the ancient city itself: "the system of ornamentation in use at Pompeii . . . was carried to the very limit of caprice, and . . . almost any theory of colouring and decoration could be supported by authority from Pompeii" (1868, 39).[15] In the United States, however, such "authority" came not from published reports of archaeological remains but from a growing body of taste-makers, including artists, decorators, and authors.

[13] The decoration of the walls was principally indebted to the so-called "third style" of Roman wall painting, which first appeared during the reign of the emperor Augustus, though it also incorporates decorative elements more characteristic of the fourth. Cf. Mazzoleni and Pappalardo 2005, 52.
[14] Indeed, such aquatic connotations became so strong across the United States that when designing a Saks department store in Los Angeles, Adam Gimbel, suggesting that "each room attempt[ed] to create a mood . . . in keeping with merchandise sold there" explained that "for example, a Pompeian room done in cool green with appropriate frieze is used for beach and swimming pool costumes" (*LA Times*, April 26, 1938, A2).
[15] Owen Jones cites Guillaume Zahn's 1828 *Les plus beaux ornements et les tableaux les plus remarquables de Pompei, d'Herculanum, et de Stabiae* as the primary reference for his discussion. A first edition of Jones' text appeared in 1856.

Arrival in the United States

Americans adopted Pompeian decor alongside an array of other styles during the Aesthetic movement, an era when the beautification of the home became a widely respected, national pastime (Burke et al. 1986; McClaugherty 1983, 1–26). Hoganson uses the phrase "cosmopolitan domesticity" to describe the phenomenon whereby American homeowners, eager for the exotic, mimicked the historical and contemporary styles of Europe, as well as imported design elements from Japan, China, and the Middle East (Hoganson 2007, 13–56; 2002; cf. also Kaplan 1998). In middle-class dwellings, an eclectic assemblage of decorative objects drawn from several traditions might appear in the parlor.[16] The homes of the rich, however, displayed series of themed rooms, such as a "Turkish smoking room," "Gothic library," and "Pompeian drawing room." Among these, I argue, the Pompeian carried unique and pointed associations with luxury and inclusion within the uppermost echelons of society. While enthusiasm for the "Greek Revival" style, bolstered by American appreciation of the Greeks as noble democratic predecessors, arose from optimistic patriotism, suspicion of the Pompeian style, fueled by conceptions of the ancient Pompeians as decadent, debauched, and destroyed, sprung from nagging fears that the United States, like the Roman Empire, would decline and fall.[17]

The sheer abundance of art and luxury goods excavators found within the houses of supposedly "ordinary people" in a town of moderate size had given the ancient Pompeians a reputation for extravagance.[18] The

[16] In the April 1, 1855, edition of *The Happy Home and Parlor Magazine* (264), vases in Pompeian forms are listed among the "household ornaments" widely available for purchase. See Winterer (2002, 144–147) for discussion of such objects and the formation of the middle class.

[17] On American declinism, see Huntington 1988–1989. On Pompeii within cataclysmic narratives of American destruction, see Malamud (2009, 125).

[18] See, for example, the archaeological descriptions that circulated in *Putnam's Magazine*: "The decorative painting of Pompeii has been so extensively copied, that its colors and its forms are now tolerably well known . . . Its chief characteristic is the employment of a broad, warm field of color—generally that which is now distinguished as 'Pompeiian red'—with very gracefully and delicately drawn ornaments of vines, birds, and scroll-work, disposed in irregular panels . . . They suggest wealth and luxury, it is true, yet at the same time they speak of an artistic culture, so general and of so high a stamp, that one knows not whither to turn, to match it at this day." "The Mural Paintings of Pompeii," (*Putnam's Magazine of Literature, Science, Art and National Interests* 2.7, July 1868, 4, 8). In Chapter 31 of *The Innocents Abroad*, "The Buried City of Pompeii," Mark Twain would echo a popular sentiment at the time when he described the excavated city as a place of "many and many a sumptuous private mansion." He explains that "those Pompeiians were very luxurious in their tastes and habits. The most exquisite bronzes we have seen in Europe, came from the exhumed cities of Herculaneum and Pompeii, and also the finest cameos and the most delicate engravings on precious stones" (1869, 329 and 330). The pervasive pornographic imagery provided another indication of hedonism.

publication of Bulwer-Lytton's *Last Days of Pompeii* in 1834, a blockbuster novel that represented the prodigal, carousing inhabitants of Pompeii as victims of their own decadence, heightened this impression. The wealthy American businessman William T. Walters, who had read Bulwer-Lytton's page-turner, as well as Pliny the Younger's account of Vesuvius's eruption, traveled with his wife to Pompeii during their extended stay in Europe during the American Civil War: "As they passed the remains of villas that had once dotted the shore, William recalled literary allusions to the dissolute life led there in antiquity. The Roman matrons, he observed, arrived at this ancient 'Newport' with the reputation of Penelope but left it with that of Helen" (Johnston 1999, 29–30). Upon his return to the United States, Walters went on to decorate a double-parlor in his Baltimore home in the Pompeian style (1870s). That the same person could at once chastise the Pompeians for their decadence and ornament his own parlor in the style reflects both the gamut of associations and the particular fascination attached to Pompeii during the period.

The wealthiest Americans, mindful of precedents abroad, constructed Pompeian rooms not simply to fulfill fantasies of ancient Italy, but also to associate themselves with aristocratic Europe of the present and recent past. The color scheme of Walters' Pompeian parlor shows a greater debt to Prince Napoleon's Maison Pompéienne, which Walters visited in 1862, than to the houses of Pompeii (Johnston 1999, 68). William T. Walters was an avid collector of French painting, not antiquities. (It would be his son, Henry Walters, who purchased thousands of significant works of ancient art and founded the Walters Art Gallery (now Museum) in Baltimore.) Like many Pompeian spaces in the United States, then, William T. Walters' Pompeian parlor carried twofold historical resonance.

Public buildings, including libraries and churches, sometimes embraced the Pompeian style.[19] However, Pompeian rooms appeared more frequently in mansions and hotels, two building types contemporaries dubbed the "palaces" of America.[20] Visiting European aristocrats, however, were not always impressed by the homage, as the Doheny family discovered. The

[19] Examples include the Pompeian decoration in St. Paul's Church in Richmond (1845; decoration 1890s?) (*The Richmond Dispatch*, November 18, 1900, 2) and the Astor Library in New York (Pompeian vestibule [1854?]).

[20] Cf. also reports of examples in exclusive semi-public spaces, such as the reading-room (1880s) in the Union League Club, a political/social club on Fifth Avenue in New York (Rider 1916, 65; Kobbé 1891, 182–183); the San Francisco Press Club (1894) (*The Morning Call*, San Francisco, December 31, 1894, 5); Turner Hall in St. Paul, Minnesota (1882) (*The St. Paul Daily Globe*, November 29, 1882, 2).

Doheny Pompeian Room (1913), with its magnificent glass ceiling, was seemingly less awe-inspiring to their British guests than the California landscape outside the window (Bonino 2008, 166). The U.S. pseudo-aristocracy used manufactured Europeanness as a currency; its value was highest in transactions among themselves.

Though the Pompeian style sometimes appeared in spaces frequented exclusively by men, it had strong overtones of femininity, and even effeminacy. The preexisting association between opulence and the feminine could only have been heightened by the preponderance of illustrations of the female form in Pompeian rooms (a feature of these Neo-Antique spaces on either side of the Atlantic). The range of ideas that attached to the Pompeian, and made it both sought after by the socially aspirant and disparaged by critics of the upper classes, illuminates not only the reception of Pompeii in the United States, currently a topic of considerable scholarly interest,[21] but also a persistent aspect of American morality: national unease regarding the expansion of private wealth, as reflected in luxury building projects.

American sensitivity to the opulent and effeminate connotations of the Pompeian style surfaced in the popular outcry against murals in the U.S. Capitol building painted not long after the fashion settled upon American shores. Constantino Brumidi, an Italian-born artist, designed and oversaw the Capitol's expansive, frescoed interiors. Owing, perhaps, to the style's aforementioned aquatic connotations, his murals in the Naval Affairs Committee Room are distinctly Pompeian in character (Fig. 4.2). Blue, yellow, red, and beige are the dominant colors. Among the gods, nymphs, and personifications frescoed on the ceiling, many—such as Venus, Thetis, and Neptunus—have strong associations with the sea. The dolphins accompanying these figures, like those of ancient Roman sculptures, have mouths bristling with teeth.

Montgomery Meigs, the chief engineer whose signature on Brumidi's watercolor sketch plan for the frescoes allowed work to begin in 1856, boasted after their completion, "the Pompeian rooms are better than the examples from Pompeii."[22] Critics, however, condemned the decor as "flashy," "snobbish," and "inappropriate to a Republic" (Wolanin 1998, 93–94). Xenophobia undoubtedly exacerbated this response: fixated on Brumidi's Italian origins, they argued that a native-born American should

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[21] Gardner Coates, Lapatin, and Seydl 2012; Nemerov 2010, 43–52; Gardner Coates and Seydl 2007; Anderson 1990; Panitz 1977.

[22] *Montgomery C. Meigs Journals*, June 22, 1858 (C-352), cited by Wolanin (1998, 69).

FIG. 4.2. Senate Appropriations Committee Room (formerly Naval Affairs Committee Room) with mural designs by Constantino Brumidi, U.S. Capitol, Washington, DC, 1856–1858.

Public Domain.

have been given the commission.[23] It was not just the painter's Italian roots, however, that riled American critics, but the paintings' Pompeian flavor. In 1860, the U.S. Arts Commission declared Brumidi's paintings the trappings of "an effete and decayed race which in no way represents

[23] Critics took issue with numerous features of the decoration of the Capitol beyond Brumidi's paintings (Wolanin 1998, 93).

us" (Wolanin 1998, 96). Such a response wounded Brumidi, an accomplished veteran of large-scale fresco projects at the Vatican and the Villa Torlonia who had taken pains to infuse the paintings of the Capitol with overtly patriotic imagery celebrating his adopted country. Though the floating figures on the walls of the Naval Affairs Committee Room echoed Pompeian models, they did not replicate them.[24] Brumidi transformed the Pompeian image of a maenad with a thyrsus, for example, into a demure American patriot with a flag (Wolanin 1998, 70). Into a repeating motif of heads framed within geometric shapes Brumidi introduced images of Native Americans with feathered headdresses.[25] The garlands interrupting monochrome fields of color on Pompeian walls Brumidi supported on the backs of eagles. Stars and stripes in unmistakable red, white, and blue are woven into complex decorative schemes throughout the room.

Brumidi's detractors, though evoking the ancient Pompeians and perhaps thinking of European palaces, may also have been aware of the Pompeian rooms appearing in American homes. The budding socialite Lillie Greenough, in a letter of the late 1850s, for example, described a "gorgeous house in [New York's] Fifth Avenue, furnished with every luxury one can imagine, [including] a marble-floored Pompeian room, with a fountain" (de Hegermann-Lindencrone 1912, 8).[26] Throughout the history of the Pompeian style, Pompeian spaces in American houses were most often parlors or drawing rooms, places of awe to court the admiration of guests. Thus, many years later, in Alexander Harvey's 1918 short story "The Characteristic Gesture," a "Pompeiian drawing room, startling with its huge wall paintings" is a conventional place for the male protagonist to call upon a Fifth-Avenue beauty (*Goodwin's Weekly*, August 3, 1918, 12).

Decorators as Mediators

Interior decorators, often European-born, proved the pivotal influence in establishing the Pompeian style as a decorative mainstay among America's well-to-do. Chief among these were Herter Brothers and Pottier & Stymus. The first major commission for Gustave Herter was the Portland, Maine, residence of the New Orleans hotelier Ruggles Sylvester Morse (1860).

[24] On these floating figures and their reception see Ramage 2013; Valladares 2007.
[25] See also Bonino (2008, 166) on the incorporation of imagery representing Native Americans into the Pompeian Room of the Doheny mansion in Los Angeles.
[26] Greenough would acquire fame as the opera singer Lillie Moulton and, subsequently, as the Danish diplomat's wife, Lillie de Hegermann-Lindencrone.

For Morse, a native of the area, the mansion was both a summer home and a means of conveying his self-made wealth and success to a community that knew his humble origins (Palmer 1997). The Italianate structure contained many cutting-edge features that Morse was simultaneously incorporating into the design of his hotels, such as wall-to-wall carpeting and indoor plumbing. It also was a showcase of cosmopolitan domesticity, with its Turkish smoking room and Pompeian water closet, bathroom, and dressing room. Herter's Pompeian designs, dominated by bright reds and blues and executed by Giuseppe Guidicini, channel Paris, rather than Pompeii. In addition to consulting printed sources like Owen Jones's *Grammar of Ornament*, Herter likely borrowed motifs from Neo-Antique interiors in his native Stuttgart, from Prince Napoleon's Maison Pompéienne, and from Pompeian projects designed by Jacques-Ignace Hittorff in Paris (Howe et al. 1994, 42–44). The context of the bathing suite (an expensive proposition in this period) was a redolent one, given the Pompeian style's pronounced associations with both water and luxury (Fig. 4.3, see insert). In the dressing room were paintings of Venus and of Leda and the Swan, two common subjects in U.S. Pompeian interiors.

For decades to come, Herter Brothers continued to design Pompeian spaces, as well as to incorporate Pompeian allusions into various other decorative schemes. In order to achieve the highly characteristic wall decorations, the firm both imported painted panels and commissioned French or Italian artists to work onsite. In the card room of the LeGrand Lockwood residence in Norwalk, Connecticut, a commission of 1869, the painted panels were by the French artist Pierre-Victor Galland (Howe et al. 1994, 42–43). William H. Vanderbilt's "Triple Palace" on Fifth Avenue, a Herter project completed in 1879 and often considered the ultimate expression of the Aesthetic movement, included both a Pompeian bathroom, complete with paintings of female figures and cupids, and a Pompeian atrium (*Current Opinion* 3 1889, 118).

Herter Brothers' rival, Pottier & Stymus, had been the first to garner significant publicity for a Pompeian room when they outfitted Leland Stanford's mansion in San Francisco in 1875–1876. Detailed accounts in newspapers of the time, as well as a series of photographs by Eadweard Muybridge (Figs. 4.4–4.5), reveal that in the Stanfords' Pompeian room, as in many American versions, the Classical past filtered through a more recent one, as archaeological Pompeii merged with palatial Europe. The painted panels, made to order in Rome, included the familiar floating females and infants, surrounding by aedicular structures capped by broken pediments. Such a dynamic play with perspective through projection and recession evoked the scenographic designs in ancient Roman

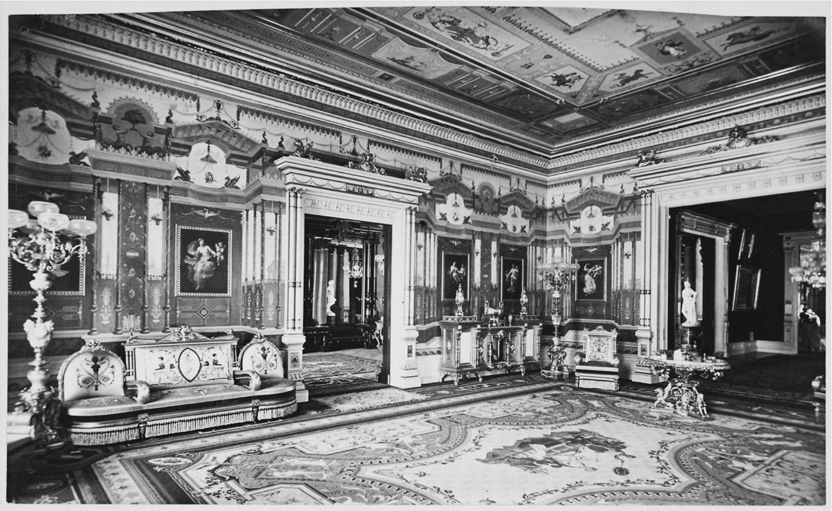

FIG. 4.4. Drawing Room (Pompeian room), Pottier & Stymus, Leland Stanford mansion, San Francisco, *c*. 1877.
Public Domain.

wall paintings. Within a maze of repeating patterns in bright colors, extending from the walls to the carpet and upholstery, sat a marble statue *Fountain of Love*, by modern sculptor Antonio Rossetti, and a pair of Sèvres vases rumored to have been owned by Marie Antoinette. The inclusion of objects allegedly owned by the guillotined queen may have enhanced the titillating, ghoulish connotations of the Pompeian style.

Visitors like Miriam Leslie gushed that the room was "furnished in Pompeian style from designs which were the joint work of its tasteful mistress and her friend Miss [Harriet] Hosmer, the sculptress of whom America is so proud" (1877, 191; cf. Strazdes 2001, 239–241). Within a design culture that treated a lady's home as the reflection of her character, such misapplication of authorial credit was typical. Yet Leslie's words also serve as a reminder that the femininity of the Pompeian style, deemed out of place—and even morally corrosive—in the Capitol building, was an asset worth playing up in a domestic drawing room. Nevertheless, the Stanford commission bolstered Pottier & Stymus's reputation and aided their transformation from furniture makers to interior decorators (Strazdes 2001, 218). In 1884, the firm opened a showroom on Fifth Avenue, displaying the "tints of the ceilings of Pompeii" alongside "imported contributions from Italy and Germany, France and Japan . . . chairs and ornaments fit for

FIG. 4.5. Drawing Room (Pompeian room), Pottier & Stymus, Leland Stanford mansion, San Francisco, *c.* 1877.
Public Domain.

palaces . . ."[27] By commissioning floor-to-ceiling, multi-room decorative schemes, mansion owners played important roles both in establishing interior decorating as a profession and in driving a market for cosmopolitan luxury among consumers of more modest means.

The eventual participation of American-born mural painters in decorating Pompeian rooms was no doubt boosted by the Metropolitan Museum's 1903 acquisition of the Boscoreale frescoes, the first Roman wall paintings of substantial size to enter the United States. The *Metropolitan Museum Bulletin* of 1915 describes the comings and goings of museum visitors thus: "one decorator, sketches for ideas in ornamental work; another, ideas from the Boscoreale frescoes, for use in decorating a Pompeiian room" (10.5, 1915, 107). In the summer of 1914, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. selected the American Francis Newton to paint Pompeian panels in his nine-story mansion at 10 West 54th Street in Manhattan.[28] Given the proximity, it seems plausible that Newton was among the fresco-painters finding inspiration at the Metropolitan Museum.

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[27] "The Fifth-Avenue Palace of Art" (*New York Times*, January 26, 1884, 5).
[28] "What Well-Known New York Artists Are Doing These Hot Days" (*New York Times*, June 28, 1914, X2). Newton displayed his series of decorations for the house at the Annual Exhibition of the Architectural League in 1915. "The Architectural League Exhibition" (*Arts and Decoration*, March 5, 1915, 208).

Literature of Decorum and Decor

The blossoming of an American literature of interior decor accompanied the rise of design firms. In the wake of Charles Eastlake's classic *Hints on Household Taste* (1868), books and articles dedicated to individual homes appeared alongside compendia detailing a smorgasbord of styles—and how to achieve them. Within many of these accounts, Pompeii held pride of place not just as the ultimate derivation of the Pompeian style, but as an ancient source for the very concept of home decoration. Edward Strahan (a pseudonym of Earl Shinn), opened his *Mr. Vanderbilt's House and Collection*, an encomium to the Herter Brothers' masterpiece, with a comparison between the residence described in the book and the House of Sallust in Pompeii. Through its act of preservation, Strahan argues, the monograph itself will become a "more perfect Pompeii" (Strahan 1883–1884, 1). Such ruminations were far from novel. Speculation as to how future civilizations might judge domestic decor in the United States (or often, more precisely, New York) formed an important part of the rallying cry for greater attention to beauty and craftsmanship during the Aesthetic Movement. Even in the houses of ordinary citizens in minor cities outside the Roman metropolis, so the story went, excavators had uncovered a level of artistry beyond even the stateliest American homes. The historiographical impact of excavated houses thereby served as a warning. The very fact that their impressions of ancient Rome were shaped by provincial domestic interiors caused Americans to question what message their own comparatively plain interiors, if serendipitously preserved through a natural disaster, might communicate to future generations:

> Suppose now that New York should be suddenly buried in the mud of the streets, as will very probably happen, and as Pompeii was lost in the ashes and lava of Vesuvius. Then suppose that, after two thousand years, curious antiquarians from the most enlightened of nations then existing dig out our kitchens and closets, and are so captivated with the grace and charm of our pots and pans, and cups and glasses, that they bear them away delighted—not merely as curious relics of an extinct people, but as objects of imperishable beauty. Should we not, if we were there to reflect, wonder what must be the aesthetic condition of a people who thought our kettles and tureens so beautiful that they must be preserved for admiration? And if so, what must the Pompeian think of the New Yorker of to-day?

This statement circulated in reports of an address by Princeton professor George F. Comfort to the Art Committee of the Union League Club on the necessity of founding a metropolitan museum of art in New York (*Harpers Weekly*, December 4, 1869, 771). In a reversal of the usual rhetoric, wherein the United States shrinks from the monitory example of Pompeii, Comfort suggests that, on the contrary, the Pompeians would be horrified to see how little New York offers "to remind us that the high office of art is to make use beautiful." Antiquity was an era of ascent, modernity of decline. By this logic, decoration in the Pompeian style becomes not simply a reconditioning of the past but a multivalent *memento mori* and gesture towards the future.

This sense of urgency to improve American design inspired the publication of numerous handbooks. Harriet Prescott Spofford illustrated her influential series of articles in *Harper's Bazar* and *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* (1876), later published as the design lexicon *Art Decoration Applied to Furniture* (1878), with line drawings after designs by Pottier & Stymus, Herter Brothers, and others. Spofford intended *Art Decoration Applied to Furniture* as a comprehensive historical account, from ancient Egypt to her own time. She intersperses extended quotations from learned sources with her own decorating advice, offered in a chatty style pitched to the same popular audiences for whom, as a fiction writer, Harriet Prescott Spofford was already a household name. Spofford dedicates a chapter of her tome to the parameters of Pompeian style, which she illustrates with drawings of a parlor and a bathroom (the former designated "modern," lest there be any confusion) (Figs. 4.6–4.7). In each drawing, the decoration of the walls is paramount.[29] Solitary female figures, nude or clad in diaphanous, swirling drapery, are enclosed within illusionistic architectonic columns and frames. In the bathroom, a Venus-like figure stands against a wave. In the tradition of the Capitoline Venus or that of Botticelli, she extends one hand to her breast. The other, however, holds a cornucopia. As an embodiment of the Pompeian style, she encapsulates pleasure, femininity, and prosperity in one.

Spofford distinguishes the Pompeian among the decor styles currently in vogue as "a style of great magnificence" (131). Like Owen Jones, however, who claimed that the ornament of Pompeii bore a "marked inferiority" to Greek models (1868, 40), Spofford writes of a "Pompeian deterioration of the old standard" (1878, 134). She lays bare the Orientalist grounds for the pervasive idea of Pompeian decadence: "The art of the

[29] Cf. comparable drawings that accompany discussion of the Pompeian style in Arrowsmith and Arrowsmith 1840.

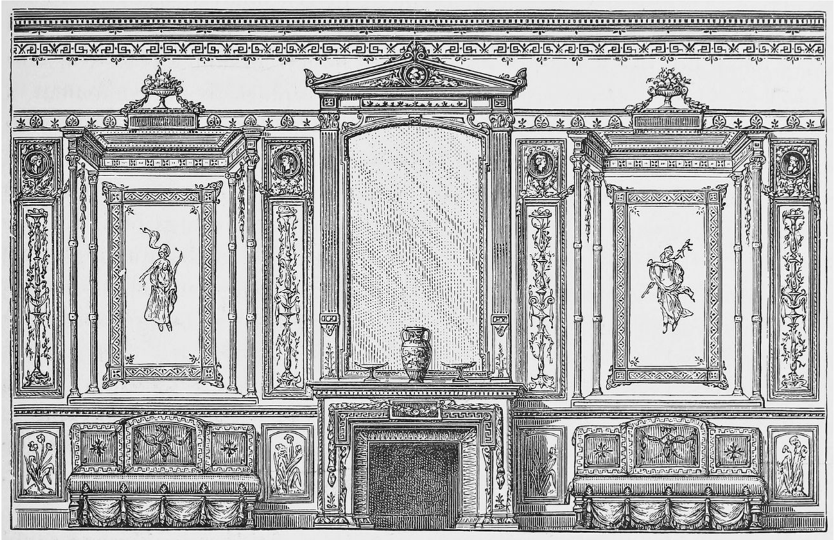

FIG. 4.6. *Modern Pompeian Parlor*, from Harriet Prescott Spofford, *Art Decoration Applied to Furniture*, 1878.
Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute Library.

Pompeian was, as we all know, the Greek art after the Asiatic had debased it" (1878, 131). Eastern influence and effeminacy, we may presume, were closely conjoined.

The British author Mary Elizabeth Haweis takes a similar view in a guide to styles of decoration (*The Art of Decoration*, 1881) published shortly after Spofford's, in which she urges readers that only professional expertise and historical accuracy can allay the perils of the Pompeian:

> No one should attempt the decoration of a Pompeian room without experience, or the advice of experienced artists and decorators . . . When it is anything short of first-rate, and without the interest attaching to antiquity, Pompeiian art is nothing but fantastic and vulgar. (Haweis 1881, 113)

Spofford, on the other hand, though she quotes Pliny the Elder and delights in the historical context, does not offer the "interest attaching to antiquity" as a principle of discernment. An infusion of cash will have the salutary effect:

> [The Pompeian style] can be carried out with strict propriety only by the use of a vast amount of money. Limited incomes can indulge in the Gothic, in the Neo-Jacobean, even in the Louis Seize to some extent; but it takes

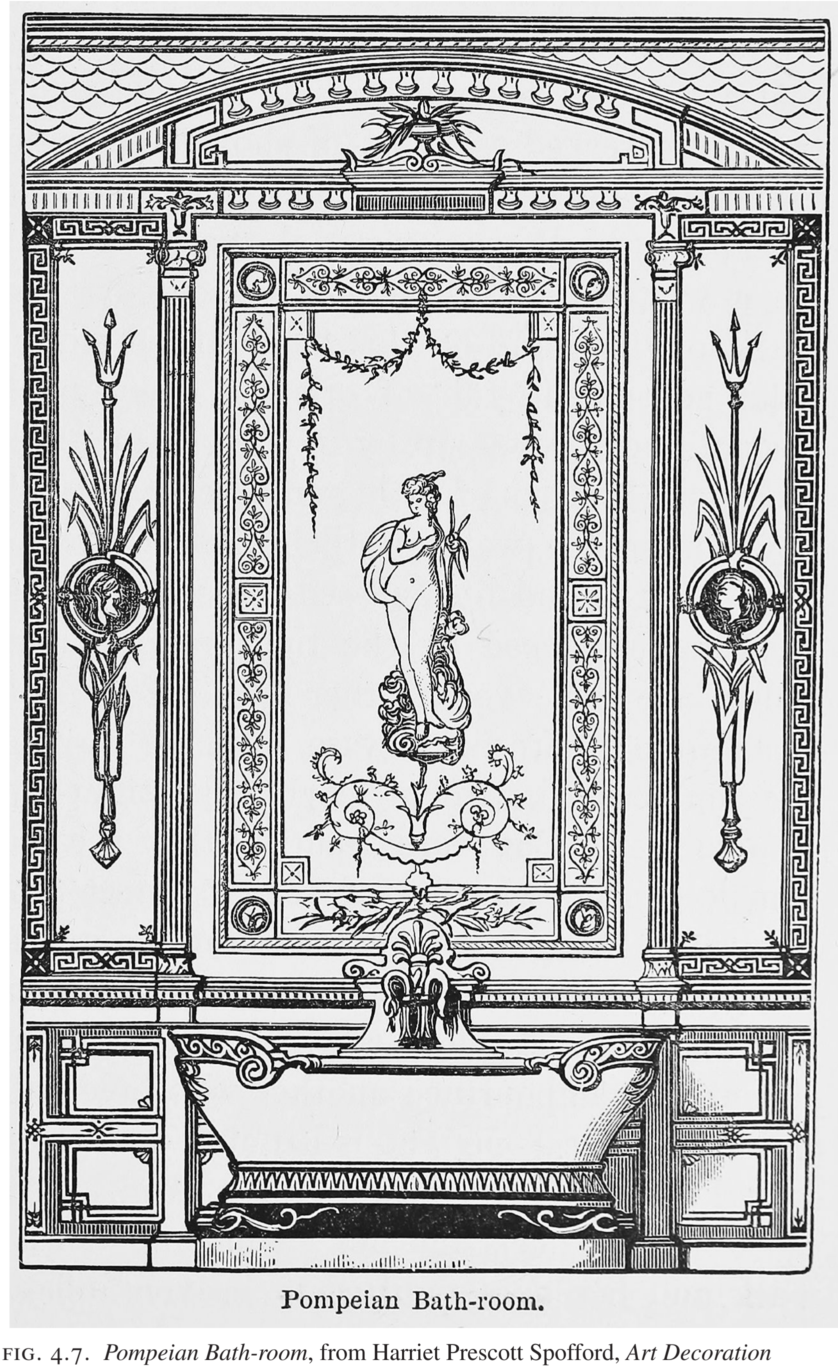

FIG. 4.7. *Pompeian Bath-room*, from Harriet Prescott Spofford, *Art Decoration Applied to Furniture*, 1878.

Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute Library.

a princely fortune to venture on the Pompeian, and to do it in character. A style of extravagance as it is, ignorance and vulgarity[30] cannot administer it; costly artistic intelligence must have it in hand; nor can anything cheap be tolerated in its production, for it is the last expression of luxurious wealth, and whatever is done in it must be done finely. (Spofford 1878, 131)

Artistic intelligence is an attribute of the hired hand, rather than a desired trait in the homeowner. Spofford's concerns, however, extend beyond art criticism and ancient models to address questions of contemporary morality. She decrees that the Pompeian "is not exactly the style for parade, for public use, or for great state occasion; but for festal life, for luxury, for the enjoyment of wealth and ease and beauty" (136). Since the right patron for such decoration would be a "millionnaire [*sic*] . . . liv[ing] a sybaritic, self-indulgent life of pleasure," she concludes, "of course no one can be literally advised to furnish in such a prodigal and voluptuous style" (131 and 136). Though this debauched tycoon may be an identifiable American figure, and the only "right patron" for the Pompeian, Spofford stops short of advocating his adoption of the style. Within a handbook of explicitly didactic intent, such statements of ambivalence gesture towards conflicting narratives of what U.S. homes and homeowners should be.

While a cursory glance on either side of the Atlantic might suggest that American authors, patrons, and decorators were less concerned with archaeological accuracy than their European counterparts, this was not always the case. In *Decorative Styles and Periods in the Home* (1906), American author Helen Churchill Candee (a future survivor of the Titanic shipwreck) offers an impassioned plea to end the blight of ersatz Pompeian decoration. Candee's ringing endorsement of the Pompeian style (when correctly done) is devoid of the shadows that darken Spofford's prose: "A Pompeian room is always a success because its taste is unquestioned and its beauty never tires" (21). However, she identifies flaws in contemporary practice:

I have in mind several cruel horrors that have blinded the eyes and caused an actual sinking sensation to the body, which are called Pompeian rooms. In these, flat colour surfaces of glaring red or yellow or black were broken by

[30] Haweis and Spofford may both have depended on Owen Jones for their recourse to the language of vulgarity when critiquing the style. Jones commented on the Pompeian that "the whole style, however, of the decoration is so capricious that it is beyond the range of true art, and strict criticism cannot be applied to it. It generally pleases, but, if not absolutely vulgar, it oftentimes approaches vulgarity" (1868, 40).

> impossible massive figures, set midway between floor and ceiling, the whole bordered with small, weak designs in many colours. (Candee 1906, 21)

The author is swift to expose the perpetrators of this injustice: German paperhangers, who dishonor the archetype (22).[31] Candee was not the only one to associate delicate rather than strong colors with a *true* Pompeian style.[32] Nevertheless, her criticisms provide a neat description of some prevalent features of Pompeian rooms in the United States. A 1908 domestic design feature, "Landscape Art Indoors-Evergreens as Decorations," for example, suggests houseplants can mitigate color oversaturation:

> A Pompeian room of too varied colors was found to need some sort of toning down. The decorator had so few hangings in the room that they could not be relied on to do that for the overcolored apartment. Four standards of bay, however, accomplished the purpose, and the green fitted well in the red and yellow color scheme. (*Washington Post*, December 27, 1908, SM2)

Candee objects that such Pompeian rooms are not in keeping with the experience of the archaeological city. The author makes an impassioned plea for authenticity: "Do such rooms remotely suggest the exquisite soft colours of the real Pompeii?" (21).

Interestingly, in a Pompeian room striving to engage directly with ancient Pompeii, that of department-store tycoon Nathan Straus, glaring colors were still an issue.[33] In 1903, the *New York Tribune* provided a photograph and approving description of this Pompeian room's accurate reproductions of ancient mythological scenes (Fig. 4.8),[34] including a mural fragment of Thetis in Hephaestus' forge (Pompeii, IX.1.7; Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli Inv. 9529), and two scenes from the House of the Vettii, Hercules strangling the serpents and the punishment of Ixion (Pompeii, VI.15.1). Singled out for praise are the fountain with its basin of black marble, the mosaic floor strewn with animal skins, and the numerous reproductions of ancient sculpture and

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[31] This may perhaps be a belittlement of Herter Brothers, which remained in business into 1906.

[32] The tints of Pompeii advertised by the Pottier & Stymus showroom (discussed above) were "delicate" ones. "The Fifth-Avenue Palace of Art" (*New York Times*, January 26, 1884, 5).

[33] Other examples of Pompeian environments in which ancient or ancient-looking works of art formed the focal point include the Pompeian Room in Dorfred House, the Chicago home of Fredric Clay Bartlett (*c.* 1900) and the Pompeian atrium at the Villa Turicum in Lake Forest, Illinois, which Charles A. Platt designed for the Rockefeller-McCormicks (1912).

[34] "Two Highly Interesting Rooms" (*New York Tribune Illustrated Supplement*, December 6, 1903, 4).

FIG. 4.8. Pompeian Room, Nathan Straus residence, New York, *c*. 1903. Library of Congress.

objects for practical use, "all . . . faithfully copied [and] done expressly for their owner by the president of the Naples Museum." Only the strength of the colors, deemed authentic by the author, causes concern: "[The ancient Pompeians] used the same pigments as our artists. They, however, knew some secret that prevented fading. To the uninitiated eye it seems as if a slight fading would soften their tints to advantage." Even among those for whom ancient Pompeii was the template, there was disagreement about what that template looked like.

The decorative conventions of the Pompeian style were paradoxically highly recognizable and highly malleable. As such, the phrase "Pompeian room" operated as a metonym. Its meaning transcended visual form. The popular compendium of Gilded Age mansions *Artistic Houses* (1883), for instance, characterizes the Herter Brothers' drawing room in the J. P. Morgan residence as Pompeian, despite decorative cues to the contrary (Fig. 4.9):

> Pompeiian inspiration is felt at once, although nothing like it can be seen in Pompeii . . . A breath from the Graeco-Roman epoch of Italia seems

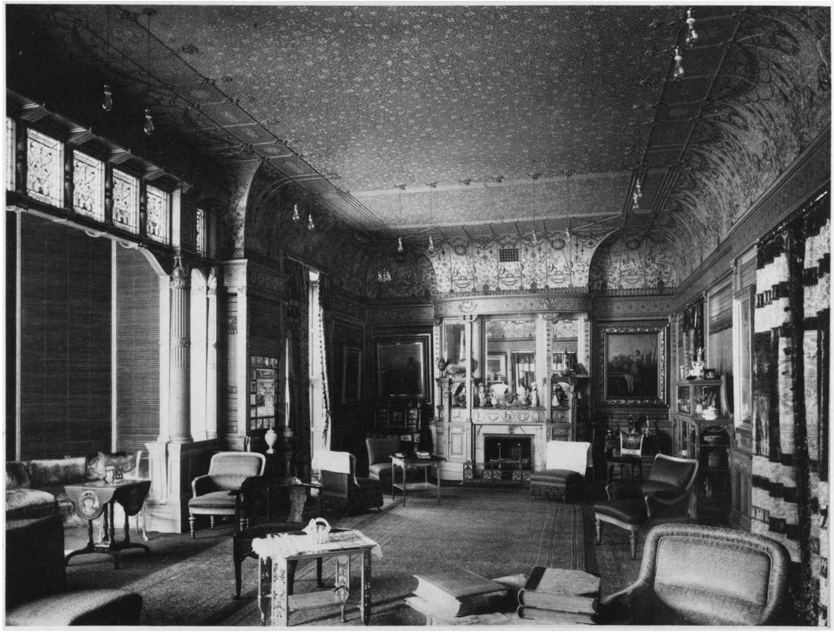

FIG. 4.9. Drawing Room, J. P. Morgan residence, New York *c.* 1880–1882. National Gallery of Art Library, David K. E. Bruce Fund.

