WRITING ON THE RUINS: AUBIN-LOUIS MILLIN (1759–1818) AND HIS *ANTIQUITÉS NATIONALES* (1790–8)

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INTRODUCTION

This is the story of a book; a book about a book. For a book to deserve that another one should be written about it then, or at least so common sense would suggest, it must be one of the 'classics', a work that can be described as 'epoch-making'. When reviewing Bernard Williams's *Shame and necessity*, Jonathan Barnes ended his article on the following succinct typology of possible reactions to books:

> "Academic books fall into three classes. There are books – many of them – which you might have tossed off yourself. There are books – many more of them – which, thank God, you could never have written. There are books – how few, how very few – which you only wish you had written."[1]

By the end of this study the reader will probably realize that, if Barnes's typology is adhered to, Aubin-Louis Millin's *Antiquités nationales* could be identified as belonging either to the first or second class, more probably the first. Few and far between will be the readers who might wish that they could have written such a book.

The three above-mentioned reactions to a book are all perfectly valid, although they do remain at the level of a global appreciation of the value or otherwise of a text. For a book historian, a literary historian or an art historian, the study of an illustrated book written over two centuries ago describing monuments threatened with destruction during the French Revolution requires that a further series of questions should be formulated. These further questions certainly do not replace the reactions outlined by Barnes; rather they complement them by encouraging the reader to consider in greater detail the text and the particular circumstances of its composition, its transfer from the private to the public domain by means of printing and marketing, its reception and its repercussions. Indeed, the answers to these questions may well aid us in understanding why it is that a certain work is more likely to fall into Barnes's third category than his first, or *vice versa*. There are many different points of view from which a book may be approached, and it would always be hard to claim that all the possible approaches have been attempted. This study of the *Antiquités nationales* proposes a number of ways in which a work of this genre can be investigated.

The *Antiquités nationales* constitute, to say the least, an enigmatic publication. Written against the background of the French Revolution, by an author who had until that time been concentrating most of his scholarly efforts on works on the subject of natural

[1] BARNES 1993, p. 4.

history, it is a book about which very little is known. A series of sixty-one dissertations of varying lengths, gathered into five volumes, describes and relates the history of individual buildings or monuments which were, according to the author, threatened by the waves of vandalism sweeping through France during the French Revolution. Neither the circumstances of the book's composition nor of its printing and marketing are easily elucidated, and the very form in which it was issued is one that requires careful investigation by a bibliographer. It appears that the traditional system of presenting a book was modified in an attempt to allow readers better to appropriate it for themselves.[2] Amongst the more puzzling elements of this book is its reception. Hailed at the moment of its publication as being a work of the greatest importance which should find a place in every library, the *Antiquités* very quickly fell from public favour. By now it is generally known only to those engaged in research on the history of French architectural heritage and who are trying to find illustrations which bear witness to the state of a building at the time of the Revolution or before. But very few scholars are able to describe the book itself or to give even the vaguest idea of its contents. Some recent commentators have claimed that it deals almost exclusively with mediaeval monuments, others would see it rather as being a book that takes as its main subject classical antiquities. The second of these judgements is entirely erroneous, and the first, albeit generally accurate, requires some slight modification.

As can be imagined from what has just been said about the critical fortune of the *Antiquités*, this was absolutely not the work that established Millin's scholarly reputation. In effect, the one does mirror the other inasmuch as, as will be seen in the first chapter, the author suffered almost exactly the same fate as did his book. Known throughout Europe and honoured with many academic distinctions, his memory was, within only a couple of years of his death, to fall into almost total oblivion. With the exception of a handful of contemporary obituaries, only one of which extends to any length, there is no full study of his life. This is in itself a shame since consideration of his biography and his career proves very interesting in terms of the light that it casts not only on this one individual, but also more generally on intellectuals in France at the time. Sufficiently wealthy to be able to refuse the three traditional careers open to young men of his background – the church, the army and the bar – Millin devoted himself to scholarship, only to find that the Revolution was to change many of the circumstances of his life. Like many others in his position, he adopted the cause whole-heartedly, participating in public debate by means of his editorship of a newspaper and his

[2] Appendix 1, § 'Notes'.

authorship of a number of pamphlets, but he soon began to question the direction in which certain groups were leading France. He almost paid for this with his life and was subsequently to make a determined effort to separate his intellectual and his political lives. Through his teaching and his writings, and also through his exploitation of the social structures available at the time, most especially the literary salons, he managed to establish himself amongst the more familiar figures in Parisian intellectual and social life during the Consulat and the First Empire.

This was an author who wrote reams, for the most part of a somewhat second-rate quality, and who despite, or perhaps because of, the quantity of articles that he churned out never managed to achieve what he must almost certainly have coveted, that is a place in the literary pantheon of France. Apart from the happy chance of being born to moderately wealthy bourgeois parents, very little in fact would have separated him from those authors described by Robert Darnton who existed on the literary fringes and tried to eke out a living by accepting paltry literary commissions, often in the realms of translation or popularization.[3] For the simple fact of the matter is that Millin did not leave behind him a great literary heritage. The examination of his critical fortune shows that the various aspects of his work, including the *Antiquités*, have met with a very mixed reception, and that his greatest talent, that of the dissemination and popularization of new theories, ideas and methods, was one that was destined to grant both him and his writings only the most transient success.

More than any other of his academic works, the *Antiquités* were influenced by the historical background against which they were being written. They were a direct response to one element of the situation in France at this time, namely revolutionary vandalism. Millin and his publisher stated that their work was motivated by a wish to record the monuments at risk, a task that was becoming increasingly necessary given the procrastinations of the body officially appointed to address the problem, the Commission des monuments. This is a thorny question, not the least because the subject of vandalism is one that has often inspired works marked by highly inflammatory opinions. Some have defended the revolutionaries, claiming that this was actually a period that was rich in artistic creation and even that, by provoking the creation of heritage commissions, it proved to be the salvation of French monuments. Others have lamented the destruction that irretrievably devastated the French monumental landscape of the time and that has been, at least in their eyes, unequalled by any other period of history. As ever, the truth lies somewhere between these two extremes: destructions there

[3] DARNTON 1992.

certainly were, but these were nowhere near as widespread as some would argue and as much damage was done later by those who wished to develop towns, the clearest example being Paris, as by those who were attacking the symbols of oppression and subjugation during the closing decade of the eighteenth century. Nor is this unresolved ambiguity a problem that has been entirely restricted to the later historiography of the revolutionary period. It will be seen from a number of examples that even the actors of the time were sometimes guilty of effecting an abrupt volte-face in their attitude towards the monuments of the past. Millin himself cannot escape all blame on this particular point: he was not always an ardent defender of historical monuments and, acting in accordance with his political views at the beginning of the Revolution, he was prepared to preach for the destruction of some works that testified to the earlier feudal system in France.

One of the major elements of this study is an attempt to broaden our understanding of an important phenomenon in cultural history, the production of a book. In effect, one single example, if carefully selected, enables the modern-day reader to analyse the entire process in the creation of a scientific publication from the first moments of its conception up to its material production, and then beyond this to its reception, both contemporary and later. An understanding of the author's career is essential, but even so he remains only one of the figures concerned, albeit the central one. A book's production still involved a large number of people despite the fact that the abolition of the censorship structures at the time of the French Revolution had removed some of the characters previously involved.[4] The relative ease with which books could be published as a result of the loosening of the legal constraints, combined with a greater demand for information, led to a considerable boom in the printing industry at this time and thus many new publishers, printers and booksellers were to enter the formerly closed world of the Parisian book-trade. All too often, however, these new businesses were destined to enjoy only a very brief lifespan: these ephemeral enterprises have frequently left very few material traces. Such is the case with both the publisher of Millin's *Antiquités* and at least one of his three printers. The question is further complicated by the fact that of the three printers, only one was named in the book itself and the other two have to be identified from the imprints of other works or by comparison with other examples of printing of the time.

The production of a book does not end when the presses stopped, and tracing the history of the marketing of the book casts much light on the problems that beset not only this work but also much of the Parisian printing industry at the time. Economic conditions were

[4] DARNTON 1992, p. 157.

far from being ideal for the publication of a book, and the period was marked by a considerable rise in the number of bankruptcies declared in the publishing industry. Certainly Millin's publisher, Drouhin, exhibited some awareness of the need to exploit the prevalent market conditions. He tailored his production to suit the market, but even this was not always successful given that allegiances and fashions could change very quickly. In this respect it is interesting to notice the way in which, for example, he produced simultaneously two formats of the same book but delayed selling the copies of the larger format for almost two years. Furthermore, at the time of the Revolution, those who had in the previous decades purchased relatively expensive illustrated works of this type were no longer necessarily in a position to do so: either they had lost much of their wealth or they had been forced into exile. The most resourceful of publishers were often hard put to it to be able to guarantee good sales of a work, and Drouhin proved to be no exception. Repeated attempts were made to sell the work in different formats or under different titles, but they were generally doomed to failure, and the whole episode proves to be almost paradigmatic of the vagaries of the Parisian publishing world during the revolutionary period.

Such questions concerning the material production of a book do not represent all the possible approaches. Of interest also is the way in which an author managed to gather together the material that he needed for his history, and how he then chose to present the facts available to him. Identification of the sources exploited by Millin allow us to reconstruct the intellectual universe of an average scholar at the end of the eighteenth century. Writing a book entitled the 'national antiquities' of France was an ambitious enterprise. As becomes clear from even a glimpse at the title of the work, Millin did not establish any limits to his study. Chronological, geographical and even typological restrictions are very firmly eschewed here. In effect, he allowed himself the widest scope possible. He aimed to be dealing with most types of monuments and with any features of interest to be found in them. Modern scholars would certainly blanch at the idea of producing such an encyclopaedic account. And it was all the more daring as an intellectual enterprise at a time when most of the resources available to a scholar nowadays were definitely not at the disposal of an author such as Millin. The literature already devoted to some of these buildings was not very extensive and without the advantage of modern artistic reproduction techniques there was by no means such a large visual archive to hand. Travelling around France was not as easy as it is today, and this was, furthermore, a time of revolution. One instrument which is available to the modern-day scholar attempting to identify the sources available to Millin when

composing the *Antiquités* is the catalogue of his library.[5] There is, nonetheless, one severe limitation to this work, and that is that it remains no more or less than a sale catalogue. All that it can offer in the way of positive proof is the fact that a certain book was to be found in his collection at the time of his death in 1818. It does not, however, give any indications as to when exactly the book was purchased. Attempting to recognize and inventory his sources for the *Antiquités* merely from a consultation of this catalogue would therefore be fraught with difficulties and would not permit the establishment of sure hypotheses. Fortunately, nonetheless, two further resources are available. One of these is the collection of letters now held in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, of which, nonetheless, only a few contain important evidence concerning the composition of the *Antiquités*, and the other is the book itself. In one or two passages the author alludes to the method that he has used for acquiring a piece of information. A careful extrapolation from these indications allows it to be shown that the *Antiquités* betray a constant use of most of the intellectual tools dear to the antiquaries of the eighteenth century. Three main methods of assembling the necessary factual evidence were employed: the visit to and the observation of the monument, the appeal to other scholars for information and the use of earlier works. If this examination of the sources is not to remain merely at the level of a somewhat arid *Quellenforschung*, it becomes necessary to analyse the way in which various facts and theories were either rejected or appropriated by Millin and how they were in turn adapted to his own argument and then presented to the public.

Merely gathering together the sources concerning each of the sites which he intended to present in his *Antiquités* was not, nonetheless, the only problem which he faced; he also needed to develop or to find a suitable intellectual model. One of the major problems that affected Millin's text and its reception was the very fact that there was all too little interest being shown in France during the eighteenth century for the country's national heritage. The most lavishly illustrated works would tend to deal with classical antiquity: a striking example of this, published only a few years before Millin's book, was Clérisseau's *Antiquités de Nîmes*.[6] Likewise, David Le Roy, with the exception of a survey of the forms of Christian churches from the time of Constantine the Great to the eighteenth century, had concentrated much of his scholarly energy on the study of classical architecture, producing notably his

[5] CATALOGUE 1819.

[6] CLÉRISSEAU 1778.

elegant *Ruines des plus beaux monumens de la Grèce*.[7] For classical architecture the vocabulary was already much more systematic and the main elements of the argument had already been laid out. Millin was, however, venturing into what was largely unexplored territory. The French monumental landscape had been less widely covered, and certainly not in this way. Earlier works had rather been on the big and imposing monuments. The Maurists had been working on local history, but their work was much less concerned with the visual arts. The one exception to this had been Montfaucon, and his study of French mediaeval monuments was not to meet with the same success as had his earlier book on classical antiquity, despite the fact that the two were written on very much the same plan. Generally there was a lack of interest for national subjects, especially those drawn from the Middle Ages. Such was the case in France, but it was not necessarily the same everywhere else in Europe. One country had developed a flourishing school of antiquaries delving into their country's past, and that was England. Fortunately English was a language that Millin knew well at this time, unlike German which he was only to learn after he had written the first four volumes of the *Antiquités* and which he was never fully to master. In the prospectus to his work he was to acknowledge his debt to a certain number of English authors, and close analysis of their writings and comparison with the *Antiquités* proves the importance of this source in providing a new method for dealing with a country's national heritage.

That Millin managed to assemble a remarkably wealthy collection of source materials that he then exploited for the composition of his book is quite clear. But this was not his sole avowed aim when he first presented the *Antiquités* to the public. He promised that, given the constant threat of the destruction of monuments and works of art, he was going to produce a book that would at least ensure that the memory of these objects could be fixed for his contemporaries and for future generations. In order to be able to achieve this he would thus need to provide very accurate records of the appearance of buildings and the treasures contained therein; in other words, he would need to be able to master the art of description. Whilst his efforts in this particular genre do not provide entirely satisfying results, it is impossible to be able to judge his attempts fairly without considering the whole question of the theory of description during the eighteenth century, broadening our view to examine not only architectural description and its related difficulties, but also the other models offered in the fields of literature and of the natural sciences.

[7] LE ROY 1758 (second edition – LE ROY 1770) and LE ROY 1767. The study of the history of ecclesiastical architecture appeared between these two works – LE ROY 1764. On the *Ruines des plus beaux monumens* see POUSIN 1995.

A close examination of the text enables us to witness the difficulties of an intellectual who tried to grapple with the dramatic events of his time, and who felt that these same events called upon him to furnish a response in the form of a new history of his country and her artistic heritage. In this monograph, I wish to demonstrate that the *Antiquités nationales* was a very bold attempt to produce a historical discourse appropriate for the new *citoyens* of the revolutionary period. This in itself presented a great challenge to an author. In effect, the whole question of the historical discourse and the framework suitable for it had to be reconsidered. There would have been very little point for an author to hope to use the traditional narrative discourse articulated around the reigns of the successive kings of France. A new method needed to be found. Millin chose one, the presentation of individual monuments, that has often been criticized for its apparently chaotic nature. Whilst this is at first glance true, a slightly more subtle reading of the work shows that maybe his choice of order for the presentation of the monuments might not have been quite as haphazard as some of his detractors would have us believe. In a number of cases, too many for this to be attributable purely to chance, the choice of a monument proves to have a very close relation to the events that were being played out in France at almost exactly the time that the various parts of the book were being issued. But this requires a close reading of the text and also knowledge of when exactly the parts were being issued and how these dates correspond to important dates in the history of the French Revolution. Such coincidences were surely not lost on Millin's contemporaries, although they have, for understandable reasons, been less obvious to later historians and art historians. Due to its complexity, this attempt has not necessarily been understood by modern scholars, who have preferred to investigate the political significance of, for example, Alexandre Lenoir's Musée des Monumens français. *Reading* Millin's book is not easy, partly because the author's ambitions were too demanding, but mainly because, due to the difficult political context, Millin chose *not* to render explicit the very principles which governed his vision of history and of its use. It is the task of the modern historian, daunting as it may sometimes be, to rediscover such strategies, and to trace the principles which covertly underlay the apparent purpose of such publications.

In many ways, it is true, it would have seemed more logical to devote this type of study to an author such as Winckelmann and to his *Geschichte der Kunst*. In terms of the research already carried out and the abundance of secondary material available the task would have been much less arduous than was that of working on a relatively minor and, at first sight, less than entirely inspiring figure of the late eighteenth century about whom very little is known for certain. But the last half-century has seen a considerable change in

historical method, and not least in terms of the object that is considered worthy of attention. A huge realm of potential new subjects has been opened up by dint of the fact that it is no longer reserved only to the great and the good to be the main focus of attention. "Nuestro tiempo vendrá sellado por la preoccupación hacia el hombre común, ese hombre de la calle del palacio o de la barraca, de la gran empresa o del taller in serie, que se ha cone tido en el principal protagonista de la Historia" were the very apt words of Jaime Vicens Vives on this newly-discovered historical object.[8] Carlo Ginzburg, and more recently Stephen Bann, have demonstrated the interest that can be found in a close study of a marginal figure.[9] What should become clear from this study of one book and its related figures is that this type of careful analysis can prove to be useful on more than one level. Not only does it propose a number of ways of approaching and appreciating a book that has often been dismissed as unintelligible and hence uninteresting and present a cast of characters about whom little has really been known until now, but it also permits an examination and re-evaluation of our knowledge about scholarly pursuits during one period, that of the French Revolution, the Consulat and the First Empire. Maybe it can also help in shedding more light on the great figures and their 'epoch-making' works. Very often it is through a greater comprehension of the background figures that the true ramifications of a book such as the *Geschichte* can be seen and appreciated. Without an insight into their background, the reaction to them and their reception by other scholars, the great works and the great authors remain undeniably great, but the danger that they become isolated, almost 'cult' figures is always present. When viewed from a wider perspective and placed back into the context of their times they can in some ways become more understandable, and the modern scholar can better measure the value and the impact of their work.

[8] VICENS VIVES 1957, vol. 1, *Colonizaciones, feudalismo: Antigüedad, Alta Edad media, América primitiva*, p. 2.

[9] GINZBURG 1976; BANN 1994.

Chapter 1.
"QUANT À MILLIN …":
FROM RENOWN TO OBSCURITY

"Le tombeau père des signes" wrote Alain in his *Esquisses de l'homme*, prompting the comment from Daniel Madelénat that "l'épitaphe est semence de biographie."[1] Tomb inscriptions, be they of only a few words, or lengthier compositions, encapsulate the life of a deceased person whilst the monument itself is the enduring sign of a human life. The tomb's very presence forms a tangible link between the commemorated person and the viewer, albeit sometimes at a distance of hundreds of years. Quite how significant this type of memorial is considered to be becomes apparent in a passage from Marchant de Beaumont's book on the Parisian cemetery of Père-Lachaise. Describing the path which he took in order to reach the tomb of the comte Jollivet, he digresses for a moment to comment that:

> "Pour le découvrir, il a fallu nous conduire sur le lieu où gît, sans la plus petite pierre sépulcrale, Monsieur *Millin*, archéologue, membre de l'Institut, garde des médailles et des antiques de la bibliothèque du roi, sur la fosse duquel les savans et ses amis prodiguèrent l'éloge à l'instant du trépas, et dont les héritiers ont voué la cendre au plus triste abandon."[2]

The contrast is all too poignant: Marchant de Beaumont has neatly identified the paradox inherent in this sudden 'abandon' of a person who had enjoyed considerable fame, social standing and importance during his lifetime. On Millin's death, his estate amounted to very little, a problem compounded by the "frais considérables occasionnés par la liquidation de la succession de M. Millin, n'ayant rien laissé de disponible pour le Monument qui doit être consacré à la mémoire de ce Savant".[3] In order to counteract this, and to provide a fitting place of rest for him, a subscription for a monument in the cemetery of Père-Lachaise was launched. Each donor was to pay a certain amount of money; according to the sum offered, the subscriber would then receive a copy of one of Millin's works. Amongst the titles listed were the *Monumens antiques inédits* at seventy-two francs, the *Voyage en Savoie* at twelve francs, the *Médailles de la Révolution française* at twenty-five francs and the *Pierres gravées inédites* at

[1] ALAIN 1938, p. 86; MADELÉNAT 1984, p. 21.

[2] MARCHANT DE BEAUMONT 1822, p. 346.

[3] SOUSCRIPTION 1819, p. 1.

thirty-six francs.[4] A medal engraved by M. Depaulis showing Millin was also planned, and all subscribers wishing to receive this were to add a further five francs. Once the money had been raised and the monument constructed, an engraving of it, accompanied by a list of the subscribers, would be produced. All subscriptions were to be addressed to Millin's solicitor, Cottin, between September 1 and December 31 1819. But, as is proved by the comment of Marchant de Beaumont, this scheme came to very little, despite the fact that Millin had a wide circle of friends, many of them drawn from the upper ranks of society, who had indicated that they would be favourable to the idea: "Il [le légataire] a donc cédé aux instances des nombreux amis du défunt, en faisant ouvrir une souscription qui les appelle tous à concourir à l'exécution de ce pieux projet."[5]

The problem is how to reconcile the two very distinct impressions that are to be gained of one and the same man: on the one hand, the successful and famous scholar, on the other, the sad state in which his mortal remains, and later his academic reputation, were to be left. Aubin-Louis Millin de Grandmaison (1759–1818) was the author of a considerable number of works mainly in the fields of natural history, archaeology and the history of art, and also the editor of two journals which were very influential in their time.[6] A curator and professor at the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris he was well-known both in France and throughout Europe, benefiting from the patronage of, amongst others, the King of Naples (Joachim Murat), and corresponding with many of the best-known intellectuals of his time, such as Goethe, Karl August Böttiger, Francesco Cancellieri, Choiseul Gouffier, Séroux d'Agincourt, Oberlin and Friedrich Schlegel. He was awarded the Légion d'honneur, was a member of the Institut de France and of many academies and learned societies throughout Europe.[7] It was just this, or rather Millin's insistence on listing his various titles, that was to attract the irony of Stendhal, who famously dismissed him as "Ce M. Millin, membre de tant d'académies."[8] In another work the same author allowed

[4] SOUSCRIPTION 1819, p. 3. ALM MONUMENS 1802C; ALM VOYAGE 1816; ALM HISTOIRE 1806; ALM PIERRES 1817.

[5] SOUSCRIPTION 1819, p. 1.

[6] This is only a cursory sketch of his life; a fuller biography is to be found in the next two chapters.

[7] The correspondence relating to his membership of academies and learned societies is to be found in two volumes of his letters: BNF, Cabinet des manuscrits, fonds français 24675–24676. The total extends to c. 50, including societies in France, England, Ireland, Germany, Italy, Belgium, Russia.

[8] This comment is found in a footnote in *Rome, Naples et Florence*: STENDHAL 1826. See STENDHAL 1973, p. 381.

himself even greater precision, and savagery, when he mocked the appearance of the title-pages of books written by his predecessor:

> "M. Millin, digne modèle des gens d'académie, servile non moins que vaniteux, et dont le nom sur le titre de son voyage est suivi de quatorze lignes en petits caractères donnant les noms de toutes les académies dont il est membre […]."[9]

An impressive list of publications and academic honours should not be seen as representing the sole achievement of a man who had devoted his entire existence to his work to the exclusion of all other interests. Millin had also pursued an active social life and there are few of the memoirs of the revolutionary or Napoleonic eras which do not mention him. He was acquainted with many of the leading social figures of his time and never hesitated to participate fully in any event, often amusing the assembled onlookers by his poor acting or tuneless singing.

This renown proved to be all too short-lived; not only was he denied a funeral monument but also, within a very short time after his death, he was beginning to be held up to ridicule. In 1834, in the *Notices sur l'hôtel de Cluny*, Alexandre Du Sommerard sketched out the historiography of Gothic art in France. He claimed that the discipline had for a long time in that country been based only on suppositions and apocryphal traditions; in the corresponding footnote, after mentioning Séroux d'Agincourt and Caylus who were both, he considered, too preoccupied by classical art, he finished with the rather scathing remark "Quant à Millin ... ."[10]

Comments such as those by Du Sommerard could be dismissed as representative of nothing more or less than petty intellectual jealousy, or the desire that a later scholar felt to justify his own claims to originality by belittling the work of his predecessors. But he was not alone in formulating this type of criticism, and a survey of the reception accorded to Millin's writings raises some interesting questions. References to him and to his works have often been and still are rife, confined almost always to footnotes and marginal comments. All too seldom does the analysis go any further. Despite a large number of publications covering all aspects of the Revolution and an awakening interest among art historians for the historiography of their subject, no full-length study has ever been devoted to Millin himself or to his work. Immediately after his death a number of obituaries appeared.[11] Throughout the nineteenth century the major biographical dictionaries drew largely on these for the articles that they

[9] In the *Voyage dans le Midi de la France* (STENDHAL 1930). See STENDHAL 1992, p. 586.

[10] DU SOMMERARD 1834, p. 140.

[11] AUGUIS 1819; DACIER 1821; KRAFFT 1818.

included on him.[12] Over the last fifty years several studies have appeared, all of which concentrate on only one aspect of his life or work.[13] The most detailed of these, by Monglond, remains unfortunately incomplete. A lack of documentation and archival material cannot be given as a mitigating circumstance for the inattention paid to Millin since his death. It is true that for the period of the Revolution the majority of Millin's archives may well be irretrievably lost, but the later years of his life are covered in ample detail. The greatest problem seems to be that, as was stated in the introduction, he cannot be counted as one of the great figures in the history of scholarship. He was, to compare him only with some of those whose careers are spanned by his lifetime, no Winckelmann, no Daubenton, no Condorcet. Many of them knew him, either personally or by reputation, and mentioned or quoted him in their works or in their correspondence. But he constituted rather one of the minor, background figures. It was not Millin who was destined to produce new theories on art or archaeology, or to develop new methods for the analysis of objects. His major talent lay in another area, that of recognizing important new scholarly works, especially in languages other than French, and then ensuring their promulgation, either through his teaching or through publishing extracts from them in his scholarly journal, the *Magasin encyclopédique*, and his other publications. He collected avidly new information and ideas and then transmitted them to a wider audience. His greatest contribution to scholarship can thus be summed up by describing him as an intermediary, a compiler and a popularizer.

The sources

When attempting an analysis of Millin's career and contribution to scholarship the researcher must take into account the corpus of his writings.[14] A bibliography of his works is impressive, even allowing for the fact that several of the pieces were published in more than one edition.[15] Not only was he the author of a considerable number of books but, at the same time and over a period of more than twenty years, he was also the chief editor of, the main source of inspiration behind, one of the more widely-read and influential journals on art and

[12] RABBE et al. 1830, vol. 3 (1830), pp. 597–600; GENS DU MONDE 1833, vol. 17, deuxième partie (1842), p. 680; HOEFER 1854, vol. 35 (1861), pp. 538–41; LAROUSSE 1866, vol. 11 (1874), p. 268.

[13] MONGLOND 1940A & B; ARQUIÉ-BRULEY 1984 & 1985.

[14] For a catalogue of his writings, see Bibliography 1b.

[15] Many of his pamphlets from the Napoleonic era are, in effect, only offprints of articles that had already appeared in the *Magasin encyclopédique*.

scholarship at the time, the *Magasin encyclopédique*, which published articles on a huge range of subjects and involved its editor in several long and detailed exchanges of correspondence.[16] Anxious to see as many monuments and works of art as possible, he undertook two lengthy journeys, one in the Midi of France and one in Italy. His experiences and observations were first published in the *Magasin encyclopédique* and subsequently in the form of three books.[17] He also found the time to compose the three-volume *Dictionnaire des Beaux-Arts*, published in 1806, which constitutes an absolute treasure-trove of details and bibliographical references on all aspects of the arts.[18] Other publications were devoted to Greek vases, to commemorative coins and medals issued under Napoleon and various aspects of antiquity.[19] Before this, during the Revolution, he had been writing his *Antiquités nationales* at the same time as editing the first series of the *Magazin encyclopédique* and also acting as joint editor of the *Chronique de Paris*, a daily newspaper on which Condorcet, amongst others, collaborated.[20] Even his time spent in prison during the Terror was used to the best advantage, since it was there that, in a vain attempt to persuade the authorities to release him, he composed two works, one of which, his *Élémens d'histoire naturelle*, was subsequently to be chosen by the authorities as a text-book for use in the schools of the Republic.[21]

Not all of his works were as successful as others, and it is interesting to note the way in which, for example, his journeys were always much more highly valued than were his other works. A further point that comes out of a close analysis of his bibliography is the confirmation of the observation made above about his greatest talent: a very large proportion of his work consists of translations, adaptations or reviews of the work of others. This role that he quickly adopted, and that he knew how to play to perfection, exploiting for it the *Magasin encyclopédique*, was one that was to have, as shall be seen, a quite remarkable effect on his critical reception over the last two centuries.

Other sources allow us to clarify our vision of his role within the scientific community of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. At first sight the manuscript holdings are

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[16] ALM MAGASIN 1795.

[17] ALM VOYAGE 1807; ALM VOYAGE 1816; ALM VOYAGE 1817. More were planned but remained incomplete at the time of his death.

[18] ALM DICTIONNAIRE 1806 (and ALM DICTIONNAIRE 1838).

[19] ALM PEINTURES 1808; ALM HISTOIRE 1806; ALM MEDALLIC 1819.

[20] ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A & ALM ANT. NAT. 1790B; ALM CHRONIQUE 1789; ALM MAGAZIN 1792.

[21] ALM ÉLÉMENS 1795.

rather daunting.[22] The Cabinet des manuscrits of the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris contains over one hundred and fifty volumes, and yet others are housed in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal. Further papers are to be found in the Institut de France and the Archives nationales. In addition to these resources in Paris are a number of pieces in other collections, and more particularly several volumes of his correspondence with Francesco Cancellieri now kept in the British Library.[23] Amongst these manuscripts are thousands of letters emanating from and addressed to correspondents in many European countries; a major aid to any researcher is that Millin kept facsimile copies (although these are not always very legible) of most of the letters which he wrote.[24] In addition, he sorted this large archive into alphabetical order: "elle était rangée par ordre alphabétique dans plus de soixante cartons".[25] The Cabinet des estampes of the Bibliothèque nationale houses a number of volumes of drawings which he brought back from Italy. His other personal collections can be assessed thanks to the catalogues which were prepared for the sales that took place in the years following his death.[26]

Even so, there is evidence that the manuscript holdings are not complete, a fact which becomes clear from consultation of the earliest record made of his manuscripts in the Bibliothèque nationale, the 'Etat sommaire des Manuscrits de M^{r} Millin, acquis par la Bibliotheque du Roi au mois de Juillet 1821'.[27] This document lists ninety-two boxes of manuscripts, with a summary inventory of the contents of each. Nowhere in this list is to be found any mention of material concerning the *Antiquités nationales*. Likewise, further consultation of the collections proves that there is in fact remarkably little material covering the early years of his life. On the other hand, much of his later material is to be found. Correspondence, notes on the material for his lectures and books, drafts of some articles, lists of desiderata and receipts for books and engravings that he had bought all feature in the collections. Many of these amount to little more than scraps of paper which have been mounted onto larger sheets and then bound together into volumes, and some prove rather

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[22] See Bibliography 1a.

[23] See Bibliography 1a.

[24] These are not just drafts of the letters or even copies rewritten by a secretary. They are in fact counter-proofs on very fine paper and are incorporated into the main sequence of his correspondence.

[25] ALM LETTRE 1812A, p. 10.

[26] CATALOGUE 1819; VENTE 1818; VENTE 1819A; VENTE 1819B.

[27] BNF, Cabinet des manuscrits, nouvelles acquisitions françaises 5534, fols. 33r–47v.

difficult to decipher and to place. They do, nonetheless, provide valuable information on his working methods, on the sources that he used and the references that he found most important. Particularly frustrating for the scholar who wishes to work on Millin is a note to be found at the head of one of the volumes of his manuscripts, a collection entitled 'Varia'.[28] On the first folio of this volume is a list of the contents, followed by "Qq titres de papier mentionnés sur la boite Varia et qui ne s'y trouvent plus: Poésies provençales de 1269, Le pas de la Bergerte poëme, Psaumes, Notice sur Cadolet, Fourberies du siècle, Anecdotes – Millin – Biographie."[29] This last would have been very precious, all the more so given that rarely in his writings was Millin to furnish the reader with any glimpse either of himself or of his life.[30]

The reason for the lack of the papers concerning the *Antiquités nationales* is unclear. Were it to be the case for all his works, then it would be possible to hypothesize that his standard practice was either to dispose of his papers once a text was completed, or to leave them in the hands of his publishers. The theory that Millin would have destroyed the manuscripts and any letters relating to the work is highly improbable: he was what could be described as a compulsive hoarder. And for many of his texts the papers in the Bibliothèque nationale provide a rich source of information. Some are available in an almost complete hand-written version whilst others, for example the *Dictionnaire des Beaux-Arts*, can be reconstructed by a patient reassembling of the many individual entries noted on scraps of paper. His general practice was, clearly, to keep not only his notes but also the completed versions of his texts. That the contracts and general correspondence relating to the work, its production and distribution seem, on the other hand, to have remained in the hands of his publisher is supported by the fact that we have little such evidence for any of his books.

A further hypothesis that must be advanced, one which is harder to refute, is that it was largely the papers dating from this period that were destroyed in the fire in his apartment at the Bibliothèque nationale during his journey to Italy. It is difficult to ascertain the exact

[28] BNF, Cabinet des manuscrits, fonds français 24651.

[29] BNF, Cabinet des manuscrits, fonds français 24651, fol. 1r.

[30] Most notably he refused, after his imprisonment during the Terror, to make any written reference to his political or religious convictions. See *infra*, ch. 2, pp. 61–2, notes 77 & 78. In the *Antiquités* he did often criticize the religious orders but in his later years he was to maintain a scrupulous neutrality on such questions, and after he had once left the proof-reading of several pages of the *Magasin* to someone else he was to publish a retraction of two comments found therein, explaining his decision thus: "parce que cette insertion est absolument contraire aux principes que je suis constamment de ne rien admettre dans le Magasin qui ait rapport aux querelles littéraires et aux opinions religieuses." ALM MAGASIN 1795, année 16, 1810, vol. 1, p. 240.

extent of the damage.[31] Even so, it would be surprising, despite the fact that Millin was very methodical in his arrangement of his papers, choosing to arrange them either thematically or in alphabetical order, that only those dating to the Revolution should have been lost. Certainly, in his account of the incident, Millin complained about the loss of notes relating to some projects, but made no mention to anything which can be specifically identified as being the papers for the *Antiquités nationales*.

The other cause of loss of documents at this time was, of course, the confiscation of all interesting and thus potentially incriminatory material that was the lot of those imprisoned during the Terror. The pieces impounded were not returned in all cases, and there is evidence in Millin's post-revolutionary correspondence that he had lost a number of papers at this time. He did once mention the fact that whilst he was in prison a number of his papers went missing "par suite des visites domiciliaires inventaires &c. &c."[32] From which comment, it seems likely that the reason for which the majority of the papers concerning the early part of Millin's life, including the notes for the *Antiquités*, are not to be found in the Bibliothèque nationale collections is simply that these documents were never returned to him after his imprisonment.[33]

Reception

i. nineteenth century

a. artists

One example of an immediate reception accorded to his works, and more particularly to the *Antiquités nationales*, is to be found in neither contemporary historical nor artistic literature, but rather in the paintings created during the first two decades of the nineteenth century. At this time it was the style of painting known as 'troubadour' that was to prove very important. The first canvas in this style was presented at the Salon of 1802 and over the next twenty years their numbers increased to such an extent that it can be claimed that "ils envahissent le Salon de 1819."[34] Generally featuring scenes from the private life of historical

[31] See *infra*, ch. 3, pp. 105–6.

[32] BNF, Cabinet des manuscrits, fonds français 24683, fols. 280–1, Millin to Desmazieres, letter dated Paris 9 floréal an 4 [April 27 1796]. See *infra*, ch. 5, p. 148.

[33] It would be logical to suppose that they are therefore in the Archives nationales but this proves not to be the case.

[34] CHAUDONNERET 1980, p. 15.

figures who had lived during the Middle Ages and Renaissance, these works were remarkable for, amongst other features, the artists' insistence on the precise recording of details. Architectural backgrounds, furniture, costumes and everyday utensils were very carefully researched and faithfully represented **[Ill. 1]**. There were certain resources available at this period for this type of research, not least Lenoir's Musée des Monumens français in the former Couvent des Petits-Augustins in Paris. Further sources of documentation were provided in the form of a number of the large illustrated works on the history and arts of France, including Millin's *Antiquités nationales*. As has been noted recently: "La naissance de la peinture 'troubadour' est également à replacer par rapport à un courant historiciste et archéologique. Nés dans les années 1770–1780, les futurs artistes 'troubadour' bénéficiaient de toute une érudition et avaient à leur disposition deux véritables 'bibles', *Les monumens de la Monarchie françoise* de Bernard de Montfaucon et les *Antiquités nationales* de Louis-Aubin [sic] Millin."[35]

b. antiquarians

The use of the *Antiquités nationales* for artistic compositions of this kind was, nonetheless, largely confined to artists representing scenes from the history of France. In other countries it was more likely to be the art and architectural historians, or the antiquaries who were going to find interesting material for their own works. But here the very nature of Millin's work meant that the attention paid to his book was destined to remain fairly limited. The *Antiquités* were, at the time of their first publication, hailed as a possible response to the threat of vandalism. As will be seen later in this study, a number of reviewers did praise the effort that was being made to record France's monumental stock in this way, even though some questions were raised regarding the quality of the plates.[36] Nonetheless, interest soon waned. After all, Millin's work was of a rather local interest. He was not, as had been Winckelmann, dealing with what could justifiably be described as an international style, that is classical art. Nor was Millin ever capable of providing his contemporaries with a new theoretical model, one that could subsequently be applied to the analysis of buildings, or objects of artistic or historical interest. Even if he did attempt to introduce into his work a new category borrowed from the English antiquaries, that of the historical monument, he was, unfortunately, incapable of explaining his aims or of developing a sufficiently clear

[35] CHAUDONNERET 1980, p. 20.

[36] See *infra*, ch. 5, pp. 184–9.

theoretical discussion of the problem. Whilst he himself may have been able to assimilate this new category and incorporate it into his work, without any passage explaining the basic premises underlying this new definition of the notion of a monument his work was not going to be one which could be taken as a model by other antiquaries approaching the history of their own country and its artistic and architectural heritage.[37] The *Antiquités* were thus doomed to remain no more than a useful source for those who wished to find details on a particular French family, building, object or custom; the book was essentially one of national rather than of international interest and importance.

c. the *Magasin*

This does not mean to say that none of Millin's work was favourably received outside his own country. Considerable attention was paid to his archaeological treatises and, above all, to his scholarly journal, the *Magasin encyclopédique*. It was especially this latter that was to ensure his fame during the first two decades of the nineteenth century. Few were the scholars in Europe who did not recognize, and attempt to profit from, the *Magasin*'s status as one of the most important publications of the time in terms of the circulation of new scholarly and literary work. Goethe, for example, sent a letter to Cotta, the publisher and bookseller, as soon as he had completed work on his new journal, the *Propyläen*. He was convinced of the necessity to ensure that the best possible distribution should be achieved, and had already decided how he wished this to be achieved. Given the current unrest that was troubling Italy, he felt that no copies should be addressed to any correspondents in that country. In England it was the German booksellers who were to receive copies. There was only one country for which Goethe had two specific addressees in mind, and that was France; he was adamant that one copy should be sent to Strasbourg, to Schweighäuser, and the other to Paris, to Millin. "Nach Strassburg an den jüngeren Herrn Schweighäuser und nach Paris an den Bürger Millin spedirten Sie ja wohl Exemplare, in meinem Nahmen; doch suchten Sie wohl diesen Personen auf irgend eine Weise das Porto zu ersparen."[38] Cotta replied less than two weeks later that

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[37] On Millin's hesitations concerning the definition of 'monument' and 'monument historique' see *infra*, ch. 7, pp. 274–9.

[38] Weimar, November 7 1798, in: GOETHE 1887, *Goethes Briefe*, vol. 13, *1798* (1893), no. 3913, pp. 303–4, p. 303. See also GOETHE COTTA 1979, vol. 1, *Briefe 1797–1815* (1979), no. 47, p. 40.

this would be done.[39] Clearly Goethe was hoping that by this means the *Propyläen* would be given good publicity in France. It was no doubt for a similar reason that he insisted on sending to Millin a copy of the *Hermann und Dorothea* with a personal dedication.[40] This seemingly generous gesture had the desired effect, since Millin let it be known that he would indeed ensure that extracts from the book would appear in the *Magasin.*[41] Some years later the compliment was to be returned, when the *Magasin encyclopédique* was felt to be sufficiently important to merit mention under the rubric 'Interesting publications' in the *Jena Allgemeine Literatur Zeitung*. It thus found itself in fairly exalted company, in a list that included *The Gentleman's Magazine*, *The Monthly Review*, the *Journal de Paris*, the *Décade philosophique* and the *Moniteur universel*.[42] Millin's ambition for his journal, that of providing a monthly publication that would replace the *Journal des savants*, had certainly been achieved.

Other scholars of the period also acknowledged the academic status of the *Magasin*. Speaking of an article that he was planning to write, Johan David Åkerblad offered it to Frederick Münter, aware that the Danish scholar was valiantly struggling to ensure some success for his own scholarly journal. Were it not to be possible to accommodate his article, said Åkerblad, then he could find an alternative: "und dass ich gern sehen sollte, wenn sie nicht bestimmt seyn in Ihre gelehrte Scandinavische Transactionen zu figurieren, dass sie doch in einer Zeitschrift z.B. in Millins Magazin ihren Platz behaupten könnten."[43] He continued his letter by advising Münter to ensure that his own works should also be sent through to Millin who would easily have them translated and then place them in the *Magasin*. Many other examples of this type of attitude can be found. But there were also detractors, and it is maybe somewhat surprising to see that these were not only to be found amongst Millin's

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[39] "An Millin, Schweighaeuser und Escher sollen sogleich Frei Exemplare franco nach Paris und Zürch abgehen": Cotta to Goethe, Tübingen, November 20 1798, in: GOETHE COTTA 1979, vol. 1, *Briefe 1797–1815* (1979), no. 48, p. 41.

[40] This fact is to be found in a letter from Karl-August Böttiger to Goethe, Weimar, March 21 1798, in: BRIEFE GOETHE 1980, vol. 2, *1796–1798* (1981), no. 1197, pp. 336–7, p. 337: "Das für A.L. Millin bestimmte Exemplar von "Hermann und Dorothea" mit G.[oethe]s Widmung sei nach Paris abgegangen."

[41] Johann Heinrich Meyer to Goethe, Weimar, June 12 1798, in: BRIEFE GOETHE 1980, vol. 2, *1796–1798* (1981), no. 1327, p. 369: "A.L. Millin lasse G. Für "Hermann und Dorothea" danken. Einige Stellen daraus sollen im "Magasin encyclopédique" übersetzt erscheinen."

[42] Heinrich Karl Abraham Eichstädt to Goethe, Jena, October 28 1803, in: BRIEFE GOETHE 1980, vol. 4, *1802–1804* (1988), no. 1058, p. 326: "Frage, ob die auf dem Rückblatte dieses Schreibens genannten Zeitschriften wenigstens zum Theil für das IB der JALZ aus Weimar entliehen werden könnten."

[43] The Hague, February 1 1803, in: MÜNTER 1944, vol. 1, no. 6, p. 7.

rivals. Even Silvestre de Sacy, someone who had counted amongst the more regular contributors to the journal and who was included in the circle of Millin's closer friends and contacts, wrote about the demise of the *Magasin* in the following words:

> "Le Magasin Encyclopédique est interrompu. Au surplus, il n'avoit plus rien d'utile. M. Millin ne le remplissoit que de morceaux imprimés ailleurs. M. Millin est du nombre de ces hommes de lettres qui font de la littérature une spéculation. Ils adorent l'or du temple, et non la divinité. Mais ceci soit dit entre nous ...".[44]

d. the archaeological writings

Whilst the *Magasin* was probably the publication by Millin that could guarantee the widest audience across Europe, it should not be imagined that this was the only part of his scholarly output that attracted attention. From the information contained in Goethe's daily journal, it is certain that he consulted a number of Millin's archaeological writings. He recorded in May 1797 that he was reading the various introductions to the study of archaeology.[45] Later he was to mention two further works, the book on the tombs of Canosa and the collection of the *Peintures de vases antiques*.[46] It is probable that it is this latter which was the work that Goethe viewed as a useful iconographical repertory for illustrations for his own writings: "wir haben doch unsere Dämonen im Don Juan nach einem Muster auf einer antiken Vase in dem Millinischen Werke verfertigt."[47] That this work, like others by Millin, was notable for the very fact that it put at the disposal of scholars a large number of illustrations of antiquities that had previously been inaccessible or unknown is certainly true; maybe, however, scholars expecting new theoretical positions or very profound analyses were going to be less than satisfied by these books. Such at least would seem to be the opinion of Frederick Münter: "Millin hat mir in diesen Tagen seine Introduction a la Connaissance des Vases peints geschickt. Sie geht aber nicht tief in die Materie hinein."[48]

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[44] Silvestre de Sacy to Frederick Münter, Paris, October 26 1816, in: MÜNTER 1944, vol. 2, no. 534, p. 190.

[45] ALM INTRODUCTION PIERRES 1796; ALM INTRODUCTION MONUMENS 1796A & B; ALM INTRODUCTION MÉDAILLES 1796: in: GOETHE 1887, *Goethes Tagebücher*, vol. 2, *1790–1800* (1888), May 30 1797, p. 71.

[46] ALM DESCRIPTION 1816, in: GOETHE 1887, *Goethes Tagebücher*, vol. 5, *1813–1816* (1893), November 24 1816, p. 288. ALM PEINTURES 1808, in: GOETHE 1887, *Goethes Tagebücher*, vol. 7, *1819–1820* (1895), January 12 1819, p. 5.

[47] Goethe to J.H. Meyer, Berta an der Ilm, May 30 1814, in: GOETHE 1887, *Goethes Briefe*, vol. 24, *September 1813 – 24. Juli 1814* (1901), no. 6854, pp. 294–5, p. 294.

[48] Frederick Münter to Benoni Friedländer, Copenhagen, December 19 1811, in: MÜNTER 1944, vol. 1, no. 230, pp. 268–9, p. 268.

Not that the entire German school of archaeology at this time was equally critical of the writings of their French colleague. Karl August Böttiger was one who was often keen to praise Millin's work. Admittedly the two men were close friends and Böttiger's articles were often included in the *Magasin*. Likewise, his works were always granted very favourable reviews, usually from the pen of Millin himself. But even so, Böttiger's generally positive comments about Millin's writings should not be ascribed merely to a sentiment of blind devotion to a friend. At times the German archaeologist was prepared to point out shortcomings in Millin's work or register his disagreement with the facts contained therein. What he recognized above all was the potential value of Millin's compilations, and the use that could be drawn from this type of repertory by interested amateurs. For example, he made the following comment on the *Galerie mythologique*: "Unterdessen hat mein würdiger Freund, Hr. Millin in Paris in seiner mythologischen Gallerie für das erste dringendere Bedürfnis aller Kunstliebhaber trefflich gesorgt, einem Werke, das zum Behuf der Künstler auch so bald als möglich nach Deutschland verpflanzt zu werden verdient."[49] In a footnote Böttiger elaborates further on the book itself and on its importance. Of interest here is the emphasis that he places on the fact that Millin's work is not overburdened with excessive detail, but that the author has known how to provide the most important sources for each of the illustrations that he has chosen:

> "Man vermisst hier kein interessantes Denkmal, und die neuesten, besonders Vasen und geschittene Steine (worunter an 60 unedirte) sind überal aufgeführt. Freilich sind die Figuren sehr klein, aber doch sehr deutlich und zu diesem Zwecke, gleichsam ein Register in Figuren zu geben, zureichend. Der Text ist mit weiser Sparsamkeit verfertiget, doch gnügend, und in den Erklärungen sind die Quellen genau angezeigt. Auch diess Werk ist aus Vorlesungen entstanden, wozu Millin einen Exposé du Cours de Mythologie (Paris, Tourneisen 1809. 130 S.) und einen Cours d'histoire héroïque (Paris, Sajou, 1810. 147 S.) gab. Zwei sehr nützliche Programmen, die auch in den Buchhandel gekommen sind."[50]

Some years later, Münter's comment that Millin's work lacked a certain profundity was amplified by Johann Gottfried Gurlitt. In an analysis of Millin's *Introduction à l'étude des monumens antiques* the German archaeologist praised his French colleague for having rationalized the earlier divisions as established by Jacob Spon and subsequently followed, for the most part at least, by Ernesti. In particular Gurlitt found that the decision taken in the *Introduction* to remove the categories 'Bibliography' and 'Palaeography' was a significant

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[49] BÖTTIGER 1811, pp. x–xi.

[50] BÖTTIGER 1811, pp. x–xi, note.

contribution to the science of archaeology. Less laudable was, in his view, the order followed in the book. For Millin decided to discuss the more general questions concerning the art of the ancients after his presentation of the nine classes. In Gurlitt's view,

> "Er verbindet also analytische und chronologische Methode und geht von jener zu dieser fort. Allein *einmal* scheint die Ordnung, nach welcher die Kunstwerke in den neun Klassen abgetheilt sind, nicht eben leicht und natürlich zu seyn; und sodann müssen, dünkt mich, die allgemeinen Begriffe und Kenntnisse über Kunst und schöne Kunst oder Kunst der Alten, über Ursprung, Fortgang und Schicksale der Kunst, der Abhandlung über die einzelnen Künste und Klassen von Kunstwerken vorangehen, weil in der letzten Vieles nicht ohne jene Begriffe und Kenntnisse, welche gleichsam den Maasstab zur Beurtheilung und Würdigung des Einzelnen abgeben, verstanden und erklärt werden kann."[51]

Further justification for criticism of this book lay, according to Gurlitt, in the fact that Millin did not differentiate sufficiently between the use that can be made of 'so-called' antiquities as opposed to archaeology. He also unduly limited the importance of archaeology, restricting it to only three main points, none of which was sufficiently thoroughly developed to allow the reader to differentiate between the advantages to be had from archaeology and from other disciplines.[52] In other words, he was not a sufficiently persuasive and scientific advocate for his subject. Small wonder then that Gurlitt did not include Millin in his list of those whom it would be necessary to study when contemplating writing a history of archaeology.[53] The difference between the comments of Böttiger and those of Gurlitt cannot be ascribed to nothing more than personal feelings about the author on whose work they were commenting. In effect, their differing reactions are representative of a dichotomy that was increasingly making itself felt in the German school. Scholars such as Böttiger remained faithful to the long tested and tried antiquarian methods, characterized by a passion for details, classification and descriptive passages. Gurlitt, on the other hand, was attempting to produce a new discourse which would be far more deeply marked by the idea of the 'Begriff', the concept. The scholars who, like Millin, did little more than to gather together the raw material and then to classify it were, in Gurlitt's view, not making sufficient contribution to the subject. He felt

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[51] GURLITT 1831, p. 9.

[52] GURLITT 1831, p. 10, note: "Millin unterscheidet im § 2. seiner Introduction den Nutzen der sogenannten Antiquitäten und der Archäologie nicht genug; und im § 4. beschränkt er auf der einen Seite den Zweck der Archäologie zu sehr, indem er ihn in Vermehrung der Kenntnisse, Vermeidung der Irrthümer und Bildung des Geschmacks setzt; auf der andern Seite sind diese Vortheile zu allgemein und unbestimmt ausgedrückt, denn die ersteren beiden kommen allen Wissenschaften zu."

[53] GURLITT 1831, pp. 44–5, note.

that these facts should be analysed and compared with one another and then employed to provide a systematic view of the past.[54] What was at stake in this debate was the distinction between an archaeologist and an antiquary. For Gurlitt, Millin was always doomed to remain the latter.[55]

Karl Otfried Müller, in his widely-read and often republished *Handbuch der Archäologie der Kunst*, proved more generous towards Millin's work. He realized that the intended audience was the general public instead of the scholarly community, and lauded this effort at the popularization of a subject which was still in its early phase: "Millin's Schriften für Verbreitung der Kunde von Kunstwerken und Popularisirung dieser Kenntnisse unschätzbar."[56] On the very next page of the *Handbuch*, the first title mentioned under the heading 'Andere Hülfsbücher' was Millin's *Introduction à l'étude des monumens antiques*.[57] Thus, more than fifty years after its first publication, and despite the fact that certain reserves as to the quality of the work had been expressed by some of his compatriots, Müller could still view the *Introduction* as being sufficiently important to merit inclusion in a list of recommended reading for those interested in learning about archaeology.

e. editions and re-editions

One element of the reception of an author's work which needs to be taken into account is concerned less with the overtly-expressed opinions of either friends or rivals. This is, of course, the question of the translations and re-editions of a work that were produced in the years succeeding its first publication. In this respect it is interesting to note the reception accorded to Millin's works. Certain of them were reedited, sometimes several times, and a considerable number were translated. The most important of his works in terms of this was clearly the *Élémens* which went through several editions in France. There was also an edition published in Switzerland and a pirated edition was produced in Lyon. There were also translations into two other languages – Italian and Russian. As for his archaeological works, comparable interest was shown, since various texts were translated into German and Italian. And, in the French-speaking world, it is tempting to imagine that archaeological studies were still taking his work into account almost twenty years after his death and almost forty years

[54] MOMIGLIANO 1983, esp. pp. 282 ff.

[55] On this question see especially BALUT & BRUNEAU 1997.

[56] MÜLLER 1848, p. 21.

[57] ALM INTRODUCTION MONUMENS 1796; MÜLLER 1848, p. 21.

after their first publication. Such at least is the impression that can be gained from the fact that his introductions to the study of various types of objects were gathered into one volume and published in 1826, followed by a second edition in 1833. These were prefaced by a 'Discours préliminaire', penned by Jean-Jacques Champollion-Figéac, in which a very balanced appraisal of Millin's contribution to the study of archaeology is proposed. Champollion-Figéac was certainly not prepared to attribute to Millin the role of a prophet in his subject, of a precursor in terms of new methodological approaches. Much as had Böttiger before him, he lauded rather the efforts that Millin had made to present the subject in such a manner that it would become accessible to a wider audience. In effect, as Champollion-Figéac pointed out with considerable subtlety and diplomacy, Millin's writings could be criticized for a somewhat simplistic approach, but this was intentional, since it would guarantee their diffusion throughout a public of laymen: "Millin, qui contribua par ses ouvrages et par toutes ses habitudes, à répandre le goût de l'Archéologie, n'ignora pas que tout ce qui peut rendre les études faciles, les rend aussi plus générales."[58]

Some caution must of course be applied to the method of assessing an author's status that consists in simply counting the number of 'editions' published: strict bibliographical criteria must be applied in order to ascertain the difference between new editions and reissues of stocks that had not previously been cleared. For, as shall be seen in this study, the *Antiquités nationales* apparently appeared in a new version during the opening years of the nineteenth century; this 'new' edition turns out to be no more than copies of the original work given a new title-page in an attempt to sell them.[59] A similar fate befell the *Dictionnaire*: the edition of 1838 turns out to be no more than the sheets of the 1806 edition issued with a revised title-page. However, in the case of the archaeological texts it is clear from a close analysis of the various editions available that these were indeed new editions as opposed to reissues with new title-pages.

f. French national heritage: the *Antiquités* and the *Voyage*

In general then, the literary and scholarly worlds were prepared to recognize, albeit with some reservations, the importance of the *Magasin* and the archaeological works. Both were, certainly, appreciated for the same reasons, that is for the fact that in them Millin

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[58] ALM INTRODUCTIONS 1826, 'Discours préliminaire', p. xxxix.

[59] *Infra*, ch. 5, pp. 165–6.

showed a great sensitivity to the need to open up the world of scholarly work to a larger audience, one that might before have felt itself to be excluded from such discussions. The *Antiquités* were to have a much lesser impact. Admittedly, an author such as Séroux d'Agincourt did not spare his praise for Millin's wish to record the monuments of France and thereby to aid in protecting them against the worst excesses of vandalism at the time of the Revolution:

> "L'histoire nationale des trois arts du dessin de la France aura de grandes obligations à M. Millin et à M. Le Noir, qui ont pris les plus grands soins pour sauver une foule de monuments de la destruction totale à laquelle ils se trouvaient exposés par les malheurs de la révolution, et qui en ont formé des collections et en ont fait le sujet d'ouvrages utiles."[60]

Louis Bâtissier was another proponent of national archaeology in France during the first half of the nineteenth century who was prepared to accredit Millin with having made considerable efforts to save the national heritage not only by recording it on paper but more importantly, and this was perhaps an equally efficient way of saving it, by publishing his work and thus drawing attention to it and arousing greater public interest in the monuments that were so closely connected with France's history. When speaking of early exponents of the art in France, Bâtissier claimed that Montfaucon had not really managed to achieve what he set out to do, and that Lebeuf, albeit more talented as a scholar in the field of the Middle Ages, had still not achieved his aim of producing a satisfactory synthesis even though he had written some useful dissertations. Arriving thereupon at the revolutionary period, Bâtissier continued in the following words:

> "Cependant les antiquaires qui vinrent après lui ne trouvèrent pas, quand ils se mirent à l'œuvre, une assez grande quantité de matériaux pour faire des livres excellents; Millin et Lenoir se signalèrent cependant dans leurs recherches. Le premier, avec sa haine mesquine et aveugle pour tout ce qui tenait au clergé et à la féodalité, fonda, avec Dulaure, le *voltairianisme* en archéologie. Il avait une prédilection marquée pour le XVI^{e} siècle, et ne comprenait nullement l'art des temps antérieurs à la renaissance. Toutefois, ses *Antiquités nationales* et son *Voyage dans le Midi* fournissent des renseignements utiles: on y trouve les dessins de plusieurs édifices importants qui n'existent plus, et des descriptions curieuses."[61]

Not all of the authors who professed themselves concerned by the dangers of vandalism and its destructive effect on the national heritage were prepared to accord Millin

[60] SÉROUX 1810, vol. 1 (1810), pp. 66–7, note c.

[61] BÂTISSIER 1843, p. 23.

equal praise. By the mid-nineteenth century it was becoming increasingly clear that Millin's contribution to the study of national archaeology was either to be criticized or, if not, passed over in silence. One of those who allowed himself to give vent to his feelings against his predecessors, and not least among them Millin, was Alexandre Du Sommerard. Hailed in France during the 1830s as being the man who would manage to resurrect Lenoir's Musée des Monumens français, Du Sommerard published a weighty work on the arts of the Middle Ages in which he vilified in no uncertain terms the work of the eighteenth-century art historians and antiquarians. As early as the prospectus to his book he launched a first attack:

> "Ce fut vainement que Montfaucon, dans ses lourds in-folio restés incomplets, mais cependant fort utiles comme produits d'un immense savoir, s'efforça d'éveiller l'intérêt de nos pères sur les monumens, encore debout alors, de notre vieille monarchie; que Millin, dans ses prétendues Antiquités nationales, se hâta de consacrer l'existence de nombreux édifices prêts à disparaître sous la lave du volcan déjà fumant de toutes parts lors de sa publication: l'inexactitude et l'incorrection des dessins des deux ouvrages, les dissertations du trop savant bénédictin, et les divagations, plus démagogiques que scientifiques, du précurseur de Dulaure, opérèrent dans un sens diamétralement opposé au but de leurs œuvres."[62]

By the time that the book came out, some years later, these arguments had been honed even further and a series of comments proves that Du Sommerard had very little respect for Millin. In the first allusion made to him in the book, Du Sommerard chose to compare the work of Millin with that of Séroux d'Agincourt. His overwhelming feeling was that one of the greatest losses to French scholarly work on the mediaeval period was the fact that Séroux had not stayed in France but had chosen to live in Italy. Had he not left his homeland, then his studies would surely have been centred on French rather than Italian monuments, which could only have been to the benefit of French art history, since Séroux was, in Du Sommerard's opinion, the "seul héritier des grandes et généreuses traditions". In the next passage this comment is amplified:

> "au lieu de laisser inculte ou livré chez nous à une exploitation désordonnée le domaine de Montfaucon, de Caylus, il [Séroux] eût sans doute cultivé ces semences conservatrices, et n'eût pas, comme l'auteur des *Antiquités nationales*, provoqué plutôt qu'empêché la destruction de nos monumens religieux, en les traitant d'œuvres de barbares, de repaires de fanatiques et de fainéans."[63]

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[62] DU SOMMERARD [1830?], quoted in DU SOMMERARD 1838, vol. 1 (1838), p. v. On Du Sommerard see BANN 1978.

[63] DU SOMMERARD 1838, vol. 1 (1838), p. 142, note 1.

Thus, from being an author who attempted to save the French heritage, Millin has become one who was instead encouraging the destruction of works of art, even if only by dint of the fact that he had identified them as being the remnants of a feudal and thus anti-democratic society. Bâtissier, in the quotation above, may have hinted at the rather extreme opinions expressed by Millin on occasions but he did not go so far as to impute incitement to vandalism, be it direct or indirect, on his part.

Immediately after this Du Sommerard noted that during the eighteenth century the French had manifested a general indifference towards the artistic treasures of the mediaeval period, and that positive proof of his assertion was to be found in the material that Millin had at his disposal when he began to work on the subject: "la preuve positive se déduit de l'état où Millin reprit cette science et du vague de ses leçons comparées aux enseignemens substantiels de Quatremère de Quincy, Emériс-David, Raoul-Rochette, Charles Lenormant, vivifiés par l'aspect temporaire du musée Le Noir."[64] In the note that he added to this comment, Du Sommerard actually managed to show a glimmer of sympathy for Millin and it was here only and certainly not in the main body of the text that he was prepared to admit, even if very grudgingly, that Millin was in fact the scholar who took on the challenge of producing archaeological research on the French national heritage, and that it was thus he who had taken the first steps, preparing the way for his successors:

> "Né en 1759, Millin aurait pu, à la rigueur, combler presque toute la lacune existant entre les publications de Caylus et celles d'Agincourt; mais, livré d'abord à l'étude de l'histoire naturelle, le fondateur de la société linnéenne, auteur à dix-sept ans, n'entra qu'à trente ans dans la carrière archéologique; encore débuta-t-il trop tôt, si l'on en juge par l'imperfection de son premier ouvrage, publié de 1790 à 1798, sous le titre ambitieux d'*Antiquités Nationales*, titre que rien ne justifie, pas même l'origine des monumens, modernes pour la plupart, et encore moins ses dissertations purement démagogiques. Mais, après avoir failli payer de sa tête son temps d'arrêt dans la pente révolutionnaire, Millin, successeur de l'abbé Barthélemy au cabinet des médailles, épura ses enseignemens à plusieurs égards, et *prépara*, par la publication de ses voyages et par la création du *Magasin encyclopédique*, l'état actuel de la science."[65]

On later occasions in the work Du Sommerard returned to Millin, and his attitude was not always as hostile as the very first references could be imagined to suggest. For one thing, Du Sommerard was prepared to cite Millin's *Voyage dans le Midi* as a trustworthy source of material, both in terms of the fidelity of the written descriptions and of the accuracy of

[64] DU SOMMERARD 1838, vol. 1 (1838), p. 143.

[65] DU SOMMERARD 1838, vol. 1 (1838), p. 143, note 1. The italics are to be found in the original text.

accompanying plates. For example, in order to prove a debated point concerning Christian sarcophagi and their relative dates, Du Sommerard felt no qualms about advising the scholar to turn to Millin's text and engravings: "il nous suffit de renvoyer aux descriptions et aux planches de Millin pour établir leur parfaite conformité avec plusieurs de ceux extraits des cryptes du Vatican et appartenant au IV^{e} siècle [...]."[66] Not that this necessarily means that Du Sommerard would have been prepared to make exactly the same assertions about the accuracy of the *Antiquités nationales*, since on the very next page he went on to make an interesting observation with regard to Millin's development as a historian between the early years of the Revolution and his later journeys:

> "Ce conservateur du cabinet des médailles, qui n'était déjà plus l'historien si incomplet de nos antiquités nationales, minant par de véhémentes déclamations contre les repaires de la fainéantise et de la superstition les édifices déjà si menacés par l'esprit de parti, l'ignorance et la cupidité, se montre ici du moins digne de sa mission par les sentimens qu'il exprime, une cruelle mission de quatorze années lui ayant prouvé sans doute que c'était un triste moyen de conservation pour les monumens que de les dépouiller de leur prestige."[67]

This distinction drawn by Du Sommerard between the early and the late Millin is one that was to become somewhat of a commonplace in the literature of the second half of the nineteenth century. The travel accounts and the archaeological works were generally judged more worthy of mention and of praise than were the *Antiquités*. Prosper Mérimée was prepared to use Millin's work as a good source of documentation. He made little, if any, reference to the *Antiquités* themselves, but in his *Notes d'un voyage dans le midi de la France*, first published in 1835, he often compared his own observations on the state of monuments in the south of France with the comments made by Millin some thirty years earlier. Several references are to be found which state that a monument was still intact at the time of Millin, or that when Millin was in a town there were already only fragments of a certain mosaic remaining:

> "Il ne reste presque plus rien de la mosaïque [...]; et la plus grande partie des lettres de l'inscription, qui était encore intacte du temps de Millin, a disparu aujourd'hui."[68]

> "La mosaïque de l'église supérieure, dont il restait encore quelques fragmens lors du passage de Millin, vient d'être refaite à neuf."[69]

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[66] DU SOMMERARD 1838, vol. 2 (s.d.), p. 190, note 1.

[67] DU SOMMERARD 1838, vol. 2 (s.d.), p. 191, note 1.

[68] MÉRIMÉE 1989, p. 85.

> "Je ne sais [...] s'il y a là-dedans quelque allégorie à la Jérusalem céleste. [note 1:] C'est l'opinion de Millin."[70]

He was not, nonetheless, prepared to accept blindly every assertion made by his predecessor, and would on occasions refute Millin's interpretations, as is seen by his discussion of a scene showing the Virgin and Child with an angel calling to a shepherd who wears only one shoe:

> "Millin y voit le buisson ardent et Moïse se déchaussant suivant l'ordre du Seigneur. Si tel était le sujet, que ferait la Vierge dans cette scène? Je crois plutôt que cette composition représente l'ange annonçant à un berger la naissance du Sauveur. Le peintre lui fait mettre sa chaussure, pour exprimer, suivant moi, qu'il va entreprendre un voyage."[71]

This attention paid to Millin's work is all the more interesting given that Mérimée was not writing this travel account merely as someone who had decided to visit the South of France. His journey in the area was motivated by professional interests, since he viewed it as an essential preparation for his position as Inspecteur général des monuments historiques.

It is quite striking to see how often Millin's name was not mentioned, even in contexts where his presence would be felt to be, if not obligatory, then at least more than likely. For example, in a discourse entitled "L'art et l'archéologie" delivered before the Société des antiquaires de Normandie in 1847, Ludovic Vitet bemoaned the lack of attention paid to "nos monuments historiques" before the development of the antiquarian and historical societies of France in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. In his view, studies on the Middle Ages may not have been lacking during the eighteenth century, but the intellectuals of the time paid virtually no attention whatsoever to the monumental heritage. Even the occasional attempts that had been made were insufficient: "Malgré quelques observations ingénieuses et clairvoyantes de l'abbé Lebœuf, j'oserais même dire, malgré les savants travaux de Montfaucon, la lacune fut complète, lacune à jamais regrettable, car il est bien tard pour la combler aujourd'hui."[72] It is all the more interesting to note the absence of Millin in this particular context given that throughout his discourse Vitet insisted on the notion of 'monuments historiques' which, as will be seen in a later part of this study, owed much to

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[69] MÉRIMÉE 1989, p. 86.

[70] MÉRIMÉE 1989, p. 137.

[71] MÉRIMÉE 1989, pp. 138–9.

[72] "L'art et l'archéologie", in: VITET 1875, 2ème série, vol. 2, p. 411.

Millin who was amongst the very first French scholars to adopt and diffuse this notion.[73] In a very similar fashion, in a piece recounting the history of the development of a museum of French monuments, the forerunner to the Musée du Cluny, Vitet began with a discussion of the problems facing works of art at the time of the Revolution and the attempts that were made to save them.[74] Here the name of Lenoir is clearly pre-eminent, and alongside him are to be found Bailly, Doyen, Rochefoucauld and the Commission des monuments. Once again, Millin is conspicuous only by his absence.

Vitet was certainly not unaware of Millin's works, because he did make a passing reference to him on at least one occasion. In a piece devoted to the ancient ruins in the southern French town of Orange, he discussed the previously lamentable state of the triumphal arch there, before praising the restoration work carried out by the architect Caristie in 1825. According to Vitet, those who cared about the state of buildings and made any kind of effort either to repair them or at least to point them out to those who could repair them, were few and far between. But amongst them was to be numbered Millin: "La ruine était imminente. Millin, dans son voyage, daté de 1807, décrit l'état de l'édifice en termes très-alarmants et prédit un prochain désastre."[75] Therefore, he was still remembered for the *Voyage* and the book was often used as a source of documentation, or to provide a point of comparison: in this way Vitet differed very little from authors such as Mérimée and Du Sommerard.

Not that there was universal praise even for the *Voyage*. In a comment that casts a considerable amount of light on one of the major problems that has dogged Millin for many years, that of his rather unattractive literary style, one of Michelet's correspondents advised the historian, who was preparing a journey to the south of France, on the written sources available:

> "Cher Confrère, il y a très peu de livres sur l'Etat actuel du Midi. Nous ne nous connaissons guères – Le voyage de Millin en 1809, celui de Darluc avant 89, et quelques brochures de MM. de Villeneuve-Bargemont et Villeneuve-Trans […]

[73] *Infra*, ch. 7, pp. 274 ff. What should be made clear at the outset of this study is that the syntagm 'monument historique' as used by Millin and his successors (for example those mentioned here) refers to the 'historical monument' (POULOT 1985). It is when the phrase is understood in this sense (and not as referring to, for instance, literary 'monuments historiques') that it can be claimed that the syntagm 'monuments historiques' was first adopted at the end of the eighteenth century.

[74] "L'Hôtel de Cluny", in: VITET 1875, 2ème série, vol. 2, pp. 381–94.

[75] "Monuments antiques de la ville d'Orange" (1859), in: VITET 1875, 1ère série, pp. 156–96, p. 158.

> sont encore ce qu'il y a de mieux à consulter. Les statistiques publiées sous l'Empire ont vieilli et valent moins que Millin, tout ennuyeux qu'il est."[76]

It is surely damning with faint praise to say of an author that, despite the fact that he is boring, at least reading his work is preferable to reading the government statistics on the same subject.[77]

As has already been seen, Stendhal did not hesitate to mock Millin for his pride in his titles. More seriously, Stendhal also cast aspersions on the accuracy of his predecessor, even going so far as to claim that some descriptions must be entirely imaginary since the building had actually been destroyed long before Millin's stay in the area: "On me dit que le savant Millin, parlant de Beaucaire, a décrit avec beaucoup de détails une église détruite dix ans avant son passage."[78] On another occasion, in a deft gibe, the epithet used to dismiss Millin is that of being one of the "voyageurs descriptifs" who would devote pages and pages to the description of one single collection of natural history specimens.[79] Less ambiguous in its disparaging nature is the soubriquet "compteur de colonnes" which Stendhal employs as a way of referring to Millin's antiquarian researches in Rome. And, if he is to be believed, Millin simply did not have the material resources to be able to rival with others engaged in the same occupation, such as Vivant Denon:

> "Pour ne citer aussi que les morts parmi les voyageurs compteurs de colonnes, cherchez les voyages de M. Millin en Italie. M. Millin étant à Rome, en 1806, je crois, rentre chez lui désespéré. "Qu'avez-vous? lui dit un savant qui se trouvait là. – Ce que j'ai! ce que j'ai! Denon est ici, savez-vous ce qu'il dépense par jour? 500 francs! Je suis un homme perdu. Que va dire Rome de moi?"[80]

The supposed vanity of Millin, his pedestrian vision of antiquarian studies and an ambition which could, sadly, not be matched by the financial means at his disposal are all too clearly communicated in this rather telling vignette. Admittedly, there is a glaring error in Stendhal's account, which is quite simply that Millin was not in Rome in 1806, but rather during the

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[76] Adolphe Blanqui to Michelet, s.d. [1844?], in: MICHELET 1994, vol. 4 (1995), letter 3324, pp. 335–6.

[77] Michel Vovelle points out that Millin may well have been a "voyageur dans la grande tradition de ceux du XVIII^{e} siècle, mais il est en même temps très proche des statisticiens, ses contemporains." See VOVELLE 1980, p. 409.

[78] *Mémoires d'un touriste* (STENDHAL 1838). See STENDHAL 1992, p. 352.

[79] "Je ne dirai rien de Pavie, dont vous trouverez des narrations dans tous les voyageurs descriptifs [footnote: Voir le Voyage de ce M. Millin, membre de tant d'Académies]. Remerciez-moi de ne pas vous envoyer vingt pages sur le superbe cabinet d'histoire naturelle." *Rome, Naples et Florence,* in: STENDHAL 1826. See STENDHAL 1973, p. 381.

[80] *Rome, Naples et Florence,* in: STENDHAL 1826. See STENDHAL 1973, p. 315.

winter of 1811–12. Despite this, the veracity of the anecdote cannot actually be called into question, since it is certain that Millin was in Italy at the same time as Vivant Denon. Such references abound in Stendhal's works, but it would be overly simplistic to imagine that his attitude to his predecessor was merely one of total disdain. The ambiguity is not entirely apparent, mainly because great pains were taken to hide it. In effect, Stendhal was greatly reliant on Millin's *Voyage* for the composition of his own work, and admitted as much in a veiled allusion to the 1807 publication. His exact words were:

> "M. N***, honneur de la Provence, homme rare qui aime à apprendre, et non à montrer ce qu'il sait, m'avait bien donné la note des choses qu'il faut voir […]. Je ne nomme point cet homme aux pensées profondes, qui m'a appris tout ce que je sais de la Provence et même des choses qui ne pourront être imprimées que quand la mode aura changé; en attendant il ne faut pas que son nom se rencontre dans un livre non dévot."[81]

This unnamed traveller who had been so precious to Stendhal when visiting the south of France proves to be none other than Millin himself. But, rather than admit to such a fact, the author has chosen to create a new character, this unknown and mysterious M. N***.

Other archaeologists, such as Charles Lenormant, displayed a very similar attitude to that displayed by Vitet. In an article retracing the interest in and the history of archaeology, Lenormant omitted any mention of the works of Millin. He presented a chronological survey of the subject in which are to be found the names of Montfaucon, Caylus and Winckelmann, even if, in Lenormant's view, Montfaucon should rather be counted as a counter-model since he remained a philologist and never really managed to grasp the significance of artistic monuments. Then Lenormant passed to Zoëga who "compte en Allemagne pour un grand archéologue, mais à tort, ce me semble."[82] Having dismissed the work of Zoëga on obelisks as being useful only inasmuch as it constituted a collection of material which could then be worked upon by more talented archaeologists, Lenormant stated with suitably nationalistic pride that "Notre pays présente en contraste un véritable phénomène. Un homme contemporain de Zoëga, mais dont l'existence s'est prolongée pour la gloire de notre époque, M. Quatremère de Quincy [...]".[83] The only other figure of this period whom Lenormant deigned to mention was Ennio Quirino Visconti.

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[81] *Voyage en France*, manuscript notes published for the first time in STENDHAL 1992; here p. 547.

[82] LENORMANT 1861, vol. 1, p. 436.

[83] LENORMANT 1861, vol. 1, p. 437.

Jules Labarte, in his catalogue of the Debruge Duménil collection, prefaced his main text with a discussion of Debruge Duménil's predecessors in the study of national antiquities. The heading to this section reads 'Archéologues qui se sont occupés les premiers des antiquités nationales.' In the text after this heading Labarte stated that as early as the beginning of the nineteenth century there were some scholars who were prepared to buck the trend and to ignore the overwhelming passion felt by most of their contemporaries for classical objects. As Labarte observed, "C'est un devoir que de rappeler les noms de ces savants, qui furent les promoteurs de la révolution artistique opérée de nos jours."[84] Those who were felt by Labarte to have been important in this development of a new artistic taste in France were Alexandre Lenoir, Vivant Denon, Willemin, Revoil, Du Sommerard, Sauvageot, Carrand, the comte de Pourtalès, the comte de Monville, Brunet-Denon and Fiérard.[85] It is rather surprising to see here the names of Lenoir, Denon, Willemin and Revoil unaccompanied by that of Millin.

g. bibliographers and bibliophiles

Thus it was that by the middle of the nineteenth century scholars had generally dismissed the *Antiquités nationales* as being a work which could at best be said to contain a number of engravings and descriptions of buildings that had since been destroyed. The documentary value of the book was also sometimes mentioned, but the overwhelming opinion at the time was that the only merit that the work could ever be claimed to have was that of providing illustrative material. It was certainly not to the *Antiquités* that any self-respecting scholar requiring precise information on artistic objects or on the history or theory of the arts would ever turn. Given this dismissive attitude towards the book it is therefore all the more surprising that a small flurry of articles concerning it should have appeared in the mid 1880s.[86] Closer examination of these articles shows, however, that it was not the intellectual contents of the book that were under consideration here. There was no reference made to the argument of the book *per se*, nor to its accuracy or otherwise. The main discussions related to the form and the material production of the book, which is scarcely surprising given the increased interest in bibliographical niceties that was being shown at this time. Thus it is that questions were asked about the relation between two editions that seemed, at first glance, to

[84] LABARTE 1847, p. 4.

[85] LABARTE 1847, pp. 4–9.

[86] LACOMBE 1883; LACOMBE et al. 1884; TOURNEUX 1884.

be different, even though they also displayed many similarities. That intellectuals should have troubled themselves to ask such questions about a book that was all too often seen as being totally devoid of interest is less a sign of attention being paid to Millin's work in particular, than just one particular case of a phenomenon that was becoming increasingly widespread at the time. This was the period when a concerted effort was being made to republish all earlier texts that had some bearing either on the history of France or of her monuments. By the end of the nineteenth century a number of works of this type had been undertaken, such as the Inventaire des richesses de la France and the series of the sources of France's history.[87] It was also the time when the suggestion was made that a reedition of Montfaucon's *Monumens de la monarchie françoise* could be prepared, a scheme which was, unfortunately, never to see the light of day.[88] The impetus towards the republication of various important sources led some scholars to investigate the contents of manuscript archives and to select certain documents which they felt should be brought out of their obscurity and offered to a wider audience. Millin was to profit from this since one of his epistolary exchanges – the one with Karl August Böttiger – was chosen for such privileged treatment.[89]

b. twentieth century: studies on vandalism and the history of art history

At roughly the same time there began to appear a series of works on the question of revolutionary vandalism and its results. Some espoused the cause of the supporters of the Jacobins, claiming that the legacy of the Revolution was in fact a greatly increased protection of and support for the arts in France. Others took the opposite line, decrying the massive destructions that had been inflicted on France during the last decade of the eighteenth century. In none of these works, however, be they written by the partisans or the opponents of the Revolution, does Millin ever deserve much more than a fleeting mention in a footnote. Not one of them identified Millin as being a person of any particular interest, nor his *Antiquités* as having been of any particular significance in terms of the protection of the country's national artistic heritage. For example, Eugène Despois, who was determined to prove that the Revolution had actually seen not only the establishment of multitudinous artistic institutions but also the development of a number of interesting historical ideas could devote an entire

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[87] INVENTAIRE 1876; the publications of the Société de l'histoire de France. See also works such as FRANKLIN 1877.

[88] FAVRE 1877.

[89] JORET 1902.

chapter to 'Le Moyen âge et la Révolution' without once referring to the *Antiquités nationales*.[90] Nor was Paul Léon, in his work celebrating the service des Monuments historiques, to pay any attention to the work in which the syntagm 'monuments historiques' had first made its appearance in the French language.[91] This lacuna is all the more unexpected given that only four years earlier Frédéric Rücker had published an important thesis on the question of the origins of the conservation of monuments in France. In his examination of the forerunners to the conservation movement during the nineteenth century and alongside such expected figures as Alexandre Lenoir, Séroux d'Agincourt and Alexandre de Laborde, he also paid tribute to Millin who, as he said, "commença, le premier, ses voyages à travers les monuments de la vieille France".[92]

During the early years of the twentieth century increasing attention was being paid to the period of the First Empire, largely because this was seen as representing a capital stage in the transition from the Enlightenment to the Romantic period.[93] Amongst those working in this field was André Monglond who compiled a monumental bibliography of the writings of the revolutionary and imperial decades; here Millin's name is often to be found.[94] It may have been as a result of his research for this work that he felt inspired to write two lengthy and well-documented articles devoted uniquely to Millin.[95] These were unfortunately never finished, but they do provide a rich source of information and begin to pose some of the more important questions, not least the enigma of his fall from renown into obscurity.

Whilst none of the members of the Annales school have worked directly on Millin, this particular development in historical method was one that was to prove especially important both for him and for others like him. The Annales school marked a move away from the traditional subjects and methods of historical study. The quantitative analysis of historical data began to play a central role. Above all, attention was now paid to the closer examination of various milieux and to the history of *mentalités*. One of the results of this new

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[90] DESPOIS 1868, ch. XII. He did, however, mention Millin by name in the chapter devoted to libraries, p. 255. A similar lack of interest was later to be shown by a fierce opponent of Despois, Gustave Gautherot: GAUTHEROT 1914; Millin's name does not appear once in this work.

[91] He does, on the other hand, include the *Dictionnaire des Beaux-Arts* in his bibliography: LÉON 1917.

[92] RÜCKER 1913, p. 180.

[93] VIATTE 1928; MONGLOND 1930A. See also: GAULMIER 1951; FABRE 1963; VIALLANEIX 1975.

[94] MONGLOND 1930B (reprint – MONGLOND 1976).

[95] MONGLOND 1940A & MONGLOND 1940B.

approach was that events or people previously regarded as minor or uninteresting could now be elevated to a higher position. This does not mean that an inflated importance was conferred upon them, but rather that they were viewed as of interest precisely because they could be considered as representative of their time.[96]

Since the 1950s there has also been a new current apparent in work concerning the vandalism of the revolutionary period. Partisan attitudes have gradually been replaced by a more balanced examination of the sources available and an attempt to ascertain more precisely exactly how much was destroyed. One of the pioneer and foremost figures in this movement was Louis Réau. In his major work devoted to the question Millin is attributed the honour of having been the earliest critic of vandalism: "Le plus ancien de ces adversaires du vandalisme est l'archéologue Aubin-Louis Millin (1759–1818) qui, dès le 9 décembre 1790, présentait à l'Assemblée constituante le premier volume de ses *Antiquités nationales*, résultat de son enquête sur les 'monuments historiques': expression devenue courante qu'il introduisit dans la langue française."[97] Despite the credit which he accorded him, Réau made no attempt to analyse the work produced by Millin or to judge its relative success or failure. In a footnote to this paragraph, he added only one further detail, which is that he opened his work with a description of the Bastille. More recently, the fact that Millin was responsible for the introduction into the French language of two new syntagmas, namely 'monuments historiques' and 'antiquités nationales', has often attracted comment.[98]

Concurrent with this work has been a whole series of studies on the architectural heritage of France. Many inventories have been compiled, and Millin has often been used as one of the essential references. Ever since the period of the Revolution it has always been assumed that even if his style is less than inspiring and the work itself is rather chaotic in nature, the book does nonetheless have one great merit, and that is that it provides a record of buildings that no longer exist.[99] Unfortunately, however, the scrupulous work of the later

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[96] Such, for example, is the work of Le Roy Ladurie on the Carnaval de Romans. LE ROY LADURIE 1979. In terms of the close analysis of minor historical figures one of the pioneering studies remains GINZBURG 1976. More recently, BANN 1994.

[97] RÉAU 1994 (a revised and enlarged version of RÉAU 1958), p. 502.

[98] CHOAY 1992; BERCÉ 2000.

[99] The comments of the bibliographers are interesting in this respect: Graesse summarizes the work by saying that "Cet ouvrage n'est ni complet ni exact ni fidèle quant aux objets réprésentées, mais [...] il sera toujours indispensable pour tous les antiquaires": see GRAESSE 1922, vol. 4, p. 527. See also QUÉRARD 1827, vol. 6 (1834), p. 136 and BRUNET 1860, vol. 3 (1862), col. 1723. See further *infra*, pp. ??-??

twentieth century architectural historians who have set about examining the French monumental stock more carefully has all too often been to his discredit. A close examination of the descriptions and the illustrations included in the *Antiquités* has frequently highlighted the shortcomings of the book. Many of the plates, when compared with the actual remains of buildings, have proved to be anything but faithful records.

Just as was the case during the nineteenth century, the voyage in the south of France has again attracted a considerable amount of attention over the past few years. This is due in great part to the increased awareness of the early work on anthropology and ethnology in France, as exemplified by the works of, for example, Michèle Duchet, or the book recounting the history of the Société des Observateurs de l'Homme, of which Millin was a member.[100] It has recently been stated, for example, that Millin could be described as one of the earliest ethnologists in France.[101] The ethnographical aspects of his work have also been considered more specifically in regard to his attitude toward works of art.[102]

During the late 1960s and the early 1970s a new impetus was given by the increased interest accorded to the artistic institutions of the early nineteenth century, and more particularly to the Musée des Monumens français. Bruno Foucart published a lengthy and richly-documented article on the controversy that had surrounded Alexandre Lenoir.[103] In one of the very last footnotes accompanying this article, Foucart actually suggested that a study devoted entirely to Millin would be useful in terms of the light that it could cast on the history of art at this time. Some years later Francis Haskell discussed the effects that the Musée des Monumens français had on taste at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries.[104] It was also during the 1970s that works detailing the sources and main currents of the Gothic Revival were to draw attention to Millin, his dictionary and the *Antiquités*.[105]

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[100] DUCHET 1995; COPANS & JAMIN 1978.

[101] VOVELLE 1980, pp. 407–470 ; GARDY 1987.

[102] CASTORINA 1993.

[103] FOUCART 1969.

[104] HASKELL 1980, p. 107. This first foray by Haskell into the question of Lenoir's museum was to be followed by several other articles and a series of lectures at the Collège de France. Later, when Haskell analysed the impact of the visual arts upon our representations of history in *History and its Images*, he was to return once again to the theme of Lenoir: HASKELL 1993.

[105] GERMANN 1972, p. 20; GOTHIQUE RETROUVÉ 1979, pp. 70–1.

The last two decades of the twentieth century have proved to be even more fruitful, for a number of reasons. One was, clearly, the increased interest in the revolutionary period that preceded and accompanied the bicentennial celebrations in 1789. A flood of publications came onto the market, many of which attempted to re-examine the whole question of historical, and more particularly art historical thought during these years. Amongst these was Edouard Pommier's brilliant and incisive study of the tensions between creation and destruction which so strongly marked the turbulent closing decade of the eighteenth century.[106] Here Millin is accorded his rightful role as one of those who wished to combat the destructive tendencies of the revolutionary vandals. Dominique Poulot's impressive studies of attitudes towards France's national heritage during these years have allowed for the context in which Millin was working to be better understood and his individual contribution duly to be appreciated.[107]

At the same time, greater attention has been paid to the history of art history and of archaeology both in France and in Europe. In Alain Schnapp's wide-ranging and detailed history of archaeology Millin is discussed and his contribution to the subject fairly estimated.[108] A more recent book on the history of art in France opens on Millin, who was after all the first professor to give a series of institutionalized lectures in the subject, even if he was by no means the most influential theoretician.[109] Other authors have chosen to concentrate their attention more exclusively on individual figures who marked attitudes to the visual arts in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Such is, for example, the case of François Arquié-Bruley who has written a series of extremely well-documented articles on several contemporaries of Millin, such as Lenoir, Watelet, Debruge-Duménil, Saint-Morys and Willemin.[110] She also devoted two articles to a close study of Millin himself and of the collections that he brought back to France from his journey in Italy.[111] As for the *Antiquités nationales* themselves, there has been little research done on the book, with the exception of

[106] POMMIER 1991A.

[107] POULOT 1996; POULOT 1997.

[108] SCHNAPP 1993, p. 280.

[109] THERRIEN 1998.

[110] The articles are as follows: Lenoir – ARQUIÉ-BRULEY 1998A; Watelet – ARQUIÉ-BRULEY 1998B; Debruge-Duménil – ARQUIÉ-BRULEY 1990; Saint-Morys – ARQUIÉ-BRULEY 1987, 1981 & 1980; Willemin – ARQUIÉ-BRULEY 1983.

[111] ARQUIÉ-BRULEY 1985; ARQUIÉ-BRULEY 1984.

one engraving which has attracted some interest, the 'Idée de l'ordre observé pour la distribution des Nouvelles Ecclesiastiques' **[Ill. 2]**.[112]

It is, in effect, a strange form of 'obscurity' into which the figure of Millin has fallen. It is certainly true to say that he is not entirely unknown; amongst art historians works such as his *Dictionnaire des Beaux-Arts* are still regarded as an important reference. His contribution to the development of art history and archaeology in France is considered sufficiently important to merit a substantial article in a major reference work on French art historians currently being prepared.[113] His various travel accounts have, throughout the last two centuries, been read, interpreted and used from a number of points of view. At times they have provided a useful document recording the existence and the state of repair of a large number of buildings or works of art (such was Mérimée's appreciation of the books) and at others they have formed, albeit sometimes tacitly, the source of inspiration and of information for later travel accounts. Most recently they have been used as evidence of the development of the study of ethnography in France during the early nineteenth century. His archaeological studies served as useful handbooks for a subject that was taking its first faltering steps, but were very quickly to be outdated when more scientific and analytical methods began to predominate.

But he has always been a figure who has featured in most scholarly studies only in the margins, in the footnotes. He has provided the comparative material, the source for an illustration or the useful erudite reference. Rarely has he been allowed to stand centre-stage, as the main point of interest. When the early politics of conservation in France are examined, it is usually the work of Lenoir which is quoted. Clearly, the creator and subsequent curator of a museum which was so popular at the time and which gained European renown was always likely to be a more attractive subject than Millin. Given the great differences between the two men's literary production this is not so surprising either. Whilst copies of Millin's works were destined to clutter up the shelves or storerooms of successive booksellers for several decades, Lenoir's catalogue was always a guaranteed winner, going through a large number of editions which were in turn complemented by various works containing impressive plates reflecting the highly evocative atmosphere of the museum.[114]

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[112] ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 1 (1790), art. IV, pl. 7: BERGER 1988.

[113] DICTIONNAIRE 2005.

[114] LENOIR 1795, LENOIR 1796, LENOIR 1798, LENOIR 1799, LENOIR 1800, LENOIR 1801, LENOIR 1803, LENOIR 1806, LENOIR 1810, LENOIR 1816; BRÈS 1821.

In order to understand this question of his relative obscurity it is essential to understand on what his renown was based during the first decades of the nineteenth century. The main fact is that he was someone whose reputation was very largely dependent on a short-term phenomenon. His works were not, despite the kind words of Madame Abrantès, likely to interest generations of future scholars.[115] Most of the honours that were bestowed upon him and much of the attention that was paid to him were the result of one publication, the *Magasin encyclopédique*. In an attempt to gain adequate recognition for their books and their ideas, many scholars were prepared to court Millin. He was never going to be the most original art historian, archaeologist or antiquary of his times. He was, however, excellent at recognizing the quality of the work of others and at knowing how best to transmit and disseminate it. For this work as a cultural and intellectual intermediary he was ideally suited, and the *Magasin encyclopédique* proved to be an excellent means of carrying out his work. The significance of the *Magasin* for the propagation of German culture in France during the first decades of the nineteenth century has recently been acknowledged in an international conference.[116] What remains to be done is the same for the *Antiquités*.

[115] ABRANTÈS 1833, vol. 9, p. 180: “M. Millin [...] a laissé plusieurs ouvrages qui seront à jamais sur les rayons des bibliothèques savantes [...]”.

[116] ESPAGNE & SAVOY 2005. On the intellectual relations between France and Germany at this time see ESPAGNE & GREILING 1996.

Chapter 2.
"SAVANT SANS PÉDANTERIE ..."

During an extended stay in Rome in 1812, Aubin-Louis Millin de Grandmaison was so captivated by the portrait of cardinal Savo Mellini that he persuaded himself that the Italian prelate must have been one of his ancestors. Rapidly dismissing all orthographical niceties, he persuaded himself that the cardinal's name was really Millino, and thus deduced that his family had originated in Italy and then emigrated to France.[1] Possibly, his love for Italy was an influential factor in his attempt to prove for himself a descent from one of the country's cardinals. Maybe he saw some vague resemblance in the facial characteristics that allowed him, basing himself on a science whose most recent proponent was Lavater, to claim that there was clearly a familial link between himself and the seventeenth-century Italian. Or perhaps he was, after all, merely falling prey to a phenomenon which Edward Gibbon eloquently described in the opening pages of his memoirs, that of attempting to establish for oneself a suitably illustrious heritage: "We wish to discover our ancestors, but we wish to discover them possessed of ample fortunes, adorned with honourable titles, and holding an eminent rank in the class of hereditary nobles."[2] That this reaction was so often observable that "it must depend on the influence of some common principle in the minds of men" was regarded by Gibbon as an incontrovertible fact.[3] He even admitted that he himself was not immune to this type of behaviour and would be delighted to study with diligence the lives of his ancestors could he number among them "a general, a statesman or a celebrated author".[4] Yet Gibbon had, as he made clear over the next few pages devoted to his family's history, far less reason than had Millin to attempt to invent for himself an illustrious lineage.

[1] This anecdote is recounted by Charles Weiss in his entry devoted to Millin in MICHAUD 1843, vol. 28 (s.d.), pp. 304–6. Bon-Joseph Dacier dismisses the story out of hand, attributing its origin not to Millin himself but instead to some of his biographers (or, rather, hagiographers), and concludes the discussion with the words "Si la ressemblance de nom pouvait être regardée comme une preuve de consanguinité, ces biographes, […] auraient pu faire remonter, comme l'a fait Platina l'historien des papes, celle de la famille Millin au Melinus dont parle Cicéron dans son discours pour Cluentius": see DACIER 1821, p. 3.

[2] GIBBON [1900?], p. 2.

[3] GIBBON [1900?], p. 2.

[4] GIBBON [1900?], p. 3.

Family and youth

Aubin-Louis Millin de Grandmaison was born in Paris, the illegitimate son of Adrien-Alexandre Millin de Grandmaison and of Noëlle Geslin **[Ills. 3–4]**.[5] The exact date of his birth is unclear, but it was certainly during the month of July 1759.[6] His father, Adrien-Alexandre, was the youngest son of Marie Prioux and of Paul Millin, an *avocat au Parlement* who left Nevers for Neuilly-sur-Seine where he purchased the fief de Grandmaison.[7] This passed to Adrien-Alexandre in 1744 on the death of his father. Adrien-Alexandre also began his career as an *avocat au Parlement* and then became "commissaire des guerres et régisseur des fourrages des armées du roi (1757), intéressé dans la régie des vivres".[8] He married in 1739 Marie-Anne-Etienne Lueron, who bore him three children: Alexandre-Paul, Claude-Valentin and Anne-Adélaïde.[9] Shortly after the birth of their daughter, in 1768, Marie-Anne-Etienne died.[10] Adrien-Alexandre was thus free to marry Noëlle Geslin.[11] This did not

[5] Most of our knowledge about his life comes from various obituaries and from entries in biographical dictionaries. Apart from the notices by Weiss and Dacier (mentioned in note 1 *supra*), see: KRAFFT 1818; AUGUIS 1819; RABBE et al. 1830, vol. 3 (1830), pp. 597–600; GENS DU MONDE 1833, vol. 17, deuxième partie (1842), p. 680; HOEFER 1854, vol. 35 (1861), pp. 538–41; LAROUSSE 1866, vol. 11 (1874), p. 268; BERTHE 1969. Modern studies: MONGLOND 1940A & 1940B; ARQUIÉ-BRULEY 1984; ARQUIÉ-BRULEY 1985; and the important study by Edouard Pommier – POMMIER 1991A, esp. pp. 53–6.

[6] There is no agreement on the date of birth: ARQUIÉ-BRULEY 1985, p. 25, gives July 18, quoting Arch. Paris État-civil reconstitué: V 2E 249. KRAFFT 1818, p. 5, DACIER 1821, p. 3, and RABBE et al. 1830, p. 597 give July 19; AUGUIS 1819, p. 11, gives July 14, and a lithographed portrait of Millin in the BNF, Cabinet des estampes, gives July 8.

[7] Most of the details about Millin's family background have been accurately established by Françoise Arquié-Bruley and are to be found in her article: ARQUIÉ-BRULEY 1985. See also: RÉVÉREND 1901, vol. 5 (1905), pp. 138–9, which differs from Arquié-Bruley on a number of points. Adrien-Alexandre's brothers were Claude (*avocat au Parlement*), Valentin Millin Delachombe (or 'de la chambelaine', *commissaire des Guerres*).

[8] RÉVÉREND 1901, vol. 5 (1905), pp. 138–9. His address is given as being the rue des Vieilles-rue St. Honoré. There is some confusion about his death. Révérend states that he died in Corsica in 1769. Arquié-Bruley (and Krafft before her) feel rather that he died in 1775 in India, where he was attempting to establish a munitions factory. Krafft suggests that it was one of Aubin-Louis's half-brothers who died in Corsica. See ARQUIÉ-BRULEY 1985, p. 25 and KRAFFT 1818, p. 5.

[9]Archives nationales, Minutier central, XLIX, 602, dated January 2 1739. Révérend proposes two possibilities for the spelling of Marie-Anne-Etienne's surname: either Luiron or Sueron. See RÉVÉREND 1901, vol. 5 (1905), pp. 138–9. Claude-Valentin was guillotined in 1793, Anne-Adélaide died in 1802 and Alexandre-Paul in 1811 (BNF, Cabinet des manuscrits, fonds français 24692, fol. 290, letter dated Martigné September 10 1811 announcing his illness).

[10] For the *inventaire après décès* see: Archives nationales, Minutier central, XXXV, 687 (April 6 1756) and XXXV, 759 (March 21 1769).

[11] The Geslin were a family of nobles from Bourgogne. See BNF, Cabinet des manuscrits, fonds français 24688, fols. 129–66 & 24695, fols. 273–84. Note especially the letters written by Millin about René Geslin, a prisoner of war – fols. 142–6, including a letter written by Millin to the ministre de la marine, dated 14 fructidor an VI [August 31 1798].

happen until 1775, and Noëlle Geslin's time as the legal wife of Adrien-Alexandre was all too short-lived, since it was in that same year that her husband was to die in India.[12] He had, however, made generous financial provisions for his son.[13]

Early writings

The young Aubin-Louis was educated at the Collège du Plessis, a Jesuit institution fully deserving of its excellent reputation.[14] On leaving school he was faced with the question of his future career, and he rapidly dismissed the three options that were the most habitual choices for young men of his background. Contrary to most of the men in his father's family, he opted for neither the army nor the legal profession. More difficult, no doubt, was his decision to resist his mother's demands that he should enter the church. Albeit with some reluctance, he at first deferred to her wishes; after a period of only a few months, he was to state categorically that this was not his true vocation and he abandoned this career. According to the account given by Krafft, one of Millin's main objections was that he found himself obliged to put his books to one side at regular intervals in order to attend canonical hours.[15] Thereupon, he decided to devote the rest of his life to studying; the revenue from the reasonable fortune bequeathed to him by his father provided him with the means to do this. His decision to leave the church did not cause any major disruption in his familial relations; he was always to remain a bachelor and his mother lived with him until her death in 1812.

His income, whilst not allowing him to be counted amongst the very wealthy, would certainly have been sufficient for him to live in some comfort, and at the same time to purchase the necessary books and collections. But Millin realized that in order to pursue a successful career and to make his name he needed to be moving in the right circles; for this reason he took a job in the Bibliothèque du roi as 'commis aux imprimés' (assistant in the

[12] Arquié-Bruley quotes Archives nationales, Minutier central XXIII, 738 (June 17 1775): ARQUIÉ-BRULEY 1985, p. 25.

[13] For the fact that Adrien-Alexandre did marry Noëlle Geslin, see RÉVÉREND 1901, vol. 5 (1905), p. 138. ARQUIÉ-BRULEY 1985, p. 25 mentions a donation made to Noëlle Geslin and the young Aubin-Louis by his father (Archives nationales, Minutier central XXIII, 716) dating to August 1771.

[14] See ALM CHRONIQUE 1789, November 30 1792, no. 341, p. 1339 and BNF, Cabinet des manuscrits, fonds français 24696, fols. 76–7, a letter to the duc de Richelieu dated May 12 1817, on the publication of his *Voyage en Italie* (ALM VOYAGE 1817) where Millin mentions the fact that they were at the same college. On the Collège du Plessis see DAINVILLE 1991.

[15] KRAFFT 1818, p. 6.

department of printed books), where he was to stay for seven years.[16] The 'commis' worked as an assistant to the keeper of the department, at that time the abbé Desaulnays.[17] One fact is certain, and this is that the salary could not have been an important element in Millin's decision, all the more so that he was merely a "simple employé surnuméraire".[18] Pecuniary considerations were here subordinated to intellectual and social ones, and Millin's reckoning seems to have been good since the job "le mit en relation avec les hommes qui honoraient alors la littérature française".[19] Possessed of a naturally gregarious character, and building upon the friendships which he made through his job at the library, he was to become, within a few years, one of the accepted figures at the social and academic gatherings of the time. Much as he enjoyed this side of his life, he never allowed it to impinge upon his work. Striking a good balance between work and pleasure, "jusqu'à la fin de sa vie, il voua les deux-tiers de sa journée aux occupations littéraires, et le reste à la vie sociale".[20]

Certainly he was devoting much time to his studies, but without a definite aim in mind. He read voraciously, anxious to acquire a thorough knowledge of as many of the great authors in each language as he could. Gradually he determined to turn all this work to his profit, the more so since he was convinced of the importance and interest of a number of the books that he had been studying. The resulting work, his first publication, was the *Mélanges de littérature étrangère*; this collection of various pieces translated from a number of languages appeared over a period of two years.[21] In the earlier volumes, Millin preferred not to identify himself as the editor of the series, and it is not until the third volume that his name

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[16] See Archives nationales F^7 4774 46, dossier 4, fol. 9v: "Livré des ma premiere jeunesse à l'Etude des langues et à celle des sciences, j'avois été sept ans attaché à la Bibliotheque nationale." BALAYÉ 1988, p. 298. The reference to Millin as 'commis aux imprimés' comes on p. 396. Monglond claims rather that Millin was already "attaché au Cabinet des Médailles": see MONGLOND 1940A, p. 85. This must, however, be an error, especially since in Thierry Sarmant's excellent book on the Cabinet at this time it is stated that Millin arrived in the Cabinet des médailles in 1795 ("Millin, nouveau venu au Cabinet mais non à la Bibliothèque"): SARMANT 1994, p. 219.

[17] On Desaulnays see GRECO 1998.

[18] GENS DU MONDE 1833, vol. 17, deuxième partie (1842), p. 680.

[19] GENS DU MONDE 1833, vol. 17, deuxième partie (1842), p. 680.

[20] KRAFFT 1818, p. 6.

[21] ALM MÉLANGES 1785. See MARTIN et al. 1977, p. 280, no. 85.18 and Chantal Thomas's article in SGARD 1991, vol. 2, pp. 785–6. Registration of the book in the registers of the Chambre Royale et Syndicale des Libraires et Imprimeurs de Paris is to be found in register 38, fol. 283, March 11 1785 (Archives de la Chambre syndicale des imprimeurs et libraires parisiens, BNF, Cabinet des manuscrits, fonds français 21813–22060; collection Anisson-Duperron, BNF, Cabinet des manuscrits, fonds français 22061–22193, with an index: COYECQUE 1900). See also ESTIVALS 1961.

is to be found.[22] Six volumes appeared at irregular intervals, as had been foreseen from the very beginning of the project and was explained in the 'Avertissement' at the head of the first volume: "Le Rédacteur de cet ouvrage n'a voulu imposer ni à ses lecteurs, ni à lui-même, les entraves d'une souscription. Les volumes ne paroîtront donc point périodiquement; ils se succéderont cependant avec promptitude".[23] Apparently this was a decision taken by one of the booksellers involved in the project, François Belin; he frequently adopted a publication method whereby the next volume of a series was not published until the costs of the preceding one had been entirely covered.[24] The aim of the series was to present French translations either of complete works or of extracts from them, and also essays concerning foreign literature. It was not a solo enterprise: contributions were invited from anyone who felt that they had a piece suitable for inclusion.[25] Many of the authors chose to remain anonymous, but amongst those who are named are Levrier de Champrion, M. de Br...., Boulard, Willemet fils, Voiron, l'abbé Guillon, Huet de Froberville, Berenger, and Crignon. The overall composition of the book reflects Millin's own varied interests at the time, since the natural sciences, literature and the arts all found a place here. There were translations from a number of languages, but the majority were from English and Italian.

That Millin benefited greatly in such an undertaking from his job at the Bibliothèque du roi is evident. Thus it is hardly surprising that when he published the book, the dedication was addressed to Charles-Pierre Le Noir, the director of the library. "L'avantage que j'ai d'appartenir au vaste dépôt de connoissances confié à vos soins, l'intérêt & l'estime dont vous m'honorez, tout me faisoit un devoir de vous offrir cet ouvrage."[26] Couching his propos

[22] This occurs in the title to one of the articles: "Lettre de M. Willemet, Médecin de Nancy, à M. Millin de Grandmaison, Auteur des Mélanges de Littérature Etrangère; sur la Flore Japonoise de M. Thumberg". As for the official recognition of the authorship of the work, it is only in the 'Approbation' of the fifth volume that we find mention of it being the work of M. Millin de Grandmaison. It is not certain why Millin did not state his reponsibility for the series until 1786 since there seems to have been no major problem with the *privilège* – it is printed in the first volume, and all the succeeding volumes have the 'Approbation' duly included.

[23] ALM MÉLANGES 1785, vol. 1 (1785), 'Avertissement', p. [i]. Similar wording is to be found in the 'Avis' to each of the succeeding volumes. The dates of the approbations are as follows: vol. 1, March 10 1785; vol. 2, June 30 1785; vol. 3, November 30 1785; vol. 4, March 30 1786; vol. 5, July 28 1786; vol. 6, January 25 1787 (see SGARD 1991, vol. 2, p. 785). The series bears a number of different imprints: see details in Bibliography, 1b – Millin's writings.

[24] HUBERT 1977.

[25] ALM MÉLANGES 1785, vol. 1 (1785), 'Avertissement', p. [i].

[26] ALM MÉLANGES 1785, vol. 1 (1785), 'Avertissement', p. [i].

in a tone typical of these texts, Millin continues by praising Le Noir's modesty, administrative talents and intelligence:

> "Je saisis avec joie cette occasion de vous prouver, par un hommage public, mon zèle & ma reconnoissance. Je sais que vous cherchez autant à fuir la louange, que vous vous attachez à la mériter: ainsi je ne parlerai point de vos talens, si bien connus pour l'administration, ni des avantages que les Lettres doivent attendre de vos lumières & de votre vigilance".[27]

It may well have been an attempt to curry favour with an employer renowned for a mercurial character, and who had, since his arrival in July 1784, already made himself very unpopular through a programme of changes to and reorganization of the library. The ensuing disputes and tensions that prevailed during his five-year tenure of the post have recently been described as being akin to a "small war".[28] Millin's reasons for courting Le Noir become all the more apparent given the fact that in July 1784 he had sent a letter to the director of the library, requesting that he should be considered for the post of 'interprète' in English and Italian.[29] The *Mélanges* with their strong bias towards the English and Italian languages and prefaced by a somewhat sycophantic eulogy of Le Noir's qualities may well have represented a last-ditch attempt by Millin to persuade the director of his suitability for the post of interpreter that he so coveted. At any rate, Millin's application was unsuccessful and the job was given to Louis-Félix de Kéralio. Shortly after this Millin was to leave the library.[30] Whether he resigned or was sacked is unclear. A nineteenth-century history of the library states that he resigned, whilst Millin's own version of the incident would lend itself rather to the conclusion that he was sacked: "Je perdis ma place, par le despotisme de Le Noir".[31]

The loss of his job did not, nonetheless, leave Millin without enough to occupy himself. A document dating from 1785 casts some light on his other activities at this time. His name is to be found in the list of *associés-auteurs* annexed to the constitution of the Correspondance

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[27] ALM MÉLANGES 1785, vol. 1 (1785), 'Avertissement', p. [i].

[28] SARMANT 1994, p. 147: 'guérilla'. See also two pamphlets of the period: CARRA 1788 and the satirical APOLOGIE 1789 (supposedly by Suard, but the tone of the pamphlet suggests that it is not).

[29] See BALAYÉ 1988, p. 298.

[30] Certainly by early summer 1786 he no longer worked there, since in a letter dated May 1786 we find the phrase "vous qui avez été attaché à la Bibliothèque du Roi": Huet de Froberville to Millin, Orléans, May 9 1786, BNF, Cabinet des manuscrits, fonds français 24687, fol. 60r.

[31] See Archives nationales F^7 4774 46, dossier 4, fol. 9. It is Dumersan, according to BALAYÉ 1988, p. 396, note 280, who says that Millin resigned rather than was sacked.

générale et gratuite pour les sciences et les arts.[32] In 1777 Claude-Mammès Pahin de La Blancherie had established this society in Paris, with the aim of providing a "Bureau gratuit au profit de toute sorte de personnes de tous les pays, pour les renseignements relatifs aux Sciences & aux Arts, qui seroit en même tems un lieu de rendez-vous pour ces mêmes personnes".[33] According to the account that he gave of the early years of the society, there were some periods of uncertainty, caused largely by France's involvement in the American struggles. By 1785 these problems were behind him and he hoped to relaunch the society. The basic principles were fairly simple. Those who subscribed became *associés* of the society: an annual payment of ninety-six livres gave the right to the title of *associé-protecteur*, whilst the *associés-ordinaires* paid half of this sum. On any day of the week (with the exception of Sundays and public holidays) the headquarters of the society, located in the Hôtel Villayer in Paris, were open to visitors. Any *associé* could call by to submit "demandes […] relatives aux Sciences & aux Arts, ou aux bons offices qui sont selon l'esprit de l'Etablissement."[34] In a lengthy footnote the author explained the scope of these "demandes": they ranged from the moderately simple, for example the address of an artist or scholar, to the more complicated, such as the collection of all passages relevant to a given subject from manuscripts and printed books in many languages. Even the use of the Correspondance générale as an employment agency was not to be excluded: "Un homme à talens, cherche-t-il à s'occuper ou à se placer?"[35] The subscription fees were used not only to cover running costs, but also to allow for the purchase of various inventions and objects of interest, subsequently exhibited and demonstrated in the headquarters. At the end of the year these objects were then distributed to members in a type of lottery: *associés-protecteur*s had the right to three tickets and the *associés-ordinaires* to one ticket.

In addition to these activities, a hebdomadal publication was made available, the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres & des Arts*.[36] It was apparently to this publication that

[32] The name found in this list is 'de Grandmaison'. No other scholar of this name is identifiable in Paris at the time. Parseval de Grandmaison was working later – his earliest publications date to 1804, although he was born, like Millin, in 1759. It is also to be noted that other members of the society (notably Condorcet and [Hendrik] Janssen) were friends of Millin.

[33] CORRESPONDANCE GÉNÉRALE 1785, p. [1].

[34] CORRESPONDANCE GÉNÉRALE 1785, p. 4.

[35] CORRESPONDANCE GÉNÉRALE 1785, p. 4, note 1.

[36] NOUVELLES 1779. The journal appeared from January 26 1779 until July 16 1788, with a break in 1784. See Hervé Guénot's contribution in SGARD 1991, vol. 2, pp. 1018–19, and GUÉNOT 1988.

the Comité de Correspondance, which included the *associés-auteurs* such as Millin, had to devote much of its attention:

> "Il [le Comité de Correspondance] s'assemblera toutes les semaines, & s'occupera, tant de l'examen des Lettres ou Mémoires qui seront adressés par l'Agent général pour des renseignemens à prendre, que des réponses qu'il conviendra de faire à ceux qu'il aura reçus; de la rédaction des articles de la Feuille, des traductions, & généralement de tous les objets qui lui seront présentés par l'Agent général, selon l'esprit de l'Etablissement".[37]

From the above facts it would seem that association with the Correspondance générale and its activity was ideal for Millin. He was involved in and writing texts for a society which attempted to co-ordinate information between scholars working in different countries, with a fairly equal balance between sciences, arts and literature. At the same time, the membership of the society meant that he was still associating with the *beau monde* which he so appreciated.

His own work on translations was still continuing apace since four more were to appear over the next few years. Two of these were fairly short, but the other two, in a total of five volumes, were sizeable projects. In 1787 appeared a short translation into French of an essay by Charles Vallancey on the Punic language.[38] Several years later, in 1801, Vallancey, by now promoted to the rank of general, showed his gratitude to Millin by procuring for him an honorary membership of the Dublin Society.[39] The next year, 1788, saw the publication of a longer translation from English, this time divided between two articles in successive issues of a scientific journal.[40]

Larger-scale projects were also occupying his energies at this time; he was one of a number of scholars invited by Jacques-Antoine Gibelin to participate in a translation of selected articles from the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London*.[41] Since 1665, with some interruptions, the Royal Society of London had published annually the

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[37] CORRESPONDANCE GÉNÉRALE 1785, p. 6.

[38] ALM COMPARAISON 1787. This was an abridged translation of VALLANCEY 1772 which had first appeared in VALLANCEY 1770, vol. 2 (1771).

[39] BNF, Cabinet des manuscrits, fonds français 24700, fols. 51–3, letter from general Vallancey to Millin, Dublin, November 5 1801. See also BNF, Cabinet des manuscrits, fonds français 24676, fol. 26, letter from Dublin Society informing Millin that he has been elected an honorary member, Dublin, November 5 1801, letter signed by Frankfort.

[40] ALM ESSAI 1788. The English original was WRIGHT 1787.

[41] GIBELIN 1787A.

contributions presented to it by many scholars.[42] Covering a wide range of subjects in the sciences and the humanities, the collection had earned the respect of scholars throughout the world and was regarded as being an essential tool for research. For a number of reasons though it was, according to Gibelin, not entirely accessible; the price was too high, the number of volumes was very large, and most of the contributions were written in English, a language which was, only two centuries ago, "trop peu familière à la plûpart des Amateurs des Sciences".[43] The intended audience was clearly quite wide-ranging; scholars would no doubt find it very useful to have available to them a collection that it was virtually impossible to find in its entirety in France apart from in the Bibliothèque du roi. There was also a popularizing tone to the work: it was felt to be of interest not only to intellectuals but also to "des Personnes qui, sans faire des Sciences leur occupation principale, les aiment & les cultivent."[44] Admittedly, an attempt at providing a French version of the *Philosophical Transactions* had already been made by François de Brémond and Pierre Demours earlier in the century, but it had only covered the period from 1731 to 1746, and since that time many other pieces had appeared which needed to be included.[45]

In the preface to his edition, Gibelin was at pains to point out how useful his work would be for scholars, and also how difficult a project it had been to implement. Decisions had had to be made when it came to the presentation of the work. Clearly the series of seventy-five volumes could not be translated in its entirety into French. Some of the scholars consulted by Gibelin felt that it would be best to produce a summary of every single article in the whole series. He, however, refused to countenance this, pointing out that many of the pieces were neither sufficiently interesting nor sufficiently scholarly to merit inclusion in the French edition.[46] Others, on the other hand, would suffer from any attempt to abridge them: "Comment faire l'extrait d'une description, d'un tableau, sans en affoiblir l'effet?"[47] After some debate, the decision was thus taken to select a number of articles and to translate

[42] PHILOSOPHICAL TRANSACTIONS 1665.

[43] GIBELIN 1787A, vol. 1 (1787), 'Préface', pp. xviii–xix.

[44] GIBELIN 1787A, vol. 1 (1787), 'Préface', p. xviii.

[45] TRANSACTIONS PHILOSOPHIQUES 1731. This was supplemented by BRÉMOND 1735.

[46] In an attempt to appease those who wished to see the whole collection available in French he did promise that one volume of the collection would take the form of a list of the contents of each and every one of the seventy-five English volumes. This did not, however, appear.

[47] GIBELIN 1787A, vol. 1 (1787), 'Préface', p. xxi.

them.[48] Furthermore, the articles were not to be presented in the order in which they had appeared in the London edition or in Brémond's translation of some of the volumes, that is in chronological order. There was, rather, to be an attempt to organize articles thematically. This decision was entirely within the logic of a major Parisian publishing enterprise of the period, since it was during the same decade that Panckoucke's challenge to Diderot and D'Alembert's alphabetical organization of universal knowledge in the *Encyclopédie* began to appear in the form of the *Encyclopédie méthodique*.[49] Gibelin was somewhat less ambitious in his scope, planning only the following volumes: *Histoire naturelle*; *Botanique, agriculture & économie rurale*; *Météorologie*; *Physique experimentale*; *Minéralogie et chymie*; *Anatomie*; *Médecine & Chirurgie*; *Matière médicale et pharmacie*; *Inventions et machines utiles dans les arts*; *Mélanges – voyages & observations*; *Beaux-arts & antiquités*.[50] These last three categories, forming a total of three volumes, were the ones entrusted to Millin.[51]

The fourth translation on which Millin was working during this period, again from English, was in the field of the natural sciences, a subject to which he found himself increasingly drawn. Since his early days at the Bibliothèque du roi he had developed a close friendship with one of the readers whom he had met there, Pierre-Rémi Willemet, a student of natural history.[52] Interested by the work of his friend, Millin began to spend much time with him, collecting and identifying plants. Willemet contributed a number of pieces on natural history to the *Mélanges*.[53] In turn, Millin himself was, during the second half of the

[48] Some passages were to be cut, although these would only involve what Gibelin described as "pur remplissage" and "répétitions inutiles" (GIBELIN 1787A, vol. 1 (1787), 'Préface', p. xxi).

[49] ENCYCLOPÉDIE 1782. On the history of this work see DARNTON 1979.

[50] GIBELIN 1787A, vol. 1 (1787), 'Préface', pp. xxvi–xxvii. The parts that appeared were: natural history – GIBELIN 1787B; botany – GIBELIN 1790; experimental physics – REYNIER 1790; chemistry – PINEL 1791; anatomy – PINEL 1790A; medicine and surgery – PINEL 1790B; medicine and pharmacy – WILMET et al. 1789; ALM MÉLANGES 1790; ALM ANTIQUITÉS 1789.

[51] ALM ABRÉGÉ MÉLANGES 1790; ALM ABRÉGÉ ANTIQUITÉS 1789; ALM ABRÉGÉ ANTIQUITÉS 1790.

[52] See HOEFER 1854, vol. 46 (1866), col. 748 and MICHAUD 1843, vol. 44 (s.d.), pp. 632–3. Pierre-Rémi-François de Paule Willemet (1762 – August 1790) was a brilliant student who gained the title of Docteur en médecine. In 1789 he went to India with the ambassadors of Tippou-Saïb and died there. For an account of this see ALM DÉTAILS 1789. Millin also wrote an obituary of him: ALM WILLEMET 1792A (also ALM WILLEMET 1792B and C). Evidence of Millin's close friendship with both the father and the son comes in the large number of letters which remain: BNF, Cabinet des manuscrits, fonds français 24702, fols. 3–199 and fonds français 24703, fols. 3–151. Willemet père was to become one of the regular contributors to the *Magasin encyclopédique* after 1795.

[53] For example, "Mémoires Biographiques sur Linné, traduits de l'anglois de M. Coxe, par M. Willemet", in ALM MÉLANGES 1785, vol. 2 (1785), pp. 196–242.

1780s, to produce a number of articles in which he began to address some of the problems of this science. He submitted two pieces to the *Observations sur l'histoire naturelle, sur la physique et sur les arts* in late 1787. In his "Lettre de M. Millin de Grandmaison de l'Académie d'Orléans à M. de la Métherie; sur un Mémoire de M. Reynier", he attempted to show, backing his arguments with an impressive list of other authorities, that Reynier's theory on reproduction could not be proved merely by reference to the physical structure of insects.[54] Later in the same year he was to submit a second article, a "Dissertation sur le Thos", in which he discussed the animal mentioned by a number of ancient authors, the Θως (jackal), and attempted to identify it. Dismissing the details and explanations provided by the later classical authors, such as Arrian and Oppian, he tended to lend more credibility to the descriptions given by Homer and Aristotle, and felt it likely that the animal in question was the "hyenne tachetée de M. Pennant, le tigre-loup de M. Sparman".[55]

These essays by Millin proved, nonetheless, to be rare forays into the domain of theoretical discussions and argumentation. He soon became aware of the fact that his talents lay less in the development of new theories of his own than in the gathering, popularization and publishing of others' work. Furthermore, his interest in the natural sciences was increasingly drawing him towards the work of one scholar in particular, Carolus Linnaeus. An ardent disciple of the Linnaean notion of classification, Millin was convinced of the importance of the 'système' and feared more especially that the comte de Buffon's insistence on 'méthode' could lead to a plethora of individual and dispersed publications on various subjects with no overall schematization: "on ne peut disconvenir qu'il [Buffon] a retardé les progrès des véritables connoissances en l'Histoire naturelle, par le mépris qu'il a fait & qu'il a inspiré des systêmes & des méthodes sans lesquelles cette science ne peut offrir que confusion, ne peut être qu'un labyrinthe inextricable."[56] He was also well aware that Linnaeus had not yet gained sufficient recognition in France, and so he set about amending this.[57] In 1789 he completed a translation of a review of the Swedish natural historian's life and writings originally compiled in English by Richard Pulteney. Not that this was a simple

[54] ALM LETTRE 1787.

[55] ALM THOS 1787, quotation here p. 447.

[56] ALM DISCOURS 1792A, quotation here p. xii.

[57] The catalogue of the Bibliothèque nationale gives the following references: LINNAEUS 1787; LINNAEUS 1786; LINNAEUS 1788; LINNAEUS 1783; LINNAEUS 1750. For further information see also SOLEIL 1994, and, more specifically, the thesis by Pascal Duris on the Linnaean societies – DURIS 1993.

translation of the original text, because Millin added many notes and expanded the bibliography to include recent works. In effect, virtually all of the second volume comprises the additions and also some translations of Linnaeus's Latin texts that Millin wished to see added to Pulteney's work.[58]

His attempts to disseminate more widely the theories of Linnaeus in France were not destined to be restricted to this one venture because he was to be one of the founders of the Société Linnéenne. In 1788 a group of fellow-enthusiasts responded to the call by Auguste Broussonet to form a society devoted to the study and propagation of the works of the Swedish botanist.[59] Amongst those involved are to be found some of the more famous French scientists of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries: Malesherbes, Roland de la Platière, Willemet, Fourcroy, L'Héritier de Brutelle, Daubenton, Dolomieu, Lavoisier, Lacépède, and Redouté.[60] According to Thiébaut de Berneaud, the historian of the society, their aim was that of "populariser la science", and, more particularly, the society "montrait à l'agriculteur comment il devait profiter des conquêtes faites en des climats lointains par des voyageurs intrépides."[61] Conditions under the Ancien Régime were not, however, propitious for such a society and,

> "peu de temps après son institution, les dégoûts de toute espèce qui assiégeaient, à cette époque, les associations non-privilégiées, environnèrent la Société Linnéenne. Quelques-uns de ses membres, menacés de n'être pas admis dans les corps littéraires protégés par le gouvernement, se retirèrent: la désertion devint presque totale, et la Société fut abandonnée."[62]

Conditions seemed more favourable during the early years of the Revolution and as a result the society was relaunched. In 1790 the original group met up to celebrate the anniversary of Linnaeus's birthday and decided to visit the cenotaph which had been erected to his memory in the forest of Saint-Germain-en-Laye, his favoured location for gathering plants when he was in France. Inspired by this, they subsequently decided to erect a bust of the great man

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[58] ALM LINNÉ 1789. The original work was PULTENEY 1781.

[59] In a meeting on December 28 1821, Thiébaut de Berneaud sketched the early years of the society: see THIÉBAUT DE BERNEAUD 1822, vol. 1, pp. 6 ff.

[60] THIÉBAUT DE BERNEAUD 1822, p. 6. The full list is as follows: "De Malesherbes, Cels, Rolland de la Platrière, Willemet de Nancy, Millin, Brugière, Lezermes, Fourcroy, Daubenton, Riche, Lermina, L'héritier, Lemonnier de Versailles, Leblond, André Michaux, Rast de Maupas de Lyon, Gouan de Montpellier, Fourgeroux de Bondaroy, Faujas de Saint-Pond, Olivier, Dolomieu, Lavoisier, de Lacépède, Thouin, Desfontaines, Gillet de Laumont, L. Reynier, Silvestre, etc. etc."

[61] THIÉBAUT DE BERNEAUD 1822, vol. 1 (1822), p. 7.

[62] THIÉBAUT DE BERNEAUD 1822, vol. 1 (1822), p. 7, quoted from ALM DISCOURS 1792A.

under the Lebanese cedar in the Jardin des Plantes.[63] At about the same time the society was refounded under the name of the Société d'Histoire Naturelle, and Millin became *secrétaire perpétuel*. Once again, though, the tentative was doomed to failure: the society, along with all others in France, fell foul of the decree passed by the Convention on August 8 1793 which suppressed the academies, and with them all literary and scientific societies. Still determined to achieve their aim, Deshayes and Thiébaut de Berneaud made yet another short-lived attempt to refound the Société Linnéenne in 1797. But it was not until 1820 that the society was, at last, to be successfully launched. As for the Société d'Histoire naturelle, it did begin its work again after the Terror with Millin as its *secrétaire perpétuel* until his appointment to the post of *conservateur des médailles* at the Bibliothèque nationale in 1795 forced him to cede his duties to Georges Cuvier.[64] Thus it would seem that the problem was to find enough interest in a Linnaean society in the later years of the Revolution and the early part of the nineteenth century, rather than a lack of interest in the natural sciences themselves or the impossibility of regenerating former societies.

Despite his interest in the works of Linnaeus, Millin was not content to limit his ambitions in the field of natural history to the study of one scholar. Taking his inspiration from the works of Montucla and Bailly who had written, respectively, on the history of mathematics and astronomy, he envisaged the idea of a history of the natural sciences and began to work on this.[65] During the late seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries, interest in the natural sciences had been blossoming, and there occurred a consequent increase in the number of publications devoted to them, resulting in what Bruno Jammes has called the "apogée du livre scientifique".[66] The eighteenth century had after all been marked by a number of very important scientific studies, not least those by figures such as Linnaeus,

[63] This statue, set up on August 23 1790 (see the account in ALM CHRONIQUE 1789, no. 248, August 26 1790 p. 991), was destroyed in 1794, supposedly because the inscription on the column, 'Carolus a Linneo', was mistaken by the vandals for the name of Charles IX: see GRÉGOIRE 1840, vol. 1, p. 349, as quoted in DURIS 1993, p. 98. See also HAMY 1907.

[64] Notes in BNF, Cabinet des manuscrits, fonds français 24676, fols. 100–10, including receipts for Millin's yearly subscriptions for an V and an VI, of which the earliest is for 23 floréal an V [May 12 1797].

[65] This comparison of Millin's projected work with those of Bailly and Montucla is to be found in all the biographies of Millin. The works which served as 'models' for him are: BAILLY 1775, BAILLY 1779, MONTUCLA 1758.

[66] Bruno Jammes, "Le livre de Science", in CHARTIER & MARTIN 1990, pp. 256–68; quotation here from p. 256. The essential work on the history of the natural sciences, with particular reference to biology, remains JACOB 1970.

Lavoisier and Buffon.[67] Each scholar had his adepts, and whilst their main writings were obviously of primary importance, there was also a need for a digest which would allow the layman to gain an idea of the main premises without having to read highly specialized and possibly intimidating scientific treatises. Millin saw the niche in the market for this historical survey and synthesis devoted to natural history and, aware of his abilities as a communicator of other authors' ideas, was determined to carry it out.[68] The project was vast and was unfortunately destined never to see completion, mainly because his attention was soon to be captured by the stirrings of revolution in France.

French Revolution

a. academic writings

When the Revolution began in 1789, Millin was thirty years old. As has been seen, he had already been involved in a number of literary and scientific enterprises and was still engaged on his history of the natural sciences. He had made a mark on the social and academic scene of his time, albeit not to quite such an extent as he could have hoped. The duchesse d'Abrantès mentions the fact that in the early years of the Revolution Millin did attend the salon hosted by Madame Necker, qualifying this with the observation that he was "en seconde et même troisième ligne dans cette belle société littéraire, composée alors de tout ce que nous avions d'hommes habiles".[69] Whilst his involvement in the Revolution occupied much of his time, this was not to the total exclusion of his earlier projects. The second and third volumes of his translation of selected essays from the Royal Society of London appeared in 1790. A further translation from English was to appear the next year, a translation of a travel account.[70] By 1792, he had managed to complete to his satisfaction a

[67] Buffon's *L'histoire naturelle* (BUFFON 1749) constitutes an exceptional example of a successful scientific book. The total collection consists in forty-four volumes published between 1749–1804. Already by the early 1750s reeditions were being demanded. See Henri-Jean Martin, "L''Histoire naturelle' de Buffon", in CHARTIER & MARTIN 1990, p. 263; BASSY 1973. As for Lavoisier, Roger Chartier points out that his *Traité élémentaire de chimie* (1789) saw its first reedition in the same year as it was first published: see "Le 'Traité élémentaire de chimie' de Lavoisier", in CHARTIER & MARTIN 1990, p. 264.

[68] It is to be regretted that this historical survey of natural history was never produced in full, although there is a version of it in his ALM DISCOURS 1792A, reprinted as ALM DISCOURS 1792B. Certainly, the papers confiscated from him during the Revolution contained many notes on natural history, but these have now been lost, thus rendering impossible the task of reconstructing the planned work (see *supra*, ch. 1, pp. 20–1).

[69] ABRANTÈS 1837, vol. 1, p. 133.

[70] ALM VOYAGE 1791.

considerably abridged version of his projected history of the natural sciences in France.[71] Still in the field of the natural sciences, but this time combining it with the other subject that fascinated him – classical languages and antiquity –, he published a small book about the minerals mentioned in the Homeric poems.[72] Over somewhat more than 100 pages he catalogued all of the minerals described by Homer. Each one is named, with equivalents given in Latin and other languages. Thereupon follows a short dissertation in which Millin identified the occurrences of the word in Homer and discussed the use of the mineral, and the techniques used to work it. The order is not arbitrary: Millin states in the preface that he chose to follow the system devised by Johan Gottschalk Wallerius. "Je traiterai donc d'abord des Terres, ensuite des Sables, des Pierres, des Sels, enfin, des Bitumes et des Métaux."[73] Following a similar model, Millin then intended to produce surveys of animals and plants in the Homeric poems. The first of these was almost completed according to Krafft who, in his obituary of his friend, included the work in a list of those that should appear shortly, suggesting that it should have been published towards the end of 1818. This indication is, however, difficult to reconcile with a thirty-two page in-octavo pamphlet denuded of a title-page which is occasionally to be found in libraries, and which, from the typographical evidence available, must date to the last decade of the eighteenth century. It surely represents the first two gatherings of the book on animals, bearing as it does on the first page the words "Zoologie homérique. Ordre premier. Mammaux".[74] Clearly it was not finished: both copies seen are identical, finishing on an incomplete phrase in the main body of the text and, at the foot of the page, on a catch-word.

b. Millin and the Revolution

But all these works, much in the tradition of his earlier publications, represent only a small proportion of his activity during the last decade of the eighteenth century. Millin, like so many other intellectuals of his time, participated actively in the debates of the Revolution. He may not rank amongst the 136 'grands hommes' in Rivarol's *Petit dictionnaire des grands hommes de la révolution*, but his involvement did include many of the elements to be

[71] ALM DISCOURS 1792A and B.

[72] ALM MINÉRALOGIE 1790.

[73] ALM MINÉRALOGIE 1790, Avantpropos, p. xi.

[74] One copy is to be found in the Bibliothèque nationale de France (SZ-1122) and one in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, no shelfmark.

found in the biographies of other intellectuals of his time – membership of a revolutionary club, the editorship of a newspaper and the authorship of a number of pamphlets and academic writings.[75]

An ardent revolutionary in the early phase, he soon began to distance himself more and more, fearing that one set of abuses was going to be replaced by another. His position is best summarized in the words of Dacier who said:

> "Partageant l'enthousiasme général qu'avait excité le commencement de notre révolution, il la défendit, ou plutôt il la célébra en 1790; dès l'année suivante, la trouvant moins philanthropique, son zèle se refroidit, et bientôt après, mécontent de la direction qu'elle prenait, il osa manifester des opinions contraires à celles du parti qui dominait et dont il désertait les bannières; devenu par là en butte à ce parti tout-puissant, et destiné à payer de sa tête sa courageuse opposition, il fut incarcéré au commencement de 1793."[76]

Dacier's analysis, whilst sketching out the main features of Millin's revolutionary career, is frustratingly silent on some essential details. All of Millin's academic writings from this time, albeit occasionally marked by slight mistakes in the chronology, are painstakingly described, but no attempt is made to mention the other works, those that, as he himself said, so nearly proved fatal. It is unlikely that Dacier, who had been a fairly important figure on the Parisian stage from 1789 to 1792, was ignorant of Millin's contributions. It may instead have been out of respect to his former friend that Dacier chose to pass over these years fairly rapidly: following his period in prison, Millin showed himself remarkably loath to discuss either revolutionary politics or his own experiences. From being the politically-engaged activist who was prepared to declare not only in his interventions at political meetings, but also by means of the written word, his principles and convictions, he became someone who refused to allow himself any comment on such questions past or present, and who confined himself to the role of an author and academic. Krafft also recorded Millin's desire to separate himself from the political sphere, noting that after his release from prison he "se garda soigneusement de prendre part à aucune affaire politique".[77] In a letter to the German archaeologist Karl August Böttiger in 1798, Millin explained that "les opinions publiques ne doivent pas se

[75] RIVAROL 1790 (reprint: RIVAROL 1987). Given Rivarol's general cynicism and his swingeing attacks against those whom he does include, it is hard to estimate the absolute value of this work as an accurate reflection of the importance of those named.

[76] DACIER 1821, p. 7.

[77] KRAFFT 1818, p. 15.

mêler aux questions littéraires".[78] This attitude was to create an interesting dichotomy in his life: in his professional and academic affairs, he refused to demonstrate any political affiliation, and would certainly not allow any trace of this to mark his writings. Once he had left scholarly concerns, however, and was socializing, his conversation would often turn to politics, to such an extent that he exasperated those who would rather that he talked about ancient history and archaeology. Abrantès recounts a rather amusing scene between Millin and the cardinal Maury:

> "[...] lorsque le cardinal Maury, […], s'impatientait de l'entendre parler politique, […], il lui disait de sa voix de tonnerre en retroussant sa robe rouge, pour prendre son tabac d'Espagne: 'Allons, allons, Millin, laissez là la politique, vous n'y entendez rien; parlez-nous de l'apothéose d'Auguste'."[79]

Likewise, on a more personal level, he rarely discussed his time in prison. A singular exception to this rule is to be found in his additions to Vigée's obituary of Hubert Robert in the *Magasin encyclopédique*:

> "J'ai été pendant tout ce temps le compagnon de captivité et l'ami de Robert, et je possède une de ses gouaches que je conserve comme un gage précieux, dans laquelle il m'a représenté faisant sécher, dans un petit poèle que j'avois pu me procurer, le pain humide et affreux qui faisoit sa nourriture et la mienne."[80]

One of his most immediate manifestations of solidarity with the revolutionary cause was to drop the 'de Grandmaison' from his name. The obvious explanation for this is self-protection, since he would not have wished to be identified as an aristocrat; but he was already quite well known and so could not have hoped thereby simply to escape unnoticed into the crowd. It could rather be interpreted as his way of showing his willingness to adapt to the current situation and to declare his democratic feelings, and it was an attitude shared by a number of others.[81] In 1793 he was to take this democratization of his name even further

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[78] Dresden, Bibliothèque, Böttiger correspondance, vol. 131, Millin to Böttiger, 12 vendemiaire an VII [October 30 1798], as quoted in JORET 1902, p. 8. The context in which this remark was made is of interest: Millin had been asked to give the "discours de clôture des Ecoles centrales" in 1798. Reports of this speech in several newspapers included forceful criticism of the fact that he had made no reference to politics or to the Revolution. In his letter to Böttiger, Millin mentions this and then justifies his decision with the remark quoted above. Böttiger, one of the better-known archaeologists of his time in Germany, was one of the editors of *Der Teutsche Merkur*, a journal which enjoyed a wide circulation.

[79] ABRANTÈS 1835, vol. 4 (1835), p. 325.

[80] ALM MAGASIN 1795, année 14, vol. 3, 1808, pp. 161–6, p. 165, note 1. Unfortunately, all trace of this portrait seems to have been lost.

[81] See RÉAU 1994, pp. 247–9, 'La Révolution anthroponymique'. Réau quotes the examples of De La Révellière de Lépeaux who renamed himself Révellière-Lépeaux, and Des Ays de Veygoux who is known to us as General Desaix who was victorious at Marengo. The best-known example dates to September 14 1792 when Philippe, duc d'Orléans, adopted the name Philippe Égalité on the advice of the Commune de Paris.

when he adopted the name of "Éleuthérophile [lover of freedom] Moulin" for the publication of his *Annuaire du Républicain*.

The first pamphlets by Millin addressing political questions preceded the fall of the Bastille by only a few days. Three short pieces which show, in succession, the initial hopes and plans that prefigured the États Généraux, the shattering of those hopes by the king's actions and finally the displays of public support for those who had tried to further the populace's cause. The first of these pieces, the only one to bear Millin's name, was the *Discours prononcé dans une des dernières Assemblées des Citoyens de l'Ordre du Tiers du district de Saint-Roch par A.L. Millin de Grandmaison*.[82] Over seven octavo pages, the author urged his fellow citizens to ensure that they did not fall victim to the political manoeuvres of the nobility and the clergy. Both of the other orders met regularly, and could thus present a united front. According to Millin it was now up to the citizens of his district to set an example to the other districts of Paris by choosing a weekly date for an assembly, and by maintaining close contact with their potential député at the États généraux. "De cette manière", he concluded, "toutes les opérations seront dénoncées à l'opinion publique, qui ne cessera pas de faire sentinelle pour flétrir le crime et pour honorer la vertu."[83] That the hopes that were entertained of seeing a new order in France were dashed by the outcome of the États-Généraux is all too clear from the next of Millin's publications, the *Récit de ce qui s'est passé à l'Assemblée Nationale le 23 juin 1789*.[84] Another seven-page pamphlet, published anonymously, this essay recounted the disastrous meeting at Versailles during which Louis XVI, backed by some of his ministers, followed his brothers' advice to refuse the demands of the Third Estate and of Necker. Unlike the *Discours* published only a short time earlier, Millin here made no direct request to the people to take action. The *Récit* can instead be categorized as a piece of reporting which represents remarkably well the tensions and drama of the moment, clothed in suitably emotive and seditious language. After describing the events of the previous evening, Millin turned his attention to the atmosphere at Versailles on

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[82] ALM DISCOURS 1789. The name of the printer, also the printer for the Académie française 1774–93, is supplied by Millin in an account of his activities at this time: see Archives nationales, F^7 4774 46, dossier 4, fols. 9–10. For Demonville see MELLOT & QUEVAL 1997, no. 1311, p. 220.

[83] ALM DISCOURS 1789, p. 7.

[84] ALM RÉCIT ASSEMBLÉE 1789. The attribution of this document to Millin, suggested by a manuscript annotation of the period on the copy in the BNF, Département des imprimés, is supported by Millin's account of his activities in Archives nationales, F^7 4774 46, dossier 4, fols. 9–10. It is from this source that the name of the printer can also be supplied.

the morning of June 23. Whilst the members of the "deux Classes privilégiées" were allowed immediate entry into the hall, the "députés de la Nation attendirent un temps considérable dans un lieu bas et resserré, dont leur grand nombre augmentoit encore l'insalubrité".[85] The scene thus prepared, and the injustice of the situation clearly shown, Millin then passed very rapidly over the speech of the king. No authorial intervention is to be found here, no judgement is passed either on the speech, the reasons underlying it or the implications for France. Instead, in an admirable passage characterized by a tension evocative of the atmosphere in the hall, the immediate reactions of the participants are recorded:

> "Les trois divisions de l'Assemblée s'observoient réciproquement. Les deux déjà constituées en Assemblée Nationale, sont restées assises et dans le plus profond silence. La Noblesse est sortie. Fin de la Séance Royale."[86]

Only a few days later Jean-Sylvain Bailly, the mayor of Paris, returned from the events at Versailles to his home-town of Chaillot; the occasion inspired a third pamphlet by Millin in which he narrated the hero's welcome accorded to the popular leader on this day.[87] Again, this comes closer to a piece of journalism than to a demagogic piece urging the French to action.

Millin continued to write pamphlets after the fall of the Bastille, convinced that such publications were valuable weapons in the struggle to construct a new France. During his imprisonment at the time of the Terror, he was to cite them as evidence of his unstinting efforts to defend the Revolution and the rights of the French people:

> "Exposé des travaux Civiques d'Eleutérophile Millin.
>
> "Les services que j'ai rendus à la Révolution ont commencé avec elle. J'ai lu au District de S. Roch, après avoir concouru à la Rédaction des cahiers, un discours imprimé chez Démonville, dans le quel je demandois l'établissement de sociétés populaires.[88]
>
> "C'est moi qui, un des premiers fit connoistre à Paris, ce qui s'était passé à la seance Royale, par un ecrit imprimé chez Voulland. J'y exposai les perfidies de la Cour.[89]

[85] ALM RÉCIT ASSEMBLÉE 1789, p. 5.

[86] ALM RÉCIT ASSEMBLÉE 1789, p. 7.

[87] ALM RÉCIT CHAILLOT 1789. This piece is also anonymous, and a copy in the BNF, Département des imprimés, bears a manuscript annotation confirming Millin's authorship.

[88] ALM DISCOURS 1789.

[89] ALM RÉCIT ASSEMBLÉE 1789.

> "A l'epoque ou le Tyran rassembla ses satellites au champ de Mars, je composai quelques écrits qui y furent distribués pour inviter les soldats à s'unir au Peuple contre le quel on vouloit les armer. Ces écrits sont intitulés Avis aux soldats français.[90] Un Empereur Romain au Roi des Gaules.[91]
>
> "En 1790 lors de la fameuse seance relative aux Biens du Clergé je publiai un petit écrit intitulé Assemblée des Aristocrates aux Capucins qui ne parut pas inutile, puisqu'on en vendit 20 mil exemplaires.[92]
>
> "J'ai réfuté dans un autre écrit l'Ouvrage de Necker en faveur des qualifications nobiliaires,[93] et dans un autre encore, l'Opinion de Mirabeau sur le droit de paix et de guerre.[94]
>
> "La liberté du Théatre étoit opprimée; je l'ai deffendu dans un écrit particulier intitulé De la liberté du Théatre.[95] J'ai demandé avec constance la Représentation d'Ouvrages Patriotiques propres à elever l'ame vers la liberté, au lieu de ceux qui faisoient souffrir la Tyrannie.
>
> […]
>
> "C'est d'après une pétition que j'ai rédigé que l'Assemblée Constituante a envoyé des Navigateurs à la Recherche de la peyrouse.[96] J'ai donné plusieurs instructions pour les recherches d'histoire naturelle que les savans attachés à cette expédition sont chargés de faire."[97]

An impressive list of pamphlets, intended to prove his revolutionary fervour. In fact, there are even some that he has omitted.[98]

Though Millin was certainly the author of a large number of pamphlets during the early years of the Revolution, this constituted by no means, as he stressed in the "Exposé des travaux civiques", the most significant part of his output. At the end of one of these short pieces, the *Lettre aux Représentants de Paris sur la défense qu'ils ont faite*, he stated that he did not consider himself to be a pamphleteer: "Excusez la franchise d'un citoyen qui n'est ni graveur, ni pamphleteur par métier".[99] In his case such a disavowal is probably not to be read

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[90] unidentified.

[91] ALM EMPEREUR 1789.

[92] ALM ASSEMBLÉE 1790.

[93] ALM RÉFUTATION 1790.

[94] ALM PAIX 1790.

[95] ALM LIBERTÉ 1790.

[96] ALM PÉTITION 1791.

[97] Archives nationales, F^7 4774 46, dossier 4, fols. 9–10.

[98] The pamphlets which he omits from this list are: ALM LETTRE 1789; ALM RÉCIT ASSEMBLÉE 1789; ALM PÉTITION COMÉDIENS 1790A; ALM PÉTITION COMÉDIENS 1790B.

[99] ALM LETTRE 1789.

as evidence of false modesty, but as a simple statement of his priorities. Much larger projects occupied his mind and his energy at this time: already in 1789 he was one of the editors of a rather successful newspaper, the *Chronique de Paris*, and by the end of 1790 he was engaged on a second important project, the *Antiquités nationales*.[100] On presenting the book to the Assemblée nationale in December 1790, Millin explained that the buildings described in the book were ones that might be lost as a result of the depredations permitted, and sometimes even encouraged, in France during the early years of the Revolution and of the ensuing reaction against the property and possessions of the nobility and of the church. Though the *Antiquités nationales* were certainly not one of the main reasons for which Millin attracted the distrust and subsequent hatred of the authorities, the work may very well have contributed, even if only tangentially, to his arrest. Both contemporary and later commentators have rightly criticized it for a lack of order, and a certain carelessness in the presentation, but it did serve at the time to reinforce Millin's reputation for being an intellectual. This was a dubious badge of honour at some moments during the period. Jean-Baptiste Coffinhal, the vice-president of the tribunal révolutionnaire, apparently gave short shrift to a plea that Lavoisier's death-penalty should be delayed for a few days thus giving him the time to complete some important research upon which he was engaged. The unpitying reply preserved for posterity was: "La République n'a pas besoin de savants ni de chimistes: le cours de la justice ne peut être suspendu."[101] Robespierre, unless he was suffering from a remarkable bout of amnesia, conveniently overlooked his earlier career as both a keen participant in the regular *concours* organized by provincial academies and a propagator of the ideas of Rousseau, when he stated that "Les hommes de lettres en général se sont déshonorés dans cette révolution; et, à la honte éternelle de l'esprit, la raison du Peuple en a fait seule les frais".[102] The savants were generally distrusted, and that Millin had

[100] ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A and B.

[101] There is some argument about the exactitude of these words, see BARTHÉLEMY 1988, p. 209: "On a mis dans la bouche de Coffinhal la réponse si tristement célèbre qui correspond bien aux sentiments qui devaient animer ce tribunal improvisé. Si ce n'est Coffinhal qui l'a prononcé, c'est bien une partie des hommes de la Révolution qui a eu ce cri de cœur: 'La République n'a pas besoin de savants!' Et Coffinhal aurait ajouté simplement: 'Il faut que la justice suive son cours.'" Even if this is apocryphal, it is certainly indicative of feelings at the time: see GUILLAUME 1900, reissued as GUILLAUME 1908. Lavoisier, arrested for being a fermier-général, spent four months in prison before being sentenced to death on the morning of May 8 1794. He was guillotined that same afternoon.

[102] ROBESPIERRE 1794, p. 39; quoted by BÉNICHOU 1996, p. 63. On Robespierre see HAYDON et al. 1999 and THOMPSON 1988. On Robespierre and Rousseau see THOMPSON 1988, pp. 9, 54, 57, 89, 95, 180–1. On his participation in the academic *concours* see THOMPSON 1988, pp. 22–6.

undoubtedly attracted unwelcome attention to himself through his academic works was a point made by Huet de Froberville in a later letter.[103]

Despite the problems besetting scholars at the time, no direct reference is made to Millin's academic works in the charge sheet recording the accusations made against him at the time of his arrest. Here the emphasis is laid on two main points – his political affiliations, and his other major project throughout the early years of the Revolution, his editorship of the *Chronique de Paris*:

> "Comme Suspect 1° Rédacteur de la Chronique, feuille incivique où le Royalisme, le feuillantisme et le fédéralisme ont successivement corrompu l'opinion publique, où la haine la plus marquée contre les jacobins s'est manifesté à chaque page.
> "2° Pour son feuillantisme individuel et la lutte scandaleuse aux Jacobins contre les plus ardens amis de la liberté. Il a été expulsé des Jacobins, n'a pas paru deux fois à la section depuis le 10. Aout 1792 (vieux style)."[104]

c. revolutionary journalist

The Déclaration des Droits de l'Homme of August 26 1789 contained two articles which were of primary importance for the press and other publications during the Revolution:

> "Art. 10. - Nul ne doit être inquiété pour ses opinions, même religieuses, pourvu que leur manifestation ne trouble pas l'ordre public établi par la loi.
> "Art. 11. - La libre communication des pensées et des opinions est un des droits les plus précieux de l'homme; tout citoyen peut donc parler, écrire, imprimer librement, sauf à répondre de l'abus de cette liberté dans les cas déterminés par la loi."[105]

These promising words were particularly welcome in the summer of 1789, since the preceding months had seen much tighter state control on publishing. Throughout the eighteenth century the restrictions placed on authors by the need to submit a book to the censors for approval prior to the granting of a *privilège* or *permission* had been frustrating. But the system was often open to being subverted. Much harsher conditions were imposed towards the end of 1788. Paradoxically this came about as a result of an apparently generous gesture from Louis XVI. An invitation was issued on July 5 1788 to "tous les savants et personnes instruites du royaume [...] à adresser [to the Keeper of Seals] tous les

[103] BNF, Cabinet des manuscrits, fonds français 24687, fol. 161, letter dated 12 ventôse an VII [March 3 1799].

[104] Archives nationales, F^7 4774 46, dossier 4, fol. 5r, dated 21 thermidor an II [August 8 1794].

[105] FAURÉ 1988, p. 13.

renseignements et mémoires [...] sur la forme des états généraux". Large numbers of pamphlets, some serious, some little more than lampoons, were published in response to this invitation; the majority were not addressed directly to the Keeper of Seals but were rather in open circulation, for the attention of the general public. One of Millin's correspondents, Huet de Froberville, made a comment regarding the at times excessive number of these pamphlets that were being issued:

> "je commence à me lasser des pamphlets qui paroissent journellement et que je n'ai pas le tems de lire. Je trouve que j'en ai déjà pour une somme considérable, sans que ma bibliotheque s'en trouve enrichie. Je vais a present me contenter de ce qui fera vraiment sensation, et qui pourra rester meme après l'interêt du moment."[106]

Worried about the potential dangers posed by these writings, the authorities decided to react. The police were forced into taking what was seen as rather clumsy action to clamp down on the number of titles being produced, and this in turn provoked a debate over the freedom of the press, with the most significant contribution being the abbé Siéyès's *Essai sur les privilèges* (November 1788).[107]

The situation was to deteriorate yet further in the early months of 1789, with a number of attempts being made by the State to prevent unwanted publications. Jacques Pierre Brissot distributed a first prospectus for his *Patriote français* on March 16, followed by a second one on April 1. The government reacted and only a few days later a decree was issued forbidding the journal's publication.[108] One month later the story was to be repeated when Mirabeau's *États Généraux* first appeared on May 5. Not one to be discouraged, Mirabeau managed to circumvent the ruling by modifying the title to *Lettres du comte de Mirabeau à ses commettants*.[109] The very day after the first publication of the *États Généraux* of Mirabeau, a general decree banned all newspapers which did not have a *permission*.[110] As a result only

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[106] Huet de Froberville to Millin, Orléans, February 25 1789: BNF, Cabinet des manuscrits, fonds français 24687, fol. 143r.

[107] SIÉYÈS 1788. This information is from GILCHRIST & MURRAY 1971, pp. 5–6.

[108] GOUGH 1988, p. 21.

[109] May 10 until July 25 1789. After July 25 1789 the title was changed to the *Courrier de Provence*. This then appeared daily until September 1791. It was a pro-revolutionary paper which, in the words of GILCHRIST & MURRAY 1971, p. 13 "defended the freedoms of the people", and Mirabeau's collaborators on it included Jacques Antoine Du Roveray, Etienne Clavière, Etienne Dumont, Cazaux, Etienne comte de Méjan, Antoine Adrien Lamourette and Sébastien Roch Nicolas Chamfort: see Jacques Godechot, in BELLANGER et al. 1969, vol. 1 (1969), *Des origines à 1814*, p. 444.

[110] See LABROSSE & RÉTAT 1989, p. 9.

four journals could still appear[111]: the *Gazette de France*, the *Mercure de France*, the *Journal Général de France* and the *Journal de Paris*.[112] All of them were strictly controlled by the government; thus the removal of press restrictions following the events of July 14 1789 was greeted with great joy. An increasing need for the free circulation of information and ideas, coupled with the new-found liberty of the French people, created a considerable demand for a periodical press. Supply soon met demand: 500 new papers were created over the next three years. Half of this number had already appeared before the end of December 1789. Some were destined to enjoy only a very short life – limited to only a few issues – whereas others continued for a relatively long time. Louis-Sébastien Mercier paints a vivid picture of the distribution of these papers: "Des essaims de colporteurs crièrent à pleine tête dans les rues les journaux mortifères des écrivains stipendiés, et les postes, pour les transporter dans toute la France, offrirent l'image du mouvement perpetuel."[113] One obvious result of this much larger number of publications was a considerable increase in the consumption of paper, another feature on which Mercier comments:

> "Si la consommation du papier étonnait les têtes pensantes sous l'Ancien Régime, celle qui se fait sous le nouveau doit les étonner bien davantage.
>
> "La liberté de la presse, première pensée des créateurs de la révolution, a mis la plume à la main à presque chacun des individus dont se compose la république. [...].
>
> "Un Indien récemment venu à Paris, et que ses affaires appelaient auprès d'un ministre, frappé de ces pyramides de circulaires qui surchargaient les bureaux, n'hésita point d'affirmer qu'on usait en un jour dans un seul secrétariat général plus de papier qu'il ne s'en consommait en un an dans tout son pays."[114]

Amongst these new journals was the *Chronique de Paris* which first appeared on August 24 1789 and continued, almost without interruption, until August 25 1793.[115] The two chief editors were Millin and François-Joseph Noël[116]; the principal collaborators were Condorcet,

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[111] A large number of journals were published before this decree. Full details are to be found in HATIN 1965.

[112] For a brief description of these see MURRAY 1986, pp. 17–18. It should be noted that the *Journal de Paris*, which first appeared January 1 1777 (according to GILCHRIST & MURRAY 1971, p. 3, although H.J. Martin gives 1776 in CHARTIER & MARTIN 1990, p. 685) was the only pre-revolutionary daily newspaper.

[113] Louis-Sébastien Mercier, *Le Nouveau Paris* (MERCIER 1798) in PARIS LE JOUR 1990, p. 453.

[114] MERCIER 1798, in PARIS LE JOUR 1990, p. 452.

[115] Exact figures for the yearly issues are as follows: 1789 – 129 nos.; 1790 – 365 nos.; 1791 – 365 nos.; 1792 – 364 nos.; 1793 – 197 nos. During 1793, nos. 69–72 did not appear, and nos. 156–9 were printed but seized before distribution. Figures given in HATIN 1965, p. 114.

[116] Whilst Millin did not count among Rivarol's great men, Noël did: "un des plus recommandables journaliers de la révolution; il n'a fait qu'un saut de l'université dans la chronique de Paris & il a réparé trente ans d'obscurité" (RIVAROL 1790, p. 52).

Joseph Delaunay, Jean François Ducos, Etienne Méjan, Jean-Paul Rabaut Saint-Etienne, Jean-Baptiste (Anacharsis) Cloots, baron du Val-de-Grâce, and Charles Michel Desjardins, marquis de Villette.[117]

From the figures available it would appear that the *Chronique de Paris* counted as one of the successful newspapers of its time. By 1793 seven presses were needed to guarantee its production.[118] The print-run can thus be estimated at around 4,000 copies per day, confirming the claim that the *Ami du Roi*, with a circulation of about 4,000 copies per day, was only slightly more widely-read than was the *Chronique*.[119] These are still not as impressive as the figures for other newspapers, some of which had a circulation of 12,000.[120] The prices varied slightly over the period of its publication, but in general a Parisian who subscribed to it for three months would pay nine livres; for a six-month subscription the cost was eighteen livres, and for a year, thirty livres.[121] This policy was one of the more singular features of the *Chronique* since few other journals of the time rewarded their more faithful readers who were prepared to subscribe for a longer period with such a significant rebate. The prospectus claimed an English model: "sur le *London's Chronicle*".[122] Comparing the two publications does reveal some similarities: the emphasis on the 'fait divers', the interest shown in the arts and literature are common features of both the London and the Paris newspaper.

Partisan attitudes were prevalent at the time, and the examination of a newspaper requires consideration of both its general content and its political leanings. For those who have attempted to establish a typology of the general contents of the periodical press during the Revolution, the *Chronique* has been seen as fitting into the category of 'Informations générales'.[123] There was a regular report on proceedings in the Assemblée nationale, which

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[117] There is as yet no good study of the *Chronique de Paris*. For Anacharsis Cloots, see DUVAL 1979, which gives a list (unfortunately incomplete) of Cloots's contibutions to the *Chronique*.

[118] This figure is given by Jeremy Popkin, "Journals: the new face of the news", in DARNTON & ROCHE 1989, pp. 141–64, p. 145.

[119] J. Godechot in BELLANGER et al. 1969, vol. 1 (1969), *Des origines à 1814*, p. 484 says that Royou's *Ami du Roi* had in 1792 a print-run of 4,000 copies per day which was a little more than the *Chronique de Paris*.

[120] The *Journal de Paris*, according to J. Godechot, in BELLANGER et al. 1969, vol. 1 (1969), *Des origines à 1814*, p. 464; LABROSSE & RÉTAT 1989, p. 56, give the figure of 11,000–14,800.

[121] These figures are generally to be found at the foot of the last page of each issue.

[122] "Chronique de Paris, Prospectus", in MERCURE 1672, September 19 1789, Supplement no. 18, pp. 11–12, p. 12.

[123] LABROSSE & RÉTAT 1989, p. 30.

was begun in late 1789. In terms of its political persuasion, the *Chronique* was a journal best described as middle-of-the-road. Rétat gives the following description of the paper's tone:

> "Journal à la fois fortement engagé dans la lutte révolutionnaire, et modéré. Anti-'aristocratique', mais dénonce les violences populaires et accepte la loi martiale. Très sensible à l'opinion publique, il se veut un carrefour d'informations, de propositions et de réflexions patriotiques."[124]

As for contemporary reactions, they were predictably mixed. Jean-Sylvain Bailly, president of the Assemblée constituante and later mayor of Paris, was favourable to the *Chronique*, at least in its earlier issues.[125] Amongst several references to the paper in his *Mémoires*, none of which are negative, he included the observation that when a girl was whipped on the street for having made fun of a guard, "La *Chronique* s'est élevée, avec raison, contre cette indécence".[126] Only a few days earlier, in the entry for September 13 1789, he touched upon the question of a public fund for servants, which he opposed. He went on to comment:

> "La Chronique, alors assez raisonnable, était de notre avis. Elle pensait que tout autre assemblée que celles de l'Hôtel-de-Ville et des districts, était nuisible. Elle avait grandement raison."[127]

Quite what Bailly intended to say by the use of the qualification "alors assez raisonnable" is difficult to ascertain. It is possible that the newspaper's political outlook subsequently changed in such a way that he felt this observation to be necessary. Or maybe it is because his own views, separating from those of the *Chronique* led him to have less respect for the *Chronique*'s judgement.

A less than positive view was also expressed in another publication, the *Journal des Révolutions de l'Europe*:

> "La *Chronique* est faite par MM. Millin de Grandmaison et l'abbé Noël. Le premier est le plus grand furet de Paris, mais ne sait pas choisir; l'autre est un bel esprit de collége, et tous deux ne savent pas écrire."[128]

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[124] RÉTAT 1988, pp. 57–9. Quotation here from p. 58.

[125] Jean-Sylvain Bailly (1736–93) was an astronomer and a member of the Académie de Sciences. Favourable to a democratic system of elections he was described by Louis XVI as an "honnête homme". After his fall from grace he refused to emigrate to London, preferring to move to Nantes from where he fled to Melun. He was arrested in September 1793, brought back to Paris, tried and executed on November 12 1793.

[126] BAILLY 1804, vol. 3 (August-September 1789), p. 196, dated September 17 1789.

[127] BAILLY 1804, vol. 3 (August-September 1789), p. 192.

[128] JOURNAL DES RÉVOLUTIONS 1789, December 24 1789, p. 4, quoted in HATIN 1965, p. 154.

This was of course a comment emanating from a rival journalist, writing in a newspaper that was competing with Millin's publication for readership, and it is to be noted that it comes in an article claiming to give a survey of all the important Parisian press. Very few of the journals mentioned merit even the most grudging praise, the only exceptions to this being the *Journal de Paris*, the *Annales politiques* by Mercier and the *Bulletin* by Knapen.

Nevertheless, the comments of other journalists were one thing, the attitude of the Jacobins was quite another. A rival journalist's snide comments or justified criticisms could be annoying and threaten the circulation figures, but they were nowhere near as potentially dangerous as were the distrust or slighted feelings of the Jacobin leaders. In the view of Aulard, the *Chronique de Paris* and four other journals – *L'Orateur du peuple*, *La Gazette nationale ou Moniteur universel*, *Les Annales patriotiques* and *Le Patriote français* – are to be regarded as amongst the most important press sources for the history of the Jacobins.[129] A remarkably balanced judgement, since two of these publications, the *Chronique* and the *Patriote*, were to attract the opprobrium of the Jacobins, and more particularly of Robespierre, as the Revolution progressed. For, despite the arguments later adduced in an attempt to prove the contrary, the increasing distance which Millin took towards what he viewed as the excesses of the Revolution which, in turn, he attributed on the whole to the dogmatism of the Jacobins, cannot be separated from the opinions expressed in his newspaper.

Early in the Revolution, reports on the Jacobins in the *Chronique* verged on the flattering. The compliment was returned: Cloots, describing the journal as "étant une des meilleures feuilles que la liberté conquise fasse éclore", explained that it was to the *Chronique* rather than to any other newspaper that he chose to address pieces which he wished to have published.[130] Even when public opinion seemed to be turning against the club, an article lauding it in the following terms could appear:

> "[...]; nous croyons que, malgré quelques torts légers qu'on peut reprocher à la Société des amis de la constitution, cette Société est le temple du patriotisme et de la liberté, et que, si ses ennemis parvenaient à la détruire, ils marcheraient bientôt à l'anéantissement de la constitution."[131]

[129] AULARD 1889, vol. 1 (1889), p. cix.

[130] AULARD 1889, vol. 1 (1889), p. 32, dated March 18 1790.

[131] ALM CHRONIQUE 1789, no. 67, March 8 1791, quoted in full in AULARD 1889, vol. 2 (1891), pp. 165–6.

Within the space of one year, however, the situation was to be reversed. Developments on the political scene meant that the Jacobins were becoming increasingly entrenched, and the *Chronique* began to take its distance. By late February 1792, it was clear that the newspaper had modified its position with regard to the society; an article in the issue for February 23 was less than sparing in its criticism.[132] The situation degenerated yet further over the next few months. In October 1792 a certain C… who had just returned to Paris after a period of absence took the floor at a meeting of the club.[133] In his speech he professed himself to have been amazed when, on his return to Paris, he discovered that the true agitators in the events of August 10 (when the Tuileries had been taken) were in fact the Jacobins and not the Girondins. His knowledge of the events of that day had been gleaned from the only newspapers available to him at the time, newspapers which had, he later learned, entirely misrepresented the uprising. The publications responsible for this false portrayal of events were the *Chronique de Paris* and the *Patriote français*. Nor was this the first time that Girondin sympathies were identified in the *Chronique*: already in February 1792 an article had appeared in support of Narbonne and Delessart. This and other such examples served to fuel the suspicions of the Jacobins.[134]

Similar attacks to that of C... were to be repeated over the next few months, largely by those who felt that they had been either misrepresented or shunned by the *Chronique*. Cloots, formerly closely allied with the newspaper, complained that he had had an article refused by Millin, who had answered his request for publication with the terse words "Porte ailleurs tes poisons".[135] Likewise, Camille Desmoulins moved from supporting the *Chronique* to denouncing it. He had at first regarded it, with some reservations, as being one of the better newspapers; in a letter to his father he said:

> "En attendant, je joins à cette lettre un numéro de la *Chronique de Paris*, le journal de la capitale qui passe pour le mieux fait. Je ne connais point son auteur, et même je lui en veux de son article, comme citoyen. Cependant comme écrivain, mon amour-propre en est content; ainsi je vous l'envoie, pour que vous le joigniez à la correspondance du Palais-Royal que je vous ai déjà fait passer."[136]

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[132] ALM CHRONIQUE 1789, no. 54, February 23 1792, pp. 213–14.

[133] AULARD 1889, vol. 4 (1892), p. 372, dated October 9 1792.

[134] The support for Narbonne and Delessart occurs in ALM CHRONIQUE 1789, no. 33, February 2 1792; see AULARD 1889, vol. 3 (1892), p. 369, dated February 7 1792.

[135] AULARD 1889, vol. 4 (1892), p. 522, dated November 26 1792.

[136] Camille Desmoulins, "Correspondance", in DESMOULINS 1874, vol. 2, p. 338. Letter dated September 20 1789.

Despite this largely flattering description, he did not remain convinced of the worth of the *Chronique*, and was even prepared to attack it publicly.[137] Pierre-Louis Roederer had used the newspaper to attack Desmoulins and "étouffer sa réputation"; irritated by this, Desmoulins wrote to Millin, whom he described as "un feuillant, le sieur Millin, valet de plume de Bailly, Lafayette, et du Directoire de Paris", demanding the right to state his case. Apparently, the "honnête chroniqueur" was not prepared to allow this attempt at self-defence to appear in print; in retaliation Desmoulins threatened to "poursuivre M. Millin au criminel".[138]

Even more dangerous than the opinions of these and other similar figures were those of Robespierre. By the end of 1792 his hatred of journalists in general, and more especially of some particular figures, was all too clear:

> "Pour faire voir jusqu'où peut aller la perversité des journalistes, et pour apprendre au public à distinguer les écrits empoisonnés, je demande que tous les jours on donne lecture des deux plus mauvais journaux que je connaisse, *Le Patriote français* et *La Chronique de Paris*, et surtout l'article de l'Assemblée nationale rédigé par M. Condorcet. Je ne connais rien de plus mauvais et de plus perfide."[139]

Thus, by late 1792 and early 1793, the *Chronique* was viewed by the Jacobins as constituting a threat to them and their work. It was not an isolated case, since Brissot's *Patriote français* was also under attack, and it is clear from Robespierre's words that many elements of the press were regarded with suspicion. As tensions mounted, so reprisals became more likely. Verbal attacks were no longer considered to be sufficient, and more decisive action was soon to be taken. During the night of March 9–10 1793 the offices of the *Chronique* in the rue Serpente, like those of Carra's *Annales Patriotiques* and Brissot's *Patriote français*, were destroyed. The scene was vividly described in a letter from the printer Joseph Fiévée published in the *Chronique* of March 14:

> "Sept minutes au plus ont suffi à un très-grand nombre d'hommes armés, la plupart en uniforme, et tous bien vêtus, pour détruire le fruit de deux ans de travaux assidus, de veilles et de privations. [...] La porte de la maison où je demeure étoit gardée; il étoit défendu aux voisins d'ouvrir la leur, et des sentinelles à chaque bout de la rue empêchoient d'y entrer; on ne peut se dissimuler que l'expédition n'ait été bien conduite. A moi personellement, on ne

[137] Camille Desmoulins, "Jean-Pierre Brissot demasqué", in DESMOULINS 1874, vol. 1, pp. 251–90.

[138] Camille Desmoulins, "Jean-Pierre Brissot demasqué", in DESMOULINS 1874, vol. 1, p. 285.

[139] AULARD 1889, vol. 4 (1892), p. 577, dated December 12 1792.

> me vouloit aucun mal, du moins c'est ce qu'on m'assuroit, le pistolet sur la poitrine".[140]

The destruction was reported to be the work of Jean Varlet's henchmen, who were particularly hostile to any whom they suspected of Girondin tendencies, and it reflected a general belief that the Girondins were responsible for all the evils beleaguering the republic – including the army's recent problems – and the alleged treachery of Dumouriez.[141] The action of March 9–10 represented an attempt to provoke an armed uprising aimed at purging the Convention of all its Girondin members. Fortunately the destructions were fairly limited and the repercussions not too serious; the newspapers could reappear only a few days later, but the seeds of doubt had been sown.

Conditions for journalists became more and more dangerous during the following months. Already in the earlier years of the Revolution there had been some very clear attempts to exert pressure on the editors of newspapers that were felt to compromise the politicians' aims.[142] As early as November 13 1790 a decision was taken by a "patriotic deputation" to visit the editors of various right-wing papers, in order to advise them against "telling lies and leading the people astray".[143] Those visited included Mallet of the *Mercure de France*, Royou of *L'ami du Roi*, du Rozoi of the *Gazette de Paris*, Gautier of *Le Petit Gautier*, and Panckoucke who counted amongst his titles the *Gazette de France*, the *Moniteur* and the *Mercure de France*. Events were to escalate during the spring of 1793. On March 8 1793 Duhem had demanded that all journalists should be banned from sessions of the Convention.[144] The next night saw the attacks described above. On March 11 1793 it was

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[140] "Avis aux souscripteurs", in ALM CHRONIQUE 1789, no. 73, March 14 1793, pp. 273–6.

[141] Jean Varlet, a popular orator shunned by both the Jacobins and the Convention, decided to install his own portable tribunal on the Terrasse des Feuillants, close to the Convention itself. From here he delivered stirring speeches denouncing all those whom he considered to be exploiting the poor. The Girondins became his major targets and the action of March 9–10 was an attempt to start an armed uprising aimed at purging the Convention of all its Girondin members. A good summary of Varlet's character and role in revolutionary events is given in SCHAMA 1989, pp. 710–14.

[142] There had been a number of decrees affecting journals – even before the events of early 1793 action had been taken against newspapers. Worthy of note are the following incidents: July 18 1791 (after the Champ de Mars massacre); May 3 1792 when action was taken against the *Ami du Roi* and the *Ami du Peuple*. On August 10 1792 all counter-revolutionary authors had been arrested, and the first journalist to be executed during the revolution was beheaded on August 25 1792 – du Rozoi of the *Gazette de Paris*.

[143] MURRAY 1986, pp. 98–100.

[144] GILCHRIST & MURRAY 1971, p. 36.

decided that no deputies should be allowed to write for journals.[145] A decree of March 29 1793 further established the death sentence for anyone favouring the return of the monarchy or counselling murder or pillage.[146] Only a few days later, on April 6 1793, the Comité de Salut public was formed.

On its reappearance on March 14 1793 the *Chronique* responded to this governmental pressure by changing the heading of its paper – no editors' names were printed and the paper's motto had been altered. Where before the words "Liberté, impartialité et vérité" had appeared, there was now the motto "Un journal est un écho". Confidence was gradually restored and on April 27 it was felt that the names of the editors could once again appear. Millin's name no longer figured – the two editors identified were Ducos and Rabaut. Shortly after, though, came another, more severe, setback: May 31 1793 saw events which were to have a profound significance for the *Chronique*. After the seizure of power by the Montagnards, all Girondins were under threat of arrest. The names of the editors once again disappeared abruptly, and this time they were not to return. In effect, as was explained in the very last issue of the *Chronique*, less than three months later, on August 25 1793, the former editors had abandoned the newspaper on May 31. Faced with a possible cessation of activity, they had tried, but failed, to find replacement editors: "impossibilité de trouver des écrivains de mérite dont ils pussent en même temps garantir les opinions." There was therefore no alternative but to "cesser leurs travaux, en chargeant une feuille qui réunit les qualités qu'ils ne pouvaient trouver pour la leur de remplir leurs engagements envers leurs souscripteurs."[147] This feuille was the *Feuille du salut public*, edited by A. Rousselin.[148]

That the newspaper was now no longer in circulation was not, however, sufficient for the ruling party. They still wished to see all former editors punished for their anti-revolutionary publications. Millin himself was arrested in September 1793. Of those who had been involved in the *Chronique*, only Méjan escaped a period in prison.[149] With the exception of Millin and Noël, they were all guillotined. A similar story could be told for

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[145] GILCHRIST & MURRAY 1971, p. 36.

[146] See GILCHRIST & MURRAY 1971, p. 35 and CHARTIER & MARTIN 1990, p. 695.

[147] "Avis aux souscripteurs", in ALM CHRONIQUE 1789, no. 197, August 25 1793, p. 4.

[148] July 1 1793 – 20 ventôse an III [March 11 1795], 609 nos. in two series of 441 and 168 nos. HATIN 1965, p. 240 says of it: "Ce journal, des plus violents, tint tout ce que promettait le nom de son auteur."

[149] Charles de Villette died of natural causes on July 9 1793, and probably only avoided proscription because of his failing health.

many of the newspapers of the period. Editors and journalists were held directly responsible for the articles that had appeared, even if they had not actually written them, and had to suffer the consequences. This question of liability was one that was frequently discussed at the time. Nor was it only the editors and journalists who could be held accountable. In the letter quoted above describing the attack on the presses of the *Chronique*, Fiévée recounted how he attempted to reason with the thugs who were smashing his presses:

> "'Un imprimeur n'est pas plus responsable que l'enfant qui ramasse le chiffon qui doit faire le papier que j'imprime. Vous voulez vous venger des auteurs, eh! bien, votre but est manqué, car il n'y a rien de commun entre eux et moi; vous me ruinez, et cela leur est égal, car demain ils peuvent faire imprimer ailleurs; […].'"[150]

Much the same argument was adopted by the editors of newspapers, but not always with any more success than Fiévée had known. Desmoulins penned an article attacking Brissot for remarks made against him in the *Patriote français*, and took the opportunity to present a succinct refutation of this type of defence. In answer to Brissot's claim that it was not he who had written the article but rather Girey-Dupré, Desmoulins replied that the "maître est responsable des délits du doméstique, et le régent de ceux qui sont sous la férule. Il est commode à un journaliste de prendre ainsi M. Girey en croupe pour couvrir son dos; [...]."[151] Given this type of response, and the implacable hatred felt by the majority of the Jacobins towards subversive journalists, it was unlikely that Millin would be able to prove his innocence.

The first charge against him was, as has been seen, that he was "1° Rédacteur de la Chronique, feuille incivique où le Royalisme, le feuillantisme et le fédéralisme ont successivement corrompu l'opinion publique, où la haine la plus marquée contre les jacobins s'est manifestée à chaque page."[152] In his defence Millin tried to reply to these accusations and appealed to others to write letters of support for him. His answer to the charge of involvement in the *Chronique* and thus in the propagation of anti-Jacobin ideas was that although he had indeed been an editor of the newspaper, this was not necessarily proof of the fact that he himself had expressed any anti-revolutionary sentiments:

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[150] "Avis aux souscripteurs", in ALM CHRONIQUE 1789, no. 73, March 14 1793, pp. 273–6.