> to have left its faint fragrance in the atmosphere. That is all. No slavish copying of another dwelling or another period, ancient or modern . . . a suggestion (not an imitation) of light-colored mosaic; in the frieze itself, with its free-running ornament of Pompeiian red, and with parts of its carving touched up with gold; in the walls, divided by pilasters whose color corresponds with the frieze, and upholstered in Japanese stuffs . . . (Sheldon 1883, 76)

The author then accounts for the room's Japanese and Persian features. So deeply entrenched was the idea of the opulent drawing room as a Pompeian environment, it seems, that even without a preponderance of Classical trappings, the Morgans' could still support the title.

Hotels and Restaurants

Nowhere more evident was the Pompeian room's metonymic potential than in the context of hotels and restaurants. U.S. hotels, like houses, displayed Pompeian decoration amidst an array of period styles. The

Pompeian was suited to varied locations, including suites[35] and billiard rooms,[36] but was most prevalent in bars and dining rooms. These Pompeian rooms provided the social aspirants with entrée into the types of interiors their superiors enjoyed at home. An advertisement for New York's Hotel Whitehall best captures the allure: "the town's smart chariots will go to the opening of the Pompeian Room." In the accompanying image, a man in a top hat and tails drives an ancient-looking chariot in the direction of 100th Street (*New York Times*, April 20, 1934, 16). Crucially, however, licentious self-indulgence—always an undertone of the Pompeian style—was overtly signaled in the decoration and marketing of these commercial spaces. Postcards of the Hotel Whitehall Pompeian Room show a buffet table overflowing with food and wine in a dining room decorated with large, crudely painted panels of classicizing figures drinking, eating, and making merry (Fig. 4.10). The high ceiling in the center of the room, enabling the view of an upper story, called to mind the *compluvium* of an ancient atrium. Hotels advertising Pompeian rooms as places of gaiety and refreshment appeared across the United States, from the Hotel Havelin in Cincinnati; to the Baltimore Hotel in Kansas City, Missouri; to the Arcady Hotel in Los Angeles.

Similar in both function and form were the Pompeian rooms within restaurants and nightclubs. Rector's opened its Pompeian Room (for private dinners and banquets of fifteen to 150 guests) in 1914 (Fig. 4.11). The focal point of the room developed tropes of the Pompeian style—the aquatic, the feminine—into a staging of the erotic: an aedicular structure with a fountain displayed a nude female figure pouring water into an overflowing cup. Lighting fixtures were suspended around an ornamented flush mount atop a large pillar, evoking the configuration of an ancient bronze lampstand found in the House of Pansa in Pompeii (1812, Museo Archeologico

[35] In New York's Hotel Waldorf: "the peculiar reds and yellows that belong to Pompeian art, together with that strange refinement of decorative painting that belongs to the style, are all very cleverly reproduced in the Pompeian suite. The walls of the reception room are panelled [*sic*] in Roman pink, with yellow lines and borders. The frieze is dull yellow, carrying at intervals painted representations of sections of a Greek temple" (*Decorator and Furnisher* 22.5, 1893, 175).

[36] Reporting on the opening of the Astor Hotel in 1904, *The New York Times* did not neglect to mention the array of decorative styles employed within the French Renaissance building: "On the mezzanine floor are the Spanish Renaissance and the Chinese room. The men's dining room, in the German Renaissance, sixteenth-century style, is in oak, with wainscoting twelve feet high, and the walls and ceiling are adorned with hunting scenes and trophies of the hunt. The billiard room is in Pompeiian style." "Dinner Under Ground at New Astor Hotel" (*New York Times*, August 29, 1904, 7). This billiard room, "very rich in coloring" and with purpose-built tables, was also photographed and described in the *Architects' and Builders' Magazine* (6.2, 1904, 61).

FIG. 4.10. Pompeian Room, Hotel Whitehall, New York, undated postcard.
M. Nichols.

FIG. 4.11. Pompeian Room, Rector's, New York, *c*. 1914.
Museum of the City of New York.

Nazionale di Napoli Inv. 4563). Though the *Tribune* claimed that the space was "modelled after the plans of a room in an ancient palace of Pompeii," the wall paintings' orderly and symmetrical patterning of garlands and fantastical creatures alongside fleurs de lis more closely followed the aesthetic of aristocratic eighteenth-century France (*New York Tribune*, November 8, 1914, 16). The restaurateur George Rector summed up the fusion of influences succinctly: "I brought Paris to New York and improved it by the transplanting. When Broadway grew jaded and lost its appetite I pampered it with the provender of the gods, simmering in the sauces of Olympus" (Erenberg 1991, 160–161). While the style of Rector's decor and the chain of influence its owner describes mimic the Pompeian rooms in private homes, the restaurant's Broadway (rather than Fifth Avenue) location catered to a slightly lower stratum of society (Erenberg 1991, 160–161). In their design, clientele, and functions, Pompeian rooms like Rector's may have been largely indistinguishable from other Rome- or Pompeii-inspired restaurants, such as Murray's Roman Gardens (New York, 1907), in which diners luxuriated amidst Classical columns, vines, and fountains.[37] Yet the popularity of the designation "Pompeian Room" suggests that restaurant owners found it useful to draw connections with the parlors of American houses as well as with the ancient city described by Bulwer-Lytton.

The most famous Pompeian room in the United States during the first decades of the twentieth century was that of Chicago's Congress Hotel and Annex (Fig. 4.12, see insert). The centerpiece of the sixty-by-one-hundred-foot Pompeian Room, decorated in red, gold, and white and completed in 1901–1902, was an enormous blue and green fountain, questionably reported to have been made from Tiffany glass (Bonino 2008, 160–163; Host and Portmann 2006, 64–68). Since "Chicago business men [were] not accustomed to lounging on couches at their feasts, in the manner of the Greeks or Romans," classicizing klismos chairs were adapted for their use (*The Inland Architect and News Record*, January 1903, 51). Though the large "Ali Baba" jars ("tak[ing] the place of the great amphorae used in the Classic banquet halls of Roman houses") borrowed little from ancient Pompeii, the walls and ceilings were decorated with motifs emblematic of the Pompeian style, including small winged figures against an intensely red background (*The Inland Architect and News Record*, January 1903, 51). On a dark frieze across one half of the double atrium, female figures and musicians danced in gay abandon.

[37] See Malamud 2009 for discussion of Murray's Roman Gardens and the reception of Rome and Pompeii in American amusements more broadly (150–185).

Through widely published reports of activities in the Congress Hotel's Pompeian Room, the latent moral threats of the Pompeian style became actualized in the public imagination. In 1908, for example, reports of the "high jinks" on New Year's Eve spread as far as Ocala, Florida:

> In one of the tiday [*sic*] waves of hilarity a beautiful woman of matronly age took a sizzling bottle of champagne in her hands and poured it upon the bared head of her most favored escort, an elderly and portly plutocratic looking individual. She laughed hysterically, announcing to all in the gilded drinking room that she was pouring a libation to the God Cupid. But the most disgusting feature of the Bacchanalion [*sic*] revel was the mistaken gallantry of the woman's victim. He assumed a pose as if inviting her to pour the whole bottle down his spine—that is to say, beneath his shirt collar . . . And we claim to be living in a civilized, moral world. Doubtless some of the women and their beastly male companions are members of Chicago's "Four Hundred." "Civilized Citizens Cut Up in Chicago" (*Ocala Evening Star*, January 17, 1908, 6)

The author is keen to emphasize the elevated social class of the participants ("plutocratic . . . Four Hundred") and the Classical inspiration for their debauchery ("Bacchanalion revel . . . a libation to the God Cupid"). Their august years ("matronly age . . . elderly") only heighten the grotesqueness of the "disgusting" and "beastly" scene. Later that year, the American temperance movement leader Carry Nation "invaded" this same Pompeian Room with her hatchet (used to destroy bottles of liquor) to inveigh against the immorality practiced there (*Washington Times*, July 14, 1908, 6). More dangerous, exotic—and beastly—still were the spectacles involving live animals: "three live alligators created excitement in Pompeian room of Congress hotel by climbing out of [the] fountain" (*The Day Book from Chicago*, September 18, 1915, 6). The prurience of the Pompeian Room made it an object of far-reaching fascination. What had been feared in the halls of Congress back in 1860 became realized in the Congress Hotel.

Suspicions of prostitution and drug-dealing in the Congress Hotel Pompeian Room abounded. In 1914, Mayor Harrison "after receiving a letter that vice, gilded and painted vice, is planted in the swell places in abundance" instructed four police officers to "hit all the big joints" including the Pompeian Room, though no firm evidence of bad behavior was found (*The Day Book from Chicago*, August 10, 1914, 31). Once prohibition arrived, the Congress Hotel was transformed from a locus of vice to that of legend. One reporter lamented:

> There can be no doubt that prohibition has had a telling effect upon the convention crowds. There are the throngs, big throngs, though perhaps not so big as usual, but as yet no one has been able to tell the story of witnessing a bathing scene staged in the fountain in the Pompeian Room. That story may be mythical, although it is asserted that in the old days the event really took place. But never again. "Big Fair Aspects of History Making" (*New York Times*, June 9, 1920, 3).

In 1907, "fall[ing] into the fountain in the Pompeian room . . . [had been] considered the crowning feat of a 'gay night' by the gilded youth of the city" (*Chicago Daily Tribune*, November 5, 1907, 1). Like Pompeii itself, the Pompeian Room had become a site for excavating the fantasies of past decadence.

The very phrase "Pompeian room" evoked not only profligate consumption, but also a new elite culture particular to the United States, one with rapidly generated riches and a morally suspect reputation among the wider public. It is not surprising therefore to find that Americans dismayed by rapidly increasing financial disparities, and their tragic consequences for the less fortunate, found such spaces offensive. One author mused "what a striking exhibition it would be if, during this Made-in-Chicago week, we could have an exhibition of what greed and sin have done to humanity in order to develop the industry whose products we now gaze at in the shop windows" (*The Day Book from Chicago*, August 13, 1912, 9). The Pompeian Room in the Congress Hotel was a theater of artifice, a place of empty display: "We see the wonderful gowns on wonderful women in Peacock alley, the Pompeian room and other luxurious hangouts of the rich—but we don't see the stoop-shouldered mother or the hollow-chested girl at work during the long, weary hours, creating this made-in-Chicago finery" (*The Day Book from Chicago*, August 13, 1912, 9). In the Pompeian Room, elite frippery concealed mass misery.

Conclusion

The Pompeian room, all but forgotten today as an American status symbol, was a central feature of the tycoons' palaces during the first bloom of extraordinary private wealth in the United States and thus a product of the quest to forge a pseudo-aristocratic identity for the super-rich. Even after the enormous upset of the stock market crash and Great Depression, the Pompeian style continued to evoke a variety of associations, including antiquity, elitism, opulence, and decline, and to elicit both fascination and scorn. While in Fannie Hurst's love story, "Just as You Are" (*Los*

Angeles Times, September 19, 1926, K7), possession of a "fine black Pompeian bathroom" identifies the romantic hero Ted Ross as a member of the "smart country-club suburban" set, Ferdinand Lundberg's damning exposé, *America's Sixty Families* (1937), uses the cost of a pool designed by John Russell Pope in the Pompeian style on the estate of the late Henry H. Rogers at Southampton to fan the flames of moral outrage against contemporary extravagance (Lundberg 1937, 417–418). As the looming specter of Vesuvius reminds us, however, nothing lasts forever. During the course of the twentieth century, American pseudo-aristocratic culture replaced the Pompeian room with other markers of wealth and status, and the Pompeian style itself became buried history.

CHAPTER 5 | The Impossible *Exedra*

Engineering Contemplation and Conviviality in Turn-of-the-Century America

MELODY BARNETT DEUSNER

THE FOLLOWING INVESTIGATION INTO the late nineteenth-century reemergence of the Greco-Roman curved stone bench or *exedra* in America was prompted by a collision of images. In the first, *A Reading from Homer* (Fig. 5.1, see insert), an easel painting created by the Anglo-Dutch artist Lawrence Alma-Tadema for New York businessman Henry G. Marquand in 1885, four figures in Classical dress listen with varying degrees of focused attention to a dramatic recitation from the works of the Greek poet, performed by a gesticulating, himation-clad and laurel-crowned man perched on the end of a semicircular marble bench by the sea. An archival search for other nineteenth-century American *exedrae* turned up a second image, an untitled photograph published by the Byron Company in 1898 (Fig. 5.2), in which eight men sit in front of the offices of the *New York Herald* with their newspapers.

The painting and photograph, created thirteen years and thousands of miles apart, seem only tenuously connected by these benches—one delicately carved and ornamented with a lion's foot, the other straightforwardly utilitarian in its minimalism. Yet they converge in the year 1885, when both the Alma-Tadema painting and the *William E. Dodge Monument* (of which the *Herald* readers' bench forms a part) were installed in the New York sites for which they were designed: in the music room of the new Marquand mansion at Madison Avenue and 68th Street on the Upper East Side (Fig. 5.3), and, two miles to the south, on the triangle of land created by the intersection of Sixth Avenue and Broadway at 34th Street.[1]

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[1] The *Dodge* statue was moved to Bryant Park, New York, in 1939; Hunt's pedestal and *exedra* are no longer extant. For a photograph of the complete ensemble in the 1890s, see King 1892, 165.

FIG. 5.2. Men seated in the *exedra* of the *William E. Dodge Monument* in Herald Square, New York (Byron Company, 1898).

Museum of the City of New York.

FIG. 5.3. Music Room in the Henry Gurdon Marquand residence, New York.

Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Further probing reveals these locations to be linked by the activities of the architect Richard Morris Hunt, designer of the granite bench and drinking-fountain pedestal for John Quincy Adams Ward's *Dodge* statue (whose shadow projects across the photograph's lower right corner), and of Marquand's Beaux-Arts mansion. Hunt had visited Alma-Tadema's London studio at Townsend House, which featured its own marble seat,[2] to discuss plans for decorating Marquand's Greek-themed music room with a custom piano and furniture, including the cushioned Johnstone, Norman & Co. bench that would be placed directly below *A Reading from Homer*, extending the painted invitation to sit and listen into live human space.

But Marquand's active shaping of the late nineteenth-century American art world reached beyond commissions for his home to include his presidency of (and donations to) the Metropolitan Museum of Art as well as his interventions into the city's monumental landscape. He lobbied for the permanent translation of Stanford White's Washington Square Arch into marble in 1889–1890, and served as a founding member of the Municipal Art Society in 1893, which, under Hunt's leadership, directed private funds toward the beautification of the city through public sculpture, mural paintings, and street furniture selected by its committees.[3] The first Society competition (juried by Marquand, Hunt, and White, among others) placed murals by Edward Simmons in Manhattan's new Criminal Courts Building, featuring Justice flanked by allegorical figures arranged on an inscribed Classical bench.[4] In 1898, it commissioned yet another three-dimensional *exedra*, a memorial alcove dedicated to the recently deceased Hunt and installed in the Fifth Avenue-facing wall of Central Park.

What to make of this proliferation of Classical seating and the interlinked taste-makers promoting it? Written as a critical study of Gilded Age wealth at precisely this moment, Thorstein Veblen's *Theory of the Leisure Class* (1899) would seem to explain some of these patterns: the sponsorship of monuments and murals as public demonstrations of

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[2] The marble bench or counter at Townsend House was not precisely an *exedra*; for further consideration of the relationship between the homes of Alma-Tadema and Marquand, see Kisluk-Grosheide 1994 and Deusner 2010.

[3] On the Municipal Art Society, see Gilmartin 1995. Bogart (1989) discusses a range of public sculptural projects in New York in this period.

[4] Multiple design submissions for the competition featured *exedrae*; see "Designs of Justice," *New York Herald*, April 21, 1894, 7, for illustrations, including Simmons's inscribed bench. The inscription does not appear in Simmons's final painted version as reproduced and discussed in Van Hook 1992.

purchasing power and taste that otherwise might remain less visible if confined within the home. Stylistically, the attraction of Marquand and others of his class to ancient Greek and Roman forms fits easily within a Spencerian paradigm, according to which elite Americans positioned themselves as racially pure inheritors of the highest achievements of the Western world, the most perfect exemplars of an advanced civilization in which cultural and economic accomplishments are mutually constitutive and self-reinforcing (Pyne 1996, 11–47). One might assume, then, that the *exedrae* that simultaneously support *Reading from Homer* and reading from the *Herald* were simply territorial markers of private taste breaching the boundaries of the parlor wall and flowing out across parks and busy intersections, into country homes and gardens, through the grounds of Worlds Fairs, over the walls of civic buildings, and into the quiet corners of mournful cemeteries, to remake public space in its own image. By the 1920s, the full territory of the nation had seemingly been outfitted with Neo-Antique marble and granite benches, both represented and real, indoors and out.[5] But their propagation was neither purely top-down nor unidirectional, and their integration into the geographic and cultural landscape far from seamless.

No single form, however archaeologically pedigreed or loosely adapted, could have meant the same things in each of these widely differing situations. What were the consequences of connecting the American present to the ancient past by adding this dynamic but potentially unstable interactive dimension to sculptural, architectural, and decorative installations? Without attempting a complete catalogue of American *exedrae*, this essay returns to the late nineteenth-century moment when enthusiasm for these objects first emerged and their standard configurations were established, in order to frame the conditions that governed their actual use, nonuse, and misuse. It seeks to recover something of their optical parameters and tactile materiality, and to retrace the intersecting circuits of production and consumption in which they were suspended. In looking at this facet of the past, it also aims to elucidate the present, insofar as the challenges and conflicts that birthed these complicated (and in some cases compromised) works of art remain very much with us. Attending to the *exedra*'s invitation to sit and contemplate, look, and debate, we may become attuned to the contradictions and mixed messages inherent in the form—the hopes

[5] See McElmurray 2003 for a general chronology of these projects.

and disappointments embodied in these objects, which ostensibly offered rest for the weary, yet were so often wearying.

The Monumental Sofa

The story of American *exedrae* begins not in the home but on the street, with the bench pedestal designed by Stanford White in collaboration with Augustus Saint-Gaudens for their *Admiral David Glasgow Farragut Memorial* (1877–1881). When unveiled in New York's Madison Square Park, it became the first successfully installed *exedra* to receive widespread attention in the United States (Fig. 5.4).

The high-backed curving bluestone seat atop which Saint-Gaudens's bronze Civil War hero stands was the result of an extended process of experimentation. Tasked with fulfilling a commission by a committee of New York businessmen and politicians who sought to honor the admiral, Saint-Gaudens calibrated Farragut's pose and accessories to achieve a careful balance between idealized stoic determination and particularized

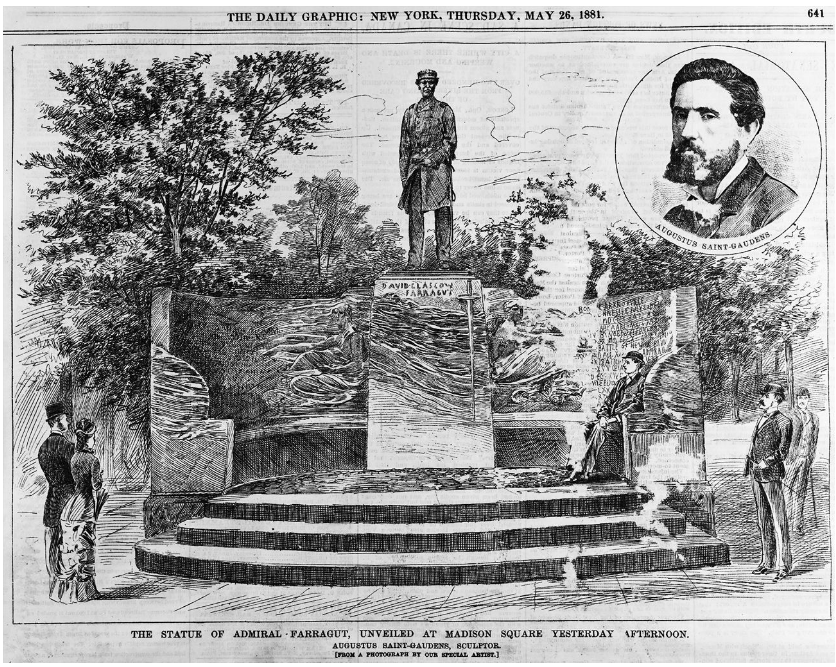

FIG. 5.4. *Admiral David Glasgow Farragut Memorial*, Madison Square Park, New York. Augustus Saint-Gaudens and Stanford White, 1877–1881.
Public Domain.

animated liveliness (Dryfhout 1982, 112), while White reexamined his sketches of Italian Renaissance benches and tried stretching the pedestal's proportions into more "parabolic, bucolic, or any other kind of olic curves than a Greek temple ever had."[6] Indeed, White's narrow, vertically elongated seat, together with the shallow stylized female allegorical reliefs of Loyalty and Courage that Saint-Gaudens carved along its back, resulted in a wave-like *exedra* so freely interpreted as to refuse definitive historical or archaeological classification.

Contemporaries generally described White's *exedra* as inspired by the Greco-Roman world. Journalist Richard Watson Gilder, who had posed for Farragut's legs, highlighted its "Classic" and "antique" qualities in his *Scribner's* preview of the installation (Gilder 1881, 164). Subsequent art commentary echoed Gilder's description of White's base as "a classic elliptic exedra" and worked to define the unusual term for readers. The *exedra* was a form, as the critic of the *New-York Tribune* (probably Clarence Cook) pointed out, "familiar to those of us who have travelled . . . along the Street of Tombs in Pompeii."[7] It was familiar, too, to readers of Thomas Henry Dyer's *Pompeii: Its History, Buildings, and Antiquities*, which described an *exedra* as a semi-circular seat "intended to contain a number of persons . . ., or a spacious hall for conversation and the general purposes of society," whether found in the baths, *gymnasia*, houses, or burial places of the ancient Greeks or Romans (Dyer 1867, 261). Similarly, publications like William Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*—like ruined Pompeii itself—blurred the distinctions between these two cultures' deployments of this seating furniture (Smith 1854, 480), and American commentators made little effort to disentangle them in an enthusiastic yet imprecise embrace of the *exedra*'s Classical associations.

Less archaeological and more imaginative were the texts that attempted to revitalize ancient life through the construction of immersive fictionalized narratives. In the year of the *Farragut*'s debut, multiple American publications reprinted a feature called "Social Life among the Ancient Greeks" from England's *Cornhill Magazine*, which describes an imaginary journey into the past.[8] As a stranger, the narrator is welcomed to the

[6] Stanford White to Augustus Saint-Gaudens, December 17, 1879, reprinted in Baldwin 1931, 141–142.
[7] "St. Gaudens's *Farragut*," *New York Daily Tribune,* May 25, 1881, 5.
[8] "Social Life among the Ancient Greeks," *Cornhill Magazine* 42:251 (November 1880), 601–615; reprinted in America as "Social Life among the Ancient Greeks," *Appleton's Journal* 55 (January 1881), 28–36; and *Eclectic Magazine of Foreign Literature* 33:1 (January 1881), 50–60.

marble benches in the *agora*, common meeting places for "men of business or men of leisure" in the market square:

> It was here that you heard and discussed the news . . . Here the Athenians realized their common citizenship, and got their common sense. By daily intercourse here, rich with poor, they rubbed down their angles, acquired a public spirit, and by interchange of ideas, controlled by free and sharp criticism, developed a public opinion. (*Cornhill Magazine* 42 (251), November 1880, 608)

Throughout the late nineteenth and into the twentieth century, this association of the *exedra* with learned yet democratic exchange remained fixed in the American popular imagination: the carved and polished stone bench was envisioned as a place where boundaries between street and home, strangers and friends, old and young, rich and poor, even life and death were "rubbed down" by physical proximity and conversational engagement. Turning from the marketplace to the burial ground (and drawing on his own experiences at excavations in Assos),[9] architect and designer Francis Henry Bacon in 1886 described Greek funerary *exedrae* as places where

> Death was made a part of their everyday life; lovers wandered beneath the trees, philosophers sat in the *exedra* and discussed immortality, the little children took first steps in spelling from the inscribed marbles, and the tired wayfarer went aside to the cool stone seats to rest, while the hurrying, busy feet tramped by over the paved road just below. (Bacon 1886, 856)[10]

Six years later, Robert Yelverton Tyrell used Victorian analogies to liken Roman *exedrae* to both university lecture halls and private drawing rooms, and in 1897, an English translation of Maurice Pellison's *Roman Life in Pliny's Time* collapsed the two, conjuring the *exedra* as a place where "the owner of the house would seek recreation from his business cares, in conversing with poets, rhetoricians, and philosophers" (Tyrell 1892, 168–169; Pellison 1897, 68). In this way, a variety of contemplative and conversational civic, domestic, and funerary Greek and Roman practices became

[9] On American excavations at Assos, see Winterer 2002, 163–170.

[10] See Macaulay-Lewis in this volume. Bacon's brother, Henry, was an American architect responsible for several *exedra* designs, many of them funerary, in collaboration with sculptor Daniel Chester French; see note 65.

fused into a single idealized (if historically muddled) conception of the democratic public sphere.[11]

Was this weighty concept one that the American *exedra* was able to bear? Several essays in this volume continue and advance the project of analyzing the United States and its ongoing self-examination in relation to the Classical world.[12] Late nineteenth-century American enthusiasm for the Greco-Roman *exedra* form constituted a potentially revealing intervention into this sociocultural landscape because it provided a physical platform for nurturing and visualizing a heretofore imagined community of respectfully contemplative, intergenerationally cooperative, engaged, and articulate citizens. With an optimism as confident as it was unexamined, Americans gravitated toward a device designed to put democracy on display at a moment when the nature of that democracy was disturbingly unclear. Cities—comprised of long-established families, new arrivals from outlying territories, and a global range of immigrants—were increasingly full of strangers. Individuals trying to make their way in this world found collective action to be inconsistently praised and condemned, with strong opposition to both "ring" politics and labor unions voiced by men whose rhetoric of self-sufficient individual accomplishment was actually dependent on their own networks of social contacts and corporate cooperation and consolidation (Trachtenberg 1982; Kasson 1991; Beckert 2001). Whether erected on the street, in the parlor, in the garden, or in the cemetery, American *exedrae* typically memorialized individual accomplishment while at the same time inviting groups of people to sit face to face, thereby forcing continual renegotiations of the relationships between self, community, nation, and history.

Saint-Gaudens and White's selection of an *exedra* for the commemorative *Farragut* registers as a nod to its Greco-Roman funerary function; its original placement facing busy Fifth Avenue suggests an attempt to make it part of the public life of the city—hence also, perhaps, the *Tribune*'s evocation of the tomb-lined approaches to Pompeii.[13] The monument committee's approval of the pedestal indicated that a significant shift had taken

[11] See also Stanley 1912. I use "public sphere" as articulated by Jürgen Habermas (1991) not merely to describe a public location of exchange, but because nineteenth-century authors frequently conceptualized ancient *exedrae* in terms that bear closer resemblance to the modern political situations Habermas outlines than to the Classical world itself.

[12] Fundamental work on the reception of antiquity in the United States includes Richard 2009, Malamud 2009, and Winterer 2002 and 2007.

[13] The monument was moved back to accommodate the widening of Fifth Avenue in 1909; then, in 1934, the disintegrating bluestone base (now at the Saint-Gaudens National Historic Site, Cornish, NH) was replaced by a granite duplicate and relocated to the center of Madison Square Park, where it remains today.

place in the American understanding of the form since 1863, when Hunt had proposed installing curved semicircular stone benches in the grand Beaux-Arts plazas with which he planned to mark three of the entrances to New York's recently constructed Central Park (Kowsky 1986). Though accepted by the Committee on Statuary, Fountains, and Architectural Structures, his gateway plans were heavily criticized and ultimately quashed by the park's original designers, Frederick Law Olmsted and Calvert Vaux, the latter of whom complained that such *exedrae* were tainted by despotic historical associations "with people merely waiting, etc. etc.—The imperial style presumes that people wait, wait, hang around and provision is made for clients, courtiers, subordinates, lackeys."[14] Such associations flew in the face of Olmsted and Vaux's vision of the park as natural space extending its restorative benefits to all New Yorkers. Although Olmsted did envision public parks as places of conversation—exhibiting the tenor of "a familiar domestic gathering, where the prattle of the children mingles with the easy conversation of the more sedate"—he apparently discounted Hunt's *exedrae* as instruments for achieving this fireside ideal (Olmsted 1870, 77).

By 1881, then, democratic associations had begun to displace these despotic ones.[15] Olmsted himself granted Saint-Gaudens his choice of site for the monument: Madison Square Park, a location that the sculptor recalled as a Union bivouac during the Civil War, and thus a fitting location for a Union officer (Tharp 1969, 136). The *Farragut* project belonged to the postwar boom in commemorative monuments erected by a nation seeking signs of closure after its most devastating conflict, many of which were Classical in their conceptualization and/or Neoclassical in form.[16]

But these markers were not only civic landmarks and sites for private pilgrimage; they were central features of annual Decoration Day (later Memorial Day) observances organized by the Grand Army of the Republic and other veterans' groups. Each year on May 30, uniformed regiments paraded through American cities and cemeteries and dignitaries delivered orations to massive crowds, as profusions of spring flowers were placed in honor of the dead, in wreaths and garlands draped upon their gravestones and monuments. Installed after these traditions

[14] Calvert Vaux to Clarence Cook, June 6, 1865, in the Frederick Law Olmsted papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, quoted in Kowsky 1986, 83.

[15] See Nichols's paper in this volume.

[16] On the building boom of memorials using Classical tropes or iconography, see Savage 1997. On this trend in New York City, see Macaulay-Lewis 2016.

had been in force for over a decade, the *Farragut* served as an annual site for these activities alongside other New York memorials to George Washington, Abraham Lincoln, and the Marquis de Lafayette.[17] Unlike the solid masonry bases that support those sculptures, however, the *Farragut exedra* gestures toward participation in Decoration Day rituals through its inclusion of raised seating, which loosely evokes in permanent form the temporary grand stands and rostra erected along Fifth Avenue and other parade routes each spring.

But what of its use throughout the rest of the year? Among witnesses to the *Farragut*'s unveiling, the *Tribune* observed that here, in White's *exedra*, "the visitor may sit, and, as the rushing river of life goes by, may turn and give a thought to the good man and brave soldier whose image stands above him."[18] Such was the contemporary conception of public parks and their monuments as components within a didactic landscape addressed to a receptive and malleable populace. At the dedication ceremonies, Secretary of the Navy William H. Hunt announced, "In the midst of the haunts of busy men, intent on worldly and mere material pursuits, let it stand for all time to illustrate the nobler and higher aims of life."[19] The dialogic quality of philosophical discourse associated with ancient *exedrae* was here replaced by a monologic visual sermon. The artist D. Maitland Armstrong spoke more revealingly than he knew when he wrote to his friend Saint-Gaudens, "You have preached a small sermon on truth, honor, courage, and loyalty, that will do more good than all the reasonings of philosophers."[20]

Though lacking this didactic tone, art historical analyses of the *Farragut* similarly highlight interactivity as the strength and success of Saint-Gaudens and White's pedestal design (Dryfhout 1982, 29 and 112; Tolles 2003, 196). But as our illustration indicates, and as visitors today can experience for themselves, it is not actually possible to *see* Farragut in any detail while seated in the *exedra*, despite the fact that Saint-Gaudens

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[17] In addition to Blight's (2004) analysis of these traditions, see contemporary coverage in, for instance, "Observance of Decoration Day," *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Weekly,* June 10, 1882, 247. On the renewed cultural importance of unifying, patriotic spring floral parades and processions in the late nineteenth century, see Lippincott 1990, 7–39. As Lippincott demonstrates, Alma-Tadema provided a template through which Victorians could envision their ceremonial connections to ancient forebears. His role in shaping how Americans understood their relationship to the past vis-à-vis the *exedra* form is discussed below.

[18] "St. Gaudens's *Farragut*," *New York Daily Tribune,* May 25, 1881, 5.

[19] "Unveiling the Statue," *New York Times,* May 26, 1881, 8.

[20] D. Maitland Armstrong to Augustus Saint-Gaudens, n.d., reprinted in Saint-Gaudens 1913: I, 266.

specifically designed the body for examination from below.[21] The pseudo-Roman inscriptions, which identify the admiral and list the dates of his major military campaigns, can be blocked by one's seating partners or by one's own body. In its original installation, the monument's Fifth Avenue orientation increased the likelihood that one's attention, rather than remaining focused upon Farragut, might be drawn back out into the mundane world of "material pursuits." "Strictly speaking, a busy corner of a public square is not the fittest place for a monument of this shape," complained the *Critic* after the unveiling. "It would be more appropriate at the end of a walk, with a background of bushes."[22]

Here we begin to sense a conflict between the *exedra*'s contemplative and commemorative associations and its commercial setting. "Persons seated there will look, as the Farragut does also, across Fifth Avenue directly at the notable restaurant of Delmonico," the *New York Times* noted wryly, "and of an afternoon see before them the incessant defiling of carriages and pedestrians."[23] To have one's eyes and thoughts drawn toward Delmonico's and Fifth Avenue was not only to be wrenched away from Farragut's staunchly masculine example of duty-bound heroism, but was, moreover, to be pulled into the supposedly feminized and frivolous orbit of fashion. Madison Square Park was situated along Ladies' Mile, the city's premiere shopping and entertainment corridor. White described the *Farragut*'s location as "a sweller part of the Park, just where the aristocratic part of the Avenue begins and right opposite Delmonico's and the Hotel Brunswick"[24]—the point at which, another account of the monument tells us, "the swells of the Coaching Club make their start on parade days."[25] The reference here is not to the sober rites of Decoration Day, but rather to New York's lavish procession of fashion and equipage that took place each year about one week before those commemorative events.[26] For all its showy pomp, the Coaching Club parade was really just a more official and elaborate instantiation of the high society promenade that ranged over the fashionable districts of the city each afternoon.[27] Those

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[21] The *Farragut* sculpture was designed to be seen from a height of ten feet, with light shining from above, and Saint-Gaudens attempted (but failed) to secure the same kind of installation for his model of the figure when it was exhibited at the Paris Salon in 1880; see Tharp 1969, 142.
[22] "The Fine Arts: Farragut's Monument," *Critic* 1:12 (June 18, 1881), 167.
[23] "The Statue of Farragut," *New York Times*, May 25, 1881, 5.
[24] Stanford White to Augustus Saint-Gaudens, February 24, 1879, reprinted in Saint-Gaudens 1913: I, 232.
[25] "New York Notes," *Detroit Free Press*, May 29, 1881, 13.
[26] See, for example, "The Coaching Parade," *Harper's Weekly*, May 30, 1885, 347.
[27] See Scobey 1992 and Domosh 1998 on the promenade as a social performance that required legitimating witnesses.

relegated to watching this fashionable march from the margins ranged from upwardly mobile individuals hoping to learn the art of style to "truly plebeian viewers" for whom the promenade served as a site of fantasy, provocation, or illicit transaction (Scobey 1992, 222)—and this audience would necessarily include, it seems, anyone seated in the raised *Farragut exedra*. In this situation, the admiring attention that was supposed to be directed at Farragut was potentially deflected outward, toward members of the coaching class.

To view the *Farragut* through the lens of the promenade is to approach it less as a self-contained environment of universal (and Union-securing) contemplation and more as a site of hierarchical class-based differentiation through visibility. This raises an important but frequently overlooked question: just who, exactly, was expected to sit here? In David Scobey's analysis, a distinguishing characteristic of the promenade was its quality of "perpetual motion" in which "active, engaged discourse" between individuals was suppressed in favor of a more or less silent visual projection of decorous cohesion among elite New Yorkers (1992, 215–216, 227). The Promenade was, in other words, the inverse image of Greco-Roman *exedra* converse as imagined by turn-of-the-century Americans.

But as a spectatorial platform situated on the social margins, the *Farragut*'s bluestone *exedra* also recalls the older associations attached to ancient marble benches—namely, Vaux's distaste for them as spaces where ordinary people merely "wait." In the 1879 American edition of Jakob von Falke's decorating guide, *Art in the House*, modern householders were reminded that in the ancient world, stone benches generally appeared in public spaces and the dwellings of the poor, and in the reception areas of more elegant homes (von Falke 1879, 40–41). Clarence Cook, in his own advice publications, famously cautioned against the installation of marble seating in daily living spaces, recommending it instead for the entry hall:

> Comfort will be wasted on messenger-boys, book-agents, and the census man, and the bereaved lady who offers us soap at merely nominal prices, with the falsetto story of her woes thrown in. As visitors of this class are the only ones who will sit in the hall, considerations of comfort may be allowed to yield to picturesqueness. (Cook 1876, 798)[28]

[28] Cook is discussing an example of seating furniture "of Chinese make," constructed of teak wood with a marble seat and back—not an *exedra* per se. For further analysis of Cook and of nineteenth-century entry hall furniture, see Ames 1992, 7–43.