[151] Camille Desmoulins, "Jean-Pierre Brissot demasqué", in DESMOULINS 1874, vol. 1, pp. 251–90, quotation here, p. 252.

[152] Archives nationales, F^7 4774 46, dossier 4, fol. 5r.

> "J'ai coopéré, il est vrai, à la Chronique, mais depuis l'époque ou Condorcet a commencé d'y travailler je n'y ai plus fourni que les articles sur les arts et les sciences. Les Déclarations du Libraire et de l'Imprimeur que j'ai produites au Comité de Surété Générale et le titre même du journal dans le quel il étoit annoncé que je ne traitois que cette partie en font la preuve."[153]

And in the petition we find the same idea:

> "Le C.^{en} Millin est détenu [...] comme auteur de la Chronique de Paris.
> "Cette feuille a paru en 1789; Elle n'a respiré que le patriotisme, tant que le C.^{en} Millin en a été le Rédacteur.
> "En 1791 il a été obligé de voyager pour le rassemblement des matériaux qui devoient servir à la collection des Antiquités nationales, ouvrage dont il est auteur, dont il a offert le premier volume à l'Assemblée constituante et qui a reçu l'approbation de la Convention nationale, à laquelle il a également offert la continuation.
> "A cette époque le C.^{en} Millin a donc été forcé d'abandonner la rédaction de la Chronique de Paris, et il ne s'est reservé que l'article Des arts et des sciences.
> "Cet exposé qui est authentique, est appuyé par l'attestation cy-jointe de l'imprimeur et du Libraire, Entrepreneurs de la Chronique, que depuis le mois de novembre 1791 le C^{en} Millin n'a eu aucune part aux articles de Legislation et de Politique, et n'a fourni que ceux relatifs aux arts et aux sciences, et qu'il rejettoit même avec soin, tout ce qui n'étoit pas dans le sens du plus pur civisme: l'énoncé même, du titre de la Chronique atteste cette vérité."[154]

Much as these refutations would seem to form a series of carefully crafted excuses bearing very little relation to the actual situation in 1789–93, close examination of the *Chronique* over the years in question does in fact go some way to bearing out Millin's claims. Whilst he certainly remained one of the editors throughout the newspaper's lifetime, he had for some considerable time been less and less willing to involve himself too directly in the political rubrics. Individual collaborators did sign their contributions, but few of the other articles are signed, making precise analysis of each editor's involvement, and hence responsibility, an almost impossible task. But it is obvious that Millin never claimed the political sections as being his own. Quite the opposite in fact: it was made clear in November 1791 that Condorcet was to edit the section devoted to the Assemblée générale. A certain element of self-protection on Millin's part can be seen in this, but it is probably not the only reason. One of the selling points for a newspaper at that time, particularly when there was so

[153] Archives nationales, F^{7} 4774 46, dossier 4, fols. 17–18.

[154] Archives nationales, F^{7} 4774 46, dossier 4, fol. 15r–15v. In the same dossier, fol. 20, we find the attestations of Garnerey and Fiévée – "depuis le moment ou le nom de Condorcet a paru a la tête de ce journal, le Citoyen Millin a cessé d'y rédiger la partie politique" (dated 25th day of 1st month of an II [October 10 1793]) accompanied by, fol. 19, a receipt, signed Condorcet, for the sum of 1200 f. which he received for "les trois premiers mois de la rédaction de l'article assemblée nationale [his underlining] dans la Chronique" and dated February 14 1792.

much choice available on the market, was the presentation of articles by well-known journalists who could elucidate, often thanks to their insider knowledge, the contemporary political scene. Condorcet's articles would guarantee a larger audience than would those on the same subject by Millin. Just over one year later, at the beginning of 1793, the editorship of the political sections was stated to be the work of three people, none of them Millin: "Rédigée, pour la Convention nationale, par les citoyens Condorcet et Delaunay, députés à la Convention; pour la politique, par P.J. Rabaut, député; pour la littérature et les arts, par L. Millin."[155]

Further evidence of Millin's interest in literary and artistic as opposed to political journalism is furnished by his wish to launch a specialized newspaper in this domain. In the copy of the *Chronique de Paris* for November 26 1792 is to be found the prospectus for a new journal, the *Magazin encyclopédique*.[156] The prospectus begins with the words: "Presque tous les journaux sont entièrement consacrés à la politique; il n'en existe point qui soient uniquement destinés à entretenir entre les savans, les littétateurs [sic] & les artistes, la communication nécessaire aux travaux dont ils s'occupent; [...]." In the details concerning the expected content of the journal, there is a further emphatic statement of an intention to avoid any political material. The editors say that they are prepared to include "les ouvrages sur la théorie de la législation", but they are also at pains to point out that "les pièces polémiques, les écrits éphémères sur les événemens, seront absolument rejettés."[157] At the same time as this prospectus appeared in the *Chronique de Paris* (and the *Magazin encyclopédique* itself was due to appear in January 1793) the coverage of literature, theatre and the arts began to play a much less important role in the journal.

Millin's third argument in his defence in the petition is that he had been absent from Paris in order to work on the *Antiquités nationales*. Mention of this had already been made in the *Chronique* in late 1791, in the announcement for the twelfth part of the book where it was stated that the author of the *Antiquités* "commence à s'éloigner de Paris dans ses excursions [...] son dessein est de jetter plus de variété dans son ouvrage".[158] Reiteration of the point is

[155] ALM CHRONIQUE 1789, no. 1, January 1 1793, p. 1.

[156] ALM CHRONIQUE 1789, no. 337, November 26 1792, pp. 1323–4.

[157] Stress was, however, laid on the importance of including coverage of foreign publications: "L'extrait des meilleurs écrits qui paroîtront chez l'étranger, ce qui sera très-utile à ceux qui ignorent les langues": ALM CHRONIQUE 1789, no. 337, November 26 1792, pp. 1323–4, p. 1324.

[158] ALM CHRONIQUE 1789, no. 332, November 28 1791, p. 1338.

to be found just six months later, in the announcement for the sixth section of the second year: the reader is informed that the delay in the publication of this part has been occasioned by "un voyage fait par M. Millin dans les départemens du Nord, du Pas-de-Calais et de la Somme."[159]

d. dangerous alliances

Despite this carefully constructed defence, much of which does seem to rely on facts that were common knowledge at the time, his case for release was not accepted. Even if one of the charges against him – that of editorship of a newspaper and hence responsibility for the ideas published therein – was debatable, there was always the second charge – that of his controversial membership of the Jacobins – which remained irrefutable: "2° Pour son feuillantisme individuel et la lutte scandaleuse aux Jacobins contre les plus ardens amis de la liberté. Il a été expulsé des Jacobins, n'a pas paru deux fois à la section depuis le 10. Aout 1792 (vieux style)."[160]

The Jacobins club was founded in autumn 1789, and Millin figures in the membership lists, published by Aulard, as early as December 21 1790.[161] He was thus an early member of the society, and also fairly assiduous in his attendance of the meetings.[162] By means of his publications, he managed to circulate positive propaganda for the society. The article in the *Chronique* mentioned above is only one example; in the fourth article of the *Antiquités nationales*, devoted to the convent of the Jacobins in Paris and written in spring 1791, a substantial section at the end gives a short history of the Société des Amis de la Constitution and includes a copy of their rules.[163] Also to be found here is a copy of the famous engraving showing a meeting there during which Mirabeau was challenged.[164] This description of the club "parut au commencement de 1791 et fut signalée comme très exacte par la *Chronique de*

[159] ALM CHRONIQUE 1789, no. 144, May 22 1792, p. 571.

[160] Archives nationales, F^7 4774 46, dossier 4, fol. 5r, dated 21 thermidor an II [August 8 1794].

[161] AULARD 1889, vol. 1 (1889), p. liii.

[162] AULARD 1889.

[163] This is the name which the club adopted at first and maintained throughout the period of the *monarchie constitutionelle*.

[164] One of the versions of the engraving which is habitually reproduced as an illustration of the Jacobins. See further RÉVOLUTION FRANÇAISE 1989, vol. 2, pp. 451–2, cat. no. 589, 'Salle des réunions du Club des Jacobins', which dates the engraving to between November 1789 and February 1791.

Paris du 11 avril 1791."[165] Gradually, though, as the Jacobins' views became more entrenched, and particularly after the division into two main factions, the Girondins and the Jacobins, Millin began to distance himself from the latter. His attendance at meetings became increasingly rare. On the occasions when he did turn up and participate in the debates, he urged that a more moderate line should be followed. On October 31 1791 he registered his opposition to Dubois-Crancé's idea that the regional clubs should submit reports on the extent of revolutionary feelings in their areas: "Dubois-Crancé développe sa proposition, qui est combattue par Millin."[166] The meeting of April 29 1792 saw a further disagreement:

> "Il s'élève du tumulte dans une partie de la salle: M. le Président se couvre; le trouble continue. M. Millin, qui paraissait en être l'occasion, vient se mettre à côté de M. le Président, et l'agitation finit."[167]

The very next day M. Hion made a suggestion. "Je propose qu'on fasse justice de M. Millin", which was greeted with applause, but "sur l'observation que M. Millin a renvoyé sa carte, on passe à l'ordre du jour."[168] Not that his resignation from the club prevented him from publishing interesting snippets about the meetings in the *Chronique*, although the exact source of his information remains unclear. The Jacobins were more than perturbed to notice that, despite their best efforts to hamper Millin's efforts, "nous voyons Gorsas et la Chronique de Paris amuser le public dès le lendemain matin avec la séance de la veille. Or pour cela il faut que Gorsas et Millin aient des intelligences avec des Brissotins de la société."[169]

An uneasy relationship with the Jacobins was only likely to be further troubled by the alliances which Millin was beginning to develop at this time. And it is true that the Girondin sympathies noted in the *Chronique* were also reflected in Millin's personal friendships. Certainly Huet de Froberville stated in a letter in 1797 that, apart from Millin's intellectual activities which attracted a certain amount of suspicion, "vos liaisons avec l'infortuné

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[165] AULARD 1889, vol. 1 (1889), p. xxii.

[166] AULARD 1889, vol. 3 (1892), p. 231. Millin's speech on this occasion is known through the JOURNAL DES DÉBATS 1791, no. 87, October 31 1791, p. 4. Millin expressed his fears that "les départemens ne s'entendant avec les officiers généraux, ne nous envoyent des états qui ne seront pas exacts."

[167] AULARD 1889, vol. 3 (1892), p. 541.

[168] AULARD 1889, vol. 3 (1892), p. 548, meeting of April 30 1792.

[169] The speaker on this occasion was once more C...: see JOURNAL DES DÉBATS 1791, no. 333, January 6 1793, report on the meeting of January 4 1793.

Vergniaud suffisoient pour vous faire proscrire par la faction dominante alors."[170] In the troubled meeting of the Jacobins during which Millin had to take shelter next to the president, the subject of discussion had been Pierre Vergniaud. A close ally of Brissot, Vergniaud made a number of disastrous decisions during the early years of the Revolution, including the recommendation that France should declare war on her neighbours. He remained largely sympathetic to Louis XVI (although he did vote for his execution) and he denounced the destruction by Varlet's men on March 10 of several Parisian printing-shops. Imprisoned, he faced trial, defended himself eloquently but was condemned and then guillotined on October 31 1793.

Confirmation of Huet de Froberville's assertion that Millin was friendly with Vergniaud and his faction is to be found in the memoirs of the successful actress and society figure Louise Fusil. She recounts the story of a dinner given in honour of Dumouriez (the general whom the Jacobins accused of treachery) at Talma's house on October 16 1792. Amongst those present were Vergniaud, Brissot, J.-M. Chénier, Riouffe, General Santerre, Fusil herself and Millin. During the course of the evening, an unexpected guest arrived claiming that he was looking for Dumouriez. The late arrival was none other than Marat, who immediately professed himself horrified to discover Dumouriez "dans une semblable maison, au milieu d'un ramas de concubines et de contre-révolutionnaires."[171] Dumouriez replied that he wished to spend an evening "au milieu des arts et de mes amis" whereupon Marat's response was that the house was merely a "foyer de contre-révolutionnaires." All those present were aware of the dangers attached to such situations, and the very next day Fusil wrote in her diary:

> "Jusqu'à présent, personne n'a encore été arrêté, mais quelle perspective pour ceux qui faisaient partie de cette réunion et pour le maître de la maison."[172]

Millin may have passed unnoticed, since there was no mention of him in the article which Marat devoted to this incident two days later in his *Journal de la République française*, an article remarkable for its vitriolic language.[173] He spoke of a "file de voitures et de brillantes

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[170] Huet de Froberville to Millin, Orléans, 12 ventôse an VII [March 3 1799], BNF, Cabinet des manuscrits, fonds français 24687, fol. 161r.

[171] Marat in JOURNAL DE LA RÉPUBLIQUE 1792, no. 24, October 18 1792, p. 6.

[172] FUSIL 1841, vol. 1 (1841), pp. 278–9. Talma was no stranger to this type of meeting: earlier in the book we find reference to another gathering at Julie Talma's house where those present included Vergniaud, Roland, Condorcet, M.-J. Chénier, Riouffe, Champfort and Millin, see vol. 1 (1841), p. 27.

[173] Marat in JOURNAL DE LA RÉPUBLIQUE 1792, no. 24, October 18 1792, pp. 6–7.

illuminations" which indicated the "temple où le fils de Thalie fêtoit un enfant de Mars." He noted the presence of Santerre "faisant les fonctions de laquais ou d'introducteur" and who announced Marat's name "tout haut". This in itself was much to the displeasure of Marat who was convinced that such an action was designed to warn the assembled company of his arrival, and therefore give them the chance to hide. Even so, he was confident of having managed to "tenir le fil des intrigues". Whilst he did admit that probably "la politique n'était pas l'objet de leur réunion", he nonetheless felt that it was important "pour l'intelligence des opérations de la Convention, et la connoissance des examolteurs de décrets" that he should mention the following names as being amongst those present: le Brun, Rolland, Lasource, Chenier – "tous suppots de la faction de la république fédérative" – and their "galopins libellistes" by which he denoted Dulaure and Gorsas. He ended with the reflection that others who would no doubt have arrived later included Vergniaud, Buzot, Rabaud and others who "sont du conciliabule."

This is not the only occasion on which we find Millin's name included in similar company. Camille Desmoulins wrote of an evening spent by Dumouriez at the Opéra with Danton. However, continued Desmoulins, this should not be taken as suggesting that Dumouriez was sympathetic to Danton, since "ce n'est point à l'Opéra qu'on conspire, c'est au sortir de l'Opéra."[174] And at the exit was to be found none other than Millin: "tout le public pouvait voir Millin, le chroniqueur, tenant officieusement la portière, tandis que mademoiselle Audinet montait en voiture avec Kellermann et Brissot."[175]

e. victim of the Terror

Thus it was that the combination of Millin's intellectual status, his editorial responsibilities, his uneasy relationship with the Jacobins and his public alliance with leading Girondins sufficed to lead to his arrest, justified by recourse to the law of March 29 1793 which had forbidden all publications against the ruling powers. In one of the rare autobiographical notes that Millin left, incorporated into a review of the last volume of the *Antiquités nationales* in 1799, he alluded briefly to the story of his problems with the authorities and his attempts to avoid arrest:

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[174] C. Desmoulins, *Fragment de l'histoire secrète de la Révolution*, in TABLEAU DES PRISONS 1794, vol. 1, pp. 291–356. The quotation here is from p. 326.

[175] C. Desmoulins, *Fragment de l'histoire secrète de la Révolution*, in TABLEAU DES PRISONS 1794, vol. 1, pp. 291–356. The quotation here is from p. 326.

> "A l'époque du 2 septembre, il eut le bonheur d'obtenir du malheureux Lebrun, qui avoit pour lui de l'amitié, une mission pour la Suisse, et d'éviter la rage des bourreaux qui déjà désoloient sa patrie, et lui préparait des malheurs plus affreux. A peine rentré dans ses foyers, & replacé dans son cabinet, les suites du 31 mai l'obligèrent à fuir de nouveau, et à se cacher; [...]."[176]

Such ruses were not entirely successful and he was arrested in Paris, at his home, on September 14 1793:

> "Cejourd'hui quatorze septembre 1793 l'an deux.[e] de la République française une et Indivisible, sur les huit heures du matin.
> "En vertu d'un mandat en datte d'hier signé Soulés et Dauger administrateurs au département de Police, portant de conduire en la maison d'arrêt de S[te]. Pélagie, le citoyen Milin de Grand Maison, un des Redacteurs de la Chronique; Rue S.[t] Honoré Batiment des feuillants, comme suspect: de requérir le commissaire de Police de la Section des Tuileries, ou tout autre, d'apposer les scellés sur les papiers du dit Citoyen d'en dresser procès verbal d'en donner expédition à l'administration de Police.
> "Moi Jean Denis Bertrand Commissaire du Comité Civil de la Section accompagné du C.[en] Bauce inspecteur de Police porteur dudit ordre: nous nous sommes transportés en la susdite demeure, et parlant audit C.[en] Milin Grand Maison, après lui avoir exibé notre Mandat; nous avons procedé ainsi qu'il suit."[177]

The document continues with an account of the apposition of the 'scellés' (seals) and of the promise of the Citoyen Auguste Mention (Millin's servant) to guarantee that the said seals would remais "sains et entiers, toutes soins qu'il en sera requis, se reservant la peine imposée par la Loy, toutes fois que les dits scellés auraient eprouvés quelque dérangement."[178]

A few days later, on September 25 1793, the seals were removed after, at the request of la Citoyenne Milin Grand Maison [sic], his mother, all the papers in his cabinet had been examined. According to this report, the examination of his papers was done in the "plus grande strixcité". Far from being able to leave the house with plenty of incriminating evidence, the commissaires left empty-handed, since:

> "nous n'avons rien trouvé à la charge du Citoyen Milin [sic], au contraire nous avons trouvés dans ses papiers des ouvrages propres à l'instruction publique, et

[176] ALM REVIEW MILLIN 1799A, pp. 68–9. This confirms the story, related by all his biographers, that he tried to escape by going to take a subaltern job in military transports but was discovered there and brought back to Paris; nothing in any official papers can cast any further light on these episodes. The Lebrun in question must be Pierre Marie Henri Tondu, dit Lebrun-Tondu, who worked in the ministère des Affaires étrangères in 1792 and was then appointed Minister in late summer of that same year. He was arrested because of his Girondin sympathies and guillotined on December 27 1793.

[177] Archives nationales F[7] 4774 46, dossier 4, fol. 29.

[178] The statement is dated September 14 1793, 9:00 a.m. and signed by Bertrand, Bauce, Aubin-Louis Millin and Auguste Mention.

> des travaux pour la convention nationale; et tous autres papiers concernant les sciences, et principalement beaucoup de choses relatives à l'histoire naturelle".[179]

This second document is signed by Bertrand, Lapeyre, Mention, Veuve Milin [sic] and femme Milin [sic].[180] Whether or not the officials were entirely honest about the fact that they left without confiscating any material does remain open to question, given the missing papers and the comments made by Millin about the documentation that had been lost at this time.[181]

Despite the lack of any apparent evidence against him, Millin was not released. He made an appeal against his imprisonment in February 1794, submitting the petition quoted earlier in this chapter in which he stated clearly, with accompanying proofs, that he had not been responsible for the political articles in the *Chronique de Paris* since 1791, and that before that time "elle [the Chronique] n'a respiré que le patriotisme, tant que le C.[en] Millin en a été le Rédacteur." His version was backed by two attestations to this effect, one signed by Condorcet and the other by Garnerey and Fiévée.[182] It would seem that his plea of innocence regarding the authorship of the political articles did not liberate him from all guilt as far as the authorities were concerned. They could after all invoke Desmoulins's argument against Brissot that an editor or proprietor of a journal was responsible for its contents.[183] Foiled in this attempt, Millin then hoped to prove his innocence by explaining that the newspaper had not actually belonged to him and that he, like all the other contributors, had been paid on a *pro rata* basis. This argument is not to be found in the official papers, but rather in a letter to his mother. Hoping to benefit from the help of a friend who was in a position to help him, he asked his mother to transmit the necessary details:

> "J'espere que tu as bien dit a François que la Ch.[ronique] ne m'appartenait pas. Elle était des l'origine vendue a un libraire. Il donnoit a chacun une retribution commensurable pour sa partie. Je n'ai jamais pu payer personne. Je ne les voyois pas, je n'avois pas de relations avec eux. C'est un fait bien constant et bien amere!"[184]

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[179] Archives nationales F^7 4774 46, dossier 4, fol. 25r–v. The underlining is to be found in the original document.

[180] This last must be his half-sister, Anne-Adelaïde.

[181] See *supra*, ch. 1, p. 21 and *infra*, ch. 5, p. 148.

[182] Archives nationales, F^7 4774 46, dossier 4, fols. 17–18; the attestation by Condorcet, Archives nationales, F^7 4774 46, dossier 4, fol. 21; that of Garnerey and Fiévée, Archives nationales, F^7 4774 46, dossier 4, fol. 22.

[183] See *supra*, p. 77.

[184] Millin to his mother, s.d.: BNF, Cabinet des manuscrits, fonds français 24692, fols. 330–1, fol. 330v.

Not that Millin's only plea for the granting of his freedom resided in the fact that he should not be held directly accountable for the opinions expressed in the *Chronique*. Alongside the detailed refutations of the particular charges brought against him, are also to be found the standard protestations of the accused's revolutionary sentiments. An extract from the registers of the Bureau de Consultation des Arts et Métiers, on which Millin had served, and signed by its president Desaudray, stated that: "ce Certificat attestera que dans les Séances du Bureau, le C.^{en} Millin s'est toujours conduit de manière à ne laisser aucun doute sur son patriotisme et son attachement à la République une et indivisible."[185] Others who were prepared to attest to his patriotism and to the discharge of his republican duties were the Lycée des Arts (in a letter signed by Charles de Girudray, Gervay and Jouan) and the Capitaine of the 7^{e} Compagnie de la Section armée des Thuileries [sic]. As more concrete proof of his revolutionary fervour, Millin added a copy of a work which he had recently finished, most probably the *Annuaire du Républicain*: "l'ouvrage ci-joint fera connoitre le civisme de son auteur, et l'usage qu'il fait de ses talens".[186] The appeal was unsuccessful, although there is a hint that some influential figures were inclined to look favourably upon his protestations of innocence. Such, at least, is the impression gleaned from a letter addressed to Voulland in August 1794, which Millin begins with the following words: "Citoyen representant. Tu voulois il y a six mois me procurer la liberté dont tu me jugeois digne."[187] The reasons for the refusal of his appeal are not stated in the dossier in the Archives nationales, but mention is made of his continuing imprisonment in the minutes of the meeting of the Bureau de Consultation des Arts et Métiers for 29 floréal an II [May 18 1794] with the following explanation: "Le comité de salut public ne s'occupa de faire mettre en liberté Cousin, Guirault et Millin: c'était l'affaire du Comité de sûreté générale [...]."[188]

Even protectors such as Voulland could not help him to gain his liberty, and Millin seemed likely to be one of the many victims of the 22 prairial law [June 10 1794], rushed through by Robespierre as a measure of political expediency. He was summoned to appear before the tribunal on 11 thermidor [July 29 1794] but was saved by the uprising of 9 thermidor. The political landscape had, in a matter of only a few days, changed very

[185] Archives nationales, F^{7} 4774 46, dossier 4, fol. 15r.

[186] Archives nationales, F^{7} 4774 46, dossier 4, fol. 17r.

[187] Archives nationales, F^{7} 4774 46, dossier 4, fol. 6.

[188] GUILLAUME 1891, vol. 4 (1901), pp. 267–8.

drastically, and some hope was now possible. 18 thermidor [August 5 1794] saw the liberation of a first group of suspects against whom no charges could be proved. Not figuring among this group, but determined to profit from the changed circumstances and to procure an early release for himself, Millin decided to take more direct action. He therefore appealed directly to the Convention nationale, sending an 'Exposé des travaux Civiques d'Eleutérophile Millin' (dated 19 thermidor an II [August 6 1794]) which is much more detailed than the earlier petition. As a means of guaranteeing for his dossier an easier passage through the Convention nationale, he sent a copy of it (with the aforementioned letter) to Voulland, hoping to profit from potential interventions in his favour by those who were currently in power.

In his 'Exposé des travaux' he gave a detailed list of the works which he had produced in favour of the Revolution and protested his patriotism.[189] Interestingly enough, no defence was proffered regarding the second charge against him, that of his less than exemplary membership of the Jacobins; he passed over that in silence, realizing that here he could not claim innocence. A favourable reading was nonetheless granted to this dossier, since he was finally released only three weeks later, on 11 fructidor an II [August 28 1794]: "Vu les motifs d'arrestation du Citoyen Milin [sic] de Grandmaison detenu par mesure de sureté […] le comité arrête que ledit Milin de Grandmaison sera mis sur le champ en liberté et si les scellés ont été apposés ils seront levés."[190]

Certainly his time in prison was not spent languishing, waiting for his release. He determined to devote part of this time to learning a language which he did not yet know, German. After the Revolution, he published a translation of Johann Christian Fabricius's travels in Norway, and it is in the preface to this that he explains that the project was first begun during his enforced retreat from everyday life.[191] He also produced two books during his detention: his *Annuaire du républicain* and the *Élémens d'histoire naturelle*. The former was submitted to the Convention Nationale in nivôse an II [December 1793]:

> "L'ouvrage que je vous présente a pour but de faciliter l'usage de l'Annuaire des Français. Outre les différentes pieces dont vous avez decreté l'impression, il contient des notices élémentaires sur les productions naturelles et les instruments ruraux dont chaque jour porte le nom. J'ai essayé de substituer une instruction facile et necessaire a ces traités mystiques et mensongers, a ces legendes ridicules

[189] See *supra*, pp. 64–5.

[190] Archives nationales, F^7 4774 46, dossier 4, fol. 1.

[191] ALM VOYAGE 1802.

> et grossières, dont on chargeait journellement la mémoire des enfants. Je m'estimerai heureux si j'ai contribué à étendre l'empire de la raison et à propager les principes républicains; je serai certain du succès, si j'obtiens votre suffrage, la plus belle recompense des travaux utiles."[192]

This must therefore have been the work which he also included in his first appeal for release. The completion of the second, the *Élémens d'histoire naturelle*, was announced to his mother in a letter dated 28 prairial an II [June 16 1794].[193] It is also mentioned in the minutes of the Comité d'instruction publique at about the same time; they had received a manuscript, in-folio, described as being "très volumineux" and entitled "Elémens d'histoire naturelle, à l'usage de la première éducation, par Eleuthérophile Millin, auteur de l'Annuaire du Républicain." According to the minutes, this was one of seven such works to be "couronné" by the jury.[194] As a result of the honour, his work was presented as one of the basic text-books for use in the newly-established French lycées and was printed shortly after his release from prison.

At the beginning of his imprisonment he was held in Sainte-Pélagie but was thence transferred to La Force and afterwards to Saint-Lazare, where he was a fellow-prisoner of Hubert Robert.[195] It is largely because of this period in prison that Millin has become, in the eyes of some later commentators, a traitor and a coward possessed of a particularly arrogant character, despite a lack of any real talent. Such at least was the view of Arrigon who wrote a biography of Aimée de Coigny, a young aristocratic lady imprisoned at the same time as Millin.[196] Arrigon's opinion of Millin appears, unfortunately to have been based almost entirely on the following description given by Jean-Antoine Roucher of his cellmate M*****:

> "Mais le pauvre M***** a toujours eu, je crois, Dieu me le pardonne! au fond du cœur, un petit vilain je ne sais quoi, qu'en bonne conscience je ne puis nommer jalousie. Il est impossible, ou du moins il est contre la nature ordinaire de l'homme, qu'inconnu et condamné à vivre et à mourir inconnu, non pas à défaut d'intelligence, mais de talent; que bavard comme un vieux avocat de sept heures, et presqu'aussi ignorant qu'un vieux prédicateur capucin, M***** se soit avisé,

[192] Archives nationales F^{17} 1008c, dossier 1598. The letter is signed E[leutérophile] Millin, and is dated simply nivôse an II. Clarification of the date comes in an annotation to the letter by Denis-Marie Pellissier who adds "Mention honor. mis en Bulletin. Renvoy au comité d'instruction publique le 11^{e} nivôse l'an 2^{e} de la Republique" [December 31 1793].

[193] BNF, Cabinet des manuscrits, fonds français 24692, fol. 323, dated 28 prairial an II [June 16 1794].

[194] GUILLAUME 1891, vol. 4 (1901), p. 647, dated 29 prairial an II [June 17 1794].

[195] When André Chénier was in La Force he knew Millin, "alors lui-même prisonnier à la Force": see CHASTENAY-LANTY 1896, vol. 1, p. 399.

[196] ARRIGON 1921, pp. 201–2.

> un beau matin de se croire quelque chose. Cependant ce petit homme s'est *piété*, quelquefois, pour essayer de se donner un demi-pouce de plus."[197]

The assumption that this is indeed Millin is less than convincing for a number of reasons. Even in the absence of any more secure documentary evidence, the identification with Millin of this figure known only by an initial is difficult, especially given the description of M***** as being "inconnu". Petty jealousies laid aside, the editor of the *Chronique de Paris* who was also the author of the *Antiquités nationales* and several other works, could scarcely be dismissed as being unknown in Paris at the time. There is, however, more solid evidence available to aid in the refutation of the hypothesis that this person was Millin. An edition of the *Consolations* with appended manuscript notes, apparently by Roucher's son Émile, includes a list of the names of the people referred to only by an initial in his father's work. Émile was well placed to make these identifications since he had spent some time with his father in prison, only being sent home a few days before Roucher was summoned to the revolutionary tribunal and condemned to be guillotined.[198] From his recollections of the prisoners in Saint-Lazare at the time, Émile Roucher gives two possibilities for M*****: in most of the letters this is a reference to M^{lle} Monnet and, for letters 58, 75, 81, 87 and 94, a certain Moynat. Émile goes on to describe Moynat as "un avocat ordinaire comme son esprit, excéllent homme d'ailleurs que ce qui est dit de lui dans la correspondance n'a pas empêché de conserver pour ma mère, après le 9 thermidor, qui lui a ouvert les portes de St. Lazare un sincère attachement."[199]

Arrigon's second accusation against Millin is that by fear and a desire for self-preservation, he betrayed a number of his fellow prisoners: "Par lâcheté et pour échapper au Tribunal révolutionnaire, il devait aller jusqu'à trahir ses compagnons de captivité."[200] The reference is to the conspiracy of Saint-Lazare during the summer of an II [1794]. Conditions in Saint-Lazare, just as in all the Parisian prisons during the Terror, were very poor; stringent measures were adopted during prairial and messidor an II [June and July 1794], including a ban on any purchase by the prisoners of food from outside, the imposition of a very spartan

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[197] ROUCHER 1797, p. 291, letter LXXXVII, décadi 30 pluviôse an II [February 18 1794]. Other references to this M*****, his cellmate, are to be found in: letter LXXV, 11 pluviôse an II [January 30 1794], p. 248 ("Nous serons trois dans la même chambre, M*****, Chabroud et moi"); letter LXXXI, 20 pluviôse an II [February 8 1794], p. 260 ("M***** me suit; il était triste, rêveur").

[198] ROUCHER 1797, copy with manuscript additions by Émile Roucher: BNF, Réserve Ln^{27} 17898.

[199] ROUCHER 1797 (with manuscript additions by Émile Roucher), manuscript notes pp. 29–30.

[200] ARRIGON 1921, pp. 201–2.

diet and the confiscation of all goods above a value of fifty livres. Despair amongst the prisoners was great, and it seems that Robespierre took advantage of this to engineer an excuse for mass executions. At the beginning of thermidor an II [July 1794] two prisoners, Manini and Coquery, were instructed to denounce a plot by several of their co-inmates to escape from prison; their alleged aim was to assassinate Robespierre, Couthon and Saint-Just. Two other prisoners – Jaubert and Robinet – were invited to testify against the supposed conspirators who were, on the whole, "aristocrates et contre-révolutionnaires". Over the next four days, from 5–8 thermidor [July 23–July 26 1794], eighty-two people were called for questioning about their involvement in the plot and, despite their complete innocence, were summarily executed.[201] According to another account, out of a total of 765 prisoners in Saint-Lazare, only twenty-eight to thirty "coquins", the "assassins qui faisoient les listes de proscriptions" survived to gain their freedom after 9 thermidor, although not all the deaths should be ascribed to this one incident.[202]

Versions of Millin's role in this whole story differ. Some observers, for instance Dusaulchoy and Rouy, do not mention his name at all.[203] Others, such as Nougaret, include him amongst those protected by Jaubert, without actually accusing him of having been directly involved in either the conspiracy or the betrayal of other prisoners. According to their account, Millin comes across rather as being innocent, unaware of exactly what was going on. The narrator describes his feelings on seeing Millin: "La tête foible de Millin, accablé par des chagrins et des souvenirs douleureux, ne m'a pas permis de lui faire la même confidence [to tell him exactly how dangerous the situation was]."[204] The most damning account comes in Saladin's version of the whole affair in his *Rapport au nom de la Commission des Vingt-un*.[205] That Saladin's account may well be coloured by factual inaccuracies is clear from the

[201] DUSAULCHOY DE BERGEMONT 1796.

[202] Pierre-Jean-Baptiste Nougaret, "Faits historiques et anecdotes sur la maison d'arrêt de Saint-Lazare" in NOUGARET 1797, vol. 3, pp. 1–36, p. 19. However, against this figure of thirty should be set the list of those released from the prison on 5 brumaire an III [October 26 1794], more than two months after Millin's release. This document is to be found in the Archives nationales, F^7 4428, plaque 4, 56, fols. 20–4, and mentions fifty-two prisoners released.

[203] ROUY 1795.

[204] P.-J.-B. Nougaret, "Faits historiques et anecdotes sur la maison d'arrêt de Saint-Lazare" in NOUGARET 1797, vol. 3, pp. 1–36, p. 11.

[205] SALADIN 1795. He mentions Millin on two occasions. The first of these (p. 136) comes in a "liste des détenus envoyés en jugement", which Saladin takes to be dated 2 thermidor an II [July 20 1794]. Here we find A.L. Millin listed as "Homme de lettres et capitaine" living in the rue de la Convention nationale, and currently imprisoned in Saint-Lazare. The second reference comes, pp. 169–72, in a discussion of the supposed conspiracy of Saint-Lazare. Here we find the testimony of Léonard Bourdon dated sextidi, a date which proves

fact that Millin is described as being "homme de lettres et capitaine", a description which scarcely fits. More possible, and this may in fact have distorted the whole question of Millin's involvement in the story, is that this is a conflation of two men of the same name: Millin's half-brother, who did hold rank in the army and had written some pamphlets in the early years of the Revolution, was also imprisoned during the Terror and guillotined.[206] Confusions of this type are easily made, all the more so given that many of the memoirs of this period were written in self-defence *a posteriori* and that recollections could also be involuntarily blurred; a further element of confusion could be that one of the other figures involved in the story was a certain Mollin. To establish the actual truth may not now be possible, but it is true that this story has been avidly clutched at by some later commentators as a means of belittling or attacking Millin.[207]

impossible to fix more precisely. He gives the following list of those involved: Jobert [Jaubert], Seymandy, Molin, Delon, Joly, Milin-Grand-Maison, Gilibert, Gramont père et fils, Duparc marchand de bois, La Salle, Lapalue, Destairy, Duparc menuisier and Lebois who in his words "paroissent vouloir troubler la tranquillité qui règne dans cette maison."

[206] The error is common in library catalogues. Two pamphlets are usually attributed to Millin himself, when it is quite clear that it must have been his brother, *commissaire-ordonnateur des guerres*, who wrote them. The works in question are: MILLIN DE GRANDMAISON 1790 and MILLIN DE GRANDMAISON 1793.

[207] ARRIGON 1921, pp. 201–2; SCARFE 1965, p. 349.

Chapter 3.
CURATOR AND PROFESSOR

Freedom and new posts

On his release Millin attempted to resume his former life; some aspects were considerably modified, whilst others remained stable. His detention did not affect the positions which he had held earlier during the Revolution. Already before the Terror, he had been given a number of official duties – he was a member of the Bureau de Consultation des Arts et Métiers, succeeding to Pelletier as the delegate of the Société d'histoire naturelle for the Bureau on August 1 1792.[1] In 1793, he was one of the signatories of a petition presented to the Convention nationale by the Bureau. This document, dated July 21 1793, called for the provision of "écoles primaires des arts et métiers, l'accroissement de l'industrie nationale, et tous les développements dont elle [la France] est susceptible."[2] In lists dating to January 1793 and also to brumaire an IV [November 1795], Millin is featured amongst the members of the Bureau, evidence that his imprisonment had not affected his position there. On 12 vendemiaire an III [October 3 1794], and thus a very short time after his release from prison, he was included among the Commission exécutive de l'instruction publique, based in rue Vaugirard. He, along with Lebreton and Legendre, formed the section dealing with 'Sciences et Arts', and his official responsibility was "Bibliothèques, leur formation et organisation; bibliographie", a post that was to inspire one of his articles at this time.[3] It is mainly on the basis of this position that Guillaume is prepared to attribute to Millin the *Rapport sur la Bibliothèque nationale* which was probably produced between 1 brumaire and 21 pluviôse an III [October 22 1794 – February 10 1795]. Guillaume feels that this report, concerning possible reforms of the Bibliothèque nationale, would have been entrusted by the Commission exécutive to "le chef de ce bureau", who was of course Millin: "Il paraît donc infiniment probable que le *Rapport sur la Bibliothèque nationale* est l'œuvre de A.-L. Millin [...] et il n'est pas interdit de penser que Ginguené, placé à la tête de la deuxième section de la

[1] GUILLAUME 1891, vol. 4 (1901), p. 266. Amongst his work there we find him as one of the signatories of a letter from the Bureau dated November 30 1792, referring to a request addressed to Roland for some indication of how long the Bureau would be operational; see GUILLAUME 1891, vol. 1 (1891), p. 108.

[2] Archives nationales, F^{17} carton 1038, no. 713, as cited in GUILLAUME 1891, vol. 2 (1894), pp. 428–9, quotation here from p. 429.

[3] GUILLAUME 1891, vol. 5 (1904), p. 112. The article was ALM ÉTUDE 1795A & B.

Commission, revit le travail de son subordonné."[4] No doubt as a result of his work in the education committee, he was soon to be appointed to a further post, this time more directly concerned with the artistic world. On 10 pluviôse an III [January 30 1795] "Le Comité, sur la proposition d'un membre, nomme les citoyens Mailly et Millin adjoints à la Commission temporaire des arts."[5]

The Terror and accompanying events did have one very important repercussion for Millin. A major source of his income had come from various rents, and these were now cut dramatically. Without a permanent job he would thus find it difficult to be able to live whilst at the time indulging his passion for collecting books and prints. Slight compensation was offered by the invitation to teach at the *écoles centrales* which had been established under the Convention on 6 ventôse an III [February 25 1795]. For a number of years Millin was engaged to teach history in two of these establishments. In an VII and an VIII he taught history at the école centrale du faubourg Antoine.[6] Over the next four years it was at the école centrale du Panthéon that he was to give his history lectures.[7] The appointments were, however, only temporary, as a replacement for other professors who had been granted leave, and could not guarantee him any long-term financial stability. Some more permanent remuneration was possible as a result of the regular teaching that he gave at the Jardin des plantes. This proved to be a popular series of lectures, particularly among the Parisian ladies of leisure. Louise Fusil in her *Souvenirs* comments that it was at about the time that Denon returned from Egypt (1801) that she returned to her earlier interest in botany and goes on to say:

> "[...]; d'ailleurs c'était la mode. Toutes les femmes élégantes herborisaient, allaient au Jardin des Plantes, au cours de M. Millin et à celui de Van-Spandonck pour dessiner les fleurs."[8]

Although not desperate, his situation was certainly not entirely comfortable. Some further compensation was offered by grants from the government: Millin was selected as a

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[4] GUILLAUME 1891, vol. 6 (1907), p. 351. For the report itself see the same volume, pp. 351–75. A fuller version is to be found in OMONT 1905, which reproduces the original: BNF, Cabinet des manuscrits, nouvelles acquisitions françaises 2836, fols. 133–49.

[5] GUILLAUME 1891, vol. 5 (1904), p. 452.

[6] ALMANACH 1798, p. 505; ALMANACH 1799, p. 528.

[7] ALMANACH 1800, p. 581; ALMANACH 1801, p. 679; ALMANACH 1802, p. 682; ALMANACH 1803, p. 690.

[8] FUSIL 1841, vol. 1 (1841), p. 129.

recipient of "récompenses nationales" of 2000 livres, and as a result of "gratifications extraordinaires en faveur des savants et artistes" a further 2000 livres was awarded to Millin as the "auteur des *Antiquités de la France*."[9] Fate was soon to be on his side though, since on 20 prairial an III [June 8 1795] a law was passed with regard to the future organization of the Bibliothèque nationale. One department which profited from the new provisions was the Cabinet des antiques. It was decided that one of the important duties of the Cabinet's curators would be to "exposer les antiquités de la Bibliothèque"; an integral part of the curators' work was therefore to be the presentation of public lectures which would serve to explain the objects exhibited. In addition, it was expected that the incumbent of the post would offer a course of introductory lectures on archaeology. These additional responsibilities would involve too much work for one curator and thus two jobs were established. One, that of curator, was given to Barthélemy-Courçay, the nephew of the former keeper, l'abbé Barthélemy. The other job, that of "conservateur-professeur [qui] fera un cours public sur les collections, l'histoire de l'art chez les anciens, mœurs et coutumes", was offered to Millin on 22 prairial an III [June 10 1795]. He was to be "conservateur-professeur du Muséum d'antiques, établi par le décret du 20 du présent [the scheme which Rabaut had presented to the Convention on 20 prairial an III]" and his duties included ensuring that "les antiques de la Bibliothèque nationale seraient disposées méthodiquement et offertes au public."[10] This job meant that Millin was in effect the first professor of art history in France; Balayé comments that the creation of this post accorded a triple role to the Bibliothèque nationale, that of library, of museum and of school.[11] Apart from an annual salary of 5,000 livres, the job brought with it a further considerable benefit, since the conservateur-professeur was offered accommodation in the library buildings; on 30 prairial an III [June 19 1795] the Comité d'instruction publique issued a decree stating that: "L.-A. Millin [sic], garde et professeur d'antiquités à la Bibliothèque nationale, occupera en cette qualité le logement habité par le citoyen Bounieu, garde des estampes."[12]

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[9] See also GUILLAUME 1891, vol. 6 (1907), pp. 76 & 89.

[10] The original documents are to be found in Archives nationales, AD VIII 15, and are reproduced in GUILLAUME 1891, vol. 6 (1907), pp. 259 & 278.

[11] Simone Balayé, "De la Bibliothèque du Roi à la Bibliothèque nationale", in BONNET 1988, pp. 37–48; this comment is to be found on p. 43.

[12] GUILLAUME 1891, vol. 6 (1907), p. 297.

Millin represented, according to Bon-Joseph Dacier, an ideal choice for this post since he was a "savant aussi versé dans la connoissance des monumens que dans celle des bons ouvrages archéographiques".[13] Remarkably little is, however, known about what were, after all, amongst the first institutionalized lectures in the history of art and archaeology in France.[14] In the obituary of Millin that he wrote, Krafft helps to explain the reason for this lacuna in our knowledge. After praising the scholar for his prodigious memory and naturally methodical spirit, Krafft went on to explain that these gifts obviated any need for written transcripts of his lectures. With the exception of occasional noted excerpts from ancient texts, Millin would speak extempore, pausing from time to time to illustrate his argument with an object from the large collection of originals and copies in his own and in the library's collections.[15] All that he did was, in Krafft's words, to publish "de petits aperçus". From the footnote accompanying this comment we understand that these are the following texts: *Introduction à l'étude des monumens antiques* (Paris, 1796), *Introduction à l'étude des médailles* (Paris, 1796), *Introduction à l'étude des pierres gravées* (Paris, 1796), *Discours prononcé par Millin à l'ouverture de son cours, le 4 frimaire an VII* (Paris, 1799), *Programme d'un cours d'histoire de l'art* (Paris, 1805), *Exposé du cours de mythologie de M. Millin* (Paris, 1809), *Cours d'histoire héroïque* (Paris, 1810) and *Introduction à la connoissance des vases peints* (Paris, 1811).[16] Certainly Millin intended that these publications should serve as the written support for his students: "pour l'usage de ceux qui me font l'honneur de suivre le Cours que je donne à présent sur cette partie de l'Archaeologie. […] Cette introduction est un court résumé de mes cahiers; elle sert de texte à chacune de mes leçons; elle donne une idée de la méthode que je suis dans mon Cours, […]."[17] The practice was not unknown at the time. One of Millin's friends in Germany, Karl August Böttiger, explained that: "Bloss zur Wiederholung für meine Zuhörer und also allein als Manuscript für Freunde, sind am Schlusse jeder Vorlesung gedruckte Blätter ausgetheilt

[13] DACIER 1810, p. 76.

[14] THERRIEN 1998. See also HURLEY 2001.

[15] KRAFFT 1818, p. 18.

[16] ALM INTRODUCTION MÉDAILLES 1796; ALM INTRODUCTION MONUMENS 1796A; ALM INTRODUCTION MONUMENS 1796B; ALM INTRODUCTION PIERRES 1796; ALM INTRODUCTION PIERRES 1797; ALM DISCOURS 1799B; ALM PROGRAMME 1805; ALM EXPOSÉ 1809; ALM COURS 1810; ALM INTRODUCTION 1811.

[17] ALM INTRODUCTION PIERRES 1796, p. vii.

worden mit dem Hauptinhalte der Vorträge und den nöthigen Citaten ….".[18] Some of these texts published by Millin prove to be rather difficult to understand: the *Programme du Cours d'histoire des arts chez les anciens* published in 1805 consists of fifteen octavo pages with a series of words or phrases resuming the contents of the lectures **[Ill. 5]**. No continuous text is presented, not even an introduction or a conclusion to explain the methodology. The only concession granted to the reader is that an attempt is made, both in the order of the words and in the typography, to provide some guidance through the text. Seven main divisions are established: 'Généralités'; 'Sculpture'; 'Peinture'; 'Mosaïque'; 'Glyptique'; 'Numismatique'; 'Architecture'. Within these classes, sub-sections are established by means of paragraph divisions and italics. Thus, for example, in the class 'Sculpture' there is one short introductory paragraph: "Définition de ses différentes parties. – Statuaire. – Plastique. – Toreutique. – Leur histoire chez différens peuples." There then follows a series of twelve paragraphs, each of which is signalled by a phrase in italics. The first six of these refer to the art of sculpture as practised by different nations. After this treatment of the sculpture of the various ancient peoples come six further paragraphs: 'Partie mécanique de l'art'; 'Procédés de l'art'; 'Bustes'; 'Animaux'; 'Toreutique'; 'Meubles, instrumens'. No effort is made to present a text that can be described as readable, let alone any polished prose. But this remains, after all, the summary of a set of lectures; it is no more than complementary material, and in a review of the *Cours d'histoire héroique* in the *Magasin encyclopédique*, the following comments are to be found concerning the relative value of programmes of this type:

> "l'utilité des Programmes qu'il a publiés à leur occasion; il s'en faut qu'ils contiennent tout ce qui doit être enseigné dans chacun de ces Cours; mais ils servent à diriger et à soutenir l'attention, à se préparer à mieux entendre ce qui doit être dit, à résumer plus facilement les leçons passées; ils aident et soulagent la mémoire, sans protéger la paresse."[19]

The general rhythm of the lectures was fixed at two or three per week, as is stated on the verso of the title-page to the 1805 *Programme*: "Ce cours aura lieu les mardi, jeudi et samedi de chaque semaine".[20]

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[18] BÖTTIGER 1811, p. ix.

[19] ALM MAGASIN 1795, année 16, 1810, vol. 2, pp. 417–19, here pp. 417–18.

[20] ALM PROGRAMME 1805, title-page, verso. The 'Cours d'histoire héroïque' was more intensive: "tous les jours, dans la Salle des Cours de l'École spéciale des langues orientales et des antiquités établie par le Gouvernement à la Bibliothèque impériale. Début du cours, Lundi 7 mai": ALM MAGASIN 1795, année 16, 1810, vol. 2, pp. 417–19, p. 419.

Several distinct courses were given, but the general structure of the three was so similar that an examination of one, the 'cours de mythologie', should suffice to show his approach to the presentation of the history of art and of archaeology.[21] After three lectures devoted to preliminaries such as a definition of archaeology and some generalities on the relative age of painting and sculpture and on recommended reading in mythology, Millin then proceeded to the main subject matter. Each divinity was taken in turn and a guide given to the major attributes, the differing representations, with reference to the monuments illustrating them. There were frequent mentions made both to works in the Cabinet des antiquités and to those depicted in the major illustrated collections available on the market, such as Winckelmann's *Monumenti antichi*, Visconti's *Sculture del Palazzo della villa Borghese detta Pinciana* and *Museo Pio-Clementino*.[22] Both his teaching and, more especially, the publication of the accompanying material and the various *Introductions*, point to a remarkable continuity between Millin's pre- and post-revolutionary pedagogical work: his earlier activity in the divulgation of the natural sciences had now been transferred to the world of archaeology.

One project still remained dear to his heart, and that was the publication of a periodical devoted to arts, literature and sciences which could replace the *Journal des savants*. Thus it was that, soon after his release from prison, he relaunched the *Magasin encyclopédique*. The first issue was sent to the Comité d'instruction publique with a covering letter signed by Millin, Noël and Warens. In suitably post-Terror rhetoric the vandalism of the early years of the Revolution, the "extinction des lumières, l'anéantissement des droits du peuple et la destruction de la liberté" are evoked; as a result of these events, the editors continue, academic journals could no longer appear with impunity, and "la République française parut être separée de la République universelle des lettres".[23] The changes in France now allowed for such an enterprise to be envisaged, and at a timely moment since it offered the chance to show other countries the developments in education, the discoveries "dues à l'energie du génie républicain", the new museums and monuments. Inspired by "l'amour des lettres et de la patrie", Millin and his colleagues have decided that, with the collaboration of the *crème de la crème* of the French intelligentsia who had survived the Terror, they would rise to the challenge and produce a periodical of this type. Unlike the version which appeared in late 1792 and early 1793, this was not to be a daily journal. Twice a month there was to be

[21] This course was given in 1808.

[22] WINCKELMANN 1767; VISCONTI 1782; VISCONTI 1796.

[23] Archives nationales, F^{17} 1027, dossier 1, pièce 7, dated 4 floréal s.a. [an III] [April 20 1795].

an issue of 144 octavo pages. This rhythm continued until an VI [1797–8] from which date there was to be only one monthly issue. The explanation for this was quite simple: recent legislation required that all journals of this type with more than one monthly issue would be subject to a new tax, which would in turn force the editors to increase the price of the subscription. Rather than do this the *Magasin*'s editors preferred to restrict themselves to one issue per month.[24]

The project was an ambitious one, especially since Millin was determined to achieve his aim of a journal which would reflect not only French scholarship, but also the most recent publications and discoveries made in other countries. Each issue contained a couple of long articles, sometimes written by Millin, more often by other scholars. After this came the 'Nouvelles littéraires' which reported recent developments in various countries, followed by a section devoted to reviews of recent publications. The coverage was impressive: the reviews were numerous and included most of the important recent publications in several languages. As for the 'Nouvelles littéraires', far from being merely a round-up of the latest communications from the major European academies and scholarly societies, this section also presented, on a more or less regular basis, news from, for example, India, America and China.

Over a period of twenty years the journal continued to appear and the complete collection runs to 122 volumes. Whether or not Millin achieved his aim of rivalling with various publications in their heyday is less than clear. He was very clear about his ambitions, stating that "ce Journal a été entrepris, dans l'unique but de remplacer le *Journal de Bouillon*, le *Journal étranger* et surtout le *Journal des Savans*."[25] In an earlier statement of the *Magasin*'s intended readership, this list of earlier publications is even longer, covering "Le *Journal des Savans*, le *Journal encyclopédique*, le *Journal de la Physique*, le *Journal d'Histoire naturelle*, les *Annales de Chymie*, l'*Esprit des Journaux*".[26] Problems did, however, beset the *Magasin encyclopédique* from the very beginning. A number of publishers took on the journal, and some, such as Tourneisen, abandoned it within only one year, a sure sign that it was not a profitable publication.[27] Millin gave a brief summary of the difficulties that he had faced during his editorship of the journal in a letter addressed to the abbé Morelli

[24] ALM MAGASIN 1795, année 3, 1797, vol. 4, pp. 7–8.

[25] ALM MAGASIN 1795, année 16, 1810, vol. 6, p. [5].

[26] ALM MAGASIN 1795, année 2, 1796, vol. 1, p. viii.

[27] Tourneisen was the publisher during 1808.

which served as the introduction to the *Annales encyclopédiques*, launched after the *Magasin* had folded in 1816. "Les changemens de gouvernement, les entraves que la guerre met aux rapports littéraires, l'envahissement du territoire, les malheurs du commerce de la librairie causés par l'état des finances, avoient appauvri, mais non pas ruiné ce Journal".[28] It is known that the print-run was not very large; according to the report on the printing industry prepared for the government in 1803, there were only 106 subscribers outside Paris at this time. Comparative figures available for the *Mercure* and for the *Décade* at the same time are 803 and 666 respectively.[29] The *Magasin* continued, against the odds, even though other journals with a larger circulation had a much shorter life. In the same letter addressed to the abbé Morelli, Millin explained that his journal's longevity could be attributed largely to the fact that he, unlike his competitors, was not running it as a money-spinning exercise: "les hommes de lettres qui contribuoient à ces entreprises avoient le désir ou le besoin d'y trouver, comme il convient, le produit de leur travail; […] Vous savez que l'auteur du *Magasin Encyclopédique* n'a cherché que l'avantage d'être utile aux lettres; son désintéressement et son zèle ont été partagés par tous ses collaborateurs."[30] Such magnanimity, which Silvestre de Sacy, for one, questioned, could not however save the *Magasin* when a new tax was levied on periodical publications; in April 1816 the journal was discontinued.[31] Within less than a year, Millin was already convinced, as he wrote to Morelli, by the number of letters that he had received, that a replacement was needed; this was to be the *Annales encyclopédiques*. The reminiscence evident in the title was deliberate; Millin explained that his new venture was so similar to its predecessor that he had wanted to mark a clear link between the two. The tripartite structure remained much the same, and there was to be only one major difference; the coverage of the natural sciences was to be reduced slightly, mainly because there were now many more journals on the market devoted to that branch of learning. Once again there were six volumes per year, but this journal was much more short-lived, surviving the death of Millin in August 1818 by only four months. That the journal should have ended only a few months after the death of Millin is scarcely surprising. He was one of the founding editors

[28] ALM LETTRE MORELLI 1817, p. vii.

[29] "Nomenclature des journaux addressée par Bonaparte à Roederer en mai 1803"; quoted in KITCHIN 1965, p. 20.

[30] ALM LETTRE MORELLI 1817, p. vii.

[31] For Silvestre de Sacy's attitude ("M. Millin est du nombre de ces hommes de lettres qui font de la littérature une spéculation. Ils adorent l'or du temple, et non la divinité") see Silvestre de Sacy to Frederick Münter, Paris, October 26 1816, in: MÜNTER 1944, vol. 2, no. 534, p. 190 (see *supra*, ch. 1, p. 25, note 44).

and had, in effect, been the main force behind it throughout its history. Very early on the two other associates had dropped out of the *Magasin*, leaving Millin as the sole editor:

> "Les deux collègues qui s'étoient associés à mes travaux n'ont pas pu me seconder: le premier, le citoyen Noël, ministre de la République française auprès de la République batave, m'a fourni quelques articles qui ont été lus avec intérêt; mais il n'a pas pu coopérer, comme il l'avoit d'abord projeté, à cette rédaction: l'autre, le citoyen Warens, doit être regardé comme le fondateur de ce Journal, parce qu'il a fourni les fonds pour l'établir. Son intention étoit d'y donner également le tribut de ses lumières, mais, livré entièrement à des spéculations commerciales, à peine le Journal a-t-il été établi, qu'il a été forcé de cesser de s'en occuper. J'ai donc dirigé seul cette entreprise, et c'est dans le même esprit que je la continuerai."[32]

Over the first couple of years the proportion of articles signed by Millin himself is certainly prodigious; gradually, however, he managed to gather around him a group of regular contributors, and thus reduced his work for the journal. Many of them were renowned experts in their domain, and thus it was that the *Magasin* could boast of articles signed by, amongst others, Silvestre de Sacy, Langlès, Willemet, Oberlin, Schweighäuser, Bruun-Neergard and Chardon-la-Rochette. These contributors met regularly, since Millin "les réunissait toutes les semaines dans son cabinet, qu'embellissait une riche et nombreuse bibliothèque."[33] Their help was no doubt essential to Millin, but it is certainly the case that he was still the motivating force behind the periodical. Many articles bear his name, and his periods of absence from Paris were always accompanied by a significant reduction in the quantity of material to be found in at least one important section, the 'Nouvelles littéraires'.

There thus remained only one of his former projects that still needed to be brought to completion, the *Antiquités nationales*. The publication of the fifth (and last) volume occurred in an VI [1798]. The publisher remained the same and, despite a change of printer and therefore a modification of the typeface used, there is no obvious evidence of any other alteration in the general presentation of the work. However, it is of interest to notice that in this volume there is a considerable shift in emphasis away from Paris. Of the eleven articles only three are concerned with Parisian monuments: all the others are concentrated in the north of France and Lille in particular.[34] According to a review of one issue of the *Antiquités* in the *Chronique de Paris*, Millin had already made a journey to northern France and had

[32] ALM MAGASIN 1795, année 2, 1796, vol. 1, p. ix.

[33] DUMERSAN 1838, p. 183.

[34] The Parisian monuments which are described are the Chartreuse (Article LII), Saint-Landry (Article LIX) and the Abbaye Sainte-Geneviève (Article LX).

brought back about one hundred drawings.[35] It was these that he now used to illustrate this fifth volume. Even so, as was stated in a review of the work in the *Magasin*, there were still many drawings left, and Millin proposed to use these for a further publication devoted to French monuments on which he was working.[36] The *Antiquités* as such were thus now completed.

Journeys

So by the end of 1803, Millin was involved in a number of projects. Not only was he *conservateur-professeur* at the Bibliothèque nationale, teaching regularly and having to repeat his lectures in order to accommodate all those who wished to attend, but he was also the editor of the *Magasin encyclopédique*. A member of a large number of academies, he maintained a correspondence with scholars from all over Europe. At the same time he was still publishing regularly; apart from the numerous articles in his own journal, he was also producing a number of books. New editions of the *Élémens* came out, attesting to the great success of this work, and he also managed to produce the various archaeological works which were based on his lectures.[37] In 1802 a collection of dissertations of classical art began to appear, the *Monumens antiques inédits*; the title was clearly reminiscent of the work by Winckelmann to which he often referred in his writings and lectures.[38] In addition to this he had also produced a revised version of Chompré's *Dictionnaire de la Fable*, and by the end of 1806 he had seen his three-volume *Dictionnaire des Beaux-Arts* appear.[39]

All this work took a toll on him; of a naturally delicate constitution, his period of imprisonment had further weakened him. A theft committed in the Cabinet des Antiques proved to be the last straw. Millin agonized over what had happened and neglected yet further his health. Within a short time he had begun to cough up blood: his doctors ordered him to take some time away from Paris. Granted a sabbatical by the library administration, he determined to spend six months in the Midi. His health may have been poor, but his convalescence was not to be achieved at the expense of his work. Ever since he had

[35] ALM CHRONIQUE 1789, no. 144, May 22 1792, p. 571: "un voyage fait par M. Millin dans les départemens du Nord, du Pas-de-Calais et de la Somme; il en a rapporté plus de cent dessins [...]."

[36] ALM REVIEW MILLIN 1799C, pp. 475–6.

[37] ALM ÉLÉMENS 1797 and ALM ÉLÉMENTS 1802. For the archaeological works see *supra*, p. 95, note 16.

[38] WINCKELMANN 1767.

[39] ALM DICTIONNAIRE 1801 and ALM DICTIONNAIRE 1806.

completed the fifth volume of the *Antiquités nationales*, he had been haunted by the thought that his work remained incomplete inasmuch as it was restricted to one relatively small area of France. In addition, as he was heard to comment, "'Je vois avec peine, disait-il, les hommes instruits visiter les contrées étrangères, et ne point connaître leur propre pays.'"[40] He therefore determined to spend his sabbatical in a part of France that he had not yet visited and to gather material for a new publication. During the period from spring to autumn 1804 he visited a number of towns in the south of France, collecting drawings, notes and observations. From Paris he travelled to Sens, and thereafter, amongst other towns, to Auxerre, Dijon, Autun, Lyon, Avignon, Orange and Aix. The period was more favourable to a journey than had been the preceding years: after the signing of the Treaty of Amiens between the French and the English in 1803, there was increased optimism in both countries. Not only travel between the countries but also journeys within either one of them became easier, and there was a marked increase in tourism at this time. On his return to Paris, laden with books and engravings that he acquired on his travels, Millin set about putting all these notes into order, commissioning engravings of the drawings that he had requested from various artists and then producing an account of the journey and the monuments that he had seen. The work appeared in four volumes in 1807, under the title of *Voyage dans les départemens du Midi de la France*. A volume of plates appeared four years later.[41] It was presented as being a supplement to the *Antiquités nationales* which, given the period at which it was being written, had been restricted to too small an area of France:

> "J'avois déjà parcouru plusieurs des départemens septentrionaux, lorsque je travaillois à mon ouvrage sur les monumens françois: pour cette fois je résolus de voir le midi; ..."[42]

The reference to the earlier work is deceptive: a clear distinction can be drawn between the two, not so much in terms of content as of form. The importance assigned to the illustrations is still clear and the quality of the engravings is superior; again there is emphasis laid on the need for scholars to bear in mind epigraphical evidence, and there are once more many digressions on etymology, local customs, costumes and ceremonies. But in this book Millin chose rather to adopt a more traditional literary genre, that of the *voyage*. No longer is an individual monument granted its own separate article, with very little evidence of any

[40] DUMERSAN 1838, p. 183.

[41] ALM VOYAGE 1807.

[42] ALM VOYAGE 1807. Quotation here is from vol. 1, ch. 1, pp. 1–2.

continuity within the whole series. His own itinerary is used as a device to impose a certain unity upon the book, and the descriptions of towns, monuments and works of art are inserted into this framework at the relevant points. In the preface to the work he sketched out the principal stages of the route which he followed on his journey and then explained how he divided this between the four volumes of text.[43] He also made a point of including practical details useful for other travellers, a device very typical of the travel literature of his time and of the preceding century: "J'ai consigné les indications qui m'ont paru nécessaires pour ceux qui voudront faire le même voyage avec succès et avec commodité, et j'ai tâché de ne négliger aucun détail."[44]

Even after his journey in the Midi he had still not achieved his ultimate ambition as expressed in the first chapter of his *Voyage dans les départemens*. For he felt that his attention should "naturellement se tourner vers l'Italie, dont un antiquaire ne prononce jamais le nom sans émotion" even though his immediate priority was France.[45] Over the years after his return from the Midi he continued with the normal rhythm of his life, working at the Bibliothèque impériale and teaching with his usual enthusiasm. The *Magasin encyclopédique* was still appearing, and he also devoted much energy to various other publications, mainly in the field of archaeology. One tragic event was to mark these years and that was the death of his very close friend Frederick Winckler. Winckler, a young German scholar, had come to the Bibliothèque impériale on the personal recommendation of Karl August Böttiger. Millin employed him as his assistant and the two quickly developed a very close friendship, largely because the young scholar had a keen mind and a deep interest in classical antiquities. He was a regular contributor to the *Magasin encyclopédique*, often providing translations of German texts. The address read by Millin at his funeral attests to his considerable affection for the young man, coupled with a keen appreciation of his intellectual abilities.[46]

Throughout these years, thoughts of his intended journey to Italy preoccupied Millin increasingly, and he finally decided to ask the government for a leave of absence, presenting the trip as being one that would be extremely advantageous to the library. When requesting a

[43] For any examination of this voyage the best source is in effect the text itself, which can be complemented by letters in the BNF, Cabinet des manuscrits. For details on this journey see also KRAFFT 1818; MONGLOND 1940B; GARDY 1987; VOVELLE 1980.

[44] ALM VOYAGE 1807, vol. 1, 'Préface', p. v.

[45] ALM VOYAGE 1807, vol. 1, ch.1, p. [1].

[46] ALM DISCOURS 1807.

leave of absence he stressed the fact that whilst in Italy he would make every effort to find and to purchase any books or engravings that were not in the collections of the Bibliothèque impériale. The authorities accepted his offer, and in 1811 he left Paris once again.

This journey is less well documented in his publications, largely because he did not manage before his death to write a full account of all the areas that he had visited. Only two of the planned series appeared, the *Voyage en Savoie, en Piémont, à Nice et à Gênes* (1816) and the *Voyage dans le Milanais* (1817).[47] At the time of his death, according to Krafft, one further work was ready to go to press, the *Voyage dans l'État Vénitien*; this did not, however, appear. Three others, which Millin had hoped to write, were scarcely begun: a *Voyage dans l'État Romain*, a *Voyage dans le Royaume de Naples* and a *Voyage pittoresque d'Italie*.[48] Certainly the two published works, very similar in style and in form to the earlier *Voyage dans les départemens du Midi*, cast some light on his itinerary in the northern regions of Italy. In addition to this there is a very precious source available in the Millin papers in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, a diary of his 'Correspondance littéraire' in which he noted for each day the place where he was staying and the addressees of all the letters which he wrote.[49] Any remaining gaps in our knowledge can be filled by consultation of the collection of drawings, manuscript notes and observations which he brought back from his travels.[50]

Millin left Paris on September 10 1811 and he took advantage of the outward journey to see once again places in France to which he had not devoted enough time or attention during his earlier journey in the Midi. Once in Italy he stayed in Turin for a short while before making his way to Rome where he had arrived by November 30. In mid-March he decided to continue his journey to Naples, arriving on March 22 and staying for the best part of a year before making his way back to Rome to arrive there by the end of April 1813. Plans to stay in the city for a longer period were disrupted by rumours of an imminent war and he began to make his way back to Paris, stopping off on the way in Venice, Florence and Bologna.

There can be no doubt that his stay in Naples was the highlight of his time in Italy. It was a particularly rich period for archaeological discoveries which were usually jealously

[47] ALM VOYAGE 1816; ALM VOYAGE 1817.

[48] KRAFFT 1818, p. 84.

[49] BNF, Cabinet des manuscrits, fonds français 24704.

[50] Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, mss. 6369–75, 6488, 6506, 6513, 7055 and BNF, Cabinet des estampes; for this latter collection see the article by ARQUIÉ-BRULEY 1985.

guarded by the authorities: very few scholars were allowed to know more than the most basic details, and access to the finds was strictly limited. However, Millin was in possession of letters of recommendation from such influential individuals as the Ministre de l'Intérieur, and armed with these he managed to gain access to the depots at Portici. Not only was he allowed to visit them, but he was also granted permission to spend long periods there accompanied by artists who could draw up many of the most important finds with a view to publication. The director of the excavations at the time was a Frenchman named Clarac with whom Millin established a close relationship. But the most important weapon for anyone wanting to see the archaeological finds was the queen of Naples. She had, according to her daughter, shown very little interest for the arts before her arrival in Italy. Thereupon,

> "elle en [les arts] fut la protectrice la plus éclairée, et les artistes lui eurent les plus grandes obligations. Elle s'occupa avec passion des fouilles de Pompei, obtint du Roi qu'il permît aux soldats d'aider aux travaux qu'elle avait entrepris pour retirer cette antique cité des cendres sous lesquelles elle était ensevelie depuis tant de siècles, et dirigeait tout par elle-même."[51]

Millin soon won the queen's favour and thus gained the essential royal permission to visit the museum and inspect and record the finds deposited there, especially the treasures from the tombs at Canosa which had only just been excavated when he arrived.[52]

Return to Paris and the last years

He returned to Paris in the autumn of 1813 after an absence of almost two years and immediately resumed his functions at the Bibliothèque impériale. There had been two significant events of a personal nature in Paris during his stay in Italy, the death of his mother in early 1812 and the burning of part of his collection by his manservant, Auguste Mention. This last incident is rather curious, provoked by Mention's fury that Millin had not allowed the servant to accompany him to Italy. According to Millin's explanation of the situation, this refusal was a direct result of his exasperation with Mention's behaviour during his last journey in the Midi. For, as became increasingly obvious throughout this journey, the young man proved to be totally unprepared to make the slightest effort:

> "Aucun homme n'était moins propre que lui aux détails, et aux attentions qui sont nécessaires dans un voyage, il avait été longtems soldat, cependant tout l'effrayait, il avait peur de son ombre et il ne m'aurait secouru dans aucun peur. Quoique les

[51] SPALLETTI 1929, lettre III, p. 85.

[52] Millin profited from his advantageous position in Naples to produce many publications related to the antiquities he saw there. See the catalogue of his works, 1814–18, in Bibliography 1b.

> fatigues dussent l'avoir endurci, tout le gênait, tout lui deplaisait; il me fallut le forcer à me suivre à cheval, enfin son service était desagréable et nul."[53]

Thus it was that when Millin was planning the journey to Italy he decided not to take Mention with him, preferring another, younger, servant. Soon after his departure Millin sent a letter to his servant who had remained in Paris informing him that his employment was to be terminated within the space of a few months. On hearing that the news had not been taken very well, Millin relented slightly and promised that Mention could stay in the rooms at the Bibliothèque impériale for the time being. The opportunity was there, and it was taken. One Sunday morning in February, Mention gathered together armfuls of the papers in his master's rooms, locked the doors, lit a fire and then slashed his throat: "[il] avait tiré des cartons tous mes papiers, il en avait roulé beaucoup en boules pour qu'ils s'allumassent avec plus de facilité, il avait dispersé le tout dans la principale pièce qui est très-vaste, il avait mis le feu aux quatre coins".[54] Many of the manuscripts now housed in the Bibliothèque nationale do bear traces of fire damage, but it is very difficult to ascertain the exact extent of the losses. A passage shortly before this explains that these papers were notes that Millin had taken over the course of the years and on which he based his lectures. Also lost were apparently a number of works which he had prepared for publication, including a new edition of his *Dictionnaire des Beaux-Arts*, a dissertation on Merovingian coins and a considerably enlarged version of his *Galerie mythologique*. As for the correspondence, Millin certainly confirms that a part, but by no means all, of this was lost, although he does not give precise details.[55] There is only one account of the incident, in the form of a published letter written by Millin to a German doctor, Koreff, but very few copies of this pamphlet exist.[56] The authorities ordered its immediate suppression; the reasons for this are not explained, although it can be imagined that they did not wish the story of a fire being kindled in the Bibliothèque impériale to be circulating too widely, for fear that others may have been tempted to emulate Mention's actions.[57]

However, Millin dealt with both of these events stoically and devoted himself once more to his publications. The *Magasin encyclopédique* was still occupying much of his time,

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[53] ALM LETTRE 1812A, p. 3.

[54] ALM LETTRE 1812A, p. 7.

[55] ALM LETTRE 1812A, p. 10.

[56] ALM LETTRE 1812A.

[57] DUMERSAN 1838, p. 184.

and he had a number of other projects in addition to the publication of his Italian journey. He continued to study and to write even if his health was still by no means good. The next four years saw many works published. He died on August 14 1818, and, according to the version of his death given by all his biographers, he was working right until the very last moment. Dacier says that "peu d'heures avant d'expirer, il corrigeait une feuille qui tomba de ses mains au moment où il rendit le dernier soupir".[58] Krafft also comments on Millin's indefatigable enthusiasm for his work, emphasizing however the importance which he attached to enjoying a wide social life.[59]

Social life

Much of this social life was, as was very usual at this time, based around the Parisian salons.[60] As was seen in the discussion of his earlier, pre-Revolutionary social life, Millin had soon realized the use that he could make of the contacts that he made on such occasions. For it is true that the literary and artistic salons formed a focal point for much of the intellectual activity of the capital during the last decades of the eighteenth century:

> "Élément symbolique de la transformation de l'espace public, lieu de pouvoir plus ou moins étendu, étape indispensable pour un carriériste des lettres, le salon est sans aucun doute une pièce maîtresse permettant d'éclairer les relations qu'entretiennent les intellectuels avec les différents acteurs sociaux et les appareils culturels de l'État. Il est aussi le lieu mythique dans lequel triomphe tout l'esprit du siècle, car il permet d'allier la mondanité brillante, la virtuosité de la conversation et les talents intellectuels."[61]

This analysis is confirmed by others such as Chartier, who studies the institution of the salon and its significance in the literary and intellectual world of Paris during the second half of the eighteenth century. He points out that "les salons constituent la forme première où s'organise la rencontre entre gens du monde et gens de lettres, réunis par les mêmes passe-temps: le jeu, le débat, la lecture, la table." But there was a greater importance, which was the possibility to create an atmosphere of discussion and critique independent of the mainstream court and

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[58] DACIER 1821, p. 24.

[59] KRAFFT 1818, p. 6.

[60] For an analysis of his involvement in Parisian social life we need to consult the large number of memoirs which constitute such a wealth of documentation for France at this time. For the best bibliographies of these, apart from the catalogues of the history of France and the French Revolution, see: FIERRO 1988 and TULARD et al. 1991.

[61] MASSEAU 1994, p. 75.

administrative institutions. Chartier speaks of the "constitution d'un public dont les jugements critiques et les pratiques lettrées ne sont pas commandés par les seuls décrets du goût de la cour ou de l'autorité académique" and continues with the following hypothesis:

> "Ainsi, avec trente ou quarante ans de retard sur l'Angleterre, apparaîtrait en France un espace de pratiques intellectuelles fondé sur l'usage public de leur raison par des individus privés dont la compétence critique n'est point liée à leur appartenance à un corps patenté ou au monde de la cour, mais à leur qualité de lecteurs et de spectateurs rassemblés par le plaisir de la discussion conviviale."[62]

He goes on to examine a few selected salons, including those of d'Holbach, Geoffrin and others, and to consider their *habitués*, pointing out that for those who wanted a literary career the salon was of vital importance. In Chartier's words it was there that "peuvent s'obtenir protections et pensions, emplois et gratifications; là que se font les élections à l'Académie française."[63]

Many of these functions associated with and advantages to be drawn from the salons continued during the first decades of the nineteenth century. Evidence for Millin's involvement in the world of the salon comes from two main sources. Some of it needs to be traced through his correspondence, although this necessitates considerable guesswork and extrapolation. Other facts can be gleaned from reading the memoirs and accounts left by his friends. Amongst these, and probably the most useful, is that written by the duchesse d'Abrantès, a friend of Millin. She produced a survey of the salons which she frequented in Paris, both before and after 1789.[64] The salons at which she recounts Millin's presence are the following: Madame Necker, Madame de Montesson, Madame de Staël (during the Directoire), Madame de Genlis, Madame Regnault de St-Jean-d'Angely, Talleyrand (de Benevent) and her own.[65] Abrantès's work does manifest one clear disadvantage, and that is that she tended to deal rather with the superficialities of the salons, and thus provided few if any details on the more intellectual debates which occurred. However, there are one or two remarks and accounts which are interesting for the glimpses that they offer of Millin.

On one occasion, when discussing Madame de Montesson's salon, Abrantès remarks that: "Millin, qui alors n'avait pas cette morgue d'une science qu'on lui a disputée depuis, et

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[62] CHARTIER 1990, p. 189.

[63] CHARTIER 1990, p. 191.

[64] ABRANTÈS 1837.

[65] For an interesting article which relates to the preponderance of salons hosted by ladies see GOODMAN 1989.

qui était tout simplement un homme."[66] This comment would seem to posit a clear distinction between the period pre-Revolution and post-Revolution in terms of Millin's intellectual reputation. One feature about Millin which Abrantès appreciated enormously and recounted with considerable relish was his willingness to participate in any theatrical sketches. It is true that he had a deep love of the theatre, and he had during the Revolution written a pamphlet defending the artistic rights of actors.[67] He often wrote the reviews of theatre plays which appeared in the *Magasin encyclopédique* in its early years, and some biographers mention that his first literary production, at the age of seventeen, was actually a play. Entitled l'*Ennemi chéri* or l'*Heureuse Réconciliation*, it was a "comédie en un acte et en prose".[68] Millin guarded this work jealously since it was included in the catalogue of his library sold after his death.[69] His passion for theatrical affairs often marked his presence in the salons, where it was customary to practise what can best be defined as amateur dramatics. Abrantès was at pains to point out that he was always prepared to accept any role – "il aurait joué le marquis de Moncade, Othello, Crispin ou bien le Misanthrope, avec la même complaisance." His great enthusiasm was, unfortunately, not matched by his talents, since just after this last remark appears the following observation: "Il est vrai qu'il jouait la comédie aussi mal que possible; mais c'est égal."[70]

On the question of Millin's *amour propre* with regard to his acting talents opinions are divided. Abrantès relates that he was offended by a comment from Michaud that had he placed a bet on Millin's ability to act badly he would definitely have won. Not only did Millin reply with an acerbic comment at the time, but he would even refer to it later. Once, when asked to perform, he advanced to the front of the stage and declared:

> " – Je ne veux pas qu'on me corrige mon rôle je le veux jouer comme je l'AI CRÉÉ! Ceux qui ne le trouvent pas bien, tant pis pour eux, ajouta-t-il en lançant un regard furieux sur Michaud."[71]

A different view was expressed by the actress and society figure Louise Fusil, another close friend of Millin, who remained convinced that Millin was entirely modest and realistic about

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[66] ABRANTÈS 1837, vol. 2 (1837), p. 117.

[67] ALM PÉTITION COMÉDIENS 1790A & B.

[68] MICHAUD 1843, vol. 28 (s.d.), pp. 304–6, p. 304, note 2, which is initialled C.M.P.

[69] CATALOGUE 1819, no. 712, p. 67.

[70] ABRANTÈS 1837, vol. 3 (1838), p. 211.

[71] ABRANTÈS 1837, vol. 3 (1838), p. 218. The capitals are to be found in the text.

the range of his talents.[72] She recounts that during some rehearsals with two gentlemen, de Genlis and de Vauquelin, she was having some difficulty in singing the airs which they requested. Their reply was that they should wait for Millin to arrive since he knew all of them. Fusil continues:

> "Je ne connaissais pas alors M. Millin; je crus que c'était un de nos beaux chanteurs de société, le coryphée des amateurs, et j'étais impatiente de le voir arriver, lorsqu'on s'écria: 'Ah! le voici!' Je vis entrer un petit homme fort laid; et lorsqu'il voulut indiquer l'air du vaudeville qu'on lui demandait, je crus entendre chanter polichinelle. Il me prit un tel fou rire, que je fus obligée de me sauver dans la pièce voisine: il courut après moi d'un air enchanté.
>
> " – Ah! ne vous gênez pas, me dit-il, madame, riez tout à votre aise; c'est toujours l'effet que produit ma voix lorsqu'on l'entend pour la première fois."[73]

She then mentions that Millin was also acting, playing the part of a bailiff, and concludes "je jugeai promptement qu'il était aussi mauvais acteur que mauvais chanteur."[74] Not that this was in any way to affect adversely her considerable esteem for a man whom she considered as a close friend.

Similarly contrasting views are to be found with regard to Millin's supposed pride about his academic honours and distinctions. According to Monglond, Millin regarded each new nomination as "un baume pour son amour-propre, qui était vif" and "chaque promotion en augmentant le sentiment de son importance lui procurait un accroissement proportionnel de bonheur."[75] This may well be influenced by Stendhal's disparaging "ce M. Millin, membre de tant d'académies".[76] Such a judgement would seem, nevertheless, to be in direct opposition to the comments made by Paul-Louis Courier in a letter to M. Boissonade. Courier declared himself to be somewhat bemused by the fact that Millin had arrived in Rome with very little in the way of smart clothing: "Nous avons ici, vous le savez, le célèbre M. Millin; mais vous serez bien surpris quand vous apprendrez qu'il arrive n'ayant que trois habits habillés. Il est clair qu'il a cru que Rome n'en méritait pas davantage."[77] That Millin should

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[72] Letters between Millin and Louise Fusil: BNF, Cabinet des manuscrits, fonds français 24686, fols. 164–74. Five letters from Louise Fleuri [Fusil] to Millin and one from him to her, this last dated September 29 1815. The letters sent by the actress which mention a place or date were sent from Moscow and from London (September 18 1815).

[73] FUSIL 1841, vol. 1 (1841), p. 107.

[74] FUSIL 1841, vol. 1 (1841), p. 107.

[75] MONGLOND 1940A, p. 81.

[76] STENDHAL 1919, vol. 1, p. 162; as quoted by MONGLOND 1940A, p. 81.

[77] COURIER 1834, vol. 3, p. 358, letter from Courier to Boissonnade, dated Frascati, March 23 1812.

have given the precedence to books and papers when he was packing for his journey is quite likely, but the man described by Stendhal as having such an overweening pride in the academic honours accorded to him would hardly have been likely to forget to pack his costume of a member of the Institut. Yet such had been the case and, as Courier continued, "Il reconnaît sa faute, et, pour la réparer, il écrit à Paris qu'on lui envoie, ventre à terre, par une estafette, ses autres habits habillés, et le plus habillé de tous, son habit de membre de l'Institut."[78] Certainly he did tend to include, to varying degrees, the list of his honours on the title-pages of his books. On occasions this meant little more than the mention of his position at the Bibliothèque nationale, with the addition of 'Membre de l'Institut'. On others, most notably his *Voyage dans les départemens du Midi* and the *Magasin encyclopédique*, the list of functions, titles and membership of academies is in danger of swamping the title-page. In the case of the latter though there is more justification for Millin's apparent lack of modesty – by proclaiming the number of societies to which the editor was affiliated, the journal itself was seen in a better light, since a learned society with which the editor was associated would clearly have an interest in it. By listing these connections which he entertained with much of scholarly Europe, Millin could hint at quite how wide was the network not only of the potential readers but also of the potential contributors. Such a display thus helped to back his claim that the journal was allowing readers to be informed of the vast majority of the academic and scientific work going on in Europe.[79]

One sure example of Millin's pride can be given: he had devoted much time and money to assembling a very good library, and he was always keen to advertise the fact.[80] It was not, however, only vanity which encouraged him to open this collection up to all those who wished to use it. He considered that allowing others to consult his books was a natural extension of his pedagogical activities, and thus made no secret of the fact that visitors were welcome to come to his rooms in the Bibliothèque impériale. Some conditions were imposed, and in his archives is to be found a rather charming item, a copy of the 'Reglements interieurs pour la Bibliotheque de M. Millin.' According to this document, Millin's library is "ouverte aux amis de M. Millin, aux scavants, aux gens de lettres et aux artistes à qui il a accordé l'entrée et l'usage." There follows a list of rules for use of the library, and the reminder that

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[78] COURIER 1834, vol. 3, p. 358.

[79] The full list is extensive and covers a wide number of European countries. See further the dossiers in the BNF, Cabinet des manuscrits, fonds français 24675–24676.

[80] The sale catalogue of his library runs to over three thousand items: CATALOGUE 1819.

the manuscripts and engravings are also available for consultation under the same conditions.[81] At the entrance to the library a large plaque with a Latin inscription was displayed.[82] Reichardt gives a wonderful account of the atmosphere in Millin's cabinet, with an interesting description of the scholar himself:

> "Ganz anders ging es mir mit Millin, dem bekannten Antiquar und Herausgeber des *Magasin encyclopédique*, dessen wöchentliche literarische Gesellschaft ich letzt besuchte, und in welchem ich einen alten steifen Gelehrten zu finden dachte. Er ist ganz das Gegentheil davon. Ein kleiner, äusserst lebhafter und berühriger Mann, von feiner, überall hinspürender Physiognomie, die durch einen schwarzen krausen Tituskopf noch pikanter wird. Keine Minute steht er auf demselben Fleck. Eh' er die Antwort auf seine kurzgefaßte, abgebrochne, schnell hingeworfne Frage erhalten kann; hat er sich schon auf dem Absatz umgedreht und spricht, oder zeigt einem Andern schon wieder etwas anderes vor. In seiner Mittwochs Abendgesellschaft, die sich von sieben bis zehn zu versammeln pflegt, bietet er Reisenden und auch pariser Literatoren einen angenehmen Versammlungspunct dar."[83]

Other scholars were also to record their impressions of Millin. After a visit to Paris, Auguste Campe wrote to Böttiger to give him a short account of Millin's daily life.[84] In these few lines, in the course of which he describes Millin as being "ein feiner, lebhafter Mann von etwa 38 Jahren", he comments that he met the "Brüder Millin und Winkler", an allusion to the fact that both men were freemasons.[85] Many such descriptions are to be found in the

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[81] BNF, Cabinet des manuscrits, fonds français 24705, fol. 119r.

[82] KRAFFT 1818, p. 38:
QUISQUIS. INGENUUS. HOC. MUSARUM. SACELLO | DELECTARIER. HONESTE. CUPIAS | HAS. LEGES. PERPENDIER | RECTE. SCIENS | NUNQUAM. NEGLIGITO | DE. REGIBUS. RERUMVE. MODERATORIBUS | NIHIL. NISI. HONORIFICE. LOQUUNTOR | DE. PRIMO. SEDENDI. LOCO | NULLA. SIET. QUAESTIO | OMNES. LIBERALIUM. DOCTRINARUM. ARTIUMQUE. CULTORES | QUI. DULCI. CAMAENARUM. MELLE | SUNT. NUTRITI | QUOS. DILEXIT. DIVUS. APOLLO | VEL. MNEMOSYNA. SANCTA. FOVET | IN. VENERANDA. LITTERARUM. SODALITATE | SUNT. PARES | IN. RE. ALIENA. TEMERE. CURIOSI | BLATTERONES. INEPTI. INSULSE. LOQUENTES | PALPATORES. IMPORTUNI. OFFICIIS. TRISTES | CONTRACTA. FRONTE | CENSORES. ADUNCO. NASO. PROCUL. ELIMINANTOR | MORDERE. ET. QUIDQUID. SALEM | INURBANUM. SAPIT | PENITUS. INTERDICITOR | QUAE. IN. PROXIMA. TABELLA. GALLICE. SCRIPTA | DE. LIBRIS. CODICIBUS | AC. TOTA. ERUDITA. SUPELLECTILI | STATUTA. SUNT | INVIOLATE. OBSERVANTOR | HIS. LEGIBUS. UTERE. MECUM.

[83] REICHARDT 1804, vol. 1, p. 66; letter dated November 12 1802.

[84] Auguste Campe to Karl August Böttiger, 1798, in: KIENTZ 1939, pp. 135–6, p. 135.

[85] Millin was a member of the Loge du rit écossais philosophique en France: see MAÇONNIQUE 1812, p. 30: Millin as 'adjoint'. See also BNF, Cabinet des manuscrits, FM[1] dossier 4, liasse 2, docs. 84 and 106, where Millin is named as "2[e] surveillant". The question of whether or not he was part of the famous Loge des Neuf Sœurs cannot be answered with any certainty: Amiable (on Barruel's authority) believes that he was, whereas Porset in his notes to the latest edition of this work is less convinced. See AMIABLE 1989, p. 249 & p. 352. Also BARRUEL 1798, vol. 5 (1799), p. 85.

works of the time, since there were few scholars who visited Paris and did not meet Millin. And most found him to be affable, lively and generous with his knowledge, agreeing largely on this point with the appreciation that Louise Fusil gave of her friend's character:

> "Millin était un homme d'un commerce agréable, savant sans pédanterie, d'une activité inconcevable, faisant marcher ensemble des habitudes de société et son travail d'antiquaire du cabinet des médailles à la Bibliothèque Royale, dont il était conservateur; ses cours de botanique, d'antiquités, d'histoire naturelle, ses recherches sur les manuscrits et son Magasin encyclopédique. Son aimable caractère, sa gaîté inépuisable, le faisaient rechercher des jeunes femmes, parce qu'il les amusait."[86]

A life devoted to work, but not to the exclusion of social activities; an ability to produce a considerable number of publications, not all of which are exempt from criticisms with regard to the quality of the scholarship. Such was the man whose ultimate ambition was to popularize knowledge, to open art history to a wider audience and to introduce into France the main currents of European culture and scholarship of the time.

[86] FUSIL 1841, vol. 1 (1841), p. 126.

Chapter 4.
THE DILEMMA OF DESTRUCTION

"Frappé de la sublimité et de l'excellence des raisons que vous venez d'alléguer à l'assemblée législative, pour enlever du milieu du peuple et faire fondre ces statues qui déshonorent tant de places publiques, je ne puis que vous applaudir."[1] With these words, Chrisosthôme Alethes ("golden-mouthed truthfulness"), the pseudonymous author of a satirical pamphlet, launched a swingeing attack against the parliamentarian Marie Joseph Lequinio. Shortly before the publication of this pamphlet, Lequinio had presented to the Assemblée nationale a project for the destruction of all public monuments in bronze. His avowed aim was the abolition of gold and silver coins, and their replacement with a single copper coinage. Countering any who might argue that there would be insufficient primary materials to implement this scheme, Lequinio replied that merely by melting down the statues of the kings, those "monstruosités [...] idoles de la superstition politique, ces colosses élevés par l'adulation, pour consacrer l'antique esclavage des Français", which constituted an insult to any French citizen, plentiful supplies of bronze would be available.[2] The idea was certainly appealing at this time and entirely in tune with increasingly anti-monarchical sentiments. That Lequinio's estimate of the quantities of metal that could thereby be gained was not entirely accurate was later to be pointed out by Mercier in *Le Nouveau Paris*:

> "Le jour que l'on mit bas toutes ces statues des rois, je vis la multitude dans un singulier étonnement: c'était de voir que ces bronzes n'étaient pas massifs, et que les flancs du cheval de bronze n'avaient guère que l'épaisseur d'un écu de trois livres; elle ne revenait pas de sa surprise, et comme elle comptait sur une émission presque infinie de pièces de six liards, elle éprouvait une sorte de chagrin d'être détrompée, et elle disait: 'Quoi! Cela était si creux?'"[3]

Maybe Lequinio was unaware of the treatise by Pierre-Jean Mariette, concerning the statue of Louis XV, which proved just how little metal was going to be provided by the statues, or maybe he would not have been bothered even if he had known it.[4] His wish was to see them

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[1] ALETHES 1792, p. 1.

[2] GAZETTE NATIONALE 1789, vol. 12 (1842), no. 99, April 8 1792, pp. 69–70, meeting of April 7 1792.

[3] MERCIER 1798, vol. 1, no. 28. Reedition in PARIS LE JOUR 1990, p. 400.

[4] MARIETTE 1768. See also article 'Bronze' in ENCYCLOPÉDIE 1751, vol. 2 (1751), pp. 436–43 & 'Sculpteur', 'Sculpture' in ENCYCLOPÉDIE 1751, vol. 14 (1765), pp. 816–43, complemented by a series of plates in the *Recueil de planches*, vol. 8 (1771).

removed since they were no more than "monumens d'esclavage"; in the name of liberty and of equality, he stated, all such statues should be permanently banished from French soil.

Unlike Mercier, Alethes did not choose to condemn this plan by recourse to the practical argument that the statues would not yield as much bronze as Lequinio claimed. Instead, in an elegantly-constructed *reductio ad absurdum*, he explained what would be the logical conclusion of the parliamentarian's plan. After refuting the idea that the existence of gold and silver currency was a sign of an enslaved people, adducing in his favour the example of the English, the Dutch and the Swiss, Alethes then turned his attention to Lequinio's call for the destruction of bronze monuments in order to achieve "égalité" in France. Were this really to be achieved, argued Alethes, then it should be an "égalité parfaite", and for this the mere destruction of several bronze statues would not be sufficient.[5] All palaces should also be demolished.[6] Even this would not, however, solve the problem. The city of Paris could no longer be allowed to stand unscathed, known as it was as "Paris sans Pair"; such an epithet in itself constituted an insult to all other French towns and was therefore incompatible with the idea of "égalité". Once Paris had been destroyed, other towns would then rise to a more exalted position, and so they too would have successively to be flattened: "nous verrons qu'il est juste de brûler aussi Lyon, Bordeaux, Marseille; ces villes insolentes, décorées de Monstruosités, et presque aussi monstrueuses que Paris, ces villes malfaisantes".[7] By the same logic, any human being distinguishing himself or herself by either intellectual or physical superiority should also be condemned. Finally, as Alethes concluded: "comme les hommes ne sont véritablement égaux que dans le tombeau, faisons de la France un vaste cimetière, comme Jourdan et ses complices avoient commencé d'en faire un du comtat Vénaisain et de nos provinces Méridionales."[8] Powerful images couched in strong satirical language here mark the fears felt by one man when faced by the vandalism that was occurring in France during the Revolution in the name of liberty and equality.

[5] ALETHES 1792, p. 4.

[6] This argument was also adduced by Laureau who replied to Lequinio's speech in the Assemblée: see GAZETTE NATIONALE 1789, vol. 12 (1842), no. 99, April 8 1792, p. 70, meeting of April 7 1792.

[7] ALETHES 1792, p. 5.

[8] ALETHES 1792, p. 6.

Differing reactions

The subject of revolutionary vandalism has often been discussed, frequently leading to heated debate and, in some cases, to the adoption of what can best be qualified as entrenched positions. The discussion is marked by the presence of a number of apparent contradictions which have been characterized and summarized in the following oppositions: 'destruction-conservation', 'destruction-creation' and 'destruction-reuse'.[9] Alethes's opposition to Lequinio's scheme is just one example of the way in which those witnessing vandalism reacted to it. Some, such as Charpentier, were to find the sight of the ruins of the Bastille "consolant" whilst others, such as François Jacquemart, were filled with despair when sitting amongst the ruins of churches.[10] Running counter to the great relief experienced when traces of the past were removed, there was also a feeling of loss, of melancholy, of the risks inherent in destroying such an important heritage. The problem was how to mark the Revolution and the concomitant freedom of the French people without necessarily going to the lengths of the *tabula rasa* approach. "Détruire les statues, ce n'est pas, comme on vous l'a dit, détruire le despotisme: c'est détruire des monuments élevés par les arts, et qui font honneur aux arts" were the words of Reboul on the subject.[11] Nor was this dichotomy of opinion to end at the close of the Revolution. Nineteenth- and early twentieth-century historians were equally prepared to exalt or to denigrate the perpetrators of these destructive acts.[12] More surprising, maybe, is to see that the question of an individual's attitude towards vandalism was not necessarily guaranteed to remain constant throughout the Revolution. Even an author such as Millin, apparently committed to the preservation of monuments, was prepared at one time to preach for their destruction.

Contemporary reactions

Destruction was inherent to the Revolution from its very earliest days. Almost immediately after the capture of the Bastille, the decision to demolish the building was taken. Crowds gathered to watch: "Quatre cents hommes travaillent à la démolition de la bastille […]. Un peuple immense l'environne et contemple avec une douce complaisance les ruines de ces lourdes tours, […]. Chaque bloc de pierre qui se précipite dans les fossés fait pousser

[9] This chapter owes much to the brilliant study of the problem in POMMIER 1991A.

[10] CHARPENTIER 1789, vol. 1, p. 3; JACQUEMART 1792, 'Avant-propos', p. [i]. See *infra*, pp. 117–18.

[11] ARCHIVES PARLEMENTAIRES 1969, vol. 47, p. 109.

[12] DESPOIS 1868; GAUTHEROT 1914.

des cris de joie."[13] Other authors confirmed the symbolic importance of this act of destruction. For Charpentier, the author of *La Bastille dévoilée*, the need for the work was more than apparent, and the vocabulary that he uses to describe it is forceful: "Est-il un spectacle plus consolant pour un citoyen français que celui de voir anéantir cet antre ténébreux? Chaque pierre que l'on détache semble, en roulant dans le fossé, emporter avec elle un soupir et un gémissement."[14] Even the fact that, as was seen on July 14, the feeling of menace had been largely symbolic – there were only seven prisoners inside and the defenders capitulated very quickly – did not negate the significance of the event. The important fact was that not only had it been taken but it was also to be demolished. Emotions were running high in Paris at this time and the destruction of a building that had inspired such hatred over so many centuries, a building that symbolized the tyranny exercised by the French kings in their oppression of the people, was not to be regretted.[15]

This was to be only the first of many acts of demolition and destruction, and voices soon began to be raised in opposition. Alethes chose satire as his weapon. Others, such as François Jacquemart, preferred to express their dismay at the destruction of buildings and works of art in more melancholic tones. Writing at almost the same time as Alethes, he presented in the opening paragraphs of his book a bleak picture of the current state of Parisian churches. In his view, centuries of tradition and history were soon to be lost :

> "J'ai vu pour la dernière fois les Monumens de la piété de nos peres; ces voûtes antiques, ces Murs sacrés sur lesquels la main lente du temps avoit tracé l'histoire des âges de la Monarchie, et j'ai dit: bientôt ces édifices vénérables ne seront plus, et quelques instants détruiront l'ouvrage des siècles!
>
> "Quel changement! A la place des chefs-d'œuvres de l'art je n'appercevois que des ruines …. Je marchois sur des décombres …. Ici, des autels renversés! Là, des statues brisées, des colonnes mutilées! Et au lieu de ces cantiques sublimes, de ces chants solemnels qui retentissoient dans ces vastes enceintes, régnoit un morne et profond silence … quelquefois interrompu par les cris des ouvriers, ou

[13] CAILLY 1789, quoted by REICHARDT 1988, p. 30. The scene was immortalized by Hubert Robert: 'Démolition de la Bastille', 77 × 114 cm, oil on canvas, Paris, Musée Carnavalet.

[14] CHARPENTIER 1789, vol. 1, p. 3. As Quétel points out this work is "souvent méprisé mais reproduit 'à chaud' un nombre important des archives pillées au lendemain du 14 juillet et jamais restituées": see QUÉTEL 1989, p. 461.

[15] To understand the sense of liberation felt by the French people in July 1789 and the significance for them of the destruction of this building, it is necessary only to consider how many column inches were devoted to it in the press, how many books and pamphlets were published, and how many images were circulating. See, for the engravings, DE VINCK 1909 (reprint DE VINCK 1970), vol. 2, *La constituante* (1909), ch. XIII, 'La prise de la Bastille', pp. 49–110, nos. 1533–1722.

> par les coups redoublés du marteau que répétoit en longs murmures la voix plaintive de l'écho."[16]

The reader finds himself transported into one of those scenes beloved of Hubert Robert, with workers going about their daily tasks against a décor of buildings in a state of ruin, littered with ancient stones turned over on the ground: many of the Roman scenes, for example, and, closer to home, the ruins of the Grande Galerie du Louvre, or the demolition of one of the churches of Paris.[17] All too frequent during the eighteenth century as a *topos* which allowed for the combination of the picturesque with the sublime, and employed thus across the whole spectrum of the arts, the image of the ruin is here brought brutally up-to-date.[18] No longer are these the remains of a long-lost foreign civilization, such as those that could inspire Gibbon to chart the decline and fall of the Roman Empire; these are rather the remnants of contemporary French civilization.[19] As for the silence which now reigns in Jacquemart's scene, punctuated only by the cries of the workers, the image is strangely evocative of one found in a book that had recently appeared in France and had met with considerable critical success: Volney's *Ruines*. At the end of the opening chapter, explaining the inspiration that led him to attack the subject of the fall of an empire, Volney recounted the time he spent in Palmyra where "un vaste silence régnait sur le désert; seulement à de longs intervalles on entendait les lugubres cris de quelques oiseaux de nuit et de quelques chacals …".[20]

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[16] JACQUEMART 1792, 'Avant-propos', p. [i]. Jacquemart had previously published a book on the parishes of Paris: JACQUEMART 1791.

[17] Hubert Robert, 'Vue imaginaire de la grande galerie du Louvre en ruine' (1796) 114.5 × 146 cm, oil on canvas, Paris, Musée du Louvre; Hubert Robert, 'Démolition de l'église des Feuillants' (1797) 137 × 105 cm, oil on canvas, Paris, Musée Carnavalet.

[18] See especially the seminal study on the subject by Roland Mortier: MORTIER 1974. For a good synthesis of the problem see JUNOD 1997, pp. 955–8.

[19] "It was among the ruins of the Capitol that I first conceived the idea of a work […]": see GIBBON 1910, vol. 6, p. 570. And the ruins offset by the sublime canticles, the solemn chanting which Jacquemart remembers are similar to Gibbon's moment of inspiration in the Forum of Rome, the moment of inspiration that was to lead him to chart the fall of another great empire, that of Rome. "It was at Rome, on the fifteenth of October, 1764, as I sat musing amidst the ruins of the Capitol, while the barefooted fryars were singing Vespers in the temple of Jupiter, that the idea of writing the decline and fall of the City first started to my mind": GIBBON 1896, p. 362. Not of course, that Jacquemart was aware of this particular passage in Gibbon's autobiography, which was only published posthumously in 1799.

[20] VOLNEY 1820, p. 7.

The historians' reactions

Similarly, a double discourse has marked much of the subsequent work on vandalism. The issues are not quite the same: unanimity has been reached on the fact that there were indeed buildings, monuments and works of art destroyed at this time. There is also agreement on the point that these acts of destruction sadly deprived France of a part of her artistic heritage and constituted a significant loss. Nevertheless, the blame that should be apportioned and the gravity of the situation are not seen in the same way by the two main camps. For the republican apologists of the Revolution in general and of the Jacobins in particular, the destructive effects of the period have been vastly exaggerated. Thus it was that, for example, Eugène Despois could publish a book entitled *Le vandalisme révolutionnaire*, whose sub-title reads *Fondations littéraires, scientifiques et artistiques de la Convention*.[21] For Louis Réau, a staunch opponent of Despois and his school, "le vrai titre serait *Défense et Illustration du vandalisme révolutionnaire*".[22] Despois's main thesis is that the French Revolution had been responsible for more good than bad in terms of France's cultural heritage; he opens his book with a series of chapters on the developments in education and then turns his attention to the Institut and to the founding of museums. Not that the theme of vandalism is entirely absent from his work; in a short aside, covering only half of one chapter, a total of seven and a half pages, he does consider attacks on works of art, presenting his ideas under the rather innocuous title of "Destructions diverses". He begins this section with the following words: "Je ne prétends pas d'ailleurs qu'il n'y ait pas eu un moment où de nombreux actes de devastation furent commis à Paris et ailleurs: ce fut lorsque le culte de la Raison fut inauguré, le 10 novembre [1793]".[23] In the footnote added to this sentence he begins to backtrack, citing as a source for his statement a chapter of Louis Blanc's *Histoire de la Révolution*, and then including the following appreciation of Blanc's work: "Je crois seulement que l'éminent historien a trop exagéré le dévergondage et les folies passagères qui signalèrent cette courte période."[24] Within the space of only a few pages he thus evokes and dismisses the main problems, and then returns to the main thesis of his book, artistic encouragement and progress during the period.

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[21] DESPOIS 1868. A number of editions appeared before the end of the nineteenth century.

[22] RÉAU 1994, p. 543, no. 1. This is a revised and enlarged version of a work originally published in the 1950s – RÉAU 1958.

[23] DESPOIS 1868, p. 216.

[24] DESPOIS 1868, p. 216, note 1. Despois was here referring to BLANC 1847.

Forty years later, Despois was to be countered by a determined opponent in the shape of Gustave Gautherot. Gautherot chose to produce a work on an ambitious scale, which he entitled *Le vandalisme jacobin*, a title reminiscent of that of Despois's book.[25] For Gautherot, just as for his predecessor, the sub-title of the work was equally programmatic, albeit diametrically opposed: *Destructions administratives d'Archives, d'Objets d'Art, de Monuments religieux à l'époque révolutionnaire.* In the preface to his book, after stating that some have attempted to deny the revolutionary government's encouragement of vandalism, he names the main object of his criticisms – Despois.[26] His words are hardly equivocal: "Il y a un demi-siècle, dans un livre ironiquement intitulé *le Vandalisme révolutionnaire*, Eugène Despois, fils pudique de la Révolution, a essayé de jeter sur les hontes de sa mère un manteau d'épaisses équivoques".[27] Over the course of the book, examining a number of themes and several different regions of France, Gautherot then attempted to prove quite how devastatingly thorough and resolute had been the Jacobin policy of vandalism.

Such references could, again, be multiplied, but the dossier has already been examined in considerable detail.[28] Jules Guiffrey gave a succinct comment on the question and on the future directions which would, he hoped, be taken in the subject: "On verra en outre la difficulté d'arriver à une certitude historique, malgré l'abondance des documents, quand chacun travaille à l'envi à dénaturer les faits ou à les dissimuler, plutôt par un effort naturel et inconscient de parti que par calcul et par plan arrêté".[29] The major problem facing the historian is that there are certainly elements of truth in both representations of the revolutionary years – those produced by the detractors and those produced by the apologists. That there were buildings, works of art and monuments that were subject to outrages and were destroyed, lost for ever, is a fact that is, as has been seen, denied by neither side. But there were also more positive features of the revolutionary discourse on arts. These came not only in terms of new productions and institutions, the focus of Despois's attention, but also in a number of measures taken both to prevent excessive losses and to ensure a suitable new

[25] GAUTHEROT 1914, p. vi. Within the space of one year, three editions of this book were published.

[26] "Mais on a nié, et on nie encore l'application gouvernementale et systématique de ces principes": see GAUTHEROT 1914, p. vi.

[27] GAUTHEROT 1914, p. vi.

[28] See especially BACZKO 1983, esp. pp. 195–7; also HERMANT 1978 and POULOT 1997, pp. 22–35.

[29] GUIFFREY 1868, p. 3. The publications that he reviews are: DESPOIS 1868, HEILLY 1868, GRÉGOIRE 1867, LABORDE 1867.

destination for works of art and monuments of the past. This was, after all, the time when a first 'commission des monuments' could be set up in France.[30] Admittedly, this was not solely a result of a determined effort made by revolutionary authorities or individuals: without the considerable advances that had been made throughout especially the latter half of the eighteenth century in terms of the contemplation and the understanding of works of art, this would have been much more difficult. The most determined efforts made by revolutionary figures would have been almost impossible to implement in the absence of certain mechanisms that had already been prepared through the Enlightenment discourses on art and education.[31]

Problems

a. the extent of the destruction

Even now, the full extent and range of revolutionary vandalism has never been definitively established, rendering it almost impossible to give an approximate quantitative analysis of the damage caused at the time. As early as 1849, Eugène Delacroix, after reading the *Description de Paris et de ses édifices* (1808) by Legrand and Landon, noted in his *Journal* that "il serait curieux de faire un travail sur cette matière pour édifier sur le résultat le plus clair des révolutions".[32] Réau quoted this, adding that the work had not yet been accomplished when he himself was writing (in 1958).[33] Thirty years later, in 1988, Michel Morineau noted that, despite Réau's contribution, the situation had scarcely improved and that there was still no exhaustive survey of revolutionary vandalism: "il serait souhaitable de dépasser le stade de puzzle incomplet sur lequel nous restons désespérément bloqués depuis trop d'années".[34] An overall survey would demand, as has often been pointed out, considerable resources.[35] A number of syntheses do give a good idea of the scale of the

[30] This is the thesis of RÜCKER 1913. Most recently it has been developed by POULOT 1997.

[31] See GUILLERME 1965; POMMIER 1989. Amongst the most important forerunners to revolutionary institutions and perceptions of art were authors such as Winckelmann, Hagedorn, Diderot and Addison. For the development of these ideas see BECQ 1994.

[32] DELACROIX 1980, p. 214.

[33] RÉAU 1994, p. 234.

[34] Michel Morineau, "L'enquête sur le 'vandalisme révolutionnaire'", in: VANDALISME RÉVOLUTIONNAIRE 1992, pp. 127–9, here p. 127.

[35] SOUCHAL 1993, p. 10, points out that "plusieurs vies d'érudits n'y suffiraient pas".

damage inflicted during this period.[36] Such efforts are also hampered by the very fact that, although the perception of works of art was a question that was being addressed prior to this period, there was very little in the way of inventories. An extensive collection of drawings of the monuments in France had existed since the beginning of the eighteenth century – the Gaignières collection – but this was by no means encyclopaedic, and the intervening years had, of course, seen a considerable number of modifications.[37] Without precise indications as to the riches of France before the Revolution, it is very difficult to be able to ascertain with complete precision what was lost.[38]

One fact is clear, and that is that the revolutionaries have suffered from a very bad press, since much of the destruction of France's monumental heritage has been unjustly laid at their door. Despois provided a table of the number of churches destroyed in Paris, based on research carried out by Frédéric Lock who had established that a total of 130 ecclesiastical buildings had been destroyed in Paris between 1790 and 1861.[39] Of these only fifty-seven were destroyed at the time of the Revolution, whilst the Consulat and the Empire witnessed the destruction of a further twenty-six such buildings. Surprisingly, however, Despois did not choose to develop any further this argument over whether or not vandalism had occurred at other periods in history. On the side of the detractors, Gautherot did devote chapters to this question, but almost entirely to prove that the revolutionary period was much darker than any other: after mentioning the ravages of the 4th and 5th centuries A.D., he concluded with the words "c'est en vain qu'on accolerait au nom d'un Hébert celui d'un Constantin ou d'un Théodose".[40]

The earliest works on the history of vandalism in France were in effect aimed at producing a general record of damage in France throughout the centuries. Ten years before Delacroix made his observation, a first project for a survey of vandalism had been produced,

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[36] The best syntheses are RÉAU 1994 and SOUCHAL 1993. To these should also be added, for Paris, FIERRO 1989 and, for a number of detailed studies of individual regions, VANDALISME RÉVOLUTIONNAIRE 1992. These works can then be complemented by a large number of further regional studies.

[37] On Gaignières, see *infra*, ch. 6, pp. 227 ff.

[38] See Annie Regond, "'Vandalisme révolutionnaire' et protection du patrimoine pendant la Révolution française: pour une enquête nationale", in VANDALISME RÉVOLUTIONNAIRE 1992, pp. 131–41, p. 131: "On oublie trop souvent que l'état exact du patrimoine, […], n'est absolument pas connu avec précision lorsque commence la Révolution".

[39] Frédéric Lock worked extensively on the history of Paris. Amongst his publications is LOCK 1855, republished five years later: LOCK 1860.

[40] GAUTHEROT 1914, p. 4.

by a scholar named Rey.[41] Unfortunately this work, presented during a meeting of the Société Française pour la conservation des Monuments on January 24 1839, was never completed. He explained that he was hoping to write a history of French vandalism from the sixteenth century until his own time, and appealed for the members of the society to communicate to him any information that they might have on destroyed monuments and works of art. The moral value of such a work was given as its main justification: in his view this survey would, at the same time as being a valuable historical source, aid in the battle against vandalism. He hoped "que la rougeur en puisse monter au front de quiconque n'aurait point encore compris ce qu'il y a de honte à faire supporter à d'innocentes et insensibles pierres, la haine dont on est animé contre une religion de paix, contre un passé de gloire".[42] But this was neither a discourse aimed specifically at highlighting the problems of revolutionary vandalism, nor a means of attacking the Jacobins. It was, rather, a matter of common concern at the time; certainly this was a moment when interest in such questions was likely to be running particularly high since, in 1830, the post of Inspecteur des Monuments historiques had been created. Seven years later, on August 10 1837, the government issued a circular advising the municipalities of the creation of the Commission des Monuments, which occurred on September 29 of that same year.[43] These official measures thus predated Rey's project by just two years and his scheme appeared in what was only the fifth volume of the newly-created *Bulletin monumental*. Others were also concerned by the question at this time: Rey mentions in his text the attempts of de Caumont to bring vandalism to the attention of the French people.[44] Further notable detractors of vandalism at this time were Victor Hugo and Charles Forbes, comte de Montalembert.[45]

Montalembert's essay on vandalism first appeared in the *Revue des Deux-Mondes* in 1833, in the form of a letter addressed to Victor Hugo: the choice of dedicatee is explained in the first paragraph where the author addresses Hugo as "vous qui, le premier en France, vous

[41] He is otherwise unknown.

[42] REY 1839.

[43] See CHOAY 1992, pp. 112–13; BERCÉ 2000, pp. 24–5; LENIAUD 1994, p. 34.

[44] CAUMONT 1830. Less expensive and thus more accessible works by Caumont were: CAUMONT 1836 ("Extrait des 4^{e} et 5^{e} parties du 'Cours d'antiquités monumentales' professé en 1830 par le même auteur") and CAUMONT 1850.

[45] HUGO 1833; reprinted in HUGO 1857, part 5 (1860), *Littérature et philosophie mêlées*, pp. 279–304.

êtes constitué le champion de cette cause."[46] Montalembert's great contribution to the study of vandalism came not only in the wealth of details that he provided, but also because he attempted to establish a typology of vandalism.[47] He identified two main categories of vandalism, "vandalisme destructeur" and "vandalisme restaurateur"; within each of these two categories he then presented a hierarchy of vandals.[48] In his first category, destructive vandalism, the order of importance of the vandals is as follows: government, mayors and municipal authorities, owners, church authorities and "en 5^{e} lieu, et à une très grande distance des précédens, l'émeute".[49] In his second class, the order has changed slightly, to read as follows: church authorities, government, mayors and municipal authorities, owners. This is followed by the succinct and dry comment: "L'émeute a au moins l'avantage de ne rien restaurer".[50] Over the next pages, he quotes examples of the damage inflicted by each of the agents that he has named in his lists, analysing the reasons for the actions and the consequences for France's heritage. His main aim is the denunciation of the vandalism of his own epoch, although he does allude to earlier instances of the destruction or clumsy restoration of monuments. Unfortunately for the historian of revolutionary vandalism, however, he passes no judgement on popular uprisings and their effect on works of art: "Je n'ai rien à dire de ma cinquième catégorie, de l'émeute. Elle ne se laisse pas analyser."[51]

b. vandalism or iconoclasm?

Associated as it is with mindless destruction, the word 'vandalism' has become, over the two centuries since its creation, a pejorative term. Many attempts have been made to analyse the idea, by historians, art historians, psychologists and sociologists. But the results have never been entirely convincing, and it is notable that during the important conference in Clermont-Ferrand devoted to the destructions during the French Revolution, a consensus of opinion was not reached. A common feature of many of the debates recorded in this volume

[46] This essay on vandalism was then republished, with other pieces, in MONTALEMBERT 1839, pp. 1–69; the reference to Hugo appears p. 1.

[47] On Montalembert the most important study remains that of LECANUET 1895.

[48] MONTALEMBERT 1839, p. 11.

[49] MONTALEMBERT 1839, p. 11.

[50] MONTALEMBERT 1839, p. 11.

[51] MONTALEMBERT 1839, p. 45.

is the question: “But is that really vandalism?”, “How far can one qualify an act of that type as being vandalism?”[52]

The question here is how far the historian who examines the destruction of monuments and works of art during the Revolution can actually reject the use of a word coined at the time.[53] Amongst the revolutionary neologisms, ‘vandalism’ is no doubt the one with the most successful and the most contested history. Its success can be measured not only by its incorporation into the daily language and its regular usage, including a number of derived forms, but also by the fact that it has managed to pass almost directly and without significant modification into many languages.[54] The abbé Grégoire, famous for his unequivocal contributions to the debate concerning vandalism during the revolutionary years, himself commented in his *Mémoires* that “l’expression nouvelle créée par moi a été sur-le-champ naturalisée dans toutes les langues cultivées de l’Europe”.[55] A further indication of its success is the very fact that contestations have arisen over its parentage, with both Lakanal and Grégoire keen to prove that they were the creators. That the latter was responsible is no longer in doubt, and his famous phrase “je créai le mot pour tuer la chose” is now accepted as an honest representation of the facts.[56] There are, nonetheless, those who claim that the word ‘vandalism’ is unsuitable to describe the damage inflicted on monuments and works of art during the French Revolution. Since the attacks were motivated less by a sheer, blind passion for destruction for the sake of destruction, than by a desire to achieve the total obliteration of the symbols of the old order, there is considerable justification for preferring the word ‘iconoclasm’.[57] The use of this word would set the destruction perpetrated throughout France

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[52] VANDALISME RÉVOLUTIONNAIRE 1992, *passim*, for example, pp. 30–3, 177–81, 211–12, etc.

[53] As Serge Bianchi notes: “la notion de ‘vandalisme révolutionnaire’ conserve un singulier pouvoir de séduction que ne gommeront pas les ouvrages manichéens sur la question”. See BIANCHI 1988, p. 198.

[54] Amongst the derived forms in French: vandaliser, vandaliste, vandalique (which have all fallen into almost total desuetude). In English the form is “vandalism”, in German “Vandalismus” and in Italian “vandalismo”.

[55] GRÉGOIRE 1840, vol. 1, p. 348. On Grégoire see GUILLAUME 1901, MAROT 1980.

[56] “Je créai le mot pour tuer la chose [...]”: GRÉGOIRE 1840, vol. 1, p. 345. The word first appears in GRÉGOIRE 1794, p. 9: “L’on ne peut inspirer aux citoyens trop d’horreur pour ce vandalisme qui ne connoît que la destruction” (the italics are in the original text). Lakanal’s claim, found in LAKANAL 1838, that he first used the word in his report of June 6 1793 – LAKANAL 1793 – which, in addition, he predates to June 4 1793 is clearly untrue. The phrase “outrages de l’aristocratie” in the original report was amended to “outrages du vandalisme” in an attempt to lay claim to the invention of the word.

[57] Such would be the claim of, for example, IDZERDA 1954. Gabriele Sprigath concludes a brilliant study on revolutionary vandalism with the words “Il vaut mieux se servir de la notion d’iconoclasme pour éviter toute ambiguïté”: see SPRIGATH 1980, p. 534. Dario Gamboni devotes a short passage to a discussion of the two words and other alternatives: GAMBONI 1996, pp. 17–20.

during the revolutionary years on the same footing as that which had already occurred there and in other European countries during the Reformation, and in the Byzantine Empire during the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. Those who argue against the use of iconoclasm to describe what was happening in France during the last decade of the eighteenth century base their argument on the fact that 'iconoclasm' in its strictest sense should only refer to images and not to monuments.[58] Certainly this is the meaning attributed to it in the *Encyclopédie*, where an 'iconoclaste' is defined as being a 'briseur d'image' and is restricted to the domain of ecclesiastical history: amongst examples of iconoclasts are named "les Albigeois & les Vaudois, les Wiclesites, les Hussites, les Zvingliens & les Calvinistes".[59] Given this exclusively ecclesiastical association for the word 'iconoclasm', it would have been virtually impossible for Grégoire, the Catholic priest who was the first to swear to the Constitution civile du clergé in December 1790 and was soon after to be elected *évêque constitutionnel*, to denounce 'iconoclasm' in 1793. The very use of the word with its strong Catholic associations would not only have laid him open to accusations of denouncing the revolution as victimizing the church, but would also have tended to minimize the force of his argument. Any use of this word with its concomitant reminders of the theological disputes of the previous centuries would have held very little water in a revolutionary environment. But a word was needed, and a word that would have the desired effect.[60] Whilst "destructions de monuments et d'œuvres d'art" may well have been exact, it scarcely possessed the force, the pungency to inspire his audience. To use a twentieth-century neologism to describe Grégoire's eighteenth-century one, he needed a soundbite.

What Grégoire unfortunately neglects to explain either in this passage or in his memoirs were his reasons for the choice of the morphemes which compose the word that he created. The suffix '-isme' is quite straightforward. As for the choice of the Vandals, this is not quite so evident. References to the tribe, sometimes alone, sometimes in company with the Goths or the Visigoths, had already been made by a number of speakers at the Assemblée, amongst them Sergent, Chénier and Romme.[61] Interestingly enough, the Vandals were not included in the list of iconoclasts appended to the *Encyclopédie* entry "Iconoclasme". But the

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[58] VANDALISME RÉVOLUTIONNAIRE 1992, p. 30.

[59] ENCYCLOPÉDIE 1751, vol. 8 (1765), pp. 487–8.

[60] On the discourse on vandalism during the Revolution, see especially BACZKO 1988.

[61] See POMMIER 1991A, pp. 126 & 135.

peoples who are named would not have provided Grégoire with a very harmonious word; as has been remarked on a number of occasions, the combination that he chose was probably the most euphonic possibility.[62] Jean-Louis Jam's analysis of the word is perspicacious: " […] 'vandalisme' est un terme bien différencié mais surtout constitué d'éléments sonores qui s'articulent en un anapeste bondissant et persuasif pour s'achever sur l'accent péremptoire du suffixe. […] Cette pertinence rhétorique du mot 'vandalisme' n'est nullement exclusive d'une pertinence historique qui, si elle existe, reste à découvrir."[63]

Rhetorically speaking Grégoire may have been on safe ground, but historically speaking his choice of the noun Vandals was less sure. Whilst the Vandals were certainly assimilated with the general notion of the barbarians, and more especially with the Goths, as having had little respect for the arts, there is certainly no evidence to prove that their name was synonymous with widespread destruction of monuments and works of art.[64] Voltaire may well have used the term "du Goth et du Vandal" to qualify those who did not cultivate the arts in contrast to the "vrais Français qui aiment les arts et les encouragent", but Diderot preferred the words "barbare" and "barbarie".[65] Such prejudices were not, however, entirely accepted, and by the last decades of the eighteenth century these convenient stereotypes were being called into question. It is interesting to note here a text which appeared in 1774, a history of church architecture throughout the centuries, written by the père Avril.[66] The treatise is completed by a section entitled "Dissertation sur les vrais Destructeurs des grands Edifices de l'ancienne Rome".[67] Over sixty pages are devoted to an attempt to prove that the Goths and Vandals had been unfairly accused of having destroyed Rome, and that the Romans had themselves been responsible for many of the losses.

> "Il règne parmi les Gens de Lettres, & sur-tout parmi cette foule d'hommes qui n'en sont que les échos, un préjugé aussi ancien que la renaissance des Arts: c'est que les Goths & les Vandales ont été les Destructeurs des grands Edifices de

[62] Most recently in Catherine Volpilhac, Dany Hadjadj and Jean-Louis Jam, "Des Vandales au vandalisme", in VANDALISME RÉVOLUTIONNAIRE 1992, pp. 15–27, p. 23.

[63] See C. Volpilhac, D. Hadjadj and J.-L. Jam, "Des Vandales au vandalisme", in VANDALISME RÉVOLUTIONNAIRE 1992, pp. 15–27, p. 23, note 32.

[64] See MICHEL 1988A and MICHEL 1981.

[65] Voltaire, letter dated June 20 1733, in VOLTAIRE 1977, vol. 1 (1977; Bibliothèque de la Pléiade 162), *décembre 1704 – décembre 1738*, 343; Denis Diderot, "Essai sur le mérite et la vertu", in DIDEROT 1875, vol. 1 (1875), *Philosophie*, p. 142.

[66] AVRIL 1774 (see DOBAI 1975, vol. 2, p. 395).

[67] AVRIL 1774, pp. 287–347.

> l'ancienne Rome. Ce préjugé est parti de Rome moderne, qui ayant beaucoup à se reprocher sur ce point, a rougi de ses torts, & a rejetté sur autrui des fautes qui lui appartiennent en grande partie."[68]

The responsibility of the Romans for the destruction of works of art was, according to Avril, multifarious. Just before the barbarian invasions they had attempted to buy off the leader of the Goths, Alaric, by destroying all the precious statues and works of art, melting them down and paying him the huge sum of money he was demanding to lift his siege.[69] Over the course of later centuries they had destroyed buildings in order to erect others, for reasons of space or to provide materials for new constructions.[70] In a interesting twist of rhetoric, and apparently convinced that pillage was not such a heinous crime as was the destruction of a building, and certainly more profitable, Avril comments that "il n'est pas probable que ceux-ci [les Goths et les Vandales] perdissent à détruire de solides édifices, un tems qu'ils pouvoient employer plus utilement au pillage."[71] The sentiment expressed here was not entirely new. Several years before this, the abbé Barthélemy, on his return to Paris after a journey to Rome, had presented to the Académie des Inscriptions a paper in which he included the following comment:

> "On attribue communément à la fureur des Barbares la ruine des plus beaux édifices de l'ancienne Rome. Je pense que c'est une erreur: des soldats avides de butin n'avaient ni le pouvoir ni le loisir d'abattre des monuments si solides. L'ignorance, l'intérêt, les guerres particulières des seigneurs romains, ont presque tout détruit. Dans une lettre manuscrite, qui se trouve au trésor des archives à Rome, et qu'on m'a communiquée, il est parlé d'un accord projeté entre les chefs des factions qui déchiraient cette ville; on y voit, entre autres articles, que le Colysée sera commun aux différents partis, et qu'il sera permis d'en arracher les pierres. Ainsi, ce monument que les Barbares avaient respecté était déjà regardé, dès le XIV^{e} siècle, comme une carrière propre à fournir d'excellents matériaux."[72]

Barthélemy's observation about the relative responsibilities of the barbarian invaders and the ecclesiastical authorities for the destruction of Rome was, of course, being made at a time when the Vatican was making a determined effort to prove its concern for the conservation of the fabric of the city. The Valenti decree of 1750 reiterated and reinforced the four that had

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[68] AVRIL 1774, p. 287.

[69] AVRIL 1774, p. 294.

[70] AVRIL 1774, pp. 316 & 334.

[71] AVRIL 1774, p. 300.

[72] BARTHÉLEMY 1765. Quoted in BARTHÉLEMY 1878, here pp. 105–6.

already been passed in the first half of the century prohibiting the quarrying of stone and any unofficial excavations.[73] This revised view of the blame to be apportioned to the Vandals was clearly beginning to gain some ground since, ironically as it turned out, Louis XVI is reported to have said "On se trompe sur les Vandales; ils n'étaient pas si barbares qu'on le croit".[74]

Some years later, and only four years after Grégoire's first use of the word 'vandalisme', a similar sentiment was expressed by a German scholar, Friedrich Johann Lorenz Meyer. In his *Fragments sur Paris*, he was to question the viability of the word, claiming that it resulted from a misconception of the actions of the Vandals, what he described as a "tradition vague et sans fondement".[75] Whether or not he knew Avril's and Barthelémy's works is not clear, but his argument was remarkably similar. In his view the destruction caused by the Vandals in Italy during the fifth century was nowhere near as terrible as that seen in France over the last few years:

> "Jamais dans l'Italie conquise ce peuple n'a commis les excès que des hordes de barbares, guidés par l'ignorance brutale, le fanatisme politique, l'intérêt particulier, la cupidité et l'avarice ont commis en 1793 et 1794, dans leur propre patrie."[76]

His wish was that authors would avoid the word since it proved to be historically inaccurate and a "véritable injure faite à la mémoire des vandales."[77] In a neat play on logic he pointed out that the Vandals, and in particular Genseric, had preserved many items of artistic interest in order to be able to take them back to their homeland. His conclusion was thus that Genseric could most closely be compared with Napoleon who was flattered with the titles of amateur and connoisseur. Millin was clearly sympathetic to the views expressed in this piece, deciding to include it as an article in the *Magasin*.

Two case histories

Such then are the problems associated with an attempt to assess revolutionary vandalism. A close examination of the arguments that were being used at the time is instructive, allowing the historian to identify the main currents of thought at the time, and

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[73] See the full text of the Valenti decree of 1750 in FEA 1802, pp. 105–15. See LEISCHING 1979.

[74] AMPÈRE 1857, p. 332. Quoted in: BARTHÉLEMY 1878, here pp. 105–6. Ampère justifies his citation of Louis XVI by describing him as "qui, comme on sait, s'occupait beaucoup de géographie et d'histoire".

[75] "Sur le mot: vandalisme", in: ALM MAGASIN 1795, année 3, 1797, vol. 6, pp. 373–5, p. 374. MEYER 1798.

[76] ALM MAGASIN 1795, année 3, 1797, vol. 6, pp. 373–5, p. 374.

[77] ALM MAGASIN 1795, année 3, 1797, vol. 6, pp. 373–5, p. 375.

also the responses to a number of questions raised. The basic issues that need to be considered are the reasons being advanced for the acts of destruction, the alternatives that were proposed and the main reactions. It will become evident that it is decidedly not easy to identify certain opinions that were held throughout the entire period and that certain protagonists varied their responses according to the progression of the Revolution and the development of their own ideas. As Guiffrey said, it is necessary to consider the circumstances in which actions were occurring and decrees being passed. Without this, he feels, it is almost impossible to reach any kind of a reasoned conclusion. Here two cases will be examined: the planned erection of a monument in 1793 and the decreed abolition of the symbols of feudalism.

a. *tabula rasa*

When it was decided in autumn 1793 that a monument should be erected to commemorate the triumph of the French people, the artist Jacques-Louis David suggested the construction of a colossal *Peuple français en Hercule*. No sculptor himself, he appealed to artists to submit their designs for the monument in accordance with the specifications laid out in his speech of 17 brumaire an II [November 7 1793].[78] Standing on a large stone pedestal decorated with bas-reliefs, the bronze, fifteen-metre high figure of Hercules should with one hand be leaning on his club whilst in the other he should carry representations of Liberty and Equality. Four inspirational words were to be placed in suitable positions on the statue: 'Lumière' (reason) on his forehead, 'Nature' (nature) on his chest, 'Force' (strength) on his arms and 'Travail' (work) on his hands. Hercules, subduing enemies with a blow of his club, was a clear declaration of the Jacobins' unwillingness to accept any opposition to the pursuance of their policies; he had replaced the female allegorical figure of Liberty as the symbol of the Revolution.[79]

As was so often the case with projects of this type during the Revolution, David's plans came to nothing. Some idea of the projected statue of Hercules can, nevertheless, be gained from looking at later projects, such as the engravings that show the statue erected for

[78] See GAZETTE NATIONALE 1789, vol. 18 (1841), no. 49, 19 brumaire an II [November 9 1793], p. 371; no. 59, 29 brumaire an II [November 17 1793], p. 455.

[79] See ROBERTS 1989, pp. 70–2, HUNT 1984, pp. 96–8, esp. p. 96; POMMIER 1991A, pp. 176–7; WILDENSTEIN 1973, cat. no. 666, p. 70; EITNER 1970, vol. 1, p. 141; DOWD 1953. The figure of Hercules had already been proposed as an allegory of Switzerland in Alexander Trippel's sculpture of 1775: see TRIPPEL 1993, no. 3, pp. 42–7.

the festival of the Être suprême on 20 prairial an II [June 8 1794].[80] The non-completion of the project is far less important than is the fact that it could have been proposed, and that David managed, in a short but succinct passage suitably clad in revolutionary rhetoric, to evoke three elements heavily laden with symbolic meaning.

The first of these comes in the choice of the materials for the construction of the pedestal: the destroyed statues of the kings that had previously decorated the façade of Notre-Dame. During a meeting of the Commune de Paris on 2 brumaire an II [October 23 1793], it was decided that these statues should be removed. The work was carried out rapidly, and only two weeks after their removal had been agreed, David was to propose their use for the base of his planned statue.

> "Les rois [...] avaient placé leurs effigies [...]. Que les débris tronqués de leurs statues forment un monument durable de la gloire du peuple et de leur avilissement. [...] Ainsi, dans Paris, les effigies des rois et les débris de leurs vils attributs seront entassés confusément et serviront de piédestal à l'emblême du peuple français."[81]

Dislodging the statues and then watching them crashing down to the pavement below may well have represented the overthrowing of the monarchy and the freeing of the French people, but for the convinced adept of Robespierre that David was at the time, even this action was insufficient. He wished to ensure that the humiliation inflicted upon these "dignes prédecesseurs de Capet" should be continued: not until the colossal bronze figure of Hercules, symbol of the French people, was seen to be towering over the debris of the statues, and thus, by association, that of the monarchy, would true justice have been seen to have been done.[82] A double blow to the old France was to be struck in this way since the statues of the kings had decorated the façade of the cathedral, the principal seat of the French Catholic church. In David's words, his proposed monumental figure "sera élevée sur les débris amoncelés des idoles de la tyrannie et de la superstition."[83]

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[80] See OZOUF 1989, pp. 172–92.

[81] See GAZETTE NATIONALE 1789, vol. 18 (1841), no. 49, 19 brumaire an II [November 9 1793], p. 371 and WILDENSTEIN 1973, cat. no. 666, p. 70.

[82] Of course this discourse was, as is now known, based on an entirely erroneous identification of the statues, but one that had entered Parisian folklore. For the statues there, despite the learned commentaries of such esteemed historians as Sauval, Montfaucon, Thierry and others, were the statues of the kings of the Old Testament rather than of the kings of France.

[83] See GAZETTE NATIONALE 1789, vol. 18 (1841), no. 59, 29 brumaire an II [November 19 1793], p. 455. The statues of the kings that had been "dans un jour renversés par terre" were left piled up behind Notre-Dame, "entassés derrière l'église, enterrés sous les plus sales immondices": MERCIER 1798, vol. 6, no. 238; in: PARIS LE JOUR 1990, p. 475. Apparently Lakanal-Dupuget, the brother of the *conventionnel* Lakanal,

Reusing parts of dismantled monuments to produce symbols of the new order had been part of the revolutionary spirit from the very beginning. As early as July 1789, a commemorative function had been developed for the debris of the Bastille. Pierre-François Palloy, an entrepreneur, organized the destruction of the Bastille and recuperated from the site any potentially useful materials from which he planned to produce a whole range of souvenirs.[84] Chains and other metal found on the site were used to fabricate medals, paperweights, inkpots and other similar objects, whilst paper was recycled for painted fans and playing cards. Amongst these memorabilia the most famous is certainly the series of miniature Bastilles, each one supposedly carved from a stone of the former state prison.[85] These were distributed, with considerable pomp and ceremony, to each French *département*. In 1793, David felt that the most powerful image of the people's victory over the old order was the reduction of the statues of the kings to unrecognizable fragments, or even to dust. Four years earlier, however, Palloy preferred to represent the same victory by a brilliant synecdochical figure: a building that had terrified by its sheer size was dismantled, and then recreated, now reduced to the dimensions of one of its stones which could be carried by only four men **[Ill. 6]**.

David himself had not, however, always been such a determined proponent of total destruction of the masterpieces of earlier centuries. On June 19 1790, the Assemblée constituante debated, at the request of Alexandre Lameth, the fate of the four chained slaves represented at the foot of the statue of Louis XIV in the Place des Victoires. Lameth argued that the proximity of the first anniversary of the Bastille's capture provided an excellent opportunity to demonstrate the results of the Revolution. Steps must now be taken to purge the country of all reminders of a history that was equated with the subjection of the French people, with their slavery ('esclavage'). The liberty of the populace could not be ensured solely by the institution of new political and social rights; until all traces of the former system were obliterated, there could be no guarantee of a lasting change.[86] With this idea in mind, the assembly passed the following decree:

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gathered together many of the statues and buried them in the foundations of a house that he was building in the rue de la Chaussée-d'Antin. They were discovered there almost two centuries later: see FLEURY 1977.

[84] On Palloy and his models see: Dario Gamboni, no. 325 in EMBLÈMES 1991, pp. 494–6; GARRIGUES 1988, pp. 14–16; TULARD & PARINAUD 1989, p. 34; CARNAVALET 1983, no. 76, p. 90, notice signed by Sophie de Bussierre; GODECHOT 1989, pp. 406–8.

[85] Research suggests that in fact many of these models were created from a type of cement, much more easy and rapid to model, accompanied perhaps by a stone from the Bastille.

[86] Meeting of June 19 1790: see GAZETTE NATIONALE 1789, vol. 4 (1840), no. 172, June 21 1790, p. 676.

> "L'Assemblée nationale, considérant qu'à l'approche du jour qui va réunir tous les citoyens de l'empire pour la fédération générale, il importe à la gloire de la nation de ne laisser subsister aucun monument qui rappelle les idées d'esclavage; qu'il est de la dignité d'un peuple libre de ne consacrer que des actions jugées grandes et utiles, a décrété et décrète que les quatre grandes figures enchaînées aux pieds de la statue de Louis XIV seront enlevées avant le 14 juillet prochain."[87]

Many artists objected to the possible destruction of these figures sculpted by Martin Desjardins; a delegation, headed by David, presented an alternative solution to the Assemblée nationale.[88] In their view the statues should certainly be removed, but should then, denuded of their chains, be used to adorn a new monument bearing inscriptions explaining the modifications that had been made.[89] So, in 1790, David's attitude towards the monuments of the past was that of a wish to conserve them whilst ensuring that their earlier associations were entirely subsumed by a new discourse: "Le patrimoine hérité est soustrait à son histoire et intégré dans une autre histoire".[90] Three years later, the same David was not to be quite so forgiving towards the statues of the kings.

The second element in the scheme for the statue of Hercules that shows a similar desire to eradicate the memories of the past comes in the choice of the position for the new monument: the location was to be in the centre of Paris, on the Pont-Neuf. This was one of the main thoroughfares of the city. Louis-Sébastien Mercier claimed that there was no better way to ensure a meeting with the person for whom one was looking than to walk there for just one hour each day. For him the analogy was clear: the importance of the Pont-Neuf for Paris was as that of the heart for the human body.[91] As a means of attaining maximum visibility for the statue, David had thus chosen well.

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[87] Decree passed during meeting of June 19 1790, see GAZETTE NATIONALE 1789, vol. 4 (1840), no. 172, June 21 1790, p. 680. Quoted in GAUTHEROT 1914, p. 21. For an analysis of this, see especially POMMIER 1991A, p. 33.

[88] Meeting of June 28 1790, see GAZETTE NATIONALE 1789, vol. 4 (1840), no. 181, June 30 1790, p. 746.

[82] Letter from Restout published in GAZETTE NATIONALE 1789, vol. 5 (1841), no. 208, July 27 1790, pp. 231–2.

[90] POMMIER 1991A, p. 35.

[91] MERCIER 1782, vol. 1 (1782), no. 50. Reedition: PARIS LE JOUR 1990, pp. 57–8: "Le Pont-Neuf est dans la ville ce que le cœur est dans le corps humain, le centre du mouvement et de la circulation: le flux et le reflux des habitants et des étrangers frappent tellement ce passage, que pour rencontrer les personnes qu'on cherche, il suffit de s'y promener une heure chaque jour."

But the significance of the Pont-Neuf lay not only in the fact that it was a busy street. On this very spot had stood, for almost two centuries, another bronze statue – that of Henri IV on horseback. During the frenetic days following the riot at the Tuileries and the suspension of the monarchy on August 10 1792, the statues of the kings were systematically destroyed. Whereas the overturning of many of them was carried out summarily, the case of the equestrian statue of Henri IV was, if the statement made by the representatives of the section Pont-Neuf to the Assemblée législative is to be taken at face value, the subject of some hesitation: "C'est à regret que nous l'avons abattu, car les vertus de ce roi nous ont arrêtés quelque temps."[92] For Henri IV had been regarded as the most enlightened of the French kings, and as Mercier recounted, "Il eût passé pour sacrilège, celui qui aurait insulté naguère à cette effigie; c'était une image, pour ainsi dire, sacrée, et la voilà honteusement mutilée et foulée aux pieds!"[93] But even the popularity of Henri IV and his presentation in the histories of the time as having been amongst the least despotic and the most enlightened kings in France's history was not enough to save the statue from the destructive instincts of the crowds at this time. Just as in the case of the reuse of the shattered statues from Notre-Dame, David's aim here was to mark not only a separation with the past, but also its total eradication. On a spot that was so closely associated with Henri IV that Restif de la Bretonne could even foresee the day when the name of the bridge would be changed to Pont-Henri, David wished to erect a monumental, weighty symbol of the victory over the past that the French Revolution represented.[94]

A third element imbued with revolutionary ideology was present in the Hercules scheme. Above the debris of the monarchy and the church was to tower a massive bronze figure. A colossal figure, it would require many tons of metal, the source of which was to be the melted down cannons of the enemy which had been captured during the recent military campaigns. On April 20 1792, after weeks of demands and counter-demands culminating in the mobilization of fifty thousand Austrian troops on the Belgian border early in April, the

[92] ARCHIVES PARLEMENTAIRES 1969, vol. 48, p. 115. See also POMMIER 1991A, p. 101. The hesitation was, nonetheless, shortlived; as the spokesman continued, no king could be a good king and the very fact that Henri IV had not been elected by the French people made him an enemy to the new French order based as it was on liberty and equality.

[93] MERCIER 1798, vol. 2, no. 45. Reedition in PARIS LE JOUR 1990, p. 404. "On fut indécis si on l'abattrait; le poème de *La Henriade* militait en sa faveur; mais il était aïeul du roi parjure". The poem is Voltaire's *La Henriade*; the "roi parjure" was Louis XVI.

[94] RESTIF DE LA BRETONNE 1788, part 10, no. 233; reedition in PARIS LE JOUR 1990, p. 963: "Je me suis donc trouvé en 1888, au mois d'auguste, sur le Pont-Henri, qu'on appelait alors de ce nom".

French had declared war on Austria and Prussia.[95] Early victories for the French had been followed by a number of reverses, and the defeat at Neerwinden in March 1793 entailed the loss of Belgium. Such details were, nonetheless, of minor importance for the ardently patriotic revolutionary who wished to emphasize the symbolic value of his monument: by incorporating into its structure physical reminders of their downfall, the *Hercules* would mark the victory of the French people over three avowed enemies – the monarchy, the church and the Holy Roman Empire.

It is to be wondered whether David was aware of the irony contained within his suggestion. When the bronze statues in Paris, including that of Henri IV, had been destroyed by the populace, the Assemblée rushed through a decree which partially exonerated the people of their actions.[96] In the introductory paragraphs is to be found the following text: "L'Assemblée nationale […] Considérant que le bronze de ces monuments converti en canons servira utilement à la défense de la patrie, décrète qu'il y a urgence."[97] The contradiction is all too evident: a monument created by Giambologna whose destruction was justified by the country's need to manufacture cannons was, only fifteen months later, to be replaced by one created from enemy cannons.

David's plan was therefore a masterpiece of revolutionary political discourse, even though the idea was certainly not new. The reason for recounting this anecdote in this context is that it helps to illustrate the tensions inherent in the revolutionary discourse on works of art. Throughout this period the debate over the importance of monuments was raging; more particularly, the difficulty of allowing those of the old order, associated with the enslavement of the French people, to sit alongside those of the new order, created to celebrate the liberty that had been achieved since the early days of 1789. Not only the arguments used to justify the destruction or the conservation of works of art, but also the arguments of individual protagonists, can be seen to have altered fundamentally over a short space of time.

b. establishing the limits

[95] See SCHAMA 1989, pp. 587–97. BLANNING 1986.

[96] ARCHIVES PARLEMENTAIRES 1969, vol. 48, p. 135. This decree is anything but clear in its intentions, as has been admirably shown by POMMIER 1991A, pp. 101–3. Throughout the five articles composing the decree there is a constant fluctuation between the notions of destruction and conservation, with an interesting use of the phrase "conservation provisoire".

[97] ARCHIVES PARLEMENTAIRES 1969, vol. 48, p. 135.

Further problems are revealed by the revolutionary discourse concerning coats of arms, condemned for their association with the old, feudal order. On the same day that it was decided that the chained slaves should be removed from the base of the statue of Louis XIV, the debate continued, culminating in the acceptance of a measure that was to have far wider consequences. All symbols of feudalism were henceforth to be suppressed: included in this were the hereditary nobility, military orders, titles, coats of arms and livery.[98] As far as the coats of arms were concerned, the Assemblée constituante saw no problem in abolishing their future production and use. More delicate, however, was the question of what should be done with those which already existed and had been placed on buildings, monuments, works of art and many other objects. In an attempt to legislate for this, and to avoid excessive damage, the Constituante inserted the following clause into the decree: "Sans que, sous prétexte du présent décret, aucun citoyen puisse se permettre d'attenter aux monuments placés dans les temples, aux chartes, aux titres et autres renseignements intéressant les familles ou les propriétés, ni à la décoration d'aucuns lieux publics ou privés."[99]

The underlying ambiguity of the political discourse on monuments and on 'vandalism' is perfectly illustrated by this one example. Coats of arms were no longer to exist and to defile buildings or monuments, since their very presence reminded the French citizens of the former divisions in society. However, no citizen was allowed to damage monuments in churches or public places. Where else except in public places were these monuments to be found which offended the public? Such vacillation on the part of the authorities was not one that was going to help those attempting to ensure the protection of monuments, even if it may have allowed the parliamentarians to sleep easy, convinced that they had not been guilty of inciting the populace to destroy works of art.

Within a few days, disapproval of the decree had been registered from one quarter. Necker published a pamphlet in which he laid out Louis XVI's principal reservations on the subject.[100] After a series of opening paragraphs, clearly designed to appease the revolutionaries, in which many of the achievements of the Revolution are praised for being in

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[98] Meeting of June 19 1790: see GAZETTE NATIONALE 1789, vol. 4 (1840), no. 172, June 21 1790, pp. 676–9.

[99] Meeting of June 19 1790: see GAZETTE NATIONALE 1789, vol. 4 (1840), no. 172, June 21 1790, p. 680.

[100] NECKER 1790, p. [1]: "J'ai été d'avis & avec beaucoup d'insistance, je l'avoue, que le Roi, avant d'accepter le Décret, envoyât des observations à l'Assemblée Nationale; & comme je ne craindrai jamais la publicité de mes actions & de mes pensées, je profite de la permission du Roi, en faisant imprimer ces Observations telles que j'en avois donné le projet."

the interests of the "bien général", Necker then turned his attention to the law on the abolition of titles, names and coats of arms. In his view this law was not to the profit of the populace, "car ce n'est pas lui qui peut être jaloux des gradations honorifiques, établies au milieu des sections de la société avec lesquelles il n'a point de relations habituelles".[101] In an interesting rhetorical exercise, Necker even went so far as to attempt to prove that for the working-classes the abolition of titles and honours would represent a disadvantage. For, as he tried to show, those of the 'peuple' who were employed by a private individual would rather that their employer had a title, since the employees "se plaisent souvent à en recevoir le reflet".[102] According to the arguments presented in this pamphlet, the only class that stood to gain something from this decree was the bourgeoisie: not having achieved quite the position in society which they coveted, they were thus jealous of those who did have honours, titles and the right to decorate their homes with coats of arms. Necker then set out the various arguments that he felt militated in favour of the retention of both the nobility and family names. When he turned to the coats of arms he had a further interesting observation to make: "On apperçoit seulement que, devenues presque libres depuis long-temps, il y a d'autant moins de motifs pour en ordonner la suppression. Rien n'est certainement plus indifférent au peuple que l'existence de ces armoiries; [...]."[103]

The use of the word 'indifférent' here is significant, since Necker's argument would seem to be that there is in fact very little importance attached to these decorations by the average French citizen. It is certainly true that the right to bear a coat of arms had become increasingly common, and that it was no longer a sign purely of the nobility. Such, at least, is what becomes apparent from a reading of the article in the *Encyclopédie*:

> "Armoiries, marques de noblesse & de dignité, composées régulièrement de certaines figures & d'émaux, données ou autorisées par les Souverains, pour la distinction des personnes & des maisons.
> […]
> "Il n'y avoit originairement que les seules nobles qui eussent le droit d'avoir des armoiries: mais Charles V. par sa charte de l'an 1371, ayant annobli les Parisiens, il leur permit de porter des armoiries; & sur cet exemple, les bourgeois les plus notables des autres villes en prirent aussi."[104]

[101] NECKER 1790, p. 4.

[102] NECKER 1790, p. 4.

[103] NECKER 1790, p. 9.

[104] ENCYCLOPÉDIE 1751, vol. 1 (1751), p. 698 (article by M. Eidous).

Even here, though, the banality of the coat of arms is not quite as clearly pronounced as it was to be in England by Gibbon a few years later: "The armorial ensigns which in the times of Chivalry adorned the crest and shield of the soldier are now become an empty decoration, which every man who has money to build a carriage may paint, according to his fancy, on the pannels."[105] Not that the relatively hollow worth of a coat of arms prevented Gibbon from then describing in close detail his own family's device, justifying his conduct with the excuse that there was a "whimsical" anecdote attached to it.[106]

Whether or not Necker was correct in claiming that the existence of heraldic devices left many French citizens with a feeling of indifference is unclear, but this was certainly not the paragraph of his pamphlet that drew the sharpest criticism in the answers that soon appeared from the Parisian printing-presses. A number of authors responded to what they viewed as deliberate provocation on the part of the Swiss banker who was arguing against the abolition of the French nobility. Much of the ensuing debate centred on the question of the true definition of the word 'nobilité'; the *philosophes* were called into service to prove that 'nobilité' depended far less on an accident of birth than on a man's character and the services that he rendered to the nation. Only mentioned in passing, and then only to ensure that every single one of Necker's points has been refuted, the coats of arms are qualified, along with livery, as "débris gothiques" or as "vains hochets de la vanité, attributs gothiques d'une Chevalerie qui n'existe plus".[107] Any possible damage to monuments or buildings occasioned by their removal was not a matter of concern; the only possible long-term implication discussed was the economical one. The abolition of coats of arms and livery might entail the loss of some artisans' jobs; these fears were soon dismissed, since the manufacture of revolutionary emblems would certainly create new employment.[108]

Only two of the texts published in response to Necker's pamphlet dwelt upon the question of the effacement of coats of arms on buildings and works of art. In one of these, the author, despite a general opposition to Necker on most points, including the need to maintain

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[105] GIBBON 1896, pp. 3–4.

[106] GIBBON 1896, p. 4. Gibbon's interest in heraldry must surely be viewed in light of the fact that when constructing his literary genealogy he could boast of an ancestor, the brother of his great-grandfather, who was John Gibbon, the author of a book on coats of arms: GIBBON 1682.

[107] "débris gothiques": CONSIDÉRATIONS NOBLESSE 1790, p. 5; "vains hochets …": ANTHOINE 1790, p. 6.

[108] CONSIDÉRATIONS NOBLESSE 1790, p. 15; RÉFUTATION NECKER 1790, pp. 13–14.

coats of arms in the future, was at pains to reassure the politician that a basic innate respect of tombs would prevent too much damage of those that already exist:

> "Sans doute sa droiture a cédé aux violences qu'il a craint pour les mausolées et les monuments antiques. Le respect des autels et la religion des ombres l'ont troublé: mais je crois que le Peuple, sans être aussi religieux et encore moins aussi philosophe que lui, n'ira pas poursuivre la vanité féodale jusques dans la tombe; la voix des pasteurs défendra cet azile; le silence des morts le protégera encore mieux. Content de voir effacer du frontispice des châteaux et de la pompe des chars, les marques proscrites de la féodalité, le Peuple verra d'un œil indifférent les armoiries funebres: il se souviendra que ce sont des pierres mortuaires qui couvrent des cendres humaines; il se souviendra qu'une tombe est située, selon la belle expression de M. de Saint-Pierre, sur le confin des deux mondes; il se souviendra que dans ces grands tombeaux où les ames hautaines, ainsi que l'a dit Malherbe, font encore les vaines, il ne reste que de la poussière."[109]

Subsequent events were, of course, to prove this author far too trusting in the people's respect both for religion and for the final resting-place of the dead.

The second article which paid more than lip service to the question of the removal of coats of arms first appeared in the *Chronique de Paris* and was subsequently reissued as a pamphlet. Hostility marks this refutation from the opening words where Necker is qualified as the "ministre emprunteur" and his opinions are described as being "dénuées de principes & de raisons".[110] Relevant sentences from Necker's pamphlet are quoted and then decried. Many of the arguments are largely the same as appeared in the other replies, concentrating on the question of nobility, and the impossibility of its coexistence with the new system. Most interesting is the passage concerning the coats of arms. Necker's argument was that the attitude of most French citizens towards these devices was indifference, but that there was a risk that this law might incite the population to destruction and attacks:

> "Rien n'est certainement plus indifférent au peuple que l'existence de ces armoiries; cependant leur suppression peut facilement se lier dans son esprit à d'autres idées, & devenir ainsi un motif ou un prétexte pour s'élever contre ceux qui se détacheroient lentement de ces distinctions inhérentes les unes aux vieilles pierres de leurs châteaux, & les autres aux antiques marbres qui couvrent la cendre de leurs ancêtres."[111]

The words "vieilles pierres de leurs châteaux, […] antiques marbres qui couvrent la cendre de leurs ancêtres" are carefully chosen to appeal to the sensitivity of the reader, evoking images

[109] CORRESPONDANCE ABRÉGÉE 1790, pp. 24–5.

[110] ALM RÉFUTATION 1790, p. 3.

[111] NECKER 1790, p. 9.

of familial piety. Whilst the author of the passage quoted above was adamant that Necker's worries were ill-founded, the author of this second pamphlet had no such scruples. Not only did he refuse to admit Necker's concerns, but he was even convinced that any attacks of this type should not be condemned but rather the opposite:

> "M. Necker craint que les refus d'effacer ces armoiries, ou quelque retard dans l'exécution du décret, n'occasionne des violences. Cette raison est aussi peu fondée en principe que les autres. Nul homme n'a certainement le droit de se faire justice lui-même; mais, enfin, si l'obstination de quelque ci-devant noble lui attiroit un malheur, qui faudroit-il en accuser? la loi qui est juste, qui est pour tout le monde, ou celui qui auroit commis un crime contre la société, en n'obéissant pas à la loi."[112]

Revolutionary principles are to the forefront here, to the exclusion of any historical consideration. If the law has decreed that coats of arms should be removed, then this should be done. In fact, the author did not even plead the more lenient clause offered by the Assemblée in the decree, where it was stated that no citizen should take upon himself the right to attack a monument bearing such devices. Authors of that ilk were not lacking during the Revolution; more surprising, however, is that this passage lauding the rights of the people, and denying the importance of heritage for the French nation was written by Millin, who was only five months later to launch his *Antiquités nationales* as a response to the possible destruction of monuments through revolutionary vandalism.

When Millin presented his work to the Assemblée nationale, he mentioned neither this particular decree, nor his own participation in the debate which it had occasioned. In the prospectus, however, is to be found one passage in which he referred to coats of arms and to his view of them. Here, contrary to his comments made in response to Necker, he did actually show himself aware of the need to leave ancient monuments undamaged:

> "Nous avons laissé subsister les armoiries sur les tombeaux, parce qu'elles tiennent aux anciens monumens que nous avons à décrire, et en font une partie essentielle. Ces armoiries n'appartiennent plus à personne; mais elles étoient celles des hommes que ces tombeaux renferment. L'Assemblée Nationale elle-même, dans son sage décret, à [sic] défendu de troubler l'asile des Morts."[113]

Thus, the argument has been considerably modified. When Millin stated that the coats of arms have been left on the monuments, what he meant was that he had not instructed his artists to remove then when drawing or engraving the tomb or work of art. The reason given for this is simple: "elles tiennent aux anciens monuments que nous avons à décrire, et en font

[112] ALM RÉFUTATION 1790, p. 10.

[113] ALM ANTIQUITÉS PROSPECTUS 1790, p. 3.

une partie essentielle". Here the historical consciousness, and conscience, of Millin is no longer in doubt: if these devices formed, as he feels certain, an integral part of a monument, their obliteration will in some way alter, even deface, the monument. If the monument is not reproduced in its entirety then part of the original intention of the commissioner is necessarily lost, as is also an element of the artist's work. The heraldic devices play, furthermore, an historic, identifying role: on a practical level, the removal of them means that all that is left to aid in the recognition of, for example, a tomb, is the stylized figure (if there is one) and maybe the position in the church. This last means of identification relied, however, on the fact that the position of each tomb in each church had already been recorded. Even this could have been endangered by the fact that if monuments were removed and placed in depots, the very haste with which the operation was conducted could lead to considerable confusion later. Not every church spoliation was carried out under such favourable circumstances as was that of Saint Denis where Dom Poirier was carefully observing and recording the work that was being carried out.[114]

A further problem related to this decree was not spelled out clearly at the time, but soon came to the attention of the authorities, and this was the very ubiquity of coats of arms. The difficulty lay in seeing how many of them should be destroyed, and whether or not it was only the coat of arms itself that should be obliterated. Some believed that the whole object thus decorated should also be destroyed. Picture-frames often bore the coat of arms of the former owner: the argument ran that only the frame but also the picture contained within it, and therefore tainted by association, should be destroyed. Others were less convinced by this rather spurious reasoning and preferred to declare that only the frame should be removed and destroyed whilst the picture itself could and should be conserved. Likewise, book-bindings were often richly decorated with ornate designs surrounding a central coat of arms; but it was just as likely that this cover embellished a work by Rousseau as a book eulogizing the monarchy. As Gilbert Romme pointed out in a report on the question on 3 brumaire an II [October 24 1793], even the archives of the early years of the Revolution would have to be destroyed by this logic, since the paper at that time still bore the king's device.[115]

Responses

[114] For Poirier's report, see BERTHEVIN 1825 and BOUREAU 1988, pp. 73–90.

[115] See ROMME 1793, reprinted in DELOCHE & LENIAUD 1989, pp. 92–9. As has been seen, many of Romme's arguments are also to be found in a pamphlet published only eight days before, on October 16 1793: RENOUARD et al. 1793.

The debates aroused by these and similar cases of vandalism continued, and it was impossible to reach a consensus of opinion on the question. That some measures needed to be taken was obvious, but it was not even certain how this should be done. As early as 1789, an answer was proposed. Charpentier who, as has been seen at the beginning of this chapter, felt that the demolition of the Bastille was a vitally important symbolic act, was at one and the same time concerned about maintaining an accurate historical record of the building.[116] He explained that this was what had motivated him to write *La Bastille dévoilée*, in which he hoped to use written records, combined with the reminiscences of those who were acquainted with the building, in order to produce as complete a description of the building and of its history as he could. This was, in turn, to be complemented by engravings.

Gradually others began to realize the importance of such work. By the autumn of 1790, it was becoming increasingly clear that, after the nationalization of the 'biens ecclésiastiques', there was an urgent need to ascertain which works of art and treasures were possibly going to be lost, and what use could be made of them. The Assemblée nationale asked the artist Gabriel-François Doyen to produce a preliminary report on the works of art to be found in churches. On October 4, François-Marie Puthod de Maisonrouge, a private citizen, came to the Assemblée nationale with the suggestion that, in order to protect the nation's treasures, an inventory should be drawn up and the necessary steps taken to ensure that the most important works of art should be gathered together in what he called a "salle d'antiques" or a "museum".[117] The scale of the work to be undertaken was considerable; that fact, combined with the danger that events might progress too quickly, no doubt motivated the request of Talleyrand, formulated at the Assemblée nationale on October 13 1790. He stressed the importance of works of art for education, and suggested that each département in France should immediately set about drawing up an inventory of the objects that were to be found on their territory.[118] This work should, he felt, be supervised by a commission of scholars drawn from various academies. The idea was accepted; the municipality of Paris and the Comité d'aliénation each established a commission and appointed scholars for the work. These two committees were then united in December 1790.[119]

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[116] CHARPENTIER 1789, p. 4.

[117] See GAZETTE NATIONALE 1789, vol. 6 (1841), no. 279, October 6 1790, p. 47.

[118] See GAZETTE NATIONALE 1789, vol. 6 (1841), no. 287, October 14 1790, pp. 114–15: "Les chefs-d'œuvre des arts sont de grands moyens d'instruction [...] et l'Assemblée nationale ne saurait trop se hâter de fixer sur cet objet la surveillance active des différents corps administratifs du royaume."

[119] TUETEY 1901 (= TUETEY 1973), p. vii.

Even though the group immediately set to work, producing in a short space of time the necessary instructions for the inventory, it was still becoming evident that the speed with which works of art were being destroyed might well render much of their work obsolete.[120] Over the next few years they did meet regularly, and the minutes of their meetings bear witness to the fact that they were attempting to do their best. But there were reasons to believe that this was not necessarily the most efficient way of proceeding with the affair. Already, within a year of the founding of the commission, a critical report was presented by Puthod de Maisonrouge. According to him, the work on the inventories was scarcely satisfactory, and the Commission des monuments should be attempting to find a way of improving the work: "Même le procès-verbal à la main, on a de la peine à se reconnaître dans l'église. [...] Très-peu d'indications, et jamais de suffisantes dans ce qu'elles sont [...]. Quelquefois on prend de la pierre pour du bois, de la terre cuite pour du marbre [...]".[121] The warning was, however, not sufficiently heeded, the complaints continued, and within two years, on 28 frimaire an II [December 18 1793], the Commission des monuments was dissolved and their work entrusted to the Commission temporaire des arts.[122]

More direct evidence of the fact that their work was not progressing fast enough comes, however, in the form of a couple of private enterprises. Perhaps because he felt that his suggestions had not been followed through closely enough, and to show what he had really intended, Puthod de Maisonrouge began to publish a series of articles devoted to buildings in Paris. This publication appeared in eight numbers, and is entitled *Les Monumens ou pelerinage historique*.[123] Another private enterprise also began to appear at almost the same time as Puthod's work, Millin's *Antiquités nationales*. That this too constituted a response to the shortcomings of the Commission des monuments is the impression given in a letter addressed, a few years later, to the Ministre de l'Intérieur. The signatory of this

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[120] INSTRUCTION 1790A, INSTRUCTION 1790B, INSTRUCTION 1791A, INSTRUCTION 1791B; reprinted in DELOCHE & LENIAUD 1989, pp. 50–73.

[121] See GAZETTE NATIONALE 1789, vol. 10 (1842), no. 283, October 10 1791, p. 71.

[122] See MATHIEU 1793, reprinted in DELOCHE & LENIAUD 1989, pp. 100–11.

[123] The publication first appeared in January 1791. The conditions of subscription were printed in each of the issues, and are as follows: "Il paroîtra un numéro par semaine, de 2 feuilles in-8^{o} d'impression chacun. L'abonnement sera: à Paris, 36 l. pour une année, 21 livres pour six mois, 12 livres pour 3 mois; en province, 40 livres pour une année, 24 livres pour six mois, 15 livres pour trois mois." See review in GAZETTE NATIONALE 1789, vol. 7 (1841), no. 79, March 20 1791, pp. 663–4. On Puthod de Maisonrouge see LEX 1915.

document, a certain citoyen Drouhin, makes quite clear the problems that were being faced during the early years of the Revolution:

> "Citoyen Ministre,
> "Peu de temps après la destruction des ordres monastiques et l'abolition de la noblesse l'assemblée Constituante forma une Commission dite des Monumens.
> "La Mission des Commissaires n'était que de conserver; Cependant ils avoient formé le projet d'une description, mais comme les travaux entrepris par des réunions d'hommes sont toujours lents et restent souvent sans exécution par le défaut de concours unanime des volontés; ce projet n'eut aucune suite.
> "Alarmé d'une destruction qui menaçait nos Antiques Monumens, jaloux de conserver à mon pays les restes précieux et épars des actes de nos Pères, je me joignis à un Savant Antiquaire et à force de travaux et de dépenses j'ai publié les Cinq premiers volumes des Antiquités Nationales ou recueil de Monumens […] Par Aubin Louis Millin.
> […]
> "Salut et respect
> "Drouhin".[124]

Such then was the beginning, according to the publisher, of the *Antiquités nationales*. At a time when the governmental commission appointed to protect the monuments threatened by vandalism seemed powerless to react, mired in continual questions of how to proceed and which priorities should be established, two private citizens took up the challenge to produce a possible means of saving France's heritage. There is reason to believe that Millin's initiative was not entirely welcomed by the Commission, possibly because they were aware that his book constituted an implicit criticism of their own lethargy. What is certain is that they were not prepared to grant him permission to have access to various institutions. His request to be allowed to visit the Célestins in Paris was not actually refused, but was rather effectively blocked:

> "Sur la demande faite à la commission par M. Millin, auteur des Antiquités nationales, tendant à ce qu'il soit autorisé à prendre connaissance de la bibliothèque et du trésor des Célestins de Paris pour compléter la partie de son ouvrage où il rend compte des monuments de cette maison, le secrétaire est chargé de lui répondre que la commission n'a aucun pouvoir à cet égard."[125]

That such permission was not necessarily in their power is credible, although they could certainly have facilitated his application to the authorities. An even more transparent sign of their scarcely concealed hostility came almost eighteen months later. Millin asked to be

[124] Archives nationales, F^{17} 1024, dossier 9. There is no indication as to the date, but it must be after September 1798 when the fifth volume of the *Antiquités* was published.

[125] TUETEY 1901 (= TUETEY 1973), p. 16, meeting of January 18 1791.

allowed to become a member of the commission, no doubt confident that the three volumes of the *Antiquités* that he had by that time completed were sufficient recommendation of his qualities. Procrastination was the first response: "Un membre informe la commission du désir qu'a M. Millin d'être admis au nombre de ses membres: plusieurs considérations font ajourner l'examen de cette demande."[126] Ten days later the rebuke was more clearly formulated: "Sur la lecture d'une lettre du Directoire, qui propose à la commission d'adjoindre à ses membres M. Du Theil, la commission a arrêté qu'il n'y avait lieu à délibérer. La commission ajoute à son arrêté qu'elle n'entend rien préjuger, par cette délibération, sur le mérite reconnu de MM. Du Theil, désigné par le Directoire, et Millin, qui a demandé précédemment l'adjonction à la commission."[127] It was no doubt small consolation to Millin that he had been refused at the same time as a candidate proposed by the government. He was, after all, later to find himself appointed to the Commission temporaire des arts, the successor to the Commission des monuments.[128] More important for him, no doubt, was that the *Antiquités nationales*, despite the multitudinous obstacles that he found scattered in his path, were gradually advancing and were beginning to be recognized by a wider number of scholars as providing an important contribution to the protection of France's artistic heritage.

[126] TUETEY 1901 (= TUETEY 1973), p. 93, meeting of May 22 1792.

[127] TUETEY 1901 (= TUETEY 1973), pp. 95–6, meeting of May 31 1792.

[128] See *supra*, ch. 3, p. 93.

Chapter 5.
THE *ANTIQUITÉS NATIONALES*

Business had been much as usual in the Assemblée nationale on December 9 1790. The evening session had begun punctually and the discussions had concerned, amongst other matters, the appointment of the new bishop of the Seine-et-Oise and various financial questions.[1] Following an intervention by a group of Parisian workers requesting the establishment of a new *caisse* in the city, a second deputation was admitted, led by Aubin-Louis Millin. He presented to the assembly the first part of a planned publication on the monuments of France threatened by revolutionary vandalism and requested permission to have access to the 'domaines nationaux' in order to be able to continue with his research.

> "Messieurs, vous avez ordonné la vente des domaines nationaux, et le succès de cette vente assure pour jamais la prosperité de cet Empire régénéré par vos sages décrets. Mais les amis des lettres et des arts et les citoyens jaloux de la gloire de la nation ne peuvent voir sans peine la destruction de chefs-d'œuvre du génie ou des monuments intéressants pour l'histoire; nous avons aussi gémi de l'oubli dans lequel ces monuments allaient être plongés, et nous avons tenté de les lui arracher. Nous venons vous offrir les premiers fruits de notre vaste, pénible et dispendieuse entreprise. Nous vous présentons la première livraison d'un ouvrage intitulé: Antiquités nationales ou recueil de monuments, pour servir à l'histoire générale et particulière de l'Empire français, tels que tombeaux, inscriptions, statues, vitraux, fresques, etc. tirés des abbayes, monastères, châteaux, et autres lieux devenus domaines nationaux.
>
> "Nous ne sollicitons ni privilège, ni secours d'aucune espèce; nous vous demandons seulement, si notre ouvrage vous paraît le mériter, de nous accorder la permission de vérifier tous les lieux claustraux, toutes les maisons nationales, d'y pénétrer sans difficulté, et de nous y livrer sans obstacle à l'objet de nos recherches. (*On applaudit*)."[2]

This first part was devoted to two monuments, both mediaeval, one in Paris and one just outside Paris, one recently destroyed and one in a state of ruin for a number of centuries: the former being the Bastille and the latter the Tour de Montlhéry.[3] That the work was judged to be of national interest was made quite evident in the reply of Pétion, the president of the meeting:

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[1] ARCHIVES PARLEMENTAIRES 1969, 1ère série, vol. 21, December 9 1790, pp. 353 ff. The speech is also to be found in GAZETTE NATIONALE 1789, vol. 6 (1841), no. 345, p. 595, December 11 1790.

[2] ARCHIVES PARLEMENTAIRES 1969, 1ère série, vol. 21, December 9 1790, p. 354. The italics occur in the original text.

[3] These two articles both appeared in their entirety in this part; a third, on the Célestins in Paris, was begun, but continued over the next three parts.

> "L'entreprise que vous avez formée est grande et utile. Sauver des ravages du temps, qui consume tout, ces antiques et précieux monuments du génie, c'est faire des conquêtes à l'empire de la raison. C'est en marquant ainsi tous les pas que l'homme fait dans les routes qu'il parcourt, c'est en fixant ses pensées fugitives et en conservant ses fragiles ouvrages, que l'esprit humain s'avance insensiblement vers la perfection. Il a sous les yeux le tableau vivant des vérités et des erreurs de tous les siècles il évite les unes, il embrasse les autres; ses connaissances s'étendent, s'agrandissent, et il en recule sans cesse les bornes. L'Assemblée nationale se fera toujours un devoir de favoriser les progrès des sciences et des arts, tout ce qui peut illustrer les Empires, et surtout conduire les hommes vers le bonheur; elle est trop convaincue que l'ignorance est la source de leurs maux. C'est vous dire assez l'accueil qu'elle fait à l'ouvrage que vous lui présentez; elle vous accorde les honneurs de la séance."[4]

One month later, on January 13 1791, the president of the Assemblée announced that "MM. Millin et Drouhin font hommage à l'Assemblée de la seconde livraison de leur ouvrage sur les Antiquités nationales."[5]

A further twenty-three parts were to appear, over a total of almost eight years, forming a work in five volumes.[6] Each volume contained on average 400 pages and fifty engravings. The work was offered in two formats – a quarto edition was published first, and by late 1792 there was also a folio version available. Apart from one significant break in the progress of the work, between the completion of the fourth volume in spring 1793 and the publication of the fifth in late summer 1798, the parts were delivered at fairly regular, almost monthly, intervals. The break of five years in the production of the book is largely attributable to Millin's personal circumstances during part of the Revolution. As was seen in his biography, he was imprisoned for a period of almost a year; work on the *Antiquités* was impossible at this time. Immediately after his release from prison came his jobs at the Bibliothèque nationale and at the *écoles centrales*. Apart from a number of articles which he contributed to several journals, this was the period when he published his *Élémens d'histoire naturelle*; he also decided to write the various handbooks to accompany his courses on archaeology at the Bibliothèque nationale and to relaunch the *Magasin encyclopédique*, an enterprise to which he devoted much time.[7]

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[4] ARCHIVES PARLEMENTAIRES 1969, 1ère série, vol. 21, December 9 1790, p. 354.

[5] ARCHIVES PARLEMENTAIRES 1969, 1ère série, vol. 22, January 13 1791, p. 208.

[6] Each of the first four volumes appeared in six parts whereas the fifth (and last) volume was issued in one part, giving a total of twenty-five parts.

[7] ALM ÉLÉMENS 1795; ALM MAGASIN 1795; ALM INTRODUCTION MÉDAILLES 1796; ALM INTRODUCTION MONUMENS 1796A & B; ALM INTRODUCTION PIERRES 1796; ALM ÉLÉMENS 1797; ALM INTRODUCTION PIERRES 1797.

Despite the various projects on which he was engaged at this time, it does seem surprising that he could not simultaneously manage to complete the last volume of the *Antiquités* until four years after his release from prison. Admittedly, his health had suffered whilst he was in prison. Furthermore, France's circumstances in the years immediately following the Terror were scarcely conducive to the publication of illustrated works; Millin commented that "l'impossibilité de répandre des ouvrages un peu considérables, pendant le cours du papier-monnoie et la guerre générale, s'est ensuite opposé à ce qu'il [l'auteur] reprît cette publication."[8] An additional complicating factor was no doubt the loss of some of his papers. The pieces impounded by the revolutionary authorities were not returned in all cases, and Millin's post-revolutionary correspondence informs us that he had at this time lost a number of papers relating to the next volumes of the *Antiquités*. In a letter dated floréal an IV [April 1796], he mentioned the question of the *Antiquités* to a correspondent from Lille, Desmazieres, saying that whilst he was in prison a number of his papers went missing "par suite des visites domiciliaires inventaires &c. &c."[9] Replying to this, Desmazieres assured Millin that he was making his best efforts to gather information on buildings for him.[10] Three further letters exist on the subject of the *Antiquités*, dating from the same period, and between the same correspondents.[11] From this evidence it thus seems likely that the main reason for which a significant break occurred in the production of the *Antiquités* was simply that Millin needed to assemble the relevant documentation. His presence in Paris was essential because of his new job, and he therefore relied on a network of correspondents to carry out the necessary research for him as quickly as possible.[12] It may well be the speed of these

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[8] ALM REVIEW MILLIN 1799A, p. 69.

[9] BNF, Cabinet des manuscrits, fonds français 24683, fols. 280–1, Millin to Desmazieres, letter dated Paris, 9 floréal an IV [April 27 1796]. From the very last article of the *Antiquités nationales* we learn that Desmazieres was the librarian at the Bibliothèque de Saint-Pierre at Lille: ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 5 (1798), art. LXI, 'Bibliothèque de Saint-Pierre à Lille', p. 1, note 2: "Je les [renseignements] dois au citoyen Demazière [sic], bibliothécaire actuel."

[10] BNF, Cabinet des manuscrits, fonds français 24683, fols. 278–9, Desmazieres to Millin, letter dated Lille 23 messidor s. a. [an IV?] [July 10 1796].

[11] BNF, Cabinet des manuscrits, fonds français 24683, fol. 282, Millin to Desmazieres, letter dated s.l. [Paris], 6 messidor s.a. [an IV?] [June 23 1796]; fol. 283, Desmazieres to Millin, letter dated Lille, 30 floréal s.a. [an IV?] [May 18 1796]; fol. 284, Millin to Desmazieres, letter from Paris, s.d. Despite the absence of a year on many of these letters, it is to be assumed that they do in fact date from the same four-month period, and that if arranged chronologically the order should be fols. 280–1, 283, 282, 278–9, with fol. 284 impossible to place, insufficient indications being available.

[12] Such a procedure was scarcely new: by appealing to a network of correspondents, Millin was adopting a technique familiar to many earlier antiquarians, not least Bernard de Montfaucon who had received material for

correspondents in supplying the missing facts that is the most important factor in the date of 1798 for the publication of the last volume.