As *Tinsley's Magazine* pointed out, the picturesque qualities of marble (endurance, solidity, massiveness) were accompanied by "coldness," "aching stiffness," and "immovability," which "would strengthen in their unpleasantness" with every passing hour, rendering this material unsuited for parlor decoration.[29] If contemporary domestic manuals asserted that Classical stone seats were fit only for use by service visitors (and others "of this class"), perhaps it makes sense to think of stone *exedra* monuments as furnishings for parks that served in some ways as the waiting rooms of the city, potentially triggering the sitter's somatic memories of attending to others elsewhere.

But the domestic language most closely associated with New York's urban parks was that of the parlor rather than the vestibule. Literary historian Betsy Klimasmith has highlighted the persistence with which such tropes attached to spaces like Central Park, noting its designers' frequent recourse to domestic metaphors: the terrace as the park's "drawing room," the park as the city's public "parlor" (Klimasmith 2005, 55–56; see also Rosenzweig and Blackmar 1992, 185). Such language signals the expectation that parks could shape, soften, and civilize the urban citizenry just as parlors were expected to do within the home (Grier 1997). Klimasmith demonstrates that these natural retreats became the locus of activities usually reserved for private (parlor) space, such as intimate encounters between city-dwellers—especially for individuals whose limited resources precluded ownership and occupation of their own dedicated drawing rooms.

Notably, the *Farragut* bench was described in these domestic terms at the time of its unveiling, most pointedly by the *American Architect and Building News*, which derisively referred to White's *exedra* as a "settle" and a "sofa": "To use the image of a hero as an incident of the back of a sofa . . . is not a monumental disposition, not even if the sofa itself is a monumental sofa, which the present sofa is not."[30] Alleging that Saint-Gaudens should have sought design assistance from a professional architect, rather than from White, who is dismissed as a "decorator" given to "affectation," the unsigned editorial marshals the decorative and domestic to feminize (and thereby undermine) the masculine Farragut. The *exedra*'s role as domestic furniture for Madison Square Park was most clearly reinforced

[29] "Chapters on a Chair," *Tinsley's Magazine* 7 (August 1870), 82.

[30] "The Farragut Monument," *American Architect and Building News* 10:298 (September 10, 1881), 120. This unsigned commentary must be distinguished from Mariana Griswold Van Rensselaer's laudatory review (with byline) published in the same issue, pages 119–120.

in the summer of 1901, when London's Comfort Chair Company supplemented it with two hundred rocking chairs—iconic markers of home contentment and family bonding—for use by the general public. The catch, as in other New York parks under the company's contract, was the fee of five cents for their use during the hottest summer in recent memory, and their displacement of free park benches from coveted shady spots into the full sunlight. The riot that eventually ensued, in which chairs were seized, smashed, and thrown in front of horse-drawn carriages, proved that the domesticating powers of home culture were no match for the righteous anger of swindled parkgoers (Rosenzweig and Blackmar 1992, 382–384; Alexiou 2010, 67–73).

More than simply engaging seated viewers, then, the *Farragut exedra* enfolded them in contradictory expectations and experiences: extending opportunities for thought and reflection, but decoupling them from the processes of looking and reading and submerging them in the "rushing river of life" that flowed along Fifth Avenue; conflating military parades with millinery promenades; alluding to the home comforts of the parlor while offering the hard stone bench of the entrance hall. Reversing our perspective, however, we see that anyone seated in the *exedra* inevitably becomes a temporary, living addition to the monument, and thus forms a part of the composition for consideration by standing viewers and others examining it from a distance. (In Fig. 5.4, only one of the five visitors sits in the *exedra*.) White selected this location for the monument in part because "[t]he stream of people walking down Fifth Avenue would see it at once."[31] Contemporary responses demonstrate an awareness (and sometimes an anxiety) that the *Farragut*'s overall effect would be dependent upon its use—that is, upon the physical outward *appearance* of its use, regardless of the actual interior experience of the seated user.

In 1881, the *Critic* observed that two things were needed to complete the work: "time to soften the colors, and groups of children to give a human, touchable, usable air to the monument" (an extension, the writer added, of the Greeks' practice "of surrounding their wives and children with beautiful objects").[32] But even at the unveiling ceremonies, park policemen worked to keep visitors off the grass.[33] The park commissioners subsequently placed a fence around the monument and laid sod in front of

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[31] Stanford White to Augustus Saint-Gaudens, February 24, 1879, reprinted in Saint-Gaudens 1913:I, 232.

[32] "The Fine Arts: Farragut's Monument," *Critic*, June 18, 1881, 167.

[33] "Honors to a Naval Hero," *New York Tribune*, May 26, 1881, 1.

it, obliterating any clear approach to it. Although numerous art commentators joined Calvert Vaux in insisting that the *exedra* was meant to be used, these obstacles remained in place as late as 1883. "Now, what can be the Commissioners' objection to letting people get within reach of this noble work of art?" demanded the *Critic*. "Is it an aesthetic aversion to robbing the work of the enchantment which distance lends to the view?"[34]

"The view" might be obtained from a variety of perspectives. Not only did the monument face Delmonico's restaurant, but patrons of the exclusive establishment enjoyed a picturesque view of the monument, as demonstrated by a depiction of the main dining room in *The Illustrated American* for May 1891 (Fig. 5.5).

Readers of the accompanying essay might be forgiven for believing that the convivial ideal of the Greco-Roman *exedra* had been extracted therefrom and transposed into its meticulously coordinated wood-paneled

FIG. 5.5. "At Delmonico's: The Main Restaurant, Looking Toward Madison Square." Arthur Jule Goodman, May 16, 1891, *The Illustrated American*.
The New York Public Library.

[34] "The Park Commissioners and the Farragut Monument," *Critic*, May 24, 1883, 134. On the rules and restrictions that attempted to govern park behavior in the period, see Rosenzweig and Blackmar 1992 and Levine 1988.

and white linen-accented interior. Delmonico's, they were told, is "the great meeting ground," the place for "chatting with some of the well-known men of New York on the topics of the day" (Stephenson 1891, 628). But here the economic barrier to entry ensured that these convivial conversational groups had been prescreened rather than thrown together in a public *exedra*. At the same time, the miscellaneous public outside the restaurant window was presented to Delmonico's diners in the best possible light: patrons were invited to relax, indulge, and "let all the worries of the week fade away" (Stephenson 1891, 632), while, I would argue, savoring the reassuring spectacle of their patriotic fellow citizens paying due honor to Farragut and the reunited nation across the street. If we think of the monument as being partly, perhaps even primarily, addressed to its peripheral and distant viewers, it did not matter whether such a contemplative state could be easily entered into by those seated in the *exedra* itself.

My analysis begins here at this granular level not only because the *Farragut* served as the benchmark by which countless commemorative memorial projects from the 1880s through the 1920s were judged, but because this knot of complications and contradictions remained inherent (though often unaddressed) in the type. The *Farragut* epitomized one approach to monumental bench design, in which the seat shared the same curving plane as the proposed object of contemplation—a strategy redeployed in subsequent highly visible public projects including Saint-Gaudens and White's *Memorial to Robert Gould Shaw* (Boston, 1897); Daniel Chester French and Bruce Price's *Hunt Memorial* (New York, 1897–1898); and Charles Henry Niehaus and Julius Harder's *Samuel Hahnemann Monument* (Washington DC, 1900), in addition to numerous battlefield and funerary memorials. This configuration had ancient roots in the Hellenistic *exedra* of Attalus II (Pergamon, second century BC) and Roman-era *exedra* of Herodes Atticus (Olympia, second century AD), which contemporary readers could have studied in the *American Art Review* (Perkins 1881, 145–150; Perkins 1880, 343–344). The visual program of the modern monuments catered as much (if not more) to distant viewers as to seated ones, as those occupying the *exedra* were enveloped by its complete visual ensemble. But the human element proved to be an unstable and unpredictable one. A clue to this instability emerges in a letter from the poet Emma Lazarus to Helena de Kay Gilder in June 1881, one month after the *Farragut*'s unveiling. Reporting on a day of sightseeing with a mutual friend, Lazarus described their experience of "sitting in Madison Square—like two tramps—to admire Farragut's statue."[35] They would have been seated just steps away from the temporary installation of the arm and torch of Auguste Bartholdi's *Liberty*, in whose honor Lazarus would compose her poem, "The New Colossus," two years later. *Liberty*'s welcoming invitation to "the homeless, tempest-tossed . . . refuse" of foreign lands brushes against Lazarus's offhand characterization of lingering by the *Farragut* as "tramp"-like behavior. It is to what an 1893 New York guidebook called "statuary of another kind far from ornamental" we now turn (Wilson 1893: III, 594).

The Inevitable Marble Seat

Although Saint-Gaudens's *Farragut* became a career-defining work, White's pedestal attracted a mixed range of responses and uses. Children played on it, as the *Critic* had hoped, but—in a far cry from Bacon's young Greeks—also defaced its bluestone with chalk graffiti.[36] By 1896, the *American Architect and Building News* was actively warning its readers against using it as a model for future monument designs:

> [D]ear as the notion of an "exedre" is to the Paris-educated architect, . . . [t]he early tourist in New York . . . is apt to be only moderately delighted with the aesthetic impression produced by the Farragut monument, with the water-nymphs on its pedestal keeping watch over two snoring tramps, stretched out on the seats below them; and it is certainly desirable to avoid such associations with works of art . . . .[T]here are plenty of instances where the dignity of works of art is spoiled by the thoughtless. Of course, it is the fault of the thoughtless, who ought not to do such things, but it would be still better if the dignity could be put out of their reach. (*American Architect and Building News* 52 [1067], June 6, 1896, 90)

Here we detect a fear that the shaping power of the interactive monument could be reversed, and that the *exedra* form, rather than elevating its users, might be pulled down to their level, its "dignity . . . spoiled by the thoughtless." In the final quarter of the century, urban Americans confronted one park bench "crisis" after another, as city officials weighed different methods of reserving public seating furniture for so-called "respectable" men, women, and children, and preventing its monopolization by "the usual

[35] Emma Lazarus to Helena de Kay Gilder, June 26, 1881, reprinted in Young 1995, 298.
[36] "Care for the Statues of Country's Heroes," *New York Herald*, March 5, 1908, 5.

crowd of unfortunate people who have nothing to do and plenty of time to do it."[37] Dedicatory inscriptions carved into the seat backs of monumental *exedrae* stood in ironic counterpoint to adjacent park benches painted with the warning, "Reserved for the exclusive use of women and children."[38]

Emma Lazarus's evocation of "tramps" suggests that the simple fact of loitering in a park was looked down upon and discouraged—a serious potential problem for monuments explicitly designed to encourage extended seated reflection. The term that she used to describe such loiterers was a relatively new one. The word "tramp" entered its now-familiar usage after the financial panic of 1873, and, as Paul T. Ringenbach demonstrates, while poverty and unemployment were certainly not new problems in the United States at that time, those suffering their effects most acutely manifested as a newly mobile and newly *visible* population in this period. The "tramp problem" surged and ebbed through public discourse in concert with the broader financial condition of the nation (particularly the economic crisis of the 1890s) and seasonal cycles of work and fallowness (Ringenbach 1973, 24; 36). Just as Todd DePastino describes tramphood as a specter haunting American progress—a tramp army birthed by the victorious armies of the Civil War, deploying deceitful tricks to secure free rides on the rails that were the nation's engines of prosperity (DePastino 2003, 8–9)—it appears that their failures as productive citizens were brought into troubling visibility by these outdoor public monuments to American success.[39]

Rhetorically, since tramping was considered both outcome and evidence of moral failure, the homeless unemployed ostensibly comprised the audience most in need of the object lessons taught by post-Civil War *exedra* monuments, which promised to make them into better men. Tramps were understood as fundamentally lacking in willpower (a will to work); public monuments embodied willpower, celebrating the deeds of accomplished men while also celebrating the will and power of those possessing the financial and cultural capital to shape the city's memorial landscape.[40] Civic beautification projects constituted a form of public

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[37] "The Tramps Left Without Seats," *New York Times*, June 9, 1884, 2. See also "Notes of the Week," *Charities* 14:26 (September 23, 1905), 1096.

[38] "Notes of the Week," *Charities* 14:26 (September 23, 1905), 1096.

[39] Indeed, deployment of the word "tramps" to describe this population is effectively concurrent with the evolution of monumental seating in America traced here.

[40] This kind of occupation, however, could be turned the other way, as DePastino observes: The *Journal of the Knights of Labor* remarked in 1893 that "Complaint is made that the tramps intrude into the parks. To my mind, it is a greater cause for complaint that the tramp's counterpart, the millionaire, has grabbed so much of the land that men who would gladly be farmers are forced to tramp" (*Journal of the Knights of Labor*, November 2, 1893, quoted in DePastino 2003, 37). Also see Malamud 2009, 111.

philanthropy that avoided the dreaded charge of "indiscriminate charity," which was commonly and disapprovingly applied to the direct donation of funds in this era. These broader cultural expectations collided with patterns of actual use.

When the New York Chamber of Commerce commissioned a memorial to William E. Dodge, a prominent merchant, temperance advocate, and founder of the YMCA, it enabled Hunt to realize at last his deferred dream of an urban *exedra* (Fig. 5.2).[41] Ward's larger than life bronze effigy of Dodge in contemporary dress was unveiled in August 1885. It faced the intersection of Broadway, Sixth Avenue, and Thirty-fifth Street, and stood atop Hunt's drinking-fountain pedestal, behind which was placed a red granite *exedra* so that "the weary may rest and the thirsty drink at the feet of one who was always the friend of the lowly and needy."[42] Departing from the *Farragut* design, Hunt and Ward detached the figure of Dodge from the curved back of the monument and placed him instead at the front opening of the *exedra*—a compositional adjustment that clarified the installation's contemplative focal point, and one that would become even more widely known through Saint-Gaudens and White's deployment of it in their *Standing Lincoln* for Chicago (1887, Fig. 5.6).

But this arrangement posed a fresh set of challenges. The "lowly and needy" who sat on the *Dodge* bench were treated only to a rear view of the man, making it highly unlikely that their visual contributions to the monument would consist of performing contemplative gratitude or soul-searching.

It is difficult to discern the social status of the seated men in the 1898 photograph (Fig. 5.2), taken after McKim, Mead, and White's *New York Herald* headquarters had been erected at the junction in 1894. None conspicuously focuses his attention on Dodge; at least two of them appear to be asleep. They adopt a variety of poses that range from balanced and self-contained reserve to sideways slouching and reclining, demonstrating the diverse kinds of bodily comportment permitted by the *exedra*'s continuous curve. This stands in contrast to the physical limitations imposed by White's shallow and subdivided *Farragut* bench, which (occasional snoring tramps aside) more or less forces the sitter into an upright position. Their lounging recalls the behaviors analyzed by Kenneth Ames in

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[41] The *exedrae* Hunt designed as bookends to the park's *Seventh Regiment Memorial* (1869; erected 1874), also a collaboration with Ward, remained unbuilt (see Sharp 1986).

[42] "Vidette" (pseud.), "Gotham Gossip," *Times Picayune*, July 11, 1884, 8.

FIG. 5.6. *Lincoln Monument (Standing Lincoln)*. Augustus Saint-Gaudens and Stanford White, Chicago, 1887.
Library of Congress.

his study of male "tilting" in nineteenth-century America, and the many ways in which the straightening and formalizing efforts of parlor furniture could be refused by sprawling male bodies that aggressively and ungraciously broke out of those physical constraints (Ames 1992, 185–232). At the *Dodge exedra*—in the public parlor—tilting reads as an act of resisting the prescriptions of a monument whose *raison d'etre* was explicitly reformist, what we might (following Domosh 1998) identify as a tactical transgression of the micropolitics of the street.

To return to Alma-Tadema's *Reading from Homer* (see Fig. 5.1, insert) after looking at the Herald Square photograph is to be further reminded of the range of activities that the seemingly inflexible design of a semicircular stone seat can support. Only the reader uses the bench as intended; his languid listeners lean, slouch, and sprawl. The informality of their postures is cast into greater relief by the contrasting march of vertical columns receding against the blue sea in the background. Perhaps the sitters in the *Dodge exedra* are not quite so out of keeping with their (imagined) Greek forebears after all. Taken together, the two images usefully defamiliarize the ubiquitous marble bench: how strange this place where the body is expected to sit upright, yet is given nothing to prevent it from leaning over or sliding off; nothing to cushion or insulate it; nothing to make it comfortable or keep it in line. And yet the loungers in Alma-Tadema's "palace" were praised for their graceful postures, while individuals seated in the *Dodge exedra* were almost universally identified and condemned as tramps.[43]

As historians remind us, the tramp's homelessness existed in discursive and actual tension with the concept of "home." The tramp was a visible sign of manhood cut loose from the civilizing routines of domestic life, of the rejection of family and homemaking as the basis for citizenship and nationhood (Ringenbach 1973, 4; DePastino 2003, 25). We must therefore also consider public *exedrae* as existing in parallel with their domestic counterparts. Even if parlor etiquette had permitted it, languid sprawling was physically discouraged by the furnishings of Henry G. Marquand's marble-clad Greek music room (see Fig. 5.3). Here, family members and invited guests sat on delicate silk-upholstered and embroidered settees, stools, and chairs designed by Alma-Tadema to accompany two of his *exedra* paintings, *A Reading from Homer* and *Amo Te, Ama Me* (1881, Fries Museum). Though spared the unforgiving rigidity of the cold stone benches depicted on those canvases, modern sitters still had to adjust their comportment to accommodate the mahogany furniture inlaid with fragile ivory and mother-of-pearl flowers and spiraling arabesques drawn from the artist's careful researches into Pompeian prototypes. The room was, in fact, filled with artifacts of and allusions to the Classical past, from Attic vases and Tanagra figures in the temple-front cabinet to Frederic Leighton's ceiling murals of Mnemosyne, Melpomene, and Thalia hanging above a piano inscribed with the Greek names of the muses (Kisluk-Grosheide 1994). Experiencing a sense of belonging in this miniature museum depended as much upon controlled behavior as upon cultural education. The very act of being "at home" here, of knowing how to sit—or, given the limitations of the tightly-laced women's costume of the period, knowing how to perch—on these Alma-Tadema benches offered physical, self-reinforcing proof of one's economic and evolutionary position.

Following the room's completion, J. Moyr Smith drew a flattering line of comparison between the culture of the past and the resources of the American present when he included it in his *Ornamental Interiors Ancient & Modern* (1887). "To find furniture of equal beauty and intelligence of design and equal choiceness of material and workmanship," he wrote, "we

43 For "palace," see "Some Royal Academy Art," *New York Times*, May 24, 1885, 12; on "grace," see "Royal Academy Pictures," *New York Times*, April 30, 1885, 5; and Zimmern 1886, 24.

should have to combine the palmy days of Greek art with the luxury of the Roman Empire at its best period of taste" (Smith 1887, 96). In doing so, he promoted the powerful and popular belief that the United States had stepped in as natural inheritor of the best that had been produced by Western civilizations—a confidence that would fuel the design and rhetoric of the World's Columbian Exposition in 1893, for which Marquand was briefly considered as arts director. And when the doors of Marquand's Greek music room were opened, so that it appeared in *enfilade* with his English Renaissance dining room and Japanese parlor, his role as a modern "Croesus" or "Maecenas"—as present guardian of the world's cultural past for the benefit of future generations—was even more vividly articulated.[44] But Smith's admiring remark was turned on its head by Frank G. Carpenter in the *Chicago Tribune*, who cited Marquand's decorating expenditures as evidence that, "[s]ince the time when Caligula shod his horses with gold and fed them in marble troughs the world's rich men have not spent money more lavishly than they do today" (Carpenter 1888, 18). His criticism exemplifies what Margaret Malamud has identified as a key risk run by Gilded Age Americans who embraced the trappings of Classical luxury: the possibility that they might be cast as agents of decadence and decline rather than as pinnacles of breeding and culture (Malamud 2009, 98–121).

Marquand's benches and settees were not marble *exedrae*, but they conceptually collapsed the distance between the figures in Alma-Tadema's paintings and live subjects in the music room, both potentially linked in the act of rapturous listening. No one did more to domesticate the *exedra* form in the United States than Alma-Tadema, whose pictures from the late 1870s forward repeatedly cast it as a site of intimate private (often romantic) encounter rather than of public debate or reflective memorialization. Many of his *exedra* paintings circulated in the United States as engravings; others were featured in museum exhibitions and World Fairs, where their *trompe l'oeil* marbles attracted popular admiration despite critical complaints assailing the artist's "damnable iteration" of "the inevitable marble bench" as a compositional device (Marks 1885). American commentators were divided as to Alma-Tadema's archaeological accuracy, and whether his infusion of modern spirit into ancient life vitalized or compromised

[44] For Marquand as Croesus, see "Personal Intelligence," *Washington Post*, June 15, 1887, 2; for Maecenas, see Montezuma. "My Note Book," *Art Amateur* 18:1 (December 1887): 2; Alma-Tadema to Marquand, May 29, 1889, Marquand Papers, Princeton. On the visual rhetoric of the Marquand mansion, see Deusner 2010 and 2011; on the music room specifically, see Kallmyer 2010.

his vision of the past. Notably, it was the artist's light, romanticized, often placeless domestic scenes—in which ancient Greeks and Romans sit, recline, read, listen, flirt, gossip, and daydream on *exedrae*—along with his *Homer* and *Sappho* (1881, Walters Art Museum) that most attracted American interest. Very little was written about his earlier, more archaeologically evocative *An Exedra* (1869, Vassar College), in which a slave exiled to the memorial's steps provides an uncomfortable reminder of the class-based rules governing its use.

The parlor, etiquette writers insisted, was no place for such unpleasant ruminations. Rather, it was an elevating zone of inclusive conversational interchange (among those admitted to entry), and connoisseurs like Marquand in New York and the Cheney family in Connecticut pursued this convivial ideal through the domestic installation of historically derived bench seating in fully coordinated, aesthetically harmonized interiors. As Katherine Grier points out, the settee's French origin as a "tête-à-tête" underscores its conversational orientation (Grier 1997, 182). Conversation was a serious matter at the turn of the century, variously pursued as a skill for improving the self, inspiring others, and becoming a participant in a democratic nation.[45] Many Americans looked to the ancient Greeks' and Romans' dialogic use of *exedrae* as a model for modern interaction. In revisiting "Social Life among the Ancient Greeks," we encounter the *exedra* as "that semicircular form which a talkative people would naturally hit upon" in a period "before men had invented the sociable custom of retiring apart, each behind his newspaper"—the situation regrettably exemplified by the *Herald* photograph.[46] Only in an environment where conversation enlarged the mind through exposure to the reasonings of others could one expect to find a broad efflorescence of cultural "genius" as produced "at Rome in the reign of Augustus, and in Greece about the age of Socrates," observed the *Living Age*.[47] "We see the whole process most completely in Plato's 'Dialogues,'" clarified that reliable engine of self-culture, the *Chautauquan*. "He insists upon all philosophical instruction being by dialogue, that is by conversation, where teacher and pupils all take their part" (Mahaffey 1896, 706–707). For the painter John La Farge, that Socratic dialogue was no mere pedagogical structure: it was a cornerstone of Western intellectual thought. Commissioned to paint a mural

[45] See, for example, "Conversation and Mental Culture," *Nassau Literary Magazine* 34:6 (January 1879), 241–248.
[46] "Social Life among the Ancient Greeks," *Cornhill Magazine* 42:251 (November 1880), 605.
[47] "A Few Conversationalists," *Living Age*, May 31, 1902, 575.

FIG. 5.7. *The Relation of the Individual to the State*, John La Farge. *c*. 1905. Oil on canvas, permanently fixed to wall. Supreme Court chamber, west wall, St. Paul, Minnesota.

David Oakes; Minnesota Senate Media Services.

on *The Relation of the Individual to the State* for the Minnesota Supreme Court in 1903, he invented a scene in which "Socrates and his friends discuss the Republic, as in Plato's account"[48] and staged it in an *exedra* drawn from his research on Greece and Pompeii (Fig. 5.7) (Weinberg 1977, 289–310). Countless testimonies on "the art of conversation" in the period endorse the benefits of dialogic exchange within the home, office, or, in this case, the precincts of American jurisprudence.

But when public *exedrae* were actually used as intended—used, that is, to facilitate conversations among strangers—their participants were subjected to ridicule. A long-running column in the *Evening Post* from the1890s featured anecdotes supposedly "Heard in Herald Square," reporting on the colorful, scandalous, humorous sayings and doings of people who gathered on the *Dodge exedra*. These conversations were plainly invented and inserted into the mouths of drunks, gamblers, and tramps for comic effect, or edited for same. A recurring personage in this array was the "philosopher of the street":

> "I suppose you would call me a bum." The speaker was half reclining on the stone seat back of the Dodge statue in Herald square, a position that lent

[48] "State Institutions: The New Capitol," *The Legislative Manual of the State of Minnesota* (1905), 224.

weight to such a supposition. "But you'd be wrong," he went on. "I'm a philosopher and observer. I usually prefer the park, though, for my hours of meditation." ("Picked Up in Herald Square," *Evening Post*, August 9, 1902, 4)

Here the *Dodge exedra* becomes a platform for exhibiting the differences between ancient philosophers in the *agora* and those residing on the *Sidewalks of New York*—also the title of Scott Marble's popular touring madcap "slum play" of 1896, in which the characters gathered on the monument's bench were literally transformed into characters on the stage.[49]

Class-based assumptions about status and comportment here interfered with the democratic ideals so blithely and optimistically attached to Greco-Roman *exedrae* by late nineteenth-century American writers; they also resulted in a vision of engaged public citizenship that was exclusively male. In La Farge's Supreme Court mural, as in Alma-Tadema's *An Exedra*, a slave is denied entry to the monumental space; this time the peripheral figure is identified as a slave girl (Weinberg 1977, 308). This raises yet another question: were American women invited to sit in public *exedrae*? Returning again to Fig. 5.4, we see only one woman among the six viewers of the *Farragut*. She does not sit, but rather stands beside her male companion. Although women are represented *on* the monument in the form of half-draped allegorical figures, public *exedrae* were not typically conceptualized as speaking to real, flesh-and-blood women in late nineteenth-century America. Dedicatory speeches delivered over them celebrated male activities (war, statesmanship); period archaeologists and historians imagined their use by persons implicitly or explicitly gendered male. Some mothers—or, perhaps more likely, nurses—with children appear in photographs of the *Lincoln Monument*, but women were also pictured elsewhere zooming past it on bicycles in avoidance of harassment from the dreaded "corner lounger."[50] Women, for the sake of both safety and reputation, were advised to avoid talking to anyone in the street (see for example Cooke 1896, 336). If the *exedra* was designed to facilitate spontaneous conversations among strangers, women were necessarily excluded on all counts—even at a moment when they were being advised to consult ancient Greek and Roman paintings and sculpture as

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[49] The corner of the *Dodge exedra* is visible in one of the promotional posters for the play, now held at the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, POS-TH-1896.S52, no. 1. On "slum plays," see Westgate 2014.

[50] "Resorts of Cyclists," *Daily Inter Ocean*, June 9, 1895, 21.

models for healthier uncorseted fashions and graceful postures (see von Falke 1879, 41).

"Myriads of Exhedras"

At the same moment, a parallel exploration of *exedrae* was underway at Cornish, New Hampshire, in which women enjoyed a more active and creative role. In 1885, the year Ward and Hunt's *Dodge Monument* was unveiled and Marquand's Greek furniture completed, Augustus Saint-Gaudens retreated to Cornish to begin designing his *Standing Lincoln* for Chicago. A colony of artist colleagues including Thomas Wilmer Dewing, Henry O. Walker, and Charles A. Platt soon clustered around him, renting and building studio-homes that offered a restorative, near-complete fusion of work, life, art, and nature, as Dryfhout (1985), Hobbs (1985), Pyne (1996), and Zukowski (1999) have explained. At Cornish, the boundaries between inside and outside, park and parlor, were porous.[51] Cultivating gardens as living compositions (Dewing 1892, 230), these artists and architects worked together to design their own outdoor dwelling spaces, including open porches for alfresco dining and wooden benches mimicking Classical porticos and *exedrae* nestled amongst the trees in what was evocatively described at the time as "an atmosphere of modern antiquity" (Fig. 5.8).[52] During the peak period of the colony's activities in the 1880s and 1890s, seasonal residencies generated several key artistic experiments in adapting antique forms and aesthetic standards to the needs of modern life. Many of these collaborations were covered in the press and aided in the translation and transposition of the Cornish atmosphere generally, and the *exedra* form specifically, from Eastern studios, salons, and streets across the full breadth of the United States.

Back in New York, Dewing, Saint-Gaudens, and their artist friends were known to slip into "Socratian" modes of discussion when dressing, dining, and posing as ancient Greeks in private (but publicly reported) studio soirees.[53] At Cornish, real and representational worlds merged as wives and companions modeled for paintings and joined in acting *tableaux vivants* and pageants outdoors, many organized by Dewing (Hobbs 1985, 18). The latter were distinctly Neo-Antique in costume and setting,

[51] For further discussion of the role of gardens and the Neo-Antique see von Stackelberg in this volume.
[52] "An Artist Colony," *New York Tribune*, August 11, 1907, A3, quoted in Dryfhout 1985, 39.
[53] "The Talk of New York," *Brooklyn Eagle*, March 25, 1888, 11.

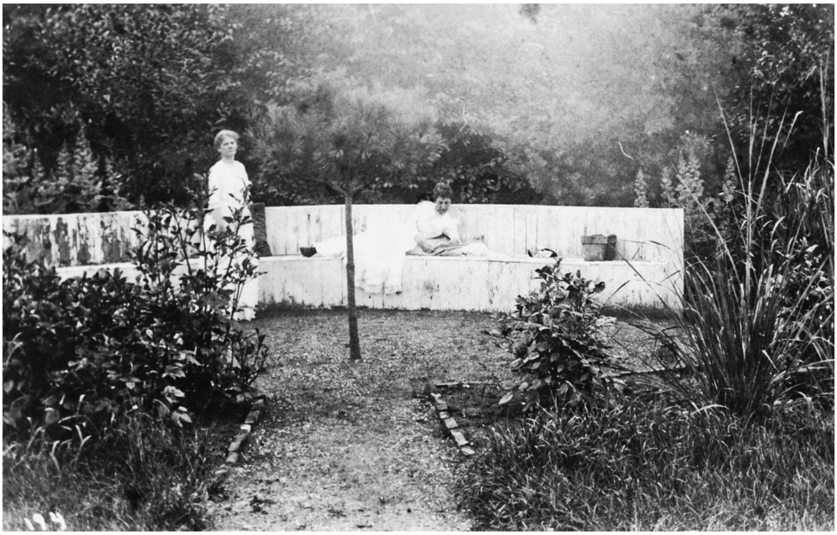

FIG. 5.8. Maria Oakey Dewing and Annie Lazarus, Cornish, New Hampshire, photograph by Henry Prellwitz, *c.* 1895.
Thomas Wilmer Dewing Papers, Private Collection of Susan A. Hobbs.

and sometimes in content, as in the 1905 "Masque of Ours" given in honor of Saint-Gaudens, in which the community acted the role of Greek gods and goddesses moving among *exedrae* used as stage settings. These theatrical presentations paralleled the historically grounded performances of *Oedipus Tyrannus* and *Antigone* taking place at American universities, where, as Caroline Winterer has observed, the study of the Antique was being reframed as a strategy for elevating oneself through culture and erudition for its own sake, rather than as a means of cultivating practical skills or a sense of national belonging (Winterer 2002, 142–143; 148–149). At Cornish, these pageants reinforced a set of tightly interwoven personal and professional ties and aesthetic tastes among friends who took evident pleasure in managing their own theatrical arrangements, in striking contrast to the "street philosophers" and other *Dodge exedra* characters satirically ventriloquized in the press and in the music hall.

Far more than mere properties of the studio or stage, however, the homemade angled and curved benches at Cornish, with their *tête-à-tête* invitations to close communal contact, both embodied and facilitated cooperative endeavors of the type that had already produced White and Saint-Gaudens's *Farragut*. The privacies of country life enabled Maria Oakey Dewing to put her published arguments about healthy, unconstrained modern dress design into practice (Dewing 1881; Greene 2011, 5); sitting on the wooden bench in her garden, she elevated conversation with artist-colleagues to the level of "general truths and aphorisms" rather than engaging in idle small talk,[54] and inspired painted *exedra* compositions by her husband Thomas Wilmer Dewing (Hobbs 1985). His continued collaborations with colony visitor Stanford White informed several works of art touched with Cornish Classicism, including *Commerce and Agriculture bringing Wealth to Detroit* (1900, Fig. 5.9, see insert), a mural painting of three allegorical draped women sitting in an *exedra*, for the architect's new People's State Bank in that city. Bailey Van Hook (1996; 2003) and Vivien Greene (2011) have underscored the disjuncture of elevating turn-of-the-century women to such prominent positions in the idealized painted realm while denying them full participation in political and commercial ones. Surely the fluidity and ubiquity of the *exedra* form, in its vacillating associations with both domestic and democratic ideals, rendered this presence/absence dialectic particularly visible and acute.

The Detroit bank project embodied a turn-of-the-century American Renaissance fusion of painting and architecture that aimed for Italian Renaissance grandeur and celebrated its reconsideration of Classical forms—an approach to artmaking and city planning crystallized by the World's Columbian Exposition in 1893,[55] through which many Cornish artists extended their practices into the public realm. Saint-Gaudens oversaw the fair's sculpture and White contributed to many aspects of its design; in 1892, sculptor Daniel Chester French temporarily relocated to the colony to coordinate plans for the White City. In Chicago, they melded their aesthetic instincts with those of architects Daniel Burnham and Richard Morris Hunt to produce a unified vision of a coordinated public landscape filled with references to the ancient past, including Roman triumphal arches, colossal ideal sculptures, and faux marble benches offering scenic views of the grounds. *Exedrae* appeared throughout the fair, not only as compositional tools for arranging allegorical figures in murals (for example, in William and Robert L. Dodge's *Glorification of the Arts and Sciences* painted for Hunt's Administration Building) but also in three-dimensional form, installed in McKim, Mead, and White's New York State Building to support its domestic ambassadorial atmosphere: "a house for the comfortable reception and entertainment of visitors from all over the world."[56] At the fair, we see the concentration of the *exedra*'s many

[54] Cornish resident Frances Grimes quoted in Dryfhout 1985, 41.
[55] Cf. the Paris Exposition of 1889 in Hales's essay in this volume.
[56] "New York State," *Brooklyn Daily Standard Union*, August 2, 1892, 2, refers to these seats as *exedrae*. The final report on the Italian Renaissance–inspired building, which was nonetheless decorated with Pompeiian frescoes, described these spaces as porticoes; see *Report of the Board*

functions and meanings into a remarkably powerful ideology of progress and projection. "Chicago is truly the Rome toward which all roads lead to-day," the *New York Tribune* confidently declared. "Pause here by the Administration Building and study the groups and figures of such vigorous and lifelike modeling; look past the great gilt Columbia and through the white pillars of the peristyle, which reminds one of a painting by Alma-Tadema, with its turquoise background of lake and sky."[57] As stage furnishing for this grand *tableau*, the *exedra* transformed the seated viewer into both witnessing subject and demonstrative object of America's self-image as the new Rome.

It was not, as Robert Rydell (1984; 1993) and others have pointed out, necessarily a representative image: the architecture was temporary, the vision of citizenship restricted to those who could pay the entrance fee. Colored American Day raised the spectre of racial segregation. Women, enjoying an unusual degree of freedom within the secured confines of the fair (Rabinovitz 1998, 47–67), could indulge what Mariana Griswold Van Rensselaer described as the "narcotizing" temptation to idle on the "plausibly marble bench under a deceptively marble colonnade" and take in the view (Van Rensselaer 1893a, 3). Offering functional places for visitors to rest while also symbolically and seductively transforming them into an apparently homogeneous democratic public, *exedrae* were subsequently featured in expositions at Detroit (1901), Charleston (1901–1902), and St. Louis (1904). But when Americans returned to their hometowns fueled by an enthusiasm for remaking them into Cities Beautiful—the *Monumental News* envisioned a nation populated by "myriads of exhedras"—they again encountered obstacles to forcing a living modern landscape into ancient shape (Lukeman 1897). It was in this context that the *American Architect and Building News* warned against the installation of *exedrae* as street furniture, for fear that beauty would be "spoiled by the thoughtless"; similar objections were voiced to the proposed erection of an *exedra* based upon the Erectheion at the busiest streetcar junction in Kansas City in 1897.[58] In Detroit, railroad car builder, art patron, and Cornish colony visitor Charles Lang Freer's 1900 proposal for a $1 million bicentennial commemorative installation designed by White, with contributions from Saint-Gaudens and Dewing, was scuttled due to a lack of public interest and investment. The 220-foot

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of General Managers of the Exhibit of the State of New York, at the World's Columbian Exposition (1894), 92–102.

[57] "Going to the White City," *New York Tribune*, July 16, 1893, 15.

[58] See for example "Favor the Benton Statue," *Kansas City Journal*, December 18, 1896, 1.

tall Doric column and peristyle announcing that "Detroit is as completely the metropolis of Michigan as Athens was the eye of Greece" was deemed by some local citizens a waste of money on "purely ornamental purposes" to satisfy the tastes of limited "cliques."[59]

Given these pressures, obstacles, and failures, perhaps it is not surprising that the aesthetic ideals of the Cornish artists were embraced most enthusiastically not in the field of public architecture but in the realm of private garden design. From 1889, painter-turned-landscape architect Charles A. Platt worked with Saint-Gaudens and other residents to produce his first garden plans, laying the groundwork for what would become a lifelong career popularizing and nationalizing formal Italian garden arrangements in America. As one commentator described Platt's work in 1904, "[t]he air of a new land plays upon ornaments of stone and marble, arrived age-worn from the service of Old World gardens to give majestic emphasis to the new."[60] In gardens for his artist friends (and eventually—thanks to extensive publicity from Cornish colonists Herbert Croly and Adeline Adams—for his wealthy clients) Platt punctuated the walks and plantings with imported Greek columns, Roman herms, and newly constructed but Classically inspired *exedrae*. These benches framed, ordered, and historicized the view within a context of intimate social harmony and privacy.

Contemporary observers regarded the Cornish environment as a continuation of ancient traditions, but also noted that its residents' enthusiasm for Classical architecture in garden design could verge on inappropriate adaptation of civic forms for "private luxury" (Prior 1903, 211). Marble benches in the American garden were first regarded as impractical aspirational frivolities—consider, for example, "The Ideal vs the Real," a November 28, 1894, *Puck* cartoon in which a would-be poet catches pneumonia after daydreaming too long on his backyard seat. But by 1907, the *New York Evening Telegram* was recommending benches "built on the lines of those that once adorned Greek and Roman and Pompeiian pleasaunces, so often depicted by Alma Tadema," as "most appropriate" for American gardens.[61] In that same year, Charles Downing Lay published a general survey of "Resting Places in the Garden" that brings our examination

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[59] *Monument to be Erected by the People to Commemorate the 200th Anniversary of the Founding of Detroit* (Detroit: Bicentennial Memorial Committee, 1900), no page number; "Say It's a Failure," *Detroit Free Press,* June 16, 1900, 3; Donald MacLean, "The Bicentennial Memorial," letter to the editor of the *Detroit Free Press*, July 15, 1900, 5. The plans did not, however, call for an *exedra*.

[60] E.T., "The Garden of 'Weld,' " *House and Garden* 5:3 (March 1904), 109. On Platt, see also Morgan 1985; Emmet 1996; and Karson 2007.

[61] "Home Decoration on a Small Scale," *New York Evening Telegram*, July 2, 1914, 7.

full circle, placing an unidentified photograph of Platt's *exedra* for Larz Anderson at Weld (Brookline, MA, Fig. 5.10) below an illustration of the *Farragut Memorial*, collapsing the crucial conceptual distance between these public and private installations.

180 INDOORS AND OUT

FIG. 14. AN EXEDRA BESIDE A POOL

a lower course serves as a foot stone or low seat.

If the cost of stone is too great, then use wood; but let it be used as wood and not as stone. Figure 17 is a wooden imitation of a stone type.

FIG. 15. SEATS AT THE FARRAGUT MONUMENT

The absence of tables beside all these seats (when they are not at each side of a path) hints at their limited use for tea or for work of any kind which is more comfortably done on a table. Figures 18 and 19 one would think improved by proper tables. Stone tables are frequent and are most often seen with no seats near by.

It is easy to make a good wooden table if the top be of narrow slats placed near together and all securely bolted. This arrangement lets the water off quickly and avoids the warping and splitting which the sun would cause in larger boards.

Circular seats about a tree are never good. They face more ways than Janus, and if two people sit on one their faces naturally diverge instead of converging as they should in the intimate surroundings of a garden.

Wooden seats with roofs are seldom seen in this country, but are much used abroad and should be here — not that the roof would keep off any of our summer showers, but because it keeps off wind in winter and gives some protection from the summer's sun. Not the least of its charm for some people is the freedom from worms and bugs, which sometimes drop from the leafy tangle of an arbor.

LARGE SCALE GARDENING is carried on by railroads for the production of ties against future high prices consequent upon the country's decreasing timber supply. The Santa Fe has bought a ranch in California where eucalyptus trees will be planted. The Pennsylvania has planted a large tract in the interior of that state. It will be fifteen years before ties can be cut.

FIG. 16. AN EXEDRA BACKED BY A COPSE

FIG. 5.10. "Resting Places in the Garden." Charles Downing Lay, July 1907, *Indoors and Out* IV:4, 180.

With the dawn of the twentieth century, American publications discussing contemporary *exedrae* were increasingly less likely to mention their Classical precedents, constructing instead a native lineage that began with the *Farragut*. They also, like Lay, frequently blurred the distinctions between memorial and non-memorial functions, at a moment when commemorative benches commissioned for cemetery burial sites began to outnumber those installed in public locations. Saint-Gaudens and White again appear as innovators in this field, drawing on the restorative, multisensory immersion in nature offered by Cornish gardens to create a secluded landscaped "shrine" or "chapel" in Washington, DC's Rock Creek Cemetery for their *Adams Memorial* (1892, Fig. 5.11).

This well-known installation was commissioned in remembrance of Clover, the wife of Henry D. Adams, who had died by her own hand in 1885. Its pink granite *exedra* with owl-wing terminals, described at the time as Greek in style (Caffin 1903, 10), was twice removed from the public sites considered thus far: distanced from city streets by its placement within a cemetery, then screened by a bank of cypress greenery. Rather than accounting for a life, the monument is silent, both in the composition of its heavily draped unidentified and non-gendered figure, lost in meditation behind closed eyes; and in Adams's refusal to have any identifying

FIG. 5.11. *Adams Memorial,* Augustus Saint-Gaudens and Stanford White, 1892. Rock Creek Cemetery, Washington, DC.
Library of Congress.

details or other textual information inscribed onto the bench or pedestal. In a notable departure from precedent, the designers placed the *exedra* directly across from and facing the installation's visual and emotional focal point. Cleaving the *exedra* from its associations with public debate and conversation, they were able to refine, preserve, and expand its contemplative memorial possibilities.

The first proposals they delivered to Adams drew heavily from ancient prototypes. Indeed, Saint-Gaudens and White's *Lincoln Monument* in Chicago (see Fig. 5.6) had already broken new ground in adapting Greek and Roman commemorative practices to the American metropolis. Diana Strazdes has meticulously mapped the "carefully managed Classicism" that structured the *Lincoln* project from the ground up, from the Greek chair and Aeschines pose combined in the statesman's sculpture to the Pompeian *exedrae* of Aulus Veius and Mamia that provided the template for White's bench design (Strazdes 2010). She traces the origins of the Roman epigraphy (*scriptura monumentalis*) he used to inscribe the excerpts from Lincoln's speeches (themselves repositories of Greek rhetorical forms) on the back the bench and the bronze spheres at the base of its steps (Strazdes 2010, 134–137). In her analysis, each viewer's sequential experience of walking, reading, sitting, and thinking activates the monument and implicates him or her in the continuation of Lincoln's unfinished work, much as a visitor to the Street of Tombs in Pompeii was invited to sit in a roadside *exedra* and meditate upon the contributions of the deceased. If followed precisely, this program was no doubt engaging and illuminating. It is also true, I would argue, that the installation suffered some of the same drawbacks that plagued the *Farragut* and the *Dodge*: the sculpture cannot be seen clearly from all angles, and those seated in the pink granite *exedra* face the intersection. The President stands with bowed head—alone in a chamber, or preparing to speak to an imagined audience—but does not engage these *exedra* dwellers, who cannot read the key texts while seated.

The *Lincoln* was as widely praised by contemporaries as it was complex, richly associative, and *voluble*. By contrast, Adams instructed Saint-Gaudens and White that the monument to his wife "should have nothing to say and above all that it should not be classic."[62] Refusing the sculptor's initial relief sketch of Socrates with his cup of hemlock, Adams instead encouraged him to produce something beyond style, a figure more closely evoking Buddhist meditation (Mills 2014, 83). This was indicative not only of Adams's desire to mute the gossip that surrounded Clover's death

[62] Saint-Gaudens to Adams, quoted in Tharp 1969, 222.

but also of the direction American monumental sculpture was beginning to take more generally. Van Rensselaer, in her treatise on *Art Out-of-Doors*, wished that "we could consent to speak less loudly and more carefully" in our memorials, avoiding those "that simply shout out their names with a crude and vulgar voice" (Van Rensselaer 1893b, 238; quoted in Mills 2014, 69). In Cynthia Mills' analysis, the *Adams Memorial* constitutes an attempt to secure Classic dignity without resorting overmuch to Classical visual language.

But what of speaking viewers, habituated to the dialogic associations clinging to the Greco-Roman *exedra*? According to one Anglo-American tradition, "contemplation" could be understood as a kind of "self-disputation" or "self-conversation" (Stewart 1837 [1790], 60; 65); as a widely circulating maxim put it, "By reading we enjoy the dead; by conversation, the living; and by contemplation, ourselves."[63] Contemporaries observing the behavior of viewers in the Adams *exedra* (including Adams himself) reported a range of reactions, including ill-mannered gossip that violated the sacred aura of the space.[64] Many found direct confrontation with the hooded figure more unsettling than reassuring. Robert Burns Wilson wrestled with its reticence: "It might be a Fate, Silence or a figure of Memory or Sorrow. . . . to me it seems the embodiment of the Eternal Soul waiting, waiting in time-defying patience, until it shall see the solving of life's mystery in the tradegy of the dust" (Wilson 1907, lxvi). Remarkably, Wilson uncannily echoes Calvert Vaux's *exedra* critique ("waiting, waiting") in evoking the monument's strange power.

The *Adams Memorial* was highly influential and, as Mills demonstrates, much copied.[65] But having tracked the funerary *exedra* apparently as far as it could go, we might usefully consider yet one further iteration of it. At the *Kauffmann Memorial* (William Ordway Partridge, Rock Creek Cemetery, Washington, DC, 1897) and the *Stubenbord-Sutherland Exedra* (Stanley Edwards, Green-Wood Cemetery, Brooklyn, NY, 1915, Fig. 5.12), life-sized bronze figures occupy the memorial seats. The women, dressed in

[63] Attributed to Charles Caleb Colton, see Thayer 1892, 345.
[64] Adams to Elizabeth Cameron, April 16, 1900, cited in Mills 2014, 152.
[65] Other significant early examples of funerary *exedrae* included the Milmore Memorial at Forest Hills Cemetery, Jamaica Plain, Massachusetts (Daniel Chester French and C. Howard Walker 1889–1893); the Belmot Tomb, Island Cemetery, Newport, Rhode Island (John Quincy Adams Ward and Richard Morris Hunt 1890–1891; 93); the Francis Parkman Memorial, Jamaica Plain, Massachusetts (French and Henry Bacon 1902–1907); and the Melvin Memorial, Sleepy Hollow Cemetery, Concord, Massachusetts (French and Bacon 1906–1908). For additional examples, see McDowell and Meyer 1994, 80–90.

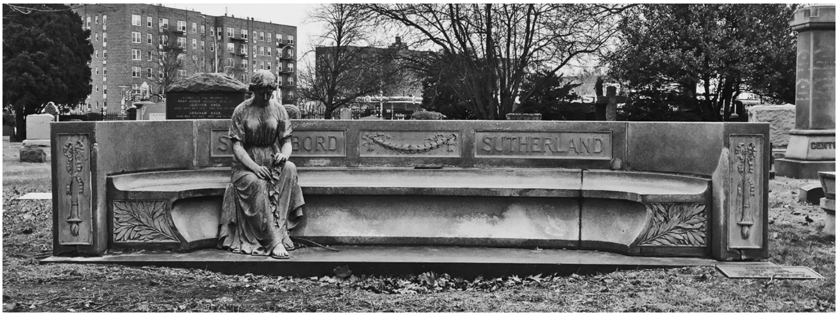

FIG. 5.12. *Stubenbord-Sutherland Exedra*, Stanley Edwards and Farrington, Gould, and Hoagland, 1915. Green-Wood Cemetery, Brooklyn, New York.
Nina Gray.

clingling Classical draperies, are almost identical; they sit with heads bowed over the asphodel they are plaiting in memory of the departed. To twenty-first century eyes, perhaps, their presence appears unnecessary and overly literal, closing off the powerful and mysterious openness of the *Adams* sculpture. But to some contemporaries, the adjustment was seen as an advance, a move toward the "identifiable" (Wilson 1907, lxviii). Given the full trajectory of the American *exedra* traced here, it is hard not to see these figures as anxious interventions, bronze guarantees that the bench will attract the right kind of occupant and the right kind of behavior. Although it is possible to sit alongside these sculptural guardians, the unstable position of the *exedra* visitor as both viewer and viewed is more fully resolved by this configuration, tilted toward an appreciation of the artistic whole from a single, easily identifiable perspective at a distance.

It is tempting to read this insistence on visual and conceptual closure as an emotional extension of the aesthetic *horror vacui* some scholars have observed in the accumulation and display practices of art patrons and collectors in this era (Harris 1970, 18; Johnson 1986, 128). But in light of the history traced here, it perhaps makes more sense to think of the *Kauffmann* and *Stubenbord-Sutherland* designs in relation to another period concept, *agoraphobia*. John Kasson has written thoughtfully of this malady of the modern afflicting a growing number of Americans from the 1870s: a crippling vulnerability induced by public spaces, a paralysis demanding both a new clinical diagnosis and a new terminology (Kasson 1991, 112–114). The Greek *agora*, or marketplace—that idealized communal zone of stimulating democratic interchange in *exedrae* conjured by American commentators above—provided the evocative linguistic root for this "place fear," which was not conceived as a fear *of* places so much as fear of being exposed to scrutiny *in* them. William James (1887) described sufferers scuttling along the edges of public squares like terrified animals; George Beard's key case study was forced to restrict himself to the business zones (*agorae*?) of New York City, where he knew he would never be forced to be alone (Beard 1877). Early psychiatrists gave different explanations for the condition, but all linked it in some way to the daily violent shock of shifting between domestic and public zones (see Suckling 1890). Monumental *exedrae* potentially served as both trigger and remedy for this affliction of the business classes; we have already seen how these spaces dedicated to rest, relief, and the accounting of memorialized lives could become arenas in which the seemingly idle poor were most visibly exposed, forced to account for themselves, or be subject to arrest (see DePastino 2003, 33).

The occupied *exedra*, then, might register as a hedge against these various manifestations of place fear. But Rosalyn Deutsche (1996) has taken this concept of *agoraphobia* much further, using it as a way to probe the perpetual American discomfort with the instabilities, disputes, and contestations that necessarily make up the fabric of a democracy—and the countervailing totalitarian impulse to silence or paper over these rifts through forced consensus. Underscoring the revealingly and productively disruptive potential of public art, she mounts a critique of "agoraphobic" artists, funding bodies, viewers, theorists, and governments who would assert that such objects should ultimately *unify* a community, and implicitly or explicitly insist on defining "correct" versus "incorrect" patterns of engagement, interpretation, and occupation (Deutsche 1996, 325–326). Those who commissioned and designed American *exedrae* envisioned them as precisely such unifying objects—but the *exedra* form introduced into public and private space a physical embodiment of democracy that was also an empty container, a troubling void.

Originally modeled on or likened to the ruined remains of Olympia, Pergamon, and Pompeii, late nineteenth-century American *exedrae* remain with us—if not as ruins exactly, then as the weathered, chipped remnants of our own memorialized past. They reemerge in the press every twenty or thirty years in remarkably predictable cycles, amid complaints about loitering and reports of damage wrought by graffiti, garbage, and theft. In this sense, they continue to function as they did in their own time: as platforms designed to showcase the successful attainment of a democratic, patriotic, eloquent, reverent, picturesque citizenry, which are easily transformed into embarrassing showcases for that nation's failure (still typically interpreted as the citizens' failure) to live up to its own ideals. In 1884, the *New York*

Times jokingly suggested, in the face of the "tramp problem . . . were spikes to be placed in the seats of the present benches no one would think of sitting on them."[66] This sardonic suggestion has now been actualized in the form of twenty-first century defensive architecture: benches with dividing brackets to prevent the occupant from lying down; spikes driven into flat surfaces to deter loitering.[67] These are our new *exedrae*, monuments to our continuing inability to visualize or tolerate—perhaps an inability to imagine—truly open, truly democratic public space.

[66] "The Park Benches," *New York Times*, July 26, 1884, 4. See also *Puck's* "Our Own Invention," June 20, 1883, showing a spring-loaded "tramp awakener" that ejects the sitter into the sky.
[67] This worldwide phenomenon has been documented extensively by the photographer Nils Norman; see Norman 2001 and http://www.dismalgarden.com/archives/defensive_architecture. See also Savičić and Savić 2013.

CHAPTER 6 | Entombing Antiquity

A New Consideration of Classical and Egyptian Appropriation in the Funerary Architecture of Woodlawn Cemetery, New York City[*]

ELIZABETH MACAULAY-LEWIS

It is quite wrong for a man to decorate his house while he is alive, and not to trouble about the house where he must make a longer stay.[1]

——TRIMALCHIO, Petronius, *Satyricon*, 71

Introduction

Discussions of non-elite Roman art and, to a lesser extent, funerary art and architecture typically revolve around the uncouth, *nouveau riche* freedman Trimalchio, who describes his grand tomb at length (Clarke 2003, 185–187; Petersen 2006, 85). Trimalchio's conceptualization of his tomb as a house (*domus*) underscores the fundamental connection between domestic and funerary architecture. As the permanent residence for the deceased, a

[*] I would like to thank Katharine von Stackelberg and Dragana Mladenović for their comments on this essay. Judith McKenzie, Helen Whitehouse, and Emma Libonati offered useful suggestions about the sphinxes and Neo-Egyptian architecture. The comments from the audience at the Rewald Seminar at The Graduate Center, The City University of New York, were very helpful. Thanks are also due to the librarians and archivists at Avery Library, the New York Historical Society, Amon Carter Museum of American Art, Library of Congress, and Frederick Law Olmsted National Historic Site.

[1] Loeb Translation by Heseltine and Rouse. The Latin reads, "*alde enim falsum est vivo quidem domos cultas esse, non curari eas, ubi diutius nobis habitandum est.*"

tomb provides a final, sincere architectural moment for self-fashioning and self-presentation to one's family and the larger community (Jenkyns 1992, 20; Dilley 2014, xiii). A parallel can be observed between Trimalchio and the self-made men of New York City. Like Trimalchio, they desired an architectural voice that would provide them with cultural authority and prestige in this life and attest to their economic, social, political, and/or artistic achievements forever (McDowell and Meyer 1994, 15).

In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Classical and Egyptian architectural forms were among the most popular types of funerary architecture, because they each had a rich, culturally significant vocabulary (McDowell and Meyer 1994). Through the lens of archaeology, this paper assesses the meaning and significance of the appropriation of Classical and Egyptian material culture in funerary architecture at Woodlawn Cemetery in the Bronx, New York City. To date, the study of the reception of Classical, Egyptian, and other architectural styles has predominantly been the purview of scholars trained in American or European art and architecture.[2] Therefore, a Classical archaeologist's expertise and methodological approaches enhance this discussion. Vital to such reception studies is the ability to dissect these tombs to determine how patrons and architects valued the cultural resonances and nuances of ancient motifs and whether they strove for architectural verisimilitude or simply an allusion to antiquity. By undertaking a formal analysis of the architecture of tombs in Woodlawn Cemetery in light of ancient monuments, one can understand the relationships between these buildings. Therefore, the Classical archaeologist is well, if not ideally, positioned to undertake such a study.

Unlike scholars of later architectural periods, Classical archaeologists and Egyptologists are often deprived of direct insight into the architects' and patrons' intentions. Classical archaeologists must examine architectural remains to interpret the meaning of the ancient forms and design, and the reuse of particular buildings and landscapes (Coulton 1977; Wilson Jones 2000). Thus, much of Classical architectural and landscape studies are concerned with the use and reception, or afterlife, of monuments (Hardwick 2003; Hunt 2004, 11–32). Classical archaeologists desire to know how the patron and other users experienced architecture, or, in other words, how the architecture was received. Thus, as a group, Classical

[2] See Carrott 1978; McDowell and Meyer 1994; Giguere 2013 and 2014. In the field of Egyptomania, or the reception of Egyptian culture and material culture, Egyptologists, unlike their Classical colleagues, have joined the debate. Most noticeably, see Brier 1992; Humbert and Price 2003.

archaeologists and architectural historians are actively engaged in reception studies, even if they have not articulated this explicitly.

This formal understanding of ancient buildings and later monuments must be compared to patrons' and architects' knowledge of antiquity, its art and architecture (cf. Price and Humbert 2003, 14–15). By examining the architecture in light of the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century documentary evidence, we can determine whether the patron and architect were actively engaged in the reception and repurposing of Classical and Egyptian material culture or not. Through a review and analysis of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century books, magazines, and newspapers, the contemporary critical and cultural reception of these newly created monuments can be assessed, thereby yielding insights into the meaning and perception of Classical and Egyptian culture, art, and architecture at this moment in American history. This study only focuses on private tombs, not sepulchral memorials. The proliferation of Classical forms, such as sarcophagi, altars, columns, and obelisks at Woodlawn and other rural cemeteries, speaks to the meaningful nature of these forms in nineteenth- and twentieth-century America, but are beyond the scope of this essay.

Rural Cemeteries and the Foundation of Woodlawn Cemetery

By the late eighteenth century, European and American attitudes towards burials and their location were evolving. Previously, most burials were in churches, churchyards, or their associated burial grounds. Now there was a move to construct cemeteries outside of cities, due to hygienic concerns and space constraints. A new model for cemeteries also emerged: the Elysian Fields—the vast landscaped or garden cemetery (McDowell and Meyer 1994, 13; Curl 2015). The Elysian Fields were the paradisiacal landscape where the souls of the good and virtuous went after death in ancient Greece (Hom. *Od.*, 4.563–565; Virg. *Aen.* 6.637–678). Thus the intellectual basis for these new cemeteries was grounded in a reinterpretation and repurposing of a Classical concept—a garden paradise—for a related purpose.

Consecrated in December 1804, the first large rural cemetery was Père Lachaise, east of Paris. Within two decades, its naturalistic landscape was filled with grand tombs, Classical mausolea, and more humble monuments. Père Lachaise became the model for European and American cemeteries (Curl 2015). The 1830s saw the creation of several important cemeteries in the United States: Mount Auburn, Cambridge, MA; Laurel Hill, Philadelphia, PA; and Green-Wood, Brooklyn, NY.

The rural cemetery offered a patron space and the opportunity to build a grand tomb to celebrate one's achievements and family. The rural cemetery was a place for aspiration and social posturing; regardless of class, background, and faith, anyone with sufficient funds could create their own final abode (McDowell and Meyer 1994, 13). This also meant that even the simplest tomb or grave could be surrounded by more fashionable and affluent neighbors and natural beauty (McDowell and Meyer 1994, 13). The new rural cemeteries also encouraged new modes of behavior—visiting and strolling—that augmented the tombs' visual impact on the viewer. The tombs were not merely holding places for the dead, but were places of lived experience that also reaffirmed the social status of the deceased.

The rural cemeteries became popular destinations both for locals and tourists. Public green space was an increasingly precious commodity as cities, like New York, expanded and became more populous (McDowell and Meyer 1994, 13). In the 1830s, New York City lacked large public parks. Green-Wood Cemetery, Brooklyn's most prestigious burial grounds, served as New York City and Brooklyn's largest *de facto* public park. By the early 1860s, it was an extremely popular tourist destination that attracted 500,000 visitors a year, second only to Niagara Falls (Richman 1998, 16). Despite Green-Wood's popularity, it had serious drawbacks as a cemetery due to New York City's development. By the 1860s, passage to Green-Wood had become undignified (Bergman 1988, 7). One had to venture through the congested streets of lower Manhattan and board a ferry to Brooklyn. As a result, the genteel women of many of New York's elite families were unable to attend funerals.

Woodlawn Cemetery was born on December 29, 1863, when Reverend Absalom Peters, a Presbyterian minister and entrepreneur, gathered a group of men, many of whom were connected to the New York and Harlem Railroad, in Morrisania, a village in Westchester County, to discuss founding a cemetery along the line (Warren 2014, 16). He needed investors to purchase land for the cemetery, and the New York and Harlem railroad needed more passengers to increase profitability. These entrepreneurial businessmen agreed with Peters that establishing a rural cemetery accessible by train from New York City would be a successful economic venture.

Accessibility was a key feature of Woodlawn (Fig. 6.1); funerary parties could take horse cars from the rail depot just north of Madison Square and ride uptown to Forty-Second Street to board a train to Woodlawn (Warren 2014, 20–21). Alternatively, one took a horse carriage up Third Avenue and later a car from Twenty-Sixth Street to the cemetery (Warren 2014, 21). While many of the access issues to Green-Wood were eliminated

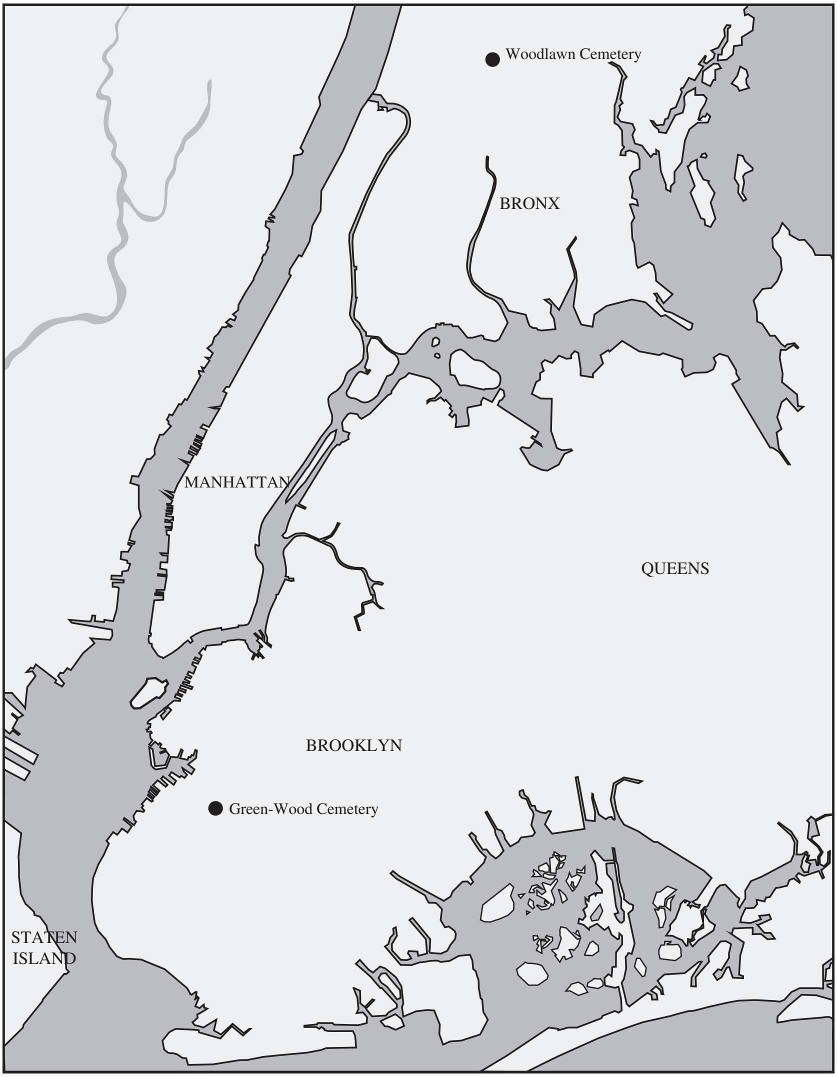

FIG. 6.1. Map of New York City with Woodlawn and Green-Wood Cemeteries. E. Macaulay-Lewis and A. Wilkins.

when the Brooklyn Bridge was completed in 1883, the northward movement of residential developments and churches on Manhattan meant that Woodlawn was even more convenient (Warren 2014, 21). In 1875, the New York and Harlem Railroad built a funerary car, "The Woodlawn," which could be hired for journeys.

In 1864, James Charles Sidney designed the cemetery as a rural, naturalist landscape, which was very popular at the time (Fig. 6.2). In April 1867, Robert Edward Kerr Whiting was hired as the new Comptroller to

Woodlawn Cemetery

FIG. 6.2. Plan of Woodlawn Cemetery with the following noted tombs: (1) Bache, (2) Woolworth, (3) Goelet, (4) Gould, (5) Leeds, and (6) Garvan.

E. Macaulay-Lewis and A. Wilkins.

run Woodlawn Cemetery. Whiting significantly changed the grid of funerary lots and fundamentally modified Woodlawn's landscape (Warren 2014, 27). In October 1867, Whiting and Peters visited Spring Grove Cemetery in Cincinnati, Ohio, to meet Adolph Straunch, the cemetery's Prussian-born landscape architect, who had reshaped the rural character of Spring Grove in favor of what he called "the landscape lawn plan" (Warren 2014, 27–28). Straunch's new plan called for a more sweeping, communal, uncluttered landscape with horticultural, topographical, and artistic embellishments (Warren 2014, 28). Inspired by this visit, Whiting experimented with the landscape lawn plan for the Prospect and Observatory plots (Warren 2014, 29). Woodlawn's new sections were organized around circular plans, while the older, already designed areas remained "rural" and followed the old sale and lot rules (Warren 2014, 30). In 1880, the first mausoleum was built on a circular plan (Warren 2014, 34–35), and from then on this plan defined the layout of many of the large funerary plots.

Woodlawn's appeal was clear by the late 1870s, when Cornelius Vanderbilt, Jr., and Joseph Pulitzer bought plots between Central and Poplar Avenues (Warren 2014, 39). In 1882, Jay Gould bought the largest circular lot in the Lakeview plot (Warren 2014, 39). When Gould was buried here on December 7, 1892, *The New York Times* commented that many of Woodlawn's tombs were owned and occupied by people "whom Jay Gould knew well" ("Jay Gould's Body at Rest" 1892). In *King's Handbook of New York City*, a well-known account of New York's history, Moses King observed that Woodlawn "truly . . . is a neighborhood of plutocrats" (King 1892, 473).

Commemorative Art: A Major Concern of Nineteenth-Century America

Funerary art is a major focus of almost every civilization and provides unique insights about particular groups and individuals. During the nineteenth century, there was radical social and political reform concurrent with the rise of the individual and individuality in American society. Americans were fascinated, or at least preoccupied, with death (Broman 2001, 31). As a result, there was increased interest in the commemorative arts at all levels of society (McDowell and Meyer 1994, 4). A middle class developed. The United State's *nouveau riche* and bourgeoisie, as well as its elite, exploited material culture to express status, achievements, and heritage (McDowell and Meyer 1994, 5). Funerary memorials and tombs started to replace the simpler tombstones that had been used in many colonial-era cemeteries (McDowell and Meyer 1994, 5). Funerary ritual and practice, as well as funerary monuments and mausolea, also became an outlet for social and familial ambitions (McDowell and Meyer 1994, 5). The nineteenth century also saw the development of a cult of mourning (McDowell and Meyer 1994, 11–13), and graves allowed a family focused mourning and meaningful contact with the deceased.

The development of larger-scale commemorative architecture was also connected to several other nineteenth-century developments: the growth and transformation of the quarry and monument industries, which facilitated the erection of grand funerary architecture (McDowell and Meyer 1994, 13). Tomb temples and Greek-style urns became popular in rural cemeteries in the antebellum period (McDowell and Meyer 1994, 24; Richard 2009, 38). The American Civil War (1861–1865), the bloodiest conflict in US history, saw over 620,000 deaths on both sides (Neff 2005, 19; 21, Table 1). The death of so many amplified the need for large family mausolea, where multiple generations or members of extended families could be interred. Public commemorative memorials were also erected to honor and celebrate the contributions of the deceased, such as Grant's Tomb and Grand Army Plaza (both in Manhattan), as well as the Soldiers' and Sailors' Memorial Arch in Brooklyn (Macaulay-Lewis 2016, 447–478).[3] Thus funerary memorials and monuments were a major aspect of the post-Civil War architectural and artistic milieu.

The Neo-Antique in American Funerary Architecture

Much of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century American funerary architecture was built in a Neo-Antique style. As discussed in the introduction, the Neo-Antique is a decorative style that consciously referenced Neoclassical motifs that could be (but did not have to be) combined with eclectic and/or anachronistic elements to produce a bricolage effect. It emerged in the mid-to-late-nineteenth century and was accessible to more sections of the population than its Neoclassical precedents because of the increased purchasing power of the middle class, and mass production. Because disparate architectural elements were used together, it is vital that the different motifs and architectural forms, as well as their sources (i.e., what was Roman, Greek, Hellenistic, Egyptian, or neither), be identified in order to understand the architect's and/or patron's aims in using these forms.

In the context of Woodlawn Cemetery's mausolea, the Neo-Antique also functions as an umbrella term to describe the reinterpretation of

[3] Also see Deusner's discussion of the *exedra* erected in honor of Farragut in this volume.

Classical and Egyptian architecture to create highly original mausolea. In Woodlawn, eclectic Classical forms were used together (sometimes with Christian motifs) in specific tombs, while diverse Egyptian forms and motifs were used in other mausolea. To my knowledge, no single tomb used features of Egyptian and Classical architecture together.

The concept of the Neo-Antique is preferable to "Revival styles," which scholars have identified as the repurposing of the architecture of previous eras (e.g., McDowell and Meyer 1994, 1). The concept of a Neo-Antique style acknowledges the diverse combinations of ancient motifs and architecture with disparate and possibly conflicting architectural motifs—from other ancient, medieval, or contemporary sources—into the creation of new and original architecture.

Revivalist styles are often associated with a narrow timeframe within the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. For example, Carrott defines the Egyptian Revivalist style in America, as lasting from 1808 to 1858 (Carrott 1978). Such a chronological delineation excludes a significant number of monuments that reused ancient forms and that were erected in the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (e.g., Giguere 2013 and 2014). Due to these limitations the Neo-Antique is a preferable way to approach and understand the funerary monuments of Woodlawn Cemetery.

In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Americans became increasingly interested in antiquity (McDowell and Meyer 1994, 18). Classical architecture and ancient funerary architecture became popular due to the important publications of antiquities, which were now more broadly available. These include James Stuart and Nicholas Revett's *The Antiquities of Athens* (1762–1816), Denon's *Voyage dans la Basse et la Haute Égypte: Pendant les campagnes du général Bonaparte* (1802), *Description de l'Égypte* (1809–26), and Adam's *Roman Antiquities* (first published in 1791). Piranesi's four-volume *Le Antichità Romane* (1753) was very important in promoting ancient funerary art; volumes two and three were exclusively concerned with views of tombs (McDowell and Meyer 1994, 18). The discovery of tombs along the Via Appia, the excavations of Pompeii, and the development of the Grand Tour all contributed to the popularity of Classical forms (McDowell and Meyer 1994, 18).

The development of handbooks and compilations on architecture and theory for architects, artists, and artisans in nineteenth-century France also facilitated the use of ancient forms in contemporary funerary architecture (McDowell and Meyer 1994, 19). Nineteenth-century Americans had handbooks, such as John Haviland's *Practical Builder's Assistant* (1818–1821) and Asher Benjamin's *The American Builder's Companion*

(1827), which included Greek architectural orders and advice on proportions. Mrs. Tuthill's *History of Architecture*, published in several editions just before 1850, included discussions and plates of famous ancient buildings. In the late nineteenth century, American architects started to study in France and to travel around Europe (Yegül 1991; Broderick 2010, 13–14). These Americans now had contact with ancient monuments and could directly interpret ancient and European architecture. Architectural reference books, such as d'Espouy's *Fragments d'Architecture Antique*, remained sources of inspiration for American architects at the turn of the twentieth century. Knowledge of when ancient buildings were discovered or excavated is critical to understanding which buildings could be referenced by American nineteenth- and twentieth-century architects.

The widespread adoption of Classical and Egyptian architecture and elements in the tombs of Woodlawn and other cemeteries was because these forms were flexible and well suited to the commemorative arts, as well as culturally meaningful (McDowell and Meyer 1994, 5). McDowell and Meyer argue that "the Western cultures shared a common architectural vocabulary of forms and types that derived its energy from the revival of stylistic features associated with previous periods in Western history or, in some instances, with the recent rediscovery of non-Western culture" (1994, 4). Past artistic styles enabled the individual to "capture and perpetuate time" (McDowell and Meyer 1994, 18). Broadly, they offered the individual a usable past. America, a new nation with a cultural chip on its shoulder, looked to Europe and ancient civilizations for legitimacy (Giguere 2014, 2).