A further factor corroborates the hypothesis that papers had been lost and that Millin therefore had to search for alternative material. In 1795, in the third volume of the second series of the *Magasin encyclopédique*, appeared a short notice on the *Antiquités nationales*. A reminder that the first four volumes were still available for purchase was followed by a comment on the fifth volume: "Le cinquième volume est sous presse, et sera de beaucoup supérieur aux quatre premiers; il contiendra des descriptions des monumens de la ville d'Amiens, de celle de Chartres et des ci-devant Chartreux de Paris".[13] An author's promises to his publisher or, as in this case, to his readers that a book is almost ready are not unusual, and this advertisement could easily be dismissed as a typical reassuring and simultaneously delaying device. There is, however, a point that demands further attention in this statement, and that is that the promised contents of the fifth volume do not entirely correspond to the book as it was actually published some three years later. Instead of the "monumens de la ville d'Amiens" is to be found only one article on a building in Amiens, the Collégiale Saint-Nicolas **[Ill. 7]**.[14] The Chartreux de Paris also find their place, but there is no presentation of any building in Chartres; most of the volume, with the exception of descriptions of two further churches in Paris, is devoted to various monuments in Lille. Such a complete change in the contents of the book suggests that the original material had been lost and that the 1795 advertisement refers to the first plan for the book, which then had to be modified in terms of the documentation that Millin was actually able to gather together after his period in prison. That a series of articles on various buildings in Amiens was planned by Millin is certain: a set of drawings in the Collection Destailleur contains a number of views of the town and its principal monuments **[Ills. 8–22]**.[15] Many of these drawings bear manuscript annotations by Millin.[16]

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his *Monumens de la monarchie françoise* from many sources. "Les monumens répandus dans le Roiaume me sont venus en foule, & mes correspondans […] m'ont envoié & m'envoient tous les jours de nouvelles pieces souvent inconnues, & toujours propres à enrichir ce recueil": MONTFAUCON 1727, p. [1]. See further *infra*, ch. 6, pp. 201–2.

[13] ALM MAGASIN 1795, année 1, vol. 3 (1795), pp. 286–7, here p. 287.

[14] ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 5 (1798), art. LI.

[15] Fourteen drawings are to be found in the Collection Destailleur (Paris, BNF, Cabinet des estampes, Ve 26i): D 1082, 'Vüe de l'hôtel dit de l'Election, du coté de la Maison Commune' (Limosin del., drawing with watercolour, 1792); D 1103, 'Vüe intérieure de l'Eglise des Carmes à Amiens' (Limozin del., drawing with a wash of China ink, s.d.); D 1104, Monuments, Cathédrale d'Amiens (Limosin del. [?], China ink drawing, s.d.); D 1105, Monuments, Cathédrale d'Amiens (anon., China ink drawing, s.d.); D 1106, 'Tombeau de Godefroy ou

The publisher

Given the absence of evidence in the author's archives, it would seem natural to turn to the publisher of the *Antiquités* in order to reconstruct the history of the publication. But unfortunately this proves to be no more fruitful. Little is known about this figure, Marie-François Drouhin.[17] No trace of him is to be found before 1790: he does not appear in Lottin's list of 1788, either as printer or bookseller.[18] His absence from this list is not conclusive proof that he was not already employed in the book-trade. He may well have been a 'prote' or a 'compagnon' in one of the printing-shops of Paris, or working with a publisher-bookseller.[19] One of the results of the declaration of the freedom of the press in August 1789 was that many such employees decided to chance their hand on an independent basis, no doubt with an eye to profiting from the explosion in the publishing world which was already occurring and was bound, in their view, to continue.[20] Coupled with this optimism regarding the likely demand for printed material was, of course, the abolition of the former limitations imposed on the printing industry by the monarchical government. Until 1789 the number of printers allowed to work in Paris was strictly limited to thirty-six according to a decree passed in 1686 by Louis XIV; to this number must be added the booksellers. Lottin's *Catalogue chronologique des libraires et libraires-imprimeurs* (compiled in 1788) listed a total of 241 people engaged in the book-industry in Paris just before the Revolution. Although it is hard to give precise figures for the numbers working in the various branches of

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Geoffroy, bronze' (Limozin del., drawing with a wash of China ink, s.d.); D 1107, 'Tombeau d'Evrard, bronse' [sic] (Limozin del., drawing with a China ink wash, s.d.); D 1109, 'Développement du Dessein d'un orgue representé sur une tombe en la cathédrale d'Amiens, ciselé sur cuivre' (Limozin del., dessin à l'encre de Chine, s.d.); D 1110, 'Dessein d'une feuille de tombe en l'eglise cathédrale d'Amiens ciselé sur cuivre' (Limozin del., China ink drawing, s.d.); D 1111, 'Cathédrale d'Amiens' [Monument] (Limozin del., China ink drawing, 1793); D 1112, 'Cathédrale d'Amiens' [Monument] (Limozin del., China ink drawing, 1793); D 1113, 'Cathédrale d'Amiens' [Monument] (Limozin del., China ink drawing, 1793); D 1114, 'Vüe de l'Eglise de St. Firmin en castillon, du côté de la Maison Commune' (Limozin del., drawing with watercolour wash, 1792); D 1115, 'Vüe Extérieure de l'Eglise de St. Remy, du coté de la Place' (Limozin del., drawing with watercolour wash, 1792); D 1116, 'Fragment de la principale porte d'entrée de l'Eglise de St. Remy en la ville d'Amiens' (Limozin del., drawing with a wash of China ink, 1792). See DUPLESSIS 1897.

[16] Those with annotations in Millin's handwriting are D 1106, D 1107, D 1109, D 1110, D 1111, D 1112, D 1113.

[17] He does not figure in the 1995 edition of the major catalogue of printers and editors produced by the BNF, MELLOT & QUEVAL 1997, which contains a total of 4,000 notices.

[18] LOTTIN 1789 (reprint – LOTTIN 1969).

[19] For an account of conditions in the printing industry see BARBER 1980. See also MINARD 1989 and CHAUVET 1959. For the day-to-day work in a printing-shop see RYCHNER 1979.

[20] See HESSE 1991, ch. 5, pp. 163–204.

the publishing world during the Revolution, the numbers usually quoted are significantly higher than this. As an example, the *Almanach du commerce pour l'an VII* (1799) identified 339 booksellers and 224 printers working in Paris.[21] Any attempt to give more precise figures is compromised by the fact that many of these establishments were very short-lived, and that there were several waves of creation of new businesses.[22]

Possibly for tactical reasons, Drouhin decided not to specialize in one area and his professional work thus covered a number of activities; Delalain describes him as an "éditeur, marchand d'estampes, et imprimeur en taille-douce et en couleur."[23] He also identified four addresses for Drouhin during a period of activity which extended from 1790 to 1804. In 1790 he was based at rue Saint-André-des-Arts and by May 1797 he was in the Rue de Vaugirard. By October 1801 he had left these premises and was at the Rue Hautefeuille, which is also the address registered in the 1802 edition of the *Annuaire*.[24] References to him in July 1803 and January 1804 show that he had then moved to Rue de Condé, faubourg Saint-Germain.[25] At least one further address can be added to this list: in 1790 the first prospectus for the *Antiquités* said that after Easter 1791 Drouhin would be moving to rue Christine, no. 2.[26] The title-pages of the five volumes of the *Antiquités nationales* confirm these details: on the first volume the mention is: "Chez M. Drouhin, rue saint-André-des-Arcs, N^{o} 92, jusqu'à Pâques, et à cette époque, rue Christine, N^{o} 2." Volumes 2, 3 and 4 bear the address rue Christine, and the fifth volume (1798) shows that Drouhin is by now at "rue de Vaugirard, n^{o}. 1348" **[Ills. 23–5]**. Whilst five addresses in a comparatively short space of time might seem to require comment, a similar mobility within the area of the city of Paris does not appear to have been

[21] See Bernard Vouillot, "La Révolution et l'Empire: une nouvelle réglementation", in CHARTIER & MARTIN 1990, pp. 694–708, p. 695. In the table in the appendix to this article (p. 707) these numbers are slightly modified: 221 printers and 340 booksellers.

[22] According to research by Paul Delalain, between 1790–1813 there were 1,615 establishments which operated in Paris for a shorter or longer period (438 printers and 1,177 publishers or booksellers): see DELALAIN 1899. Carla Hesse revises this figure downwards, proposing a total of 1,224 for a slightly longer period, extending from 1788 to 1813; she identifies 337 printers and 887 booksellers or publishers. See HESSE 1991, pp. 167–70, esp. p. 168, note 13.

[23] DELALAIN 1899, p. 65.

[24] The change of address is noted in the JOURNAL TYPOGRAPHIQUE 1797, 5ème année (1802), no. V, 10 brumaire an X [November 1 1801], p. 40.

[25] The exact addresses are: rue Saint-André-des-Arts, no. 92; rue de Vaugirard, no. 1348, vis-à-vis le garde-meuble, ou vis-à-vis les Carmes; rue Hautefeuille no. 5; rue de Condé, no. 6, faubourg Saint-Germain. See DELALAIN 1899, p. 65.

[26] ALM ANTIQUITÉS PROSPECTUS 1790, p. 4. Delalain does register this in the repertory of addresses at the end of his book, p. 255.

entirely unusual, especially for smaller, less well-established printing-shops and booksellers.[27]

Only one letter written by Drouhin to Millin is to be found in the archives, dating to the period after the Revolution.[28] At this time, in 1811, he was asking Millin to use his influence to help him to procure a "place d'économe dans l'un des quatre nouveaux lycées qui vont être établis à Paris."[29] Judging by this letter, his situation was fairly desperate: he refers to his difficulties as a "malheureux père de famille" who has no hope left except that which "les gens de bien, qui l'honorent encore de leur estime, voudront bien lui témoigner". No doubt to reinforce his claims to a post which involved dealing with the finances in a lycée, he points out that he has never "dévié des principes de l'honneur". Within little more than four years from this date Drouhin had died, but Millin did not neglect his former publisher's family and acted as an intermediary between them and certain influential figures. In February 1815 he addressed a letter to the marquis de Frondeville, thanking him for the assistance that he had offered to one of the sons of the family: "Madame Drouhin sort de chez moi, Monsieur le Marquis, penetrée de reconnaissance pour ce que vous avez fait à l'egard de son fils, vous aurez pu voir en regardant cette malheureuse veuve que c'est une bienfaisance bien placée."[30] This, unfortunately, is virtually all that remains in terms of archival evidence.[31]

That Drouhin should have found himself in financial straits during the early years of the nineteenth century is scarcely surprising: the period was marked by a large number of bankruptcies in this sector. Publishers' and printers' records conserved in the Archives nationales show that at least forty-two publishers, printers and booksellers went out of business over the seven-year period stretching from 1799 to 1806.[32] Financial difficulties

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[27] Consultation of Delalain shows this very clearly.

[28] BNF, Cabinet des manuscrits, fonds français 24684: fol. 68, Drouhin to Millin, Paris, December 16 1811; fol. 69, Millin to Drouhin, Rome, December 29 1811. Despite the possible irregularities in spelling that cannot be excluded even at this period, it seems highly unlikely that the following letters (fols. 71–88) in this volume should be attributed to the same Drouhin. The name appears without the 'h', and the letters concern a legal case: a lawyer by the name of Drouin is known to have been practising in Paris at this time.

[29] BNF, Cabinet des manuscrits, fonds français 24684, fol. 68r.

[30] Millin to the marquis de Frondeville, Paris, February 18 1815: BNF, Cabinet des manuscrits, fonds français 24687, fol. 163v.

[31] Two further letters are available – the one in the Archives nationales addressed to the government explaining the reasons behind the *Antiquités*, and a letter addressed to Drouhin by a certain Desgenete enquiring whether or not the *Magazin encyclopédique* was still being printed, dated May 2 1793, Paris: see BNF, Cabinet des manuscrits, fonds français 24683, fol. 267.

[32] See especially HESSE 1991, pp. 205–8 and Carla Hesse, "Economic upheavals in publishing" in: DARNTON & ROCHE 1989, pp. 69–97, esp. p. 86, a table of bankruptcies by Paris publishers 1770–1806.

must have been the reason for which Drouhin abandoned his earlier career in publishing since it is unlikely that he was directly affected by the law of 1810 restricting the number of printers to sixty, later amended to eighty.[33] He was, after all, a printer of engravings rather than of books, and thus not covered by this legislation. And the number of booksellers was left untouched, as a gesture by Napoleon to the model of the new economic freedom.[34] More likely is that Drouhin was simply no longer able to make ends meet with the meagre revenue he gained from his various activities in the world of books and engravings. His career as a publisher does not seem to have been amongst the most glorious: consultation of various library catalogues and of the *Journal typographique et bibliographique* suggests that his editorial ventures were very limited in number. A closer examination of the projects with which he was involved should help in identifying his main centres of interest, and thus in understanding better the way in which he attempted to exploit what was, after all, a burgeoning market.

A financial venture: the *Grands hommes*

One long-running project undertaken by him was the publication of a series of portrait engravings of the great men of the eighteenth century, called the *Collection des Grands Hommes*.[35] The majority of these were engraved by Pierre Michel Alix after drawings by Jean-François Garnerey.[36] Launched in autumn 1791, the series was finally completed in September 1797 by the publication of the thirty-sixth portrait, that of Jean Racine.[37] In July

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[33] See B. Vouillot, "La Révolution et l'Empire: une nouvelle réglementation", in CHARTIER & MARTIN 1990, pp. 694–708, esp. pp. 698–705. The number of printers was originally set at sixty in the decree of February 5 1810, but one year later this was to be increased to eighty.

[34] See B. Vouillot, "La Révolution et l'Empire: une nouvelle réglementation", in CHARTIER & MARTIN 1990, pp. 694–708, p. 700.

[35] In the advertisement for Drouhin's stock in 1801 this series is given the title of "Collection des Portraits des grands hommes": see JOURNAL TYPOGRAPHIQUE 1797, 5ème année (1802), no. V, 10 brumaire an X [November 1 1801], p. 40.

[36] Pierre Michel Alix (1762–1817) is known mainly for his portrait engravings. See IFF XVIII^{e} 1930, vol. 1, pp. 77–117. For Jean-François Garnerey see Appendix 4.

[37] The full series is as follows (subject, presumed date of publication and entry for the engraving in IFF XVIII^{e} 1930, vol. 1 (1930)). Voltaire (July 1791; IFF XVIII^{e} 1930, vol. 1 (1930), p. 87, no. 25); Rousseau, (November 1791; IFF XVIII^{e} 1930, vol. 1 (1930), p. 88, no. 26); Mably (February 1791; IFF XVIII^{e} 1930, vol. 1 (1930), p. 88, no. 27); Montaigne (April 1792; IFF XVIII^{e} 1930, vol. 1 (1930), p. 88, no. 28); Linnaeus (June 1792; IFF XVIII^{e} 1930, vol. 1 (1930), p. 89, no. 29); Mirabeau (August 1792; IFF XVIII^{e} 1930, vol. 1 (1930), p. 89, no. 30); Fénelon (February 1793; IFF XVIII^{e} 1930, vol. 1 (1930), p. 90, no. 34); Buffon (May 1793; IFF XVIII^{e} 1930, vol. 1 (1930), p. 90, no. 35); Helvétius (May 1793; IFF XVIII^{e} 1930, vol. 1 (1930), p. 91, no. 36); Diderot (July 1793; IFF XVIII^{e} 1930, vol. 1 (1930), p. 91, no. 37); Raynal (August 1793; IFF XVIII^{e} 1930, vol. 1

1792 the addition of the portrait of Mirabeau brought the total number available up to six, the five others being Voltaire, Rousseau, Mably, Montaigne and Linnaeus.[38] Three more were already being prepared – those of Fénelon, Buffon and Helvétius. These had, however, not appeared by November 1792, when a further advertisement for the series still mentions only the first six as being completed and the other three in preparation.[39] The rhythm of production thus seems to have slowed down, since the Mirabeau portrait had been announced only one month after that of Linnaeus.[40] Each of these colour aquatints of the "grands hommes" was presented in the form of an oval measuring nine inches by seven and three-quarters, and was sold at the price of six livres. Alix was renowned for being a master of the technique of colour aquatint, and the editor's advertisement boasts that they were "d'un fini précieux, et de la plus parfaite ressemblance: les épreuves sont tirées sur papier vélin superfin".[41] Unfortunately many of them were destroyed by Alix himself during the Terror, as was explained by Meyer in his *Fragments sur Paris*:

> "Le célèbre graveur Alix a détruit à cette même époque de terreur et de faiblesse la plupart de ses meilleures estampes, surtout les portraits des hommes célèbres, parce qu'on faisait alors des recherches dans les maisons des artistes pour les rendre suspects."[42]

(1930), p. 92, no. 40); Montesquieu (November 1793; IFF XVIII[e] 1930, vol. 1 (1930), p. 92, no. 41); Chalier (autumn 1793; IFF XVIII[e] 1930, vol. 1 (1930), p. 93, no. 42); Corday (December 1793; IFF XVIII[e] 1930, vol. 1 (1930), p. 92, no. 43); Marat (December 1793; IFF XVIII[e] 1930, vol. 1 (1930), p. 93, no. 44); Lepelletier (March 1794; IFF XVIII[e] 1930, vol. 1 (1930), p. 94, no. 45); Barra (May 1794; IFF XVIII[e] 1930, vol. 1 (1930), p. 95, no. 46); Viala (summer 1794; IFF XVIII[e] 1930, vol. 1 (1930), p. 95, no. 47); Descartes (June 1794; IFF XVIII[e] 1930, vol. 1 (1930), p. 96, no. 51); Guillaume Tell (August 1794; IFF XVIII[e] 1930, vol. 1 (1930), p. 96, no. 52); Solon (January 1795; IFF XVIII[e] 1930, vol. 1 (1930), p. 96, no. 53); Lycurgus (March 1795; IFF XVIII[e] 1930, vol. 1 (1930), p. 96, no. 54); Bailly (March 1795; IFF XVIII[e] 1930, vol. 1 (1930), p. 97, no. 57); Franklin (September 1795; IFF XVIII[e] 1930, vol. 1 (1930), p. 96, no. 55); La Fontaine (December 1795; IFF XVIII[e] 1930, vol. 1 (1930), p. 97, no. 56); Lavoisier (September 1795; IFF XVIII[e] 1930, vol. 1 (1930), p. 97, no. 58); Bossuet (March 1796; IFF XVIII[e] 1930, vol. 1 (1930), p. 105, no. 145); Condillac (March 1796; IFF XVIII[e] 1930, vol. 1 (1930), p. 105, no. 146); Boileau Despreaux (May 1797; IFF XVIII[e] 1930, vol. 1 (1930), p. 107, no. 151); Fontenelle (August 1797; IFF XVIII[e] 1930, vol. 1 (1930), p. 107, no. 152); De la Bruyère (August 1797; IFF XVIII[e] 1930, vol. 1 (1930), p. 107, no. 153); Madame de Sévigné (September 1797?; IFF XVIII[e] 1930, vol. 1 (1930), p. 107, no. 154); Molière (September 1797?; IFF XVIII[e] 1930, vol. 1 (1930), p. 108, no. 155); Corneille (September 1797?; IFF XVIII[e] 1930, vol. 1 (1930), p. 108, no. 156); Dalembert (September 1797?; IFF XVIII[e] 1930, vol. 1 (1930), p. 108, no. 157); Racine (September 1797?; IFF XVIII[e] 1930, vol. 1 (1930), p. 108, no. 158).

[38] "Portrait de Mirabeau, chez Drouhin", in: ALM CHRONIQUE 1789, no. 222, July 29 1792, p. 844.

[39] ALM MAGAZIN PROSPECTUS 1792, p. 4. No mention of Drouhin's involvement with these portraits is, however, to be found in the copy of the prospectus for the *Magazin encyclopédique* which appeared in ALM CHRONIQUE 1789, no. 337, November 26 1792, pp. 1323–4.

[40] "Gravure de Linné, chez Drouhin", in ALM CHRONIQUE 1789, no. 170, June 17 1792, p. 676.

[41] ALM MAGAZIN PROSPECTUS 1792, p. 4.

[42] MEYER 1798, vol. 1, p. 21.

The marketing strategy is clear. For various reasons each of the subjects in this series was seen as an important figure for the Revolution – either (as in the case of Mirabeau) through direct participation, or, in the case of the others, through their intellectual work and their publications which had prepared the way for the recent events.[43] In addition, of course, the remains of Mirabeau and Voltaire had already been honoured with the ultimate accolade – burial in the Panthéon; this was an honour that was also to be attributed to Rousseau later in the Revolution.[44] Many, but by far not all of them were French, and just over half were eighteenth-century figures. The series was, according to Renouvier, "destinée à la décoration du modeste cabinet de tout citoyen patriote, et chacun y prenait son saint de prédilection."[45]

Further portraits were later to enrich Drouhin's stock. Whilst they did not form part of the collection of the "grands hommes", there was once more a clear attempt to exploit the market conditions prevalent at the time. In the same technique as the earlier series – colour aquatints – these engravings were slightly larger: "aussi de forme ovale, de dix pouces et demi sur huit et demi, dans un carré long de quinze pouces sur dix trois quarts, à 8 fr. pièce."[46] The subjects mentioned, again engraved by Alix, are Pitt, General Berthier and Bonaparte "en costume de Premier Consul".[47] By this time then, Drouhin had abandoned the intellectuals and political theorists in order to concentrate on the new patriotic cause – the war with Europe – and thus to exploit a rich new source of national interest, which was in turn likely to boost sales. Keen to emphasize the artistic worth of his engravings, Drouhin resorted to a fairly standard, albeit certainly hyperbolic, claim: the portrait of Bonaparte was said to be "généralement reconnu le plus ressemblant de tous ceux qui ont été gravés jusqu'à présent".[48] Also available for purchase were "quelques épreuves du même portrait, en

[43] See VOVELLE 1985, ch. 8, 'Héroïsation et Révolution', pp. 125–40.

[44] Mirabeau's remains arrived at the Panthéon on April 4 1791; Voltaire's remains were buried there July 11 1791. Rousseau's remains were not transferred there until October 11 1794.

[45] RENOUVIER 1863 (reprint – RENOUVIER 1996), p. 252.

[46] JOURNAL TYPOGRAPHIQUE 1797, 5ème année (1802), no. V, 10 brumaire an X [November 1 1801], p. 40.

[47] IFF XVIIIe 1930, vol. 1 (1930), p. 110, nos. 163 (Bonaparte) and 164 (Berthier), p. 112, no. 168 (Pitt).

[48] JOURNAL TYPOGRAPHIQUE 1797, 5ème année (1802), no. V, 10 brumaire an X [November 1 1801], p. 40. This plate may have been signed by Moret, but is in effect only Alix's plate transformed: see IFF XVIIIe 1930, vol. 1 (1930), p. 110, no. 163.

costume de général, et de la même ressemblance."[49] Over the next few years, yet more portraits of Napoleon were to be issued by Drouhin.[50]

Much of his stock of engravings seems thus to have been concentrated on engravings of one genre, that is portraits of famous people relevant to the country's recent history. There were, nonetheless, some departures from this. Two bas-reliefs by Moitte, exhibited at the Salon in an IV, were subsequently engraved by Alix and sold in a limited edition of 400 copies: the titles of these prints, illustrating famed moments of ancient Greek virtue, were 'Avec ou dessus' and 'Je paye l'intérêt de ma mauvaise mine'.[51] In 1802 an announcement appeared concerning the opening of a subscription for an aquatint after Monet, entitled "Le triomphe de la religion en France sur l'Athéisme Révolutionnaire".[52] Again the marketing strategy is clear enough: after a decade of revolutionary atheism, Napoleon had signed the Concordat of 1801, the first article of which declared that "La religion catholique, apostolique et romaine, sera librement exercée en France: son culte sera public […]".[53]

Such attempts to tailor production to the likely demands of the market were not without some element of risk, especially at a time of revolution when new movements and allegiances could develop extremely rapidly. The public could be very fickle, and yesterday's hero all too often turned out to be the next day's enemy, a phenomenon that merited a typically pithy comment from Mercier:

> "O Parisiens! … je vous ai vus, depuis la révolution, promener en pompe dans vos rues les bustes de plusieurs personnages illustres à qui vous prodiguiez vos adorations; je vous ai vus porter dans un temple les cendres de quelques-uns d'entre eux que vous regardiez comme des dieux: un moment est venu, où vous les avez subitement *dédéifiés*. O Parisiens! …"[54]

One case of this, and one which concerned directly Drouhin's publishing enterprises, was Mirabeau. A figure of ill repute at the end of the Ancien Régime, known for a somewhat

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[49] This must refer to remaining stocks of the engraving as first produced and signed by Alix.

[50] 'Napoléon l[er] Empereur des français & Roi d'Italie', (Garnerey pinxit; J. B. Morret Sculpt.) (Paris: chez M.F. Drouhin, Editeur, Rue de Condé, No. 10, an XIII [1805]), 1 colour aquatint; 'Bonaparte 1[er]. Consul' (Appiani pinxit; Moret sculpsit), (Paris: chez Drouhin, Editeur ..., 1803), l colour lithograph.

[51] For these works by Moitte see GRAMACCINI 1993, vol. 2, p. 89, nos. 210–11.

[52] JOURNAL TYPOGRAPHIQUE 1797, 5[ème] année (1802), no. XXVII, 24 germinal an X [April 14 1802], p. 215. For those who chose to take advantage of the subscription offer, the total cost of the engraving would be sixteen francs, half of which was to be paid in advance. Those who waited to see the completed engraving before purchasing it would have to pay the full price of twenty francs.

[53] FIERRO et al. 1995, pp. 646–7, p. 646.

[54] Louis-Sébastien Mercier, *Le Nouveau Paris*, tome III, section 100, in: PARIS LE JOUR 1990, p. 439.

scandalous lifestyle punctuated mainly by love affairs and duels, he quickly rose in national esteem during the early days of the Revolution. Despite the fact that he had aroused the suspicion not only of the monarchical party but also of the National Assembly by the time of his death, he was still regarded with sufficient admiration for the decision that his body should be buried in the Panthéon to be taken only two days later.[55] That was in April 1791, and the cult continued: publications, celebratory busts and engravings ensured an apparently immortal fame. Drouhin certainly felt that the cost of preparing a colour engraving for his series of the great figures of the eighteenth century would be offset by the potential sales. The engraving was launched in July 1792; little was the editor to know that only a few months later, in November 1792, the discovery of the 'armoire de fer' in the Tuileries would finally confirm Mirabeau's betrayal of the French people and his service for the king since spring 1790. As a result of Robespierre's speech on December 5 calling for the removal of Mirabeau's ashes from the Panthéon, the continued inclusion of the latter's portrait in Drouhin's series of the "great men of the eighteenth century" was, to say the least, severely compromised. Such were the vagaries of the publishing world in Paris at this time. It could be argued that this was only one portrait; nonetheless, the necessary outlay for an editor was considerable and for someone like Drouhin, who was probably operating within very tight profit-loss margins, only one false investment could represent the difference between success and failure.

Drouhin and the book market

Apart from these engravings, there is a total of only five books with which Drouhin's name can be associated in an editorial capacity. One of these is a work devoted to theatres and theatrical costumes in two quarto volumes by Jean-Charles Le Vacher de Charnois, entitled *Recherches sur les costumes et sur les théâtres de toutes les nations, tant anciennes que modernes*.[56] The author was essentially a journalist, closely connected with the Parisian theatre world. The son-in-law of the famous actor Pierre-Louis Dubus Préville, he was the editor of the *Journal des théâtres*; he then moved to the *Mercure de France* where he was in

[55] As Simon Schama points out, Mirabeau's chequered personal past did raise questions about his suitability to be the first revolutionary hero buried in the Pantheon, a destination intended only for those of exemplary virtue. "But the great outpouring of lamentation that followed his death so drowned skepticism that even Robespierre and Barnave, to whom Mirabeau's vices had been all too apparent, voiced support for the proposal": SCHAMA 1989, p. 546.

[56] LE VACHER DE CHARNOIS 1790; a second edition appeared some twelve years later: LE VACHER DE CHARNOIS 1802.

charge of the theatre rubric. During the Revolution he was editor of the *Modérateur* (*Spectateur national*), whose right-wing values were to be his undoing. Arrested in the clamp-down on the right-wing press which followed the events of August 10 1792, he was imprisoned and died in the massacre at the prison de l'Abbaye on September 2 1792.[57]

Le Vacher's work was first published in 1790 in monthly parts of four quarto sheets (a total of thirty-two pages) with four engravings, some coloured, produced by Pierre Michel Alix after drawings by Philippe Chéry.[58] A second edition was prepared in 1802 at which time the two quarto volumes, with fifty-six engravings, forty-five of which were colour aquatints, cost forty-eight francs in sheets or fifty-one francs in paper wrappers. The notice in the *Journal typographique et bibliographique* announcing the second edition explains the reasons for its republication:

> "Cet ouvrage est unique en son genre. On ne sait ce que l'on doit le plus admirer du dessein, de la gravure, ou de la partie descriptive. C'est un essai que l'auteur eût peut-être poussé beaucoup plus loin, sans la mort tragique qu'il reçut à l'abbaye Saint-Germain, le 2 septembre 1792. La perte d'un homme aussi précieux pour les sciences et les arts fera naître long-tems des regrets bien amers. La rapidité avec laquelle la première édition de cet ouvrage s'est écoulée, et les demandes réitérées pour une seconde édition, suffiroient seules pour en faire l'éloge."[59]

The other four works with which Drouhin's name can be associated are all by Millin. He published the *Antiquités nationales*, the *Annuaire du Républicain*, and the first series of the *Magazin encyclopédique*. In addition to this he was responsible for the subscriptions for the *Chronique de Paris* over the last few months of its existence, after the destruction of Fiévée's shop by the Jacobin agents.[60] These five works represent all that can be traced to Drouhin in terms of book production. Of course, given the number of pamphlets that appeared during the revolutionary period without an imprint, it cannot be excluded that the

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[57] RABBE et al. 1830, vol. 1 (1830), p. 909; MICHAUD 1843, vol. 7 (1844), p. 672; HOEFER 1854, vol. 9 (1855), col. 951.

[58] LE VACHER DE CHARNOIS 1790, 'Préface-prospectus', vol. 1, p. 7. The cost for a yearly subscription, a total of forty-eight quarto sheets (384 pages) and forty-eight engravings was forty-eight livres. Philippe Chéry (1759–1838), a pupil of Vien was essentially a history and portrait painter. He was a convinced republican, and had been injured during the capture of the Bastille. For his contributions to the Salons during the Revolution, see HEIM et al. 1989, pp. 166–7.

[59] JOURNAL TYPOGRAPHIQUE 1797, 6ème année (Paris, 1803), no. V, 8 brumaire an XI [October 30 1802], p. 35.

[60] Drouhin's name first appears as the person to whom subscriptions should be addressed in the edition of March 14 1793: see ALM CHRONIQUE 1789, no. 73, March 14 1793, p. 292. Until this date, subscriptions were to be addressed to Garnéry. On this same occasion the imprint alters: the name of Fiévée disappears to be replaced by "de l'imprimerie de la Chronique" (as had been the case earlier, from April 18 1790 – May 2 1791).

majority of his production remains lost in the mass of non-attributed works. This would, however, seem to be less than likely given that, with the exception of the two journals, all of the books that can be identified as having been published by him include engravings, and two of them – the *Antiquités nationales* and the *Recherches* by Le Vacher de Charnois – are actually abundantly illustrated.

Most of the publications mentioned above fall in the period 1790–3, apart from the *Annuaire du Républicain* composed by Millin whilst he was in prison and submitted to the Convention Nationale in nivôse an II [December 1793].[61] Drouhin then published this work during an II, with no further precision of date, giving a *terminus ante quem* for its publication of mid-September 1794. The probable last date in this first phase of his collaboration with Millin thus seems to be autumn 1794 and it was not until September 1798, when the fifth volume of the *Antiquités* appeared, that Drouhin's name was once more to be found in the imprint of a book.

Over the next four years Drouhin was occupied with the continuation of the series of portraits, but there is no sign of any continuing association with Millin, who entrusted his works to a number of different publishers. The second series of the *Magasin encyclopédique* was not produced in collaboration with Drouhin. More surprising, perhaps, is that he was not even to be the publisher of the new edition of the *Annuaire*; it came out in 1798 bearing the words "chez Blanchon".[62] All three of the 1796 *Introductions* have the imprint "de l'imprimerie du Magasin Encyclopédique", as does the second edition of the *Introduction à l'étude des pierres gravées*.[63] The association with Fuchs recorded on the title-page of this last work was to continue, since a similar formula appears on the title-page of the 1798 *Description des statues des Tuileries*.[64] As for the first edition of the *Élémens d'histoire naturelle* (1795), it was published by Henri Agasse, the son-in-law of Charles-Joseph Panckoucke.[65] In many ways this was a logical choice, since Agasse was certainly one of the more successful Parisian publishers of the period; Carla Hesse identifies an "élite core of 15

[61] Archives Nationales F^{17} 1008c, dossier 1598. See *supra*, ch. 2, p. 88 & note 192.

[62] For the announcement of this edition see: JOURNAL GÉNÉRAL 1798, prairial an VI [May – June 1798], p. 179.

[63] This last work's imprint is more complicated, stating that the printing work was carried out at the Imprimerie du Magasin Encyclopédique and that the book could be procured from the author, from Fuchs in Paris and from Levrault in Strasbourg: ALM INTRODUCTION PIERRES 1797.

[64] ALM TUILERIES 1798.

[65] (Paris: chez Agasse, an III [1795]); for Henri Agasse see MELLOT & QUEVAL 1997, no. 19, p. 23.

publishing houses", each of which submitted to the dépôt légal from 1793 to 1799 between seventeen and ninety books.[66] Agasse, with twenty-five publications during this period, including several instalments of the *Encyclopédie méthodique*, was among these important publishers.[67] A further point in his favour was that he had long been specialized in the publication of scientific works: amongst the authors on his list were Jean Etienne Montucla, Jean-Baptiste de Monet de Lamarck and Antoine Baumé.[68] The second edition of the *Élémens*, on the other hand, bore only the name of Millin.[69]

The printers

Since Drouhin had only a printing-press for engravings on his premises, he had to contract the printing of the *Antiquités* to a third party. Unfortunately the identity of these printers is rather difficult to establish, since the imprints of the first four volumes indicate nothing more than the name of Drouhin. Only on the title-page of the fifth volume is there to be found the name of a printer: "De l'imprimerie de Testu" **[Ill. 26]**. Laurent-Etienne Testu was a printer and bookseller working in Paris over the last decade of the eighteenth century and the first two of the nineteenth.[70] He took over the presses of the widow of Laurent-Charles d'Houry in 1791.[71] On her husband's death in 1786, Veuve d'Houry had inherited his business, one of the mainstays of which was the annual publication of the *Almanach royal*.[72] Testu continued this, first appearing as the publisher of what was by then the *Almanach national* in 1792. Not that this was his earliest publication: a number of works bearing the date 1791 and the imprint "Imprimerie de Testu" are also known, suggesting that he began his business during that year.[73] He was honoured with the title of 'Imprimeur

[66] See HESSE 1991, p. 178.

[67] HESSE 1991, pp. 188–91.

[68] BAUMÉ 1797; MONTUCLA & LALANDE 1798; MONET DE LAMARCK 1796; MÉMOIRES 1797.

[69] ALM ÉLÉMENS 1797.

[70] See MELLOT & QUEVAL 1997, no. 3622, p. 568. Also see DELALAIN 1899, p. 196.

[71] He married her daughter in 1795.

[72] Laurent-Charles d'Houry (1717?–86) had been the 'imprimeur-libraire' to the duc d'Orléans and to the duc de Chartres. See MELLOT & QUEVAL 1997, no. 2050, pp. 331–2. His wife, Jeanne, née Néra(t), continued his business for five years before passing it over to Testu: see MELLOT & QUEVAL 1997, no. 2052, p. 332; DELALAIN 1899, p. 105.

[73] The following list makes no claim to exhaustivity: ADRESSE 1791B; PÉTITION 1791; RELATION 1791; RÉVOLUTION 1791.

impérial' from 1808–14 and continued publication of the *Almanach* without a break between 1792 and 1821, the year in which he handed over his business to P.-M. Guyot.[74] The range of his publications covers a number of domains, although he seems to have been occupied mainly in the printing of official publications; this work did leave him with the time for other projects, but few of these are on artistic subjects or include a large number of plates.[75]

The four first volumes of the *Antiquités nationales* do not, unfortunately, give any indication of the printer or printers responsible for the work. The absence of ornaments does not allow for this sometimes valuable aid to the attribution of a work to a particular press to be brought into play here.[76] Even in the absence both of this type of evidence, and of any manuscripts relating to the production of the book, one fact can be stated with complete certainty, and this is that there were two separate printing establishments involved. The change occurred in early 1792, midway through the third volume. The sixteenth part of the series, containing articles on St-Benoît de Paris and on various monuments in Rouen, appeared in late March 1792.[77] Only a few weeks later, in mid-April, the seventeenth *livraison* offered two articles – one on the palais de justice in Rouen, followed by one on the church of the Mathurins in Paris.[78] Noticeable here is a change of fount which was clearly not just a temporary measure, but one which continued until the end of the fourth volume **[Ills. 27–8]**.[79] Such a change of fount in the middle of a work, and more especially in the middle of

[74] Mellot and Queval identify two stages to the transfer of the business. According to them, Testu handed over printing to Guyot in 1819 but kept the bookshop until 1821.

[75] Many of his publications contained, as was common at the time, an engraved frontispiece sometimes accompanied by two or three other illustrations. Those that contain a more substantial number of plates are: COURS 1808; HUET 1810; MIONNET 1806.

[76] On the importance of vignettes see: CORSINI 1999. Cf. SAYCE 1966, esp. p. 1: "Of the methods available [for the placing and dating of printed books], the study of type-faces and ornaments requires an expertise which is not always at hand, and the results are sometimes uncertain because of the international trade in type." This observation, relating to the localization within a geographical area of a given book, can surely also be applied to the identification of individual printers, even within one city, especially during a period such as the Revolution when businesses often flourished for a fairly short time, and there were frequent sales and purchases of type stock and ornaments.

[77] Exact date of publication of the *livraison* is, of course, difficult to fix but a review appeared on March 29 1792. See ALM CHRONIQUE 1789, no. 89, March 29 1792, pp. 355–6.

[78] For the review, see ALM CHRONIQUE 1789, no. 110, April 18 1792, pp. 435–6.

[79] The physical structure of the book confirms the theory of a change of printer at the end of the sixteenth livraison. The twenty-six pages of the article on the town clock in Rouen exceeded three full sheets by only two pages. This is not an isolated occurrence in the book, and in most other cases these last two pages would simply have been imposed onto the next sheet, along with the first six pages of the next article. But in this case, a single leaf (a quarter sheet) has been inserted to accommodate the surplus text, thus allowing for the next printer to begin the following article on a fresh sheet.

a volume, by the same printer would be very unusual, attributable only to exceptional circumstances – for instance the loss, during the production of the book, of the original fount. Had this occurred one year later, that is in March 1793, then the destruction by the Jacobins of some printing-shops could be proposed as a reason for this: the first fount having been destroyed then a replacement had to be found.[80] There is, however, no evidence of such attacks in March 1792, and, in consequence, it seems inevitable that this modification must be due to a change of printer.

Whilst the book itself makes no mention of the printers responsible, there does exist a pamphlet which divulges one of the names. At the foot of the prospectus for the first series of the *Magazin encyclopédique*, published in November 1792, is to be found the imprint of this four-page document, which reads: "De l'imprimerie des Antiquités nationales, chez F.M. Boileau, Rue Christine No 2."[81] It must therefore have been F.M. Boileau who took over the work on the *Antiquités* in spring 1792. Boileau is yet another of the figures associated with the enterprise about whom sadly little is known.[82] He was based at the same address as Drouhin and seems to have established himself there only in 1792; no precise date is given by Delalain, but it would be feasible to imagine that it could have been at about the end of the first quarter of that year, almost at the same time as he took over the work on the *Antiquités*. Lottin's *Catalogue* of 1789 identifies one figure with this surname: a certain "Demoiselle M. A. Boileau", the widow of the bookseller Adrien Delévaque, had her premises in the rue des Amandiers.[83] F.M. Boileau (her second husband perhaps, or her son) was in fact not exclusively a printer – in one pamphlet we find the following imprint: "Boileau, Imprimeur-Libraire et Papetier, rue Christine no 2".[84] He may well be yet another example of a bookseller who decided to establish a printing-press in his premises after 1789. His recorded printing activity extends over a two-year period from 1792 to 1793, and the number of works bearing his name is very limited.[85] Of particular interest in this list are clearly the two publications that bear the name of Millin – one by Aubin-Louis himself (the *Rapport sur la*

[80] See for example the complaints of Fiévée, quoted *supra*, ch. 2, pp. 74–5.

[81] ALM MAGAZIN PROSPECTUS 1792, p. 4.

[82] He does not figure in MELLOT & QUEVAL 1997; DELALAIN 1899, p. 34

[83] LOTTIN 1789: 1783 'Boileau'.

[84] ALM RAPPORT 1792A.

[85] Works bearing Boileau's imprint: ALM RAPPORT 1792A; BARROT 1793; BOILLEAU 1793; MILLIN DE GRANDMAISON 1793; GOUGES 1793.

ménagerie) and the other by his brother (the *Projet d'organisation*).[86] To these should also be added the first series of the *Magazin encyclopédique*, of which Boileau printed the first thirty-five numbers: his work on this journal thus extended from the beginning of December 1792 until the end of January 1793.[87] There is no need, however, to posit that he abandoned the printing of the *Antiquités* at the same time as that of the *Magazin encyclopédique*. No internal evidence in the book suggests that there was any change at this time, and the rhythm of publication proves that it would have been in the middle of the forty-sixth article – that on the Carmes of Paris – which makes it even less likely. More reasonable is to see that the change in the printing at this time affected only the *Magazin*: possibly Boileau found his presumably limited resources overstretched when he was trying to print both at the same time.

Two out of the three printers of the *Antiquités* can thus be named, but this still leaves unresolved the identity of the person to whom Drouhin first entrusted the work. Comparison of the layout and of the fount used for his other editorial venture at this time, Le Vacher de Charnois's *Recherches*, indicates that the same printer must have been responsible for the production of the two books. Again, however, archival evidence concerning this work is thin on the ground, and, as in the case of the *Antiquités*, no printer's imprint is to be found. In such cases, a further valuable source of information for questions of this type can be brought into play – the prospectus for the work, where the editor's and the printer's names are often to be found. Unfortunately, the first prospectus for the *Antiquités*, issued in late 1790, mentions only Drouhin, and does not bear the name of the printer responsible either for the planned book, or for the prospectus itself.[88] It was not until the second prospectus, issued in March 1792, and thus only a few weeks before Boileau took over the printing work, that the name of a press finally appeared. According to the imprint, the prospectus issues "De l'Imprimerie de V^{e} Hérissant, rue Neuve Notre-Dame, 20 Mars 1792".[89] Standard practice for the preparation of a prospectus, as laid out in article XIX of the *Code de la Librairie*, was that an editor must accompany the prospectus with "au moins une feuille de l'Ouvrage qu'il proposera par Souscription; laquelle feuille sera imprimée des mêmes forme, caractéres & papier qu'il s'engagera d'employer dans l'exécution de l'Ouvrage".[90] Comparison of the characters used

[86] ALM RAPPORT 1792A; MILLIN DE GRANDMAISON 1793.

[87] As from no. 36 (published *circa* February 1 1793) of this journal, the printer was Fiévée.

[88] Usually, albeit not infallibly, one and the same person.

[89] ALM ANTIQUITÉS PROSPECTUS 1792, p. 4.

[90] SAUGRAIN 1744 (reprint – SAUGRAIN 1971), p. 129.

for the printing of both versions of the prospectus with those of the first sixteen parts of the *Antiquités* reveals that this was indeed one and the same fount, a fount which can also be identified in other works printed by Hérissant at this time.[91] Thus it becomes clear that the first printer employed by Drouhin for both the *Antiquités* and the *Recherches sur les costumes* was the Veuve Hérissant.

Marie-Charlotte-Marguerite Hérissant née Barbry, was the widow of Claude-Jean-Baptiste II.[92] On his death in 1775, she took over his business which she was to continue for the next twenty years. By the time that the *Antiquités* began to appear, she had therefore already been working for fifteen years, and was the accredited printer for the chapitre de l'église de Paris and the Ordre de la Visitation Sainte Marie de France. Before the Revolution she had been involved in a number of larger projects (often in conjunction with her son-in-law, the bookseller Pierre-Théophile Barrois) such as the works of Jussieu, but her activity changed quite considerably after 1789. From this date on, most of her business was conducted on a much less ambitious scale: she abandoned the printing of lengthier works and concentrated her attention on the pamphlet trade.[93] In fact, amongst the works bearing her imprint at this time are to be found no others which are on such an ambitious scale as the works by Millin and Le Vacher de Charnois.

One question does remain. Why is it that an established printer in Paris accepted that her name should not feature on either of these works being produced by Drouhin at this time? A formula of the type "Chez Drouhin, de l'imprimerie de la Vve Hérissant" was, after all, standard at this time, and occurred on the fifth volume **[Ill. 26]**. It is hard to imagine quite why a printer responsible for much of the enterprise during the first part of the Revolution – two prospectuses and two and a half volumes – should have been content with seeing her name appearing only on the second prospectus. Had she wished to avoid any suspicion of direct association with the *Antiquités*, then she would not have allowed her name to appear on the second prospectus. Since, however, this did happen, then it becomes difficult to posit a viable reason for which she should not have wanted her name on all of the volumes that she

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[91] See, for example: CÉRÉMONIES 1782; ADRESSE 1791A.

[92] See MELLOT & QUEVAL 1997, no. 1973, p. 321. Also see DELALAIN 1899, p. 99. She should be carefully distinguished from her homonyn, the widow of Jean-Thomas (I) Hérissant: see MELLOT & QUEVAL 1997, no. 1974, p. 321.

[93] An idea of the type of work that she was producing can be gained from the following list: CHÉNIER 1789; EXTRAIT 1789; AVIS 1790; REQUÊTE 1790; ROUSSINEAU 1791; OUDET 1791; PAUQUET 1791; LACORNÉE 1792. None of these are more than pamphlets.

was printing. After all, the *Antiquités* were a respectable publication: there were no pronounced revolutionary or anti-revolutionary discourses contained in the work which might have encouraged an established printer to caution.[94]

From the foregoing discussion, a chronology for the printers of the *Antiquités* can therefore be established. A first prospectus was published in late 1790, just as the book itself began to appear. This prospectus, the first sixteen parts of the book and the second prospectus were all produced in the printing-shop of Veuve Hérissant in the rue Neuve Notre-Dame, before being sold by Drouhin. Then, in late March or early April 1792, for an unknown reason, Drouhin decided to entrust the further work to Boileau, whose premises were in the same house as were those of the editor himself. Boileau completed the next one and a half volumes, comprising a further eight parts, until his association with Drouhin ended in late spring 1793. Five and a half years later, after the period of abeyance caused by Millin's imprisonment, his new functions and the need to gather material for the last volume to replace the notes lost whilst he was in prison, it was Laurent-Etienne Testu who took over the work for the last volume, published in 1798.

After the appearance of the fifth volume of the *Antiquités*, it was to be another four years before Drouhin undertook the publication of a book, the reissue of the *Recherches sur les costumes* by Le Vacher de Charnois. It was in the very same year, 1802, that a second version of both the quarto and the folio formats of the *Antiquités nationales* also appeared, although not published by Drouhin. The work appeared under an entirely new title, and the "éditeur et propriétaire" was no longer Marie-François Drouhin, but rather Calixte Volland.[95] Thirty-five years later, in 1837, a considerably shorter version appeared, under the title of *Abrégé des Antiquités nationales*.

Towards financial ruin

At first sight the fact that a book went through what would appear to be two editions in two different formats within just over ten years, which were then in turn to be followed by an abridged version less than half a century later, might be seen to represent a considerable success. The opposite was, actually, the case. In the version that appeared in 1802, nothing had been altered in either the text or the plates: the only difference occurred on the title-page,

[94] As was seen in the biography of Millin (*supra*, ch. 2, p. 66), the *Antiquités* were never explicitly cited as being a reason for his imprisonment, unlike the *Chronique de Paris* which clearly aroused the authorities' suspicion of him.

[95] He too does not figure in the MELLOT & QUEVAL 1997. See DELALAIN 1899, p. 206.

since the book was now called *Monumens françois*.[96] Therefore the second "editions" were far from that: they were merely a reissue of stocks that had not been sold with different title-pages showing the name of the new editor and with a modification of the title that represented more of a desperate attempt to sell than a revised version.[97]

Once again, lack of concrete evidence makes it impossible to propose anything more than a hypothesis concerning the reasons for which Drouhin decided to cede his stocks of the *Antiquités* to Volland. Financial concerns were clearly weighing heavily on his mind at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In a letter addressed to the Ministre de l'Intérieur in which he explained the underlying motivation for the project, he also made an impassioned plea for governmental aid:

> "Cette entreprise où rien n'est épargné, digne du 18^{e} siècle, sembloit devoir beneficier à son Editeur, mais la cherté de l'ouvrage necessitée par les Grandes dépenses qu'il a entrainées; l'abandon où se trouve la librairie depuis plusieurs années opéreroient ma ruine totale, après y avoir employé toute ma fortune, si le Gouvernement ne venoit pas à mon secours."[98]

Certainly Drouhin was not, as has been seen earlier in this chapter, the only editor to suffer from the rather difficult economic conditions faced by the French publishing community at this time. He was at pains to point out that the book, which could have been expected to be a success, did demand a considerable investment, and that this, combined with a more general economic crisis in the sector, was enough to push him to the brink of bankruptcy. His solution was to suggest that the government should purchase 240 copies of the book from him: "Cet ouvrage d'une utilité réelle pour les sciences les arts et l'histoire convient parfaitement à toutes les Bibliothèques nationales; deux exemplaires pour chacune paraîtront indispensables [...]; ordonnez Citoyen Ministre qu'il en soit pris 240 exemplaires pour les 120 Bibliothèques Publiques". Aware, nonetheless, that the purchase of so many copies would

[96] ALM MONUMENS 1802A & B. The collation is the same, and comparison of the two texts reveals that exactly the same sheets were used. Attention was first drawn to this fact in two articles dating to the mid-1880s. In August 1883 Paul Lacombe queried the relation between the two versions, having noticed that article 48 (Pont-de-l'Arche) was incorrectly numbered '43' in the 1802 *Monumens* and asking whether the same error was to be found in the 1790 *Antiquités*: see LACOMBE 1883. Some months later, three further notes were published in answer to this question. One, by Lacombe himself, stated that he had been able to "s'assurer de l'identité des deux éditions de cet ouvrage plein d'intérêt". A second, signed 'C.L.', confirmed this. The third, whose author is identified only by the initial 'L.', mentioned two different editions: but the second edition referred to here is not the 1802 *Monumens*, but rather the 1837 *Abrégé des Antiquités nationales*. See LACOMBE et al. 1884.

[97] For the difference between new edition and reissue see for example BOWERS 1986, pp. 77–108. The case here corresponds to Bowers's "Re-issue, 1(c) Cancellans titles to show change in copyright, or name, or place of sale" which can, as Bowers shows, also include the "substitution of a different or improved title" (p. 80).

[98] Drouhin to the Ministre de l'Intérieur, s.d.: Archives nationales, F^{17} 1024, dossier 9. See *supra*, ch. 4, pp. 143–4 & note 124.

represent a considerable expense, he was prepared to offer a practical solution: "je prendrai en échange et d'après une juste estimation, des livres de réforme, dans les dépots littéraires de Paris et qui sont inutiles à la formation des Bibliothèques départementales."[99]

According to a report by Antoine-Alexandre Barbier, the famous bibliographer, this request was then transmitted to the Conseil de conservation, of which he was himself a member.[100] The Conseil refused Drouhin's offer of an exchange, citing two main reasons. Firstly they claimed that they could not in all conscience agree to a deal in which Drouhin would obviously be the loser. In their view the value of these books could by no means be said to represent the equivalent of 240 copies of the *Antiquités*. Aware that this argument might not entirely hold water given the large numbers of theological books available – Drouhin in his letter had spoken of "plusieurs de ces dépots qui offrent un amas effrayant" of such texts – the Conseil backed their decision by recourse to a second point. They had to refuse the deal since all these "mauvais ouvrages" were to go either to the "directeur de l'artillerie à l'Arsenal", or to the Conservatoire des arts et métiers "pour les travaux d'apprêts d'étoffes."[101]

Drouhin's attempt to raise money from the *Antiquités* in this way thus ended in failure, and it was shortly afterwards that he decided to sell his remaining stocks to Calixte Volland who then reissued the work. It is unlikely that Drouhin would have been forced out of business entirely had he not contracted this deal with Volland: were this to have been the case then he would have had to sell off all of his stock. As it was, he continued in business for a few more years, and it seems that his decision to rid himself of Millin's work was motivated rather by a need for an immediate injection of cash for another publication. It was, after all, at almost exactly this time that he decided to produce a second edition of the other main title on his list – Le Vacher de Charnois's *Recherches*. In all probability, he decided that since the deal that he had attempted to negotiate with the government had not reached a satisfactory conclusion, his only solution to raise the money necessary for an investment in the second edition of the *Recherches* was to sell off the *Antiquités*. Thus it was that the book which was earning less money than he had expected was sacrificed in order that he could produce a new edition of the one which had proved more successful. In fact, the problems had begun much earlier than 1802. From the very beginning of the project there had not been as much interest

[99] Drouhin to the Ministre de l'Intérieur, s.d.: Archives nationales, F^{17} 1024, dossier 9.

[100] TOURNEUX 1884.

[101] TOURNEUX 1884.

shown as either Drouhin or Millin would have hoped. Examination of the publication and marketing history of the book reveals the various difficulties faced by the author and his editor, and their attempts to find feasible solutions.

Financing the book

As was fairly customary for a book of this size, amply illustrated with engravings, the decision was made to launch a type of subscription scheme. The usual pattern for a subscription scheme at this time is familiar; it was a marketing method introduced into France in 1716 by the Benedictine monk Bernard de Montfaucon and the editors of his *Antiquité expliquée*, based on an English model dating from the preceding century.[102] The main aim was to alleviate the considerable financial pressure placed on either one or several editors who decided to publish a book. Instead of financing the entire production of a book and then hoping to recoup this investment through sales of the completed work, they launched a subscription. Following the issue of a prospectus presenting a planned work, purchasers agreed to buy it at a more favourable price than if they only bought it on its completion.[103] In most cases the contract stipulated that the purchaser should pay half the price in advance, and then, on receipt of the volume or the successive volumes, pay the remainder. With half of the funds already collected, and a guarantee that the other half would be forthcoming, the publisher could thus afford to finance even a book which demanded a considerable investment.

Despite the savings that could be made, there were many purchasers for whom payment in two instalments, albeit at an advantageous price, still represented too great an outlay; an alternative system had thus been developed in England, that of serial (or part or number) publication.[104] A work appeared in weekly or monthly parts, each part to be purchased on its issue; in England the usual price for each part was six or twelve pennies. The first example of a book to be published in this way was Joseph Moxon's *Mechanick*

[102] On subscription publication in France during the eighteenth century see especially KIRSOP 1987. For the first attempt to use this system in France, see the summary of the (unpublished) thesis by Juliette Jestaz: JESTAZ 1995. Montfaucon was then to publish other books in this way, including the *Monumens de la monarchie françoise* (1729–33) – MONTFAUCON 1729 – although in this case he encountered rather more difficulties: see HURLEY 2000.

[103] The benefits for the reader varied, but usually involved a saving of twenty-five to thirty per cent of the price paid by purchasers who were not prepared to commit themselves at this early stage. Other alternatives were schemes such as 'six copies for the price of five'. See the article 'souscription' in ENCYCLOPÉDIE 1751, vol. 15 (1765), p. 416.

[104] See PLANT 1965, pp. 232–4; GASKELL 1985, pp. 181–2.

exercises.[105] The advantages of this type of publication were clear, and have been admirably summarized by Philip Gaskell: "Serial publication was doubly attractive to the publisher of works which might be expected to appeal to a wide audience, but which cost more than ordinary people were accustomed to spend on books. In the first place, production costs were met while they were being incurred; and in the second, it encouraged the poorer purchaser to buy by instalments a book which he could not (or would not) afford all at once."[106] Some tentative attempts were made by French publishers to introduce this system, but the authorities were not convinced and banned it during the 1730s.[107] It was not until some thirty years later that Baculard d'Arnaud reintroduced serial publication into France; his initiative was subsequently adopted by some others.

Certainly there were many advantages to part publication, but there were also a number of drawbacks. One can easily imagine that Millin himself would have been wary of adopting the system since his editors had already experimented with it for an earlier work, and had subsequently been forced to abandon their attempt. A major disadvantage of part publication was that of dealing with the rather negligible sums of money represented by the payments for individual numbers. Such at least had been the case with Millin's *Mélanges de littérature étrangère* (1785–6). The 'Avis' to each of the first four volumes of this series states quite clearly that "Cet Ouvrage, comme nous l'avons annoncé, ne paroîtra ni à des époques fixes, ni par souscription. […]. Chaque volume, d'environ dix feuilles d'impression, coûtera 36 sous."[108] Such a publication method resembles, despite certain variations such as the fact that entire volumes were issued as opposed to smaller parts, the English system. Within a short space of time, however, this was found to be unsatisfactory, and thus it is that in the 'Avis' to each of the next two (and last) volumes the wording has been modified: "Cet Ouvrage, comme nous l'avons annoncé, ne paroîtra ni à des époques fixes, ni par souscription. […]. Chaque volume, d'environ dix feuilles d'impression, coûtera 36 sous, […]; mais par la difficulté de recevoir une somme si modique, le Libraire demande qu'on lui fasse payer six volumes à la fois, à partir de celui dont on aura besoin."[109] It remains unclear

[105] See MOXON 1958, pp. xlv–xlix.

[106] GASKELL 1985, pp. 181–2.

[107] See Wallace Kirsop, "Les mécanismes éditoriaux", in CHARTIER & MARTIN 1990, pp. 15–34.

[108] ALM MÉLANGES 1785, vol. 1 (1785), 'Avis' (likewise vol. 2, vol. 3 and vol. 4).

[109] ALM MÉLANGES 1785, vol. 5 (1786), 'Avis' (likewise vol. 6).

whether it was for financial reasons or not that the series was abandoned after the sixth volume: one thing is, nonetheless, certain and that is that Millin had already had his fingers burned once. For the *Antiquités* a different marketing method was needed.

In effect Millin and Drouhin opted for a subscription method that amounts to a combination of the two systems outlined above. A subscription was launched, with a prospectus. The terms were that the purchaser paid in advance a yearly subscription, and that Drouhin promised to deliver a certain number of parts against this payment. Unlike the usual part publication, advance payment had to be made instead of the parts being paid for on receipt. Given these facts, it would seem that this differed in no way from a periodical subscription; there are certainly affinities but, contrary to a subscription for a periodical, there was no guarantee that the parts would appear on specified dates.[110] Ideal for a publisher, this method of publication combined the advantages of the traditional subscription and its advance payment with those of the part publication, allowing for a regular, small-scale production.

Although the first prospectus was issued only at the end of 1790, with a copy of it included in the *Chronique de Paris* for December 10 1790, the day after the presentation at the Assemblée nationale, news of the forthcoming work had already been circulated in some quarters.[111] An announcement of the imminent publication of the book is to be found in England in the November 1790 number of *The Gentleman's Magazine*: no mention of a prospectus is, however, to be found here.[112] By the beginning of January 1791, in review articles devoted to the *Antiquités*' first part, a number of French journals including the *Gazette nationale* quoted substantially from the prospectus.[113] In this document, after three pages describing the book's aims and the reasons for which it is felt that it is an important contribution to the protection of France's heritage, come the practical details relating to the

[110] Wallace Kirsop points out the affinity with periodicals: "Mode ou manie qui rejoint évidemment celle des périodiques" (W. Kirsop, "Les mécanismes éditoriaux", in: CHARTIER & MARTIN 1990, pp. 15–34, p. 31).

[111] ALM CHRONIQUE 1789, no. 344, December 10 1790, pp. 1373–4.

[112] "Foreign Literary intelligence" in GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE 1731, vol. LX, part the second, November 1790, pp. 1032–3: "A very interesting work, we are told, is going to be published in France [...]. The first number, in-4°, will appear the beginning of December." By June 1791 both the first parts and the prospectus had reached England since long extracts from the prospectus are translated into English in an article entitled "Foreign Literary intelligence" in GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE 1731, vol. LXI, part the first, June 1791, pp. 562–3.

[113] GAZETTE NATIONALE 1789, vol. 7 (1841), no. 3, January 3 1791, pp. 23–4.

work: its intended size, the manner in which it is to be issued, the price and the address of the publisher.

> "Six livraisons formeront un volume, qui sera accompagné d'une Table de matières, et d'une autre des Auteurs cités. La première, composée de dix feuilles de texte et de dix Estampes, a été mise au jour le 10 Décembre; les autres suivront exactement de mois en mois.
>
> "CONDITIONS
>
> "Le prix de la Souscription, pour l'année, composée d'environ quatre-vingt-seize Feuilles in-4°, belle typographie, et de cent vingt Estampes, est de 84 l. pour Paris; et par la Poste, jusqu'aux frontières, on payera 8 l. de plus. On sera libre de ne payer que par quartier si l'on veut, en payant le premier d'avance, ainsi de suite pour les autres.
>
> "On souscrit à Paris, chez M. DROUHIN, Editeur et propriétaire dudit Ouvrage, rue Saint-André-des-Arcs, No 92, jusqu'à Pâques, et à cette époque, rue Christine, N° 2."[114]

So for a price of eighty-four livres per year the Parisian purchaser could expect to receive ninety-six quarto sheets (768 pages) of text accompanied by 120 engravings in twelve parts, an average of eight sheets (sixty-four pages) of text and ten plates per month. The first part, with ten sheets, was therefore a little longer than the planned average of eight sheets. Interestingly, possibly in order to encourage those who may have felt that eighty-four livres was too great a single expenditure, there was also the possibility to pay by quarters. Since no explicit mention is made of a different price for those opting to pay in four parts, it must be assumed that the quarterly payment would have been twenty-one livres.

Marketing the book

During the first few months of publication, until the completion of the first volume to be more precise, only one address is given for potential subscribers, that of Drouhin.[115] With the appearance of the second volume comes a significant modification: subscriptions are now being taken by other booksellers in Paris, and by "tous le [sic] principaux libraires de l'Europe."[116] In terms of the marketing of the book, this was a considerable advantage: not only were there more outlets in Paris which could provide the work, and amongst these some

[114] ALM ANTIQUITÉS PROSPECTUS 1790, p. 4.

[115] ALM ANTIQUITÉS PROSPECTUS 1790, p. 4 and ALM CHRONIQUE 1789, no. 344, December 10 1790, pp. 1373–4, p. 1374.

[116] ALM CHRONIQUE 1789, no. 161, June 10 1791, p. 641.

with a well-established business and thus a large and regular clientele, but also shops in the larger cities of France and Europe. Unfortunately no further details are given as to any of these latter with the exception of one: from a review dating to November 1792, we discover that Joseph Debosse, based in London, is the bookseller who is responsible for the book's distribution in England.[117] As for the Parisian booksellers, they are four in number, and include some illustrious names:

> "On souscrit à Paris, chez M. Drouhin, éditeur & propriétaire dudit ouvrage, rue Christine, n°. 2.; chez Barrois jeune, rue du Hurpoix; chez Desenne, libraire, au Palais-royal; chez Blanchon, libraire, rue Saint-André-des-Arts, n°. 110; chez Garnéry, libraire, rue Serpente, n°. 17; & chez tous le principaux libraires de l'Europe."[118]

"Barrois jeune" whose address is given as rue du Hurepoix, must be Pierre-Théophile Barrois, a member of the Barrois dynasty which had been active in the Parisian bookselling trade since the seventeenth century; he was also the son-in-law of the printer of the first sixteen parts of the *Antiquités*, the Veuve Hérissant. In this context it is interesting to note that there was apparently a gap in his collaboration with Drouhin: just before the change of printer from Hérissant to Boileau, Barrois's name disappears from the list of establishments dealing with the subscriptions, not to reappear until November 1792.[119] Received into the corporation as a bookseller on December 22 1773, he survived the economic difficulties of the revolutionary period and continued in business until the time of his death in 1836.[120] The location of Desenne's bookshop is the Palais-Royal and so it must be assumed that this is Victor Desenne, for a short time the "libraire de monseigneur le comte d'Artois". He was admitted as a bookseller in 1766, but suspended for a short period (1784–5) after being found guilty of selling prohibited books.[121] Blanchon, whose address is given as being rue St.-André-des-Arts is a harder figure to identify.[122] Delalain states that a Jean-André Blanchon

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[117] ALM CHRONIQUE 1789, no. 324, November 13 1791, p. 1272.

[118] ALM CHRONIQUE 1789, no. 161, June 10 1791, p. 641.

[119] His name appears in the list in the review which appeared in January 1792: ALM CHRONIQUE 1789, no. 19, January 19 1792, p. 75. He next appears in the November review: ALM CHRONIQUE 1789, no. 324, November 13 1791, p. 1272.

[120] See MELLOT & QUEVAL 1997, no. 237, p. 57. Also see DELALAIN 1899, p. 28, and LOTTIN 1789. Pierre-Théophile Barrois (1752–1836) was the libraire de la Société de médecine in 1799.

[121] See MELLOT & QUEVAL 1997, no. 1331, p. 224. Also see DELALAIN 1899, pp. 58–9 (Desenne, without first name, on p. 58 is to be identified with Victor Desenne: see annotated copy of Delalain, BNF, Département des imprimés, 8-Q-2623.

[122] Not mentioned in MELLOT & QUEVAL 1997.

was, according to Lottin, established as a bookseller in the 1780s.[123] During the Revolution a J. Blanchon was working as a printer-bookseller, so it seems likely (presuming the identity of these two men with a common surname and initial) that he, like Boileau, took advantage of the new conditions at the time of the Revolution in order to be able to add the production of books to his business interests. He was apparently successful, working in Paris until the last years of the first decade of the nineteenth century. After this, possibly forced out of business by the Napoleonic legislation of 1810, he seems to have left France in order to establish himself in Parma, where a number of works with the imprint "stamperia Blanchon" were published between 1810 and 1820. One other work in collaboration with Millin is recorded – the 1798 edition of the *Annuaire du républicain*. More information is available on the fourth person named, Jean-Baptiste Garnéry (1764–1843).[124] He became a bookseller in 1789 with Volland and then established a printing-business in 1790–1 with Laillet.[125] Of the four, Garnéry is the one we can associate the most closely with Millin.[126] Not only was he the printer of a number of Millin's pamphlets, but he was also involved in the *Chronique de Paris*, responsible for the subscriptions from June 1791 to March 1793.[127] Nor was this the only Girondin journal in which he participated – it was doubtless for this reason that he, along with Joseph Fiévée, whose premises he shared, suffered considerable losses during the attacks perpetrated by the Jacobins on March 9 1793.

Even with a good network of booksellers involved in the promotion of the book, sales remained disappointing. Not that editorial strategies to increase the revenue from the book had been lacking. From its launch in late 1790, fifty copies on vellum had been available.[128] However, in March 1792, hence only just over a year into the book's publication, it was already felt necessary to produce a second prospectus, a sure sign that sales were not as

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[123] DELALAIN 1899, p. lii.

[124] See MELLOT & QUEVAL 1997, no. 1691, p. 280. Also see DELALAIN 1899, p. 83.

[125] See MELLOT & QUEVAL 1997, no. 2309, p. 371.

[126] His name occurs in the imprints for a number of Millin's publications at this time: ALM MINÉRALOGIE 1790; ALM RÉFUTATION 1790; ALM ASSEMBLÉE 1790; ALM PAIX 1790; ALM PÉTITION 1790B.

[127] ALM CHRONIQUE 1789, no. 162, June 11 1791, p. 648: "De l'imprimerie de Fiévée, rue Serpente, no. 17. On souscrit, même maison, chez Garnéry".

[128] ALM CHRONIQUE 1789, no. 344, December 10 1790, pp. 1373–4, p. 1374. No price is specified for these.

healthy as could have been hoped.[129] Once again the results were less than satisfactory, since less than a year later, by the beginning of 1793, Drouhin had decided that publication in parts was no longer possible; he could not cover his costs. He therefore determined, as is recorded in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, to issue only complete volumes henceforth: "With this volume M. Millin closes his publication in numbers; his publisher, having lost so much by this mode, determines to publish by volumes, to be paid for as they come out, instead of an annual subscription of four guineas each, as before."[130] This was the announcement that was made at the beginning of the eleventh part; only a very short time later, however, Drouhin was to backtrack.[131] He explained the reasons behind his tergiversation in a note circulated to the subscribers at the beginning of January 1793:

> "J'avois annoncé, par un avis ajouté à la onzième livraison, que je ne livrerois plus cet Ouvrage que par volume, en y déduisant les raisons qui m'avoient forcé à prendre ce parti; mais le plus grand nombre des Souscripteurs m'ayant témoigné le désir de le recevoir toujours par livraison, je les préviens que je me conformerai à leur vœu quoiqu'il puisse m'en coûter; et que la première livraison de la troisième année paroîtra dans le courant du présent mois. Il ne sera fait envoi qu'aux personnes qui, à cette époque, auront renouvellé leur abonnement."[132]

A slight increase in price was also introduced at this point: the earlier terms had been eighty-four livres per year (for two volumes), and the individual volumes could be purchased in wrappers at the price of forty-two livres.[133] At the beginning of 1793 this was then increased by one livre to forty-three livres per volume.[134] The question of whether or not the work

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[129] This second prospectus, almost identical to the first one with the exception of the correction of spelling errors and other small details, was printed by the Veuve Hérissant and is dated March 20 1792.

[130] "Review of new publications", in GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE 1731, vol. LXIII, part 1, January 1793, pp. 49–52, here p. 52.

[131] There is some confusion in the dates proposed in the article devoted to the *Antiquités nationales* in the RIBA catalogue of early printed books: RIBA 1994, vol. 3 (1999), pp. 1141–3, nos. 2138–9. Here it is correctly stated that the note by Drouhin (*infra*) referred to the eleventh *livraison*, but it is erroneously assumed that this is the eleventh *livraison* of the series. This leads the author of the notice to assume that this change was planned for the end of the second and the beginning of the third volumes. It is, however, given the date of 1792, the eleventh *livraison* of the second year's subscription, the twenty-third *livraison* of the entire series, and thus coincides with the end of the fourth volume and the planned fifth volume.

[132] Drouhin, notice for subscribers, copy bound into ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, British Library, 575.i.5.

[133] "On peut se procurer dès à présent le premier volume broché au prix de 42 livres": JOURNAL ENCYCLOPÉDIQUE 1756, 1791, vol. 8, no. 30, October 30 1791, pp. 161–9, here p. 169.

[134] "Le prix de chaque volume in-4°, composé d'environ 500 pages & de près de 60 estampes, est de 43 livres, pris à Paris": JOURNAL ENCYCLOPÉDIQUE 1756, 1793, vol. 1, no. 1, January 10 1793, pp. 14–20, here p. 14.

would continue to appear in parts or, instead, in volumes was, it turned out, largely an academic one: production of the *Antiquités* ceased after the end of the fourth volume in spring 1793, not to be resumed for another five and a half years. That this might also have been the case had Millin not been imprisoned is a difficult question to answer. There was a definite desire to continue the work, as is made clear in Drouhin's comment in the note circulated to subscribers in January 1793. He was certainly intending to begin the next volume as soon as the fourth one was completed; his estimate that this latter would be published by the end of January may well have been far too optimistic, but that is immaterial. The fact remains that he was not prepared to imagine the possibility of abandoning the project. Only a few months later, however, at the time of the actual completion of the fourth volume, he had changed his tune. Financial problems were beginning to beset him increasingly, or at least that is the impression that is given by the words which conclude the review of the twenty-fourth part: "Les circonstances dans lesquels nous nous trouvons, ont retardé quelques numéros de cet important ouvrage, il faut espérer que la nation mettra son éditeur en état de le continuer en le comptant au nombre de ceux qui ont mérité des récompenses nationales".[135] A greater note of desperation is evident in these words which amount to no more or less than an appeal for a government subvention.

According to Drouhin's words in this last announcement, the rather irregular appearance of the parts during the period autumn 1792 to spring 1793 should be imputed to the financial difficulties faced by him at the time. The prospectus had promised regular, monthly, delivery of the individual parts of the *Antiquités*. From this comment it could therefore be expected that each part appeared promptly on the tenth of each month: the twenty-four parts comprising the first four volumes would therefore have been completed by mid-November 1792. This was not, however, the case; the last part of the fourth volume did not appear until spring 1793, despite Drouhin's assurances to the contrary.[136] There were thus some delays, certainly nothing unusual in book-publishing. What does become clear from a study of the dates when the various parts were published is that whilst there had been some slight delays earlier on in the project, attributed mainly to Millin's journeys in search of

[135] ALM MAGAZIN 1792, no. 50 [mars 1793], pp. 393–5, p. 395.

[136] See note to subscribers (quoted *supra*).

monuments to describe, there was nothing to equal the much more serious retardations occurring at the end of 1792.[137]

Yet again the absence of the archives concerning the publication proves to be an impediment, and the only way of fixing, albeit approximately, the dates of the respective parts is by recourse to reviews published in contemporary journals. Unfortunately there are very few journals where every single part was reviewed or announced, and even so it is hard to tell how much delay there was between the issue and the review or announcement. For these various reasons the best source for the rate of production of the *Antiquités* is the *Chronique de Paris*: whilst it is clear that this journal edited by, amongst others, Millin might not provide the most objective source of critical material for an analysis of the reception of the *Antiquités*, it is, however, to be assumed that here the date of the reviews will reflect most accurately the date of publication of the respective parts.[138] The articles of the *Antiquités* are detailed in Appendix 4, where the first column shows the number of the *livraison*, the second the date on which a review appeared, and the fourth the article, or articles, of the *Antiquités* which appeared in the part.

The third column of this table shows the number of sheets that were issued in each part. It must be stressed that this figure relies entirely upon an extrapolation from the details on the contents of the various parts that are to be found in the review articles. Although some variations are evident, the overall result is that on average a total of eight to nine sheets of text and eight plates were issued at any time, a figure that corresponds to Drouhin's promise in the prospectus that there would be twelve parts per year forming a total of ninety-six sheets. He had also promised 120 engravings for the year's subscription; the actual figure was closer to 100. One fact becomes very clear from this table, and that is the difficulty of stating exactly what appeared at any one time. Unfortunately, and contrary to what might have been expected, the articles were not necessarily issued as complete units.[139] The reader who began to peruse the description and history of the Célestins in December 1790 had, for example, to wait until March 1791 to receive the final pages.

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[137] Review of the sixth *livraison* of the second year (eighteenth *livraison* of the series) in: ALM CHRONIQUE 1789, no. 144, May 22 1792, pp. 571–2: "Cette livraison qui devoit paroître le 10 a souffert quelque retard causeé par un voyage fait par M. Millin [...]" (p. 572).

[138] Even this is not entirely impregnable; the review of the twenty-first and twenty-second parts begins with the words: "Les deux livraisons que nous annonçons aujourd'hui ont déjà paru depuis quelque tems". See ALM CHRONIQUE 1789, no. 324, November 13 1792, p. 1272.

[139] See further the comments in Appendix 1, § Notes.

Folio edition

At the same time as these financial problems were beginning to occupy him increasingly, Drouhin also decided to issue a folio edition. This would, according to the announcement in the *Journal encyclopédique*, be "une édition qui sera recherchée par tous les amateurs: cette édition est seulement tirée à cent exemplaires sur papier superfin: la partie typographique & les estampes y sont soignées avec la plus scrupuleuse attention".[140] All of the details offered here suggest that Drouhin was attempting to convince the more discerning amateur that this was an opportunity that could not be missed; by issuing the book in a larger format, traditionally associated with the more scholarly or luxurious publications, and insisting on the attention that had been lavished on it, he was hoping to be able to attract enough purchasers to be able to offset his recent losses.[141] Another tactic which should be noticed here is that of insisting on the relative scarcity of the book – only one hundred copies were to be made available.[142] Clearly the price was to be higher: either the volumes could be bought, bound in stiff paper wrappers, at seventy-five livres each, or in sheets at the lower price of seventy-two livres.

At first sight this could be imagined to furnish a neat explanation for Drouhin's financial difficulties towards the end of 1792. He had spent a considerable sum of money to produce a second version, in a larger format. In view of his current financial difficulties this was a remarkable gamble, and until he could recoup the money invested in the folio issue he needed to economize on the cost of the quarto one. Such is not, however, the case. A careful examination of the two formats demonstrates that, almost from the very outset of the project, quarto and folio sheets were being produced at the same time: the same formes were being used, with slight modifications. The headline, containing the page number and the article title, has been set between single rules in the folio version. The margins are wide, but even this did not suffice to allow for exactly the same line-lengths as in the quarto: in the folio the

[140] JOURNAL ENCYCLOPÉDIQUE 1756, 1793, vol. 1, no. 1, January 10 1793, pp. 14–20, here p. 20.

[141] Traditionally books on antiquities tended to fall into the category of the illustrated large-format book (usually folio and quarto) with fine engravings and a corresponding price-tag. Alternatively there was a market for the smaller (often octavo), less lavishly-illustrated books which were often almost guide-books. Examples of these are THIÉRRY 1787, HURTAUT 1779 and PIGANIOL 1765.

[142] This figure is to be found in the review in the *Journal encyclopédique*, and also in the review of the twenty-second part of the series in ALM MAGAZIN 1792, no. 6 [December 6 1792], pp. 41–6, p. 46. However, in the review of the preceding parts, the announcement of the folio edition stated that there would be 200 copies: see ALM CHRONIQUE 1789, no. 324, November 13 1792, p. 1272.

line-length is 143 mm, as compared with 120 mm in the quarto.[143] There has thus been some adaptation of the type spacing in order to allow for this change in length. Most conspicuous of all is that the main body of the text has been leaded, lending the folio pages a very spacious air. Indeed, they seem to be almost too spacious.

By means of these various devices, the printers have managed to achieve a considerable feat: the text occupies almost exactly the same number of pages in the folio as in the quarto. Comparison of the figures for each of the volumes proves that throughout the main text the number of pages in each article corresponds exactly between the two formats; the only very slight difference (usually of merely one leaf, or two pages) comes in the end-matter, where the folio edition requires slightly less space.[144] Given the cost of paper, this seems to be the very contrary of good sense: the publisher would surely have wished to reduce his costs by insisting on a closer type-setting, thus ensuring that less paper was consumed. The only factor that explains this decision is that of the engravings, which were intended to be bound into the book to accompany the text, rather than forming a separate volume. Each engraving bears indications as to its exact position in the work.[145] Had the folio sheets been set in such a way that the page numbers no longer corresponded exactly to those in the quarto version, then each plate would have had to have had the page number indication erased, to be replaced by the one relating to the larger format, a time-consuming exercise.

Very close analysis of textual variations allows us to state with almost complete certainty that the folio sheets must have been printed after the quarto sheets. Corrections of punctuation, spelling and grammatical errors have very often been carried out on the folio sheets: these are usually the most minute alterations, such as the addition of a hyphen between ‘Saint’ and ‘Spire’ in the first page of the article devoted to this church, or the addition of the letter ‘s’ to a past participle in order to assure that it agrees with a preceding object.[146] That the folio edition was being prepared from early on in the project is clear; it was not, however, the case from the very beginning. It is possible to identify the moment when the two were first produced simultaneously. Throughout the first two articles, and the

[143] These are the figures for line-lengths in the first *livraisons*, from the printing-house of Veuve Hérissant. For Boileau the figures are 141 mm and 118 mm respectively.

[144] The figures are as follows: quarto edition: 208 leaves, 186, 217, 188, 210; folio: 208, 185, 215, 187, 209.

[145] For example, “No. XXV. Pl.3. Pag.23”.

[146] This of course amounts to the whole question of copy and correction: the quarto sheets are here used as copy for the corrections to be made. For the history and practice of proof-reading and correction see SIMPSON 1970.

beginning of the third, there are a number of striking differences between the two versions. Several passages have been altered. For example, the opening sentence of the quarto edition reads "Nous serions inexcusables de commencer cette histoire des antiquités de l'empire françois [...]" whereas in the folio edition this has been altered to "Je serois inexcusable de commencer cette histoire des Antiquités de l'empire françois [...]."[147] At the end of this article, the quarto edition contains a passage of nineteen lines on the statue of Saint Antoine which adorned the gateway of the same name, near the Bastille. In the folio this has been reduced to only five lines.[148] Millin also profited from the chance to alter his text in order to answer a possible criticism of his work. In the third article, on the Célestins, he added in the folio version a footnote explaining that his engraver forgot to engrave one plate in reverse, with the result that the figures which Millin refers to as being on the left actually appear to be on the right **[Ill. 29]**.[149] The most obvious difference between the two versions throughout the first sheets is in the footnotes: in the folio all of the titles of books quoted in the footnotes have been set in italic fount whilst in the quarto this is only rarely the case. This difference is no longer evident after the ninety-sixth page of the article on the Célestins.[150] From the physical evidence available, it can thus be concluded that it was at the time of the printing of the third *livraison* that the decision was made to adapt the formes in order to print both formats at the same time, avoiding the need to break the type and then reset it.[151]

Quite why Drouhin chose not to issue both formats at the same time remains a mystery. The pages of text and the engravings were ready, and must have been kept in storage until the end of 1792 when the folio was launched. The first official announcement of this edition appeared in the review of the third and fourth parts of the fourth volume, the twenty-first and twenty-second parts of the entire series, and virtually simultaneously at the

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[147] ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 1 (1790), art. I, p. 1.

[148] ALM ANT. NAT. 1790B, vol. 1 (1790), art. I, p. 35. At the foot of this page there is a further difference. The quarto edition contains the following sentence about one of the figures on pl. 4: "L'autre figure N°. 5, est un bamboche qu'il est impossible d'expliquer". In the folio this has been altered to "L'autre figure N°. 5, servoit de support à l'une de celles que je viens de décrire."

[149] ALM ANT. NAT. 1790B, vol. 1 (1790), art. III, p. 11 note 26: "Le graveur a oublié de graver la planche au miroir, ce qui place à droite les figures qui doivent être à gauche."

[150] The fourth page (and also, in the folio edition, the end of the first sheet) of the third *livraison*.

[151] As Bowers states: "the type is not actually standing (i.e., tied up and put away for future use) but the re-imposition for a different format is made immediately after the printing of each original sheet, followed by impression of the sheets in the different format". See BOWERS 1986, p. 87.

end of the prospectus that was issued for the first series of the *Magazin encyclopédique*.[152] Neither of the prospectuses for the *Antiquités* themselves mention even the possibility of a second format for the book. News of its existence had probably been circulating though, or at least this is what is suggested by an article in an October 1791 issue of the *Journal encyclopédique*.[153] Here, in a review of the first ten parts of the work, the full title of the book and Drouhin's name are followed by the details "In-4^{o} & folio".[154] It is presumably for reasons of the prevalent market conditions that Drouhin did not issue this folio edition earlier.

A literary subterfuge?

As sketched out here then, this was the situation at the end of the fourth volume. Five years later the book was to be completed. Completed is, under the circumstances, maybe not the right word, since there is no definite proof that this was the whole work that was planned. Quite the opposite, in fact, as has been pointed out by bibliographers such as Quérard who referred to the incompleteness of the *Antiquités*, describing it as an "ouvrage, qui n'a point été terminé".[155] Drouhin, in his letter to the Ministre de l'Intérieur begging for money made it clear that he and Millin were intending to continue the work: "J'ai encore un grand nombre de dessins et desquisses [sic]; le C. Millin est même avancé dans ses travaux pour la continuation de cet ouvrage".[156] Quite what Millin would have thought of this is less than certain. He had stated publicly, in the review of the last volume, that he now regarded the work as complete although he would use the material remaining in his dossiers to write another book:

> "Quoique cet ouvrage [...] ne s'applique pas à toute la France, on peut le regarder comme complet [...]. Les dégradations que les monumens ont éprouvées depuis cinq ans, la différence des temps ne nous permettent pas de continuer cet ouvrage sur le même plan; cependant, comme il nous reste encore beaucoup de notices et de dessins, nous nous proposons de les publier dans une des deux

[152] ALM CHRONIQUE 1789, no. 324, November 11 1792, p. 1272. See also ALM MAGAZIN PROSPECTUS 1792. This probably appeared towards the end of November, since there is a copy of it in ALM CHRONIQUE 1789, no. 337, November 26 1792, pp. 1323–4.

[153] Review of the *Antiquités nationales* in JOURNAL ENCYCLOPÉDIQUE 1756, vol. 8, no. 29, October 30 1791, pp. 161–9.

[154] JOURNAL ENCYCLOPÉDIQUE 1756, vol. 8, no. 29, October 30 1791, p. 162.

[155] QUÉRARD 1827, vol. 6 (1834), p. 136. See *infra*, ch. 9, p. 338, note 3.

[156] Drouhin to the Ministre de l'Intérieur, s.d.: Archives nationales, F^{17} 1024, dossier 9.

> collections dont nous nous occupons, et pour laquelle un grand nombre de gravures sont déjà faites."[157]

Maybe one of the bureaucrats dealing with the dossier had read this comment and thus questioned the sincerity of Drouhin's request. In any case it was turned down, and in the face of the government's refusal to accord him the necessary financial aid, he decided to sell off the work as it stood, and let someone else deal with the problems. The someone else was Calixte Volland who decided to reissue the book with a different title: thus it was that there appeared on the market the *Monumens françois, tels que tombeaux, inscriptions, statues, vitraux, mosaïques, fresques, etc.; tirés des abbayes, monastères, châteaux et autres lieux, par Aubin-Louis Millin, Conservateur des antiques, médailles et pierres gravées à la Bibliothèque Nationale, professeur d'histoire et d'antiquités, membre de la Société royale de Goettingue, etc. etc.* The copies, in both formats, are identical with those of the *Antiquités nationales*, with the exception of the new title-page. Millin's various titles of honour are added, a guaranteed method of impressing a potential purchaser; more interesting than this is surely the alteration in the title itself. Paul Lacroix explained it as the new publisher's effort to "rajeunir au moyen d'un nouveau titre".[158] He then added that the title chosen by Volland was not done so arbitrarily: "ce titre, imaginé pour faire concurrence à la Description du Musée des Monumens français".[159] Such a suggestion for a marketing strategy is certainly very attractive and highly feasible given the success of Lenoir's museum and its accompanying catalogues at this time.[160] Another explanation for the choice of this second title could be found in considering Millin's other main publication at this time. For the year 1802 also saw the publication of the first volumes of his work on selected classical antiquities bearing the title of *Monumens antiques inédits ou nouvellement expliqués*.[161] It is not impossible that Millin, or the new owner of the work, wished to parallel the two works,

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[157] ALM REVIEW MILLIN 1799C, pp. 475–6.

[158] LACROIX 1866, p. 332. Lacroix's dates are not entirely convincing here; he asserts that this reissue was "une première tentative pour écouler, vers 1810, les exemplaires restants de cette vaste collection". But the title-page bears very clearly the date 1802 and there seems to be no reason to question this.

[159] LACROIX 1866, p. 332.

[160] In 1793, Lenoir published a first guide to the depot's contents: LENOIR 1793. This was then to be followed by a further eleven editions, revised and increased, with slightly varying titles until 1816. These were in turn supplemented by the six volume edition 1800–6 (with two further volumes published 1820–1). Tourneux seems to have been convinced by the argument concerning the desire to compete with Lenoir's work since he gives a similar explanation in his note on the *Antiquités* in TOURNEUX 1884.

[161] ALM MONUMENS 1802C.

hoping that sales of both would benefit in this way. Much the same strategy had already been exploited by one of his antecedents, Bernard de Montfaucon, who tried to boost sales of his *Monumens de la monarchie françoise* by emphasizing that it was an essential addition to the library of any amateur who had already purchased his *Antiquité expliquée*; the second work was, he argued, a continuation of the first.[162] Alternatively, if considerable duplicity on the part of Volland is assumed, there is a further possible explanation. In the article where he announced that he was abandoning the *Antiquités* and hoping to use the remaining material for a new work, Millin promised that the two new collections would cover both classical and modern objects: "La première de ces collections ne contiendra que des monumens antiques, tous inédits. La seconde offrira des monumens du moyen âge et de l'histoire moderne, principalement de la nôtre."[163] Maybe Volland decided to profit from these rather vague words and pass off the old work as this new one. The success of such a tentative would, of course, be largely dependent on the gullibility of the purchasing public.

An abridged edition

Whatever may have been the reason for the new title, the results were no more spectacular than they had been previously. Seventeen years after the relaunch of the *Antiquités*, Jean-Nicolas Barba purchased some five to six hundred copies of the work which were still stacked up in Volland's stockroom. These he then sold at the greatly reduced price of twenty-five to thirty francs and even such a bargain was not entirely cleared for about fifteen years, "et ce à grand renfort d'annonces et de prospectus".[164] A small measure of consolation was perhaps gained from the fact that by the end of this period, the book was once again becoming popular with connoisseurs and Barba was able to increase the price to forty-five and sixty francs respectively for the quarto and folio editions. Renewed interest in the book at this time – the mid 1830s – was hardly surprising. Over the past few years increasing attention had been paid to the dangers of giving free rein to the authorities and the developers who demonstrated little sympathy or respect for the original fabric of a building. Amongst the most vociferous opponents of this modern "vandalism" were Charles de Montalembert and Victor Hugo; public awareness of the problem grew, and the government

[162] MONTFAUCON 1725, p. [1]: "Les deux Ouvrages sont de même nature, & l'un commence où l'autre a fini."

[163] ALM REVIEW MILLIN 1799C, p. 476.

[164] LACROIX 1866, p. 332. On the question of selling books at these discounted prices, see KIRSOP 1997.

decided to react. In 1837 the first steps towards the founding of the Commission des Monuments were taken. Interest in mediaeval art was encouraged by Alexandre Du Sommerard's work at the Musée de Cluny, the successor to the Musée des Monumens français, and brought to the wider public in a sumptuously-illustrated work which began to appear in 1838.[165] At the same time, the work of various historians and historical societies was beginning to draw attention to the importance of studying the history of France and her customs. It was in this movement that, in 1837, a second book with the title *Antiquités nationales* was published, written by a certain Boutteville.[166] Given the list of somewhat recherché titles consulted by him for the composition of his work with which he concludes the introduction, the absence of Millin's book can only be judged to be a case of selective amnesia.[167]

Encouraged by the increasing interest being paid not only to the country's monumental heritage but also to the remaining copies of the *Antiquités nationales*, Barba then decided to employ the copper-plates that he had acquired with the unsold stocks of the book in 1819. A full set of engravings was printed and used to illustrate a considerably altered version of the book. Barba took it upon himself to pare the original text down to the minimum of useful information, notably removing several of the longer dissertations with which Millin had explained various French customs or institutions.[168] Furthermore, the decision was taken to alter the order of the chapters. Lacroix's comment is that this edition may well have been imperfect, with a "texte mutilé", but was sold out within a few years.[169] He tempers this praise in the next sentence with the observation that there were after all only five hundred copies printed. In his view, the reason for the relative success of Barba's later version and for the increased price being asked for the original work could only be that the study of the national heritage was beginning to become more and more important.[170]

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[165] DU SOMMERARD 1838.

[166] BOUTTEVILLE 1837.

[167] BOUTTEVILLE 1837, p. [vii].

[168] ALM ABRÉGÉ 1837. L., in LACOMBE et al. 1884, says that the major dissertations that were excluded in the 1836 edition were those on the roads of France, on bridges and on clocks.

[169] LACROIX 1866, p. 332. L., in LACOMBE et al. 1884, is much harsher than Lacroix. He says that the anonymous editor (whom he names as le bibliophile Jacob [i.e. Lacroix himself]) "n'avait ni complété ni rectifié le reste du texte de manière à le mettre au niveau des progrès de l'histoire et surtout de l'archéologie" and then adds that the edition itself was "mal imprimée" and the plates were "fatiguées".

[170] LACROIX 1866, p. 332: "l'on peut prédire que ce livre, qui ne sera jamais réimprimé ni refait doublera de prix, si l'étude de l'archéologie nationale continue à prendre de l'accroissement'.

Mixed reception

Although it cannot be said that the book was an unmitigated failure, it is true to say that its publication history as outlined here does prove that there were for many years problems associated with its sale. This is all the more surprising given the rather favourable reception accorded to it from the beginning. Few serious criticisms of the work are to be found in the reviews appearing in the press. The reviewer in the *Gazette nationale* opened his discussion of the book with the following words: "Ce premier cahier d'un ouvrage important, et qui doit entrer dans toutes les bibliothèques."[171] After giving a brief overview of the contents of the first livraison, he then continues with an exhortation to all the French (the "curieux", the "amateurs" and the "vrais citoyens") to support this work, before closing his comments with the following description of the book: "une collection bien précieuse, si, comme nous n'en doutons pas, les livraisons suivantes répondent à la première, pour l'intérêt, le choix et l'exécution."[172] Equally eulogistic is the review in the *Journal encyclopédique* which classifies Millin's work as a "vaste & belle entreprise" and then goes on to counter those who might claim that such work had already been done. Admittedly, said the reviewer, others had already published books devoted to France's monuments, history and customs, but these earlier authors can easily be dismissed. For, in his words, "Piganiol est sec & ennuyeux; l'abbé Le Bœuf, lourd & diffus; le Pere Montfaucon, inexact."[173] References of this type can be multiplied. Nor was it only in France that the critics were so positive. The reviewer in the English periodical, the *Gentleman's Magazine*, described the idea behind the work as being excellent.[174]

Given praise of this type it is difficult to understand quite why it should be that the book proved so hard to sell. One vital fact that should be borne in mind is that this book was being marketed at the beginning of the Revolution. At a cost of eighty-four livres for a year's subscription, or forty-two livres per volume, it represented a considerable investment on the part of a purchaser, even if he opted to pay by quarters, at twenty-one livres each trimester. Despite Millin's assurances in the prospectus, repeated in review articles, that this was a book

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[171] GAZETTE NATIONALE 1789, vol. 7 (1841), no. 3, January 3 1791, pp. 23–4, p. 24.

[172] GAZETTE NATIONALE 1789, vol. 7 (1841), no. 3, January 3 1791, pp. 23–4, p. 24.

[173] JOURNAL ENCYCLOPÉDIQUE 1756, 1791, vol. 8, October 30 1791, no. 30, pp. 161–9, here p. 162.

[174] "Review of new publications", in GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE 1731, vol. LXIII, part 1, January 1793, pp. 49–52, here p. 49.

that should interest all citizens, it must be questioned how many of them could actually afford to buy a book at this price. Precise figures for wages are notoriously difficult to come by, but some vague idea of incomes can be gained. Those earning the lowest salaries could expect to earn about ten to twenty sous per day, whilst those involved in the printing-industry, some of the better paid workers of the period, received between two and three livres for a day's work.[175] Another approach is to consider the cost of other works that were being sold at this time. As has been seen, the work by Le Vacher de Charnois would cost a subscriber forty-eight livres per year. Moreover, an announcement in the *Chronique de Paris* in late December 1790, only two weeks after the *Antiquités* had been launched, provides some interesting details on a book that bears remarkable similarities to Millin's. Entitled the *Description des principaux lieux de France, contenant des détails descriptifs et historiques sur les provinces, villes, bourgs, monasteres, châteaux, etc. du royaume*, the book was offered for sale by the bookseller Le Jay. The details of the book and its price are given in the following words: "six parties de 2,500 p. chacune, in-12. Prix, 15 l. broché, 18 liv. relié."[176] As for a book with illustrations, it is known that at this time the Librairie Veuve Tilliard sold the seven octavo text volumes and the quarto atlas of Barthélemy's *Voyage du jeune Anacharsis en Grèce* for forty-eight livres. The *Antiquités* were clearly an expensive work and the potential audience was no doubt considerably reduced by the fact that many of the purchasers of works of this type were exactly those who were forced to leave France during the early years of the Revolution. Other similar projects were also doomed to failure for this same reason: Hendrik Jansen had to abandon his planned publication of the complete works of Winckelmann because of a rapidly diminishing circle of possible purchasers.[177] Paradoxical as it may sound, but nonetheless an element to bear in mind when considering the sale of books at this time, it was actually harder to sell a book at the time of the Revolution, when there was no official censorship. The market was, if not flooded with books, at least experiencing a considerable growth in the number of publications available, and, what is more, there was no list of banned books. After all, as Diderot had famously pointed out only a few years earlier, there was nothing more likely to boost a book's sales

[175] See MINARD 1989, p. 68. Amongst those who also earned two to three livres per day were similarly qualified workers such as clock-makers and cutlers.

[176] ALM CHRONIQUE 1789, no. 357, December 23 1790, p. 1425.

[177] GRIENER 1994.

than the idea of the forbidden fruit.[178]

An interesting comment was made by Lacroix in his discussion of the book: "quoique la plupart des premiers souscripteurs eussent négligé de retirer les livraisons au moment où elles avaient paru."[179] Apparently then Drouhin had managed to attract a large number of subscribers, but they very quickly abandoned the publication, and hence their subscriptions. One reason for this could be, as cited above, the waves of emigration which meant that those who had already committed themselves to buying the book then had to leave the country, possibly without having too much time to worry about outstanding book subscriptions. Another possible conclusion to draw from Lacroix's comment would be that the book, in terms of either its contents or its presentation, and maybe even both, was judged to be unsatisfactory in some way. The subscribers soon tired of it and felt that there was very little point in continuing with their payments. Inferior quality could thus be to blame for the lack of success of the work. Certainly there were some comments made to the effect that the work did not necessarily fulfil all of its promise. The *Gentleman's Magazine* had announced a forthcoming "very interesting work" in November 1790.[180] Once the book had appeared the reviewers were still prepared to admit that the work was of some value in terms of the protection of France's heritage, but did question certain elements of the presentation. Most criticizable were, in their view, the engravings. The review in the June 1791 issue of the magazine concluded with the following words: "The execution of the plates is so extremely unequal, that we tremble for the expiring Arts, to which it seems Liberty and Democracy are no more favourable in France than they were in England in the last age."[181] Millin took issue with them on this point, and a retraction was published soon after: "We are very sorry what we said of the 'Antiquités Nationales' has been misunderstood by the Editor as too severe a

[178] "Plus la proscription étoit sévère, plus elle haussoit le prix du livre, plus elle excitoit la curiosité de le lire, plus il étoit acheté, plus il étoit lu. Combien de fois le libraire et l'auteur d'un livre privilégié, s'ils l'avoient osé, n'auroient-ils pas dit aux magistrats: Messieurs, de grâce, un petit arrêt qui me condamne à être lacéré et brûlé au pied de votre grand escalier? Quand on crioit la sentence d'un livre, les ouvriers de l'imprimerie disoient: Bon, encore une édition." See Denis Diderot, *Lettre historique et politique sur le commerce de la Librairie*, in: DIDEROT 1969, vol. 5 (1970), pp. 299–381, here p. 371.

[179] LACROIX 1866, p. 332.

[180] "Foreign Literary Intelligence" in GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE 1731, vol. LX, part the second, November 1790, pp. 1032–3, here p. 1033.

[181] "Foreign Literary Intelligence" in GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE 1731, vol. LXI, part the first, June 1791, pp. 562–3, here p. 563.

censure. We intended it only as a hint for improvement."[182] That the 'Editor' was in fact Millin himself is made clear in the article published in 1793: "In our review of the first 6 numbers [...] we expressed a regret that the execution of the plates was so unequal. M. Millin expostulated with us on the censure".[183] Whilst the author may have felt himself obliged to defend his work, and hence to protect its sales, it cannot be denied that the criticism was partially justified.[184] Amongst the 250 plates contained in the work, many do betray a certain clumsiness: whilst they illustrate the text, most of them would not rank as pieces that could have interested a true *amateur des arts*.[185] Whether this is to be attributed to the speed with which the parts were being issued, and hence at which the plates had to be produced, or the quality of the artists concerned is harder to ascertain. A total of twenty-four engravers and draughtsmen was involved in the project and a close analysis of their careers suggests that Drouhin had maybe not managed to engage the services of the best artists of his time.[186]

Not, nonetheless, that it should be imagined that Millin merely expostulated with the author of the review quoted above, since there is also evidence that a determined attempt was

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[182] "Index Indicatorius", in GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE 1731, vol. LXI, part the second, December 1791, p. 1139.

[183] See "Review of new publications", in GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE 1731, vol. LXIII, part 1, January 1793, pp. 49–52, here p. 49.

[184] Even the *Chronique de Paris*, despite its undoubted loyalty to one of its chief editors, allowed itself some comment on this same question. The criticism is of the most tacit, and neatly contained within a phrase that seems at first sight to be entirely positive: "La partie des gravures nous a paru gagner à chaque livraison": ALM CHRONIQUE 1789, no. 40, February 9 1791, p. 157.

[185] For a full list of the plates in each article, see Appendix 4. The numbers of plates per volume are as follows: Vo1. 1, 53; Vol. 2, 51; Vo1. 3, 46; Vol. 4, 55; Vol. 5, 45. This total of 250 plates can only be ascertained by such a careful collation since the tables of plates included at the end of each volume are not entirely accurate, listing only 245. The differences are in art. XI (5 listed, 6 actually), art. XXXIII (3 listed, 5 actually), art. LII (11 listed, 12 actually) and art. LIX (l listed, 2 actually). Most of the descriptions given in the bibliographical works claim that there are only 249 plates. It is hard to see where this began, but it is already recorded thus in FOURNIER 1809, p. 354, for the folio edition. He gives no figure for the quarto edition, but it is to be assumed that it would have been the same. The same figure is then repeated by Brunet.

[186] Identification of the artists is, as was also the case with the printers, rather fraught with difficulties. In the Millin correspondence at the BNF there is not one single letter addressed to or emanating from any of the illustrators engaged on the *Antiquités*. The issue is further complicated by the difficulties of identifying figures of the revolutionary period: the problem was already noted at the beginning of the last century by Henry Lapauze in his publication of the minutes of the Commune des Arts where he says that, despite his best attempts to consult not only the printed biographical dictionaries and other such works, but also the manuscripts and electoral lists of the revolutionary period, he was still not able to identify all the artists mentioned in the document with any degree of certainty (see LAPAUZE 1903, pp. xvi–xvii). A brief biography of each artist is to be found in Appendix 4. The engravers were Louis-Jean Allais, Jean Aubry, Barriere, Georges Louis Beausse, Auguste Blanchard, Jean-Baptiste Chapuy, François-Philippe Charpentier, Delestre, Henri-Louis Desmaisons, Jean de Laporte, Charles Louis François Le Carpantier, Lemercier, Nicolas-François Masquelier, Jean-Baptiste Michel, Georges Michon, Pierre Nicolas Ransonnette, Simon and Jean Testard, and the draughtsmen Louis Brion, Duchemin, Jean-François Garnerey, Henri Nicolas van Gorp, Michel Lambert and Limosin.

made to improve the quality of the illustrations. Some general amelioration is evident in the engravings: no longer are unfinished plates allowed to figure in the work. Even more telling than this, however, is that two separate copies of the 1790–8 *Antiquités* can be identified by a close comparison of the plates. Five plates were either reworked or replaced in the first ten articles. Of these, two are variant states in which background details have been added to plates that presented no more than a blunt representation of the building depicted. This is particularly the case in the engraving showing the Tour de Montlhéry. The first version represents the tower and the chapel on a hillside that bears scarcely any vegetation against a completely blank background but in the second version these gaps have been remedied and sky, clouds and vegetation have been added **[Ills. 30–1]**.[187] A similar case is that of the plate representing the façade of the chapel at Vincennes where much additional detail has been filled in **[Ills. 32–3]**. Of the other three, two are re-engravings of a plate after the same artist's drawing: the 'Société des amis de la Constitution' (a scene showing the events in the club des Jacobins on the evening of Mirabeau's famous speech) **[Ill. 34]** and the 'Maître autel of Saint-Denis-de-la-Chartre' **[Ill. 36]**. In both cases the draughtsman was van Gorp and his drawings were first engraved by Aubry. Aubry's work was then to be replaced by plates signed by Nicolas-François Masquelier (the 'Société des amis') **[Ill. 35]** and by Auguste Blanchard (the 'Maître autel') **[Ill. 37]**. Comparison of the two images shows, on both occasions, that the substituted image is vastly superior to the first version. Aubry's collaboration on the *Antiquités nationales* ended at almost exactly the same time, although it is impossible to state with complete certitude that it was because of the poor quality of his engravings. The fifth plate that was replaced was in the third article, on the Célestins. Here, an engraving by Beausse after a drawing by Brion has been replaced by one engraved by Beausse, but after a drawing by van Gorp **[Ills. 38–9]**.[188]

From the survey given in this chapter, the publication of the *Antiquités* was beset with difficulties. Far from being the success that Drouhin and Millin had hoped, it was nowhere near as popular as the editor's other major enterprise of this time, the *Recherches sur les costumes* by Le Vacher de Charnois. The reasons for its qualified reception are much harder to ascertain. Delays occurred in the issue of some parts, and yet this was not unheard of in part-publication. Some of the plates were felt to be substandard, but they were replaced. The

[187] ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 1 (1790), art. II, pl. 1. Here, unfortunately, the plate is anonymous in both states. That the second state amounts to a retouched version of the original plate is obvious from a close comparison of the two.

[188] ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 1 (1790), art. III, pl. 20, 'Vitraux du chœur des Célestins'.

price may have been rather too high given the economic conditions prevalent during the Revolution, but this does not explain why both Volland and Barba were also to experience problems in clearing their stocks. It seems that there may well have been other factors which militated against the book. Maybe Millin had misjudged his market, and had produced a book which little accorded with the taste of his times and which proved to be insufficiently clear as to its aims and methods.

Chapter 6.
RESEARCHING ANTIQUITIES

The previous chapter examined the book as a physical object: the history of its printing, of its publication and the various attempts, albeit not entirely successful, to market it. Viewed in a strictly chronological, a linear, vision of the story of the *Antiquités nationales*, this could well be construed as putting the cart before the horses. The printing, publication and the subsequent marketing of the book represent the culmination of the genesis of a book. After all, a compositor could not hope to set the type and impose the pages without a pre-existent text. In the case of a new work, this implies a manuscript furnished by the author. In order to establish a more complete archaeology of the composition of an illustrated book it is necessary to descend further through the stratigraphic layers and to examine its coming into being, its history before the moment when the presses were being operated: the origins and the sources of the text and plates need to be identified.

In part, this involves questioning the author's motivations, his intentions, and his aims. As far as the motivation and the intentions are concerned there are certain documents that have already been invoked – the letter from Drouhin, the speech to the Assemblée nationale, the prospectus – which go some way to explaining why Millin undertook the work and what he hoped thereby to achieve. Much as these help in reconstructing the reason, the why, for the book, they do not answer the question of the method, the how. How did an author, Millin in this case, set about planning his book and assembling the rich documentation which was needed for a publication of this nature? What, in other words, were the working methods of a late eighteenth-century historian writing a history of the monuments of France? This does not imply an examination of his daily routine, nor an attempted reconstruction of his cabinet – interesting as it may be to speculate on such matters, the facts to hand do not allow for any more than a set of overly-romanticized hypotheses which it would be impossible to verify. What it does require is an examination of both the internal and the external evidence of the book in order to question how Millin gathered together the information that he needed for his work: a study of his sources and the use that he made of them.

Before the range of the sources that Millin must have called upon for his work can be understood, the full scope of the book must be appreciated. The five volumes published comprise sixty-one articles of varying lengths, each one of which is devoted to a building or monument; occasionally this is extended to cover a group of monuments in a town or even a

description of the town as a whole.[1] The choice of the monuments discussed, the articulation between the sixty-one different parts and the possible underlying logic is a question that will be discussed in a later chapter.[2] For our present purposes, it is important merely to notice that this is what can, at best, be described as a rather heterogeneous selection, compounded by the fact that Millin did not choose to concentrate only on the buildings themselves, but also wished to include all objects of interest to be found therein.[3] A number of elements disconcert the reader accustomed to the more traditional antiquarian descriptions or the *voyages pittoresques* that were so popular at this time. Not the least surprising is that, rather than concentrating on one town or at least one region of the country, Millin has chosen to describe buildings which are spread over a fairly wide area. Paris and her environs are well represented but not to the exclusion of other parts of France: thus it is that the reader is invited to read articles on, to name but a few of the towns included, Calais, Amiens, Lille, Rouen, Paris and Orléans. Likewise, Millin does not restrict his subject to one type of building or to a closely-circumscribed chronological range as religious, civil and military buildings are all discussed, and monuments from several different centuries find a place in the work. Added to this is the fact that on a number of occasions the author chooses to integrate dissertations on subjects such as the history of clocks and watches, medals, various artistic techniques including the art of stained-glass windows, roads since the time of the Roman Empire and methods of punishment. Whilst the word encyclopaedic may not be entirely apt, it is certainly true to say that the author's ambition extended beyond the production of either a specialized or a localized treatise. Admittedly the coverage of these various subjects is not very profound, but it is admirable that any one person should have been able, in a relatively limited period of time, to cover such a disparate range of topics; the first four volumes, some 1,600 pages and 200 illustrations, did, after all, appear over a period of only twenty-eight months. Even so, Millin's achievement here pales into insignificance when compared with that of Charles Batteux who was said to have produced forty-five volumes – apparently a series of *Cours élémentaires à l'usage de l'École militaire* – in the space of less than one year.[4] Similarly prodigious achievements were, nonetheless, not

[1] For the list of the chapters, see Appendix 1 – Bibliographical description, § contents.

[2] See *infra*, ch. 9.

[3] As is made clear from the title of the work itself: *Antiquités nationales ou recueil de monuments, pour servir à l'histoire générale et particulière de l'Empire français, tels que tombeaux, inscriptions, statues, vitraux, fresques, etc. tirés des abbayes, monastères, châteaux, et autres lieux devenus domaines nationaux.*

[4] This is the figure given in the biography of Charles Batteux to be found in MICHAUD 1843, vol. 3 (1843), pp. 523–5 (notice written by Noël).

common and this is, if not a rather extravagant claim on the part of Batteux's biographer, at least a very exceptional case.

One of the *topoi* of literary iconography, comparable to that of the artist in his studio in artistic iconography, is that of the scholar in his study, the academic working alone, surrounded by his books and papers. Valid as this may be in some cases, it is a *modus scribendi* that was increasingly being called into question during the eighteenth century, when the empirical model began to gain a hold not only in the natural sciences, but also in other scholarly endeavours. For antiquarian studies, for example, the idea of observation, of visiting towns or regions, of seeing monuments or works of art and of being able to judge their qualities began to assume more and more importance.[5]

As ever, the lack of manuscript versions of the text, in fact of any of Millin's notes for the early part of his project, renders the examination of his working models more difficult than would be the case for other scholars, or even for other of his own books. There are, nonetheless, a number of ways of attacking the problem. Evidence contained within the text itself and in other sources can help. Likewise, since the Millin archives do contain his notes for and drafts of later texts, there are some clues concerning the compositional methods which were particularly dear to him. A further possibility is to extend the scope of the question and to examine not only how Millin himself but also how others engaged on similar projects set about assembling and sifting their facts. There is not just one recipe that was followed. Much depended on the circumstances of the person, of the nature of the study which they were undertaking. Three main methods can be identified, any of which, or indeed a combination of which, could be used for an ambitious scholarly endeavour of this type.

Historical working methods during the eighteenth century

In a programmatic passage at the beginning of the preface to the second volume of his *Recueil*, the great French eighteenth-century antiquary Caylus revealed the secrets of his profession: "Un Antiquaire entretient des correspondances dans les Pays, où les Arts ont autrefois établi leur empire. Les soins qu'il prend pour faire des acquisitions, les lettres qu'il est obligé d'écrire, ses voyages en différens lieux, ses recherches dans les Cabinets des Curieux, & dans les Bibliothèques, donnent au cours de sa vie une action, que l'esprit & la raison peuvent avouer."[6] Several facets of the daily routine of an antiquary are given here, and these can in turn

[5] MOMIGLIANO 1950.

[6] CAYLUS 1752, vol. 2 (1756), p. ii. On Caylus and his publication, see RIDLEY 1992.

be reduced to three main points. First, the antiquary must maintain a close contact with the objects themselves, be it through the construction of a personal collection or through the examination of and familiarity with others' collections. Secondly, there is a need to establish the possibility of a dialogue, albeit epistolary, with other scholars working in the same field in other areas or other countries. Third, the antiquary must also be prepared to develop and refine his knowledge through the consultation of books. Unfortunately, clear as Caylus may be on the need for the scholar to exploit all three of these resources, he makes no attempt to comment on either the relative value or the advantages and disadvantages of each of them. Above all, he avoids any temptation to rank them. In order to gain a notion of the relative importance of the various methods outlined by Caylus – direct contact, correspondence and book-learning – we must turn to a text written some eighty years earlier. Towards the end of the seventeenth century the Maurist congregation launched an ambitious project, the publication of the *Acta Sanctorum Ordinis Sancti Benedicti*.[7] For various reasons this work was never completed; not least amongst these reasons was the debate that the work provoked. Ironically, this debate proved to be one of the more significant results of the project, at least in terms of the study of historical writing during the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Attacked by a number of detractors who were less than convinced by the scholarly validity of the work, one of the principal editors, Jean Mabillon, decided to defend himself. Amongst the texts penned by him at this time is one entitled 'Brièves Réflections sur quelques règles de l'histoire', a statement of his beliefs concerning a historian's aims, methods and duties.[8] The entire text is of great interest, but in the context of an attempt to identify the probable working-methods of and sources consulted by eighteenth-century historians, the following phrase, in the chapter entitled 'Autorité', assumes a very particular significance: "Nous ne pouvons connoistre les choses passées que pour les avoir veuës, ou pour les avoir entendues des tesmoins digne de foy, ou pour les avoir leuës."[9] For Mabillon there are thus three main methods available for the historian who wishes to investigate the past, methods which he describes as being the "Regles sur lesquelles est appuyée la verité des choses passées."[10]

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[7] ACTA SANCTORUM 1668.

[8] This text (BNF, Cabinet des manuscrits, fonds français 17696, fols. 294 ff.) has recently been published: MABILLON 1990. That Mabillon would not have envisaged writing such a text at this point in his career of his own free will becomes clear from the opening sentence: "Je n'aurois jamais pensé a parler des Regles de l'histoire, si je n y avois esté engagé par la necessité de me deffendre" (p. 103).

[9] MABILLON 1990, p. 112.

[10] MABILLON 1990, p. 112.

“Pour les avoir veuës”

“Pour les avoir veuës” is the first option that Mabillon offers, and if it can be presumed that the order in which he has presented the various methods is not entirely fortuitous, but represents rather an hierarchy of the order in which they should ideally be employed, then this would seem to be the preferred choice of the Maurist historian. Here, then, is the notion of the historian as eye-witness. That Mabillon should recommend this as the ideal solution for anyone attempting to write history is scarcely surprising given his life-long insistence on the importance of observation, the need to distinguish between fake and genuine, an insistence that was to be clearly codified in what must be seen as the founding text of the science of diplomatics, his *De Re diplomatica*.[11] Gradually the notion of the importance of observation of objects was to become enshrined in antiquarian thought.

Such was certainly the attitude of Caylus when he published his *Recueil* of antiquities. He was keen to emphasize one point, made in the very opening sentence of his book, which was that all of the objects included in the work had at one time or another been in his own possession: “Je me suis borné à ne publier dans ce Recueil que les monumens qui m’appartiennent, ou qui m’ont appartenu.”[12] Aware that this fact might provoke feelings of resentment or jealousy, he hastened to reassure his readers that his statement was aimed only at proving a scrupulous attention to detail and authenticity, and certainly did not reveal any fetish for the possession of the object itself.[13] A reader who remembered this assertion may well have been tempted to raise a quizzical eyebrow when faced with the admittedly touching but nonetheless fairly revealing passage in the preface to the second volume where Caylus describes the reaction of the antiquary upon the arrival of a fresh consignment of objects destined to enrich his collection: “Dans l’instant où ses trésors arrivent, il ouvre avec une douce inquiétude, mêlée d’espérance, les caisses qui les renferment: il se flatte d’y trouver des choses rares & inconnues. Le moment de la découverte est pour lui une jouissance vive.”[14] Hard as it may seem to

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[11] On this work, first published in 1681, see especially LEVILLAIN 1908; see also the comments in BICKENDORF 1998, pp. 53 ff.

[12] CAYLUS 1752, vol. 1 (1752), p. [i].

[13] “Je les ai fait dessiner avec la plus grande exactitude, & j’ose dire que les descriptions ne sont pas moins fidéles. Des présens du hazard, et quelques légères dépenses ne sauraient assez flatter l’amour-propre, pour engager à s’écarter de la vérité. Mon goût pour les Arts ne m’a point donné celui de la propriété.” (CAYLUS 1752, vol. 1 (1752), p. [i]).

[14] CAYLUS 1752, vol. 2 (1756), p. ii.

reconcile these two apparently very distinct attitudes towards the possession of objects, there are some indications furnished by the collector in his letters to his agent in Rome, Paolo Paciaudi, which enable us to nuance slightly the question. It would appear from comments made in this correspondence that whilst Caylus did indeed enjoy the acquisition and possession of some objects, he was determined to distance himself from the image of the typical wealthy collector who was only interested in obtaining masterpieces or very expensive and luxurious, most often purely decorative, items.[15] In one letter he states clearly how he wishes Paciaudi to choose the items that could be purchased on his behalf: "Je vous prie toujours de vous souvenir que je ne fais pas un cabinet, que la vanité n'étant point mon objet, je ne me soucie point de morceaux d'apparat, mais que des guenilles d'agate, de pierre, de bronze, de terre, de vitre, qui peuvent servir en quoi que ce soit à retrouver un usage ou le passage d'un auteur, sont l'objet de mes désirs."[16] Here the historical nature of the object is at stake, since it becomes evident that it was preferable for Caylus to have an earthenware pot which belonged to the everyday life of a Greek or Roman as opposed to a precious jewel or statuette.

Caylus was a member of the privileged classes, and an income of 60,000 livres allowed him to satisfy his passion for collecting. Having constituted a collection, he could then take the time to view and review the various objects that he was hoping to include in his *Recueil*. That this repeated consideration of a work of art was an essential part of an antiquary's work, regardless of whether or not he had the good fortune to have the objects directly to hand, was a point made by Winckelmann in the preface to his *Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums*. After bemoaning the fact that too many earlier scholars had rushed into hasty conclusions without giving themselves either the opportunity or enough time to examine scrupulously a work of art, Winckelmann made the following comparison: "Aber die mehrsten gedenken zu derselben zu gelangen, wie diejenigen, welche aus Monatsschriften ihre Wissenschaften sammeln, und unterstehen sich vom Laokoon, wie diese vom Homerus, zu urteilen, auch im Angesichte desjenigen, der diesen und jenen viele Jahre studiert hat."[17] According to the German

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[15] Caylus's disdain for the purely ornamental is expressed succinctly in the following passage: "Je compare les belles antiquités aux belles dames et aux beaux messieurs [...] qui arrivent dans une compagnie, se montrent et n'apprennent rien": letter from Caylus to Paciaudi, August 28 1758, in: CAYLUS 1877, vol. 1, p. 9.

[16] CAYLUS 1877, vol. 1, p. 4; quoted by RIDLEY 1992, p. 364.

[17] WINCKELMANN 1982, p. 16. ("Mais la plupart des soi-disans connoisseurs de l'art pensent acquérir les notions de l'antique, en promenant avec indifférence leurs regards sur les monumens, à-peu-près comme certains amateurs des belles-lettres croient saisir les principes de la littérature en lisant des journaux": WINCKELMANN 1801, vol. 1 (1801), p. xxii).

archaeologist "viel schwerer aber ist die Kenntnis der Kunst in den Werken der Alten, in welchen man nach hundertmal Wiedersehen noch Entdeckungen macht."[18] Two scholars from very different backgrounds and with such dissimilar approaches to their subject that they have often been presented as implacable enemies were thus in complete agreement on the importance to the antiquary, the archaeologist, the art historian, in short to all those working in history and its allied disciplines, of the observation of the original.

For an author who wished to produce a book devoted to one town or at least to a closely circumscribed geographical region and who was not an inhabitant of the place, this need to observe objects entailed a journey. Plentiful were the journeys undertaken during the eighteenth century in the aim of furthering the traveller's knowledge and experience, be it at the more general level of the Grand Tour which became increasingly institutionalized as an obligatory stage in a young gentleman's education, or with a more definite aim in view.[19] Artists set off in the hope of perfecting their style by studying and copying the models furnished by the Old Masters, scientists travelled in the hope of discovering rare, hitherto unknown specimens which could be collected and taken back for close observation in the laboratory, early anthropologists undertook long and often potentially dangerous journeys in order to observe and better understand indigenous populations. Historians and antiquaries shared a number of these aims: by observation of the works they could hope to perfect their eye, and it is also true that they hoped to be able to check for new, undiscovered documents or pieces in the collections, archives or libraries that they visited. Their aim was to see the town, the building, the works of art *in situ*, to observe them, to describe them carefully and to unearth new and pertinent facts that could enliven their account, that could better the accounts of their predecessors. It was not only advisable, according to those who wrote their accounts in such a way, but indeed essential, to be in the place, to be in front of the works of art. Such was the credo of, for example, Winckelmann: "Es ist daher schwer, ja fast unmöglich, etwas Gründliches von der alten Kunst und von nicht bekannten Altertümern ausser Rom zu schreiben."[20] Even if the journey were potentially hazardous, the scholar who wished to publish a truly authentic account would not hesitate. James Stuart and Nicholas Revett were under no illusions as to the risks of travelling in Greece, but they determined nevertheless to visit the city of Athens in order to effect the

[18] WINCKELMANN 1982, p. 16. ("après les [monumens] avoir vus cent fois on y fait encore de nouvelles découvertes": WINCKELMANN 1801, vol. 1 (1801), p. xxii).

[19] The Grand Tour has attracted a considerable amount of literature. Amongst recent publications see: BLACK 1992; CHARD 1999; GRAND TOUR 1996.

[20] WINCKELMANN 1982, p. 15.

necessary research for their *Antiquities of Athens*. They published in Rome, in 1748, their *Proposals for publishing* [...] *the Antiquities of Athens*, which included the following reminder of the dangers that they might be facing: "Greece, since the revival of the Arts, has been in the possession of Barbarians; and Artists capable of such a Work, have [not] been able to satisfy their passion, whether it was for Fame or Profit, without risking themselves [...]. The ignorance and jealousy of that uncultivated people may, perhaps, render an undertaking of this sort, still somewhat dangerous."[21]

Concurrent with the increasing attention paid to the need to travel was a large development in the numbers of accounts of journeys which were published.[22] Not all commentators welcomed this proliferation of travel accounts; Rollin in his *Traité des Etudes* remarked on the fact that only those who travelled with discrimination could hope to gain something from his journey.[23] Some years later Caylus was to comment on the traveller who arrives in a foreign country, and, on the same occasion, seemed to be warning against the temptation of rushing into print with an account of all that has been seen:

> "Un Voyageur, en arrivant dans un pays étranger, voit les objets, pour ainsi dire, sans les voir; il en est ébloui: bien éloigné de distinguer la différence des états, il est également frappé de tout; par conséquent ses idées sont long-tems imparfaites, ou plutôt très-obscures. Il est donc certain que si, dans de pareilles circonstances, un homme vouloit parler & décider, il ne pourroit prononcer que des absurdités; & que ses décisions ne pourroient être que douteuses ou du moins très-hasardées. Je veux qu'il ait le bon sens de ne point parler: peut-il être assuré, par rapport à lui-même, d'avoir fait des réflexions justes sur tout ce qu'il a vû?"[24]

Thus the simple collection and annotation of facts is not enough to justify a journey. It is only through observation and careful consideration, followed by a period of synthesis, that a traveller can actually hope to have travelled with fruit; even then, it would not always be

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[21] STUART & REVETT 1748, quoted in STUART & REVETT 1762 (reprint STUART & REVETT 1968), vol. 1 (1762), p. v, note a.

[22] Daniel Roche quotes the figures given by Boucher de la Richarderie who counted 3,000 for the eighteenth century alone, as compared with 2,000 for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: see ROCHE 1988, p. 263.

[23] "S'ils se bornent à parcourir beaucoup de pays, à voir beaucoup de villes, à examiner la beauté et la magnificence des édifices et des monuments publics, seront-ils d'un grand usage? Rendront-ils quelqu'un plus sage, plus réglé, plus tempérant? Lui ôteront-ils ses préjugés et ses erreurs? Ils l'amuseront pour un temps, comme un enfant, par la nouveauté et la variété des objets, qui lui causeront une stupide admiration. En user ainsi, ce n'est pas voyager, mais s'égarer, et perdre son temps et sa peine": ROLLIN 1726, see ROLLIN 1845, vol. 2, p. 301 (Livre sixième, troisième partie, chapitre premier, § VI). His attitude was later echoed in the *Encyclopédie* article on 'expérience': "Les voyages sont aussi fort utiles pour donner de l'expérience; mais pour en retirer cet avantage, on doit voyager avec l'esprit d'observation": ENCYCLOPÉDIE 1751, vol. 6 (1756), p. 297 (article signed by Du Marsais).

[24] CAYLUS 1752, vol. 6 (1764), pp. [i]–ii.

advisable to publish the impressions of a foreign country. Given this comment, it is hardly surprising to learn that Caylus never wished to publish in any form the notes that he had taken on his own journey to Italy during 1714–15.[25]

Travellers such as Stuart, Revett or Wood and the accounts that they subsequently wrote are clear cases of an intentional visit; their journey was made in the aim of collecting together the necessary material that could then be published. On the other hand, there are also descriptions of a town and of its monuments which are less intentional. For example, it cannot be said that Germain Brice, who wrote what was to become one of the most popular guide-books to Paris of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, had visited Paris in the intention of producing an account of what he found there. His work, the *Description de la ville de Paris* was to go through nine editions, and was rather the result, one could almost say a by-product, of his daily occupation.[26] Born in Paris in 1653, he was to spend most of his life there and his peregrinations around the town did not result from his wish to write a book on the city; quite the opposite in fact, since he was a *cicerone* there. Little convinced by the idea of remaining in holy orders, he had decided that he could most gainfully employ himself by teaching the rudiments of French to foreign visitors to the city. As is explained in the preface to the ninth edition of the book, his French lessons and his generally accommodating manner so impressed the foreign visitors that they "le prierent de leur servir de guide dans les endroits de la Ville, qui méritoient l'attention des Curieux."[27] Brice accepted the idea and gradually became so enthusiastic that he not only devoted himself to acquiring as much knowledge as possible about Paris, but also decided to further his artistic education by travelling to Italy.[28] Having developed his eye, he returned to Paris with increased enthusiasm for the artistic treasures of the city and then decided to circulate his knowledge through the written word. Brice's book first appeared in 1684; some eleven years earlier another scholar had published a treatise on his hometown. In this case the

[25] The manuscript remained in the hands of Mariette and then, after passing through various collections, was bought at the Ashburnham sale by the Italian government and is now kept in the Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana, Cod. Laur. Ashburnh. No. 1578. It was published at the beginning of the last century: CAYLUS 1914.

[26] BRICE 1684, followed by new editions in 1687, 1698, 1701, 1706, 1713, 1717, 1718, 1725 (all during Brice's lifetime) and 1752 (posthumous). Each edition contains new material and numerous alterations; the last one was reworked by Pierre-Jean Mariette and the abbé Pérau. A recent facsimile of the 1752 edition also contains an important introduction and a concordance to the nine editions: see BRICE 1971.

[27] BRICE 1971, 'Avertissement', p. ii.

[28] "Le désir qu'il avoit de s'instruire, lui fit faire de rapides progrès; mais rien ne contribua davantage à le perfectionner dans la connoissance des beaux Arts, qu'un voyage qu'il fit en Italie, où sous la conduite des grands Maîtres, il étudia les riches modéles de l'Antiquité." (BRICE 1971, 'Avertissement', p. iv).

town was Lyons and the author was the antiquary and doctor Jacob Spon.[29] In much the same way as Brice had developed his knowledge and his eye, so too had Spon. Born in Lyons he left the town to study medicine in Strasbourg, Paris and Montpellier. He met Charles Patin, son of the doctor and numismatist Guy Patin, who shared his father's interests; the two young men spent many hours engaged in the study of antiquities, and journeyed together in Holland and Germany. Spon developed his eye and his interest in this way, and he put his knowledge to good effect when he returned to Lyons and began to study more carefully the history and the antiquities of his hometown.[30]

"Pour les avoir entendues des tesmoins digne de foy"

Brice was from Paris just as Spon was from Lyons, and both thus benefited from what can be described as an insider's knowledge of the town. Very different was, however, the position of the traveller who arrived in a town for the first time, hoping to be able to effect all the research necessary for the writing of a thorough and good history. An interesting view was expressed by de Gasparin, an antiquary from Orange, who expressed with some honesty his feelings about the short-comings of local historians who had worked on the antiquities of Orange, admitting that his own research on the town had been considerable facilitated by the views of outsiders: "Ainsi tout restait à faire, tout était à créer, si je n'avais eu pour secours que les travaux des Orangeois; heureusement des hommes illustres avaient été attirés par la renommée de nos monuments; [...] l'Arc de triomphe connu par plusieurs dissertations, était devenu le sujet d'une polémique où l'on avait beaucoup éclairci la matière [...]."[31] He also, notwithstanding his acknowledgement of their utility, made a revealing comment on one of the problems that could beset scholars who visited a town in order to describe the monuments:

> "Dans ces derniers temps, M.r Millin avait visité cet édifice et en avait donné une bonne description, meilleure à tous les égards, que celle de nos auteurs du pays qui avaient le monument sous les yeux; il est vrai qu'en voulant l'expliquer, il avait agi un peu en voyageur pressé, et que craignant d'être arrêté trop long-temps sur une difficulté insoluble, il avait tranché le nœud Gordien à la suite de Papon."[32]

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[29] SPON 1673.

[30] On Spon see ETIENNE & MOSSIÈRE 1993. Other similar examples of scholars who worked on local history can also be found.

[31] GASPARIN 1815 (reprint – GASPARIN 1988), pp. vi–vii.

[32] GASPARIN 1815, p. vii.

Time was of the essence, and at a period when museums and libraries were not generally open to the public, when many treasures were still in the hands of private collectors, and when the culture of the guide-book was nowhere near as developed as it was to become over the succeeding centuries, it was thus important to procure the help of local figures who were conversant with the various idiosyncrasies of the area and its customs.[33] Much precious time could be saved by enlisting the aid of a sympathetic scholar, or a person with a lofty administrative or ecclesiastical function who could ease the visitor's passage into the sometimes jealously-guarded private collections, who could advise of the existence of an otherwise unknown archive or similarly rich source of information. Brice when he went to Italy ensured that he was "sous la conduite des grands Maîtres".[34] When Mabillon or Montfaucon left Paris in order to carry out research for their ambitious editorial enterprises such as the *Palaeographia*, they could usually be sure of a welcome and a lodging in a Benedictine congregation; in addition, their hosts could introduce them to the archivists, librarians and historians of the region who could facilitate their quest for documentation. Not that it should be imagined that this was necessarily infallible, and that all problems were automatically solved if a visiting scholar could count among his friends important local figures.[35] That this was not invariably the case is shown, for example, by the very poor welcome that Montfaucon received from the Benedictine house of San Giorgio in Venice.[36] Over one century later, Millin was also to ensure that he could count on the help of local scholars and dignitaries during his journeys in the Midi and then in Italy. Amongst the large number of letters relating to his journey to Italy are several examples of letters of introduction written on his behalf.[37] Were a problem to be encountered once there, an appeal to the highest authorities could not go amiss, as he was to discover during his stay in Naples: he had been granted permission to draw up monuments in the museum of Naples, but this authorization had subsequently been rescinded. Millin wrote to the queen of Naples, to

[33] For a history of similar visits in England, see TINNISWOOD 1998.

[34] BRICE 1971, 'Avertissement', p. iv.

[35] For some of the problems encountered see WAQUET 1989, pp. 389–400.

[36] WAQUET 1989, p. 392.

[37] See for example, the multiple copies of a letter of introduction for Millin written by Zurlo, secretary to the Reale Accademia di Storia e Antichità di Napoli: BNF, Cabinet des manuscrits, fonds français 24703, fols. 199–202 (all are dated Naples, April 22 1812). Likewise, before Millin's departure for Italy, the Count Marescalchi wrote to him enclosing letters of recommendation for his journey to Italy: see BNF, Cabinet des manuscrits, fonds français 24692, fol. 67 (s.l.n.d.).

whom he had paid court assiduously ever since his arrival in the city, to request that she should intervene in his favour.[38]

A network of local contacts was not only of aid, however, as a means of smoothing the passage for a scholar who was already in the area. It was also a resource that could be exploited at a distance: an integral element in the preparatory research for many of the works of the eighteenth century was the epistolary exchange of scholarly information.[39] Sometimes these were the people who had been the host, or acquaintances during the journey, with whom the traveller maintained a correspondence once back home. On other occasions, the entire exchange was carried out exclusively by letter. Bearing testimony to the wealth of such epistolary exchanges are any number of scholars' archives teeming with letters, documents, drawings and engravings sent from all over Europe, such as that of Jacques-Philippe d'Orville (1690–1751), professor at the University of Leiden, who maintained an impressive correspondence with scholars from all over Europe whom he had met during his various journeys in France, England and Italy, or with whom he had been put in contact by other people.[40]

A dependence on the information supplied by correspondents did of course carry with it a consequent danger, and this is where the importance of Mabillon's second category, the "pour les avoir entendues des tesmoins digne de foy", comes into play. In relying on a correspondent to supply information, the scholar was trusting them to observe with exactitude and to interpret correctly the details that they saw. In the case of a document that had been copied, one was relying on the fact that they read the language correctly and that they did not make a mistake in the transcription. For an object, it was necessary to ascertain that the artist had represented exactly the details, and had not distorted any part of the representation. Or, as was the case for Caylus, the 'error' could be the result of a practical joke. He received a set of drawings after

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[38] BNF, Cabinet des manuscrits, fonds français 24693, fol. 159, letter dated Naples, October 5 1812. See *supra*, ch. 3, pp. 104–5.

[39] Not that it should be imagined that this was something innovatory during the eighteenth century, nor that it was confined exclusively to the eighteenth century. Earlier and later scholars practised the same. An obvious example of an earlier antiquary who pursued a vast correspondence with scholars from all over Europe was Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc. For his letters with other scholars see, for example, PEIRESC 1888, PEIRESC 1989 and PEIRESC 1995. On the practice of these "correspondances savantes" see WAQUET 1989, esp. pp. 402–5; DIBON 1976; POMIAN 1974.

[40] The archive is held in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, ms. d'Orville. D'Orville travelled extensively before taking up a chair at Leiden University, always devoting most of his time to the consultation of archives, the viewing of collections, or discussions with other scholars: "Hij vertrok in 1723 naar Frankrijk, en bragt te Parijs, Rochelles, Nantes, Bordeaux of in andere steden meer dan een jaar door met het doorzoeken van bibliotheken, kabinetten en pennigen en oudheden, het collationeren van handschriften, afteekenen van oude gedenkstukken, met verbintenissen aan te knoopen met beroemde mannen. [...] Zoowel in Engeland als in Frankrijk leefde hij midden onder de boeken en geleerde mannen": AA, van der 1852, vol. 14 (1867), pp. 213–16.

antiquities by Victor Louis, a young architect who had recently returned to Paris after a stay at the Académie de France de Rome which had been terminated rather abruptly in 1759 for reasons of Louis's behaviour, unacceptable in the eyes of the authorities. On receiving the drawings, Caylus set to working on them, but found himself rather dismayed at his own inability to read one of the etrusco-latin inscriptions contained therein. Despairing of ever being able to read it, he contacted Paciaudi in Rome. The latter's answer was at one and the same time reassuring to Caylus with regard to his palaeographical skills, but no doubt also rather frustrating since the Italian communicated that Caylus had been the victim of a practical joke. In effect, the inscription had been invented by Hubert Robert for incorporation into one of his drawings, and Louis had simply copied this imaginary text.[41]

The Maurists often worked in this way – Montfaucon launched appeals for any potentially useful documentation in the prospectus for his *Antiquité expliquée*.[42] And in the first plan for his *Monumens*, he made a similar appeal and recalled the response that he had received to his last request: "J'espere trouver les mêmes facilitez auprès des personnes qui seront en état de me communiquer les monumens des Provinces, que j'ai éprouvées pour l'Ouvrage de l'Antiquité expliquée & représentée en figures. Bien des gens de distinction se sont fait un plaisir de m'envoier ce qu'ils avoient de rare & de curieux qui pouvoit entrer dans mon recueil."[43] This practice prompted a rather acerbic comment from Winckelmann in his *Geschichte*, when he noted that Montfaucon "hat sein Werk entfernt von den Schätzen der alten Kunst zusammengetragen und hat mit fremden Augen und nach Kupfern und Zeichnungen geurteilt, die ihn zu grossen Vergehungen verleitet haben."[44] Doubtless Montfaucon was, from Winckelmann's point of view, prone to incorporate into his work the errors of others, errors which he could maybe have corrected had he personally viewed each object. Which does not mean to say that the Benedictine monk's work was in all respects inferior to that of Winckelmann. One point should not be overlooked in this comparison of the two great scholars, and that is that their ambitions were very different. When he began the work on his *Antiquité expliquée*, and later in the same logic, on his *Monumens de la monarchie françoise*, Montfaucon

[41] See PARISET 1959. Robert may well have known that Louis copied this imaginary inscription, but it is unlikely that he was aware of the intended addressee of the drawings. One thing is certain and that is that Robert wrote soon after to Caylus, offering to copy any objects that might be interesting for him.

[42] "Ceux qui auront quelque monument qui n'aura pas encore été publié, feront plaisir à l'Auteur, s'ils veulent bien le lui communiquer": see MONTFAUCON 1716, p. 5.

[43] MONTFAUCON 1725, p. [1].

[44] WINCKELMANN 1982, p. 13.

had in mind a very definite and a very ambitious aim. He wanted to be able to create the ultimate work of reference for all those working on antiquity; as he was to express it in the preface to the published work, he hoped that "après la publication de cet ouvrage deux années suffiront pour acquerir la connoissance de l'antiquité."[45] Thus he had assembled together and then published "dans un corps d'ouvrage toute l'antiquité: par ce terme d'antiquité j'entens seulement ce qui peut tomber sous les yeux; & ce qui se peut representer dans des images".[46] The task was enormous, and in his desire to include illustrations of all objects that could help to throw light on some aspect of classical life and letters, Montfaucon was necessarily going to depend upon the aid of various correspondents. Winckelmann, on the other hand, did not aim at such completeness: he could find within relatively easy access in Rome and its neighbourhood ample materials for the arguments that he wished to develop.

"Pour les avoir leuës"

Two of the three methods available to a scholar preparing a new work have already been outlined – the journey and the use of epistolary exchange. A third resource should also be evoked here, and that is the use of earlier scholars' publications.[47] If we return to Mabillon's comment on the various types of authority on which research can be based, this is the third element in the equation: "Nous ne pouvons connoistre les choses passées que pour les avoir veuës, ou pour les avoir entendues des tesmoins digne de foy, ou pour les avoir leuës."[48] Here, as in the case of the correspondents, there is a danger that a credulous scholar may take at face value all the facts that he reads, and may thus repeat in his own work the errors or the deliberate misrepresentations of previous generations. A major problem for the scholar was to be able to ascertain which accounts were trustworthy and which were not. Rollin attempted to give guidelines for the consultation of the ancient historians, warning that some (and he cites Cicero's censure of Herodotus and Theopompus) "par le mauvais goût de leur siècle, ou par une trop grande crédulité, ont mêlé beaucoup de fables dans leurs écrits".[49] He continued by congratulating the authors of his own century on their refusal to propagate such mistakes in their

[45] MONTFAUCON 1719, vol. 1 (1719), p. vi.

[46] MONTFAUCON 1719, vol. 1 (1719), p. vi.

[47] For a discussion of the sources used by French seventeenth century historians see TYVAERT 1973.

[48] MABILLON 1990, p. 112.

[49] ROLLIN 1726; see ROLLIN 1845, vol. 2, p. 292 (Livre sixième, troisième partie, chapitre premier, § III). On Rollin, see GROSPERRIN 1971.

own writing.[50] Christian Gottlob Heyne was less convinced of the superiority of the eighteenth century, and warned of the dangers of accepting blindly the statements of earlier scholars: "Lange Zeit über war der grosse Haufe der Antiquaren gewohnt, jedes Vorgeben, jede Behauptung, wie er sie fand, für ausgemacht anzunehmen, das einmal gesagte zu wiederholen; und daher kann man über einen antiquarischen Gegenstand zwanzig Italiäner nachschlagen, man findet immer einerley irrige oder grundlose Nachricht, ohne weitern Beweis und Zeugniss, und selbst ohne alle Ahndung, dass es noch an zulänglicher Bestätigung fehlt."[51]

To be in a position to judge the worth of a book, the scholar had first, of course, to know of its existence, and to be able to consult it. Considerable advances were made over the course of the eighteenth century, but easy access to the printed book was not guaranteed. Several attempts had been made at producing bibliographies in some domains, and many of them, such as Fabricius's works, still stand as monuments in their field.[52] But these were isolated efforts, and there was certainly little possibility of the annual updates covering all the most recent literature which is such an important tool for modern scholarship. Periodicals such as the *Journal des savants* did carry news about many of the most important new publications; another vital element was the exchange of information through letters. Montfaucon in his correspondence with d'Orville made a point of mentioning all the latest books that had appeared that might be of interest to his friend; the Dutch professor returned the favour. Catalogues of other scholar's libraries could also provide interesting references. If not, then a scholar had to rely on perusing the notes in earlier publications in an attempt to constitute a list of works that could be pertinent to his subject. Some authors also gave a short "ideal" bibliography. Mabillon, for example, ended an essay on how to write the history of religious foundations with a list of essential works for this type of study:

> "Pour ce qui est des livres dont ils doivent se servir, il seroit bon qu'ils eussent la Chronologie du Pere Labbe en cinq volumes in 12. car ils trouveront dans cet ouvrage une Chronologie assez exacte, les lettres Dominicales, l'Indiction, le nombre d'or, & le jour de Pâque de chaque année, avec les évenemens les plus considerables qui s'y sont passez.

[50] "On ne peut trop féliciter notre siècle de ce que [...] il a reconnu que rien, en effet, ne dégradait davantage l'éminence de la raison humaine, qui est destinée à se nourrir de la vérité, que de se repaître des chimères d'une imagination déreglée, et de s'en rendre le jouet en la suivant dans tous ses égarements": ROLLIN 1726, see ROLLIN 1845, vol. 2, p. 292 (Livre sixième, troisième partie, chapitre premier, § III).

[51] HEYNE 1778, vol. 1 (1778), pp. 172–3.

[52] FABRICIUS 1713, followed by another edition, FABRICIUS 1716.

> "Il seroit encore bon qu'ils eussent aussi les Tableaux genealogiques du même auteur qui contiennent les genealogies des Rois de France, & des principales maisons souveraines du Royaume & d'autres.
> "Enfin le petit livre du P. Labbe nommé Regia epitome historiae sacrae ac prophanae in 12. est de grand usage à cause des noms & des tems des Papes, Empereurs & Rois qu'il specifie, encore qu'il repete souvent la même chose. On peut ajouter à ces livres le *Bibliotheca Chronologica Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum* du même auteur."[53]

Once the existence of a book had been noted, the scholar then had to find a way of consulting it. A number of options were available.[54] Public institutions were certainly beginning to open their doors more readily to the public, but generally only to those who were accepted scholars. Paris, for example, could boast seventeen "public" libraries according to a list published in 1784.[55] Even so, opening hours were often very limited: in general only for about three hours in either the morning or the afternoon on only two or three days per week. It is thus scarcely surprising that many scholars relied either on their own personal collections, or on those of their friends or patrons.

By the end of the eighteenth century, at the time when Millin was beginning work on his *Antiquités nationales*, these were the three accepted means for the scholar to assemble the material that he needed for his study: travel, correspondence and earlier publications. None of the three can be imagined to be entirely satisfactory as the sole method chosen by a historian in the composition of an account of a town or a region, a building or a collection. Few, if any, late eighteenth-century scholars working on the history of France and her monuments would have dared to include in the preface to their work a declaration such as that made by André Duchesne (1584–1640) in presenting his book on a similar theme, published in 1609. Duchesne opened his book with the following disclaimer: "Amy Lecteur, Ne t'imagine pas que i'aye entrepris le voyage de la France, de ce grand & fleurissant Royaume, pour voir toutes les Villes, Places, & Chasteaux, dont ie te presente icy les Antiquitez & Singularitez plus remarquables, ny moins encore afin de contempler les assiettes & situations d'icelles."[56] Here we are far from the protestations of the eighteenth-century scholar who is at pains to point out how much field-work

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[53] MABILLON 1724, vol. 2, pp. 91–5, p. 95.

[54] For the questions discussed here see especially: Roger Chartier and Daniel Roche, "Les pratiques urbaines de l'imprimé", in CHARTIER & MARTIN 1990, pp. 521–58.

[55] GUIOT 1784, pp. 31–9. Quoted by Chartier and Roche, "Les pratiques urbaines de l'imprimé", in CHARTIER & MARTIN 1990, pp. 521–58, p. 535. To these could also be added two further collections that were not really 'public' but could be used, those of the Célestins and the marquis de Paulmy.

[56] DUCHESNE 1609, p. [viii].

has been undertaken in the preparation of the work. Likewise, we are far from Mabillon's exhortation to a scholar that objects that have been seen are those that are most worthy of being trusted. Jacob Spon, a contemporary of Mabillon, was even more direct than the Benedictine in his defence of the importance of combining, and testing, the publications of earlier authors with the evidence to be gleaned from the monuments themselves. To those who might ask him why anyone should bother looking at the monuments themselves when all the necessary knowledge was already to be found in books, he offered the dismissive rebuke that this was "un langage des demy sçavans".[57]

Millin and the "pour les avoir veuës"

There can be little doubt that Millin had in fact visited many, if not all, of the monuments that he analysed. Faithful to the precepts of his predecessors such as Caylus and Winckelmann, and also to his early training in the natural sciences, he was always to display an awareness of the need for scholars to be confronted with an object. One of the features of the lectures on antiquities that he was to give at the Bibliothèque nationale was his insistence on the need to illustrate his argument by showing either original pieces or, when that proved impossible, at least a faithful copy of the object in question.[58] Such was also his practice during the research for his *Antiquités nationales*: there are only scattered references to his compositional methods in the text itself, but these are consolidated by a number of other comments both by Millin himself and by various reviewers, historians and biographers. In the review of the last volume, Millin was to stress the fact that he had seen the buildings that he described: "Nous pouvons assurer n'avoir décrit aucun lieu que nous n'ayons visité nous-mêmes [...]."[59] Further details on his research methods are to be found in a letter dating to 1796 and addressed to Fauris de Saint-Vincent, in which Millin again made the point that he had not described any building that he had not seen: "Cet ouvrage contient une foule de détails et d'anecdotes singulières. Je n'ai décrit aucun lieu que je ne l'aie visité moi-même

[57] "Mais quelqu'un me dira, pourquoy tant de peine à rechercher l'Histoire ancienne sur des Marbres rompus, ou des pierres à demy effacées, si nous pouvons l'apprendre par le moyen des Livres, que nous avons dans nos Cabinets, qui sont & plus amples, & plus aisés à comprendre? C'est un langage des demy sçavans, & il seroit aisé de prouver que ces grands genies des derniers Siecles, Erasme, Scaliger, Casaubon, Lipsius, Saumaise & Panvinius, &c., n'avoient pas acquis le fonds de leur science par les secours des Livres seulement." SPON 1673, pp. vi–vii.

[58] "Il augmenta singulièrement l'intérêt qu'offroient ses leçons, par l'exposition d'originaux, ou de copies de monumens de tout genre, copies dont il possédoit lui-même une collection immense et peut-être unique." KRAFFT 1818, p. 18; see *supra*, ch. 3, p. 95.

[59] ALM REVIEW MILLIN 1799C, p. 475.

[...]. J'ai vu [...] tout le nord de la France et j'avais avec moi un dessinateur."[60] Most, if not all, of the biographers of Millin accord with him on this point.[61] In the version given by Auguis who read his obituary before the Société des antiquaires de la France in 1819, the journeys undertaken by Millin are presented as a straightforward fact, requiring no further comment, and clearly accepted as a standard element of any antiquary's working methods:

> "L'Assemblée constituante avait ordonné la destruction des monastères. Menacés d'une ruine prochaine, ces monumens de la piété et des arts de nos pères allaient disparaître du sol de la France. Monsieur Millin s'empressa de les visiter, il les parcourt et les décrit: [...].
>
> "Monsieur Millin n'avait parcouru que les départemens qui environnent Paris; il n'avait eu le temps de visiter que quelques provinces, ses excursions ne s'étaient pas étendues au-delà de la Normandie, de la Picardie et de la Flandre."[62]

Such is also the impression given by Charles-Guillaume Krafft in the notice on Millin that he published in the *Annales encyclopédiques* of 1818. Krafft's summary of the research for the *Antiquités nationales* is as follows:

> "L'Assemblée constituante avoit fait ouvrir tous les monastères. Un très-grand nombre d'abbayes, d'églises et de couvens furent supprimés. M. Millin prévit que les monumens historiques qui y étoient renfermés seroient bientôt détruits ou dégradés; leur nombre étoit trop grand pour qu'on eût pu les décrire tous; mais M. Millin voulut au moins tirer de l'oubli ceux qu'il eut le moyen d'étudier. Il visita dans cette vue les départemens circonvoisins de Paris, la Normandie, la Picardie et la Flandre, et recueillit ainsi les matériaux de ses *Antiquités nationales*."[63]

Both of these accounts are clear on the fact that Millin visited the monuments that he described, but attribute no particular motive to this; in the absence of any definite statement as to why he chose to tour the areas in question, it is thus to be assumed that this was, as seen above, standard practice for an antiquary. Several years later, in the notice on Millin that appeared in the major biographical enterprise of the period, the Michaud *Biographie universelle*, there is a slightly different slant placed on the study journeys that Millin made:

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[60] Millin to Fauris de Saint-Vincent, Paris, 21 germinal an IV [April 9 1796]: Bibliothèque d'Aix, ms. 216. Quoted by MONGLOND 1940A, p. 90.

[61] The only biographical notice which remains entirely silent on the question of whether or not Millin visited the monuments that he described is that written by Dacier. Here the passage describing the composition of the *Antiquités* is as follows: "Millin s'occupait en même temps [no precise date given, but before 1794] des antiquités de la France, [...]. Millin composa et réunit sous le titre d'Antiquités Nationales, en 6 vol. in-folio, plus de 60 mémoires topographiques, dans lesquels il décrit les monuments de notre histoire et de nos arts, qui existaient dans la Normandie, la Picardie et la Flandre, et de la plupart desquels il ne reste aujourd'hui que les gravures publiées par Millin, avec une fidélité dont la destruction des monuments relève encore le mérite." See DACIER 1821, p. 3.

[62] AUGUIS 1819, p. 5.

[63] KRAFFT 1818, pp. 10–11.

> "Comme tant d'autres littérateurs, il ne vit dans la révolution, à sa naissance, que la réforme des abus, et publia différents opuscules destinés à en défendre les principes; mais ennemi de tous les excès, il les combattit avec un courage qui ne tarda pas à lui attirer la haine des chefs du parti démagogique. Pour se dérober aux persécutions dont il était menacé, il parcourut les provinces voisines de la capitale, occupé à décrire et à dessiner les châteaux et les monastères près de tomber sous le marteau des modernes Vandales."[64]

An interesting change in perspective marks this passage. That Millin visited the monuments that he described is by no means countered, but his motivation for the journeys is given an extra twist. If the author of this article is to be believed, there was no change in the actual research methods that Millin was employing. Whether the building concerned was in Paris or in the provinces, there was still a need for the monument to be visited so that all the necessary details for a full and exact description could be recorded. What would have changed, however, according to the author of this article was the choice of buildings deemed worthy of attention and inclusion in the book. Millin would have chosen to concentrate on monuments in the provinces as a convenient means of disappearing from Paris at a time when his political allegiances could well have proved to be more than slightly compromising. This last point is one that enters rather into the strategy of the book than the author's actual working methods and will be discussed in a later chapter.[65] What really needs to be taken into account here is that according to most of the authors who mention the compositional methods of Millin, the fact of the field-work is seen as having been one that was of capital importance.

With the one exception of the comment in the review of the last volume and the letter to Fauris de Saint-Vincent, all the sources quoted above to prove that Millin did actually visit the monuments described in the *Antiquités* date from considerably after the period when the book was being composed. The earliest are the obituary notices, composed almost thirty years after the events in question, whilst the references in the biographical dictionaries were written even later than this. Some evidence is to be found in sources contemporary to the publication of the work, evidence which also tends to support the fact that he did make a point of seeing all the monuments, even those at some distance from Paris. Apparently, he absented himself from Paris in order to be able to travel in the provinces; at least this is what is stated on a number of occasions in reviews of the work which appeared in the *Chronique de Paris*. As early as the review of the ninth livraison, published in the *Chronique de Paris* in August 1791, it is stated

[64] MICHAUD 1843, vol. 28 (s.d.), pp. 304–5.

[65] See *infra*, ch. 9.

that "on voit que l'auteur, pour soutenir l'intérêt & la curiosité, commence à faire des excursions plus éloignées, & cherche à réunir les monumens des provinces à ceux de la capitale."[66] Eight months later, the reviewer of the eighteenth part of the series notes that it has appeared somewhat later than planned, and blames this on the fact that Millin had been travelling in the north of France: "Cette livraison qui devoit paroître le 10 a souffert quelque retard causés [sic] par un voyage fait par M. Millin dans les départemens du Nord, du Pas-de-Calais & de la Somme; il en a rapporté plus de cent dessins qui ne pourront qu'enrichir sa collection."[67] These contemporary references bolster the assertion made by both Auguis and Krafft that Millin did not confine his research on the buildings to learned exchanges with local scholars or to the perusal of earlier antiquarian tracts, but preferred to see them and to record details as faithfully as possible. They do not, nonetheless, encourage the reader to lend much credence to the theory put forward by the author of the article in Michaud's *Biographie universelle*, namely that Millin spent substantial periods of time away from Paris in order to gather together material. In effect, there is only one mention of a journey that has entailed the author's absence from Paris for more than a few days, and that is the last one quoted, dating to spring 1792.

On turning to the book itself, unfortunately, any attempt to prove through Millin's discourse that he undertook journeys and went out into the field to do his research is sadly hampered by the author's reluctance to commit this fact to paper. A striking feature of the *Antiquités nationales* is that Millin seldom ventures to introduce the first person into his account.[68] All too rarely does he give any sure indication that he has actually seen a building. Amongst the examples of the use of the first person singular in his account, remarkably few can be categorized as amounting to no more or less than a straightforward observation of the fact that he visited a place. Towards the end of the article on the town of Vernon, Millin mentions that "Saint-Jacques étoit absolument détruit quand je visitai la ville de Vernon, et Sainte-Geneviève ne l'étoit qu'à moitié."[69] Interestingly enough, there are also examples of buildings

[66] ALM CHRONIQUE 1789, no. 228, August 16 1791, p. 919. An almost identical formulation is found at the opening of the review of the twelfth livraison, some three months later: "L'auteur de cette intéressante entreprise commence à s'éloigner de Paris dans ses excursions, quoiqu'il soit loin d'avoir épuisé les monumens de cette capitale; mais son dessein est de jetter plus de variété dans son ouvrage." See ALM CHRONIQUE 1789, no. 332, November 28 1791, p. 1338.

[67] ALM CHRONIQUE 1789, no. 144, April 22 1792, p. 572.

[68] Likewise, in the illustrations, there is rarely a glimpse of the artist at work.

[69] ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 3 (1791), art. XXVI, p. 10. A similarly factual statement is to be found some pages later, where Millin observes that "Sur une table de pierre qui est au pied du monument, on lit cette

which he states that he has seen and which are used only as comparative material.[70] Many of the other examples of this device occur in passages where Millin clearly feels a need to explain the limitations of his discourse; these can thus be interpreted as apologetic uses of the first person. After giving some details on the history of the Récollets in Lille, the author turns to the description, which he prefaces with the following words: "Elle ne renfermoit point de monumens dignes d'attention. Je n'y ai recueilli que celui d'un certain Baudouin, dont voici l'épitaphe."[71] Likewise, as if to excuse himself for what could otherwise have been interpreted as carelessness in the article on the Abbaye de Gomer-Fontaine, he hastens to reassure the reader that an inscription has become so worn away as to be illegible, and that there was little point in illustrating two tombs that were almost identical to those be found only a few pages earlier: "Il est impossible de lire ce qui étoit autour, parce qu'il ne reste plus que des fragmens de lettres. Je n'ai point fait graver ces deux tombes qui ressemblent absolument aux autres."[72] The other reason for which Millin is sometimes keen to point out that he was actually in a building is when this can support his case in the refutation of an earlier author. Thus, in the article on the Collégiale Saint-Pierre in Lille, he uses the fact that he was in the building as a means of criticizing the work of one of his predecessors: "Montfaucon a fait graver ce monument d'après les dessins qui lui avoient été envoyés par un religieux de Franche Comté. Mais j'ai fait prendre sous mes yeux, des dessins plus exacts, [...]".[73]

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transcription aussi en petites capitales que j'ai transcrite littéralement" (ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 3 (1791), art. XXVI, p. 17). Another example is the comment at the end of the article on the Abbaye de Bon-Port, but here Millin's assertion that he was in the building is connected very closely with his thanks to the generosity of the owner who allowed him to visit the building: "Cette abbaïe appartient à-présent à M. de la Folie qui m'y a reçu avec infiniment de cordialité, et qui a bien voulu me permettre d'y faire dessiner ces monumens" (ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 4 (1792), art. XL, p. 10).

[70] "J'ai vu dans l'église de Saint-Nicolas [Saint-Nicolas in Saint-Nicolas-de-Port], à deux lieues de Nanci [...]": ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 3 (1791), art. XXVI, p. 29, note 65; "J'ai vu une horloge semblable sur la porte d'un serrurier-horloger, faiseur de tourne-broches, à Angerville, sur la route de Paris": ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 3 (1791), art. XXX, p. 12, note 51.

[71] ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 5 (1798), art. LVII, p. 3.

[72] ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 4 (1792), art. XLII, p. 20. In the same category can be placed comments such as "Voici les seules épitaphes que j'aie pu recueillir" (ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 4 (1792), art. XL, p. 3); "Près de-là est la tombe d'un jeune enfant que j'ai fait graver, Planche I, fig. 2, à-cause de la singularité de son costume. Je n'ai point trouvé d'inscriptions; [...]" (ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 4 (1792), art. XL, p. 6); "Dans le milieu, sur une table de marbre noir, est une inscription très-dégradée que j'ai cependant copiée avec quelques lacunes" (ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 4 (1792), art. XLIV, p. 10).

[73] ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 5 (1798), art. LIV, p. 58. In a similar style, see: "Montfaucon a fait graver une figure de Constance de Castille, seconde femme de Louis le Jeune, qu'il prétend être à Barbeau, mais je n'ai point vu cette figure, et je ne connois aucun historien qui en ai fait mention" (ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 2 (1791), art. XIII, p. 13). Comments of this type are in fact remarkably reminiscent of the criticism of Montfaucon's work formulated by Winckelmann.

Most of the rest of the time, it is largely up to the reader to interpret the comment made by the author as being the equivalent of a "when I was standing in the building, I noticed ...". Admittedly, there is no space in this book that lends itself to the type of very unambiguous declaration of the fact that all the monuments have been seen as had been offered by either Caylus or Winckelmann – both of these scholars followed the practice common at the time of presenting such a methodological declaration in the preface. The use of the first person singular could, nonetheless, have been exploited to better effect by Millin. After all, it is certainly not only in the introduction that Winckelmann allows his presence to be made visible: there is an almost constant intrusion of the author in any passage involving the description of an object. Hardly ever is the reader allowed to forget the fact that Winckelmann did actually examine, and clearly enjoyed examining, the various objects that he chose to include in his work. The pronoun that dominates in Millin's accounts of buildings or monuments is, by contrast, the third person singular indefinite: "on entre par une porte", "on voit à gauche", etc. Little else in the text gives any sure indication that could serve as absolute proof of the fact that he had indeed visited the places in question. Even the presentation of a tour around a building in the form of "to the left" and "to the right" cannot be taken as firm evidence: such indications could easily have been borrowed from earlier works and guide-books.

Millin and the "pour les avoir entendues des tesmoins digne de foy"

As was seen above, visits and observation were seldom the only resource available to an antiquary, and it cannot be imagined that the *Antiquités nationales* differ greatly from other works of this type. And here a pragmatic question, albeit seemingly banal, must be addressed, which is the problem of the amount of time available to Millin. He was attempting to produce eight sheets (sixty-four quarto pages) of text each month. For buildings in Paris this would have posed less of a problem since all of the archival material was obviously at hand, and he could return several times at his leisure to check and recheck various details. But when it came to monuments at a distance the situation was not the same. On a visit to, for example, Lille, he had to ensure that he had noted all of the most important details, and could then guarantee finding the necessary evidence to back his observations, hypotheses and contentions of other authors' interpretations. As has already been seen, de Gasparin commented that Millin's dissertation on the triumphal arch in Orange betrayed that he had been a "voyageur pressé". Such is also the impression that the reader of the *Antiquités* can be forgiven for having at times when consulting the articles concerning monuments in the provinces which are, as a rule, much more summary

than those devoted to monuments in Paris.[74] From this, it is not too difficult to hypothesize that he carried out as much research as possible on the spot, aware of the time constraints, and then returned to Paris; there, at his leisure, he would be able to contact people from the region whom he had met on his travels in order to request their help in supplying complementary material. This, then, is the second working method available to the eighteenth-century historian, the correspondents or "tesmoins dignes de foy".

A close analysis of both the *Antiquités* and the surviving correspondence from this period reveals that, whilst Millin did on occasions acknowledge his debt to a "tesmoin", their contribution was maybe not as great as he had originally planned. In the tradition of earlier historians, he had issued an appeal for contributions from anybody with material that could prove useful for the planned work. At the very end of the prospectus appears the following paragraph:

> "L'Auteur prie tous les Savans, les Artistes, enfin tous ceux qui auroient des conseils ou des renseignements à lui donner, de bien vouloir les lui adresser francs de port, au Bureau de la Souscription; il les recevra avec reconnoissance."[75]

This is then repeated verbatim in the second prospectus issued in March 1792. Two further exhortations are to be found in review articles during the summer of 1791. The first is a direct appeal for any information that might be interesting for the collection:

> "Il [Millin] engage les citoyens des départemens qui voudroient bien l'aider de leurs secours, à lui faire passer les recherches historiques sur les maisons religieuses dont ils sont voisins, & les dessins dont ils se trouveroient possesseurs. C'est ainsi que s'éléveroient à la fois & avec symétrie, toutes les parties des monumens qu'il a entrepris de consacrer aux arts & à l'histoire de son pays."[76]

Two months later a second call for other scholars to work on France's national heritage was also issued, although this time the wording was quite different. Instead of requesting that scholars should communicate their material directly to him, the appeal was this time more open-ended – it amounts to no more than a wish that other people might work on similar projects:

> "Pendant que M. Millin s'occupe des monumens de Paris & des départemens voisins, il seroit à désirer que quelques hommes de lettres voulussent faire le même

[74] The lengths of the various articles are given in Appendix 1.

[75] ALM ANTIQUITÉS PROSPECTUS 1792, p. 4.

[76] ALM CHRONIQUE 1789, no. 134, May 14 1791, p. 534.

> travail dans ceux de nos départemens éloignés, afin de conserver, au moins dans l'histoire, des ouvrages & des détails intéressans, qui, sans cette précaution, seroient perdus pour les lettres & les arts."[77]

Quite how successful these appeals were to be remains difficult to ascertain. Given the loss of the papers dating to the early period of the Revolution, it is only from the clues contained within in the book itself that the collaboration of other scholars can be assessed. Few, if any, scholars responded to Millin's repeated appeals for contributions, or at least such is the impression that is given in the *Antiquités*. In effect, only four people are mentioned as having supplied information that has been incorporated into the work, and almost all of them are people whom Millin met on his travels. One of these remains unidentifiable – he asked to remain anonymous, and Millin respected his request.[78] In one of the three other cases, a certain Levrier, it would seem that Millin's only contact with the scholar was whilst he was engaged in field research.[79] During his discussion of a tomb to be found in the collégiale de Mantes, Millin notes that there is considerable confusion regarding the identity of a female figure represented there, and continues by saying that in order to solve the mystery he consulted Levrier: "Je me suis adressé à un littérateur instruit, qui a bien voulu me communiquer ses idées."[80] Nor was Levrier helpful only in supplying details on Mantes since, as becomes clear towards the end of the fourth volume of the *Antiquités*, he also allowed Millin to draw a number of objects from his personal collection of pieces related to the history of Meulan: "Pendant le séjour que je fis à Meulan, je visitai le cabinet de M. Levrier, littérateur dont j'ai déjà eu occasion de citer plusieurs fois dans cet

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[77] ALM CHRONIQUE 1789, no. 205, July 19 1791, p. 808.

[78] "Tout ce que j'ai dit jusqu'ici de la collégiale de Mantes & tout ce que j'aurai à dire sur cette ville, après cet article de M. Levrier, est tiré en grande partie d'un extrait manuscrit de ces mémoires, rédigé en 1762, sous le titre d'*Histoire des Antiquités de la ville de Mantes in 4^{o}* et d'un mémoire particulier d'un ci-devant chanoine de Notre-Dame de Mantes, homme instruit de l'Histoire de son pays, qui m'a imposé l'obligation de ne point le nommer, mais à qui je ne puis m'empêcher d'offrir le juste tribut de ma reconnoissance": ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 2 (1791), art. XIX, pp. 24–5, note 20.

[79] No correspondence as such can be identified. This is not of course entirely conclusive evidence, since there is always the possibility that the letters have been lost. Given that in both of the other cases to be discussed, however, the letters have survived, there remains a strong chance that the only contact between the two men occurred whilst Millin was on his research expeditions.

[80] ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 2 (1791), art. XIX, p. 24. In the footnote accompanying this comment, Levrier is introduced to the reader as "correspondant de l'académie royale des inscriptions et belles-lettres de Paris, associé de celle des sciences, arts et belles-lettres d'Orléans, &c., ci-devant lieutenant-général du bailliage de Meulan, connu par plusieurs ouvrages de littérature, et particulièrement par ses recherches historiques sur les antiquités du Vexin, &c."

ouvrage. Il eut la bonté de me communiquer plusieurs antiquités relatives à cette ville, et je les ai fait dessiner."[81]

In the case of both of the other scholars who are acknowledged in the course of the *Antiquités*, it could be assumed that Millin met them whilst on his travels and then solicited their help after his return to Paris, on realizing that his research in a town had not been sufficient to allow for a complete notice to be written. Amongst the few letters dating from before the period of Millin's imprisonment which have survived are to be found several written by Pigault Lepinoy, an inhabitant of Calais.[82] Although most of these letters do not bear a precise date, the facts that are known allow for the reconstruction of a plausible chronology. We know that Millin visited the northern area of France, including Calais, in spring 1792.[83] On Millin's return to Paris, the two men began to correspond with one another since, in the autumn of the same year, Pigault was to address three letters to Millin and included in one a "supplément à la notice de l'église paroissale de Calais".[84] Throughout the article on the town that was to appear at the end of the fourth volume, and thus in spring 1793, are to be found regular references to Pigault de Lepinoy and to his research on the town, its history and its buildings. His contribution is made even clearer on the penultimate page of the article, in a catalogue of the famous citizens of Calais, where the following paragraph is to be found:

> "Le citoyen Pigault Lepinoy, ancien maire de Calais [...], homme-de-lettres instruit et distingué, qui m'a fourni des notes intéressantes pour la rédaction de cet article. Ce citoyen possède à-fond l'histoire de son païs dont il a fait l'étude de toute sa vie; il a un cabinet curieux qui renferme une collection numismatique du haut et du bas empire romain, des monnoies anciennes et modernes de toutes les puissances de l'Europe, nombre de médailles rares, curieuses et singulières; toutes les cartes et plans du Calaisis depuis 900 ans; 5 vol. in-folio, manuscrits sur sa patrie, tous de sa main; et nombre d'autres manuscrits relatifs au même objet. Il se fait un plaisir de communiquer ses richesses littéraires, et j'en ai fait moi-même l'expérience d'une manière que je n'oublierai jamais."[85]

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[81] ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 4 (1792), p. 17.

[82] BNF, Cabinet des manuscrits, fonds français 24695, fols. 149–52, Pigault Lepinoy to Millin, s.l., 4.9. s.a.; fol. 153, Pigault Lepinoy to Millin, Calais, 19.3. s.a.; fol. 155, Pigault Lepinoy to Millin, s.l., 12.11.1792; fol. 156, Pigault Lepinoy to Millin, s.l., 30.11. s.a.

[83] ALM CHRONIQUE 1789, no. 144, April 22 1792, p. 572.

[84] BNF, Cabinet des manuscrits, fonds français 24695, fol. 154.

[85] ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 4 (1792), art. L, p. 19. Earlier in the catalogue Millin included a couple of references to important manuscripts related to Calais which were to be found in Pigault's library: "Marin Bailleul, [...] auteur d'un manuscrit [...]. Ce manuscrit se trouve dans la bibliothéque de M. Pigault" (p. 17); "Bernard, mayeur de Calais, auteur des annales de cette ville. Ce manuscrit est dans la bibliothèque du citoyen Pigault" (p. 17). On other occasions, when there is a delicate question of chronology or of the biography of a person, it is always Pigault's opinion which is taken as being correct: ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 4 (1792), art. L: "Le père Lequien, Boulogne le réclame; M. Pigault le dit né à Saint-Tricot, village du Calaisis" (p. 18);

The other example, already mentioned in the previous chapter, is that of Desmazieres, to whom Millin had written complaining about the loss of his papers during the Terror, and requesting supplementary information for an article on a building in the town.[86] Desmazieres was only too happy to oblige, and at the beginning of the article on the Bibliothèque Saint-Pierre in Lille Millin thanks him for his help, without which the article could not have been written: "Après l'article de la collégiale de St. Pierre de Lille, j'aurois dû placer la description de la bibliothèque, mais il me manquoit alors quelques renseignemens que je me suis procurés."[87] In fact, it transpires that Desmazieres was not a scholar whom Millin had met on his travels – he thus seems to be the only case of a contributor to the work whom Millin knew only through an epistolary exchange. For, as is stated on the following page, when Millin visited Lille it was Desmazieres's predecessor, Saladin, who had welcomed Millin and shown him the library's treasures.[88]

These then are the rare examples of Millin's acknowledgement of the aid furnished by external collaborators, be it during his travels or through a scholarly correspondence.[89] It is worth noting that in two of the three cases where he can actually name the person who has supplied him with information, he takes pains to emphasize that he has indeed been helped by people who are, in Mabillon's words, "digne de foy". In the paragraph quoted above concerning Pigault, the reader is assured of his credentials as the best historian of Calais who has made every effort to gather together a large collection of materials relating to the history of the town. A similar statement on the trustworthiness of his collaborator was also to be found in a note concerning Levrier:

"Marc Lescarbot [...]. L'auteur du dictionnaire historique le fait naître à Vervins; j'ai suivi l'opinion de M. Pigault qui a approfondi l'histoire de son païs, et qui le dit Calaisien" (p. 18). For the importance of such 'mémoires manuscrits' during the eighteenth century see ROCHE 1993, pp. 213–15; and more especially the recent work by François Moureau, MOUREAU 1987.

[86] BNF, Cabinet des manuscrits, fonds français 24683, fols. 280–1, Millin to Desmazieres, letter dated Paris 9 floréal an 4 [April 27 1796]. See *supra*, ch. 5, p. 148.

[87] ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 5 (1798), art. LXI, 'Bibliothèque de Saint-Pierre à Lille', p. 1. In the note added to this acknowledgement, Millin states that: "Je les [renseignements] dois au citoyen Demazière, bibliothécaire actuel."

[88] "Le dépositaire de cette bibliothèque, quand je la visitai, étoit le citoyen Saladin dont je me rappelle avec reconnoissance les bons offices. C'est aujourd'hui le citoyen Desmazieres": ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 5 (1798), art. LXI, 'Bibliothèque de Saint-Pierre à Lille', p. 2.

[89] More might have been expected since he did state in the review of the last volume that he had described no monument that he had not visited and "sur lequel nous n'ayons pris des renseignemens des hommes les plus instruits." ALM REVIEW MILLIN 1799C, p. 475 (see *supra*, pp. 206–7, notes 59–60).

> "L'opinion de M. Levrier, à cet égard, doit paroître d'autant moins suspecte, qu'il eût été fort intéressant, pour l'histoire particulière qu'il a écrite, de trouver les anciens comtes de Meulan, fondateurs de l'abbaye de Chartres et du monastère de Juziers [...]. Mais, en homme digne d'écrire l'histoire, il n'a pas pu sacrifier la vérité au désir de flatter ses compatriotes par des fables. D'ailleurs, personne n'a porté plus loin que lui l'application et le discernement sur toutes les circonstances et les monumens de l'histoire de cette province."[90]

Millin and the "pour les avoir leuës"

i. the written sources

Two of the three historical methods employed by eighteenth-century historians can thus be shown to have been employed by Millin in his composition of the *Antiquités*. As for the third method, "pour les avoir leuës", even the quickest glance at the book proves its importance. For he provided abundant references in the footnotes to the works that he consulted, and also added an impressive bibliography to the last four volumes. Admittedly there were some buildings for which Millin had no other resource to hand: the Hôtel Barbette had been destroyed over two centuries earlier, and the only information available was that which could be gleaned from the consultation of earlier histories of Paris and of her buildings.

In the bibliographies appended to the last four volumes are listed almost four hundred works consulted by Millin. Amongst these are to be found many which can be reckoned to be the standard books necessary for any late eighteenth-century antiquary composing a history of French monuments. It is scarcely surprising to find here, for example, Pierre Bayle's *Dictionnaire historique* alongside Diderot and d'Alembert's *Encyclopédie* and Moréri's *Dictionnaire*.[91] All three counted amongst the reference books of the time, indispensable for anyone who wished rapidly to check a fact, with relative confidence as to its accuracy. Other standard works are also to be found, such as the essential point of reference for anyone who wished to check a point of chronology – *L'art de vérifier les dates* by dom Clément.[92] By the late eighteenth century this book had replaced Labbe's work, recommended by Mabillon as necessary for all historians in the early decades of the century.[93] Given the number of references to Latin words occurring throughout the *Antiquités*, either quoted from inscriptions or documents, or used to illustrate an etymological point, the presence of the *Glossarium* by

[90] ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 2 (1791), art. XIX, p. 28, note 22.

[91] BAYLE 1730; ENCYCLOPÉDIE 1751; MORÉRI 1759.

[92] CLÉMENT 1783.

[93] "Chronologie du Pere Labbe en cinq volumes in 12": see *supra*, p. 205, note 53. This must refer to LABBE 1663.