McDowell and Meyer identify the so-called Classical revival, "by a variety of features borrowed from diverse periods and cultures. Major Classical revival sources include antique Roman and Greek prototypes as well as Renaissance, Palladian, or academic interpretations of the antique and eclectic combinations of all of these" (McDowell and Meyer 1994, 23). This problematic definition comingles Renaissance and Palladian forms with other interpretations of ancient Classical architecture as if they were one in the same, which they were clearly not. The expertise and forensic training of a Classical archaeologist enables us to distinguish between monuments that used Classical forms and those that used Renaissance or Palladian elements and if a building used both ancient and Renaissance architecture, how and why these elements were combined.

The use of Classical architectural styles was popular, because Classical architectural forms offered a variety of architectural elements to satisfy a range of taste and finances (McDowell and Meyer 1994, 24). McDowell and Meyer have argued that the appeal of the Classical styles was "because they were seen as the reflection of a timeless ideal and divine logic which blended intellectual with aesthetic appeal. The persistence of Classicism thereby assured the patron of the commemorative monument that the Classical tradition was not a whimsical fad and that monuments in the style would always be tasteful" (McDowell and Meyer 1994, 24). Monuments that repurposed Classicism reflected, they argued, "an ideal that had been championed by artists, critics, and governments" (McDowell and Meyer 1994, 24).

This interpretation, which rightly emphasizes Classical forms' aesthetic appeal, fails to acknowledge the cultural value that nineteenth- and twentieth-century American architects and patrons placed upon these forms. Classical culture and material culture, as Caroline Winterer and Carl Richard demonstrated, were key aspects of American intellectual life and popular culture in the nineteenth century (Winterer 2002; Richard 2009). By the late nineteenth century, the position of the Classics and Classical culture had moved from being central to popular American culture to largely being an expression of elite culture and education (Winterer 2002, 142–147). The culturally sophisticated associations of Classical architecture appealed to established members of American and New York society, as well as to the newly minted millionaires of the Gilded Age and the aspirational middle classes (Winterer 2002, 144–147). The use of Classical motifs, art, and architecture in mausolea is a physical manifestation of the repurposing of Classical culture to express one's social standing and achievements.

The architectural traditions of Egypt were also reinterpreted at this time. Napoleon's invasion of Egypt (1798–1801), the deciphering of hieroglyphics (1822), and archaeological discoveries sparked European and American interest in ancient Egypt, resulting in Egyptomania, what scholars identified as any kind of modern adaptation and reuse of ancient Egypt in the realms of art, architecture, literature, and popular culture.[4] These interpretations often used Egyptian motifs, designs, and symbols in vastly different ways from their original purpose (Rice and MacDonald 2003, 11) and had cultural currency in their new contexts.

[4] See van Eck and Versluys's discussion in this volume. Carrott 1978, 21–46; Brier 1992; Humbert and Price 2003; Rice and MacDonald 2003; Giguere 2014; Moser 2012 and 2014, 1279–1281.

Egyptian architecture was viewed as a grand manifestation of stability, solidity, solemnity, and certainty that stood in striking contrast to rapid socioeconomic, political, and technical transformations that defined the nineteenth century (Carrott 1978, 102; Broman 2001, 30–66; Rice and MacDonald 2003, 7; Giguere 2014, 29). Neo-Egyptian architecture's most profound and widespread expression was in commemorative architecture and memorials in the United States and elsewhere (Carrott 1978, 82; Broman 2001, 34; Price and Humbert 2003, 5–6; Giguere 2014, 13), especially in the erection of obelisks (Giguere 2014, 3–4). The popularity of Neo-Egyptian architecture for funerary monuments derives from Egypt's association with the afterlife and its tradition of truly monumental funerary architecture (Price and Humbert 2003, 5–6). If one were buried in a Neo-Egyptian tomb or pyramid, then one would be transformed into a Pharaoh forever and offered the promise of eternal life. The pagan overtones of these tombs are not widely commented upon and do not seem to have been viewed negatively.

Furthermore, Egypt, as the mother of ancient civilizations, was associated with fostering some of the artistic and technical developments of later civilizations (Giguere 2014, 29), bringing even more cultural authority to late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century American tombs. While this is certainly the case, Giguere's argument that Neo-Egyptian architecture came to represent a key aspect of a national American style and that it was, as she argues, "*the* [*sic*] primary influence in American commemorative culture; [and that] such repetition also effectively established a middle class hegemony over American taste and identity in the commemorative arena" (Giguere 2014, 50), seems to overstate the importance of Neo-Egyptian architecture.

Temples to Industrial Gods: Temple-Style Tombs in Woodlawn Cemetery

Of the mausolea that repurposed Classical architecture, temple-style tombs were amongst the most widespread in the United States (McDowell and Meyer 1994, 24). They are well suited to mausoleum architecture; the cella became an accessible chamber with crypts, vaults, and/or sarcophagi (McDowell and Meyer 1994, 24). The popularity of these forms was partially due to ancient Greco-Roman temples' aesthetic form and functionality. Despite their pagan associations, temples were also considered, as McDowell and Meyer note, "symbolically appropriate and psychologically acceptable for structures that served as shrines for the dead" (McDowell and Meyer 1994, 24). Many contemporary commentators who did not like Classical models opposed these tombs not because of their pagan associations, but rather because they preferred the Gothic style (McDowell and Meyer 1994, 24). However, there were others, such as Nehemiah Cleaveland (d. 1877), the principal of a girls' school in Brooklyn, who was critical of the pagan associations of the Egyptian and Greco-Roman tombs in Green-Wood and worried about their appropriateness (Broman 2001, 32–33).

Judge Joseph Story's consecration oration for the Mount Auburn Cemetery, given on September 26, 1831, sheds light on this tension between pagan funerary architecture and Christianity. Story praised the civilizations of antiquity, starting with the Egyptians, and duly noted the Romans and Greeks, for honoring their dead by placing them in beautiful and noble settings (Bigelow 1860, 149–152; Giguere 2014, 52). Compared to the ancients, he wondered "should not Christians imitate such examples? They have far nobler motives to cultivate moral sentiments and sensibilities" (Bigelow 1860, 153). The pagan funerary monuments of the past were models to be imitated, but ultimately surpassed by contemporary Christian Americans. It should be noted that both of these commentators are writing in the 1830s and 1840s, long before the foundation of Woodlawn Cemetery. The appropriateness of the Neo-Antique tombs is not challenged or largely commented upon in Woodlawn.

Temple tombs, which were well attested since the 1840s and 1850s, became popular in the late nineteenth century with many of America's self-made millionaires (McDowell and Meyer 1994, 24). During the nineteenth-century, the temple form was commonly used in bank and financial architecture, such as Federal Hall on Wall Street. Greco-Roman temples often served as treasuries in antiquity. Such a connection could emphasize how the entombed financiers and bankers made their fortunes. These aesthetic concerns, as well as cultural and social prestige and capital associated with temple forms, encouraged men such as Jay Gould, Francis Garvan, and others to reinterpret the Greco-Roman temple in their mausolea.

The Gould Mausoleum

Jay Gould, the infamous robber baron, was buried in a large temple tomb, located in Lakeview Plot, Sections 60, 73 (Fig. 6.3). The Gould Mausoleum

FIG. 6.3. Jay Gould's Mausoleum from the southeast.
E. Macaulay-Lewis.

occupies Woodlawn's largest circular lot, almost an acre in size (Meier and Beagan 2009, 27, no. 86). Gould spent a total of $130,000 or $140,000 on the plot and mausoleum together, a vast sum at that time.[5]

In their 1893 work, *History of the More Family*, David Fellow More and Charles Church More described the tomb, its architectural sources, and Gould's role in the creation of his family mausoleum. According to More and More, Gould wanted the tomb to be "built as strongly and massively as possible; that it should be simple in design," but not "ostentatiously large" (1893, 178). H. Q. French, a leading memorial specialist, designed the tomb in 1884, and the Smith Granite Company fabricated it.[6] Built of Westerly (Rhode Island) granite, the mausoleum was an Ionic, hexastyle,

[5] The sources disagree about cost of the plot and tomb. The cost of the tomb was reportedly $80,000 ("Jay Gould's Tomb," *Scientific American* 1892, 377; More and More 1893, 178). Northrop recorded the cost of the tomb and plot at $150,000 (Northrop 1892, 417). Warren reports that the plot purchase price was $60,000 (Warren 2014, 39), while Northrop records that Gould bought this site for $50,000 (Northrop 1892, 417). In 1897, More and More listed the cost of the plot at $50,000 (More and More 1893, 178).
[6] An article in *Scientific American* from December 10, 1892 records Mr. F. T. Fitz Mahony as the tomb's architect. The Woodlawn archive at Avery Library also lists H. Q. French as the architect, suggesting that the *Scientific American* piece is wrong; see Series II in "Woodlawn Cemetery Records."

peripteral temple, set on a triple-stepped platform. Thirty Ionic columns support the plain entablature, undecorated pediments, and massive granite roof. The six columns on the south-facing entrance and rear of the temple are arranged around a central, larger intercolumniation that allowed access to the main door on the entrance side and provided space for a stained glass window on the rear respectively. Today, a weeping beech, one of Woodlawn's great trees, largely obscures the entrance.

Early descriptions of the tomb misidentified its ancient inspiration (Northrop 1892, 416–417; "Jay Gould's Tomb" 1892, 377). Henry Northrop, a biographer of Gould, praised the tomb, as "one of the most Classical specimens of mortuary architecture in the country. The design is said to be derived from the famous Maison Carrée, at Nîmes, France, built two thousand years ago and to-day one of the best preserved and most beautiful specimens of Grecian architecture in existence" (Northrop 1892, 416–417).[7] The Maison Carrée is considered the quintessential Roman Corinthian, hexastyle temple; it has a pseudo-peripteral arrangement with a substantial podium and frontal porch (Gros 1996, 155; 157–159; figs. 179–181; Wilson Jones 2000, 66–69; figs. 3.28–3.31). Architecturally, the Maison Carrée cannot be the inspiration for this Ionic, Greek-style mausoleum. Yet such an attribution demonstrates that the authors of these contemporary descriptions ascribed value and status to the Maison Carrée as an architectural model. Northrop also reported that Mrs. Gould wanted the mausoleum to "be built somewhat after the style of the old Parthenon" (Northrop 1892, 417). While Mrs. Gould and Henry Northrop were misinformed about Classical architectural styles, Northrop's account affirms that Gould wanted a grand mausoleum and that Classical temple architecture was an appropriate inspiration for such a tomb.

Others knew that these associations were inaccurate. The More brothers noted that the tomb "is of a different style of architecture, the Parthenon being Doric and the mausoleum Ionic" (More and More 1893, 178). Instead they propose that it "more nearly resembles the temple of Theseus" (More and More 1893, 178). Presumably, they refer to the Hephaisteion in Athens, which was also incorrectly known as the Theseion.[8] Although the Hephaisteion could be seen to be a closer model (i.e. hexastyle and peripteral), it is still very different, because it was a Doric temple with much stouter proportions. However, it stands on a prominent hill overlooking the Agora, which may

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[7] This error is repeated in Woodlawn Cemetery's application to be listed in the National Register of Historic Places (Meier and Beagan 2009, 27, no. 86).

[8] See von Stackelberg's discussion of the temple in the Crowinshield garden in this volume.

be the more relevant parallel for the mausoleum. The confusion over the architectural influences for Gould's tomb highlights how Classical material culture was viewed positively, even if it was misunderstood.

The confusion over the model for the tomb also reflects the type of Classical knowledge that Americans possessed. Classical languages were still considered to be central to a civilized person's education. In the 1870s and 1880s, there was a growing desire for a well-educated individual to be able to appreciate and recognize works of art; indeed, the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, which was founded in 1870, was predicated on this very idea (Winterer 2002, 160). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, also founded in 1870, acquired a large collection of Classical antiquities from Luigi Palma di Cesnola (1832–1904) in 1873. The Archaeological Institute of America, which was focused on Classical archaeology at this time, was founded in 1879 (Winterer 2002, 157). These developments, which happened decades after the centrality of Latin and Greek in elite education had been established in the United States, increased interest in Classical material culture. However, the individuals commissioning these tombs and commenting upon them often lacked a formal or informal training in Classical art and therefore were dependent on the so-called experts upon whom they relied for their identifications.

Despite confusion over the architectural source for Gould's mausoleum in contemporary accounts, the mausoleum's front and rear porches are clearly modeled on the eastern, hexastyle porch of the Erechtheion on the Athenian Acropolis (Lawrence 1996, 121, fig. 180). The central intercolumniation has been widened to provide extra space for the door and stained glass window on both porches respectively. While the columns' shafts are unfluted, which is atypical for Greek temples, the capitals' volutes have the same carved folds as the Erechtheion. The top of the Erechtheion's columns has a band for decoration; the Gould tomb's columns also have this band, but it is undecorated. The tomb's columns also have attic bases. Like the Erechtheion, the mausoleum also has three steps that run around the building, and its architrave is only decorated with three horizontal lines.

Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century reproductions of the Erechtheion restore a pediment, bordered with an egg and dart motif, on the cornice; however, the pediment is empty (Tuthill 1848; Plate VI; Stuart and Revett 2008, Vol. 2, Ch. 2, Plate IV). The frieze, pediments, and cornice of Gould's tomb are also entirely undecorated. This lack of pedimental decoration is systemic in earlier nineteenth-century American interpretations of Greco-Roman temples and may be an aesthetic choice (Morrone, forthcoming). Woodlawn's tombs do not have opulent decoration and tend toward a simpler, more solemn aesthetic. The decision not to include pedimental sculpture may have lessened the pagan associations of the Classical models and meant that the viewer focused on the tomb's overall architecture. Furthermore, the relatively small scale of the tombs and their pediments is such that they cannot accommodate large pedimental sculpture. If the pediments were decorated in temple tombs, they often featured Christian iconography, such as crosses.

The other details of the tomb—the bronze doors, interiors, and stained glass windows—are less overtly Classical. Like many Neo-Antique monuments at Woodlawn, they incorporated motifs from other periods. The lower panels of the bronze double doors feature two dragons' heads each with an iron ring in their mouths (Meier and Beagan 2009, 27, no. 86). The upper part of the doors and the interior upper panels had an interlaced design of vines and cherubs ("Jay Gould's Tomb" 1892, 377). The ceiling of the mausoleum is bordered with an egg and dart molding. A stained-glass window of a choir of thirteen robed angels is located on the tomb's north side. Two tiers of five *loculi* line each side of the hall (Northrop 1892, 414). Christian symbols were included in the tomb, perhaps mitigating the pagan overtones of the tomb.

The tomb's landscaping was naturalistic and focused around several large trees, including a now massive weeping beech, which is considered to be one of New York City's great trees.[9] The tomb is situated on a grassy knoll on the cemetery's highest point (More and More 1893, 178). As one approaches it from the south, one looks up at the tomb, which appears to be a temple on the hill, much like the Hephaisteion in Athens. Because it is a peripteral temple tomb, the mausoleum works well visually from all angles. The tomb also visually dominates the surrounding tombs and landscape. As More and More note, "from it miles of rolling country can be seen, the view stretching away amid the hills of Westchester" (More and More 1893, 178). Not only could Gould survey everything around him in death, but also he remained highly visible in the landscape.

The Francis P. Garvan Mausoleum

The lawyer and chemist, Francis P. Garvan (1875–1937), who served as Alien Property Custodian under President Woodrow Wilson, made his

[9] Plans of the plot show the position of the trees, "WCA FA Major Monuments, Gould, Jay 2006.009," Woodlawn Cemetery—Major Monuments Archive, Avery Architectural & Fine Arts Library, Columbia University.

fortune by helping to establish the US chemical industry. His mausoleum is located on a prominent circular lot in Myosotis Plot, Section 83 (Meier and Beagan 2009, 25, no. 77). Like Gould's mausoleum, his tomb was inspired by Classical architecture (Fig. 6.4).

John Russell Pope, the prominent American architect, designed this elegant tomb, his last commission at Woodlawn, in 1927 (Meier and Beagan 2009, 25, no. 77). Built of white Georgian marble, Garvan's tomb is a tetrastyle, Ionic temple with a high podium and platform with planting beds that flank the tomb. It has no columns along its sides and rear. Scholars have noted the strong similarities between the architecture of Garvan's tomb and the famous Ionic, pseudo-peripteral Temple of Portunus in Rome (Fig. 6.5) (Garrison 2004, 285). This link, which is apparent by comparing the two buildings' architecture, is not discussed in any contemporary sources; however, the strong formal similarities, as well as Pope's tendency to reference ancient buildings in his architecture, supports this argument.

Sitting on a high podium, it has an elegant projecting porch (Garrison 2004, 285). A continuous frieze runs along the whole tomb, except where 'Garvan' was inscribed over the tomb's entrance. The primary motifs of the frieze are scrolls of acanthus that terminate in curving volutes, which compliment the Ionic columns, and occasional flowers. Garrison, who treated the tomb in his study of Pope's architecture, identified the carvings of the frieze as swags and *paterae*, ritual bowls used in Roman religion

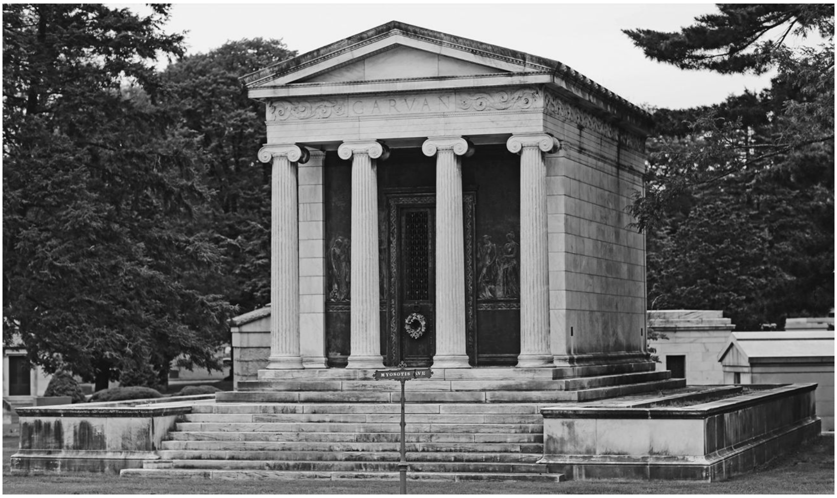

FIG. 6.4. Francis P. Garvan's Mausoleum.
E. Macaulay-Lewis.

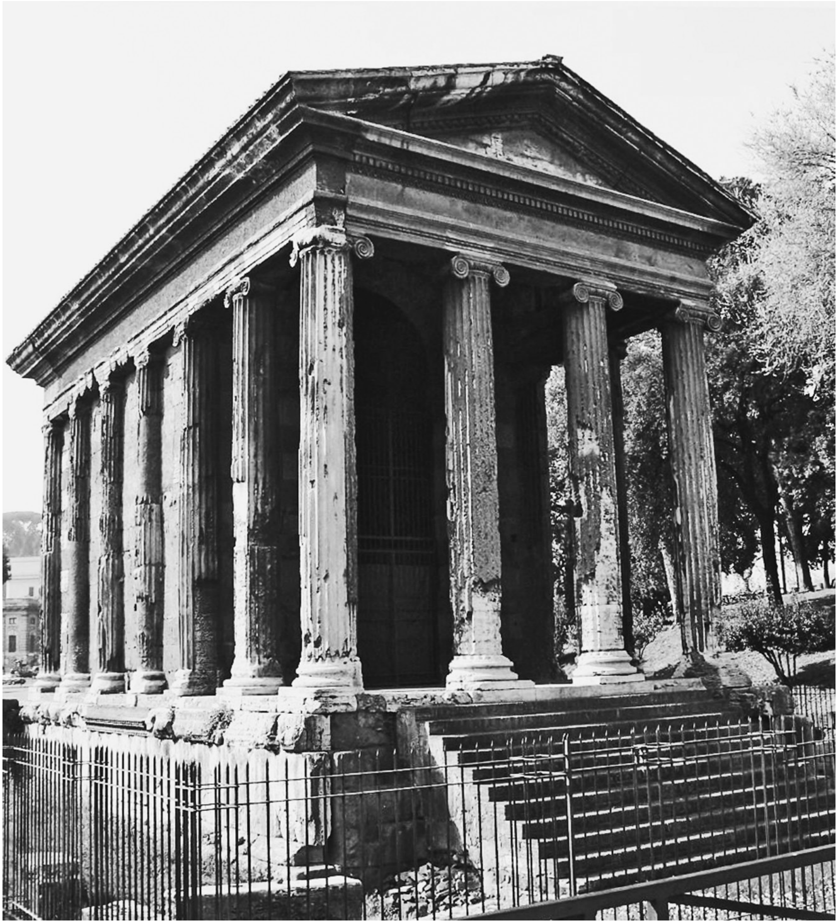

FIG. 6.5. The Temple of Portunus, previously known as *Fortuna Virilis*, Rome. Wikimedia Commons.

(2004, 285). Swag, an ornamental decoration of stylized plants and vegetation, is too generic a term, since the plants depicted are clearly acanthus, a widely-used motif in Classical architecture. Furthermore, there are no *paterae* visible on the frieze. Perhaps Garrison refers to the circular flowers that have a bowl-like appearance on the tomb's frieze. These misidentifications demonstrate the importance of having an expert understanding of Classical art and architecture in order to accurately interpret these monuments. The cornice's top molding and the pediments have an egg and dart motif, as well as an anthemion pattern. Lion *sima*s line the long sides of the tomb, and the pediments are undecorated.

Large gilded bronze reliefs flank the tomb's entrance and cover the whole facade (Figs. 6.6–6.7). The two panels each show three women in

FIG. 6.6. The bronze bas-relief to the left of the entrance to the Garvan Mausoleum. E. Macaulay-Lewis.

Greek-style robes, mourning and bringing various offerings to the tomb, as if they were in an ancient funerary procession. In the left relief, the first woman touches her hand to her bosom as if in mourning, while the head of the final woman is covered. All three bow their heads. On the right, three women with bowed heads solemnly progress towards the tomb, carrying

FIG. 6.7. The bronze bas-relief to the right of the entrance to the Garvan Mausoleum. E. Macaulay-Lewis.

incense, a lyre, and small pot. Above the heads of the women fly two doves, each with a starburst behind them. The women, their Greek-inspired dress and mourning appearance, belong firmly in the world of Classical antiquity, while the doves and stars are amongst the most recognizable Christian symbols. Thus, Edward Stanford, who sculpted these reliefs, drew upon two traditions to convey the sorrow of death and the transcendence of the Christian soul into heaven. Again, these Christian and "pagan" motifs are not in conflict, but work together to express the sorrowful but transcendent nature of death. The combination of Christian and Classical motifs underscores that eclectic compositions were neither uncommon nor problematic for patrons.

Edward Stanford had a $22,000 budget for sculpting and casting the panels (Garrison 2004, 287). The correspondence, held in the archive of the Roman Bronze Works, who cast the bronze bas-reliefs, does not discuss an ancient prototype for Stanford's work ("Garvan Memorial Woodlawn Cemetery"). In 1930–1931, Olmsted Associates designed the tomb's landscape ("Olmsted Associates"; Meier and Beagan 2009, 25, no. 77). According to a March 7, 1931 letter to John Russell Pope from Olmsted Associates, the plantings were to be a mixture of trees and shrubs that were to frame the mausoleum, soften the coldness of the marble, and hide the wall from the foundation to the mausoleum ("Olmsted Associates"). This decision seems to underlie the tensions between Classical architectural tropes and a nascent American interest in a more naturalistic landscape, which is also evident in the "naturalistic" plantings of the landscape around Gould's tomb (cf. Wolschke-Bulmahn 1997, 1–11).

At Woodlawn, the temple-style mausoleum, although not exclusive to financiers, railroad men, and robber barons, was very popular with the self-made men who amassed America's vast fortunes in the second half of the nineteenth century. Collis Huntington (1821–1900), who helped establish the Central Pacific Railroad and who at one point was America's largest landowner, was buried in a temple tomb here. William A. Clark, a senator from Montana (1901–1907), who had made his fortune through mines, banks, smelters, railroads, timberlands, and cattle ranching, erected a temple-styled tomb with partially fluted Ionic columns and pilasters (Meier and Beagan 2009, 19, no. 39). It also had a pediment with a cross and its bronze door had a woman in mourning. John W. Sterling, a corporate attorney who represented Jay Gould, James Fisk, and Standard Oil, was buried in a small Doric temple (McDowell and Meyer 1994, 28, fig. 10; Meier and Beagan 2009, 45, no. 204).

The temple tomb had a stateliness, a strength, and a degree of *gravitas* that reflected the successes of many of these self-made men, and, as noted above, Greco-Roman temples were also referenced in American and European financial architecture. A temple mausoleum spoke to the cultural learnedness and sophistication that such men may have cultivated to give their new wealth social and cultural legitimacy, as well as the way they may have made their money. These forms had multiple cultural resonances for the financial giants of this era.

The Leeds Mausoleum: Innovative Interpretations of Classical Forms

Other tombs at Woodlawn, such as the Leeds Mausoleum, reinterpreted Classical forms in original ways that enabled the patrons and architects to deploy ancient architecture to create unique funerary monuments. Built for William "Billie" Leeds (1861–1908), who was known as the "Tin Plate King" (Garrison 2004, 277), the Leeds mausoleum is solemn and minimalist (Fig. 6.8). When he died suddenly of a stroke at the age of forty-seven in 1908,[10] his wife instructed John Russell Pope, who was remodeling their Newport home, to construct his tomb instead.

Completed in 1909 and constructed of Tennessee marble by the Harrison Granite Company of New York, the Leeds mausoleum is positioned in a

FIG. 6.8. The Leeds Mausoleum.
E. Macaulay-Lewis.

[10] Bedford 1998 (226) incorrectly notes the tomb's starting date of construction as 1907; however, he died on June 23, 1908 in Paris ("W.B. Leeds dies in a Paris Hotel"), and the tomb was only started afterwards.

round plot on a wide plinth of two levels in Walnut Plot, Section 96 (Meier and Beagan 2009, 34–35).

A range of Classical structures were used to create this distinctive mausoleum. The roof is composed of a step pyramid, a clear reference to the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus (Garrison 2004, 281). The Mausoleum of Halicarnassus was an extremely popular form whose step roof was echoed in many tombs and which appeared on the top of skyscrapers, such as the Banker's Trust Building on Wall Street (built in 1910–1912). Bedford thought that the square form and facade also echoed the Choragic Monument of Thrasyllus at the base of the Acropolis in Athens (Bedford 1998, 122), which was published in Stuart and Revett's *Antiquities of Athens* (Stuart and Revett 2008, 29–36). Both of these ancient buildings had obvious funerary overtones that made them appropriate models for the mausoleum.

The frieze above the door is divided into two registers. The lower is plain; the upper is composed of laurel wreaths positioned at regular intervals along all four sides, below each of which are four dentils, creating a visual effect similar to triglyphs and metopes.[11] Laurel and oak wreaths were used widely in Greco-Roman art to celebrate heroes, athletes, statesmen, and emperors. The inclusion of wreaths interjects another element from the Classical world into this eclectic composition.

Above the recessed entrance to the tomb is a bas-relief, executed by the well-known German-American sculptor, Adolph A. Weinman (Fig. 6.9). The unnamed sculptural relief is noted in his papers (Adolph A. Weinman papers, 1908, Reel 5888, Frame 733). This relief shows a mourning man and woman, heavily draped and kneeling, with their heads covered. The wet drapery is evocative of the style of the Ludovisi Throne. The male figure, who carries a stringless lyre, is Silence, and Memory, the female, carries an urn (Adolph A. Weinman papers, 1908, Reel 5888, Frame 733; Meier and Beagan 2009, 34–35). Branches with weeping foliage extend from the relief's edges over each figure. In between the figures is a stele with an Acroterion-style top, decorated with an anthemion, which evokes an ancient Greek grave stele. The stele is inscribed with the dates of Leeds's life (1861–1908) in Roman numerals, but using the Gregorian calendar. The solemn funerary iconography of the bas-relief alludes to the tragic loss of a man who died before his time.

The Gorham bronze front door has a cornice that derives from a plate in Hector d'Espouy's *Fragments d'Architecture Antique*, which depicted

[11] These motifs were incorrectly identified as "a running anthemion pattern" in the Landmarks Documentation (Meier and Beagan 2009, 34–35).

FIG. 6.9. The relief above the entrance to the Leeds Mausoleum, carved by Adolph A. Weinman.
E. Macaulay-Lewis.

details of the tomb of the Roman statesman Scipio Barbatus (d'Espouy 1897–1905, Plate 32; Garrison 2004, 281). Above the cornice, there is an undecorated rectangle. On the blueprints of the tomb, a filler faux Latin inscription was included,[12] but it seems that no inscription was ever placed on the tomb. Two long thin amphorae, similar to a Dressel 2-4 or Koan amphora, carved in relief, flank the door. Two tripods with rich sculptural ornamentation, including gorgons and gryphons, also flank the door; these are modeled on drawings by G. Ancelet also in *Fragments d'Architecture Antique* (d'Espouy 1897–1905, Plate 33; Garrison 2004, 281). Two square pilasters that project slightly from the main facade frame the mausoleum's entrance, a pattern that continues on the sides of the Mausoleum (Meier and Beagan 2009, 34–35). Stone-carved bas-reliefs with a garland hung between two lyres decorate the sides and rear of the tomb. These lyres are also based on an ancient prototype in the *Fragments d'Architecture Antique* (d'Espouy 1897–1905, Plate 33–34).

The austere and elegant interior is composed of four *loculi* on each side. In the center, opposite the door, there is a massive, white Carrara marble sarcophagus. The details of the sarcophagus' cornice also echo that of Scipio Barbatus's tomb and match the cornice above the tomb's entrance.

There are two now empty rectangular planting beds on the plinth that flank the mausoleum. The Woodlawn Cemetery Records at Avery Library do not list a landscape architect or firm for the tomb ("Inventory for Series II: Mausolea and Monument Files"). A photograph in June 1911 in

[12] "WCA FA Major Monuments, Leeds, Nonnie Stewart 2006.009," Avery Architectural & Fine Arts Library, Columbia University.

Architectural Record showed minimal plantings flanking the tomb (Croly 1911, 510). A large evergreen shrub was planted in front of the tomb, which obscures the direct line of sight to the entrance. This photograph suggests that landscaping was not a primary concern.

The tomb was recognized as a masterpiece within Pope's early *oeuvre*. Herbert Croly praised the mausoleum as "proof positive of the reality of [Pope's architectural] gift . . . What a relief it is to find a mortuary monument, which relies for its effect upon qualities, which are in a sense quite as much sculpture as architectural . . . Its creator had ceased to think in terms of ordinary architectural incident and forms, and had imagined a monumental embodiment of the mystery of death" (Croly 1911, 508). Here the mystery of death was expressed through the entombment of antiquity—the excavations and discoveries at Pompeii and beyond—in the architectural forms of these tombs.

The Leeds Mausoleum epitomizes the tombs that appropriated Classical architectural forms at Woodlawn. To a Classical scholar they appear to be a visual hodgepodge of ancient references, with iconography, architecture, and architectural details pulled from different eras and geographic locations. Yet to John Russell Pope and to Leeds's widow this eclecticism was neither intellectually problematic nor visually chaotic. Classical iconography and architectural forms could be cherry-picked at will and were rearranged to create a monument which was rich with suitable cultural and funerary allusions. The bas-relief also provided a visual focus for mourning and reinforced the tomb's somber tone. By echoing two famous funerary monuments and by including tripods and laurel wreaths, Pope elevated Leeds to the heroes of old, cut down before his time. The use of Classical forms also signaled that Leeds was a part of a cultural, educated class that embraced many aspects of the Classical world, including material culture, as part of their process of legitimacy and as an expression of their newfound social status. The overall Classical effect was more important than accuracy, a theme that emerges in many of the Neo-Antique architecture and interiors that this volume considers.[13] Although Leeds might have made his money in tin, the creation of this Classical tomb affirmed that he belonged to the elite of America.[14]

Another mausoleum that combines a range of Classical forms was the Goelet Mausoleum. Located on a large elliptical lot in Oak Hill Plot,

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[13] Cf. Hales, Nichols, and von Stackelberg in this volume.

[14] Leeds's granddaughter disentombed him and returned his body to Indiana, the familial homeland, and is attempting to sell the tomb for several million dollars (Feuer 2009).

FIG. 6.10. The Goelet Mausoleum.
E. Macaulay-Lewis.

Sections 84, 85, 97, and 98, the Mausoleum was commissioned by Robert and Ogden Goelet, real estate developers, in 1897 (Fig. 6.10). Designed by McKim, Mead and White, the Mausoleum utilized Hellenistic forms, such as the step-pyramid roof of the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus, an Ionic tetrastyle porch, and a Doric frieze of triglyphs and metopes, which were intended to have the same floral decorations used in the sarcophagus of Scipio Barbatus that was featured in *Fragments d'Architecture Antique* (d'Espouy 1897–1905, Plate 32); however, these were not included in the final tomb.[15] Other tombs that combine an array of Classical forms together include the mausolea of Augustus Juliard, Samuel Kress, Miriam Osborn, and countless others.

Neo-Egyptian Tombs

Woodlawn is also home to a large number of obelisks and mausolea built in a Neo-Egyptian style. Green-Wood Cemetery also had a long history of Neo-Egyptian tombs, which included Egyptian temple-style tombs, pyramids (of which Woodlawn has none to my knowledge), and of course, obelisks

[15] Front Elevation—Mausoleum for Robert Goelet at Woodlawn by MMW, drawing by S.P. Hall, Drawing no. 5, dated to October 28, 1897, McKim, Mead and White Collection, PR 042, The Department of Prints, Photographs, and Architectural Collections, The New-York Historical Society.

(Broman 2001). The popularity of obelisks and Neo-Egyptian architecture likely received a boost when the obelisk known as Cleopatra's Needle was erected in Central Park in 1881 (D'Alton 1993) and by the discoveries of Tutankhamun's tomb in 1922. In the late nineteenth century, affluent Americans also started to travel to Egypt to visit ancient sites and to reap the health benefits of Egypt's dry climate. The deployment of Egyptian motifs and elements in the mausolea at Woodlawn follows the same patterns of use as in Neoclassical tombs: some are highly accurate, clearly replicating an ancient building, while others use a range of Egyptian elements to create an original and innovative combination. Two tombs reflect these two extremes: the mausoleum of Jules S. Bache, which was a virtual replica of the Kiosk at Philae, and that of F. W. Woolworth, which was a visual bricolage of Egyptian elements.

Woodlawn on the Nile: Jules Bache's Kiosk Mausoleum

Jules S. Bache, the founder of J. S. Bache and Company, was a leading early twentieth-century financier. Upon his death on March 24, 1944, he was entombed in his grand mausoleum, built in 1916 and modeled on the so-called Kiosk of Trajan at Philae. There is no publicly accessible collection of his papers (Patrick 2000) that aid us in determining why he selected the Kiosk of Trajan as a model for his tomb (Figs. 6.11–6.12). However, Jules Bache visited Egypt in 1909,[16] which suggests that he may have selected the design.[17] Close analysis of the mausoleum, comparison of its forms to the original monument, as well as a detailed study of the original landscape design, suggest a knowledgeable and engaged patron.

The island of Philae lies eight kilometers south of Aswan and housed a temple to the goddess Isis (Shaw and Nicholson 2008, 249). Worship of Isis started during the reign of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty Pharaoh Taharqo (690–644 BC), and the earliest visible remains date to the reign of Nectanebo I (380–362 BC). The temple of Isis, which dates from the Thirtieth Dynasty to the late Roman period (380 BC–AD 300), was primarily constructed between the reign of Ptolemy II Philadelphus (285–246 BC) and Diocletian (AD 284–305).

[16] E. Nelsen, personal communication. The object file for the Senwosret statue in the Metropolitan Museum of Art demonstrates that Bache purchased it during a 1909 trip to Egypt. For more detail, see Nelsen 2013.
[17] This was also the case in the Egyptianizing tomb of Henry Bergh, the founder of the ASPCA. He visited Egypt on his honeymoon in 1847–1850 (Broman 2001, 59).

FIG. 6.11. The Jules S. Bache Mausoleum.
E. Macaulay-Lewis.

Kiosks were traditionally barque stations, the processional resting location for a god's barque (McKenzie 2007, 121). In this case, it was the station for Isis and the gods of Philae (Arnold 2003, 25). The so-called Kiosk of Trajan (15.4 × 20.7 meters, 15.45 meters tall) was erected during either the Ptolemaic or the Roman era (Augustus or Trajan) and was partially decorated under Trajan (Arnold 2003, 25; McKenzie 2007, 140, n. 68). The decoration on the inside was completed, but the exterior screen walls were unfinished (McKenzie 2007, 140, n. 68) and at least one of the capitals was unfinished (McKenzie 2007, 145, fig. 255).

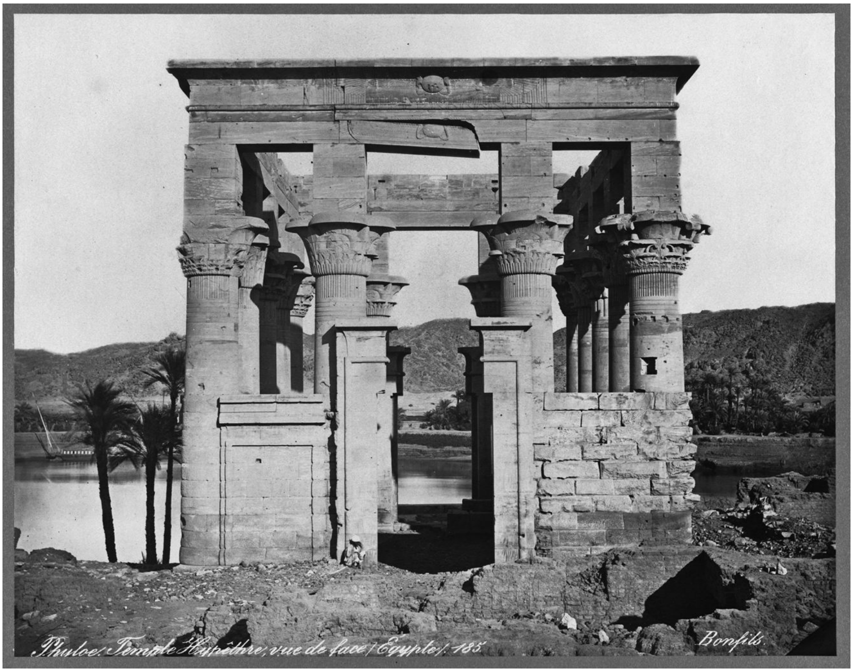

FIG. 6.12. The so-called Kiosk of Trajan at Philae, Egypt. Bonfils, 1867–1899. Library of Congress.

The front of the Kiosk faces the Temple of Isis, the island's architectural focal point. Its front is composed of two screen walls with four columns, as is the rear. On each side of the Kiosk there are three additional columns for a total of fourteen columns. The columns have composite capitals, which combined different tiers of papyrus, reeds, and lotus leaves. Such capitals were used widely in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods (McKenzie 2007, 122–123; 125–132; figs. 205a–f; Shaw and Nicholson 2008, 79). The front and rear entrances to the Kiosk each have a broken lintel. Above the lintel, the columns support an architrave, with a double register, each with a winged solar disc and *uraei* (snakes). The winged solar disc was originally a symbol of the god Horus of Behdet in the eastern Delta. By the time of the New Kingdom, the solar disc was a symbol of protection found on temple ceilings, as well as above pylons and other ceremonial portals (Shaw and Nicholson 2008, 345).

American and European tourists considered Philae to be the most romantic Ptolemaic site in Egypt (Smith 1998, 250, fig. 417; Baines and Malek 2000, 73). In 1897, *Cook's Tourists' Handbook for Egypt, the Nile and the Desert* praised Philae's beauty, listing it as an important stop for those who wished to tour the area between the first and second cataracts of the Nile (Thomas Cook Ltd. 1897, 23; 238–243). The 1892 edition of *Baedeker's Egypt*, the famous guidebook, recommended a day to visit Philae and lavished praise upon the Kiosk (Baedeker 1892, 281–297):

> The builder of this beautiful temple, dedicated likewise to Isis, was Nerva Trajanus; but its ornamentation with sculptures and inscriptions was never quite completed . . . The Kiosque of Philæ has been depicted a thousand times, and the slender and graceful form, that greets the eyes of the travellers as they approach the island, well deserves the honour. The architect who designed it was no stranger to Greek art, and this pavilion, standing among the purely Egyptian temples around it, produces the effect of a line of Homer among hieroglyphic inscriptions, or of a naturally growing tree among artificially trimmed hedges. We here perceive that a beautiful fundamental idea has power to distract the attention from deficiencies in the details by which it is carried out. Although exception may be taken to the height of the abaci and to many other points, no one who has visited Philæ will forget this little temple, least of all if he has seen it by moonlight (Baedeker 1892, 297).

The Kiosk's value lies in the beauty of its island setting and in the fact that its presumed architect was Greek or had knowledge of Greek architectural practice. The building is superior—it is the architectural equivalent of a line of Homer—because it was a Greek rather than Egyptian creation. At the same time, it is a culturally hybrid structure, providing the inspiration for Woodlawn's tombs, which were cultural fusions. Because the Kiosk was a well-known building, an informed traveler would recognize it regardless of context. Therefore, the Kiosk gave anyone who reproduced it cultural cachet, identifying the individual as a well-traveled, educated sophisticate.

The architecture of the Bache Mausoleum, which replicated the Kiosk accurately on a reduced scale and with minor adaptations, reflects the involvement of a highly informed patron. The late nineteenth-century Bonfils photographs of the Kiosk gives us a sense of what Bache might have seen (see Fig. 6.12). The mausoleum is located on a circular plot in Whitewood (section 133). Davis, McGrath, and Kiessling—not John Russell Pope—designed the building in 1916,[18] and Farrington, Gould, and Hoagland built it in Barre granite (Meier and Beagan 2009, 13).

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[18] The architect and date of the tomb are misreported in McDowell and Meyer (1994, 158) and in Bedford (1998, 227). Cortissoz does include the tomb as one of Pope's buildings (1924–1930).

Like the Kiosk, the tomb's exterior is composed of fourteen columns with screen walls that support an architrave. The columns closely copy the capitals on the original Kiosk; the capitals differ and appear to follow the alternating pattern on the original. Placed in the center of columns, where the barque would have rested, is instead the tomb. This adaptation permits the Kiosk form to be used effectively as a mausoleum. The broken lintel of the original tomb is replaced with a complete lintel with two registers. BACHE is inscribed on the lower register, identifying the owner of the mausoleum. Above this in each register of the architrave there is a winged solar disc, echoing the double solar disc of the original monument. A semi-circular small pilaster stripe of bundled rods frames the doorway on each side. These are not found on the original Kiosk; however, these pilasters reuse the motif that was found between the two solar discs on the architrave of the ancient Kiosk. The tomb is accessed through double-leaf bronze entrance doors, which are decorated with stylized lotus leaves (Meier and Beagan 2009, 13–14).

The use of Egyptian motifs continued on the interior. Opposite the door were two stained glass windows with Egyptian motifs, including papyri and lotuses, ankhs, falcons (sacred Egyptians birds), and a series of fish at the bottom of the motif, which are stylistically out of place, but may evoke the Nile. Below the tomb's window are three small *loculi* for cremation burials, two of which are in use. Above the window is another winged solar disc. The window is framed by an L-shaped pilaster stripe, whose motif is the bundle of reeds that is also used on the exterior. On the sides of the tomb are seven burial *loculi*. On each side, there are three stacked burials at the front and rear of the tomb and in the center of each side is a larger sarcophagus, decorated with a pattern of lotus and reeds. Above each sarcophagus is a winged solar disc.

The architecture of the tomb was well received at the time. Writing about the tomb and its landscape for the widely circulated *Park and Cemetery Landscape Gardening Journal* in 1921, Ernest Stevens Leland, a prominent landscape architect, observed that, "As an archetype for a mausoleum, this beautiful Egyptian structure was at once picturesque and not without appropriate significance" (Leland 1921, 314).

The sophisticated reinterpretation of Egyptian architecture was matched in the tomb's landscape architecture. Charles Wellford Leavitt

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Contemporary literature identifies the firm, Davis, McGrath, and Kiessling, as the architects; see "J. S. Bache Mausoleum, Woodlawn, N.Y., Davis, McGrath and Kiesling, Architects." *Architectural Record* 47 (5). May 1920: 456–461.

designed this landscape in 1918. A garden-like setting for the tomb with shrubs, creepers, and trees would have been totally incongruous with the Egyptian architecture. Leavitt created a Neo-Egyptian landscape, using only indigenous species, because Egyptian plants would not take well to Bronx's environment (Leland 1921, 314). Leavitt used native substitutes for red soil, pampas, and cactus (Leland 1921, 314). Rather than using grass, which is unknown in Egypt, a coating of red shale (some four inches deep) was used instead of grass turf, which Leavitt's assistants found in Leslie Run, PA (Leland 1921, 315). The original blueprints for the tomb and plot show four platforms for sphinxes (two on each side) framing the approach to the tomb,[19] which would have evoked the sphinx-lined avenues of famous Egyptian temples. There is no trace of these platforms or the sphinxes (nor are they visible in early publications of the tomb and its landscape), suggesting that the sphinxes were not included.

Leland, who critiqued the tomb, praised Leavitt for not creating a "theatrical representation of some Egyptian setting" (Leland 1921, 314), but for skillfully using, "what materials Nature gave him here in this country and through art, and art alone, succeeded in recalling the atmosphere of the Nile without in the least resorting to imitation" (Leland 1921, 314). The combination of architecture and landscape meant that Bache's tomb was like a small piece of Egypt, thoughtfully and tastefully transposed to New York City. This tomb was a rich example of place-making, where through landscape and architectural elements, the patron, architect, and landscape architect created a highly evocative, powerful funerary complex.

The Five-and-Dime Pharaoh: F. W. Woolworth's Tomb

F. W. Woolworth (1852–1919) was a businessman, merchant, and founder of F. W. Woolworth Company, or Woolworth's five-and-dime (Meier and Beagan 2009, 50). Woolworth, who died on April 8, 1919, was entombed in his mausoleum in the Pine Plot (Sections 123, 135), which faces Woodlawn's Central Avenue (Fig. 6.13). The tomb reportedly cost $100,000 (Winkler 1940, 323). The overall effect of the tomb complex is Egyptianizing, or having the effect of appearing Egyptian (Carrott 1978, 61) rather than being archaeologically accurate.

[19] "WCA Major Monuments—Bache, Jules S. 2006.009," Avery Architectural & Fine Arts Library, Columbia University.

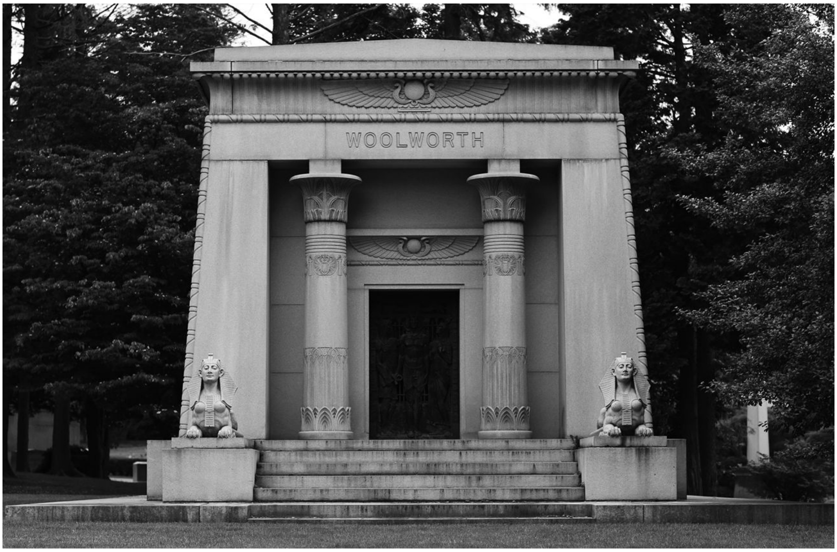

FIG. 6.13. The F. W. Woolworth Mausoleum.
E. Macaulay-Lewis.

Farrington, Gould, and Hoagland were the designers and builders of the tomb, which was erected in 1921 (Leland 1922, 42).[20] According to Leland, the plans for the tomb were prepared during Woolworth's life and the tomb was intended to be twice as large (Leland 1922, 42). In the end it was 6.7 x 12.2 meters. Made of Barre granite, the facade of the tomb was composed of an Egyptian-style pylon entrance with two Neo-Egyptian columns *in antis* that framed the entrance. The back of the tomb also has a porch with two columns *in antis*.

The tomb is closely modeled on the Temple of Dendur, which has physically been in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art since 1978.[21] The temple was well known by 1800; it appears in Denon's *Voyage* (1802, Plate 140) and was photographed by Bonfils in the late nineteenth century (Fig. 6.14). When it was documented in the nineteenth century, its broken lintel entrance over the central intercolumniation and screen walls

[20] John Russell Pope is misidentified as the architect in several secondary sources (e.g., Bergman 1988, 140–141; McDowell and Meyer 1994, 158; Bedford 1998, 227). An article published in the May 1920 issue of *Granite Marble and Bronze* discussed an exhibition about memorial art held in New York City and noted that the drawings for the F. W. Woolworth mausoleum, specifically from the office of Farrington, Gould, and Hoagland, were displayed prominently along side other mausolea ("Success of the New York Memorial Exhibit" 1920, 37). The Woodlawn Cemetery Archive lists Farrington, Gould, and Hoagland as the architects.

[21] The Temple of Dendur was also the inspiration for other buildings, such as the Freemasons' Hall, Main Ridge, Boston, Lincolnshire, UK, 1860–1863 (Curl 1994, 196–197, fig. 140).

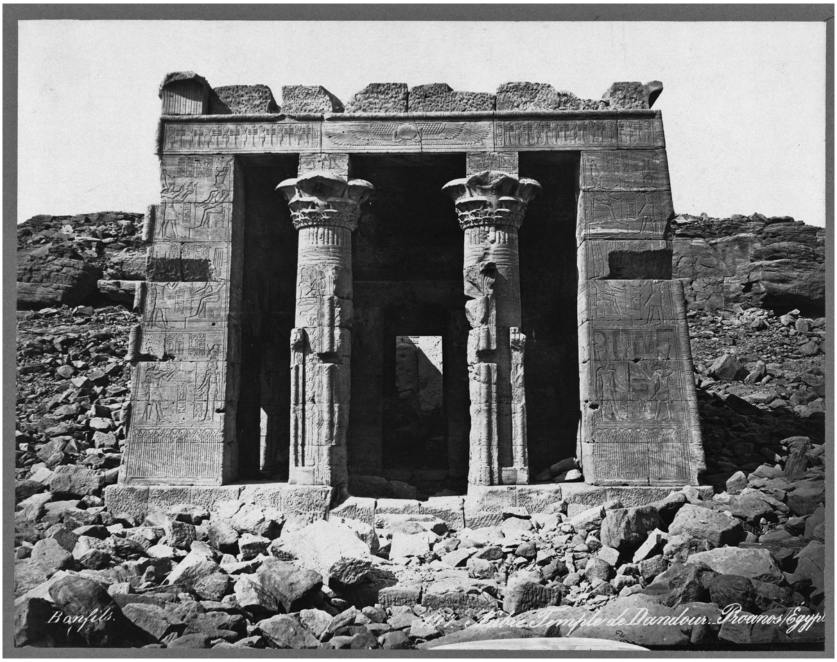

FIG. 6.14. The Temple of Dendur between 1867 and 1899. The right screen wall was not visible in historical photographs and has been heavily reconstructed. Bonfils 1867–1899.

Library of Congress.

were only partially preserved and are not visible in the historical photographs. Therefore the nineteenth-century photographs were an incomplete record that architects, designers, and patrons used.

The lower part of the columns' shafts are decorated with leaves, long-shafted lotuses, and reeds. The reeds and lotuses derive from the decoration of the lower third of the columns (and the dado) of the Temple of Dendur that were also composed of long reeds and lotuses. The middle part is plain, and the upper part is decorated with an ankh and scarab-like, winged beetle,[22] topped by six horizontal grooves, as are the columns on the temple of Dendur. The column shafts of Woolworth's tomb are decorated using Egyptian motifs, which also echo the hieroglyphs inscribed on the columns of the Temple of Dendur. The capitals are of a composite type with papyrus reeds (cf. McKenzie 2007, 123, fig. 205c.), but do not derive from the Temple of Dendur, but likely the court in front of the Temple of Hathor on Philae. The columns are a pastiche of Egyptian elements.

[22] Scarabs with circular open wings are not that common; however, there are examples on the inner coffin of Henettawy, a mummy at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Accession Number: 25.3.183a, b (http://www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search/548265).

The use of motifs from the Temple of Dendur continued throughout the tomb: the lintel over the entrance and the mausoleum's entablature were both decorated with a winged solar disc and two apses. Above the entrance is a bundle of reeds; this motif also edges the mausoleum's sides. "Woolworth" is inscribed on the lower register of the entablature, directly over the entrance. The tomb has a cavetto cornice decorated with vertical leaves, and its facade was slanted at an angle of seventy degrees (Keister 2011, 73–74), again like the Temple of Dendur.

Two female sphinxes resting on plinths flank the tomb's entrance, which is reached by steps. Egyptian sphinxes are typically composed of a male head atop a lion's body, often wearing the royal *nemes* headdress (Shaw and Nicholson 2008, 311–312), whereas Greek sphinxes are normally lions, sitting upright, with eagle's wings and female heads. Although female sphinxes were rarer in ancient Egypt, they are known from as early as the Fourth Dynasty and are well attested to by the Twelfth Dynasty (Boddens-Hosang and d'Albiac, n.d.). Female sphinxes are also known from Roman and, especially, Augustan iconography.

Pairs of Egyptian-style breasted female sphinxes were quite common from the medieval period through the eighteenth century; they appear in mid-eighteenth-century Piranesi etchings and designs for rooms in the Villa Borghese and in elaborate *objets d'art* (Humbert 1994, 69, 86–87, 139–140, 182). Female sphinxes with (and without) breasts were depicted in sculpture in the eighteenth century (Humbert 1994, 138; Rösch-von der Heyde 1999 (1), Tafels 16–18; Rösch-von der Heyde 1999, Vol. 2, no. 1758).

With the publication of the *Description de l'Égypte* and Denon's *Voyage*, male sphinxes became more commonly represented. However, the sitting female sphinx remained popular in certain European and American circles. The monumental sphinx memorial in Mount Auburn Cemetery in Massachusetts is female (Giguere 2013, 62–84), but it lacks breasts and is stylistically similar to eighteenth-century examples (cf. Humbert 1994, 138). There is a breasted female sphinx, dated to 1875–1884, which stands outside the Opera in Budapest (Rösch-von der Heyde 1999 (2), no. 1738). It holds a theatrical mask, giving it an allegorical association and alluding to the dramatic arts. The Greek sphinx features prominently in ancient Greek tragedy and myth. This statue suggests a conflation of the Egyptian sphinx as guardian with the Greek sphinx, who was associated with being mysterious and sinister. Triple-breasted sphinxes appear on the Gutenberg monument in Frankfurt, and a memorial for Franz Schubert in Vienna depicts a breasted sphinx with a masculine face (Demisch 1977, 189, figs.

524–525). A pair of breasted female sphinxes with wings also appears outside of the national archaeology museum in Madrid (Demisch 1977, 190, fig. 527). Other breasted sphinxes can be found in Berlin, Essen (at the Villa Hügel), and Frankfurt (Demisch 1977, 190–191, figs. 529–532).

The Woolworth sphinxes are late examples of the breasted female type, which may suggest that the choice of female sphinxes was intentional. It is unclear whether Woolworth or the architect selected it, as there are no records about their decision-making process. The sphinx was associated with the pharaohs. Therefore, the female sphinxes were guardians for Woolworth and were another visual reminder of Woolworth as a financial pharaoh. At the same time, the presence of the sphinxes conveyed the mystery and sinister nature of death. Other important financiers in America also placed sphinxes in front of their tombs; the most famous example being that of the four sphinxes, completed in 1908 by William Couper, that guard the Stanford Mausoleum at Stanford University.

The sculptor Julius C. Loester designed the bronze doors, which were cast by the Roman Bronze Company and also used Egyptian motifs (Fig. 6.15). A pharaoh is flanked on the left by a male attendant, identified as such by his muscular arms and legs, as well as his breastplate, and on the right by a woman. The male attendant appears to hand him an ankh, the symbol of eternal life. The inclusion of a pharaoh-like figure marching bravely toward the afterlife makes the viewer draw the obvious conclusion that Woolworth is like a pharaoh—powerful, commanding, ready to face his fate, and, at some level, eternal. The bronze grille is organized in a reed pattern behind the pharaoh-figure and there is a border of flowers and lotuses on the sides. Two falcons appear at the top of the doors.

The interior was made of Italian marble, a huge expense considering that most of the marble used in Woodlawn's tombs was American. There were two large marble sarcophagi, which were fabricated by Evans of Boston (Leland 1922, 42). There are three stained glass windows with Egyptian scenes. The symbolism of these windows is unclear, as they use Egyptian-like motifs, but the style is completely non-Egyptian and appears more Classical in nature. In the stained glass window at the central position of the rear of the tomb, the main figure, an enthroned man, is presented with gifts by women in heavily draped, toga-like robes. This figure could represent Woolworth, as a pharaoh of commerce for all eternity, watching over his empire of shops and receiving gifts as a benevolent but all-powerful ruler.

Brinley and Holbrook, who executed plans for the New York Botanical Garden in 1920, designed the landscape (Leland 1922, 39; Meier and

FIG. 6.15. The door of the F. W. Woolworth Mausoleum.
E. Macaulay-Lewis.

Beagan 2009, 50). Unlike the Egyptian-inspired design of the Bache tomb, here the designers used a more formal composition, according to Leland, "to accentuate the solidity and scale of the building," while, as importantly, creating a focused vista on the mausoleum by blocking out the lines of sight to the neighboring mausolea (Leland 1922, 39). The plantings, mainly evergreen trees and shrubs, were arranged in clusters at the corners of the oddly shaped lot.[23]

[23] "WCA Major Monuments—Woolworth Mausoleum," Avery Architectural & Fine Arts Library, Columbia University.

Some of the trees had a pyramid shape which "likewise sustain the unity of the design, for the structure is a truncated pyramid" (Leland 1922, 40). This might be taking this a bit too far, but it is an interesting idea—that a formal and arranged landscape should compliment the architecture to produce an effect very different from the Bache Mausoleum, but one that focused the viewer's attention on the tomb. Planting was essential; as Leland argues, "the Woolworth mausoleum before the planting was introduced presented an altogether unimpressive picture notwithstanding the architectural richness of the structure" (Leland 1922, 40), and the plantings transformed the site into something beautiful.

Woolworth's tomb became a trend-setting monument. The steel magnate Emil Winter (1857–1935) had an identical copy of Woolworth's tomb built for himself in Allegheny Cemetery, Pittsburgh. Richard Kyle Fox, the editor of the *National Police Gazette*, a successful tabloid, also modeled his tomb, complete with two male sphinxes, in Woodlawn on Woolworth's mausoleum.[24] Winter's and Fox's decisions to replicate Woolworth's tomb demonstrate the style was prestigious and that other self-made men looked at the tombs of their peers for inspiration.

Conclusions

At Woodlawn Cemetery, patrons and architects reinterpreted antiquity's diverse architectural traditions to construct tombs with potent cultural resonances in their own era. These tombs are outstanding examples of what we have termed the Neo-Antique style. The Neo-Antique is more a useful and accurate frame to understand this phenomenon than the so-called Revivalist styles, whose chronology and scope this paper and others in this volume have challenged. In Neo-Antique style tombs, the Classical and Egyptian forms were deployed in similar ways. Both forms satisfied the patron and architect's aesthetic concerns: these buildings were monumental and impressive. They also fulfilled the practical considerations required of a tomb: one can bury an extended family in a grand building that will last for generations. And perhaps most importantly, the Classical or Egyptian forms addressed the social and cultural concerns of the patron: a monumental mausoleum that utilized architectural styles of previous eras was a visible symbol of social standing, elite belonging, and erudition.

[24] Farrington, Gould, and Hoagland also designed his mausoleum.

The use of these forms should not be interpreted as a simple desire to replicate Classical monuments in a derivative fashion. These forms and their combinations reflect specific choices. Many of the tombs, like the Leeds Mausoleum, are original for their innovative combination of diverse Classical motifs and architecture. Even Bache's tomb, which is the closest to a replica, is a sophisticated rereading of a Ptolemaic monument, because the original architecture of the Kiosk was adapted to accommodate a tomb and because Bache commissioned a highly original Egyptianizing landscape to accompany the tomb. The landscape of Bache's mausoleum demonstrates the important role of landscape in place-making; here it helped to transform Bache's tomb into a mini-Philae in the Bronx, where a financial pharaoh was laid to rest. Its form also reinforced that Bache was a cultured and well-traveled man.

Most of the tomb landscapes were not as evocative as Bache's. The primary aim of the various landscapes was to frame the individual mausoleum and to obscure other tombs in the distance, so that each tomb became a focal point on its lot, thereby filtering out the visual competition from other tombs. Gould's tomb was on the highest point in the cemetery. Landscaping was used differently depending on the patron's desires and was generally of secondary importance to the tomb's architecture.

The tombs of all the individuals discussed in this essay were for self-made men. Temple-style tombs, Neo-Antique tombs, and Neo-Egyptian tombs are all created by the elite—both old and new money—throughout Woodlawn and the other rural cemeteries of the United States (Bergman 1988; McDowell and Meyer 1994, 23–90). The decision to build a monumental mausoleum, often using Classical and to a lesser extent Egyptian forms, suggests that these forms had significant and specific meanings for the patrons. These choices were predicated on personal choice; therefore, these tombs reflect the strong individuality of Americans. At the same time, the use of Classical and Egyptian forms in funerary architecture signaled to any visitor that the deceased was a member of a cultured, educated class who embraced the Classical and Egyptian worlds as part of their process of legitimacy. Even though Leeds made his money in tin, Garvan in chemicals, Bache in finance, and Gould in stocks and railways, the architecture of their tombs identified them as members of America's socioeconomic and cultural elite, even if their wealth was new.

The level of engagement in the commission of the mausolea also varied from patron to patron. Bache's tomb with its highly accurate details and Egyptian-inspired landscape suggests that Bache, who had traveled to Egypt, had a direct hand in shaping his tomb. The tomb's chronology also supports this; he commissioned it in 1916, but was not interned there until 1944. Billie Leeds, who died suddenly before his tomb was commissioned, represents the other extreme. His tomb reflects John Russell Pope's knowledge of Classical architecture. Pope had been a prize fellow at the American Academy, had studied in France, and had travelled extensively in Greece, so he was well-versed in Classical art and architecture. Many of Pope's later public commissions, such as the Temple of the Scottish Rite and the National Gallery in Washington, DC, and the New York State Memorial to Theodore Roosevelt (the main entrance to the American Museum of Natural History), used Classical architecture. Such forms were suitable for grand buildings and tombs. They were monumental and impressed the viewer. In contrast Pope did not use Classical architecture in the private residences that he designed. This suggests that Pope used a Classical architectural and decorative vocabulary purposefully; the monument or building (or the patron thereof) demanded it. A Classical form therefore imbued the mausoleum with *gravitas* and celebrated the deceased. The involvement of most other patrons, such as Gould, Garvan, and Woolworth, seems to lie somewhere between the extremes of Bache and Leeds.

The misattributions of the Classical models for the tombs suggest that for many of the patrons and those who wrote about these tombs, the idea of Classical architecture was more important than accuracy. Effectively, there is a "Kodak-ization" of Classical and Egyptian architecture where one structure—the Parthenon, the Erechtheion, the Temple of Portunus, or the Temple of Dendur—stands synecdochically for the entire *oeuvre* of Classical or Egyptian architecture. Having something ancient-looking, it seems, was more important than having architectural accuracy in one's tomb. Therefore, Bache's tomb is a notable exception.

These tombs were erected at Woodlawn between *c.* 1880 and 1920; this implodes the chronology of the so-called Revivalist styles, which scholars have identified as a late eighteenth- and early-to-mid-nineteenth-century practice. It clearly continues until the 1920s, and the tombs continued to receive the deceased into the 1940s. The Neo-Antique monuments of Woodlawn Cemetery and elsewhere did not fare as well after the 1930s. With the rise of modernism, architecture that reinterpreted older forms became deeply unfashionable. Architectural critics, such as Lewis Mumford, writing in his Skyline Column in *The New Yorker*, considered such architecture derivative, unimaginative, and, basically, in bad taste (Wojtowicz 1998, 69). As a result, the importance of these monuments as architectural and cultural documents and as a physical manifestation of Classical reception, has been overlooked. At their moment of erection, these tombs were almost all universally praised in contemporary architectural and mainstream magazines and newspapers, such as *Architectural Record, Park and Cemetery and Landscape Gardening, The New York Times*, and *Scientific American* among others.

Harry Bliss's 1912 publication, *Memorial Art, Ancient and Modern: Illustrations and Descriptions of the World's Most Notable Examples of Cemetery Memorials*, identified the origin of memorial art and architecture starting with the Greeks and Romans (and to a lesser extent, the Egyptians). He also categorized well-known examples of contemporary mausolea: Greek architecture, Roman Corinthian architecture, Byzantine architecture, and Renaissance architecture. He categorizes the Leeds mausoleum as an example of "classical architecture" (Bliss 1912, 36). Bliss applied this term to buildings which had "attained the highest standard of excellence, stateliness, elegance, a careful coordination of all of its parts" (Bliss 1912, 36). This suggests that the "Classical architecture," manufactured by twentieth-century architects, and which selected the best architectural details of the past, was superior to the buildings whose forms derived directly from antiquity and to ancient buildings. In these newly created monuments, Greco-Roman and Egyptian forms were divorced from their original meanings and were assimilated to become American. The American originality of the Neo-Antique architecture was recognized in its own time by patrons and by architectural critics (cf. Giguere 2014, 12). The entombment of antiquity became a new form of resurrection. These Neo-Antique mausolea were a way to express the high social standing, possession of elite culture, and achievements of great Americans, such as Leeds, Gould, Garvan, Woolworth, Bache, and others. These men were *the* Titans, Olympians, and pharaohs of America and, as such, should be buried like the heroes, gods, and kings of antiquity.

CHAPTER 7 | Reconsidering Hyperreality

"Roman" Houses and Their Gardens

KATHARINE T. VON STACKELBERG

Introduction

The largest and most famous example of Neo-Antique architecture in the world today is the Getty Villa Museum, a recreation of the Villa dei Papiri at Herculaneum built by J. Paul Getty.[1] Opened to the delight of the public in 1974, the Getty Villa drew scathing criticism from architects and journalists alike.[2] The creation of a site that not only rejected the tenets of modernism but did so in a way that concretized the claims of the Classical tradition to cultural hegemony seemed both perverse and reactionary. Critical consensus was settling on a sour orthodoxy that the museum represented nothing more than a quintessential example of the "plebian bad taste" of American culture[3] when this most antimodernist of sites unexpectedly became part of postmodernist discourse through its inclusion in

[1] I use "recreation" here as distinct from a reconstruction, which would take place at the site of the original in Herculaneum. The inspiration for this chapter was inspired by the conference *Past Perfected: Antiquity and its Reinventions* organized by the National Committee for the History of Art/Comité International d'Histoire de l'Art at the Huntington Library and Getty Villa in 2006. I would like to thank the organizers of that conference and Maggie Lidz at Winterthur for their stimulating conversation and insights. This chapter was also supported by funding from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

[2] For a summary of architectural and critical responses see Jencks 1991, 79–80 and Caccavale 1985, 113–124. David Gebhardt was one of the few who saw the Getty Villa as asking important questions about the relationship between museum architecture and its cultural stakeholders (lay public, artists, scholars, and curators) (Gebhardt 1974). Joan Didion's nuanced response to the Villa addressed its popular appeal and its place within America's cultural framework ("Getty's Little House on the Highway," *Esquire*, March 30, 1977, reprinted in Didion 1981, 74–78).

[3] Elena Karina Canavier quoted by Caccavale 1985, 120.

Umberto Eco's *Travels in Hyperreality* (1986). Eco concluded that sites like the Getty Villa existed because America had an inherent need to recreate historic sites to offset an ingrained cultural alienation, claiming that "The American imagination demands the real thing and, to attain it, must fabricate the absolute fake" (Eco 1986, 8).

This kind of absolute fakery was labeled "hyperreality," a condition where the distinction between real and imaginary is erased. In architectural contexts the term is applied to sites that use anachronistic or alien styles and eclectically recombine them into immersive environments that claim to surpass mimicry by offering an experience "better than the real thing." By interweaving plausible elements of the past and present together, hyperreal spaces generate narratives that invite an "enthralled skepticism" where visitors enjoy the double pleasures of exercising their imagination while assuring themselves of objectivity (Lowenthal 2002, 20). The architectural discourse of hyperreality usually cites Disneyland and Caesars Palace in Las Vegas as its quintessential examples. However, just as architectural reception suffers from the superficiality of parallelism—Look! It's Roman!—so critiques of the hyperreal can become locked in a recursive loop of signifying nothing other than itself. In part this is due to the fact that much of the discourse on hyperreality follows Jean Baudrillard's thoughts on the subject in *Simulacra and Simulation* (1981); his comparisons to cancerous cells and the Moebius strip present the hyperreal as dangerously self-replicating and inescapable (King 1998, 48–51; Trifonova 2003, 2; Torikian 2010, 100–109). Yet considerations of hyperreality can offer a constructive contribution to the study of architectural reception if we reconsider Baudrillard's negative premise and look beyond the walls of the Getty Villa to other examples of Neo-Antique place-making.

Baudrillard's nihilistic assessment of hyperreality framed it as the ill-gotten child of capitalist consumption and dumbed-down postmodernism, empty of value and the despoiler of any attempts to create real experience. As "a real without origin or reality" Baudrillard condemned the concept for its inherent emptiness: for him the hyperreal is the *genius locus* of fatuous, unreflective consumption, a conceptual category with neither the convictions of fiction nor the validation of *origin*ality (Baudrillard 1988, 166). Yet Eco's encounter with the hyperreal formulated a different response, and his conceptualization of the hyperreal as the "*absolute* fake" awards it a unique integrity. In a *reductio ad absurdam* of the Platonic ideal, Eco's hyperreality exchanges Baudrillard's absence of reality for the presence of unreality, one that occupies a transitional point confounding our ability to distinguish between the real and the fake, old and new, semblance and authenticity. Where Baudrillard considered that transitional point to be a space of negation,[4] Eco saw it as a space of negotiation between J. Paul Getty's desire for self-fashioning, and the scholarly interests of researchers. Looking beyond the issue of authenticity, Eco observed that the question implicitly posed by the Getty Villa's architectural choices was "How do you regain contact with the past?" and that hyperreality was a form of communication between patron and visitor (Eco 1986, 34).

Hyperreality therefore becomes a useful lens through which to examine the use of Classical tropes in Neo-Antique place-making. This is not only because the Classical world supplies so much in the way of textual and material evidence and inspiration, but also because Classics as a discipline is particularly sympathetic to the hyperreal. The porous boundary between real and fake is repeatedly encountered in all areas of study, whether literary, historical, or archaeological. Lucian's *verae historiae* are never what they claim to be; the histories of Livy and Tacitus use the narratological strategies of fiction; Domitian's "fatal charades" staged real deaths for legends; statues deemed to be original works of art are really copies, and ancient copies are discovered to be nineteenth-century fakes.[5] The Classical world and the field of Classical reception are constantly constructing and deconstructing "the real thing."

This chapter discusses three Neo-Antique sites of absolute fakery created during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that participate in different but interconnected ways with hyperreality. The Getty Villa in Malibu, California (1974); the Pompeia in Saratoga Springs, New York (1889); and the Crowninshield garden in Wilmington, Delaware (1924) all instantiate moments when the relationship between the Classical object and its contemporary representation is destabilized through an immersive context. Though only the Getty Villa survives and is accessible to the public, all three places are amply supported by texts and photographs that demonstrate their patrons' intent and their subsequent interpretation, making them ideal case studies for architectural reception. Most importantly, they expand the spatial envelope of architectural reception by considering the relationship between hyperreality and greenspace.[6] Though gardens

[4] Or possibly "involution"; Baudrillard is not necessarily consistent with his terms, which raises problems of translation and interpretation, see Trifonova 2003.
[5] There is an extensive bibliography on the elision of fact and fiction in the Classical world. For the examples given here see Ní Mheallaigh 2014 (Lucian); Wiseman 1993 (Livy); Woodman 1998 (Tacitus); Coleman 1990 (Martial, *Liber Spectaculorum*). For the Roman appetite for copies of artworks see Marvin 1993.
[6] Greenspace refers to the deployment of horticulture in a given architectural context, whether as pot plants, gardens, or full-scale landscaping.

are often perceived as ancillary to Neo-Antique architecture—often mentioned only in passing—they play a vital role in blurring the line between real and fake. The J. Paul Getty museum, Franklin Smith's tourist attraction, and Louise du Pont Crowninshield's ancestral home all used Roman gardens as a portal for immersive hyperreal experience that regained contact with the past, even—or especially—if that past was a fiction.