Ducange along with the later *Supplementum* is quite natural.[94] For any scholar requiring documents relating to the history of France, French litterature and ecclesiastical history the main collections necessary were largely Benedictine enterprises, and all of them are to be found in Millin's bibliography: the *Spicilège* by dom d'Achery, librarian at Saint-Maur, the *Histoire littéraire de la France*, the second series of the *Gallia Christiana* and Bouquet's *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*.[95] Not that the works of the Benedictines were privileged to the exclusion of others: the *Acta Sanctorum* of the Bollandists are also referred to.[96] Classical authors are well represented since Caesar, Aulus Gellius, Homer, Horace, Virgil, Pliny the Elder, Livy, Martial, Petronius and Theocritus are all to be found included. Voltaire's works are quoted in the most important edition of the time – that of Kehl.[97] Millin's predecessors in the field of the antiquarian history of France are to be found here: Montfaucon and Pasquier for the more general surveys, and also a large number of more regional studies. For Paris, for example, Millin refers, amongst others, to the works of Brice, Bonfons, Sauval, Hurtaut, Jalliot, Lebeuf and Piganiol de la Force.[98] Likewise, for each of the regions where he has analysed monuments, the relevant studies are included.[99] Finally, for each of his dissertations, the related literature is included, be it Bergier on roads, Alexandre on clocks or Laborde on music.[100] Impressive as the bibliography is, and the titles mentioned above represent only a fraction of the entire list, it is no more than a digest of the works consulted by Millin. For thoughout the course of the work there are many more references salted away in the footnotes. On occasions these are clearly not works that he has actually used as a source of facts or arguments for his work; he often uses the footnote as a convenient space to provide the catalogue of an author's works which would otherwise encumber the text with a lengthy list of references. Such is the case with, for example, André Félibien.[101]

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[94] DU CANGE 1733; CARPENTIER 1766.

[95] ACHERY 1723; HISTOIRE LITTÉRAIRE 1733; SAINTE-MARTHE 1715 (reprint – SAINTE-MARTHE 1970); BOUQUET 1738.

[96] ACTA SANCTORUM 1643.

[97] VOLTAIRE 1785.

[98] BRICE 1752, BONFONS 1581, SAUVAL 1724, HURTAUT 1779, JALLIOT 1772, LEBEUF 1754 (which Millin, erroneously, dates to 1757), PIGANIOL 1765.

[99] DU PLESSIS 1740.

[100] BERGIER 1728; ALEXANDRE 1734; LA BORDE 1780.

[101] ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 1 (1790), art. IV, p. 51. Here ten works by Félibien are mentioned.

The simple identification of the sources is one matter, rendered much more simple for the historian by Millin's amiable collaboration. Quite a different question, however, is to examine how Millin has exploited the resources available to him. As Rollin pointed out, the historian who reads his predecessors' works cannot afford to be too gullible.[102] Each source consulted should be tested for its historical veracity, and differences of opinions between two authors should be noted.[103] As has already been seen in the section discussing Millin's visits to various monuments, he does criticize earlier individual authors for their inaccuracy: on a number of occasions he questions facts given by Montfaucon, and more particularly his predecessor's tendency to rely solely on drawings of tombs without having taken the trouble to check the fidelity of the representation against the object itself. Much more rarely though does he trouble himself to undertake a careful analysis of two or more differing accounts of a historical event, identifying the strengths and weaknesses of each version and then attempting to produce a reasoned judgement of the available facts, rejecting some details, modifying others and maybe even adducing new elements from another source. Only where there is a very glaring inconsistency in essentially factual matter can it be certain that Millin will comment on the difference between two authors. Nor does he often attempt to balance one historian's view of a historical personality against another which might be more or less favourable. Thus it is that when he wishes to illustrate the cruelty of Louis XI – a king who was invariably reviled during the eighteenth century – he quotes without question the words of Robert Gaguin ("Humano sanguine quem ex aliquot infantibus sumptum hausit salutem comparare vehementer optabat"), making no effort to qualify his opinion by stating that the anecdote in question is nowhere to be found in the writings of Philippe de Commines.[104] Admittedly, it is equally improbable that Commines would have expressed a more equitable view of Louis XI than did Gaguin, in all likelihood erring rather towards praise of the king. At any rate, a reference to his work would at least have redressed the balance somewhat. But

[102] ROLLIN 1726, see ROLLIN 1845, vol. 2, p. 292 (Livre sixième, troisième partie, chapitre premier, § III).

[103] See also Mabillon's advice on the examination of historical accounts: "Mais neanmoins il ne faut pas tout recevoir a l'aveugle sous pretexte qu'un auteur contemporain l'a dit, il faut voir si c'est un homme qui soit d ailleurs exact, s'il n'est point passionné pour un païs ou pour un estat particulier dont il parle; et s'il n'est pas contredit par les autres historiens du tems ou par les circonstances des choses, dont nous avons d ailleurs une certaine connoissance." See MABILLON 1990, p. 113.

[104] ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 2 (1791), art. XII, p. 6. Gaguin's comment is to be found in his Compendium super Francorum gesta, Cap. 33. Huppert's judgement on Gaguin's Compendium is that "la façon dont Gaguin aborde ses sources ne mérite-t-elle pas tout à fait qu'on la qualifie de critique; [...] S'il doute de la valeur de ses sources, il est incapable de les critiquer systématiquement": see HUPPERT 1973, p. 81. Commines's debt to Louis XI cames as a result of his defection to the king from the party of Charles le Téméraire in 1472.

by only the fourth page of the *Antiquités* Millin had already ruled out any possibility of ever consulting the writings of Commines, dismissing the memoirist's testimony in language that scarcely conceals his disdain for the partisan sentiments expressed therein:

> "Du nombre de ses juges étoit ce Philippe de Commines, célèbre traître, qui, ayant long-temps vendu les secrets de la maison de Bourgogne au roi, passa enfin au service de France, et dont on estime les mémoires, ces mémoires écrits avec la retenue d'un courtisan qui craignoit encore de dire la vérité, quoiqu'il les eût composé après la mort de Louis XI."[105]

Such clear-cut cases of Millin's historical bias, manifested by his refusal to confront two opposed sources, are all the more surprising in the light of his praise for Levrier's scrupulous objectivity even at the risk of disappointing his fellow countrymen.[106] On other occasions he will gloss over difficulties by simply remarking that a historical fact is recorded by only one source and that there is no possibility of corroborating it.[107]

The sources are not, however, invariably recorded in the footnotes. One very striking feature of Millin's use of his predecessors' works is a tendency to what can only be described as plagiarism. Substantial portions of his text can be shown to have been lifted from another author's work with only the most minor modifications, if any at all. On these occasions no reference is usually made to the source; otherwise, and in very infrequent cases, Millin might make a grudging nod in his text to the fact that another author has already discussed a point. Such is already his practice in the very first article of the book, on the Bastille. Many passages here bear a very striking similarity to other works, and amongst them especially the *Bastille dévoilée* by Charpentier and Dusaulx's *De l'insurrection parisienne et de la Prise de la Bastille*.[108] The exercise can be carried out on all the chapters of the work, testing Millin's phrases against those of other authors when describing the same building, recounting the same event or discussing the same person. This tendency to lift passages from other authors does not negate the fact that Millin relied very much on personal observation and had visited the majority of the buildings described in his work. It is rather that he, possibly for reasons of expediency, decided that where an earlier author had included all the necessary information

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[105] ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 1 (1790), art. I, p. 4.

[106] "Mais, en homme digne d'écrire l'histoire, il n'a pas pu sacrifier la vérité au désir de flatter ses compatriotes par des fables" (ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 2 (1791), art. XIX, p. 28, note 22), see *supra*, p. 213.

[107] See for example, ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 2 (1791), art. XIII, p. 13: "Suivant le supplément de Moréri, [Martin] Freminet a laissé un fils, assez bon peintre; mais on ne connoît point d'auteur qui en ait parlé; on ne sait point non plus qu'il ait formé des élèves."

[108] CHARPENTIER 1789 and DUSAULX 1790.

without committing any gross errors of dating or identification of historical figures there was no need for him to rewrite an account which he found entirely satisfactory for his needs.

One very clear example of an author whose work appears nowhere near as often in the footnotes to the *Antiquités* as would be the case if every single quotation were to be scrupulously acknowledged is Hurtaut; his *Dictionnaire* proves to be one of the main sources for these 'borrowings' by Millin. Nor should it be imagined that these are isolated sentences that Millin has read, noted and then incorporated into his discourse: such slips could be excused as being signs of hasty work. He had maybe jotted down a phrase and had forgotten to note the reference, or he had read a phrase which pleased him and had then, almost unwittingly, reproduced it virtually verbatim in his own work. Unfortunately, the transcription of entire passages written by another author, sometimes extending to over a page of the book, can scarcely be passed off as being unwitting. Amongst the more flagrant examples of this the following passages on the Oratoire in Paris can be compared **[Ill. 40]**:

> "Cette Chapelle fut commencée sur les dessins de Metezeau, Architecte, qui a vécu dans le seizième & dix-septième siècle. Il en jetta les premiers fondemens, mais on lui préféra dans la suite Jacques le Mercier qui lui étoit fort inférieur: celui-ci conduisit l'ouvrage depuis le chevet, jusqu'à la croisée. Il étoit resté imparfait, & ce n'a été qu'après bien des années que l'on a pris la résolution de l'achever. Il a été entièrement fini sur les mêmes dessins, à l'exception de la grande tribune & du portail, élevés sur ceux d'un nommé Caquier. Le beau Chœur qui forme le chevet de cette Chapelle, attire les regards de tous les Connoisseurs, par la difficulté, & la parfaite exécution de son plan élliptique. Dans cette partie étoit placé le maître-Autel avant l'achevement de cette Chapelle. Il étoit décoré d'un tabernacle d'un goût singulier. C'étoit le modèle d'un Temple circulaire & en forme de dôme: on y voyoit sur les quatre faces quatre porches élevés de plusieurs marches d'une architecture uniforme d'ordre composite, & terminée par quatre frontons. Les petites colonnes de cet ordre étoient de marbre de Sicile, dans de bonnes proportions. Leurs chapitaux, leurs bases & tous les ornemens extérieurs de ce Temple, étoient en cuivre doré d'or moulu, parfaitement ciselés & modelés par Michel Anguière, excellent Sculpteur. Le P. Louis-Abel de Sainte Marthe, alors Général de cette Congrégation, & savant dans les beaux Arts, étoit l'Auteur de cette composition, où rien ne fut épargné pour sa perfection. Lorsqu'on eut résolu d'achever cette Eglise, le maître-Autel fut transporté dans la nef près de l'entrée de ce Chœur. Son intérieur est décoré d'un ordre corinthien en pilastres couplés, & les renfoncemens des arcades entre les pilastres, sont remplis par trois grands tableaux du Sieur Challe, Peintre habile, dont les compositions sont dans une grande manière. Ils sont enfermés dans des bordures dorées, dont les ornemens sont dans le goût mesquin qui règne aujourd'hui. Il y a encore deux tableaux de la même main, au-dessus de deux grandes portes de menuiserie qui sont ceintrées; main on n'a point suivi le contout du ceintre dans la forme des tableaux, ce qui la rend de très-mauvais goût. Le maître-Autel est fort bien placé où on le voit à présent.
>
> "Le portail de cette Eglise sur la rue S. Honoré, est d'une assez bonne architecture. Le rez-de-chaussée est élevé sur plusieurs marches. Il est composé d'un avant-corps d'ordre dorique, dont les colonnes sont isolées. L'architecture des deux arrière-corps

> est en pilastres du même ordre. Les deux petites portes quarrées de ces arrière-corps, portent deux grands médaillons ovales, qui représentent Jésus naissant & Jésus agonisant. Cet ordre dorique au rez-de-chaussée, est surmonté d'un ordre corinthien en colonnes qui porte sur l'avant-corps. Les deux entre-colonnes sont ornées de trophées d'Eglise en bas-relief, & toute cette architecture est terminée par un fronton d'une bonne proportion. Bien des gens ont critiqué le plan de ce portail qui suit celui de l'Eglise; ils auroient souhaité qu'on l'eût aligné aux maisons de la rue, par-là on eût évité le biais de sa position; cependant on peut le justifier, en ce qu'il donne à ce portail l'avantage d'être vu de beaucoup plus loin, en arrivant par la rue de la Ferronnerie, & bien mieux que s'il n'eût été vu qu'en face & d'un seul point. Quant à l'irrégularité qu'eût produit dans l'intérieur de l'Eglise, son alignement à la rue, il eût été aisé de la dérober à la vue."[109]

Such are Hurtaut's words on the subject of the church. Let us now consider how Millin chooses to describe the same building, in a passage which comes immediately after several pages devoted to its history:

> "Le portail a été bâti sur les dessins de Caquier. Il est d'une assez bonne architecture. Le rez-de-chaussée est élevé sur plusieurs marches. Il est composé d'un avant-corps d'ordre dorique, dont les colonnes sont isolées. L'architecture des deux arrière-corps est en pilastres du même ordre. Les deux petites portes carrées de ces arrières-corps, portent deux grands médaillons ovales, qui représentent Jésus naissant et Jésus agonisant. Cet ordre dorique au rez-de-chaussée, est surmonté d'un ordre corinthien en colonnes, qui porte sur l'avant-corps. Les deux entre-colonnes sont ornées de trophées d'église en bas-relief, et toute cette architecture est terminé par un fronton d'une bonne proportion. Planche I. Bien des gens ont critiqué le plan de ce portail, qui suit celui de l'église; ils auroient souhaité qu'on l'eût aligné aux maisons de la rue; par-là on eut évité le biais de sa position; cependant on peut le justifier, en ce qu'il donne à ce portail l'avantage d'être vu de beaucoup plus loin, en arrivant par la rue de la Féronnerie, et bien mieux que s'il n'eut été vu qu'en face et d'un seul point. Quant à l'irrégularité qu'eût produit dans l'intérieur de l'église, son alignement à la rue, il eût été aisé de la dérober à la vue."
>
> "La chapelle fut commencée sur les dessins de Métézeau (5); il en jeta les fondemens, mais on lui préféra ensuite Jacques le Mercier, qui lui étoit fort inférieur. Celui-ci conduisit l'ouvrage jusqu'au chevet (6) de la croisée: il étoit resté imparfait, et ce ne fut que bien des années après que l'on prit la résolution de l'achever. Il a été entièrement fini sur les mêmes dessins, à l'exception de la grande tribune et du portail.
>
> "Le beau chœur qui forme le chevet de cette chapelle, attire les regards de tous les connoisseurs, par la difficulté et la parfaite exécution de son plan elliptique. Dans cette partie étoit placé le maître-autel, avant l'achevement de cette chapelle. Il étoit décoré d'un tabernacle d'un goût singulier: c'étoit le modèle d'un temple circulaire, et en forme de dôme: on y voyoit, sur les quatre faces, quatre porches élevés de plusieurs marches d'un architecture uniforme d'ordre composite, et terminé par quatre frontons. Les petites colonnes de cet ordre étoient de marbre de Sicile, dans de bonne proportions. Leurs chapitaux, leurs bases et tous les ornemens extérieurs de ce temple étoient en cuivre doré d'or moulu, parfaitement ciselés et modelés par

[109] HURTAUT 1779 (reprint – HURTAUT 1973), vol. 3, pp. 683–5.

> Michel Anguier, excellent sculpteur. Le P. Louis-Abel de Sainte-Marthe, alors général de cette congrégation, & savant dans les beaux arts, étoit l'auteur de cette composition, où rien ne fut épargné pour sa perfection. Lorsqu'on eut résolu d'achever cette église, le maître-autel fut transporté dans la nef, près de l'entrée de ce chœur. Son intérieur est décoré d'un ordre corinthien en pilastres accouplés, et les renfoncemens des arcades, entre les pilastres, sont remplis par trois grands tableaux du Challe, peintre médiocre, dont les compositions sont dans une petite manière. Ils sont enfermés dans des bordures dorées, dont les ornemens sont dans le goût mesquin qui règnoit alors. Il y a encore deux tableaux de la même main, qui sont ceintrés; main on n'a point suivi le contour du ceintre dans la forme des tableaux, ce qui la rend de très-mauvais goût. Le maître-autel, Planche II, est fort bien placé où on le voit à présent."[110]

Almost two full pages of the *Antiquités* are occupied by this passage, a text to which Millin's contribution was, to say the least, minimal. The order of the paragraphs has been reversed and one has been divided into two, possibly in an attempt to render it slightly less daunting. Uppercase letters have been replaced by lowercase ones on many nouns, and one or two sentences have been very slightly recast. Some grammatical errors have been corrected, others have been introduced. Apart from these extremely cosmetic changes, there are only two alterations of any significance. A couple of footnotes have been added, one of which adds rudimentary biographical details on Métézeau, whilst the other is a definition of the word 'chevet'. The second modification concerns an appreciation of an artist: for in Millin's version the painter Challes has been considerably demoted. From being Hurtaud's "peintre habile" whose works are in the "grande manière" he has become, in Millin's passage, a "peintre médiocre" producing paintings in a "petite manière".

A third feature of Millin's use of the books that he has chosen as the sources for the *Antiquités* concerns what can be described as his use of the 'oddities'. It is certainly true that the bibliography to the book reveals that many of the classic works of scholarship are drawn upon. But alongside these are to be found others, including a number that strike the modern reader as being rather unorthodox. On occasions, and in a very unexpected fashion, Millin can draw upon a completely atypical, even satirical, work in order to illustrate a point that he wishes to make, or to draw the reader's attention to his argument in a more striking way. This can be seen to best effect in a close analysis of his procedure when dealing with the religious orders.

[110] HURTAUT 1779, vol. 3, pp. 683–5.

The first article in the work describing a religious institution is on the Celestines in Paris.[111] Written against an interesting background, that of the increasing pressure being brought to bear upon the clergy to accept the Civil Constitution, this is the longest article in the entire work, and justifiably so since this church contained one of the richest collections of tombs and artistic objects in the whole of France.[112] Before moving on to a description of the buildings and the treasures within, Millin first recounts the history of the order itself and of the establishment of this particular foundation in Paris. Much of the detail that is given here is drawn from Hélyot's *Histoire des ordres monastiques*, a work composed in the first decades of the eighteenth century which had been reedited several times and constituted a veritable mine of information on the various religious orders.[113]

Millin's account of the Celestines reveals several interesting traits. The story of the origins of the order is treated with considerable sympathy. Their founder, the Neapolitan Pietro di Morrone, is presented as a man who resisted not only the trappings of a comfortable life, but also the temptations of power. Two concrete examples of this are given by Millin. First of all, as he explains, "Pierre fonda encore plusieurs autres monastères, mais il préféra ensuite la retraite au gouvernement de son ordre."[114] Admittedly, the image of the pious monk preferring solitude to earthly glory is slightly compromised by the next phrase which states that he was then persuaded out of his retreat in order to become pope, taking the name of Celestine V. Nonetheless, as Millin hastens to add, it was only for "peu de temps qu'il occupa la chaire de saint Pierre"; after a short period as pope during which he tried to do as much good as possible for his order, he soon abdicated the papacy.[115] Persecuted by his successor, Boniface VIII, Celestine died in prison. In much the same way, the early history of the Celestines' arrival and settling in France is recounted with considerable sympathy by Millin. Their poverty, their cramped lodgings, the munificent gestures of Charles V towards

[111] It appeared over a total of four *livraisons*, from December 1790 to March 1791.

[112] "Il n'y a point d'Eglise en France, après celle de l'Abbaye de Saint-Denis, qui renferme un plus grand nombre de tombeaux de personnes augustes ou illustres, que celle-ci": HURTAUT 1779, vol. 2, p. 102. Most of the monuments were to members of or figures closely connected with the Valois dynasty.

[113] HÉLYOT 1721.

[114] ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 1 (1790), art. III, p. 1.

[115] Interestingly enough, and it is hard to believe that a man as well versed in Italian literature as was Millin could have been unaware of the reference, he omits to draw the reader's attention to Dante's censure of Celestine V in the *Divina Commedia*, I: Inferno, III.59–60, where the pope is called a coward because of his "great refusal" (i.e. his abdication of the papacy): "Vidi e conobbi l'ombra di colui | Che fece per viltate il gran rifiuto." (DANTE 1965, p. 52).

them are all recorded in a simple narrative; Millin concludes this section by confirming that all the kings of France since Charles V had displayed similar affection towards the order and that the Celestines were always honoured by the French sovereigns with the title of "leurs bien-aimés chapelains et serviteurs en Dieu".[116]

At this point, just as the story seems to have reached a happy ending, with the monks established in France, enjoying their well-deserved privileges and devoting themselves to good works, the tone abruptly changes. The next paragraph, composed of only one sentence and concise to the point of being terse, leaves the reader under no illusion as to how the Celestines repaid their debt to the monarchs: "Il paroît que les Célestins ne songèrent principalement qu'à s'enrichir: leur ordre se trouve peu mêlé dans les grandes affaires du gouvernement."[117] Nor are the Celestines the only religious order to have the charges of avarice and venality imputed to them; in the next paragraph Millin proceeds to state that the Celestines had amassed considerable riches and that when their order was dissolved "ces richesses ont été partagées à des chapitres, à des abbayes, et l'état n'en a pas profité."[118] The accusations do not end there. After a short section describing the administration of the order in France, including details of their triennial general chapter, Millin turns his attention to the daily routine of the monks. According to their rule, they had to maintain a strictly vegetarian diet except at times of illness and eat no eggs during Advent and Lent. Such precepts were, however, rarely observed if Millin is to be believed, since "ils étoient connus pour aimer beaucoup la bonne chère, et ils avoient de la réputation pour faire d'excellentes omelettes, qu'on appeloit Omelettes à la Célestine."[119] Little respite is given, because Millin then continues with a description of the monks' success in inveigling successive monarchs into granting them as many if not more privileges than their predecessors had done. The final element in this catalogue of the vices of the Celestines is an attack on their pride. Far from espousing the moderation and humility of the founder of their order, they "se soient crus des moines d'une espèce supérieure" as can be inferred from the pompous coat of arms which they claimed for themselves.

Over the seven pages that are occupied by this account of the history of the order of the Celestines in France two main currents of thought are thus evident. One of these is a

[116] ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 1 (1790), art. III, p. 5.

[117] ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 1 (1790), art. III, p. 5.

[118] ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 1 (1790), art. III, p. 5.

[119] ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 1 (1790), art. III, p. 6.

generally sympathetic, even laudatory, attitude towards the founder and towards the principles of the monastic order. The other, clearly differentiated and expressed in terms that leave the reader in no doubt as to the author's hostility, is the denunciation of the abuses that have marked the history of this particular religious institution. That the second of these two ideas should be expounded here is scarcely surprising. France was at this time undergoing a period of considerable reaction against many of the institutions of the Ancien Régime, and the laicization of the French state was one important weapon in the armoury of the revolutionaries. The wealth of the Church, accumulated throughout the centuries, was one amongst many symbols of the former oppression of the Tiers État. Criticisms of the ecclesiastical riches had been mounting before 1789 and had reached the public sphere through a number of pamphlets and books; this movement accelerated in the years following the storming of the Bastille. The necessity for the clergy to sign the Civil Constitution was merely the culmination of this long process of disenchantment with the ecclesiastical institution, and Millin's was just one of the many voices raised against the Church at this time; his participation in the debate may have been a little more vociferous given his personal history of a hasty exit from the religious orders, in express defiance of his mother's wishes.[120]

A less than entirely positive discussion of the Celestines in the *Antiquités nationales* is thus comprehensible. What is of particular interest in the context of this chapter is the question of the literature quoted by Millin to support his assertions. For details of the administration of the order and the day-to-day running, the footnote refers to Hélyot's *Histoire des ordres monastiques*.[121] When the question of the misuse of wealth and the avarice of the order is addressed, then the source quoted is Rozet and his *Véritable origine des biens ecclésiastiques*.[122] And then a third source is added. Millin wishes to explain in detail the monks' habit, and it is at this point that an entirely unexpected reference appears in the footnotes. The plates showing the various modes of dress of the monks are clearly borrowed from Hélyot **[Ill. 41]** but much of the accompanying passage is taken from a short work first edited in Latin and subsequently translated into several other European languages, Ignaz Born's *De Monachologia*.[123] Millin introduces this section by explaining that each religious order has its own particular habit and that "un auteur allemand a tenté [...]

[120] See *supra*, ch. 2, p. 48.

[121] ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 1 (1790), art. III, pp. 5 ff.

[122] ROZET 1790, with a second edition in two volumes in 1791.

[123] BORN 1783, illustrated with three plates; the French translation appeared one year later – BORN 1784 .

d'indiquer ces différences, et de diviser les moines en classes, ordres, genres, espèces et variétés, comme Linnaeus a rangé systématiquement les animaux."[124] He then goes on to quote at length from the preface to Born's work where the author explains the main points of his analysis:

> "Pour faire, dit-il, un *systema* général des moines, on peut les diviser en différentes classes, et diviser de nouveau chacune de ces classes en plusieurs ordres; par exemple, en barbus et imberbes, en blancs, noirs, bruns et pies ou panachés, etc., en mangeurs de viandes, de poissons et de plantes.
> "On doit prendre les caractères spécifiques de la tête, des pieds, du derrière, du capuchon, des tégumens.
> "*La tête* est velue, garnie de poils, rasée, elle varie par la couronne hémisphérique, la corolle velue, sillonnée, le menton imberbe, barbu.
> "*Les pieds* sont ou chaussés, ou demi-chaussés, ou nus."[125]

The text continues in a similar vein, explaining how various other physical attributes and vestiary peculiarities can aid in the identification of each species of monk. Millin's interest in this work is understandable: Born was a natural historian who was responsible for, amongst other projects, the reorganization of the natural history cabinet in Vienna.[126] A member, like Millin, of the Linnaean school, he applied his scientific training to the writing of this anticlerical essay, published anonymously but apparently commissioned by the emperor Joseph II in an attempt to ridicule the monastic orders before their abolition. Throughout the *Antiquités*, whenever Millin comes to a discussion of the physical appearance of monks, it is to this work that he will turn. On each occasion that he chooses to illustrate Born's words with engravings showing monks in their habits, he turns rather to the classic account of the orders, Hélyot's *Histoire des ordres monastiques*. Admittedly the plates to be found in Born's work, only three in number and rather schematic, clearly reminiscent of engravings in natural history treatises, offered very little in the way of complete information **[Ills. 42–4]** whereas Hélyot's engravings presented careful representations of the various costumes of each order. The orthodox and the heterodox are thus constantly juxtaposed.

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[124] ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 1 (1790), art. III, p. 7.

[125] ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 1 (1790), art. III, pp. 7–8. Cf. BORN 1784.

[126] On Born see: BARBE 2000 and MEIJERS 1995, esp. pp. 115–20. Amongst Born's other writings are to be found various catalogues of natural history collections: BORN 1772; BORN 1778; BORN 1790.

ii. the visual sources[127]

For the 250 plates in the *Antiquités nationales* there remain no identifiable preparatory drawings. By one of those all too curious ironies that mark investigations of this type there are, nonetheless, some that can be stated with almost complete certainty to have been executed for the *Antiquités*, despite the fact that they were never actually to be engraved or to find a place in the book as it stands. A total of sixteen such sheets are to be found in the Collection Destailleurs; fourteen of them were executed by Limozin, depict buildings and works of art in Amiens, and were clearly intended to illustrate the planned articles on this town which never appeared mainly because of the confiscation of Millin's documentation during the Terror.[128] The other two sheets are studies of a Parisian church, and both bear the title 'Eglise du St Esprit' after which has been added, in Millin's hand, 'dite des Bernardins'. Neither of these sheets is signed or dated; they have both since been attributed to Garnerey who was responsible for a large number of the drawings for the plates.

For the plates as published in the book there are unfortunately no drawings available. From the evidence of those sheets which were never to find a place in the book and from our knowledge of the other works of this type that were completed during the eighteenth century, it is nonetheless possible to construct a model of the way in which the iconographical material must have been assembled. Many of the drawings were in effect produced in front of the monuments by one of the six artists employed for the work. For some other, scattered, plates in the work a source can be identified, which is Hélyot's *Histoire des Ordres monastiques*.[129]

In addition to this there is one further important source for the engravings in the *Antiquités* that can be identified, since a total of seventeen plates in the book can be shown to have been drawn from it – the Gaignières collection of drawings, now housed for the most part in the Bibliothèque nationale de France.[130] This collection comprises almost 8000 drawings after a variety of French monuments; drawings of tombs, stained-glass windows, inscriptions, paintings and engravings, manuscripts and miniatures, sculpture, tapestries and some views of monuments and of towns all find their place here.[131] The wealth of the collection makes it

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[127] This is, admittedly, taking a liberty with the phrase "les avoir leuës" since the notion of 'reading' images is one that dates to little more than fifty years ago.

[128] See *supra*, ch. 5, p. 149.

[129] See *supra*, p. 225.

[130] SCHNAPPER 1988, pp. 291–6, and BROWN 1988. Amongst the earlier works, see: DELISLE 1868, pp. 335–56, and GUÉNÉBAULT 1853.

[131] The majority of the collection is housed in the BNF, with some sixteen portfolios (containing approximately

invaluable for historians of art, architecture and culture, especially given the destruction of many of the monuments depicted, either during the French Revolution, or in the following years.[132] Already in the eighteenth century it was used as a rich source of material for engravings and descriptions by several scholars working on the history of France and her monuments, amongst them Montfaucon and Millin.

François-Roger de Gaignières, born in Lyons in 1642, became equerry first to the duc de Guise and then to Mlle de Guise until her death in 1688.[133] Before this date he had already begun to assemble a large collection of documentation dealing with the history of France and, rewarded for his faithful service to the Guise family with a relatively modest pension of 1,200 livres per year, he decided to dedicate his time and money to continuing and expanding this work. He collected avidly paintings, mainly portraits, and engravings. According to the inventories and descriptions of his collections, he had managed by the time of his death in 1715 to collect 1,100 portrait paintings and 23,000 portrait engravings.[134] A further 15,000 engravings and drawings representing various festivals, battles and ceremonies formed a second series. Aware that not all of the monuments relevant to the history of France had already been engraved, Gaignières also commissioned an artist, Louis Boudan, to travel in the northern area of France and to draw buildings, tombs, stained-glass windows and other interesting objects.[135] Aesthetic concerns were not the sole criterion which motivated the choice of tombs to be copied: even the most simple slab bearing a cross and an epitaph was not to be overlooked by his artist.[136] Important as images may have been to Gaignières, this passion was not exercised to the exclusion of all other interests. His prime concern was to collect any piece of evidence capable of casting light on the history of France. This emphasis on the importance of all documentation is supported by the fact that he also employed a second person, Rémi Barthélemy, to copy texts housed in various archives.

1900 drawings) also to be found in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. GUIBERT s.d.; HENNIN 1854; FLANDRIN 1887; BOUCHOT 1891; ADHÉMAR 1974, ADHÉMAR 1976 and ADHÉMAR 1977.

[132] VAIVRE 1981, VAIVRE 1986.

[133] DUPLESSIS 1870; BONNAFFÉ 1884 (reprint – BONNAFFÉ 1966), pp. 117–20; GRANDMAISON 1890, GRANDMAISON 1891 and GRANDMAISON 1892; DBF 1933, vol. 15 (1980), pp. 62–3; DICTIONNAIRE LETTRES 1954, p. 445; ERLANDE-BRANDENBURG 1980B.

[134] SCHNAPPER 1988, p. 293.

[135] On Boudan see: BÉNÉZIT 1999, vol. 2, p. 630 & THIEME-BECKER 1907, vol. 4 (1910), p. 436; IFF XVII[e] 1939, vol. 1 (1939), pp. 550–2. For the contract between Gaignières and Boudan see DELISLE 1868, vol. 1 (1868), p. 337.

[136] See BEAUMONT-MAILLET 1997, pp. 38–9.

Gaignieres's purpose in constituting this collection remains rather unclear. One feature that emerges from various sources is that he did have a genuine concern for the preservation of monuments. An anecdote recounted in a letter to Jean Mabillon from Claude Vidal provides an interesting example of this. On a visit to Poitiers cathedral, Gaignières saw a monument to which he attracted Vidal's attention. Then, continued Vidal, "il me dit qu'il avoit descouvert à Saint-Pierre une des belles antiquités qui fût dans Poitiers, mais qu'il n'en donneroit pas l'explication avant que messieurs de la cathédralle n'eussent placé cette pierre dans un autre lieu où les caractères pussent estre mieux conservez et dans une autre situation où l'on pût les lire plus commodément."[137] That Gaignières's concerns were not voiced in vain is shown in the very next sentence where Vidal reassures Mabillon that the collector's suggestion was taken seriously and the monument moved to a more suitable location. It was with this same desire to ensure that the French national heritage could be in some way preserved for future generations that Gaignières had already, some three months before Vidal wrote his letter to Mabillon, presented to the secrétaire d'État, Pontchartrain, a plan for the recording of all monuments on French territory.[138] The project was, in effect, a more ambitious version of the work that Gaignières himself had already undertaken on a private basis. Pontchartrain was not averse to the idea but, probably due in large part to the political situation of the time – the War of the Spanish Succession was occupying the mind and the finances of Louis XIV –, no further action was taken. Despite his disappointment at the unsuccessful outcome to his proposal, and beset by the fear that his lack of an heir would lead to the irreparable dispersal of his collections on his death, in 1711 Gaignières negotiated with the king a settlement whereby he would bequeath all his collections to the Bibliothèque du roi.[139]

Gaignières died on March 27 1715, and his collections were transferred to the Bibliothèque du roi after a sale had been held of those pieces which were described as being duplicates ("doubles").[140] Deposited in the Bibliothèque du roi were 2,407 manuscrits, twenty-

[137] Quoted by DELISLE 1868, vol. 1 (1868), p. 342. Delisle gives as a reference for this letter the Correspondance de Mabillon, X, fol. 101. The letter bears the date of December 24 1703.

[138] BNF, Cabinet des manuscrits, Clairambault collection 1032, fol. 73.

[139] The financial terms of the settlement were as follows: a single payment of 4,000 livres, an annual pension for life of 4,000 livres and then a payment of 20,000 livres to his heirs. A further clause stipulated that Gaignières would have the right to maintain possession of his collections during his lifetime. A copy of the agreement is to be found in the BNF, Cabinet des manuscrits, Clairambault collection 1032, fols. 5–7. It was published by DUPLESSIS 1870, pp. 479–80.

[140] These duplicates consisted of books, engravings and paintings. For an inventory of the collections made just one month before his death, see DUPLESSIS 1874, pp. 265–302. The total raised from the sale was 16,761 livres 14 sous for 2,256 "pièces de géographie, topographie, imprimés et estampes gravées" and 15,248 engraved portraits.

four large portfolios (containing a total of 2,231 drawings), thirty-one volumes of drawings of funeral monuments (3,181 pieces), 117 volumes of geography, topography, manuscripts, printed items and engravings (12,885 pieces) and 100 volumes of engraved portraits (7,752 pieces). Some further items had not been included in the sale and were destined for the Bibliothèque du roi, but were subsequently judged insufficiently interesting to be deposited there; they were, nevertheless, of a high enough quality to be taken by Pierre Clairambault, the généalogiste des ordres du roi, who managed to find a place for them amongst his personal collections.[141] Clairambault died in 1740, leaving his collections to his nephew, Nicolas-Pascal Clairambault, who had succeeded to his uncle's post. According to the terms of the will, the collections were to be kept together and were to be sold either to the Ordre du Saint-Esprit or to the Bibliothèque du roi as soon as the title of généalogiste des ordres du roi left the family. Thus it was that in 1753 Nicolas-Pascal offered them to the Bibliothèque du roi; he received no satisfactory response and therefore turned to the Ordre du Saint-Esprit. The negotiations proved more fruitful, and the portfolios were deposited in the Couvent des Grands-Augustins in 1772, from where they were transferred to the Bibliothèque nationale on May 9 1792.[142] Despite the efforts of a number of scholars, the decree of May 12 1792 ordering the destruction of all archives relating to the nobility was enacted and about 600 volumes of the Clairambault collection were burned in the Place Vendôme on June 18 1792.[143] An unfortunate combination of events – the sale of some pieces, the appropriation of others by Clairambault and the revolutionary destruction of documents – which was also compounded by the decision to distribute different parts of the collection around the various departments of the Bibliothèque du roi thus contributed to the dashing of Gaignières's hopes that his carefully constituted collections could be kept together. And a further blow had already been dealt during the 1780s: all of the drawings related to the abbey of Saint-Denis and its monuments were removed from the Bibliothèque du roi, smuggled out of France and then ended up in England in the collection of the antiquary Richard Gough, who in turn bequeathed them to the Bodleian Library.[144]

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[141] Many of these pieces are now in the Bibliothèque nationale, although in the Clairambault collection and not among the Gaignières papers. On Clairambault see: DELISLE 1868, vol. 2 (1874), pp. 18–25; LAUER 1923; LAUER 1926.

[142] The settlement negotiated with the Ordre du Saint-Esprit was for a price of 240,000 livres, plus an annual pension of 3,000 livres.

[143] It is unsure how many pieces from Gaignières's collections which had found their way into Clairambault's hands were destroyed in this way.

[144] The date of this theft was probably 1784 or 1785. See BROWN 1988. During the nineteenth century the

With the exception of the document outlining the idea of a precursor to the Commission des monuments historiques mentioned above, there are very few concrete clues as to Gaignières's aims in gathering together such a remarkable collection. Amongst the pieces that remain is a series of twenty-seven engravings made by Boudan after original portraits in the collection.[145] The reason for the production of these engravings is unknown, but Delisle points out that Gaignières also edited biographical notices on the sitters for the portraits in his collection.[146] Since these notices have disappeared, there is no way of telling whether or not he was intending to publish a work similar to the *Hommes illustres* by Perrault, or whether it was merely a form of scholarly recreation.[147] The other possibility is that he was intending to constitute a corpus of engravings after the most solicited items in his collection, which could then be sent out to scholars who requested information. The evidence is unfortunately far too slight for any of these hypotheses to be much more than conjecture. One fact is, however, certain and backed by a considerable number of testimonies, and this is that Gaignières was always willing to put his documentation at the disposition of any scholar or amateur who wished to see it. Many went to see him in his Parisian home: among those who are known to have visited him there were the young duc de Bourgogne, dauphin of France and pupil of Fénelon.[148] Further proof of his willingness to open up his house and the collections to visitors is provided by Martin Lister, an English traveller who, in the course of a visit to Paris in 1698, was welcomed

existence of these documents in Oxford came to the attention of the French scientific community. Negotiations were entered into, in an attempt to repatriate the drawings. When this proved impossible, a series of copies was made and deposited in the Bibliothèque nationale de France. See: GUÉNÉBAULT 1853; PRIOUX 1857; DAUBAN 1860; SECTION D'ARCHÉOLOGIE 1860A; SECTION D'ARCHÉOLOGIE 1860B; VIOLLET-LE-DUC 1860; NOUVELLES ARCHÉOLOGIQUES 1862.

[145] Only fifteen are mentioned by DUPLESSIS 1870, pp. 472–3. The full list of twenty-seven is to be found in IFF XVII^{e} 1939, vol. 1 (1939), pp. 550–2, nos. 3–29. A contract for this work is to be found on the verso of the original contract for Boudan's drawings of monuments for Gaignières: BNF, Cabinet des manuscrits, Collection Clairambault 1032. Quoted by DELISLE 1868, vol. 1 (1868), p. 472: "Et à l'égard des portraits que je grave d'après les tableaux de M. de Gaignières pour luy, nous sommes convenus qu'il me donnera vingt livres pour chacun, et me donnera de sa main l'escrit pour mettre au bas, et les armes ainsi qu'il voudra [...]."

[146] DELISLE 1868, vol. 1 (1868), p. 352.

[147] PERRAULT 1696 (reprint – PERRAULT 1970), with further editions in Paris in 1698, 1700, 1701, 1804 (under the title of *Portraits des hommes illustres du dix-septième siècle*); there were also editions in The Hague in 1698 & 1736.

[148] See letter from Foucault to Gaignières, April 21 1702: "Je vous félicite de la visite que vous a rendue M. le duc de Bourgogne, et suis bien persuadé que le temps luy aura paru court dans vostre grand appartement. Comme c'est un prince qui a du goust pour l'histoire et la littérature, vous aurés eu grand plaisir à satisfaire sa curiosité. J'espère que cette agréable et honnorable visitte ne sera pas sans suittes heureuses." BNF, Cabinet des manuscrits, fonds français 24987; quoted by DELISLE 1868, vol. 1 (1868), p. 339. For other accounts of the visit see the letter by Moreau, the valet de chambre of the duc de Bourgogne, BNF, Cabinet des manuscrits, fonds français 24989 (without fol. no.) and the account in the MERCURE 1672, avril 1702, pp. 302–16.

by Gaignières: a long passage concerning this episode is given by Lister in the account of his journey which he was to publish in London in 1699.[149] In the third edition of his *Description de Paris*, Germain Brice devotes several pages to Gaignières's collections and concludes by saying that "les personnes les plus illustres du royaume sont souvent venues voir ce grand amas de singularitez instructives".[150] Which is hardly surprising, since the collections had, justifiably, attained considerable celebrity and also given that whilst in some ways our knowledge of Gaignières as a person is tantalizingly scanty – there is no known portrait of him, for example – it becomes evident from various accounts that he was a very sociable person, received into many of the best salons of Paris of the time. Others chose to correspond with him, and Gaignières always took great pleasure in sending them any information that they requested. Amongst the illustrious names to be found in the copious volumes of his epistolary exchanges are such figures as Michel de Marolles, dom Lobineau, Cardinal de Noailles, Cardinal d'Estrées, Jean-Baptiste Pradillon, Michel Le Pelletier, Daniel Huet, the poet Boileau and Fénelon.[151]

One group with whom Gaignières maintained especially close intellectual contacts was the Benedictine congregation of Saint-Maur. He is known to have been a regular participant at the meetings organized at Saint-Germain-des-Prés by Jean Mabillon.[152] Montfaucon was also a friend of the scholar-collector, and would send him useful information from his travels. For instance, aware that Gaignières was interested in obtaining copies of certain papal bulls, he made discreet inquiries whilst in Rome before sending a letter back to his friend informing him that the necessary document could possibly be obtained but that the cost would be exorbitant: "il ne faut rien espérer du château Saint-Ange, où l'on conserve ces bulles; car, outre qu'on n'y donne pas volontiers entrée aux François, on fait payer un teston par année, c'est-à-dire que, Gui de Noailles étant mort l'an 1296, il faudroit payer autant de testons qu'il y a d'années depuis ce tems jusqu'à présent."[153] The two men were always to be on good terms and exchanged much information, but it was not until after Gaignières's death that Montfaucon was to realize, appreciate and acknowledge the full extent of his debt to his friend. For, as he was to explain in

[149] BNF, Cabinet des manuscrits, nouvelles acquisitions françaises 340, fols. 51–3. The account was originally published in English as LISTER 1699 (three editions in 1699, with others following in 1808 and 1823), and there is a French translation: LISTER 1873.

[150] BRICE 1713, vol. 3, p. 119; quoted by SCHNAPPER 1988, p. 292.

[151] GRANDMAISON 1890, *passim*.

[152] See BROGLIE 1888, vol. 1, p. 69: "Gaignières n'était pas, en effet, l'hôte le moins assidu de l'abbaye."

[153] BNF, Cabinet des manuscrits, fonds français 24988, fol. 291. Quoted by GRANDMAISON 1890, pp. 590–1.

the preface to his *Monumens de la monarchie françoise*, without the precious aid furnished by the Gaignières drawings in the Bibliothèque du roi, the process of gathering together the necessary iconographical material would have been much more time-consuming and expensive.

> "Le devoir et la reconnaissance m'obligent de faire mention de ceux qui m'ont prêté les secours nécessaires pour cet ouvrage. Le public sera peut-estre bien aise de savoir à qui il en est redevable. Les recueils de feu M. de Gaignières, mon ami, sont les premiers en date. Sans cette avance je n'aurais jamais pu faire une telle entreprise. Il m'a fraié le chemin en ramassant et faisant dessiner tout ce qu'il a pu trouver de monumens dans Paris, autour de Paris et dans les provinces. Il y a emploié de grosses sommes. Je lui ai souvent donné des recommandations pour nos abbayies, où il alloit faire ses recherches, menant toujours avec lui son peintre. Je ne savois pas alors qu'en lui faisant plaisir j'agissois pour moi: ce n'est que depuis sa mort que j'ai formé le plan que j'exécute aujourd'hui; et sans ce secours je n'aurois jamais pu fournir aux frais immenses qu'il auroit fallu faire pour dessiner tant de monumens d'après les originaux, dont plusieurs sont fort éloignez de Paris. Ses portefeuilles sont à la Bibliothèque du roi, d'où, par la faveur et la protection de M. l'abbé Bignon, j'ai tiré une bonne partie des pièces qui entrent dans cet ouvrage."[154]

Montfaucon was not the only Benedictine to benefit enormously from the erudition and generosity of Gaignières. When the Parisian collector learned of the preparations being made for an ambitious history of Brittany, he furnished the scholar-monks engaged on the project with a detailed and methodical plan of the way in which this type of work should be approached.[155] All of the essential elements to be included are enumerated. First, the monks should produce a very precise map of the area, after which they should turn their attention to the history of the region, with a chronology of all the most important events. Descriptions of towns and castles should follow, with lists of all the governors and officers. Immediately after this, ecclesiastical history should be considered: the abbeys, monasteries and churches should be described and a history of each given. Finally, the local nobility is also to find a place, followed by the parliaments.

From this brief survey of the life and interests of François-Roger de Gaignières, it becomes clear that he was a person of primordial importance for any study of the development of interest in France's national heritage. By means of the collections that he assembled and

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[154] MONTFAUCON 1729, vol. 1 (1729), 'Préface', p. vi. This is not the only instance of Montfaucon mentioning Gaignières: throughout the *Monumens* we can find references to a plate engraved after a Gaignières drawing. For the iconographical sources of the *Monumens*, see ROSTAND 1932 and ERLANDE-BRANDENBURG 1980A.

[155] DELISLE 1868, vol. 1 (1868), pp. 338–9. In a passage reminiscent of the instructions given to historians by Mabillon quoted at the beginning of this chapter, Gaignières also gives advice on the sources that should be used for the work: "Il faut ramasser généralement toutes les tombes et épitaphes avec les armes; [...] Il faut voir les historiens, et les conférer avec les manuscrits [...]; Il faut un catalogue de tous livres dont on tire quelque chose, [...]; Il faut bien entendre le breton et le bas breton [...]; Il faut voir très exactement tous les tiltres [...]; [...] il faut marquer et dessiner les sceaux." A second document explains in greater depth exactly how manuscripts and charters should be used by the historian: see DELISLE 1868, vol. 1 (1868), pp. 344–6.

opened to scholars, he provided a wealth of material for all who were engaged in research on French history. He wished to ensure that even if the physical survival of the national heritage could not always be guaranteed, at least a record of the appearance of the object could be conserved. Despite the fact that he left no writings of his own, he was instrumental in defining a firm methodological basis for the writing of works on local history and antiquities. Almost a century later, Millin's own chapters in the *Antiquités* follow a very similar structure to the one developed in the plan for the history of Brittany. It is also pertinent to note that Gaignières's collection included pieces representing not only tombs but also various other objects. His choice of tombs was not restricted merely to ornate, impressive examples of those commemorating the great and illustrious names of the past; in his view, as has been seen, even the humblest slab decorated with no more than a cross was of potential value for his collection.[156] It is hardly surprising then that we discover that some of the plates in the *Antiquités nationales* can be traced back to a source which is the Gaignières collection. Seventeen of the plates in the book can be identified as having been engraved, either entirely or in part, after the drawings of the Gaignières collection.[157] All of these plates show historical figures, and are, with the exception of a few, after funerary sculpture. Contrary to Millin's almost entire disregard for marking the source of his textual quotations discussed in the previous section of this chapter, in the case of his iconographical borrowings he is scrupulous in acknowledging his debt. Virtually every single use of the Gaignières collection is noted, and not just in a cursory fashion: precise references to both the portfolio and the number of the drawing are usually provided.[158]

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[156] Cf. *supra*, p. 228.

[157] The plates in question are: vol. 2 (1791): art. XI, pll. 2, 5 & 6; art. XIII, pl. 3 [sic = 5]; vol. 4 (1792): art. XXXVII, pll. 3 & 5; art. XXXVIII, pl. 2; art. XXXIX, pll. 7, 8, 9, & 10; art. XLII, pl. 2 [sic, and often bound in here, but actually art. XLI, pl. 2]; art. XLVI, pl. 6; art. XLVII, pll. 3, 4, 5 & 6.

[158] ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A: vol. 2 (1791), art. XI, p. 11: "M. de Gaignières l'a fait dessiner, et je l'ai fait graver, *Planche V*, fig. 1"; p. 15: "quelques-unes [des tombes] ont été dessinées dans la belle collection de M. de Gaignières, où je les ai fait copier"; art. XIII, p. 15: "quelques-uns ont été conservés dans les collections de M. de Gaignières"; p. 17: "L'ancien cloître et le chapitre étoient pavés de tombes [...] qui heureusement ont été conservées par Gaignières"; vol. IV (1792), art. XXXVII, p. 9: "J'ai donné deux dessins de cette statue, l'un *Planche III, fig.* 1, semblable à celui de Montfaucon (9) d'après les portefeuilles de Gaignières"; "[...] *Planche III, fig.* 2 représente [...] cette figure, gravée encore d'après Montfaucon et Gaignières"; p. 18: "J'ai encore fait graver, d'après les porte-feuilles de Gaignières, quelques tombes"; art. XXXVIII, p. 4: "J'ai fait dessiner d'après les portefeuilles de Gaignières les deux figures [comte de Soissons et Anne de Montafié], qui étoient sur le tombeau [...] il [comte de Soissons] est encore représenté, d'après un ancien portrait, qui étoit aussi dans le cabinet de M. de Gaignières, et que celui-ci a fait dessiner dans sa collection"; art. XXXIX, p. 54: "*pl. VIII, fig.* 1 [...] Cette figure est copiée d'après les manuscrits de Gaignières, porte-feuille VIII, feuille 54"; p. 64: "[...] voici un portrait tiré d'un ancien armorial d'Avergne, manuscrit, et gravé d'après la collection de Gaignières, *Planche IX, fig.* 1"; p. 65: "*Planche X, fig.* 1 [...] Cette figure est gravée d'après Gaignières, porte-feuille III, fig. 44"; p. 66: "*Planche X, fig.* 2 [...] Cette figure est copiée d'après Gaignières, porte-feuille III, fig. 96"; p. 71: "*Planche VII, fig.* 3 [...] Cette figure est dessinée d'après Gaignières, porte-feuille V, fig. 38"; p. 71: "J'ai fait dessiner, *Planche IX, fig.* 3, d'après Gaignières [...] Porte-feuille V, fig. 4"; p. 93: "*Planche IX, fig.* 4, [...] Gaignières, porte-feuille III, n°. 45"; p. 94: "[...] je l'ai fait dessiner,

It could be imagined that the use of the Gaignières collection would have become most interesting for Millin in the case of buildings situated beyond the immediate environs of Paris. Either financial or time considerations, or even a combination of the two, could well have induced him to cut corners and merely to copy the relevant pieces from the extensive collection so conveniently near-to-hand rather than sending or accompanying an artist to the building in question. Such proves not to be the case, however, because of the eight articles illustrated by material drawn from the Gaignières collection, five are devoted to buildings in Paris itself.[159] Since the geographical factor has been ruled out, there must be another reason for this use of the drawings held in the Bibliothèque du roi. What becomes quite clear from considering the plates in question is that there are two main situations in which Millin decided to have recourse to the drawings made at the beginning of the century. In the majority of cases, quite simply, the necessary material had already been removed from the churches in question. Without the evidence found in the drawings produced almost one century earlier, Millin would not have been able to illustrate many of the monuments in some churches.[160] Such is the case for the Abbaye de Royaumont, where the author comments that "outre ces epitaphes, il y avoit aussi des tombes qui n'existent plus; quelques-unes ont été dessinées dans la belle collection de M. de Gaignières, où je les ai fait copier."[161] Similarly, at the Abbaye de Barbeau, there had previously been a considerable number of tombs, which had disappeared during a reordering of the church: "On voyoit encore dans l'abbaye de Barbeau plusieurs tombeaux dont quelques-uns étoient plats, et d'autres élevés: l'ignorance des moines les a laissés détruire, mais quelques-uns ont été conservés dans les collections de M. de Gaignières."[162] Only once is it less than clear whether

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Planche IX, fig. 7, [...] Porte-feuille III, n. 44"; art. XLI, p. 15, note 32: "Bibliothèque nationale, collection de Gaignières, porte-feuille IV, n. 72"; art. XLVI, p. 34: "*Planche 6, fig.* 1 [...] Je l'ai fait dessiner d'après la collection de Gaignière [sic] [...] Porte-feuille VI, N°. 49"; art. XLVII, p. 2 [= p. 12]: "M. de Gaignières [...] les avoit fait copier dans le temps, et je les publie aujourd'hui, d'après ses dessins".

[159] The articles devoted to buildings in Paris are: vol. 4 (1792): art. XXXVII. Chapelle de Saint-Yves, Paris; art. XXXIX. Couvent des Jacobins de la Rue Saint-Jacques, Paris; art. XLI. Chapelle de Saint-Julien-des-Menestriers, Paris; art. XLVI. Carmes de la Place Maubert, Paris; art. XLVII. Les Blancs-Manteaux à Paris. The buildings outside Paris are: vol.2 (1791): art. XI. Abbaye de Royaumont; art. XIII. Abbaye de Barbeau; vol. 4 (1792): art. XXXVIII. La Chartreuse-lez-Gaillon.

[160] Often, in fact, this had been done earlier than the Revolution.

[161] ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 2 (1791), art. XI, p. 15.

[162] ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 2 (1791), art. XIII, p. 15. Other such examples occur in the articles on the Chapelle de Saint-Yves (art. XXXVII), on the Carmes de la Place Maubert (art. XLVI) and on the Blancs-Manteaux (art. XLVII). "J'ai encore fait graver, d'après les porte-feuilles de Gaignières, quelques tombes qui existoient de son temps, et dont on ne retrouve aujourd'hui ni les figures, ni les epitaphs": vol. 4 (1792), art. XXXVII, p. 9; "Ce tombeau, ainsi que les autres, avoit été enlevé, long-temps avant la revolution. Je l'ai fait dessiner d'après la collection de Gaignières": vol. 4 (1792), art. XLVI, p. 34; "Avant que l'on eût rebâti l'église

Millin borrowed the illustrations from the Gaignières collections because of the earlier destruction of the tombs, and this is in the article on the Jacobins de la rue St-Jacques. And here too the evidence would tend to suggest that by the time that Millin was visiting the church much of the necessary material was no longer easily to be seen.

On other occasions, although less frequent than the depiction of lost monuments, drawings from the Gaignières collection are put to service as either illustrative or comparative material. For example, when Millin comes to discuss the history of the violin in his article on the church of Saint-Julien-des-Menestriers in Paris, he distinguishes between the rebec with only three strings and the violin with four strings. Whilst the introduction of this fourth string does not seem to have become the general rule until the sixteenth century, says Millin, there are examples of earlier violins which do have it. And in order to back this assertion, he refers to the thirteenth figure of the second plate illustrating the article, where he has represented "un jongleur ou menestrier dans son véritable costume, d'après une miniature de 1272"; the corresponding footnote quotes as the source for this figure the Gaignières collection.[163] At one point in the *Antiquités*, a portrait from the Gaignières collection is used to test the veracity of a representation of a figure on a tomb. The tomb in question is that of the comte de Soissons. Millin asked his artist to copy the Gaignières drawing of the figures of the Count and his wife on the tomb in the La-Chartreuse-lez-Gaillon; he then decided to juxtapose with this image another, an engraving after a portrait of the Count **[Ill. 45]**. Millin describes the two images in the following words: "La figure 1 de la planche II est celle du comte de Soissons; il a la barbe à la Henri IV, le manteau ducal, et le grand habit de l'ordre de Saint-Michel; il est encore représenté, fig. 2, d'après un ancien portrait, qui étoit aussi dans le cabinet de M. de Gaignières, et que celui-ci a fait dessiner dans sa collection."[164] To this sentence is added a footnote where Millin states that "Les figures du tombeau et des portraits ont entre elles tant de ressemblance, qu'on ne peut douter qu'elles ne représentent parfaitement les traits du comte de Soissons."[165]

There is one more case in which Millin uses drawings from the Gaignières collection as comparative material, and this is one which deserves closer attention, indicative as it is of

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à la moderne, et qu'on relevant les tombes, il y en avoit de curieuses et d'anciennes qui n'existent plus. M. de Gaignières […] les avoit fait copier dans le temps, et je les publie aujourd'hui, d'après ses dessins": vol. 4 (1792), art. XLVII, p. 12.

[163] ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 4 (1792), art. XLI, p. 15.

[164] ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 4 (1792), art. XXXVIII, p. 4.

[165] ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 4 (1792), art. XXXVIII, p. 4, note 10.

Millin's occasional lack of critical distance towards his sources. In the thirty-seventh article of the *Antiquités*, on the Chapelle de Saint-Yves in Paris, Millin selects two statues, those of Jean II 'le bon', king of France (1350–64), and his wife Jeanne de Boulogne and gives two engravings of each statue. Unlike the example quoted above, that of the Count of Soissons, Millin has not reproduced two different drawings in the Gaignières collection of the same historical figure, originally taken from different sources. Instead, he has decided to compare the representation given by his predecessors with the version that his own artist has made of the same statue **[Ills. 46–7]**. Here is Millin's reasoning and his comparison of the two images:

> "J'ai donné deux dessins de cette statue [de Jean II], l'un *Planche III, fig.* 1, semblable à celui de Montfaucon (9) d'après les portefeuilles de Gaignières; il n'est pas plus exact que la plupart de ceux de cette collection (10): on y voit une couronne, que la statue dessinée sur le lieu, *Planche II, fig*. 2, ne porte pas. [...]
>
> "Le dessin, *Planche III, fig*. 2 la [Jeanne de Boulogne] représente avec une toque ornée de petits clous d'or, et un surcot dont le milieu est arrangé; mais cette figure, gravée encore d'après Montfaucon et Gaignières, n'est point exacte; celle, *Planche II, fig.3*, a été prise sur le lieu; on ne voit plus que le reste des boutons de son surcot; sa chevelure et sa toque sont assez singulières: elle a les mains jointes.
>
> "(9) Montfaucon, d'après Gaignières, le donne comme une statue de Jean VI, duc de Bretagne.
>
> "(10) Les dessinateurs ont donné à toutes leurs figures des attitudes, pendant qu'elles doivent avoir les mains jointes."[166]

There are thus a number of points which Millin is attempting to raise with regard to the accuracy or inaccuracy of his predecessors. The first of these is the question of the identification of the figure. Montfaucon, following Gaignières's indications on the drawing, stated that this was Jean VI, the duc de Bretagne, and this is here refuted by Millin in a carefully reasoned passage. Three theories as to the identity of these two figures are evoked; according to Millin, none of the three can be accepted *prima facie* since "aucune de ces authorités ne seroit suffisante, si l'on ne trouvoit pas dans la nature même des monumens, et dans le rapprochement des dates quelque moyen d'éclairer la question."[167] Lebeuf's suggestion that the statues are those of Yves Simon and his wife is dismissed rapidly since "il n'appuie cette opinion sur rien de solide, et on ne sauroit l'admettre facilement."[168] As for the theory of Montfaucon, heavily reliant on that of Gaignières, this is refuted on the basis of the dates involved. Millin considers that the statues were sculpted to coincide with the consecration of the chapel; work on the building finished in

[166] ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 4 (1792), art. XXXVII, Chapelle de Saint-Yves, p. 9.

[167] ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 4 (1792), art. XXXVII, Chapelle de Saint-Yves, p. 6 [= p. 8].

[168] ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 4 (1792), art. XXXVII, Chapelle de Saint-Yves, p. 6 [= p. 8].

1357, thus predating the birth of Jean VI by over thirty years.[169] A similar criticism of Gaignières's identification of the subject of a tomb sculpture had already been made in the second volume of the *Antiquités*. Here, in the article on the Abbaye de Royaumont, Millin acknowledges that he has borrowed a copy of a figure from a stained-glass window showing Philippe de France, brother of Louis IX, from the Gaignières portfolios; in the accompanying footnote, he then points out that the collector had mistakenly seen this figure as being Philippe le Hardi.[170]

The second quibble which Millin raises with regard to the figures copied after Gaignières for the plate in the article on the Chapelle de Saint-Yves is that they are inaccurately drawn. Two main problems are adduced here. The first of these is that the actual details on the figure, and more especially the costume, are not correct. And Millin is very clear in his insistence on the fact that his artist prepared in front of the works themselves the drawings for the engraving on which this comparison, unfavourable to Gaignières, is being made – for both figures he adds the indication "dessinée" or "prise sur le lieu". A close comparison of the figures does indeed show that the drawings produced by Duchemin in front of the statues themselves differ in some small details from those that Boudan had executed for Gaignières. As Millin points out in his commentary, the male figure has no crown and the dress of the female figure bears fewer buttons than had been indicated in the drawing by Boudan. More questionable, however, is Millin's assumption that this necessarily proves the inaccuracy of the earlier drawings, especially given the fact that the drawing of Jean II furnished by his artist does certainly allow for the original presence of a crown to be hypothesized.[171] It is astonishing that a historian working during the Revolution who presents his book as a possible antidote to the effects of vandalism should make such a comment. At best this can only be pardoned as a naive unawareness of the possible degradations operated either by the human hand or by the effects of time; at worst it is a clumsy and easily disprovable attempt to discredit the earlier sources.

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[169] It is certainly known that Montfaucon's dating of sculptures could be rather erratic: see VANUXEM 1957.

[170] ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 2 (1791), art. XI, p. 11, note 15: "La note qui est jointe à la figure de M. de Gaignières [...] dit que cette figure est celle de Philippe-le-Hardi, fils et successeur de saint Louis [...]. Il y a là plusieurs erreurs. Philippe-le-Hardi n'a point été enterré à Royaumont, mais à Saint-Denis. Le tombeau est celui de Philippe de France, surnommé Dagobert, frère de saint Louis; et la conformité exacte du costume prouve que cette figure de la vitre est encore la sienne. Ce prince mourut fort jeune, et ces deux figures sont celles d'un jeune homme."

[171] Clearly visible in Millin's engraving is the way in which the hair has been sculpted to allow for the positioning of a crown.

The third point where Millin takes issue with the accuracy of the Gaignières drawings is with regard to the posture of the figures represented. Here also, a little more caution on the part of the late eighteenth-century historian would have been welcome. At first sight, his contention is not only pertinent, but also extremely well-founded as a criticism of a fundamental historical inaccuracy present in the drawings. For, as is pointed out here and in other passages in the *Antiquités nationales*, the figures have been distorted. The classic pose of a supine figure with hands joined together in a pious posture of prayer, typical to mediaeval funeral sculpture, is often not to be found in these drawings. Instead, the figures are standing, and the hands are separated, even gesturing. At this stage in his work Millin is not prepared to hazard a guess as to the reason for this inexactitude, contenting himself merely with the observation that the hands should have been joined. Later in his work, however, he comments again on this feature, and now he ventures to explain it: "ses dessinateurs [de Gaignières] se sont amusés à donner à leurs figures des attitudes forcées, et qui ne sont pas conformes aux originaux."[172] This argument is repeated a little later in the book, in the forty-seventh article, where Millin has borrowed a whole series of images from the Gaignières collection in order to depict the tombs in the Blancs-Manteaux which had been lost when the church was rebuilt at the end of the seventeenth century **[Ills. 48–51]**. He comments "Cette suite de figures offre une série de costumes pour différens états et différens sexes, depuis 1353, jusqu'en 1594: il ne faut pas oublier que toutes ces figures devroient avoir les mains jointes. Nous avons déjà dit que les artistes employés par Gaignières s'étoient amusés à leur donner des attitudes."[173] Millin's judgement of the drawings that he has chosen for the engravings in the *Antiquités nationales* is rather dismissive. In his view, these images of figures in various postures are to be viewed as no more or less than an artistic diversion. This interpretation betrays a lack of understanding or of knowledge of his predecessor's work. Gaignières had asked his artists to produce these figures with a very definite purpose in mind, a purpose which, ironically enough, Millin noticed, albeit apparently unwittingly, and touched upon in the preceding sentence.

When Gaignières commissioned drawings from Louis Boudan, he requested that the first depiction should be 'd'après nature'. In the case of a tomb bearing a sculpted figure, the artist was to concentrate on a very precise rendering of the entire monument with careful reproduction of all the visible details. Colours, epitaphs and the setting of the tomb were to be included on the drawing; in short all the details were to be incorporated which would ensure that the drawing

[172] ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 4 (1792), art. XXXIX, p. 66.

[173] ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 4 (1792), art. XLVII, p. 19.

could serve as a faithful representation of the monument and thus augment the collection of documentation relevant to France and her history. Once Boudan returned to Paris with a new batch of drawings, Gaignières then asked that a second set of illustrations should be produced based on those made on the journey. This time there was to be a significant shift in emphasis. No longer was the whole tomb to be represented; Boudan's task was to detach any figures and to redraw them in an upright position. None of the main details of the figures were to be altered: the hairstyles, the expressions and the costumes were to be exactly as in the sculpted version. The major difference was to come in the posture as the new figures had to be depicted in an enlivened fashion. The rigid pose as seen on the tomb was not to be copied, and the hands were no longer to be joined in a gesture of prayer or repose. Instead, the subjects were to be depicted standing and gesturing, as if speaking or moving. On occasions an accessory was also added: a young man in court costume bears a falcon on his wrist, a woman is shown carrying a small pouch or bag. This reworking thus allowed for a suite of drawings which represented people dressed in the costume of the time and going about their daily business; the rationale behind this was to permit the viewer to gauge the effect of the costume as it was actually worn at that period and not just as it was depicted in the rather formalized and stiff poses of funereal sculpture, stained-glass windows, tapestries and other representations.

All of this work was thus done at Gaignières's express wish and was certainly not a mere artistic diversion. Nor was Gaignières asking for all this work to be done (at a not entirely negligible expense) just on a whim. He had a definite aim in mind, and this was to constitute a rich corpus of documentation on the history of costume in France. Once again it is not possible to state with any certitude whether or not he himself intended to publish a work on the subject, but we do know that he opened up the archive to others who were interested. Madame de Montespan was planning a publication, and her research entailed regular recourse to the pieces gathered by Gaignières.[174] Grandmaison, quoting a letter from the abbé Girard to Gaignières, suggests that this was to be a history of costume:

> "Je suis chargé, Monsieur, de vous faire des excuses que vous n'aurez pas grand peine à recevoir. C'est de Madame de Montespan qui, après une si longue interruption du commerce sur les petites figures, ne veut pas vous donner la peine de luy en aller reparler et montrer à Saint-Joseph [...]."[175]

[174] The abbé Testu wrote of the care which Gaignières had "pris pour l'exécution de l'ouvrage qu'elle veut entreprendre": see BNF, Cabinet des manuscrits, fonds français 24991, fol. 434, quoted in GRANDMAISON 1891, p. 187.

[175] BNF, Cabinet des manuscrits, fonds français 24987, fol. 243, quoted in GRANDMAISON 1891, p. 188.

Even though her work never saw the light of day, other scholars were later to use the Gaignières costume drawings for exactly this purpose.[176] It is this second set of drawings that Millin chose as the source for a number of his illustrations. The majority of the plates in the *Antiquités nationales* which can be infallibly traced back to the earlier collection are after a set of drawings which, albeit interesting from a historical point of view, are not faithful representations of the actual monuments in question and are thus less than entirely adequate as the visual material offered by Millin in pursuit of his avowed aim of guaranteeing a record of the monuments risking destruction at the hands of vandals.

In keeping with the practice of many of his predecessors and contemporaries, Millin exploited a number of methods in the composition of his *Antiquités*. Visits to buildings and careful observation of the works that he discovered there were to form the basis of his work. Drawings were made which later served for the engravings to accompany his illustrations. Whenever possible, mindful of the advantages that could be drawn from establishing good contacts, Millin made a point of questioning local historians in order to resolve various complicated points. Once back in Paris he could, if necessary, request further information from these same people. The final element in his writing of the *Antiquités* was the use and occasionally, as has been seen, the misuse or abuse of the earlier sources. Gathering together abundant and detailed verbal and visual information was an essential prerequisite for the composition of a work which aimed at the preservation of the memory of buildings that were threatened with destruction. Equally important, however, if the work were efficiently to achieve its purported aim, was that Millin should develop or, if not, at least identify and assimilate a model which would allow him to select and then present the buildings and the objects which he considered worthy of preservation.

[176] For example, BÉVY 1776.

Chapter 7.
IN ALBION'S SHADOW

Throughout the prospectus for the *Antiquités nationales* the rhetoric revolves around, aptly enough for a book published in a country currently experiencing a period of revolution, the importance of the theme of France. With his work, Millin hopes to be able to write a new history of his country and her monuments. The patriotism is clear, as is the appeal to all French citizens to interest themselves in their history, in that of their family and their region. On one point, nonetheless, Millin is very adamant, and that is that in terms of his intellectual model he has found no source of inspiration in earlier French works. In fact, it is to the other side of the Channel, to one of France's traditional enemies, that he has turned in order to find his methods when writing a new history of his country:

> "Les Anglois ont été en cela nos modèles. Depuis la destruction du Clergé et du Monachisme dans leur île, ils ont publié, sur le même sujet, des ouvrages très-importans, et décrit avec soin leurs Antiquités civiles, militaires et ecclésiastiques (1)."[1]

At first sight the analogy seems all too clear.[2] The *Antiquités* are a book aimed at the protection of monuments, works of art and of a country's historical past, all of which were at risk at a time of civil uprising, of Revolution and of the disestablishment of the Church. Millin makes direct reference to a very similar situation in England: the suppression of the Catholic Church at the time of Henry VIII, with the subsequent spoliation and dispersal of monastic property and riches. The works that the reader would expect to find quoted are thus those composed at that time in a bid to preserve some memory of the riches and of the history to be found in these places. If not, and armed with some knowledge of English history, the reader will be tempted to imagine books written in the mid-seventeenth century when England was once again undergoing a period of civil unrest with a consequent threat to works of art. The names that would spring to mind are thus those of John Leland, William Camden or maybe, for the latter period, John Aubrey.

Millin does not, however, name any of these scholars. In the footnote appended to the paragraph quoted above he goes on to make explicit the authors who have inspired in some way his work:

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[1] ALM ANTIQUITÉS PROSPECTUS 1790, p. 3. See, on this point, POMMIER 1991A, p. 56.

[2] It was no doubt for this reason and by inadvertence that Rücker was to strengthen the parallel by misquoting this passage; he wrote "Depuis la destruction du Clergé et du Monarchisme [...]". See RÜCKER 1913, p. 176.

> "Sinth, Antiquities. – Grose Antiquities of England. Monasticon Anglicanum. Antiquarium repertory typographia Britannica. Naenia Britannica. Collection of Armures Archœologia, etc. etc. etc."[3]

The references are certainly rather slapdash: most of the titles quoted here require modifications to the spelling and some juggling of the word order. The works can nonetheless almost all be identified, and it is notable that with the exception of one, Dodsworth and Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum*, all of them were written in the two decades immediately preceding the French Revolution.[4] Many of them were even still in the course of publication. Whilst the notion of the loss of material and monuments does certainly occur in places in these works, it is definitely not the leitmotif of any of them. In none of them is there to be found the same pressing urgency for the work as becomes evident from Millin's presentation of his *Antiquités*.

If the English model was not important in terms of the question of writing works which aspired to preserve monuments at a time of civil unrest, then the question remains as to how exactly Millin can justify his citation of these books. The very precision of his references to specific authors and titles suggests that he did have a definite model in mind. It is no doubt in the preceding paragraph that he explains most clearly what he means. When claiming, a typical authorial intervention in a prospectus, the novelty of his work, he states that: "Cet exposé suffit pour faire voir que cet Ouvrage ne ressemble à aucun de ceux qui ont été publiés. Leurs Auteurs n'avoient pour but que de décrire les vastes Edifices, les Places publiques, etc.; c'est aux Monumens historiques que nous nous attachons principalement."[5] What is innovatory here is that Millin is hoping to produce a new form of history of the antiquities of France by defining a new object as the centre of his study. He rejects the former model based on imposing buildings and public squares in order to replace these with a new object – the "monument historique", the historical monument.

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[3] ALM ANTIQUITÉS PROSPECTUS 1790, p. 3, note 1.

[4] And even so there are some that defy all attempts at precise identification. See *infra*, pp. 263–4.

[4] ALM ANTIQUITÉS PROSPECTUS 1790, p. 3. Amongst the works to which Millin is referring must be, for example, PATTE 1765.

France and England

i. Millin

This was not the first time that Millin had chosen to declare his debt to the English when launching a new publication. More than one year earlier, in the prospectus for the *Chronique de Paris* which appeared in late summer 1789, one of the promises made to potential readers was that the newspaper would emulate the *London's Chronicle*. According to the editors, the *Chronique*, "modelé sur le London's Chronicle, [...] est vrai, libre, impartial. On y peut insérer des avis de toute espèce."[6] The key-words here are "vrai, libre, impartial", implying that the model is not so much scientific as political. It is not the actual contents of the journal that are to be imitated, or at least no direct allusion is made to the various rubrics of the *Chronicle*. It would appear that Millin was thinking rather in terms of the liberty of the press enjoyed by the English and coveted by the French during much of the eighteenth century.

Apparently Millin was therefore acquainted with and admired English publications. It cannot be stated with any certainty that he had ever actually visited the country, but it is sure that his literary works from before the Revolution already reveal a bias towards English thought.[7] In 1785, he applied for the post of interpreter specialized in English and Italian at the Bibliothèque du roi.[8] At the same period he was occupied in editing the *Mélanges de littérature étrangère*, a considerable proportion of which was composed of translations of various texts from English. Nor was his interest in the English language to be merely a transient one, motivated by his wish to gain a comfortable position at the library and abandoned as soon as he discovered that his application had not been successful. He was to continue to produce a large number of translations from English throughout much of his life.[9] Amongst these the volumes of the *Abrégé* bear the closest relation to the *Antiquités nationales* and the reference to the English model. Contrary to what might be imagined, nonetheless, it is not here that Millin shows himself particularly interested by English works on vernacular monuments. The great majority of these two volumes are translations of

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[6] "Chronique de Paris, Prospectus", in: MERCURE 1672, September 19 1789, Supplement no. 18, pp. 11–12.

[7] There is no account of any such journey at any rate. His later journeys to the Midi and then to Italy were carefully recorded and published, suggesting that he did not share Caylus' reservations about the idea of committing to the printed word his observations of a foreign country.

[8] BALAYÉ 1988, p. 298. See *supra*, ch. 2, p. 51.

[9] Two shorter pieces, (ALM COMPARAISON 1787 and ALM ESSAI 1788), were soon to be followed by more ambitious projects. See ALM ABRÉGÉ ANTIQUITÉS 1789 & 1790 and ALM ABRÉGÉ MÉLANGES 1789, ALM LINNÉ 1789, ALM VOYAGE 1791, ALM RECHERCHES 1798 and ALM BEAUX-ARTS 1807.

dissertations which take as their subject classical antiquities. Many of these are, it is true, antiquities to be found on English territory, but they are certainly not mediaeval or renaissance constructions.

His relations with England were not confined to translations of texts in the isolation of his rooms in Paris. A diploma dated to November 1788 confirms Millin's membership of the Linnean Society of London, and there is evidence that he was in correspondence with members of the Society of Antiquaries.[10] Amongst his letters are to be found a large number addressed to him by English correspondents.[11] When they came to Paris he met them and invited them to visit the collections of the Bibliothèque nationale.[12] The great bibliographer Dibdin was on sufficiently good terms with Millin to address a copy of one of the latter's works to a friend, Francis Feeling, with the following manuscript annotation: "Poor Millin – he is dying: and perhaps this will be his last composition."[13] Another whom Millin counted as a close friend was James Millingen (1774–1845). Millingen, born in London to Dutch parents, had spent the first sixteen years of his life in England, before his family migrated to France in 1790.[14] He worked in the French mint and, through Barthélemy de Courçay, came to know many of the French archaeologists of the time. He left France for Italy where he devoted himself to research and also to the acquisition of antiquities which he subsequently offered to various European museums. Had it not been for the help of Millingen, one of Millin's works, the *Histoire métallique de Napoléon*, would have suffered even greater delays in going to press, and might not even have been published. For, as was explained in the

[10] BNF, Cabinet des manuscrits, fonds français 24676, fols. 58–63 – various documents from the Linnean Society of London including the diploma (fol. 63) and membership lists for 1789 (fols. 59–60) and 1790 (fols. 61–2) registering Millin amongst the members. For the Society of Antiquaries see fonds français 24676, fol. 56, a letter (dated May 28 1802) from John Brand (secretary of the society) to Rev. Henley thanking him for having transmitted to the society Millin's gift of the first livraison of his *Monumens antiques*.

[11] BNF, Cabinet des manuscrits, fonds français 24679, fols. 327–32, letters between Millin and John Britton, 1817–18; fols. 347–50, letters from Lord Buchan to Millin, 1812–16; fonds français 24683, fols. 65–105, letters between Millin and Dawson-Turner, 1815–18; fol. 312, Duchess of Devonshire to Millin; fonds français 24688, fols. 27–8, John Galt to Millin, 1815 & 1817; fonds français 24690, fols. 32–3, Millin to Henley, s.l.n.d.; fonds français 24692, fol. 347, Millingen to Millin, 1818; 24698, fols. 62–3, J.E. Smith to Millin, 1816; fols. 193–5, letters between Millin and J. Stoddart, 1814–15.

[12] BNF, Cabinet des manuscrits, fonds français 24681, fols. 44–5, E. Cardwell to Millin, Hotel de l'Europe, rue du Valois, Paris, s.d.; fonds français 24682, fols. 152–61, Craufurd to Millin, 1802–3; fonds français 24684, fols. 90–6, Sir William Drummond to Millin, Grand Hôtel de Richelieu, Paris, 1816; fonds français 24690, fols. 9–10, Mrs. Sampson Hanbury to Millin, Paris; fonds français 24690, fol. 107, Hodson to Millin, Hotel de Castille, rue Richelieu; fol. 195, M. Keating to Millin, Hotel de l'Europe, rue de Richelieu; fonds français 24692, fols. 349–59, George Mills to Millin, 1814 & 1818.

[13] ALM BANQUET 1818; copy with manuscript annotation by Dibdin in Harvard University library.

[14] DNB 1885, vol. 37 (1894), pp. 437–9.

preface to the English edition, Millin had decided to publish this work, seeing it as a natural and useful sequel to his *Histoire métallique de la Révolution française* which had appeared in 1806. Events in France were to prove unfavourable to the publication of the work at this time and thus it was that Millin handed over the half-completed manuscript to Millingen who then translated it, added to it, tidied it up and arranged for its publication in London:

> "As the events which afterwards took place in France, no longer admitted of such a publication in that country; the Chevalier Millin, some time before his death, disposed of the copper-plates and the manuscript to the Editor. To the Plates [...] the Editor has added five [...]. And that the Collection may be as complete as possible, he has also added a Second Part, beginning in 1806, and ending with the second abdication of Napoleon in 1815."[15]

This work, which appeared posthumously, was in fact almost unique amongst Millin's writings by dint of the fact that it appeared in English: despite his attempts to promulgate English scholarship in France, the interest was not reciprocated. For example, the *Élémens d'histoire naturelle* were within the space of only six years to be published in Switzerland, Italy and Russia; they were, on the other hand, never to be translated into English.[16] Several of his archaeological works were also to be translated into German, whilst only two pieces, an essay on a bas-relief from the Parthenon which was included as an appendix to Hamilton's *Memorandum on the subject of the Earl of Elgin's pursuits in Greece* and the account of his journey in the Midi, appeared in England.[17] Quite what Millin, who had devoted much of his life to the role of intermediary between other countries and France, thought of this is hard to ascertain; no mention is made of it in his correspondence. But the large number of friends that he had in England, combined with the fact that the *Medallic History of Napoleon* was published there, do both tend to suggest that had he been keen to see his works translated and published, there would not have been too many obstacles placed in his path.

ii. The others

Millin was certainly not alone in his interest for the English model. Throughout much

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[15] ALM MEDALLIC 1819. A letter from Millingen to Millin concerning the publication of this work survives: BNF, Cabinet des manuscrits, fonds français 24692, fol. 347, Millingen to Millin, June 17 1818. A French edition came out simultaneously: ALM HISTOIRE 1819.

[16] For these translations see: ALM ÉLÉMENS 1796, ALM ELEMENTI 1797, ALM ÉLÉMENS 1800.

[17] For the German translations see: ALM MINERALOGIE 1793, ALM EINLEITUNG 1798, ALM REISE 1817, ALM MYTHOLOGISCHE 1820, ALM REISE 1825, ALM MYTHOLOGISCHE 1836, ALM MYTHOLOGISCHE 1848. The works which appeared in England were ALM TRAVELS 1808 and ALM DESCRIPTION 1811A.

of the eighteenth century there had been increasing consciousness in France of England, of her customs, her culture, her literature and her political systems. Two passionate advocates of France's traditional enemy were to be found in the shape of Voltaire and Montesquieu. The former arrived in London in May 1726, having negotiated his liberation from the Bastille on condition that he should immediately leave for England.[18] Voltaire was enchanted by England and English culture: he was soon recommending that the works of Swift, honoured by him with the epithet 'English Rabelais', should be translated into French. Other authors and thinkers were also singled out by him as deserving especial attention: Pope was "the best poet of England, and at present, of all the world" and equally laudatory comments were lavished on Locke, Newton, Milton and Boyle.[19] But Voltaire's appreciation of England was not restricted to the cultural domain as can be seen in his *Letters concerning the English nation* where he was to praise both the religious tolerance and the political liberty which he felt prevailed in the country at this time.[20] In a passage noting the ease with which people of various religious beliefs could work together in the Royal Exchange in London, Voltaire concludes that:

> "If one religion only were allowed in England, the government would very possible become arbitrary; if there were but two, the people wou'd cut one another's throats; but as there are such a multitude, they all live happy and in peace."[21]

As Besterman has pointed out, praise of these features was necessarily, by contrast, implicit criticism of the lack of either which characterized France at that time.[22] Such at least was the authorities' reaction in France, where the book was rapidly banned.

Voltaire left England in late 1728, and it was almost one year later, in November 1729, that Montesquieu was, in turn, to arrive in London. Whilst there he made some notes on his impressions of the country.[23] Some features merit his disapproval; he finds fault with the English diet, he is less than impressed by the state of the roads in London and he cannot

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[18] He was imprisoned at the request of the Rohan family: following a series of mutual slights between Voltaire and Gui Auguste de Rohan-Chabot, the author wished to engage his adversary in a duel. Fearing the outcome, the family appealed to the regent of France. See BESTERMAN 1976, pp. 113–5.

[19] BESTERMAN 1976, p. 125.

[20] BESTERMAN 1976, pp. 126–27.

[21] VOLTAIRE 1733, p. 45, quoted by BESTERMAN 1976, p. 126.

[22] BESTERMAN 1976, p. 126.

[23] Sparse and only published in 1818.

help but be dismayed by a certain venality that he observes on the part of the English.[24] These reservations laid aside, he is enthusiastic about the political system, since, as he explains:

> "L'Angleterre est à présent le plus libre pays qui soit au monde, je n'en excepte aucune république; j'appelle libre, parce que le prince n'a le pouvoir de faire aucun tort imaginable à qui que ce soit, par la raison que son pouvoir est contrôlé et borné par un acte; mais si la chambre basse devenait maîtresse, son pouvoir serait illimité et dangereux, parce qu'elle aurait en même temps la puissance exécutive; au lieu qu'à présent le pouvoir illimité est dans le parlement et le roi, et la puissance exécutive dans le roi, dont le pouvoir est borné."[25]

What was at stake here was the contrast between two very different models of a country, its government and the notion of the citizenship. In France, until the second half of the eighteenth century, the word 'patrie' (country) evoked the figure of the king, the father of the nation. Under an absolute monarchy as exercised in France the king's human body represented also, symbolically, the body of the nation.[26] At the time of a monarch's death his mortal remains (the human body) were buried with pomp in Saint-Denis but the symbolical body, the eternal one, was assumed, by dint of the succession, by the next monarch. The king was the symbol of the nation, and all power resided in his hands. Nation, king and power were inseparable. In England, on the other hand, the monarch no longer exercised absolute power. James II's attempt to impose a Catholic Absolutism which would have been ratified by a subservient Parliament was viewed with considerable suspicion, and William of Orange, subsequently William III, was widely supported when he invaded England in 1688. The settlement negotiated devolved considerable powers formerly pertaining to the monarch onto the Parliament: legislative, executive and judiciary powers were effectively separated. In

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[24] Montesquieu, 'Notes sur l'Angleterre', in: MONTESQUIEU 1964, pp. 331–4. "Le peuple de Londres mange beaucoup de viande; cela le rend très robuste; mais à l'âge de quarante à quarante-cinq ans, il crève" (p. 331); "Il n'y a rien de si affreux que les rues de Londres; elles sont très malpropres; le pavé est si mal entretenu qu'il est presque impossible d'y aller en carrosse, et qu'il faut faire son testament lorsqu'on va en fiacre, qui sont des voitures hautes comme un théâtre, [...]" (p. 331); "L'argent est ici souverainement estimé; l'honneur et la vertu peu" (p. 332).

[25] Montesquieu, 'Notes sur l'Angleterre', in: MONTESQUIEU 1964, p. 334. He adds to this the comment that "Il faut donc qu'un bon Anglais cherche à défendre la liberté également contre les attentats de la couronne et ceux de la chambre." Already in the *Lettres Persanes* Montesquieu had praised the absence of an absolute monarchy in England: "Tous les peuples d'Europe ne sont pas également soumis à leurs princes; par exemple, l'humeur impatient des Anglais ne laisse guère à leur roi le temps d'appesantir son autorité; la soumission et l'obéissance sont les vertus dont ils se piquent le moins": Montesquieu, 'Lettres persanes', in: MONTESQUIEU 1964, pp. 63–151, lettre 104, p. 116.

[26] Hence the 'King's two bodies' as explained so well in the magisterial work by Ernst Kantorowicz, KANTOROWICZ 1957.

England it was to be the Parliament, and not the king, who henceforth represented the body of the nation.

Over the course of the eighteenth century, increasing discontent on the part of the French people with the absolute monarchy imposed upon them led to the belief that the model laid before them by Montesquieu, the English model, was considerably preferable. This impression could only have been reinforced by reading the English political literature, increasingly offered in translation to a French audience. John Locke's *Deuxième Traité du Gouvernement civil* appeared in translation in around 1724.[27] In this treatise Locke produced a radical critique of the patriarchy, and established a fundamental difference between "Paternal Power" and "Political or Civil Society".[28] The latter replaces the former once a state of civilized society has been achieved, and can be recognized by the fact that proprietors are prepared to delegate their rights to a supreme legislative instance, trusting it to represent their interests. The decisions taken by this legislative body are then carried out by a separate instance, the executive. Locke's model, limiting as it does the powers of the monarch, left no place for any absolute monarchy:

> "Where-ever therefore any number of Men are so united into one Society, as to quit every one his Executive Power of the Law of Nature, and to resign it to the publick, there and there only is a Political, or Civil Society.
> [...]
> "Hence it is evident, that Absolute Monarchy, which by some Men is counted the only Government in the World, is indeed inconsistent with Civil Society, and so can be no Form of Civil Government at all."[29]

It was not all plain sailing however. Public opinion fluctuated according to the state of affairs between the two countries. The Seven Years' War from 1756 to 1763 saw the two countries confronting one another again, and anglophobia increasingly became the order of the day in France, leading people to question the model that had been so highly praised by Voltaire and Montesquieu.[30] Just over one decade later the situation was to be repeated, when the French allied themselves with the Americans in the War of Independence. The increased tensions between the two countries led to a wave of patriotism developing in France. Paradoxically, in this movement, which inspired a number of writings on the theme, one of

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[27] LOCKE 1967, chs. 6 & 7.

[28] LOCKE 1992, ch. 6 'Of Paternal Power' (pp. 303–18) and ch. 7 'Of Political or Civil Society' (pp. 318–30).

[29] LOCKE 1992, ch. 7, § 89–90, pp. 325–6.

[30] ACOMB 1950; DZIEMBOWSKI 1998, pp. 491–6.

the more important impulses came in the form of another work translated from English – the *Letters on the spirit of patriotism, on the idea of a patriot king, and on the state of parties at the accession of George I* by Henry St John, Viscount Bolingbroke.[31] This, in turn, inspired works on the theme of French patriotism.[32] The new patriotism was, according to Dziembowski, not a state-inspired movement; it was rather what can be described as a "patriotisme spontané", coming from the people themselves, a people increasingly keen to find and then to make heard their own voice. And it was this new political will of the people that was to allow the Tiers-État to discover gradually its importance in the constitution of the nation and to demand more substantial rights. The development was rapid. In 1773, Jacob-Nicolas Moreau, the *historiographe royal*, warned the government of the dangers of this type of sentiment: he identified it directly with republicanism.[33] During the reign of Louis XV the *parlements* showed increasing resistance towards the king, attempting to claim for themselves the title of representatives of the nation. Louis XVI was himself greatly interested in and impressed by English culture.[34] In 1789, a former minister, Calonne, could even write an essay in which he heartily encouraged the king to adopt the model of the English parliament.[35] Eventually, in June 1789, the Assemblée nationale was formed and henceforward it was to be a citizen body that represented the nation.[36] This model was certainly all the more tempting to Millin and others like him who were moderate revolutionaries and favoured the idea of a constitutional monarchy. Others also turned their attention to the other side of the Channel; it was the English parliamentary model that the Jacobins took as an example in the early days of the Revolution, since they too hoped to be able to benefit from the freedom of thought and speech afforded to the English members of parliament by their clubs.[37] Some events, most notably the execution of Louis XVI, were to

[31] BOLINGBROKE 1749; a French translation appeared as early as 1750, BOLINGBROKE 1750.

[32] See DZIEMBOWSKI 1998, pp. 352–4. From his statistical survey of publications of this type in France, Dziembowski notes that the "répartition par année laisse apparaître une remarquable progression, rythmée par les trois conflits qui jalonnent la période" (pp. 352–3).

[33] MOREAU 1773, p. 198; GEMBICKI 1972.

[34] HARDMANN & PRICE 1998, pp. 89 ff.: during his early years, Louis XVI learnt English and began to translate into French Horace Walpole's *Historic doubts on the life of King Richard III* (1768). Whilst imprisoned in the Temple he revised this translation: LAMBLIN 1969.

[35] CALONNE 1789, pp. 278–9.

[36] SCHAMA 1989, chs. 3 and 4; BAECQUE 1993; GUIOMAR 1974; BOUREAU 1988; MANENT 1977.

[37] MAINTENANT 1984, p. 7.

reinforce the comparisons with England.[38]

Even the periods of conflict with England and the resulting sentiment of disenchantment with her political example did not mean that all that was English was regarded with equal distrust.[39] French writers were envious of the relative freedom enjoyed by their English counterparts, and when Mirabeau attacked the thorny question of censorship and of the need for a freer press, there was nothing more natural for him than to turn for inspiration to a piece composed by John Milton in 1644, the *Areopagitica*.[40]

Millin's "modèle anglais"

It was against this background of increasing interest in the model provided by the English, and largely in terms of their relative political freedom, that Millin was working and writing his *Antiquités nationales*. It is now necessary to turn to the books which he quotes explicitly as having helped him in his work, to examine each of them and then to attempt to understand what exactly he meant when he claimed that "Les Anglois ont été en cela nos modèles". The list that he provided is as follows: "Sinth, Antiquities. – Grose Antiquities of England. Monasticon Anglicanum. Antiquarium repertory typographia Britannica. Naenia Britannica. Collection of Armures Archœologia, etc. etc. etc."[41]

i. "Sinth, Antiquities"

The first reference provided by Millin is, by sheer inadvertence either on the part of the author or of the compositor, rather enigmatic. Fortunately, in the second prospectus the author's name was corrected to 'Struth', a closer approximation to the actual name of the antiquary in question, Joseph Strutt. Strutt (1749–1802) was, at the age of fourteen, apprenticed to the engraver William Ryland.[42] He became a student at the Royal Academy and in 1771 began research into the early history of England, taking much of his material from early manuscripts. He drew and engraved many of the illuminations he found there, using them as the basis for a series of works that he was to produce over the next three

[38] LUTAUD 1973.

[39] Thus it is that two books dealing with approximately the same period can have what would appear to be diametrically opposed titles: ACOMB 1950 and GRIEDER 1985.

[40] MIRABEAU 1788, MILTON 1644. See LUTAUD 1988.

[41] ALM ANTIQUITÉS PROSPECTUS 1790, p. 3.

[42] DNB 1885, vol. 55 (1898), pp. 65–7.

decades.[43] A glance at the list of these publications reveals that there was a break in his antiquarian production, explained by the fact that after the death of his wife in 1778 he turned his attention to painting, exhibiting a number of works at the Royal Academy. His return to antiquarian research was marked by his dictionary of engravers which apeared in 1785.[44] He also wrote a number of works of fiction, although here too his passion for antiquarian topics is quite evident.[45]

Once the question of the author's identity has been resolved, there still remains the question of which work by Strutt Millin was referring to under the title of 'Antiquities'. The closest in terms of the title is, evidently, the *Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of England*. In this work the plates, either portraits or historical scenes, are reproduced after manuscript illuminations; they are bound together at the end of the work and preceded by a series of short dissertations, one for each plate, which tend to follow a fairly standard pattern. Strutt identifies the source of the illustration before moving on to a closer discussion of the information furnished by the image itself. In the case of a portrait this involves a description, with particular emphasis being laid on the costume, and then some general facts concerning the personage in question. In the case of a historical scene, the author's attention is first directed towards a brief narration of the event represented; details on costumes are also to be found here, but these are generally placed after the recounting of the event. The common feature here is the attention paid to the costume, reminiscent in many ways of the interests displayed by Roger de Gaignières some seventy years earlier in France, and Strutt expounded on this aspect of his work in the preface. He claimed that the book would prove to be a very useful source for artists and also "pleasing to the curious" since it would provide a useful repertory of the costumes and the customs of the early English peoples.[46] According to Strutt, it was very difficult to gain an accurate impression of the clothing worn prior to the early Tudor period because of a lack of extant monuments and statues dating to before the late fifteenth or early sixteenth centuries. His attempt to fill this gap is based upon images drawn

[43] STRUTT 1773 (followed by an enlarged edition – STRUTT 1777A – and an edition with a supplement – STRUTT 1793); STRUTT 1774 (with a second edition, STRUTT 1775, and a French translation, STRUTT 1789); STRUTT 1777B (with a second edition, STRUTT 1779); STRUTT 1794 (second edition STRUTT 1796); STRUTT 1801A (with a second edition in the same year – STRUTT 1801B – and another nine years later, STRUTT 1810).

[44] STRUTT 1785.

[45] STRUTT 1808A; STRUTT 1808B (this work, a romance, was unfinished at the time of Strutt's death and was completed by Sir Walter Scott who published it, accompanied by a play of his own composition).

[46] STRUTT 1777A, p. iii.

from early manuscripts, since "these pictures are the most likely to contain the exact representation of the customs and manners of the earlier aera of our ancestors" and more especially "with respect to such circumstances as the dress and personal appearance of our monarchs."[47] Throughout Strutt's work the chronological order dominates. In the *Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities* he traces the sequence of the monarchs of England, and in the *Chronicle of England* there is also a very clear progression through history, much in the tradition of the annalists. Only in the *Horda* is this chronological arrangement slightly modified and refined. For in this work Strutt divided his work into the main accepted historical periods, considering in turn the ancient Britons, the ancient Saxons, the Anglo-Saxons, the Danish, the Normans and the English. Within each of these major epochs he then discusses the lifestyle, the institutions, the military and religious practices of the people, taking into consideration all the social classes. Under the main heading of the Normans, he successively discusses fortifications and military matters, religion, private houses, court life, judicial system, the marine, agriculture, clothing, music and finally social life.

No doubt Millin had some knowledge of Strutt's *Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities*, but it is less clear whether this is necessarily the work to which he is referring in his short list of 'acknowledgements'. Even though the title does not correspond as closely to the reference given by Millin, it is certainly tempting to imagine that the work that he had in mind was rather the *Horda*. This book had had a far greater impact in France, not the least because it had been translated into French in 1789 by A.M.H. Boulard, a lawyer and *homme de lettres*.[48] And it is in the preface to the French translation of this work that we find the phrase "antiquités nationales" which Millin then adopted as a title to his own book. After citing earlier authors such as Camden, Verstegan and Speed, Strutt continues by saying "dans les Ouvrages desquels j'ai trouvé tant de matériaux & d'instructions, qu'elles m'ont porté à étudier les autres Auteurs, d'après lesquels ils ont fait eux-mêmes un tableau fidèle de nos Antiquités nationales."[49] The phrase is then repeated at the end of the same page where the author speaks of his "goût pour les Antiquités nationales."[50]

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[47] STRUTT 1777A, pp. iii & iv.

[48] We have proof that the two men knew one another since letters between them survive: BNF, Cabinet des manuscrits, fonds français 24679: fol. 238, Millin to Boulard, Grenoble, November 10 1811; fol. 239, Boulard to Millin, s.l.n.d.; fol. 240, Boulard to Millin, s.l.n.d.; fol. 241, Boulard to Millin, s.l. August 2 s.a.; fol. 242, Boulard to Millin, Paris, May 1 1816.

[49] STRUTT 1789, vol. 1, pp. v–vi. The English text reads as follows: "Camden, Verstegan, Speed, &c. in whose works I met with vast materials, and such information, as naturally led me to the study of those very authors, from whence they themselves had traced out so perfect a picture of our national antiquities": see STRUTT 1775, vol. 1 (1775), pp. ii–iii.

Thus, by recourse to the English model, Millin has managed to pull off a magisterial coup. In effect, the title of the *Antiquités nationales* as it stands is, to say the least, ambiguous and has no doubt contributed largely to the misunderstanding or lack of appreciation of the book.[51] The syntagm 'antiquités nationales' is misleading for its time, maybe deliberately so, since it is so unexpected. A close analysis of the word 'antiquité' and its vagaries in French thought and usage from the late sixteenth to the late eighteenth centuries would show that there was a significant modification in the accepted sense of the word during this period. For authors such as Corrozet, Bonfons, Du Breul, Du Chesne, Des Rues and Le Monnier, composing their works at the end of the sixteenth century and during the first half of the seventeenth, the word 'antiquitez' was understood as being synonymous with 'ancienneté' (something of a very great age) and 'vieillesse' (old age).[52] Thus, when Du Chesne published *Les Antiquitez et recherches des villes, chasteaux et places plus remarquables de toute la France* or Du Breul the *Théâtre des Antiquitez de Paris*, they were using the word to denote the origins and the early history of the places which they were studying. By the early decades of the eighteenth century, nonetheless, a significant modification to the accepted use of this word had come about. As Furetière commented in his definition of the word, 'antiquité' now signified "les anciens temps; les siecles passez" and "se prend aussi collectivement pour les Anciens en general, [...]: cela se dit d'ordinaire par rapport aux Grecs, & aux Romains."[53] The only case when the word was to be found in the plural form was, he said, when speaking "des medailles, statuës, & autres monumens qui nous restent des Anciens." Confirmation of this is to be found in the dictionaries of Richelet, of Féraud and of the Académie française.[54] And so, by the mid-eighteenth century, the word 'antiquités' seems to have been generally understood as referring to ancient objects, the remnants of classical civilization. A common syntagm was 'antiquités grecques' or 'antiquités romaines', and Caylus's work with the title of *Recueil des antiquités égyptiennes, étrusques, grecques et romaines* is exemplary of this

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[50] STRUTT 1789, vol. 1, p. vi. The English text reads "my love for national antiquities": STRUTT 1775, vol. 1 (1775), p. iii.

[51] The work has often been thought of as one on classical antiquities.

[52] HUGUES 1925, vol. 1 (1925), p. 231.

[53] FURETIÈRE 1727, vol. 1 (1727), p. X_{1v}.

[54] RICHELET 1769, vol. 1 (1769), p. 110; ACADÉMIE 1825, vol. 1 (1825), p. 63; FÉRAUD 1787, vol. 1 (1787), p. 119, who adds an interesting distinction between 'antique' et 'antiquité' – "antiquité se dit d'un monument plus considérable qu'antique. On ne dirait pas le premier d'une statue, ni le 2d. d'un amphithéâtre."

trend. When Clérisseau entitled his work the *Antiquités de la France*, it was to classical monuments on French territory that he was referring.[55] On very rare occasions was the word 'antiquités' found in a title which proved that the main point of interest was post-classical civilization. La Sauvagère called his book the *Recueil d'antiquités dans les Gaules*, but this could be justified only inasmuch as the work was, as is already proclaimed in the title, a continuation of Caylus's *Recueil*.[56] And when Le Gendre wrote his *Des Antiquités de la nation et de la monarchie françoise*, he was setting his work in the tradition of the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth historians, using 'antiquités' to refer to the origins and early history of his country.[57] By the end of the eighteenth century, therefore, 'antiquités' had become enshrined in the discourses as classical antiquities. Given the increasing appreciation of these pieces, the term was one which implied a positive judgement. By his use of a syntagm borrowed from English as the title for a work which is clearly dealing primarily with objects, with monuments, Millin managed to make a considerable leap and to imbue the pieces of his own country's history, the works of art of periods that were considered 'grossiers', with the same kudos as was normally reserved for those of the Greeks and Romans.

ii. "Grose Antiquities of England"

Francis Grose, born at Greenford, Middlesex, in 1731, was the eldest son of a Swiss *émigré* jeweller.[58] On completion of his classical education, he served in the army for a short period before retiring in 1751. His army career did not end there since in November 1759 he became adjutant and paymaster to the Second (Western) Battalion with the rank of lieutenant; he was subsequently promoted to captain in 1765. The salary that he received, combined with an allowance from his father and some money from his wife, Catherine Jordan, the daughter of a vintner, allowed him to pursue his main interests which lay in the arts and antiquarian studies. During the 1750s Grose attended William Shipley's drawing school, founded in 1753–4.[59] His interest in the arts thereafter continued unabated; he was on good terms with a

[55] CLÉRISSEAU 1778.

[56] LA SAUVAGÈRE 1770.

[57] LE GENDRE DE SAINT-AUBIN 1741.

[58] See FARRANT 1995. See also the article on Grose in DNB 1885, vol. 23 (1890), pp. 272–3, and GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE 1731, 1791, vol. 61, part 1, pp. 492–4, 581; part 2, p. 660.

[59] On Shipley see ALLAN 1979. On the drawing school see especially pp. 26, 50 & 76–88. For the fact that Grose was a pupil see pp. 85, 211 & 213.

number of artists in London, including Nathaniel Hone, John Inigo Richards and Paul Sandby, all of whom were included in the list of the forty persons who were "the original Members" of the Royal Academy.[60] Grose himself was a member of the Society of Artists, participating in their exhibitions of 1767 and 1768.[61] Later he was to show stained drawings at the Royal Academy exhibitions. His military career proved to be anything but a handicap for an amateur artist enamoured of the antiquities of his country. Each time that his battalion transferred to a new location, Grose profited from the opportunity to sketch the monuments he saw in the area or had passed on the journey.[62] It was this lifelong passion for topographical drawing that had earned him election to the Society of Antiquaries in 1757 and was to provide much of the material for a large number of his publications over the last decades of the eighteenth century **[Ill. 52]**.[63]

In 1773 the first part of *The Antiquities of England and Wales* was to appear.[64] After the completion of this volume, the second, third and fourth ones were issued over the next three years, at a rhythm of one per year. Whereupon, Grose announced that the series was complete; but the very next year, in 1777, he brought out the first volume of the *Supplement*, to be followed by a second one ten years later. Encouraged by the success of the *Antiquities of England and Wales*, and wishing to extend the range of his survey, Grose was then to publish the *Antiquities of Scotland* in two volumes. The completion of the planned series was to be marked by the *Antiquities of Ireland*: Grose had already visited the country in 1770 and returned there in late 1790. Six months later, in April 1791, he was once again in Ireland and engaged in research for the book. He produced a number of drawings but was never to see this work published, since he died there on May 1791. His editor decided against abandoning the publication, and enlisted the services of Edward Ledwich, an antiquary, and of Grose's nephew, Daniel.

The *Antiquities of England and Wales* consist of a series of plates, each of which carries a view of a monument, accompanied by a short descriptive, historical or anecdotal

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[60] HUTCHISON 1968, Appendix A, pp. 209–10.

[61] GRAVES 1907, p. 108 (Francis Grosse). Amongst the works that he exhibited were, in 1768, 'A View of the gate of St. Augustin's Monastery, Canterbury' and 'A View of part of the monastery of Christ's church, Canterbury'.

[62] See FARRANT 1995, p. 367.

[63] EVANS 1956, p. 119. The exact date of his election was February 17 1757.

[64] The letterpress title-page bears the date 1772, whilst the engraved title-page has that of 1773.

text. A work of a similar nature had appeared some fifty years earlier, Samuel and Nathaniel Buck's *Collection of engravings of castles, abbeys, and towns in England and Wales* (1726–52). It can hardly be a coincidence that this work was to be reissued in 1774, thus only one year after the beginning of Grose's project, with a title which differed very little from that of its closest competitor. For the Bucks' work now appeared on the market as *Antiquities of England and Wales, or Venerable remains of above four hundred castles, monasteries, palaces, priories, &c*. There were, nonetheless, a number of differences between the two works. Grose's project turned out to be more ambitious since the total number of plates in the six volumes runs to almost 700 as compared with the 428 to be found in the earlier work.[65] The two brothers had provided a series of images but no more than that. For Grose, this solution was scarcely adequate; he therefore decided that he would accompany each plate with a short text.[66] Thus it was that, in most cases, the image occupied the upper half of the recto of the page. Underneath this, and usually extending to the verso, was a short text. On the whole these texts were restricted to rather general facts concerning the building's history. Typically the information to be found here includes a note on the date of construction, mention of the main historical characters or families involved with the building, and a number of salient anecdotes connected with it. There was little here to interest or inform the reader who was looking for details on the style or the construction methods of the building. Such at least was the view expressed by some members of the Society of Antiquaries, who wished to see more information on architectural features: "Mr Grose's first number had some picturesque merit; but his Views are too small to give any satisfaction to the Gothic architect. His second number is much inferior to the first."[67]

iii. Monasticon Anglicanum

The *Monasticon Anglicanum* was composed over many years during the seventeenth century **[Ill. 53]**. The original inspiration for the work came from Roger Dodsworth (1585–1654), who displayed a fascination for antiquarian studies from early on, and who was to pursue this interest for the rest of his life.[68] An indefatigable worker, he was, apparently, at

[65] 386 plates in the first four volumes (including 33 plans and 8 vignettes etc.) and 309 in the two volumes of the *Supplement*. These are the figures provided by FARRANT 1995, pp. 370 and 374.

[66] See FARRANT 1995.

[67] FARRANT 1995, p. 370.

[68] DNB 1885, vol. 15 (1888), pp. 176–7. PARRY 1995, pp. 222, 225, 227, 231.

the age of sixty-five spending thirteen hours at a stretch in the Tower of London copying documents.[69] He planned three major works and gathered copious materials for all three.[70] But he only managed to put the notes for one of the three into any order, and even so this work, the *Monasticon Anglicanum*, was not to appear during his lifetime.[71] On the advice of Sir Henry Spelman and Sir Christopher Hatton, Dodsworth associated with him in his enterprise an antiquary some twenty years younger than himself who was already engaged in research for a history of Warwickshire. This younger scholar, who was to prove so important for the project, was Sir William Dugdale (1605–86).[72] Dugdale was a member of Charles I's entourage, and accompanied the monarch to Oxford in 1642. He profited from his time there to consult the collections of the Bodleian and other libraries, amassing a considerable amount of material for his various projects. Dodsworth had been equally diligent, and the decision was taken to commence publication. As Dugdale was to discover, this entailed considerable patience on his part; he lamented to a correspondent that "so great a task have I had to bring Mr. Dodsworth's confused collections into any order".[73] Even when the manuscript was completed, the authors' trials were not yet at an end, since it proved almost impossible to find a publisher who was prepared to finance the work. Fifty years later, Thomas Tanner, on learning of John Aubrey's failure to persuade a publisher to produce the *Monumenta Britannica*, sympathized with him that the book could "meet with no better incouragement in this Age" and, by way of reassurance, pointed out that "it hath been the ill fortune of the best books, that they have not born the Charges of their own Impression."[74] To back this assertion he quoted the examples of Sir Henry Spelman's Glossary, Sir Walter Raleigh's history of the world and continued by saying that the "Monasticon, Volumes now worth old Gold, had never been printed had [it] not been carried on [...] by the sole Charges of the Editor."

Despite all these problems, the *Monasticon* did appear in 1655, bearing on the title-page the names of both Dodsworth and Dugdale.[75] The next two volumes were not to appear

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[69] See EVANS 1956, p. 24.

[70] The projected works were a history of Yorkshire, an English baronage and the *Monasticon Anglicanum*.

[71] The first volume appeared in 1655, the second in 1661 and the third in 1673.

[72] DNB 1885, vol. 16 (1888), pp. 136–42. PARRY 1995, pp. 217–48.

[73] DUGDALE 1827, p. 266; DNB 1885, vol. 16 (1888), p. 137.

[74] Thomas Tanner to John Aubrey, Oxford, July 13 1693; facsimile reproduction in AUBREY 1980, vol. 1 (1980), p. 29.

[75] Apparently Dugdale was unwilling to see his name appearing on the title-page and had to be persuaded by

until 1661 and 1673 respectively.[76] Much of the book as published consists of original documents carefully transcribed and translated into Latin in the case of texts in Anglo-Saxon.[77] Alongside this is a large amount of information on the history of monachism in England and also of individual institutions and their buildings, and of other chapels or churches which depended from the monasteries. The whole is illustrated with an impressive set of plates. Many of these are by Wenceslas Hollar who was responsible for the plates in several other antiquarian works of the period, including Dugdale's *St. Paul's*.[78]

iv. "Antiquarium repertory"

Yet another typographical error in the prospectus for the *Antiquités* is here apparent, as the work in question must be the *Antiquarian Repertory*. A periodical in four volumes, with the opening part of a fifth volume included in many collections, this rather disparate selection of dissertations is often attributed to Francis Grose.[79] The truth is, however, rather more complicated than that: Grose may well have been involved in the publication, but it is hard to state with any certainty that he was the sole or even the chief editor. Despite the assertion made in a preface written in 1807 to accompany the reissue of the periodical, that Grose was the compiler of this series, it seems that more credit should be given to the editor and publisher Richard Godfrey.[80]

The periodical appeared in parts consisting of twenty-four pages with three plates, at a price of 1s. 6d.; this was later increased to four plates per part with a consequent price rise to 2s.[81] Twelve parts formed a volume, and some irregularities in the rhythm of publication are attested to by the dates on the title-page of each of the four volumes: 1774, 1779, 1780 and 1784. In the introduction, written by Grose, the importance of the study of antiquities is followed by a short note on the aims of the periodical:

Mr. Rushworth (DNB 1885, vol. 16 (1888), p. 137).

[76] The second volume still includes both names, whilst on the third one only that of Dugdale appears.

[77] The translations from Anglo-Saxon were the work of William Somner. For Somner see DNB 1885, vol. 53 (1898), pp. 260–1 and PARRY 1995, pp. 157–89.

[78] DUGDALE 1658. On Hollar see: PARRY 1980, PENNINGTON 1982 and PARRY 1972.

[79] ANTIQUARIAN REPERTORY 1775.

[80] Godfrey died in 1786, at which time the periodical immediately ceased to appear.

[81] See FARRANT 1995, p. 371.

> "This Collection is meant as a Repository for fugitive pieces, respecting the History and Antiquities of this country. [...] Any Gentlemen possessed of Drawings, Coins, or Manuscrips, with which they would chuse to oblige the Public, may, by sending them to the Publisher, have them, if consistent with the plan, elegantly executed; and if incompatible or improper, immediately returned."[82]

Throughout the work a mixture of dissertations on varying subjects is to be found: views of buildings accompanied by short texts are directly followed by anecdotes of famous historical personalities, after which come a description of an early and recently-discovered utensil and the transcription of an early charter or legal text. Many of the articles are relatively short and concise, although some can extend to twenty-eight pages, as is the case of an article relating the entry of Mary de' Medici into England in 1638.[83]

v. "typographia Britannica"

This proves to be one of the hardest to identify of the eight references provided by Millin. In effect, no publication bearing this as an exact title can be found in any catalogue, and no other author of the period refers to a work under such a sobriquet. If the first word of the title is accepted, then the closest parallel available is that of the work by Joseph Ames, the *Typographical antiquities*.[84] Apart from the fact that this bears very little relation to the subject matter of the *Antiquités nationales*, there is a further argument that can be adduced. Very simply, this is that Millin has in all the other cases respected if not the exact orthography of the title or the author responsible, at least the language in which the title appears. It would thus be very difficult to argue in this case that he had decided to translate the title of Ames's book into Latin and also distort it in such a way, adding the reference to Britain (as opposed to England) when none is to be found in the original title. Assuming then that the word 'typographia' is incorrect it will be necessary to modify this slightly in order to find alternatives. Luckily one does exist, and one which demands the substitution of only one letter (an 'o' for the 'y') to arrive at 'topographia britannica'. A work with a title very close to this is John Nichols's *Bibliotheca topographica britannica*, a series of fifty-two parts, forming eight volumes, which appeared from 1780 to 1790.[85] The series was then continued

[82] ANTIQUARIAN REPERTORY 1775, vol. 1 (1775), pp. vii– viii.

[83] ANTIQUARIAN REPERTORY 1775, vol. 1 (1775), no. 11, pp. 248–75.

[84] AMES 1749.

[85] NICHOLS 1780.

by a further nine parts forming two volumes under the title of *Miscellaneous antiquities, (in continuation of the Bibliotheca topographica Britannica).*[86]

John Nichols (1745–1826) was, at the age of twelve years old, apprenticed to the printer William Bowyer the younger. By 1766, Bowyer had determined to take his apprentice into partnership with him, and eleven years later, on his partner's death, Nichols found himself the chief legatee. Already by this date he had embarked on what was to be a rich and varied career: amongst his works are to be numbered the *Gentleman's Magazine*, for which he was solely responsible from 1792 until 1826, the *History and Antiquities of the Town and County of Leicester* and the *Literary Anecdotes of the eighteenth century*.[87]

During their years in partnership, Bowyer and Nichols had been responsible for publishing a number of topographical works, and Nichols counted amongst his friends some of the more talented antiquaries of his day; not the least of these was Richard Gough (1735–1809), who published many important antiquarian works including an enlarged edition of Camden's *Britannia*.[88] Gough was to be the chief contributor to the *Bibliotheca topographica britannica*. The series consisted of individual parts of varying length; on occasions one dissertation could extend over two parts. Such was the case with Nichols's own contribution to the series, a digest of the materials which he was later to expand and publish as the history of Leicestershire.[89] As for the general plan for the series, the advertisement printed at the end of the series but intended to stand at the opening of the first volume stated that:

> "The original plan [...] was to preserve, [...] some valuable articles of British Topography; to be published in occasional Numbers, neither confined to stated periods of Time, nor to any given quantity of sheets: [...]."[90]

vi. "Naenia Britannica"

The title of "Naenia Britannica" must surely be a slightly erroneous transcription of the title of the *Nenia Britannica* by James Douglas (1753–1819). James Douglas, after a period of service in the army, decided to take holy orders and thereafter was the incumbent of a number of parishes in Sussex, Suffolk and Northamptonshire.[91] An amateur artist, he

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[86] NICHOLS 1791.

[87] NICHOLS 1795 and NICHOLS 1812.

[88] DNB 1885, vol. 22 (1890), pp. 279–82. CAMDEN 1789.

[89] Numbers 50 and 51 of the series.

[90] NICHOLS 1780, vol. 1, 'Advertisement' (1790), p. [iii].

[91] See the biography of him in DNB 1885, vol. 15 (1888), pp. 332–3.

placed this skill at the service of his other great interest – antiquarian studies. In 1780 he was elected a member of the Society of Antiquaries, and he was the author of a number of publications, mainly of an antiquarian nature.[92] The *Nenia Britannica* was his most ambitious work, extending to almost 200 pages illustrated with thirty-six plates. Whilst the book bears the date of 1793 on the title-page, this is only the date of completion; the first parts were issued in 1786 and so there is no problem with the fact that Millin could not have seen it when he began work on the *Antiquités*. As the rather lengthy title, one that enumerates most of the topics covered in the work, states, this was a "sepulchral history" of Great Britain covering a period extending from "the earliest period to its general conversion to Christianity."[93] Douglas drew his material from a wide area of the country.[94] In the introduction to his work he justified his insistence on the importance of the medal or the inscription by their value as sure dating methods.[95] Rather, however, than choosing either a geographical or a chronological progression as the basis for his work, Douglas chose to arrange his pieces according to a classification based on the diameter of the barrows: "In the course of this work we have ascended from a chain of facts, from the small barrows in clusters to the Roman sepulchres, and to the large barrows detached on our moors and waste lands."[96] He begins his discussion of each one with a comment on where it was situated and when it was opened. These preliminary observations are followed by a general description of each, including details on the way in which the bodies were arranged. After this, he then moves on to a more careful description of the objects that have been unearthed and their position in relation to the human remains, and he includes in these passages very precise

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[92] Amongst them are the following: DOUGLAS 1782 (reeditions followed: DOUGLAS 1785A, 1786, 1787); DOUGLAS 1785B; DOUGLAS 1785C. A full list is to be found in the DNB 1885, vol. 15 (1888), pp. 332–3.

[93] DOUGLAS 1793.

[94] Even so, he could not cover the whole country as he pointed out in his preface: "To explore this country in all directions, [...], to drag to light the concealed treasures of old times, were a labour beyond the capacity of one man; and as a sense of duty to his professional status has confined the Author to certain limits, much of this interesting pursuit has been left to other Antiquaries, whose labours will doubtless produce a succession of discoveries [...]": DOUGLAS 1793, p. vi.

[95] "If a medal or inscription be found in a sepulchre among other relics, the undoubted characteristic of the customs of a people at the time of the deposit, and the superscription on the medal or the inscription evincing a low period, it will be a self-evident position, that similar relics under similar forms of sepulture, discovered in other parts of the island, cannot apply to a period more remote; [...]": DOUGLAS 1793, p. [v]. Subsequent refinement of the theory of stratigraphy and the questions of dating have, of course, significantly modified this rather rudimentary and facile theory of dating.

[96] DOUGLAS 1793, p. 183. He claimed that there are three main sizes of barrow, with diameters of thirteen, of twenty-three or of thirty-three feet.

references to the plates at the end of the work where illustrations of the relevant pieces are to be found. At the end of each of the sections of the book, before moving on to the next barrow or barrows to be examined, he places dissertations on observations that can be made about certain points of interest that have been raised in his descriptions of the tombs or of individual objects. According to a note found at the very beginning of the main body of the text, this seemed to Douglas to be the best way of avoiding the excessive use of footnotes which might disturb the reader in his consultation of the book.[97]

vii. "Collection of Armures"

Of all the titles provided by Millin in his recognition of his debt to the English school, this proves to be the hardest to identify. In fact, no certain identification can be made: all that can be offered here are conjectures. There seems to be no work published in English in the 150 years preceding Millin's book that corresponds exactly to this title. The most tricky point here is to ascertain exactly what is meant by 'armures': in French the word actually corresponds to the English 'armour'. The work in question would thus, according to the literal translation of the word, be a treatise on armour, or on arms. Unfortunately, few works on the subject were available at this time; it was rather to be the nineteenth century that was to see a considerable growth of interest in this field. The only possibility would be Grose's *Military Antiquities*, but this book concerns itself far more with the organization of the army and with military techniques and fortifications than with weapons or armour. Alternatively, the enigmatic title furnished by Millin could actually result from a certain confusion between the, in English, orthographically and phonetically identical words for weapons and heraldic devices (both of which can be rendered simply as 'arms') and their admittedly similar and thus liable to confusion, but at least clearly-distinguished equivalents in French, 'armures' and 'armoiries'. Accepting such an hypothesis would allow for the consideration of books on heraldry published in England during the eighteenth century, of which there is a far greater choice. One of these even bears the words 'collection of arms' in the title.[98] The question can never be resolved since Millin's reference here is anything but sufficient to guide the reader to the relevant work; given his insistence in the prospectus on the reasons for which he has

[97] "For a more intimate and ample discourse on these sepulchres, I shall beg leave to the refer the reader to Observations, Argument, Historic Relation, and General Conclusion, in the bulk of the letter-press, after the description of the plates: this will hinder a tedious reference to notes, which often obstructs the reader in a comprehensive survey of the subject, and but too often bewilders him in a tedious detail of matter": DOUGLAS 1793, p. 2.

[98] KENT 1716.

included coats of arms wherever they are still legible, notwithstanding the National Assembly's decree ordaining the destruction of all such symbols of social divisions, a reference to a work on this subject would seem to be all the more likely.[99]

viii. *"Archæologia"*

This series, the publication of the papers of the Society of Antiquaries, was launched in 1770 after lengthy discussions and hesitations.[100] Various members of the Society had successively expressed a wish to see scholarly communications published under the Society's name. An early effort in this direction was made in 1753 by William Bowyer and Andrew Ducarel when they presented a paper on Anglo-Saxon coins written by Rev. Pegge.[101] Little enthusiasm was shown for this proposition, and despite repeated attempts by a determined group of figures which included such distinguished scholars as William Stukeley and Richard Gough, it was not until 1769 that the Director of the Society, Jeremiah Milles, announced that he had approved the publication of a number of papers deemed worthy of such an honour. Just over one year later the volume was to appear, ornamented by an historical introduction to the Society penned by Gough. A selection of papers on various subjects ranging from the very earliest supposed origins of the English people, through various Roman antiquities, to mediaeval artefacts was offered to the public at the price of fifteen shillings in sheets. Members of the Society were, on payment of their annual fee, entitled to a free copy. Publication was very sporadic in the early years, and only nine volumes had appeared by the time that Millin began his work on the *Antiquités nationales*.[102]

Borrowings

Direct borrowings from any of the works listed above cannot be identified in the *Antiquités*. Few of them, in fact, even appear in the bibliography, the only exception being the *Archaeologia*. This is less surprising, however, when it is understood that Millin only

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[99] "Nous avons laissé subsister les armoiries sur les tombeaux, parce qu'elles tiennent aux anciens monumens que nous avons à décrire, et en font une partie essentielle": ALM ANTIQUITÉS PROSPECTUS 1790, p. 3. For Millin's rather ambiguous stance during the Revolution on the question of coats of arms, see *supra*, ch. 4, pp. 139–40.

[100] ARCHAEOLOGIA 1770. It still continues to this day.

[101] EVANS 1956, p. 138.

[102] Vol. 2 is dated 1773, vol. 3 1775, vol. 4 1777, and vol. 5 1779. Vol. 6 is dated 1782 and vol. 7 1785, and both bear the imprint: Printed by J. Nichols, printer to the Society; and sold at their apartments in Somerset Place; and by Messieurs White, Robson, Leigh and Sotheby, and Brown. Vols. 8–10 are dated 1787, 1789 and 1792.

includes in the bibliography works that have actually been quoted in the footnotes. These latter are exclusively restricted to factual references, and there is thus little opportunity for any quotation of books dealing largely with English monuments and works. Strutt, Grose, Dodsworth and Dugdale and the others do not therefore appear here. Only if Millin were to make methodological pronouncements, backing them by reference to other authors' practice as evidenced in their works, could we expect to find mention of those who have provided him with a model. And this is a feature that is conspicuous by its absence in the *Antiquités nationales*. On the other hand, Millin can, and does, quote Andrew Ducarel's work since, even if this English antiquary may not appear in Millin's original list in the prospectus, he had written on some of the same buildings as are to be found in the *Antiquités*.[103]

Form and organization

As was seen above there is one immediately obvious debt to an English work, and that is the borrowing of a phrase from the French translation of Strutt's *Horda* as the title of the book. The form of the *Antiquités* also suggests that Millin had considered the various models offered by his English counterparts, and had chosen from amongst them one that would allow him to maintain maximum flexibility in the presentation of his material. This question of flexibility was of capital importance for Millin and effectively prevented him from adopting the traditional book discourse as exemplified by the works of Strutt and Douglas. Instead of following this model, one which was common to most of the antiquaries who had worked before him, Millin wished to be able to present his work as being a set of individual dissertations linked by one common theme, that of French monuments. Any unifying structure to the discourse, be it typological as was the case with Douglas, or thematic within a chronological order as was the case with Strutt, would have limited Millin's ability to choose his monuments as he wished. A far better decision from his point of view, and the one for which he opted, was to abandon any idea of a general plan for his work, and to produce a series of individual and autonomous dissertations. Even the model furnished by periodical publications would not allow for sufficient freedom since in these journals a dissertation which finished on a recto side would immediately be followed by one beginning on the verso: this would not then allow the reader to detach each article from its setting in the book. In the English literature that he quoted in the prospectus there were, however, two publications that

[103] English works found in the bibliography to the *Antiquités* are: ARCHAEOLOGIA 1770; DUCAREL 1767; USSHER 1687; BINGHAM 1724; GIBBON 1776; HOWARD 1788.

did offer such freedom, and these were the *Antiquities of England and Wales* by Grose and the *Bibliotheca topographica Britannica*.

Grose had abandoned the traditional model of the book to such an extent that he offered the purchaser complete freedom in the arrangement of the individual pieces. For, as he pointed out, his work was of a nature to allow the reader to bind it in any order, even though he would suggest that the best solution would be to arrange the various counties of England alphabetically:

> "The Manner in which this Work was published having made it next to impossible that the several Pages should be numbered, as is customary, many Persons have expressed a Desire, that I would give some Directions as to the Method in which they should be arranged. This, as was observed in the Proposals, must ever be mere Matter of Opinion and Fancy; but in Obedience to these Requests, I recommend the following Manner, which to me seems most simple, least liable to Confusion, and that whereby a Reader may the most readily turn to any particular Subject; that is, by placing the Counties in an Alphabetical Order, and afterwards putting each Ruin alphabetically in its proper County."[104]

A similar suggestion was made to the reader on the completion of the *Bibliotheca topographica Britannica*. In an 'Advertisement' dated June 4 1790 and intended to be placed at the beginning of the first volume, Nichols explained that the series was now closed, and that the various parts had been "paged in such a way that the general articles, or those belonging to the several Counties, might form a separate succession to bind in suitable classes."[105] Affixed to this was a two-page table of contents showing how the reader could organize the various parts in his possession.[106] Only a few months later, Millin was to offer a similar freedom to his readers; in the prospectus to the *Antiquités* he stated succinctly that: "Nous avons cru devoir numéroter séparément les descriptions de chaque lieu, afin que ceux qui le désireront puissent les classer par Département."[107] All these authors are thus leaving the reader the ultimate choice in the organization of the book. They present the individual plates or dissertations, the raw materials of a work. Instead of imposing a predetermined

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[104] GROSE 1773, vol. 4 (1776), Preface, p. [iv].

[105] NICHOLS 1780, vol. 1 (1780), 'Advertisement' (1790), p. [iii].

[106] The 'General contents' propose the following eight classes: I – Antiquities in Kent and Sussex; II – Antiquities in Middlesex and Surrey; III – Antiquities in Lincolnshire; IV – Antiquities in Bedfordshire, Berkshire, Derbyshire, Northamptonshire, Staffordshire and Warwickshire; V – Antiquities in Cambridgeshire, Suffolk, Scotland and Wales; VI – Biographical and miscellaneous antiquities; VII & VIII – Antiquities in Leicestershire. The 'Particular contents' then list the various parts that should be incorporated into each of these classes.

[107] ALM ANTIQUITÉS PROSPECTUS 1790, p. 4.

order upon the material, an order which necessarily reflects their vision of the subject, they allow the individual reader the possibility to choose his own structure, to appropriate the documentation in order to classify it as he wishes. Two obvious possibilities are offered in each case, since the reader can either bind the parts in their order of issue, or decide to classify them according to a topographical arrangement. These are, nonetheless, only suggestions, and in the case of Grose's *Antiquities* the freedom offered to the reader seems to have been accepted with alacrity since, as has been pointed out, there are no two copies of the work which resemble one another exactly.[108] What is particularly interesting in the case of Millin's attempt to borrow this model is the considerable hesitation that he betrays in carrying it through. Whilst he does suggest that the articles can be bound in an order other than that of issue, he has remained so faithful to the traditional model of the book that he has numbered the articles sequentially. By so doing, he has effectively rendered almost impossible the reorganization of the articles according to the reader's own preferred classification. This lack of flexibility is then reinforced by the presentation of the paratextual elements. An index which uses as its point of reference not the title but rather the number of the article, and a table of contents again presented in numerical order, prove that Millin had not managed to assimilate totally the new liberty offered to readers by his English counterparts.

Study of antiquity – potential advantages

As much in England as in France, authors of antiquarian treatises felt obliged to include, alongside an explanation of the main aims and methods of the work, the reasons for which the work was important. Very often the justification amounted to no more than a stock statement about the general interest of the subject and the light that the material provided in the work could cast upon the earlier history of a country and its people. Strutt began the preface to his *Horda Angel-cynnan* by observing that "the study of antiquities is in itself both amusing and useful".[109] And he concluded with a quotation from Richard Verstegan who had claimed in a work of the same type that an antiquary's work corresponded not only to a person's natural curiosity about their forebears but also to their need to have provided for them an *exemplum*:

[108] HOPKINS 1976, p. 255.

[109] He goes on to elucidate that it "leads to extensive discoveries", it "proves the truth and authenticity" of many documents and objects, it "brings to light many important matters, which would yet lie buried in oblivion" and it "explains and illustrates such dark passages as would otherwise be quite unknown": STRUTT 1775, vol. 1 (1775), p. [i].

> "The thing that first moved me to take some pains in this study, was the very natural affection which generally is in all men to heare of the worthinesse of their ancestors, which they should indeed bee as desireous to imitate as delighted to understand."[110]

Strutt felt no need to polemize, quietly confident that the quality and the interest of his work would be sufficient to silence any potential detractors. Quite different was the attitude of Francis Grose in a preface which must have been, to judge by the respective dates of publication of the two works, composed at almost exactly the same time. His opening sentence caricatures the habitual reproaches levelled against antiquaries **[Ill. 54]**, challenging the reader to question and maybe modify longheld prejudices:

> "It has long been the fashion to laugh at the study of Antiquities, and to consider it as the idle amusement of a few humdrum, plodding fellows, who wanting genius for nobler studies, busied themselves in heaping up illegible Manuscripts, mutilated Statues, obliterated Coins, and broken Pipkins; in this the laughers may perhaps have been somewhat justified from the absurd pursuits of a few Collectors, but at the same time an argument deduced from the abuse or perversion of any study, is by no means conclusive against the study itself; [...]."[111]

That Grose's "laughers" were not a purely English phenomenon is indicated by an engraving shown at the Salon of 1743. In 1740 Chardin had exhibited a satirical representation of an antiquary, 'Le Singe antiquaire' accompanied by its pendant, 'Le Singe peintre'. Three years later Surugue fils was to produce an engraving after the painting, adding at the foot of the sheet the following epigram:

> "Dans le Dédale obscur de monumens antiques
> Homme docte, à grands frais pourquoi t'embarrasser?
> Notre siècle à des yeux vraiment philosophiques,
> Offre assez de quoi s'exercer."[112]

This text suggests that the vilification of antiquaries resulted from the dichotomy that was felt to exist between antiquarian studies, frivolous and abstruse, as opposed to a 'useful' form of history, 'histoire philosophique'.[113]

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[110] STRUTT 1775, vol. 1 (1775), p. iv. The original passage is to be found in VERSTEGAN 1605, p. [iv].

[111] ANTIQUARIAN REPERTORY 1775, vol. 1 (1775), p. [iii].

[112] ROSENBERG 1979, nos. 66 & 57, pp. 221–4.

[113] " [...] antiquarian research […] was recognised as something distinct from, and inferior to, true history": CORNELL 1995, pp. 1–14, p. 2. As Francis Haskell noted, antiquarian studies had seldom been rewarded with the attention that they deserved: "the study of figured monuments was left to 'antiquarians', whose often imaginative and sometimes brilliant investigations at first made little impact on historical writing", HASKELL 1993, pp. 1–2. Two of the major detractors of the antiquaries were, according to Momigliano, Montesquieu and

Grose did not choose to defend his preferred domain of study either by likening it to or contrasting it with the alternative forms of history that were felt to be more profitable for study; he concentrated instead on proving the value of antiquarian studies for a variety of people. His catalogue of those who stand to gain from studying antiquities is impressive, almost all-embracing: "without a competent fund of Antiquarian Learning, no-one will ever make a respectable figure, either as a Divine, a Lawyer, Statesman, Soldier or even a private Gentlemen, and that it is the *sine qua non* of several of the more liberal professions, as well as many trades."[114] In professional life, therefore, some knowledge of the customs of the past is often very useful if not, on occasions, indispensable. By this means, Grose has effectively brought the study of antiquity out of the privacy of the scholar's cabinet and into the public sphere. In his list of professions, he has included those which were of the utmost importance for the correct and efficient running of the country: the clergy, the judiciary, the politicians and the army. Over the next couple of pages he develops the theme of the considerable advantages accruing to each of these individual professions, before summing up his argument with the following words:

> "To the private Gentleman nothing can be more ornamental than a tincture of this knowledge in general, or more useful than an accurate acquaintance with the Antiquities of his county in particular; without it he cannot understand its history, neither is he qualified ably to serve as a Member of Parliament or Justice of the Peace, or even as a Juror; a proper execution of all these offices in different degrees requiring an acquaintance with the constitution, laws and customs of our ancestors, and these cannot be obtained but by the perusal of Ancient records, coins and monuments, which at the same time that they instruct, serve to fix in the memory the aera of the different events, and History of the times in which they were constructed."[115]

According to Grose's defence of his subject, antiquarian learning will be beneficial to all those who are to exercise any power in the nation; just in case, nonetheless, that the utilitarian

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Voltaire. It is notable, in this respect, that the authors of the *Encyclopédie*, amongst whom counted many of the 'historiens philosophes' did not profit from the article 'antiquaire' to participate in this debate. The article begins simply with the following words: "ANTIQUAIRE, s.m. est une personne qui s'occupe de la recherche & de l'étude des monumens de l'antiquité, comme les anciennes médailles, les livres, les statues, les sculptures, les inscriptions, en un mot ce qui peut donner des lumieres à ce sujet. *Voyez* ANTIQUITE, *voyez aussi* MONUMENT, MEDAILLE, INSCRIPTION, SCULPTURE, STATUE, &c." (ENCYCLOPÉDIE 1751, vol. 1 (1751), p. 515. The article is signed 'G' (the abbé Mallet)).

[114] ANTIQUARIAN REPERTORY 1775, vol. 1 (1775), p. v.

[115] ANTIQUARIAN REPERTORY 1775, vol. 1 (1775), p. v.

arguments seem to be holding sway here, he does also point out the more agreeable part of the subject, saying that it is not only "useful" but also "ornamental".[116]

Fifteen years later, Millin was also to focus on the value to the nation of this type of work and once again the elements of *delectare* and *docere* are to be found combined. The reader will discover, he promises, a "foule d'anecdotes piquantes, de singularités historiques qui seront lues avec plaisir et avec intérêt."[117] But the *docere* is equally important; his hope is that the objects illustrated and discussed in the *Antiquités* will be "tout ce qui nous paroîtra capable de piquer la curiosité de ceux qui veulent connoître les détails de notre histoire, devenue une des principales études des vrais Citoyens."[118] Just as was the case in the *Antiquarian repertory*, the study of antiquities is presented as being in the national interest. It is part of a citizen's civic duty to learn about and to appreciate French history, and Millin intends to provide a work which will allow for this education whilst still ensuring that the reading of it is enjoyable.

Both Grose and Millin are therefore united on the fact that their work is beneficial for the nation. Both might also be imagined to have been writing for similar audiences. Grose has, after all, most recently been described as a "popularizer" and this is a term that can also be applied with ease to Millin.[119] Closer examination of the two documents under consideration here – Grose's preface and Millin's prospectus – do, nonetheless, reveal certain telling differences. Grose addresses his work for the most part to those engaged in the liberal professions, and thus to those who come from the more privileged classes of society. This impression is confirmed by a later passage in the text, which Grose begins by declaring that "every man is naturally an Antiquarian"; in order to back this assertion, he continues in the following words:

> "Is he possessed of an Ancient seat, does he not earnestly desire to know its history and the succession of his predecessors in that mansion, and if it has been the scene of any remarkable transaction, does he not read every thing concerning it with particular avidity; and can he refrain enquiring and making himself master

[116] This pleasurable aspect is further developed later, when Grose points out that ample knowledge of antiquity would help a gentleman to ensure that his costume for a masquerade was suitable, thereby ensuring the avoidance of embarrassing social gaffes: ANTIQUARIAN REPERTORY 1775, vol. 1 (1775), p. vi.

[117] ALM ANTIQUITÉS PROSPECTUS 1790, p. 2.

[118] ALM ANTIQUITÉS PROSPECTUS 1790, p. 2.

[119] FARRANT 1995, p. 365. See also Farrant's conclusion, p. 377: "[Grose] was inspired to respond to widening interest in British antiquities and to make the remains of the past more intelligible and accessible to his lay readers."

> of every circumstance and place of action; and does not this propensity even extend to the parish or town wherein he lives."[120]

The next sentence may attempt to redress the balance slightly, opening as it does with the phrase "Let any one go to Runny Mead, or Bosworth Field", but the sentiment expressed in the preceding words allows for the identification of Grose's intended audience. His work is aimed largely at the section of the population most likely to be engaged in the professions that he listed. These are primarily, almost exclusively, the monied classes with the wealth to amass collections of books, prints and objects. Having the means to collect such objects was not the only benefit open to the rich; in England at this time, before the Reform Act of 1832, the franchise was not universal. It was restricted to those in possession of property of a certain value. In this way Grose's extrapolated audience of the wealthy land-owners can be equated with the electorate, with those who could by their right to vote participate in the government of the nation.[121]

Millin, in the prospectus for the *Antiquités nationales*, also employs the term "every man" in its French equivalent – "chacun". Contrary to Grose, however, he does not subsequently qualify this general term by reducing its validity to the privileged classes, the land-owners and the nobility. Had he done so, he could, after all, no longer have claimed to have been writing a book for the nation as a whole. Just as in the case of Grose, the question of the electorate is relevant to Millin's conception of the potential readership of his work since, according to the electoral law passed by the Constituante in December 1789, all males aged over twenty-five who paid taxes amounting to the sum equivalent to three days' wages for a manual worker were eligible to vote. These 'citoyens actifs' as they were called represented approximately sixteen percent of the entire population of the country and about sixty-one percent of the males aged over twenty-five.[122] The new situation was in stark contrast to that described by Siéyès in his essay *Qu'est-ce que le Tiers-État?* After the famous preface containing the three essential questions on the Tiers-État, the author continues his analysis, including a memorable passage on the question of voting rights in France.[123] He questions the logic of the vote by order, whereby the nobility and the clergy

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[120] ANTIQUARIAN REPERTORY 1775, vol. 1 (1775), pp. vi–vii.

[121] For an introduction to the question of the franchise in Britain at this period which gives all the essential details see especially MAITLAND 1908, pp. 352–63.

[122] This statistic was established and published by the Assemblée nationale, May 27 1791: the number of 'citoyens actifs' was here given as 4,298,360. See TULARD et al. 1987, p. 650.

[123] The three essential questions presented as a programmatic preface were, of course: "1° Qu'est-ce que le Tiers

could outweigh the rest of the nation by two to one despite the fact that they represented only 200,000 out of a total population of almost 26 million. He then continues by saying:

> "Une société politique ne peut être que l'ensemble des associés. [...] De même une nation ne peut statuer que sa volonté commune cessera d'être sa volonté commune. [...] Les volontés individuelles sont les seuls élements de la volonté commune. On ne peut ni priver le plus grand nombre du droit d'y concourir, ni arrêter que dix volontés n'en vaudront qu'une, contre dix autres qui en vaudront trente."[124]

So it is that Millin, reflecting this new spirit of a nation enfranchised at long last, hopes that each French citizen will be able to "retrouver l'histoire de sa famille, et lire avec sensibilité les noms et les actions de ses ancêtres."[125] An overly optimistic claim it may well be thought, but he feels that he can uphold his promise since throughout his book he wishes to consider not only the famous names that appear in the annals of French history, but also those who could be described as the minor figures who had nonetheless rendered essential services to the nation: "S'il [cet ouvrage] est utile pour nous représenter de grands personnages et nous retracer leur histoire, il ne le sera pas moins pour faire connoître ceux qui ont rendu des services moins éclatans peut-être, mais souvent aussi essentiels, et qui ont donné des exemples de bienfaisance, d'humanité et de vertu."[126] This amounts to at least a reconsideration, if not a revision, of national history, but it does not imply that Millin was intending to operate a *tabula rasa* approach to the subject. As he said, he was not aiming at effacing totally the names of the great, be it the nobles or those belonging to Grose's privileged classes, who had been associated with the history of France; they were to remain part of his account, and he wished to elevate to this same status those who had all too often in the past been overlooked or dismissed. As he pointed out, the new French constitution was based on an "égalité sainte"; the former "noblesse héréditaire" had been abolished, and Millin argued convincingly for the creation of a new nobility, the "noblesse d'opinion":

> "L'Assemblée Nationale, en rappelant les hommes aux droits imprescriptibles de la nature, à cette égalité sainte qui est la base de notre Constitution, en abolissant la noblesse héréditaire, n'a prétendu détruire n'a pu annuller que ces vains titres, ces vains priviléges qui faisoient croire à quelques hommes qu'ils étoient nés pour commander, et les autres pour obéir, qu'ils étoient enfin d'une espèce

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état? TOUT. 2º Qu'a-t-il été jusqu'à présent dans l'ordre politique? – RIEN. 3º Que demande-t-il? – A ÊTRE QUELQUE CHOSE": SIEYES 1988, pp. 31–2.

[124] SIÉYÈS 1988, pp. 141–2.

[125] ALM ANTIQUITÉS PROSPECTUS 1790, p. 3.

[126] ALM ANTIQUITÉS PROSPECTUS 1790, p. 3.

> supérieure aux autres hommes; mais elle ne peut ni ne veut empêcher qu'un nom porté par des personnages qui l'ont illustré, ne rappelle de grands souvenirs. Cette noblesse est celle d'opinion; c'est la seule, c'est la véritable: mais que d'obligations elle impose!"[127]

No longer then is a person's merit to be judged simply in terms of their wealth, their titles or their power. All citizens can aspire to this new honour, that of belonging to the "noblesse d'opinion": it is through their work, through their actions and through their example that they can hope to be ennobled under this new democratic régime.[128]

It is through this passage that Millin can truly claim to be producing a work that represents the nation as a whole and that can be read with advantage and interest by every French citizen, regardless of their rank or of their riches. He is creating a new national history, told by reference to the country's monuments, and it is to be a history in which all those who constitute the nation – Siéyès's 'volontés individuelles' which compose a 'volonté commune' – can find their place. The difference in scope between the audiences addressed by Grose – the landowners, the gentry and the nobility – and by Millin – all citizens, regardless of their wealth – may seem to preclude the possibility of a comparison between the two men, but this would be to neglect one essential fact. Both of them were in fact writing for their nation; the only element that separates them is that at the end of the eighteenth century, just as it had been at the beginning, the concept of 'nation' in England was very different from that in France.

Choice of pieces

This decision to write a new form of history in which the whole nation as opposed to the 'corps' identified with the king was to find its place, necessitated a re-examination of the type of antiquities that could be included. Reverting to the imagery invoked earlier in this chapter, the body of French monuments was thus identified with the monarch's body, the body of the nation. That the word 'corps' was still used to designate the ensemble of the monumental stock at this time is shown by the following quotation from Quatremère de Quincy's *Lettres à Miranda*: "On montrerait que le déplacement des principaux monuments de l'art enlevés à leur patrie doit porter un coup funeste à l'instruction des autres nations [...]

[127] ALM ANTIQUITÉS PROSPECTUS 1790, p. 3.

[128] On the idea of public opinion during the eighteenth century see: FARGE 1992A.

ne pouvant enlever qu'un petit nombre de pièces de la collection dont le corps principal existerait toujours à Rome [...]."[129]

As was seen in the introduction to this chapter, Millin was determined to stress to prospective readers that his work would not take for its subject matter the same objects as had already been described by his predecessors. Not only was he able to claim that he included other, maybe less well-known, monuments but he could even boast of having integrated into his discourse a whole new category. For, as he stated, "Leurs Auteurs n'avoient pour but que de décrire les vastes Edifices, les Places publiques, etc.; c'est aux Monumens historiques que nous nous attachons principalement."[130] This contrast between imposing buildings or public squares on the one hand and historical monuments on the other suggests that Millin was not prepared to contemplate a work that deals exclusively with architecture. Not that he intended to banish it completely from his work – as is shown by the use of the qualifying negative "ne ... que" – but rather that he wished to enlarge his scope to include anything that can be described as a "monument historique", be it a building, a sculpture, a stained-glass window or a seal. What is less clear, however, is the precise meaning of this syntagm 'monument historique'; Millin made no attempt to clarify his thoughts on this matter, and this particular combination of words does not seem to have been employed sufficiently often before this time for the meaning to be immediately obvious.[131] Eighteenth-century definitions for the word 'monument' do clearly exist, and a sample chosen from three different works which span much of the eighteenth century will show what exactly was understood by the term. Furetière identifies three meanings for the word. The first of these is a "Temoignage qui nous reste de quelque grande puissance, ou grandeur des siecles passez; bâtiment élevé pour conserver la memoire de quelque évenement"; this is then illustrated by the Pyramids of Egypt or the Colosseum in Rome.[132] His second entry for monument refers not to the concrete object, but rather to literary production: "temoignages qui nous restent dans les Histoires & chez les Auteurs". In third place comes the use of the word monument to signify a tomb, although Furetière feels that this is only in elevated prose style ("stile soutenu"), and

[129] QUATREMÈRE DE QUINCY 1989, p. 135. The underlining is mine. This use has, of course, a long history, extending back to Livy.

[130] ALM ANTIQUITÉS PROSPECTUS 1790, p. 3.

[131] Françoise Choay feels that Millin was "l'inventeur du mot 'monument historique'": see CHOAY 1992, p. 77. BERCÉ 2000 concentrates on the word 'monument' rather than the syntagm.

[132] FURETIÈRE 1727, vol. 3, fol. Eee_{3r}.

more especially in poetry. By 1769, the dictionary by Richelet had already gone through many editions; here the entries for 'monument' correspond to those given by Furetière, although their order has been modified. His first entry concerns the use of the word monument to refer to a tomb, and here too its use is recommended only in certain literary styles, that is "Poétique, ou de la prose sublime."[133] After this, and in a very brief entry, supported by only two examples of similar usage, is the monument as a "Marque de souvenir." The third entry given by Richelet relates to the question of a monument as denoting literary production. Further information regarding the definition given to this word during the eighteenth century is available in the *Encyclopédie*, where the relevant article opens on the following words: "on appelle monument, tout ouvrage d'Architecture & de Sculpture, fait pour conserver la mémoire des hommes illustres, ou des grands événemens, comme un mausolée, une pyramide, un arc de triomphe, & autres semblables."[134]

Three main points become clear from these definitions: the monument has a commemorative function, the word monument can be applied to a number of different types of artistic production and the notion of grandeur is often closely attached. For the author of the article in the *Encyclopédie* there can be no doubt that a monument was created in the express intention of recalling either a great person or a great event.[135] This notion of deliberate creation is also to be found in the definition given by Richelet. Furetière's discussion of the meaning of the word is, on the other hand, less restrictive. Certainly he mentions a building constructed in order to recall a major event, and yet he has begun his entry with a much more general statement, whereby a monument is no more or less than a 'témoignage', a piece of evidence, a testimony. Here then there is no statement of intent on the part of the person who first created or built the monument. It is this question of the degree of intentional commemoration within a monument that helps to answer the question of what exactly Millin meant by a 'monument historique'.

Such was the accepted understanding of the word monument at the end of the eighteenth century. Millin, however, claims in his prospectus that he will be introducing a new category of monuments. Yet, neither in the prospectus to the *Antiquités*, nor at any point in the sixty-one articles does he even begin to explain to his readers what exactly is his

[133] RICHELET 1769, vol. 2, p. 456.

[134] ENCYCLOPÉDIE 1751, vol. 10 (1765), p. 697.

[135] The etymological derivation is clear: the word comes from the Latin verb 'monere', to remind, bring to one's recollection, instruct.

conception of a 'monument historique'. Nor, unfortunately, did he decide, sixteen years later when he published his *Dictionnaire des Beaux-Arts*, to include an article devoted to this apparently new concept. On turning to the *Dictionnaire des Beaux-Arts*, there are some problems to be resolved. Firstly, as has already been stated, there is no entry for 'monument historique'. Millin provides four possibilities: 'monumens choragiques' and 'monumens funèbres', both of which are dismissed with a cross-reference, and then two entries for 'monument' itself. As is to be expected from a dictionary which relies largely on earlier works in the same genre for its material (and notably Lacombe, Pernéty, the *Encyclopédie* and Wâtelet and Leveque's *Encyclopédie méthodique* on the arts), Millin's definition of the word monument accords with that already familiar to readers at the end of the eighteenth century. He opens the article by saying that this "est un ouvrage de l'art érigé dans une place publique, pour conserver et transmettre à la postérité la mémoire des personnages ou des événemens remarquables. Chaque monument doit attirer les yeux du peuple, et lui inspirer des sentimens relatifs aux événemens et aux personnes desquels il a été érigé."[136] Nothing, apart from the addition of a qualifying topographical precision – the monument is to be found in a public square –, separates this from the definition to be found in the *Encyclopédie* whereby a monument is an artistic construction erected in order to recall a great person or event. Later in the same article Millin does make an interesting addition to the definition found in French reference works until that time, explaining that there are two essential points to be borne in mind when considering a monument – "d'abord le corps, masse isolée qui, par une forme agréable et particulière, doit attirer l'attention; en second lieu, l'esprit ou l'ame, qui doit produire l'impression principale qu'on veut obtenir."[137] Not that this distinction between the two elements represents a theoretical notion developed by Millin – the idea is already to be found in Johann Georg Sulzer's *Allgemeine Theorie*.[138] The 'corps' is the architectural or artistic form – and Millin gives a number of examples including a pyramid, a column, a tomb and a triumphal arch – which is here seen to be acting as the message-carrier, a support which attracts the viewer's attention. It is the 'esprit' that contains the veritable message of the monument, which Millin resumes as being transmitted "soit dans les

[136] ALM DICTIONNAIRE 1806, vol. 2, p. 479, col. a.

[137] ALM DICTIONNAIRE 1806, vol. 2, p. 479, col. b.

[138] "Man hat bey jedem Denkmal auf zwey Dinge zu sehen: auf den Körper desselben, der eine freystehende Masse ist, die durch eine gute Form einer eigenen Art das Auge auf sich zieht; und denn auf den Geist oder die Seele desselben, wodurch eigentlich der Haupteindruck, auf den das Denkmal abzielt, soll bewürkt werden": SULZER 1792, vol. 2, p. 597.

Inscriptions [...], soit dans des figures peintes ou sculptées, qui peuvent être historiques ou allégoriques."[139] He then continues with a discussion of the importance accorded to monuments by the Ancient Greeks, and of the consequent proliferation of constructions of this type in various Greek cities, before ending with a short bibliography. Of particular interest here is the last reference: "J'ai fait graver beaucoup de monumens de la France septentrionale dans les cinq volumes de mes *Antiquités nationales*".[140] The contradiction is all too evident. An author who, in the prospectus to a book published in 1790, vauntingly distinguished his work from that of his predecessors by declaring that, unlike them, he would not be concentrating exclusively on "les vastes Edifices, les Places publiques, etc." but would be introducing a new concept, that of 'monument historique', seems sixteen years later to be retracting his promise. According to the definition to be found in the *Dictionnaire des Beaux-Arts*, a monument is a work of art constructed in a public area with the deliberate intention of reminding the viewer of earlier events or historical personalities. Furthermore, the pieces that Millin chose to represent in his *Antiquités nationales* were, it is stated in this same article, good examples of the monument when considered from this traditional point of view.

Fortunately, the contradictions in Millin's statements about and definitions of the word do not end there. A second, much shorter, definition follows immediately after the one just examined. Summarizing the term as denoting "tout ce qui nous reste de fort ancien soit dans les arts, soit en littérature", the author then refers the reader to two further words, 'antiquité' and 'archaeologie'. The first of these proves to be a blind alley: no such entry exists, but the reader who casts their eye over the rest of the page discovers that an 'antiquaire' practises the "science des antiquités" and is then advised, once again, to consult the entry 'archaeologie'.[141] And it is in this article on archaeology that a very interesting discussion of the monument is to be found, one which casts much light on Millin's understanding of the concept of the 'monument historique', even if this particular syntagm is still not to be found. In effect, it is here that, despite some initial hesitation, he finally manages to extend the scope of the word 'monument', thereby including some objects that could not be claimed to have been constructed with the express aim of commemorating a famous person or a significant event. The hesitation is certainly present, since once again he opens with what might at first sight seem to be a very standard vision of the word, one which

[139] ALM DICTIONNAIRE 1806, vol. 2, p. 480, col. b.

[140] ALM DICTIONNAIRE 1806, vol. 2, p. 482, col. b.

[141] ALM DICTIONNAIRE 1806, vol. 1, p. 35, col. b – p. 36, col. a.

is to be found later in the *Dictionnaire* in the entry 'monument'. For he at first states that "On peut les [monumens] considérer dans l'acception la plus spéciale du mot, c'est-à-dire, en ce qu'ils servent à conserver la mémoire des événemens et des personnes; ou comme ouvrages de l'art, relativement au plaisir qu'inspire leur forme."[142] Despite the apparently traditional definition that is being offered here, there are a couple of very interesting points. One of these is that Millin is here separating the artistic qualities from the commemorative function. No longer is a monument, as in the other definition described above, necessarily to be considered in terms of its artistic value: its commemorative function can be examined in isolation, without any especial regard to its artistic qualities.[143] One essential distinction has thus been made, and there is a second one which is of the greatest significance for any discussion of the question of the intentionality or otherwise of a monument. Millin says that a monument can indeed be commemorative, but that this is the "acception la plus spéciale" of the word. He is thereby implying that a monument that has been created with the direct intention of being a memorial is merely one category of the class of monuments, and that this is actually the most restrictive and restricted meaning of the word. By means of this one qualifying phrase he has thus managed to overturn the generally accepted vision of all monuments as being constructions produced in order to commemorate, thus possessing an intention on the part of the creator. As a result, there must be other monuments that were not created with such an intention in mind, and he then goes on to explain his vision of less intentional pieces:

> "On peut considérer les monumens seulement comme tels, et n'avoir pour but que d'étudier les mœurs, les usages, la constitution politique, la théologie, les cérémonies religieuses, les loix, la police, la vie privée, etc. des anciens. Alors les monumens littéraires, tels que les ouvrages des auteurs, les diplômes, les inscriptions, les monumens de l'art, tels que les restes de l'architecture, de la sculpture, de la peinture, de la glyptique, de la numismatique, etc. et les monumens mécaniques, tels que les ustensiles, les armes, etc., sont également importans; on ne s'en sert que pour expliquer les usages et les mœurs des anciens. Cette partie de la science s'appelle communément les antiquités, et on nomme antiquaire celui qui la possède."[144]

Here then is the answer to the problem of the 'monument historique'. The exact syntagm may be different, but a comparison of the objects that Millin listed in the prospectus – "les figures des Tombeaux, Inscriptions, Vitraux, Châsses, Reliques, Vases de forme

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[142] ALM DICTIONNAIRE 1806, vol. 1, p. 51 , col. b.

[143] This proves to be of great significance when examining Millin's understanding of the concept of 'description': see *infra*, ch. 8.

[144] ALM DICTIONNAIRE 1806, vol. 1, p. 51, col. b.

extraordinaire, enfin tout ce qui nous paroîtra capable de piquer la curiosité [...]" – and the other types that he was subsequently to add over the course of his work, such as coins, seals, manuscripts, printed books, pictures and various other objects, proves that the 'monumens littéraires' of the article in the *Dictionnaire* are in effect the 'monumens historiques' of the *Antiquités*. A close comparison of these two sources – the article quoted above in the *Dictionnaire* and his practice in the *Antiquités nationales* – allows us to understand that Millin was in effect pleading for a much wider vision of the monument. Any object, albeit one of the most humble domestic utensils used by his ancestors, could be seen as bearing witness (Furetière's 'témoignage') to earlier customs and practices, and therefore represented an essential contribution to establishing and recounting, as Millin wished, "la vie privée des François".[145] Once an object can be used to "expliquer les mœurs etc.", then it becomes a monument, even if a non-intentional one. Unfortunately, as is so often the case with Millin, this is not clearly stated, and the reader has to work through a series of deductions and extrapolations in order to reach a result which was expressed so much more concisely and elegantly at the beginning of the twentieth century by Alois Riegl in his seminal study entitled *Der moderne Denkmalkultus* (the modern cult of monuments).[146] He opens the work by commenting that the traditional view of a monument was that it was created by human hand in the wish to transmit a memorial to future generations.[147] Riegl classifies these as 'intentional' ("gewollte Denkmale") which he then proceeds to contrast with artistic and historic monuments: "[...] aber wenn wir von modernem Denkmalkultus und Denkmalschutz sprechen, denken wir so gut wie gar nicht an die 'gewollten' Denkmale, sondern an die 'Kunst- und historischen Denkmale', wie der offizielle Ausdruck dafür bisher wenigstens in Österreich gelautet hat."[148] Over the next few pages, Riegl explains the various elements that contribute to the artistic or the historic values. After this he introduces a second term to refer to artistic and historic monuments, calling them 'unintentional' ("ungewollte Denkmale"), a

[145] ALM ANTIQUITÉS PROSPECTUS 1790, p. 2.

[146] RIEGL 1903. For a recent edition, see: A. Riegl, *Der moderne Denkmalkultus*, in: DEHIO & RIEGL 1988. Translations into French and English are available. In French, RIEGL 1984; in English, RIEGL 1982; see also BACHER 1995, p. 239.

[147] "Unter Denkmal im ältesten und ursprünglichsten Sinne versteht man ein Werk von Menschenhand, errichtet zu dem bestimmten Zweck, um einzelne menschliche Taten oder Geschicke (oder Komplexe mehrerer solcher) im Bewusstsein der nachlebenden Generationen stets gegenwärtig und lebendig zu erhalten." A. Riegl, *Der moderne Denkmalkultus*, in: DEHIO & RIEGL 1988, p. 43. This, then, is the view of the monument as expressed by the eighteenth century authors examined.

[148] A. Riegl, *Der moderne Denkmalkultus*, in: DEHIO & RIEGL 1988, p. 43.

classification which brings out more clearly the contrast between them and the deliberate or intentional monuments.[149] As he points out, there is considerable overlap between the two classes: indeed, in his view, all intentional monuments form, by dint of possessing historical and artistic value, a subset of the class of unintentional monuments. The opposite is not, however, true. If the logic of Riegl's argument is accepted fully, and there seems to be no reason not to do so, then we can see that the 'monument historique' is a category that certainly embraces the *Encyclopédie*'s "fait pour conserver la mémoire", that is intentional monument, but is certainly not restricted only to this; in effect, the 'monuments historiques' as "ungewollte Denkmale" can be more closely equated with the definition supplied by Furetière of a "temoignage".[150] Turning to Millin, this concept of the unintentional as opposed to the intentional monument proves to be very important. After all, given the rhetoric of the prospectus, where much stress is laid on the fact that not only the great events but also the smaller ones, not only the famous figures of French history but also the supporting characters are to be included, it becomes clear that the monument as defined by the *Encyclopédie* is scarcely going to be satisfactory as the sole subject of Millin's new national history.

As has been seen, Millin rejected the contribution of his French predecessors, preferring to turn to the English as the source of inspiration for a work which would include not only imposing edifices but also the far wider category of 'monuments historiques'. To claim, as he did, that no such model was available in the French language may seem rather unjust to the memory of Caylus who had, after all, made a point of eschewing the grandiose monuments closely linked with famous figures, with wealthy families or with royal dynasties. His disdain for the traditionally favoured expensive and luxurious antiques was summed up in his comparison of them with the "belles dames et [...] beaux messieurs" who arrive in a salon and who "se montrent et n'apprennent rien".[151] And he made a point of including in his *Recueil* pieces that could be best qualified as utensils, but which provided a valuable record of daily life in the past. One fact cannot, however, be overlooked in this context, and that is that his desire to include less illustrious pieces in his work was significantly abetted by the

[149] A. Riegl, *Der moderne Denkmalkultus*, in: DEHIO & RIEGL 1988, p. 47.

[150] It should also be noted that the Swiss architectural historian Henry Geymüller had, in 1900, noted that: "Le monument du passé, le monument historique [...] est un document authentique pour les historiens et les capacités artistiques et intellectuelles et la civilisation". See GERMANN 2003, p. 113.

[151] Letter from Caylus to Paciaudi, August 28 1758, in: CAYLUS 1877, vol. 1, p. 9; see *supra*, ch. 6, p. 195, note 15.

fact that his chosen field of study was classical antiquity. For a scholar who wished to work on French antiquities the situation was considerably more precarious. Such at least is the conclusion that can be drawn from the works of Bernard de Montfaucon. When composing his *Antiquité expliquée* the Benedictine monk did not hesitate to illustrate and discuss items related to daily life as well as more prestigious works of classical art. It is in the preface to this work that the first reference occurs to a projected book on the subject of France's mediaeval heritage; here Montfaucon suggests that since the book would form a sequel to the *Antiquité* it should be "fait sur le même plan."[152] Accordingly, the four main sections would deal with, in this order, the Church, daily life (including details on houses, costumes, arts and applied arts, leisure activities), military affairs and burial customs, including funeral rites and tombs.[153] Such were Montfaucon's intentions, but the plan had to be significantly modified: in the project for the work published only five years later, he was to explain that the original four sections would still be maintained, but that they had to be published only after the completion of a new first part:

> "au lieu de la Theologie profane, et des divinitez [...], qui font la premiere partie [de l'*Antiquité expliquée*], je mettrai les Rois, les princes et tout ce qui regarde la couronne, car je ne crois pas que personne s'attende que je debute ici par un cours complet de Theologie. La seconde classe sera des monumens ecclesiastique. L'Eglise devroit aller devant tout; mais nous commençons par la monarchie parcequ'elle renferme l'Eglise, et qu'elle contribue en bien des choses a sa forme exterieure."[154]

When the work came out, Montfaucon's submission to the prevalent notion of the monumental stock as being indissociable from the monarchy was all too clear. He summarized his work in the following words:

> "Cet Ouvrage contient donc l'Histoire de France avec tous les Monumens que l'injure du tems a épargnez, qui regardent les Rois, les reines, les Princes du Sang, les pairs de France, les Ducs ou Comtes qui avoient des Etats dans le Roiaume, la Maison du Roi, & les grands Officiers de la Couronne."[155]

The other parts of the work were destined never to appear, mainly because it proved nowhere near as popular as had the *Antiquité expliquée*, and so it was that the major reference dealing

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[152] MONTFAUCON 1719, vol. 1 (1719), 'Préface', p. xv.

[153] MONTFAUCON 1719, vol. 1 (1719), 'Préface', pp. xvi–xviii.

[154] BNF, Cabinet des manuscrits, ms. lat. 11915, fols. 259r–260v. The underlining is mine.

[155] MONTFAUCON 1729, vol. 1 (1729), 'Préface', p. iv.

with France's monumental stock available to Millin was one that remained dominated by a very monarchocentric vision of the past.

A further illustration of quite how marked the earlier French literature on monuments was by this association with the great and the noble is furnished by the frontispiece to a work which appeared just under fifteen years before Millin's and which was also devoted to monuments. The book in question is the abbé de Lubersac's *Discours sur les monumens publics*.[156] Clearly stated in the title is the fact that one part of the book would present a new monument "à la gloire de Louis XVI & de la France". The king and the nation are closely associated. And the frontispiece **[Ill. 55]**, an emblematic statement of the overall content of the book, should thus represent this. The image is dominated by a central group composed of three figures, named in the 'Explication du frontispice' which also explains the main import of the scene. The king, Louis XVI, is standing in front of the altar at Reims, the church where his coronation – the *sacre du roi* – traditionally took place.[157] His right hand rests upon an open book of laws, and he is promising to observe these laws. The two female figures are a personification of France and Religion, seated on the altar, and depicted with the features of Madame Louise de France. Around him, to the left and to the right, are two groups of figures; those to the left symbolize a number of the king's duties.[158] On the other side, a second group represents the "Grands Officiers de la Couronne, dont l'un porte l'Epée du Connétable, un autre la Main de Justice, pour marquer l'union de la Force & des Loix dans la personne du Monarque."[159] The image is in turn surrounded by a frame decorated with "les écussons des armes des six Pairies Ecclésiastiques, & [...] ceux des dix Pairies Laïques, portant, les uns & les autres, des honneurs qui caractérisent ces deux Ordres." At the foot of the image is a legend opening on the word "François". The book is a description of public monuments, presents one which will be to the glory of the nation and is addressed to the French people ("François"). And yet, in the frontispiece, the engraved emblematic entrance to the work, there is one element that is completely lacking: the people, or more precisely, the Tiers-État.

Such then was the French model available to Millin at the time of the Revolution. In England, on the other hand, the situation was quite different. Seldom was an antiquarian

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[156] LUBERSAC 1775.

[157] For the *sacre du roi* see: APOSTOLIDÈS 1988.

[158] The refusal to forgive the crime of the duel, the promise to punish heresy and the obligation to maintain the position and the rights of the king are to be found here.

[159] LUBERSAC 1775, 'Explication du Frontispice'.

treatise organized around a strictly chronological framework; even more unusual was to find one articulated around the successive monarchs. One exception to this was the first work by Strutt, the *Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities*, where the emphasis was certainly laid, much as had been the case with Montfaucon, on the presentation of a series of portraits of the kings of England.[160] Far more common, nonetheless, was one of two models, either the topographical or the thematic.[161] More important in this context is, however, the choice of the pieces included. Not only was the English discourse not articulated around the monarchs, but the choice of objects included was also of a different nature. This is not to say that there were no pieces included that were associated with the kings or the nobility, since that was clearly not the case. But there was a much greater willingness on the part of the English to pay attention to the smaller, less prestigious objects just as much as to the larger more imposing pieces. Such was Strutt's main point of interest in his later works, where he chose to recount what could be best described as the social history of the past. He used the visual evidence available to him in order to present the manners and customs, the sports and pastimes and the clothes of the English. Throughout these works the kings and court life do make an appearance, but not at the expense of the other parts of society. Another telling example of this refusal to concentrate only on intentional monuments erected to the memory of the great and the famous comes in the form of Grose's *Antiquities of England and Wales*. As was seen above, his work had been preceded by another in the same genre by the Buck brothers.[162] Grose introduced a number of innovations into his work, amongst them a written text to accompany each illustration. Even more importantly, especially in view of the question of the type of monument that was deemed worthy of consideration, he took the step of increasing appreciably the range of structures examined. As was made apparent in the title of the Bucks' work, their interest had been confined to certain types of buildings: *Collection of engravings of castles, abbeys, and towns in England and Wales* (1726–52). Grose, on the other hand, did not wish to restrict his range of interest in such a way, and enlarged his scope in order to provide a more comprehensive coverage of the building types to be seen in Britain. As a

[160] Even here Strutt was careful to avoid insisting too much on the importance of the kings, observing that "the series is perfectly compleat, and interspersed with various passages of history; so that it is not only a view of the kings of England, but a representation of part of their transactions, and the portraits of many of the great and remarkable personages living under their reign." STRUTT 1777A, p. iv.

[161] For topographical studies, for example, the county histories or the itineraries; for thematic studies, Strutt and Douglas.

[162] See *supra*, p. 257.

result, the large and famous buildings are certainly to be found here, and alongside them other constructions which had often been neglected in the past; consequently churches, country seats, gateways, bridges and fortifications are all included in this work. In the *Antiquarian repertory* similar attention is paid to pieces which could by no means be described as works of art, let alone masterpieces, but which could shed some light on the past. Anecdotes concerning famous people are a recurrent feature, such as the twenty-eight page article on Mary de' Medici's grand entry into England in 1638.[163] Juxtaposed with these, which correspond closely to the notion of the 'intentional' monuments, are to be found those that can only be described as 'unintentional'. Thus a drawing of a small brass monumental plate is also considered worthy of inclusion, as are drawings and descriptions of various utensils, be they earthenware jugs or interesting tools and implements.[164]

It is this attempt to integrate the lesser pieces alongside the greater, evident in the works of antiquaries such as Grose and Strutt, that was to be repeated by Millin in his *Antiquités*. As was seen above, he too did not refuse any mention of the earlier subjects of the French monumental discourse. This would have amounted to a denial of the past, to the type of extreme historiography which was practised by certain of his contemporaries in their iconoclastic discourses.[165] He preferred rather to be able to represent the entire nation in his work.

Such at least seems to be the case in his descriptions of churches, where he takes considerable care to list as many of the tombs as he can. Taking the example of a large church such as that of the Celestines in Paris, home to a large number of funeral monuments, and comparing his practice with that of his predecessors is very telling in this respect. It was often remarked that the Celestines contained one of the largest collections of tombs in any church in France, with the obvious exception of Saint-Denis.[166] Many of these were masterpieces, containing the remains of some illustrious figures of French history, and it is to these that the earlier authors paid almost exclusive attention. Germain Brice devoted a number of pages to a description of the tombs of Anne de Montmorency, Louis d'Orléans and

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[163] ANTIQUARIAN REPERTORY 1775, vol. 1 (1775), no. 11, pp. 248–75; see *supra*, p. 260, note 83.

[164] ANTIQUARIAN REPERTORY 1775, vol. 1 (1775), no. 4, pp. 89–90, 'Curfew'; no. 5, p. 120, 'Description of two sixteenth-century men of extraordinary stature'; no. 7, p. 134, 'Roman utensils'. In close proximity to these are also to be found plates of Tintern Abbey, Netley Abbey, Westminster Abbey etc.

[165] As illustrated by several of the pieces reproduced in DELOCHE & LENIAUD 1989. See also *supra*, ch. 4.

[166] HURTAUT 1779, vol. 2, p. 102. A similar opinion is expressed by all the other authors who wrote on the building. See *supra*, ch. 6, p. 223, note 112.

his wife, Philippe Chabot, the duc de Longueville and other famous names.[167] His example was then followed by others such as Dézallier d'Argenville, Antonini, Dulaure and Hurtaut.[168] This last author did refer to other tombs in the church but dismissed them in the following words: "Il y a encore dans cette Eglise plusieurs tombeaux [...]; mais il faudroit un volume, si on vouloit les décrire tous: il suffira donc d'avoir parlé de ceux des personnes les plus illustres."[169] On turning to Millin's work, it is true to say that the tombs which presented the greatest artistic or historical interest were certainly given precedence; unlike his predecessors, however, he did not limit his attention only to these pieces. For, as he pointed out, "Je vais donner le détail de toutes les sépultures que j'ai pu découvrir: ces détails, que je ne négligerai dans la description d'aucun monastère, pourront être utiles pour l'histoire des familles."[170] Mindful, no doubt, of the warning given by Hurtaut, not all of these tombs are described in great detail: those that present some interesting feature are attributed several lines, whereas the majority are simply listed. Even so, this section covers some twenty-two pages and lists more than one hundred tombs, some of which are also illustrated **[Ill. 56]**.

It could still be argued that despite the fact that the tombs of minor figures are present, they have not been accorded the same amount of attention as the more prestigious monuments erected to the memory of the great, and that Millin's claim to be dealing with 'monuments historiques' is therefore rather hollow. There is a more cogent argument that can be adduced, and that is the choice of subjects for the articles themselves. The large buildings that had always formed the centre of the traditional French antiquarian and historical treatises are to be found here, and alongside them are some that are, to say the least, unexpected. And these unexpected buildings are those that most unambiguously correspond to the concept of 'unintentional monuments' as defined by Riegl. One clear example is the 'pilori' (pillory) in Paris.[171] Brice mentions it in very briefly in his book; it figures only as an aside and is not judged sufficiently worthy of attention to merit a sub-heading or a separate section of the text.[172] Dézallier d'Argenville finds no place for it in his description of Paris, and Hurtaut and

[167] BRICE 1971, vol. 2, pp. 270–95 [= pp. 238–44].

[168] DÉZALLIER D'ARGENVILLE 1757, pp. 236–40; ANTONINI 1734, pp. 44–6; DULAURE 1786, pp. 119–32 and HURTAUT 1779, vol. 2, pp. 98–144.

[169] HURTAUT 1779, vol. 2, p. 133.

[170] ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol.1 (1790), art. III, p. 129.

[171] ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 3 (1791), art. XXXIV; see *infra*, ch. 9, pp. 362 ff.

[172] BRICE 1971, vol. 1, p. 503 [= p. 144].

Dulaure both devote only a very short article to it.[173] In the case of these two last authors, it must be remembered that they were claiming to produce authoritative and encyclopaedic accounts of Paris and could not afford to gloss over any single building – Dulaure's title states that in his book are to be found "détails Historiques de tous les Etablissemens, Monumens, Edifices anciens et nouveaux." Millin, on the other hand, offers only sixty-one articles on a selection of towns in the northern area of France. Of these, only twenty-five are devoted to buildings in the centre of Paris. In the light of these figures, the decision to include the pillory alongside magnificent structures such as the monastery of the Celestines, the Abbaye de Sainte-Geneviève or the Jacobins is all the more surprising. By so doing, he declares quite explicitly that in his vision of the new national history he is prepared to place this small, unimposing and all too functional structure near the Halles on the same footing as the large monastic foundations filled with costly works of art that had so monopolized the earlier architectural and antiquarian discourses. The pillory was by no means a monument according to the generally accepted definition of that word at the end of the eighteenth century: it was, nevertheless, a structure that had marked the everyday life of the Tiers-État.[174] Nor is this an isolated case. When he turns to the monuments of Rouen, Millin judges the town-clock and the public fountain worthy of a whole article **[Ill. 57]**. This is far from the attitude of Lubersac who remarked on the subject of fountains that "Si l'on excepte trois monumens de ce genre qui ont des beautés réelles, le reste des fontaines de Paris mérite à peine qu'on en parle."[175]

In much the same way as the English had already done, Millin cast his net wider in his quest for monuments that could provide interesting illustrative material for his new history of the French nation. His 'monumens historiques' are not just those created in a deliberate attempt to mark the memory of a great event or of a famous person. These latter can be included, but they find their place alongside others, less traditionally associated with the word monument, the "ungewollte Denkmale" reconsidered and rehabilitated within a new all-embracing discourse.