"History, plus": The Getty Villa Museum

> I have ideas of my own. And since this is my land, and I intend to live here, it must be improved in my own way in landscaping and not in some one else's way. (Le Vane and Getty 1955, 311)

Thus speaks Calpurnius Piso in J. Paul Getty's novella "A Journey from Corinth." Piso, the putative owner of the Villa dei Papiri, is addressing the protagonist of the story, Glaucus, a young landscape gardener who has presciently emigrated from Corinth to make his career in Italy. Glaucus not only accommodates his patron's views of landscape aesthetics, upon Rome's sack of Corinth he advises Piso to purchase a fine statue of Herakles to place in the garden. Piso, of course, is a surrogate for Getty, and the statue is the same Lansdowne Herakles purchased by him in 1951, while the breathtaking scale and ambition of the Getty Villa underscore Piso's assertion. Yet at the time of the story's publication, Getty's collection was still housed in the relatively modest environs of his Ranch House residence in Malibu, which he opened to the public in 1954. The Getty Villa as it is stands now is thus in the unusual position of being both an archaeological recreation and a metafictional creation, its existence anticipated by a novella folded into a book written with the wider intention of promoting Getty and his collection to the public at large. In building in a style so radically different from the mainstream (Gordon Bunshaft's modernist Hirshhorn Museum opened that same year) Getty was certainly demonstrating that he had ideas of his own, establishing firm parallels between great figures of Roman history and his own economic empire. The Villa demonstrates Getty's desire "to inscribe himself in European aristocracy and to link himself to great men of the Roman past" that included the emperors Augustus, Nero, and Hadrian, in addition to Calpurnius Piso, the father-in-law of Julius Caesar (Lapatin 2011, 272). The museum was therefore more than a piece of architectural reconstruction (Fig. 7.1, see insert), it was an act of architectural reception designed to create a meaningful place, a dwelling where visitors could intimately experience the elite private residence of a self-fashioned Roman/American connoisseur.

As a site of reception the Getty Villa is especially well documented, with J. Paul Getty supplying clear evidence of intent in several publications that expounded his thoughts on art, collections, and museums, with ample interpretation supplied by newspaper reports, critical essays, and interactive travel fora.[7] The book in which "A Journey from Corinth" appeared, *Collector's Choice, The Chronicle of an Artistic Odyssey through Europe* (1955) co-written with Ethel Le Vane, was part travelogue, part public relations piece, and part manifesto. Because Getty's subsequent decision to recreate the Villa dei Papiri concretizes the subject of "A Journey from Corinth," attention usually focuses on the novella. But *Collector's Choice* is worth looking at as a whole because its themes anticipate the Getty Villa Museum's subsequent engagement with hyperreality. From its opening page when a London cabbie picks up J. Paul Getty and thinks he could "almost be mistaken for an Englishman," *Collector's Choice* repeatedly grapples with the porous boundary between real and fake.[8] Hyperreality is predicated on uncertainty, "the moment when the relationship between the object and the representation is called into doubt" (King 1998, 54), and Getty is repeatedly confronted with the difficulty of distinguishing between the authentic object and its copy. Getty's response to the instability of these categories is to generate narratives that traverse uncertainty while acknowledging its legitimacy:

> We begin by reading a brief catalogue description of our treasure. Then we elaborate on it. And the next thing we know we're reconstructing its life—creating a history, plus. (Le Vane and Getty 1955, 68)

Throughout the book Getty presents these narratives without censure to various experts, including the archaeologist Professor Ludwig Curtius and the art critic Bernard Berenson. Their good-humored reception of his "history, plus" implicitly validates this process of imaginative reconstruction, not merely the indulgence of a billionaire but an expression of hyperreality's paradoxical relationship with history.

[7] For his own thoughts on the subject see Getty 2011 (a reissue from 1965) and Getty 1976, 265–291.

[8] Le Vane and Getty 1955, 11. Other instances can be found on pages 68, 130–131, 137–138, 153, 158, 161, 198, 244, and 328.

Hyperreal environments are most successful when they apply the architectural and decorative tropes of a defined historical period, but their effectiveness relies on a comparative absence of history in their locale. Too much evidence of the objective reality of historical fact renders hyperreality inert or superfluous (Eco 1986, 30). Yet hyperreality's dislocation and detemporalization cannot be effected without the dialectic tension between objective history and "history, plus." We need to know that what we are encountering is not real in order to more fully savor the verisimilitude. In the face of this self-deception Baudrillard concluded that hyperreality was an alienated condition where public and private interests colluded to substitute real historical narratives for more palatable or commodified versions (Baudrillard 1988, 169–171). It cannot be denied that the hyperreal certainly functions within the framework of capitalist exchange. However, it should be stressed that this commodification of history produces both fungible and nonfungible assets. The first is represented by admission tickets, viewing figures, and souvenirs, the second by the generation of knowledge. It is the latter that makes hyperreal environments more than a pastiche of what they represent, enabling more constructive explorations of the relationship between past and present. By combining the "history, plus" of *Collector's Choice* and the curatorial decision to recreate the Villa dei Papiri, Getty's "folding of ancient fiction and modern reality provided the [Lansdowne Herakles] statue with a fuller history and several possible contexts, all potentially more authentic" (Lapatin 2011, 278). The hyperreal environment of the Getty Villa does not undermine critical inquiry; on the contrary it intensifies it by serving as "an illustrated lesson in Classical doubt," generating ideas about the relationship between Classical and modern worlds (Eco 1986, 32–35; Didion 1981, 76). On one level it provides visitors with a reassuring sense of continuity; the past is no longer lost but recovered in technicolor glory. Yet that very reassurance carries within it the seed of doubt since visitors who admire the recreation of the Villa dei Papiri are at the very same moment faced with the fact that it is a recreation, contingent on available evidence.[9] In an architectural context the tension between hyperreal space and historical place can generate a spirit of inquiry that comments on both ancient and contemporary culture.[10]

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[9] An effect intensified by the Silvetti and Machado remodeling of 2006 and commented on from an archaeological perspective by Moltesen 2007.

[10] For example, Harbison 1977, 150, observes that the ontological doubt inspired by visiting the Cloisters in New York raises questions about the purpose of museums.

If this synergism between history and hyperreality is rarely explored, it is due to the chief limitation of the hyperreal: its hermetic tendency. It takes vision and drive to create what is, in essence, a fantasy world, and the combination of a seductively immersive environment with a strong personality can overwhelm the multiplicities of meaning suggested by architectural realizations of "history, plus." The immersive experience of hyperreality in the Getty Villa is so compelling, and J. Paul Getty's role in its construction so pronounced, that Eco's interpretation of the museum as the reification of Getty's Caesarian aspirations, and his promotion of American capitalism as the natural successor to Roman imperialism, seals off the hyperreal space from other experiential perspectives (Marcus 1990, 328). Applying the discourse of hyperreality to sites of architectural reception therefore becomes a question of identifying ways in which the hyperreal opens itself up to serve both patron and visitor, creators and consumers. One way involves a little-discussed aspect of hyperreality, its manipulation of greenspace.

Real Fake Flowers/Fake Real Flowers: Hyperreal Space and Heterotopic Place

Gardens and gardened environments function as heterotopias, ideal sites that hold multiple meanings within the same spatial context and generate dialectical experience through their simultaneous representation, contestation, and inversion (Foucault 1986, 24).[11] Hyperreality, by blurring the lines between original and copy, ancient and contemporary, fact and fiction, intensifies the heterotopic experience of such greenspace. In the Getty Villa the Roman gardens have an important role to play in the heterotopic folding of fact and fiction, with visitors commenting as much on the gardens as they do the architecture.[12] The gardens are not mere passive examples of scenography, designed to add verisimilitude to the Classical effect, but critically active landscapes of communication; Disneyfied "theme park landscapes" produced in contention with their historical, ethnic, and environmental context to promote specific educative and economic goals (Young 2002, 1–3).

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[11] The paradigmatic example of this in western literature is the Garden of Eden, which serves as both a metonym for unspoilt innocence and an allegory of sin.

[12] For Roman gardens as heterotopias see von Stackelberg 2009, 51–52. Visitor's reactions to the Getty Villa gardens can be gauged by scanning comments on travel sites such as TripAdvisor.

When Getty first acquired the Ranch House the site was landscaped in a natural style that combined the native Californian flora of California maples and sycamores, and American oak, with the long-naturalized exotic flora such as palms, orange trees, and poinsettia (Le Vane and Getty 1955, 55). Today only the California sycamores remain, having been replaced by a massive planting program of flora from Italy, including full-grown umbrella pines characteristic to the Italian landscape.[13] This was not necessarily unusual, since the boosterism of California had marketed the state as a new Italy, but Getty, who was keenly aware of experiential effect of gardens and landscaping, took as close an interest in the development of the Villa's gardens as he did in all other aspects of its design and construction (Starr 1973, 370–379; Bowe and Dehart 2011, 29). He had taken note of the pioneering work on the archaeology of Roman gardens conducted by Wilhelmina Jashemski, observing her root casts of plane trees outside Pompeii's amphitheatre (Le Vale and Getty 1955, 62, 112, and 281; Jashemski 1979, 300–301). By combining Jashemski's discoveries with Karl Weber's notes from the Villa dei Papiri, four garden areas were recreated and lavishly planted with flora that would have been available and desirable to an elite Roman villa. Three of the garden areas were original to the villa: an inner peristyle garden beyond the atrium, a great outer peristyle garden lying perpendicular to it, and an herb garden on the west side adjacent to the outer peristyle garden. A fourth garden was added to the east of the inner peristyle, partly to balance the western garden and partly to display a reproduction of the mosaic *nymphaeum* from the garden of the House of the Large Fountain in Pompeii.

Together, the four gardens constitute more than just the "final and finishing touch" that Glaucus provides for Calpurnius Piso (Le Vane and Getty 1955, 312). In the Getty Villa, as in "A Journey from Corinth," they serve as a point of contact between the old world and the new. Throughout *Collector's Choice* the multiple contexts provided for the Lansdowne Herakles, star of the antiquities collection, are all centered on garden space of ancient Greece, Rome, and modern America. Getty's "history, plus" has it displayed first in the gardens of the Villa de Papiri, then in the palace gardens of Nero in Rome, before eventually moving

[13] The original plants were sourced from Italy and are now supplied from Californian growers. For a complete catalogue of the plants that make up the Roman garden of the Getty Villa see Bowe and Dehart 2011. Though the soil is not as rich as that of Campania, and the Pacific fog creates significant differentials of humidity and temperature, only minor changes in varietals need to be made to achieve a Mediterranean effect (e.g., Asian boxwood rather than English boxwood [Bowe and Dehart 2011, 25]).

to the grounds of Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli. The subsequent installation of the statue in a courtyard garden of the Ranch House thus becomes an act of continuity rather than relocation (Le Vane and Getty 1955, 323 and 325). With Getty's claim that "I feel no qualms or reticence about likening the Getty Oil Company to an 'Empire'—and myself to a 'Caesar'," the statue, in a sense, has never really moved at all; it stands as it ever did in a garden of Caesar's (Getty 1976, 338). Eventually the Lansdowne Herakles was moved to its own purpose-built pavilion inside the Getty Villa, but the gardens continue to generate complex encounters between past and present through their framing of ancient objects and encouragement of movement.

Getty wanted his villa to provide visitors with the experience of viewing ancient art that was closer to domestic actualities of Roman viewers than the isolated white purity promoted by Winckelmann (Getty 1976, 283). If walking into the atrium of the Getty Villa is like stepping into the ancient world,[14] passing from that space to the inner peristyle both intensifies and contradicts the earlier experience. The visitor entering the inner peristyle garden finds a group of *peplophoroi* lining the banks of the *euripus* (water channel) and a square pedestal fountain standing amid laurel trees, rosemary hedges, and acanthus beds (Fig. 7.2).

In passing through the architectural recreation into the horticultural recreation they are experiencing the context in which a member of the Roman elite typically displayed their statues. Certainly this is a more "authentic" experience of viewing ancient sculpture than that more usually encountered in the "white cube" environment of modern museums.[15] However, this framing of the *peplophoroi* also heightens the tension between real and fake. As Eco observed, greenspace played an important role in maintaining hyperreality because its objective reality helped to destabilize the categories of original and copy:

> If, between two trees, there appears a stretch of river that belongs to another section, Adventureland, then that section of the stream is designed so that it would not be unrealistic to see in Tahiti, beyond the garden hedge, a river like this. And if in the wax museums wax is not flesh, in Disneyland, when rocks are involved, they are rock, and water is water, a baobab a baobab.

[14] This was Getty's response to visiting the Basilica of Maxentius, a formative event in his experience of Classical art (Getty 1941, 486, cited by Lapatin 2011, 273).
[15] Although the *peplophoroi* were actually discovered in the great outer peristyle garden of the Villa dei Papiri (Mattusch 2004, 195–213).

FIG 7.2. Inner peristyle garden, Getty Villa Museum.
Katharine T. von Stackelberg.

> When there is fake—hippopotamus, dinosaur, sea serpent—it is not so much because it wouldn't be possible to have the real equivalent but because the public is meant to admire the perfection of the fake and its obedience to the program. (Eco 1986, 44)

You can copy a statue perfectly, but each acanthus plant is perfectly unique. Together they generate a reflective dynamic that establishes and questions the authenticity of experience. The garden itself is wholly real, living, growing, and changing with the seasons, in contrast to the absolute and unchanging perfection of the fake, yet it is also an intensely artificial creation that contrasts vividly with the surrounding landscape. The tension between artifice and nature that lies at the heart of every landscaped environment; the living materials in which they are wrought; the synaesthetic force of sound, scent, and touch they provide; these are all a part of what makes hyperreal environments effective. By creating a grown environment to concord with the built environment, hyperreality expands beyond the confines of interior to the exterior, gaining ever more persuasive force. Visitors are impressed, as they should be, by the scale of the outer peristyle garden and its water features, but they are also seduced by the herb garden with scents, pomegranate trees, and grape arbor (Fig. 7.3).

Moving through the gardens of the Getty Villa thus convinces the visitor they are experiencing "the real thing" while simultaneously confronting them with its artifice.[16] In this way all of the Getty Villa's gardens

FIG. 7.3. Herb garden with fruit trees and vineyard. Getty Villa Museum. Katharine T. von Stackelberg.

[16] At the time of writing the cognitive dissonance is even more pronounced since the water features have been drained due to the ongoing drought. No visitor can enter the Roman garden without being reminded that they are in California.

become focal points for the "absolute fake" of hyperreality since the villa is designed in such a way that the visitor must encounter them as they move through the building to view the collection. This integration of interior and exterior is actually an intrinsic part of the original Roman design aesthetic, but the addition of the east garden intensifies the experience since in order to cover the whole of the museum the visitor is compelled to select an itinerary that increases their physical and visual exposure to each garden space.[17] Each exposure, each variation of route and viewpoint, multiplies the narratives generated by the heterotopic potential of the hyperreal Roman gardens, triggering comments that touch on contemporary historical, environmental, social, and cultural issues. Some visitors are delighted by the variety of the gardens, in contrast to the perceived monotony of Classical art, and prefer to spend their day there; some participate fully in the immersive experience with some discrete scrumping or by enjoying the Tea by the Sea experience "inspired by the herbs, vegetables, and fruits that grow in the Villa's authentically re-created first-century Roman gardens;"[18] some, resisting the sensuous immersion of the hyperreal, are disappointed by their formalism, or outraged that the planting scheme blocks off the natural view of the ocean.[19] By expanding the spatial envelope of hyperreality beyond architectural space and into greenspace, visitors to a Neo-Antique site like the Getty Villa identify meanings beyond the intentions of its patron, renewing the dialogue between past and present.

In the affective architecture of garden design this dialogue is guided by triggers and prompts that are placed to be seen either from a statically framed viewpoint or discovered by movement along the way. These terms are part of John Dixon Hunt's groundbreaking study of garden reception, but can also be usefully applied to the decoding and interpretation of architectural reception (Hunt 2004, 77–112). Although Hunt does not explicitly clarify the distinction between the two, a prompt can be understood as an object or combination of items that can lead the visitor along a train of thought in much the same way as a theatrical prompt reminds an actor of the next section of a script, whereas a trigger can be understood as activating the more spontaneous process of free association, the outcome of which may be unexpected. This is an approximation, since many of the items that serve as prompts can function equally well as triggers, and vice

[17] For the different effects of garden itineraries in the Roman house see von Stackelberg 2009, 66–70 and 101–125.
[18] http://www.getty.edu/visit/villa/eat.html accessed July 13, 2015.
[19] Reactions gathered from TripAdvisor reviews from the period January–June 2015.

versa, depending on the age, gender, education level, and nationality of the visitor.

An example of a prompt is found in the east garden, where the entranceway frames a handsome pond set before a mosaic *nymphaeum* (Fig. 7.4). As with all the gardens of the Getty Villa it is attractively planted, and if one is lucky the flag irises and water lilies will be in bloom, but on the whole the planting is subdued to set off the lavish colors of the mosaic. The visitor's attention is thus focused on the *nymphaeum*, even though a large basin fountain stands before it. To a visitor with some knowledge of Pompeii the *nymphaeum* acts as a prompt, since they can recognize it as a copy of the one discovered at the House of the Great Fountain (VI.8.22). It prompts recognition of the scholarly attention to detail and the considerable resources (financial and intellectual) that have gone into creating the Getty Villa. However, since the *nymphaeum* comes from a different site, the effect is similar to that of a dream where spaces that are physically disconnected are seamlessly stitched together. This oneiric combination of intense familiarity and alienation intensifies a state of "Classical doubt" that facilitates the hyperreal elision of past and present. Visitors without a

FIG. 7.4. Mosaic *nymphaeum* copied from the House of the Great Fountain, Pompeii. East garden, Getty Villa Museum.
Katharine T. von Stackelberg.

working knowledge of Pompeii are not disoriented by the spatial mélange, but a similarly confusing effect is provided by the arrangement of objects within the garden, for example, the figure of a bronze boy athlete in the outer peristyle garden.

Discovered by Weber at the Villa dei Papiri, the boy athlete is one of a pair of statues that were a popular reproduction item in the nineteenth century, serving as a prompt for the importance of physical culture in the Classical world.[20] However, the figure is also an example of a trigger, eliciting more spontaneous reactions. Since the athletes are displayed facing each other from opposite corners at the far end of the of garden, the visitor will inevitably see one before the other as they circulate the garden path or peristyle walk. For a second, catching it out of the corner of your eye, the mind is confused by whether or not it is observing a real figure (the drunken satyr and sleeping Hermes reclining on the rocks that anchor each end of the great *piscina* in the outer peristyle are equally deceptive). Depending on the angle of approach the visitor encounters the figure either crouched in the bushes and looking as if it is about to spring onto you, or furtively moving away (Fig. 7.5). Confused, for an instant, as to whether we are seeing a real person or not, we can find the effect threatening (do we fear an attack?) or voyeuristic (are we spying on someone?). Both are equal possibilities in the Roman garden, which referenced mythological landscapes that contained plentiful instances of transgressive actions.[21]

However, unlike the guided script of the prompt, the effect of the trigger is unpredictable; whether the viewer will experience a moment of alarm or thrill is specific to their personal circumstances. Nor does one need to have a Classical education to feel that there is something uncanny about the frozen stillness of these doubled figures, where the original dialectical tension of determining whether we are seeing a real person or a simulacrum is replaced by the reflection of copy against copy.

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[20] For a general introduction to the interconnection of Classical culture and sport in the nineteenth century see Smith 2004, 38–45. Metallurgic analysis of the statues suggests that they were cast at different times from different alloys and that in its original context the statue was displayed as a singular figure (Mattusch 2004, 189–194). The pair have been associated with a wide variety of physical activities (as wrestlers, runners, *diskoboloi,* quoit-players, or divers) which made them highly versatile mediators between the ancient and nineteenth-century passion for games. The notoriously fit and active Empress Elizabeth of Austria displayed a pair in the garden of her Achilleion on Corfu.

[21] Allowably transgressive since the Roman garden functioned as a heterotopia of deviation; see von Stackelberg 2009, 96–100. For the Classical trope of the *locus ameonus* concealing potential danger see Hinds 2002.

FIG. 7.5. Bronze athlete, Great outer peristyle garden, Getty Villa Museum. Katharine T. von Stackelberg.

By reconsidering the hyperreality of the Getty Villa to take into account its spatial expansion into the garden, inquiry into architectural reception is able to move beyond J. Paul Getty's personal role in shaping the site to his Caesarian self-image and allow for other experiential perspectives. However, the litmus test as to whether this approach can offer more to our understanding material reception is to apply it to other sites of Neo-Antique place-making. With this in mind we turn to the Getty Villa's closest antecedent, the Pompeia in Saratoga Springs, New York.

Mr Pansa's Cabbages: The Pompeia, Saratoga Springs

The Pompeia, a recreation of the House of Pansa from Pompeii (VI.6.1,8,13), was opened to the public in 1889. Like the Getty Villa it was an immersive site of encounter with the Classical world, its receptive intent and interpretation is well documented in the writings of its creator, Franklin Webster Smith, and its visitors. Now largely forgotten by architectural historians, Smith, a hardware merchant from Boston, was a self-taught architect and a prodigious traveler, enjoying seventeen European trips between 1851 and 1892.[22] Attending the Crystal Palace Exhibition as a young man in 1854, Smith had been so impressed by the variety of architectural styles on display that he made clay models of individual structures to keep his memories fresh (Smith 1891, 11–12). These models formed the basis of his studies in architecture and history, and in 1883 he decided to put theory into practice and create a Moorish house based on the Alhambra in Florida, the Villa Zorayda. The public interest generated by this structure, which he had intended to be a private residence, encouraged him to build the Pompeia six years later. It was an immediate success, drawing in crowds of over 24,000 people in the first eight months of operation for an entry fee of 50 cents.[23]

Saratoga Springs was a popular holiday destination and the Pompeia, only a short walk from the train station, was a welcome addition to its spas, dances, concerts, and races. However, Franklin Smith was at pains to emphasize that a visit to Pompeia was no mere diversion. His writings repeatedly stressed the educational value of the site. The Pompeia was "a field for instruction, far beyond novelty and entertainment" the goal of which was to "waken curiosity to hunt the facts of history" and serve the "progressive demands of modern educational systems for object teaching."[24] His recreation of the House of Pansa was not only architecturally precise, it was fitted with reproductions of Roman household items and augmented by a gallery of more than three hundred engravings from notable volumes on Pompeii, including the very latest editions from the brothers Fausto and Felice Niccolini, and a well-stocked library of related scholarship. This focus on the educational merit of the Pompeia reflected Smith's experiences abroad. He had been disappointed by the reduced scale of the Pompeian Court created for the Crystal Palace Exhibition in 1851 and what he perceived to be a lack of fidelity to archaeological sources in Prince Jérôme Napoleon's Maison Pompéienne (1855). Through his experiments with poured concrete as a building material in the Villa Zorayda, Smith realized that he could produce full-scale replicas of ancient structures at a relatively low cost. His Pompeia, built to scale, was larger than King Ludwig I of Bavaria's Pompejanum, a recreation of the House of Castor and Pollux at Aschaffenburg (1848), and unlike the Pompejanum and the

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[22] Sources for Smith's life: see Smith 1891, 30; Dahl 1955 and 1956; and Nolan 1984.

[23] To put this fee in context and give some idea of the Pompeia's place in consumer spending of late nineteenth-century America, this was the same price that George Washington Gale Ferris charged to ride on his wheel at the Chicago World Fair in 1893.

[24] Smith 1890, 29; Smith 1891, 31 and *New York Times* December 17, 1892 "For a National Gallery, An Outline of Franklin W. Smith's Stupendous Scheme."

Maison Pompéienne it was fully furnished with exact replicas from Rome, Pompeii, and Herculaneum (Smith 1890, 11).

American nativism was therefore satisfied by the knowledge that not only was the Pompeia bigger and more sumptuous than princely European efforts, it was the product of American ingenuity using materials—sand and cement—that were quintessentially American in their democratic availability (Smith 1891, 46). In its union of American know-how with Roman style, the Pompeia anticipated the demotic vogue for Classically themed American entertainment venues (Malamud 2009, 165–72). Access to Classical culture was no longer restricted to the highly educated or wealthy elite. Instead of having to travel overseas only to be disappointed by a Roman house that was in ruins, miniaturized, or adapted to fashionable tastes, the American public could simply board a train. Readers of the *New York Home Journal* were assured that they would not be disappointed by the antique promise of the Pompeia's facade, appealingly painted in Pompeian colors and crowned with a roof garden (Smith 1890, ii) (Fig. 7.6). In fact, the experience was generally considered to be even better than the real thing:

> It has been the general opinion of travelled visitors to the Pompeia, that they received a more vivid conception of Roman life and its surroundings from this reconstruction, than had ever been gained from the ruins of Pompeii . . . Antiquaries and scholars have also said that their imaginations of the reality, vividly described in the romance of Bulwer and the critical textbook

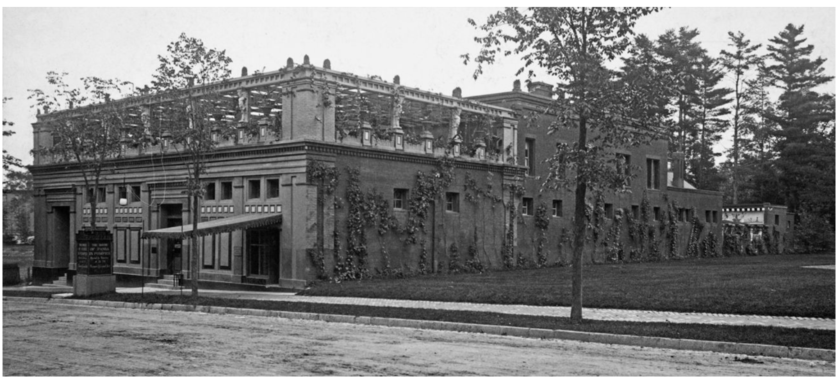

FIG. 7.6. Pompeia exterior with roof garden and *zystus* (*sic*).
Cornell University Library.

of Becker, have never given a comprehension, such as was obtained from a circuit through the halls, apartments and gardens of the house of Pansa. (Smith 1891, 64)

Buoyed by the success of the Pompeia, Smith spent the next decade trying to raise support for his most ambitious scheme, never realized, to build a national gallery in Washington, DC. His plan, inspired by Louis Charles Garnier's *L'Histoire de l'habitation humaine* exhibition at the 1889 Exposition Universelle in Paris, called for the gallery to be set within a park filled with buildings from different eras and nations and surmounted by a copy of the Parthenon one-and-a-half times the size of the original (Smith 1891, 30).[25] Smith was thus an early exponent of the kind of place-making practices conducive to hyperreality *avant la lettre*. Unfortunately, the financial panic of 1893 stymied his attempts. Eventually bankrupt, Smith sold the Pompeia in 1906, whereupon it became a Masonic hall and was largely forgotten. However, during its lifetime it was experienced as a hyperreal space. Many visitors were primed for the experience through publicity materials. A report in *Scientific American*, which had a circulation of 42,000, touted the Pompeia as the most perfect example of Roman housing ever made.[26] Yet the conviction of Classical accuracy demonstrated by the site and its objects was tempered by a subjective uncertainty between the categories of real and fake that encouraged visitors to elide the distinction:

> The rich coloring, the reproduction of furniture, ornament and articles of every-day needs, the frescoings and lavish use of growing foliage and flowers, fountains and statuary, pictures, hanging lamps, cabinets and a valuable library, all steal away one's "every day American" senses and transport the on-looker to Pompeii with all its romance, poetry and tragedy. (*Saratoga News*, cited in Smith 1890, v)

Thus, a female visitor recalled that "one felt like a Roman Matron entering a home,"[27] while journalists framed their reportage describing the rooms

[25] For more on Garnier see Hales in this volume.

[26] "Restoration of the Pompeian 'House of Pansa'," *Scientific American* vol. 30, no. 775, November 8, 1890, 12376.

[27] Ida Eglinton Trope, "Pompeian House Recalled. Reproduction in the Nineties of this and Other Buildings Described," letter to the Editor, *New York Times*, August 19, 1947.

of the Pompeia as if they were actual chambers where Romans had discussed the issues of their day (Bradshaw 1890, 158).

The stratagems that emphasized this permeable relationship between real and fake were slightly different from those later employed at the Getty Villa. The Getty Villa displayed real antiquities contextualized within a vast and elaborate copy; the Pompeia was a copy entirely stocked with copies. Even as visitors were invited to admire the perfect whole of Smith's recreated House of Pansa, the guidebook emphasized the fragmented nature of its domestic topography. For example, the *cave canem* mosaic at the entranceway was from the House of the Tragic Poet in Pompeii, the ceiling of the atrium from the Villa of Diomedes, the ceiling of the peristyle was from the Baths of Titus in Rome, the frieze in the *hortus* from Herculaneum, and the vase in the *exedra* from Villa of Antoninus Pius in Lazio (Smith 1890, 15–23). The moment of Classical doubt was therefore not activated by the confusion between the authentic object and its copy, but by presenting the visitor with a series of copies in their "original" context while simultaneously indicating their different archaeological contexts. Attempts to ascertain an objective position were further confused by the fact that these copies could only be authenticated through comparisons to other representations. Engravings from works on display in the gallery, such as the Niccolini brothers' *Le case ed i monumenti di Pompei disegnati e descritti* (1854) and François Mazois's *Les ruines de Pompei dessinées et mesurées* (1812–1829), were reproduced once again and placed on the walls next to the images and objects that they replicated (Fig. 7.7).

Visitors could thus lose themselves in an endless "hall of mirrors" by comparing the accuracy of the reproduced object against the reconstruction that it copied. And in a reciprocal dynamic of mimetic verisimilitude the Neapolitan invoices for the Pompeia's bronze and terracotta reproductions were displayed in the gallery, confirming their status as absolute fakes of unimpeachable authenticity (Smith 1890, 27–28).

The Pompeia's obsession with verifying that its copies were authentically copied from authentic copies reflected the nineteenth-century culture of collecting that appreciated objects both for their intrinsic worth and for their connective value. A marble bust or a Tanagra figurine was desirable not only for its artistic merit and its connection to the ancient past, but also because it made connections to other collections and cultures. Therefore, some objects within the Pompeia were singled out as especially noteworthy because the originals were held within the National Museum of Naples or because identical copies were sold in Paris, and visitors were assured that

FIG. 7.7. Display of books and plaster copies in the Pompeia *oecus*.
Cornell University Library.

the paintings on display in the gallery were copied from originals exhibited in the French Salon (Smith 1890, 18, 33). This curatorial emphasis of the Pompeia can be understood as an iteration of Foucauldian *enchaînement*, an archaeologically identified process of deliberate fragmentation and reuse that generates connections between social networks (Chapman and Gaydarska 2009, 132). The objects are validated twice over, once by their origins in Classical Rome and again through their current display in prestigious European venues.

This validation of the object *qua* object, where connective value was of equal import as authenticity, was later identified by Walter Benjamin as the "phantasmagoria of capitalist culture" in which the historic value of the present was established through the accumulation of goods (Benjamin 1968, 83). It was immaterial whether the interior decoration of a room was composed from real or reproduced items, what was important was that they constituted a critical mass that could provide visitors with a way of connecting to a past that supported the ideals of the present. Visitors to the Pompeia were encouraged by the sheer quantity of material not only to cast their minds towards the past but also to think ahead, as Sir John Soane had done, toward an archaeology of the future where "many a beautiful home like this became a sudden and horrible grave to thousands of human beings."[28] What would Saratoga or Newport leave behind if they were obliterated by some catastrophe and recovered two millennia later? (Bradshaw 1890, 156). Unfavorable comparisons were made between the mass-produced chromos and cast figurines on display in bourgeois homes to the beautiful works of art left by the Romans (Bradshaw 1890, 157). Yet since the art found in Pompeii was more often than not copied from Greek originals, and the mass-produced decor of American parlors was based on Classical art, the correspondence between artistic practices of ancient and modern was closer than it first appeared. The hyperreal confusion between original and copy flourished under such conditions, with the absolute fake of the Pompeia transmuted into the reality of nineteenth-century domestic furnishing. Visitors could perpetuate their own capitalist phantasmagoria in the gift shop of the Pompeia by purchasing:

> Pompeian reproductions in Silver, Bronze, Terra Cotta, Etc. [of] Classic Busts, Bas–Reliefs, Roman Lamps, Statuettes, Pompeian Jewelry, Roman Jewelry, Vases of Ancient Forms, Pompeian Views, Roman Ornaments, Trinkets, and Curios, Articles in Lava, Colored Views of Vesuvius in Eruption, &c., &c. (Smith 1890, 47)

The hyperreality of the Pompeia thus proved to be a sound commercial stratagem, encouraging the dispersal of its copies of copies (of copies) throughout American households where they could merge seamlessly into the ubiquitous Classical decor (Winterer 2002, 144).

Could the Pompeia's hyperreality offer anything beyond the commodification of history and historical knowledge? It is significant that the report from the *Saratoga News* (quoted above) that describes the visitors' transition from real space to hyperreal experience should specifically mention "foliage and flowers."[29] As with the Getty and the baobabs of Disneyland, the effective elision of real and unreal in the Pompeia hinged on the use of greenspace. Before even setting foot inside, the roof garden at the Pompeia signaled authenticity to its visitors, an organic realness in the built environment. Primed by this approach, upon entering the atrium of the Pompeia,

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[28] *The New York Home Journal* cited in Smith 1890, ii. For Soane see Kuttner in this volume.

[29] The *Saratoga News* was not alone in its reaction. The *New York Home Journal* (circulation 10,000) also made especial note of the greenspace: "a magnificent picture strikes the eye at once; of graceful pillars, fountains, paintings, and growing flowers in most harmonious grouping." *New York Home Journal,* cited by Smith 1890, ii.

FIG. 7.8. Atrium of the Pompeia.
Cornell University Library.

visitors were simultaneously presented with a *mise en scène* of furniture and plants that attested to the archaeological fidelity of the site (Fig. 7.8).

Palm trees, ivy, and orchids in the atrium were carried on into the sunlit peristyle and the *oecus* beyond. Then came the *hortus*, technically the Roman garden but here an enclosed room with garden paintings on all three walls, which led out into an open-air summer *triclinium* shaded by vines and scented with flowers. Judging from the surviving photographs and the ground plan, greenspace at the Pompeia was designed to be experienced primarily from a series of managed viewpoints, serving as prompts that lent verisimilitude to its Classical tableaux.

This emphasis on greenspace was almost certainly a deliberate decision designed to prompt a closer association between the site and Edward Bulwer-Lytton's best-selling romance *The Last Days of Pompeii* (1834). Bulwer-Lytton's novel places significant emphasis on gardens, mentioning them more often than any other location, barring temples, possibly because they are spaces that embody the main theme of the story—the transience of time and the fragility of life.[30] The peristyle garden is of

[30] Temples are referenced seventy-seven times in the text, gardens seventy-three.

central importance to the progression of the romance between Nydia, Glaucus, and Ione, and the plants within the Pompeia's peristyle offered a synaesthetic immersion into the hyperreal blurring of fact and fiction:

> It is here [the peristyle] that Sir Bulwer Lytton depicts the meetings of the beautiful Ione with Glaucus and Arbacus in "The Last Days of Pompeii" . . . We enter the odorous retreat of the *Peristylum*, where Glaucus brought garlands for Ione, and where before the sacred tripod, the lovers whispered their godlike secrets. (Bradshaw 1890, 158)

Visitors were encouraged to imagine themselves not just in a Roman house of the first century AD, but in very setting of Bulwer-Lytton's story featuring a prominent character named Pansa. Potted plants and climbing vines framed tableaux entertainments that staged specific scenes from the book, such as Fulvius reading his ode or Pansa's dinner party, alongside more general episodes of Roman life.[31] Franklin Smith's "House of Pansa" was therefore as much a metafictional creation as Getty's Villa dei Papiri, and visitors who had not yet read the book could buy a copy in the gift store (Smith 1891, 13).

Yet the pleasure experienced through the Bulwer-Lyttonesque luxury of the Pompeian interior carried with it an element of inappropriate and un-American excess. For this reason, Smith's promotional materials were careful to downplay or edit out those parts of Roman domestic culture that were potentially problematic—slaves and theatre—and emphasize elements that supported Bulwer-Lytton's moral themes (Smith 1890, 34). Greenspace was perceived as natural and wholesome, and could mitigate any unsavory associations with Roman excess. Nydia, Glaucus, and Ione spend much of their time in the garden because it is reflective of both their moral goodness and foreshadows their conversion to Christianity. The Pompeia's representations of Bacchic revelers and Orpheus charming the wild beasts, with their mythical associations of drunkenness and dismemberment, might have been considered unseemly but for the fact that they were located in the *hortus*. Instead, the beds of flowers in front of the garden paintings forestall any objections by giving the illusion of extending the pictorial space into the third dimension, shifting the associations away from wild nature and primitive Thracian rites to more genteel Elysian Fields (Fig. 7.9).

[31] "A Novelty at Saratoga. Reproductions of Life and Manners in Ancient Pompeii," *New York Times*, August 24, 1892.

FIG, 7.9. Pompeia *hortus* with garden paintings.
Cornell University Library.

A reporter viewing garden paintings in the *hortus* claimed that "the walls carried you from the real garden into the blissful gardens of the gods" (Rosenfeld 1897, 104). The combination of mythical subject matter and immersive greenspace encouraged visitors to make the transition from potentially immoral hyperreal experience to a virtuous ideal. And in providing a hyperreal portal to heterotopic space, the Pompeia offered its own "history, plus."

For all its archaeological accuracy, the Pompeia was intelligible to visitors as a hyperreal site because it was strange but recognizable, not only through the familiarity proffered by *The Last Days of Pompeii* but also because its underlying aesthetic was no different from any other bourgeois house Pompeian of late nineteenth-century America. The House of Pansa was presented as heavily furnished and draped, crowded with occasional tables and shelves covered with knickknacks, souvenirs, and *objets de vertu*, thick with orchids and banana plants that reflected contemporary tastes for the exotic greenery. Rather than transport the visitor to the transient past, the site reaffirmed the familiar present. The dishes on display are compared to Gorham bone china, the peristyle becomes a "Family room," the *viridarium* is "Mrs Pansa's" conservatory and the profusion of flowers on wall paintings are equated with the seed catalogue of Peter

Henderson, a popular New Jersey gardening company (Rosenfeld 1897, 103–104). The Classical tradition represented by the Pompeia is re-transcribed into a narrative of bourgeois family life, where the standard of living is the product of industrialism and mass production.

In this context, the transition from real gardens, always a source of labor even if that labor was performed by someone else, to the timeless and innocent pleasure of the Elysian Fields mirrored contemporary concerns about the pace of life in an industrial society:

> In the Pompeia we have stateliness and repose, and the entire structure gives the fullest possible opportunity of living a life of *otium cum dignitate*, which we are all incessantly pursuing, but which few ever attain. (*The Decorator and Furniture* 1892, vol. 20, no. 6, 204)

Implicit in this criticism of industrial life is the acknowledgment that such *otium cum dignitate* is problematic because it is predicated on other people taking on the burden of labor, and particularly on slave labor. Alert to post–Civil War sensitivities, Smith presented "Mrs Pansa" as an enlightened slave-owner, feeding her slaves well and preferring not to chain them, while presenting visitors with material evidence of slavery's brutality in the massive weight of the iron chains and collar on display in the entryway (Rosenfeld 1897, 102; Smith 1890, 29). Thus the heterotopia provided by the hyperreality of the Pompeia generated dialectic between past and present by imbricating the historically real past (the destruction of Pompeii by Vesuvius) with a fictional past (Bulwer-Lytton's Pompeii), and the contentious present.

Therefore despite claims to steal away visitors' "every-day American" senses and transport them to Pompeii, everyday America was tangibly present within the Pompeia. In fact, as later descriptions tell us, the first place to which visitors really found themselves transported was the Taberna, a gift shop located immediately at the entrance. In a revealing piece of journalism, one interviewer questioned Franklin Smith about the commercialism of the site and the prominence of the gift shop. Having been reassured that such shops commonly flanked the entranceway of even the grandest Pompeian houses, and that they were in keeping with the Roman ethos of self-sufficiency, the interviewer, primed by the already noted greenery responds:

> It seemed so comfortable and practical, and American, to grow your own cabbages for fun and sell them for profit, that I knew I was going to be quite at home at Pansa's. (Rosenfeld 1897, 102)

The hyperreal greenspace of the Pompeia enabled visitors to elide past and present, directly equating Roman agricultural virtue with American commercial vigor. In Neo-Antique architecture, the true appeal of hyperreality lies in its ability to create a past that can be occupied by all the cultural and moral appurtenances of the present. At face value the effect usually appears to be an affirmation of contemporary values—the Romans were great, and so are we—but because hyperreality is predicated on doubt it can also critique a present that lacks what it supplies. The construction of the Getty Villa was a reproof of contemporary museum practice, and the Pompeia implicitly criticized America's limited educational resources. Both were public-facing structures with a distinct message. But that does not mean that private structures cannot provide an experience of heterotopic alterity that supports or critiques the present with the past. The Crowninshield garden, where American industry was combined with Roman history, offered just such an example.

"Out of Place": The Crowninshield Garden

Hyperreal sites are so much out of place that they generate their own immersive *genius loci*, becoming more intensely experiential than the landscape of which they were originally a part. The sheer peculiarity of finding an elite Roman villa on the Pacific coast or a Pompeian house in the Adirondacks inspires a willingness to suspend disbelief and imagine a "history, plus." Conversely, gardens are expected to have an organic relationship with their architectural and environmental setting. In the Crowninshield garden at Hagley in Wilmington, Delaware, the basic tenets of garden design were dislocated to hyperreal effect by combining a Federal period house with a Neo-Antique fantasy garden, compete with two monumental Roman arches and a quarter-scale Doric temple (Fig. 7.10, see insert). Unlike the Getty Villa (a private house that metamorphosed into a museum) and the Pompeia (a museum presented as a private house) the Crowninshield garden was a truly private creation, only open to family and friends. No work of historical fiction supported its inception and no journalists chronicled its opening, but surviving evidence indicates that the Crowninshield garden offered its own version of "history, plus." As with the Pompeia and the Getty Villa, the site made a claim for passing the torch of Classical tradition to America, the new Rome, by creating a hyperreal environment that preserved 120 years of industrial history while recasting it in a new form.

The Crowninshield garden was created in 1924 by the husband and wife team of Louise du Pont and Frances Boardman ("Frank") Crowninshield at Hagley House in Wilmington. Although the garden was a joint effort, Louise took the lead and it is principally credited to her (von Stackelberg 2015). Hagley had been the childhood home of Louise's father, Henry Algernon du Pont, yet it was more than just a family home. Below the house on the banks of the Brandywine River stood Eleutherian Mills, the birthplace of the DuPont company founded by Eleuthère Irénée du Pont in 1802 (Fig. 7.11). The mills refined sulfur and saltpeter for the production of gunpowder that formed the basis of the du Pont fortune.[32]

Serious industrial accidents occurred in 1817 and 1890; when the site suffered another catastrophic explosion in 1917 the board of directors decided to relocate operations to Wayne, New Jersey and the entire property was put up for sale. Henry Algernon du Pont bought it at his daughter's urging and transferred it to her as a gift. Louise had grown up at Wintherthur, four miles from Hagley, but that property was to be inherited by her brother Henry Francis ("Harry"). Owning Hagley, she would be the fifth generation of du Ponts to walk down its paths while renewing "the associations of childhood and recalling the memories of those who I have loved the most,"[33] providing a powerful incentive for her to create a place of special meaning.

Louise du Pont Crowninshield was a founding trustee of the National Trust for Historic Preservation and a collector of early American furniture. She decided to restore the house to its original eighteenth-century appearance (Lord 1999, 147). However, although the du Pont family had historically been keen horticulturalists, she did not extend the restoration to recovering the formal French garden planted by her ancestor Irénée (Lord 1999, 17; Wilkinson 1972: 52). Her decision to create a Roman garden to accompany her Federal period house was unorthodox, and despite objections that the garden was "out of place" with the historical context of the mills she went to considerable trouble to preserve evidence of the site's industrial use and incorporate it into the fabric of the garden (Ortega 1988, 25).

Hagley sits at the top of a steep slope with a 27-meter (90 foot) differential between house and river. On the terrace immediately below the

[32] Following company practice I use "du Pont" to refer to the family and "DuPont" to refer to the business.
[33] Henry Algernon du Pont to Louise du Pont Crowninshield, 25 August 1925, cited by Correll 1991, 4.

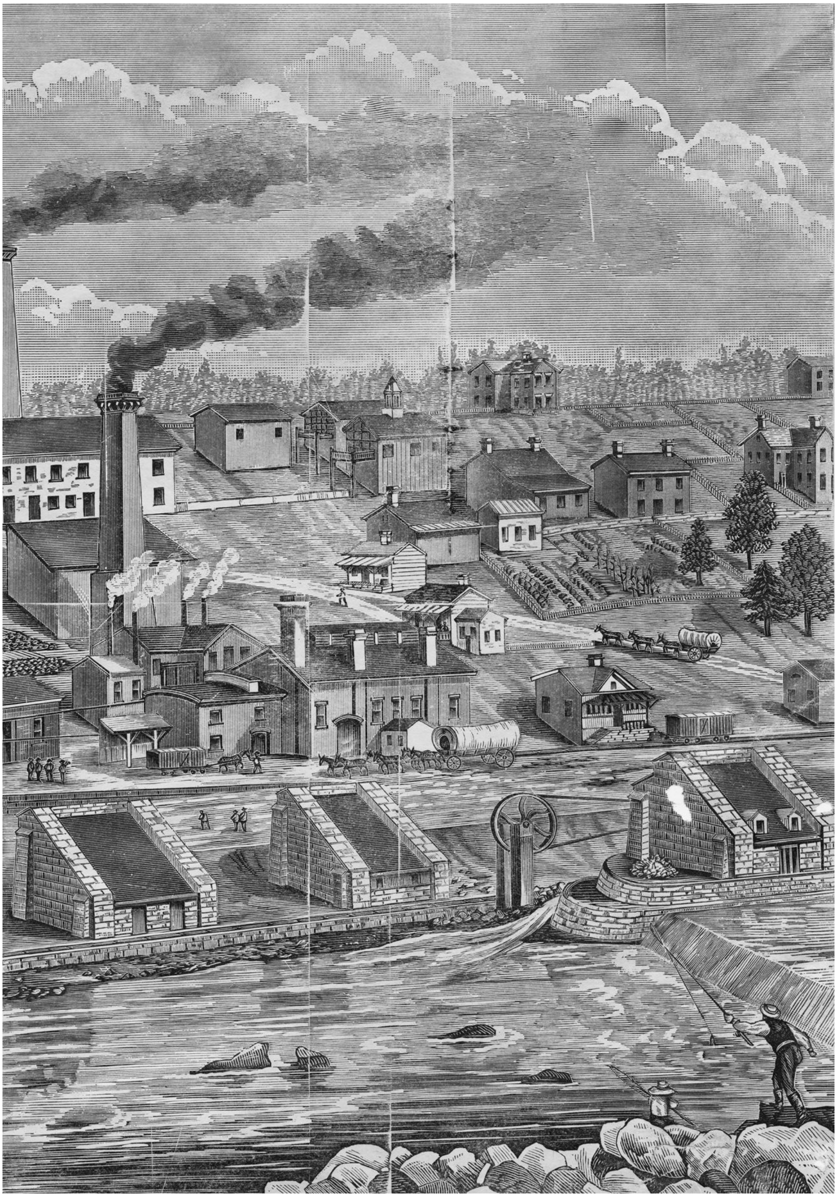

FIG. 7.11. View of Hagley House (top, center) and Eleutherian Mills powder yards from the Brandywine River, *c.* 1822.
Hagley Museum and Library.

house was a natural spring-fed pond that once served as a reservoir for the powder works, feeding a shallow pool within the main industrial complex on the lower terraces. Since no elite residence of early twentieth-century America was complete without a swimming pool, the spring-fed pond by the house was lined with concrete and repurposed by the Crowninshields to serve this function. A formal stairway was proposed to lead from this swimming pool to the old works pool, connecting the two levels of the garden, but the lead architect Walter Mellor objected to the idea:

> One thing leads to another, and I find that if we put in anything but a very informal treatment we will be faced with a tremendous undertaking. . . . Should we proceed with the development of the site of the old Powder Works into a garden, we would immediately have to consider a treatment of huge dimensions and scale, such as the Villa d'Este. . . . A garden under these conditions seems anomalous. Besides this, to our way of thinking, the garden should be adjacent to the house. Then again, on top of this the outlook from the house is on a more or less wild and wooded country, and I should think the better treatment would be one of simplicity—one back to nature. This would mean obliterating all the old ruins of the Powder Works, with perhaps keeping the retaining walls which at present form the different levels of the ground, and grassing over the entire area. (Walter Mellor to Henry Francis du Pont, 19 January, 1924, cited by Correll 1991, 2)

Louise du Pont Crowninshield not only rejected this advice, she designed a garden that deliberately undermined every point that Mellor had raised. He suggested minimal development, she introduced large-scale monuments; he believed the garden should remain near the house, she expanded its borders down to the banks of the Brandywine; he recommended a naturalistic approach, she opted for formal design; he advised obliterating the industrial ruins, she emphasized them. The brick walls of the old refinery, the old works pool, the charcoal house and storage sheds were all preserved in the stratigraphy of garden terraces, as if revealed by excavation. Evaporation cauldrons for saltpeter, salvaged from the ruins of the 1917 explosion, were repurposed as archaic vessels that marked the transition between terraces (Fig. 7.12).

The result is, as Mellor predicted, a startling anomaly. By inverting the usual rules of garden design that dictated a formal garden should be confined to the area nearest the house, the site acknowledged the importance of Eleutherian Mills as the source of the du Pont's fortune.

From a distance, the grounds, landscaped in a series of belvederes and arcades, resembled an Italian garden, a popular style for gardens of the American elite (Otis 2002, 174–175). However, closer investigation proved this label inadequate for it also featured the reflecting

FIG. 7.12. Saltpeter kettles in the Crowninshield garden, view from twin pools to refinery terrace.
Hagley Museum and Library.

pools, pillared walkways, statuary, and mosaics that were typical elements of the gardens excavated at Pompeii (von Stackelberg 2009, 24–41). Genuine antique Classical columns and statuary collected by Frank Crowninshield were intermixed with reproductions created by a local Italian mason (Lord 1999, 19; Hinsley 1988, 23). In order to produce an antique effect, workmen distressed the reproductions with sledgehammers and chisels to simulate the damage of time (Fig. 7.13).

In doing this, Louise du Pont Crowninshield radically confused the normal conventions of landscape design. Although the English landscape garden could accept the presence of ersatz ruins as follies, the Italian garden required antiquarian authenticity from its ruins (Christian 2008, 119). Through fake ruins and real plants, the Crowninshield garden generated a wholly unexpected encounter with the hyperreal. The ensuing confusion can be read in the diverse terminology used in subsequent reports on the site. It has variously been identified as "an elaborate 'ruined' Italian Renaissance garden" (Ortega 1988, 24); "a romantic, Italian ruin garden" (Hinsley 1988, 2); and an "Italianate Classical ruin garden" (Correll 1990, 11).

FIG. 7.13. Artificially damaged Classical elements in the old refinery, Crowninshield garden.
Hagley Museum and Library.

However, in Louise du Pont Crowninshield's private correspondence it is clearly referred to as her "Roman garden."[34]

The claim to *romanitas* is most evident in the sunken garden where the brick walls of the old refinery were re-presented as a Roman *domus* with mosaic floors. The old cooling pool that had initiated the whole project

[34] S. Ellen Thompson, Louise and Francis B. Crowinshield's private secretary, to Ruth Wales du Pont, Nov. 24–29, 1958.

was now a *piscina*, surrounded by busts of Greek and Roman philosophers and reflecting the pillars of the peristyle, a characteristic element of Roman garden design. This area comes closest to being an absolute fake in the sense of the Getty Villa and the Pompeia in that it appears to be recreating a real place, specifically the House of G. Cornelius Rufus in Pompeii (VIII.4.15). A photograph of the old refinery replicates the dominant view that would unfold for the visitor as they followed the main path down from the house. It shows a marble table with gryphon in an atrium court, a bust of a man prominently displayed on the viewer's left, and a pool surrounded by a peristyle to the south (Fig. 7.14).

This table is a reproduction of one found in the House of G. Cornelius Rufus and the visitor would encounter it in a context that virtually replicated views of the same house found in the works of the Niccolini brothers and August Mau (Cassanelli et al. 2002, 32; Mau 1899, 250, fig. 126). The private correspondence of Louise du Pont Crowninshield does not indicate whether she owned or had read these works, but since Frank Crowninshield's uncle, Frederic Crowninshield, was the director

FIG. 7.14. Allusive view of the atrium and peristyle based on the House of G. Cornelius Rufus in Pompeii, Crowninshield garden.
Hagley Museum and Library.

of the American Academy in Rome, the close resemblance between the ruined *domus* of the old refinery and a house destroyed by the eruption of Vesuvius was probably not coincidental. The gryphon table served as a prompt to remind the viewer of Pompeii and possibly trigger the realization that a similarly catastrophic explosion had also destroyed Eleutherian Mills. Unconsciously, the Crowninshield garden answered the question posed by the Pompeia a generation earlier: what would be left behind if American civilization were suddenly obliterated?

The itinerary of the garden and its use of ruins were suggestive of the Grand Tour, the peripatetic acquisition of cultured polish that gentlemen (and subsequently ladies) were expected to undertake. Yet the two types of ruins on display, ersatz Classical elements combined with fragments of genuine industrial activity, confuse the chronological order. The serpentine path that ran from Hagley House down to the banks of the Brandywine River garden revisioned history, presenting the du Pont family and Eleutherian Mills as a force of American industry that had been in place for centuries, coeval with Imperial Rome. The archaeological aesthetic of the garden moved visitors back through time as they moved forward through space. Walking from Hagley House down to the Brandywine River the architectural styles regress, with florid Italian baroque giving way to more orderly Roman tropes, until culminating in the first and most severe of all the styles, Greek Doric. Once the visitor had reached the bottom of the garden, a normative chronological sequence might be thought to reassert itself (walking up from the river moves the body forward through time) except for one final twist. The quarter-scale Doric temple is a visual pun, a reference to the "Temple of Theseus" erected by James "Athenian" Stuart at Hagley Park in Worcestershire, from where Hagley House itself was thought to derive its name (Soros 2007, 317–321) (Fig. 7.15).

The visitor thus comes full circle, with the temple at the bottom of the garden making an ouroboric reference to the house at top of the site. It is a ludic space, characterized by garden historian John Dixon Hunt as a "Classical 'Disneyland'," and by contemporaries as an expression of the creator's "vitality and charm" (Hunt 1988, 53; Correll 1990, 12).

The Classical ruins of the Crowninshield garden prompted the visitor to vividly experience an idea of Rome married to modern America. However, once the decision was made to turn the site into a research center that foregrounded the achievements of the DuPont company, the heterotopic alterity provided by its hyperreality proved uncomfortable. Its "pseudo-Classical" ruins confused the straightforward public interpretation of the site as a place of industry, with well-defined buildings and boundaries, and

FIG. 7.15. Doric temple and monumental arches, Crowninshield garden. Hagley Museum and Library.

a progressive narrative marked by clear dates. The disjunction between place and environment, combined with the deliberate confusion of real and fake, elicited pronounced hostility from Hagley's trustees, who upon her death decided to dismantle the Crowninshield garden with all possible speed:

> We are hoping to restore this area to its original status as the birthplace of the Du Pont [*sic*] company, and these ruins are very much out of place. We would therefore like to dispose of them in the near future and if you are interested in looking them over, please call for an appointment. Possibly they would be of some interest to you and, if so, please call us promptly. (Philip J. Kimball to Robert Hagenback, Gracelawn Cemetery, 23 January 1962, cited by Correll 1991, 26)

The transformation of a site from real ruin to a pastiche of one was deeply unsettling to the trustees. In part, this reflected a change of taste and a shift in the political climate. By the 1960s the concept of Rome no longer suggested American republican ideals; at best it suggested the amoral excess of *La Dolce Vita* (1960), at worst cold-war rhetoric cast it as the prototype for totalitarian regimes of communism and fascism (Malamud 2009, 212).

But their reports also indicate that the garden's confusion of historical categories and design typologies triggered a state of cognitive dissonance, as demonstrated by later attempts to place the garden into a more readily understood category of "Italian garden." Some of the trustees' discomfort with the site may have stemmed from the recognition that while the Crowninshield garden celebrated American industry, its Pompeian ruins gently referenced the deaths that underwrote that history.

Although the administration at Hagley House never fully articulated why the garden disturbed them, comments were made on its "funereal" appearance.[35] By creating a garden that bore a superficial resemblance to the fashionable Italian gardens found in the homes of her friends and family, only to render it as damaged and decaying, Louise du Pont Crowninshield referenced not only the glories of Rome, but also its decline. The Roman ruins may have signaled five generations of venerable du Pont ownership and *auctoritas*, but they also carried the suggestion of *memento mori*. In 1890, when Louise du Pont Crowninshield was thirteen years old, twelve people died in an explosion at the powder works, and many more had died or been badly injured in smaller accidents over its years in operation. Although the DuPont company diversified into many branches of the chemical industry and applied its products to many civilian areas, its core business rested on gunpowder and dynamite. Classical ruins undermine the optimistic premise of science and industry; they suggest that however hard a civilization may strive to better itself sooner or later it will fall to internal weakness or external calamity. This was not a view of history that the trustees were prepared to address. The statues of the Crowninshield garden were therefore offered for sale to Forest Lawn Memorial Park (another famous iteration of hyperreality) and the Doric temple and Roman monumental arches were dismantled (Hunt 1988, 53; Correll 1991, 25; Eco 1986, 38). The garden was closed to the public where time was left to transform its hyperreal ruins into a reality.

Conclusion

Two points emerge from this study of hyperreality and its role in Neo-Antique place-making that indicate a potential for its wider application.

[35] An understandable impression given the nineteenth century's adoption of antique temples as a model for funerary architecture. The Theseion that inspired the Doric temple at Crowninshield was also thought to provide the model for Jay Gould's tomb in Woodlawn Cemetery; see Macaulay–Lewis in this volume, pp. 202–206.

The first is the flexibility of hyperreal space, which functions even in the most eclectic architectural contexts; Neo-Antique sites were at their most impressive when they could utilize all aspects of place-making—architecture, artifacts, interior design, and greenspace—as at the Getty Villa and Franklin Smith's Pompeia. However, as the Crowninshield garden demonstrates, hyperreal experience could also be activated using only some of those elements, judiciously placed. Hyperreality's dependence upon and encouragement of the mechanics of capitalist exchange, whether that exchange is of goods or knowledge, means that even limited usage of Classical elements can synecdochically create a portal into heterotopic alterity. Eclectic styles of architecture and collections of bricolage are therefore not excluded from considerations of their hyperreal impact.

A second aspect of hyperreal space is that it is not dependent on locations of cultural capital. It is often assumed that the impetus for Neo-Antique architecture was generated from urban centers of power, but the Getty Villa, the Pompeia, and the Crowninshield garden all came into being in regional locations that were ancillary to the recognized cultural centers of Los Angeles, New York, and Washington, DC. In view of this dispersal, sites that have been dismissed as peripheral architectural curiosities should perhaps be reassessed for their hyperreal potential.

One of the greatest advantages of using hyperreality as a lens through which to study Neo-Antique sites is that it looks beyond the question of how faithful they are to their original source of inspiration, refocusing our attention on the question of experience. The Pompeia, the Crowninshield garden, and the Getty Villa are all very different from each other in terms of their form, content, history, usage, and fidelity to their Classical source material, but they are connected through their production of experience that takes received historical knowledge and reshapes it to suit the needs of the patron, the site, the visitor.

In their architectural reception of Classical Rome, the Pompeia and the Crowninshield garden both anticipated the Getty Villa's mission to regain contact with the past. In each case, the pasts they connected to were transformed into commentaries on their present. Inverting the axiom that space produces place, it seems that one of the effects of Neo-Antique place is to generate hyperreal space. In this space the occupant/visitor experiences a heterotopic alterity—a "history, plus"—that takes the consensus history of Classical Rome and re-transcribes it in unique ways. The Pompeia validated the self-image of nineteenth-century Americans as heirs to Rome's cultural legacy. The Crowninshield garden presented American industry as on a par with Roman civilization, while hinting at its limitations. Both sites eventually closed, unable to weather changes in popular taste. Only the Getty Villa remains, still generating ideas and experiences. With time, the impression of J. Paul Getty’s Caesarian self-fashioning has become less overt, allowing the generation of new responses that are only beginning to be explored.

AFTERWORD | New Romans, New Directions

KATHARINE T. VON STACKELBERG AND
ELIZABETH MACAULAY-LEWIS

The papers in this volume have considered the reception, translation, transcription, and appropriation of Classical and Ancient Egyptian architecture in spaces of dwelling from the mid-eighteenth to late twentieth centuries. A complex picture emerges from these diverse analyses that points to future avenues for research. Most fundamentally, these essays demonstrate that scholars should approach much of the reception of ancient architecture not solely through a Neoclassical or Neo-Egyptian lens, but also through that of the Neo-Antique. Broader in concept, a Neo-Antique framework encourages us to make connections between the silos of knowledge, specifically here the Neoclassical and the Neo-Egyptian, to understand that the processes guiding the reception of Classical and Egyptian architecture were often similar, and part of the larger reception of antiquity in Europe and the United States. The Neo-Antique framework also challenges established conceptions of the Neoclassical's limitations—an aristocratic and elite, derivative phenomenon—and redefines it as diverse, innovative, and original. These essays demonstrate that interest in ancient architecture was not limited to the civic and/or public sphere, but rather, that ancient architecture appealed to a wide range of patrons, architects, and artists in their creation of dwelling places—from dining rooms and bedrooms to tombs and gardens.

The art and architecture of Classical antiquity and Egypt are endlessly mutable and ripe for transformation; they remain sources of inspiration for Europeans and Americans, but their meanings have changed depending on time and place. While largely lauded as an exemplary model in the eighteenth century, receptions of Classical architecture became more problematic, as Hales, Deusner, Nichols, and von Stackelberg demonstrate, as the twentieth century approached and ran its course. Such receptions were now contested and their value not assured.

The majority of the Neo-Antique monuments discussed in this volume were closely connected to the major ideas and trends of their era. John Soane was a pioneering and influential architect who erected Neoclassical buildings in Britain that were responsive to their era, when Britain was building its empire. His residences and his most famous commission (the Bank of England) were also informed by the recently excavated sites on the Bay of Naples and an increased knowledge of antiquity through new publications on excavations. Similarly, van Eck and Versluys demonstrate that the immersive environment of the Hôtel de Beauharnais was a manifestation of changes in attitudes toward design and design theory and reflected political realities—Napoleon's invasion of Egypt and the resulting influence of Egypt on French art and architecture. Thus, the Empire Style is connected to the cutting edge-design theories of its day and prefigured the Beaux-Arts movements that would come to define nineteenth-century French design and architecture. Hales's study of the Roman and Gallo-Roman house at the Paris Exposition not only demonstrates the diversity of the antiquity that was repurposed (looking beyond the obligatory high points of Augustan Rome or Periclean Athens to include Late Antiquity and provincial influences), but also highlights how antiquity and its reinterpretations were tied to the major theoretical and intellectual issues of the day—here the emergence of national concerns and ethnography.

Ideas about race, class, and gender also played out in these spaces, thus making the reception of antiquity as problematic as it was appreciated. As Nichols points out, debates over American-born versus immigrant labor found a *cause célébre* in the creation of the Pompeii room at the Capitol building. Deusner's paper demonstrates that reactions to the *exedrae* of New York City's parks were complex because although they embodied democratic values and an engaged citizenship, they were also perceived as a license for the wrong sort of folk to loiter in their leisure (or worse, unemployed) time. The political and economic crises of the mid-1970s no doubt contributed to the critical ridicule the Getty Villa received. Yet the process appears to be cyclical; today, nearly fifty years later, it is prized for being an immersive experience that allows visitors to experience an ancient villa and garden. Once again we are seeing the resurgence of ancient forms as artistic models for sculptural production (Gavin 2015).

The use of Neo-Antique forms, interiors, and architecture also often denoted social belonging at aristocratic and *haute bourgeois* levels.

Soane's stuffed house and the ruinous landscapes of his Neoclassical suburban abode reflected his interest in the Classical world as a designer and architect. His residences were also highly visible, outward symbols that he, as the son of builder done good, was now a respectable member of good society. Likewise, the Neo-Antique tombs of Woodlawn cemetery signified the social status of an individual. The fact that numerous self-made millionaires like Gould, Bache, and Woolworth erected Neo-Antique mausolea demonstrates that, even in death, such forms denoted one's achievements, status, and social belonging. Like Soane, many of the self-made men who built Neo-Antique mausolea were also collectors of antiquities. Therefore, the possession of ancient objects and the erection of Neo-Antique architecture reflect the multifaceted nature of the interaction between ancients and moderns. The opening vignette of Nichols's paper illustrates how the social acceptability of the Neo-Antique also meant that it could symbolize the oppressive nature of the social restrictions of the late nineteenth century.

Triangulation is central to the American examples. The reception of the Antique was often refracted through the lens of European interpretations of antiquity, as von Stackelberg and Nichols note, so that the elite of the United States still looked to Europe as a cultural model. Newly wealthy Americans of the time often sought legitimacy through ancient forms in their domestic environments and tombs.

In many of these dwelling spaces, we see the development of what could be termed the "Kodak-ization" of antiquity. In this sense, "Parthenon," or some other famous building, became a synecdochical term for any and all Classical structures. In other words, there is a movement toward a generic ancient reference to interiors and architecture. The lack of specificity in late nineteenth-century sources over the *exedra* of Greek or Roman architecture demonstrates that the idea of antiquity often mattered more than the details. The pastiche tombs of Woodlawn, like the Leeds and Woolworth mausolea, as discussed by Macaulay-Lewis; the so-called Pompeian dining rooms considered by Nichols; and the Roman and Gallo-Roman houses explicated by Hales, exemplify the phenomenon where the idea of something Classical or Egyptian is more important than a considered reference to a specific building or place.

Almost all of the architectural receptions discussed in this volume were highly immersive experiences that integrated architecture, interior design, and/or landscape to remarkable effect. These immersive environments serve as reminders of the challenges of creating "reconstructions" today, specifically the virtual world reconstructions of ancient cities and sites.

While many of these projects, like the detailed virtual reconstruction of Hadrian's Villa, are grounded in scholarship and knowledge (Frischer n.d.; Gentiluomo n.d.), many others are not and run the risk of becoming digital pastiches not so different from those created by eighteenth- and nineteenth-century architects and patrons. Examples of Neo-Antique place-making from the late eighteenth through to the twentieth centuries are in many ways the original virtual world environments and have value as an intellectual sounding board for contemporary projects. The recent profusion of computer games that recreate aspects of ancient Rome, Greece, and Egypt (or allow the gamer to do so) demonstrate the potency of these civilizations on our imaginations. A deeper consideration of such games would allow us to engage with other popular receptions of antiquity.

Much like its oversized position in Roman archaeology, Pompeii holds an overly important place within the reception of ancient architecture in spaces of dwelling. Pompeii, a small provincial town with a population of 10,000 to 25,000, captivated American and European patrons and architects alike. Its importance seems to be due to several key factors—its dramatic and sudden demise as a city made it a cautionary tale for those perceived as living a life of sin in later eras; the extraordinary level of preservation at the site, including its stunning wall paintings, sculpture, and furniture; and the domesticity of many of the spaces recovered. Pompeii remains most famous for its houses; thus it was natural that Pompeian rooms and vestibules should appear as key elements in reinterpretations of Pompeii in later eras. Pompeii's reception, which was often filtered through literature, also speaks to the important role of texts in the reception of ancient architecture.

In the realm of Classics, scholars of visual and material culture often have had a contentious relationship with textual scholars. The essays in this volume demonstrate that texts—specifically ancient texts; eighteenth-, nineteenth- and twentieth-century texts on antiquity's archaeological treasures, such as the *Description of Egypt*, Piranesi's etchings, the pattern books and histories of ancient architecture; and literature, such as Bulter-Lytton's *The Last Days of Pompeii*—were vital to the conceptualization and framing of ancient architecture's reception. *The Last Days of Pompeii* could not have been written without the remarkable archaeological discoveries on the Bay of Naples. Conversely, the creation of a Roman and a Gallo-Roman house in the Paris Expo might not have happened without the popularity of Bulter-Lytton's novel and its translation into French. So rather than seeing the process as an "either/or—text or material culture," we should understand the reception of ancient culture in America and

Europe as one that was shaped by a reciprocal engagement with literary, historical, visual, and material culture. In other words, text, art, and architecture all matter, and are equally important aspects of the process of architectural and Classical reception; therefore, they must be considered together. Deusner's paper also reminds us that architecture was often in conversation with art, specifically paintings; the physical *exedrae* were paralleled by their painted cousins in the works of Alma-Tadema and others.

Central to the conceptualization and execution of these architectural receptions is also the idea of bricolage. These receptions are diverse in terms of their use of antiquity, their combinations of different aspects of antiquity, their interpretation of antiquity. There are different antiquities—Pompeii, (Augustan and Late Antique) Rome, Greece, and (Hellenistic and Pharaonic) Egypt—that are reused in different ways, as interiors of lavish mansions, ruinous landscaped gardens, tombs, restaurants, and so on. At the Hôtel de Beauharnais, Egyptian and Roman rooms were created, as well as a Turkish boudoir, and the same happened in the Marquand Mansion (Deusner 2010 and 2011). In Woodlawn Cemetery, eclectic combinations of ancient motifs were used to create compelling final abodes in many mausolea. In the tomb of Leeds, the stepped-roof of the Mausoleum of Halicarnissus was combined with Roman architectural fragments and the details of the tomb of Scipio Barbatus, while in Woolworth's tomb, a range of Egyptian buildings, including the Temple of Dendur, were referenced.

This volume has moved the study of ancient architecture solely from the preserve of civic and public realms toward a more nuanced understanding of the reception of ancient architecture in spaces of dwelling. Therefore, it should serve as a catalyst for a "big tent" approach to the reception of ancient architecture and for a broader understanding of reception studies. The papers within this volume also outline a set of avenues for future investigation. Kuttner's discussion of the ruinous gardens of Soane's Pitzhanger Manor, Macaulay-Lewis's analysis of the highly faithful Neo-Egyptian landscape of Bache's Philae-inspired mausoleum, Deusner's consideration of the Cornish gardens and *exedrae* in parks, and, lastly, von Stackelberg's treatment of the Crownshield garden and gardens of the Getty Villa demonstrate the centrality of landscape to the Neo-Antique style and to Classical reception. Undoubtedly, investigation of other receptions of antiquity as expressed in other, new creations of landscape will help us to understand how the moderns understood and interacted with ancient conceptions of landscapes and gardens long before any ancient gardens were systematically excavated.

Just as the expanse of landscape deserves further treatment, so too do other aspects of the interior. Examples of Egyptian interiors have been treated in detail by van Eck and Versluys; of Roman ones by Kuttner; and of Pompeian ones by Nichols, Hales, and von Stackelberg. Analysis of Greek interiors, like that of the music room of Henry Marquand, to which Deusner refers, should also warrant more attention. The tension that Nichols highlights between positive and negative perceptions of Pompeian vestibules and interiors demonstrates that such spaces were contested and reflects conflicting perceptions about ancient receptions.

Mass produced furniture that became a staple of late nineteenth- and twentieth-century decor and interiors deserves more study. Scholars have examined the use of Egyptian motifs in furniture and *objets d' art*, but they have typically focused on the very best that was produced. Therefore, an examination of the motifs used and the antiquities repurposed by the bourgeois and working classes would allow us to understand why people purchased such objects and the roles that they play in the home—as a status-symbol or symbol of social and/or class inclusion. Likewise, the advent of mass-produced prints allowed non-elites to purchase works of art for display in their parlors and home. Analysis of such works of art—many of which were prints of famous archaeological sites or other important buildings—would also prove insightful.

Other avenues of approach include a more focused engagement with issues of class, race, and ethnicity. There has yet to be an in-depth study of working class responses to Classical antiquity in the United States. Margaret Malamud's consideration of popular entertainments that recreated the eruption of Vesuvius at Coney Island demonstrates that many of New York's working class were delighted by the spectacles of ancient destruction (Malamud 2009). The Classics and Class project has demonstrated that the non-elites of the United Kingdom engaged with and received Classics and antiquity in their own ways, distinctive of elite practices (Hall and Stead n.d.). The study of how people of color have interacted with the visual and material culture of antiquity also requires further study. Just as studies of postcolonial literary receptions of Classics have seen focused attention (Hardwick and Gillespie 2007), ancient architecture has often been reinterpreted across the globe through European colonialism. An examination of civic and judicial buildings, train stations, museums, ambassadors' residents, as well as other types of architecture in the Asian subcontinent, Africa, and South America would likely yield fruitful and complex insights into a highly layered reception, where antiquity was refracted through the lenses of European and colonial interests.

In sum, this volume has considered how many modern Europeans and Americans recast themselves as new Romans, Greeks, and Egyptians in an effort to create unique domestic environments, gardens, and even tombs. For these new Romans, the past was something to be revisited, reinterpreted, and revised to suit the changing needs of modernity. This volume offers a glimpse of how complicated and rich such receptions were and will continue to be.

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