This enlarging of the potential field of study did have a concurrent danger, one of which Grose showed himself to be all too aware. In an interesting passage in the preface to

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[173] HURTAUT 1779, vol. 4, pp. 28–9; DULAURE 1786, pp. 465–6.

[174] It was a form of punishment seldom meted out to the upper orders of society or to those who had directly challenged the king: it was reserved for petty criminals and bankrupts.

[175] LUBERSAC 1775, 'Observations particulières', p. xxi.

the *Antiquarian repertory*, he warned scholars that they should exercise considerable discrimination in the choice of the pieces which were deemed worthy of inclusion in works of this type. He launched a harsh attack on those of his colleagues who were apparently incapable of distinguishing between objects suitable for investigation and those that were not. The criterion that should be applied in the choice of objects for a collection of antiquities is whether or not they are "illustrative of any point of history".[176] He thus discounted all items whose only merit was that they were old or had some connection, however tenuous, with an eminent historical figure:

> "Such is the Scull of Oliver Cromwell, preserved in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, and pieces of the Royal Oak, hoarded by many loyal old ladies. That Oliver had a scull and brains too would have been allowed without this proof; and those who have considered the Royal Oak do not, I believe, find it essentially different from the wood of a common kitchen table."[177]

The memory-by-association value of an object is thereby disallowed, as is its age. Grose then proceeded to underline his point by drawing an interesting analogy, and one whose connotations were certainly not lost in a country which, notwithstanding Voltaire's comments on the religious toleration existing there, still remained predominantly Anglican. For Grose had the following to say about Cromwell's skull and the Royal Oak: "These may be rather stiled Reliques than Pieces of Antiquity, and it is such trumpery that it is gibed at by the ridiculers of Antiquity".[178] Reliques, or relics, were objects of cult which were often regarded with considerable suspicion, hence Grose's use of the pejorative "trumpery", and the reverence accorded to them was thought to be motivated mainly by superstition. Furthermore, and herein lies the important point in this context, their historical authenticity could not be proved, and was not a significant criterion in the cult which had developed around them. Their status as objects of devotion relied solely upon the viewer's faith, entailing the refusal of any rational explanation or proof and relying merely on credulity. In much the same way as Grose as had done, and despite (or, maybe, as a result of) his Jesuit education, Millin was to express similar reservations with regard to the importance of such pieces. He developed

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[176] ANTIQUARIAN REPERTORY 1775, vol. 1 (1775), p. vii. It is perhaps worth noting at this point another piece by Grose which could explain some of his cautions to other scholars, one portraying a wife's complaints about her husband's obsession for antiquities: see GROSE 1792 (DOBAI 1975, vol. 2, p. 231).

[177] ANTIQUARIAN REPERTORY 1775, vol. 1 (1775), p. vii.

[178] ANTIQUARIAN REPERTORY 1775, vol. 1 (1775), p. vii. The entry 'relics' in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* reads as follows: "Relics, in the Romish church, the remains of the bodies of saints or martyrs, and the instruments by which they were put to death, devoutly preserved, in honour to their memory; kissed, revered, and carried in procession." See: ENCYCLOPAEDIA BRITANNICA 1771, vol. 3, p. 532.

even further than had Grose the dangers of accepting their testimony without attempting to question them by means of rational historical investigation, saying that:

> "Comment croire que la Vierge ait donné de son lait pour le conserver dans une bouteille, et devenir un jour une relique? Comment penser qu'elle ait pu en fournir une si grande quantité que celle qu'on expose à la vénération des fidèles. Les cheveux de Jésus-Christ sont si nombreux qu'on en feroit une perruque; mais si nous écoutons le jacobin Labat, qui ne croyoit qu'aux reliques et aux miracles des dominicains, la quantité de fer qu'on tireroit des clous de la croix est bien plus considérable; nous en ferions des canons."[179]

National archaeology

Hence, a much wider range of monuments could be and were indeed incorporated by Millin into his *Antiquités nationales*. One element has not as yet been considered, and that is the one of the temporal limits which he decided to fix. Nothing in the title suggests that there is to be any form of chronological limit set upon the book: no historical periods are privileged and, likewise, none are excluded. The only factor that is claimed to be of importance in the choice is that all of the objects discussed are relevant to the history of the "Empire François". Consultation of the list of the articles contained in the *Antiquités* does prove one fact, and this is that no pre-mediaeval building is to be found here. The conclusion to be drawn from this is that for Millin the concept of the French empire excluded any reference to the period before the incursion of the Franks. He thus distinguished himself from those of his predecessors who had paid attention to the Roman antiquities to be found on French soil. The most famous example of similar works which were published in the years preceding the Revolution was Clérisseau's luxurious work on the antiquities of Nîmes.[180] Classical ruins were certainly *à la mode* during the later decades of the eighteenth century: an artist such as Hubert Robert based much of his production on depictions of actual or imagined groups of classical monuments. Some of these were views of Rome and her buildings, based on the numerous studies which he had been able to execute during his period at the Académie de France in Rome **[Ill. 58]**.[181] Once he had returned to France, he continued with these scenes and also expanded his horizons to include similar scenes dominated by some of the most famous Roman ruins in Provence **[Ill. 59]**.[182] The *Encyclopédie* had pleaded for greater interest to be shown in

[179] ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 4 (1792), art. XLVI, p. 37, note 68.

[180] CLÉRISSEAU 1778.

[181] See, for a good discussion of this period, CAYEUX 1988.

[182] The series is now in the Louvre.

national antiquities, stating that it would be advantageous to institute the custom of having guides whom they call 'antiquaires' and whom they model on the *ciceroni* in Italy; the author of the article resists, nonetheless, any temptation to make any direct reference to the question of whether these guides should restrict their attention to monuments which postdated the Roman occupation. Millin, however, scrupulously avoided any mention of ancient art in his *Antiquités*. Large Roman buildings were certainly less common in the areas of France that he was covering than they were in the more southern départements, but it is also noticeable that even amongst the smaller objects described in the work, there is virtually no mention of any classical sculpture or antiquity, despite the fact that they were certainly present in a number of the buildings which he considers.[183] For Millin, therefore, the definition of the nation and, by association, of what was national was ethnic as opposed to territorial: it was not because a building or an object was to be found (or had been produced) on French soil that it could be counted as French. This determination to exclude classical antiquities was not either, as it may be imagined, one that was engrained in revolutionary thought and diligently followed by all of his contemporaries. Quite the opposite in fact: the use of classical models was enthusiastically accepted during much of the period, not least in the arts. Thus it was that in an institution based in Paris which also proclaimed as its chief mission the protection of monuments that were threatened by revolutionary vandalism – Alexandre Lenoir's Musée des Monumens français – and which can be seen as forming a museographical or 'concrete' parallel to Millin's book, classical antiquities were not only conserved, but also accorded a place in the display. Lenoir himself felt no need to justify the presence of these pieces in his museum, introducing the inventory of them with the simple words "commençons par les anciens peuples pour ouvrir la marche des siècles que nous avons à parcourir."[184] Gradually, these pieces were to be incorporated into the collections of the Musée Napoléon; even after their transfer, however, Lenoir was still to insist on maintaining a record of them in his catalogue, whilst commenting that his museum was intended to contain only "monumens faits par des auteurs français, ou relatifs à l'histoire de France" and that for that reason all the classical antiquities had been removed.[185] Millin did not hesitate to comment on this

[183] One exception to this is his mention of and illustration of the classical sculptures in Vincennes: ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 2 (1791), art. X, p. 71 & pl. 13.

[184] LENOIR 1798, p. 54.

[185] LENOIR 1810, p. [xiii]. For documents relating to the transfer of various objects, see ARCHIVES MMF 1883; for example, vol. 1 (1883), p. 73, document LXXVI (letter from Dufourny and Foubert, dated 19 germinal an V [April 8 1797], ordering the transfer of "tous les objets qui, n'étant point des monuments de notre histoire, peuvent convenir au Musée central.")

incorporation of classical pieces into what was officially a museum of French art. In a review of Lenoir's *Musée des Monumens français*, he was to say:

> "Nous voici arrivés à la partie essentielle de l'ouvrage, celle des monumens français; elle est précédée de quelques considérations sur les Celtes et sur les Gaulois, et de la figure de quelques monumens celtiques. Nous observerons que ces monumens ne devoient pas encore entrer dans la division des monumens français, puisqu'ils sont antérieurs à l'occupation de la Gaule par les Francs; et on ne peut pas plus les qualifier de monumens français, que les figures grecques ou romaines trouvées en France."[186]

This is one of Millin's clearest statements on the question of what was, in his eyes, French and would therefore be acceptable for inclusion in a work on French history, French antiquities or French art.

Britain had also known a period of Roman rule, and it is interesting to note the reaction of the various English authors to the question of the chronological limits which they wished to apply to their works. It could well be imagined that the Society of Antiquaries would have led the way in insisting on an ethnic as opposed to territorial understanding of the notion of English or British. This was, notwithstanding, far from the case: the study of vernacular architecture or indigenous artistic production was not the chief priority of those authors who were contributing to the earliest volumes of *Archaeologia*, where classical antiquities, be they those found in England or abroad, still took precedence. Douglas's *Nenia* also shows Roman tombs as well as those of the Britons and the Saxons. Quite opposed to this was the attitude of an author like Strutt, who remained much more faithful to an ethnic vision of national antiquities – he carefully defined the periods with which he was dealing and excluded any mention of antiquities created by the Romans. In his *Horda*, for example, the Britons, the Saxons and Anglo-Saxons, the Danes, Normans and English are considered, since all these groups had in Strutt's view contributed to the national stock. Similarly, in his other antiquarian treatises, he tends to begin his account with the Saxons. It is only in the *Chronicle*, more strictly speaking a purely historical work, that he is prepared to discuss the Roman occupation of Britain. Grose reveals an analagous bias towards the 'English' or 'British' tribes, seldom allowing a Roman object or remain into his books. All other national groupings were seen as having contributed to the national stock, but not the Romans.

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[186] ALM REVIEW LENOIR 1801, pp. 83–4.

This survey of some of the major features of Millin's vision of the study of national archaeology should have served to show that his claim in the prospectus that he was largely indebted to the English model should certainly be taken as true. That the anglomania prevalent in France for much of the eighteenth century, and which, ironically enough, Voltaire was one of the first to decry, could have infiltrated also the field of antiquarian research is scarcely surprising.[187] What is maybe less expected is the realization that the transmission of the model is not quite as simple as it may seem. It was definitely not the case that all the borrowings passed only in one direction – from England to France. One of Millin's English predecessors, Joseph Strutt, made no secret of the fact that he felt himself to be very indebted to his continental colleagues, or, to be more precise, to the French school.[188] He admits that earlier British authors inspired in him the wish to consult original documents and to discover what was contained therein, but he does not cite them as having provided his methodological model. When it came to devising the plan for his work it was rather to France that he turned. For, as he says, nothing similar had as yet been attempted in England, and "though this work is so very differently conducted, yet the original plan is the same with that of the celebrated Montfaucon's *Monarchie Francoise*."[189] This reference is also to be found in the title of the French translation of the work, where it is stated that this is an "Ouvrage [...] pouvant servir de suite aux Recueils de Montfaucon et de Caylus." And thus, by a rather elaborate set of intermediaries, a model has been passed from one side of the Channel to the other, only to return some years later through a translation, and then to be picked up and further developed by a revolutionary antiquary. Yet Millin eschews any mention of his French predecessors, the most obvious example of whom would certainly be Montfaucon, preferring to point his reader in the direction of a book which was, by the author's own avowal, heavily reliant on the Benedictine monk's five-volume work. Given the use of the phrase "antiquités nationales" by Millin it seems highly unlikely that he could have missed a reference to Montfaucon which was to be found on the same page of letter-press. It must surely have been for reasons of political expedience that he adopted this more than coy

[187] For Voltaire as an anglophobe see BESTERMAN 1976, pp. 131–42.

[188] More than a century earlier it was also the same case. The *Monasticon Anglicanum* was also based on a French model in some ways – or at least, according to Dodsworth, the inspiration for the work came from France.

[189] STRUTT 1775, vol. 1 (1775), p. ii. "Il est inutile d'observer que le plan en est le même que celui de la Monarchie Françoise du célèbre Pere Montfaucon, quoique l'exécution en soit différente": STRUTT 1789, vol. 1, p. v.

attitude with regard to his predecessor: in the opening years of the Revolution, when the treasures of the church were being declared to be *biens nationaux* and when the feudal system and the absolute monarchy had at last been overturned, it would scarcely have been advantageous for an author to state his intellectual debt to a book which on its title-page declared that the artistic works of the past were not only to be associated but even to be identified with the French monarchy.

An attempt to trace the cultural intermediations that were necessary to bring about this elaborate game of to-and-fro from one country to another is complicated. What would seem to be the case is that the English, tied very largely to a vision of antiquarian study as related solely to county histories, with one or two exceptions, found points of interest in Montfaucon's wish to trace the entire country's past in a visual history. It is to be wondered whether Strutt's inspiration was not drawn more from what Montfaucon was promising in the whole work that he had planned, as opposed to that which is to be found in the fragment that he did actually manage to produce. It is maybe from here that Strutt devised the plan of the social history as recounted by objects that he was to carry out in various of his works. This he then did, restricting also, as had done Montfaucon, his interest to the post-Roman period. Like Montfaucon he too drew heavily on visual evidence. Then this returned to the other side of the Channel and in Millin's hands, further enriched by elements that he had found in other English authors, mainly Grose, became a suitable vehicle for the production of a new national history of France and her monuments, a work written for the people and reflecting the history and the interests of the people.

Chapter 8.
THE ART OF DESCRIPTION

According to the promises made by Millin in the prospectus to his *Antiquités nationales*, an important element of his work was to be the descriptions of the buildings included in the book, accompanied by those of the various monuments and objects of interest that he found in each one. This was to be achieved by a combination of text and image, and he suggested that the utmost effort would be made in order to ensure that the resulting descriptions would remain as faithful as possible to the originals: "Rien ne sera négligé pour la représentation fidelle des objets et pour l'exactitude des descriptions."[1] This insistence on the significance of the descriptive matter in his book is subsequently reinforced by the very opening sentence of the first article, that on the Bastille, where Millin opens on the words "Nous serions inexcusables de commencer cette histoire des antiquités de l'empire françois, par la description d'un autre monument."[2] Given these promises, it is somewhat disconcerting to discover that more attention is paid to the history than to the appearance of each building or object. In this first article, for example, twenty-one pages are devoted to historical facts, anecdotes and speculation concerning the Parisian prison. It is only when he has concluded this section that Millin then turns his attention to the building itself, its appearance, structure and decoration. This is by no means an isolated case in the *Antiquités nationales*; in effect this chapter sets the tone for the whole work.

Before analysing the qualities or shortcomings of Millin's work, some preliminary observations about description do need to be made. What do we mean by description, and what are we expecting to be able to gain from its insertion in a text?[3] Any attempt to give a decent definition of the word description has often left linguists, grammarians and theoreticians in considerable embarrassment. As Philippe Hamon has so justly pointed out most people may well know what a description is but cannot actually define it: "Servant à définir et à caractériser, elle semble indéfinissable."[4] The *Concise Oxford Dictionary* offers the following definition: "Describing, verbal portrait(ure) of person, object, or event […],

[1] ALM ANTIQUITÉS PROSPECTUS 1790, p. 4.

[2] ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 1 (1790), art. I, p. 1.

[3] Studies of this question are certainly not lacking, and this section owes much to several of them. See especially the following works: HAMON 1972; HAMON 1979; HAMON 1991. See also ADAM 1993.

[4] HAMON 1979, p. 9; see also HAMON 1972, p. 465.

more or less complete definition." In the *Vocabulaire d'esthétique* the emphasis is slightly different: "Discours, oral ou écrit, qui dépeint un objet avec des mots, en détaillant les traits qui caractérisent son aspect ou sa nature."[5] The latter work is far more inclined to attribute the notion of veracity to a description – by means of it an object is translated into words and its appearance or nature are transmitted to the reader or listener. The *Oxford Dictionary* is more cautious in its choice of words, allowing that a description is a form of portraiture, of representation of a person or thing, but then adding the rider that it is more or less a definition. Not counting as a trope, description is usually seen as one of the possible forms of *amplificatio* in a text.[6] Many rhetorical treatises do not devote an individual section to it; for example, Hermogenes places it among the 'Exercices préparatoires', following it with a note to the effect that it is not always included even here: "Il faut savoir que certains théoriciens parmi les plus stricts n'ont pas fait de la description un exercice, sous prétexte qu'elle est déjà employée dans la fable, le récit, le lieu commun et l'éloge […]".[7]

According to these definitions of the nature and function of a description, it thus becomes clear that its author should, by a just choice of words and of details included and explained, allow the reader to visualize, to appreciate and to understand an object, a monument, a building. As has been commented recently, "Une bonne description constitue un enjeu considérable. Par sa double fonction sémantique et critique, elle est l'instance à partir de laquelle une véritable intelligibilité de l'œuvre est rendue possible."[8] The attendant difficulties are further enhanced by the need to tailor the description to the genre of the text in which it is inserted and the audience for which it is intended. If a description, be it of an object, a person or an event, is to function well in a text it must fulfil two criteria, those of *docere* (instruction) and of *delectare* (pleasure). Whilst the former may seem to be of primordial importance, the latter could be considered as rather frivolous. The importance of *delectare* should nonetheless not be underestimated; even the most diligent and conscientious reader is likely to be deterred by tedious and arid passages, replete with technical and unfamiliar vocabulary. Descriptions should thus be interesting to read, capturing the reader's

[5] SOURIAU 1990, pp. 564–5.

[6] HAMON 1979, p. 9.

[7] HERMOGENES 1997, 23, 15, p. 149. (περι εκφρασεως. Ιστεον δε ως των ακριβεστεων τινες ουκ εθηκαν την εκφρασιν εις γυμνασμα ως προειλημενην και εν μυθω και εν διηγηματι και εν πονω κοινω και εν εγκωμιω: HERMOGENES 1985, p. 23).

[8] RECHT 1998, 'Introduction', p. 17.

or listener's attention, and providing enough detail, couched in a readable language and style, to facilitate the second function, that of *docere*. Under the concept of *docere* it should be understood that a description allows the reader to form a mental image of the object, person or event being described. Both the whole and its component parts and the relation between them have to be clearly expressed. Singular features must be mentioned and explained. There is, according to the genre of text in which the descriptive passage is inserted, a lesser or greater need for absolute precision. By which it should be understood that a description of a building or of a work of art in a novel by, for example, Balzac does not need to respond to exactly the same demands as does a description of a building or of a work of art by an antiquary such as Millin. In the first case the building, for example, serves as a setting for the events of the novel and the description should enable the reader to gain a sense of atmosphere and of the backdrop against which the scene is being played. A certain amount of leeway is left to the individual reader to form the mental image which he or she pleases, no doubt based in part on buildings of this type which they have already seen. It is not essential to either the understanding or the appreciation of the text that two readers see in their mind's eye exactly the same architectural environment. In an antiquarian or an architectural history text, however, the description should be such that all readers are going to construct exactly the same image of a building, an image that corresponds in turn to the architectural reality. In other words, instead of allowing for the construction of *an* image of *a* castle, the academic text must provide the details necessary for the construction of *the* image of *the* castle.

Such a requirement is all the more essential in the case of Millin, given the very particular circumstances under which he was writing the book, against a background of aggressive vandalism in France. Not since the time of the Reformation had France's art works and monuments been under such threat of destruction, and one recurrent theme in the prospectus for the *Antiquités* is this danger; Millin claims to be offering a possible solution to the potential losses. Aware that there is a "foule d'objets intéressans pour les arts et pour l'histoire, qui ne peuvent être transportés, et qui seront infailliblement bientôt détruits ou dénaturés", he proposes his work as one possible response, stating that these "sont ces monumens précieux que nous avons formé le dessein d'enlever à la faux destructive du temps."[9] There is no pretence here that this is going to be anything other than a merely passable solution since Millin is entirely realistic about the situation. He opens the prospectus with the observation that many of the treasures confiscated from the Church have already

[9] ALM ANTIQUITÉS PROSPECTUS 1790, p. 2.

been sold and that, although the proceeds are doubtless going to be invested in projects which will be to the profit of the nation, this sale proves to be "très-funeste aux arts et aux sciences, en détruisant des productions du génie et des monumens historiques, qu'il seroit intéressant de conserver."[10] Despite the, admittedly rather tardy, intervention of the Commission des monuments, it is clear that some pieces will be destroyed and it is to these that Millin will give priority in his book. As for the others, those that can be moved to another place, and which will therefore still be on display in the future, "nous nous contenterons d'indiquer les lieux où ils auront été placés."[11] Two pages later, after laying out the major aims of his work, he then makes the promise with regard to the accuracy of his descriptions: "Rien ne sera négligé pour la représentation fidelle des objets et pour l'exactitude des descriptions; [...]."[12]

The claims made by Millin are thus ambitious: he is hoping, within his book, to be able to present an accurate description and representation of a number of buildings and monuments that are at risk from vandalism. Even if these objects are subsequently destroyed, he will have provided, through his words and images, a lasting record of them. There was every chance, and he was all too aware of this fact, that the pieces would not survive and that, therefore, his work would represent a type of written repository in which are to be found the necessary details allowing readers not only of his own generation but also of posterity to see pieces that were no longer in physical existence. There is here an almost indissoluble link between description and conservation: the latter demands the former, and the former gains considerably in stature because of a perceived risk of the latter occurring. Without some awareness of the dangers posed by potential loss, the notion of description is arguably significantly different. As Roland Recht has recently pointed out:

> "Le statut de la description s'est considérablement modifié à partir du moment où une société donnée a pris conscience de l'enjeu patrimonial. C'est en s'intéressant aux œuvres d'art comme témoins d'un passé national ou même regional, comme supports de mémoire, que s'est manifesté un double souci: celui de nommer et celui de conserver."[13]

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[10] ALM ANTIQUITÉS PROSPECTUS 1790, p. 1. He continues by stating that some pieces have already been irretrievably lost: "la preuve existe que déjà des Tableaux précieux ont été détournés, et que des Bibliothèques entières ont été vendues à l'encan."

[11] ALM ANTIQUITÉS PROSPECTUS 1790, p. 2. The reader who imagines that Millin will therefore provide a handy reference to the subsequent destination, at least during the period of the Revolution, of these monuments is sadly disappointed. Only rarely does Millin indicate that, for example, a tomb has been rehoused in Lenoir's Musée des Monumens français.

[12] ALM ANTIQUITÉS PROSPECTUS 1790, p. 4.

[13] RECHT 1998, 'Introduction', p. 16.

A consciousness of the national heritage was already beginning to take shape towards the end of the eighteenth century, and the events of the revolutionary decade were scarcely likely to hamper this movement.[14]

What must be examined at this point is quite what Millin understood by description, and which were his own self-imposed guidelines. Once again, in the absence of any methodological statement in the *Antiquités* themselves, it is to the *Dictionnaire des Beaux-Arts* that one must turn in order to gain any idea of Millin's understanding of this literary device and the way in which, according to him, an author should present such passages.

> "DESCRIPTION. Récit de tout ce qu'une chose peut offrir d'intéressant et de curieux: on joint quelquefois au discours la représentation des choses décrites, telles sont les descriptions de Rome, de Paris; les descriptions de palais, de fêtes publiques, etc.; celles de plusieurs collections de tableaux, de statues, de gravures. Les descriptions pour être bien faites, doivent être justes, précises, n'indiquer que ce qui mérite véritablement la peine d'être distingué: elles différent des Catalogues en ce que ceux-ci ne sont qu'une simple nomenclature des objets: pour faire une bonne description des objets d'art, il faut connoître toutes les parties de l'art et les sciences qui y ont rapport."[15]

This is a clear and good definition of the word, touching upon most of the major points. A good description will, according to Millin, be accurate and precise, will avoid all details that could be dismissed as extraneous to the main subject, and can benefit from being combined with illustrations ("la représentation des choses décrites"); by this last phrase he presumably means engravings.

One statement is particularly worthy of attention here, underscoring as it does quite how complicated was the task that Millin was setting for himself when he composed the *Antiquités*. At the end of the article, he comments that in order to be able to produce an accurate description of any artistic work, an author should master all the elements of the crafts and technology that are related to it and its production. When read in the context of the promises made about the *Antiquités nationales*, the sheer magnitude of the task thus awaiting him becomes much more evident. For, he was not prepared to limit himself to one particular type of artistic production, but hoped rather to write a book which would be much more encyclopaedic in its scope. As was seen in the last chapter, he set one sole definite limit to his work, that of the ethnic authenticity of the objects which he would count as worthy of

[14] GUILLERME 1965; see also, on the eighteenth-century fear of the potential loss of the cultural heritage, GOULEMOT 1996.

[15] ALM DICTIONNAIRE 1806, vol. 1, p. 429.

consideration: only pieces created by the French nation were to be included in the *Antiquités*. But he was, as is made quite clear in the title of the work and in the prospectus, hoping to be able to include not only buildings but also their contents, be they sculptures, paintings, metalwork, stained-glass windows and others. Nor, and this was also important, was he prepared to restrict himself only to what could be classed as a 'masterpiece' or as a work of art. By his insistence on the importance of any object which could serve as a witness to the past, what he chose to designate a 'monument historique', he was in effect greatly widening the range of the pieces about which he would be writing, and which he would therefore need to be describing and representing. If he were really to honour the claims that he made, then he would need to be able to produce a good record of any object that he found and that merited mention inasmuch as it represented a testimony to, as he said, the "vie privée des françois".[16] This would be equally the case for a humble cooking-pot and for an ornate funeral sculptural ensemble. According to his discussion of the word 'description' in the *Dictionnaire des Beaux-Arts*, he would consequently be required to possess knowledge about each of the artefacts, its use and its fabrication, and to master the requisite vocabulary.

It is true that sixteen years separate the first articles of the *Antiquités nationales*, his first publication which dealt with the fine arts, from the *Dictionnaire des Beaux-Arts*. During that time Millin had worked extensively in the field of the arts and archaeology and it is possible that his methods and his ideas had undergone some modification. Such is undoubtedly the case but, unfortunately, there is scant other evidence as to Millin's theoretical stance on the question of description. The only other possibility open to us, and one that must certainly be exploited here, is the examination of his own earlier or contemporary writings. There is one obvious obstacle, which is that none of these had been in the field of art, architectural or monumental history. Before the *Antiquités nationales*, Millin's only experience of writing about artefacts and historical objects had been that of the translation of various texts from English for the *Transactions*. Admittedly, this did presumably permit him to acquaint himself with and master the large vocabulary necessary for the verbal depiction of a wide variety of objects. Yet, and this should not be forgotten, his only experience in descriptive writing of his own composition until this time had been in the natural sciences. It is for this reason that it is important to consider these texts, in an attempt to see how Millin approached the portrayal of objects in this particular domain.

[16] ALM ANTIQUITÉS PROSPECTUS 1790, p. 2.

In effect, scientific writing is of very great significance for the whole question of description at this time, and not solely because of the very particular circumstances of Millin's own life and academic interests.[17] The great reference work of the eighteenth century, Diderot and d'Alembert's *Encyclopédie*, devoted a tripartite article to the question. Contrary to the expectations of a twenty-first century reader, it is not literary description that takes precedence here; description in the natural sciences is granted the first, and thus presumably most important, place. And the author of this article, Louis-Jean-Marie Daubenton, was a participant in a heated debate during the second half of the eighteenth century which pitted against one another two of the great exponents of natural-history writing, Georges-Louis Leclerc, comte de Buffon, and Carolus Linnaeus. The former, author of the *Histoire naturelle, générale et particulière*, undertook his famous and influential work not only in order to produce a synthesis of the knowledge of the time concerning natural history, but also to provide a counterexample to the works of Linnaeus who, according to Buffon and other representatives of the French school, was too insistent on the notions of system and classification, expressing them in a terse and concise prose, sometimes without due concern for stylistic and descriptive considerations. Buffon, on the contrary, was renowned for his descriptive prowess, to such an extent that he has been accused of concerning himself overly with style, occasionally at the expense of accuracy.[18]

The influence exercised by the natural sciences on literature should certainly not be underestimated. In 1804 a manual of French literature was published, edited by François-Joseph Noël and Guislain François Marie Joseph de La Place. This work, entitled *Leçons françaises de littérature et de morale, ou recueil, en prose et en vers, des plus beaux morceaux de notre langue dans la Littérature des deux derniers siècles*, was intended for use in schools, and aimed, in the editors' words, to present models for text composition in "les parties de composition les plus difficiles, et qui demandent le plus de soin […]."[19] Amongst the literary devices examined by the editors is that of description, for which a total of forty-seven exemplary texts were presented. Of these, those which deal with natural phenomena or objects represent a total of thirty-three, with two additional ones devoted to mythical creatures. Of the thirty-three, twenty-two are drawn from academic works in the natural

[17] For an examination of the importance of scientific description in relation to other disciplines during the eighteenth century see REYNAUD 1990.

[18] He was the author of a *Discours sur le style*, presented as his 'discours de récéption' on his election at the Académie française in 1753: for a recent edition see BUFFON 1992.

[19] NOËL & DE LA PLACE 1804, Préface, p. [v].

sciences, by Bailly, Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, Cuvier, Lacepède and Buffon. The last, so important in the French school, is represented by twelve articles, that is just over one quarter of the total number of examples of 'good' description.

When considered in this context, against the background of the increasing attention which was being paid in the French school to description in the field of the natural sciences, it is interesting to see that Millin, a convinced disciple of the Linnaean school, remained faithful in his scientific writings to the methods of his master and was largely to eschew the descriptive passages favoured by his compatriots. In the *Élémens d'histoire naturelle* (composed during 1793–4) each mineral, plant or animal is accorded an individual entry; here the descriptions are of the briefest. Daubenton may well be cited in the preface as being one of the models for the work, but his significance for Millin is clearly restricted exclusively to the notion of classification.[20] Comparison of the attention accorded to an animal by Millin and by his predecessors does prove to be revealing in this respect. In the *Élémens*, a lion is presented in the following words: "Le col de ce terrible animal est ombragé par une ample crinière. Sa queue est terminée par un floccon de poils; c'est le plus redoubtable de tous les mammifères par sa force et son courage; il ne se trouve qu'en Afrique et en Asie."[21] Buffon, on the other hand, devotes much more text to his description of the same beast. The following quotations, chosen because they deal with the same details as Millin, reveal these differences in a very telling manner: "Le lion a la tête très-grosse [...], le long poil du dessus de la tête cache la partie supérieure du front, & le raccourcit, ce qui met d'autant plus en évidence la grosseur du mufle; [...] La crinière qui surcharge la partie antérieure du corps, semble laisser à nu la partie postérieure, et la rendre trop peu étoffée".[22] This is but a short extract from a longer and more detailed article, and yet it is already far superior to the entire representation which Millin gave. Much the same is to be found in the *Minéralogie homérique*, where the descriptions of the various minerals mentioned by Homer are anything but comparable with those offered in analogous publications by the disciples of Buffon.

[20] "Les substances inorganiques (les minéraux) sont rangées d'après la méthode de Daubenton"; "Je range les poisons selon la position de leurs nageoires, d'après la méthode de Linnéus, rectifiée par Daubenton": ALM ÉLÉMENS 1796A, vol. 1, p. viii & p. xiv.

[21] ALM ÉLÉMENS 1796A, vol. 2, pp. 28–9.

[22] BUFFON 1749, vol. 9 (1761), pp. 26–7; quoted by REYNAUD 1990, p. 356.

Description in Millin's *Antiquités nationales*

Such then was the practice and the vision of description as a literary device at the end of the eighteenth century. The two major fields which were considered important were those of the natural sciences and antiquities. Bearing this in mind, and conscious of the fact that Millin himself was already an exponent of the one and now attempting to become a practitioner of the second, it is his texts in the *Antiquités* that must be examined. One further point which should not be lost from sight is that of the circumstances under which the work was being written, and the author's avowed aim to ensure that even in the case of the buildings' and monuments' destruction, an accurate record of them would have been conserved by means of the text and the accompanying images.

The range of objects contained in the book is, as he promised, great. The text is divided into sixty-one articles, each one of which is devoted either to one building, to a group of buildings or to a town. Each article tends to follow a rather standard pattern; the author opens with a history of the building or area in question, then moves on to its description, taking care to indicate any object worthy of interest therein to be found, and then finishes with, where relevant, a list of the important personalities connected with the building and its history. In the case of a monastery, for example, this takes the form of a list of the abbots. This, it will be remembered, was very much the model established by Gaignières for the antiquarians of the community of Saint-Maur when they turned their attention to local history and the composition of texts on the buildings or objects of interest in a region.[23] Thus there are, throughout the course of the work, descriptions of buildings, of towns and of individual objects and works of art. Since the text is articulated around the buildings, and since in the prospectus some emphasis is certainly laid on the need for descriptions of these buildings, then it would seem sensible to begin with this, choosing certain examples from the work. In order better to appreciate what he achieved, the difficulties that he faced and his attempts to resolve them, it will be necessary to compare his work with other writers of the time, and also those who were working before him.

At the very end of the first volume of the *Antiquités*, Millin presents an article on the church of Saint-Denis de la Chartre. Unfortunately, and this is all too often a feature of the descriptions of buildings given by Millin, no real attempt is made to place the church in its urban setting. At the head of the article is to be found, as is always the case, a brief formula which allows for its localization within one quarter of Paris: "Département et District de Paris.

[23] *Supra*, ch. 6, p. 233, note 155.

Section de Notre-Dame". During the course of the article very few further indications are given. Only in the very last paragraph are the following details to be found: the house in which lived the religious community attached to Saint-Denis de la Chartre overlooked the river ("donne sur la rivière") and its main entrance was to be found on the rue des Ursins.[24] Such lacunary topographical indications do certainly plague the *Antiquités nationales*, and are all the more frustrating given that Millin does not group his buildings by quarters in Paris or follow any recognizable itinerary, as had done many of his predecessors when writing their guide-books to the city. Given that much of Paris's urban fabric has been altered quite considerably, not only through the revolutionary destructions, but also because of later periods of transformation, it is not always easy to replace the buildings described into their late-eighteenth century context. The impression that is given on these occasions is that this was a book written by a Parisian with a largely Parisian audience in view.

The setting of the building is thus maybe not given in sufficient detail, but when Millin turns his attention to the church itself, the description proves to be much richer. He begins, logically, with a passage on the first element of the building's structure that a visitor would see, the west front. He explains that the forecourt had, after the church's construction, been raised, and that for this reason it is necessary to descend in order to enter the building. In a short passage he points out the major details of the front, stating that the entrance

> "consiste en une porte en tiers point, soutenue sur les côtés par deux petites colonnes, et dans le milieu par un massif sur lequel est une vierge tenant l'enfant Jésus dans ses bras: au-dessus sont les armes de France et de Navarre, qui ont été ajoutées dans un temps plus moderne.
>
> "Sur cette porte est une grande vitre devant laquelle sont des statues vieilles et grossières, qui représentent le martyre de saint-Denis. On voit à gauche le saint que le bourreau va attacher à un poteau; à droite le saint est représenté au moment de la décollation. Le vêtement du bourreau, et l'instrument qu'il tient dans la main, peuvent servir à indiquer comment cette exécution se faisoit alors. Le bourreau, au lieu d'un sabre, se servoit d'une espèce de couperet semblable à celui de nos charcutiers. Il a au côté gauche un fourreau pour reposer cet instrument de mort.
>
> "Au milieu est saint Denis décollé, mais il n'a pas pour cela perdu la tête, il la tient dans ses mains."[25]

Here the main facts are clearly given, sprinkled with a dose of typically Millinesque caustic humour concerning Saint Denis who may well have been beheaded but has certainly not lost

[24] "La maison qui sert au logement des religieux est fort simple; elle donne sur la rivière: la grande porte étoit sur la rue des Ursins: on y entroit aussi par une petite porte, à côté de l'église": ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 1 (1790), art. VII, p. 8.

[25] ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 1 (1790), art. VII, p. 4.

his head. The text already serves to give an accurate idea of the appearance and style of the west front. The reader gains a good impression of the relative positions of the two major architectural elements, the door and the window, and is then given more precise and detailed information concerning more specific architectural and decorative features – the form of the door and the sculptures which ornament both it and the window. Millin's passage can then be compared with and checked against an image of this same west front, presented in an engraving facing the text itself **[Ill. 60]**.

Hereupon follows a description of the interior of the church. Whilst any clear verbal depiction of the nave and the choir is almost nonexistent – Millin makes a very brief reference to the fact that the church was rebuilt in 1665, that some stained-glass windows have been lost and that the choir contains "stalles fort simples, et de vieilles tapisseries qui repésentent l'histoire et le miracle de saint Denis" – there is substantially more information provided concerning a twelfth-century statue that had recently been found in one of the walls of the building and, more particularly, to the high altar, a work by Michel Anguier. First of all Millin describes the structure of the tabernacle itself, "un espèce de dome supporté par de belles colonnes", before turning his attention to the main figure groups represented. All of the elements are mentioned and described in considerable detail: on either side is to be found an angel, "de grandeur naturelle", and in the centre, between the columns, is to be found the main figure group representing Jesus and the saints Denis, Rustique and Éleuthère; the iconography of the scene is explained, and then an inscription adjacent to the altar is transcribed. Once again the addition of an engraving provides an interesting visual counterpoint and comparison **[Ill. 37]**.

The final part of the building to which Millin devotes some lines of his text is to be found beneath the church, "ce qu'on appelle l'église basse", a form of crypt. This was supposedly the prison where Saint Denis was held and which justified the name of the church since the French word 'chartre' was a synonym for 'prison'. Once again the description provided by Millin, much as was the case with the west front, is impressive in terms of the amount of detail that is given and the manner in which he manages by means of his text to render visible both the space and the arrangement of the major features:

> "Au-dessous de l'église est ce qu'on appelle l'église basse: […].
>
> "On trouve à l'entrée de cette église une grosse porte de fer […]: entré dans le souterrain même, on voit en face la chapelle sur laquelle on pretend que saint Denis a dit la messe. L'autel est placé sur un puits, il est d'un travail grossier mais très-moderne. Le groupe représente saint Denis prêchant la foi en France. Le petit Cicerone qui fait voir la prison prétendue, montre à droite les chaînes qui ont servi à retenir le saint prisonnier; plus loin une niche dans laquelle, dit-il, on lui mettoit

> ses alimens: plus haut est une lucarne par où le jour pénètre, […]. A côté de l'autel est une petite grille […]; il y en a un autre par laquelle on regarde dans le puits qui est sous l'autel. […]
>
> "A gauche de l'autel est un relief gothique […].
>
> "Près de la porte à gauche est une grosse pierre percée dans le milieu, comme pour y metre le cou d'un homme et ayant des trous pour y passer des cordes. […] Cette Pierre est encore accompagnée de grosses chaînes […]."[26]

This passage proves to be vastly superior to that which was written about the upper church. Within the space of only four paragraphs, Millin has managed to present all of the most important features of the lower church – the heavy door, reminiscent of that found in a prison, the altar, the chains, the sculpture, the niches set into the wall and the window – and, most importantly, he has done this in a way which allows the reader to understand the relative positions of each item and thus to visualize the space which the author is depicting. A plate allows for these details to be checked and further complements the textual description **[Ill. 61]**.

A comparison with the earlier authors who provided accounts of the same building serves to reinforce the impression that Millin has managed to provide a description of this church that furnishes far more in the way of important details on the church and on its contents than did his predecessors. Germain Brice, in a short passage mentioning the church, offers the most important facts about the history of the institution, but little about the appearance of the building itself. For example, he makes only the most allusive of references to the lower church, or the crypt, stating merely that there was "un cachot obscur qui s'y voit encore."[27] The only element that he deigns to mention in the main church is the high altar, and here he does add one important fact which Millin did not include, that the angels to be found on either side of this were designed by Sarazin and sculpted in wood. Dézallier d'Argenville in his *Voyage pittoresque* finds nothing to say about the building itself and makes only the most desultory of references to the high altar in this building, stating that "Un grand bas-relief de stuc, sculpté par François Anguier, tient lieu de tableau au Maître Autel; c'est Notre-Seigneur qui communie dans la prison S. Denis & ses compagnons."[28] Dulaure is far more sparing with the historical facts concerning the religious institution, its foundation and its status, but manages, in a concise and elegant passage, to inform the reader that there is

[26] ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 1 (1790), art. VII, pp. 7–8.

[27] BRICE 1752, vol. 4, p. 277 (= BRICE 1971, p. 522).

[28] DÉZALLIER D'ARGENVILLE 1757, p. 18.

an upper and lower church, and that in the former is to be found a work by Anguier, whilst in the latter is to be seen a large stone which served as one of the instruments used to torture Saint Denis. None of these authors manages to provide such a wealth of detail as is to be found under the pen of Millin; their descriptions are very limited, scarcely allowing the reader to imagine either the exterior or the interior of the building and none of them is accompanied by any images illustrating and complementing the verbal analysis.

On other occasions, nonetheless, the attention paid to a building leaves much to be desired. Such, at least, is the impression is to be gained from reading the article on the church of the Cordeliers in Mantes which opens the third volume; a paraphrase of the descriptive material contained over the seven pages proves to contain insufficient details to allow for any clear mental picture of this church to be formed. The following quotations represent all that can be said about the building itself.

> "L'église des Cordeliers est petite et de peu d'apparence. Il y a, dans le porche, quelques tombes plates (p. 1); […] La porte du couvent est très-simple; au milieu est une statue de saint Bonaventure, vêtu en cardinal. Au-dessus on lit [une] inscription; […] L'intérieur de l'église est très-propre; la nef est petite; on n'y remarque qu'une épitaphe. […] A gauche étoit une grande chapelle, sur les vitraux de laquelle on voyoit [des] figures gravées (p. 4). […] Le chœur est séparé de la nef par une grille de fer: il est très-propre; les stalles sont ornés de figures grotesques, comme ceux de Saint-Spire. Le tabernacle est d'une très-belle forme; il est composé de six colonnes d'ordre corinthien (p. 5). […] Au milieu du chœur est une grande tombe plate de marbre noir, sur laquelle est gravée une figure. […] Auprès de la porte qui va du chœur dans le cloître, on lit [une] épitaphe (p. 6). […] Le cloître est extrêmement petit: on y lit les épitaphes de plusieurs frères et pères de ce couvent. […] Dans l'enclos du couvent des Cordeliers, on voit encore des souterrains et de vieux vestiges de la clôture de l'ancienne ville (Mantes-l'Eau) […] (p. 7)."[29]

Whilst the building type is stated, there is no attempt to give even the most general of commentaries on the style, leaving the reader incapable of deciding whether or not this is a mediaeval or a renaissance church. This omission is all the more blatant since the historical part of the text provides equally sparse details: no clear indication is given of the date when the building work was begun. Apparently the convent was founded during the thirteenth century but this does not mean that the building which Millin himself is describing dates to this period. He further confuses the issue by stating very casually that the monastery increased in size and that there were a number of important changes during the early part of the sixteenth century. Whether or not these actually affected the fabric of the building is,

[29] ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 3 (1791), art. XXIV, pp. 1–7.

however, not clarified. Closer examination of the few details that Millin does provide unfortunately yields dubious results. The mention of "figures grotesques" on the stalls in the choir points the reader in the direction of a mediaeval décor, and thus, probably, of a mediaeval construction. Against this must be balanced the fact that the tabernacle, also in the choir, is formed of six columns in the Corinthian order. Classical and mediaeval architecture thus sit side by side: a reader who is not familiar with the basics of ecclesiastical architecture and more particularly with the accretive nature of these buildings, often displaying little, if any, respect for the notion of stylistic conformity, will experience great difficulty in conjuring up a mental image of the Cordeliers in Mantes. The articulation of the interior spaces is very vaguely hinted at, and, once again, it is when dealing with individual objects of interest to be found within the church that Millin provides very good passages of description, most especially in terms of the verbal depiction of the tombs to be found in the building, which are in turn complemented by an engraving **[Ill. 62]**.

Some other articles seem likewise to provide only the very minimum in descriptive material, or, rather, they certainly do not correspond to the promises made in their title. Such is, for example, the article entitled the 'Ancien château de Corbeil' **[Ill. 63]**. The reader who is expecting to find a finely-wrought text describing the vestiges of a mediaeval castle, probably imbued with the romantic and melancholic sentiment which was so often a feature of any literary passages on ruins at the end of the eighteenth century, is soon disappointed.[30] This is all the more notable since Millin's first foray into such territory, in the chapter on the Tour de Montlhéry was much more in keeping with the usual treatment of ruins.[31] The article on Corbeil covers twenty-three pages; at the foot of page fifteen is to be found the following phrase: "[…] c'est à son extrémité [du grand pont] qu'on apperçoit les ruines du château de Corbeil, et ces ruines sont en partie cachés par les maisons qui ont été construites autour, et auxquels plusieurs pans des anciens murs servent d'appui."[32] Throughout the rest of the text there are a few scattered and meagre references to the town itself and to the most important buildings to be found there; with the exception of these few phrases, the entire chapter amounts to a history of the castle and a series of anecdotes concerning the most important historical figures connected with it and the town.

[30] On ruins see especially MORTIER 1974 and JUNOD 1997.

[31] ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 1 (1790), art. II.

[32] ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 2 (1791), art. XV, p. 15.

Not that all attempts by Millin were doomed to similar failure. For example, the town of Vernon is presented in a much more sympathetic fashion. Several attempts are made to locate the most important structures. The reader is also helped considerably by the fact that Millin provides a double-page plate **[Ill. 64]** which represents the town well, and makes efforts to refer to this as often as possible throughout this article. Even so, it is unlikely that, after reading this article, Charles Nodier could have been as full of praise as he was about a text that caused him to pen the following enthusiastic reaction:

> "[…] comme je lisais dans la *Revue* une description de Saint-Etienne ou plutôt comme je visitais cette ville de Saint-Etienne dans un numéro de la *Revue*; car je suis sûr maintenant d'avoir vû Saint-Etienne, d'avoir parcouru ses rues noires et retentissantes, à la lueur des forges et au bruit des marteaux, et d'avoir circulé à travers la foule occupée de ses robustes et laborieux citoyens."[33]

These few words capture admirably the power of a description. Nodier was able, thanks to the text which appeared in a newspaper, not only to read about a town but also to wander around it, albeit mentally. The words, the phrases, the evocations of a town that the reader had not yet seen allowed him to leave his room in Paris and to find himself mentally transported to this other place. The text hereby became the substitute for a visit.

It would certainly be unfair to give the impression that Millin was entirely consistent in the poor quality of his descriptions of buildings as opposed to monuments: there are certain articles where he provides extensive and highly detailed descriptions not only of the individual objects that he found in a building, but also of the building itself. Examples of this are the church of the Oratoire in Paris, and Vincennes. The church de l'Oratoire, rue Saint-Honoré, is accorded several long passages of description, which prove, by Millin's standards, to be remarkable. Building materials are identified, mention is made of architectural styles, a good idea of the articulation of the spaces is offered. Similar observations can be made about the Donjon of Vincennes; many details are given that are essential for an understanding of the architectural form and history of the building. Individual rooms are described in some detail, and a clear impression of the articulation of the spaces can also be gained from these pages. After an introduction to the building, explaining the approach to it and the courtyard, Millin then turns his attention to the tower itself, and provides the following explanation of the interior:

> "Ce donjon est d'une hauteur considerable; sa forme est carrée: il a quatre tours à ses angles.

[33] Charles Nodier, "Littérature moderne", in *La Revue de Paris*, no. 6, 1829, pp. 198–202; quoted in HAMON 1991, p. 100.

> "Il est divisé en cinq étages auxquels on monte par un escalier en volute, dont la hardiesse est étonnante.
>
> "Chacun des étages est entièrement voûté, il est compose d'une grande salle carrée, soutenue au milieu par un énorme pillier, et dans laquelle il y a une immense cheminée. Cette salle a, à chacun de ses quatre coins, une prison de treize pieds en tout sens, avec une cheminée."[34]

A comparable precision of detail is to be found elsewhere in the pages devoted to this building, and the reader's overall impression is that he has in some way visited Vincennes. The cynical reader may well believe, with some justification as it turns out, that this is not entirely coincidental. As a general rule, in the *Antiquités* the buildings that are the best described are those which had already been covered by earlier authors. Vincennes had attracted a considerable amount of attention, and the descriptions of it were quite precise, furnishing all the details that Millin here includes. The other example quoted above, that of the Oratoire, is an even more flagrant example of Millin's reliance on other authors for his descriptive passages: as was seen in a previous chapter these paragraphs can be styled as nothing more or less than plagiarism of the article on the church in Hurtaut's *Dictionnaire*.[35]

One of the innovations on which Millin prided himself particularly in his presentation of the *Antiquités* in the prospectus was that he was going to distinguish his work from that of his predecessors inasmuch as he was intending to pay attention to more humble objects, those which could not have been viewed as 'monuments' in terms of the eighteenth-century definition of that term. As was seen in the previous chapter, he did often make a point of enumerating all of the tombs that he saw in a building rather than focusing his attention merely on the most ornate and important pieces and then paying little more than lip service to, for instance, simpler funerary slabs with a dismissive "mais il faudroit un volume, si on vouloit les decrire tous: il suffira donc d'avoir parlé de ceux des personnes les plus illustres" as had Hurtaut.[36] Individual pieces do often merit lengthy passages, a fact which is evinced by, for example, his description of the major tombs in churches. When dealing with the Célestins he presents the most important tombs in passages that show an impressive command both of descriptive text and of the combination of word and image. On coming to Germain

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[34] ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 2 (1791), art. X, pp. 33–4. Millin, however, who claims to be giving a faithful account of a building which might be destroyed must provide enough detail for the reader to be able to imagine the type of vault, be it a barrel, a groin, a rib or a fan vault: The Vincennes passage, for all its precision, fails on this point: Millin just uses the word "voûté" . Merely touching upon a salient feature without giving more precise facts is insufficient in this case.

[35] See *supra*, ch. 6, pp. 220–2; HURTAUT 1779, vol. 3, pp. 682–9, esp. pp. 683–5.

[36] HURTAUT 1779, vol. 1 (1779), p. 133.

Pilon's 'Three Graces' **[Ill. 65]**, Millin is fairly scrupulous in his attention to detail. He first fixes its position relatively accurately, stating that it is near the tomb of Philippe Chabot and is just opposite an altar: "près du tombeau de Philippe Chabot, en face de l'autel, au milieu de ces statues gothiques […]."[37] After this he turns his attention to the monument itself, stating that it is composed of a "piédestal richement orné d'enfans, de feuilles d'acanthe, de pattes de lion et de têtes de belier" which "supporte trois jeunes filles de la plus grande beauté." These three figures are identified as being the three Graces, and he continues his text by commenting that they are

> "de marbre et d'un seul bloc: elles se tiennent par les mains, ainsi que les anciens nous les ont décrites […]. Les Grâces de Germain Pilon sont les Grâces décentes: elles ne sont pas entièrement vêtues, mais elles ne sont pas nues. Leurs proportions sont si justes, leurs têtes si belles, qu'on ne peut se lasser de les regarder. […] Elles portent une urne de bronze, surmontée d'une fleur de lis, et soutenue sur leur tête par trois dauphins."[38]

Such then are the details given by Millin. Comparison of his version with those provided by other authors proves that he was very precise. There is maybe one slight failing in the passages quoted above, and this is that he does not give any idea of the size of the figures, a failing which becomes all the more apparent when comparing his account with that given by his predecessors, such as Dulaure and Dézallier d'Argenville, who both state that these figures are life-size.[39] Yet, this one reproach laid aside, Millin does prove to be much more specific on a number of significant points: for example, he observes that the urn is supported not just on three 'feet' as Dulaure had claimed, but rather on three dolphins. And in the account given by Dézallier these elements are not even mentioned: the impression gained from reading the lines that he devoted to this sculpture is that the urn rests directly on the heads of the figures. A similar inattention to detail is to be found with regard to the plinth on which the work stands. Hurtaut and Dulaure simply allude to a three-sided pedestal, whilst Dézallier provides some further information, stating that it has "la forme d'un trépied antique, dont les faces présentent des masques, des feuillages & des guilochis."[40] A similar analysis could be carried

[37] ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 1 (1790), art. III, p. 65.

[38] ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 1 (1790), art. III, pp. 65–6.

[39] DULAURE 1786, p. 129; DÉZALLIER D'ARGENVILLE 1757, p. 238.

[40] HURTAUT 1779, vol. 1 (1779), p. 107; DULAURE 1786, p. 129; DÉZALLIER D'ARGENVILLE 1757, p. 238.

out for many of the more important monuments, not only in the Célestins, but also in the other buildings which Millin has selected for his work, and the results would always be analogous.

As for the 'monuments historiques', the innovation of which Millin was so proud, he does certainly make a laudable attempt to include them in his discourse, and to give any distinguishing features which he feels to be of importance. Thus, in the chapter on the Célestins, he enumerates all of the "tombes de cuivre, plus ou moins anciennes" which were to be observed set into the floor of the choir. Not all of these are described in very great detail: for the most part, the name of the person buried there is mentioned without any comment on the style of the tomb, any image or inscription to be found there. Only in the case of those tombs which present either an item of costume, a hairstyle or another iconographical attribute which he finds to be of particular interest or importance does he allow himself to apportion to it a few words which give a very general impression of the object in question. On other occasions, nonetheless, he does decide to produce a more lengthy text on a single object which would certainly not have been considered worthy of such attention by those who remained faithful to the more traditional, and more restricted, view of what constituted a monument. Such is, for example, the 'Tableau pour la distribution de la Gazette ecclésiastique' which he found when visiting the church of the Jacobin convent in the rue Saint-Honoré in Paris **[Ill. 2]**. This document, which was certainly a historical curiosity, intrigued him to such an extent that he decided to have it engraved for the *Antiquités*, and accompanied this with a six-page dissertation explaining in very careful terms not only the image itself but also the historical facts connected with it.[41] Further evidence of his determination to describe even objects that could be counted among the more humble artefacts comes at the end of the chapter on the town of Meulan, where he gives a brief description, accompanied by an illustration of "une chopine de bronze, matrice de l'ancienne mesure du bailliage de Meulan. Elle est timbre d'une couronne antique à trois fleurs-de-lys, avec un trait dessous qui ressemble à un fer de lance renversé."[42]

Millin therefore gains from a comparison with his predecessors in terms of the wealth of information that is presented, the variety of objects that are considered worthy of description and the image that he manages to give of a building and its contents, both through the textual and the visual discourses. What should have become evident, notwithstanding, and especially from the above discussion of Millin's article on the church of Saint-Denis de la

[41] ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 1 (1790), art. IV, pp. 62–7.

[42] ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 4 (1792), art. XLIX, p. 28.

Chartre, is that his descriptive passages are not all of the same quality and degree of precision. One feature which is very striking in a consideration of the way in which buildings and monuments are presented throughout the work, and the example quoted above is remarkably representative of the work as a whole, is that whilst individual monuments, be they sculptural groups (as in the case of the high altar), tombs, or individual architectural elements such as doorways and windows are often described accurately and in sufficient detail for the reader to feel that a good record of the piece has indeed been provided, the description of larger spaces or of buildings as a whole is often less than satisfactory, at least when viewed with the rather exacting eye of a twenty-first century reader who is accustomed to more accurate and painstaking verbal portrayal of architecture. [43]

Architectural history and antiquarian studies

Millin's relative reticence in the passages of architectural description which he wrote should not be taken as an indication that architectural description as a literary genre was either not practised or, when undertaken, was not successfully practised during this period. Ever since the sixteenth century the main elements and the basic code of architectural description had already been fairly well established, and some great exponents of the art had been publishing their works in French only a few years before Millin began his *Antiquités*. David Leroy, for example, had produced his detailed and sumptuously-illustrated *Les ruines des plus beaux monumens de la Grèce* and Clérisseau's *Antiquités* were also appearing.[44]

This was also the period when one of the greatest ever practitioners of the genre of the literary description of a work of art flourished, Johann Joachim Winckelmann, who published a series of works, amongst them the *Gedanken* (1755) and the *Geschichte* (1764), which were to leave their mark on succeeding generations of art historians.[45] That Millin could not read German in the early 1790s is certain; what is equally sure, nonetheless, is that he must have known either or both of the French translations that appeared very soon after the first German editions.[46] For Winckelmann no detail was too small or apparently insignificant to be deemed

[43] Admittedly, two centuries lie between us and Millin, centuries which witnessed not only the large-scale growth of commissions for the protection of historic monuments with their rules for the recording and description of buildings of interest, but also the development of new standards of and exigencies for both literary and scientific descriptions. See for example the recent work concerning the German rules for monumental description by ECKSTEIN 1999.

[44] LE ROY 1758; CLÉRISSEAU 1778.

[45] On Winckelmann and later art history, see POMMIER 1996 and POMMIER 1991B.

[46] On the various French editions of Winckelmann and their reception see GRIENER 1998.

unworthy of being included in a description.[47] In a letter to Clérisseau, he elaborated on the need for the scholar to include all the facts at his disposition: "Tout est intéressant lorsqu'il s'agit de mettre sous les yeux un monument de l'antiquité; on ne doit absolument rien omettre, rien négliger. Ce qui paroît le moins essentiel à un demi-savant, peut fournir de grands moyens à un Observateur eclaire".[48] And Winckelmann's precision and his talent for incorporating a large number of facts into one organized and well-structured description of a building are all too evident when we read the following passage, also occurring in a letter to Clérisseau:

> "Cet édifice est situé à la pente de la colline sur laquelle la Ville est batie, et du côté de la mer ou du midi, et consiste en une place quarrée, environnée de colonnes de l'ordre Dorique, faites de brique et couvertes du chaux et du stuc; on n'en voit pourtant decouvert que le coté qui regarde la mer; deux autres côtés sont decouverts jusqu'à leur milieu, supposant le nombre de leurs colonnes égal à celui du coté meridional. Celui-ci en a dix-sept, sans base, sans plinte, et sans cordons, posant à cru sur une base continuée, laquelle pourtant par-dehors n'est pas élevée au dessus du niveau du pavé; elle est rehaussée davantage en dedans, puisque la place enclose est plus basse, et on y voit le long des colonnes un canal taillé de pierre avec ses égouts quarrés de distance en distance, pour en faire écouler l'eau.
>
> "La hauteur de ces colonnes est le double de la hauteur d'un homme de juste grandeur; elle est pourtant proportionnée à son diametre. Son fust est divisé en deux parties à peu près égales: celle d'en bas est cylindrique tout à fait, sans la moindre diminution; celle-ci ne commence qu'à son milieu, de maniere que la moitié superieure de la colonne, qui est cannellée, se retrécit en forme conique.
>
> "Toutes ces colonnes sont teintes; celle au milieu est bleue, d'un bleu celeste, et l'une et l'autre à ses côtés sont jaunes; les autres sept colonnes des deux côtés sont alternativement ou tout-à-fait rouges, ou rouges en bas et jaunes en haut.
>
> "Cette colonnade a une enceinte de petites chambres, dont il y en a onze au côté découvert; celle du milieu et les deux chambres aux coins sont plus grandes que les autres au milieu et sortent en dehors.
>
> "L'espace de cinq pas de largeur qui est entre les chambres et la colonnade étoit couvert d'un soffitte, pour y promener, et le pavé est de tuiles pilées. Ces chambres sont peintes de couleur rouge, et dans celle au milieu il y avoit une peinture, qui represente des armures et au dessus un casque, en allusion, comme il semble, aux armures et aux casques que l'on y a trouvé: c'est par cette raison qu'on appelle cet edifice le Corps de Garde de Pompei."[49]

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[47] On description in Winckelmann's works see CUSATELLI 1993; BISKY 2000.

[48] Winckelmann to Clérisseau, Rome, 1767, letter 925 in WINCKELMANN 1952, vol. 3 (1956), pp. 344–9, p. 346.

[49] Winckelmann to Clérisseau, Rome ce 9 Dec. 1767, letter 916 in: WINCKELMANN 1952, vol. 3 (1956), pp. 332–3.

Over these few lines the reader is allowed to grasp the essentials of the building to such an extent that a mental image could be formed. From the details given by Winckelmann it should not be too difficult to take a pencil and a piece of paper and to produce a sketch of the building. Not once in the *Antiquités nationales* does Millin manage to achieve such a harmonious marriage of scientific attention to detail with concise and logical presentation of spatial sequences. And yet there is a very striking feature which distinguishes the description given by Winckelmann from one penned by Millin, a feature which seems to run as a constant through the works of the two men. This is the question of the status accorded to historical details, clarifications and even digressions. Throughout the lengthy passage by the German art historian quoted above there is a very clear concentration on the need to establish a perfect verbal image of the building. Winckelmann's theory (as mentioned to Clérisseau and quoted above) was that everything is interesting – "tout est intéressant" – for a scholar who wishes to describe a building, a monument or a work of art. But this 'tout' turns out to be a partial everything, or rather it refers only to those facts which bear a direct relation to a work of art and its appearance. No extraneous, historical anecdotes, explanations or digressions find their way into a text such as this one. Millin, even had he been able to assimilate the methods of a Le Roy or of a Winckelmann, would surely not have been able to produce texts of this type. He was, after all, writing in the style of an antiquarian and not of an architectural historian or theorist. He had a different vision of the facts that he needed to present to an audience and, not a negligible factor, he had a different readership in mind. Hence, it is impossible to imagine that Millin could have written a passage such as the above, concentrating merely on the physical appearance of the building and unaccompanied, it could also be claimed unimpeded, by incidental historical and biographical data and niceties.

Classic and mediaeval

A further handicap to Millin's work was the very subject matter on which he was working. Whilst classical remains and works of art did benefit from a certain kudos, and had already been investigated in a large number of publications, this was much less the case for the art and architecture of the mediaeval and early modern periods.[50] Not only are the relevant technical details missing in virtually all of the descriptions of these pieces in the *Antiquités*, but there is very rarely any attempt made to discuss the style of a building, to date it or to compare it with other buildings of a similar period or type. This is perhaps all the more

[50] GERMANN 1972; BIZZARRO 1992.

surprising given that the notion of classification and comparison was one which was certainly not foreign to Millin; as a natural historian he was perfectly capable of using such methods, a fact evinced by the reading of his *Élémens d'histoire naturelle*, and even more so in the preface and notes to the translation of Linnaeus's writings which he had published just before the Revolution.[51] Much preparatory work had already been done in the field of natural history, however, and Millin's contribution to the subject lay principally in the synthesis of earlier authors' writings and theories. In the field of architectural history, on the other hand, the situation was greatly different. Even at the end of the eighteenth century there were still considerable lacunae in the knowledge and appreciation of the artistic and architectural styles of the past. It would be fair to say that the notions of classification and development which had been brought into play by the scientific community had not as yet been fully applied in artistic theory. The coverage was not at all uniform: some periods and styles had been much more closely studied. The classical tradition in architecture had certainly been enshrined in western thought and writings since the rediscovery of Vitruvius' treatise during the fifteenth century.[52] But some periods had aroused less interest and even a certain disdain on the part of scholars. Such was absolutely the case for a style which was of paramount importance for Millin's work at this time – mediaeval, more particularly Gothic, artistic monuments.

During the course of the eighteenth century, various scholars had endeavoured to present mediaeval artistic works to a wider public but had met with considerable resistance. The vicissitudes of the historiography of the Gothic are clearly marked throughout this period.[53] Jean-François Félibien, Cordemoy and others may have attempted as early as the end of the seventeenth century to praise Gothic architecture, but still the subject did not inspire much enthusiasm among the educated public.[54] Montfaucon tried to convince potential purchasers that his *Monumens de la monarchie françoise* formed a natural sequel to his *Antiquité expliquée*, but without much success. The *Antiquité*, with an initial print-run of eighteen hundred copies, sold out within two months and a second edition was published only three years later; five years after the first volume of the *Monumens* appeared, Montfaucon addressed a letter to a Dutch correspondent in which he stated that "je vous suis au reste

[51] ALM ÉLÉMENS 1795; ALM LINNÉ 1789.

[52] See GERMANN 1987. For the French tradition in particular see FICHET 1979.

[53] See especially GERMANN 1972. See also LOVEJOY & BARIDON 1991 and GOTHIQUE RETROUVÉ 1979.

[54] FÉLIBIEN (J-F) 1687; CORDEMOY 1706.

infiniment obligé des soucis que vous voulez bien vous donner pour me procurer quelques souscriptions".[55] Only one thousand copies of the *Monumens* had been published but it was not until the mid-nineteenth century that scholars and collectors began to complain that the work was hard to find and that a re-edition was accordingly planned.[56] Much as was also the case with Millin's *Antiquités*, the development of the commission for monuments and the concurrent interest in mediaeval art and architecture proved to be prerequisites for the scholarly importance of the *Monumens de la monarchie françoise* fully to be appreciated.[57] The lack of interest shown in the subject was scarcely encouraging, and it is not surprising that few serious studies were devoted to the subject and hence that little progress had been made in providing exact scientific analysis and clear chronological surveys of the Gothic style. One notable exception was the abbé Lebeuf, who certainly corrected a number of earlier errors made by scholars such as Mabillon and Montfaucon; unfortunately, as has been remarked, "despite his undoubted ability, Lebeuf's proposals elicited no immediate response."[58] Almost sixty years after his death, authors still felt it necessary to persuade the public of the need for a work on mediaeval art, as can be seen from the 'Discours préliminaire' written by Séroux d'Agincourt in which he explained the motivation underlying the years of research that he had spent in preparing the *Histoire de l'art par les monumens*. According to his vision of art there were three main periods, namely Antiquity, the Middle Ages and the Renaissance and post-Renaissance; of these the first and the third had been admirably covered by art and architectural historians.

> "Mais pour la seconde période, qui comprend ce qu'on nomme le Bas-empire, le Moyen âge, les Siècles de décadence, on n'a rien ou presque rien. Parvenu à ce point, on se trouve comme dans un désert immense, où l'on n'apperçoit que des objets défigurés, les lambeaux épars; il semble que, honteux de ce que l'Art produisit dans ce long intervalle, le Tems prenne chaque jour le soin d'en effacer les images: leur difformité devrait même condamner à un éternel oubli le petit nombre de celles qu'il a conservées, [...]. La recherche des monumens propres à le former [the link currently missing for a full chain of artistic progress] était

[55] Bernard de Montfaucon to Jacques-Philippe D'Orville, Paris, April 6 1734; Bodleian Library, ms. D'Orville 487, fol. 161r.

[56] See FAVRE 1877 (BNF, Imprimés: Lj[1] 28A). Favre explained the need for the reedition in the following words: "Cet ouvrage, d'une érudition prodigieuse et auquel recourent constamment les historiens et les personnes qui s'occupent de nos annales nationales, ne se rencontre que rarement en librairie, où il atteint des prix très élevés."

[57] See *supra*, ch. 5, p. 183.

[58] GERMANN 1972, p. 39. On Lebeuf see VANUXEM 1963. On the problems of dating and identification of the sculpture decorating various church doorways in France, see VANUXEM 1957.

> rebutante, pénible, hérissée de difficultés, mais urgente, puisqu'ils se détruisent journellement".[59]

Rarely does an author feel obliged to open a work with such an *apologia* for his subject. Certainly Winckelmann did not face the same problems when explaining his motivations for writing the *Geschichte der Kunst*.

The other major difficulty which Millin was bound to meet was that there was as yet very little in the way of a model for the style of writing which he was hoping to undertake. This was a vast project and he was aspiring to describe the entire contents of a considerable number of buildings. As was seen above, his was neither the eye nor the pen of an architectural historian. There had already been various attempts to describe a building and its entire contents, and amongst them the work of Michel Félibien on Saint-Denis is an outstanding example.[60] Millin's aims were more ambitious, at least in terms of the number of buildings that he was hoping to be able to include in his work; his dissertations on each building could not therefore hope to be as detailed both in terms of the description and the history and of the listing and discussion of the contents as was the impressive volume on Saint-Denis. Another possible model, and one which has often been used as comparative material in the foregoing discussion of Millin's approach to various buildings, was that of the guide-books written by authors such as Brice, Dulaure and Dézallier d'Argenville or the dictionary of Hurtaut. Yet these works had a different scope: their authors wished to provide details on most of the buildings of, for example, Paris. Thus there was often a tendency to sacrifice quality to quantity. A large number of buildings are listed, but there is often little more than a cursory discussion of their architecture and only the most important, significant or famous monuments are enumerated. Millin, who aspired to a far more exhaustive listing of a building's and its contents in order to provide a viable alternative to the work that the Commission des monuments was struggling to accomplish, would need to be dealing with a far larger number and variety of objects.

It could conceivably have been hoped that the answer to these problems would have been given by one of the texts emanating from the very organization whose work Millin was hoping to supplement or even replace. The Commission des monuments did make a number of attempts during the early years of the Revolution to codify the measures that needed to be taken in identifying and inventorying the large mass of objects saved from the various

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[59] SÉROUX 1810, vol. 1, 'Discours préliminaire', p. iii.

[60] FÉLIBIEN (M) 1706.

properties that had been requisitioned and nationalized. A first decision was taken, that of recording all of the pieces on catalogue cards. Various other texts were written and a publication, edited by Vicq d'Azyr, appeared in 1794, under the aegis of the Commission temporaire des arts, the replacement for the already defunct Commission des monuments.[61] This work, the *Instruction sur la manière d'inventorier et de conserver, dans toute l'étendue de la République, tous les objets qui peuvent server aux arts, aux sciences et à l'enseignement*, contains a very interesting comment on the nature of descriptive texts that are considered suitable for inclusion in the inventories: "les descriptions qui font partie des inventaires de la commission des arts ne portent que sur les qualités principales: elles sont courtes, et cependant elles caractérisent le genre et l'espèce, quelquefois même les modifications et les variétés."[62] Unfortunately, the various *Instructions* were not necessarily going to be valuable for Millin. Firstly, even if much of the preliminary work of defining the Commission's aims and requirements had already been done and the pertinent ideas had already been circulating, the texts themselves were not to appear in print until after he had already begun his book and defined his approach. More problematic, at least from the point of view of a comparison with the *Antiquités nationales*, is that these tracts did not really succeed in filling up the various potential lacunae in Millin's work which were identified above. First of all, and this is crucial for a comparison with Millin and his writings, there is no mention of buildings themselves. The instructions that the Commission and its members developed for the description of objects relate only to those that are transportable, that can be inventoried and removed to a depot. Indeed, there is also remarkably little information given regarding monuments, works of art and various other pieces of this nature. Vicq d'Azyr was a scientist, and it is interesting to note that by far the greatest share of this text is concerned with the natural sciences. That this was the case is all the more ironic given that in the very same publication, in the report on the work already carried out, Mathieu observes that until this time "L'on a trouvé peu de choses sur les objets d'histoire naturelle. Cette belle science a été cultivée assez tard dans les établissemens ecclésiastiques supprimés des départemens. Les cartes ne font mention que de deux articles qui peuvent mériter quelqu'attention […]."[63] There is, naturally enough, a section entitled 'Antiquités', but here it is once again Greek and

[61] INSTRUCTION 1790A; INSTRUCTION 1790B; INSTRUCTION 1791A; INSTRUCTION 1791B: INSTRUCTION 1794.

[62] INSTRUCTION 1794, p. 5.

[63] INSTRUCTION 1794, p. 73.

Roman pieces that take precedence. Only at the very end of the section comes the following comment on the question of later works: "On trouve souvent réunis aux collections d'antiques, des monumens du moyen âge, dyptiques, profanes et chrétiens; des sceaux, des vases de faïance fabriqués sur les dessins des élèves de Raphaël ; des émaux, des armures, etc. On en fera un inventaire particulier. Quoique ces objets ne soient pas antiques, ils n'en sont pas moins intéressans, et l'historien du moyen âge en fait souvent usage."[64] A further problem that becomes very evident is that there are no clear guidelines on or examples of a suitable literary form for this type of work. None is suggested here, presumably because the Commission's main concern was that of the inventorying and the conservation of the various pieces, and not that of how best to present their results to the wider public in a readable form. Thus, for a number of reasons, the *Instructions* were destined to be of but limited help to Millin when writing his *Antiquités*. The Commission was specialized in the production of an inventory **[Ill. 66]**; it is hardly likely that Millin would have been satisfied with this form.

Linguistic limitations

A major difficulty in the description of any object, not only of a building, is that of the necessary vocabulary.[65] Much depends upon the level of the text and also the expected readership. In the description of any object both the whole and the component parts have to be represented, and also the relations between them; this holds good whether the object of the description is an animal, a plant or a building. Two main problems are identifiable here. The first of these is the question of the vocabulary. The portrayal of a complex or scientific object in its parts and in its whole necessarily places certain demands on the verbal skills not only of the author but also of the reader. Specific features are likely to demand a rather specialized vocabulary. Were an author to have the requisite vocabulary at his disposal, is this necessarily going to be the case for all of the readers? The second problem is that even if the words are available and are mastered by both the author or the speaker and the reader or the listener, are they necessarily sufficient? How far can the representation of an object be achieved merely through words? Is it possible to imagine that a visual experience can be expressed in purely verbal terms?

This in turn raises the question of the intended audience. It could be argued that a text written by architects for architects, or by architectural historians for architectural historians

[64] INSTRUCTION 1794, p. 46.

[65] On the problems associated with specialized vocabularies during this period see: NIEDEREHE 1982.

would be produced in the expectation that the readers could easily understand the various technical terms employed; the author would thus be free to deploy the full range of his vocabulary. In order to make this statement about the *Antiquités nationales*, it would be necessary to be able to prove that the audience can be ascertained, and that it did in effect correspond to such specialized groups.[66] As was seen in chapter 5, no subscription lists have survived and there are very few indications as to who was purchasing the book. If the words of the prospectus are taken at face value, then Millin was envisaging a wide audience. He points out that his book can help in understanding the country's history, "une des principales études des vrais Citoyens."[67] On the next page he states that his research has not been confined to the study of the great and noble families, but has extended to that of others of a less exalted social position, so that "chacun y pourra retrouver l'histoire de sa famille". Statements of this type should evidently be read in terms of their historical context, since an author presenting his work to the Assemblée nationale needed to adhere to the revolutionary ideal of equality.[68] Nonetheless, these statements by Millin should not be dismissed as a complete sham: throughout his career, in both his archaeological and his natural history publications, he showed that he was determined to open up specialist subjects to a wider audience.[69]

An audience of laymen would in all probability not be overly familiar with the very technical vocabulary that would be necessary in a precise architectural work, even if some progress had been made during the eighteenth century in this respect. A recurrent theme throughout the century, "l'âge des dictionnaires" as it has been baptized, was the need to acquaint the general reader with the specialized terminology of a discipline.[70] This was just as

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[66] For an example of an attempt to ascertain this for comparable texts, those of André Félibien, see GERMER 1997 and GERMANN 1997.

[67] ALM ANTIQUITÉS PROSPECTUS 1790, p. 2.

[68] It is doubtful that most citizens could have read the book: according to the statistics provided by the Maggiolo survey (1877) the percentage of the population able to read in 1686–90 (when André Félibien was writing) was 21% of the population, whilst at the time of Millin, 1786–90, this figure had risen to 37%. This is of course an average for the whole of France, all areas and all classes and professions combined. The reliability of the survey, which took as the criterion for literacy the presence or absence of signature on marriage contracts, has been questioned, not the least because the ability to sign does not necessarily imply an ability to read. For a good summary of the objections raised, see QUÉNIART 1998, pp. 195–7. See also FURET & OZOUF 1977, vol. 1, ch. 1, 'L'alphabétisation sans retour'.

[69] Examples of this from his literary production are the various *Introductions* to the study of archaeology (ALM INTRODUCTION MÉDAILLES 1796, ALM INTRODUCTION MONUMENS 1796A & B and ALM INTRODUCTION PIERRES 1796) and the work on natural history, ALM ÉLÉMENS 1795.

[70] This is the title of Pierre Rétat's contribution to the question in CHARTIER & MARTIN 1990, pp. 232–46. And already during the course of the eighteenth century, the need for a bibliography of dictionaries was already

much the case in the arts as in the sciences; surprising as it may seem, the French Academy excluded any artistic terms from the first edition of its dictionary, the definitive institutional version of the French language necessary for a gentleman to speak or write.[71] Since that time the number of attempts to provide definitions of artistic or architectural terms had greatly increased. The range of arts included, the emphasis on either practice or theory and the very genre may have varied, but one element remained constant. This was that there was a need to explain the more abstruse terms, to take them out of the atelier and to allow the layman to understand the "parler architecture" or the "parler peinture".[72] Dom Antoine-Joseph Pernety, for example, spoke of the "Arts, qui se sont fait un langage ignoré de presque tous ceux qui ne les cultivent pas".[73] Nor was Millin himself unaware of the difficulties associated with specialized vocabulary; he was, after all, to write an artistic dictionary in which he attempted to combine an explanation of terms with the major historical and theoretical elements that could allow for a fuller understanding of the arts by both practitioners and amateurs.

It is thus certainly the case that specialized vocabularies did exist. Millin could not, for instance, have been unaware of the works such as André Félibien's *Dictionnaire*. Less certain, however, is that the terms explained therein were, despite the existence of these vocabularies, accessible to such a wide audience as we might now imagine. Hence there was a need for Millin and the authors of his time to help the layman, little versed in the intricacies of artistic vocabulary, to find his way through the labyrinth of complicated artistic terms. The dictionaries did indeed go some way to remedying this problem, and yet the constant consultation of a dictionary whilst reading a work and attempting to assimilate a discourse is

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becoming evident: DUREY DE NOINVILLE 1758A which had also appeared as the appendix to DUREY DE NOINVILLE 1758B.

[71] The Académie soon realized that this exclusion of terms connected with the *arts et métiers* might render their dictionary less sought after than that of their rival, Furetière, and so it was that, at their request, Thomas Corneille published a dictionary on the arts and sciences: CORNEILLE 1696. The 'Preface' opens on an explanation of this fact: "Le Dictionnaire qui fut imprimé en Hollande en 1688 ayant fait voir le goust du Public pour la connoissance des termes des Arts, quelques Particuliers de l'Académie Françoise n'ont pû souffrir [...] qu'avec quelque exactitude qu'elle fist le sien, il seroit toujours moins recherché, parce qu'il ne contient que les mots de l'usage ordinaire de la langue, au lieu que l'autre est universel, & qu'outre ces mesmes mots, il explique fort au long les termes des Arts" (p. $*_2$r).

[72] GERMANN 1995; HOLERT 1997; HURLEY 1999. André Félibien, author of the first such dictionary in France (FÉLIBIEN (A) 1676), explained it in the following way: "Car ce qui fait que les Ouvriers n'executent pas toûjours les choses comme on se les est imaginées, & qu'ils font le contraire de ce que l'on souhaite, c'est qu'ils parlent un langage que l'on n'entend pas bien, & que faute de leur exprimer dans ce mesme langage ce que l'on desire, ils ne conçoivent qu'imparfaitement l'intention de ceux qui les employent" (FÉLIBIEN (A) 1699 (reprint FÉLIBIEN (A) 1966), p. e_2v).

[73] PERNETY 1757, p. iii.

not ideal. A possible strategy to counter this constant disruption of the action of reading is to incorporate the definitions of the technical words into the book itself. Three main paradigms are available to the author who chooses this method. The first is to incorporate the meanings into the flow of the discourse, the second is to use the footnotes to explain terms, and the third involves a separate space at the end of the work, in the form of a glossary.

Each of these possibilities does, nonetheless, present a series of concurrent problems. The first mentioned above was the inclusion of the explanations in the text itself, a method examined in detail by Philippe Hamon.[74] According to Hamon, the author who chooses a technical lexicon is in effect laying himself open to the charge of unintelligibility in his text. He can thus abide by his decision and make no attempt to explain the words that he is using, risking the alienation of some readers.[75] If not, he can include technical words and then give them predicates borrowed from another, albeit also specialized, lexicon. At least in this case there is a chance that one of the two lexica may be recognized.[76] Most helpful to the general reader is the third authorial strategy possible in the case of specialized vocabulary. Here a specialized lexicon is used and then explained in less technical terms. This gives rise to a series of phrases with a noun (or adjective) that is unfamiliar to most of the readers, immediately followed by an explanatory noun, verb or (most often) phrase. The resultant phrases are, as Hamon points out, very closely comparable to dictionary entries.[77] And this explains the major difficulty connected with this solution of the problem: it disrupts the flow of the text. D'Aviler, in the introduction to his architectural treatise, explained that he had avoided this approach since, he felt, "l'Explication des Termes en [le texte] auroit interrompu la suite, & causé de l'obscurité".[78]

D'Aviler therefore chose to gather together the complicated terms into a separate glossary, printed at the end of the treatise. There is no doubt that glossaries of this type were useful as a point of reference for the general reader, but it is to be questioned whether this

[74] HAMON 1972.

[75] HAMON 1972, p. 479. This is Hamon's type V. Such a plethora of technical terms does however lay the author open to the charge of producing little more than what Hamon describes as a "prospectus de vente" or as a "catalogue d'inventaire". Even readers who do dispose of the necessary linguistic resources are often tempted to dismiss such writing as being dry and unappetizing.

[76] HAMON 1972, p. 478, this is type III.

[77] HAMON 1972, pp. 477–8; type I.

[78] AVILER 1691, p. 355. As he explained in the preface it was essential to add this part, given that throughout the text he had used more than 5,000 architectural terms which were possibly unfamiliar to many of his readers. On D'Aviler see KÖHLER 1997, esp. pp. 49–50 and pp. 74–5.

consideration would have appeased the purchasers of De Piles's translation of Du Fresnoy's treatise when they learned that the engraved figures by Sebastien Le Clerc had been replaced by a word-list.[79] Millin's work contains no glossary; the fact that the *Antiquités* were appearing in parts constituted a considerable handicap to the production of such an appendix. Readers would have had to wait for the completion of a volume, some six to nine months after the publication of its first part, before being able to understand fully the technical terms therein employed.

The third space available in the book for the explanation of unusual or complicated terms was that of the footnote.[80] And on the rare occasions when Millin does employ a very technical term which he then decides to explain, it is to the footnotes that the reader must turn. In general, nevertheless, Millin seems to have eschewed too great a reliance on a highly technical vocabulary that might have alienated a part of his intended audience. There is a device which he does exploit to great effect, and which often provides a neat solution to some of the difficulties that he might otherwise have encountered. This is the timely use of comparisons. Very often, in an attempt to explain to his readers the form of either an obsolete or an unusual object, he chose to indicate something similar drawn from a more general frame of reference. Thus, in the passage quoted above concerning the west front of the church of Saint-Denis de la Chartre in Paris, when mentioning the hatchet employed by the executioner, he abandoned all attempt to give any precise designation of it, preferring to state simply, and far more vividly, that it was similar to those used by butchers. Likewise, just a few lines earlier, he chooses to state that the main entrance to the church looks more like the door to a barn than to a church.[81] This type of comparison, using images that would have been familiar to his readers, no doubt facilitated his work when attempting to indicate something that would have necessitated much technical vocabulary and presumably lengthy explanations which could well have encumbered his text to not much avail.

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[79] DU FRESNOY 1751: Glossary ('Explication par ordre alphabetique des termes Propres au Dessein & à la Peinture', pp. 314–71) including 233 terms and seven cross-references). Explained in the Avertissement: "On avoit augmenté l'Edition précedente d'une suite de Figures Academiques, dessinees & gravees par Seb Le Clerc; mais comme elles n'ont aucun rapport à ce Traité, & qu'elles se trouvent d'ailleurs fort usées, on a crû devoir les retrancher de cette nouvelle Edition. Pour dédommager le Public de la supression de ces Figures, on leur a substitué le petit Dictionnaire des Termes les plus usités dans l'Art de Peinture qui se trouve à la fin de cet ouvrage, & qui mérite l'approbation des Artistes, & des Connoisseurs".

[80] For a study of the footnote see GRAFTON 1997.

[81] The comparison with a barn is one that he had already employed when introducing the church of the couvent des Célestins: "Quand on a passé la porte que nous venons de décrire, on entre dans l'église, qui a plutôt l'air d'une grange que d'un temple" (ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 1 (1790), art. III, p. 16).

Text and image

No matter how specialized the vocabulary that an author uses and that his audience can understand, or how many circumlocutions, definitions and explanations he uses in order to facilitate the reading of his text, there remain certain limits to the use of text alone for description. Some phenomena are too complicated to be expressed verbally, or would require far too lengthy passages of text. Recently Roland Recht pointed out the difficulties inherent in the description of a building: "Un tel examen – qui atteste qu'une description architecturale n'est possible qu'au prix d'une atomisation qui nous éloigne de la perception d'ensemble – ne peut être mené que par un historien de l'art doublé d'un architecte, d'un technicien de la construction, sinon une bonne part de ces informations échapperait à un regard insuffisamment formé."[82] Recht's comments summarize the problem extremely well: the complexity of the object demands that one single person should be capable not only of seeing and understanding the various elements which compose a single structure, but also of mastering the verbal resources which allow for the accurate communication of what is seen. Millin's contemporaries were certainly not unaware of the challenge that faced them or of the shortcomings of many descriptions. Several years before he began his work on the monuments of France, James Stuart and Nicholas Revett had already expressed their feelings about the general standard of such books: "their descriptions are so confused, and their measures, when they have given any, are so insufficient, that the most expert Architect could not, from all the Books that have been published on this Subject, form a distinct Idea of any one Building these authors have described. Their writings seem rather calculated to raise our admiration, than to satisfy our Curiosity or improve our Taste."[83] Their response to the dilemma thereby posed was to suggest the judicious use of plates, and they listed those that they felt would be most pertinent to the accurate depiction of a building **[Ills. 67–72]**:

> "We propose that each of the Antiquities which are to compose this Work, shall be treated of in the following manner. First a View of it will be given, faithfully exhibiting the present Appearance of that particular Building and of the circumjacent Country; to this will follow, Architectural Plans and Elevations, in which will be expressed the measure of every Moulding, as well as the general disposition and ordonnance of the whole Building; and lastly will be given, exact delineations of the Statues and Basso-relievos with which those Buildings are decorated. [...] To these we propose adding some Maps and Charts, shewing the general situation and connection of the whole Work."[84]

[82] RECHT 1998, 'Introduction', p. 17.

[83] STUART & REVETT 1762, vol. 1 (1762), 'Preface', p. v, note (a).

[84] STUART & REVETT 1748, quoted in STUART & REVETT 1762, vol. 1 (1762), 'Preface', p. v, note a.

Elevations, sections and plans are thus essential; the addition of perspective views is of great importance since these more or less convey the actual appearance of the building. They are, without a shadow of a doubt, the illustrations which are most intelligible to the layman, representing as they do an observer's usual view of a building.

Some authors were prepared to attribute even greater power to images. Robert Wood pointed out in the introduction to his work on Balbec that, "Having observed that descriptions of ruins, without accurate drawings, seldom preserve more of their subject than it's [sic] confusion, we shall, as in the Ruins of Palmyra, refer our reader almost entirely to the plates."[85] He justifies his decision by the following reasoning: "the information will be more full and circumstantial, as well as less tedious and confused, than could be conveyed by the happiest precision of language."[86] A very similar opinion was to be expressed by Séroux d'Agincourt just over sixty years later in the preface to his *Histoire de l'art par les monumens*. When explaining the structure of his work, he pointed out the overriding importance of images and thus established a contrast between his method and that of his predecessors. For, as he said, "Ce que les historiens des beaux-arts se sont assez volontiers contenter de dire, je voulais le montrer dans mon livre."[87] He identifies a tension between the written discourse (the 'dire') which had, in his opinion, been allowed to predominate in earlier works, and the visual discourse (the 'montrer'), and claims that he is hoping to resolve this dispute in favour of the images. Séroux was, of course, particularly aware of the importance of the image, admitting freely to the fact that it was largely thanks to the engraved images in illustrated editions of the Bible edited by Isaac Louis Le Maistre de Sacy that he had been able to learn to read; hence, in his eyes, the paramount importance of plates in a work such as his, a fact upon which he was to expound in a phrase encapsulating his notion of the power of the image in a treatise of this type. For, according to him, "c'étaient sur-tout les monumens qui devaient parler; je ne me chargeais, en quelque sorte, que d'écrire sous leur dictée, tout au plus d'expliquer et de commenter quelquefois leur langage; [...]".[88] This phrase is absolutely vital in terms of the relationship that is established between the textual and the visual material

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[85] WOOD 1757 (reprint – WOOD 1971), p. [l].

[86] WOOD 1757, p. [l].

[87] SÉROUX 1810, vol. 1 (1810), 'Préface', p. ii.

[88] SÉROUX 1810, vol. 1 (1810), 'Préface', p. ii.

in the *Histoire de l'art par les monumens*. It reverses the traditional vision of the plates as being secondary material added to a verbal discourse in order to explain, to clarify or to justify the arguments of the author. No longer are the plates to be seen as pieces which have been added after the composition of the main text. In Séroux's version of art history they become the primary material, the source; by means of this one phrase he has explained that for him it is rather the text that serves as complementary information and which is used to explain, to clarify or to justify his illustrations.

Of course the question about the autonomous status of either the verbal or the visual discourse can also be asked in the other sense. How far can it be expected that a series of plates is going to furnish a full, accurate and self-sufficient description of a building or an object?[89] Certainly Séroux was not unaware of this potential objection. Whilst still insisting on the amount of information that could be gleaned from the consultation of a good plate, he did admit that not all readers would be equally able to absorb and understand all of the details therein presented: "j'oserais même croire que très souvent elles [les planches] offriront, à elles seules, une histoire suffisamment claire et complète, à l'œil exercé de l'artiste qui voudra en parcourir attentivement les diverses séries."[90] Such had also been the opinion of D'Aviler who stated that a textual support was necessary when it came to architectural features: "Les Planches même ou figures n'auroient pû y suppléer entierement, toutes exactes & correctes qu'elles sont." [91] The answer lay in providing a good and informative textual analysis of each plate, which is what Séroux chose to do by means of a 'Table analytique des planches'. He therefore produced a catalogue of all the plates, explaining what was represented in each one and which were the most salient features. In addition, he added to this already impressive listing "une foule de documents précieux, et de détails importans" which would assist the reader in understanding various aspects of the objects that he had had engraved. This table, which actually constitutes more than a third of the entire text of the work, was an element of which Séroux was particularly proud; he boasted of the amount of research that it had demanded, and felt that this "inventaire historique des plus intéressantes productions de l'Art

[89] This calls into question the whole difficulty of representing in two dimensions, be it in drawing, painting or engraving, a three-dimensional object such as a building or a monument, and even further the problems involved in verbal description of an object. Interesting studies are offered by the following publications: TRAUM VOM RAUM 1986; LE TEMPLE 1982; ARCHITECTURE ET SON IMAGE 1989.

[90] SÉROUX 1810, vol. 1 (1810), 'Préface', p. ii.

[91] AVILER 1691, p. 355.

pendant le moyen âge [...] offre, sur les beaux-arts, la collection de faits la plus nombreuse et la plus soigneusement vérifiée qui existe dans aucune langue."[92]

From the preceding paragraphs, it becomes apparent that the author who knows how to articulate his text and his images will achieve greater descriptive ease. No matter how sumptuous and detailed the plates, they must function with the text itself, and *vice versa*: the author's responsibility is to ensure that a reciprocal dialogue, a complementary relation, is established between these two elements. Each must serve to explain and elucidate features that might remain ambiguous from consultation of one without the other.[93] Which strategies needed to be used to ensure that the verbal and the visual functioned together? First there is the choice of images. As was seen, Stuart and Revett advised an author to ensure the presence of several types of plate for the representation of a building. Plans, elevations, sections and then various detailed views of the ornamental features, bearing dimensions, and whenever possible a map which would allow for the relative position of the building to be fixed were felt by these two architects to be the *sine qua non* for a good illustrated account of a building. Nor was it only buildings that demanded several different plates, were the author to insist on an absolutely scrupulous attention to detail. Joseph Spence had commented on the various different emotions evoked in spectators on seeing one single work of art, depending on the angle from which it was viewed:

> "The Venus of Medici in the Great Duke's study at Florence: Ramsay observed three different passions expressed in it, in three different postures. Before, she seems to invite you to her; move to the right and she seems in a more rapturous degree of pleasure, and on the left she seems to turn away from you, either in scorn or being tired: disdaining, inviting, and enjoying. The connoisseur said twenty men of taste had observed the same before."[94]

Given the foregoing discussion concerning the plates necessary for a complete and accurate visual depiction of a building and the works of art and monuments that it contained, the enormity of the task facing Millin becomes much more apparent. The *Antiquities of Athens* is a work which is certainly sumptuously illustrated but which demanded much time

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[92] SÉROUX 1810, vol. 1 (1810), 'Préface', pp. ii–iii.

[93] If not, in Philippe Hamon's words, the text becomes superfluous: "la description en effet n'est souvent que le commentaire marginal d'une planche d'architecture, [...], d'un plan à consulter (elle en est alors la "légende")": HAMON 1991, p. 11.

[94] SPENCE 1966, vol. 1 (1966), no. 1289, p. 473.

and much expense.[95] Millin had neither of these factors on his side. As was seen in the chapter on the book and its production, he was working very rapidly and financial problems were often responsible for delays, changes in the way in which the book was issued and also requests for government support. The same budget was certainly not available to Millin as to Stuart and Revett, all the more so given the tumultuous period during which the *Antiquités* were being written and printed, the prevailing economic conditions and the constant incertitude that subscribers could be attracted or would remain faithful to the book. He had to choose which plates would be most pertinent to his discourse, and would best serve his avowed purpose of giving a faithful and accurate description of each building. He then had to ensure that the way in which the plates were presented and the necessary information incorporated into them ensured that no essential details were overlooked.

The choice of the plates is the first concern. Whilst the very first article of the work, that on the Bastille, does more or less correspond to the strategy laid out by Stuart and Revett, including as it does a plan of the building **[Ill. 73]**, two elevations and two plates showing the most important sculptural works to be seen on the building, the subsequent articles prove that Millin soon abandoned the idea of offering a plan of each building.[96] Likewise, there is not one single section of a building presented throughout the work. The reader's comprehension of many of the buildings described in the *Antiquités* could have been significantly increased by the astute inclusion of a plan at the beginning of each article.[97] For the most part, instead of this, Millin tries to guide his reader around the building in his verbal discourse by the use of indications such as "en revenant sur la gauche, auprès de la grille [...]", "auprès du tombeau [...]" or "après la statue de [...]".[98] These indications, already firmly enshrined in the guide-book

[95] At the end of the seventeenth century, prices for illustrative engravings ranged from 3 to 60 livres per plate. More expensive were portraits, which cost on average 330 livres. See GRIVEL 1986, p. 218.

[96] ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 1 (1790), art. I, pl. 1, 'Plan de la Bastille', to be compared with the plan of the Bastille included in the second livraison of CHARPENTIER 1789. This in turn can be compared with no. 1539 of the De Vinck collection in the Bibliothèque nationale, 'Plan de la Bastille ... levé et dessiné par Cathala ... Graitte sculp.': see DE VINCK 1909, ch. XIII, 'La Prise de la Bastille'. There is a third 'plan' in the article on Gomer-Fontaine (article XLII, 'L'abbaye de Gomer-Fontaine'), but it is small and extremely basic and seems to provide no information which is of particular interest for the article – the reason for its inclusion is unclear.

[97] As had done, for example Michel Félibien in his monograph on Saint-Denis: FÉLIBIEN (M) 1706.

[98] A number of examples chosen from two articles of the *Antiquités* show all too clearly the difficulties of this: ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 1 (1790), art. III, 'Célestins': p. 28 – to indicate the position of the tomb of the Rochefort family: "En revenant sur la gauche, auprès de la grille qui sépare la nef du chœur, est un tombeau"; p. 30 – for the tomb of Charles Maigné: "Auprès du tombeau de la maison de Rochefort est celui de Charles Maigné"; p. 32 – for the tombs of the Zamet family: "Après la statue de Charles Maigné, on trouve deux cénotaphes"; p. 37 – "Auprès de la chapelle de la Trimouille, on lit cette épitaphe". ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 3 (1791), art. XXVIII, 'Ecouis': p. 5 – "A côté de la port, à gauche, sont deux statues, *Planche II, fig. 3* et *4*; elles représentent un homme et une femme"; p. 11 – "On voit, à gauche [du chœur], un grand tombeau dans une niche, accompagné de

tradition as exemplified by Millin's predecessors such as Brice, Dulaure, Dézallier d'Argenville and Hurtaut, are less than exact and any beneficial effect that they might have had in helping to fix the layout of the building is further hampered by the way in which they are placed in the text. As was seen above, and contrary to the practice of, for instance, Winckelmann, Millin does not give one continuous guided tour of a building concentrating only on its physical appearance and that of its contents.[99] His strategy is rather to note the existence of a tomb or a statue and then to launch into a long passage (sometimes extending over two or three pages) explaining the history of the monument and of the family, patron or artist concerned. Immediately after this digression, he will then pick up the thread of his description of the building with a phrase such as those quoted above. His discourse is reminiscent of that of a *cicerone* who pauses in front of a work of art to explain its significance, and then moves on. But the reader, who is not *in situ*, who is not actually in the building and accompanied by the *cicerone*, is very quickly disorientated and experiences considerable difficulty in reconstructing mentally from this fragmented discourse the church, the castle or the monastery which is being described. Such disjointed and complicated discourses are thrown into all the greater relief by the rare passages where Millin does prove, with remarkable skill and compositional dexterity, to possess a certain talent for the translation into words, and in a form which would be highly comprehensible to even the most architecturally illiterate layman, of the disposition of spaces within a building. A very good example of this comes in his description of the Carmes de la Place Maubert where, after a short description of the main entrance, he continues:

> "La nef et les deux chœurs qui composent la grande église n'ont rien de remarquable; ils sont sur un plan oblong. La chapelle de la Vierge défigure l'édifice par sa position; elle est séparée du reste par un rang d'arcades dont deux sont gothiques et deux à plein cintre, posées sur quatre colonnes; l'église étoit voûtée en bois et la chapelle l'étoit en pierre.
>
> "Le buffet d'orgues est assez beau; il est porté par deux colonnes corinthiennes et deux pilasters de même en arrière-corps.
>
> "En entrant à-droite on trouve deux petites chapelles prises dans l'épaisseur du mur; elles sont décorées chacune de deux colonnes corinthiennes avec un fronton tourmenté, de mauvais gout et lourd, ainsi que les autres ornemens dans le genre de sculpture du temps de Louis XIII. Les bases et les chapiteaux des colonnes sont dorés."[100]

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quelques figures, c'est celui d'Enguerrand de Marigny"; p. 23 – "A côté du tombeau de Marigny on en voit un autre de marbre noir [...] de Jean de Marigny."

[99] *Supra*, p. 313. This was also the case with his predecessors, who often permitted themselves lengthy historical digressions and anecdotes when mentioning individual features of or monuments in a building.

[100] ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 4 (1792), art. XLVI, p. 15.

This passage, admirable in its simplicity, already allows the reader to visualize the general shape of the building and to place within it the main architectural elements.

The reason for the lack of certain types of representation lies probably in the impossibility of procuring the necessary drawings. Despite the existence of some works that might have facilitated the task of acquiring the necessary illustrations, for example the *Grand* and the *Petit Marot*, it could not be guaranteed that the requisite plates could be found for each building, and more especially so for those outside Paris.[101] Requesting that these images should be produced would scarcely have been possible and thus it is probable that, desiring some consistency, Millin quickly renounced the idea of providing his readers with the plates that would, in any case, have been more typical of a strictly architectural history with its accurate *relevé* of each building than of a more general account which remained more faithful to the tradition of the antiquarian texts and the guide-books. In general, Millin satisfied himself with giving a view of the façade of a building, followed by a series of plates showing various individual monuments within. On occasions he will also add an internal view of a building, or at least of part of it **[Ills. 74–5]**. Once, in the case of a particularly large and complex building – the château of Vincennes – he made use of the sixteenth-century bird's-eye view by Jacques Androuet du Cerceau for the *Plus excellents bastiments* **[Ill. 76]**. This is certainly a considerable help to the reader in understanding the layout of the building. As was seen in the case of the church of Saint-Denis de la Chartre, a similarly judicious choice and use of plates allowed the author to achieve a remarkably satisfying harmony between the verbal and the visual discourses, one which achieves the aim of providing an accurate and comprehensible representation of this particular church and most of its contents. For example, it is notable that he does not comment, when discussing the high altar, on either the presence of the coat of arms supported by two putti or the order of the columns. Both of these details are, nonetheless, perfectly visible on the plate which stands just opposite this textual passage. It is by means of this kind of dialogue between the verbal and the visual discourses that the best representation can be given. On the other hand, there are some occasions where the visual material does not fulfil the role which it should. This is exemplified by his treatment of the church of the Cordeliers in Mantes. As was seen, the verbal portrayal of the church was less than entirely satisfactory, glossing over, as it did, many of the more important facts that a reader might need in order to imagine the building. And yet, almost inexplicably, this entire

[101] MAROT 1660 ; MAROT 1670.

article is accompanied by only one plate **[Ill. 62]**. No view of either the exterior or the interior of the church is furnished.

Problems arising from the lack of clear textual indications to the position of monuments in the absence of a good geometrical representation of a building could, in part, have been remedied by plates that show more clearly the position of a monument in terms of its immediate surroundings. Unfortunately this is rarely the case. All too often the engravings in the *Antiquités nationales* figure monuments that are entirely devoid of any setting. This point is best illustrated by considering an example such as the tomb of La Trémouille, formerly in the Couvent des Célestins, and comparing Millin's representation of it with that to be found in the Gaignières collection **[Ills. 77–8]**.[102] The contrast between the two representations is striking; the whole of the Gaignières sheet is used, the area around the tomb is filled in with the niche in which the monument is set, to either side a vault springs off and, to the left, the very right-hand edge of a leaded window is visible. Above the monument we see the wall continuing to the ceiling, and below it is the tiled floor. Millin's artist incorporates almost none of these details with the exception of, to the bottom right, an area of floor. This is, nonetheless, no more than the vaguest of indications. Instead of seeing the pattern of the tiles on the floor as in the Gaignières drawing, in the Millin version we are given only a series of twelve or thirteen undulating lines in a very small area. Basically, all that this offers is the notion of a floor, a ground on which the monument stands, rather than a depiction of the actual floor surface. By doing this, Millin has effectively denied the monument its own location, its setting: the tomb floats, so to speak. It would be incorrect to say that this is always the case in Millin, but it would seem to be rather the rule. Throughout the rest of this article twenty-five other monuments of this type are depicted; amongst these only one, the tomb of Léon Potier, is allowed to remain within its own setting **[Ill. 79]**.[103] Here the tomb's position in a niche with a quarter-sphere head is shown, the arch of which is decorated with rosettes. The tombs of René Potier and Philippe Chabot also exhibit some, albeit not particularly realistic or detailed, background **[Ills. 80–1]**.[104] With the exception of these three, all the others are shown against a white, blank background bearing virtually no indications as to the architectural setting or even the scale of the monument **[Ills. 82–3]**. Nor is it only in the case of tombs that Millin allows himself the liberty of entirely divorcing a work from

[102] ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 1 (1790), art. III, pl. 4. As comparative material the drawing of the same monument from the Gaignières collection can be considered: BNF, Cabinet des Estampes, Rés. Pe 11, fol.18. (= ADHÉMAR 1976, p. 128, no. 1834).

[103] ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 1 (1790), art. III, pl. 10.

[104] ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 1 (1790), art. III, pll. 7 & 12 respectively.

its setting. A blatant example of this occurs in the article on the Église du Sépulcre in Paris. The façade of this church is displayed in exactly the same way as one of the tombs discussed above, giving the viewer the feeling of looking at a model rather than at a building found in a Parisian street **[Ill. 84]**.[105]

As was seen above, Stuart and Revett advocated the use of plates which carried a large amount of supplementary and necessary information in the form of measurements. This is a solution that is not once adopted by Millin in his work. He prefers to restrict such indications, when he does give them, to the text. Likewise, there are some facts that cannot be represented only by visual means, on a plate; the most obvious example of this is, of course, the materials used for the building and its decoration. Labels can certainly be added, either next to the features that need to be explained or, by means of a system of numbering, these textual elements can be confined to one carefully delimited area of the plate. There is of course a concurrent danger, which is that the labels begin to overload the plate and detract from its decorative nature. It is to be imagined, in the absence of a direct statement on this question from Millin, that this was his feeling. His plates do tend to remain largely faithful to the style already familiar from other similar texts, such as the Brice or the Dézallier d'Argenvillle, where such indications were not to be found.

One piece of historical evidence that Millin counted as very important for the accuracy of his descriptions, and which he consistently included in his text, is the inscriptions that were to be found on the tombs or monuments that he is analysing. It could be argued that, in order to produce an entirely faithful image, this textual element should in fact be incorporated into the visual representations. This would, however, have entailed considerably more work and expense, and the legibility could not always be guaranteed. Louis Boudan did manage to incorporate inscriptions into the representations of monuments that he executed for Gaignières, but it must not be forgotten that he generally devoted one entire sheet to the representation of one tomb. Millin's decision to juxtapose several tombs on one plate, whilst reducing the number of engravings necessary and thus the cost of the book, entailed images which were of much smaller dimensions and would not have allowed for the successful inclusion of inscriptions, particularly lengthy ones. It is certainly regrettable, however, that Millin did not maintain a greater semblance of exactitude, by insisting that any epitaph should be set in such a way as to reproduce its actual appearance on the tomb, respecting the lengths

[105] ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 3 (1791), art. XXVII, pl. 1. On the importance of a building's setting see HAMON 2002.

of the lines and its layout. Scholars such as Caylus also preferred to include an epitaph in the text, but they would at least try to maintain the appearance of the inscription on the tomb in the page layout.[106]

A further problem which needs to be faced if relying solely on plates for the representation of a building is that of the colours involved. Modern photographic techniques generally allow for accurate reproduction of colours, even if that is still a moot point for some people.[107] During the eighteenth century coloured plates could be produced but this remained a laborious process, involving several repetitions of the printing process with the necessary colours, and thus adding significantly to the cost of their production. Another possibility was of course to produce books with hand-coloured plates, but this was only exploited for the most luxurious works, limited to a small number of copies. It was thus much easier in a work intended for a wide readership, and hence to be sold at a reasonable price, to consign the details of colours to textual passages. As Stuart and Revett had been at pains to point out: "All the different Subjects we shall treat of, will be illustrated with such explanations and descriptions as may serve to render the Prints intelligible".[108] Thus, for example, in the *Antiquités nationales* the text should be used to indicate that in a given plate the tomb illustrated is carved of white marble, with a black marble surround, and with an inscription picked out in gold leaf. And, in effect, this is an element of the descriptive discourse to which Millin does pay considerable attention; seldom does he gloss over these details of colour and of materials. The author also has a duty to ensure that the relation between the image and the written discourse is very clearly signalled; the text should therefore provide pointers which direct the reader towards the relevant illustrative material, even if no more than a brief reference such as 'Plate 1. Fig. 2'. On this point, also, Millin's practice is regular and fairly precise; he is not entirely exemplary in his references to the plates – there are occasions when he confuses two plates or two illustrations on a plate – but the few faults which are noticed can be attributed to the speed at which the book was composed and overly-hasty proof-reading.

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[106] CAYLUS 1752.

[107] "[...] nous qui savons qu'une reproduction photographique ne rend jamais les couleurs d'un tableau que très approximativement": RECHT 1998, 'Introduction', p. 13.

[108] STUART & REVETT 1748, quoted in STUART & REVETT 1762, vol. 1 (1762), 'Preface', p. vi, note a.

When establishing his objectives for the *Antiquités nationales*, Millin claimed that "rien ne sera négligé pour la représentation fidelle des objets et pour l'exactitude des descriptions."[109] Careful consideration of the descriptive passages throughout the book leads the reader to the conclusion that this aim was indeed fulfilled, to a certain extent. What does become clear from a thorough perusal of the sixty-one articles in the work is that not all of them betray the same level of scrupulosity. This proves to be the case not only when distinguishing between his discussions of different types of monument, for example a comparison of his relative success in describing a building as opposed to a sculpture, but also, on occasions, within one and the same class. It is perhaps disconcerting to think that the same author was responsible for the rather inexact and almost casual description of the Cordeliers in Mantes and for the precise, informative and also atmospheric representation, both verbal and visual, of the church of Saint-Denis de la Chartre or of the Carmes de la Place Maubert. This lack of consistency is, furthermore, not always alleviated by, but is sometimes even reinforced by the rather erratic quality of the illustrative material, as was seen in the case of the Cordeliers de Mantes.

Much of the criticism that can be levelled against Millin with reference to his descriptive shortcomings when dealing with buildings must however be mitigated. The style of writing to which he aspired was not that of an architectural treatise or even an architectural history. And yet it is perhaps on this one point that the modern reader is most justified in taking issue with the author of the *Antiquités nationales* who, in the prospectus for the work, did proclaim and underscore his interest for matters historical, but did not limit his promises to this one sphere. For, he claimed, his book would present, through the views of buildings, "les progrès de l'Architecture et des Arts" and, by means of the representations of various other pieces, an idea of the development "de la ciselure, de l'orfévrerie, enfin de tous les arts relatifs au dessin."[110] The list of objects to which he refers in the title does not disabuse the reader of this idea. Millin privileges, through the list in the prospectus and, yet more strikingly, through the subtitle of his publication, pieces which would generally be defined as works of art: architecture, sculpture, painting and the decorative arts all find a place here. Nonetheless, a careful perusal of the same prospectus and, more tellingly, of the book itself reveals but scant mention of the fact that these pieces are indeed works of art or that they possess any intrinsic aesthetic value. There are some notable exceptions, such as the

[109] ALM ANTIQUITÉS PROSPECTUS 1790, p. 4.

[110] ALM ANTIQUITÉS PROSPECTUS 1790, p. 2.

comments made on the exceptional sculptural and aesthetic qualities of Germain Pilon's 'Three Graces', but these remain exactly that, notable exceptions. All too infrequently does Millin favour the artistic discourse to the historical one. He is essentially a historian, writing an antiquarian study of various monuments, and it is to the traditions of this genre that he remains faithful. It is no doubt for this reason that he does not always content himself with the discussion and the illustration merely of pieces that were actually to be seen *in situ* at the end of the eighteenth century. Determined to provide the reader with the most exhaustive inventory of a building's contents, both past and present, he also finds it important, drawing upon sources such as the Gaignières collection, to be able to signal, to discuss and to illustrate pieces that had been in a building in an earlier stage of its history but had since been lost. Thus, for example, in the chapter concerning Royaumont, he insists on including engravings after the drawings in the Gaignières collection of tombs that had long since disappeared. This fidelity to the history and even the prehistory of a monument betrays his antiquarian spirit. As interesting and enriching as this approach may be, it does entail a potential shortcoming. Despite his protestations to the contrary, on occasions Millin runs the risk of losing sight of the fact that his work was meant to fulfil a different function from those of earlier authors such as Brice or Dézallier. They were writing in the confidence, a misplaced confidence given the events of the revolutionary decade, that the monuments included in their work could always be visited by their readers. According to Dézallier, his role is confined to that of the author of a guide-book: he indicates the existence of buildings, monuments or works of art, he directs the reader to them and then leaves them to form their own judgement. "Le Lecteur peut compter qu'il ne promenera ses regards sur aucun morceau de Peinture ou de Sculpture qui ne mérite par quelque endroit son attention. Je ne fais à leur sujet aucunes réflexions pour lui laisser le plaisir de les faire."[111] In the absence of some of these pieces, the reader could regret that Millin was not more forthcoming with regard to their artistic and aesthetic qualities or failings.

The parallel and contrast with Alexandre Lenoir's Musée des Monumens français is one that it is fruitful to explore in this context, all the more so since the two projects were begun almost simultaneously and since the two men have been seen, with some justification, as having acted rather in competition than in concurrence with one another.[112] An almost

[111] DÉZALLIER D'ARGENVILLE 1757, pp. vi–vii.

[112] Even if the museum was not to open as an institution bearing this name until 1793, the first work of collecting together and inventorying the objects had already commenced in late 1790.

constant feature of the historiography of the fate of monuments during the French Revolution, has been the priority accorded to Lenoir. The founder and director of a museum that counted as one of the attractions of the time, Lenoir was undoubtedly a much more talented communicator and publicist than was the author of the *Antiquités nationales*. The successive editions of his catalogue met with considerable critical acclaim at the time, notwithstanding the occasional negative review penned by his detractors.[113] Commentators have noted the lyricism of the descriptions; there can be no doubt that these are of a high standard in the six-volume catalogue, published at the beginning of the nineteenth century, which served not only as a mere catalogue of the artistic objects in the building but also as a representation by text and image of the museum itself. Lenoir intended it as a perpetual memorial to the Musée des Monumens français, and coincidentally to his own work there; it became an *ersatz* for a visit to the complex of buildings as well as for the objects therein housed, and it was certainly a remarkable work. It was also a publication to which its author had devoted much time, and which marked the culmination of several years of considerable effort, punctuated by various versions of the catalogue which are by no means as eloquent. Unlike Millin, Lenoir had the opportunity to work and rework his descriptions; he was not tied to a constrictive and pressurized publishing timetable. The earliest editions of the catalogue, on the other hand, amount to little more than hand-lists and the descriptive material is anything but complete; these works constitute little more than an identification and enumeration of the objects on display. It was in the preparation of these shorter books that he was facing much the same constraints as was Millin. And there is a further point which must be borne in mind, one which relates to the perception that these two authors who were working with much the same, often identical, material had of the historical value of the pieces which they were studying. One of the major attractions of Lenoir's museum was the scenography. The pieces were arranged in a chronological series, with one room in the former convent of the Petits-Augustins attributed to each century. Within these rooms, Lenoir gave full rein to his imagination. He thus recreated his version of a fifteenth or sixteenth-century décor and arranged the sculptures in this manufactured setting. The result was certainly stunning, but historical veracity was not necessarily his primary concern. Here the contrast with Millin is particularly telling. Lenoir may well have, in concrete terms, achieved more than did his contemporary in terms of the rescuing of individual pieces. Yet this was a very particular form of conservation. In order to achieve the 'ideal' form of a sculptural group or of a tomb as

[113] Amongst them, of course, Millin: see *supra*, ch. 7, p. 290.

he had imagined it, the museum curator who had earlier trained as an artist felt no qualms at dismantling tombs, at taking the most excellent parts of them, disposing of the rest, and then reassembling disparate elements to produce a paradigmatic but certainly not authentic piece. The potential architectural or artistic effect to be gained from each of these assemblages was foremost in his mind; the Musée des Monumens français became Lenoir's atelier. He thus denied the history, the nature, the very quintessence of the various objects placed under his care, and his intervention can scarcely be described as neutral. By contrast, Millin made far more effort, albeit not always entirely successful, to represent, both verbally and visually, the various pieces in their original setting, in the context for which they had been created.

Description is, necessarily, a literary device, and it is on this one point that any dissatisfaction felt when faced with the passages penned by Millin must be acknowledged and sanctioned. The same deficiencies in literary style which already mark the *Antiquités nationales* were those that were to dog him for the rest of his career and were, for example, to give rise to comments such as the one made by Adolphe Blanqui to Michelet when he stated that reading Millin's travel accounts was at least better than ploughing one's way through the government statistics concerning the same regions. Noël may well have a been a close acquaintance of Millin, and the two collaborated on a number of projects such as the *Magasin encyclopédique*, but this friendship was not sufficient to allow the former to turn a blind eye to the latter's less than entirely elegant style. Thus it was that no text written by Millin was considered worthy of a place in Noël and La Place's anthology. Winckelmann, Volney and Châteaubriand are those whose descriptions of ruins, monuments and antiquities are deemed to provide a good model for authors. Although a wish to avoid overly specialized technical terms, or a lack of adequate aesthetic and artistic vocabulary can certainly be cited as explaining some of Millin's perceived shortcomings, they do not alone provide an entirely convincing defence. That this one slight reserve expressed with regard to his work resulted rather from his relative ineptitude in textual composition than from a fundamental lack of appreciation of the beauty of a work of art is surely confirmed by the passage from the beginning of his *Voyage dans le Milanais* where he explains to the reader that much of his motivation for writing the book comes from his desire to share his experiences: "Je ne saurois exprimer le charme que j'éprouve à reporter mon imagination sur des objets qui l'ont si vivement frappée, à reproduire à mes propres yeux, en tracant leur description, des lieux dont l'aspect a tant ému mon âme."[114]

[114] ALM VOYAGE 1817, vol. 1, pp. [l]–2.

A wish to describe fully and accurately that is not always brought to satisfactory fruition, a less successful treatment of buildings than of smaller monuments, and a desire to pay full justice to the history of each piece, showing its importance for the French nation. And it is on this point, that of the historical value of each piece, that a possible answer to one of the problems raised in this chapter can be found. The *Antiquités* are certainly articulated around a series of buildings, each one of which, or a group of which, provides the subject for the successive articles. This very fact may lull the reader into a false sense of security, into a belief that the buildings are of the greater interest for Millin, that they form the central point of the discourse, and that the various objects found therein are merely incidental. The structure of the work does nothing to belie this hypothesis. And yet, maybe such is not the case. The individual objects may in effect be of even greater importance in Millin's eyes, all the more so since they very often provide the indications of the life and of the history of the French that Millin is so keen to narrate. Adopting this reading does not necessarily entail the hypothesis that the buildings themselves provide little more than an excuse for the discussion of the individual works of art, that their presence is merely a means of providing a unifying structure for the text. A further, intriguing, possibility is raised when considering the apparently illogical and even haphazard choice and ordering of the various articles in the work. This is that the buildings are scarcely significant inasmuch as they are architectural constructions that deserve a careful, accurate and respectful appreciation. They are, for the author of the *Antiquités nationales*, as important, if not more so, for their historical associations, for the memories which they evoke; they assume, for Millin, the status of symbols.

Chapter 9.
READING BETWEEN THE LINES

In an earlier chapter it was stated that the *Antiquités nationales* constitute what can, at best, be described as a rather heterogeneous selection;[1] a less charitable observation could be that this is a hastily-assembled collection of dissertations bearing little if any relation to one another and scarcely encouraging the reader to peruse the book in any depth. Sixty-one illustrated articles of varying lengths on different buildings, towns or monuments in France have been gathered together into five volumes and given a semblance of order by the addition of title-pages, indices, bibliographies and tables of the engravings. Such, at least, is the impression that the reader has; a reaction that is not only understandable but also entirely pardonable. Amongst the great bibliographers, few have avoided criticizing this very element of the book – its apparently chaotic nature. François-Ignace Fournier is prepared to accord praise to the work, saying of it that "Cet ouvrage est bien exécuté", but later judgements have been less positive.[2] Whilst Brunet, Quérard and Graesse all admit that a definite advantage of the book is that it does conserve a record of several buildings that had been lost at the time of the Revolution, they remonstrate with Millin on a number of points. Quérard's opinion is that "Cet ouvrage, qui n'a point été terminé, manque d'ordre et de critique. Il répond d'ailleurs fort mal à son titre, puisqu'on y a admis presque autant de monuments modernes que d'anciens."[3] This chapter aims at analysing more closely the structure of the book, at attempting to find some answer to the problems of reading the *Antiquités nationales*.

A number of elements relating to the contents of the book and the discourse employed by Millin must be examined. First comes the question of what information, if any, Millin gives in terms of how he wanted his book to be read and what were his intentions when planning the text. Secondly, the choice of the monuments and the order in which they are presented must be considered. Then it becomes necessary to look beyond the confines of the

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[1] See *supra*, ch. 6, p. 190.

[2] FOURNIER 1809, p. 354.

[3] QUÉRARD 1827, vol. 6 (1834), p. 136. Brunet's words are very similar: see BRUNET 1860, vol. 3 (1862), col. 1723. Graesse's comment is that "Cet ouvrage n'est ni complet ni exact ni fidèle quant aux objets réprésentées, mais [...] il sera toujours indispensable pour tous les antiquaires": see GRAESSE 1922, vol. 4, p. 527.

individual articles and to attempt to analyse whether or not there is any argument running through the book as a whole, whether or not there are any common points in the presentation of the individual pieces.

Text and paratext

Much of the problem in understanding the book comes in attempting to find a direct statement by Millin himself which would help to explain how he set about selecting the monuments that he deemed fit for inclusion in the *Antiquités*, and then how he chose the approach to each one that he has chosen. The most natural place for such a statement within the work itself would have been in the paratextual elements, those parts of a book that stand outside the main discursive text and which often complement it, providing the necessary elucidations, explanations and additions. These paratextual elements, brilliantly investigated by Gérard Genette, include the title-page, dedication, introduction, preface, postface and notes.[4] Their pivotal rôle in aiding the reader is highlighted by the very choice of title for Genette's book, 'seuils'; this word, in the singular form, finds its closest English parallel in the word 'threshold', literally the stone or blank at the bottom of a door in a building, and figuratively an entrance. By his use of this word, Genette is inscribing his own work into a long Western tradition, that of the use of architectural metaphors for qualifying literary creation and the forms of its transmission. From the Horatian image of his literary creation as a monument both comparable with and superior to the greatest artistic and architectural creations of his own time and of earlier civilizations – "exegi monumentum perennius aere" – the *topos* has been repeated, reused, reworked.[5] Not only is the text itself a monument, but so too is its physical embodiment. For example, the illustration facing the title-page of a book is called a frontispiece, as is also a decorated entrance to a building.[6] This idea of the point of entrance is maintained in the terminology employed to designate the textual elements that usually follow immediately after the title-page. For Claude Fauchet, writing at the beginning of the seventeenth century, nothing was more apt as a metaphor for the introduction to his

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[4] GENETTE 1987.

[5] Horace, *Odes* 3, 30, 1; on architectural metaphor, especially in France, see COWLING 1998.

[6] On the illustrated title-page, which was the immediate predecessor to the frontispiece, see CORBETT & LIGHTBOWN 1979. Corbett and Lightbown point out the frequency with which an architectural motif, and more particularly a triumpal arch, appeared on the title-page and comment that "it may symbolise the formal entrance to the work within" (p. 7).

book than a reference to a doorway: "comme en vos Chasteaux, & Royales maisons, volontiers l'on rencontre une bien ordonné Portail, m'en servir d'Avant propos: ainsi que d'une entrée à ces Antiquitez Gauloises & Françoises."[7] Thus, over the centuries, the symbolism of the preface as the entrance to a work has been not only recognized, but, by the very vocabulary that has been used to refer to it, codified. If a preface is to be deemed successful in this pivotal position that is the entrance to a work, which then have to be its characteristics? One answer is furnished by the *Encyclopédie*, where the following definition is to be found:

> "Préface, avertissement qu'on met au-devant d'un livre pour instruire le lecteur de l'ordre & de la disposition qu'on y a observé, de ce qu'il a besoin de savoir pour en tirer de l'utilité & lui en faciliter l'intelligence."[8]

For the author of this article, the essence of a successful preface is its utility: the pages which stand at the beginning of the work must aid the reader in understanding the main text which is to follow.[9] Unfortunately, there are remarkably few positive guidelines for either authors or readers in this article, since the Encyclopaedist can do little more than explain what a preface should not be ("ni un argument, ni un discours, ni une narration, ni une apologie") and comment that only very rarely does an author succeed in writing a successful one: "Il n'y a rien qui demande plus d'art, & en quoi les auteurs réussissent moins pour l'ordinaire, que dans les préfaces."[10] More recently, Genette has stressed the analogies with an orator's art, commenting that the preface provides the author with an opportunity to "retenir [le lecteur] par un appareil typiquement rhétorique de persuasion [...] ce que la rhétorique latine nommait *captatio benevolentiae*".[11] And this persuasion is best effected by an attempt to "valoriser le sujet, quitte à plaider plus ou moins sincèrement l'insuffisance de son traitement."[12] It is therefore the interest of the subject of the book that has to take precedence in the preface –

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[7] FAUCHET 1611, p. [iii].

[8] ENCYCLOPÉDIE 1751, vol. 13 (1765), pp. 280–1.

[9] A recent formulation of the purpose of a preface emphasizes the same points: "[...] la préface introduit, présente, définit ... le texte": ANGELET & HERMAN 1999, p. 14.

[10] ENCYCLOPÉDIE 1751, vol. 13 (1765), pp. 280–1: "En effet, une préface est une piece qui a son goût, son caractere particulier qui la fait distinguer de tout autre ouvrage."

[11] GENETTE 1987, p. 184.

[12] GENETTE 1987, p. 184.

the author must, in the space of a few pages, not only elucidate what is dealt with in the book (the "ordre et disposition" of the *Encyclopédie* article) but also justify the decision to write a book on this subject.

Whilst the presence of a preface may not have been obligatory in an eighteenth-century book, it was certainly customary.[13] Such at least is the impression to be gained from the following comment made by Baudelot de Dairval at the beginning of his work on journeys and their usefulness: "Quoiqu'on ne soit pas obligé de rendre compte de son travail, & qu'un Lecteur ne juge guere d'un Ouvrage sur le motif qui la fait naître, je ne laisseray pas néanmoins de dire ce qui m'a fait composer celuy que je donne. C'est un usage d'ailleurs que je trouve observé par la plus-part de ceux qui produisent au jour leurs écrits; et je suis encore trop-nouveau venu dans la Republique des lettres, pour y avoir aquis le Privilege de m'en dispenser."[14] Not that the mere presence of a preface renders its reading obligatory, since the reader may choose to ignore it entirely.[15] A further alternative is that a strictly linear reading of the text is not necessarily posited, in which case the preface may be referred to after reading either all or parts of the text, and this is maybe the greatest test of a preface, to see whether it does explain and confirm what has already been deduced from the book itself.

Whatever the individual reader may or may not decide to do with the paratextual material presented in a book, it is certain that the preface does often serve a useful purpose, and that even if one does not always read it, then there are times when it would be advantageous to be able to turn to it for confirmation or explanation of an interpretation of the purport of the main discursive text. Its absence is no doubt most strongly felt in the case of a book whose methods, aims and purposes are not immediately clear from the main body of the text, as is certainly the case with Millin's *Antiquités nationales*. For the reader turns the title-page to be confronted, immediately, by the first page of the first article. Not only is there no preface, but also no dedication, another text which could explain, albeit often in much less detail, the main aims of the work.

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[13] The presence of the preface is clearly not limited to the eighteenth century: its history is long – its ancestor is the exorde. The standard form of the book remained relatively stable from an early date: see Roger Laufer "L'espace visuel du livre ancien", in CHARTIER & MARTIN 1989, pp. 579–601, p. 579: "Aux alentours de 1530, le livre imprimé prend en gros la forme qu'il conserve jusqu'à la Révolution."

[14] BAUDELOT DE DAIRVAL 1686, p. [i].

[15] GENETTE 1987, p. 10.

The choice of monuments

Without this authorial device, the alternative is to turn to what Genette has classified as the 'epitexte' – other pieces related to the book but not actually issued with it, amongst which are to be included the advertisements, the announcements and the interviews with the author.[16] For the *Antiquités* the two most obvious examples of 'epitexte' are the speech to the Assemblée nationale presenting the work and the prospectus. A careful reading of both of these texts unfortunately furnishes only scant evidence as to the way in which Millin intended the book to be read. He states that his wish is to rescue works of art from "l'oubli dans lequel ces monuments allaient être plongés" as a result of the decree passed by the Assemblée nationale confirming the sale of the 'domaines nationaux'.[17] No specific details are given as to which monuments Millin plans to include in his work since he requests only that he should be allowed to enter "tous les lieux claustraux, toutes les maisons nationales."[18] An equal liberty in the choice of the monuments to be included becomes apparent from a close reading of the prospectus. The author explains that there is a "foule d'objets intéressans pour les arts et pour l'histoire" which must be recorded before they are destroyed.[19] Nothing in this phrase gives any indication of the way in which these various objects are to be presented, and it is not until several lines later that Millin begins to explain the contents of his work in greater detail. In a series of short paragraphs he explains the reasons for the inclusion of the objects that he has selected. As one of the few direct comments addressing the question of the logic underlying the choice of objects to be included, it is worth quoting this passage at length:

> "Nous donnerons la représentation des divers monumens nationaux, tels qu'anciens Châteaux, Abbayes, Monastères, enfin de tous ceux qui peuvent retracer les grands événemens de notre histoire.
>
> "Nous y joindrons les figures des Tombeaux, Inscriptions, Vitraux, Châsses, Reliques, Vases de forme extraordinaire, enfin tout ce qui nous paroîtra capable de piquer la curiosité de ceux qui veulent connoître les détails de notre histoire, devenue une des principales études des vrais Citoyens.

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[16] GENETTE 1987, pp. 10–11.

[17] ARCHIVES PARLEMENTAIRES 1969, 1ère série, vol. 21, December 9 1790, pp. 353 ff. See also GAZETTE NATIONALE 1789, vol. 6 (1841), no. 345, p. 595, December 11 1790.

[18] ARCHIVES PARLEMENTAIRES 1969, December 9 1790, 1ère série, vol. 20, pp. 353 ff. See also GAZETTE NATIONALE 1789, vol. 6 (1841), no. 345, p. 595, December 11 1790.

[19] ALM ANTIQUITÉS PROSPECTUS 1790, p. 2.

> "Il est aisé de sentir combien une semblable collection est nécessaire et précieuse; combien les divers objets qui y seront décrits, peuvent être les sujets de discussions intéressantes.
>
> "Les Statues, les Vitraux retraceront les portraits des Hommes célèbres; les tombeaux rappelleront le souvenir de leurs vices ou de leurs vertus.
>
> "Les Epitaphes, Inscriptions, etc. serviront à fixer diverses époques importantes, à éclaircir les noms de divers emplois, charges, etc. qui n'existent plus, à nous instruire de faits peu connus; enfin cette collection sera la source et l'occasion d'une foule d'anecdotes piquantes, de singularités historiques qui seront lues avec plaisir et avec intérêt.
>
> "La vue des Edifices fera connoître les progrès de l'Architecture et des Arts, depuis l'origine de la Monarchie.
>
> "Les Ornemens, les Vases, les Reliquaires nous offriront ceux de la ciselure, de l'orfévrerie, enfin de tous les arts relatifs au dessein.
>
> "Ces divers objets réunis présenteront une suite des instrumens civils, religieux et militaires, et formeront une histoire complète de la vie privée des François, histoire trop negligée jusqu'à cette heure.
>
> "La description de chaque lieu sera précédée de son histoire."[20]

Thus from the general – the need to record and thus to save at least a memory of this host of monuments and objects ("foule d'objets") that may be destroyed – the author then moves to the particular, detailing the various pieces upon which his attention will be fixed. Firstly, he mentions the buildings that are going to feature in the work; the main categories that he identifies as being of interest are castles, abbeys and monasteries. Clearly, given the uncertain nature of the time at which he was writing and the rich variety of monuments to be found on French soil, it would have been foolhardy to claim that these were the only buildings at risk and so he adds a further comment to the effect that any edifice related to the important events of France's history will be deemed worthy of inclusion in his work ("tous ceux qui peuvent retracer [...]").[21] His next step is to enumerate the various types of object or work of art that may be housed in these buildings and that could shed some light on any aspect of the history of France. Tombs, inscriptions, stained-glass windows, shrines, relics and vases or vessels are all to find a place in the *Antiquités*. Once again, this first list of potential subjects for his work is certainly not to be seen as exhaustive: Millin remains prepared to accept that some of the buildings described may well yield up other, unexpected, collections of objects meriting his consideration. Unwilling as he is to limit himself to too narrow a programme for his work, he

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[20] ALM ANTIQUITÉS PROSPECTUS 1790, p. 2.

[21] In this all-embracing term "tous ceux" can clearly be seen his willingness to consider the "ungewollte Denkmale" as being of potential interest – cf. *supra*, ch. 7, pp. 274 ff.

once again adds a comment to the effect that all he will consider all pieces ("enfin tout ce qui nous paroîtra capable de piquer la curiosité [...]"). Such a progression from the general and all-embracing term "foule d'objets" through the main types of monuments and thence to the individual pieces contained within these latter is no doubt a legacy from his earlier education in natural history. He hereby establishes a hierarchy which is remarkably reminiscent of the species – class – individual dear to natural historians.[22]

'All well and good', could be an understandable response here. Millin is going to select a number of buildings, describe them and then list and illustrate them. Little in the argument of the prospectus, as yet, differentiates this project from an inventory accompanied by a series of drawings or engravings of the most important objects. Similar inventories do indeed exist for this period, as witness the one drawn up by Puthod de Maisonrouge at the Château de Chantilly in May 1793 and published by Léonce Lex.[23] The Commission des monuments was meant to be doing this but, as was seen above, their relative lethargy was one of the factors that encouraged Millin to provide an alternative, in the form of the *Antiquités*.[24] For Millin, however, the bare listing of the contents of a building, even accompanied by an impressive number of illustrations, was not a satisfactory solution; in his view, the various buildings and objects had to be put to the service of a discourse.

Defining a discourse

i. art history

It is this discourse which it seems harder to recognize. In fact, it is almost impossible to identify a single thread running throughout the work. Millin points out in the section of the prospectus quoted above a number of types of approach which he hopes to be able to develop over the successive articles of his work, and certainly does not seem to privilege any of them. These various approaches can be identified as being the following: national historical interest ("les détails de notre histoire", "une histoire complète de la vie privée des François"), art-historical ("les progrès de l'Architecture et des Arts [...] enfin de tous les arts relatifs au

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[22] For an analysis of this type of hierarchy in eighteenth-century thought see JACOB 1970.

[23] The inspection of the castle and its contents was carried out by Puthod de Maisonrouge, Moreau, Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, Lamarck, Valenciennes and Gaillard. For an account of Puthod's involvement, and a copy of the inventory see: LEX 1915.

[24] See *supra*, ch. 4, pp. 142 ff.

dessein") and *curiosité* ("une foule d'anecdotes piquantes, de singularités historiques qui seront lues avec plaisir et avec intérêt").

The second of these approaches, that of producing a history of the development of the arts in France is one that, despite Millin's promise, scarcely features in the *Antiquités*. He was not, after all, an art historian: most of his work predating the *Antiquités* had been in the field of the natural sciences, with the exception of one brief foray into the domain of classical antiquities and the arts for the translation of selected essays from the *Philosophical Transactions*. His relative inexperience in terms of writings on the arts and on architecture is clear throughout the book: only rarely does he venture to make any comment that casts any light on questions of this type, and he certainly does not fulfil his promise of providing a work which can claim to trace the history of the "arts du dessein" in France. It is also true to say that the form of the book itself was not ideally suited to providing this type of historical survey. Objects are, after all, treated individually, and within the context of the building in which they were to be found. Even had Millin been better able to examine and analyse works of art, his comments would necessarily have been dispersed throughout the five volumes, effectively precluding the possibility of any overall historical survey. The same comment can be made with regard to the buildings themselves. Unless Millin was prepared to arrange the monuments that he selected in a more logical order, grouping them either by style or at least by approximate date of construction, then his claim to be producing a historical survey of architecture in France is one that cannot be accepted. Séroux d'Agincourt was to provide a much more logical response to this problem of the fragmented discourse by dividing his work into three major parts, namely a historical survey, a detailed list of the examples chosen and then, finally, the illustrations themselves.

ii. national history

As was seen in the chapter on his use of the English model, one element of which Millin was especially proud, on which he insisted even, was that of his presentation of a new national historical discourse. Much of the novelty of his programme is, of course, spelled out in the title of the work itself: *Antiquités nationales*. For his contemporaries who were unfamiliar with the works of the English antiquarians, and more especially with those of Strutt (and they must certainly have been in the majority), this must have constituted a

striking syntagm, the first instance of such a combination in a French book-title.[25] The key-word is 'national', a word that was already current in the French language, and whose usage became greatly extended at the time of the Revolution. Jacques Godechot notes that 'national' was adopted as the replacement for 'royal', citing as examples such phrases as 'garde nationale', 'domaines nationaux'.[26] For Millin the word was to assume an even greater significance since he used it not as a convenient and politically-correct alternative to 'royal', 'regal' or 'monarchical', but rather as the qualifier for a whole new class of historical objects, those that related to the population as a whole and that allowed him to state that in his book "chacun y pourra retrouver l'histoire de sa famille."[27]

One of the more unexpected statements in the prospectus occurs in Millin's summary of the overall purport of his work, in the phrase where he claims that the materials that he has assembled will provide "une histoire complète de la vie privée des François". This is a particularly interesting idea, closely related to the whole question of his vision of the type of 'monument' that he will include in his work. The English insistence on the extension of the field of study fit for an antiquarian is here of pivotal importance. The social history discourse so beloved of antiquarians such as Strutt, and exemplified by his work on costumes, on sports and pastimes and on other social history themes, is clearly one which Millin wishes to be able to present for his own country. Such a work did not yet exist for the French nation, despite an attempt made in that direction a few years earlier by Pierre-Jean-Baptiste Le Grand d'Aussy, a disciple of La Curne de Sainte-Palaye.[28] Less than a decade before Millin published his *Antiquités*, Le Grand d'Aussy had published the first part of a projected four-part work entitled *Histoire de la vie privée des français*.[29] The circumstances under which he was compiling his account of the daily life of the French nation were very different from those prevalent only ten years later, and so it is hardly surprising that there is less insistence here on the democratic nature of the work presented. Le Grand d'Aussy felt no need to remind his

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[25] Although we do have a work with a similar title – LE GENDRE DE SAINT-AUBIN 1741. This however is not related to monuments or artistic objects, concentrating rather on the supposed descent of the French nation from the Phrygians.

[26] GODECHOT 1971, p. 495.

[27] See *supra*, ch. 7, pp. 271 ff.

[28] On Sainte-Palaye and his circle see GOSSMAN 1968.

[29] LE GRAND D'AUSSY 1782.

readers that learning about the history of their ancestors amounted almost to a civic duty, and nor could he at that time justify his choice of subject by emphasizing its democratic character.[30] According to him, there were two main reasons for his decision to orientate his research towards this particular theme. One of these was, quite simply, that he could not envisage writing a factual account of France's history that would attract a sizeable readership; in his view the subject had been worked and overworked, and the market for books of this kind was saturated.[31] His second motivation is more interesting, constituting as it does a criticism of earlier historians' treatment of the theme of the history of France. All these accounts had been dominated by the monarchy, the nobility, high-ranking politicians and soldiers, to the almost total exclusion of the rest of the population of France. Legrand d'Aussy hoped to be able to concentrate rather on the theme of those who had until now remained on the margins of historical writing, "le Bourgeois dans sa ville, le Paysan dans sa chaumiere, le Gentil-homme dans son château, le Français enfin au milieu de ses travaux & de ses plaisirs, au sein de sa famille & de ses enfans".[32] The centre of his attention is thus remarkably close to that of Millin a few years later, but Le Grand d'Aussy calls upon no explicit political agenda to validate his work. He justifies his choice of subject in terms of the interest that he feels that it will have for his readership, and much of his argument rests on what can be seen as the picturesque element of this type of social history. Such an impression is certainly gained from the lines quoted above in which he explains the people on whom he is going to be centring his attention, and is subsequently reinforced by his next words:

> "Ce tableau néanmoins est celui de nos Peres; c'est pour nous en quelque sorte une galerie de portraits de famille; & cette collection, si je ne me trompe, doit nous intéresser plus que l'autre encore."[33]

So, although the justification of the theme and the author's presentation remain fairly distinct from Millin's, the actual subject matter is remarkably similar, especially since Le Grand points out that his intended classes are to be the following: domestic architecture

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[30] Cf. Millin's "une des principales études des vrais Citoyens" and "égalité sainte qui est la base de notre Constitution [...] Cette noblesse est celle d'opinion; c'est la seule, c'est la véritable [...]" (ALM ANTIQUITÉS PROSPECTUS 1790, p. 2 and p. 3).

[31] "Ce n'est point une histoire de France que j'entreprends d'écrire. Après la quantité d'ouvrages publiés sur cette matiere, quel espoir de trouver encore des lecteurs." LE GRAND D'AUSSY 1782, p. [v].

[32] LE GRAND D'AUSSY 1782, p. [v].

[33] LE GRAND D'AUSSY 1782, pp. [v]–vi.

("logement"), food ("nourriture"), costume ("habillemens") and leisure activities ("divertissemens ou jeux"). Quite whether Le Grand d'Aussy was aware of the work being done by English antiquaries at the time remains unclear but one fact is certain, and that is that, unlike Millin, he refers exclusively to earlier French works in social history. His main references are Couture and Cantel, both of whom had worked on antiquity.[34] No mention is made of a similar, English, treatise dealing with the Greek world which had been written at the turn of the eighteenth century, and had gone through many editions including at least one in Venice and one in Leiden, namely John Potter's *Archaeologia Graeca*.[35] Millin does not mention Le Grand d'Aussy in his bibliography – probably because, unfortunately, this was destined to remain an unfinished project. Only the first part of this monumental enterprise, devoted to food, was ever to be completed and no others were to appear.

iii. *curiositas*

The last category which Millin uses to qualify his work is probably the one which proves to be the most fruitful as a means of understanding his aims and methods. He hopes to include in his book "tout ce qui nous paroîtra capable de piquer la curiosité [...]".[36] This was in fact a potentially dangerous comment for a historian to be making at the end of the eighteenth century since, from having been regarded at the end of the seventeenth century as a rather positive attribute, the idea of *curiositas* had been endowed with an increasingly pejorative sense over the course of the next century, largely as a result of the much greater importance that was accorded to erudite history during this period.[37] Historians such as Voltaire and Montesquieu and their disciples agreed for the most part with the attitude expressed by a classical author such as Seneca, in whose eyes a 'curiosus' in the realm of historical studies was as little worthy of respect as was a collector who amassed a large number of rich and beautiful but essentially useless objects.[38] Throughout the eighteenth century there was a tendency for the words 'curieux' and 'curiosité' to become, especially in

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[34] COUTURE 1749; CANTEL 1684.

[35] POTTER 1697; Venice edition – POTTER 1734; Leiden edition – POTTER 1702.

[36] ALM ANTIQUITÉS PROSPECTUS 1790, p. 2.

[37] On the notion of *curiositas* see especially: BLUMENBERG 1980; LABHARDT 1960; JOLY 1961; POMIAN 1987, pp. 61–80.

[38] Seneca, *Epist*. 88, 36 ff.: quoted by LABHARDT, p. 214.

their more denigratory meanings, irrevocably entangled with the world of the fine arts and more particularly with the figure of the undiscerning collector who pursued his acquisitive tendencies with an unbridled passion.[39] Such at least is the impression that is gained from the article devoted to this word in the *Encyclopédie*:

> "Peinture. Un curieux en peinture est un homme qui amasse des desseins, des tableaux, des marbres, des bronzes, des médailles, des vases &c. Ce goût s'appelle curiosité. Tous ceux qui s'en occupent ne sont pas connoisseurs; et c'est ce qui les rend souvent ridicules, comme le seront toujours ceux qui parlent de ce qu'ils n'entendent pas. Cependant la curiosité, cette envie de posséder, qui n'a presque jamais de bornes, dérange presque toujours la fortune; & c'est en cela qu'elle est dangereuse."[40]

A financial danger here takes precedence, and this is a point that had already been made some years earlier by La Bruyère in his observations on young ladies who are underfed, badly dressed and, worst of all, are not likely to be provided with an adequate dowry, merely because their fathers prefer to invest all their money in a collection of works of art.[41] More remarkable, however, even than the reminiscence of the La Bruyère cautionary tale is that there is in this definition of 'curieux' no mention of any intellectual interest. Quite the opposite, in fact, since the 'curieux' is associated with those who discuss subjects which they do not understand ("qui parlent de ce qu'ils n'entendent pas"). The 'curieux' of the *Encyclopédie* is someone so afflicted by the mania for possession that he merely piles up works of art; any interest in the works of art as works of art has been subsumed by a sheer need to acquire them. This is in stark contrast to the definition of the word supplied only sixty years earlier by Furetière where the first entry reads "Celuy qui veut tout sçavoir, et tout apprendre".[42]

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[39] POMIAN 1987, p. 74.

[40] ENCYCLOPÉDIE 1751 vol. 4 (1754), p. 577. Article signed (R), i.e. Langlois. As could only be expected, the dictionaries of fine arts accepted the notion of the 'curieux' as a collector, but omitted the pejorative overtones to be found in the *Encyclopédie*. See, for example, LACOMBE 1753, p. 209: "on nomme ainsi, une personne qui fait collection de ce qu'il y a de plus estimé en Desseins, en tableaux, en Sculpture, Gravure, Médailles, & autres choses précieuses". PERNETY 1757, p. 122, modifies only slightly this definition, saying that a curieux is "un homme qui recueille & amasse avec choix tout ce qu'il y a de plus parfait en desseins, en estampes, en tableaux, selon ses facultés".

[41] "On en sait d'autres qui ont des filles devant leurs yeux à qui ils ne peuvent pas donner une dot: que dis-je? Elles ne sont pas vêtues, à peine nourries; […] la source de leur misère […] est un garde-meuble chargé et embarrassé de bustes rares, […] , dont la vente les mettrait au large mais qu'ils ne peuvent se résoudre à mettre en vente." (LA BRUYÈRE 1962, 'De la mode', p. 397).

[42] FURETIÈRE 1690, 'curieux'.

At the end of the eighteenth century, the moral of the *Encyclopédie*'s warning was, nonetheless, equally applicable to the world of academic study and writings. Just as a collector could amass objects without sufficient discrimination, so too could a historian be tempted into the same excesses with minute details and unimportant facts:

> "L'étude de l'Histoire ne doit donc pas être pour vous, Monseigneur, un simple objet de curiosité: elle vous présentera, non des tableaux muets destinés à votre amusement, mais des scènes vivantes dont vous devez être Juge."[43]

Once again there is a Senecan precedent, since the Roman author had claimed that history has a useful function only when it provides the reader with a series of useful models that can be read, assimilated and then applied.[44] This then was the danger that an author such as Millin had to attempt to avoid. That he was conscious of the problem and intended to ensure that his historical writing, documented as it was by a collection of 'pièces de curiosité', could be seen as serving a useful purpose becomes evident from his comments on the question of the historical figures who were to feature in his work. For, as he states, he wishes to recount the actions of those who "ont rendu des services moins éclatans peut-être, mais souvent aussi essentiels, et qui ont donné des exemples de bienfaisance, d'humanité et de vertu."[45] The idea of the *exemplum* is then reinforced over the next few lines in which he discusses the question of nobility, concluding that the most important type of nobility is "celle d'opinion; [...]: mais que d'obligations elle impose!"[46] Similarly, just as Grose in his preface to the *Antiquarian repertory* had warned of the danger of including details that could not really be said to bring anything new to a reader's understanding of the subject, so too did Millin have to ensure that he did not allow himself the luxury of describing objects that added little to his readers' understanding of French customs, art and social history.[47]

The reasons for Millin's choice of the 'foule d'objets' can be better understood in terms of these three approaches that he outlined in his prospectus. But, to return to the complaints made by the bibliographers quoted at the beginning of this chapter, little here,

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[43] MOREAU 1773, p. 15.

[44] LABHARDT 1960, p. 213, quotes RICHTER 1939, pp. 66 ff.

[45] ALM PROSPECTUS ANTIQUITÉS 1790, p. 3.

[46] ALM PROSPECTUS ANTIQUITÉS 1790, p. 3.

[47] GROSE 1775, vol. 1 (1775), p. vii; see *supra*, ch. 7, pp. 287–8.

except the reference to the outline of a history of French architecture which he does not and could not in all honesty hope to achieve, has explained his motivation for the choice of his main subjects, that is the buildings which house these various objects. Nor is there any attempt in the prospectus to anticipate and refute the other charge laid against him, that of a complete lack of order in the presentation of the articles. He did admit that some readers may prefer to organize and bind the articles in a different manner, but he made no comment which could be interpreted as even beginning to elucidate or justify the reasons which encouraged him to abandon the more traditional sequences already established in earlier works in favour of one which can only be described as idiosyncratic.[48]

Organizing the material

Despite the assertion that is sometimes made about the fact that Millin's work represented a considerable innovation, this is not strictly true.[49] It seems, in fact, rather unfair to his predecessors who had already produced sometimes hefty volumes dealing with the artistic and antiquarian treasures of France. The publication of a history of France and her antiquities was really nothing very new at the end of the eighteenth century: already from the mid-sixteenth century onwards there had been a number of antiquaries who devoted their attention to their national heritage. Amongst these we can cite the names of Sauval, Dubreuil, Brice, Piganiol, Montfaucon and the community of Saint-Maur, all of whom had worked in this domain, albeit with significant differences in the scope, the degree of detail and the reliability to be found in their books.[50] Some had addressed the question on a national level, some on a regional level, others had restricted their study to one town and others yet had decided to focus on only one building. What is innovatory in Millin's work is the way in which he chooses to present his material, redefining the order normally adopted in treatises of this kind; he has thus managed to adapt both the style and the content of his work to a period of revolution, understanding that the evolution of a new form of national awareness would need to be paralleled by a new historiographical approach to the retelling of the country's

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[48] "Nous avons cru devoir numéroter séparément les descriptions de chaque lieu, afin que ceux qui le désireront puissent les classer par Départemens": ALM ANTIQUITÉS PROSPECTUS 1790, p. 4.

[49] THERRIEN 1998, p. [1].

[50] Important secondary reading for this subject is furnished by HASKELL 1993 and by CHOAY 1992. See also POULOT 1985.

past. And it is this attempt on his part to re-examine the form of such histories that seems to have led to the accusations of chaos as levelled against him by some bibliographers.

i. monarchocentric discourse

A major problem facing anyone who set out to write a history of France during the revolutionary years was that there was as yet no established historiographical model to suit the current circumstances; until this time the vast majority of authors had chosen to produce dynasty-centred works.[51] The tendency to arrange the discourse around the successive monarchs or royal dynasties had certainly been prevalent in the works on the country's history; [52] it had also been adopted as a convenient model for historical artistic and antiquarian writings. A good example of this is given by the book which represents Millin's most obvious predecessor in terms of the subject matter, Bernard de Montfaucon's *Monumens de la monarchie françoise*.[53] Montfaucon had opted for a chronological discourse, but instead of dividing by century, or even attempting to give a rough survey of the development of styles, doubtless prone to errors given his rather rudimentary dating methods, he set the works of art into the framework of the reign of each king of France.[54] Tempting as it may have been for Millin to adopt a similar strategy, thus avoiding the necessity to develop a new approach, a monarchocentric type of discourse would not have been a viable proposition at the time of the Revolution: the very existence of the monarchy was currently being called into question, and the country was existing under an uneasy compromise, that of the constitutional monarchy. A book taking as its organizational point of reference the kings of France would not have been respected and could have run the risk of appearing to be counter-revolutionary, entailing serious consequences for the author.

ii. the travel account

There were, clearly, other models available, and the most obvious of these was that of the travel account. Whether the geographical area under consideration was relatively limited – for instance a town or city – or larger in scope, dealing with an entire region or even the whole

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[51] For remarks on this see PAULSON 1983; FURET 1978, and the review of this by LEFORT 1980; and especially DIDIER 1990.

[52] For a good bibliography, see GROSPERRIN 1982. See also for the seventeenth century, TYVAERT 1973.

[53] MONTFAUCON 1729.

[54] See VANUXEM 1957.

country, this was an option that had appealed to a number of Millin's predecessors. Piganiol de la Force had employed it with considerable success in his *Description de Paris, de Versailles, de Marly, de Meudon, de S. Cloud, de Fontainebleau ...* (1730). Brice had also used it for his *Description de la ville de Paris*, and so too had Dézallier d'Argenville. On a larger scale, and in the decades immediately preceding the *Antiquités nationales* were to be found two works devoted to Switzerland and to Italy by, respectively, Laborde and Zurlauben and Saint-Non.[55] That the model was still considered as being entirely valid at the time of the Revolution is shown by the fact that this was the way in which Joseph Lavallée chose to present a five-volume work on France which began to appear in 1792, entitled the *Voyage dans les départemens de la France*.[56]

iii. typologies

Another model that could perhaps have been applied by Millin was that of the affectation of the buildings: that is to arrange the buildings by their type. The simplest typology to operate would have been to divide between secular and religious architecture. Such was the choice of the editor responsible for the abridged version of the *Antiquités* that was to appear in the mid-nineteenth century, where the order of the articles is significantly altered. In effect the presentation here results from the combination of a number of parameters. The first is the division into main groups of monuments: 'monuments divers' and 'monuments religieux'. Within each of these two groups a further division is established, between monuments in Paris and monuments in other towns. Once these two main sections and subsections have been created, the articles are then arranged in alphabetical order.[57]

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[55] ZURLAUBEN & LABORDE 1780; SAINT-NON 1781.

[56] LAVALLÉE 1792.

[57] Unfortunately, the editor does not profit from the short preface that he has added (verso of the half-title) to explain how or why he made this decision: ALM ABRÉGÉ 1837. The order of the articles is as follows (the number in brackets refers to the article number in the 1790 and 1802 editions): Monuments divers (Chateaux, palais, chateaux-forts, hôtels-de-ville, ponts, fontaines, portes, tombeaux, vitraux etc.). Paris: La Bastille (I); Le Petit Châtelet (VIII); Le Pilori (XXXIV); Le Pont Rouge (XXIII); Porte Saint-Bernard (XVIII); Vincennes (X). Départements: Bergues Saint-Winox (XLIV); Calais (L); Corbeil (XV); Gisors (XLV); Fontaines de Juvisy (XVI); Lille (LIII, LV, LVIII, LXI); Meulan (XLIX); Montlhéry (II); Orléans (IX, XLVIII); Rouen (XX, XXX, XXXI, XXXVI); Vernon (XXVI). Monuments religieux (Abbayes, collégiales, couvents, églises, prieurés etc.). Départements: Abbaye de Barbeau (XIII); Couvent des Bons-Hommes de Chaillot (XII); Abbaye de Bon-Port (XL); La Chartreuse-lez-Gaillon (XXXVIII); Cordeliers de Mantes (XXIV); Cordeliers de Vernon (XXI); Prieuré des Deux Amants (XVII); Dominicains de Lille (LVI); Collégiale d'Ecouis (XXVIII); Ville de Chaumont et Abbaye de Gomer-Fontaine (XLII); Prieuré de Long-Pont (XLIII); Notre-Dame de Mantes (XIX);

A further possibility that had been exploited was that of organizing the objects in terms of their styles. Thus it was that Caylus, when facing a similar task for classical antiquities, decided to divide his work into a number of broad sections, distributing the objects in question between them according to whether they were Egyptian, Greek, Etruscan or Roman.[58] Whilst this may well have been an ideal solution for an author such as Millin who was working on a variety of buildings distributed across a fairly wide area of France, it is true that there was one fact that militated against such a choice for the presentation of the French monumental stock. Paradoxical as it may seem, it was much easier for an eighteenth-century author to accomplish successfully this type of classification for classical antiquities, than when attempting a similar exercise for the French artistic heritage. A lack of historical awareness about and even the terminology necessary to describe and characterize many of the indigenous architectural styles would have militated against the use of any such model. Given the amount of information that Millin seems to have had at his disposal at this time – there is only one very confused and less than accurate dissertation on the subject in the article on Notre-Dame of Mantes, which is in turn accompanied by a highly uninformative plate **[Ill. 85]** – it is unlikely that he could have produced any meaningful classification and sequence of the various buildings that would all have been included under the umbrella term of "architecture gothique".

iv. alphabetical order

A last possibility, and one that certainly should not be under-estimated for this period, was that of the presentation of the monuments chosen in alphabetical order. For Paris this was already the case for a couple of works which bore the title of dictionary, those by Hébert and Hurtaut. And even if Dulaure may have eschewed the use of the word, it is nonetheless true that the organizational principle underlying his work was that of the dictionary. Millin did not adopt this for his *Antiquités* although, rather tellingly, he was in fact to suggest to his readers that if

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Récollets de Lille (LVII); Abbaye de Royaumont (XI); Commanderie de Saint-Jean-en-l'Isle (XXXIII); Collégiale Saint-Nicolas à Amiens (LI); Collégiale Saint-Pierre à Lille (LIV); Saint Spire de Corbeil (XXII). Paris: Couvent des Grands-Augustins (XXV); Eglise de Saint-Benoit (XXIX); Les Blancs-Manteaux (XLVII); Carmes de la Place Maubert (XLVI); Les Célestins (III); Hôtel Barbette (VI); Chartreuse de Paris (LII); Saint-Côme (XXXV); Saint-Denis de la Chartre (VII); Les Feuillants de la rue Saint-Honoré (V); Abbaye de Sainte-Geneviève (LX); Les Jacobins de la rue Saint-Honoré (IV); Les Jacobins de la rue Saint-Jacques (XXXIX); Chapelle de Saint-Julien-des-Menestriers (XLI); Saint-Landry (LIX); Eglise des Mathurins (XXXII); Couvent de l'Oratoire (XIV); Saint-Sépulcre (XXVII); Chapelle de Saint-Yves (XXXVII).

[58] CAYLUS 1752.

they chose to rearrange their own collection into alphabetical order before binding it, then this would constitute a good alternative. The problem is, as was seen in the chapter on his English model, his paratextual elements such as the index and the table of contents effectively militated against this solution. The reader who wished to be able to make the best use of all the paratextual elements proposed by Millin was thus obliged to keep the articles in the order in which they had been issued.

Creating order from chaos

All of the possibilities listed above for the composition of a book on this subject did, of course, depend on one major fact, and that was that the author had already established a list of the pieces that were to be included in the work.[59] It would suggest that he had at least an idea, even if not a complete listing, of the monuments that would be included and of the likely extent of the work. That this was not the case becomes evident from a number of examples throughout the work where Millin promises an article that he does not later deliver.[60] A further hypothesis regarding the book as it stands could be that the author had chosen to operate a policy whereby each time that a building was threatened with destruction, he immediately went there to record all the necessary details. But this would demand information networks that were maybe not possible at this time and it was not always easy to identify which buildings were under threat; spontaneous uprisings and the consequent destruction of monuments were far from being unknown during the Revolution. Nor would this explain the inclusion of a number of buildings that were not in any danger at this time, either because they were never considered as being worthy of destruction or because their destruction had already been carried out, sometimes a considerable time before. The very first chapter is devoted to the Bastille, almost eighteen months after it had been captured and torn down, whilst the second concerns the Tower of Montlhéry which was already in ruins at the time of the Revolution, and never seems to have been threatened.[61] Other examples of such

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[59] Caylus had become all too well aware of the difficulties that faced an author who wished to arrange his works by period whilst at the same time maintaining the liberty of adding other pieces as he acquired them.

[60] ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 2 (1791), art. XIII, p. 4 – article on Chartres; ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 3 (1791), art. XXIV, p. 16 – article on Orléans.

[61] ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 1 (1790), article II.

monuments are are the Petit Châtelet (which was demolished on the king's orders in 1783), the Hôtel Barbette which was destroyed during the sixteenth century and the Pilori.

Examination of the book as it was issued does certainly tend to support the assertions of the bibliographers that the arrangement of the chapters is anything but logical. The first volume opens with an article on the Bastille; after this the author leaves the centre of Paris in order to discuss the Tour de Montlhéry, situated at a distance of some kilometres from the capital, and then returns to the city to deal with the Célestins, the Jacobins in the rue Saint-Honoré, the Feuillants, the Hôtel Barbette and the church of Saint-Denis-de-la-Chartre. With the one exception of the Tour de Montlhéry, the area covered is relatively limited, although Millin does not restrict his attention to one quarter of Paris, beginning in the modern 11th arrondissment, before moving to the 4th (the Célestins), thence to the 1st for the next two buildings and back to the 3rd and then, finally, crossing over to the île de la Cité. In this volume, as in all the others, religious and secular architecture are both to be found, and buildings from a variety of periods are presented and juxtaposed with no attempt being made to place them into any chronological sequence. Even for a reader without any specialized knowledge of architectural history this disparity in the objects chosen is quite obvious.

A similar lack of organizational principle not only marks the succeeding volumes, but even becomes more and more apparent.[62] The fifth volume is the one where the tendency to jump from one area to another is the least marked since most of the articles are concentrated on buildings in one town, that is Lille. The first article deals with a church in Amiens, and thereupon follow one on the Chartreuse in Paris and six on Lille. After a break of two articles to consider other buildings in Paris, Millin returns to Lille for the concluding chapter. In this case the order of the chapters seems to have been dictated mainly by practical reasons. Most of the articles on Lille had been completed and sent to the press, when Millin discovered that some essential information for the next article, that on the library in the town was missing. As he explained in a letter to his correspondent, Desmazieres, "on compose a present l'article de Lille et il y a deja quelques feuilles imprimées."[63] He requested that Desmazieres should supply the missing facts and also arrange for some further drawings to be made. The librarian from Lille was only too happy to oblige, and promised that the necessary facts would be

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[62] See the listing of the articles in Appendices 1, 2 and 3.

[63] BNF, Cabinet des manuscrits, fonds français 24683, fol. 280r, letter dated 9 floréal an 4 [April 17 1796].

obtained as quickly as possible.[64] Problems were, nonetheless, encountered in this work and Desmazieres subsequently addressed a further letter to Millin in which he explained that there had been a delay since "mon Copiste ne m'a point bien servi." Conscious that this could hinder Millin's work, he offered to send a copy of a mediaeval manuscript to Paris so that Millin could work on it directly.[65] It was during the delays occasioned by this that Millin decided to write and hand over to the printer the articles on Saint-Landry and Sainte-Geneviève so that at least they could be composed and printed; he could thus avoid unnecessary loss of time, occupying the presses with other work until the last article containing the necessary missing information concerning Lille could be finished to his satisfaction.

The *recueil*

No similar explanations can be found to explain Millin's choices for the first four volumes, though, and unless the entire work is to be dismissed rather summarily as being no more or less than a miscellany of articles on buildings that the author happened to have visited, it does seem important to try to establish whether or not there is some inherent logic to not only his choice of articles, but also his decision to include the relevant pieces at the exact moment when he did, even at the risk of appearing unmethodical. Some hint as to his possible lack of concern about a traditionally ordered presentation can be found in the very title of the work: *Antiquités nationales, ou recueil de monumens pour servir à l'histoire générale et particulière de l'Empire François ...* . Nowhere in the title does there appear any expression which hints at any type of organizational principle, be it chronological, geographical, stylistic or typological. And yet there is one word which at one and the same time confirms and negates this impression of the book as being merely a haphazard collection of articles, and that is the term 'recueil'. The use of the word in the title to a work of this nature had an impressive genealogy, headed, no doubt, by the comte de Caylus's *Recueil* of classical antiquities.[66] Throughout the eighteenth century the term had been gaining in

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[64] BNF, Cabinet des manuscrits, fonds français 24683, fol. 283r, letter dated 30 floréal an IV [May 18 1796].

[65] "Pour eviter tout Delai, qui pourroit etre préjudiciable à la confection de votre ouvrage, je vous envoie le manuscrit": BNF, Cabinet des manuscrits, fonds français 24683, fol. 279r, letter dated 23 Messidor an 4 [July 10 1796].

[66] CAYLUS 1752.

significance, not the least because of its connection with one of the great philosophers of the period, John Locke. In the *Encyclopédie* the following definition is to be found:

> "Recueil signifie parmi les savans, un registre ou une collection raisonnée de toutes les choses dignes de remarque, qu'un homme a retenu dans ses lettres ou dans ses études, tellement disposées, que parmi un grand nombre de titres & de sujets de toute espece, on puisse trouver facilement celui qu'on cherche, & y avoir recours dans l'occasion.
>
> "Les recueils sont d'une grande utilité, ce sont des especes de magasins où l'on dépose les meilleurs & les plus beaux endroits des auteurs afin de les avoir toujours prêts pour s'en servir. Différentes personnes ont différentes manieres de les disposer. Mais la plus estimée & la plus usité [sic] parmi les savans, c'est celle de ce grand maître dans la méthode, M. Locke."[67]

A *recueil* was thus a personal collection of observations, of all that had seemed worthy of being noted down during the course of wide and varied reading. Adopting this explanation allows for the conclusion that Millin had gathered together a collection of personal observations on the monuments, both from visiting them and reading about them, and then presented them to the public in a published form.[68] Most important of all is that there is no limitation imposed upon the *recueil* apart from the compiler's own interest at a given moment for a particular subject, passage or quotation. It begins as and remains an open-ended object, to which pieces of information can be added as and when the compiler sees fit. Unlike a pre-defined, closed discourse, a collection of this type certainly does not carry within itself the implication of a limited number of volumes, pages, subjects or texts. Which is exactly what Millin achieved by his careful avoidance of any discussion of the presumed size, duration or scope of his *Antiquités*. He thus left himself total liberty with regard to the number of objects to be included and also to the point at which he would decide to conclude his enterprise. The very undefined nature of the book could in this way lend itself to the production of an idiosyncratic, a random gathering of various pieces.

But there is a further element to the *recueil* that needs to be taken into consideration, and this is the one that negates the total absence of order as outlined above. According to the theory of the genre developed during the eighteenth century a *recueil* was not doomed to remain an entirely personal intellectual tool, of use only to the scholar who had gathered together the various pieces of information. As was stated in the article from the *Encyclopédie*

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[67] ENCYCLOPÉDIE 1751, vol. 13 (1765), pp. 868–70, here p. 868.

[68] On his working methods see *supra*, ch. 6.

quoted above, there was indeed an underlying order which was essential so that "on puisse trouver facilement celui qu'on cherche, & y avoir recours dans l'occasion". There was certainly no one system that was universally accepted since the author continues with the observation that "Différentes personnes ont différentes manieres de les disposer", even though John Locke's system was generally accepted as being among the most useful and had become widely accepted as the epitome of the good *recueil*. What is not stated here but follows from the above discussion is that if a *recueil* is to continue to function adequately when, for example through publication, it moves from the private into the public domain, then the compiler will need to ensure that the readers are at ease with the system and can exploit the collection to its best possible use. One feature which can help in guiding the reader through the mass of material is the incorporation of a table of contents and an index, both of which are to be found in the *Antiquités*. Even these do not, however, allow the reader fully to enter into the *recueil* by understanding the principles that have guided the selection and the presentation of the materials included. A degree of order can thus be attained in a *recueil*, and this can also be transmitted to a wider readership if the work is to be published, but it does demand that the author explains clearly how the system functions. Once again it is at a point like this that the lack of a preface, of an introduction or of a dedication makes itself very keenly felt in the case of the *Antiquités nationales*. The reader who attempts to discover the system adopted by Millin must fall back on the only material available, the text itself.

Starting from the beginning

An early hint that there may be a purpose behind the order in which the buildings are presented comes in the very opening sentence of the work. When introducing the article on the Bastille, Millin states that:

> "Nous serions inexcusables de commencer cette histoire des antiquités de l'empire françois, par la description d'un autre monument. Il n'en est point de plus important que la Bastille, par la terreur qu'inspiroit son existence, et par la joie universelle qu'a causée sa chute."[69]

At first sight this would seem to be quite unremarkable since the Bastille must constitute a logical choice for a book which hopes to record monuments destroyed during the period of revolutionary unrest; there could be little better way to illustrate the points that the author made

[69] ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 1 (1790), art. I, p. [1].

both in the speech to the Assemblée nationale and in the prospectus than by opening on the first building to have been attacked by the revolutionary mobs. But closer consideration reveals that this is in effect rather problematic, in terms of both the choice of the monument itself and the expression of the reasons underlying that choice. By no stretch of the imagination could it be claimed that the Bastille had possessed any intrinsic artistic or architectural merit, and so it can hardly be for this reason that it merited a place in the work at all, let alone as the first article. Similarly, the objects housed within the prison were not of such importance for the national heritage that they needed to be protected. As becomes all too clear from the description of the building, there was very little here that could hope to attract an art historian or an antiquary's attention. Furthermore, there was absolutely no pressing need to write this article in order to preserve the memory of the building; it could instead be argued, and with considerable justification, that if there was one monument that did not need to be rescued from potential oblivion it was this one. The strategic importance of the events of July 14 in the struggle against the French monarchy had ensured that the Bastille was destined to remain firmly in the population's memory and it had already inspired more publications than had any other, detailing not only its appearance and its construction, but also all the history, factual, anecdotal and apocryphal, connected with it.[70] A further, more serious, objection can be adduced at this point, one which leads the reader to question the sincerity of Millin's avowal that he is worried about the fate of the nation's monumental and artistic stock. He stated in both the speech and the prospectus that his major motivation was concern at the possibility of imminent destruction of many objects through the excesses of revolutionary fanaticism exhibited in one of its more destructive forms, that is vandalism.[71] And yet he opens his book with a passage that actually condones such acts: he states that the fall of the Bastille was a reason for universal rejoicing. The paradox is all too clear: in a work that aims at countering vandalism, the author's first comment on such acts is that they have had a positive result. Millin's first statement seems to amount to no

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[70] For example see the following inventories: TOURNEUX 1890, vol. 1 (1890) *Préliminaires. - Évenements*, chapter II, 'Événements de l'année 1789', §5, Prise de la Bastille (14 juillet), pp. 155–62 (nos. 1093–177) & p. 505, nos. 1111 (add.), 5207, 1113 (add.), 1242 (add.), 5208, 1465 (add.), 1661 (add.) and vol. 2 (1900) *Monuments, Mœurs et Institutions*, chapter III, 'Monuments civils', §7, Prisons: A. La Bastille, pp. 69–82, nos. 12311–407; DE VINCK 1909, vol. 2, *La Constituante*, chapter XIII, 'La Prise de la Bastille', (pp. 49–110). For recent studies of the Bastille and the literature which it had attracted, see especially QUÉTEL 1989.

[71] "les amis des lettres et des arts et des citoyens jaloux de la gloire de la nation ne peuvent voir sans peine la destruction de chefs-d'œuvre du génie ou de monuments intéressants pour l'histoire; [...]" (GAZETTE NATIONALE 1789, vol. 6, no. 345, December 11 1790, p. 595); "très-funeste aux arts et aux sciences, en détruisant des productions du génie et des monumens historiques, qu'il seroit intéressant de conserver" (ALM ANTIQUITÉS PROSPECTUS 1790, p. [1]).

more or less than an incitement to the revolutionaries to continue with acts of this kind.[72] Such was not, nonetheless, his intention. That the opening article on the Bastille was intended to be programmatic for his work is sure, and the reference to it and to the events of July 14 must be read in another way.

In effect, the solution seems to lie in adopting a less direct reading of the chapter. It is a symbolical, allegorical reading of the *Antiquités* that should be posited. Almost eighteen months after its destruction, the Bastille here finds itself accorded the place of honour in the *Antiquités*. By so doing, Millin was not displaying any great originality. Many writings of the period, and not just political pamphlets or tracts, opened on a discussion of the capture of the building; as one scholar has recently commented, "Der Bastillesturm wurde zum festen Bezugspunkt allgemeiner Aussagen über die Revolution."[73] It is scarcely surprising that the events of July 14 were used as a rallying-point for the French people: after centuries of oppression they had managed to win their liberty. For Millin, as for many of his contemporaries, the significance of this event could not be underestimated. The Bastille had thus to stand at the beginning of his work since symbolically, *par excellence*, the capture and subsequent destruction of the building represented the French people's overthrowing of the yoke that had so long kept them in check.

The past mirroring the present

Adopting this reading of the choice of the first article leads to the conclusion that there may indeed exist a certain logic behind Millin's system. It would appear that he wished to use the buildings of the past to illustrate his new history of the French people. More precisely, his choice of the monuments to be included was one that paralleled the monuments of the past with the events of his own day. The justification for the inclusion of the Bastille was stated clearly, but other direct references are sadly few and far between. Notwithstanding this reluctance on the part of the author to explain his exact reasons for the presentation of many of his chapters, an indirect, non-explicit discourse can be identified by examining the publishing timetable of the *Antiquités*.[74] One example of this technique can be observed in the article devoted to the

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[72] Some chose to interpret his work in this way; see *supra*, ch. 1, pp. 31–2.

[73] REICHARDT 1988, p. 53. Reichardt also points out the symbolical nature of the Bastille in a section heading that reads: "Die 'Bastille' als Symbol der revolutionären Zäsur, der republikanisch-nationalen Einheit und Identität (1790–1803)" (p. 52).

[74] Appendix 3.

Pilori in Paris.[75] Here, in a short text of only four pages with one engraving at the beginning, Millin relates a series of facts concerning the pillory situated in the place des Halles. There had here been a place of public execution until 1318, whereupon, after complaints from the market-traders in the Halles, the king ordered the demolition of the scaffold. At intervals, when there were executions of great public significance a temporary scaffold was mounted for the event and then dismantled. The pillory itself was maintained here until the late 1780s, when it was abandoned on the advice of the Baron de Breteuil. The cross which had been next to it was also removed at the same time.[76] Thierry explains the decision taken as follows:

> "Des Lettres-Patentes du 16 Septembre 1785, régistrées en Parlement le 16 Janvier 1786, ordonnent la démolition du pilori, & qu'à l'avenir les Arrêts & Jugemens condamnant à la peine du pilori, seront exécutés sur les échafauds qui seront pratiqués & élevés chaque fois dans les lieux & places indiqués par lesdits Arrêts & Jugemens."[77]

Millin is far less specific about the date of the removal of the pillory or the reasons for the king's decision, restricting his comments to stating simply that an "instrument de supplice a été renversé a l'époque de la révolution" which allows the reader to understand that by the time that this article appeared the structure had already been relegated to the status of an historical item. Thus, just as is the case with a number of other monuments found in the *Antiquités* (including the Bastille) there is an immediate question regarding Millin's avowed intention of describing monuments which are in danger of being lost or destroyed by the revolutionaries. A further similarity with the case of the Bastille is that this was hardly a structure that could have been deemed as possessing intrinsic architectural or artistic significance; Millin himself devotes only three lines to its description without pointing out any interesting features.[78] The article could therefore be dismissed as one which serves very

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[75] ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 3 (1791), art. XXXIV.

[76] HILLAIRET 1972, vol. 1, pp. 142–3.

[77] THIERRY 1787, pp. 476–7.

[78] Note that this is seen in terms of eighteenth-century notions of 'value': Riegl gives an excellent analysis of the way in which artistic and historic values were seen at this time. On the question of what constitutes art he says: "Seit der Renaissancezeit, in welcher, wie noch gezeigt werden soll, der historische Wert zuerst anerkannte Bedeutung gewonnen hat, galt bis in das 19. Jahrhundert der Satz, daß es einen unverbrüchlichen Kunstkanon gebe, ein absolut gültiges objektives Kunstideal, nach welchem alle Künstler hinstreben, das aber kaum einer vollständig erreichen könne": Riegl, 'Der moderne Denkmalskultus, sein Wesen und seine Entstehung', in DEHIO & RIEGL 1988, p. 45.

little purpose until one important fact is added. The *Chronique de Paris* for May 22 1792 contains a review of the sixth part of the second year's publication including this article.[79] The article on the pillory in the Place des Halles therefore appeared only four weeks after the execution, on April 25 1792, of Nicolas Jacques Pelletier, convicted of violent robbery. This execution had provoked a great amount of discussion in France and had been the cause of a large number of articles and debates in the press since it was on this occasion that the guillotine was employed in France for the first time.[80] And only a matter of weeks later, Millin was himself to publish an article which refers explicitly to a form of punishment practised under the Ancien Régime.

At first sight this parallel may seem surprising. An ardent revolutionary such as Millin has here chosen to contrast the guillotine with an Ancien Régime punishment which was in effect much more clement. But, a careful reading of the chapter shows otherwise. One of the shorter ones in the book, extending over only four pages, it is illustrated with one engraving. As is typical throughout the *Antiquités*, Millin opens with definitions. First he gives the more general meaning of the word, that of a place of punishment: "On entend ordinairement par pilori un lieu patibulaire, où est le poteau ou pilier du seigneur, et qui porte son écusson: au milieu sont attachées des chaînes et des carcans qui marquent la haute-justice."[81] He then moves on to the more particular derived sense of the word, that of a "tour élevée et évidée, au milieu de laquelle est une roue perpendiculaire". After commenting that a pillory was normally to be found in the market-place of a French town, he provides an erudite development on the etymology of the word followed by an aside to the effect that it could also be used to refer to a piece of jewellery. Only after this does he finally approach the actual subject of the chapter – the pillories of Paris and more especially the one situated in the Place des Halles – although he avoids any discussion of their exact use, and proceeds rather to describe a decapitation. Aware of the distance which he has taken from his declared subject he makes a brief attempt to amend the error, commenting that "Tout cela n'indique

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[79] ALM CHRONIQUE 1789, no. 144, May 22 1792, p. 571. The reviewer comments: "Le Pilori, monument assez rare, & détruit depuis la révolution, est décrit & figuré dans cet article: on y trouve des recherches curieuses sur le mot pilori, sur l'origine de ce supplice & sur l'histoire de celui des halles."

[80] The major works on the guillotine are LENOTRE 1920 and, more recently, ARASSE 1987. There have also been some interesting exhibitions, including BINDMAN 1989 and ARASSE & ROUSSEAU-LAGARDE 1989.

[81] ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 3 (1791), art. XXXIV, p. [1].

pas la peine du pilori, telle que nous la connoissons".[82] But this is destined to remain frustrating for his reader because Millin still refuses to supply any but the most minimal details on the pillory and its use. Having touched very tangentially upon his avowed subject, he then launches himself into the description of another execution and not until almost the end of the chapter is he prepared to devote some attention to the edifice in question; here again, nonetheless, the reader receives a strong impression that this is not really the subject that interests the author the most.

A number of facts relating in some way to the pillory are spread throughout the chapter, but many of the most essential points are missing, at least for a reader who is not intimately acquainted with the precise details of the judicial system and punishments in late eighteenth-century France. Despite the fact that the entire article is supposedly devoted to this one monument, the reader is left with very little idea of what exactly the structure was and how it was used. Being condemned to the pillory was a form of punishment reserved in general for lesser crimes, such as bankruptcy, forgery of currency and other financial misdemeanours.[83] The criminal was taken to the structure, incarcerated in it for a period of several hours and thus exposed to the insults of the crowd.[84] The key-point was that the criminal should be seen by the maximum number of people, hence the punishment was always inflicted on market-days or festival days when a large crowd would be likely to gather.

Yet none of this is made clear by Millin; the details that he does provide are sparse and are scattered throughout the text. He says only that it was a place "où on exposoit ceux dont les crimes ne méritoient pas la mort" without giving any further specifications, and then, three paragraphs later, states that "le coutumier de France porte que les usuriers doivent être mis et tournés au pilori pendant trois fêtes solemnelles ou dimanches".[85] Equally deceptive is the information on the way in which the punishment was effected, which amounts to the simple observation that the pillory was "une tour élevée et évidée, au milieu de laquelle est une roue horizontale, percée de plusieurs trous, pour recevoir la tête et les mains du patient, qu'elle

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[82] ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 3 (1791), art. XXXIV, p. 3.

[83] ANDREWS 1995, esp. ch. 4. For the pillory in particular see DE WIN 1992, esp. the introduction where De Win defines the legal terms involved and explains the exact punishment of the 'kaakstraf' in Belgium under French rule (pp. 10–11).

[84] In eighteenth century argot the punishment was known as 'faire la grimace'.

[85] ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 3 (1791), art. XXXIV, p. 3.

offre aux regards du peuple, par les ouvertures de la tour."[86] The reader who wishes to understand the subject better would be advised to turn to Hurtaut's *Dictionnaire historique de Paris* where a description of the building is followed by an admirably succinct and accurate summary of the punishment:

> "[...] des trous où l'on fait passer la tete et les bras des Banqueroutiers frauduleux, des Concussionnaires et autres Criminels de cette espèce qu'on y condamne. On les y expose par trois jours de marché consecutifs, deux heures chaque jour; et de demi-heure en demi-heure, on leur fait faire le tour du pilori, où ils sont vus en face, et exposés aux insultes de la Populace."[87]

Clearly then the main subject of this article in the *Antiquités* is not the monument which is supposedly being presented. The pillory was only one of the elements of the system of justice under the kings and here it is functioning synecdochally. A careful analysis of the text allows the reader to see that it is the entire notion of justice as it was implemented in France before the Revolution that is at stake here, albeit in a highly abridged discussion occupying no more than four pages. A series of facts are adduced which allow for a comparison between two judicial systems, that of the kings and that of the revolutionaries. Most telling of all, especially given the date at which this piece appeared, is the fact that it is the subject of executions that seems to dominate Millin's thought throughout this chapter.

The introduction of the guillotine was one aspect of a very thorough revision of the French law-code which occurred during the first years of the Revolution, a code which was marked by a strong emphasis on the notion of equality. One example of this came in the reform of the death penalty. During the Ancien Régime a person's rank in society had been the determining factor in the pronouncement of the death sentence. Were a nobleman and a peasant both to be judged guilty of a capital offence, the latter's form of execution would be much crueller even if his original crime had in fact been much less serious. Whilst members of the lower social classes could be dragged apart by horses, burned at the stake, hanged, broken on the wheel or dismembered, a nobleman found guilty of a serious crime was decapitated with a sword.[88] This distinction arose because it was felt that only a person of noble birth deserved the dignity of a rapid death. Many had already raised objections to the flagrant injustice of the system. Robespierre, for instance, had, in a *concours* on the subject of 'peines infamantes'

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[86] ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 3 (1791), art. XXXIV, p. [1].

[87] HURTAUT 1779, vol. 4, pp. 28–9.

[88] For a survey of this see BESSETTE 1982.

organized by the Académie de Metz, argued that such discrimination should no longer be tolerated:

> "La roue, le gibet [...] déshonorent la famille de ceux qui périssent par ce genre de peine, mais le fer qui tranche une tête coupable n'avilit point les parents du criminel; peu s'en faut même qu'il ne devienne un titre de noblesse pour la postérité. Serait-il impossible de profiter de cette disposition d'esprit, d'étendre à toutes les classes des citoyens cette dernière forme de punir les crimes? Effaçons une distinction injurieuse."[89]

But such arguments were destined to remain within the realm of academic debate until the arrival of the revolutionary government and the insistence on the notion of equality. Equality in life and in death was the new byword and thus it was decided that all who were condemned to death should be executed in the same way, be they peasant or king. On December 1 1789 Joseph Ignace Guillotin, a doctor and député, spoke before the Assemblée nationale in favour of a new law-code, introduced by the following clause:

> "Article 1: Les délits du même genre seront punis par les mêmes genres de peines, quels que soient le rang et l'état du coupable." [90]

In the chapter on the pillory, far from making any direct observation on the question of the former inequality of criminals before the law, as would surely have been the case were the work to be as imbued with voltairianism as some later commentators have claimed, Millin touches upon the subject very tangentially. He cites a rather bloody episode of a clumsy executioner who did not manage to decapitate his victim at the first stroke, explaining that:

> "En 1516 un exécuteur nommé Fleurand trancha la tête à un gentilhomme, il le manqua: si c'eut été un roturier mal pendu, personne n'y auroit fait attention; mais ce crime parut irrémisible, les assistans tombèrent sur lui, à coups de pierres, et il fut obligé de se cacher dans une cave au-dessous de l'échaffaud, aussitôt on y mit le feu, et il périt étouffé par la fumée."[91]

The fact that the lower social classes were discriminated against is thus recorded, but the author scarcely dwells on it and certainly does not profit from it to produce a demagogic diatribe against the injustices of the monarchy.

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[89] Quoted by ARASSE 1987, p. 20.

[90] See a report of the meeting in GAZETTE NATIONALE 1789, vol. 2 (1840), no. 101, December 1 1789, p. 280.

[91] ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 3 (1792), art. XXXIV, p .3.

The incident quoted above concerning Fleurand illustrates a second point relating to earlier executions which was often used to argue in favour of the introduction of the guillotine. This was the possibility that the condemned person was not executed at the first attempt, thus unintentionally prolonging the agony. On other occasions, were the monarch to wish to demonstrate his authority and to exploit the dissuasive potential of an execution he could insist that the agony were deliberately prolonged. Such was the case in the second example selected by Millin, that of Guillaume Doyen de Bruges who, in the early fourteenth century, had been inciting the Duke of Brabant to declare war on the Count of Flanders. Accused of treason he was sent to Paris where it was decided that his punishment should be humiliating and lengthy. Therefore the judges "le condamnèrent au pilori, à y avoir les deux mains coupées, tournées avec lui devant ses yeux, et ensuite à être pendu avec ses deux mains, au même endroit."[92] Voices gradually began to be raised against procedures which could be so cruel. After the publication of Cesare Beccaria's *Dei delitti e pene*, the question of the necessity for capital punishment became a favoured subject for various provincial Academies' regular competitions.[93] One of these, organized by the Société des citoyens de Neuchâtel in 1777, attracted a number of essays and amongst them one written by Marat who argued that:

> "Les peines doivent être rarement capitales [...]. La vie est le seul bien de ce monde qui n'ait point d'équivalent; ainsi la justice veut que la peine de meutre soit capitale. Mais le supplice ne doit jamais être cruel, il doit être recherché du côté de l'ignominie. Même dans les cas les plus graves (liberticide, parricide, fratricide, assassinat d'un ami ou d'un bienfaiteur), on rendra affreux l'appareil du supplice, mais que la mort soit douce."[94]

The guillotine was meant to counter the problem highlighted by Marat amongst others, since it was seen as being a clinical instrument, totally in keeping with Enlightenment philosophy on achieving the most humane (or rather the least inhumane) method of killing a fellow human-being. In his initial proposition of the machine to the Assemblée nationale on December 1 1789, Joseph Ignace Guillotin took the efficiency of the guillotine as his main theme, but his words were maybe not chosen with sufficient attention; their naivety gave cause for amusement as opposed to a serious discussion. Such at least was the view of the

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[92] ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 3 (1791), art. XXXIV, p. 3.

[93] The first such work was BECCARIA 1764, which was soon followed by many others.

[94] Quoted by ARASSE 1987.

Journal des États généraux who quoted him as having said "La mécanique tombe comme la foudre, la tête vole, le sang jaillit, l'homme n'est plus."[95] Another, popular, version of Guillotin's claims for the machine attributed the following phrase to him: "Messieurs, avec ma machine, je vous fais sauter la tête en un clin d'œil et sans que vous en éprouviez la moindre douleur."[96]

One further point relating to the guillotine, pertaining to its speed and efficiency, was seen by its adherents as an advantage but by others as posing a problem. The speed and efficiency led, as has already been said, to a quicker and more humane death. However, one of the justifications given for the length and severity of executions under the Ancien Régime was that this acted as a crime deterrent. "Effrayer le crime" was an argument which found much support.[97] Executions had attracted large crowds, and the evidence from *feuilles volantes* (sometimes in the form simply of engravings, sometimes with text and engraving combined) suggests that there was a large audience interested in having an eye-witness account of the atrocities suffered.[98] The guillotine's rapidity did away with this spectacle, which was not necessarily to the liking of the assembled crowds. That the action was over too quickly is evident from comments in some of the newspapers which reported its first use. A journalist writing in the *Courrier extraordinaire* recorded the deception of the populace:

> "Le peuple d'ailleurs ne fut point satisfait: il n'avait rien vu; la chose était trop rapide; il se dispersa désappointé, chantant pour se consoler de sa déception un couplet d'à propos: 'Rendez-moi ma potence de bois; Rendez-moi ma potence!'"[99]

The solution found by the revolutionary authorities was to provide the spectacle as a preliminary to the execution: instead of being taken directly to the place of execution from their prison, the victims were seated in an open cart and taken on a lengthy journey around the streets of Paris, there to be exposed to the jeers and insults of the crowd. This feature was in its turn condemned as being too degrading; amongst those who wrote against the journey

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[95] JOURNAL ÉTATS-GÉNÉRAUX 1789, vol. 6, p. 235, report of the meeting of December 1 1789.

[96] ARASSE 1987, p. 20.

[97] See especially PORRET 1994. The classic survey of punishment and its psychology remains FOUCAULT 1975.

[98] On the notion of punishment as a spectacle see FARGE 1992B, esp. 'La mort-spectacle', pp. 80–2; on the history and iconography of punishments see especially PUPPI 1991.

[99] COURRIER EXTRAORDINAIRE 1790, April 17 1792, p. 12. LENOTRE 1920, p. 235, includes this but gives the Chronique de Paris as the source.

in the open cart was one of the editors of the *Chronique de Paris*, maybe even Millin himself.[100]

A further innovation introduced by the new law-code was that of the body to judge criminals. Under the absolute monarchy, all sentences had been within the king's power. It was to him that the judges and courts were responsible, and he alone had the right to grant a pardon. The new code removed this power from the king and passed it instead to the Assemblée nationale. The Assemblée appointed judges and was thus, effectively, ultimately responsible for the sentences passed and carried out. Since the Assemblée was a democratically-elected body, composed of the people's representatives, justice was now in the hands of those chosen by a national vote. This was certainly one of the most significant breaks with the past, but there is no clear denunciation in this chapter of the fact that ultimate power in all matters legal had until 1789 remained in the king's hands. And yet this feature of the former absolute authority of the king, although not once mentioned in the text, runs through it tacitly and actually constitutes its entire *raison d'être*. In order to understand this, the reader has to be aware of the particular significance of the pillory that was located in the Halles in Paris. Each French town had its pillory, and in Paris itself there were several in various quarters of the city. But the Pilori des Halles had a rather privileged status since it represented, *par excellence*, the king's place of execution: all punishments which had political implications were, without exception, carried out here. By his very choice of this one pillory, although without making any direct reference to the king's former powers, Millin has exploited the associations unique to the edifice in order to remind his readers of the repercussions on the justice system caused by the change from the absolute monarchy to democratic representation.

Only one engraving illustrates this article **[Ill. 86]**. The first impression is one of a very ordinary, day-to-day scene. The sun is shining, and the Place du Pilori is well lit. Around the central building – the pillory itself – are a number of figures. Women are laying merchandise out on stalls and, to the right of the scene, two are watching in amusement as a man tries to steal a kiss from a reluctant young girl. A horse stands patiently nearby and there are also two dogs, one of whom is lying in the sun. The whole scene is more reminiscent of one in a painting by Hubert Robert depicting washerwomen going about their work at the foot of one of Rome's classical monuments. However at the same time this does not inform

[100] ALM CHRONIQUE 1789, August 29 1792. See also ARASSE 1987, pp. 119 ff.

the reader of, and rather distracts him from, the real significance of the central building. Visible are the stocks with the three holes for the hands and the head of the victim, but there is no sign of the actual nature of the punishment. Nor can this omission on Millin's part be attributed to the fact that there were no suitable iconographical sources: in fact the majority of the representations of the Pilori predating its abolition (and thus the only models which would have been available to Millin and his engraver) do show the punishment being effected **[Ill. 87]**.[101] As if to emphasize the absence of any menace or threat in the structure, baskets have been left stacked up against it. The pillory, it seems, is now obsolete. Just in front of it, however, stands an open cart. Examination of the earlier engravings representing this particular structure, or the similar ones in other parts of Paris and the majority of French towns, reveals that this cart does not form a standard element of the iconography of the scene. It is tempting, given the fact that the revolutionary authorities decided that a journey around Paris in an open cart should serve as the crowd-pleaser, to read into this a clear attempt to juxtapose the earlier and the new legal systems.

Given the date at which the article appeared, and the huge amount of public interest that the guillotine had aroused, it may well be expected that Millin would have profited from this opportunity to produce a text in which, even if he did not actually mention the considerable advantages of a more rapid and supposedly humane method of execution, he would at least roundly condemn the former system of justice and thus, by contrast, extol the virtues of the new. Such is not however the case. A very striking feature of the chapter, apart from the relative scarcity of solid factual information on the structure of or the punishment dealt out in the pillory itself, is that at no point does Millin commit himself to any open and frank discussion of the system of justice under the Ancien Régime or the advantages of the reformed law code and of the guillotine. At least he does not explicitly adopt any position, and there is no reference to the guillotine itself, even buried away in a footnote. All that he does is to supply a number of details which, when placed into the context of their time and read in combination with the other literature of the period, can be interpreted as constituting a commentary on the difficulties of the earlier penal code and, in consequence, as approving the innovations that have been introduced.

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[101] See the series of illustrations in the BNF, Cabinet des estampes, series: topographie de Paris, Vp.

Both the articles on the Bastille and the Pilori des Halles can therefore be demonstrated to reveal a correspondence between current events and the monuments that are chosen for presentation. Nor are these the only two cases in the work where such a concordance between the present and the past is evident. A careful consideration of the first volume of the *Antiquités* is instructive in this respect. The first chapter, on the Bastille, has already been mentioned. The third chapter, on the Couvent des Célestins, traces the history of and describes one of the larger and richer monastic churches in France. It contained a very impressive number of monuments, many of which were associated with the Valois family, of great importance for the history of France. That a large and important church should feature in the work at this point is less than surprising: this chapter was first being written and was appearing at a time that marked a very important moment in France's ecclesiastical history. The article on the Célestins began to appear in the first part of the book, that is in mid-December 1790. It thus appeared only two weeks after a very important date in the history of the French Church. On November 27 the Assemblée nationale had decreed that all the clergy should swear allegiance to the nation, to the law and to the king. This amounted to obliging them to accept the Constitution civile du clergé: all those who refused to do this would henceforth be considered refractory priests. The chapter on the Célestins is immediately followed by two further articles on churches, one on the Jacobins and one on the Feuillants. For the historian of the Revolution it cannot be anything but fitting to see that two monuments are placed side by side – the Jacobins and the Feuillants. For this juxtaposition occurs in Millin's work at a time when very deep divisions were beginning to make themselves ever more felt within the Jacobins club. A more moderate faction, headed by Alexandre Lameth, Adrien Duport and Antoine Pierre Joseph Marie Barnave (known as the triumvirs), feared that the wing of the party under Robespierre's leadership was trying to push through measures which were too radical. They began systematically to distance themselves from the Jacobins throughout the spring of 1791, founded a number of committees in a desire to wrest power from their opponents and countered many of their propositions. By the summer of 1791 this movement was crystallized when they left the club and founded a rival society which held its assemblies in the church of the Feuillants. The reference was not lost on at least one contemporary reviewer of the *Antiquités*: in the *Moniteur* it was noted that it was fitting that these two churches should be placed side by side, given their great significance for the history of France at this time:

> "il est à remarquer que, situés dans la même rue, placés dans le même cahier de cet ouvrage, leurs noms semblent destinés à se trouver toujours ou compagnons ou rivaux."[102]

Millin's attitude in this section of the article on the Jacobins is interesting to note. He gives an accurate albeit very brief history of the club and reproduces the society's constitution. That he should have been privy to such facts is scarcely surprising, since he was a member of the club at this time. What is maybe more surprising is that he profits from this chapter to pen a thinly-veiled defence of Mirabeau who in late February 1791 had lost the confidence of the Jacobins and had, during a somewhat agitated meeting, been accused of being a traitor to their cause. It is doubtless to Mirabeau, known for his close links with the royal family, that Millin is referring when he speaks of some members of the Jacobins who had felt themselves obliged to "quitter le parti de la cour pour le parti populaire."[103] He continues by commenting that these people are maybe even more worthy of popular respect, explaining his reasoning as follows: "Ce sont peut-être même les hommes qui par leur position méritent le plus notre confiance; il ne leur est plus possible de reparoître parmi ceux dont ils ont abandonné la cause, ils ne peuvent revenir sur leurs pas." As if to reinforce this reference to Mirabeau, the engraving which Millin uses to illustrate this part of the article is one depicting Mirabeau defending himself during the troubled meeting of the club.

The next engraving in the chapter, entitled the 'Idée de l'ordre observé pour la distribution des Nouvelles ecclésiastiques' **[Ill. 2]** is one that has often been reproduced as a means of showing the networks employed for the dissemination of publications during the eighteenth century. Certainly this is now the primary lesson drawn from this very informative diagram, especially given the increasing interest shown during the second half of the twentieth century for the history of production and distribution of printed material. Millin does take pains to explain the function of the various figures indicated by the capital letters, and provides some useful insights into the precautions taken to ensure that even betrayal by one person would not endanger the entire network of distributors. The original drawing after which the engraving was made was housed in the library of the Jacobin monks in Paris; this chance discovery provides the apparent reason for its inclusion in the work at this point. And yet its appearance at this precise point in the chapter is maybe not entirely coincidental. The

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[102] GAZETTE NATIONALE 1789, vol. 10 (1842), no. 278, October 5 1791, p. 35.

[103] ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 1 (1790), art. IV, p. 58.

previous section, devoted to the revolutionary club of the Jacobins, included two points which are significant in light of the illustration concerning the *Nouvelles ecclésisatiques*. The first of these is that, as Millin points out and as was well-known in France at the time, there had been a number of occasions in the history of the club when disagreement had been such that some members had felt obliged to resign and to found an opposing society.[104] Mirabeau's disagreement was thus not the first time that the club had known such internal fighting. The second of these is that the founding of various branches of the club in the provinces meant that it became necessary to guarantee a means of co-ordination of the decisions taken and the measures adopted. This was achieved by means of a committee of thirty members, known as the 'comité de correspondance', who received and sent out the necessary communications. This, as Millin points out, "a été d'une grande utilité pour déjouer les manœuvres des ennemis du bien public."[105] Before long this was to be formalized by the publication of a newsletter: "Il en paroît chaque semaine un numéro sous le titre de Journal de la Société des amis de la Constitution."[106] And this was only one of the journals published at this time by the Jacobins: Millin may not mention the fact, but the faction led by the triumvirs had, whilst they were still officially members of the Jacobins, launched a second publication, the *Journal des débats de la Société des Amis de la Constitution*. Only four pages after this comes the discussion of the *Nouvelles ecclésiastiques*. Millin begins the section by giving a brief history of the newspaper, its origins and the problems and persecutions that its authors faced, over the course of which the reader learns that the *Nouvelles* was in fact a weekly journal written and diffused by the Jansenists as part of their lengthy and acrimonious struggle against the Jesuits and the Molinists, a struggle motivated by doctrinal differences. The parallel that Millin is drawing here between two occurrences in France of a struggle pitting against one another two opposing factions within one body (the church in one case and the revolutionaries in the other) and waged in part through a periodical publication, strategically placed as it is at the end of the article on the Jacobins and just before that on the Feuillants, cannot have failed to capture the attention of his readers.

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[104] "on vit éclater dans le sein de la société une division funeste. [...] Quelques membres se séparèrent et formèrent des comités particuliers. Ceux qui restèrent dans la société cherchoient à les ramener [...]. L'harmonie ne dura pas long-temps, il se fit quelques émigrations: la plus célèbre et la plus connue fut celle qui alla fonder le club de 1789.": ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 1 (1790), art. IV, p. 56.

[105] ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 1 (1790), art. IV, p. 56.

[106] ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 1 (1790), art. IV, p. 58.

Equally intriguing is the choice of subject for the sixth article of the book, the Hôtel Barbette. As Millin himself admits, all that remained of this building at the time of the Revolution were one or two vestiges: "Cet hôtel, dont il ne reste plus que la porte [...] et une tourelle qui est à l'angle formé par la rue des Francs-Bourgeois et par la vieille rue du Temple."[107] Furthermore, unlike the pillory or the Bastille, the Hôtel Barbette was not even a building which had still been standing within living memory, since it "subsista toujours jusqu'en 1561" at which time it was sold and the plot of land was developed. Proof of Millin's assertion that there was very little that remained of the former structure can be seen from the plate that accompanies the article, most of which is occupied by a plan of the area **[Ill. 88]**. And yet he has seen fit to devote an entire, albeit short, article to it. The only possible reason for the inclusion of this building can be that it allows Millin to recount a historical anecdote that must certainly have had considerable resonance for his contemporaries. On November 23 1407, Louis d'Orléans was assassinated after leaving the Hôtel Barbette where he had been paying a visit to Isabelle de Bavière, the wife of his brother Charles VI. The king's mental health had degenerated to such an extent that by this date he was no longer capable of ruling his country. The ensuing struggle for power matched Louis d'Orléans and Isabelle de Bavière against the Burgundians, led by John the Fearless. It was on the orders of the latter that Louis d'Orléans was killed. The story no doubt struck a chord with the French readers of the time. This article appeared in the late spring of 1791. Less than a year earlier, Paris had witnessed the triumphant return from a short period in exile in England of Louis Philippe Joseph d'Orléans, a direct descendant of Louis XIV's brother and sixth in line to the French throne. He had incurred the wrath of the king at the meeting of the États-Généraux in 1789 by sitting as a deputy and on his return to Paris in 1790 he quickly made a point of marking his support for the Revolution, becoming a member of the Constituent Assembly and joining the Jacobins club. Throughout the two years following his return he courted popular opinion and, even if he was later to deny it strenuously, he was generally considered to aspire to the throne where he would replace Louis XVI as king of France under a constitutional monarchy. His ambitions to the sovereignty were not the only feature that he shared with his fifteenth-century homonym. The eighteenth-century Louis d'Orléans had earned the well-deserved reputation for being little more or less than a

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[107] ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 1 (1790), art. VI, p. 2.

profligate and dissolute rake and such accusations had been laid very firmly at the door of Louis d'Orléans at the beginning of the sixteenth century, as Millin had made clear in an earlier passage on him to be found in the article on the Célestins.[108]

All of the earliest articles of the *Antiquités nationales*, with the possible exception of the second on the Tour de Montlhéry, can be shown to have a particular connection with events occurring in the country at the time.[109] The choice of the second article is less than evident in this respect. There were no great events, no important figures in the history of this building that could be claimed to have any particular significance for France in the opening years of the last decade of the eighteenth century. There is, however, one very striking feature about this chapter, and that is that allows Millin to compare and contrast two types of ruins. The first, that of the Bastille could be denoted as an 'intentional' ruin. The second, that of this tower just outside Paris represents rather another type of ruin, typical of the art and literature of the late eighteenth century, the 'unintentional' ruin. The choice of this building allows Millin to incorporate into his book an element of the 'picturesque' that was so popular in literature and scholarship of the time. His vocabulary and his choice of authors to quote reinforces this impression. He speaks of a scene which is "vraiment romantique" and compares the interior with theatre backdrops. The wildlife of the area is evoked, since Millin assures the reader that in this tower one hears "les cris lugubres des chouettes, des fresaies et des oiseaux nocturnes." After this comes a long passage from Boileau describing the owl who roosted in the Saint-Chapelle.[110] And this aesthetic of the picturesque, whilst it does not mark many further textual passages of the *Antiquités*, is often to be noticed in the images **[Ills. 61, 89–90]**.

Later chapters in the work also seem to suggest that Millin often chose the monuments that he was to represent in terms of the events that were occurring in France at the time. Amongst examples of these, apart from those quoted above, are two interesting references to England. When the first stirrings of English discontent with the events in France were becoming known, Millin chose to represent the monument of Jeanne d'Arc in Orléans.

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[108] "Louis étoit aussi devenu prodique, léger, frivole, inconstant: il s'abandonnoit sans méagemens à toutes les passions, qui dépravèrent son cœur et corrompirent ses mœurs": ALM ANT. NAT. A, vol. 1 (1790), art. III, p. 79.

[109] The seventh article of the first volume relates to a small church in Paris dedicated to a saint closely identified with national history, Saint Denis, a patron saint of the country and the first bishop of Paris

[110] ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 1 (1790), art. II, pp. 12–13.

And later, when England was to declare war, it was with an article on Calais that Millin decided to mark the events happening at the time. There are other examples where the direct temporality is less evident, but where Millin does make a revolutionary reference which can be interpreted as explaining the reason for his choice of a monument. Such is the case of the Fontaines de Juvisy. The chapter touches only very lightly upon subject of the bridge and its sculptures, and the majority of the text concerns the history of roads in Europe and more particularly in France. In the very last paragraph, Millin explains the reason behind this lengthy dissertation:

> "Mais comment ne pas voir avec douleur ces grands travaux, quand on pense qu'ils sont le fruit de la sueur et de la misère de milliers d'infortunés, et ne pas bénir le décret qui a prononcé l'abolition de la corvée."[111]

This should not be taken as suggesting that for every single article in the *Antiquités* there is a neat temporal concordance with revolutionary events. That the first volume should display the author's strategy to the best advantage is scarcely surprising. He had had more time to consider the way in which he wished to present these opening chapters, and thus to collect the necessary material. At other times this was less possible, partly because of his other occupations and partly because the book had to appear in regular parts. According to the terms laid out in the prospectus, eight sheets of text were to be issued each month. There were occasions on which Millin could not hope to find a suitable parallel, carry out the necessary research, procure the drawings and get the article through the press. A fair assessment of the book as is stands is to posit that Millin's intention was, whenever possible, to achieve this type of a parallel. When events proved less conducive to his attempt to find a monument that could serve as a convenient symbol of what was happening in France at the time, then he would fall back on other material. This could either be material that he had collected on one of his journeys outside Paris, or that was more easily accessible, concerning a building in the capital itself.

Working by allusion

As was seen in the discussion of the chapter on the pillory, any reference to contemporary events remains largely allusive. This tendency to avoid making a direct reference to contemporary events is one that marks the whole of the *Antiquités*. Considering

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[111] ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 2 (1791), art. XVI, p. 8.

that this a country going through momentous events, little is to be found that actually draws directly upon them. In a prefiguration of the attitude that he was later to adopt in terms of the separation between written and spoken political beliefs, he scrupulously avoids all direct comment on the current situation in France. Only rarely, such as when speaking of the statue of Henri IV in the town of Rouen, does Millin describe the way in which it has been transformed since 1789: "Depuis la révolution, le peuple lui a ceint la tête d'un ruban national, et lui a mis dans la main un drapeau flottant sur lequel on voit, au bout d'une pique, le bonnet de la liberté."[112] The plate that accompanies this article does indeed represent the statue with the flag described in the text **[Ill. 91]**. Similarly, although this time the image is presented without eliciting any word of explanation from the author, the engraving depicting the façade of the Blancs-Manteaux in Paris includes, to the right, a gateway bearing the date '1789' ornated with revolutionary symbolism and guarded by two soldiers **[Ill. 92]**.

This non-historicity of the *Antiquités* is a very striking feature. The book may well have been written against the backdrop of the French Revolution, but this is scarcely ever allowed to trouble the almost utopian calm which characterizes much of the text.[113] Millin seems to have created a form of historical haven untouched by the Revolution and the major questions of the period. One example of this is the way in which the subject of vandalism, although constituting the main reason for the composition and publication of the *Antiquités*, is scarcely ever touched upon. In a similar publication that began to appear at about the same time – Puthod de Maisonrouge's *Monumens historiques ou Pelerinage* – there is a much greater desire to inform the reader on the actual events taking place and on the danger to buildings. Puthod also makes an effort to show the authorities' response to the attacks on works of art, reporting the main decisions that were taken. He even goes so far as to reproduce some of the *Instructions* that were being issued at the time in an attempt to standardize the conservation and the recording of various objects.[114] Millin on the other hand seems to be at pains to ensure that no reference to the damage to objects might blight his chapters. Only very occasionally is there a brief glimpse given, either in an image or in the text, of the fact that

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[112] ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 2 (1791), art. XX, p. 6.

[113] The one striking exception, already discussed, comes in his lengthy passage on the Jacobins club in the fourth article of the first volume: see *supra*, pp. 371 ff.

[114] PUTHOD 1790. For the *Instructions* see: INSTRUCTION 1790A; INSTRUCTION 1790B; INSTRUCTION 1791A; INSTRUCTION 1791B.

some monuments were in danger of being lost. Amongst the very few examples of this is the following comment which occurs in the article on the Abbaye de Barbeau: "Ce tombeau étoit menacé, ainsi que l'église, de la destruction qui a déjà anéanti plusieurs monumens de notre histoire. L'assemblée nationale a décrété, sur la demande du département de Seine et Marne, qu'il seroit transporté à Fontainebleau."[115] Nowhere does Millin launch into a diatribe such as that written by one of his English predecessors and models, Francis Grose. The latter had included in his description of Netley Abbey a denunciation of those who damaged historic monuments for the sake of greed: "possessors of such buildings, many of whom too inconsiderately suffer their stewards or tenants to demolish them for the sake of the materials, not reflecting that they thereby deprive their estates of very striking ornaments; ornaments which, in other countries, are preserved with the utmost attention; and that without any material benefit, as the cost of the demolition generally amounts to nearly the value of the materials so gained."[116] Paradoxically, in a country riven by discord, where vandalism was the order of the day, and in a book expressly written to combat the devastating effects of such destructions, Millin feels himself unable to pass any direct comment.

A similar lack of political engagement marks the entire discourse. Whilst later commentators were to claim that there was a spirit of voltairianism and anti-feudalism that marked the pages of the *Antiquités nationales*, these are opinions that need to be reconsidered. To accuse Millin of having systematically denigrated all of the institutions of the Ancien Régime and to have been attempting a form of rabble-rousing through his *Antiquités* is less than entirely accurate or convincing. With an impressive array of historical facts and examples to hand, Millin manages, as has been seen, to evoke current events without actually stating anything direct. When it comes to facts of the past, then it could be expected that he would be more prepared to state unambiguously what had happened and to express an opinion. Such is not the case, since, as can be seen from the examination of a number of points, Millin shows himself remarkably loath to discuss explicitly not only the present but also the past.

Were the accusations of Bâtissier and Du Sommerard to be entirely true, then it would seem likely that the chapter on the Bastille would provide the best evidence. Millin did after all explain that there was no more natural subject for his first chapter than the Bastille because of the

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[115] ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 2 (1791), art. XIII, pp. 12–13.

[116] GROSE 1773, vol. 2 (1774).

"terreur qu'inspiroit son existence, & [...] la joie universelle qu'a causée sa chute."[117] Given the unequivocal words with which he begins the chapter then it must surely be expected that he will exploit this opportunity to highlight the abuses of the past, expressing his feelings with, if not some stirring demagogic revolutionary prose, then at least some well-chosen historical facts couched in language sufficiently pejorative that it would confirm the validity of recent events and strengthen the resolution of the French people. Examples were not lacking in earlier literature; for centuries the Bastille had encapsulated fear and horror, illustrated well by Restif de la Bretonne's reaction to the building's demolition:

> "Je la vois, cette Bastille redoutée, sur laquelle, en allant chaque soir dans la rue Neuve-Saint-Gilles, trois années auparavant, je n'osais jeter les yeux."[118]

In addition, the prison enjoyed the somewhat dubious distinction of having seen its name give rise to a series of derived words, all of which denoted a certain type of punishment. Surprisingly enough, no attempt is made by Millin to profit from the rather negative press which the building had enjoyed and continued to enjoy in order to attack the Ancien Régime system or the monarchs and nobles responsible for it. Over the space of thirty-five pages are to be found the history of the building, an account of its capture and an architectural description; some reference to its political symbolism is also made although the consequences are never fully developed into a coherent discourse. The general feeling that is gained from reading this chapter is that there is a certain neutrality, even a determined ambiguity in the author's comments. For example, the events of July 14 are recounted in a relatively brief, occasionally terse, section; and nor does Millin choose to attribute any particular significance to the episode of the opening of the dungeons and the discovery of the bones of former prisoners. These two sections are dealt with in a total of only four pages and are, remarkably, not given a prominent position in the chapter. They comprise neither the opening nor the closing pages but are instead sandwiched between the historical narrative and the architectural description, thus representing a somewhat neutral position in the chapter.

The neutrality displayed by Millin becomes even more evident when his account is compared with others written during this period. Two major features stand out. The first of these is that, as has already been seen, Millin was very often in his work guilty of plagiarism and the chapter on the Bastille does not constitute an exception to this rule. Many of the passages in this

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[117] ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 1 (1790), art. I, p. [1].

[118] Retif de la Bretonne, *Les nuits révolutionnaires* in: PARIS LE JOUR 1990, p. 1114.

chapter have been lifted, word for word, from a number of texts (most often those of Dussaulx and of Charpentier) without any recognition of the original source. Secondly, and something which is more striking than the simple reuse of passages already to be found written by earlier authors, is the way in which Millin manages to subvert them. By his very choice of the sections to 'borrow' and by his manner of juxtaposing them, he manages to defuse most, virtually all, of the emotive charge.

The account of the storming of the Bastille is in itself revelatory: the date is described as the "jour à jamais célèbre, puisque c'est celui auquel un grand peuple a conquis sa liberté."[119] Immediately after this statement follows a disclaimer: Millin will not give too much detail in this chapter since many other authors have already given their versions and, in any case, the day is carved in "l'âme forte et tenace des hommes libres."[120] No attempt is made to provide any new details or observations which could signal out his account from others'. The narrative is highly schematic, very dry and is remarkable for its insistence on the passive form of the verb with the pronoun 'on'. Millin's text as it stands would almost lead the reader to believe, erroneously as is quite clear from his biography, that he had not been present in Paris during the crucial days in July 1789.

Nor is this ambiguous tone reserved only for the section which deals with recent events: the history of the building is presented in a similar light. Comparison of this text with others – such as that of Linguet – highlights the neutrality of Millin's discourse.[121] There are a number of terms used throughout the historical section that do have a pejorative sense. For instance, both "despote" and "despotisme" appear here on a couple of occasions, and several of the terms used to describe the punishments inflicted on prisoners are strong, with reference being made to "vengeances ténébreuses", "atrocité de ces peines arbitraires", "lâches cruautés" and "asyles affreux de la douleur et de la mort." But closer examination of these instances makes it clear that these are always taken to be generic terms. It becomes very difficult to see whom exactly Millin is accusing of the atrocities and the suppression engendered by the Ancien Régime. The author who was, according to Bâtissier, comparable to Voltaire in his hatred for the feudal system, reveals himself remarkably loath to attribute blame to any particular quarter. A closer

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[119] ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 1 (1790), art. I, p. 12.

[120] ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 1 (1790), art. I, p. 13.

[121] LINGUET 1773.

examination of the attitude expressed towards several of the French kings is more telling. Only Louis XI, who had attracted a unanimously bad press from all eighteenth-century historians, is the object of any open and unambiguous criticism, described as "barbare et cauteleux". The catalogue of the crimes that occurred during his reign is lengthy, and Millin spares no details, accusing the monarch of having invented new and even more vicious methods of torture for those whom he particularly distrusted:

> "Le barbare et cauteleux Louis XI remplit la Bastille de ses victimes. Non content de leur faire éprouver toutes les peines et les ennuis d'une longue captivité, ces tourmens lui paroissoient trop doux pour ceux qui avoient eu le malheur de gêner ses desseins, et il trouvoit un sentiment d'orgueil à inventer des supplices inconnus, et dont lui seul pouvoit concevoir l'idée."[122]

Almost two pages are entirely filled with the details of the victims of Louis XI, and Millin hastens to assure the reader that this represents only a small fraction of the king's cruelty:

> "Jamais les murs affreux de la Bastille n'avoient vu tant de crimes que sous le regne de Louis XI, quoiqu'elle ne renfermât pas toutes les victimes de sa cruauté. Il avoit encore plusieurs châteaux forts, et il livroit à divers supplices aussi atroces que bizarres ceux qu'il y faisoit enfermer."[123]

Later monarchs are, nonetheless, treated with much more sympathy. Henri IV, qualified with the adjective "bon", was always one of the more popular monarchs who had reigned, and thus it is hardly surprising to find that Millin is reluctant to criticize him or his actions. That prisoners had been sent to the Bastille during his reign was an undeniable fact but, "sans doute le bon Henri eut à se reprocher moins d'emprisonnemens arbitraires, quoiqu'il se soit aussi rendu coupable de quelques-uns, que les temps où il a vécu rendent plus excusables."[124] An equally balanced attitude is expressed with regard to Louis XIV during whose reign the most famous historical figure ever held in the Bastille, the man in the iron mask, was imprisoned. After spending some lines debating the identity of this person and establishing that it was probably the king's brother, Millin then turns to the question of Louis XIV's responsibility. He weighs up the question and decides that the act was cruel and cannot be excused but then tempers this by stating that it was admittedly much less cruel than the actions of many "despotes asiatiques" who "font souvent crever les yeux à leurs frères, et même les condamnent à mort à l'époque de leur avénement au

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[122] ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 1 (1790), art. I, p. 4.

[123] ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 1 (1790), art. I, p. 5.

[124] ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 1 (1790), art. I, p. 7.

trône, pour les empêcher de fomenter des troubles dans l'État."[125] Similarly, Louis XVI is presented under a very sympathetic light:

> "Louis XVI avoit senti lui-même tout ce que ces emprisonnemens avoient d'injuste: ce prince, qui avoit aboli la torture, substitué à des gouffres empestés des prisons plus saines, avoit dit dans sa déclaration du 30 août 1780: 'Ces souffrances inconnues et ces peines obscures, du moment qu'elles ne contribuent point au maintien de l'ordre par la publicité et par l'exemple, deviennent inutiles à notre justice.' Cependant les ministres, les gens en place, tous ceux qui avoient fait de la Bastille l'instrument de leurs passions et de leur vengeance, étoient parvenus à rendre nulles ses bonnes intentions."[126]

From this passage it may well be supposed that the nobility is thus the institution that Millin holds most responsible for the injustices that so frequently marked the Ancien Régime. The nobility is sometimes accused, as in these lines, but on other, albeit rare, occasions the suggestion is made that they were prepared to act in a more humane fashion.[127]

Thus, throughout the course of this chapter, Millin is certainly not profiting from the opportunity provided to attack the monarchy and to produce demagogic diatribes denouncing the entire feudal system. This is an attitude that was to dominate throughout the rest of the *Antiquités*. In general there is only one monarch who can always be guaranteed the most vitriolic of Millin's language, and that is Louis XI. Most of the others are presented in a much calmer, more neutral prose, and very rarely does Millin comment on a negative action by a French monarch without at least attempting to find some redeeming feature that can be presented at the same time. Bâtissier's view of Millin as a worthy successor to Voltaire is clearly erroneous in this respect. Not entirely erroneous, nonetheless, since the other point that the nineteenth-century historian made was that Millin was also highly critical of the Church. As was seen in the chapter on the sources of the *Antiquités*, throughout the work the religious orders were criticized for their venality and their rather lax attitude to monastic life. In addition, they were accused of having profited from both popular superstition and, more particularly, the credulity of the monarchs in order to provide themselves with a very comfortable lifestyle. Without exception, each of the orders discussed by Millin is accused of these same crimes. Even

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[125] ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 1 (1790), art. I, p. 9.

[126] ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 1 (1790), art. I, pp. 11–12.

[127] Millin quotes the famous 'affaire du collier' and states that "le parlement exigea que les prisonniers fussent transférés à la conciergerie avant de porter son jugement, mais la plupart furent interrogés à la Bastille": ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 1 (1790), art. I, p. 11.

within the chapter on the Bastille, he eagerly takes the chance to attack them. In effect, apart from Louis XI, it is a religious group which is accused in the most unambiguous terms of having best profited from the chance to imprison their enemies. The group in question is the Jesuits, and, if Millin is to be believed, their influence was particularly pernicious since it encouraged others also to believe that any enemy, however slight the offence, could very easily be dealt with by means of a *lettre de cachet* followed by a long period in the Bastille:

> "Quand Louis XIV eut donné sa confiance aux jésuites, et qu'il eut commencé à se mêler des querelles de religion, la Bastille fut peuplée de malheureux, dont tout le crime étoit de n'avoir pas voulu signer le formulaire ou adopter les cinq propositions. La quantité innombrable de lettres de cachet que fit expédier le jésuite le Tellier, le persécuteur des jansénistes, est si prodigieuse, que l'expédition de ces lettres parut depuis une chose à peu près indifférente, et que la liberté des citoyens fut enchaînée, qu'ils virent même leurs jours menacés pour une chanson, pour un mot échappé dans les conversations contre la maîtresse d'un homme en place, contre un commis, enfin contre un homme qui jouissoit de quelque crédit.
>
> "Les ministres, fatigués de la peine que leur donnoient tant de signatures, firent faire des griffes pour mettre plus de promptitude dans l'opération; ils poussèrent la prévoyance et l'attention jusqu'à distribuer à quelques gens en place ou en crédit, un certain nombre de lettres de cachet où il n'y avoit plus que le nom à remplir.
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> "Aussi vit on bientôt emprisonner des maris dont on vouloit avoir les femmes, des frères pour les forcer à abandonner leur héritage, des filles qu'on n'avoit pu séduire, etc."[128]

Therefore, in Millin's view of the situation, many of those who were sentenced to a period in the Bastille owed their misfortune, albeit indirectly, to the Jesuits.

The engravings that illustrate this chapter do little to alter the feeling of studied neutrality that dominates the text. They are four in number, and all of them show only the external features of the building. There is no illustration depicting either the events of July 14 or the infamous dungeons. Two represent various statues that were not actually on the Bastille but rather on the arch close to it, the Porte Saint-Antoine. Only two show the Bastille itself, and of these one is a plan. The second shows the Bastille in elevation from two different viewpoints. Interestingly enough, however, despite the number of images of the building that were circulating in the early months of the Revolution, it is not an image of the building itself that the artist has chosen to engrave. Instead the engraver, presumably under directions from Millin himself, has chosen to depict one of the models of the Bastille executed by Pierre-François Palloy to whom the

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[128] ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 1 (1790), art. I, p. 10.

Bastille's demolition had been entrusted.[129] Thus what is chosen to illustrate this chapter is in effect a doubling of the usual representational distance: a copy in the form of an engraving after a copy in the form of a model **[Ills. 93–4]**. The Bastille has been taken, its power has been negated and its mystique removed; once again in this chapter the emotive charge is being neutralized by a manipulation of the sources.

Artistic choices

At this point it is perhaps pertinent to parallel the situation faced by the *gens de lettres* with that faced by the artistic community. The Salons continued during the Revolution (although with the important modification that after the disbandment of the Académies they were open to all artists instead of merely members of the Académie), and it is notable that very few artists who exhibited there were prepared to commit themselves to representing the great events of the time. The closest which can be found is the occasional use of allegory, but even that was rarely ventured.[130] Clearly it is impossible to discount entirely the importance to the late eighteenth-century artist of the hierarchy of the genres, which attributed a decidedly secondary place to the representation of either recent or contemporary events. But there had been, even prior to the Revolution, calls to reinvigorate the Salons by producing paintings that did not seek their subject matter in very distant ages, and could address more directly a contemporary audience. Probably the best-known example of such a call is that by Charles Villette in his review of the Salon of 1785. Discussing the painting by Vien, 'Retour de Priam ramenant le corps d'Hector'[131], Villette asked:

> "voilà sans doute un terrible sujet, et qui n'est point affaibli par la manière large dont il est traité; mais certainement il ne jette dans l'âme d'aucun spectateur la consternation, l'effroi, qui règnent dans le tableau. Peut-on prendre, en effet, un intérêt bien vif pour un événement avec lequel l'Histoire et la Fable nous familiarisent depuis trois mille ans?"[132]

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[129] For Palloy and his work see especially ROMI 1956.

[130] For a study of the Salons during the Revolution see HEIM et al. 1989, and MICHEL 1988.

[131] Musée d'Angers but now lost according to BORDES 1983, p. 126, note 1. However Gaehtgens notes that although it has been lost, we do still have an preparatory sketch for the painting. See GAEHTGENS 1975, p. 142.

[132] Charles Villette, "Lettre au Journal de Paris", in JOURNAL DE PARIS 1777, September 5 1785, pp. 1023–4; quotation here from p. 1023. This letter is also to be found in a manuscript version in the Deloynes collection (BNF microfiche collection, pièce no. 350) and is quoted *in toto* in BORDES 1983, pp. 124–6.

He carried on to suggest that artists should be more prepared to find more recent subjects, for example the death of the Prince of Brunswick. Brushing aside potential criticism such as the unsuitability of modern dress for a truly heroic painting, he continued with the following words:

> "Il me semble que nos Artistes, pleins de génie, vont chercher leurs sujets trop loin de nos temps et de nos mœurs. La vérité simple de l'Histoire ne l'emporterait-elle pas souvent sur la magnificence de la fiction? et ne gagneraient-ils pas du côté de l'intérêt plus qu'ils ne perdraient peut-être du côté de l'invention?"[133]

Nor was Villette's a lone voice crying in the wilderness, and certainly during the revolutionary years there were a number of attempts to promote the depiction of the great events currently being played out on French soil. For example, Lebrun made use of an article in Athanase Détournelle's journal *Aux Armes et aux arts!* to make the following exhortation to artists:

> "nous n'avons plus besoin de fouiller l'histoire des âges les plus reculés pour échauffer notre imagination; que de faits héroïques se passent sous nos yeux, qui rivalisent avec tout ce que les républiques d'Athènes et de Lacédémone peuvent nous offrir de plus merveilleux!"[134]

Moreover, there were other, more officially-organized attempts to persuade artists to shift towards more contemporary history as a source of inspiration since a series of *concours* taking revolutionary events as their theme was launched.[135] However the general response was felt to be rather disappointing, as witness the comments by François de Neufchâteau, who lamented that "Les artistes, depuis la Révolution qui a tout fait pour eux, n'ont presque rien fait pour elle."[136] This echoed the comments of Amaury-Duval writing in the *Décade*, an IV (1795):

> "O! mes belles espérances, comme vous avez été déçues [...]. Elle se fera donc encore longtemps attendre cette révolution dans les arts, que je croyais si avancée."[137]

Not that there were absolutely no paintings depicting contemporary, national themes: only six weeks after the storming of the Bastille the Salon opened in Paris on August 25 1789,

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[133] Villette, "Lettre au Journal de Paris", in JOURNAL DE PARIS 1777, September 5 1785, pp. 1023–4; p. 1024.

[134] Lebrun in DÉTOURNELLE 1794, no. 5, p. 191.

[135] See especially the articles in DÉTOURNELLE 1794.

[136] In report of February 1799, Archives nationales F^{17} 1059, dossier 3.

[137] Amaury-Duval in DÉCADE 1794, 1795, no. 54, 30 vendemiaire an IV [October 22 1795], pp. 145–6.

the fête de la St Louis, the annual royal fête. Amongst the works on show was a pair of pendants by Hubert Robert (1733–1808), described in the Salon handbook in the following terms:

> "No. 36. Deux Esquisses faites d'après nature; l'une est une vue prise sur la rivière, sous l'une des arches du Pont Royal, dans le tems de la grande gelée de l'hiver dernier; et l'autre, représente la Bastille dans les premiers jours de sa démolition.
> "Elles ont 4 pieds de long sur 3 de haut."

The former of these has now been lost, and the second is probably the one on display in the Musée Carnavalet in Paris **[Ill. 95]**.[138] In this painting, as in so many of his earlier ones, Robert presents a visual chronicle of events in the city. Little distinguishes it from, for example, the depiction of the fire that destroyed the Opéra almost ten years earlier.[139] A building is being destroyed, but there is certainly no indication that this is a major event in a popular uprising against an absolute monarch: calm and tranquillity are the prevailing elements in Robert's representation.

The loss of the accompanying painting poses a problem for any analysis, and it should never be forgotten that it did indeed exist and that Robert chose to exhibit the pair as pendants. From the description given in the Salon handbook, it is possible to extrapolate that this second scene – the Seine frozen over – was also presented as an interesting event in Parisian life, and one in which the predominating feeling was again one of calm. Why then should Robert have chosen to present the demolition of the Bastille in such an unemotional fashion and accompanied by this pendant? One possible hypothesis which should be rejected is that he intended thereby to parallel natural and human forces as causes of the Revolution. The idea that the freezing-over of the Seine and the consequent difficulties in transport, which in turn entailed food-shortages and inordinately high inflation, was a direct cause of the Revolution is largely a conclusion of twentieth-century economic and Marxist historians, and finds no place in the late eighteenth-century historiography of 1789. A more tenable hypothesis is that Robert did not wish to adopt any political position too early in the Revolution, uncertain of how events were going to develop. This ambiguity on the part of the painter is seen through a close analysis of the painting.

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[138] Hubert Robert, 'La Bastille dans les premiers jours de sa démolition', Paris, Musée Carnavalet, (oil on canvas, 77 x 114 cm, s.d. 20.7.1789). Care must be taken here as this may not be the original – there is a story that a copy of this painting was commissioned from the artist, although all trace of this command has been lost.

[139] This painting is now in the Louvre.

The prison dominates the scene and the demolition workers, perched on the battlements are scarcely visible. Blocks of stone are being thrown down from the walls into the ditches below. In the foreground are a number of figures, gathered in small groups, watching the work in progress. To the right clouds of smoke are billowing from a small house which is burning, the residence of the governor of the Bastille, De Launay.[140] The general impression given is that of a demolition of any large building in Paris which has attracted a crowd. Above all the overwhelming impression that is given is that of the sheer monumentality of the building, and therefore of the considerable human effort that will be required in order to achieve its complete demolition. The debris which is gradually accumulating in the ditches represents only a tiny fraction of the whole. Comparison of this work with other artists' pictures of the same subject is particularly enlightening: an engraving by Campion after Tétar's painting accords a much more prominent position to the workers on the battlements and to the larger number of stones piling up on the ground.[141] Demachy, in a work now in the Musée Carnavalet, multiplied the number of workers, made them much larger in proportion to the size of the building and laid much more emphasis on the amount of work which has already been achieved **[Ill. 96]**.[142] Likewise, in the domain of popular engravings, there is once more a tendency for the artists to glorify the demolition work, and more especially to cast determined emphasis on the very speed with which the demolition is being achieved. For example, an anonymous engraving showing the ruins of the Bastille bears a text which states that it took only four hours to capture a building which had been built over a period of fifteen years, and that within six months it had been entirely destroyed after an existence of 520 years.[143] However, this engraving and others like it were of course printed in a large number of copies, destined for a wide market **[Ill. 97]**. Robert was producing only one or two copies of his work, and those for a clientele composed almost (if not entirely) exclusively of aristocrats. In addition he had been employed by the king on a project for the gardens of Versailles and, in late 1792, he it was who painted the last Mass

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[140] According to MONTGOLFIER 1964, p. 15.

[141] See GARRIGUES 1988, p. 17.

[142] Antoine Demachy, 'Démolition de la Bastille', Paris, Musée Carnavalet, (oil on panel, 27 × 40.5 cm).

[143] In GARRIGUES 1988, p. 11.

celebrated by the royal family.[144] According to de Cayeux, this was based not on eyewitness accounts but rather on personal observations since the artist was present at the Mass.[145]

Clearly then, an artist such as Robert found himself in a perplexing situation. His career until this time had owed much to his friends and protectors amongst the nobility and royalty. Given recent events, this patronage was no longer assured. Nor though was it entirely certain that the revolutionary movement would succeed in overthrowing the established system, and Robert could not afford to alienate himself from his former patrons by presenting himself as an out-and-out, ardent espouser of the popular uprising. Hence we can posit an intentional ambiguity on his part: the demolition of the Bastille represents at one and the same time both the considerable achievement of the leading figures of July 14 and the solidity and stability of the monarchy, highlighted by the sheer enormity of the prison.

A careful examination of the authorial strategies exercised by Millin throughout his *Antiquités nationales* thus allows for some of the misconceptions concerning the book to be refuted, at least partially. The rabid anti-feudalist and anticlerical spirit that later scholars claimed to identify in the work is not quite as present as they would like us to believe. Admittedly there is considerable criticism of the various religious orders, and Millin does not hesitate to denounce their venality and their somewhat lax observation of their rules. As for the monarchy and the nobility, here the criticism is far less direct. The haphazard and chaotic sequence of the chapters must also be partially revised. The book does not correspond to any of the patterns habitually encountered in antiquarian treatises. This is because Millin wished to make it a work that reflected his own times. The discourse is often allusive, but the events that were marking France during the years of the Revolution are of vital significance in the choice of the buildings to be discussed. Millin has chosen to focus upon certain monuments and to disinvest them of any definite sense by means of the very neutrality of his text. It is then left to the individual readers to reconstruct the sense, based upon the facts which the author himself has given and, very importantly, with their knowledge of recent events in France. In this way the *Antiquités nationales* were in fact accessible to a wide range of Millin's fellow countrymen: whereas the more savant works of authors such as Caylus or

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[144] Hubert Robert, 'La dernière messe de la famille royale aux Tuileries', private collection, (oil on canvas, 37 × 46 cm).

[145] CAYEUX 1988.

Montfaucon had required good education and detailed knowledge of not only the classical languages but also classical mythology, the *Antiquités* could appeal to a much more popular audience, namely all those who were aware of recent events, something which was greatly facilitated by the huge explosion in the number of newspapers available since the beginning of the Revolution and the abolition of censorship. However, what has been sacrificed to this lack of willingness to adopt any particular discourse and to the desire to attract a wide audience amongst his contemporaries is the construction of a history which can still appeal to a later audience. Without very specialized knowledge of the period 1790–8, the *Antiquités nationales* seem to be not as much ambiguous as confused and without any meaning.

CONCLUSION

Such then is the story of the *Antiquités nationales*. Over thirty years ago, when the scholarly world was first beginning to show signs of an awakening interest in Alexandre Lenoir and his struggle to defend the French national heritage at a time of revolution, Bruno Foucart suggested that a study of Millin might also yield interesting results. A reaction was not immediately forthcoming; the intervening decades have witnessed a number of detailed and stimulating works not only on Lenoir but also on the fate of the French monumental stock during the revolutionary years, on the successive waves of vandalism and on the measures taken to protect existing works and to promote new artistic creation. Despite an impressive amount of literature on these various aspects, no lengthy study has as yet been undertaken either on Aubin-Louis Millin or on his *Antiquités nationales* and their significance for a movement which can be heralded as a precursor to the French Commission des monuments historiques and, more generally, to much of the increased awareness of the need to develop and implement conservation policies. This apparent disregard becomes much easier to understand in the light of the analysis of the reception accorded to both Millin and his work.

Throughout the two hundred years separating the early twenty-first century reader from the time when the *Antiquités nationales* were composed, the book has scarcely been taken seriously. After an initial moment of enthusiasm, when it was hailed as representing an important work that should be in every library, public interest soon waned and the stocks proved remarkably difficult to sell, despite a number of marketing ploys. Their author's reputation was to suffer a fate which paralleled to a remarkable degree that of his book. One of the major handicaps to a fair appraisal of Millin and the *Antiquités* has been that of overcoming these deeply-rooted prejudices. Both the author and his work have for far too long been deemed second-rate; hence they were all too little suited to being examined in any study where the epistemological perspective remained one of the traditional historiographical models with their general bias towards events, personalities and works which are or are considered to be important. It is undeniable that if the book is read according to the traditional criteria used for judging such works then the results will not be particularly rewarding. Taking it to pieces and analysing it in all its minutiae proves less than satisfying. The general opinion has always been that the material is badly organized, badly presented, probably incomplete and not entirely accurate. Some of these criticisms can stand: the prose style does leave much to be desired, and the illustrations are not always of the highest quality. And yet it would be,

and indeed often has proved to be, all too tempting to allow these quality judgements to obfuscate our reading of the work. In order to delve more deeply into the book and to understand it better a new approach to the subject was necessary, one that permitted a less pejorative and a more balanced view of it.

At the same time it was necessary to avoid a concurrent danger which could have marked a study of a book which could not be described as "epoch-making" in terms of its content, its form or its approach to its subject. It was not one of the aims of this thesis to attempt to rehabilitate the *Antiquités*, falsely to elevate the book to a status which it has never and should never enjoy. The purpose was rather to examine and appraise the work, to see what could be learned about it and its author, to explicate the methods of its composition and to corroborate (or disprove) Millin's own claims about and for it. Furthermore, it was essential to scrutinize the reception of the book, to trace its critical response over the two centuries since it was composed, to investigate the way in which it has been understood and used and to explore and explain the reasons for its relative lack of success. Some of the questions posed at the beginning of this study can be and have been answered; others prove far more difficult to elucidate. Some of them may never be answered to the satisfaction of all or even some readers. And, unsurprisingly, this close, occasionally painstaking, examination of Aubin-Louis Millin and his *Antiquités* has also in turn brought to light other problems and questions which are equally intriguing. How valid is a study of this type? How far do the various approaches which have here been selected go to explaining an enigmatic publication of this type? What have we learned from this? Would other books by the same author have produced equally rich results? Is this an approach that could be applied to other works?

The foregoing study should have illustrated that one of the major problems to have plagued previous generations' appreciation of the *Antiquités nationales* is that of not understanding the book either in terms of its contents or its form. What becomes most striking after a careful study of it and of its aims and methods, is that it has suffered greatly from its incorrect insertion into typologies of literary works. This more than any other factor has militated against an accurate assessment and comprehension of it. The bibliographers' description of the book as having the merit of presenting a considerable number of French monuments has been accepted without question. Taking this as the basis for our reading of the work, we have been overly hasty in concluding that this is no more or less than one example of the texts which are gathered together into a wide-reaching class referred to as "monumental surveys of France". As a result it has usually been purchased for specialized art or

architectural history libraries, has figured in bibliographies centred on the history of France and her artistic heritage and has all too often been used as a source-book for details on buildings and their contents. In short, we have wanted the *Antiquités* to be a useful source for the monuments of France, both those that were and those that were not destroyed at the time of the French Revolution. When viewed in this fashion, its shortcomings soon begin to become apparent. Whilst it is refreshing and informative to find articles devoted to buildings or monuments that had not otherwise greatly marked the earlier literature, there are countless others which should by all rights have been included in a comprehensive survey of this type but which are not to be found. Likewise, the descriptive material, both verbal and visual, can sometimes be considered to be less than entirely adequate for the needs of an art or architectural historian. It is clear that if we draw together from the various articles in which they appear Millin's scanty pronouncements on the nature and the development of mediaeval architecture and then compare the result with the discourse on the same subject provided by Séroux d'Agincourt, then Millin cannot but appear decidedly second-rate. By the same token, a comparison with the survey of mediaeval monuments provided in Montfaucon's *Monumens de la Monarchie françoise* will not necessarily prove to be in Millin's favour. But this is to forget the aims of the author and the very particular circumstances of the composition of his book. Millin was not necessarily attempting to emulate those authors mentioned above. We have been reading a text written by someone who was not an architectural or art historian with the experienced and no doubt unforgiving eyes of practitioners of these subjects.

By the same token, it might be tempting to regard this as a work aimed at countering the effects of vandalism. The background against which it was written and Millin's own presentation of it to the Assemblée nationale and request for permission to visit those buildings that were threatened do point towards this interpretation. Given these facts, the reader certainly expects that the theme of vandalism will figure largely in the work. Nonetheless, this proves absolutely not to be the case. Or, it should rather be said that the *Antiquités* do not conform to any pattern established by other works aimed at countering vandalism and undertaken at the same time. It is not in the *Antiquités* that one finds the rousing passages of rhetoric, destined to deter even the most ardent revolutionary vandal, favoured by Grégoire. By the same token, although Millin no doubt felt slighted after the rejection of his application to be accepted into the Commission des monuments (and Drouhin was later to state that the *Antiquités* was intended to remedy the lacuna resulting from that body's apparent ineptitude), the book does not ape the work of the government organization. Millin did not wish merely to pen a more literary version of the inventories being produced at

this time as a means of ensuring that all objects had been recorded in order to prevent their destruction by ardent mobs or sale by avaricious owners. Another of his contemporaries, Puthod de Maisonrouge, included in his *Les monuments, ou pèlerinage historique* references to contemporary events and to the measures being taken to combat them, to the extent even that complete texts issued by the revolutionary authorities are faithfully reproduced. Millin, on the other hand, makes virtually no allusion to the events that are occurring around him. A few desultory comments concerning the fact that some pieces have been lost are all that is to be found. And any critical tone that these might be felt to impart to the book are quickly dispelled by the fact that they are in turn neutralized, on occasions, by the observation that the monks and the clergy, supposedly much more reverential guardians of the monuments housed in churches and certainly understood to be far more respectful of the last resting-place of the dead, had had no qualms in moving or even destroying pieces of monumental sculpture or tombs if they felt that such actions would be helpful when, for example, planning the reordering of a church. Millin explains that vandalism is causing the destruction of various monuments, and he hopes to ensure that at least a written record of the most important pieces can be produced, but he does not promise a discourse against the excesses of this form of revolutionary violence.

The criticisms that have been levelled against the *Antiquités* are, in short, merely a result of our erroneous understanding of the very nature of the book. Small wonder then that the book has often been found wanting. Our mistake in reading and classifying the *Antiquités* is perhaps understandable. Had Millin only taken the time to pen a preface, laying out his main intentions and methods when composing the *Antiquités*, then we could have referred to this text and corrected or at least modified our possibly faulty reading of the work. Yet he chose not to do this. This fact alone continues to be one of the principal mysteries related to the book. It is galling to realize that there is no excuse for the complete absence of any preface or introduction to the work. After all, it is not as if the *Antiquités* were published entirely posthumously, on an incomplete manuscript, or as if the author himself died during the course of publication. He was to live for another twenty years after the issue of the last volume of the *Antiquités*, but he clearly preferred to leave the work without any such ‘peritext’. Nor are any useful references to it or explanations of it to be found in his later works. The impression with which we are left is that this was a work either that he did not wish to explain or that he felt required no clarification. Maybe he felt that the prospectus itself provided sufficient material for the comprehension of the book. If such is the case, then he must indeed stand guilty of betraying a sad lack of awareness of the very ephemeral nature of such items. When seen in

terms of the numbers of such documents that were printed, very few have actually survived. And it is even more rare to find a prospectus incorporated into a book and thus accompanying the main text itself – few collectors or institutions have followed this practice religiously.

Fortunately, some copies of the prospectus (in both of its editions) have survived, and they, combined with the speech given by Millin to the Assemblée nationale, do constitute, given the almost total lack of any other direct authorial statements, a major aid to our interpretation of the *Antiquités*. Coupled with a particularly close reading of the text itself, they allow for the formulation of a number of hypotheses concerning the book, its aims and its methods. For example, the prospectus confirms the relative inconsequentiality of art history to be observed in the book as it stands. Only one fleeting comment referring directly to the question of any interest in the history of the arts in France is to be found in either extant authorial statement. On the other hand, a careful reading of the prospectus will show that the word most often used by Millin when explaining his intention and methods is 'history'. He states with remarkable clarity that he is hoping to find a means to communicate to the entire French people, be they the scions of a great and illustrious family or of a family of craftsmen or manual workers, the importance of their history. In short, his aim is to compose a new history of France, one which can be described as universal and democratic. And, as has been shown in this study, he honoured his promise: his attention was not focussed uniquely on the great and the good since he made a point of including in his narrative details which could prove to all of the French that they had played a part in the history of their country.

And when we consider the work from this angle, then we begin to understand its logic. In terms of the wealth of historical facts and anecdotes recounted about various buildings, monuments and works of art, then there can be no competition: Millin will always surpass either Séroux d'Agincourt or Montfaucon. In effect, he does actually allow this to transpire in the body of the text itself, albeit implicitly. An attentive reader cannot fail to notice that not one single article amongst the sixty-one in the book begins with a description of the monument, group of monuments or town announced in the heading. In each and every case, without exception, Millin opens his text by relating the history of the building. Hence it soon becomes obvious that the aesthetic qualities of each building had, for him, to take a second place to its story and to the recital of the events that it had witnessed and its consequent relevance for the history of France.

When viewed in this fashion, then how does our opinion regarding the quality of the *Antiquités nationales* need to be modified? The historical details that the author gives are largely correct, although some care does need to be taken with his interpretations; the

hastiness of his work did on occasions lead him into error or blindly to take at face value the assertions of an earlier author. Undeniably, as became clear in the chapter devoted to his historical sources, Millin's work is absolutely not one which can lay claim to any great factual originality. It is not through the details that he presents and the research that he has done that we can assert that he has produced a book which, as the Duchess d'Abrantès was to claim, was worthy of being in every library. Much of what he wrote was taken from other authors, and a harsh, albeit partially accurate, judgement of the *Antiquités* must lead us to surmise that the work represents to a greater or lesser degree, and more markedly in some chapters than in others, a sound and largely judicious compilation which draws extensively on a wide and remarkably heterogeneous selection of earlier sources. And yet, even if it is true that Millin brought few entirely new facts to the fore in his work, it must be admitted that his vision of history was far from paradigmatic. Few amongst the historians of France had had the intellectual audacity to juxtapose such a highly conformist and conservative source as Hélyot's history of the religious orders with a satirical text written by a natural historian, Ignaz von Born, on the orders of an emperor, Josef II, with the deliberate aim of discrediting these same orders and thus facilitating their dissolution.

As was seen, one of the major problems faced by Millin, and other writers of his time, was that of developing a new historical discourse. That the advent of the Revolution created a situation in which a new approach to the narration of the history of France became vital is quite clear: no longer could a historian hope to articulate his discourse around the successive monarchs of the country, as had so often been the case in the past. An annalistic approach may well have been an alternative, but even before the events of the closing decade of the eighteenth century, French historians had realized that a renewal of the traditional methods was becoming not only desirable but even imperative. During the 1780s, Legrand d'Aussy had stated quite categorically that histories of France were not lacking and that were he to produce a work in that genre he would have little hope of finding any readers ("quel espoir de trouver encore des lecteurs"). A new organizational principle was needed, one which would allow for the history of the country to be recounted in a way that was not entirely sequential and chronological. Legrand d'Aussy decided to base his work on a social history of the French divided into a number of classes such as food, costume and leisure activities. For Millin the answer came in the form of a slightly different historical discourse. His was to one which laid great emphasis on social history but which was articulated around a series of monuments. He chose a number of suitable pieces and then used them as the starting point for a narrative which could include not only the more traditional accounts of significant battles

and dynastic struggles and changes but also a wide range of historical and biographical anecdotes alongside dissertations on such diverse subjects as horology, roads, monetary systems or costumes.

One major modification did need to be operated. If a new democratic history of France were to be successfully written in the form of a series of articles taking monuments as their focal point, then these same monuments had to be re-appropriated for the population as a whole. For many centuries a monument had necessarily been associated with the great and the good, the famous, the illustrious figures of the past, often members of wealthy and powerful families. For Millin's purposes, these associations needed to be at least weakened if not entirely broken. The answer came from England, where antiquarians had already achieved this transformation. They had already managed to develop a discourse which could include not only the pieces traditionally considered as monuments and now re-examined in order to emphasize their significance for the entire nation, but also other pieces that had not previously been considered worthy of the designation 'monument'. This was a major methodological innovation and it was one that Millin appreciated, assimilated and then put to the service of his own work when writing the *Antiquités nationales*. By his insistence on this notion of the 'monument historique' he managed to revise the ideas propagated in earlier works on related subjects by authors such as Lubersac or Montfaucon. Millin thus achieves the difficult feat of composing a text which takes as its main point of focus a series of monuments, previously considered only in terms of their associations with the noble and the illustrious, and uses these same pieces in order to compose a history of France which reflects the history of the whole country and of all classes of society. No longer therefore is, for example, a tomb of a great figure to be seen merely as a means of glorifying him and consequently his family. It is rather a marker, a historical sign, a semiophore, which assumes importance inasmuch as it is an element contributing to the narration of the country's past. By means of this new interpretation, monuments could now be appropriated by the entire nation and become places which could serve as places of collective memory, as a means of reuniting the entire nation.

If this reinterpretation and modified status of the monument is followed through to a logical conclusion, then it should become clear that Millin's claim to be concerned about the potentially nefarious effects of vandalism was not a hollow one. The *Antiquités nationales* amount to more than a mere retelling of France's history which also allows the author to introduce a new category, that of the 'monument historique'. The book can in addition be interpreted as one which attempted to advocate a greater respect for the monuments of the past. One point should never be forgotten in any consideration of the outbreaks of vandalism

occurring at the time of the French Revolution. The monuments and works of art were not being attacked solely or even mainly because of their artistic qualities. Their destruction was being motivated rather by what they represented. To the revolutionary mobs they were the symbols of the old order, an order that was for them synonymous with repression and subjugation. Thus it was essentially all symbols of the church, the royalty and the aristocracy, commonly viewed as being the former 'oppressors' of the lower estate, which were to be attacked. And it was precisely this that Millin wished to be able to combat when he based his entire discourse around the notion of the 'monument historique'. What he aspired to prove was that the buildings and monuments of France had a significance for the entire population. They were not merely symbols of the old order, of repression. The tone towards the clergy and the aristocracy may well at times be disparaging to the point of being insulting, but this does not imply a direct provocation to acts of violence against buildings or monuments. Millin's purpose was rather, as he stated in the prospectus, to remove the history of France from the hands of the great and the good and to return it to the people of France. By emphasizing that the history of France was a history in which the entire nation had a share, and by showing the way in which the monuments were linked to this same history, he was encouraging the French people to believe that the monuments belonged to them all. And if they were indeed common property, then their destruction was remarkably counterproductive for the nation as a whole.

There still remains the rather vexed question of the choice of the monuments. Certainly it is here that the *Antiquités* remains at its most problematic and enigmatic. We find ourselves transported from one side of Paris to another, then into the provinces, only to return to the capital. There would seem to be very little logic here. Unfortunately it is impossible to state with any certainty whether or not this is what Millin had anticipated from the very beginning of his work. There is no surviving list of the monuments and buildings that he intended to include. The only evidence that remains is the set of the drawings that were not to find a place in the work, those which were done of the buildings in Amiens and which are now in the Destailleurs collection. All attempts to impose any kind of logic, be it geographical, chronological or typological, upon the order in which the monuments is presented is doomed to failure. It would therefore seem that the bibliographers were correct in stating that this is completely disorganized. But a closer analysis of the *Antiquités* and its contents does bring to light an interesting point. On a number of occasions an article relates historical facts which serve as an illustration of or a contrast with events occurring in France in the weeks preceding its publication. There is one potential objection that could be raised

here, which is that this cannot be proven to be the case for every single one of the sixty-one articles composing the work. Whilst it is true that most of the articles in the first volume do indeed allow themselves to be interpreted in this way – and the results are surprisingly satisfying – the later volumes prove to be far more problematic. The argument is certainly a valid one, but it is also one which arises largely from a second erroneous reading of the *Antiquités*. It is not only in terms of the content that the book has been misread and misinterpreted until now, but also in terms of its form. It has always been described as a book, and we have thus approached it with a series of preconceptions corresponding to what we expect of a book. In short, we have wanted it to satisfy the following criteria: it should constitute a whole consisting of a homogeneous series of chapters with a logical argument developed by the author to be followed by the reader. The *Antiquités*, whose organizational principle seems to resist all attempts at discernment, scarcely corresponds to these requirements. The answer lies not in dismissing it as being a second-rate book but in asking whether it should not be re-analysed and whether we have not been guilty of trying to impose upon it a form which it was not intended to have.

A book of this type is not and should never be considered as being an autonomous entity: it is necessarily shaped not only by the events against which it was being written, but also by the person who was writing it. Many of the details to be found in the biography of Millin help in elucidating various features of the book as it stands. That there was at this time a general distrust of the clergy and a definite feeling of anger at the riches and privileges that the Church in France had managed to accumulate is well known. Millin was thus only one voice among the many of his period decrying the religious establishment. And yet, he was also to add to this more general disgust his own very personal reaction against the Church. His education in a Jesuit college followed by a short period as a novice in holy orders allowed him to cast upon the religious world the rather jaded eye of one who had had an intimate acquaintance with it. He mocks without any misgiving the superstitions and the cults of the Catholic Church. The frustrations that he had himself experienced during his novitiate find their personal expression in a series of snide remarks about the way in which many monks were prepared to turn a blind eye to slight transgressions or even downright contraventions of the vows that they had taken. Furthermore, much as this may seem surprising, a major feature of his commentaries on the religious orders also came about as a result of his extensive knowledge of the natural sciences. An adept of the Linnaean school of natural history, he was able to add an unusual source to his discussion, the classification of the monks by Ignaz von Born according to Linnaean principles.

These are examples of incidental details culled from his biography which help us better to comprehend and appreciate specific elements of the content of his work. Others could also be quoted. But there is a further biographical fact which is of the utmost importance when considering the *Antiquités* (and indeed many other of Millin's works). A comparison of the biography of Millin presented in this work with the others that have been composed until now will reveal one large difference, namely the attention that has here been paid to his career as a journalist. A frequent feature of the major biographical dictionaries and repertories is the use of keywords in order to summarize the most salient facts concerning a particular person's life and work. It is notable that when these are applied to Millin and his work the descriptors used regularly include historian, natural scientist, archaeologist, ethnologist and numismatist. Certainly all of these activities are represented to a greater or lesser extent in his works. To claim, however, that the last mentioned occupation, for example, was one that could be described as a major feature of his life and hence one that can be chosen to illustrate his intellectual output is clearly an exaggeration. His two works entitled *Histoire métallique* are scarcely ones for which he is known today, which constitute a sizeable contribution to the field of numismatics or which are regularly consulted and quoted. More astonishing is to discern one remarkable omission in these biographical dictionaries. Not once in any of the summaries of his professional life and literary corpus does the word 'journalist' appear. And yet, this is surely to overlook his major activity, one which in fact spanned his entire career. For from his first collaboration on the *Nouvelles de la République*, through the *Chronique de Paris* and the first series of the *Magazin encyclopédique* and culminating in the second series of this journal and its successor, the *Annales encyclopédiques*, he spent over thirty years as a journalist. The only short period of his professional career when he was not involved in journalism came when he was in prison.

Throughout his working life his scholarly interests varied enormously. In his early years, inspired partly by his close friendship with Willemet, he was to devote much of his time to the study of the natural sciences. After this, during the early years of the French Revolution, the potential loss of a considerable part of the French monumental stock inspired him to assume the role of an antiquarian and historian and to compose the *Antiquités nationales*. Following his period in prison, he was to become a curator in the re-organized Bibliothèque nationale and to turn his attention to classical art and archaeology, publishing a large number of works in the field. And throughout all of this working life, no matter what may have been the particular field of intellectual learning that had captured his attention, he was first and foremost a journalist. Not only did he never abandon this profession, but also he

was always to put it to the service of his academic interests. A careful analysis of the various journals of which he was the editor reveals a frequent bias towards the subject that was his main activity at the time, be it the natural sciences, the history of France's monuments or classical art and archaeology. Not that he was to pursue these subjects to the exclusion of all others, since he did insist on ensuring a good coverage of all the most recent discoveries and publications.

His intellectual interests thus bore an influence on the content of his journalism. But the relationship between the two was not entirely one-way. His journalistic activity was also one that was in turn to shape all of his literary output, this time in terms of the form. A very striking feature of his bibliography is that he was an author who remained largely faithful to shorter texts. In effect, he could probably best be characterized as an essayist. When we consider his entire academic production, we are struck by the fact that there were relatively few occasions when he was prepared to write a lengthy and structured work – and that was only in the case of his various travel accounts. This genre was, it must be said, already very well established, and a consideration of the accounts of his journeys that he penned, coupled with an analysis of the manuscripts that survive, shows that his work here consisted largely in fleshing out the diary that he kept and the notes that he took. It would seem to be evident that Millin was less than comfortable with the idea of approaching a lengthy work unless the plan was extremely apparent from the very beginning. When we turn to his other works a lengthy, consequential text is sadly lacking. The *Antiquités* are the most ambitious work which he undertook. Of the others, only the *Dictionnaire des Beaux-Arts* and the *Monumens antiques* can lay any claim to being substantial works and the latter, just like the *Antiquités* before it, was composed of a series of dissertations on individual pieces.

When we restore this journalistic activity to its rightful place in his life, then we are better able to understand the *Antiquités*. In effect, this is a series of pieces gathered together to form a whole. A clue to its actual form is given by Millin himself since each and every one of the 'chapters' in this work is called an article; this is further reinforced by his statement in the prospectus that the pieces could be bound in a different order from that of their issue. Then, unfortunately, he reconsidered and reinforced the notion of 'book' by imposing upon the work features more normally associated with books than with the periodical press – indices and a list of the illustrations for each volume. But the addition of these peritextual elements whilst the work was in course should not hide the fact that the *Antiquités* was, in its first conception, intended as a series of discrete dissertations or articles. It is this very fact that proves to be the greatest problem when analysing it: there is a constant hesitation between two different

structures – on the one hand, the collection of self-contained dissertations, and on the other the book. Given this, a fact which is of the utmost importance for any consideration of the *Antiquités*, it becomes far less surprising that the work betrays such a lack of organization; Millin may not even have been intending to produce any consistent and coherent argument running through the book. The common feature linking all of the various monuments that he had chosen is that they were French – and this not just by virtue of their being situated on French territory but also because his selection seems to have been based on ethnocentric criteria – and the discourse which he chooses to develop around each one is based on its importance as one of the scenes on which or against which the history of the nation had been played out. His journalistic activity also explains some of the rather perplexing choices that are made throughout the work. At the same time as he was writing the *Antiquités*, Millin was one of the main editors of the *Chronique de Paris*, a daily newspaper. He was therefore no stranger to a type of writing which implied, necessitated even, the ability to react rapidly to events occurring around him and then to pen a text about them. Once this aspect of his daily life and of his main professional interest is appreciated, the idea that he should then have chosen on occasions to include in his main scholarly work of the period pieces which betray a similar wish to comment on the contemporary situation in France is more credible. The overlap between these two activities is in effect so great that on at least one occasion – in the case of the article on the Jacobins club in Paris – a text that is incorporated into this article is quoted verbatim and at length from an article that had appeared only a few weeks earlier in the *Chronique de Paris*.

A close analysis of Millin's journalistic activity thus facilitates greatly an attempt to decipher the whys and the wherefores of the *Antiquités*. Ultimately, Millin was not necessarily a historian. He was first and foremost a journalist with a very highly developed interest in the history of his country and with the ability to make the connections between what was happening during the Revolution and what had been occurring many years, decades or centuries earlier. Once this distinction has been made and his conception of the book as a series of individual dissertations recounting the history of a number of monuments, with on occasions an attempt to establish a parallel between the past and the present, is accepted, then the *Antiquités* becomes easier to apprehend.

The composition and publication of the *Antiquités nationales* and the life of Aubin-Louis Millin thus become clearer. But it should also be asked whether this type of study can have any further significance. Is the fact of having reconstructed an individual's life of

particularly great interest, especially since this was a figure who did not have a great effect on the momentous events of his time? The answer to this question lies in seeing whether or not the results gained from studying this one particular microcosm – Millin and this one work – can then in turn be used to shed some light on the times in which he was working and other figures or ventures of this type. A person is interesting not only in terms of the elements that distinguish them from others of their time but also in the ways in which they can be seen as being typical. A close examination of the exact circumstances of Millin's career allows us, for example, to identify a number of the strategies adopted by a scholar and writer who did not count amongst the most important in order to forward his career and ensure a place for himself amongst the intellectuals of Paris. Despite a fortune which would have allowed him to live, albeit relatively modestly, he took a job at the Bibliothèque du roi. Likewise, he sought membership of various learned academies and societies and at the same time he participated actively in the Parisian salons, both before and after the Revolution. Through a number of shorter articles, the editorship of a collection of *Mélanges* and a series of translations, he gradually established a reputation as a solid scholar. His career also allows us to observe the effects of the revolutionary period: in some ways this was a major break, but, with the exception of the diminution of his income from rents, little else changed significantly in Millin's life. After his period in prison he soon picked up the pieces of his life, continued as a member of many of the commissions in which he had earlier been involved and managed to launch anew the literary journal that he had first begun in late 1792 but had been forced to abandon shortly afterwards. Likewise, a careful analysis of the *Antiquités* and comparison with other works in the same genre enables us to reconstruct the working environment and methods of a scholar in France during the second half of the eighteenth century, demonstrating the importance of the various scholarly networks and practices that had been developed.

A number of comparisons with other far more famous names of the French revolutionary period who were also working in what we would now call the field of the conservation of monuments also becomes possible as a result of our increased knowledge of Millin and his work. Millin's contribution has always been overshadowed by that of a Grégoire or a Lenoir. The former is justifiably destined to remain irrevocably linked with the coining of the word 'vandalism'. Far fewer and further between, however, are those who can name the person to whom should, in all probability, be attached the credit for the introduction of the syntagm 'monument historique' into the French language and into the French historical consciousness.

Recent work on the period of the Revolution and of the way in which monuments suffered or were saved has generally reflected the situation during the closing decade of the eighteenth century when these events were being played out: Lenoir has received far more attention than has Millin. Both men were working towards the same professed end, which was to ensure that the French national heritage should survive. Millin chose to produce what could be described as a 'paper museum': he attempted to commit to paper, to the best of his abilities, a careful and precise written and visual history of various buildings and of the interesting objects that they housed. Even if the physical survival of the pieces could not be guaranteed, then there would at least be a careful record of them, including their description. Lenoir's approach was, on the other hand, far more concrete and more directed towards the actual physical preservation of the pieces. Even if, as has been seen, his methods were not always the most respectful with regard to the original nature and function of a piece, it is clear that he was successful in many of his aims. The Musée des Monumens français was a major attraction at the time, and in some ways it cannot be denied that in terms of the immediate physical preservation of the pieces, Lenoir's contribution was more considerable than was Millin's. It is impossible to find an example of any monument that Millin actually saved during this period. And yet, there is also another point to bear in mind. Lenoir's museum proved to be all too ephemeral. The return of a king in France and the accompanying attempt to right the perceived wrongs of the Revolution meant that much of Lenoir's work was rendered obsolete. Indeed, throughout its existence, Lenoir had been aware of the importance of a paper version of his museum; hence the repeated editions of the catalogues and the translations into other languages. Most telling in this respect is that Lenoir did not content himself merely with the production of catalogues in one volume giving a brief description of each object, but no real vision of the establishment itself, of the various rooms and their disposition. He also insisted on writing a much lengthier, much more complete catalogue, extending to six volumes. What is particularly striking about this edition is that whilst all of the objects are described and illustrated in considerable detail, this meticulous cataloguing of the collections does not actually represent the primordial underlying motivation for the book. In this edition of the catalogue the author's implicit aim is less the representation of the holdings of his museum than of his museum itself. The organization and the scenography of the various rooms are carefully delineated. An immediate result was thus that the museum itself could be reproduced in many copies and become accessible even to those who could not visit Paris, be it of their own free will or because travel to France was not possible during the wars marking some periods of the revolutionary and Napoleonic eras. A further, long-term,

result was that by means of the six-volume catalogue with its precise descriptions of the buildings, rooms and decoration, the Musée des Monumens français managed to survive its dismantlement during the period of the Restoration. Lenoir himself was all too aware of the potentially ephemeral nature of his museum, and he must have seen the book as being the best insurance against it. It was, after all, in this work that he chose to place, in a frontispiece, his own 'paper tomb'.

Likewise, given the increasing interest that has been shown in the publications of this period, and the results that have already been achieved, it would doubtless be interesting to examine more closely a similar and simultaneous endeavour, that of Puthod de Maisonrouge and his *Les monuments, ou pèlerinage historique*, a publication which was destined to be much shorter-lived than the *Antiquités nationales*. The choice of pieces included in this book proves to be more closely related to the actual destructions that were occurring at the time, and these articles were then complemented by the transcription of a number of the government's decrees and of the texts issued by the Commission des monuments. Puthod's was thus a work which, seen from the point of view strictly of a response to vandalism, makes more apparent sense than does Millin's. A comparison of the two authors, their ideas, methods, sources and choice of pieces to include would prove remarkably fruitful, and would cast more light on another work which has been all too neglected until now.

To speak of a process of rehabilitation either of Millin or of his *Antiquités* would not be an accurate representation of the aims of this study. It would be preferable to categorize this as a re-evaluation of one man and of one of his works. Millin's work must now be restored to its correct position. It may well not be a great work, but it is one which deserves more attention than it has until now been accorded. In an attempt to stave off the waves of vandalism that were sweeping through France at various times of the Revolution, the author decided to attack the problem in a decidedly innovative fashion. He did it by means of taking various buildings and monuments in France and showing their importance for the nation as a whole. His was an attempt to reunite the French nation in a feeling of a communal interest in these pieces not necessarily because they were of the greatest artistic value but because they were pieces which carried within themselves information about the history of the nation as a whole. In order to do this he made the best possible use of his own talents – those of a popularizer and a journalist. He was accustomed to writing rapidly and on a variety of subjects – a feature which becomes clear from the large range of subjects covered in the book. He identified and borrowed from the English antiquarians a suitable methodological model

and used it to present the French monumental stock, thereby introducing into the French historical consciousness a new notion – that of the historical monument. Whilst he would probably not have been capable of penning a lengthy and considered discourse on the theoretical ramifications of this new vision of the monuments, he was very capable of turning it to a practical use. He employed it as a means of reviving the French consciousness as to the importance of the history of their country. Be it for lack of time, lack of financial resources or quite simply lack of awareness of the demands of a publication of this type, he proved to be incapable of paying enough attention to the incidental details. As a result the finished book was not one that was necessarily going to be purchased for its aesthetic qualities – be they literary or artistic. What could have saved the book would have been a clear declaration of its aims and methods; for unknown reasons, Millin chose never to do this. Thus it is that, both for his contemporaries and for successive generations, the *Antiquités nationales* have never been appreciated exactly for what they are.

Appendix 1.
BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION
OF THE *ANTIQUITÉS NATIONALES*

A. IN-QUARTO EDITION

ANTIQUITÉS | NATIONALES, | OU | RECUEIL DE MONUMENS | POUR servir à l'Histoire générale et particulière de l'Empire | François, tels que Tombeaux, Inscriptions, Statues, | Vitraux, Fresques, etc.; tirés des Abbayes, Monastères, | Châteaux et autres lieux devenus Domaines Nationaux. | PAR AUBIN-LOUIS MILLIN. | *Présenté à L'ASSEMBLÉE NATIONALE, et accueilli favorablement par ELLE.* | Le 9 décembre 1790. | *TOME PREMIER.* | [rule] | A PARIS, | Chez M. DROUHIN, Éditeur et Propriétaire dudit Ouvrage, rue | Saint-André-des-Arcs, N^{o} 92, jusqu'à Pâques, et à cette époque, | rue Christine, N^{o} 2. | [double rule] | *L'an second de la Liberté.* | 1790.

5 vols. in-4^{o}:

Vol. I: π1 A-D^4 E^2, ^{2}A^4 ^{2}B^4 [- ^{2}B$_2$], ^{3}A-C^4 ^{3}D^2 ^{3}E-Y^4, ^{4}A-I^4, ^{5}A-K^4, ^{6}A^4, ^{7}A^4, ^{8}A-C^4 [$2 signed (- E$_2$, ^{3}D$_2$; + ^{2}B$_3$); ^{2}B$_3$ missigned 'B$_2$']; 208 leaves: pp. *2* [1] 2-35 [36], ^{2}[1] 2-13 [14], ^{3}[1] 2-172, ^{4}[1] 2-69 [70], ^{5}[1] 2-82, ^{6}[1] 2-8, ^{7}[1] 2-8, [i] ii-xxi [xxii] xxiii-xxiv [= 416 pp.]

Vol. II: π1 A^4, ^{2}A-K^4, ^{3}A-B^4 $^3\chi$1, ^{4}A-D^4 ^{4}E^2, ^{5}A-C^4, ^{6}A-C^4 ^{6}D^2, ^{7}A-C^4, ^{8}A^4, ^{9}A^4, ^{10}A^4 [- ^{10}A$_4$], ^{11}A-F^4 [- ^{11}F$_4$], ^{12}A-B^4, ^{13}A^4, ^{14}A-D^4, ^{15}A-C^4 ^{15}D^2 [$2 signed (- A$_2$, ^{4}E$_2$, ^{6}D$_2$, ^{11}A$_1$, ^{15}A$_2$; + A$_3$); A$_3$ missigned 'A', ^{14}D$_2$ missigned 'A']; 186 leaves: pp. *2* [1] 2-3 [4], ^{2}[1] 2-4, ^{3}[1] 2-79 [80], ^{4}[1] 2-18, ^{5}[1] 2-35 [36], ^{6}[1] 2-23 [24], ^{7}[1] 2-28, ^{8}[1] 2-23 [24], ^{9}[1] 2-8, ^{10}[1] 2-8, ^{11}[1] 2-6, ^{12}[1] 2-46, ^{13}[1] 2-16, ^{14}[1] 2-8, ^{15}[1] 2-26, ^{16}[1] 2-6, [i] ii-xv [xvi] xvii-xxv [xxvi] xxvii-xxviii [= 372 pp.]

Vol. III: π1 A^4, ^{2}A-K^4, ^{3}A-F^4, ^{4}B-C^4, ^{5}B-D^4, ^{6}A-G^4 ^{6}H^2, ^{7}A-C^4 ^{7}D1, ^{8}A-C^4, ^{9}B-F^4, ^{10}B-E^4, ^{11}A-D^4, ^{12}B^4, ^{13}A-C^4, ^{14}C1 ^{14}D^4 [$2 signed (- ^{6}H$_2$; + ^{3}F$_4$, ^{8}C$_4$, ^{9}F$_3$, ^{10}E$_3$, ^{11}D$_4$); ^{3}A$_2$ missigned 'B$_2$', ^{3}F$_4$ missigned 'A', ^{4}C$_2$ missigned 'A', ^{8}C$_4$ missigned 'A', ^{9}F$_3$ missigned 'A', ^{10}E$_3$ missigned 'A', ^{11}D$_4$ missigned 'A']; 217 leaves: pp. *2* [1] 2-7 [8], ^{2}[1] 2-80, ^{3}[1] 2-46, ^{4}[1] 2-12, ^{5}[1] 2-29 28 [= 30], ^{6}[1] 2-60, ^{7}[1] 2-26, ^{8}[1] 2-22, ^{9}[1] 2-37 [38], ^{10}[1] 2-32, ^{11}[1] 2-4, ^{12}[1] 2-30, ^{13}[1] 2-10, [i] ii-xxvi [xxvii] xxviii-xxxi [xxxii] xxxiii-xxxiv [= 434 pp.]

Vol. IV: A-C^4, ^{2}A-B^4, ^{3}B-M^4, ^{4}A-B^4, ^{5}B-C^4, ^{6}B-D^4, ^{7}B^4, ^{8}A-B^4, ^{9}A-C^4, ^{10}B-G^4, ^{11}B-C^4, ^{12}A^4, ^{13}A-D^4, ^{14}B-C^4, ^{15}A-C^4 [$2 signed (+ A$_3$, ^{5}C$_3$, ^{10}G$_3$, ^{13}D$_3$); A$_2$ missigned 'A', A$_3$ missigned 'A$_2$', ^{2}B$_2$ missigned 'A', ^{4}B$_2$ missigned 'A', ^{5}C$_3$ missigned 'A', ^{6}D$_2$ missigned 'A', ^{10}E$_2$ missigned 'D$_2$', ^{10}G$_3$ missigned 'A', ^{13}D$_3$ missigned 'A']; 188 leaves: pp. *2* [1] 2-6 8-24 [=22], ^{2}[1] 2-10, ^{3}[1] 2-94, ^{4}[1] 2-10, ^{5}[1] 2-18, ^{6}[1] 2-22, ^{7}[1] 2-14, ^{8}[1] 2-16, ^{9}[1] 2-20, ^{10}[1] 2-48, ^{11}[1] 2-20, ^{12}[1] 2-7 [8], ^{13}[1] 2-28, ^{14}[1] 2-20, [i] ii-xix [xx-xxi] xxii-xxiv [= 376 pp.]

Vol. V: π^2 A-K^4, ^{2}B^4, ^{3}B-L^4, ^{4}B^4, ^{5}B^4, ^{6}A-C^4, ^{7}B-Q^4, ^{8}B-I^4, ^{9}B-D^4 [$2 signed (+ A$_4$, K$_3$, ^{2}B$_3$, ^{3}L$_4$, ^{5}B$_3$, ^{6}A$_3$, ^{6}C$_3$); A$_4$ missigned 'A', K$_2$ missigned 'A', K$_3$ missigned 'A$_2$', ^{2}B$_3$ missigned 'A', ^{3}L$_4$ missigned 'A', ^{5}B$_3$ missigned 'A', ^{6}A$_2$ missigned 'A', ^{6}A$_3$ missigned 'A$_2$', ^{6}C$_2$ missigned 'A', ^{6}C$_3$ missigned 'A$_2$', ^{7}Q$_2$ missigned 'A', ^{8}I$_2$ missigned 'A']; 210 leaves: pp. *4*

[1] 2-6, [2][1] 2-68, [3][1] 2-10, [4][1] 2-82, [5][1] 2-6, [6][1] 2-8, [7][1] 2-4, [8][1] 2, [9][1] 2-16, [10][1] 2-120, [11][1] 2-63 [64], [i] ii-xxiii [xxiv] xxv-xxvi [xxvii] xxviii-xxix [xxx] [= 420 pp.]

Vol. II: ANTIQUITÉS | NATIONALES | OU | RECUEIL DE MONUMENS | POUR servir à l'Histoire générale et particulière de l'Empire | François, tels que Tombeaux, Inscriptions, Statues, | Vitraux, Fresques, etc.; tirés des Abbayes, Monastères, | Châteaux et autres lieux devenus Domaines Nationaux. | *Présenté à L'ASSEMBLÉE NATIONALE, et accueilli favorablement par ELLE,* | Le 9 décembre 1790. | PAR AUBIN-LOUIS MILLIN. | *TOME DEUXIEME*. | [rule] | A PARIS, | Chez M. DROUHIN, Éditeur et Propriétaire dudit Ouvrage, rue | Christine, N° 2. | [double rule] | *L'an second de la Liberté.* | 1791.

Vol. III: ANTIQUITÉS | NATIONALES | OU | RECUEIL DE MONUMENS | POUR servir à l'Histoire générale et particulière de l'Empire | François, tels que Tombeaux, Inscriptions, Statues, | Vitraux, Fresques, etc.; tirés des Abbayes, Monastères, | Châteaux et autres lieux devenus Domaines Nationaux. | *Présenté à L'ASSEMBLÉE NATIONALE, et accueilli favorablement par ELLE,* | Le 9 décembre 1790. | PAR AUBIN-LOUIS MILLIN. | *TOME TROISIEME*. | [rule] | A PARIS, | Chez M. DROUHIN, Éditeur et Propriétaire dudit Ouvrage, rue | Christine, N° 2. | [double rule] | *L'an second de la Liberté.* | 1791.

Vol. IV: ANTIQUITÉS | NATIONALES, | OU | RECUEIL DE MONUMENS, | POUR servir à l'Histoire générale et particulière de l'Empire | François, tels que Tombeaux, Inscriptions, Statues, | Vitraux, Fresques, etc.; tirés des Abbaïes, Monastères, | Châteaux et autres lieux devenus Domaines Nationaux. | PAR AUBIN-LOUIS MILLIN. | *Présenté à L'ASSEMBLÉE NATIONALE, et accueilli favorablement par ELLE,* | Le 9 décembre 1790. | *TOME QUATRIEME*. | [rule] | A PARIS, | Chez M. DROUHIN, Éditeur et Propriétaire dudit Ouvrage, | rue Christine, n° 2. | [double rule] | *L'an IV de la Liberté.* | 1792.

Vol. V: ANTIQUITÉS | NATIONALES | OU | RECUEIL DE MONUMENS | POUR servir à l'Histoire générale et particulière de l'Empire | François, tels que Tombeaux, Inscriptions, Statues, | Vitraux, Fresques, etc.; tirés des Abbayes, Monastères, | Châteaux et autres lieux devenus Domaines Nationaux. | *PAR AUBIN-LOUIS MILLIN, Conservateur du* | *Museum des Antiques à la Bibliothèque Nationale, Profes-* | *seur d'Histoire et d'Antiquités, etc. etc. etc.* | TOME CINQUIÈME. | [rule] | A PARIS, | Chez DROUHIN, Éditeur et Propriétaire dudit Ouvrage, | rue de Vaugirard, n°. 1348. | [rule] | DE L'IMPRIMERIE DE TESTU. AN VII.

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Vol. IV: **A_{1r}** – title-page. **A_{1v}** – Errata. **A_{2r} [p. 1]** – [triple rule] | ‘ANTIQUITÉS | NATIONALES. | [half-rule] | ‘XXXVII. | CHAPELLE DE SAINT-YVES.’ **$^{2}A_{1r}$ [p. ^{2}1]** – [double rule] | ‘XXXVIII. | LA CHARTREUSE-LEZ-GAILLON (I).’ **$^{2}B_{2r}$ [p. ^{3}1]** – [double rule] | ‘XXXIX. | COUVENT DES JACOBINS | DE LA RUE SAINT-JACQUES,’ **$^{4}A_{1r}$ [p. ^{4}1]** – [double rule] | ‘XL. | ABBAYE DE BON-PORT’ **$^{4}B_{2r}$ [p. ^{5}1]** – [double rule] | ‘XLI. | CHAPELLE DE S.-JULIEN-DES-MENESTRIERS.’ **$^{5}C_{3r}$ [p. ^{6}1]** – [double rule] | ‘XLII. | VILLE DE CHAUMONT | ET | ABBAYE DE GOMER-FONTAINE,’ **$^{6}D_{2r}$ [p. ^{7}1]** – [double rule] | ‘XLIII. | PRIEURÉ DE LONG-PONT.’ **$^{8}A_{1r}$ [p. ^{8}1]** – [double rule] | ‘XLIV. | BERGUES S.-WINOX.’ **$^{9}A_{1r}$ [p. ^{9}1]** – [double rule] | ‘XLV. | VILLE ET CHATEAU DE GISORS.’ **$^{9}C_{3r}$ [p. ^{10}1]** – [double rule] | ‘XLVI. | CARMES DE LA PLACE MAUBERT.’ **$^{10}G_{3r}$ [p. ^{11}1]** – [double rule] | ‘XLVII. | LES BLANCS-MANTEAUX.’ **$^{12}A_{1r}$ [p. ^{12}1]** – [double rule] | ‘XLIII. | PONT-DE-L'ARCHE.’ **$^{12}A_{4v}$ [p. ^{12}8]** – blank. **$^{13}A_{1r}$ [p. ^{13}1]** – [double

rule] | ‘XLIX. | MEULAN.’ **^{13}D$_{3r}$ [p. ^{14}1]** – [double rule] | ‘L. | CALAIS.’ **^{15}A$_{1r}$ [p. i]** – [triple rule] | ‘TABLE ALPHABETIQUE | DES MATIERES | CONTENUES DANS CE VOLUME.’ **^{15}C$_{2v}$ [p. xx]** – [double rule] | ‘ADDITION | A LA | TABLE DES AUTEURS | CITÉS DANS CET OUVRAGE.’ **^{14}C$_{3r}$ [p.xxi]** – [double rule] | ‘*CATALOGUE* | *DES PLANCHES* | *CONTENUES DANS CE VOLUME*.’

Vol. V: **π_{1r}** – half title. **π_{1v}** – blank. **π_{2r}** – title-page. **π_{2v}** – blank. **A$_{1r}$ [p. 1]** – [triple rule] | ‘ANTIQUITÉS | NATIONALES. | [half-rule] | ‘LI. | COLLÉGIALE SAINT-NICOLAS A AMIENS.’ **A$_{4r}$ [p. ^{2}1]** – [double rule] | ‘LII. | CHARTREUSE DE PARIS,’ **K$_{2r}$ [p. ^{3}1]** – [double rule] | ‘LIII. | ANCIEN PALAIS DES COMTES ET FLANDRE.’ **^{2}B$_{3r}$ [p. ^{4}1]** – [double rule] | ‘LIV. | COLLÉGIALE SAINT-PIERRE À LILLE,’ **^{3}L$_{4r}$ [p. ^{5}1]** – [double rule] | ‘LV. | HÔPITAL COMTESSE À LILLE,’ **^{4}B$_{3r}$ [p. ^{6}1]** – [double rule] | ‘LVI. | DOMINICAINS DE LILLE,’ **^{5}B$_{3r}$ [p. ^{7}1]** – [double rule] | ‘LVII. | RÉCOLLETS DE LILLE,’ **^{6}A$_{1r}$ [p. ^{8}1]** – [double rule] | ‘LVIII. | CHÂTEAU DE COMINES,’ **^{6}A$_{2r}$ [p. ^{9}1]** – [double rule] | ‘LIX. | SAINT-LANDRY A PARIS,’ **^{6}C$_{2r}$ [p. ^{10}1]** – [double rule] | ‘LX. | ABBAYE SAINTE-GENEVIÉVE A PARIS,’ **^{7}Q$_{2r}$ [p. ^{11}1]** – [double rule] | ‘LXI. | BIBLIOTHÈQUE DE SAINT-PIERRE A LILLE,’ **^{8}I$_{1v}$ [p. ^{11}64]** – blank. **^{8}I$_{2r}$ [p. i]** – [triple rule] | ‘TABLE ALPHABÉTIQUE | DES MATIÈRES | CONTENUES DANS CE VOLUME.’ **^{9}D$_{1v}$ [p. xxiv]** – [double rule] | ‘TABLE DES AUTEURS | *Cités dans ce Volume*.’ **^{9}D$_{3r}$ [p. xxvii]** – [double rule] | ‘CATALOGUE | DES PLANCHES | CONTENUES DANS CE VOLUME.’ **^{9}D$_{4v}$ [p. xxx]** – [double rule] ‘*ERRATA*.’

B. IN-FOLIO EDITION

ANTIQUITÉS | NATIONALES, | OU | RECUEIL DE MONUMENS | POUR servir à l’Histoire générale et particulière de l’Empire François, | tels que Tombeaux, Inscriptions, Statues, Vitraux, Fresque, etc.: | tirés des Abbayes, Monastères, Châteaux et autres lieux devenus | Domaines Nationaux. | PAR AUBIN-LOUIS MILLIN. | *TOME PREMIER*. | [rule] | A PARIS, | Chez Marie-François DROUHIN, Éditeur et Propriétaire dudit Ouvrage, | rue Christine, N.^{o} 2. | [double rule] | *L’an deuxième de la Liberté.* | 1790.

5 v. in-2^{o}:

Vol. I: π1 A-I^{2}, ^{2}A-D^{2}, ^{3}B-Z^{2} ^{3}Aa-Xx^{2}, ^{4}B-S^{2}, ^{5}A-X^{2}, ^{6}B-C^{2}, ^{7}B^{2} ^{7}C1, ^{8}A-E^{2} ^{8}*F*^{2} [$1 signed (- ^{2}D$_{1}$; + ^{2}D$_{2}$, ^{3}Xx$_{2}$, ^{5}X$_{2}$, ^{6}C$_{2}$) ; ^{2}D$_{2}$ missigned ‘A’, ^{3}Xx$_{2}$ missigned ‘A’, ^{5}X$_{2}$ missigned ‘A’, ^{6}C$_{2}$ missigned ‘A’)] ; 208 leaves : pp. *2* [1] 2-35 [36], ^{2}[1] 2-13 [14], ^{3}[1] 2-172, ^{4}[1] 2-69 [70], ^{5}[1] 2-82, ^{6}[1] 2-8, ^{7}[1] 2-8, [i] ii-xx [xxi] xxiii-xxiv [xxv] [= xxiv] [= 416 pp.]

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Vol. II: ANTIQUITÉS | NATIONALES, | OU | RECUEIL DE MONUMENS | POUR servir à l’Histoire générale et particulière de l’Empire François, | tels que Tombeaux, Inscriptions, Statues, Vitraux, Fresque, etc.: | tirés des Abbayes, Monastères, Châteaux et autres lieux devenus | Domaines Nationaux. | PAR AUBIN-LOUIS MILLIN. | *TOME DEUXIÈME*. | [rule] | A PARIS, | Chez Marie-François DROUHIN, Éditeur et Propriétaire dudit Ouvrage, | rue Christine, N.^{o} 2. | [double rule] | *L’an troisième de la Liberté.* | 1791.

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See Appendix 2.

Notes:

Pleasurable as the exercise may be, the establishment of a collational formula is not merely a pretence for a bibliographer to spend several enjoyable hours or, in the case of a complicated work like the *Antiquités nationales*, days in the production of a set of letters and figures that would seem better destined for a chemistry textbook.

A collational formula – the combination of letters and numbers that gives a concise and accurate description of both the size and the order of the gatherings that make up a book – serves to show how a book was made up, and also allows for the identification of variant or

imperfect copies. Books were printed on large sheets of paper, each of which contained several pages; the number of these is related to the format of the book – four pages for an in-folio, eight for an in-quarto etc. These sheets were then folded (once for an in-folio, twice for an in-quarto etc.) to produce a gathering, each of which was identified by a signature (the combination of letters and numbers found in the direction line of the first recto pages of each gathering). The purpose of the signature was to provide a quick point of reference for the binder: through reference to this code provided for him by the printer his task of folding, quiring and ordering the sheets of a book was considerably facilitated. Such at least is how the signatures are explained in typographical treatises of the period: "Chaque Feuille est marquée par une Lettre de l'Alphabèth, qu'on nomme *Signature*. […] C'est ainsi, que pensant au Relieur dès le commençement de l'Impression; on lui donne un guide, pour le conduire dans son travail."[1] It is these signatures which are enumerated in the collational formula according to principles established by a number of distinguished bibliographers.[2] Apart from the preliminary material in a book, often printed separately, the main text is expected to show a logical progression of signatures from A to Z.[3] More substantial works, which extended beyond twenty-three gatherings, entailed the use of doubled or tripled alphabets – Aa-Zz, Aaa-Zzz. Signatures helped the printer, and they also allow the bibliographer to ascertain the precise details of how the book was printed.

The decision made in the case of the *Antiquités nationales* disturbs this normal system; were the signatures to be reproduced exactly as they are, then pages printed on the same sheet would actually be attributed to different sheets. The book represents a case, a very unusual case, of the signatures being intended for use by the reader rather than the binder.[4] The reason for this departure from the normal signature system becomes clear when we turn to the prospectus. Here it is explained that the purchaser can, if he wishes, decide to organize the articles as he wishes. The example given is to arrange them by departments of France. This then explains why there was a need to ensure that each individual article maintained a semblance of being a discrete unit. It seems, however, to have been a suggestion that was not followed by many readers. The traditional form of the book, bound in the numerical order of the articles won out. Of all the copies examined, only one, that of the Cabinet des Estampes at the Bibliothèque nationale is bound in a different order. Here the order adopted is not that of the departments of France, but rather a purely alphabetical order by towns. In effect this decision to ensure that each article should begin with a fresh set of signatures causes problems for the bibliographer attempting to study the history of the printing of the book, and means that the establishment of an exact collational formula becomes fraught with difficulties.

Copies examined :

BNF, Imprimés; BNF, Cabinet des estampes; British Library; Bodleian Library; University of Oxford (DHA); University of Berne (IKG); Zürich ZB; personal collection.

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[1] PETITY 1767, p. 332, note 5.

[2] The standard work remains BOWERS 1985.

[3] The letters J, U and W were not as a rule employed, giving a possible total of twenty-three gatherings.

[4] The problems for the binder are exemplified by the first sheet of the second volume. Given that the binder checked the signatures rather than the text, and that he knew that the first recto page of the first quire had to bear the letter 'A', it is to be wondered how he responded when he saw two letters 'A'. Both foldings would be possible.

Appendix 3.
CATALOGUE OF PLATES
IN THE *ANTIQUITES NATIONALES*[1]

VOLUME I

Article I: La Bastille. Département de Paris. District de Paris. Section de l'Arsenal.
4 plates.

N^{o}. I. Pl. I^{re}. Pag. 22. Plan de la Bastille. (J. Phi. Charpentier sculp.)
N^{o}. I. Pl. II. Pag. 28. Élévation de la Bastille. (Biosse sculp.)
N^{o}. I. Pl. 3. Figures de la Bastille. (N. F. Masquelier, aqua forti 1790.)
N^{o}. I. Pl. IV. Pag. 35. Figures de la Bastille.

Article II: Tour de Montlhéry. Département de la Seine et de l'Oise. District de Corbeil.
1 plate.

N^{o}. II. Pl. I^{re}. Pag. 9. Prieuré de S.^{t} Laurent. Tour de Montlhéry.

Article III: Les Célestins. Département de Paris. District de Paris. Section de l'Arsenal.
26 plates.

N^{o}. III. Pl. I^{re}. Pag. 7. Costumes des Célestins. (Biosse sculp.^{t})
N^{o}. III. Pl. 2. Pag. 11. Portail des Celestins. (Carpentier sculp.)
N^{o}. III. Pl. 3. Pag. 25. Portrait de M. de Trévélec. Vitrail. (J. Phil. Charpentier sculp.^{t})
N^{o}. III. Pl. 4. Pag. 26. Tombeau de la Trimouille. (J. Phil. Charpentier sculp.^{t})
N^{o}. III. Pl. 5. Pag. 28. Tombeau de Ch.^{les} Maigné. Tombeau de la Maison de Rochefort. (Chapuis Sc.)
N^{o}. III. Pl. 6. Pag. 32. Tombeau de Jean Zamet. (chapuis)
N^{o}. III. Pl. 7. Pag. 41. Tombeau de René Potier. (Biosse sculp.)
N^{o}. III. Pl. 8. Pag. 45. Tombeau de Marguerite de Luxembourg. (chapuis.)
N^{o}. III. Pl. 9. Pag. 46. Tombeau de Louis Potier. (Biosse sculp.)
N^{o}. III. Pl. 10. Pag. 48. Tombeau de Leon Potier. (N. F. Masquellier sculp.)
N^{o}. III. Pl. 11. Pag. 53. Tombeau de Henri Chabot. (G. Ph. Charpentier sculp.)
N^{o}. III. Pl. 12. Pag. 56. Tombeau de Philippe Chabot. (Biosse sculp.)
N^{o}. III. Pl. 13. Pag. 65. Sépulture du Cœur de François II. Sépulture du Cœur de Henri II, de Charles IX et de François duc d'Anjou. (Chapuis sculp.)
N^{o}. III. Pl. 14. Pag. 71. Sépulture du Cœur d'Anne de Montmorenci. (Chapuis)
N^{o}. III. Pl. 15. Pag. 77. Tombeau de Louis d'Orléans. (Brion del., Testard sculp.)
N^{o}. III. Pl. 16. Pag. 103. Tombeau de Renée d'Orléans. (Carpentier sculp.)
N^{o}. III. Pl. 17. Pag. 104. Pyramide de la Maison de Longueville. (Brion del., Simon sculp.)

[1] Many of the plates do not bear a legend. Titles enclosed between [ ] are to be found in the list of engravings at the end of each volume. Those enclosed between { } are not included in the tables, a putative title has therefore been provided.

N°. III. Pl. 18. Pag. 108. [Urne du duc de Valois; tombeau de Timoléon de Cossé; tombeau d'Anne Hocquart, comtesse de Cossé.] (Biosse sculp.)
N°. III. Pl. 19. Pag. 116. Vitraux de la Chapelle d'Orleans. (Brion del., Chapuy sculp.)
N°. III. Pl. 20. Pag. 119. [Vitraux du chœur des Célestins; table des secrétaires du roi.] (Vangope del., Biosse sculp.)
N°. III. Pl. 21. Pag. 121. Lutrin. Candélabre. (Brion del., G. Ph. Charpentier sculp.)
N°. III. Pl. 22. Pag. 122. Retable du grand autel. (Brion del., L. Carpentier sculp.)
N°. III. Pl. 23. Pag. 123. [Tombeau de Léon de Lusignan; de Jeanne de Bourgogne, femme du duc de Bethfort, et de Jeanne de Bourbon, épouse de Charles V.] (Vangorp del., Testard sculp.)
N°. III. Pl. 24. Pag. 132. Diverses Tombes. (Brion del., Masquelier sculp.)
N°. III. Pl. 25. Pag. 149. [Vitrail des secrétaires du roi; diverses tombes.] (Brion del., G. Ph. Charpentier sculp.)
N°. III. Pl. 26. Pag. 152. Cloitre des Celestins. (Testard del. et sculp.)

Article IV: Le Couvent des Jacobins de la Rue Saint-Honoré. Département et District de Paris. Section de la Place de Vendôme.
7 plates.

N°. IV. Pl. I^re^. Pag. 9. Costume des Jacobins. (Brion del., Aubry sculp.)
N°. IV. Pl. 2. Pag. 18. Vitrail représentant la tentation de S.^t^ Antoine. (Vangorp del., Aubry sculp.)
N°. IV. Pl. 3. Pag. 34. Vitrail représentant l'histoire de S.^t^ Jean Baptiste. (Vangorp del., Demaison sculp.)
N°. IV. Pl. 4. Pag. 42. Tombeau de Pierre Mignard. (Vangorp del., Blanchard sculp.)
N°. I. [sic.] . Pl. 5. Pag. 45. Tombeau de Créqui. (Vangorp del., Aubry sculp.)
N°. IV. Pl. 6. Pag. 54. Société des amis de la Constitution. (Vangorp del., Masquelier sculp.)
N°. IV. Pl. 7. Pag. 62. Idée de l'ordre observé pour la distribution des Nouvelles Ecclesiastiques. (Aubry sculp.)

Article V: Les Feuillans de la Rue Saint-Honoré. Département et District de Paris. Section des Tuileries.
11 plates.

N°. V. Pl. 1. Pag. 12. Portail de l'eglise des Feuillans. (Brion del., Blanchard sculp.)
N°. V. Pl. 2. Pag. 14. [Tombeaux de Claude Laubespine, de Guillaume de Montholon, de Henri et d'Alphonse de Lorraine.] (Brion del., Masquelier sculp.)
N°. V. Pl. 3. Pag. 15. Tombeaux de la maison de Rostaing. (Brion del., Demaisons sculp.)
N°. V. Pl. 4. Pag. 29. [Tombeau d'Anne Hurault, femme de Charles de Rostaing, et de Louis de Marillac.] (Brion del., Carpantier sculp.)
N°. V. Pl. 5. Pag. 37. [Tombeaux de Raimond Phélipeaux et de Jeanne-Armande de Schomberg, femme de Charles de Rohan.] (Brion del., Chapuis sculp.)
N°. V. Pl. 6. Pag. 46. [Vitraux représentant l'histoire de Jean de la Barrière.] (Vangorp del., Aubry sculp.)
N°. V. Pl. 7. Pag. 51. [Suite.] (Brion del., Blanchard sculp.)
N°. V. Pl. 8. Pag. 53. [Suite.] (Vangorp del., Masquelier sculp.)
N°. V. Pl. 9. Pag. 57. [Suite.] (Brion del., Carpantier sculp.)
N°. V. Pl. 10. Pag. 62. [Suite. Bas relief de Jean Goujon; vitraux représentant des miracles de

saint Bernard.] (Brion del., Blanchard sculp.)
N^{o}. V. Pl. 11. Pag. 70. [Suite des miracles de saint Bernard; frère convers.] (Brion del., Carpantier sculp.)

Article VI: Hôtel Barbette. Département et District de Paris. Section de la Place Royale.
1 plate.

N^{o}. VI. Pl. 1. Pag. 3. [Plan, porte et tourelle de l'hôtel Barbette.] (Brion del., Aubry sculp.)

Article VII: Saint-Denis de la Chartre. Département et District de Paris. Section de Notre-Dame.
3 plates.

N^{o}. VII. Pl. 1. Pag. 4. Portail de l'eglise de S.^{t} Denis de la Chartre. (Vangorp del., Demaison sculp.)
N^{o}. VII. Pl. 2. Pag. 6. Maitre Autel de S.^{t} Denis de la Chartre. (Vangorp del., Blanchard sculp.)
N^{o}. VII. Pl. 3. Pag. 7. Eglise basse de S.^{t} Denis de la Chartre. (Vangorp del., Blanchard sculp.)

VOLUME II

Article VIII: Le Petit Châtelet. Département et District de Paris. Section de Saint-Séverin.
1 plate.

N^{o}. VIII. Pl. 1. Pag. 1. Le petit Chatelet. (Garneray del., Allais sculp.)

Article IX: Monument de la Pucelle. Département du Loiret. District d'Orléans.
1 plate.

N^{o}. IX. Pl. 1. Pag. 2. Monument de la Pucelle d'Orleans. (Garneray del.^{t}, Michel sculp.^{t})

Article X: Vincennes. Département de Paris. District du Bourg-la-Reine.
14 plates.

N^{o}. X. Pl. 1. Pag. 17. Vue du Chateau de Vincennes sous Charles V. (Ransonnette, Graveur ordinaire de Monsieur.)
N^{o}. X. Pl. 2. Pag. 31. [folding] Donjon de Vincennes. (Demaison sculp.)
N^{o}. X. Pl. 3. Pag. 34. Salle du Conseil. (G...., C. Michel sculp.^{t})
N^{o}. X. Pl. 4. Pag. 35. Prison de Mirabeau. (G....., L. Carpantier sculp.)
N^{o}. X. Pl. 5. Pag. 46. Portail de la S.^{te} Chapelle de Vincennes. (Brion del., Blanchard sculp.)
N^{o}. X. Pl. 6. Pag. 47. [Figures du Portail. Vitraux.] (G....., Allais sculp.)
N^{o}. X. Pl. 7. Pag. 49. Tombes de la S.^{te} Chapelle de Vincennes. (G....., Blanchard sculp.)
N^{o}. X. Pl. 8. Pag. 58. [Intérieur de l'Eglise & Jubé.] (G....., Ransonnette Graveur Ord.^{re} de Monsieur.)

N°. X. Pl. 9. Pag. 59. [Vitraux. Ornemens.] (G....., Michel sculp.)
N°. X. Pl. 10. Pag. 62. [Baptistaire de saint Louis.] (G....., Ransonnette Graveur de Monsieur.)
N°. X. Pl. 11. Pag. 63. [Figure de ce vase.] (G....., Ransonnette sculp.)
N°. X. Pl. 12 [bis]. Pag. 68. [Porte triomphale. Porte gothique.] (G....., Michel sculp.)
N°. X. Pl. 12. Pag. 68. [folding] Vue du Chateau de Vincennes coté du parc. (G....., Blanchard sculp.)
N°. X. Pl. 13. Pag. 71. Statues Antiques du Chateau de Vincennes. (G....., Michel sculp.)

Article XI: Abbaye de Royaumont. Département de Seine et Oise. District de Gonesse. Municipalité d'Anières.
6 plates.

N°. XI. Pl. 1. Pag. 3. Abbaye de Royaumont. (G....., Allais sculp.)
N°. XI. Pl. 2. Pag. 5. Tombeau de Henry d'Harcourt. (G....., Desmaisons sculp.)
N°. XI. Pl. 3. Pag. 8. [Tombeaux des enfans de saint Louis.] (G....., Ransonnette sculp.)
N°. XI. Pl. 4. Pag. 10. [Tombeaux des enfans de saint Louis.] (G....., Ransonnette sculp.)
N°. XI. Pl. 5. Pag. 11. [Vitraux. Tombeaux.] (Vangorp del., Masquelier sculp.)
N°. XI. Pl. 6. Pag. 18. {Tombeaux.} (Vangorp del., Masquelier sculp.)

Article XII: Couvent des Bons-Hommes de Chaillot. Département de Paris. District de Paris.
4 plates.

N°. XII. Pl. 1.re Pag. 15. Portail de l'Eglise des Bons Hommes de Chaillot. (G....., Michel sculp.)
N°. XII. Pl. 2. Pag. 15. [Détails du Portail.] (G....., Carpantier sculp.)
N°. XII. Pl. 3. Pag. 19. [Tombeaux.] (Ransonnette sculp.t)
N°. XII. Pl. 4. Pag. 21. [Tombeaux.] (Ransonnette sculp.t)

Article XIII: Abbaye de Barbeau. Département de Seine et Marne. District de Melun.
3 plates.

N°. XIII. Pl. 1. Pag. 1. [Vue de l'Abbaye. Tombeau de Frêminet. Stalles.] (G....., Ransonnette sculp.)
N°. XIII. Pl. II. Pag. 5. Grand Autel de l'Abbaye de Barbeau. (G...., Michel sculp.t)
N°. XIII. Pl. 3. Pag. 19. [Tombeaux.] (Ransonnette sculp.)

Article XIV: Couvent de l'Oratoire, Rue St.-Honoré. Département et District de Paris. Section du Louvre.
5 plates.

N°. XIV. Pl. 1. Pag. 4. Portail de l'Oratoire. (G....., Ransonnette sculp.)
N°. XIV. Pl. 2. Pag. 5. [Intérieur de l'église. Grand-Autel.] (G....., Allais sculp.)
N°. XIII. Pl. 3. Pag. 9. [Tombeau du cardinal de Berulle.] (L. Carpantier sculp.)
N°. XIII. Pl. 4. Pag. 11. [Tombeau d'Antoine d'Aubray.] (Ransonnette sculp.)

N°. XIV. Pl. 5. Pag. 12. [Tombeau de Harlay de Sancy.] (Michel sculp.)

Article XV: Ancien Château de Corbeil. Département de Seine et Oise. District de Corbeil.
1 plate.

N°. XV. Pl. 1. Pag. 1.ere. [Vue du château & du pont.] (G....., Ransonnette Sc.)

Article XVI: Fontaines de Juvisy. Département de Seine et Oise. District de Corbeil.
2 plates.

N°. XVI. Pl. 1. Pag. 3. [Vue inférieure.] (G , Ransonnette sculp.)
N°. XVI. Pl. 2. Pag. 3. [Vue supérieure.] (G....., Desmaisons sculp.)

Article XVII: Prieuré des Deux Amans. Département de l'Eure. District du Pont-de-l'Arche.
1 plate.

N°. XVII. Pl. 1. Pag. 6. [Site du Prieuré, bâtiment, tombeau.] (G....., Ransonnette sculp.)

Article XVIII: La Porte Saint Bernard et la Geôle dite la Tournelle. Département et District de Paris. Section du Jardin des Plantes.
2 plates.

N°. XVIII. Pl. 1. Pag. 1. [Vue de la porte Saint-Bernard et de la Tournelle.] (Ransonnette sculp.)
N°. XVIII. Pl. 2. Pag. 3. [Statues et bas-relief.] (Garnerey del., Desmaisons sculp.)

Article XIX: Notre-Dame de Mantes. Département de Seine et Oise. District de Mantes.
3 plates.

N°. XIX. Pl. 1. Pag. 13. [Portail. Fontaine de la Croix.] (G....., Ransonnette sculp.)
N°. XIX. Pl. 2. Pag. 23. [Tombeau de la comtesse Litgarde.] (G....., Michel sculp.)
N°. XIX. Pl. 3. Pag. 38. [Auditoire de Mantes. Hôtel-de-Ville. Fontaine.] (G...., Masquelier sculp.)

Article XX: Le Vieux Palais a Rouen. Département de la Seine inférieure. District de Rouen.
1 plate.

N°. XX. Pl. 1.re Pag. 5. [Vue actuelle. Vue ancienne. Monnoies d'Henri VI.] (Garnerey del., Michel sculp.)

Article XXI: Cordeliers de Vernon. Département de l'Eure. District de Vernon.
1 plate.

N^{o}. XXI. Pl. 1. Pag. 5. [Tombeau de Montmorenci-Hallot.] (G....., Mercier sculp.)

Article XXII: Saint-Spire de Corbeil. Département de Seine et Oise. District de Corbeil.
5 plates.

N^{o}. XXII. Pl. 1. Pag. 11. [Portail. Le comte Aymon terrassant le dragon.] (G....., Ransonnette sculp.^{t})
N^{o}. XXII. Pl. 2. Pag. 12. [Tombeaux.] (G....., Masquelier sculp.)
N^{o}. XXII. Pl. 3. Pag. 13. [Tombeau du comte Aymon. Siège de l'officiant.] (G....., Mercier sculp.^{t})
N^{o}. XXII. Pl. 4. Pag. 19. [Stalles.]
N^{o}. XXII. Pl. 5. Pag. 24. [Châsse de Saint-Spire.] (G....., Ransonnette sculp.)

Article XXIII: Le Pont-Rouge. Département et District de Paris. Section de Notre-Dame.
1 plate.

N^{o}. XXIII. Pl. 1. Pag. 1. [folding] Vue du Pont Rouge. (G....., Ransonnette sculp.)

VOLUME III

Article XXIV: Cordeliers de Mantes. Département de Seine et Oise. District de Mantes.
1 plate.

N^{o}. XXIV. Pl. 1. Pag. 2. [Tombes et Vitraux.] (G....., Blanchard sculp.)

Article XXV: Couvent des Grands-Augustins. Département et District de Paris. Section du Théâtre-François.
12 plates.

N^{o}. XXV. Pl. 1. Pag. 10. [Vue du couvent: bas-relief du coin de la rue des grands-Augustins. Autre bas-relief au-dessus de la porte d'entrée.] (G....., Ransonnette sculp.^{t})
N^{o}. XXV. Pl. 2. Pag. 10. [Costume des religieux; chaire de saint-François d'Assise de Germain Pilon.] (G....., Desmaisons sculp.)
N^{o}. XXV. Pl. 3. Pag. 23. [Mausolées de la Fontaine et de Jacques Polan.] (Masquelier sculp.)
N^{o}. XXV. Pl. 4. Pag. 28. [Mausolées de Nicolas Bourdon, de Leclerc de Lesseville et de Pierre Brulard.] (Ransonnette sculp.)
N^{o}. XXV. Pl. 5. Pag. 29. [Mausolées de Larchant et de Bernard Cherin.] (Desmaisons sculp.)
N^{o}. XXV. Pl. 6. Pag. 33. [Mausolées de Jérôme l'Huilier et de son épouse.] (Vangorp del., Le Carpantier sculp.)
N^{o}. XXV. Pl. 7. Pag. 35. [Mausolées d'Honoré Barentin et de son épouse.] (Michel sculp.)

N°. XXV. Pl. 8. Pag. 41. [Statue de Charles V. Mausolée de Philippe de Comines, de sa femme et de sa fille.] (G....., Blanchard sculp.)
N°. XXV. Pl. 9. Pag. 43. [Ornemens singuliers de la Chapelle de Comines.] (G....., Ransonnette sculp.)
N°. XXV. Pl. 10. Pag. 62. [Ancien costume des Religieux; grand Autel et partie du Chœur.] (G....., Blanchard sculp.)
N°. XXV. Pl. 11. Pag. 64. [Stalle royal, portraits de Henri II et de Cathérine de Médicis, d'après des Vitraux.] (G....., le Mercier)
N°. XXV. Pl. 12. Pag. 68. [Tombeau de Gille de Rome et de Louis de Vauceman.] (G....., Lemercier sculp.)

Article XXVI: Monumens de la Ville de Vernon. Département de l'Eure. District de Verneuil.
5 plates.

N°. XXVI. Pl. 1. Pag. 7. [folding] Vue de la Ville de Vernon. (G..... del., Desmaisons sculp.)
N°. XXVI. Pl. 2. Pag. 11. [Tour de Vernon, Mausolée de Marie Maignard d'Arquency.] (G....., Masquelier sculp.)
N°. XXVI. Pl. 3. Pag. 16. [Vitraux. Tombe de Guillaume de Vernon.] (G....., Biosse sculp.)
N°. XXVI. Pl. 4. Pag. 18. [Tombe de Guillaume de Vernon, connétable d'Angleterre, de son épouse et de ses enfans; reliquaire.] (Garnerey del., Ransonnette sculp.)
N°. XXVI. Pl. 5. Pag. 22. [Mausolée du Maréchal de Belle-Isle.] (Garnerey del., Michel sculp.)

Article XXVII: Eglise du Sépulcre. Département et District de Paris. Section des Lombards.
1 plate.

N°. XXVII. Pl. 1. Pag. 1. [Le Portail.] (Duchemin del., Carpentier sculp.)

Article XXVIII: Collégiale d'Ecouis. Département de l'Eure. District d'Andelis.
4 plates.

N°. XXVIII. Pl. 1. Pag. 4. [Le Portail.] (Garnerey del., Ransonnette sculp.)
N°. XXVIII. Pl. 2. Pag. 4. [Tombeau de Cornu et de son épouse: figure d'Enguerrand de Marigny et d'Alips de Mons son épouse. Tombe de Blanche de Gamaches; Crosse de S. Aubin.] (G....., Masquelier sculp.)
N°. XXVIII. Pl. 3. Pag. 22. [Mausolée d'Enguerrand de Marigny; tombeau de Jean de Marigny son frère.] (Garnerey del., Blanchard sculp.t)
N°. XXVIII. Pl. 4. Pag. 25. [Mausolée de Pierre de Roncherolle et de son épouse.] (Garnerey del., Biosse sculp.)

Article XXIX: Eglise de Saint-Benoît. Département de Paris. Section des Thermes-de-Julien.
4 plates.

N°. XXIX. Pl. 1. Pag. 1. [Le Portail.] (Duchemin del., Masquelier sculp.)

N°. XXIX. Pl. 2. Pag. 14. [Trinité. Mausolées de Pierre Brulard et d'Anne Des-Essart.] (Duchemin del., le Mercier sculp.)
N°. XXIX. Pl. 4. Pag. 25. [Mausolée de François Fyot.] (Duchemin del., Michel sculp.)
N°. XXIX. Pl. 3. Pag. 28. [Mausolée de Nicolas Brulard.] (Duchemin del., Carpantier sculp.)

Article XXX: La Grosse Horloge de Rouen, La Fontaine du Massacre, La Fontaine de la Crosse. Département de la Seine inférieure. District de Rouen.
1 plate.

N°. XXX. Pl. 1. Pag. 1. [Vue de ces divers objets.] (Garnerey del.t, Ransonnette sculp.t)

Article XXXI: Palais de Justice de Rouen. Département de la Seine inférieure. district de Rouen.
4 plates.

N°. XXXI. Pl. 1. Pag. 3. [folding]. [Vue générale.] (Garnerey del., Ransonnette sculp.)
N°. XXXI. Pl. 2. Pag. 12. [Miniature représentant le Jugement d'Adam et Eve.] (Duchemin del.t, Desmaisons sculp.t)
N°. XXXI. Pl. 3. Pag. 18. [Grand'chambre.] (Garnerey del., Ransonnette sculp.)
N°. XXXI. Pl. 4. Pag. 20. [Cheminée de la chambre du Conseil. Salle des procureurs.] (Garnerey del., Carpentier sculp.)

Article XXXII: Eglise des Mathurins. Département de Paris. Section des Thermes de Julien.
3 plates.

N°. XXXII. Pl. 1. Pag. 1. [Portail et bas-relief.] (Duchemin del., Ransonnette sculp.)
N°. XXXII. Pl. 2. Pag. 15. [Tombe de deux écoliers. Mausolée de Pierre de Ruilly. Stalles; reliquaire.] (Garnerey del., Le Mercier sculp.)
N°. XXXII. Pl. 3. Pag. 19. [Tombes de Pierre Des-Essarts, Anne de Rully, Jeanne de Vendôme. Un Mathurin.] (Duchemin del.t, Masquelier sculp.t)

Article XXXIII: Commanderie de Saint-Jean-en-l'Isle. Département de Seine et Oise. District de Corbeil.
5 plates.

N°. XXXIII. Pl. 1. Pag. 1. [Vue générale.] (Garnerey del., Ransonnette sculp.)
N°. XXXIII. Pl. II. Pag. 6. [Tombes.] (Garnerey del., Barriere sculp.)
N°. XXXIII. Pl. 3. Pag. 7. [Tombe d'Ingelburge. Chariot singulier.] (Garnerey del., Barriere sculp.)
N°. XXXIII. Pl. 4. Pag. 12. {Tombes.} (Garnerey del., Michel sculp.)
N°. XXXIII. Pl. 5. Pag. 28. {Reine Isburge. Chariot de fer.} (Garnerey del., Blanchard sculp.)

Article XXXIV: Le Pilori. Département et District de Paris. Section des Halles.
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N°. XXXIV. Pl. 1. Pag. 1. [Vue de la place du Pilori.] (Garnerey del., Michel sculp.)

Article XXXV: Saint-Côme. Département de Paris. Section du Luxembourg.
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N°. XXXV. Pl. 1. Pag. 5. [Portail, Mausolée de la Peyronie.] (Duchemin del., Blanchard sculp.)
N°. XXXV. Pl. 2. Pag. 26. [Mausolée de Claude Espence.] (Duchemin del., Le Mercier sculp.)

Article XXXVI: Tour et Fontaine de la Pucelle à Rouen. Département de la Seine inférieure. District de Rouen.
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N°. XXXVI. Pl. 1. Pag. 2. [Tour de la Pucelle et Porte Bouvreuil.] (Garnerey del., Michel sculp.t)
N°. XXXVI. Pl. 2. Pag. 8. [Ancienne Fontaine de la Pucelle.] (Ransonnette del. et sculp.)
N°. XXXVI. Pl. 3. Pag. 9. [Nouvelle Fontaine.] (Garnerey del., Ransonnette sculp.)

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Article XXXVII: Chapelle de Saint-Yves. Département de Paris. District de Paris. Section de Sainte-Geneviève.
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N°. XXXVII. Pl. 1. Pag. 1. [Portail de Saint-Yves.] (Duchemin del., Le Carpantier sculp.)
N°. XXXVII. Pl. 2. Pag. 5. [Tombes.] (Duchemin del., Barriere sculp.)
N°. XXXVII. Pl. 3. Pag. 7. [Tombes.] (Duchemin del., Carpantier sculp.)
N°. XXXVII. Pl. 4. Pag. 13. [Monument d'Hervé, Cossion et autres.] (Duchemin del., Barriere sculp.)
N°. XXXVII. Pl. 5. Pag. 15. [Tombes et costumes.] (Duchemin del., L. Carpantier sculp.)

Article XXXVIII: La Chartreuse-lez-Gaillon. Département de l'Eure. District de Louviers.
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N°. XXXVIII. Pl. 1. Pag. 1. [Vue de la Chartreuse.] (Garnerey del., Ransonnette sculp.)
N°. XXXVIII. Pl. 2. Pag. 4. [Monument du comte de Soissons et d'Anne de Montafié.] (Garnerey del., Blanchard sculp.)

Article XXXIX: Couvent des Jacobins de la Rue Saint-Jacques. Département de Paris. District de Paris. Section des Thermes-de-Julien.
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N°. XXXIX. Pl. 1. Pag. 1. [Portail des Jacobins.] (Duchemin del., Michel sculp.)
N°. XXXIX. Pl. 2. Pag. 16. [Extérieur de l'Eglise.] (Garnerey del., Ransonnette sculp.)
N°. XXXIX. Pl. 3. Pag. 17. [Tombes de béguines et sceaux de saint-Dominique.] (Garnerey del., Barriere sculp.)
N°. XXXIX. Pl. 4. Pag. 33. [Tombe de Humbert.] (Garnerey del., Blanchard sculp.)
N°. XXXIX. Pl. 5. Pag. 48. [Divers tombeaux.] (Garnerey del., Blanchard sculp.)
N°. XXXIX. Pl. 6. Pag. 51. [Idem.] (Garnerey del., Barriere sculp.)
N°. XXXIX. Pl. 7. Pag. 54. [Idem.] (Duchemin del., Barriere sculp.)
N°. XXXIX. Pl. 9. Pag. 64. [Idem.] (Garnerey del., Blanchard sculp.)
N°. XXXIX. Pl. 10. Pag. 67. [Divers tombeaux.] (Duchemin del., L. Carpantier sculp.)
N°. XXXIX. Pl. 8. Pag. 82. [Idem.] (Duchemin del., Desmaisons sculp.)
N°. XXXIX. Pl. 11. Pag. 93. [Benoît XI au-milieu du consistoire.] (Garnerey del., Blanchard sculp.)

Article XL: Abbaye de Bon-Port. Département de l'Eure. District de Louviers.
2 plates.

N°. XL. Pl. 1. Pag. 1. [Vue de l'Abbaïe et divers monumens.] (Garnerey del., Michon sculp.)
N°. XL. Pl. 2. Pag. 4. [Tombeau de Louis de Rouville et de sa femme.] (Garnerey del., Barriere sculp.)

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N°. XLI. Pl. 1. Pag. 1. [Portail de Saint-Julien.] (Garnerey del., L. Carpantier sculp.)
N°. XLII. Pl. 2. Pag. 11. [Ménetriers et violons anciens.] (Garnerey del., Barriere sculp.)
N°. XLII. Pl. 1. Pag. 1. [Monumens d'Hugues de Chaumont et de sa famille.] (Garnerey del., Desmaisons sculp.)

Article XLII: Ville de Chaumont et Abbaye de Gomer-Fontaine. Département de l'Oise. District de Chaumont.
1 plate.

N°. XLII. Pl. 1. Pag. 1. [Plan de la chapelle Notre-Dame à Chaumont. Abbaïe de Gomer-Fontaine. Ruines de Chaumont.] (Garnerey del., Desmaisons sculp.)

Article XLIII: Prieuré de Long-Port. Département de Seine et Oise. District de Corbeil.
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N°. XLIII. Pl. 1. Pag. 6. [Façade de l'église.] (Garnerey del., Le Mercier sculp.)
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Article XLIV: Bergues Saint-Winox. Département du Nord. District de Bergues.

2 plates.

N°. XLIV. Pl. 1. Pag. 5. [Béfroi de Bergues.] (Garnerey del., Michel sculp.)
N°. XLIV. Pl. 2. Pag. 10. [Tombeau d'Antoine de Vaudripont.] (Garnerey del., Blanchard sculp.)

Article XLV: Ville et Château de Gisors. Département de l'Eure. District de Andelys.
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N°. XLV. Pl. 1. Pag. 6. [Sculptures de Jean Goujon et ruines du château.] (Garnerey del., Blanchard sculp.)
N°. XLV. Pl. 2. Pag. 6. [Sculptures et tombes.] (Garnerey del., Carpantier sculp.)

Article XLVI: Carmes de la Place Maubert. Département de Paris. District de Paris. Section du Panthéon François.
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N°. XLVI. Pl. 1. Pag. 7. [Costumes des Carmes.] (Duchemin del., L. Carpantier sculp.)
N°. XLVI. Pl. 2. Pag. 17. [Mausolée de Michel Dubec.] (Duchemin del., Barriere sculp.)
N°. XLVI. Pl. 3. Pag. 22. [Maître-autel.] (Duchemin del., L. Carpantier sculp.)
N°. XLVI. Pl. 4. Pag. 27. [Tombeau de Boullenois.] (Duchemin del., Blanchard sculp.)
N°. XLVI. Pl. 5. Pag. 32. [Monumens de Louis Chauvelin et Jérôme le Pelletier.] (Duchemin del., Barriere sculp.)
N°. XLVI. Pl. 6. Pag. 34. [Vue de l'église prise de la rue des Carmes, et tombe de Marguerite de Bourgogne.] (Garnerey del., Michel sculp.)
N°. XLVI. Pl. 8. Pag. 40. [Vue du cloître.] (Duchemin del., L. Carpentier sculp.)
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Article XLVII: Les Blancs-Manteaux. Département de Paris. District de Paris. Section des Enfans-Rouges.
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N°. XLVII. Pl. 1. Pag. 5. [Vue de l'église.] (Garnerey del., Michel sculp.)
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N°. XLVII. Pl. 5. Pag. 16. [Idem.] (Lambert del., L. Carpantier sculp.)
N°. XLVII. Pl. 6. Pag. 17. [Idem.] (Lambert del., Desmaisons sculp.)

Article XLVIII: Pont-de-l'Arche. Département de l'Eure. District de Louviers.
1 plate.

N°. XLVIII. Pl. 1. Pag. 1. [Vue de la ville.] (Garnerey del., Desmaisons sculp.)

Article XLIX: Meulan. Département de Seine et Oise. District de Meulan.
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N^{o}. XLIX. Pl. 1. Pag. 12. [Vue de la ville. Sceau et mesure particulière.] (Garnerey del., Blanchard sculp.)
N^{o}. XLIX. Pl. 2. Pag. 19. [Divers sceaux.] (Michel sculp.)
N^{o}. XLIX. Pl. 3. Pag. 22. [Sceaux et monnoies anciennes.] (Michel sculp.)
N^{o}. XLIX. Pl. 4. Pag. 23. [Divers sceaux.] (Michel sculp.)

Article L: Calais. Département du Pas-de-Calais. District de Calais.
5 plates.

N^{o}. L. Pl. 1. Pag. 7. [Eglise Saint-Pierre.] (Garnerey del., Laporte sculp.)
N^{o}. L. Pl. 2. Pag. 12. [folding]. [Béfroi et Hôtel-de-ville.] (Garnerey del., Ransonnette sculp.)
N^{o}. L. Pl. 3. Pag. 14. [Hôtel de Guise.] (Garnerey del., Desmaisons sculp.)
N^{o}. L. Pl. 5. Pag. 15. [Porte de la citadelle. Buste de Richelieu.] (Garnerey del., Barriere sculp.)
N^{o}. L. Pl. 4. Pag. 15. [Monument élevé en l'honneur de deux matelots. Vases et instrument de guerre singuliers.] (Garnerey del., Delestre sculp.)

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Article LI: Collégiale Saint-Nicolas à Amiens. Département de la Somme.
1 plate.

N^{o}. LI. [Le Portail.] (Limozin del., Ransonnette sculp.)

Article LII. Chartreuse de Paris. Département de la Seine, Paris.
12 plates.

N^{o}. LII. Pl. I^{re}. Pag. 7. [Vue de la Moresque qui se trouvoit entre les deux cours d'entrée.] (Michel Direx.^{t})
N^{o}. LII. Pl. 2. Pag. 7. [Bas-reliefs de cette Moresque.] (Michel Direx.^{t})
N^{o}. LII. Pl. 3. Pag. 10. [Vue de l'Eglise.] (Michel Direx.^{t})
N^{o}. LII. Pl. IV. Pag. 12. [Figure en mosaïque d'Enguerrand de Marigny; tombeau de Pierre de Navarre et de Catherine d'Alençon, sa femme; tombes.] (Michel Direx.^{t})
N^{o}. LII. Pl. V. Pag. 17. {Tombes.} (Michel Direx.^{t})
N^{o}. LII. Pl. IV [bis]. Pag. 23. [Vue du Cimitière des Chartreux; tombe des Duportail; effigies.] (Michel Direx.^{t})
N^{o}. LII. Pl. VII. Pag. 34. [Vase d'Airain; vue de l'Horloge; Croix de chenart.] (Michel Direx.^{t})
N^{o}. LII. Pl. VIII. Pag. 57. [Pupitre et Bas-Reliefs.] (Michel Direx.^{t})
N^{o}. LII. Pl. IX. Pag. 60. [Vue des Cellules du Cloître.] (Michel Direx.^{t})
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N^{o}. LII. Pl. 11. Pag. 62. [Mosaïque.] (Michel Direx.^{t})
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Article LIII. Ancien Palais des Comtes et Flandre. Lille, Département du Nord.
3 plates.

N^{o}. LIII. Pl. 1^{e}. Pag. 8. [Porte des Malades.] (Michel Direx.^{t})
N^{o}. LIII. Pl. 2. Pag. 10. [Vue d'une partie du Château.] (Michel Direx.^{t})
N^{o}. LIII. Pl. III. Pag. 10. [Vue d'une autre partie du Château.] (Michel Direx.^{t})

Article LIV. Collégiale Saint-Pierre à Lille. Département du Nord.
10 plates.

N^{o}. LIV. Pl. 1^{e}. Pag. 1. [Vue générale.] (Michel Direx.^{t})
N^{o}. LIV. Pl. 2. Pag. 6. [Instrument de Musique; Tombeau; Bas-Reliefs.] (Michel Direx.^{t})
N^{o}. LIV. Pl. 3. Pag. 42. [Tombeau de Hugues de Launoy et Marguerite de Molembais, son épouse.] (Michel Direx.^{t})
N^{o}. LIV. Pl. 4. Pag. 56. [Tombeau de Louis de Male.] (Michel Direx.^{t})
N^{o}. LIV. Pl. 5. Pag. 58. [Figures de Louis de Male, de Marguerite de Brabant, son épouse, et de Marguerite de Flandre, sa fille.] (Michel Direx.^{t})
N^{o}. LIV. Pl. 6. Pag. 61. [Figures de différens princes de la maison de Flandre et de Bourgogne.] (Michel Direx.^{t})
N^{o}. LIV. Pl. 7. Pag. 67. [Idem.] (Michel Direx.^{t})
N^{o}. LIV. Pl. 8. Pag. 74. [Corne d'Ivoire; Reliquaires.]
N^{o}. LIV. Pl. 9. Pag. 78. [Bas-Relief représentant Philippe, duc de Bourgogne; autre Bas-Relief allégorique.] (Michel Direx.^{t})
N^{o}. LIV. Pl. 10. Pag. 81. [Tombeau de Vallerand des Aubaux; Figures.] (Michel Direx.^{t})

Article LV. Hôpital Comtesse à Lille. Département du Nord.
no plates

Article LVI. Dominicains de Lille. Département du Nord.
1 plate.

N^{o}. LVI. Pl. 1^{e}. Pag. 3. [Mausolée de Louis de Melun.] (Michel Direx.^{t})

Article LVII. Récollets de Lille. Département du Nord.
1 plate.

N^{o}. LVII. Pl. 1^{e}. Pag. 3. [Vue du Couvent du côté du jardin; Figure de Bauduin de Croix.] (Michel Direx.^{t})

Article LVIII. Château de Comines. Département du Nord.
2 plates.

N^{o}. LVIII. Pl. 1^{e}. Pag. 1.^{e}. [Vue de la Maison-Commune et du Beffroi de Comines.] (Michel

Direx.t)
No. LVIII. Pl. 2. Pag. 1.e. [Vue des ruines de l'ancien Château.] (Michel Direx.t)

Article LIX. Saint-Landry à Paris. Département de la Seine.
2 plates.

No. LIX. Pl. 1e. Pag. 3. [Mausolée de Catherine Duchemain, femme de Girardon.] (Michel Direx.t)
No. LIX. Pl. 2. Pag. 9. {Tombeau de Catherine Duchemain.} (Michel Direx.t)

Article LX. Abbaye Sainte-Geneviève à Paris. Département de la Seine.
6 plates.

No. LX. Pl. 1e. Pag. 57. [Portail de l'Eglise.] (Michel Direx.t)
No. LX. Pl. II. Pag. 62. [Tombeau de Descartes et de Rohaut.] (Michel Direx.t)
No. LX. Pl. III. Pag. 67. [Mausolée du cardinal de la Rochefoucauld.] (Michel Direx.t)
No. LX. Pl. IV. Pag. 71. [Tombeau de Foulon; Reliquaires.] (Michel Direx.t)
No. LX. Pl. V. Pag. 75. [Vitrail représentant la Procession de la Châsse.] (Michel Direx.t)
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Article LXI. Bibliothèque de Saint-Pierre à Lille. Département du Nord.
7 plates.

No. LXI. Pl. 1e. Pag. 5. [Tableaux représentant différens Princes de Flandre.] (Michel Direx.t)
No. LXI. Pl. 2. Pag. 20. [Tableau historique; vue de l'ancien Hôtel-de-Ville en 1600.] (Michel Direx.t)
No. LXI. Pl. 3. Pag. 27. [Tableaux concernant différens Princes de Flandre.] (Michel Direx.t)
No. LXI. Pl. 4. Pag. 51. [Vitrail des sept Nobles de Bruxelles.] (Michel Direx.t)
No. LXI. Pl. 7. Pag. 63. [Bannière de Sleeuws; Ecussons.] (Michel Direx.t)
No. LXI. Pl. 7. Pag. 63. [Vue de la Maison des sept Nobles.] (Michel Direx.t)
No. LXI. Pl. 6. Pag. 63. [Vue du dernier Hôtel-de-Ville de Lille.] (Michel Direx.t)

Appendix 3.

RHYTHM OF PUBLICATION

1	10.12.1790	10 sheets + 10 plates	I: La Bastille; 36 pp. + 4 pll. II. Tour de Montlhéry; 14 pp. + 1 pl. III. Les Célestins, Paris; 172 pp. + 26 pll.
2	14.1.1791	8 sheets + 10 plates	III. Les Célestins (cont.)
3	9.2.1791	7 sheets + 9 plates	III. Les Célestins (cont.)
4	10.3.1791	9 sheets + 7 plates	III. Les Célestins (cont.) IV. Jacobins de la Rue Saint-Honoré, Paris; 70 pp. + 7 pll.
5	11.4.1791	7 sheets + 6 plates	IV. Jacobins (cont.) V. Feuillans de la Rue Saint-Honoré, Paris; 82 pp. + 11 pll.
6	14.5.1791	11 sheets + 11 plates	V. Feuillans (cont.) VI. Hôtel Barbette, Paris; 8 pp. + 1 pl. VII. Saint-Denis de la Chartre, Paris; 8 pp. + 3 pll. Tables.
7	10.6.1791	7 sheets + 9 plates	VIII. Le Petit Châtelet, Paris; 4 pp. + 1 pl. IX. Monument de la Pucelle, Orléans; 4 pp. + 1 pl. X. Vincennes; 80 pp. + 14 pll.
8	19.7.1791	6.5 sheets + 13 plates	X. Vincennes (cont.) XI. Abbaye de Royaumont; 18 pp. + 6 pll.
9	16.8.1791	7.5 sheets + 7 plates	XII. Couvent des Bons-Hommes de Chaillot; 36 pp. + 4 pll. XIII. Abbaye de Barbeau; 24 pp. + 3 pll.
10	13.9.1791	7.5 sheets + 8 plates	XIV. Couvent de l'Oratoire, Rue St.-Honoré, Paris; 28 pp. + 5 pll. XV. Ancien Château de Corbeil; 24 pp. + 1 pl. XVI. Fontaines de Juvisy; 8 pp. + 2 pll.
11	18.10.1791	9.5 sheets + 7 plates	XVII. Prieuré des Deux Amans; 8 pp. + 1 pl. XVIII. Porte Saint Bernard et Geôle dite la Tournelle, Paris; 6 pp. + 2 pll. XIX. Notre-Dame de Mantes; 46 pp. + 3 pll.

11 (cont.)			XX. Le Vieux Palais à Rouen; 16 pp. + 1 pl.
12	28.11.1791	8.5 sheets + 7 plates	XXI. Cordeliers de Vernon; 8 pp. + 1 pl. XXII. Saint-Spire de Corbeil; 26 pp. + 5 pll. XXIII. Le Pont-Rouge, Paris; 6 pp. + 1 pl. Tables.
13	14.12.1791	6 sheets + 8 plates	XXIV. Cordeliers de Mantes; 8 pp. + 1 pl. XXV. Couvent des Grands-Augustins, Paris; 80 pp. + 12 pll.
14	19.1.1792	8 sheets + 10 plates	XXV. Grands-Augustins (cont.) XXVI. Monumens de la Ville de Vernon; 46 pp. + 5 pll.
15	24.2.1792	10 sheets + 7 plates	XXVI. Vernon (cont.) XXVII. Église du Sépulcre, Paris; 12 pp.; + 1 pl. XXVIII. Collégiale d'Écouis; 30 pp. + 4 pll. XXIX. Église de Saint-Benoît, Paris; 60 pp. + 4 pll.
16	29.3.1792	8.5 sheets + 3 plates	XXIX. Saint-Benoît (cont.) XXX. La Grosse Horloge de Rouen, La Fontaine du Massacre, La Fontaine de la Crosse; 26 pp. + 1 pl.
17	18.4.1792	8 sheets + 8 plates	XXXI. Palais de Justice de Rouen; 22 pp. + 4 pll. XXXII. Église des Mathurins, Paris; 38 pp. + 3 pll. XXXIII. Commanderie de Saint-Jean-en-l'Isle; 32 pp. + 5 pll.
18	22.5.1792	9.5 sheets + 10 plates	XXXIII. Commanderie de Saint-Jean-en-l'Isle (cont.) XXXIV. Le Pilori, Paris; 4 pp. + 1 pl. XXXV. Saint-Côme, Paris; 30 pp. + 2 pll. XXXVI. Tour et Fontaine de la Pucelle à Rouen; 10 pp. + 3 pll.
19	7.7.1792	11 sheets + 10 plates	Tables. XXXVII. Chapelle de Saint-Yves, Paris; 24 pp. + 5 pll.

19 (cont.)			XXXVIII. La Chartreuse-lez-Gaillon; 10 pp. + 2 pll. XXXIX. Couvent des Jacobins de la Rue Saint-Jacques, Paris; 94 pp. + 11 pll.
20	3.8.1792	9 sheets + 8 plates	XXXIX. Jacobins (cont.)
21	13.11.1792	8 sheets + 9 plates	XL. Abbaye de Bon-Port; 10 pp. + 2 pll. XLI. Chapelle de Saint-Julien-des-Menestriers, Paris; 18 pp. + 3 pll. XLII. Ville de Chaumont et Abbaye de Gomer-Fontaine; 22 pp. + 1 pl. XLIII. Prieuré de Long-Port; 14 pp. + 3 pll.
22	13.11.1792	8 sheets + 8 plates	XLIV. Bergues Saint-Winox; 16 pp. + 2 pll. XLV. Ville et Château de Gisors; 20 pp.; + 2 pll. XLVI. Carmes de la Place Maubert, Paris; 48 pp. + 8 pll.
23	Feb. 1793	6 sheets + 11 plates	XLVI. Carmes (cont.) XLVII. Les Blancs-Manteaux à Paris; 20 pp. + 6 pll. XLVIII. Pont-de-l'Arche; 8 pp. + 1 pl.
24	Mar. 1793	9 sheets + 9 plates	XLIX. Meulan; 28 pp. + 4 pll. L. Calais; 20 pp. + 5 pll. Tables.
25	Sept. 1798	52.5 sheets + 45 plates	LI. Collégiale Saint-Nicolas à Amiens; 6 pp. + 1 pl. LII. Chartreuse de Paris; 68 pp. + 12 pll. LIII. Ancien Palais des Comtes et Flandre, Lille; 10 pp. + 3 pll. LIV. Collégiale Saint-Pierre à Lille; 82 pp. + 10 pll. LV. Hôpital Comtesse à Lille; 6 pp. LVI. Dominicains de Lille; 8 pp. + 1 pl. LVII. Récollets de Lille; 4 pp. + 1 pl. LVIII. Château de Comines; 2 pp. + 2 pll. LIX. Saint-Landry à Paris; 16 pp. + 2 pll. LX. Abbaye Sainte Geneviève à Paris; 120 pp. + 6 pll. LXI. Bibliothèque de Saint-Pierre à Lille; 64 pp. + 7 pll. Tables.

Appendix 4.
CATALOGUE OF ARTISTS WORKING ON THE *ANTIQUITÉS NATIONALES*[1]

ALLAIS, Louis-Jean.

The artist who signed his plates for the *Antiquités nationales* as 'Allais' is probably to be identified with Louis-Jean Allais (1762–1833).[2] Born in Paris, he worked there throughout his life. After studying painting (he was a pupil of Allegrain from 1781 to 1785) he turned to engraving. His preferred techniques seem to have been stipple engraving and aquatint, although he also worked in other techniques.[3] Amongst his works are to be found a number of prints after Huet, Swebach and Vernet.[4] During the Revolution he produced engravings of revolutionary allegorical subjects after drawings by Fragonard fils.[5] He also produced a number of allegorical figures of his own composition: 'La Constitution républicaine' and the 'Fête de l'unité et indivisibilité de la République française' (on the same sheet) and 'La Convention soutenue par le Peuple'.[6] But the greater part of his production was in portraiture and architectural views. For example, just before the Revolution he delivered twenty portraits for Imbert de la Platière's *Galerie Universelle des hommes qui se sont illustrés dans l'empire des lettres* (1787–9).[7] During the Revolution this style of work was continued with a further forty-seven stipple portraits for the *Collection générale des portraits de MM^rs^ les Députés*

[1] Throughout this appendix, in the references to the various plates of the Millin, the numerotation is that found on the plates themselves, and it should be understood that the roman number refers to the article and the arabic number to the plate number.

[2] THIEME-BECKER 1907, vol. 1 (1907), p. 298; BÉNÉZIT 1999, vol. 1, p. 204; SAUR 1992, vol. 2 (1992), p. 436; BELLIER AUVRAY 1882, Supplément (1887), p. 11; PORTALIS-BÉRALDI 1880, vol. 1.1 (1880), pp. 26–8; BÉRALDI 1885, vol. 1 (1885), p. 34; NAGLER 1835, vol. 1 (1835), p. 59; DBF 1933, vol. 2 (1936), col. 93; GRANDE ENCYCLOPÉDIE 1885, vol. 2 (s.d.), p. 245; RENOUVIER 1863, pp. 263–5.

[3] For a catalogue of his works see IFF XVIII^e^ 1930, vol. 1 (1930), pp. 125–51 and IFF XIX^e^ 1930, vol. 1 (1930), pp. 88–90.

[4] 'Entrée dans le bois' and 'La chasse', after Carle Vernet; 'L'abreuvoir' and 'L'arrivée au cabaret', after Swebach; 'L'Enfantillage', after Huet (IFF XVIII^e^ 1930, vol. 1 (1930), p. 126, no. 1), described by RENOUVIER 1863, p. 263, as being an example of the "polissonneries de l'Ancien Régime".

[5] Three pieces are listed by Roux: 'Liberté', 'Egalité' and 'Le Génie Français adopte la Liberté et l'Egalité'; see IFF XVIII^e^ 1930, vol. 1 (1930), p. 150, nos. 91–3; see also RENOUVIER 1863, p. 197.

[6] See IFF XVIII^e^ 1930, vol. 1 (1930), pp. 149–50, nos. 90 and 94.

[7] IMBERT DE LA PLATIÈRE 1787 (COHEN-DE RICCI 1912, col. 808); for Allais' contribution see: IFF XVIII^e^ 1930, vol. 1 (1930), pp. 127–30, nos. 4–23.

published by Levachez (1789–90); his wife, Angélique Allais (née Briceau), also collaborated on this collection.[8] After the Revolution, Allais was responsible for some of the plates in a number of botanical works by authors such as Henri Louis Duhamel du Monceau, Pierre Antoine Poiteau, Pierre Joseph Redouté and Etienne Ventat. He also contributed twenty-three plates to the *Description de l'Égypte*.[9] The number of his engravings is relatively high, but the general opinion is that his work was of a historical rather than of an artistic interest.[10] In Renouvier's words, he attempted engravings after the Old Masters, but "sa facture uniforme était plutôt désignée pour les ouvrages de pacotille."[11]

Plates for the *Antiquités nationales*:[12]

- Le petit Chatelet (VIII [Petit Chatelet], 1; Garneray del.)
- Figures du Portail. Vitraux (X [Vincennes], 6; G… del.)
- Abbaye de Royaumont (XI [Royaumont], 1; G… del.)
- [Intérieur de l'église. Grand-Autel] (XIV [L'Oratoire], 2; G… del.)

The four plates which he executed for the *Antiquités* were all etchings, all for the first articles of the second volume, and all after drawings by Garnerey. The period of his activity for the *Antiquités* can thus be situated in the months May-August 1791.[13]

AUBRY, Jean.

It is less possible to be certain about the identity of the engraver who signed his plates 'Aubry'. Marcel Roux, in the IFF XVIII[e], attributes the plates in the *Antiquités nationales* to a certain Jean Aubry who was working in Paris at the end of the eighteenth century.[14] This

[8] COLLECTION PORTRAITS 1789 (COHEN-DE RICCI, col. 249); IFF XVIII[e] 1930, vol. 1 (1930), pp. 132–47, nos. 31–77; for Angélique Allais' contribution, see IFF XVIII[e] 1930, vol. 1 (1930), pp. 119–22, nos. 5–13.

[9] DESCRIPTION ÉGYPTE 1809: Allais' contribution, see IFF XIX[e] 1930, vol. 1 (1930), p. 89.

[10] THIEME-BECKER 1907, vol. 1 (1907), p. 298, and IFF XVIII[e] 1930, vol. 1 (1930), p. 126: "Allais fut un ouvrier d'art plutôt qu'un artiste".

[11] RENOUVIER 1863, p. 265.

[12] IFF XVIII[e] 1930, vol. 1 (1930), pp. 148–9, nos. 84–7.

[13] Here, as in the rest of the appendix, these dates are calculated according to the date of publication of the livraisons in which the artist's plates appeared. In the absence of any archival evidence, and given the nature of the book, it is assumed that the plates were generally being prepared not long before they were published.

[14] IFF XVIII[e] 1930, vol. 1 (1930), pp. 206–8.

artist is also known to have produced two scenes of Russian life after J.-B. Leprince, 'Le Port' and 'Le Chariot', and one plate in 1796 entitled 'Passage du Pont de Lodi, le 21 floréal an 4' after a drawing by Thomas.[15] The question is, however, complicated by the fact that Roux identifies a second Jean Aubry who was also working in Paris at the same time, and was responsible for eighty-seven engravings for *Le Cours de Botanique pour servir à l'Education des enfants de S.A. le duc d'Orléans* published in 1788–9.[16] More recently, the *Saur Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon* and the latest edition of Bénézit follow Thieme-Becker in mentioning only one Jean Aubry, born in Orléans and producing natural history engravings during a career in Paris.[17] None of these dictionaries attempt to identify a second Jean Aubry, but nor, interestingly enough, do they list any engravings other than the natural history illustrations.[18]

The chronology of the various works executed by the two engravers named Aubry would certainly allow for an identification of the two. By combining the two artistic biographies, it is possible to establish a rather tempting continuity in the various projects in which 'one' artist would have been involved. The plates after Leprince are dated to 1787, and the *Cours de Botanique* appeared in 1788 and 1789. The next set of natural history engravings appeared between 1791 and 1812. There is thus a gap in activity between late 1789 and 1791. Were it to have been the same Aubry, this would be extremely convenient, since the publishing timetable of the *Antiquités* proves that he must have been involved in the project during the first six months of 1791.[19] Roux's comment, however, on the artist responsible for the natural history engravings is that "nous n'osons l'identifier avec le graveur précédent [i.e. the artist involved in the *Antiquités*]".[20] It is difficult, especially in the absence of any first name, to identify either of the two engravers named Jean Aubry as being the engraver who joined the Commune des Arts in 1793.[21]

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[15] IFF XVIII[e] 1930, vol. 1 (1930), pp. 206–8, nos. 1–2 and 12.

[16] ALYON 1787; IFF XVIII[e] 1930, vol. 1 (1930), pp. 208–9.

[17] THIEME-BECKER 1907, vol. 2 (1908), p. 232; BÉNÉZIT 1999, vol. 1, p. 535; SAUR 1992, vol. 5 (1992), p. 589.

[18] The entry in SAUR 1992 names another work in which Aubry participated, HOUTOU DE LA BILLARDIÈRE 1791. To this can also be added a portrait in DIDEROT 1799 (COHEN-DE RICCI 1912, col. 305). The same plate was used in another edition some years later: DIDEROT 1804.

[19] IFF XVIII[e] 1930, vol. 1 (1930), pp. 207–8, nos. 3–10.

[20] IFF XVIII[e] 1930, vol. 1 (1930), p. 208.

[21] "le 18 du premier mois de l'an deux de la République" [October 9 1793]; see: LAPAUZE 1903, p. 151.

Plates for the *Antiquités nationales*:[22]

- Costume des Jacobins (IV [Jacobins, St.-Hon.], 1; Brion del.)
- Vitrail représentant la Tentation de S.^{t} Antoine (IV [Jacobins, St.-Hon.], 2; Vangorp del.)
- Tombeau de Créqui (IV [Jacobins, St.-Hon.], 5; Vangorp del.)
- Société des Amis de la Constitution (IV [Jacobins, St.-Hon.], 6; Vangorp del.)
- Idée de l'ordre observé pour la distribution des Nouvelles Ecclesiastiques (IV [Jacobins, St.-Hon.], 7)
- [Vitraux représentant l'histoire de Jean de la Barrière] (V [Feuillans], 6; Vangorp del.)
- [Plan d'une partie du quartier du Marais] (VI [Barbette], 1; Brion del.).
- Maitre Autel de S.^{t} Denis de la Chartre (VII [St.-Denis Chartre], 2; Vangorp del.)

Aubry etched eight plates for the *Antiquités*, two of which were later to be replaced by improved versions by Masquelier and Blanchard.[23] He worked after the drawings of two artists, Brion and van Gorp. His collaboration on the book can be situated between February and May 1791.

BARRIÈRE.

Very little is known about this engraver, who signed his engravings for the *Antiquités* 'Barrière', but who later in his career adopted the signature 'Barrière père', presumably to distinguish his work from that of his sons, Daniel and Pierre, about whom equally little is known.[24] Charles Le Blanc fixes his place and date of birth as Riom in 1764. He clearly moved to Paris, where he then spent the rest of his working-life. His recorded activity dates until 1827, although it is impossible to give a definite date of death for him. Few plates can be attributed to him with much certainty. Of fifteen plates in the Bibliothèque nationale produced by him before 1800, fourteen are those for the *Antiquités*.[25] The other plate known to have been engraved by him at this time is a stipple engraving, 'Louis XVI. Roi des Français Couvert du Bonnet de la Liberté que la Nation lui présenta le 20 juin 1792'.[26] After

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[22] IFF XVIII^{e} 1930, vol. 1 (1930), pp. 206–8, nos. 3–10.

[23] See *supra*, ch. 5, p. 186.

[24] BÉNÉZIT 1999, vol. 1, p. 788; SAUR 1992, vol. 7 (1993), p. 174; IFF XVIII^{e} 1930, vol. 2 (1933), pp. 87–9 and IFF XIX^{e} 1930, vol. 1 (1930), p. 340. The date at which he changed his signature is said by Laran in IFF XIX^{e} 1930 to have been 1817.

[25] IFF XVIII^{e} 1930, vol. 2 (1933), pp. 87–9, nos. 1–14.

[26] "Se vend à Paris, chez Fillon & Vallmont" (= IFF XVIII^{e} 1930, vol. 2 (1933), p. 89, no. 15).

the Revolution he continued his work, producing vignettes, views of buildings in Paris, maps and natural history plates.[27]

Plates for the *Antiquités nationales*:[28]

- [Tombes] (XXXIII [Saint Jean en l'Isle], 2; Garnerey del.)
- [Tombe d'Ingelburge. Chariot singulier] (XXXIII [Saint Jean en l'Isle], 3; Garnerey del.)
- [Tombes] (XXXVII [Saint-Yves], 2; Duchemin del.)
- [Monument d'Hervé, Cossion et autres] (XXXVII [Saint-Yves], 4; Duchemin del.)
- [Tombes de béguines et sceaux de saint-Dominique] (XXXIX [Jacobins St-Jacques], 3; Garnerey del.)
- [Divers tombeaux] (XXXIX [Jacobins St-Jacques], 6; Garnerey del.)
- [Divers tombeaux] (XXXIX [Jacobins St-Jacques], 7; Duchemin del.)
- [Tombeau de Louis de Rouville et de sa femme] (XL [Bon-port] 2; Garnerey del.)
- [Ménetriers et violons anciens] (XLI [St-Julien-les-Menestriers], 2; Garnerey del.)
- [Mausolée de Michel Dubec] (XLVI [Carmes Place Maubert], 2; Duchemin del.)
- [Monumens de Louis Chauvelin et Jérôme le Pelletier] (XLVI [Carmes Place Maubert], 5; Duchemin del.)
- [Tombes] (XLVII [Blancs-Manteaux], 3; Lambert del.)
- [Tombes] (XLVII [Blancs-Manteaux], 4; Lambert del.)
- [Porte de la citadelle. Buste de Richelieu] (L [Calais], 5; Garnerey del.)

All of the fourteen plates that he engraved for the *Antiquités* appear in volumes 3 and 4, and the period of his collaboration can thus be situated between March/April 1792 and March 1793. He worked after the drawings of three artists: Duchemin, Lambert and Garnerey.

BEAUSSE, Georges Louis.

The engraver who signed his plates in the *Antiquités nationales* as 'Biosse' was actually Georges Louis Beausse (1752–1806).[29] A pupil of Augustin de Saint-Aubin, he was essentially a vignettist.[30] According to the lists of his work that we have, until the Revolution his production was almost exclusively limited to this type of work. For example, he was responsible for the *vignettes-bandeaux* placed at the head of each book of de Rochefort's

[27] IFF XIX[e] 1930, vol. 1 (1930), p. 340, nos. 1–3. No. 1 – "3 cartes géographiques"; no. 2: "petites vues de Paris (chez Gilquin, 1823)"; no. 3 – "3 grandes planches d'oiseaux grimpeurs (avant la lettre)". To these can also be added the following reference: CARTE 1807.

[28] IFF XVIII[e] 1930, vol. 2 (1933), pp. 87–9, nos. 1–14.

[29] THIEME-BECKER 1907, vol. 3 (1909), p. 123; BÉNÉZIT 1999, vol. 1, p. 935; SAUR 1992, vol. 8 (1994), p. 87; LE BLANC 1854, vol. 1 (1854), p. 221; PORTALIS-BÉRALDI 1880, vol. 1.1 (1880), p. 191; DBF 1933, vol. 6 (1954), col. 505; GORI GANDELLINI 1808, vol. 6 (1809), p. 273 quotes BASAN 1789, vol. 1, p. 68.

[30] For a catalogue of his works held in the Bibliothèque nationale, see IFF XVIII[e] 1930, vol. 2 (1933), pp. 497–502 and IFF XIX[e] 1930, vol. 2 (1937), pp. 455–6.

translation of the *Iliad* and of the *Odyssey*.[31] Other similar pieces were to follow and, with the exception of his work (under the direction of Saint-Aubin) on the depiction of the cathedral of Chartres, drawn by Cochin and Sergent, which served as the frontispiece to the *Missale Carnotense*, he was not to sign any larger plates before the early 1790s.[32] After his work on the *Antiquités nationales*, we find him mentioned as having finished "au burin" two plates engraved "à l'eau-forte" by Legrand.[33] During the first decade of the nineteenth century he was to provide some plates for the *Description de l'Égypte*.[34]

Plates for the *Antiquités nationales*:[35]

- Elevation de la Bastille (I [Bastille], 2)
- Costumes des Célestins (III [Célestins], 1)
- Tombeau de René Potier (III [Célestins], 7)
- Tombeau de Louis Potier (III [Célestins], 9)
- Tombeau de Philippe Chabot (III [Célestins], 12)
- [Urne du duc de Valois; tombeau de Timoléon de Cosé; tombeau d'Anne Hocquart, comtesse de Cossé] (III [Célestins], 18)
- [Vitraux du chœur des Célestins; table des secrétaires du roi] (III [Célestins], 20; Brion del.)
- [Vitraux du chœur des Célestins; table des secrétaires du roi] (III [Célestins], 20; Vangope del.)
- [Vitraux. Tombe de Guillaume de Vernon] (XXVI [Vernon monumens], 3; G.....)
- [Mausolée de Pierre de Roncherolle et de son épouse] (XXVIII [Ecouis], 4; Garnerey)

His contribution to the *Antiquités nationales* was by no means very great – only a total of nine plates. Seven of these occur within the first four parts and were thus completed by mid-March 1791. The further plates that he completed were published just under one year later – in the first two months of 1792. Only four of his plates bear any indication of the draughtsman responsible – Brion, Garnerey and van Gorp.

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[31] HOMER 1781 (likewise HOMER 1787 and HOMER 1788): see COHEN-DE RICCI 1912, cols. 495–7 and IFF XVIII[e] 1930, vol. 2 (1933), p. 498, nos. 3–4.

[32] CABINET 1785 (COHEN-DE RICCI 1912, cols. 198–9; for Beausse's contribution see IFF XVIII[e] 1930, vol. 2, (1933), p. 499, no. 9); PRÉVOST 1783 (COHEN-DE RICCI 1912, col. 825; see IFF XVIII[e] 1930, vol. 2 (1933), p. 499, nos. 7 and 8); vignette for LA PLACE 1788 (COHEN-DE RICCI 1912, col. 599; see IFF XVIII[e] 1930, vol. 2, (1933), p. 500, no. 10); contribution to the figures in ROUSSEAU 1788 (COHEN-DE RICCI 1912, cols. 910–11); frontispiece for the MISSALE 1782 (see IFF XVIII[e] 1930, vol. 2 (1933), p. 498, no. 5 and MICHEL 1987, p. 355, no. 175).

[33] The plates were 'La Bergère des Alpes' (painted by Gandat) and 'Erigone' (painted by Vallin). See IFF XVIII[e] 1930, vol. 2 (1933), pp. 501–2, nos. 21–2.

[34] DESCRIPTION ÉGYPTE 1809: see, IFF XIX[e] 1930, vol. 2 (1937), p. 456, nos. 1–2.

[35] IFF XVIII[e] 1930, vol. 2 (1933), pp. 500–1, nos. 11–19.

BLANCHARD, Auguste (I).

One of the artists who made the greatest contribution to the *Antiquités nationales* was Auguste Blanchard le père or l'aîné.[36] Born in 1766 he was still working in 1832, at the end of a career spent in Paris. Since only a minor part of his work is to be found in the collections of the Bibliothèque nationale, it is harder in this case than in that of the other artists to state what were his main other occupations.[37] Certainly he was employed by a large number of editors for whom he engraved both plates and vignettes.[38] Amongst these is to be found one that bears a close relation to his work for Millin, albeit in a considerably smaller format. Dating to 1796, it is the frontispiece to Billardon de Sauvigny's *Les Amours de Pierre Le Long et de Blanche Bazu*.[39] After a design by Willemin, it shows a Gothic monument. After the Revolution, Blanchard produced a large number of "honnêtes estampes documentaires" and several caricatures.[40] He was responsible for forty-nine plates after Bisson that were published in Viton de Saint-Allais's *Armorial général de la Chambre des Pairs*.[41]

Plates for the *Antiquités nationales*:[42]

- Tombeau de Pierre Mignard (IV [Jacobins, St.-Hon.], 4; Vangorp del.)
- Portail de l'église des Feuillans (V [Feuillans], 1; Brion del.)
- [Vitraux représentant l'histoire de Jean de la Barrière] (V [Feuillans], 7; Brion del.)

[36] The use of Blanchard père or l'aîné is complicated, and it is not always easy to attribute correctly the various engravings signed in this way. Auguste (I) Blanchard first signed his plates simply 'Blanchard', and it was not until his son, Auguste (II) Jean-Baptiste Marie Blanchard (1792–1849), embarked upon a career as an engraver that we find a distinction between 'Blanchard père' and 'Blanchard fils'. This was, however, further complicated when Auguste (II) needed to distinguish between his work and that of his own son Auguste (III) Thomas Marie (1819–98). Thus it was that Auguste (II) adopted, in his turn, the signature 'Blanchard père'. THIEME-BECKER 1907, vol. 4 (1910), p. 91; BÉNÉZIT 1999, vol. 2, p. 374; SAUR 1992, vol. 11 (1995), p. 384; PORTALIS-BÉRALDI 1880, vol. 3.2 (1882), p. 721; BÉRALDI 1885, vol. 2 (1885), pp. 81–2; DBF 1930, vol. 6 (1954), cols. 596–7; GRANDE ENCYCLOPÉDIE 1885, vol. 6 (s.d.), p. 1011; RENOUVIER 1863, pp. 350–1; NAGLER 1835, vol. 1 (1835), p. 524, where Auguste (I) is mentioned in the entry devoted to his son, Auguste (II) Jean Baptiste Marie.

[37] IFF XVIII^{e} 1930, vol. 3 (1934), pp. 31–5 and IFF XIX^{e} 1930, vol. 2 (1937), pp. 475–9.

[38] He collaborated, for example, on DORAT 1792 (COHEN-DE RICCI 1912, col. 322), on LONGUS 1795 (COHEN-DE RICCI 1912, col. 656) and GESSNER 1796 (COHEN-DE RICCI 1912, col. 434 – reedition in 1801). For other illustrations of this type, see COHEN-DE RICCI 1912 cols. 180, 334, 389, 412, 583, 675, 705, 708, 741, 755, 981 and 1049 and IFF XVIII^{e} 1930, vol. 3 (1934), pp. 33–5, nos. 24–42.

[39] BILLARDON DE SAUVIGNY 1796 (COHEN-DE RICCI 1912, col. 149; IFF XVIII^{e} 1930, vol. 3 (1934), p. 33, no. 29).

[40] IFF XIX^{e} 1930, vol. 2 (1937), p. 475. To the catalogue offered here by Laran should also be added the illustrations that he contributed to A*** 1821.

[41] VITON DE SAINT-ALLAIS 1822 (IFF XIX^{e} 1930, vol. 2 (1937), pp. 478–9, no. 29).

[42] IFF XVIII^{e} 1930, vol. 3 (1934), pp. 31–2, nos. 1–22.

- [Vitraux représentant l'histoire de Jean de la Barrière; Bas relief de Jean Goujon; vitraux représentant des miracles de saint Bernard] (V [Feuillans], 10; Brion del.)
- Maitre Autel de S.t Denis de la Chartre (VII [St.-Denis Chartre], 2; Vangorp del.)
- Eglise basse de S.t Denis de la Chartre (VII [St.-Denis Chartre], 3; Vangorp del.)
- Portail de la S.te Chapelle de Vincennes (X [Vincennes], 5; Brion del.)
- Tombes de la S.te Chapelle de Vincennes (X [Vincennes], 7; G.....)
- Vue du Chateau de Vincennes coté du parc (X [Vincennes], 12; G.....)
- [Tombes et Vitraux] (XXIV [Mantes Cordeliers], 1; G.....)
- [Statue de Charles V, Mausolée de Philippe de Comines, de sa femme et de sa fille] (XXV [Grands-Augustins], 8; G.....)
- [Ancien costume des Religieux; grand Autel et partie du Chœur] (XXV [Grands-Augustins], 10; G.....)
- [Mausolée d'Enguerrand de Marigny; tombeau de Jean de Marigny son frère] (XXVIII [Ecouis], 3; Garnerey del.)
- {Reine Isburge. Chariot singulier} (XXXIII [Saint Jean en l'Isle], 5; Garnerey del.)
- [Portail, Mausolée de la Peyronie] (XXXV [Saint-Côme], 1; Duchemin del.)
- [Monument du comte de Soissons et d'Anne de Montafié] (XXXVIII [La Chartreuse-lez-Gaillon], 2; Garnerey del.)
- [Tombe de Humbert] (XXXIX [Jacobins St-Jacques], 4; Garnerey del.)
- [Divers tombeaux] (XXXIX [Jacobins St-Jacques], 5; Garnerey del.)
- [Divers tombeaux] (XXXIX [Jacobins St-Jacques], 9; Garnerey del.)
- [Benoît XI au-milieu du consistoire] (XXXIX [Jacobins St-Jacques], 11; Garnerey del.)
- [Diverses tombes] (XLIII [Long-Port], 2; Garnerey del.)
- [Tombeau d'Antoine de Vaudripont] (XLIV [Bergues Saint-Winox], 2; Garnerey del.)
- [Sculptures de Jean Goujon et ruines du château] (XLV [Gisors], 1; Garnerey del.)
- [Tombeau de Boullenois] (XLVI [Carmes Place Maubert], 4; Duchemin del.)
- [Divers monumens] (XLVII [Blancs-Manteaux], 2; Lambert del.)
- [Vue de la ville. Sceau et mesure particulière] (XLIX [Meulan], 1; Garnerey del.)

He worked after five of the artists involved in the *Antiquités*, namely Brion, Duchemin, Garnerey, Lambert and van Gorp. His work covers all of the first four volumes; he began in February 1791 and there seems to have been only one period of four months (mid-July to mid-November 1791) when he was not employed on the *Antiquités*.

BRION [DE LA TOUR], Louis (fils).

A number of engravers with a similar name are known to have been working in Paris during the eighteenth century. One can be ruled out immediately, and that is Etienne Brion (or Brillon), working in Paris in the earlier part of the eighteenth century.[43] According to the list given in the IFF XVIIIe (albeit possibly incomplete) his last recorded work dates to 1732,

[43] Apparently his name was Brion, even if some of his plates are signed 'Brillon'. THIEME-BECKER 1907, vol. 5 (1911), p. 20; BÉNÉZIT 1999, vol. 2, p. 816; SAUR 1992, vol. 14 (1996), p. 246; PORTALIS-BÉRALDI 1880, vol. 1.1 (1880), p. 258 (here his forename is given as Antoine); IFF XVIIIe 1930, vol. 3 (1934), pp. 373–4. That he was born in Reims and then moved to Paris is an established fact, but it is very difficult to give any secure dates for his life. The twentieth-century dictionaries of artists (with the exception of SAUR 1992) follow PORTALIS-BÉRALDI 1880 in claiming that he was born in 1729. This would seem, however, to be belied by the facts: his first known engravings are dated 1726.

a fact which would demand that we postulate almost a sixty-year break in his known production before he began working for Millin. At the end of the eighteenth century there were two Parisian engravers by the name of Louis Brion de la Tour, one of whom is known to have signed his engravings simply as 'Brion'. Father and son, they often collaborated on projects. Louis Brion de La Tour (père) is described as "ingénieur-géographe du roi".[44] His son, Louis Brion de La Tour (fils) was also an engraver, although he did not share his father's interest in geography.[45] He it was who sometimes signed his engravings 'Brion'.[46]

Any attempt to list the works of each man is rendered difficult by the fact that much of the literature devoted to them has been very vague on the question. Most of the reference works of the nineteenth century only included an article for the father. Thieme-Becker mentions two artists, a L. Brion and a Brion de la Tour.[47] The author of the articles did not, however, realize that the two were related, and also attributed most of the known works of the two men to 'Brion de la Tour'. All that is left to L. Brion are the plates for J.B.J. Breton de la Martinière's *Voyage dans la ci-devant Belgique et sur la rive gauche du Rhin*.[48] Since the publication of the IFF XVIII^{e}, it has become possible to examine the question anew, and to redistribute the known plates. Louis Brion de La Tour (père) was involved in an impressive number of publications.[49] On the occasions when he collaborated with his son, a clear distinction can be established, a distinction which is often evident in the very title of the work. For example, contrary to the assertion of Thieme-Becker, both father and son were involved in the plates for the Breton de la Martinière; the full title of the work reads *Voyage dans la ci-devant Belgique, et sur la rive gauche du Rhin … Par J.B.J. Breton, pour la partie du texte; Louis Brion, pour la partie du Dessin; et Louis Brion père, pour la partie géographique*. A similar division of the work is to be found in an earlier publication on which

[44] THIEME-BECKER 1907, vol. 5 (1911), p. 21; BÉNÉZIT 1999, vol. 2, p. 816; SAUR 1992, vol. 14 (1996), p. 436; PORTALIS-BÉRALDI 1880, vol. 1.1 (1880), pp. 258–9; LAROUSSE 1866, vol. 2.2 (1867), p. 1280; HOEFER 1852, vol. 7 (1853), cols. 426–7; MICHAUD 1843, vol. 5 (1843), pp. 549–50; IFF XVIII^{e} 1930, vol. 3 (1934), pp. 375–6.

[45] THIEME-BECKER 1907, vol. 5 (1911), p. 21; BÉNÉZIT 1999, vol. 2, p. 816; SAUR 1992, vol. 14 (1996), p. 436; PORTALIS-BÉRALDI 1880, vol. 1.1 (1880), pp. 258–9; DBF 1933, vol. 7 (1956), col. 335; IFF XVIII^{e} 1930, vol. 3 (1934), pp. 376–8; IFF XIX^{e} 1930, vol. 3 (1971), p. 437; RENOUVIER 1863, pp. 234–6.

[46] IFF XVIII^{e} 1930, vol. 3 (1934), p. 376.

[47] THIEME-BECKER 1907, vol. 5 (1911), p. 21.

[48] BRETON DE LA MARTINIÈRE 1802.

[49] Amongst them should be mentioned: BRION DE LA TOUR 1765; ATLAS 1766; BRION DE LA TOUR 1767; JOURNAL DU MONDE 1771; BRION DE LA TOUR 1789; ATLAS 1803.

the two had worked together, Joseph Lavallée's *Voyage dans les départemens de la France … .*[50] It is to be noted that in the imprint of this book, the publisher is given as "Brion, dessinateur". This fact, combined with the statement that Brion fils was responsible for the "partie Dessin" in both these works, would support the hypothesis that it was indeed the son and not the father who was producing drawings for inclusion in the *Antiquités nationales*. The same argument can be adduced to support the conclusion that it was Brion fils who was the "peintre" of that name admitted to the Commune des Arts during 1792–3.[51] Given all these facts, Roux's attribution to the son of the plates showing revolutionary scenes must be preferred to Thieme-Becker's earlier attribution of these plates to the father.[52] It is unclear to which of the two engravers should be attributed the series of illustrations for various books which appeared in Paris during the 1780s and 1790s, but since they are, for the most part, signed simply 'Brion', they are likely to be the work of the son.[53]

Plates for the *Antiquités nationales*:

- Tombeau de Louis d'Orléans (III [Célestins], 15; Testard sc.)
- Pyramide de la Maison de Longueville (III [Célestins], 17; Simon sc.)
- Vitraux de la Chapelle d'Orleans (III [Célestins], 19; Chapuy sc.)
- [Vitraux du chœur des Célestins; table des secrétaires du roi] (III [Célestins], 20; Biosse sc.)
- Lutrin. Candélabre (III [Célestins], 21; G. Ph. Charpentier sc.)
- Retable du grand autel (III [Célestins], 22; L. Carpentier sc.)
- Diverses Tombes (III [Célestins], 24; Masquelier sc.)
- [Vitrail des secrétaires du roi; diverses tombes] (III [Célestins], 25; G. Ph. Charpentier sc.)
- Costume des Jacobins (IV [Jacobins, St.-Hon.], 1; Aubry sc.)
- Portail de l'église des Feuillans (V [Feuillans], 1; Blanchard sc.)
- [Tombeaux de Claude Laubespine, de Guillaume de Montholon, de Henri et d'Alphonse de Lorraine] (V [Feuillans], 2; Masquelier sc.)
- Tombeaux de la maison de Rostaing (V [Feuillans], 3; Demaisons sc.)
- [Tombeau d'Anne Hurault, femme de Charles de Rostaing, et de Louis de Marillac] (V [Feuillans], 4; Carpantier sc.)
- [Tombeaux de Raimond Phélipeaux et de Jeanne-Armande de Schomberg, femme de Charles de Rohan] (V [Feuillans], 5; Chapuis sc.)
- [Vitraux représentant l'histoire de Jean de la Barrière] (V [Feuillans], 7; Blanchard sc.)
- [Vitraux représentant l'histoire de Jean de la Barrière] (V [Feuillans], 9; Carpantier sc.)

[50] LAVALLÉE 1792.

[51] LAPAUZE 1903, p. 116.

[52] IFF XVIII[e] 1930, vol. 3 (1934), pp. 376–8. The plates in question are: 'Assassinat de Michel Le Pelletier'; 'Assassinat de J.P. Marat'; 'Notre-Dame de Lorette'.

[53] For example: MANUEL 1783 (COHEN-DE RICCI 1912, col. 66); RICCOBONI 1786 (COHEN-DE RICCI 1912, col. 890 – 'Brion de la Tour' working with Gravelot); RICHARDSON 1786 (COHEN-DE RICCI 1912, col. 893 – 'Brion' working with Gravelot); NOUGARET 1799 (COHEN-DE RICCI 1912, col. 755); LE CAMUS 1802 (COHEN-DE RICCI 1912, col. 1). See also COHEN-DE RICCI 1912, cols. 22, 186, 753, 971, 1061, 1062.

- [Vitraux représentant l'histoire de Jean de la Barrière. Bas relief de Jean Goujon; vitraux représentant des miracles de saint Bernard] (V [Feuillans], 10; Blanchard sc.)
- [Suite des miracles de saint Bernard; frère convers] (V [Feuillans], 11; Carpantier sc.)
- [Plan d'une partie du quartier du Marais] (VI [Barbette], 1; Aubry sc.)
- Portail de la S.te Chapelle de Vincennes (X [Vincennes], 5; Blanchard sc.) (2 states)

Brion's name appears on a total of twenty plates; one of these is to be found in two different states ('Portail de la Ste. Chapelle de Vincennes') and one (the 'Vitraux du chœur des Célestins') which was engraved by Beausse was later to be replaced by a plate engraved by Beausse but after a drawing by van Gorp.[54] Ten different engravers produced plates after his drawings: Aubry, Beausse, Blanchard, Chapuy, Charpentier, Desmaisons, Le Carpentier, Masquelier, Simon and Testard. The date at which he ended his work for the book can be situated in June 1791. This was not such a loss to the *Antiquités nationales* if Renouvier is to be believed: his rather disparaging comment is that the plates drawn for the book by Brion "ne sont remarquables que par la façon dont les monuments y sont défigurés".[55]

CHAPUY, Jean-Baptiste.

Seven plates in the *Antiquités nationales* bear three different signatures, 'Chapui', 'Chapuis' and 'Chapuy'. Given the phonetic similarity and the possible variations in spelling at this time, all three of these can be taken as referring to the same artist, Jean-Baptiste Chapuy (*c.* 1760–1802).[56] A draughtsman and engraver, he was a pupil of Janinet and has suffered from comparison with his master. For example, the entry devoted to him in Thieme-Becker describes him as a "Nachahmer Janinets, dessen Qualitäten er jedoch nicht erreicht". He displayed a certain willingness to work in several different techniques (etching, stipple and aquatint) and he is probably best-known for his colour engravings, including the 'Réponse embarrassante' after Brion, with whom he was also to collaborate on a plate in the *Antiquités*.[57] Amongst his earlier works should be mentioned fourteen plates for the *Coiffures*

[54] See *supra*, ch. 5, p. 186.

[55] RENOUVIER 1863, p. 234.

[56] THIEME-BECKER 1907, vol. 6 (1912), p. 382; BÉNÉZIT 1999, vol. 3, p. 487; SAUR 1992, vol. 18 (1998), pp. 213–14; PORTALIS-BÉRALDI 1880, vol. 1.1 (1880), pp. 358–61; BÉRALDI 1885, vol. 4 (1886), p. 98; NAGLER 1835, vol. 2 (1835), p. 494; DBF 1933, vol. 8 (1959), col. 460; IFF XVIIIe 1930, vol. 4 (1940), pp. 185–97 and IFF XIXe 1930, vol. 4, (1949), pp. 295–6; GORI GANDELLINI 1808, vol. 8 (1810), p. 120; BASAN 1789, vol. 1, p. 131.

[57] IFF XVIIIe 1930, vol. 4 (1940), p. 191, no. 22. He also produced a number of portrait engravings after drawings by Brion: see IFF XVIIIe 1930, pp. 187–9, nos. 9, 10, 12, 13.

de Dames and the 'Allégorie relative à la naissance de Monseigneur le Dauphin' (1781).[58] He also collaborated with Janinet on the plates for a work on the theatres of Paris.[59] Further collaboration with Janinet came in the form of his work for the *Vues des plus beaux édifices de Paris*.[60] He also worked for a number of Paris publishers producing illustrations for various works.[61] During the Revolution he engraved a number of representations of revolutionary events, amongst which should be mentioned what was probably his best and his most famous plate, the 'Vue perspective du Champ de Mars, jour du serment civique prononcé par la Nation française assemblée à Paris le 14 juillet 1790'.[62] In 1799 he published a *Manuel républicain* which included twenty-two colour plates engraved by himself showing personifications of the articles of the Déclaration des Droits de l'Homme.[63]

Plates for the *Antiquités nationales*:[64]

Plate signed Chapui:

- Sépulture du Cœur d'Anne de Montmorenci (III [Célestins], 14)

Plates signed Chapuis:

- Tombeau de Ch.[les] Maigné. Tombeau de la Maison de Rochefort (III [Célestins], 5)
- Tombeau de Jean Zamet (III [Célestins], 6)
- Tombeau de Marguerite de Luxembourg (III [Célestins], 8)
- Sépulture du Cœur de François II. Sépulture du Cœur de Henri II, de Charles IX et de François duc d'Anjou (III [Célestins], 13)

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[58] IFF XVIII[e] 1930, vol. 4 (1940), p. 186, nos. 1 (COHEN-DE RICCI 1912, col. 286) and 3.

[59] LE VACHER DE CHARNOIS 1786 (IFF XVIII[e] 1930, vol. 4 (1940), p. 196, no. 15; COHEN-DE RICCI 1912, cols. 226–7). It was Le Vacher de Charnois who was to produce a further work on theatres published by Drouhin, Millin's publisher.

[60] VUES ÉDIFICES 1810 (COHEN-DE RICCI 1912, col. 516).

[61] STERNE 1780 (COHEN-DE RICCI 1912, col. 957; IFF XVIII[e] 1930, vol. 4 (1940), p. 186, no. 2); GOETHE 1784 (COHEN-DE RICCI 1912, col. 441; IFF XVIII[e] 1930, vol. 4 (1940), p. 187, no. 8); SCARRON 1785 (COHEN-DE RICCI 1912, col. 944; IFF XVIII[e] 1930, vol. 4 (1940), p. 189, no. 14); RICHARDSON 1786 (COHEN-DE RICCI 1912, col. 893 with Brion; IFF XVIII[e] 1930, vol. 4 (1940), p. 191, no. 20); GOETHE 1790 (COHEN-DE RICCI 1912, col. 442; IFF XVIII[e] 1930, vol. 4 (1940), p. 192, no. 28); MONTESQUIEU 1795 (COHEN-DE RICCI 1912, col. 730; IFF XVIII[e] 1930, vol. 4 (1940), p. 196, no. 36). See also COHEN-DE RICCI 1912, cols. 307 and 406.

[62] IFF XVIII[e] 1930, vol. 4 (1940), pp. 192–7, esp. pp. 193–4, no. 30.

[63] CHAPUY 1799 (COHEN-DE RICCI 1912, col. 675; IFF XVIII[e] 1930, vol. 4 (1940), p. 196, no. 37). On the title-page he is designated as "graveur et seul propriétaire de l'ouvrage".

[64] IFF XVIII[e] 1930, vol. 4 (1940), p. 194, no. 31.

- [Tombeaux de Raimond Phélipeaux et de Jeanne-Armande de Schomberg, femme de Charles de Rohan] (V [Feuillans], 5; Brion del.)

Plate signed Chapuy:

- Vitraux de la Chapelle d'Orleans (III [Célestins], 19; Brion del.)

Of the seven plates engraved by Chapuy, only two bear the name of a draughtsman – Brion. It is not impossible, given the fact that Chapuy was himself both draughtsman and engraver, to imagine that he was solely responsible for the other five. His collaboration on the project of the *Antiquités* was very limited – all of his plates were issued in the second to fifth parts, suggesting that he only worked for Drouhin during the first four months of 1791.

CHARPENTIER, François-Philippe.

François-Philippe Charpentier (1734–1817) was one of the more fascinating figures of the Parisian eighteenth-century community of engravers.[65] His early years were spent in Blois where his father was a bookbinder. When the latter found himself unable to pay for his son's education, he sent him to Paris to be the apprentice to an engraver. A very good artist, he was also fascinated from a very early age by machines and inventions. During the 1750s he discovered a process for engraving in imitation of wash colours. This also allowed for the almost perfect reproduction of the sketches of the Old Masters. Feeling himself incapable of working on it by himself, he sold the discovery to Caylus, who was then the first to exploit it. His invention did however earn him the brevet of 'mécanicien du roi', and as a result, an atelier in the Louvre. He worked as an engraver, but his passion for scientific and mechanical discoveries also continued unabated. Amongst the discoveries credited to him are the use of the *miroir ardent* for melting metals without the use of fire, a new system for *pompes à incendie* and a machine for engraving designs for lace-manufacturers. He is also credited with having designed an operational artificial hand for a *fermier général* who had lost his, and an instrument which allowed people to extract their own teeth. Despite all this, he died in poverty: all that his inventions had gained for him were the title of 'mécanicien du roi', an

[65] THIEME-BECKER 1907, vol. 6 (1912), p. 407; BÉNÉZIT 1999, vol. 3, p. 508; SAUR 1992, vol. 18 (1998), p. 270; HOEFER 1852, vol. 10 (1856), cols. 3–4; MICHAUD 1843, vol. 7 (1844), pp. 678–9; PORTALIS-BÉRALDI 1880, vol. 1.1 (1880), pp. 362–3; ALPHANDÉRY 1963, p. 78; DBF 1933, vol. 8 (1959), cols. 633–4; GRANDE ENCYCLOPÉDIE 1885, vol. 10 (s.d.), p. 784; LAROUSSE 1866, vol. 3.2 (1867), p. 1030; GORI GANDELLINI 1808, vol. 8 (1810), pp. 121–2; BASAN 1789, vol. 1, p. 132; NAGLER 1835, vol. 2 (1835), pp. 496–7; IFF XVIII^{e} 1930, vol. 4 (1940), pp. 207–219 and IFF XIX^{e} 1930, vol. 4 (1949), p. 391.

atelier in the Louvre (and later in the Gobelins) and the post of head of the 'atelier de perfectionnement' under the Directoire. Offers from England and Russia to continue his career there passed, apparently, unheeded. His artistic production was impressive, the list of the plates that he engraved being considerable, and including such generally accepted masterpieces as the 'Culbute' after Fragonard. He also produced the illustrations for a number of works, including Collot d'Herbois's *Almanach du père Gérard pour l'année 1792*.[66]

Plates for the *Antiquités nationales*:[67]

- Plan de la Bastille (I [Bastille], 1)
- Portrait de M. de Trévélec. Vitrail (III [Célestins], 3)
- Tombeau de la Trimouille (III [Célestins], 4)
- Tombeau de Henri Chabot (III [Célestins], 11)
- Lutrin. Candélabre (III [Célestins], 21; Brion del.)
- [Vitrail des secrétaires du roi; diverses tombes] (III [Célestins], 25; Brion del.)

All six of the plates signed by Charpentier appeared in the first four parts of the work: he must therefore have ceased his collaboration on the project of the *Antiquités* in April 1791. The only draughtsman with whom he can be identified to have worked is Brion.

DELESTRE.

Only one plate in the *Antiquités nationales* is signed by this artist who seems to have left virtually no trace of himself. Only one of the major modern dictionaries devotes an entry to him, and in the IFF XVIII[e] the details are very sparse.[68] No first name or dates for his birth and death are given, and the only comment made about him is that he was a "graveur en taille-douce, fin dix-huitième et début dix-neuvième siècle".[69] Apparently he signed his plates either as 'Delestre' or 'Delettre'. The full list of his works in this catalogue extends to only fourteen plates, one of which is the one for the *Antiquités nationales*. Apart from this there are nine plates for Cassas's *Voyage pittoresque en Syrie*, one plate in Millet-Mureau's

[66] CAILLEAU s.d. (COHEN-DE RICCI 1912, col. 200); COLLOT D'HERBOIS 1792 (Paris: Maillet, 1792) (COHEN-DE RICCI 1912, cols. 249–50) – one of the engravers working on this was Michon, also engaged on the *Antiquités*, albeit not in conjunction with Charpentier; LE SAGE 1795 (COHEN-DE RICCI 1912, col. 632); ROMAN COMIQUE 1800 (COHEN-DE RICCI 1912, col. 756). See also COHEN-DE RICCI 1912, cols. 225, 227, 423, 1016.

[67] IFF XVIII[e] 1930, vol. 4 (1940), p. 218, nos. 79–84.

[68] SAUR 1992, vol. 25 (2000), p. 433.

[69] IFF XVIII[e] 1930, vol. 6 (1949), pp. 233–4.

Voyage de la Perouse, an 'Arabesque', a view of the Salle des Assemblées générales after a drawing by De Wailly and a 'Paysage' after Hoogstraten.[70] One mention is found of a engraver by the name of Delettre in the minutes of the Commune des Arts where his admission to the society is recorded.[71]

Plate for the *Antiquités nationales*:[72]

- [Monument élevé en l'honneur de deux matelots. Vases et instrument de guerre singuliers] (L [Calais], 4; Garnerey del.).

Delettre's collaboration on the *Antiquités* can be identified as dating to February-March 1793.

DESMAISONS (SAINT-ANGE-DESMAISONS), Henri-Louis.[73]

A variety of signatures in the *Antiquités nationales* – Demaison, Demaisons and Desmaisons – would seem, given the style of the plates, to represent one and the same artist. According to the IFF XVIII[e], Desmaisons was a little-known artist of the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries who was both a painter and an engraver. As a painter, he exhibited his work for the first time at the Salon de la Correspondance in 1779. He also provided a number of drawings for the illustrations to a book on Russia, and some vignettes for d'Ussieux's *Nouvelles françoises*.[74] His copper-engravings seem mainly to have been for illustrated books. Apart from the sixteen plates for the *Antiquités nationales*, a number of others can be attributed to him: a series of ancient coins in the *Portefeuille des Enfans*, plates for Lavallée's *Voyage de l'Istrie et de la Dalmatie*, for Millin's *Monumens inédits*, for the *Description de l'Égypte*, for Laborde's

[70] CASSAS 1798; MILLET-MUREAU 1797.

[71] "le 20 du premier mois de l'an deux de la République"; see: LAPAUZE 1903, p. 156. That it is the same artist seems likely: he is described as being a "graveur" and in the index his name is corrected to Delestre. Such a modification of the name pales into insignificance when compared with the various versions of the name of De Wailly to be found in these same minutes and faithfully transcribed by Lapauze. He appears as Devally, Dwally, Dwailly, Dewally, Wailli, Wailly and Wally. COHEN-DE RICCI 1912 identifies no Delestre or Delettre, and his Delattre cannot be the same artist, since he and Grignion "n'ont guère travaillé qu'en Angleterre" (COHEN-DE RICCI 1912, col. 229).

[72] IFF XVIII[e] 1930, vol. 6 (1949), p. 233, no. 2.

[73] THIEME-BECKER 1907, vol. 9 (1913), p. 136; BÉNÉZIT 1999, vol. 4, p. 492; SAUR 1992, vol. 26 (2000), p. 388; PORTALIS-BÉRALDI 1880, vol. 3.2 (1882), p. 731.

[74] LE CLERC 1783 (COHEN-DE RICCI 1912, col. 613); USSIEUX 1783 (COHEN-DE RICCI 1912, col. 1002).

Voyage pittoresque et historique de l'Espagne, for Landon's *Annales du Musée* and one plate for the *Athenaeum*.[75]

There is, however, one problem that must be addressed here. Some element of confusion has crept into many of the dictionaries of artists, who now identify two separate figures of very similar name. One is Desmaisons, and the other is Ange-Henri-Louis Saint-Ange-Desmaisons.[76] Both are credited with almost exactly the same works, including the plates for Millin, for Lavallée and the engraving after the 'Déluge' by Girodet which appeared in the *Athenaeum*. Only one main criterion can be found in these works to distinguish between the two men, and that is in their respective dates. Even here, notwithstanding, there is a certain harmony which would tend to suggest that in effect two separate biographies have been created around one and the same figure. For Desmaisons is said to have been working (*fl*.) 1780–1834, whilst Saint-Ange-Desmaisons' date of birth is given as being 1780 and his death *c*. 1834. In the absence of any further recent research on the two artists, it is impossible to state with any certainty what seems to be very likely given the rather tempting correspondences between the biographies. It does, nonetheless, seem that Desmaisons and Saint-Ange-Desmaisons can be considered, as Bénézit suggested, as having been one and the same person.

Plates for the *Antiquités nationales*:[77]

Plates signed Demaison:

- Vitrail représentant l'histoire de S.^{t} Jean Baptiste (IV [Jacobins, St.-Hon.], 3; Vangorp del.)
- Portail de l'Eglise de S.^{t} Denis de la Chartre (VII [St.-Denis Chartre], 1; Vangorp del.)
- Donjon de Vincennes (X [Vincennes], 2)

Plate signed Demaisons:

- Tombeaux de la maison de Rostaing (V [Feuillans], 3; Brion del.)

Plates signed Desmaisons:

- Tombeau de Henry d'Harcourt (XI [Royaumont], 2; G.....)
- [Vue supérieure] (XVI [Juvisy], 2; G.....)
- [Statues et bas-relief] (XVIII [Porte St-Bernard], 2; Garnerey del.)

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[75] PORTEFEUILLE 1783; LAVALLÉE 1802; ALM MONUMENTS 1802C; DESCRIPTION ÉGYPTE 1809; LABORDE 1806; LANDON 1801; ATHENAEUM 1806. IFF XVIII^{e} 1930, vol. 7 (1951), pp. 68–70 (16 nos.) and IFF XIX^{e} 1930, vol. 6 (1953), pp. 378–80 (11 nos.).

[76] THIEME-BECKER 1907, vol. 29 (1935), pp. 317–18; BÉNÉZIT 1999, vol. 12, p. 183.

[77] IFF XVIII^{e} 1930, vol. 7 (1951), pp. 68–70, nos. 2–16.

- [Costume des religieux; chaire de saint-François d'Assise de Germain Pilon] (XXV [Grands-Augustins], 2; G.....)
- [Mausolées de Larchant et de Bernard Cherin] (XXV [Grands-Augustins], 5)
- Vue de la Ville de Vernon (XXVI [Vernon monumens], 1; G..... del.)
- [Miniature représentant le Jugement d'Adam et Eve] (XXXI [Rouen palais de justice], 2; Duchemin del.)
- [Divers tombeaux] (XXXIX [Jacobins St-Jacques], 8; Duchemin del.)
- [Monumens d'Hugues de Chaumont et de sa famille] (XLI [St-Julien-les-Menestriers], 1; Garnerey del.)
- [Tombes] (XLVII [Blancs-Manteaux], 6; Lambert del.)
- [Vue de la ville] (XLVIII [Pont-de-l'Arche], 1; Garnerey del.)
- [Hôtel de Guise] (L [Calais], 3; Garnerey del.)

Sixteen plates signed by Desmaisons feature in the *Antiquités*; over the course of his collaboration, which began in March 1791 and continued almost unbroken until March 1793, he engraved plates after the drawings of five of the six draughtsmen engaged on the project – Brion, Duchemin, Garnerey, van Gorp and Lambert.

DUCHEMIN.

Only one artist of this name is identified as having been working in Paris towards the end of the eighteenth century, and very little is known about him.[78] Described as a draughtsman and an engraver specialized in stipple and aquatints, he collaborated on Levachez's *Collection de portraits des députés aux États Généraux* (1789–90) and later on Bonneville's *Personnages célèbres de la Révolution* (1797–1802).[79] He also produced a colour engraving entitled 'L'Indivisibilité' after a drawing by Desrais and a portrait of Louis XVI with the ruins of the Bastille in the background after a drawing by Philippe Caresme. Some years later he was to deliver preparatory sketches for the *Musée français*, which were subsequently worked up by Audouin and Chataignier.[80]

Plates for the *Antiquités nationales*:

- [Le Portail] (XXVII [Sépulcre], 1; Carpentier sc.)
- [Le Portail] (XXIX [St-Benoit], 1; Masquelier sc.)
- [Trinité. Mausolées de Pierre Brulard et d'Anne Des-Essart] (XXIX [St-Benoit], 2; le Mercier sc.)
- [Mausolée de Nicolas Brulard] (XXIX [St-Benoit], 3; Carpantier sc.)
- [Mausolée de François Fyot] (XXIX [St-Benoit], 4; Michel sc.)

[78] THIEME-BECKER 1907, vol. 10 (1914), p. 35; BÉNÉZIT 1999, vol. 4, p. 794; SAUR 1992, vol. 30 (2001), p. 191. It is not entirely clear whether this is the same Duchemin who was working in Paris during the Restauration: see IFF XIX^{e} 1930, vol. 7 (1954), p. 132.

[79] COLLECTION PORTRAITS 1789; QUÉNARD & BONNEVILLE 1797.

[80] MUSÉE FRANÇAIS 1803.

- [Miniature représentant le Jugement d'Adam et Eve] (XXXI [Rouen palais de justice], 2; Desmaisons sc.[t])
- [Portail et bas-relief] (XXXII [Mathurins], 1; Ransonnette sc.)
- [Tombes de Pierre Des-Essarts, Anne de Rully, Jeanne de Vendôme. Un Mathurin] (XXXII [Mathurins], 3; Masquelier sc.[t])
- [Portail, Mausolée de la Peyronie] (XXXV [Saint-Côme], 1; Blanchard sc.)
- [Mausolée de Claude Espence] (XXXV [Saint-Côme], 2; Le Mercier sc.)
- [Portail de Saint-Yves] (XXXVII [Saint-Yves], 1; Le Carpantier sc.)
- [Tombes] (XXXVII [Saint-Yves], 2; Barriere sc.)
- [Tombes] (XXXVII [Saint-Yves], 3; Carpantier sc.)
- [Monument d'Hervé, Cossion et autres] (XXXVII [Saint-Yves], 4; Barriere sc.)
- [Tombes et costumes] (XXXVII [Saint-Yves], 5; L. Carpantier sc.)
- [Portail des Jacobins] (XXXIX [Jacobins St-Jacques], 1; Michel sc.)
- [Divers tombeaux] (XXXIX [Jacobins St-Jacques], 7; Barriere sc.)
- [Divers tombeaux] (XXXIX [Jacobins St-Jacques], 8; Desmaisons sc.)
- [Divers tombeaux] (XXXIX [Jacobins St-Jacques], 10; L. Carpantier sc.)
- [Costumes des Carmes] (XLVI [Carmes Place Maubert], 1; L. Carpantier sc.)
- [Mausolée de Michel Dubec] (XLVI [Carmes Place Maubert], 2; Barriere sc.)
- [Maître-autel] (XLVI [Carmes Place Maubert], 3; L. Carpentier sc.)
- [Tombeau de Boullenois] (XLVI [Carmes Place Maubert], 4; Blanchard sc.)
- [Monumens de Louis Chauvelin et Jérôme le Pelletier] (XLVI [Carmes Place Maubert], 5; Barriere sc.)
- [Vue du cloître] (XLVI [Carmes Place Maubert], 8; L. Carpentier sc.)

Duchemin was responsible for the drawings for twenty-five of the plates which were in turn engraved by eight different artists – Barrière, Blanchard, Desmaisons, Le Carpentier, Masquelier, Mercier, Michel and Ransonnette. The period of his collaboration seems to have extended from January to November 1792.

GARNEREY, Jean-François.[81]

Many of the preparatory drawings for the plates in the *Antiquités nationales* were provided by one artist, Garnerey.[82] Jean-François Garnerey (1755–1837) was a pupil of David, specializing in portraits, interiors and historical scenes. His first appearance at the Salon was in 1791 where he exhibited three portraits and a family scene. He went on to produce many other portraits, including one of Charlotte Corday before the revolutionary tribunal; a rather charming anecdote tells that, aware that Garnerey was sketching her, she

[81] THIEME-BECKER 1907, vol. 13 (1920), pp. 201–2; BÉNÉZIT 1999, vol. 5, p. 877; DBF 1933, vol. 15 (1982), col. 458; HOEFER 1852, vol. 19 (1857), cols. 496–7; MICHAUD 1843, vol. 15 (1856), p. 583; BÉRALDI 1885, vol. 6 (1887), p. 219; GRANDE ENCYCLOPÉDIE 1885, vol. 18 (s.d.), p. 539; LAROUSSE 1866, vol. 8.2 (1872), p. 131; NAGLER 1835, vol. 5 (1837), p. 21; IFF XVIII[e] 1930, vol. 9 (1962), pp. 436–7; IFF XIX[e] 1930, vol. 8 (1954), p. 373.

[82] There are in fact two signatures that are here taken (as is also the case in IFF XVIII[e] 1930) for one artist: many of the plates are indeed signed 'Garnerey', but there is also a considerable number signed simply 'G…'. All the evidence suggests that this is the same artist. Spelling with 'a' is also noted, but this is not significant.

adopted a radiant pose for him. In her determination to be depicted in the most flattering manner and realizing that she had to reply to a question asked by the judge, she signalled to Garnerey to stop his work, only allowing him to take it up again once she had regained her composure. Many of Garnerey's portraits, including those of Voltaire, Buffon, Lepelletier, Marat and Rousseau, were engraved by P.M. Alix, to be published by Drouhin.[83]

Garnerey's contribution to the *Antiquités nationales* was not the only example of this type of work during his career. Apart from many illustrations for novels of the time, he also contributed plates to two works by Chaussard.[84] A set of his drawings was engraved by Debucourt to appear as the *Vaisseaux anglais en combat*, and another set was used by Alix to produce the *Collection des nouveaux costumes des autorités constitués, civiles et militaires*.[85]

Plates for the *Antiquités nationales*:[86]

Plates signed Garnerey:

- Le petit Chatelet (VIII [Petit Chatelet], 1, Allais sc.)
- Monument de la Pucelle d'Orleans (IX [Monument Pucelle], 1; Michel sc.^{t})
- [Statues et bas-relief] (XVIII [Porte St-Bernard], 2; Desmaisons sc.)
- [Vue actuelle. Vue ancienne. Monnoies d'Henri VI] (XX [Rouen Vieux palais], 1; Michel sc.)
- [Tombe de Guillaume de Vernon, connétable d'Angleterre, de son épouse et de ses enfans; reliquaire] (XXVI [Vernon monumens], 4; Ransonnette sc.)
- [Mausolée du Maréchal de Belle-Isle] (XXVI [Vernon monumens], 5; Michel sc.)
- [Le Portail] (XXVIII [Ecouis], 1; Ransonnette sc.)
- [Mausolée d'Enguerrand de Marigny; tombeau de Jean de Marigny son frère] (XXVIII [Ecouis], 3; Blanchard sc.^{t})
- [Mausolée de Pierre de Roncherolle et de son épouse] (XXVIII [Ecouis], 4; Biosse sc.)
- [Vue de ces divers objets] (XXX [Rouen horloge], 1; Ransonnette sc.^{t})
- [Vue générale] (XXXI [Rouen palais de justice], 1; Ransonnette sc.)
- [Grand'chambre] (XXXI [Rouen palais de justice], 3; Ransonnette sc.)
- [Cheminée de la chambre du Conseil. Salle des procureurs] (XXXI [Rouen palais de justice], 4; Carpentier sc.)
- [Tombe de deux écoliers. Mausolée de Pierre de Ruilly. Stalles; reliquaire] (XXXII [Mathurins], 2; Le Mercier sc.)
- [Vue générale] (XXXIII [Saint Jean en l'Isle], 1; Ransonnette sc.)
- [Tombes] (XXXIII [Saint Jean en l'Isle], 2; Barriere sc.)
- [Tombe d'Ingelburge. Chariot singulier] (XXXIII [Saint Jean en l'Isle], 3; Barriere sc.)
- {Tombes} (XXXIII [Saint Jean en l'Isle], 4; Michel sc.)
- {Reine Isburge. Chariot de fer} (XXXIII [Saint Jean en l'Isle], 5; Blanchard sc.)
- [Vue de la place du Pilori] (XXXIV [Pilori], 1; Michel sc.)

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[83] See *supra*, ch. 5, p. 152.

[84] CHAUSSARD 1799 (COHEN-DE RICCI 1912, col. 231); CHAUSSARD 1801 (COHEN-DE RICCI 1912, col. 232).

[85] GRASSET-SAINT-SAUVEUR 1796.

[86] The two different series, those signed 'Garnerey' and those signed 'G…', have been separated out here.

- [Tour de la Pucelle et Porte Bouvreuil] (XXXVI [Rouen Tour et Fontaine Pucelle], 1; Michel sc.t)
- [Nouvelle Fontaine] (XXXVI [Rouen Tour et Fontaine Pucelle], 3; Ransonnette sc.)
- [Vue de la Chartreuse] (XXXVIII [La Chartreuse-lez-Gaillon], 1; Ransonnette sc.)
- [Monument du comte de Soissons et d'Anne de Montafié] (XXXVIII [La Chartreuse-lez-Gaillon], 2; Blanchard sc.)
- [Extérieur de l'Eglise] (XXXIX [Jacobins St-Jacques], 2; Ransonnette sc.)
- [Tombes de béguines et sceaux de saint-Dominique] (XXXIX [Jacobins St-Jacques], 3; Barriere sc.)
- [Tombe de Humbert] (XXXIX [Jacobins St-Jacques], 4; Blanchard sc.)
- [Divers tombeaux] (XXXIX [Jacobins St-Jacques], 5; Blanchard sc.)
- [Divers tombeaux] (XXXIX [Jacobins St-Jacques], 6; Barriere sc.)
- [Divers tombeaux] (XXXIX [Jacobins St-Jacques], 9; Blanchard sc.)
- [Benoît XI au-milieu du consistoire] (XXXIX [Jacobins St-Jacques], 11; Blanchard sc.)
- [Vue de l'Abbaïe et divers monumens] (XL [Abbaye Bon-Port], 1; Michon sc.)
- [Tombeau de Louis de Rouville et de sa femme] (XL [Abbaye Bon-Port], 2; Barriere sc.)
- [Portail de Saint-Julien] (XLI [St-Julien-les-Menestriers], 1; L. Carpantier sc.)
- [Monumens d'Hugues de Chaumont et de sa famille] (XLI [St-Julien-les-Menestriers], 1; Desmaisons sc.)
- [Ménetriers et violons anciens] (XLI [St-Julien-des-Menestriers], 2; Barriere sc.)
- [Façade de l'église] (XLIII [Long-Pont], 1; Le Mercier sc.)
- [Diverses tombes] (XLIII [Long-Pont], 2; Blanchard sc.)
- [Vue du prieuré] (XLIII [Long-Pont], 3; Ransonnette sc.)
- [Béfroi de Bergues] (XLIV [Bergues Saint-Winox], 1; Michel sc.)
- [Tombeau d'Antoine de Vaudripont] (XLIV [Bergues Saint-Winox], 2; Blanchard sc.)
- [Sculptures de Jean Goujon et ruines du château] (XLV [Gisors], 1; Blanchard sc.)
- [Sculptures et tombes] (XLV [Gisors], 2; Carpantier sc.)
- [Vue de l'église prise de la rue des Carmes, et tombe de Marguerite de Bourgogne] (XLVI [Carmes Place Maubert], 6; Michel sc.)
- [Portail du côté de la place Maubert] (XLVI [Carmes Place Maubert], 7; L. Carpentier sc.)
- [Vue de l'église] (XLVII [Blancs-Manteaux], 1; Michel sc.)
- [Vue de la ville] (XLVIII [Pont-de-l'Arche], 1; Desmaisons sc.)
- [Vue de la ville. Sceau et mesure particulière] (XLIX [Meulan], 1; Blanchard sc.)
- [Eglise Saint-Pierre] (L [Calais], 1; Laporte sc.)
- [Béfroi et Hôtel-de-ville] (L [Calais], 2; Ransonnette sc.)
- [Hôtel de Guise] (L [Calais], 3; Desmaisons sc.)
- [Monument élevé en l'honneur de deux matelots. Vases et instrument de guerre singuliers] (L [Calais], 4; Delestre sc.)
- [Porte de la citadelle. Buste de Richelieu] (L [Calais], 5; Barriere sc.)

Plates signed G...:

- Salle du Conseil (X [Vincennes], 3; C. Michel sc.t)
- Prison de Mirabeau (X [Vincennes], 4; L. Carpantier sc.)
- [Figures du Portail. Vitraux] (X [Vincennes], 6; Allais sc.)
- Tombes de la S.te Chapelle de Vincennes (X [Vincennes], 7; Blanchard sc.)
- [Intérieur de l'Eglise & Jubé] (X [Vincennes], 8; Ransonnette)
- [Vitraux. Ornemens] (X [Vincennes], 9; Michel sc.)
- [Baptistaire de saint Louis] (X [Vincennes], 10; Ransonnette)
- [Figure de ce vase] (X [Vincennes], 11; Ransonnette sc.)
- Vue du Chateau de Vincennes coté du parc (X [Vincennes], 12; Blanchard sc.)
- [Porte triomphale. Porte gothique] (X [Vincennes], 12 bis; Michel sc.)
- Statues Antiques du Chateau de Vincennes (X [Vincennes], 13; Michel sc.)
- Abbaye de Royaumont (XI [Royaumont], 1; Allais sc.)
- Tombeau de Henry d'Harcourt (XI [Royaumont], 2; Desmaisons sc.)
- [Tombeaux des enfans de saint Louis] (XI [Royaumont], 3; Ransonnette sc.)

- [Tombeaux des enfans de saint Louis] (XI [Royaumont], 4; Ransonnette sc.)
- Portail de l'Eglise des Bons Hommes de Chaillot (XII [Chaillot], 1; Michel sc.)
- [Détails du Portail] (XII [Chaillot], 2; Carpantier sc.)
- [Vue de l'Abbaye. Tombeau de Frêminet. Stalles] (XIII [Barbeau], 1; Ransonnette sc.)
- Grand Autel de l'Abbaye de Barbeau (XIII [Barbeau], 2; Michel sc.^{t})
- Portail de l'Oratoire (XIV [L'Oratoire], 1; Ransonnette sc.)
- [Intérieur de l'église. Grand-Autel] (XIV [L'Oratoire], 2; Allais sc.)
- [Vue du château & du pont] (XV [Château de Corbeil], 1; Ransonnette sc.)
- [Vue inférieure] (XVI [Juvisy], 1; Ransonnette sc.)
- [Vue supérieure] (XVI [Juvisy], 2; Desmaisons sc.)
- [Site du Prieuré, bâtiment, tombeau] (XVII [Deux Amans], 1; Ransonnette sc.)
- [Portail. Fontaine de la Croix] (XIX [Mantes Notre-Dame], 1; Ransonnette sc.)
- [Tombeau de la comtesse Litgarde] (XIX [Mantes Notre-Dame], 2; Michel sc.)
- [Auditoire de Mantes. Hôtel-de-Ville. Fontaine] (XIX [Mantes Notre-Dame], 3; Masquelier sc.)
- [Tombeau de Montmorenci-Hallot] (XXI [Cordeliers Vernon], 1; Mercier sc.)
- [Portail. Le comte Aymon terrassant le dragon] (XXII [St-Spire Corbeil], 1; Ransonnette sc.^{t})
- [Tombeaux] (XXII [St-Spire Corbeil], 2; Masquelier sc.)
- [Tombeau du comte Aymon. Siège de l'officiant] (XXII [St-Spire Corbeil], 3; Mercier sc.^{t})
- [Châsse de Saint-Spire] (XXII [St-Spire Corbeil], 5; Ransonnette sc.)
- Vue du Pont Rouge (XXIII [Pont-Rouge], 1; Ransonnette sc.)
- [Tombes et Vitraux] (XXIV [Mantes Cordeliers], 1; Blanchard sc.)
- [Vue du couvent: bas-relief du coin de la rue des grands-Augustins. Autre bas-relief au-dessus de la porte d'entrée] (XXV [Grands-Augustins], 1; Ransonnette sc.^{t})
- [Tombeau de Gille de Rome et de Louis de Vauceman] (XXV [Grands-Augustins], 12; le Mercier sc.)
- [Costume des religieux; chaire de saint-François d'Assise de Germain Pilon] (XXV [Grands-Augustins], 2; Desmaisons sc.)
- [Statue de Charles V, Mausolée de Philippe de Comines, de sa femme et de sa fille] (XXV [Grands-Augustins], 8; Blanchard sc.)
- [Ornemens singuliers de la Chapelle de Comines] (XXV [Grands-Augustins], 9; Ransonnette sc.)
- [Ancien costume des Religieux; grand Autel et partie du Chœur] (XXV [Grands-Augustins], 10; Blanchard sc.)
- [Stalle royal, portraits de Henri II et de Cathérine de Médicis, d'après des Vitraux] (XXV [Grands-Augustins], 11; le Mercier)
- Vue de la Ville de Vernon (XXVI [Vernon monumens], 1; Desmaisons sc.)
- [Tour de Vernon, Mausolée de Marie Maignard d'Arquency] (XXVI [Vernon monumens], 2; Masquelier sc.)
- [Vitraux. Tombe de Guillaume de Vernon] (XXVI [Vernon monumens], 3; Biosse sc.)
- [Tombeau de Cornu et de son épouse: figure d'Enguerrand de Marigny et d'Alips de Mons son épouse. Tombe de Blanche de Gamaches; Crosse de S. Aubin] (XXVIII [Ecouis], 2; Masquelier sc.)

As would be expected, most of the eighteen engravers working on the *Antiquités* produced plates after Garnerey's drawings. In fact, the only engravers who did not work with him were those whose collaboration was limited to the first volume (Aubry, Chapuy, Charpentier, Simon and Testard): Garnerey began work on the project only with the second volume, and therefore in May-June 1791. After this, he provided drawings for almost every article in the second, third and fourth volumes; his name appears on ninety-nine of the plates.[87]

[87] He did not produce drawings for articles XXVII, XXIX, XXXV, XXXVII and XLII.

GORP, Henri Nicolas van.

Henri Nicolas van Gorp (*c.*1756 – after 1819) was born in Paris and spent the rest of his life there.[88] He entered the Académie royale in 1773, sponsored by Jaurat, and was still there ten years later, by this time under the protection of Callet. His first recorded appearance at the Salon was in 1793 with a genre picture entitled 'Instruction villageoise'. Although he continued producing similar works, many of the paintings that he was to show in later years, until his last exhibition in 1819, were portraits. Nagler mentions only two plates engraved by Mallet after his works, a pair of pendants entitled 'Déjeuner de Fanfan' and 'Qu'il est joli'. According to Thieme-Becker, other artists also produced engravings after his designs, including Philippe Louis Debucourt, Ruotte, I.-B. Vérité and Masquelier the elder.

Plates for the *Antiquités nationales*:

Plate signed Van Gope:

- [Vitraux du chœur des Célestins; table des secrétaires du roi] (III [Célestins], 20; Biosse sc.)

Plates signed Van Gorp:

- [Tombeau de Léon de Lusignan; de Jeanne de Bourgogne, femme du duc de Bethfort, et de Jeanne de Bourbon, épouse de Charles] (III [Célestins], 23; Testard sc.)
- Vitrail représentant la Tentation de S.^{t} Antoine (IV [Jacobins, St.-Hon.], 2; Aubry sc.)
- Vitrail représentant l'histoire de S.^{t} Jean Baptiste (IV [Jacobins, St.-Hon.], 3; Demaison sc.)
- Tombeau de Pierre Mignard (IV [Jacobins, St.-Hon.], 4; Blanchard sc.)
- Tombeau de Créqui (IV [Jacobins, St.-Hon.], 5; Aubry sc.)
- Société des Amis de la Constitution (IV [Jacobins, St.-Hon.], 6; Masquelier sc.)
- Société des Amis de la Constitution (IV [Jacobins, St.-Hon.], 6; Aubry sc.)
- [Vitraux représentant l'histoire de Jean de la Barrière] (V [Feuillans], 6; Aubry sc.)
- [Suite de l'histoire de Jean de Barrière.] (V [Feuillans], 8; Masquelier sc.)
- Portail de l'Eglise de S.^{t} Denis de la Chartre (VII [St.-Denis Chartre], 1; Demaison sc.)
- Maitre Autel de S.^{t} Denis de la Chartre (VII [St.-Denis Chartre], 2; Blanchard sc.)
- Maitre Autel de S.^{t} Denis de la Chartre (VII [St.-Denis Chartre], 2; Aubry sc.)
- Eglise basse de S.^{t} Denis de la Chartre (VII [St.-Denis Chartre], 3; Blanchard sc.)
- [Vitraux. Tombeaux] (XI [Royaumont], 5; Masquelier sc.)
- {Tombeaux} (XI [Royaumont], 6; Masquelier sc.)
- [Mausolées de Jérôme l'Huilier et de son épouse] (XXV [Grands-Augustins], 6; Le Carpantier sc.)

With the exception of one plate which was issued in the fourteenth part of the series (and thus in January 1792), all of van Gorp's drawings for the *Antiquités* appear in the first eight *livraisons*. This fact allows us to fix the majority of his work for Millin and Drouhin in the first six months of 1791. The fourteen drawings which he provided were engraved by Aubry,

[88] Various versions of his surname are to be found: van Gorp, van Gope and van Gopf. THIEME-BECKER 1907, vol. 14 (1921), p. 405; BÉNÉZIT 1999, vol. 6, p. 305, p. 204; NAGLER 1835, vol. 19 (1849), p. 362.

Blanchard, Desmaisons, Le Carpentier, Masquelier and Testard; two of the plates worked by Aubry were later to be replaced by versions signed by Masquelier and Blanchard.[89]

LAMBERT, Michel (?)[90]

The lack of an initial makes the identification of this artist particularly difficult. Relying on the major repertories available, we can find four artists with this surname working in Paris at the end of the eighteenth century.

Claude Lambert, a painter, was born around 1776 in Paris. He is, however, recorded as having entered the École des Beaux-Arts on 13 nivose an II [January 3 1794].[91] He would thus have been too young to have been the artist involved in the work for the *Antiquités*. Another possibility is Johann Heinrich Lambert (1763–1834), who was born in Mulhouse and spent much of his life there, apart from periods spent studying in Rome and Paris.[92] A student of Peyron, he was a painter and sculptor, and spent four years in Paris before returning to Mulhouse in 1791. He would therefore have left Paris before the time that the artist who signed his plates 'Lambert' was working for Millin. Jean Baptiste Ponce Lambert probably left his native Geneva to come to Paris during the last decade of the eighteenth century.[93] A pupil of Augustin, he was essentially a portraitist, working in oil, miniature and enamel. Works by this artist were exhibited at the Salons of 1795, 1796, 1801, 1802 and 1812. Both for reasons of the dates and his preferred subjects, it seems unlikely that he was the artist providing plates for the *Antiquités*. A fourth artist, known only by his surname to the earlier dictionaries, has recently been identified as Michel Lambert.[94] Born in Paris in 1748 he was a student of Lepicié and was registered at the École de l'Académie Royale from the late 1770s to 1782. Described as being a history and genre painter, his works were exhibited at a number

[89] See *supra*, ch. 5, p. 186.

[90] THIEME-BECKER 1907, vol. 22 (1928), p. 251; BÉNÉZIT 1999, vol. 8, p. 200 (given the first name Michel).

[91] BÉNÉZIT 1999, vol. 8, p. 197.

[92] THIEME-BECKER 1907, vol. 22 (1928), p. 254; BÉNÉZIT 1999, vol. 8, p. 199; SITZMANN 1909, vol. 2 (1910), p. 92.

[93] THIEME-BECKER 1907, vol. 22 (1928), p. 254; BÉNÉZIT 1999, vol. 8, p. 200; CLOUZOT 1924, p. 122.

[94] THIEME-BECKER 1907, vol. 22 (1928), p. 251 (no first name); BÉNÉZIT 1999, vol. 8, p. 200 (here the first name is given).

of Salons.[95] At the Salon de la Correspondance 1782 he showed a pastel entitled 'Jeune femme assise dans un paysage', and two years later, at the Exposition de la Jeunesse, he exhibited a 'Tableau d'histoire'. Later he was to participate in the official Salons: in 1793 he presented a 'Nausicaa apporte des vêtements à celui qui vient d'échapper au naufrage', together with a 'Groupe de jeunes filles découvrant un nid d'oiseaux' and an 'Œdipe se livrant aux remords'. He also showed works with similar themes at the Salons of 1795 and 1796.

Plates for the *Antiquités nationales*:

- [Divers monumens] (XLVII [Blancs-Manteaux], 2; Blanchard sc.)
- [Tombes] (XLVII [Blancs-Manteaux], 3; Barriere sc.)
- [Tombes] (XLVII [Blancs-Manteaux], 4; Barriere sc.)
- [Tombes] (XLVII [Blancs-Manteaux], 5; L. Carpantier sc.)
- [Tombes] (XLVII [Blancs-Manteaux], 6; Desmaisons sc.)

Lambert was responsible for a series of drawings of the monuments in one building, the Blancs-Manteaux in Paris. These drawings were then engraved by four different artists. The article on the Blancs-Manteaux appeared in the twenty-third part of the series, in February 1793.

LAPORTE, Jean de.

One plate is signed by the engraver La Porte, who is doubtless to be identified with Jean de La Porte.[96] Born about 1760 in Paris, he trained there, and collaborated on a number of the large illustrated works that were being produced towards the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries.[97] He contributed, for example, one plate to Cassas's *Voyage pittoresque de la Syrie, de la Phoenicie, de la Palestine et de la Basse-Egypte*.[98] He was later, equally, to sign plates in the *Galerie complette du Museum Central de*

[95] It is not certain that he was also an engraver, but it would be tempting, given the dates involved, to identify him with the Lambert who collaborated on the production of the PALAIS-ROYAL 1786 (COHEN-DE RICCI 1912, cols. 259–60).

[96] THIEME-BECKER 1907, vol. 22 (1928), p. 376; BÉNÉZIT 1999, vol. 8, p. 272; NAGLER 1835, vol. 11 (1841), pp. 528–9.

[97] IFF XVIII[e] 1930, vol. 12 (1973), p. 383; IFF XIX[e] 1930, vol. 12 (1963), pp. 429–30.

[98] CASSAS 1798 (IFF XVIII[e] 1930, vol. 12 (1973), p. 383, no. 1).

France.[99] Two of the plates in Durand's *Recueil et parallèle* (an VIII [1800]) are signed by him, as are engravings in Lavallée's *Voyage de l'Istrie* (1802), in the *Monuments de la France* and in the *Description de l'Égypte*.[100] Apart from this work, he is also known for having produced a number of plates after Flemish artists such as Steenwyck and P. Neefs.

Plate for the *Antiquités nationales*:[101]

- [Eglise Saint-Pierre] (L [Calais], 1; Garnerey del.)

The only plate engraved by La Porte, after a drawing by Garnerey, appeared in the twenty-fourth part of the *Antiquités*, suggesting that he was engaged on the project in February-March 1793.

LE CARPENTIER, Charles Louis François.

A total of twenty-four plates in the *Antiquités nationales* bear a number of different signatures, all of which are probably variations of one name, that of Charles Louis François Le Carpentier.[102] A pupil of Gabriel François Doyen (also the master of Alexandre Lenoir) and of J.B. Descamp, Le Carpentier was born in Pont-Audemer in 1744 and died in Rouen in 1822.[103] He was an engraver who executed a plate in Patte's *Monumens érigés en France à la gloire de Louis XV* (1765) and a copy after Doyen's 'Adoration des Mages', a painting originally destined for the chapel in the Château de Bellevue.[104] Engraving was only one of his occupations, and he exhibited paintings at the Paris Salon in 1801 and 1802. He increasingly turned his attention to teaching and writing: he was professor at the École des

[99] FILHOL 1802 (IFF XVIII[e] 1930, vol. 12 (1973), p. 383, no. 2, gives no precise figure, whereas IFF XIX[e] 1930, vol. 13 (1963), p. 430, no. 2 mentions seven plates).

[100] IFF XIX[e] 1930, vol. 12 (1963), pp. 429–30, nos. 1 (DURAND 1800), 3 (LAVALLÉE 1802), 6 (DESCRIPTION ÉGYPTE 1809), 9 and 12 (LABORDE 1816).

[101] Not to be found in IFF XVIII[e] 1930.

[102] We thus find the following signatures: 'Carpantier', 'L. Carpantier', 'Le Carpantier', 'Carpentier', 'L. Carpentier'.

[103] THIEME-BECKER 1907, vol. 22 (1928), p. 514; BÉNÉZIT 1999, vol. 8, p. 392; IFF XVIII[e] 1930, vol. 13 (1974), pp. 442–7; IFF XIX[e] 1930, vol. 13 (1965), p. 189; MICHAUD 1843, vol. 30 (1859), col. 178; NAGLER 1835, vol. 17 (1839), pp. 380–1.

[104] IFF XVIII[e] 1930, vol. 13 (1974), pp. 442–3, nos. 1 & 2. PATTE 1765 (COHEN-DE RICCI 1912, col. 786).

Beaux-Arts in Rouen and author of a series of works, including a treatise on landscape painting in 1817, a guide to Rouen (1816) and a *Galerie des Peintres célèbres* (1821).[105]

Plates for the *Antiquités nationales*:[106]

Plates signed Carpantier:

- [Tombeau d'Anne Hurault, femme de Charles de Rostaing, et de Louis de Marillac] (V [Feuillans], 4; Brion del.)
- [Vitraux représentant l'histoire de Jean de la Barrière] (V [Feuillans], 9; Brion del.)
- [Suite des miracles de saint Bernard; frère convers] (V [Feuillans], 11; Brion del.)
- [Détails du Portail] (XII [Chaillot], 2; G.....)
- [Mausolée de Nicolas Brulard] (XXIX [St-Benoit], 3; Duchemin del.)
- [Tombes] (XXXVII [Saint-Yves], 3; Duchemin del.)
- [Sculptures et tombes] (XLV [Gisors], 2; Garnerey del.)

Plates signed L. Carpantier:

- Prison de Mirabeau (X [Vincennes], 4; G.....)
- [Tombeau du cardinal de Berulle] (XIII [Barbeau], 3)
- [Tombes et costumes] (XXXVII [Saint-Yves], 5; Duchemin del.)
- [Divers tombeaux] (XXXIX [Jacobins St-Jacques], 10; Duchemin del.)
- [Portail de Saint-Julien] (XLI [St-Julien-les-Menestriers], 1; Garnerey del.)
- [Costumes des Carmes] (XLVI [Carmes Place Maubert], 1; Duchemin del.)
- [Tombes] (XLVII [Blancs-Manteaux], 5; Lambert del.)

Plates signed Le Carpantier:

- [Mausolées de Jérôme l'Huilier et de son épouse] (XXV [Grands-Augustins], 6; Vangorp del.)
- [Portail de Saint-Yves] (XXXVII [Saint-Yves], 1; Duchemin del.)

Plates signed Carpentier:

- Portail des Célestins (III [Célestins], 2)
- Tombeau de Renée d'Orléans (III [Célestins], 16)
- [Le Portail] (XXVII [Sépulcre], 1; Duchemin del.)
- [Cheminée de la chambre du Conseil. Salle des procureurs] (XXXI [Rouen palais de justice], 4; Garnerey del.)

Plates signed L. Carpentier:

- Retable du grand autel (III [Célestins], 22; Brion del.)
- [Maître-autel] (XLVI [Carmes Place Maubert], 3; Duchemin del.)
- [Portail du côté de la place Maubert] (XLVI [Carmes Place Maubert], 7; Garnerey del.)
- [Vue du cloître] (XLVI [Carmes Place Maubert], 8; Duchemin del.)

[105] LE CARPENTIER 1816; LE CARPENTIER 1817; LE CARPENTIER 1821. See also LE CARPENTIER 1811.

[106] IFF XVIII^{e} 1930, vol. 13 (1974), pp. 444–6, nos. 3–26.

Le Carpentier engraved a total of twenty-four plates for the *Antiquités*, after the drawings of Brion, Duchemin, Garnerey, Lambert and van Gorp. His collaboration began at the very beginning of the project, and there is only one sequence of parts (the tenth to the thirteenth) in the first four volumes in which he was not involved. It is therefore possible to posit that he was not working with Millin during the last three to four months of 1791.

LEMERCIER.[107]

Once again, this is an artist whom it is difficult to identify with any certainty. Bénézit mentions a "graveur au burin et illustrateur" working in Paris and who collaborated on the *Voyage pittoresque de la Suisse*. In the absence of any further indications, or evidence, it would seem necessary to identify, albeit tentatively, the artist Lemercier who was working on the *Antiquités*, with this engraver. The situation is not helped by the different signatures which are to be found, but it seems that this was only one person working for Millin.

Plates for the *Antiquités nationales*:

Plate signed Le Mercier:

- [Façade de l'église] (XLIII [Long-Pont], 1; Garnerey del.)

Plates signed Mercier:

- [Tombeau de Montmorenci-Hallot] (XXI [Cordeliers Vernon], 1; G.....)
- [Tombeau du comte Aymon. Siège de l'officiant] (XXII [Saint-Spire Corbeil], 3; G.....)
- [Stalle royal, portraits de Henri II et de Cathérine de Médicis, d'après des Vitraux] (XXV [Grands-Augustins], 11; G.....)
- [Tombeau de Gille de Rome et de Louis de Vauceman] (XXV [Grands-Augustins], 12; G.....)
- [Trinité. Mausolées de Pierre Brulard et d'Anne Des-Essart] (XXIX [St-Benoit], 2; Duchemin del.)
- [Tombe de deux écoliers. Mausolée de Pierre de Ruilly. Stalles; reliquaire] (XXXII [Mathurins], 2; Garnerey del.)
- [Mausolée de Claude Espence] (XXXV [Saint-Côme], 2; Duchemin del.)

Of the eight plates engraved by Lemercier, two are after drawings by Duchemin and the remaining six after drawings by Garnerey. His first contributions were issued in the twelfth part, published in November 1791, and his last plate appeared in the twenty-first part which dates to late autumn 1792.

[107] THIEME-BECKER 1907, vol. 22 (1928), p. 376; BÉNÉZIT 1999, vol. 8, p. 272; BÉRALDI 1885, vol. 10 (1890), p. 27, mentions a "Mercier graveur". COHEN-DE RICCI 1912, col. 1072, identifies an engraver named Mercier who worked on YOUNG 1769.

LIMOSIN.[108]

It is impossible to identify this artist who appears in none of the dictionaries of artists, and who provided a drawing for only one plate in the *Antiquités nationales*. Given the fact that his work for the book was restricted exclusively to monuments in Amiens, it must be imagined that this was a local artist whom Millin asked to execute drawings.

Plate for the *Antiquités nationales*:

- [Le Portail] (LI [St-Nicolas, Amiens]; Ransonnette sc.)

Whilst only one plate, engraved by Ransonnette, bears the name of Limosin as draughtsman, the artist had produced several other drawings for the *Antiquités*, all of which are dated 1792 or 1793, but which were for planned articles that never appeared.[109]

MASQUELIER, Nicolas-François.

Of the fifteen plates signed 'Masquelier' in the *Antiquités nationales*, four can be attributed with certainty, thanks to the addition of the initials 'N.F.', to Nicolas-François Masquelier (1760–1809).[110] Born near Lille, he attended the town's école gratuite de dessin, where he was taught drawing by Guéret and Watteau.[111] At the age of twenty-one years, he then moved to Paris where he took lessons in engraving from his relative Louis-Joseph Masquelier (1741–1811).[112] Whilst Nicolas-François was neither as talented nor as prolific an engraver as his relative and mentor, he did produce some good plates. Much of his work

[108] THIEME-BECKER 1907, vol. 24 (1930), p. 298. The signature 'Limozin' is also to be found on the drawings.

[109] See supra, ch. 5, pp. 148–149.

[110] The plates bearing the initials N.F. are: Figures de la Bastille (I, 3); Tombeau de Leon Potier (III [Célestins], 10); Tombeaux de Claude Laubespine, de Guillaume de Montholon, de Henri et d'Alphonse de Lorraine (V [Feuillans], 2; Brion del.); Tombeaux (XXII [St-Spire Corbeil], 2; G.....). One further plate can be identified with certainty as being by N.F. Masquelier: Société des Amis de la Constitution (IV [Jacobins, St.-Hon.], 6; Vangorp del.) (see note 114, *infra*).

[111] Known as Masquelier le jeune. THIEME-BECKER 1907, vol. 24 (1930), p. 213; BÉNÉZIT 1999, vol. 9, p. 324; NAGLER 1835, vol. 8 (1839), pp. 398–9; HOEFER 1852, vol. 34 (1861), col. 169; MICHAUD 1843, vol. 27 (s.d.), p. 208; VERLY 1869, pp. 160–1; PORTALIS-BÉRALDI 1880, vol. 3.1 (1882), p. 40; LAROUSSE 1866, vol. 10 (1873), p. 1306; BOTTIN 1809 (republished as BOTTIN 1865).

[112] THIEME-BECKER 1907, vol. 24 (1930), p. 213; BÉNÉZIT 1999, vol. 9, p. 324; NAGLER 1835, vol. 8 (1839), pp. 397–8; GORI GANDELLINI 1808, vol. 12 (1813), pp. 162–3; BASAN 1789, vol. 2, pp. 22–3; HOEFER 1852, vol. 34 (1861), col. 169; VERLY 1869, pp. 159–60; PORTALIS 1877, pp. 390–2; PORTALIS-BÉRALDI 1880, vol. 3.1 (1882), pp. 36–44; GRANDE ENCYCLOPÉDIE 1885, vol. 23 (s.d.), p. 366; LAROUSSE 1866, vol. 10 (1873), p. 1306; LE CARPENTIER 1811.

was for the large illustrated works of the period, including a collection of portraits of the members of the Assemblée nationale, illustrations for Lescalier's *Vocabulaire de la Marine* and for an edition of Racine.[113] He also contributed five plates to Robillard's *Musée français*: engravings after L. Watteau, Leduc, S. Bourdon, Jouvenet and Vouet.[114] A few plates of the *Galerie de Florence*, directed by Louis-Joseph Masquelier, were entrusted to Nicolas-François.[115] Other projects on which both worked together, such as the edition of Racine in 1808, may have contributed to a certain confusion between the works of the two, although very often the use of either the artist's initials or the epithet "le jeune" can help in distinguishing between them.[116] For example, Portalis states that it was Louis-Joseph who contributed to Millin's work.[117]

Plates for the *Antiquités nationales*:

- Figures de la Bastille (I [Bastille], 3)
- Tombeau de Leon Potier (III [Célestins], 10)
- Diverses Tombes (III [Célestins], 24; Brion del.)
- Société des Amis de la Constitution (IV [Jacobins, St.-Hon.], 6; Vangorp del.)
- [Tombeaux de Claude Laubespine, de Guillaume de Montholon, de Henri et d'Alphonse de Lorraine] (V [Feuillans], 2; Brion del.)
- [Suite de l'histoire de Jean de Barrière.] (V [Feuillans], 8; Vangorp del.)
- [Vitraux. Tombeaux] (XI [Royaumont], 5; Vangorp del.)
- {Tombeaux} (XI [Royaumont], 6; Vangorp del.)
- [Auditoire de Mantes. Hôtel-de-Ville. Fontaine] (XIX [Mantes Notre-Dame], 3; G....)
- [Tombeaux] (XXII [St-Spire Corbeil], 2; G.....)
- [Mausolées de la Fontaine et de Jacques Polan] (XXV [Grands-Augustins], 3)
- [Tour de Vernon, Mausolée de Marie Maignard d'Arquency] (XXVI [Vernon monumens], 2; G.....)
- [Tombeau de Cornu et de son épouse: figure d'Enguerrand de Marigny et d'Alips de Mons son épouse. Tombe de Blanche de Gamaches; Crosse de S. Aubin] (XXVIII [Ecouis], 2; G.....)
- [Le Portail] (XXIX [St-Benoit], 1; Duchemin del.)

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[113] DÉJABIN 1789 (COHEN-DE RICCI 1912, cols. 276–277); LESCALIER 1799; RACINE 1808 (COHEN-DE RICCI 1912, col. 850).

[114] MUSÉE FRANÇAIS 1803 (COHEN-DE RICCI 1912, cols. 743–5). Masquelier's plates: 'Le bombardement de Lille', after Watteau; 'Intérieur de corps de garde hollandais', after Leduc; 'César au tombeau d'Alexandre', after S. Bourdon; 'L'Extrême-Onction', after Jouvenet; 'Christ à la colonne', after Vouet.

[115] GALERIE DE FLORENCE 1789 (COHEN-DE RICCI 1912, cols. 419–20).

[116] See PORTALIS-BÉRALDI 1880, vol. 3.1 (1882), p. 40.

[117] PORTALIS 1877, p. 391. The confusion continues, however, as evinced recently by the catalogue of the 1989 exhibition where the engraving of the Société des amis de la constitution (ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A, vol. 1 (1790), art. IV [Jacobins, St.-Hon.], pl. 6) is attributed to Louis-Joseph, even though the signature 'N.F.J. Masquelier aqua forti 1791' is clearly visible: see RÉVOLUTION FRANÇAISE 1989, vol. 2, *L'événement révolutionnaire*, pp. 451–2, no. 589. This is not the same state as the engraving in the *Antiquités* – there is no mention of the artist (van Gorp) and the title of the plate is not yet included.

- [Tombes de Pierre Des-Essarts, Anne de Rully, Jeanne de Vendôme. Un Mathurin] (XXXII [Mathurins], 3; Duchemin del.[t])

Fifteen plates are signed 'Masquelier', and the preliminary drawings were executed by Brion, Duchemin, Garnerey and van Gorp. Masquelier's last plates appeared in the seventeenth part, in April 1792. Before this he seems to have contributed fairly constantly to the project; one of his plates appears in the very first part, in the article on the Bastille, and just two breaks in his collaboration can be identified. The first of these occurred in May-June 1791 and the second a little later, from August to October of the same year.

MICHEL, Jean-Baptiste.[118]

This artist was virtually solely responsible for the illustrations in the last volume of the *Antiquités nationales*, as well as having contributed a large number of plates to the earlier part of the work. Of the sixty-six plates signed by him, only one bears the initial 'C'. This proves, nevertheless, to be of very little help in identifying him: no artist called Michel with this initial can be found working in Paris at this time. Impossible though it may be to confirm the following hypothesis, it seems likely that the 'C' could be read as being no more or less than the abbreviation for 'Citoyen'. Since this was a title adopted by many at this time, the initial 'C' is thus of very little help in assisting in a sure identification of the artist involved. There were in fact two engravers called Michel working in Paris at the end of the eighteenth century. One of these was Marin-Ovide Michel, born in Paris in 1753. A pupil of Aliamet, he is described as having been a landscape painter and engraver.[119] Judging by the comments on him, he did not make much of a mark on the artistic landscape: he is said by Basan to have produced "divers petits paysages d'après différens maîtres". His first appearance at the Salon was in 1799.

Quite different was the career of Jean-Baptiste Michel (1748–1804). Born in Paris, he was a pupil of Chenu and managed, by common assent, to surpass his master.[120] After his

[118] THIEME-BECKER 1907, vol. 24 (1930), p. 512; BÉNÉZIT 1999, vol. 9, p. 586; PORTALIS-BÉRALDI 1880, vol. 3.1 (1882), pp. 85–6.

[119] THIEME-BECKER 1907, vol. 24 (1930), p. 513; BÉNÉZIT 1999, vol. 9, p. 586; NAGLER 1835, vol. 9 (1840), p. 246; GORI GANDELLINI 1808, vol. 12 (1813), p. 221; BASAN 1789, vol. 2, p. 38.

[120] THIEME-BECKER 1907, vol. 24 (1930), p. 512; BÉNÉZIT 1999, vol. 8, p. 200; PORTALIS-BÉRALDI 1880, vol. 3.1 (1882), pp. 85–6; BASAN 1789, vol. 2, p. 38; GORI GANDELLINI 1808, vol. 12 (1813), pp. 218–20; NAGLER 1835, vol. 9 (1840), pp. 244–5; HOEFER 1852, vol. 35 (1861), col. 374; LAROUSSE 1866, vol. 11 (1874), p. 219; GRANDE ENCYCLOPÉDIE 1885, vol. 23 (s.d.), p. 915.

early training in Paris, he went to London where he was to work on some of the larger enterprises of the period, under the direction of John Boydell. Amongst his production in England were nineteen plates for *The Houghton Gallery*.[121] Nagler states that he delivered an impressive number of engravings and then goes on to list forty-three of them, including plates after Leonardo da Vinci, Cignani, Reni, Rubens, B. West, Maratti, Le Nain and a host of other Old Masters. The reason for his departure from London is unclear, but it is known that he was back in Paris just before the beginning of the Revolution, and that he then stayed there until his death in 1804. Given his considerable output and the fact that he had already been involved in the publication of impressive illustrated *recueils*, it is very likely that this was the Michel responsible for the engravings in the *Antiquités nationales*.[122]

Plates for the *Antiquités nationales*:

- Monument de la Pucelle d'Orleans (IX [Monument Pucelle], 1; Garneray del.)
- Salle du Conseil (X [Vincennes], 3; G....)
- [Vitraux. Ornemens] (X [Vincennes], 9; G.....)
- [Porte triomphale. Porte gothique] (X [Vincennes], 12 [bis]; G.....)
- Statues Antiques du Chateau de Vincennes (X [Vincennes], 13; G.....)
- Portail de l'Eglise des Bons Hommes de Chaillot (XII [Chaillot], 1; G.....)
- Grand Autel de l'Abbaye de Barbeau (XIII [Barbeau], 2; G....)
- [Tombeau de Harlay de Sancy] (XIV [L'Oratoire], 5)
- [Tombeau de la comtesse Litgarde] (XIX [Mantes Notre-Dame], 2; G.....)
- [Vue actuelle. Vue ancienne. Monnoies d'Henri VI] (XX [Rouen Vieux palais], 1; Garnerey del.)
- [Mausolées d'Honoré Barentin et de son épouse] (XXV [Grands-Augustins], 7)
- [Mausolée du Maréchal de Belle-Isle] (XXVI [Vernon monumens], 5; Garnerey del.)
- [Mausolée de François Fyot] (XXIX [St-Benoit], 4; Duchemin del.)
- {Tombes} (XXXIII [Saint Jean en l'Isle], 4; Garnerey del.)
- [Vue de la place du Pilori] (XXXIV [Pilori], 1; Garnerey del.)
- [Tour de la Pucelle et Porte Bouvreuil] (XXXVI [Rouen Tour et Fontaine Pucelle], 1; Garnerey del.)
- [Portail des Jacobins] (XXXIX [Jacobins St-Jacques], 1; Duchemin del.)
- [Béfroi de Bergues] (XLIV [Bergues Saint-Winox], 1; Garnerey del.)
- [Vue de l'église prise de la rue des Carmes, et tombe de Marguerite de Bourgogne] (XLVI [Carmes Place Maubert], 6; Garnerey del.)
- [Vue de l'église] (XLVII [Blancs-Manteaux], 1; Garnerey del.)
- [Divers sceaux] (XLIX [Meulan], 2)
- [Sceaux et monnoies anciennes] (XLIX [Meulan], 3)
- [Divers sceaux] (XLIX [Meulan], 4)

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[121] BOYDELL 1788.

[122] Amongst the works on which he was engaged in France should be mentioned the following: FAVART et al. 1776 (COHEN-DE RICCI 1912, cols. 375–6); CARMONTELLE 1779 (COHEN-DE RICCI 1912, col. 516); DRUMMOND DE MELFORT 1766 (COHEN-DE RICCI 1912, col. 1006); POULLAIN 1781 (COHEN-DE RICCI 1912, col. 117); PALAIS-ROYAL 1786 (COHEN-DE RICCI 1912, cols. 259–60); ROUSSEAU 1788 (COHEN-DE RICCI 1912, cols. 910–11);. CHAUSSARD 1801, where he was working with Garnerey (COHEN-DE RICCI 1912, col. 232).

- [Vue de la Moresque qui se trouvoit entre les deux cours d'entrée] (LII [Chartreuse], 1)
- [Bas-reliefs de cette Moresque] (LII [Chartreuse], 2)
- [Vue de l'Eglise] (LII [Chartreuse], 3)
- [Figure en mosaïque d'Enguerrand de Marigny; tombeau de Pierre de Navarre et de Catherine d'Alençon, sa femme; tombes] (LII [Chartreuse], 4)
- [Vue du Cimitière des Chartreux; tombe des Duportail; effigies] (LII [Chartreuse], 4 bis)
- {Tombes} (LII [Chartreuse], 5)
- [Vase d'Airain; vue de l'Horloge; Croix de chenart] (LII [Chartreuse], 7)
- [Pupitre et Bas-Reliefs] (LII [Chartreuse], 8)
- [Vue des Cellules du Cloître] (LII [Chartreuse], 9)
- [Bas-Relief] (LII [Chartreuse], 10)
- [Mosaïque] (LII [Chartreuse], 11)
- [Vue du bâtiment de la Pompe] (LII [Chartreuse], 12)
- [Porte des Malades] (LIII [Lille, Palais des Comtes], 1)
- [Vue d'une partie du Château] (LIII [Lille, Palais des Comtes], 2.)
- [Vue d'une autre partie du Château] (LIII [Lille, Palais des Comtes], 3)
- [Vue générale] (LIV [Lille, Saint-Pierre], 1)
- [Instrument de Musique; Tombeau; Bas-Reliefs] (LIV [Lille, Saint-Pierre], 2)
- [Tombeau de Hugues de Launoy et Marguerite de Molembais, son épouse] (LIV [Lille, Saint-Pierre], 3)
- [Tombeau de Louis de Male] (LIV [Lille, Saint-Pierre], 4)
- [Figures de Louis de Male, de Marguerite de Brabant, son épouse, et de Marguerite de Flandre, sa fille] (LIV [Lille, Saint-Pierre], 5)
- [Figures de différens princes de la maison de Flandre et de Bourgogne] (LIV [Lille, Saint-Pierre], 6)
- [Figures de différens princes de la maison de Flandre et de Bourgogne.] (LIV [Lille, Saint-Pierre], 7)
- [Bas-Relief représentant Philippe, duc de Bourgogne; autre Bas-Relief allégorique] (LIV [Lille, Saint-Pierre], 9)
- [Tombeau de Vallerand des Aubaux; Figures] (LIV [Lille, Saint-Pierre], 10)
- [Mausolée de Louis de Melun] (LVI [Lille, Dominicains], 1)
- [Vue du Couvent du côté du jardin; Figure de Bauduin de Croix] (LVII [Lille, Récollets], 1)
- [Vue de la Maison-Commune et du Beffroi de Comines] (LVIII [Chateau de Comines], 1)
- [Vue des ruines de l'ancien Château] (LVIII [Chateau de Comines], 2)
- [Mausolée de Catherine Duchemain, femme de Girardon] (LIX [Saint-Landry], 1)
- {Tombeau de Catherine Duchemain} (LIX [Saint-Landry], 2)
- [Portail de l'Eglise] (LX [Sainte Geneviève], 1)
- [Tombeau de Descartes et de Rohaut] (LX [Sainte Geneviève], 2)
- [Mausolée du cardinal de la Rochefoucauld] (LX [Sainte Geneviève], 3)
- [Tombeau de Foulon; Reliquaires] (LX [Sainte Geneviève], 4)
- [Vitrail représentant la Procession de la Châsse] (LX [Sainte Geneviève], 5)
- [Vue du Jardin et du Panthéon] (LX [Sainte Geneviève], 6)
- [Tableaux représentant différens Princes de Flandre] (LXI [Lille, Bibliothèque Saint-Pierre], 1)
- [Tableau historique; vue de l'ancien Hôtel-de-Ville en 1600] (LXI [Lille, Bibliothèque Saint-Pierre], 2.)
- [Tableaux concernant différens Princes de Flandre] (LXI [Lille, Bibliothèque Saint-Pierre], 3)
- [Vitrail des sept Nobles de Bruxelles] (LXI [Lille, Bibliothèque Saint-Pierre], 4)
- [Vue du dernier Hôtel-de-Ville de Lille] (LXI [Lille, Bibliothèque Saint-Pierre], 6)
- [Bannière de Sleeuws; Ecussons] (LXI [Lille, Bibliothèque Saint-Pierre], 7)
- [Vue de la Maison des sept Nobles] (LXI [Lille, Bibliothèque Saint-Pierre], 7)

Sixty-six plates in the *Antiquités* bear the signature of Michel: forty-three of these, all in the fifth volume, include no draughtsman's name and are signed 'Michel dir.' It is thus to be

imagined that these were being produced in Michel's engraving workshop. Of the earlier plates, most are after drawings by Garnerey, and two are after Duchemin. His earliest contribution comes in the seventh part (June 1791) and from that moment on his participation was regular until the end of the fourth volume. He was then responsible for almost all of the plates in the last volume, with the exception of the one illustrating the article on Amiens (article LI), and one further anonymous plate in article LIV.

MICHON [MICHAULT] Georges.

Identification of the artist who signed his single plate in the *Antiquités nationales* as 'Michon' is very difficult. Portalis-Béraldi identifies one engraver of this name who was working in Paris at the end of the eighteenth century.[123] He produced vignettes for the *Almanach du Père Gérard* (1792) and also a number of plates for the *Galerie du Palais-Royal*.[124] Despite these details, they cannot, however, provide any more precise information on his name or his dates. Nagler includes one entry for an artist (again identified only by his surname) called Michon, and attributes to him one plate, 'L'hotesse en belle humeur' after Demarne which was then "mit dem Stichel vollendet von J.B. Racine".[125] Given the lack of correspondence between these two entries, it would seem that two artists are being discussed, were it not for the fact that Nagler adds that it is possible that this engraver Michon is to be identified with Micho and Michault. The entry for Micho gives a cross-reference to Michault. Amongst the artists named Michault discussed by Nagler, there is only one who corresponds in terms of the dates: Georg [Georges] Michault.[126] This artist, a draughtsman and engraver, was born in Abbeville in 1752 and trained in Paris, as a pupil of Aliamet. He continued to work in Paris until his death in 1810.[127] Nagler lists five works by him, including three plates

[123] PORTALIS-BÉRALDI 1880, vol. 3.2 (1882), p. 745.

[124] COLLOT D'HERBOIS 1792 (COHEN-DE RICCI 1912, cols. 249–50); PALAIS-ROYAL 1786 (COHEN-DE RICCI 1912, cols. 259–260).

[125] NAGLER 1835, vol. 9 (1840), p. 252.

[126] NAGLER 1835, vol. 9 (1840), p. 243.

[127] THIEME-BECKER 1907, vol. 24 (1930), p. 510 (includes him under the name Germain (Ant. Victor) Michault, and adds that Le Blanc prefers the first name 'Georges'; BÉNÉZIT 1999, vol. 9, p. 580; GORI GANDELLINI 1808, vol. 12 (1813), p. 218 – 'Giorgio Michault'. This last work includes no entry for 'Michon'.

for the *Galerie du Palais-Royal*.[128] Also included here amongst his work is a series of views of the garden in Monceau after drawings by Carmontelle.[129]

Plate for the *Antiquités nationales*:

- [Vue de l'Abbaïe et divers monumens] (XL [Abbaye Bon-Port], 1; Garnerey del.)

The one plate engraved by Michault after a drawing by Garnerey was published in the twenty-first part which appeared during autumn 1792.

RANSONNETTE, Pierre Nicolas.[130]

Pierre Nicolas Ransonnette, a draughtsman and engraver, was born in Paris in 1745. A pupil of Choffard, he became the "dessinateur et graveur de Monsieur le frère du Roi". In 1768 he exhibited several portraits at the Exposition de la Jeunesse. Later he was to participate in the Exposition de l'Académie Royale (1791) and the Salon of 1800. He engraved a number of mythological scenes after Gabriel de Saint-Aubin, and contributed a number of plates to various illustrated works.[131] The vast majority of the works that he produced were, nonetheless, architectural reproductions. All sixteen plates in Sauveur-Jérôme Morand's *Histoire de la Sainte Chapelle* (1790) were engraved by him.[132] He also collaborated on the *Description de l'Égypte*.[133] Ransonnette was the engraver chosen by

[128] In the list given by COHEN-DE RICCI 1912, cols. 259–60, of the artists engaged on the PALAIS-ROYAL 1786, the names Michaut and Michon both appear: this does not necessarily mean, however, that two different artists are to be inferred, especially given the length of time over which the work appeared, and the differences in the spelling of one name often observed during this period.

[129] CARMONTELLE 1779 (COHEN-DE RICCI 1912, col. 516 – artist's name given as 'Michaud'). Nagler does not mention the vignettes for the *Almanach*, but since he does not by any means claim to be giving a complete catalogue of each artist's work, this should not pose too many problems for our identification of the artist.

[130] THIEME-BECKER 1907, vol. 28 (1934), p. 11; BÉNÉZIT 1999, vol. 11, pp. 433–4; PORTALIS-BÉRALDI 1880, vol. 3.1 (1882), pp. 373–4; BÉRALDI 1885, vol. 11 (1891), p. 173; HOEFER 1852, vol. 41 (1862), col. 597.

[131] TABAC 1769 (COHEN-DE RICCI 1912, col. 967); GARSAULT 1770 (COHEN-DE RICCI 1912, col. 426); MILLY 1771; SIND 1774 (COHEN-DE RICCI 1912, cols. 954–5); ÉTRENNES 1783 (COHEN-DE RICCI 1912, col. 45); DAILLANT DE LA TOUCHE 1783 (COHEN-DE RICCI 1912, col. 271); LE TOURNEUR 1784 (COHEN-DE RICCI 1912, col. 640); ABRÉGÉ 1789 (COHEN-DE RICCI 1912, cols. 1–2); MARIE-ANTOINETTE 1789 (COHEN-DE RICCI 1912, cols. 351–2); LA VICOMTERIE 1793 (COHEN-DE RICCI 1912, col. 607); HURTADO DE MENDOZA 1801 (COHEN-DE RICCI 1912, cols. 502–3). See also COHEN-DE RICCI 1912, cols. 39, 306, 1080.

[132] MORAND 1790 (COHEN-DE RICCI 1912, col. 1108).

[133] DESCRIPTION ÉGYPTE 1809.

Krafft to reproduce his drawings of Parisian buildings known as the *Plus belles maisons et hôtels de Paris*.[134] He was himself the author of one work, the *Premières leçons sur une partie des sciences et des arts libéraux, présentées à l'Institut des Sciences et des Arts*, for which he produced both the text and the ninety-six plates.[135] This publication is seen by Portalis-Béraldi, which describes him as being "un des plus mauvais, peut-être le plus mauvais graveur de la fin du siècle", as being further proof of Ransonnette's confidence in his own abilities: "comme il ne doutait de rien, il publia doctement en 1806, *Premières leçons* […] dédiées à l'Institut".

Plates for the *Antiquités nationales*:

- Vue du Chateau de Vincennes sous Charles V (X [Vincennes], 1)
- [Intérieur de l'Eglise & Jubé] (X [Vincennes], 8; G.....)
- [Baptistaire de saint Louis] (X [Vincennes], 10; G.....)
- [Figure de ce vase] (X [Vincennes], 11; G.....)
- [Tombeaux des enfans de saint Louis] (XI [Royaumont], 3; G.....)
- [Tombeaux des enfans de saint Louis] (XI [Royaumont], 4; G.....)
- [Tombeaux] (XII [Chaillot], 3)
- [Tombeaux] (XII [Chaillot], 4)
- [Vue de l'Abbaye. Tombeau de Frêminet. Stalles] (XIII [Barbeau], 1; G.....)
- [Tombeau d'Antoine d'Aubray] (XIII [Barbeau], 4)
- [Tombeaux] (XIII [Barbeau], 5)
- Portail de l'Oratoire (XIV [L'Oratoire], 1; G.....)
- [Vue du château & du pont] (XV [Château de Corbeil], 1; G.....)
- [Vue inférieure] (XVI [Juvisy], 1; G)
- [Site du Prieuré, bâtiment, tombeau] (XVII [Deux Amans], 1; G.....)
- [Vue de la porte Saint-Bernard et de la Tournelle] (XVIII [Porte St-Bernard], 1)
- [Portail. Fontaine de la Croix] (XIX [Mantes Notre-Dame], 1; G.....)
- [Portail. Le comte Aymon terrassant le dragon] (XXII [St-Spire Corbeil], 1; G.....)
- [Châsse de Saint-Spire] (XXII [St-Spire Corbeil], 5; G.....)
- Vue du Pont Rouge (XXIII [Pont-Rouge], 1; G.....)
- [Vue du couvent: bas-relief du coin de la rue des grands-Augustins. Autre bas-relief au-dessus de la porte d'entrée] (XXV [Grands-Augustins], 1; G.....)
- [Mausolées de Nicolas Bourdon, de Leclerc de Lesseville et de Pierre Brulard] (XXV [Grands-Augustins], 4)
- [Ornemens singuliers de la Chapelle de Comines] (XXV [Grands-Augustins], 9; G.....)
- [Tombe de Guillaume de Vernon, connétable d'Angleterre, de son épouse et de ses enfans; reliquaire] (XXVI [Vernon monumens], 4; Garnerey del.)
- [Le Portail] (XXVIII [Ecouis], 1; Garnerey del.)
- [Vue de ces divers objets] (XXX [Rouen horloge], 1; Garnerey del.)
- [Vue générale] (XXXI [Rouen palais de justice], 1; Garnerey del.)
- [Grand'chambre] (XXXI [Rouen palais de justice], 3; Garnerey del.)
- [Portail et bas-relief] (XXXII [Mathurins], 1; Duchemin del.)
- [Vue générale] (XXXIII [Saint Jean en l'Isle], 1; Garnerey del.)

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[134] KRAFFT 1801 (COHEN-DE RICCI 1912, col. 530).

[135] RANSONNETTE 1806.

- [Ancienne Fontaine de la Pucelle] (XXXVI [Rouen Tour et Fontaine Pucelle], 2)
- [Nouvelle Fontaine] (XXXVI [Rouen Tour et Fontaine Pucelle], 3; Garnerey del.)
- [Vue de la Chartreuse] (XXXVIII [La Chartreuse-lez-Gaillon], 1; Garnerey del.)
- [Extérieur de l'Eglise] (XXXIX [Jacobins St-Jacques], 2; Garnerey del.)
- [Vue du prieuré] (XLIII [Long-Port], 3; Garnerey del.)
- [Béfroi et Hôtel-de-ville] (L [Calais], 2; Garnerey del.)
- [Le Portail] (LI [St-Nicolas, Amiens]; Limozin del.)

Ransonnette signed thirty-seven plates in the *Antiquités*. His contribution began in the first part of the second volume (June 1791) and engravings by him are to be found in almost every other part that was issued, with the exception of the twentieth, twenty-first and twenty-second parts. He was the only engraver, apart from Michel, to have contributed to the fifth volume in 1798.

SIMON.

This artist contributed only one plate to the *Antiquités nationales*, a representation of a tomb in the Célestins, found in the third article. Any accurate identification of him is rendered very difficult, not only because there is just one plate by him in the *Antiquités* which bears only the surname, but also because the various repertories of artists manifest a certain confusion with regard to the artists of this name. At least three engravers by the name of Simon are thought to have been working in Paris at the end of the eighteenth century: Jean Pierre Simon, L. Simon and Simon Simon. L. Simon was an engraver who worked after Chardin, and preferred the technique "au grattoir".[136] He also produced engravings after N. Lancret. Nagler gives an impressive list of his works, many of which are for Boydell's *Shakespeare Gallery*, and which Thieme-Becker attribute rather to Jean Pierre Simon. This would seem more logical given that, according to some accounts, Jean Pierre Simon, who was born in Paris in 1769, spent much time in England.[137] The question is further complicated since other dictionaries identify two separate engravers, Jean Pierre who was born in Paris and (Jean) Pierre the younger, born in London in 1750. This second figure, the English artist, would have been the artist working on the *Shakespeare Gallery*.[138] As for the

[136] THIEME-BECKER 1907, vol. 31 (1937), p. 57; BÉNÉZIT 1999, vol. 12, p. 823; NAGLER 1835, vol. 16 (1846), pp. 429–30. Whilst it is difficult to exclude him entirely, especially in the absence of any dates for his life or his career, it seems preferable to concentrate on the other two artists with the name Simon. COHEN-DE RICCI 1912, col. 225: "Chardin, Son œuvre gravé par Lépicié, Simon, Duflos, etc. (s.l.n.d.)".

[137] THIEME-BECKER 1907, vol. 31 (1937), p. 59.

[138] BÉNÉZIT 1999, vol. 12, p. 825; GORI GANDELLINI 1808, vol. 14 (1815), p. 184; BASAN 1789, vol. 2, p. 172. BOYDELL 1804.

French engraver, he was, in Nagler's view, specialized in genre scenes and often produced colour engravings.[139] In the absence of further, definitive research which would resolve this question, it is impossible to make any clear statement. As for the third (or fourth) figure, Simon Simon, he was born in Paris in 1759 and was a pupil of F.-A. David.[140] Further information available on this figure is restricted to the fact that he seems to have worked with Coiny on an edition of La Fontaine's *Fables*.[141] After the Revolution he provided the plates for the French translation of Macartney's journey to China.[142] His earlier work in book illustration, combined with his plates for travel accounts, might lead to the conclusion that this is the Simon who worked on the *Antiquités*.

Plate for the *Antiquités nationales*:

- Pyramide de la Maison de Longueville (III [Célestins], 17; Brion del.)

The one plate which Simon engraved, after a drawing by Brion, appeared in the fourth part of the work, which allows us to fix the period of his collaboration to February-March 1791.

TESTARD, Jean.

Two engravers by the name of Testard are known to have been working in Paris at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries. The younger of the two was François-Martin Testard, who is described as being a copper-plate engraver who also practiced stipple engraving and aquatint, as well as a painter.[143] He was a pupil of Suvée and never abandoned painting, exhibiting for example a 'Temple de Denderah' at the 1819 exhibition. According to Nagler, he was specialized in similar architectural views. Nonetheless, the greater part of his work was in engraving, and it is known that he

[139] NAGLER 1835, vol. 16 (1846), p. 429.

[140] THIEME-BECKER 1907, vol. 31 (1937), p. 60; BÉNÉZIT 1999, vol. 12, p. 825; NAGLER 1835, vol. 16 (1846), p. 433; BASAN 1789, vol. 2, pp. 171–2; GORI GANDELLINI 1808, vol. 14 (1815), p. 184; PORTALIS-BÉRALDI 1880, vol. 3.2 (1882), p. 548; BÉRALDI 1885, vol. 12 (1892), p. 29, ftnote 1.

[141] LA FONTAINE 1787 (COHEN-DE RICCI 1912, cols. 553–4); LÉONARD 1787 (COHEN-DE RICCI 1912, col. 622); MARÉCHAL 1787 (COHEN-DE RICCI 1912, col. 678).

[142] MACARTNEY 1804.

[143] THIEME-BECKER 1907, vol. 32 (1938), p. 560; BÉNÉZIT 1999, vol. 13, p. 553; NAGLER 1835, vol. 18 (1848), pp. 272–3; BÉRALDI 1885, vol. 12 (1892), p. 103.

contributed a number of line engravings to the *Description de l'Égypte*.[144] He also collaborated on a series of views of buildings in Paris, published in London in 1814.[145] Amongst his other works are to be found engravings after Farrier, as well as after Vidal, and a number of heads for Visconti's work on classical antiquities.[146] The portrait of Philippe de Champaigne to be found in the *Musée Filhol* is also signed by him.[147] Whilst it may be tempting to imagine that this was the Testard responsible for three plates in the *Antiquités nationales*, questions of chronology militate against this solution. François-Martin Testard's dates of birth and death cannot be fixed with any certainty, but he was still alive in 1830, and the earliest works known to be by him are his contributions to the *Description de l'Égypte* in 1809.

The other artist called Testard known to have been working in Paris at around the same time was Jean Testard (b. 1740), described as a draughtsman and engraver.[148] Two engravings signed by him are known: 'Le Génie de la France délivre l'Amérique du joug de l'Angleterre', after Charles Nicolas Cochin the younger, and 'S'il vous plaît', after Boilly. Apart from these he was responsible for a series of architectural views of Paris, engraved after his designs by J.A. Campion de Tersan.[149] This series contains views of various buildings in Paris, such as the Palais Royal, the Palais du Luxembourg, the Hôtel de la Monnaie and the Halle au blé. It seems very likely that further series were planned but never came to fruition.

Plates for the *Antiquités nationales*:

- Tombeau de Louis d'Orléans (III [Célestins], 15; Brion del.)
- [Tombeau de Léon de Lusignan; de Jeanne de Bourgogne, femme du duc de Bethfort, et de Jeanne de Bourbon, épouse de Charles] (III [Célestins], 23; Vangorp del.)
- Cloitre des Celestins (III [Célestins], 26)

[144] DESCRIPTION ÉGYPTE 1809.

[145] PICTURESQUE VIEWS 1814.

[146] VISCONTI 1811.

[147] FILHOL 1802.

[148] THIEME-BECKER 1907, vol. 32 (1938), pp. 560–1; BÉNÉZIT 1999, vol. 13, p. 553; NAGLER 1835, vol. 18 (1848), p. 272.

[149] VUES PITTORESQUES 1789 (COHEN-DE RICCI 1912, col. 515).

Only three plates signed by Testard are to be found in the *Antiquités* and the period of his collaboration seems to have been limited to February-March 1791.

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8°: pp. [1] 2–7 [8].

ALM EMPEREUR 1789

Un empereur romain, à un roi des Gaules (s.l. [Paris]: s.n., s.d. [1789]).

8°: f.t., pp. [3] 4–8.

ALM LETTRE 1789

Lettre aux représentans de la commune de Paris, Sur les dangers de la défense qu'ils ont faite de publier des estampes & des écrits burinés, sans l'approbation du Censeur qu'ils ont nommé (s.l. [Paris]: de l'imprimerie de Laporte, chez Lagrange libraire, s.d. [1789]).

8°: pp. 1–7 [8].

ALM LINNÉ 1789

Revue générale des écrits de Linné; Ouvrage dans lequel on trouve les Anecdotes les plus intéressantes de sa Vie privée, un Abrégé des ses Systêmes et de ses Ouvrages, un Extrait de ses Aménités Académiques, &c. &c. &c. Par Richard Pulteney; Traduit de l'Anglois, Par L.A. Millin de Grandmaison; Avec des Notes et des Additions du Traducteur. Tome premier [- *second*] (Londres & Paris: chez Buisson, 1789).

8°, 2 vols.: vol. 1: t.p., pp. [i] ii–vi, [1] 2–385 [386]; vol. 2: t.p., pp. [1] 2–400.

ALM RÉCIT 1789

Récit de ce qui s'est passé à l'assemblée nationale le 23 Juin 1789 (s.l. [Paris]: s.n., s.d. [1789]).

8°: f.t., pp. 3–7 [8].

ALM ABRÉGÉ ANTIQUITÉS 1790

Abrégé des transactions philosophiques de la Société Royale de Londres, Ouvrage traduit de l'Anglois, & rédigé par M. Gibelin, […] *Avec des planches en taille douce. Onzième et douzième parties. Antiquités, beaux-arts, inventions et machines. Par M. Millin de Grandmaison. Tome second* (Paris: chez Buisson, 1790).

8°: f.t., t.p., pp. [v] vi–xvi, [1] 2–464 + 2 pll.

ALM ANT. NAT. 1790A

Antiquités nationales, ou recueil de de monuments pour servir à l'histoire générale et particulière de la France, tels que tombeaux, inscriptions, statues, vitraux, fresques, etc., tirés des abbayes, monastères, châteaux et autres lieux devenus domaines nationaux (Paris: Drouhin, 1790 – an VII [1798]).

4°, 5 vols.: vol. 1: t.p., pp. [1] 2–35 [36], [2][1] 2–13 [14], [3][1] 2–172, [4][1] 2–69 [70], [5][1] 2–82, [6][1] 2–8, [7][1] 2–8, [i] ii–xxi [xxii] xxiii–xxiv; vol. 2: t.p., pp. [1] 2–3 [4], [2][1] 2–4, [3][1] 2–79 [80], [4][1] 2–18, [5][1] 2–35 [36], [6][1] 2–23 [24], [7][1] 2–28, [8][1] 2–23 [24], [9][1] 2–8, [10][1] 2–8, [11][1] 2–6, [12][1] 2–46, [13][1] 2–16, [14][1] 2–8, [15][1] 2–26, [16][1] 2–6, [i] ii–xv [xvi] xvii–xxv [xxvi] xxvii–xxviii; vol. 3: t.p., pp. [1] 2–7 [8], [2][1] 2–80, [3][1] 2–46, [4][1] 2–12, [5][1] 2–29 28 [= 30], [6][1] 2–60, [7][1] 2–26, [8][1] 2–22, [9][1] 2–37 [38], [10][1] 2–32, [11][1] 2–4, [12][1] 2–30, [13][1] 2–10, [i] ii–xxvi [xxvii] xxviii–xxxi [xxxii] xxxiii–xxxiv; vol. 4: t.p., pp. [1] 2–6 8–24 [=22], [2][1] 2–10, [3][1] 2–94, [4][1] 2–10, [5][1] 2–18, [6][1] 2–22, [7][1] 2–14, [8][1] 2–16, [9][1] 2–20, [10][1] 2–48, [11][1] 2–20, [12][1] 2–7 [8], [13][1] 2–28, [14][1] 2–20, [i] ii–xix [xx–xxi] xxii–xxiv; vol. 5: f.t., t.p., pp. [1] 2–6, [2][1] 2–68, [3][1] 2–10, [4][1] 2–82, [5][1] 2–6, [6][1] 2–8, [7][1] 2–4, [8][1] 2, [9][1] 2–16, [10][1] 2–120, [11][1] 2–63 [64], [i] ii–xxiii [xxiv] xxv–xxvi [xxvii] xxviii–xxix [xxx].

ALM ANT. NAT. 1790B

Antiquités nationales, ou recueil de monuments pour servir à l'histoire générale et particulière de la France, tels que tombeaux, inscriptions, statues, vitraux, fresques, etc., tirés des abbayes, monastères, châteaux et autres lieux devenus domaines nationaux (Paris: Drouhin, 1790 – an VII [1798]).

2°, 5 vols.: vol. 1: t.p., pp. [1] 2–35 [36], [2][1] 2–13 [14], [3][1] 2–172, [4][1] 2–69 [70], [5][1] 2–82, [6][1] 2–8, [7][1] 2–8, [i] ii–xx [xxi] xxiii–xxiv [xxv] [= xxiv]; vol. 2: t.p., pp. [1] 2–3 [4], [2][1] 2–4, [3][1] 2–79 [80], [4][1] 2–18, [5][1] 2–35 [36], [6][1] 2–23 [24], [7][1] 2–28, [8][1] 2–23 [24], [9][1] 2–8, [10][1] 2–8, [11][1] 2–6, [12][1] 2–46, [13][1] 2–16, [14][1] 2–8, [15][1] 2–26, [16][1] 2–6, [i] ii–xxiii [xxiv] xxv–xxvi; vol. 3: t.p., pp. [1] 2–7 [8], [2][1] 2–80, [3][1] 2–46, [4][1] 2–12, [5][1] 2–28 27–28 [= 30], [6][1] 2–60, [7][1] 2–26, [8][1] 2–21 14 [= 22], [9][1] 2–37 [38], [10][1] 2–32, [11][1] 2–4, [12][1] 2–30, [13][1] 2–10, [i] ii–xxii [xxiii] xxiv–xxvii [xxviii] xxix–xxx; vol. 4: t.p., pp. [1] 2–21 [22], [2][1] 2–10, [3][1] 2–94, [4][1] 2–10, [5][1] 2–18, [6][1] 2–22, [7][1] 2–14, [8][1] 2–16, [9][1] 2–20, [10][1] 2–48, [11][1] 2–20, [12][1] 2–7 [8], [13][1] 2–28, [14][1] 2–20, [i] ii–xvii [xviii–xxix] xx–xxii; vol. 5: f.t., t.p., pp. [1] 2–6, [2][1] 2–68, [3][1] 2–10, [4][1] 2–82, [5][1] 2–6, [6][1] 2–8, [7][1] 2–4, [8][1] 2, [9][1] 2–16, [10][1] 2–120, [11][1] 2–63 [64], [i] ii–xxiii [xxiv] xxv–xxvi [xxvii] xxviii.

ALM ASSEMBLÉE 1790

Assemblée des aristocrates aux Capucins. Nouveau complot découvert (Paris: Garnéry, s.d. [1790]).

8°: f.t., pp. [1] 2–6 [7–8].

ALM LIBERTÉ 1790

Sur la liberté du théatre Par A.L. Millin de Grandmaison (Paris: de l'Imprimerie de la Société typographique, chez Lagrange et chez les Marchands de Nouveautés, 1790).

8°: t.p., pp. [3] 4–60.

ALM MINÉRALOGIE 1790

Minéralogie homérique, ou essai sur les minéraux, Dont il est fait mention dans les Poëmes d'Homere. Par Aubin-Louis Millin (Paris: chez Garnery; Strasbourg: chez Amand Koenig, 1790).

8°: f.t., t.p., pp. v–xiv, [1] 2–118.

ALM PAIX 1790

Du droit de la paix et de la guerre, ou recueil des discours prononcés à l'Assemblée pendant la semaine mémorable où cette question a été agitée (Paris: chez Garnéry, l'an second de la liberté [1790]).

8°: t.p., pp. [1] 2–261 [262].

ALM PÉTITION 1790A

Pétition relative aux comédiens français, Adressée au conseil de ville, par un très-grand nombre de citoyens (s.l. [Paris]: s.n. s.d. [1790]).

8°: pp. [1] 2–3 [4].

ALM PÉTITION 1790B

Pétition relative aux comédiens français, Adressée au conseil de ville, au nom d'un très-grand nombre de citoyens. Par Aubin-Louis Millin (s.l. [Paris]: imprimerie de Laillet et Garnéry, s.d. [1790]).

8°: t.p., pp. [3] 4–7 [8].

ALM ANTIQUITÉS PROSPECTUS 1790

Antiquités nationales, ou recueil de monuments pour servir à l'histoire générale et particulière de la France, tels que tombeaux, inscriptions, statues, vitraux, fresques, etc., tirés des abbayes, monastères, châteaux et autres lieux devenus domaines nationaux. Prospectus (s.l. [Paris]: s.n. [Vve Hérissant], 1790).

4°: pp. [1] 2-4.

ALM RÉFUTATION 1790

Réfutation du pamphlet de M. Necker, Contre le Décret de l'Assemblée nationale, qui supprime les titres, les armoiries & les livrées. Par M. Aubin-Louis Millin. Tirée de

la Chronique de Paris (Paris: chez Garnéry, s.d. [1790]).
8°: f.t., pp. 3–14 [15–16].

ALM ZOOLOGIE 1790
[Zoologie homérique. Ordre premier. Mammaux]. (s.l. [Paris?]: s.n., s.d. [after 1790]).
8°: pp. [1] 2–32; incomplete.

ALM VOYAGE 1791
Voyage du gouverneur Phillip à Botany Bay, Avec une description de l'établissement des Colonies du port Jackson et de l'île Norfolk; Faite sur des Papiers authentiques, obtenus des divers Départemens, auxquels on a ajouté les Journaux des Lieutenans Shortland, Wats, Ball et du Capitaine Marshall, avec un récit de leurs nouvelles Découvertes. Traduit de l'Anglois (Paris: chez Buisson, 1791).
8°: t.p., pp. [i–ii], [1] 2–443 [444].

ALM ACTES 1792
Actes de la société d'histoire naturelle de Paris. Tome premier, première partie (Paris: de l'Imprimerie de la Société chez Reynier, Prevost & à Strasbourg chez Amand-Koenig, 1792).
2°: pp. [*6*], [i] ii-xvi, [1] 2–129 +13 folding pll.

ALM DIOSCORIDES 1792A
"Observations Sur les manuscrits de Dioscorides, qui sont conservés dans la Bibliothèque nationale. Par Aubin-Louis Millin", in: *Journal d'histoire naturelle, Rédigé par MM. Lamark, Brugière, Olivier, Haüy et Pelletier* (Paris: Chez les Directeurs de l'Imprimerie du Cercle Social, 1792), vol. 2, no. 20, November 1 1792, pp. 281–92.

ALM DIOSCORIDES 1792B
Observations Sur les manuscrits de Dioscorides, qui sont conservés dans la Bibliothèque nationale. Par Aubin-Louis Millin (Paris: au Cabinet Littéraire du Lycée).
8°: pp. [1] 2-11.

ALM DISCOURS 1792A
"Discours Sur l'Origine & les Progrès de l'histoire naturelle, en France. Par Aubin-Louis Millin" in: *Actes de la société d'histoire naturelle de Paris. Tome premier, première partie* (Paris: de l'Imprimerie de la Société, chez Reynier, Prevost; Strasbourg: chez Amand-Konig, 1792), pp. i–xvi.

ALM DISCOURS 1792B
Discours sur l'origine et les progrès de l'histoire naturelle, en France, Servant d'introduction aux Mémoires de la Société d'Histoire Naturelle. Par Aubin-Louis Millin, Membre de cette Société (Paris: imprimerie de Creuze, 1792).
4°: t.p., pp. [1] 2–36.

ALM LETTRE HOMÈRE 1792
"Anthropologie. Lettre à l'auteur du Magazin encyclopédique, sur ce qu'Homère a dit dans ses poëmes, des variétés de l'espèce humaine", in: *Magazin encyclopédique*, no. 20, s.d., pp. 153–8.

ALM LETTRE PHANTÔMES 1792
"Phantasmagorie. Lettre au rédacteur du Magazin encyclopédique sur les phantômes, les apparitions des illuminés, et sur un physicien allemand qui se propose de produire tous ces effets par une illusion d'optique", in: *Magazin encyclopédique*, no. 3, December 3 1792, pp. 17–19.

ALM MAGAZIN 1792
Magazin encyclopédique, ou journal des sciences, des lettres et des arts. Par une Société de Gens de Lettres (s.l. [Paris]: Imprimerie des Antiquités Nationales, chez F.-M. Boileau, [puis] Imprimerie Fiévée, 1792–1793)
8°, 53 nos.: pp. [1] 2–424 [425] 426–432.
Imprints:
Nos. 1–35 – de l'Imprimerie des Antiquités nationales, chez Boileau.
Nos. 36–53 – chez Fiévée.
Nos. 1–53: souscriptions: chez M.-F. Drouhin à Paris; chez Joseph Deboffe à Londres & chez tous les libraires nationaux et étrangers.
Nos. 1 (December 1 1792) – 15 (December 15 1792) – daily.
Nos. 16 (December 16 1792) – 53 March 17[?] 1793) – three issues per week.
Taken over by Journal des Arts (du Lycée des Arts).

ALM ANTIQUITÉS PROSPECTUS 1792
Antiquités nationales, ou recueil de monuments pour servir à l'histoire générale et particulière de la France, tels que tombeaux, inscriptions, statues, vitraux, fresques, etc., tirés des abbayes, monastères, châteaux et autres lieux devenus domaines nationaux. Prospectus (Paris: Vve Hérissant, 1792).
4°: pp. [1] 2-4.

ALM RAPPORT 1792A

Rapport fait à la Société d'histoire naturelle de Paris, Sur la nécessité d'établir une Ménagerie; Par A. L. Millin, Pinel et Alex. Brongniart (Paris: Boileau, s.d. [1792]).
8°: pp. [1] 2–4.
[Paris, 14 décembre 1792, l'an premier de la République] at colophon.

ALM RAPPORT 1792B

"Ménagerie. Rapport fait à la société d'Histoire naturelle de Paris, sur la nécessité d'établir une ménagerie, par Millin, Pinel et Brogniart", in: *Magazin encyclopédique*, no. 17, s.d., pp. 131–4.

ALM TYPOGRAPHIE 1792

"Typographie. Lettre au rédacteur du Magazin encyclopédique, sur un nouveau chef-d'œuvre typographique, sorti des presses de Bodoni, à Parme", in: *Magazin encyclopédique*, no. 17, s.d., pp. 129–31.

ALM WILLEMET 1792A

Notice sur Pierre Remy Willemet de la Société d'Histoire Naturelle. Par Aubin-Louis Millin de la même Société (Paris, imprimerie de la Société d'Histoire Naturelle, s.d.).
4°: pp. [1] 2–8.

ALM WILLEMET 1792B

"Notice sur Remi Villemet. Par Aubin-Louis Millin", in: *Actes de la société d'histoire naturelle de Paris. Tome premier, première partie* (Paris: de l'Imprimerie de la Société, chez Reynier, Prevost; Strasbourg: chez Amand-Konig, 1792), pp. 127–9.

ALM WILLEMET 1792C

"Biographie. Notice sur Pierre Remy Willemet", in: *Magazin encyclopédique*, no. 3, December 3 1792, pp. 20–3.

ALM LETTRE CHRONOGRAMMES 1793

"Littérature. Lettre à l'Auteur du Magazin encyclopédique, sur les Chronogrammes", in: *Magazin encyclopédique*, no. 33, s.d., pp. 257–61.

ALM MINERALOGIE 1793

Mineralogie des Homer von Aubin Louis Millin. Aus dem Französischen mit Anmerkungen und Berichtigungen von Friedrich Theodor Rink (Königsberg & Leipzig: bey F. Nicolovius, 1793).
8°: t.p., pp. [3–9] 10–22 [*2*] ^{2}[1] 2–126.

ALM ANNUAIRE 1794A

Annuaire du républicain, ou légende physico-économique. Avec l'explication des trois cents soixante-douze noms imposés aux mois et aux jours: ouvrage dont la lecture journalière peut donner aux jeunes citoyens, et rappeler aux hommes faits les connoissances les plus nécessaires à la vie commune, et les plus applicables à l'économie domestique et rurale, aux arts et au bonheur de l'humanité. On y a joint le Rapport et l'Instruction du Comité d'Instruction Publique, dans laquelle se trouve la nouvelle division décimale des jours et des heures. Par Eleuthérophile Millin, professeur d'histoire naturelle (Paris: chez Marie-François Drouhin, l'an II de la République Française [1794]).
12°: f.t., t.p., pp. [v–vii] viii–xii [xiii] xiv–xxx [xxxi] xxxii–xxxiv [xxxv] xxxvi–l [li] lii–lix [lx–xcii], [*2*] [1] 2–360.

ALM ANNUAIRE 1794B

Annuaire du Républicain, ou Légende physico-économique. Avec l'explication des trois cents soixante-douze noms imposés aux mois et aux jours: ouvrage dont la lecture journalière peut donner aux jeunes citoyens et rappeler aux hommes faits les connaissances les plus nécessaires à la vie commune, et les plus applicables à l'économie domestique et rurale, aux arts et au bonheur de la humanité. On y a joint le rapport et l'Instruction du Comité d'Instruction Publique, dans laquelle se trouve la nouvelle division décimale des jours et des heures. Par Eleuthéropolis Millin, professeur d'histoire naturelle. Seconde édition, revue et corrigée par l'auteur (Paris: M.-F. Drouhin, rue Christine no. 2, l'an II [1794]).
12°: f.t., t.p., pp. [v–vii] viii–xii [xiii] xiv–xxx [xxxi] xxxii–xxxiv [xxxv] xxxvi–l [li] lii–lix [lx–xcii], [*2*] [1] 2–360.

ALM BEATTIE 1795

"Le barde ou les progrès du génie, Poème en deux chants, traduit de l'anglais de M. Beattie, par A.L. Millin", in: *Magasin encyclopédique*, année 1, vol. 4, 1795, pp. 266–82.

ALM CORNALINE 1795A

"Description d'une cornaline antique", in: *Magasin encyclopédique*, année 1, vol. 4, 1795, pp. 342–55.

ALM CORNALINE 1795B
Description d'une cornaline antique, par Aubin Louis Millin (Paris: de l'imprimerie du *Magasin Encyclopédique*, s.d. [1795]).
8°: pp. [1] 2–14.

ALM DISSERTATION 1795
Dissertation sur quelques médailles des villes grecques, qui offrent la représentation d'objets relatifs à l'Histoire naturelle, par Aubin-Louis Millin (Paris: de l'imprimerie du Magasin Encyclopédique, s.d. [1795]).
8°: pp. [1] 2–20.

ALM ÉLÉMENS 1795
Élémens d'histoire naturelle. Par A. L. Millin (Paris: chez Agasse, an III [1795]).
8°: f.t., t.p., pp. [v] vi–xxxii, [1] 2–444.

ALM ÉTUDE 1795A
"De l'étude de l'histoire littéraire et de la bibliographie; par A.L. Millin", in: *La Décade philosophique, littéraire et politique*, no. 23, 1795, pp. 244–9.

ALM ÉTUDE 1795B
De l'étude de l'histoire littéraire et de la bibliographie; par A. L. Millin (s.l. [Paris]: s.n., s.d. [1795]).
8°: pp. [1] 2–6.

ALM EXPOSÉ 1795
"Exposé de la nouvelle méthode adoptée par Déodat Dolomieu, pour la description des minéraux", in: *Magasin encyclopédique*, année 1, vol. 1, 1795, pp. 35–8.

ALM FABRICIUS 1795
"Introduction au voyage en Norwège de Jean Christ. Fabricius, traduite de l'allemand par A.L.M.", in: *Magasin encyclopédique*, année 1, vol. 4, 1795, pp. 54–83.

ALM LETTRE POIDS 1795A
"Lettre d'Aubin-Louis Millin aux auteurs de la Décade, sur la dénomination des nouveaux poids et mesures", in: *La Décade philosophique, littéraire et politique*, no. 18, 1795, pp. 176–9.

ALM LETTRE POIDS 1795B
Lettre d'Aubin-Louis Millin aux auteurs de la Décade, sur la dénomination des nouveaux poids et mesures (s.l. [Paris]: s.d. [1795]).
8°: pp. [1] 2–6.

ALM MAGASIN 1795
Magasin Encyclopédique, ou Journal des sciences, des lettres et des arts (Paris, 1795–1816).
8°, 122 vols., prairial an III [1795] – May 1816.

ALM POLYCRATES 1795A
"De l'anneau de Polycrates Et de la première époque connue de la gravure en pierres fines dans la Grèce, par A.L. Millin", in: *Magasin encyclopédique*, année 1, vol. 3, 1795, pp. 342–59.

ALM POLYCRATES 1795B
De l'anneau de Polycrates Et de la première époque connue de la gravure en pierres fines dans la Grèce, par A.L. Millin (Paris: imprimerie du Magazin Encyclopédique, s.d. [1795]).
8°: pp. [1] 2–18 [19–20].

ALM RAPPORT 1795A
"Rapport fait à la Société d'Histoire naturelle, sur le calendrier entomologique de M. Giorna", in: *Magasin encyclopédique*, année 1, vol. 1, 1795, pp. 311–19.

ALM RAPPORT 1795B
Rapport fait à la Société d'Histoire Naturelle, en sa séance du 21 prairial […] *sur l'ouvrage qui a pour titre: Calendario entomologico, etc. etc. de M. Giorna le fils* (Paris: imprimerie du Magasin Encyclopédique, s.d. [1795]).
8°: pp. [1] 2–8.

ALM REVIEW AMERICAN 1795
"Transactions of the American philosophical Society, vol. 3 (Philadelphia: [s.n.], 1793)", in: *Magasin encyclopédique*, année 1, vol. 3, 1795, pp. 342–59.

ALM REVIEW ANACRÉON 1795
"Odes d'Anacréon, traduction (Paris: Dupont, an III [1795])", in: *Magasin encyclopédique*, année 1, vol. 4, 1795, pp. 113–23.

ALM REVIEW BARTHÉLEMY 1795
"Essai sur la vie de J.J. Barthélemy, par Louis Jules Barbon Mancini Nivernois (Paris: Debure, 1795)", in: *Magasin encyclopédique*, année 1, vol. 2, 1795, pp. 518–25.

ALM REVIEW BION 1795
"Idylles de Bion et de Moschus, traduction par Gail (Paris: Didot jeune, [s.d.])", in:

Magasin encyclopédique, année 1, vol. 4, 1795, pp. 258–65.

ALM REVIEW DUGOUR 1795
"Histoire d'Olivier Cromwell, par Jeudy Dugour (Paris: Gaboi, 1795)", in: *Magasin encyclopédique*, année 1, vol. 3, 1795, pp. 82–4.

ALM REVIEW ÉDUCATION 1795
"Des avantages et des désavantages de l'éducation tant publique que privée (Utrecht: Weld & Althe r, 1794)", in: *Magasin encyclopédique*, année 1, vol. 4, 1795, pp. 311–15.

ALM REVIEW GOVAN 1795
"Nomenclature botanique par Govan (Montpellier: chez Isar & Richard, an III [1795])", in: *Magasin encyclopédique*, année 1, vol. 2, 1795, pp. 320–9.

ALM REVIEW HECART 1795
"Essai sur les qualités et propriétés des arbres par Hecart (Paris: Villier, [s.d.])", in: *Magasin encyclopédique*, année 1, vol. 4, 1795, pp. 12–15.

ALM REVIEW HIPPOCRATE 1795
"Pronostiques et prorrhetique I d'Hippocrate traduits par Lefebvre-Villebrune (Paris: Barrois le jeune, [s.d.])", in: *Magasin encyclopédique*, année 1, vol. 2, 1795, pp. 30–4.

ALM REVIEW LAMETHERIE 1795
"Théorie de la terre, par Lametherie (Paris: Maradan, 1795)", in: *Magasin encyclopédique*, année 1, vol. 1, 1795, pp. 433–5.

ALM REVIEW LÉGISLATION 1795
"Essai sur la législation et sur la politique des romains, traduit de l'italien (Paris: Jansen, [s.d.])", in: *Magasin encyclopédique*, année 1, vol. 1, 1795, pp. 342–52.

ALM REVIEW LINNAEUS 1795
"Systême de la Nature, de Charles de Linné, traduit par Vanderstegen de Putte ([s.l.]: [s.n.], [s.d.]", in: *Magasin encyclopédique*, année 1, vol. 2, 1795, pp. 5–7.

ALM REVIEW MONTAGUE 1795
"Lettres de Milady Montague […] traduction nouvelle (Paris: Bailly, an III [1795])", in: *Magasin encyclopédique*, année 1, vol. 2, 1795, pp. 548–56.

ALM REVIEW NORDEN 1795
"Voyage d'Egypte et de Nubie par Frédéric-Louis Norden (Paris: Didot l'aîné, [s.d.])", in: *Magasin encyclopédique*, année 1, vol. 2, 1795, pp. 492–8.

ALM REVIEW PERTUI 1795
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ALM TUILERIES 1798

Description des statues des Tuileries, Par A. L. Millin, … (Paris: chez l'auteur et Fuchs, de l'imprimerie de J. Drisonnier, an VI [1798]).
12o: t.p., pp. [iii] iv–xii, [1] 2–130 [131–132].

ALM DISCOURS 1799

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ALM DISCOURS 1799A

Discours prononcé au Lycée Républicain par le citoyen Millin, le jour de son ouverture, le premier frimaire an 7, sur l'Archéologie (Paris: s.n., s.d. [1799]).
8o: pp. [1] 2–12.

ALM LETTRES 1799

Lettres de Gaspard d'Ansse de Villoison et de A.L. Millin, au C. Fauris Saint-Vincent; Sur des Médailles que le premier attribue à Vélia, dans la Lucanie, et que le second croit frappées par les Celtes, à l'imitation de celles de l'Elide (s.l.: [s.n.], [1799]).
8o: pp. [1] 2–15 [16] + 1 pl.

ALM MÉMOIRES 1799

Mémoires de la Société d'histoire naturelle de Paris (Paris: Baudouin, imprimeur du Corps législatif et de l'Institut national, prairial an VII [1799]).
4o: t.p., pp. [i] ii–xii, [1] 2–171 [172].

ALM NOTICE 1799A

Notice historique sur Joseph Hilaire Eckhel, Garde du cabinet des antiquités de Vienne (Paris: Baudouin, s.d. [1799]).
8o: t.p., pp. [3] 4–29 [30].
Title on p. 3 as above, with the following indication added: Lue à la Société philomathique de Paris par A.L.M.

ALM NOTICE 1799B

"Notice historique sur Joseph-Hilaire Eckhel, Garde du Cabinet d'Antiquités à Vienne, Lue à la Séance publique de Société Philomathique, le 30 nivose an 7; Par A.L. Millin", in: *Magasin encyclopédique*, année 5, vol. 2, 1799, pp. 458–79.

ALM NOTICE 1799C

Notice historique sur Joseph-Hilaire Eckhel, Garde du Cabinet d'Antiquités à Vienne, Lue à la Séance publique de Société Philomathique, le 30 nivose an 7; Par A.L. Millin (Paris: de l'imprimerie de Didot jeune, an VII [1799]).
8o: t.p., pp. [3] 4–23 [24].

ALM NOTICE 1799D

"Notice historique Sur Joseph-Hilaire Eckhel, garde du cabinet des antiquités de Vienne par A.L. Millin", in: *Rapport général des travaux de la Société philomathique de Paris, Depuis le 23 frimaire an VI jusqu'au 30 nivose an VII; par le citoyen Silvestre, secrétaire de cette société: suivi de l'éloge du Cen Bruguières, par le citoyen Cuvier, Et de celui d'Eckhel, Par le citoyen Millin* (Paris: Baudouin Imprimeur, Fuchs libraire, prairial an VII [1799]), pp. 135–61.

ALM REVIEW ABRÉGÉ 1799

"Abrégé de l'histoire de la Grèce, depuis son origine jusqu'à sa réduction en province romaine, 2 vols. (Paris: Bernard, an VII)", in: *Magasin encyclopédique*, année 4, vol. 6, 1799, pp. 58–68.

ALM REVIEW LEWIN 1799

"Analecta historica in Medicinam Ebraeorum Lewin (Halle: [s.n.], 1798)", in: *Magasin encyclopédique*, année 4, vol. 6, 1799, pp. 441–54.

ALM REVIEW MILLIN 1799A
"Antiquités nationales, cinquième volume (Paris: Drouhin, 1798)", in: *Magasin encyclopédique*, année 4, vol. 6, 1799, pp. 69–85.

ALM REVIEW MILLIN 1799B
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ALM REVIEW MILLIN 1799C
"Antiquités nationales, cinquième volume (Paris: Drouhin, 1798)", in: *Magasin encyclopédique*, année 4, vol. 6, 1799, pp. 469–76.

ALM REVIEW VOYAGE 1799
"Voyage à Constantinople, en Italie et aux îles de l'Archipel, par l'Allemagne et la Hongrie (Paris: Maradan, [s.d.])", in: *Magasin encyclopédique*, année 4, vol. 6, 1799, pp. 498–512.

ALM BAYARD 1800A
"Jean-Baptiste-François Bayard", in: *Magasin encyclopédique*, année 6, vol. 3, 1800, pp. 232–43.
(Millin added an anecdote, p. 243).

ALM BAYARD 1800B
Notice sur J. B. F. Bayard, avocat [par Soreau] *suivie d'une notice par Millin sur Lhéritier*.
(s.l. [Paris]: s.n. [au Magasin Encyclopédique], s.d. [1800]).
8°: t.p., pp. [3] 4–14.
Millin's contribution here = pp. 13–14.

ALM DESCRIPTION 1800A
"Description d'un camée du cabinet des Antiques de la Bibliothèque nationale", in: *Magasin encyclopédique*, année 6, vol. 2, 1800, pp. 7–27.

ALM DESCRIPTION 1800B
Description d'un camée Du Cabinet des Antiques de la Bibliothèque Nationale; par A.L. Millin (Paris: de l'imprimerie de Didot jeune, an VIII [1800]).
8°: f.t., t.p., pp. [5] 6–22 [23–24] + 1 pl.

ALM DISSERTATION 1800A
"Dissertation sur un disque d'argent du cabinet des antiques, connu sous le nom de Bouclier de Scipion", in: *Magasin encyclopédique*, année 6, vol. 4, 1800, pp. 289–324.

ALM DISSERTATION 1800B
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8°: t.p., pp. [1] 2–36 + 2 pll.

ALM ÉLÉMENS 1800
[Élémens d'histoire naturelle. Russian]
Nachal'nyia osnovaniia estestvennoi istorii […] *G. Millina; izdany dlia upotrebleniia v Universitetskom Blagorodnom Pansionie*; [*perevel s Frantsuzskago I.A. Dvigubskii*] (Vadimir: V Tipografii Gubernskago Pravleniia, 1800).
3 vols.

ALM EXTRAIT 1800
"Deuxième extrait, par A.L. Millin", in: *Recueil de poésies et de morceaux choisis de J. Delille, Contenant des pièces fugitives inédites et quelques fragmens du poëme de* l'Imagination, *et de celui du* malheur et de la Pitié, *avec plusieurs morceaux de* l'Homme des Champs, *qui avoient été supprimés par ordre du directoire; Précédé d'une notice historique sur l'auteur, et suivi des extraits raisonnés des* Georgiques françaises, *par Fontanes, Geoffroy, Ginguené, Millin, et d'autres littérateurs distingués* (Paris: chez Giguet et C^e^, an IX [1800]), pp. 168–195.

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"Lettre du C. A.L. Millin, sur quelques autels antiques, avec des inscriptions gauloises, trouvée à Saint-Beat, par le C. Lasteyrie", in: *Magasin encyclopédique*, année 6, vol. 3, 1800, pp. 433–42.

ALM LETTRE 1800B
Lettre de A.L. Millin, sur quelques autels antiques, Avec des inscriptions gauloises, trouvées à Saint-Béat, par le C. Lasteyrie (s.l. [Paris]: s.n., s.d. [1800]).
8°: f.t., pp. [3] 4–12 + 1 pl.

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"L'Homme des Champs, ou les Géorgiques françoises, par Jacques Delille (Strasbourg: imprimerie de Levrault, an VIII)", in: *Magasin encyclopédique*, année 6, vol. 3, 1800, pp. 51–65.

ALM REVIEW DELILLE 1800B
"L'Homme des Champs, ou les Géorgiques françoises, par Jacques Delille (Strasbourg: imprimerie de Levrault, an VIII)", in: *Magasin encyclopédique*, année 6, vol. 3, 1800, pp. 145–62.

ALM REVIEW HAGER 1800
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"Le potager, essai didactique, par J.B. Lalanne (Paris: chez les Marchands de Nouveautés, 1800)", in: *Magasin encyclopédique*, année 6, vol. 1, 1800, pp. 363–8.

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"Le siècle, satyre, par C.A.B. Pinière (Paris: chez Desenne, Laran, Vente, germinal an VIII)", in: *Magasin encyclopédique*, année 6, vol. 1, 1800, pp. 494–502.

ALM REVIEW SONINI 1800
"Voyage dans la Haute et Basse-Aegypte, par C.S. Sonini (Paris: Buisson, an VII)", in: *Magasin encyclopédique*, année 6, vol. 2, 1800, pp. 200–9.

ALM DICTIONNAIRE 1801
Dictionnaire portatif de la fable, Pour l'intelligence des Poètes, des tableaux, statues, pierres gravées, médailles, & autres monumens relatifs à la Mythologie; Par Chompré. Nouvelle édition, revue, corrigée, et considérablement augmentée; Par A.L. Millin. Tome premier [- *deuxième*] (Paris: de l'imprimerie de Crapelet, chez Desray, an IX [1801]).
8°, 2 t. in 1 vol.: f.t., t.p., pp. [v] vi–xii, [1] 2–448; f.t., pp. [449] 450–990.

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8°: f.t., pp. [3] 4–7 [8].

ALM EXPLICATION 1801C
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ALM EXPLICATION 1801D
Explication d'une inscription du fils d'Eporedirix, trouvée à Bourbon-Lancy (s.l. [Paris]: s.n., s.d. [1801]).
8°: f.t., pp. [3] 4–16; woodcut

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"Sur la Mosaique", in: *Magasin encyclopédique*, année 6, vol. 6, 1801, pp. 145–59.

ALM OBSERVATIONS 1801
"Observations du C. A.L. Millin, sur les Métamorphoses d'Ovide du C. Saint-Ange", in: *Magasin encyclopédique*, année 7, vol. 2, 1801, pp. 195–201.

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"Réponse de J.B. Gail à la critique de son traité de la chasse, par E. Clavier (Paris: Fuchs, [s.d.])", in: *Magasin encyclopédique*, année 7, vol. 4, 1801, pp. 561–3.

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ALM REVIEW LENOIR 1801
"Musée des Monumens français, ou Description historique […] (Paris: Lenoir, Guyot, Levrault, an IX)", in: *Magasin encyclopédique*, année 6, vol. 6, 1801, pp. 76–86.

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"Lettera su due monumenti ne quali e memoria d'Antonia Augusta […] (Roma: Fulgoni, an VII)", in: *Magasin encyclopédique*, année 7, vol. 3, 1801, pp. 207–12.

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"Beitraege zur Geschichte der Medicin, herausgegeben von Kurt Sprengel (Halle: chez Renger, 1794–1796)", in: *Magasin encyclopédique*, année 6, vol. 5, 1801, pp. 195–201.

ALM ÉLÉMENTS 1802

Éléments d'histoire naturelle, ouvrage Couronné par le jury des Livres élémentaires, et adopté par le Corps Législatif, pour les Écoles nationales; par A.L. Millin […] *Troisième édition, Revue et corrigée d'après les meilleures méthodes qui ont paru depuis la première publication de l'Ouvrage, et considérablement augmentée; enrichie de 22 planches contenant plus de 600 figures* (Paris: Léger, an X [1802]).

8°: f.t., t.p., pp. [v] vi–xvi [xvii] xviii–xxii [xxiii] xxiv–xxxix [xl], [1] 2–680 [681–682] + 22 pll.

ALM MONUMENS 1802A

Monumens françois, Tels que Tombeaux, Inscriptions, Statues, Vitraux, Mosaïques, Fresques, etc.; tirés des Abbayes, Monastères, Châteaux et autres lieux, Par Aubin-Louis Millin, […] *Tome premier* [-*cinquième*] (Paris: chez Calixte Volland, an XI = 1802).

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ALM MONUMENS 1802B

Monumens françois, Tels que Tombeaux, Inscriptions, Statues, Vitraux, Mosaïques, Fresques, etc.; tirés des Abbayes, Monastères, Châteaux et autres lieux, Par Aubin-Louis Millin, […] *Tome premier* [-*cinquième*] (Paris: chez Calixte Volland, an XI = 1802).

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ALM MONUMENS 1802C

Monumens antiques, inédits ou nouvellement expliqués. Collection de statues, bas-reliefs, bustes, peintures, mosaïques, gravures, vases, inscriptions, médailles, et instrumens tirés des collections nationales et particulières, et accompagnés d'un texte explicatif; Par A.-L. Millin, […] *Tome premier* [– *second*] (Paris: Chez Laroche, de l'imprimerie de Didot jeune [– de l'imprimerie impériale], imprimé par les soins de J.J. Marcel, directeur de l'Imprimerie de la République 1802–6).

4°, 2 vols.: vol. 1: f.t., t.p., pp. [v–vii] viii, [1] 2–428 + 40 pll.; vol. 2: f.t., t.p., [*2*] [1] 2–385 [386] + 52 pll.

ALM REVIEW AKERBLAD 1802A

"Lettre sur l'inscription aegyptienne de Rosette, adressée au C. Silvestre de Sacy par J. D. Akerblad (Paris: Treuttel & Würtz, an X [1802])", in: *Magasin encyclopédique*, année 8, vol. 3, 1802, pp. 141–4.

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ALM REVIEW ANNALES 1802A
"Annales du Museum national d'histoire naturelle, 2e et 3e cahiers ([s.l.]: [s.n.], [s.d.]", in: *Magasin encyclopédique*, année 8, vol. 4, 1802, pp. 412–15.

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"Annales du Museum national d'histoire naturelle (Paris: Levrault, an XI [1802])", in: *Magasin encyclopédique*, année 8, vol. 4, 1802, pp. 539–42.

ALM REVIEW ATHENOR 1802
"Athenor, Ein Gedicht (Francfort et Leipzig: [s.n.], 1802)", in: *Magasin encyclopédique*, année 8, vol. 4, 1802, pp. 561–2.

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ALM REVIEW BARTHÉLEMY 1802
"Voyage en Italie de M. l'abbé Barthélemy (Paris: Buisson, an X [1801])", in: *Magasin encyclopédique*, année 7, vol. 5, 1802, pp. 7–16.

ALM REVIEW BOINVILLIERS 1802
"Apollinum opus in gratiam alumnorum a musis collectum par J.S.J.E. Boinvilliers (Paris: Hocquart, an X [1801])", in: *Magasin encyclopédique*, année 8, vol. 2, 1802, p. 566.

ALM REVIEW BRISSEAU 1802
"Traité d'anatomie et de physiologies végétales par C.F. Brisseau-Mirebel (Paris: Dufart, an X [1802])", in: *Magasin encyclopédique*, année 8, vol. 4, 1802, pp. 418–19.

ALM REVIEW CAILHAVA 1802
"Etudes sur Molière par Cailhava (Paris: Hacquart, an X [1802])", in: *Magasin encyclopédique*, année 8, vol. 3, 1802, pp. 134–6.

ALM REVIEW CARTIER 1802
"Précis d'observations de chirurgie faites à l'Hôtel-Dieu de Lyon par L.V. Cartier (Lyon: Reymann, an XI [1802])", in: *Magasin encyclopédique*, année 8, vol. 4, 1802, p. 265.

ALM REVIEW CICERON 1802
"Oraison de Cicéron pour Marcellus, traduit par C.B. (Paris: Gougeon, an X [1802])", in: *Magasin encyclopédique*, année 8, vol. 4, 1802, p. 558.

ALM REVIEW COCATRIX 1802
"Correspondance des amateurs musiciens par Cocatrix ([s.l.]: [s.n.], [s.d.])", in: *Magasin encyclopédique*, année 8, vol. 4, 1802, pp. 563–5.

ALM REVIEW DARU 1802
"Satyres d'Horace traduites par Pierre Daru (Paris: Parisot, an X [1801])", in: *Magasin encyclopédique*, année 8, vol. 4, 1802, pp. 478–86.

ALM REVIEW DAUBENTON 1802
"Instruction pour les Bergers et pour les Propriétaires de troupeaux, avec d'autres ouvrages sur les moutons et sur les laines par Daubenton et J. B. Huzard 3ème éd. (Paris: Impr. de la République, an X)", in: *Magasin encyclopédique*, année 8, vol. 2, 1802, pp. 549–50.

ALM REVIEW DUBOIS 1802
"Notice historique et littéraire sur Valazé, membre de la Convention nationale, condamné à mort par le tribunal révolutionnaire, le 11 brumaire an II par Louis Dubois (Paris: Goujon fils, an XI [1802])", in: *Magasin encyclopédique*, année 8, vol. 4, 1802, pp. 277–8.

ALM REVIEW DUMONT-COURSET 1802
"Le Botaniste cultivateur par Dumont-Courset (Paris: J.J. Fuchs, an X), 4 vols.", in: *Magasin encyclopédique*, année 8, vol. 2, 1802, pp. 119–20.

ALM REVIEW ECK 1802
"Ad loc. Cicer. de off. 11, 13 de modestia dissertatiuncula creationi XIII par Georg Eck (Leipzig: [s.n.], 1796)", in: *Magasin encyclopédique*, année 8, vol. 2, 1802, pp. 553–4.

ALM REVIEW FACIUS 1802
"Ueber die Sage: dass Archimedes die Roemische Flotte vor Syrakus durch Brennspiegel in Brand gestekt habe; eine Einladungsschrift zur Feier des Stiftungstages des Casimirianischen Academischen Gymnasiums am 3. Juli 1801 par Johann Friedrich Facius (Coburg: Ahl,

1801)", in: *Magasin encyclopédique*, année 8, vol. 2, 1802, pp. 534–6.

ALM REVIEW F.E.T.M.D.L.I.N. 1802
"Manuel du Museum français, avec une description analytique et raisonnée de chaque tableau, figuré au trait par une gravure à l'eau-forte; tous classés par écoles et par œuvre des grands-maîtres par F.E.T.M.D.L.I.N (Paris: Treuttel & Würtz, [s.d.])", in: *Magasin encyclopédique*, année 8, vol. 2, 1802, pp. 430–2.

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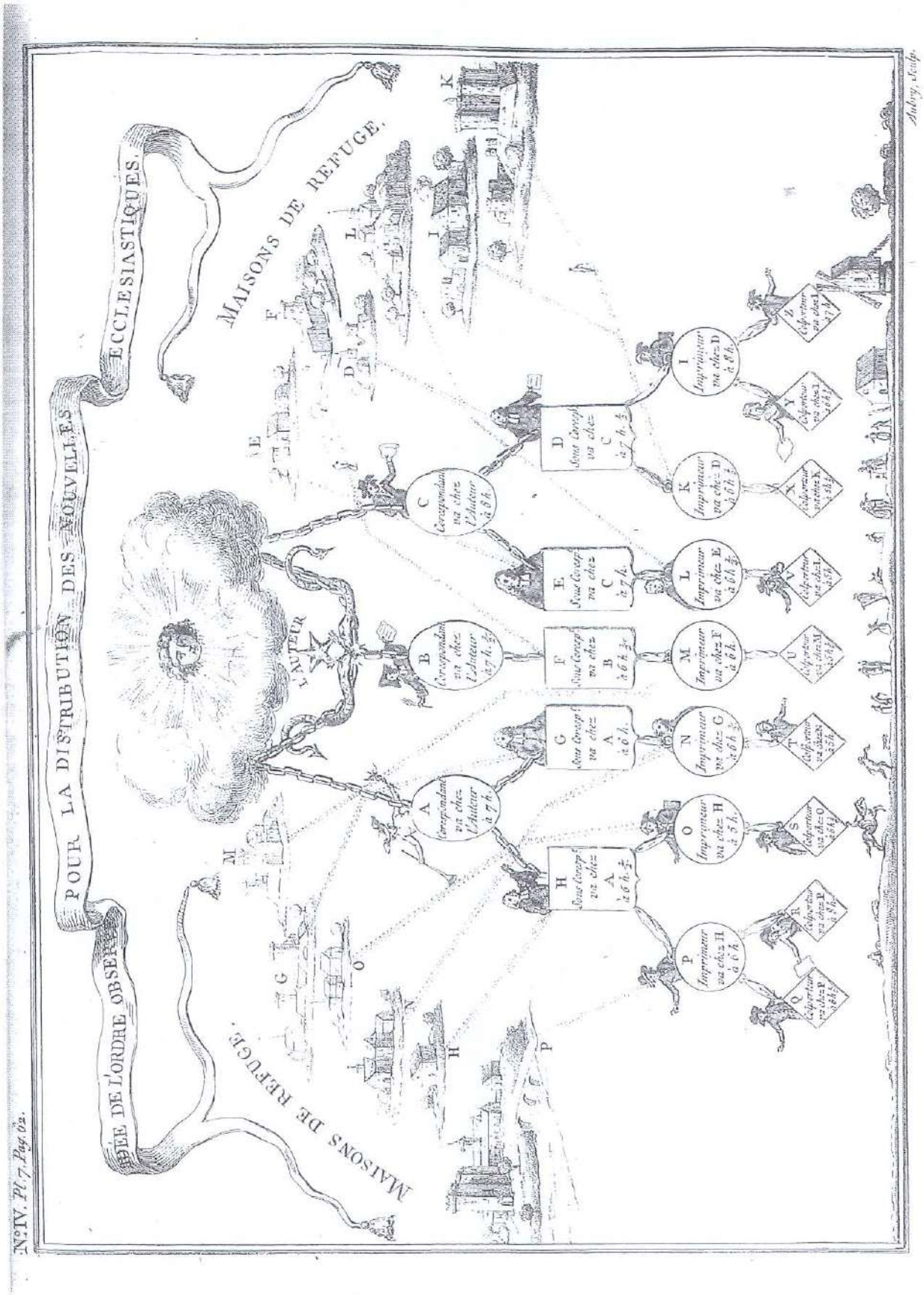
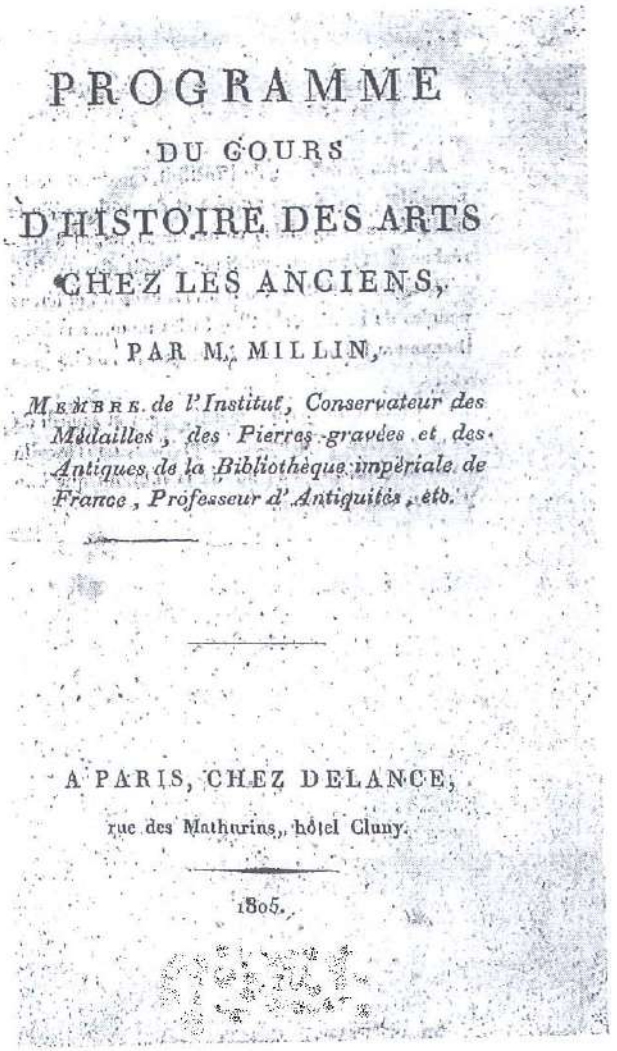
Ill. 1 Mauduit d'après Fleury Richard, 'La duchesse de Montmorenci', oil on canvas, 64 x 97 cm, whereabouts unknown.



Ill. 2 'Idée de l'ordre observé pour la distribution des Nouvelles ecclésiastiques', Aubry sc., in: *Antiquités nationales*, vol. 1 (1790), art. IV, Le couvent des Jacobins de la rue St.-Honoré, plate 7.

Ill. 3 Portrait engraving of Aubin-Louis Millin.

Ill. 4 Portrait engraving of Aubin-Louis Millin.



PROGRAMME

DU COURS

D'HISTOIRE DES ARTS

CHEZ LES ANCIENS,

PAR M. MILLIN,

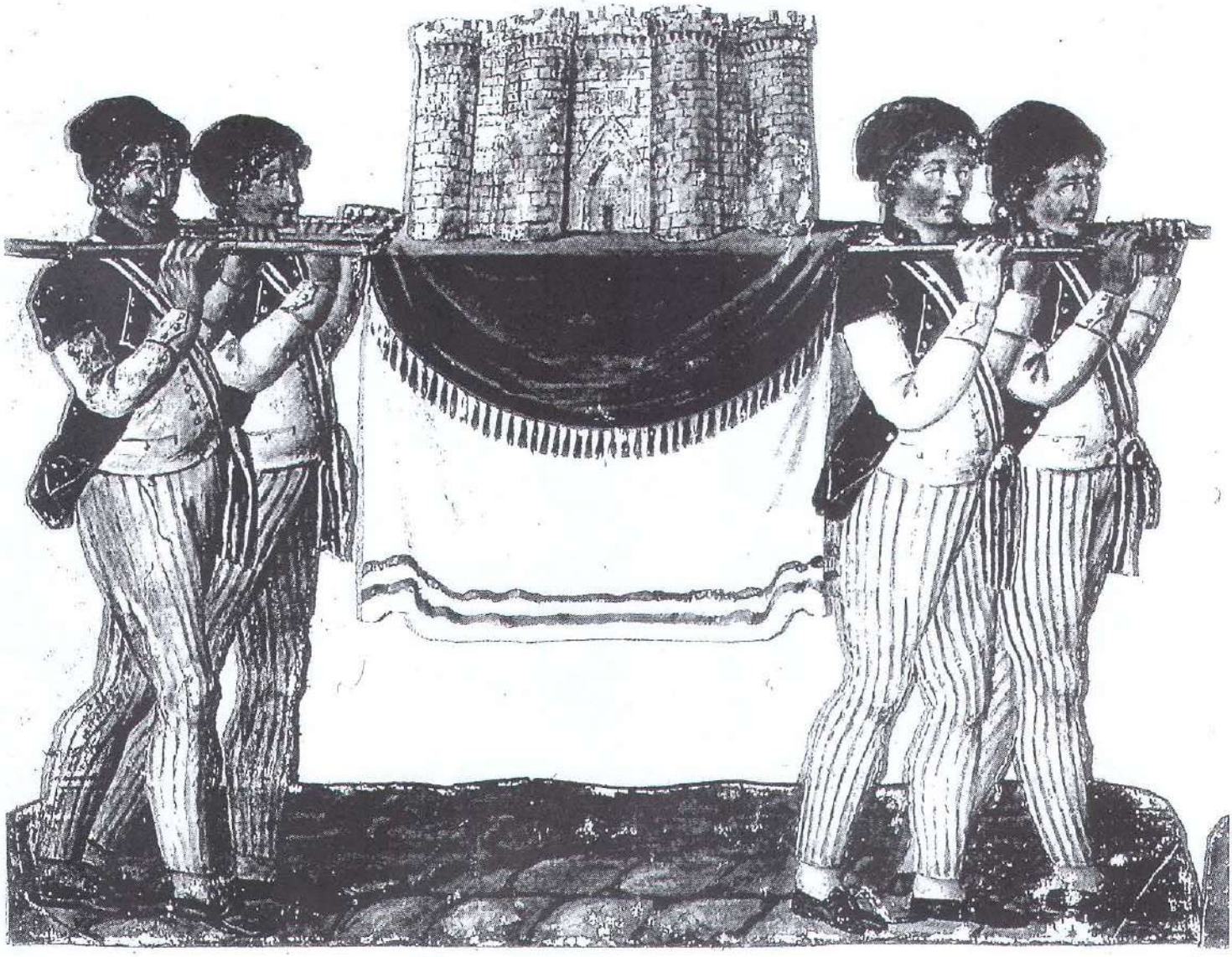
Membre de l'Institut, Conservateur des Médailles, des Pierres gravées et des Antiques de la Bibliothèque impériale de France, Professeur d'Antiquités, etc.

A PARIS, CHEZ DELANCE,

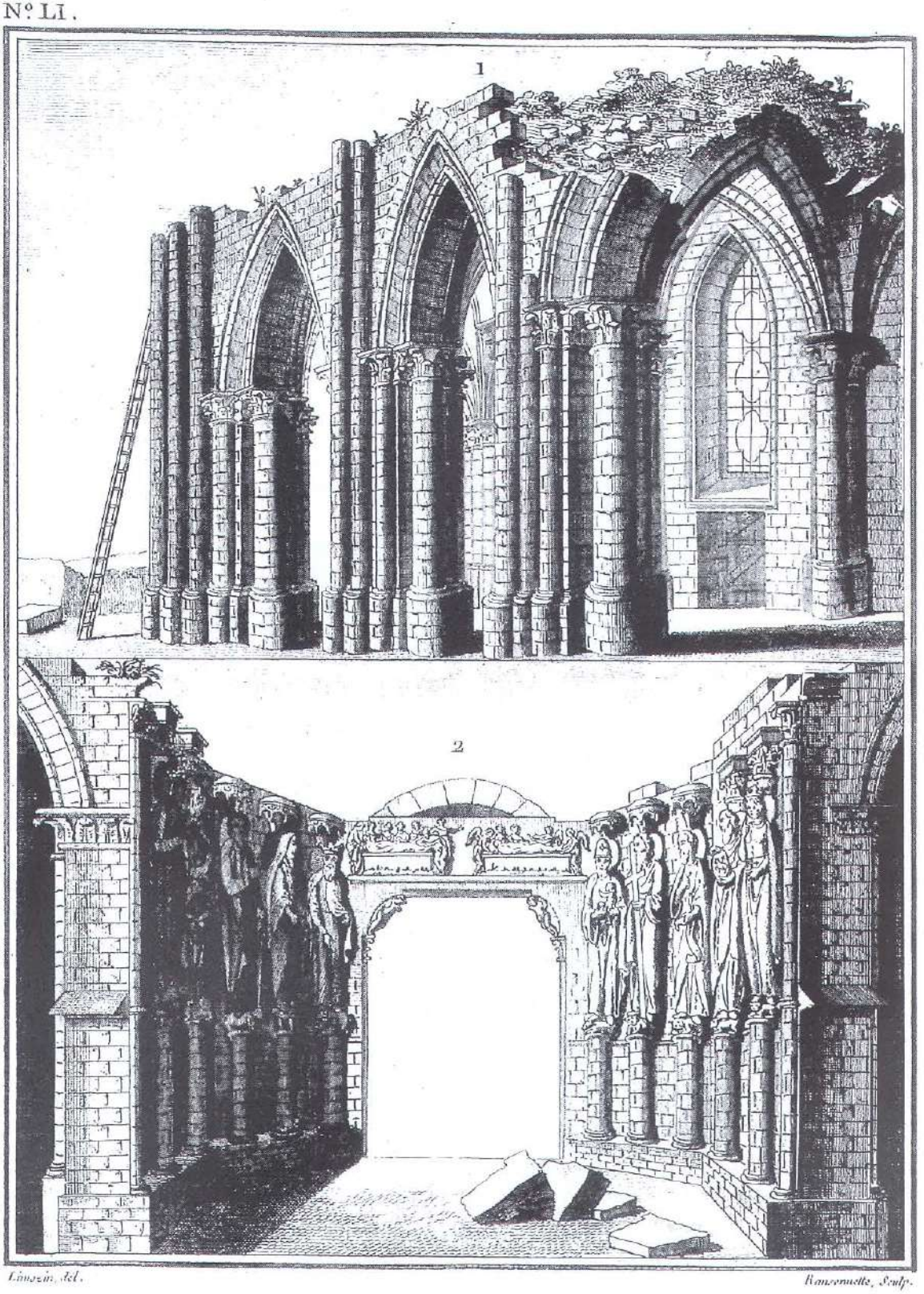
rue des Mathurins, hôtel Cluny.

1805.

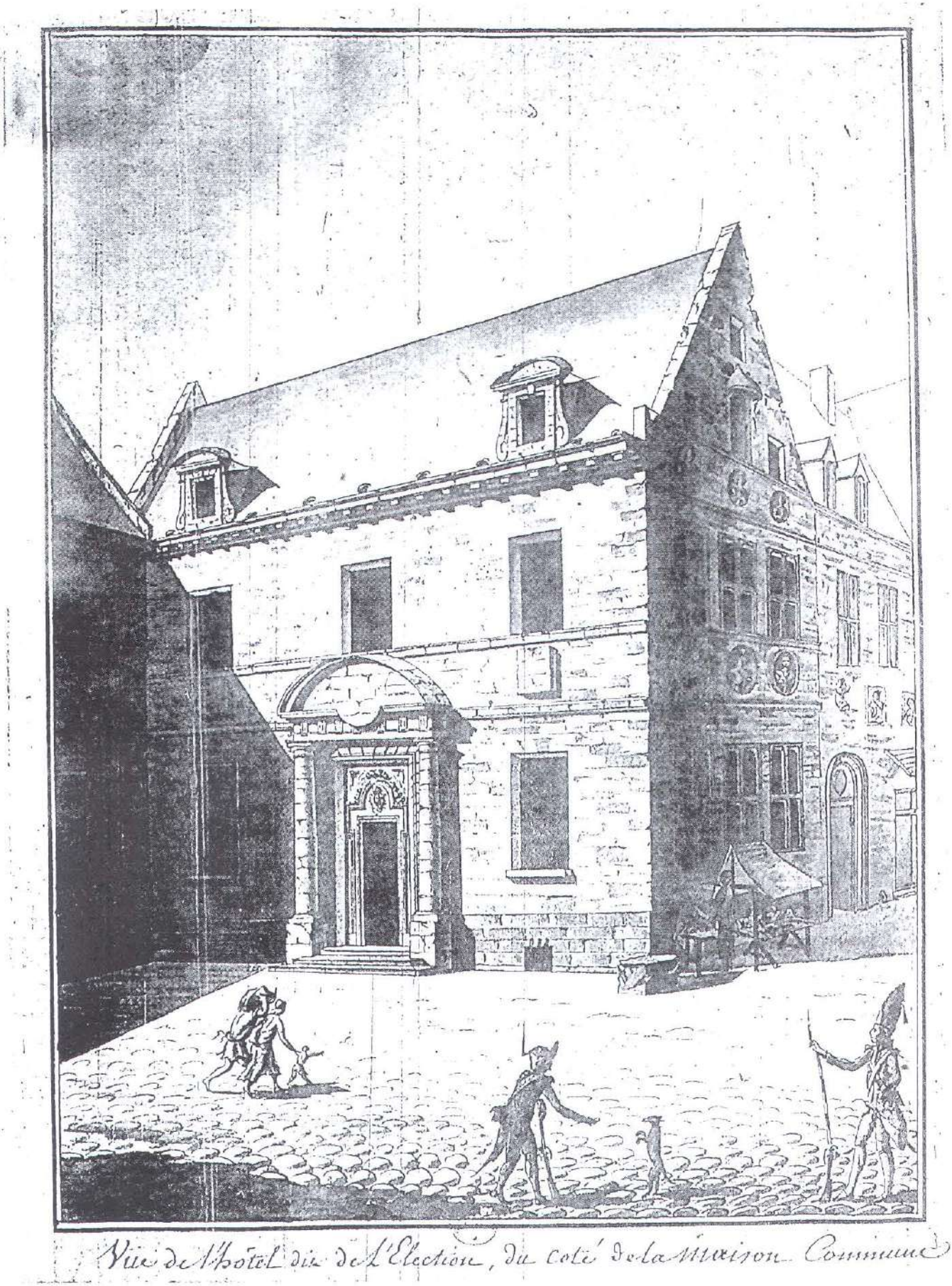
Ill. 5 Title page of Aubin-Louis Millin, *Programme du cours d'histoire de l'art chez les anciens* (1805).



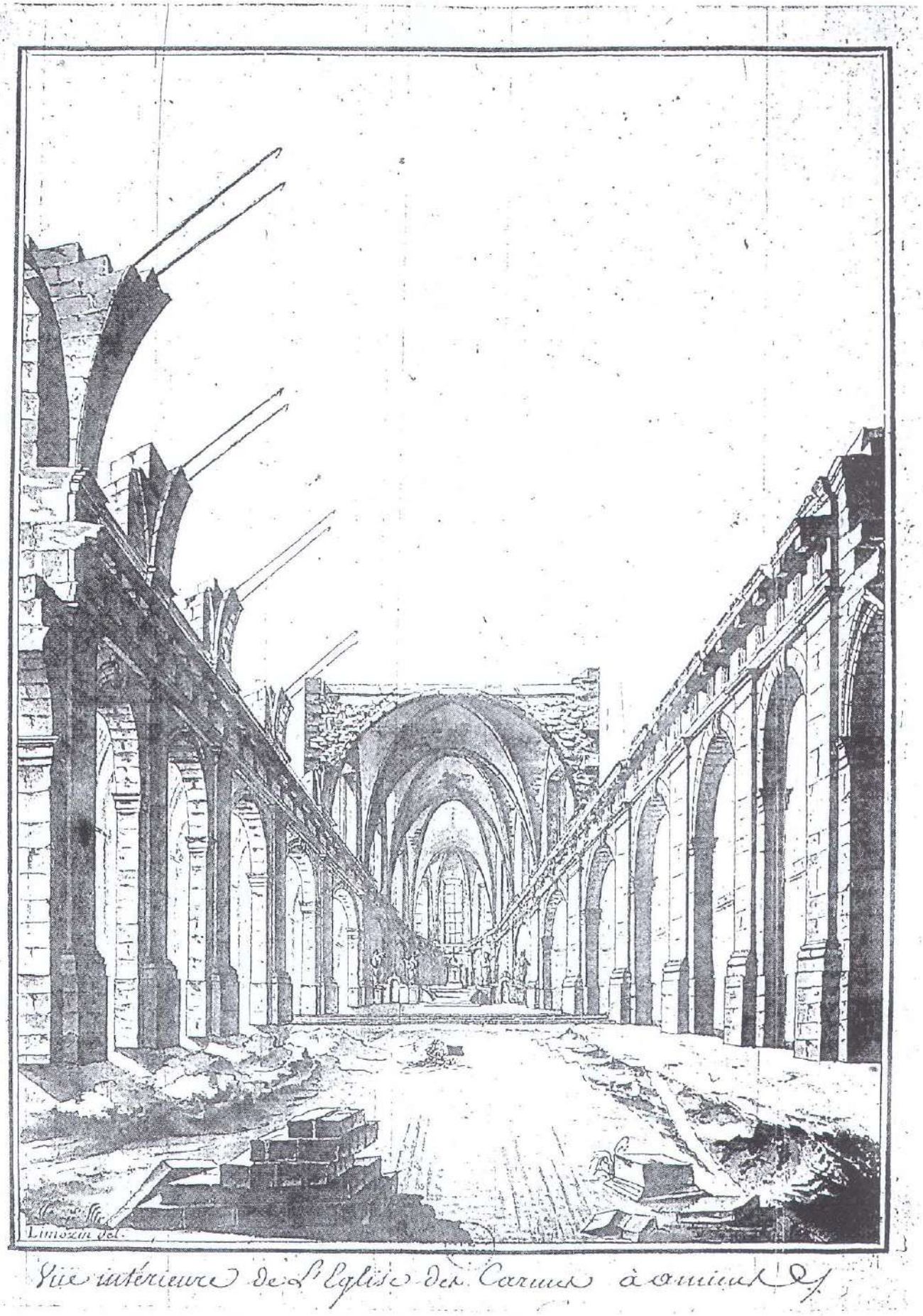
Ill. 6 'Modèle de la Bastille', gouache by Le Sueur, Musée Carnavalet, Paris.



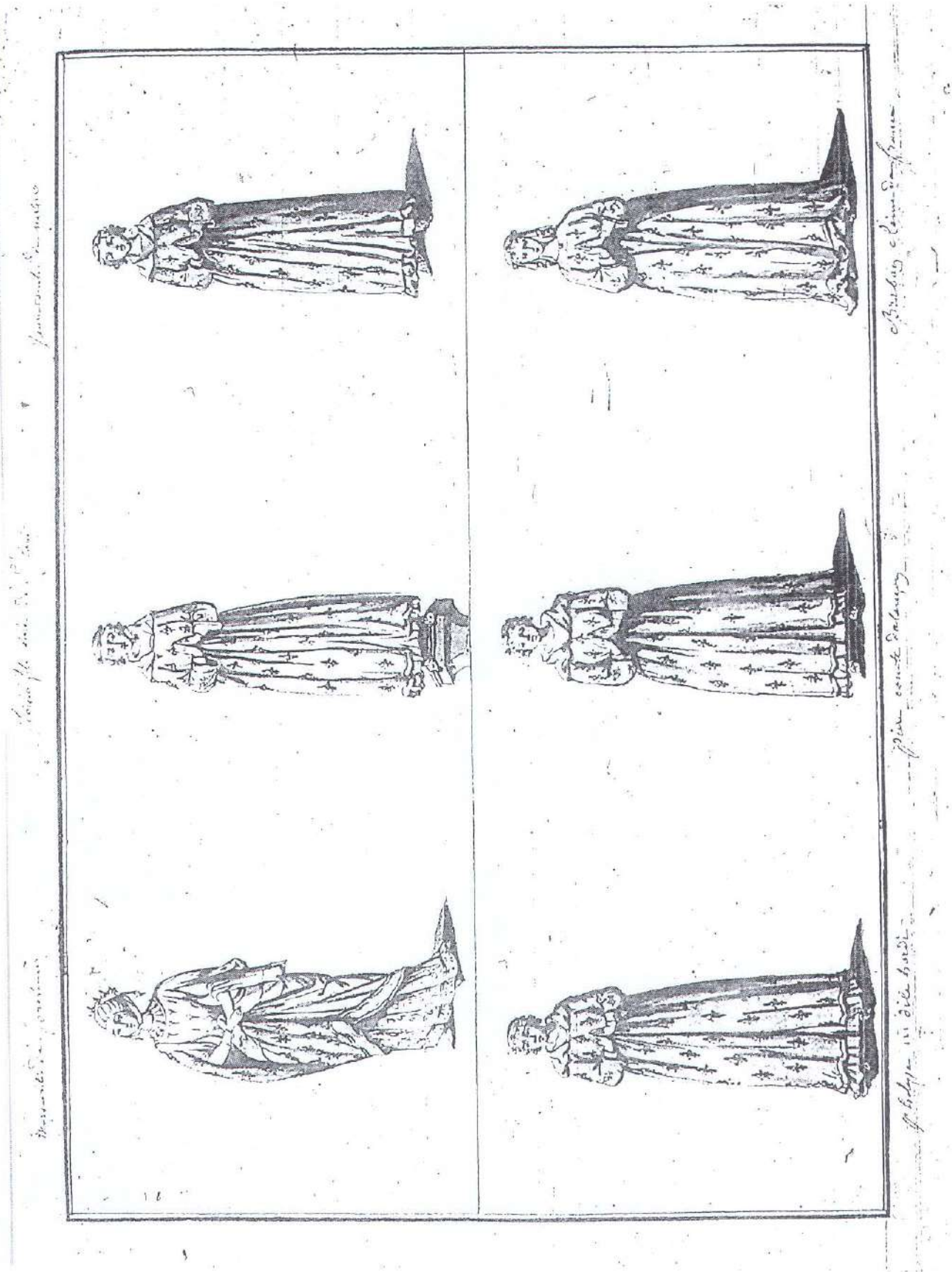
Ill. 7 'Le Portail', Limosin del., Ransonnette sc., in: *Antiquités nationales*, vol. 5 (1798), art. LI, Collégiale Saint-Nicolas à Amiens, plate 1.



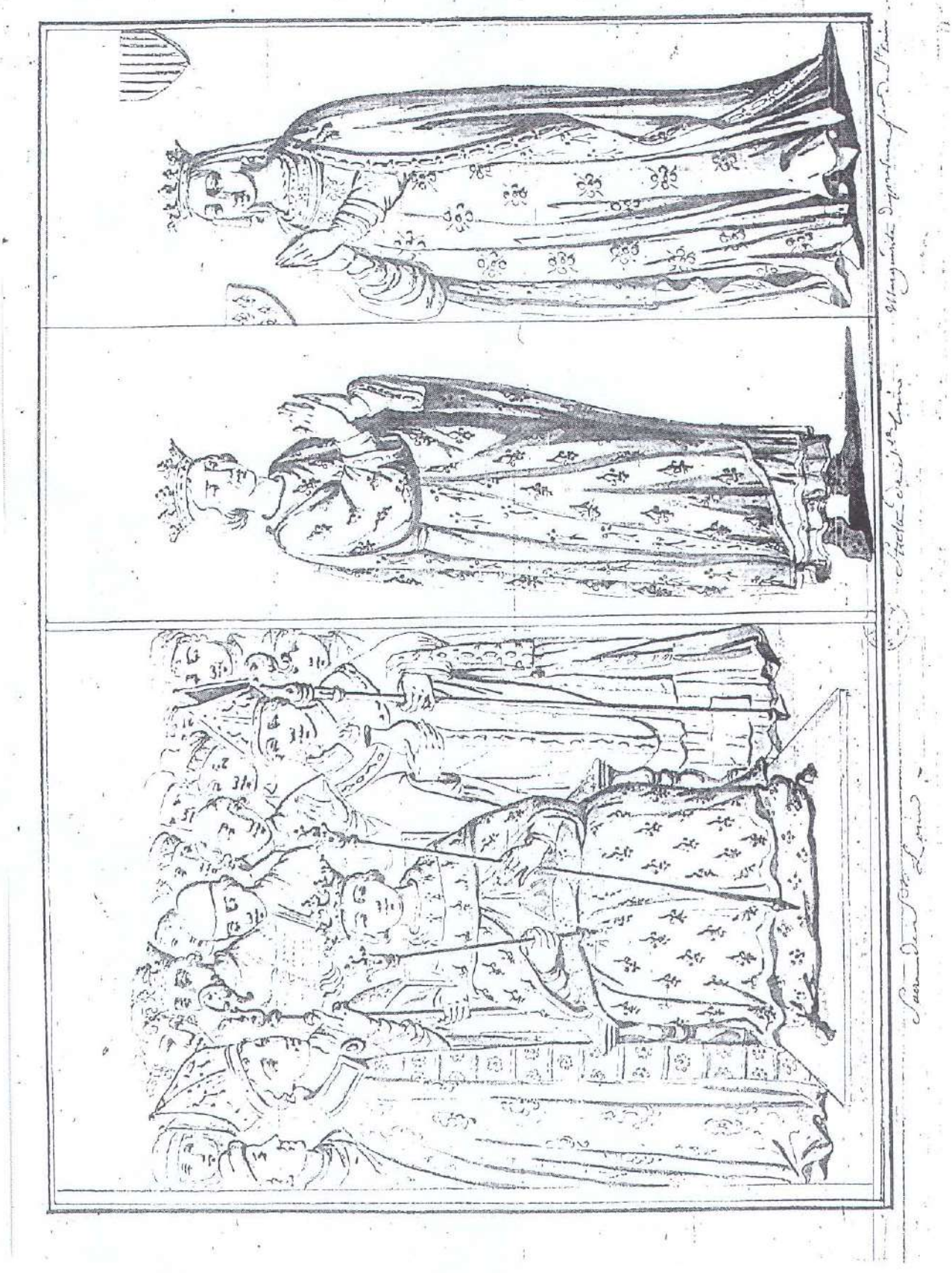
Ill. 8 Limosin, 'Vüe de l'hôtel dit de l'Election, du coté de la Maison Commune', drawing with watercolour, 1792, Paris, BNF, Cabinet des estampes, Ve 26i, D 1082.



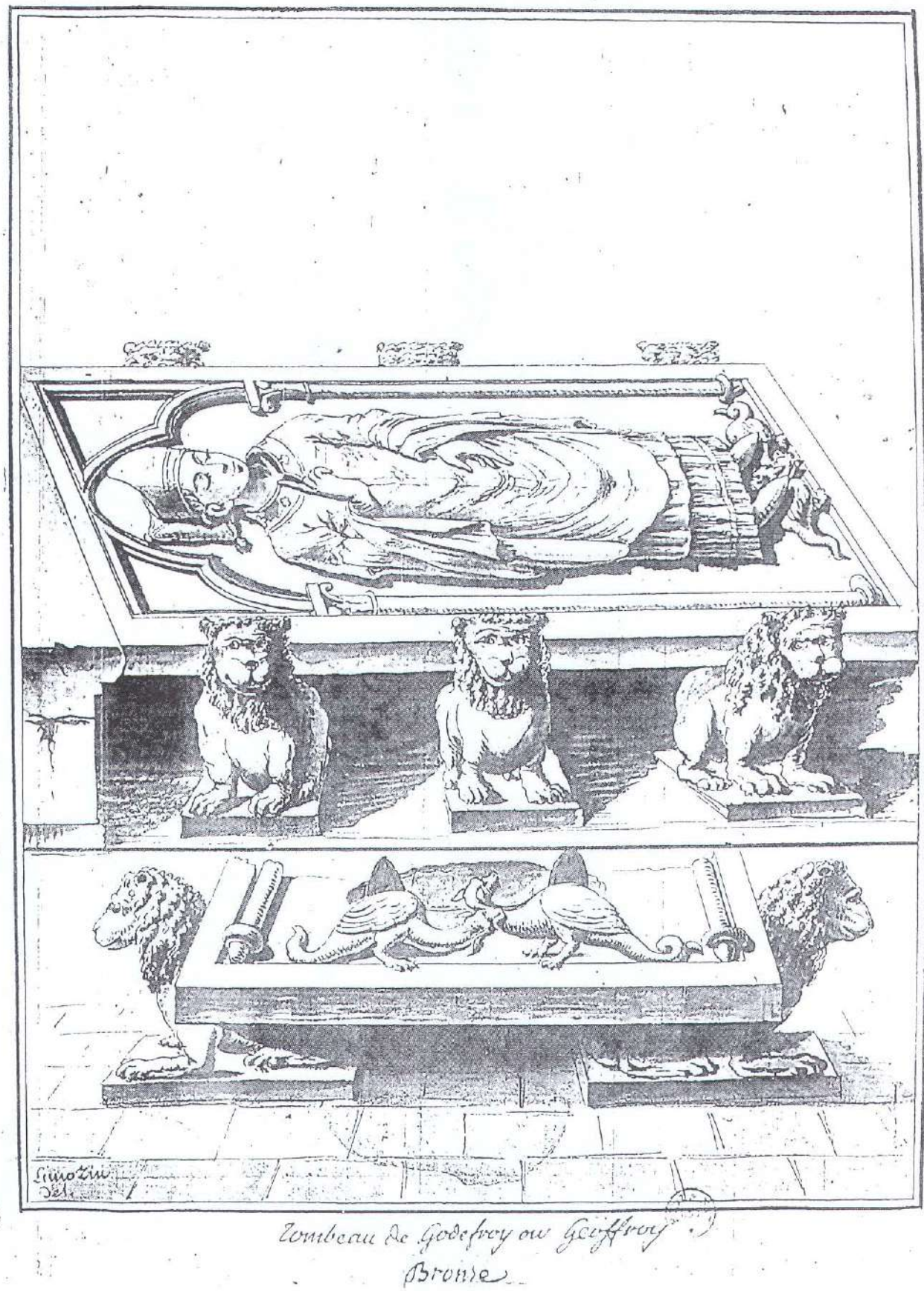
Ill. 9 Limosin, 'Vüe intérieure de l'Eglise des Carmes à Amiens', drawing with China ink wash, s.d., Paris, BNF, Cabinet des estampes, Ve 26i, D 1103.



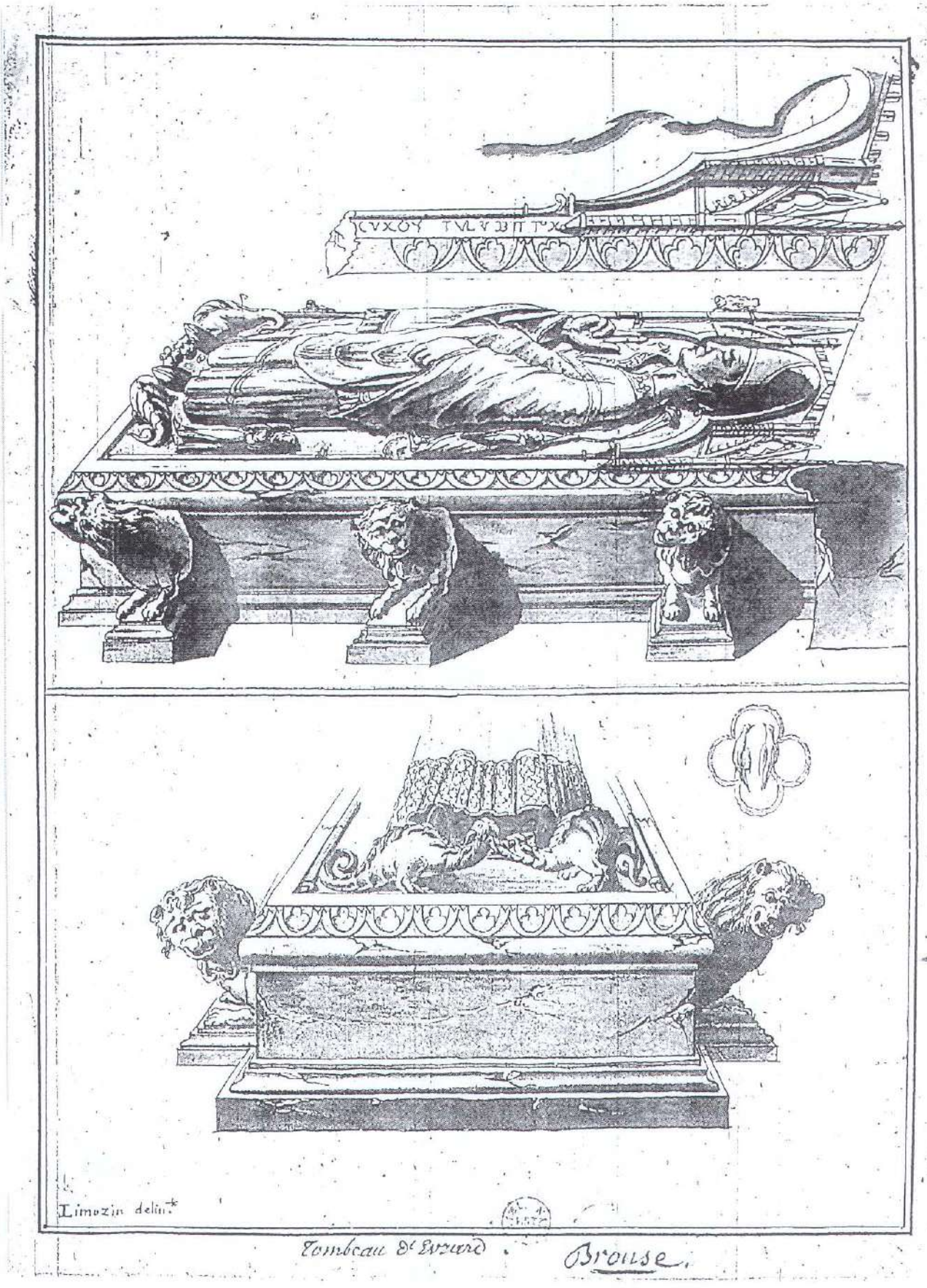
Ill. 10 Limosin [?], 'Monuments, Cathédrale d'Amiens', Limosin del. [?], pen and China ink drawing, s.d., Paris, BNF, Cabinet des estampes, Ve 26i, D 1104.



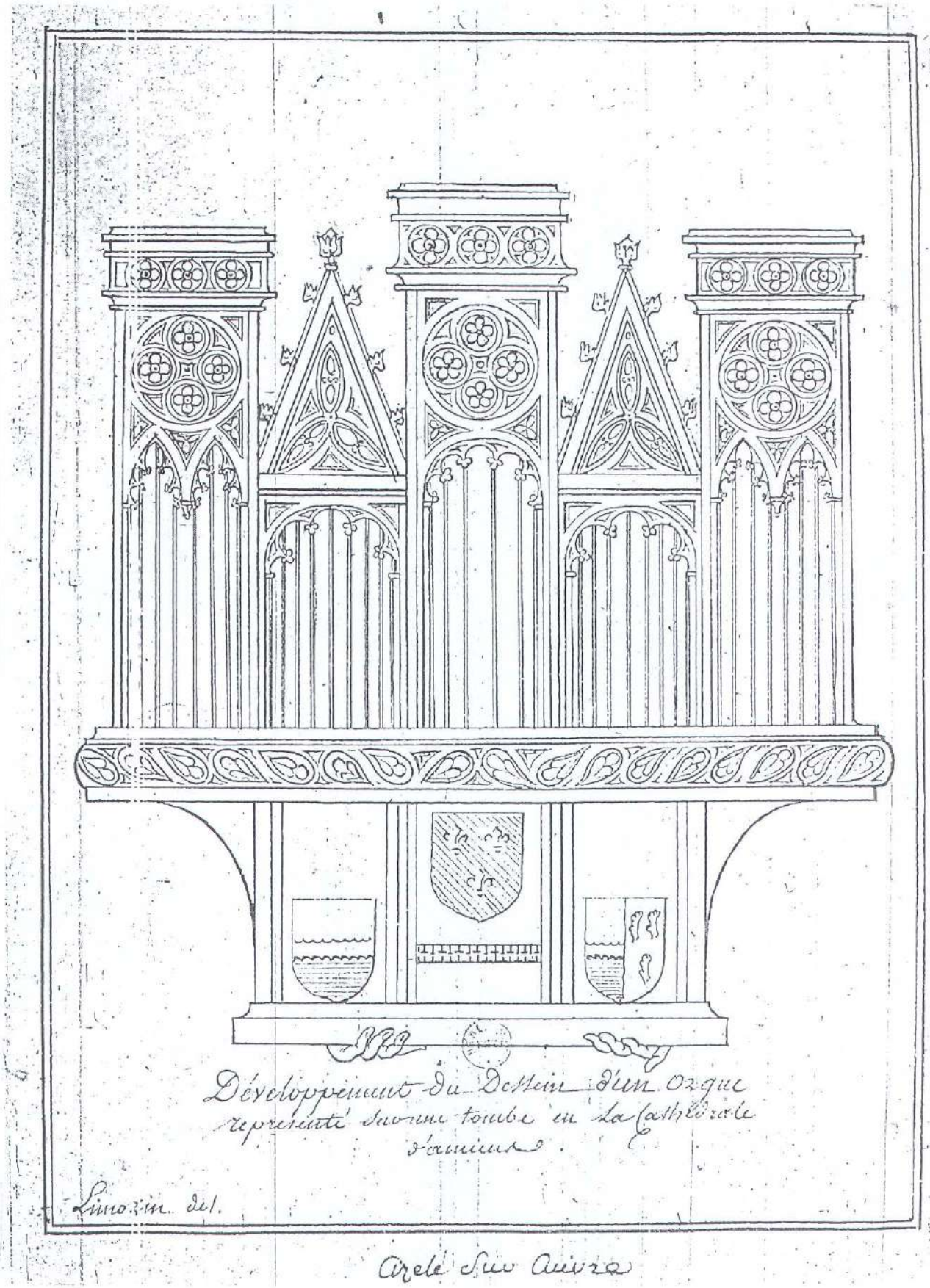
Ill. 11 Anon., 'Monuments, Cathédrale d'Amiens', pen and China ink drawing, s.d., Paris, BNF, Cabinet des estampes, Ve 26i, D 1105.



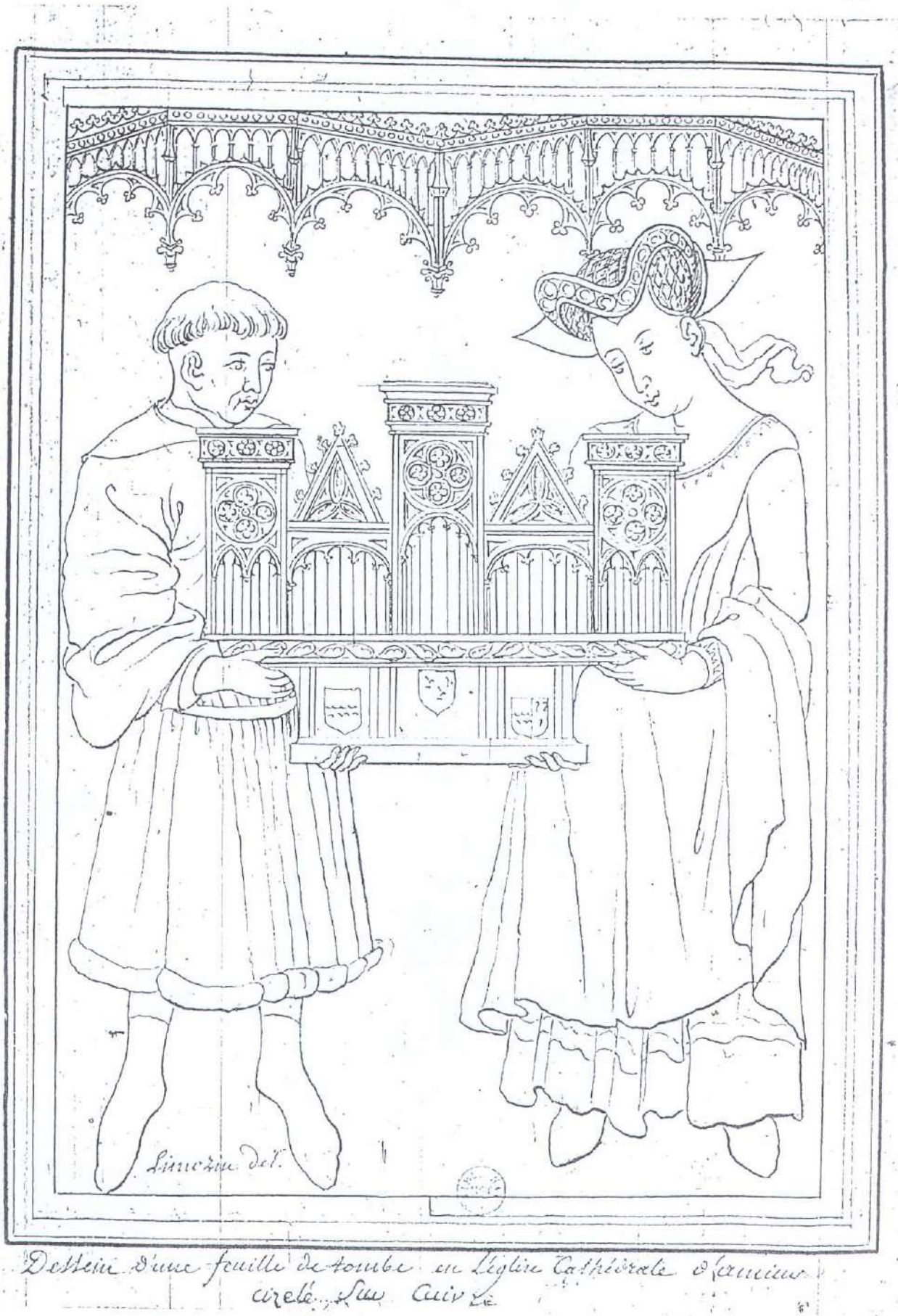
Ill. 12 Limosin, 'Tombeau de Godefroy ou Geoffroy, bronze', drawing with China ink wash, s.d., Paris, BNF, Cabinet des estampes, Ve 26i, D 1106.



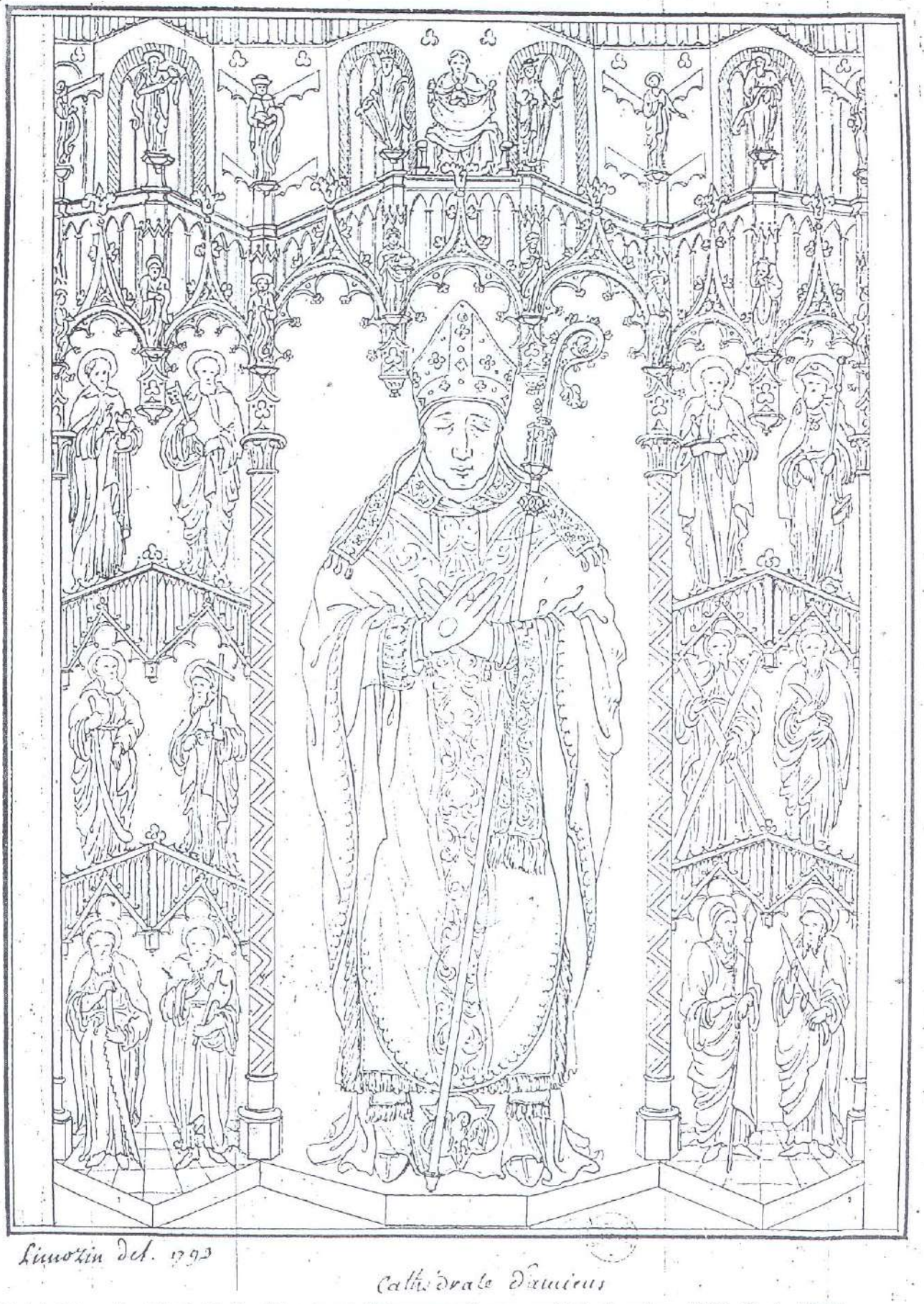
Ill. 13 Limosin, 'Tombeau d'Evrard, bronse' [sic], drawing with China ink wash, s.d., Paris, BNF, Cabinet des estampes, Ve 26i, D 1107.



Ill. 14 Limosin, 'Développement du Dessein d'un orgue representé sur une tombe en la cathédrale d'Amiens, ciselé sur cuivre', pen and China ink drawing, s.d., Paris, BNF, Cabinet des estampes, Ve 26i, D 1109.

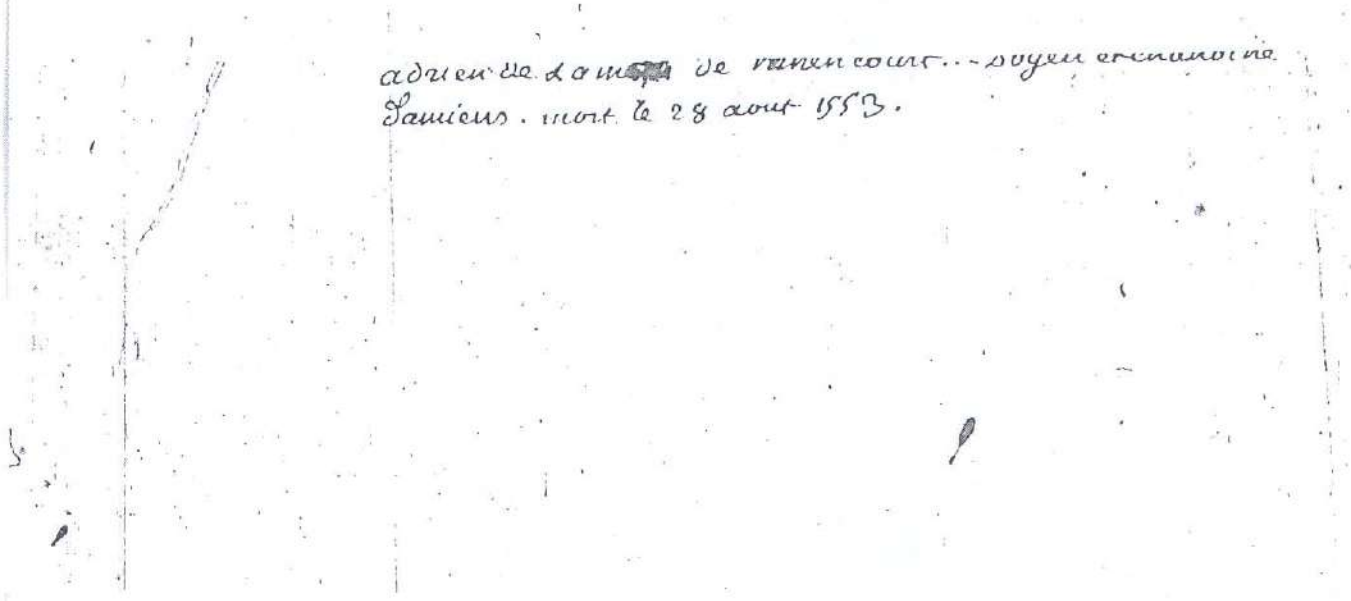


Ill. 15 Limosin, 'Dessein d'une feuille de tombe en l'eglise cathédrale d'Amiens ciselé sur cuivre', pen and China ink drawing, s.d., Paris, BNF, Cabinet des estampes, Ve 26i, D 1110.

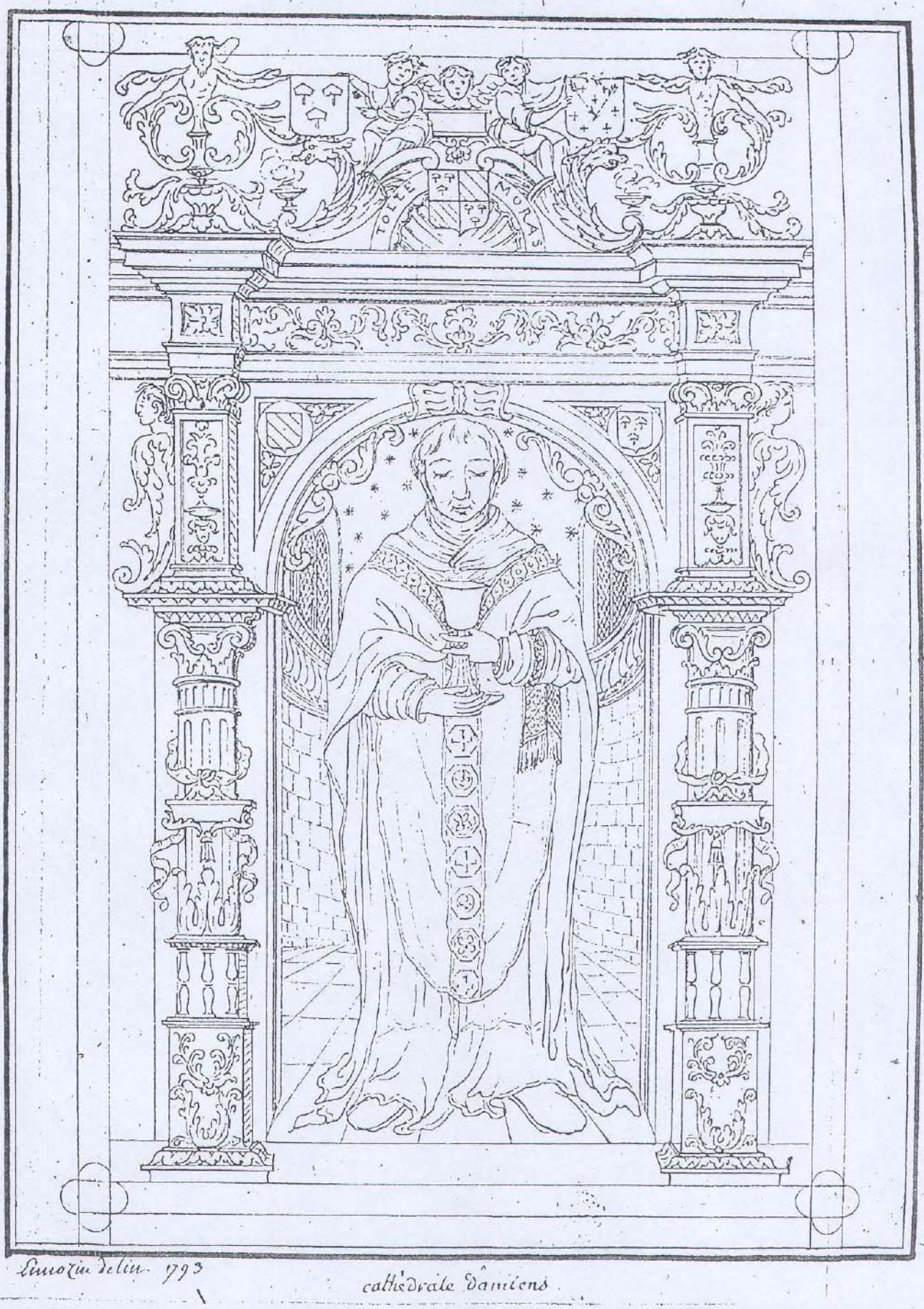


Ill. 16 Limosin, 'Cathédrale d'Amiens' [Monument], pen and ink drawing, 1793, Paris, BNF, Cabinet des estampes, Ve 26i, D 1111.

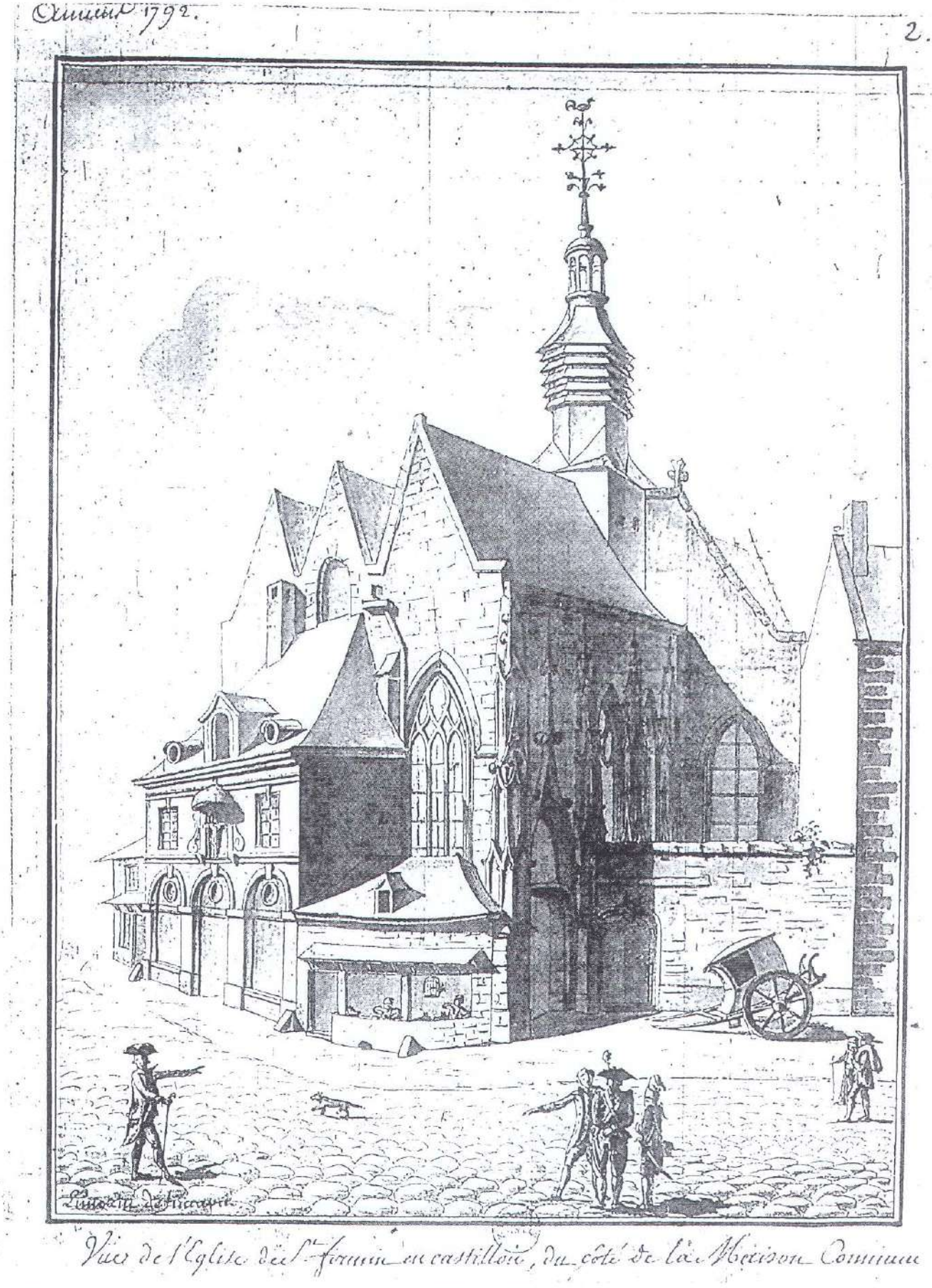
Ill. 17 Limosin, 'Cathédrale d'Amiens' [Monument], pen and ink drawing, 1793, Paris, BNF, Cabinet des estampes, Ve 26i, D 1112.



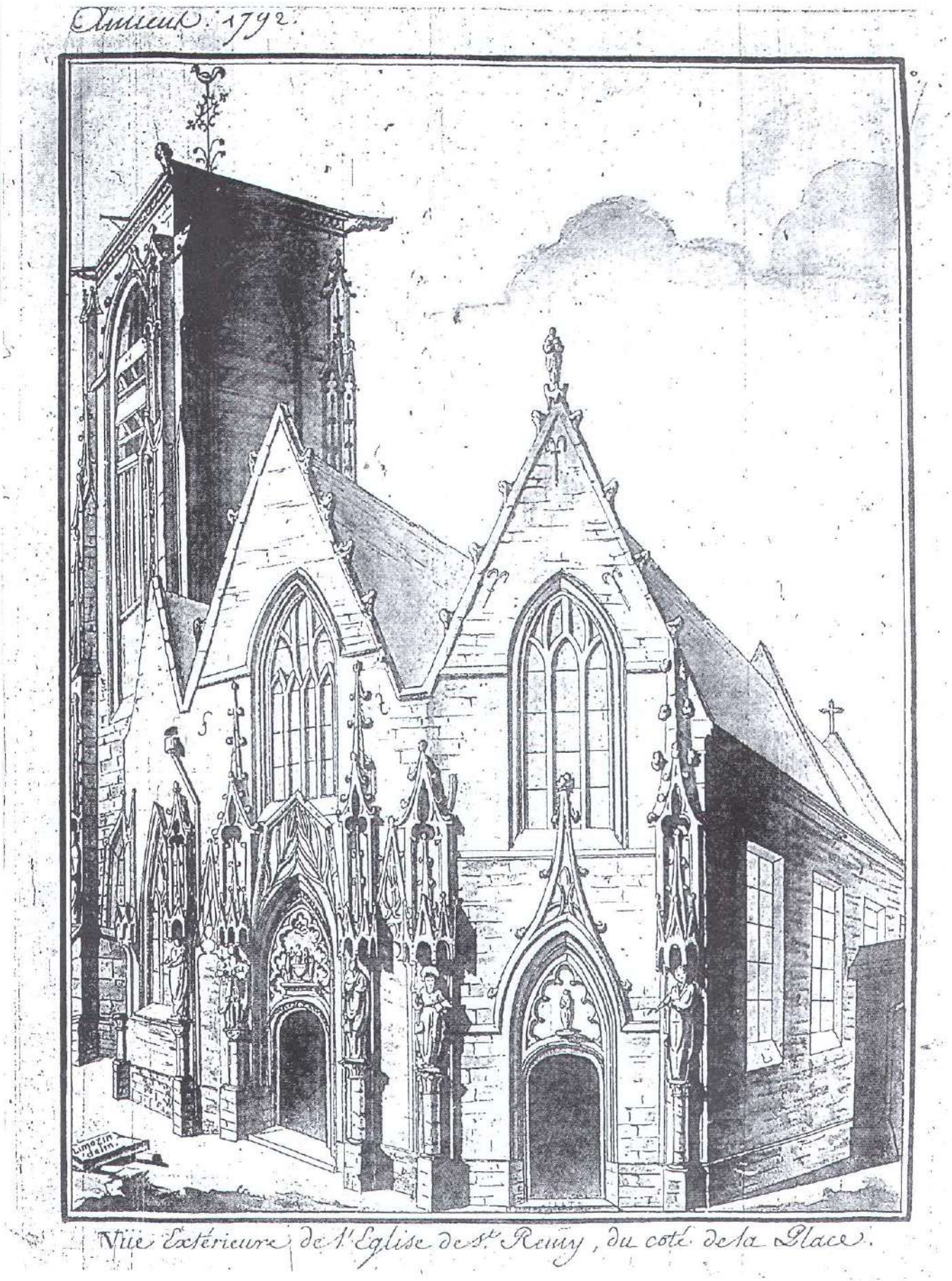
Ill. 18 Verso of D 1112, with manuscript annotation by Millin.



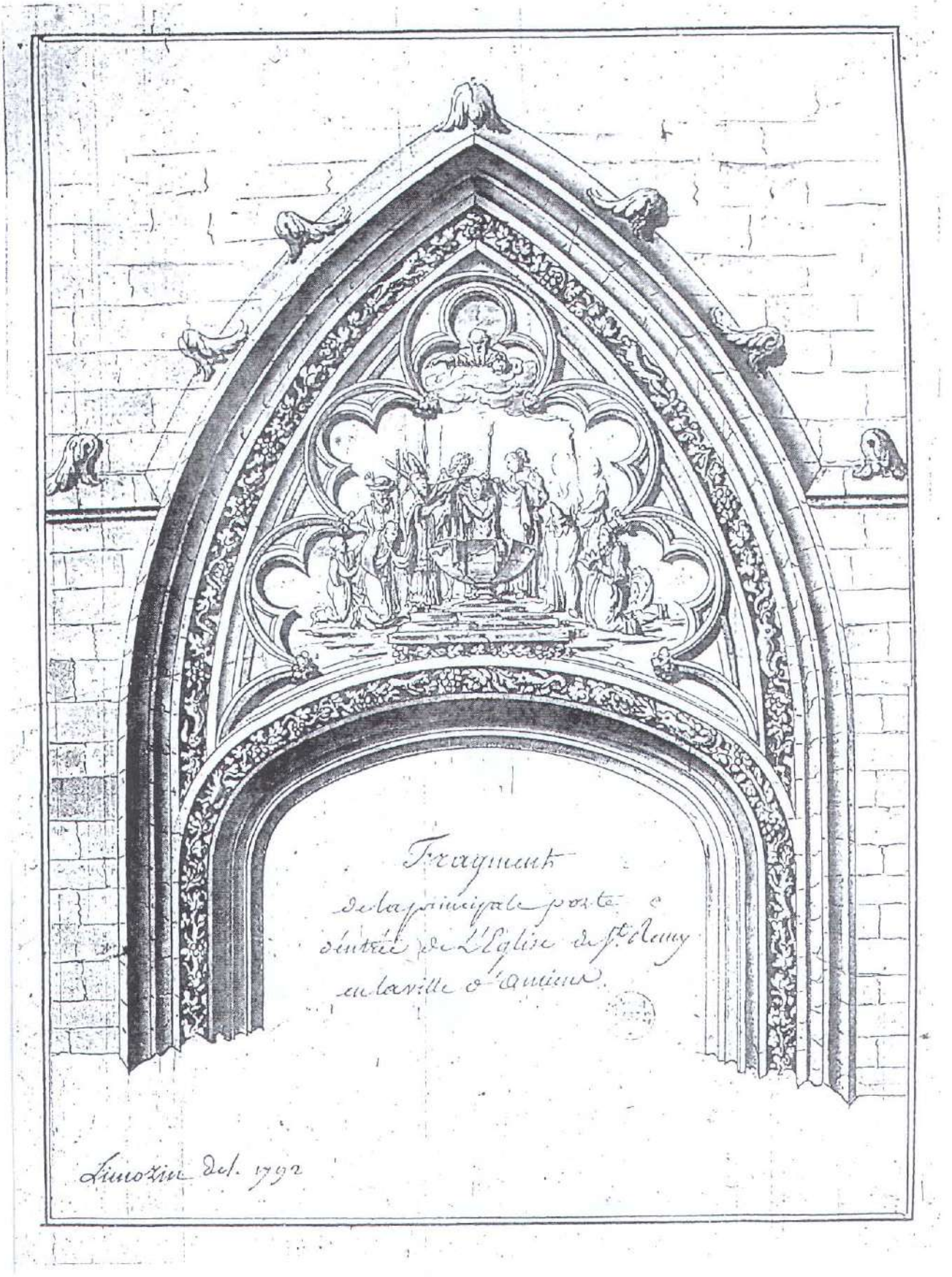
Ill. 19 Limosin, 'Cathédrale d'Amiens' [Monument], pen and China ink drawing, 1793, Paris, BNF, Cabinet des estampes, Ve 26i, D 1113.



Ill. 20 Limosin, 'Vüe de l'Eglise de St. Firmin en castillon, du côté de la Maison Commune', drawing with watercolour wash, 1792, Paris, BNF, Cabinet des estampes, Ve 26i, D 1114.



Ill. 21 Limosin, 'Vüe Extérieure de l'Eglise de St. Remy, du coté de la Place', drawing with watercolour wash, 1792, Paris, BNF, Cabinet des estampes, Ve 26i, D 1115.



Ill. 22 Limosin, 'Fragment de la principale porte d'entrée de l'Eglise de St. Remy en la ville d'Amiens', drawing with China ink wash, 1792, Paris, BNF, Cabinet des estampes, Ve 26i, D 1116.

ANTIQUITÉS NATIONALES,

OU

RECUEIL DE MONUMENS

Pour servir à l'Histoire générale et particulière de l'Empire François, tels que Tombeaux, Inscriptions, Statues, Vitraux, Fresques, etc.; tirés des Abbayes, Monastères, Châteaux et autres lieux devenus Domaines Nationaux.

Par Aubin-Louis Millin.

Présenté à L'Assemblée Nationale, et accueilli favorablement par elle,
Le 9 décembre 1790.

TOME PREMIER.

A PARIS,

Chez M. Drouhin, Éditeur et Propriétaire dudit Ouvrage, rue Saint-André-des-Arcs, N° 92, jusqu'à Pâques, et à cette époque, rue Christine, N° 2.

L'an second de la Liberté.

1790.

Ill. 23 Title-page of Aubin-Louis Millin, *Antiquités nationales*, vol. 1 (1790).

ANTIQUITÉS NATIONALES OU RECUEIL DE MONUMENS

Pour servir à l'Histoire générale et particulière de l'Empire François, tels que Tombeaux, Inscriptions, Statues, Vitraux, Fresques, etc.; tirés des Abbayes, Monastères, Châteaux et autres lieux devenus Domaines Nationaux.

Présenté à L'ASSEMBLÉE NATIONALE, et accueilli favorablement par ELLE,
Le 9 décembre 1790.

PAR AUBIN-LOUIS MILLIN.

TOME DEUXIEME.

A PARIS,

Chez M. DROUHIN, Éditeur et Propriétaire dudit Ouvrage, rue Christine, N° 2.

L'an second de la Liberté.

1791.

Ill. 24 Title-page of Aubin-Louis Millin, *Antiquités nationales*, vol. 2 (1791).

ANTIQUITÉS NATIONALES

OU

RECUEIL DE MONUMENS

POUR servir à l'Histoire générale et particulière de l'Empire François, tels que Tombeaux, Inscriptions, Statues, Vitraux, Fresques, etc.; tirés des Abbayes, Monastères, Châteaux et autres lieux devenus Domaines Nationaux.

PAR AUBIN-LOUIS MILLIN, *Conservateur du Museum des Antiques à la Bibliothèque Nationale, Professeur d'Histoire et d'Antiquités, etc. etc. etc.*

TOME CINQUIÈME.

A PARIS,

Chez DROUHIN, Éditeur et Propriétaire dudit Ouvrage, rue de Vaugirard, n°. 1348.

DE L'IMPRIMERIE DE TESTU. AN VII.

Ill. 25 Title-page of Aubin-Louis Millin, *Antiquités nationales*, vol. 5 (1798).

LIII.

ANCIEN PALAIS DES COMTES DE FLANDRE.

Lille, Département du Nord.

LA Flandre, portion considérable de l'ancienne Belgique (1); s'étendoit sur les contrées autrefois habitées par les Morins (2), une partie des Nerviens (3), les Atuatiques (4) et les Ménapiens (5).

Le nom de Flandre ne désignoit, au septième siècle, que le territoire de Bruges (6).

La Flandre étoit encore renfermée dans des bornes étroites sous Charles-le-Chauve, en 853. Le territoire de Courtray n'y étoit pas même compris.

Les historiens flamands prétendent que dès le tems de Charlemagne, et long-tems auparavant, la Flandre étoit possédée par des seigneurs qui la tenoient sous le titre de *forestiers*, titre qu'on leur donnoit, à cause des forêts dont le pays étoit couvert. Ils décorent successivement de cette qualité Lidéric (7) établi, disent-ils, par

(1) Mon objet n'est point de traiter tous les détails topographiques relatifs à la ville de Lille. Je n'étends mes recherches sur son histoire que pour ce qui peut servir à l'explication de ses monumens et de ses principaux édifices. Ceux qui veulent des détails plus étendus, peuvent consulter le guide des étrangers à Lille, et sur-tout le Dictionnaire Dexpilly, à l'article *Lille*.

(2) Les Morins occupoient les bords de la mer entre la Somme et l'Escaut.

(3) Les Nerviens étoient situés entre l'Escaut et la Sambre.

(4) Les Atuatiques habitoient le pays de Namur.

(5) Les Ménapiens étoient établis sur les bords du Rhin.

(6) *Municipium Flandrense*, *Municipium Brugense*, étoient deux expressions synonimes dans ces tems-là. Wastelain, Descript. de la Gaul. Belg., p. 408.

(7) Il étoit petit-fils d'*Essore*, prince du Buc, forestier de Flandre, comte d'Harlebeck. Il épousa *Flandrine*, née en Allemagne : on dit que c'est d'elle que la Flandre a pris son nom; mais d'où vient celui de Flandrine?

Plusieurs historiens le disent fils de *Salvart* ou *Salvaer*, prince de Dijon. Celui-

Ill. 26 Page showing fount employed by Laurent-Étienne Testu.

XXXI.

PALAIS DE JUSTICE DE ROUEN,

Département de la Seine inférieure, district de Rouen.

Le palais de justice est le lieu où s'assembloit le parlement de Normandie.

Les premiers parlemens étoient des assemblées des capitaines francs réunis pour *parlier* ou parler : l'assemblée se nommoit *parliament*, et avec une terminaison latine *parliamentum*. Ce parlement étoit regardé comme l'assemblée générale de la nation ; cependant les grands seuls et les prélats pouvoient y avoir entrée.

Ces assemblées avoient différens noms. Ce ne fut guères que vers le temps de Louis-le-Gros qu'elles prirent celui de parlement.

Hugues-Capet assembloit les grands encore plus souvent que ses prédécesseurs ; mais il paroît que le parlement ne commença à se former en cour de Justice que sous le règne de Saint-Louis, en 1254. Depuis cette époque, jusqu'en 1302, il y en eut 69 qui furent presque tous tenus à Paris ; et on le trouve qualifié du titre de Parlement de Paris, parce que c'étoit le lieu où il s'assembloit le plus souvent.

Il y avoit douze parlemens dans le royaume ; à Paris, Toulouse, Grenoble, Bordeaux, Dijon, Rouen, Aix, Rennes, Pau, Metz, Besançon et Douai. Quand on disoit simplement le parlement, on entendoit toujours celui de Paris (1).

Rollo ou Raoul, premier duc de Normandie (2), avoit

(1) On peut consulter l'histoire du parlement de Paris, par Voltaire, &. l'article Parlement, dans l'Encyclopédie.

(2) Ce prince étoit grand-justicier ; c'est de lui que vient la clameur *haro* ; parce que les Normands disoient à *Raoul*, c'est-à-dire, j'en appelle à Raoul, quand on vouloit les

Ill. 27 Page showing fount employed by F.-M. Boileau.

XXX.

LA GROSSE HORLOGE DE ROUEN,

LA FONTAINE DU MASSACRE, LA FONTAINE DE LA CROSSE.

Département de la Seine Inférieure, District de Rouen.

LA GROSSE HORLOGE.

TOUS les peuples civilisés ou barbares, anciens ou modernes, se sont occupés des moyens de mesurer le temps, et il ne faut pas, en effet, s'être beaucoup exercé l'esprit pour concevoir l'utilité de cet usage.

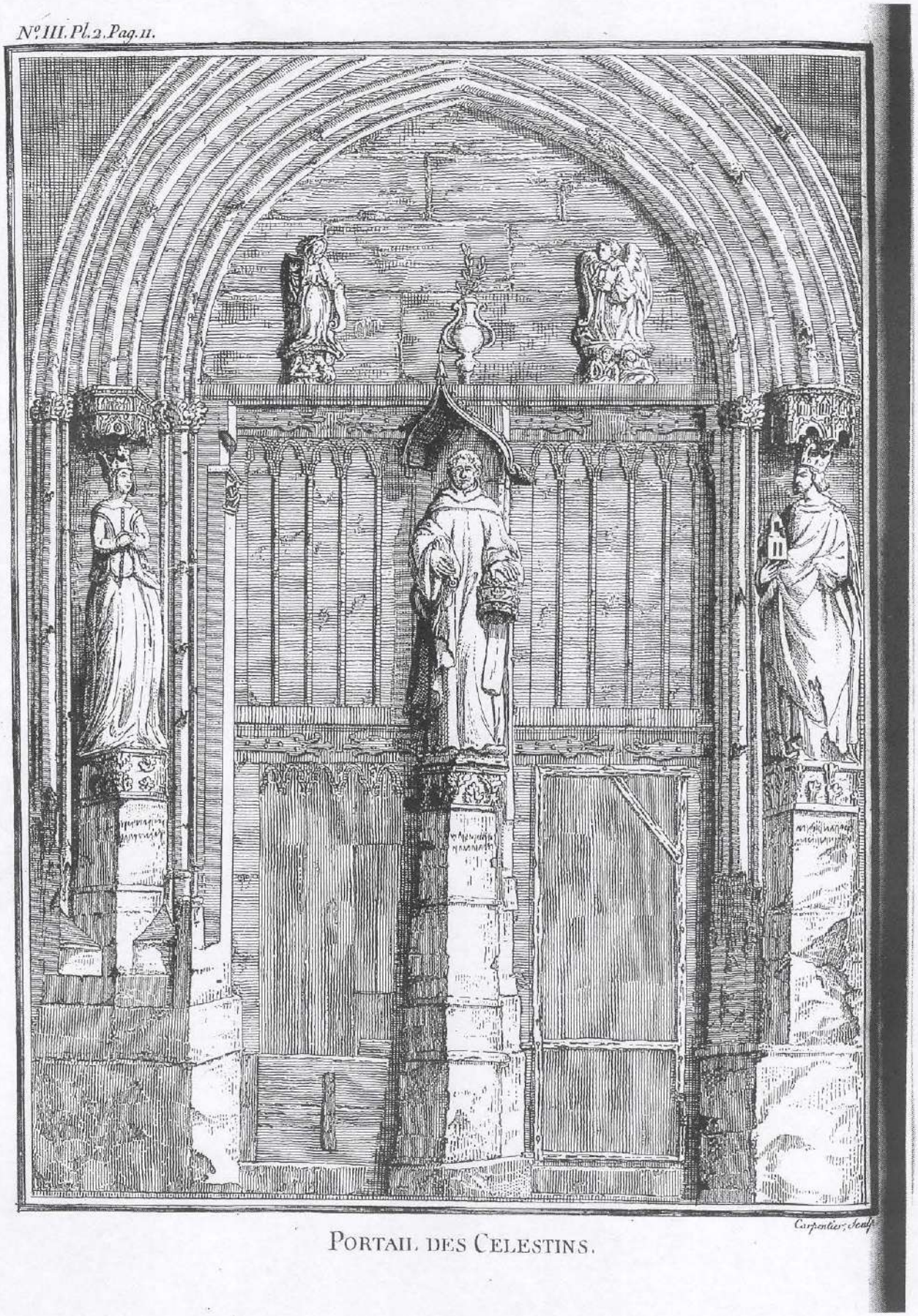
Les premiers hommes se sont servis du soleil, de la lune et des étoiles pour diviser le jour, et les plus anciens monumens nous apprennent qu'ils avoient étudié la longueur de l'ombre : une montagne, un rocher, un tronc d'arbre, ont été leur premier gnomon pour le jour, et les mêmes objets, cachant successivement telle ou telle étoile remarquable, servoient aux divisions de la nuit : voilà à-peu-près quel fut, pendant long-temps, tout leur savoir, mais enfin ces gnomons (1) naturels firent naître l'idée des gnomons artificiels (2).

Selon M. Falconet, le cadran d'Achaz sur lequel Isaïe opéra

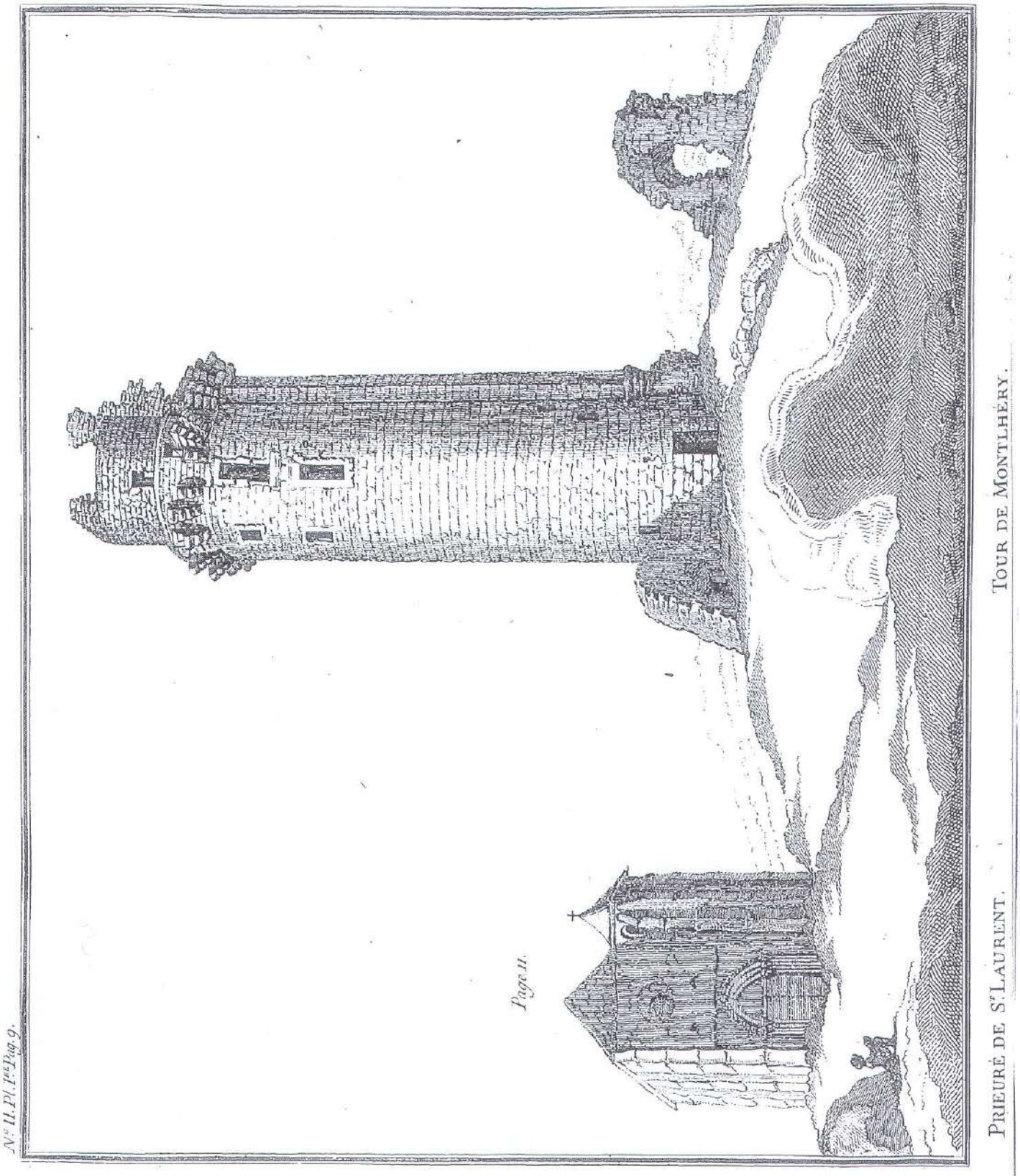
(1) Les Grecs appelloient gnomon, une longue pyramide ou aiguille servant à mesurer la longueur de l'ombre, c'est ce que nous appellons aujourd'hui cadran solaire.

(2) Les nations les plus grossières ont cherché, dans la nature, des moyens qui pussent suppléer aux horloges. Les habitans de l'Islande se réglent sur les marées ; les Chingulais mesurent le temps par l'état d'une fleur probablement du genre *convolvulus*, qui s'ouvre régulièrement, chaque jour, sept heures avant la nuit.

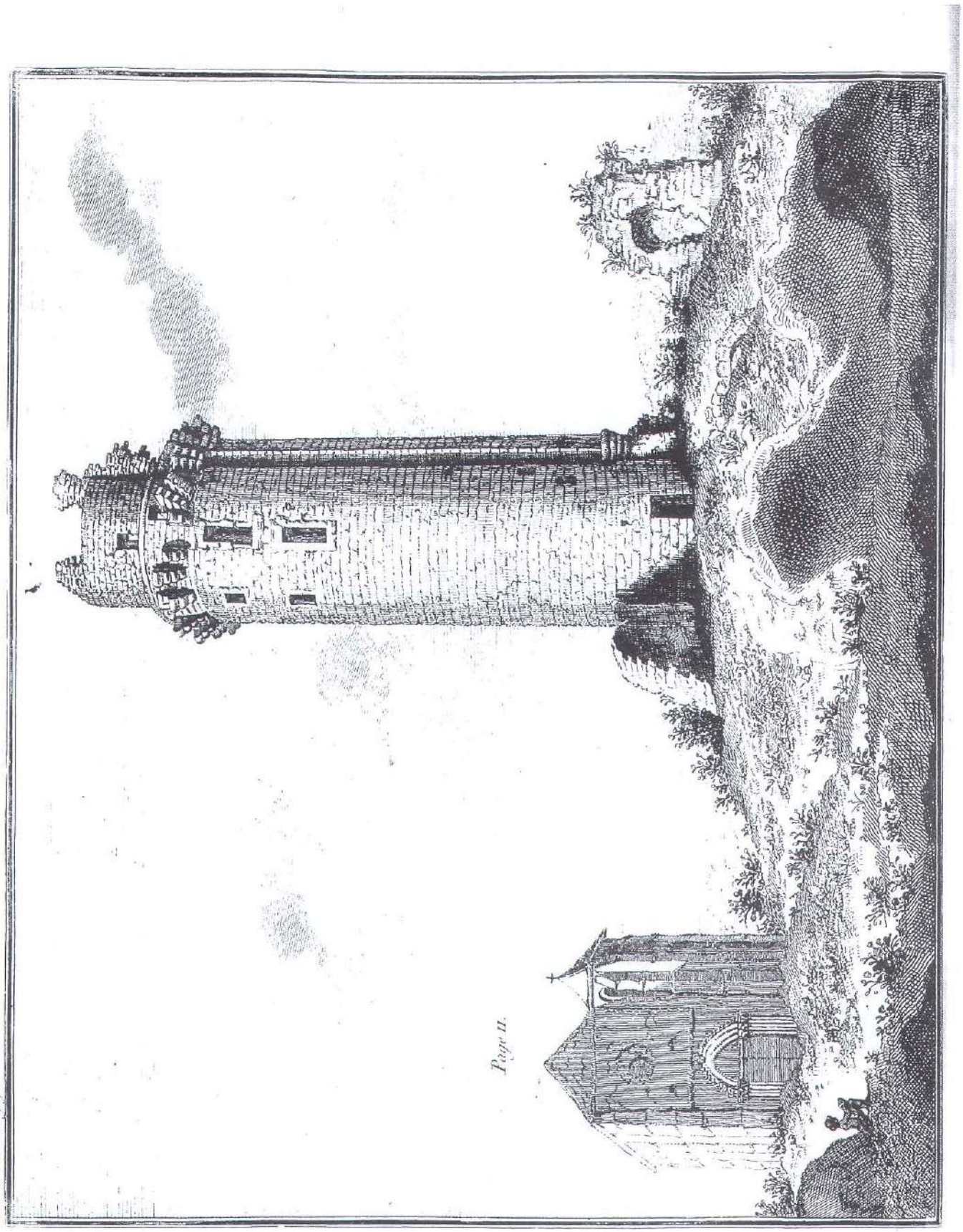
Ill. 28 Page showing fount employed by Veuve Hérissant.



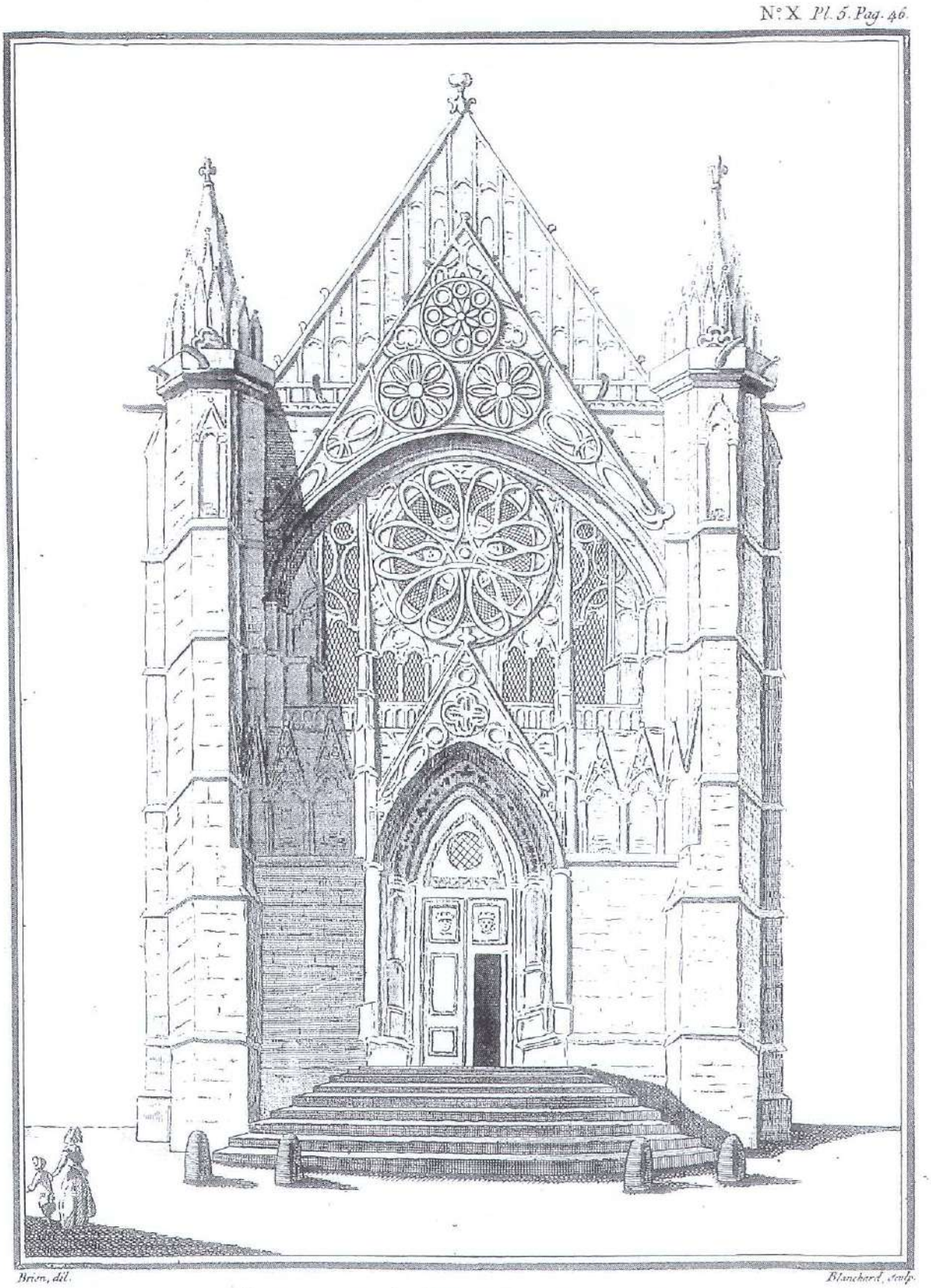
Ill. 29 'Portail des Célestins', Le Carpentier sc., in: *Antiquités nationales*, vol. 1 (1790), art. III, Les Célestins, plate 2.



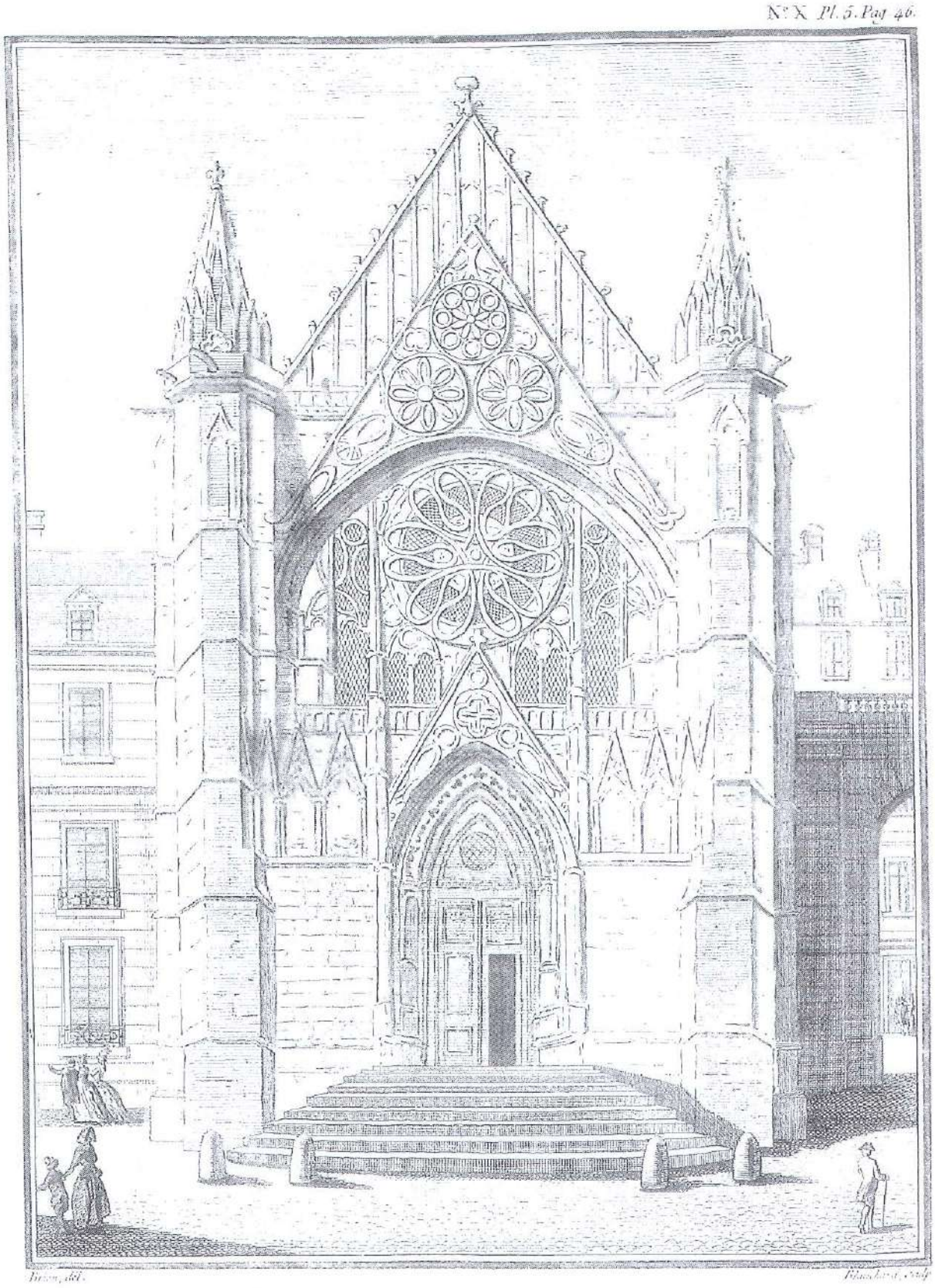
Ill. 30 'Prieuré de St. Laurent. Tour de Montlhéry', in: *Antiquités nationales*, vol. 1 (1790), art. II, Tour de Montlhéry, plate 1.



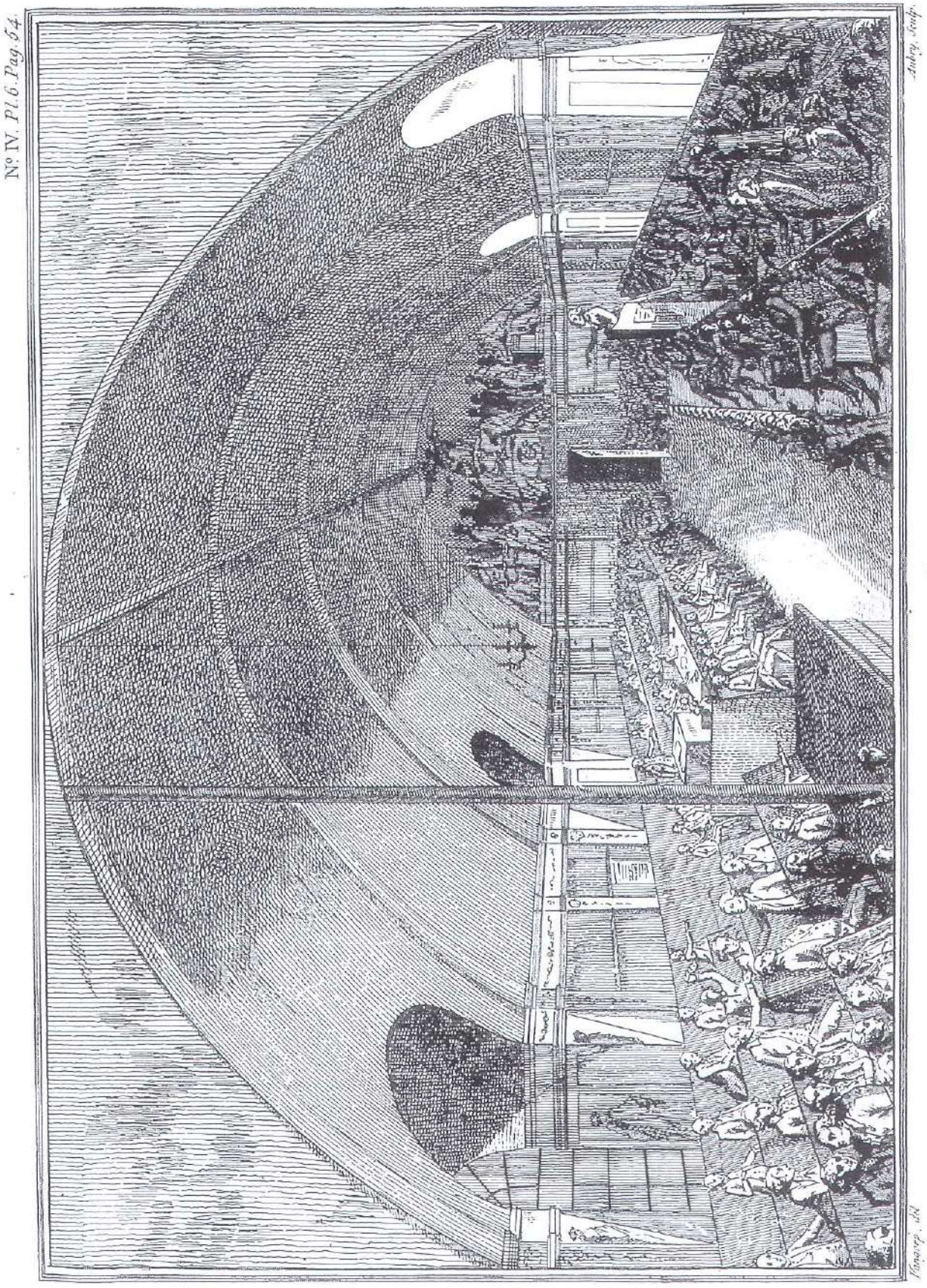
Ill. 31 'Prieuré de St. Laurent. Tour de Montlhéry', in: *Antiquités nationales*, vol. 1 (1790), art. II, Tour de Montlhéry, plate 1.



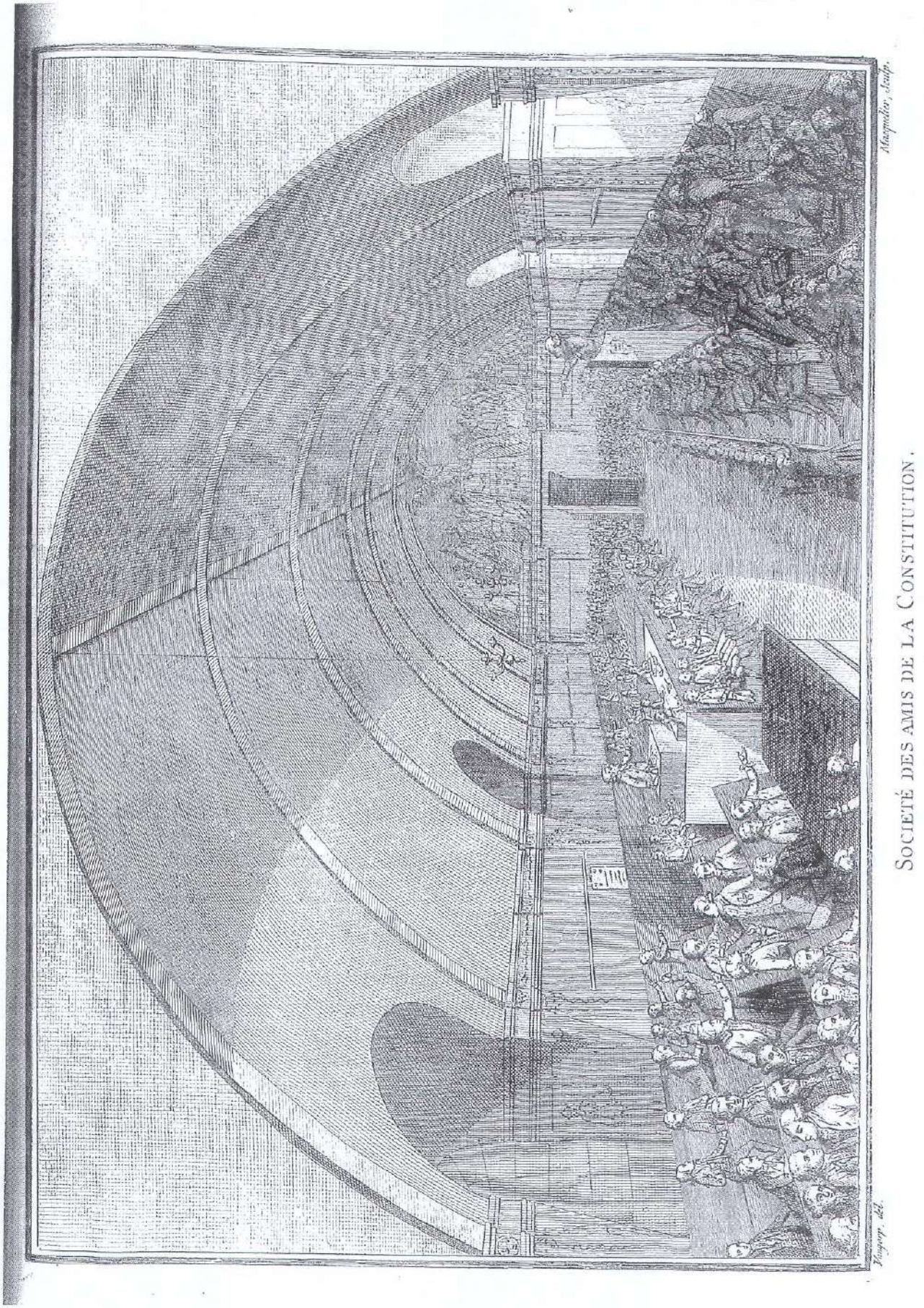
Ill. 32 'Portail de la Ste. Chapelle de Vincennes', Brion del., Blanchard sc., in: *Antiquités nationales*, vol. 2 (1791), art. X, Vincennes, plate 5.



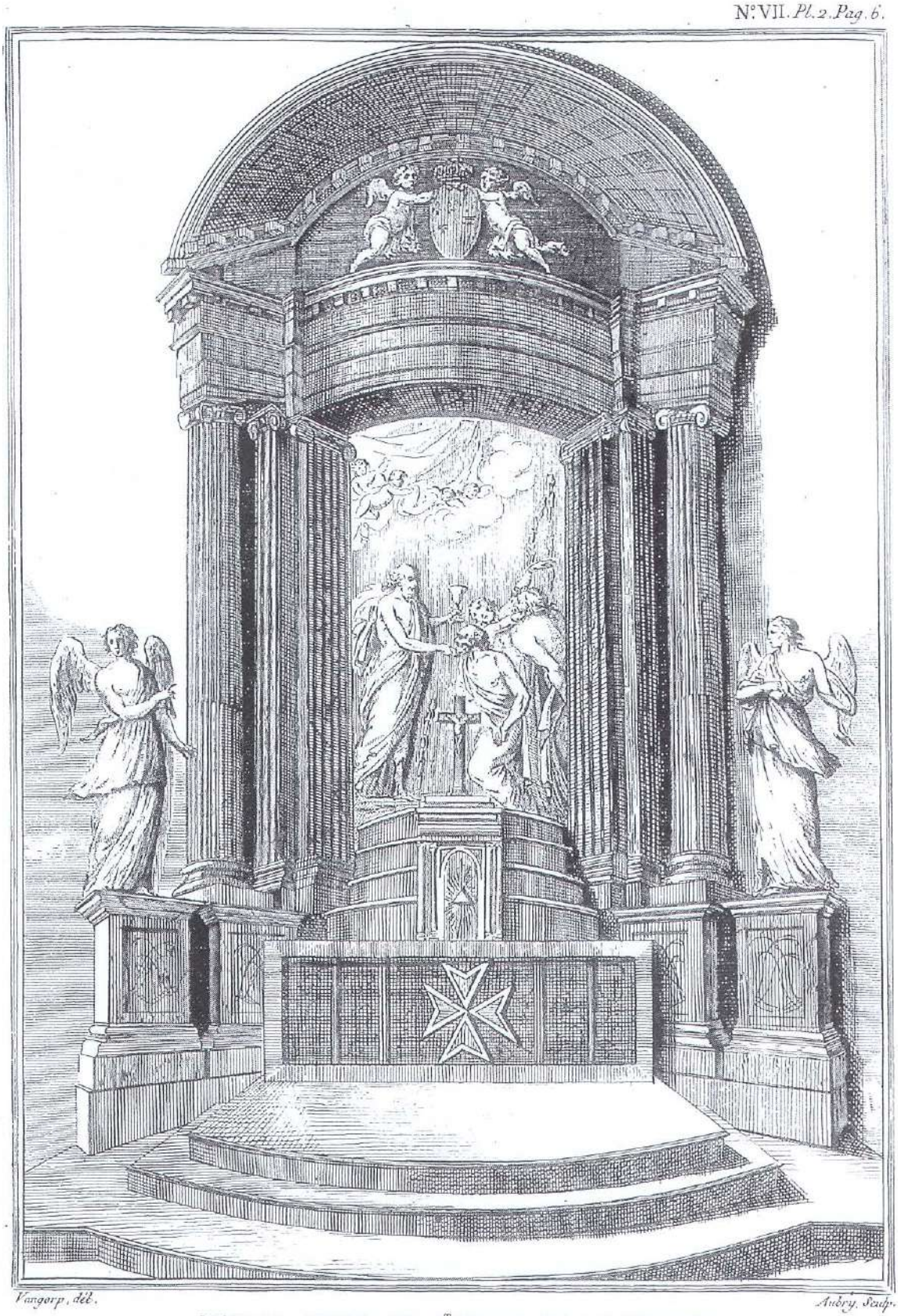
Ill. 33 'Portail de la Ste. Chapelle de Vincennes', Brion del., Blanchard sc., in: *Antiquités nationales*, vol. 2 (1791), art. X, Vincennes, plate 5.



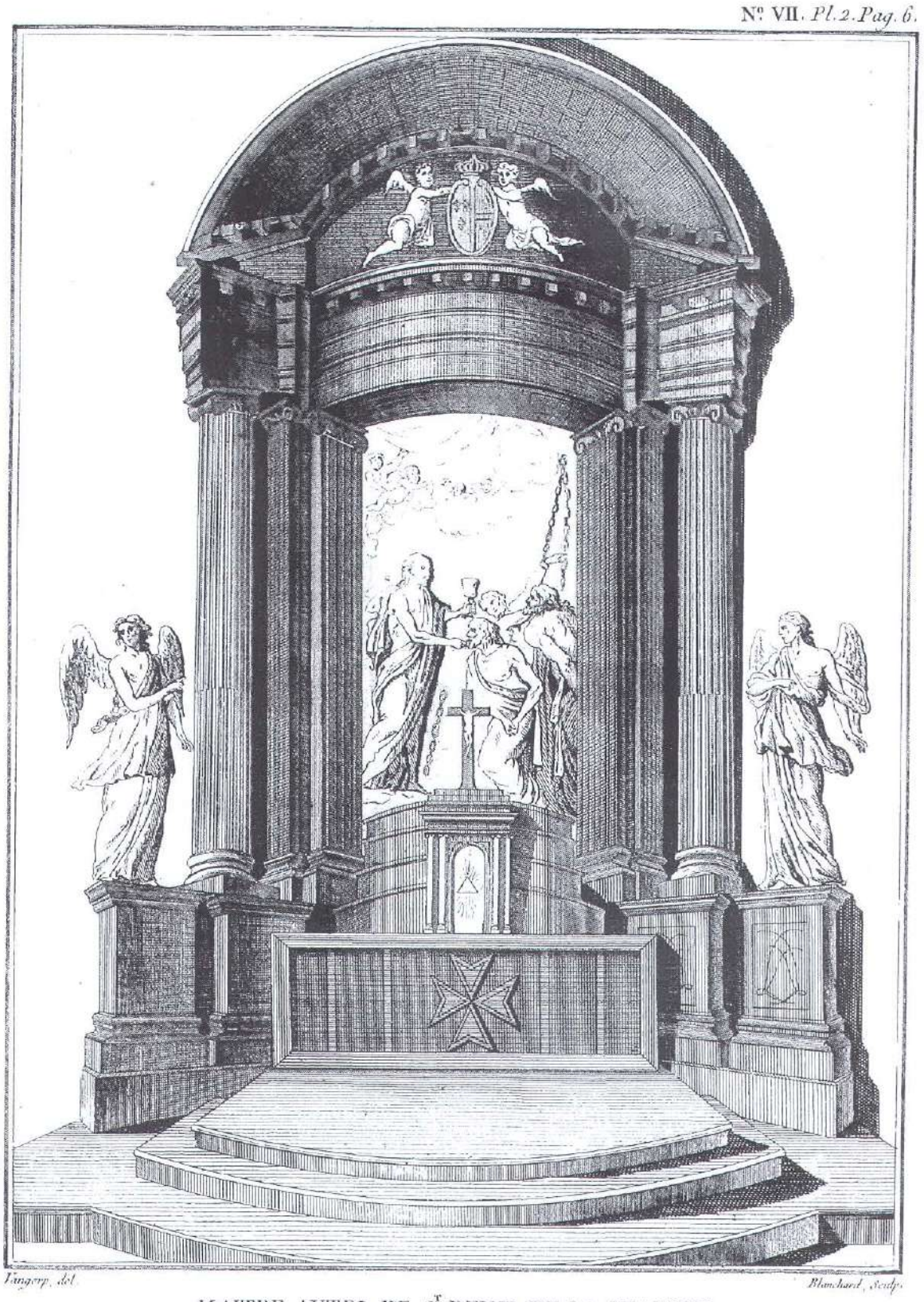
Ill. 34 'Société des amis de la Constitution', van Gorp del., Aubry sc., in: *Antiquités nationales*, vol. 1 (1790), art. IV, Les Jacobins de la rue St.-Honoré, plate 6.



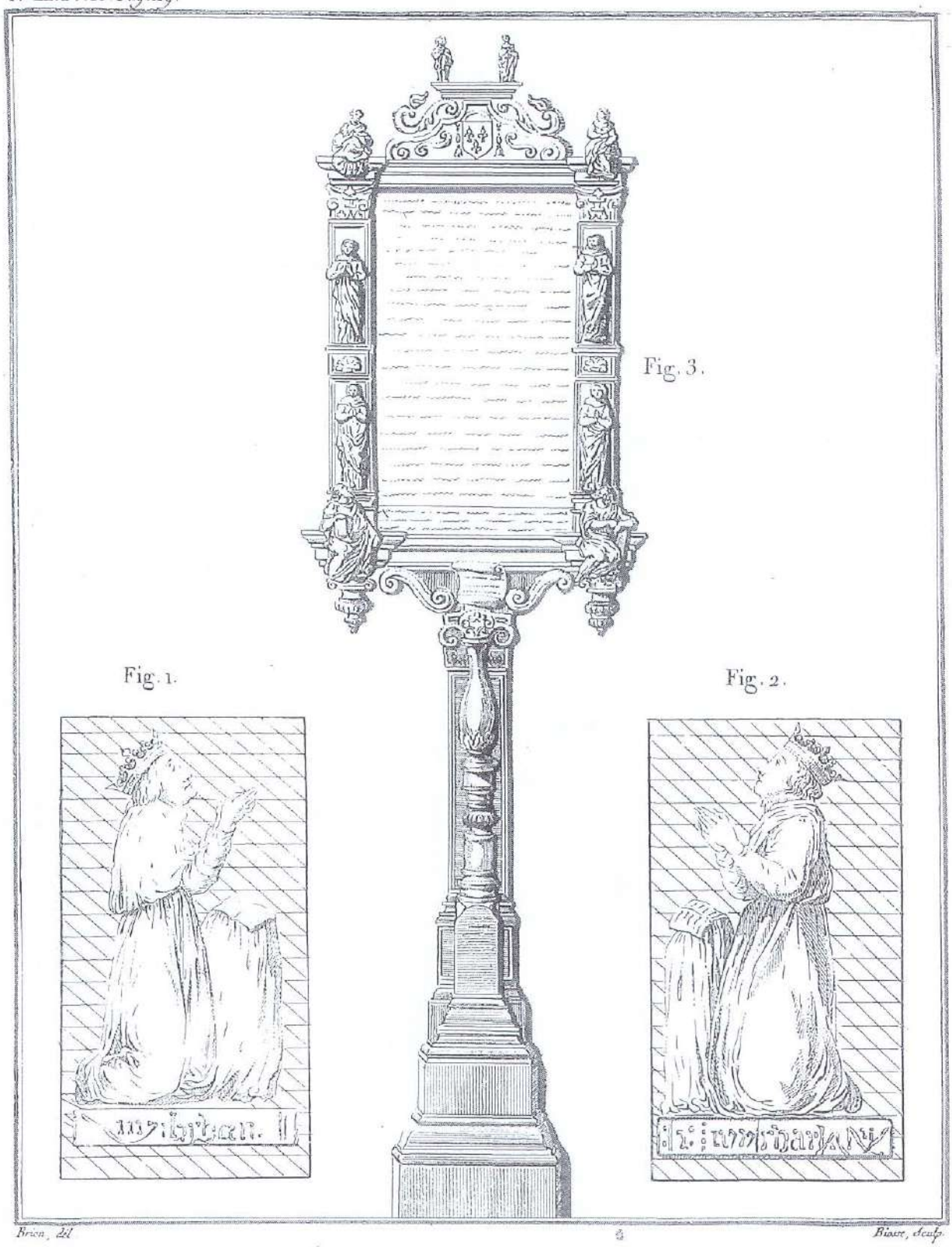
Ill. 35 'Société des amis de la Constitution', van Gorp del., Masquelier sc., in: *Antiquités nationales*, vol. 1 (1790), art. IV, Les Jacobins de la rue St.-Honoré, plate 6.



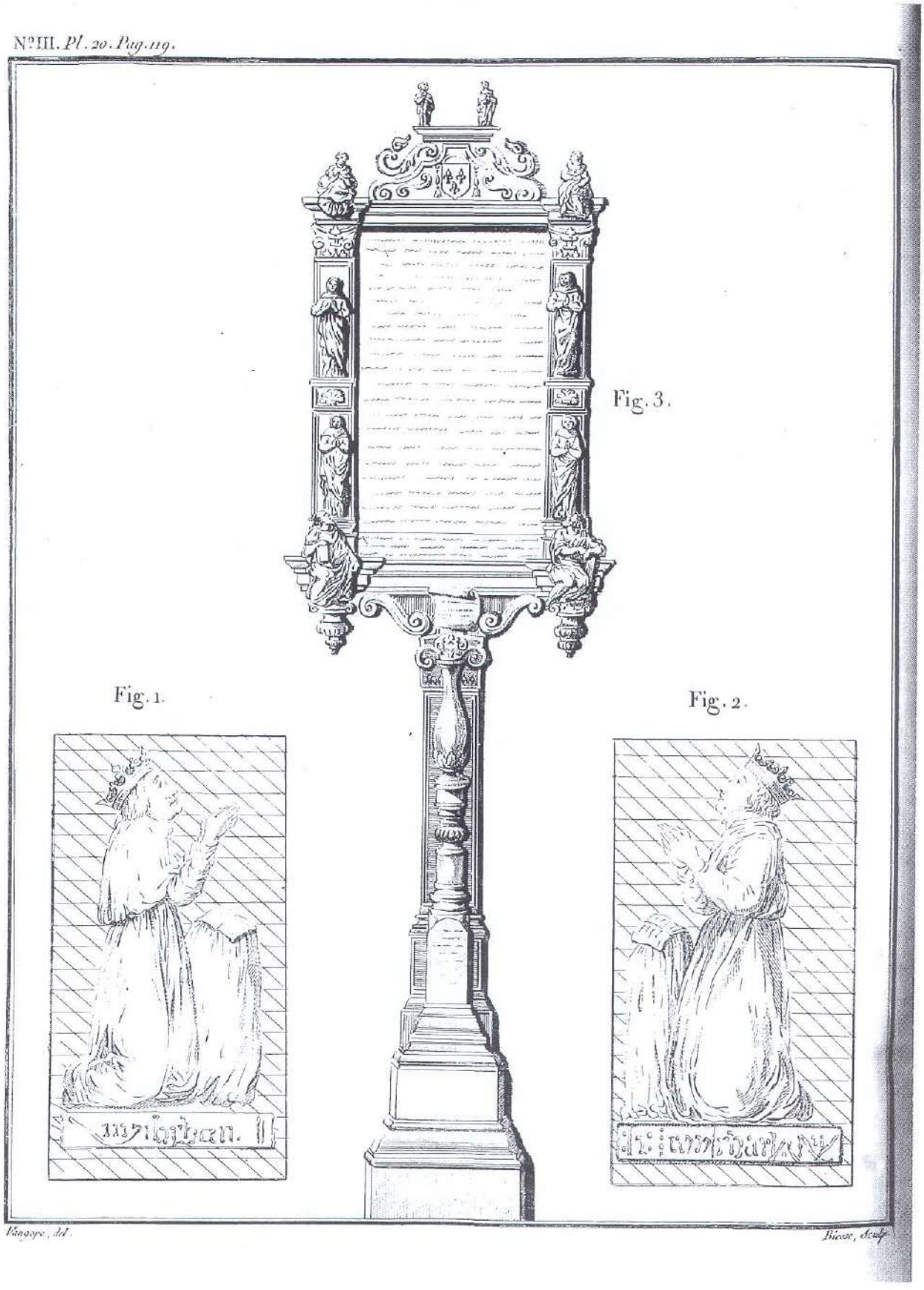
Ill. 36 'Maître autel de St. Denis de la Chartre', van Gorp del., Aubry sc., in: *Antiquités nationales*, vol. 1 (1790), art. VII, Saint-Denis de la Chartre, plate 2.



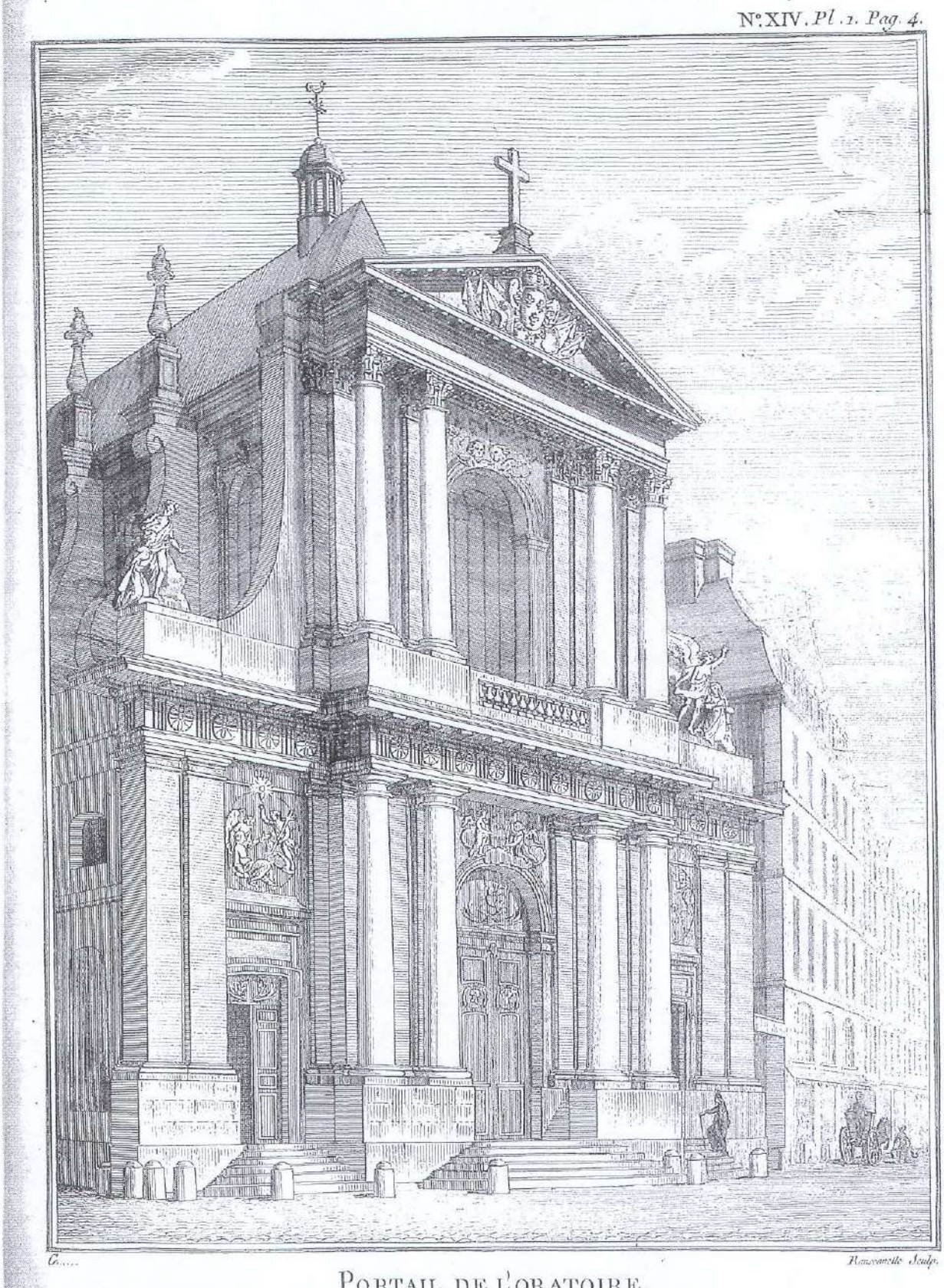
Ill. 37 'Maître autel de St. Denis de la Chartre', van Gorp del., Blanchard sc., in: *Antiquités nationales*, vol. 1 (1790), art. VII, Saint-Denis de la Chartre, plate 2.



Ill. 38 'Vitraux et table des secrétaires', Brion del., Beausse sc., in: *Antiquités nationales*, vol. 1 (1790), art. III, Les Célestins, plate 20.

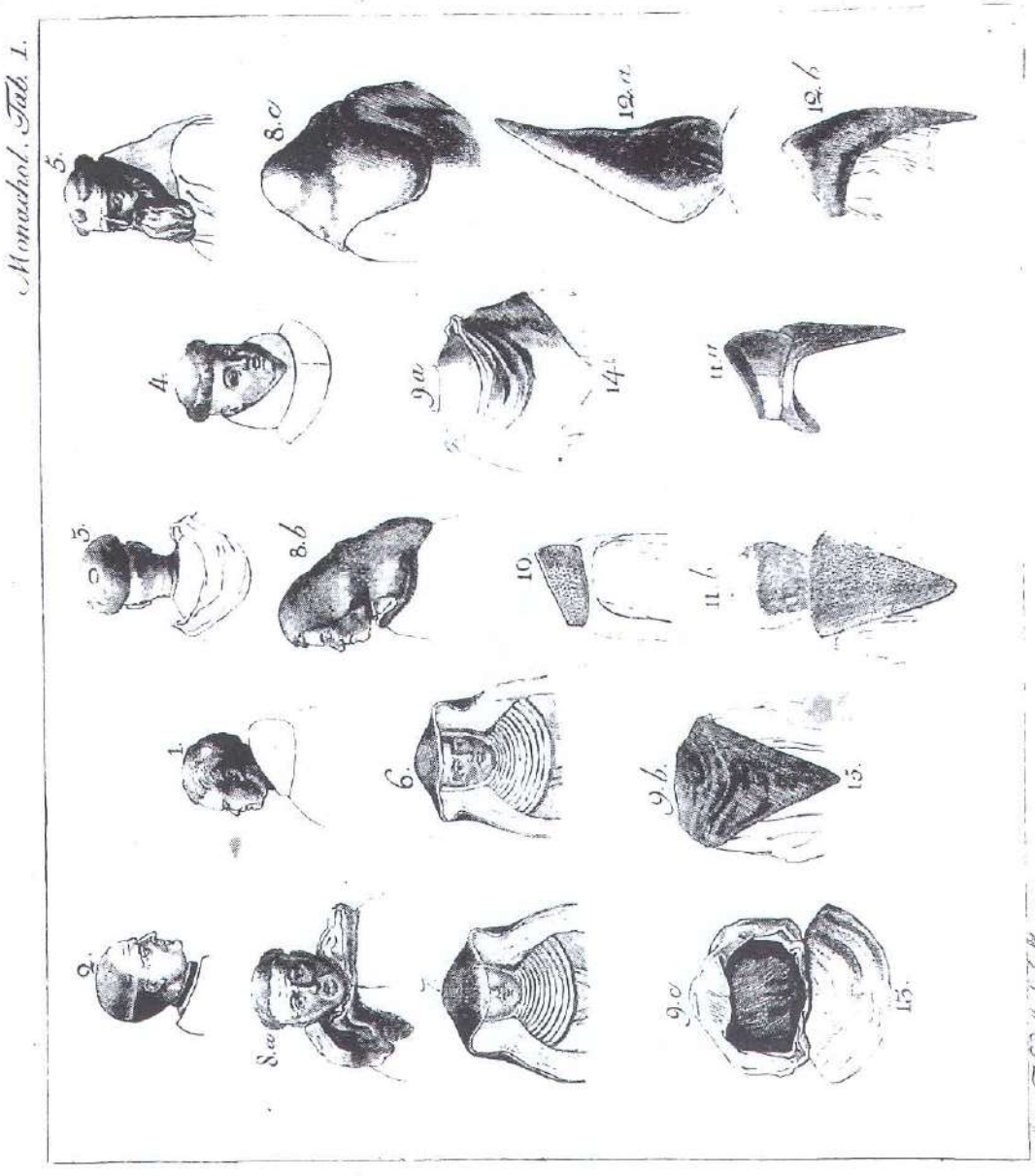


Ill. 39 'Vitraux et table des secrétaires', van Gorp del., Beausse sc., in: *Antiquités nationales*, vol. 1 (1790), art. III, Les Célestins, plate 20.

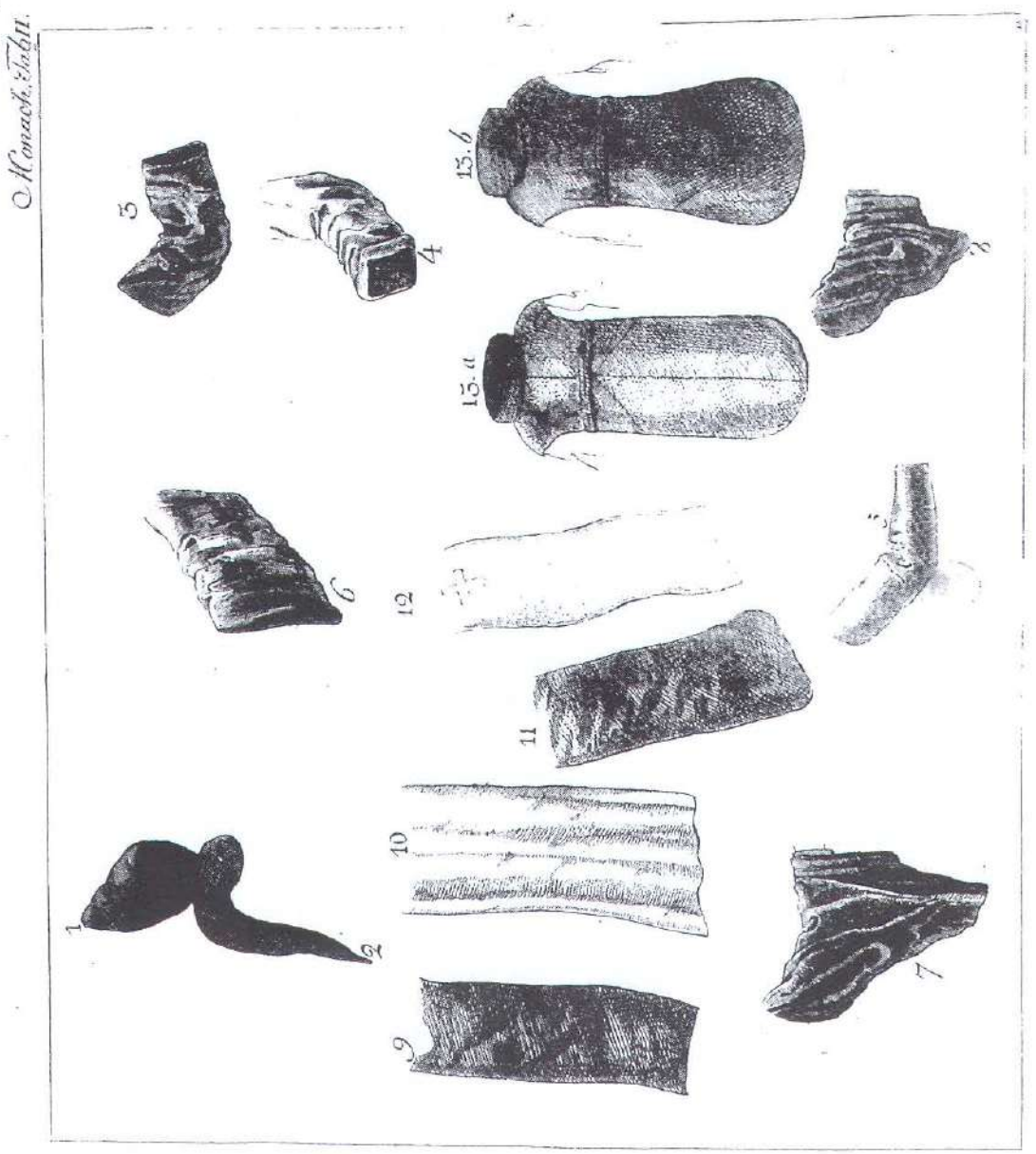


Ill. 40 'Portail de l'Oratoire', Garnerey del., Ransonnette sc., in: *Antiquités nationales*, vol. 2 (1791), art. XIV, Couvent de l'Oratoire, plate 1.

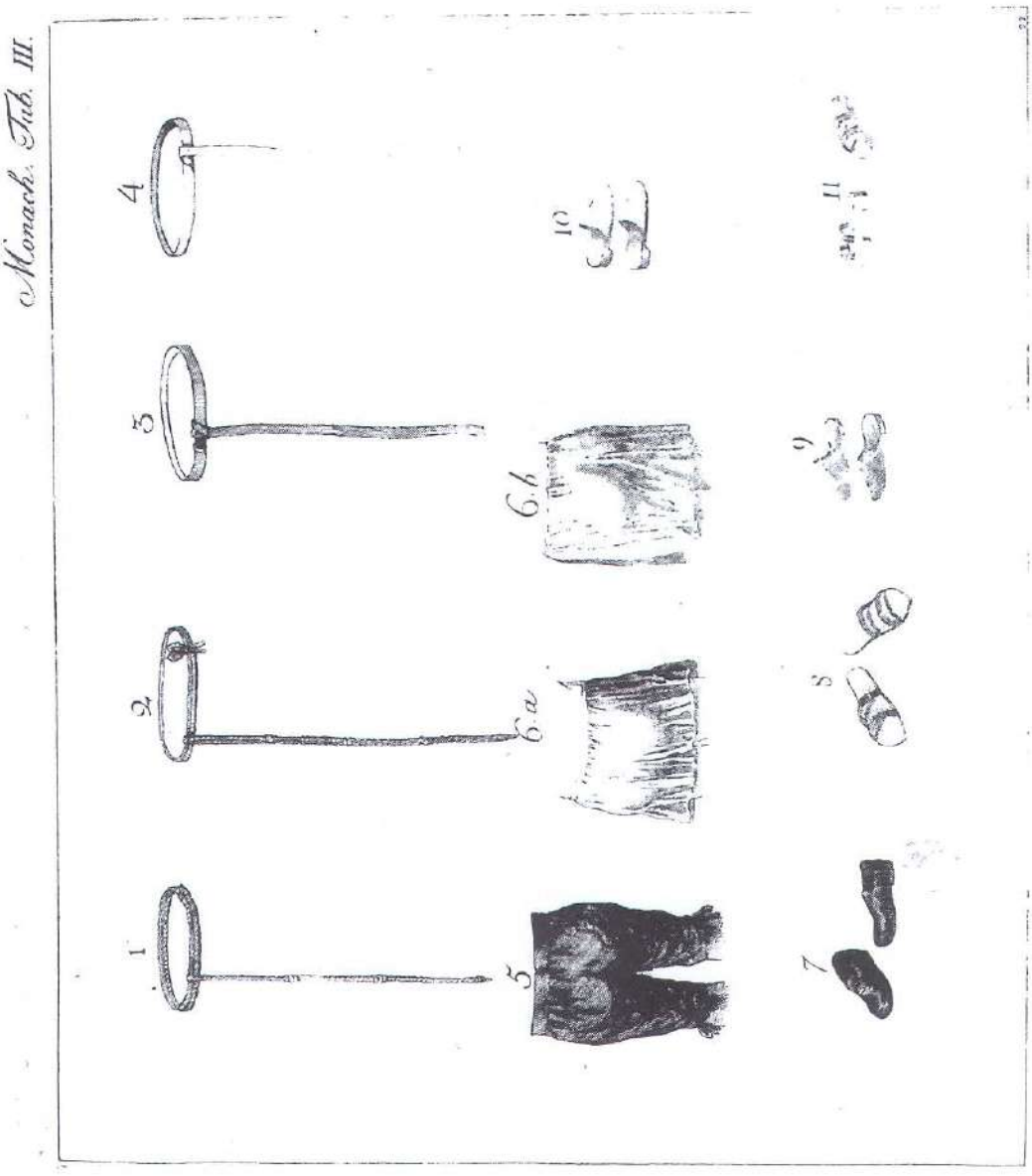
Ill. 41 'Costumes des Célestins', Beausse sc., in: *Antiquités nationales*, vol. 1 (1790), art. III, Les Célestins, plate 1.



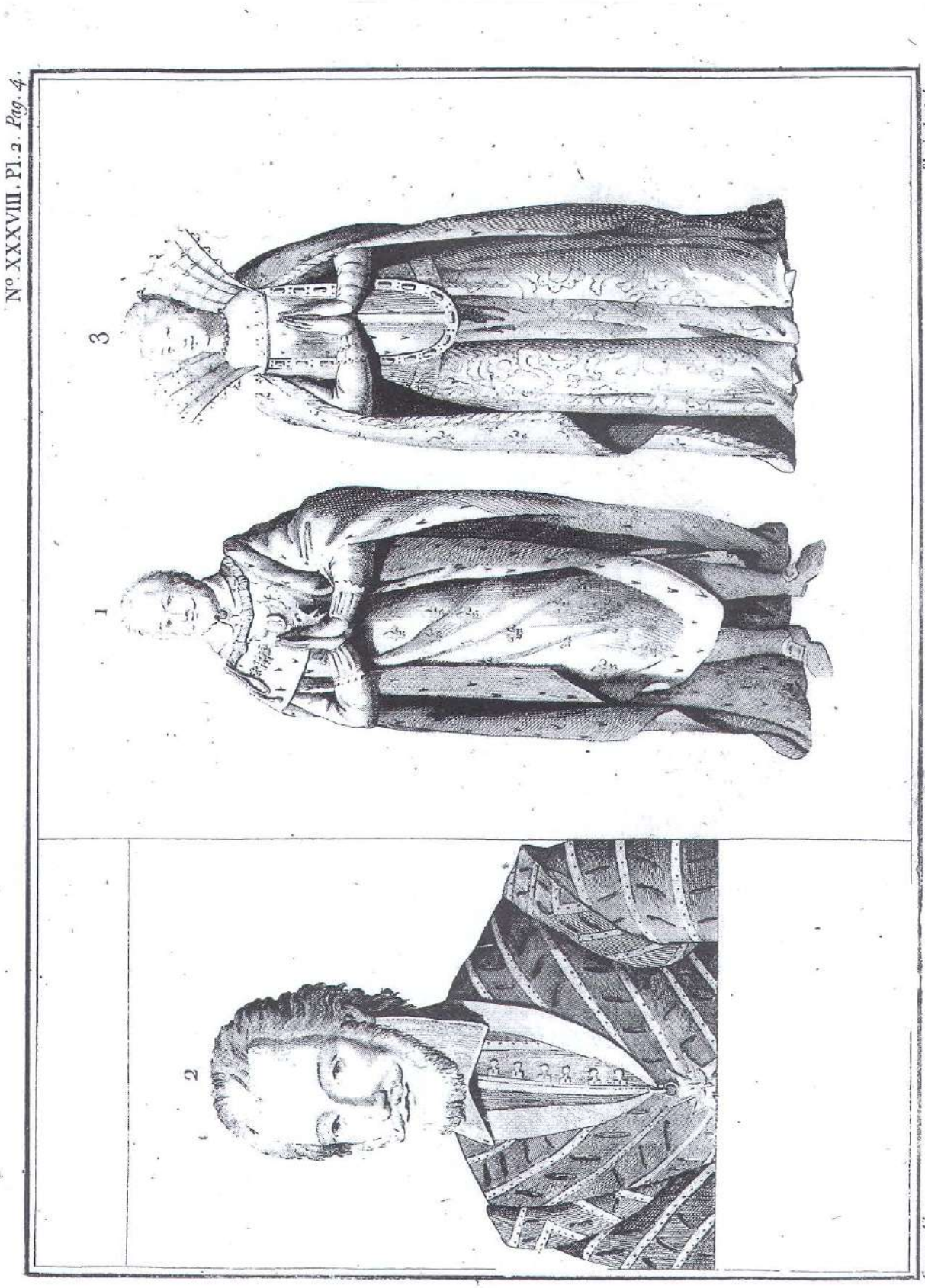
Ill. 42 Plate showing tonsures, cowls and wimples, J. Schaff sc., in: Ignaz Born, *Monachologia* (1784), plate 1.



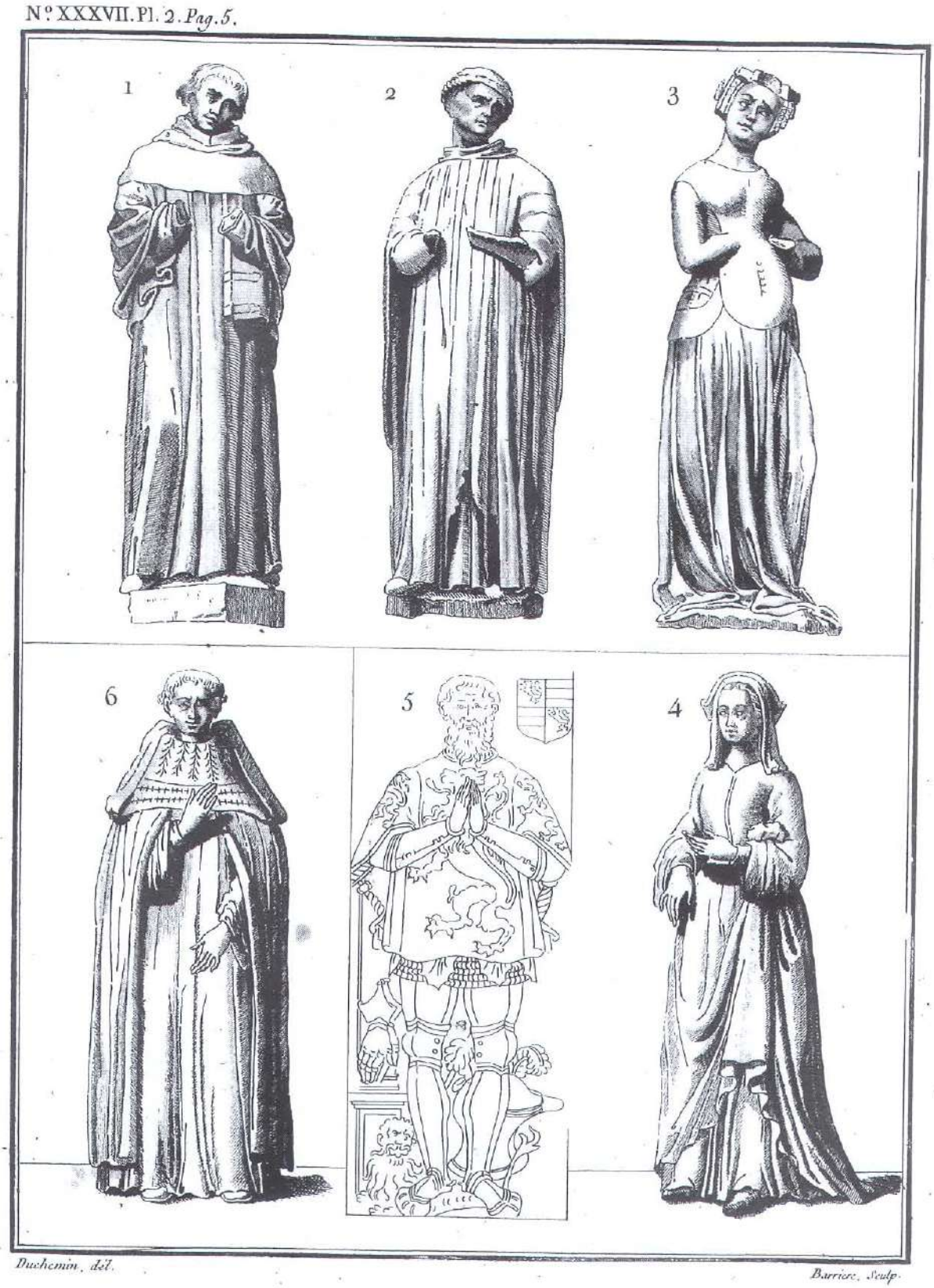
Ill. 43 Plate showing sleeves, stoles and wimples, in: Ignaz Born, *Monachologia* (1784), plate 2.



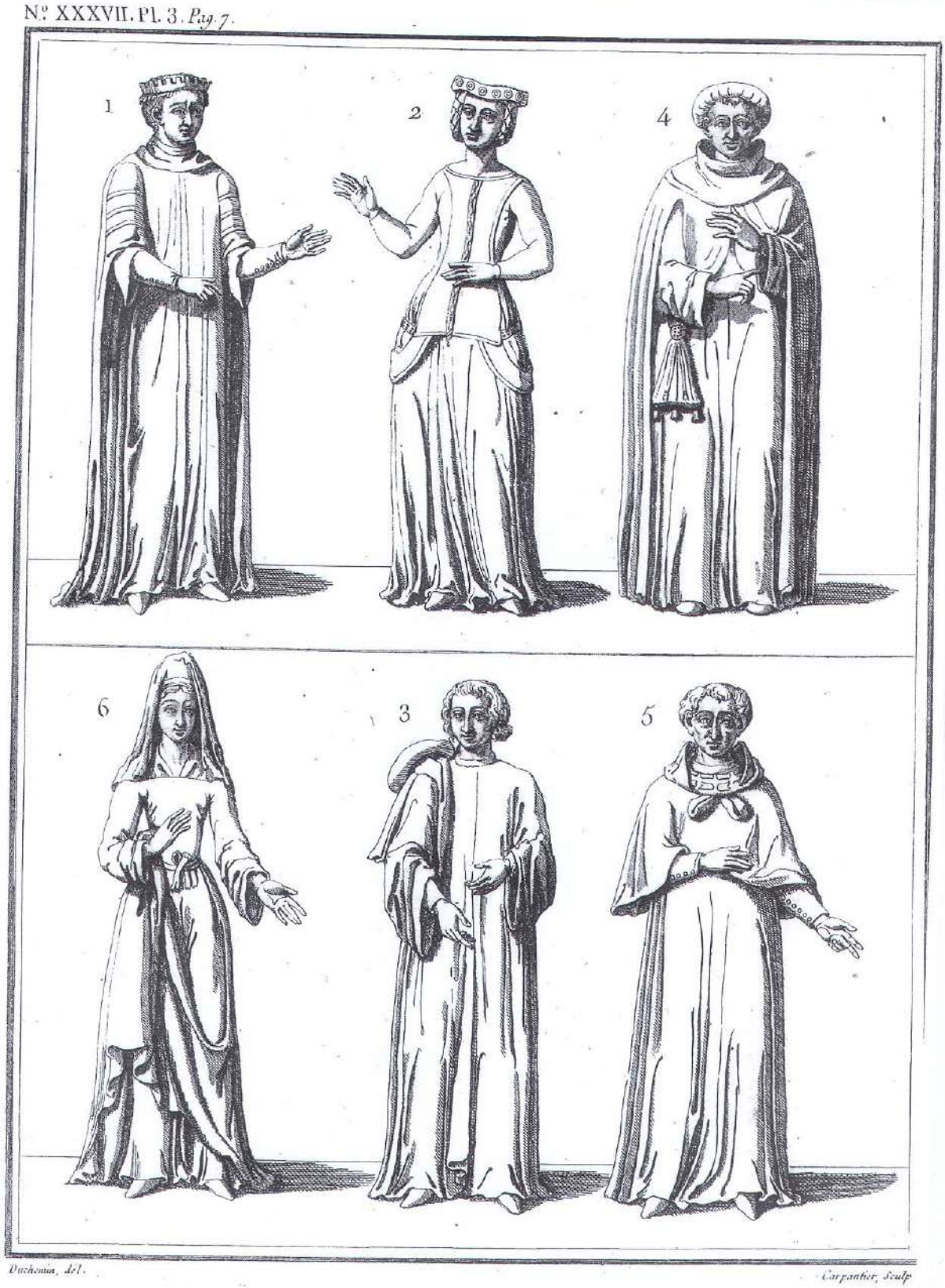
Ill. 44 Plate showing girdles, breeches and shoes, in: Ignaz Born, *Monachologia* (1784), plate 3.



Ill. 45 'Monument du comte de Soissons et d'Anne de Montafié', Garnerey del., Blanchard sc., in: *Antiquités nationales*, vol. 4 (1792), art. XXXVIII, La Chartreuse-lez-Gaillon, plate 2.



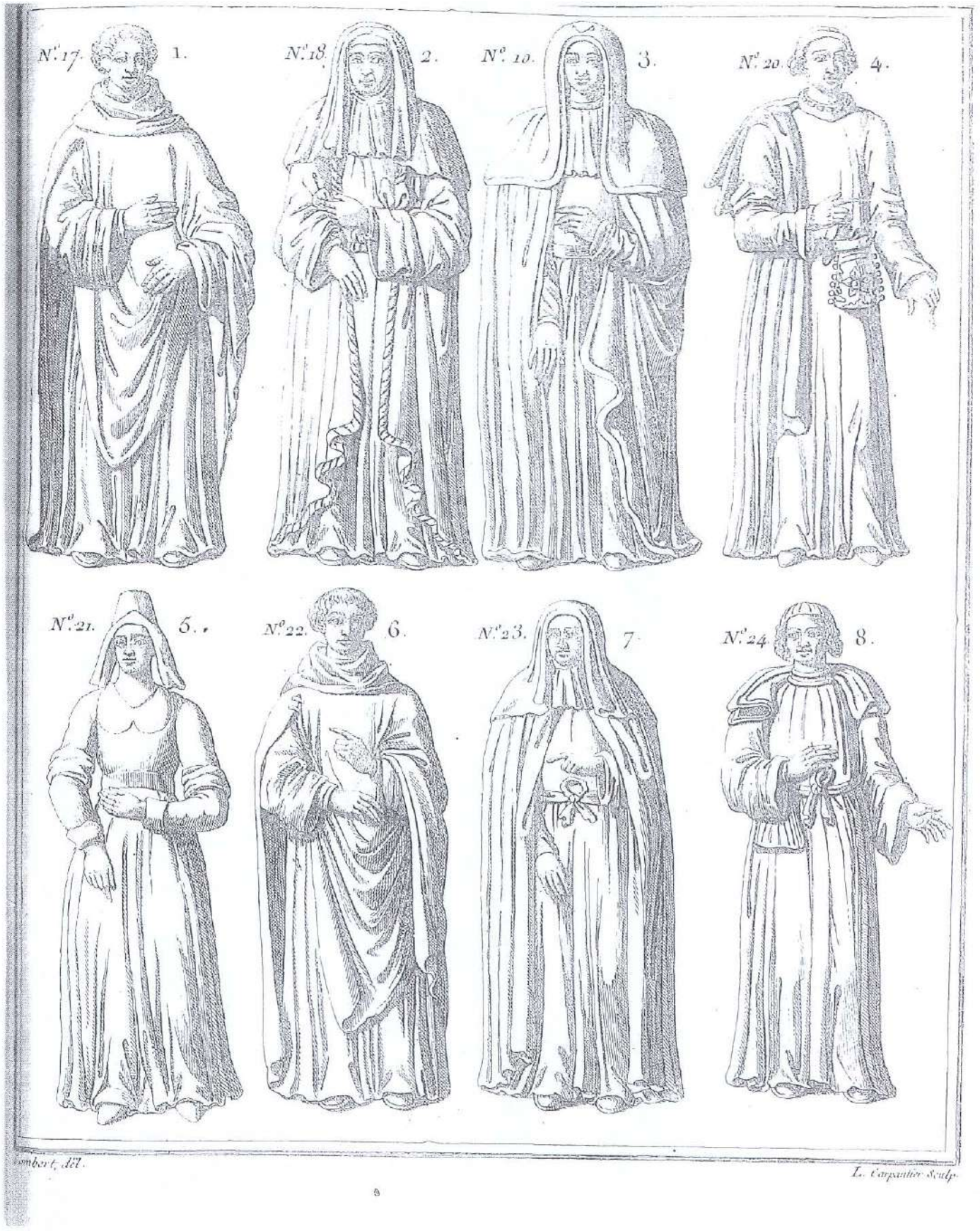
Ill. 46 'Tombes', Duchemin del., Barrière sc., in: *Antiquités nationales*, vol. 4 (1792), art. XXXVII, Chapelle de Saint-Yves, plate 2.



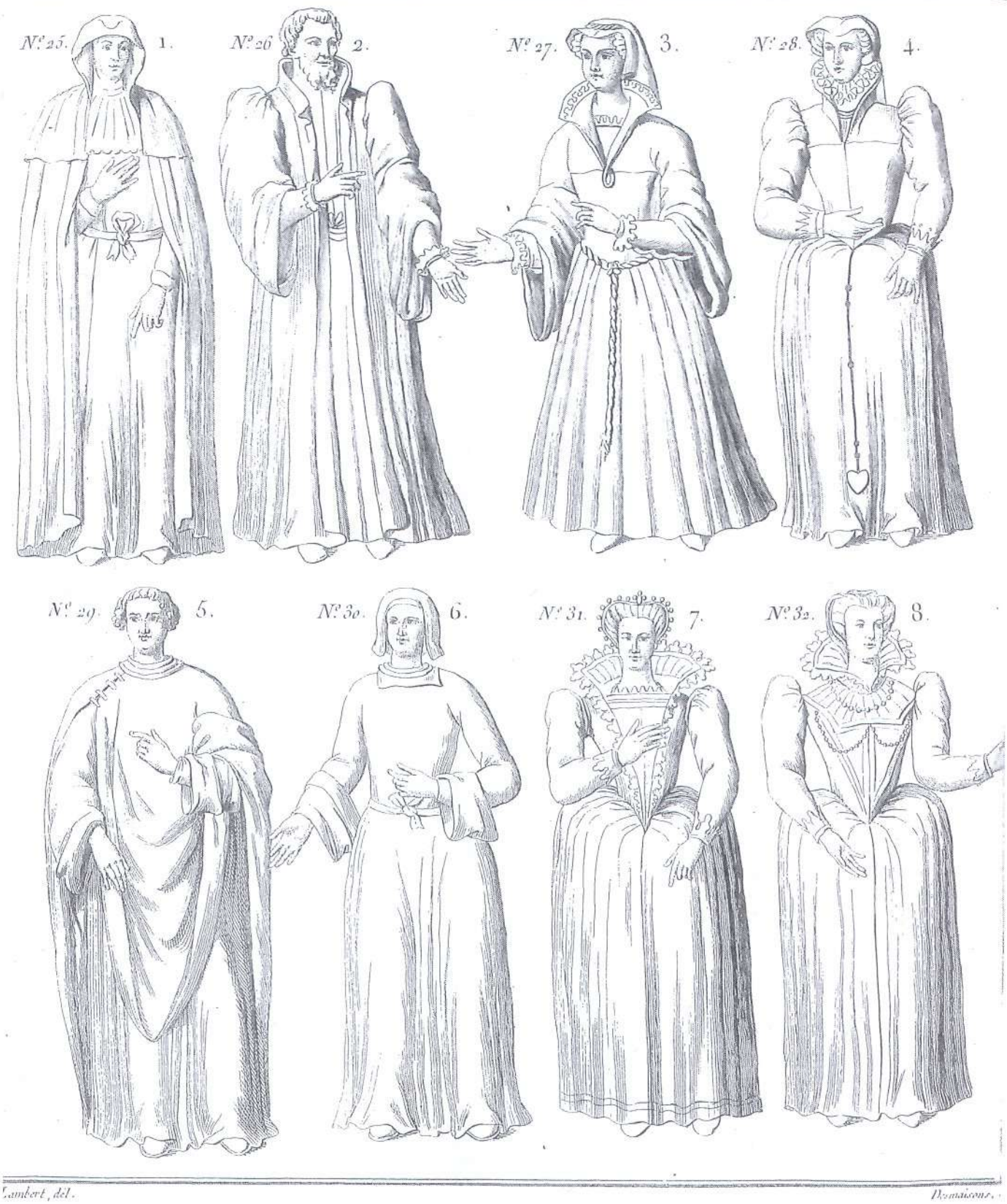
Ill. 47 'Tombes', Duchemin del., Le Carpentier sc., in: *Antiquités nationales*, vol. 4 (1792), art. XXXVII, Chapelle de Saint-Yves, plate 3.

Ill. 48 'Figures de diverses tombes', Lambert del., Barrière sc., in: *Antiquités nationales*, vol. 4 (1792), art. XLVII, Les Blancs-Manteaux, plate 3.

Ill. 49 'Figures de diverses tombes', Lambert del., Barrière sc., in: *Antiquités nationales*, vol. 4 (1792), art. XLVII, Les Blancs-Manteaux, plate 4.



Ill. 50 'Figures de diverses tombes', Lambert del., Le Carpentier sc., in: *Antiquités nationales*, vol. 4 (1792), art. XLVII, Les Blancs-Manteaux, plate 5.

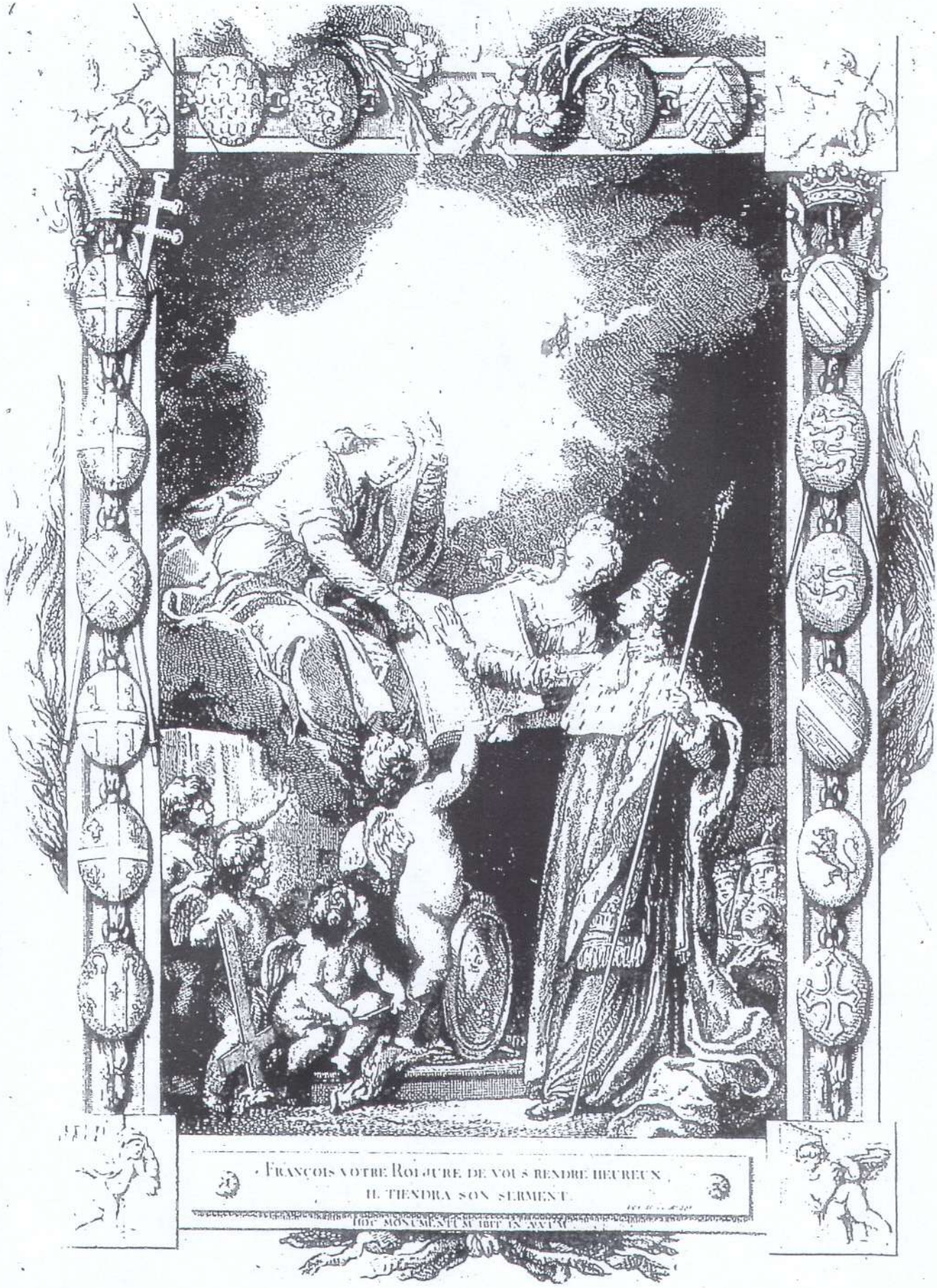


Ill. 51 'Figures de diverses tombes', Lambert del., Desmaisons sc., in: *Antiquités nationales*, vol. 4 (1792), art. XLVII, Les Blancs-Manteaux, plate 6.

Ill. 52 Francis Grose, 'View of the West Gate Canterbury, from the river', pen and ink and watercolour, 22.7 × 30.5 cm, British Museum.

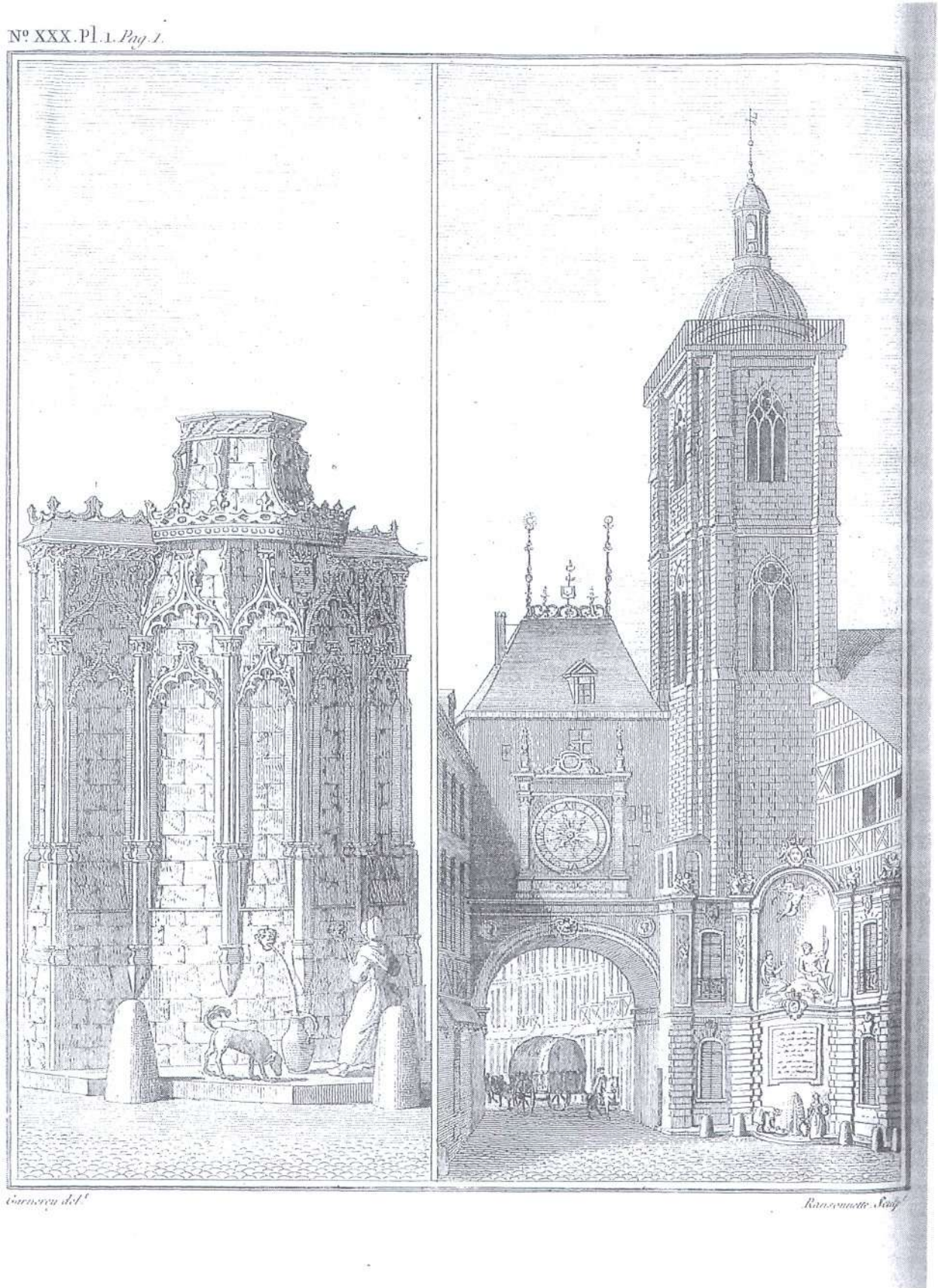
Ill. 53 Title-page to Dodsworth and Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum* (1655).

Ill. 54 Anon., 'Antiquarians', engraving, c. 1770.

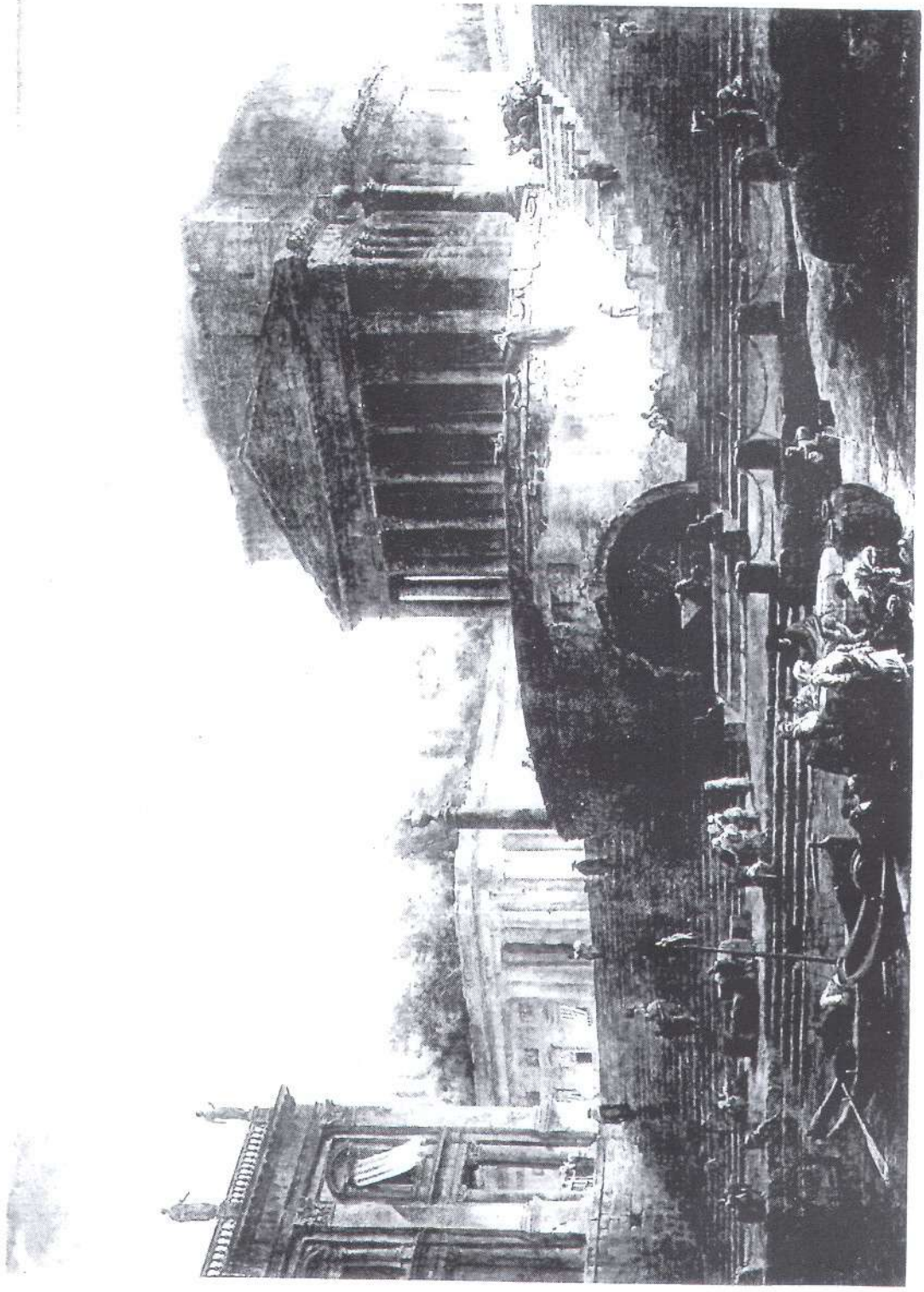


Ill. 55 Frontispiece to Lubersac, *Discours sur les monumens publics* (1775).

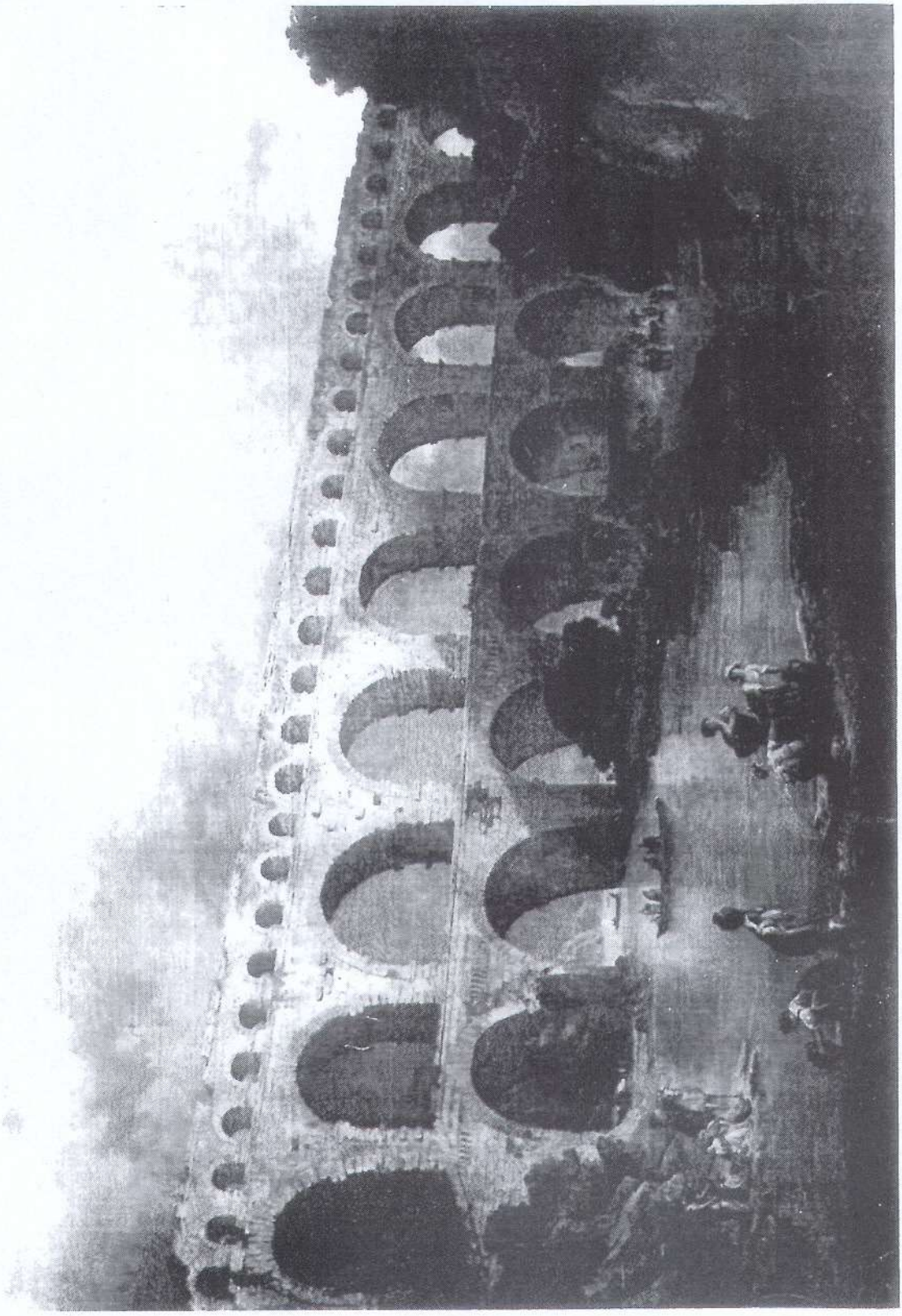
Ill. 56 'Diverses tombes', Brion del., Masquelier sc., in: *Antiquités nationales*, vol. 1 (1790), art. III, Les Célestins, plate 24.



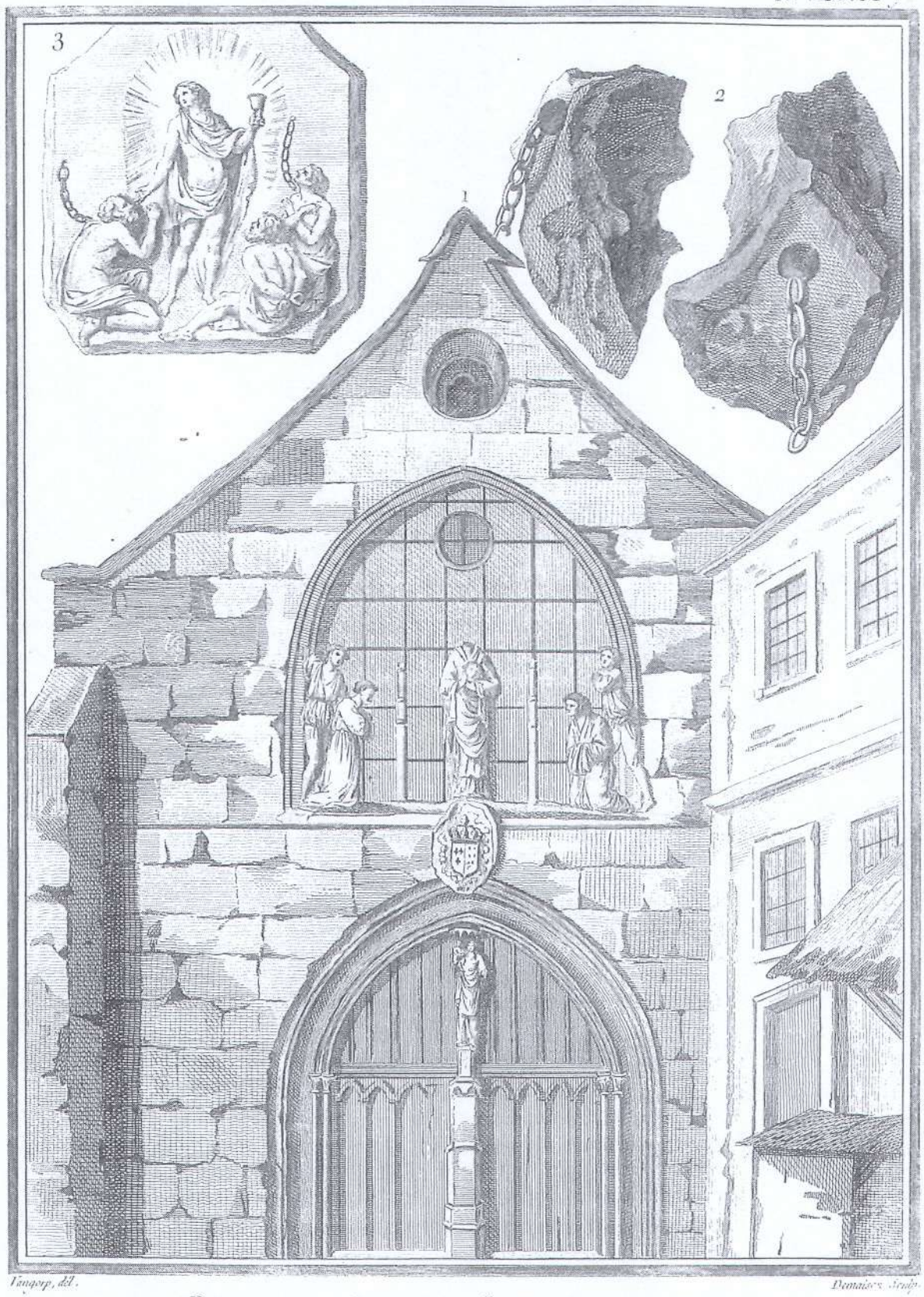
Ill. 57 'Grosse Horloge de Rouen, Fontaine', Garnerey del., Ransonnette sc., in: *Antiquités nationales*, vol. 3 (1791), art. XXX, La Grosse Horloge de Rouen, plate 1.



Ill. 58 Hubert Robert, 'Port de Ripetta in Rome', oil on canvas, 119 × 145 cm, 1766, ÉNSBA, Paris.

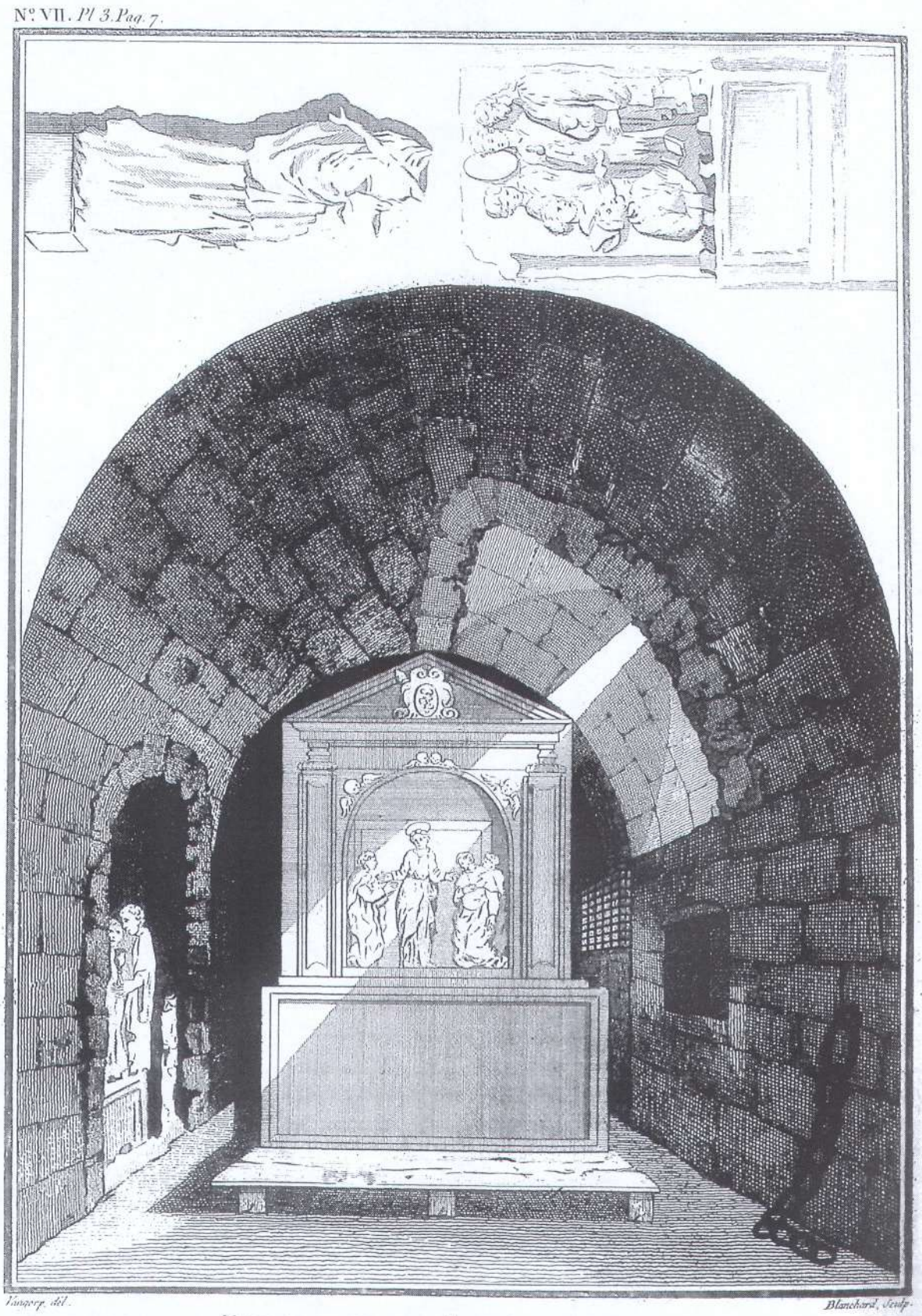


Ill. 59 Hubert Robert, 'Le pont du Gard', oil on canvas, 242 × 242 cm, 1786–7, Musée du Louvre, Paris.

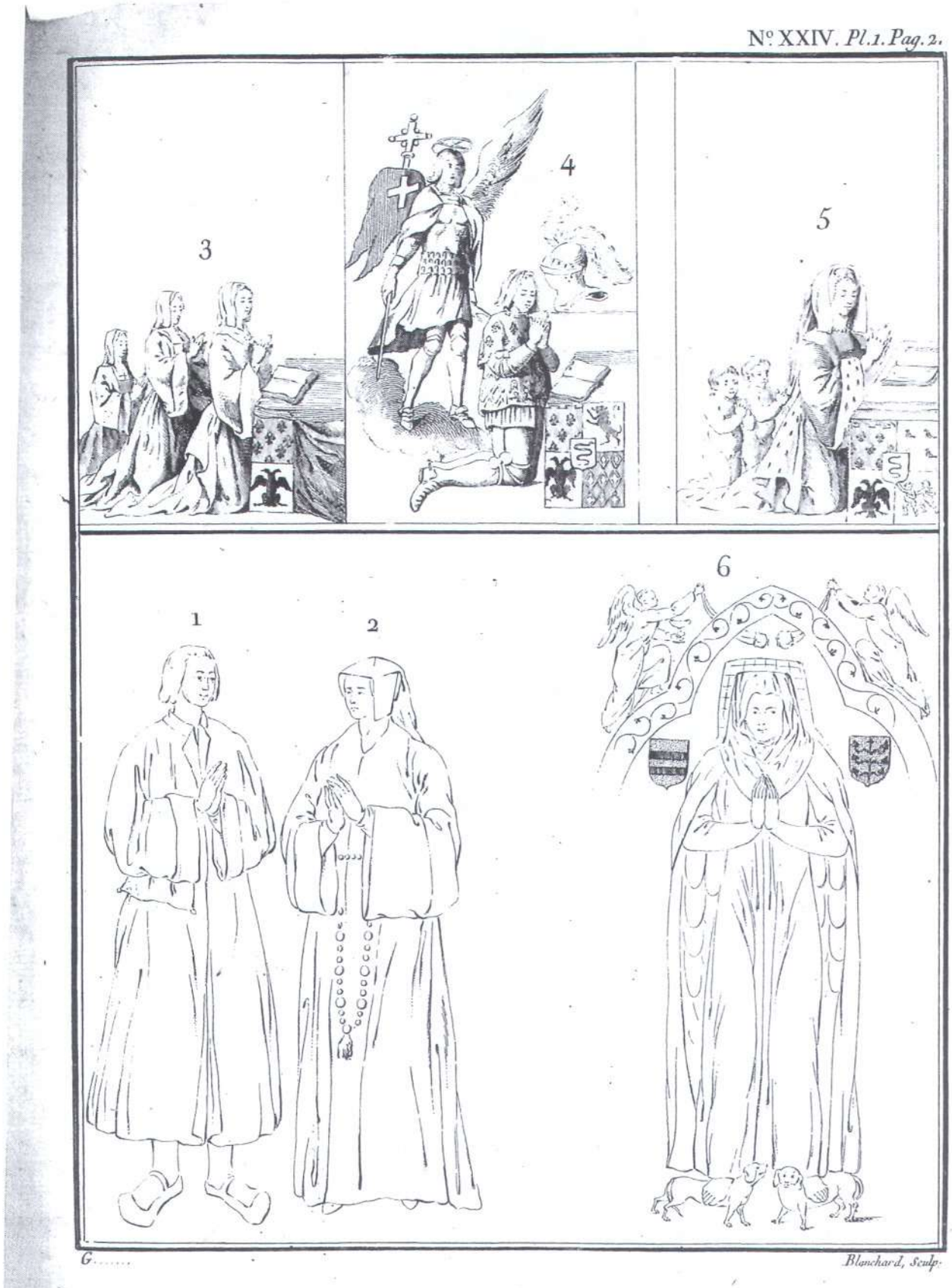


PORTAIL DE L'EGLISE DE S.T DENIS DE LA CHARTRE.

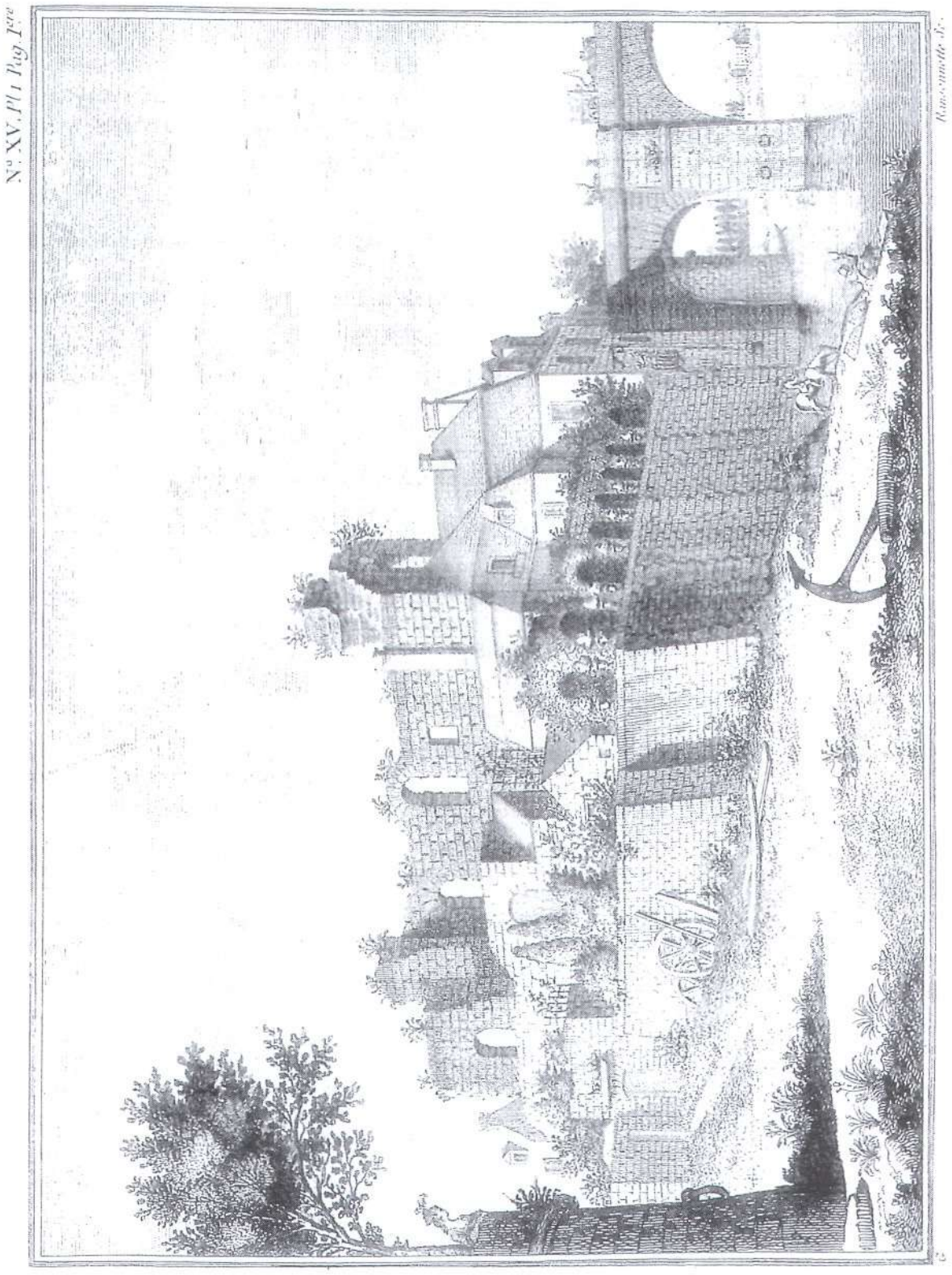
Ill. 60 'Portail de l'eglise de S.t Denis de la Chartre', van Gorp del., Desmaisons sc., in: *Antiquités nationales*, vol. 1 (1790), art. VII, Saint-Denis de la Chartre, plate 1.



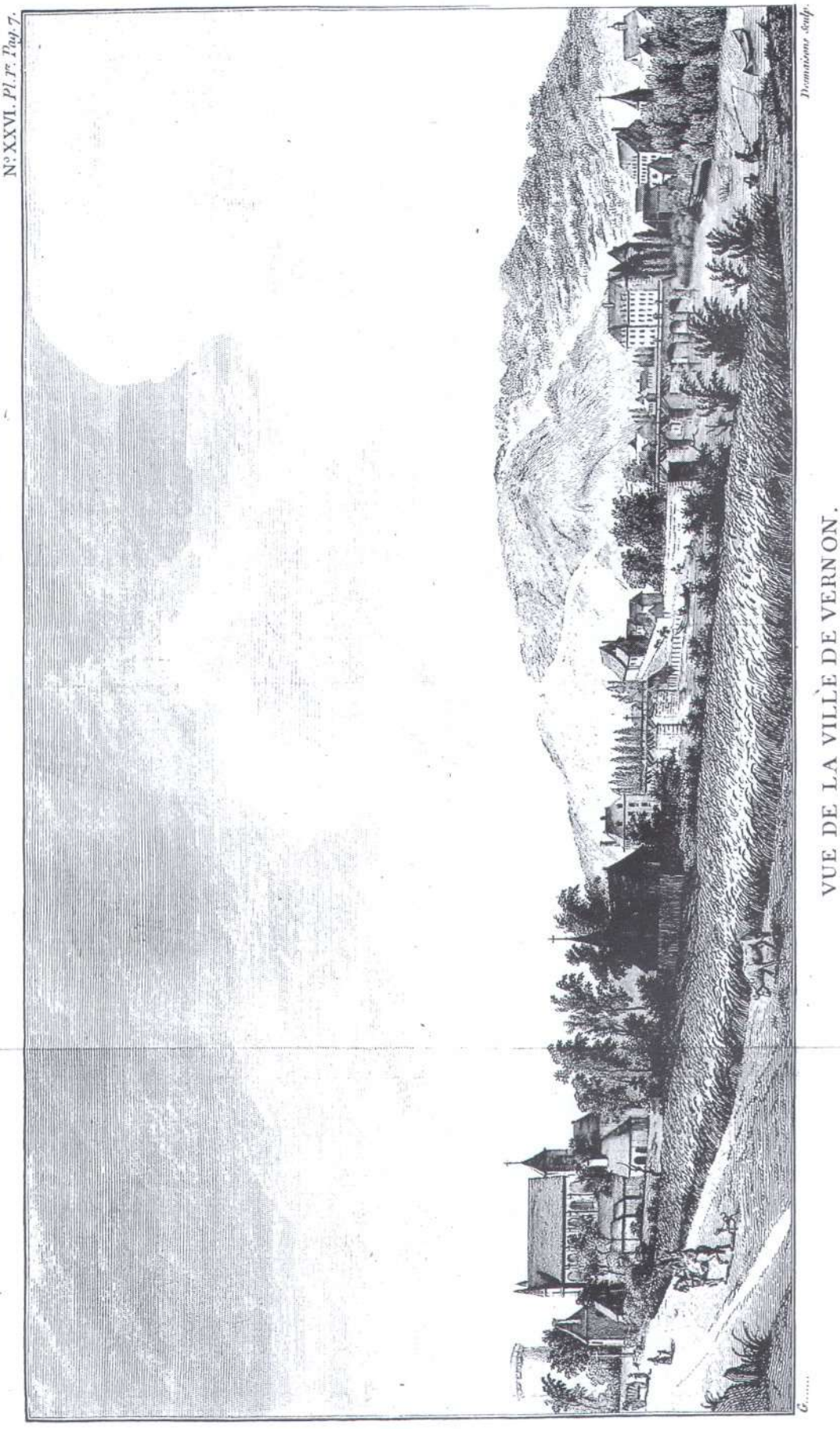
Ill. 61 'Église basse de St. Denis de la Chartre', van Gorp del., Blanchard sc., in: *Antiquités nationales*, vol. 1 (1790), art. 7, Saint-Denis de la Chartre, plate 3.



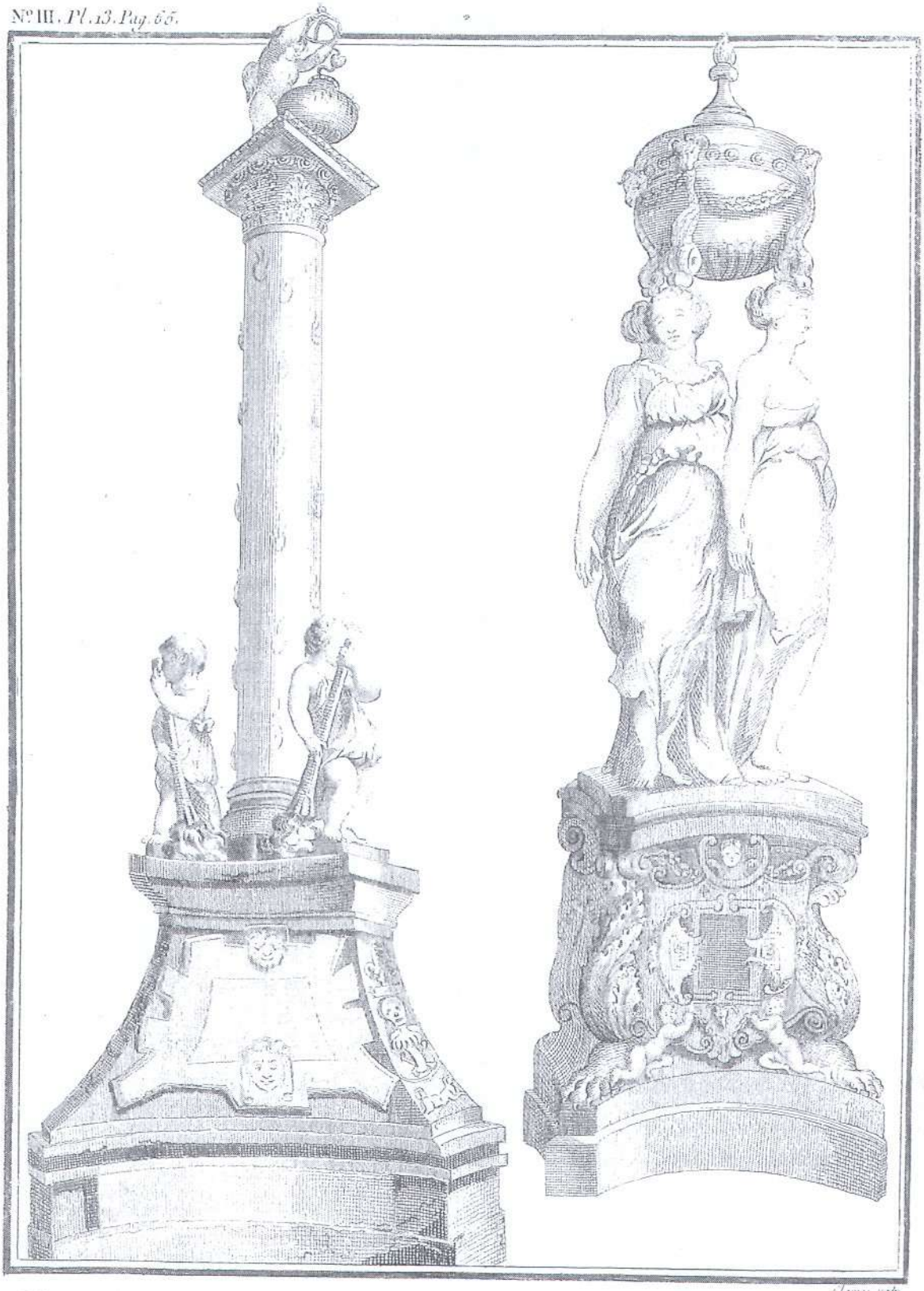
Ill. 62 'Tombes et Vitraux', Garnerey del., Blanchard sc., in: *Antiquités nationales*, vol. 3 (1791), art. XXIV, Cordeliers de Mantes, plate 1.



Ill. 63 'Vue du château', Garnerey del., Ransonnette sc., in: *Antiquités nationales*, vol. 2 (1791), art. XV, Ancien Château de Corbeil, plate 1.



Ill. 64 'Vue de la Ville de Vernon', Garnerey del., Desmaisons sc., in *Antiquités nationales*, vol. 3 (1791), art. XXVI, Monumens de la Ville de Vernon, plate 1.



Ill. 65 'Sépulture du Cœur de François II. Sépulture du Cœur de Henri II, de Charles IX et de François duc d'Anjou', Chapuy sc., in: *Antiquités nationales*, vol. 1 (1790), art. III, Les Célestins, plate 13.

Exemples d'étiquettes à placer sur les objets que la commission des arts inventorie.

60. *a* A. 1. 1.	60. *a* A. 1. -|- 2.	60. *a* A. 1. -|-|- 3.	60. *a* A. 1. -|-|-|- 4.	60. *a* A. 1. 5.	60. *a* A. 1. 6.	60. *a* A. 1. 7.

EXPLICATION.

60. — désigne le département de Paris.
a. — indique la collection de la ci-devant académie des sciences.
A. — marque la section d'histoire naturelle.
1. — Ce chiffre, qui suit A, annonce que c'est la classe de minéralogie A. 1. qui a fait l'inventaire.
-|- — Cette croix simple annonce que l'objet est remarquable par ses caractères, ou par sa belle conservation, et qu'il peut servir à l'enseignement ; on pourroit aussi le désigner par une seule étoile *.
-|-|- — Cette croix double désigne les objets rares, précieux, et par conséquent très-remarquables ; on pourroit les indiquer par deux étoiles **.
-|-|-|- — Les objets les plus rares et les plus précieux pourroient être marqués d'une croix triple, ou désignés par trois étoiles ***.
1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. etc. est la série des numéros par lesquels les objets sont désignés, et suivant l'ordre desquels ils sont placés et écrits sur l'inventaire.

Plan des divisions principales d'un cahier d'inventaire.

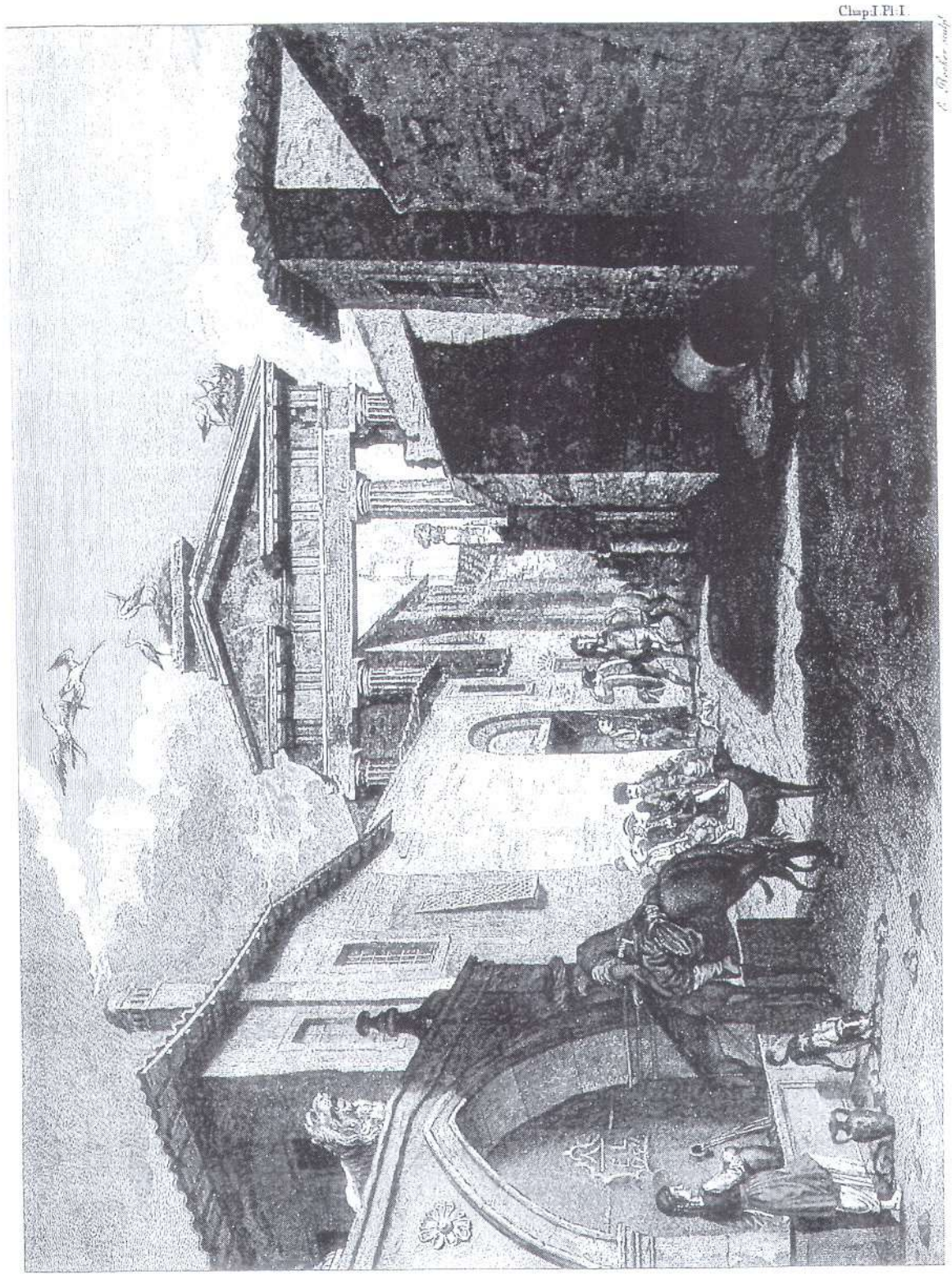
1	2	3	4	5	6
Places.	Numéros des objets.	Nombre des objets sous le même numéro.	Nomenclature et courte description des objets.	Notes sur l'état de conservation ou autres.	Signes de remarque.

§. V.

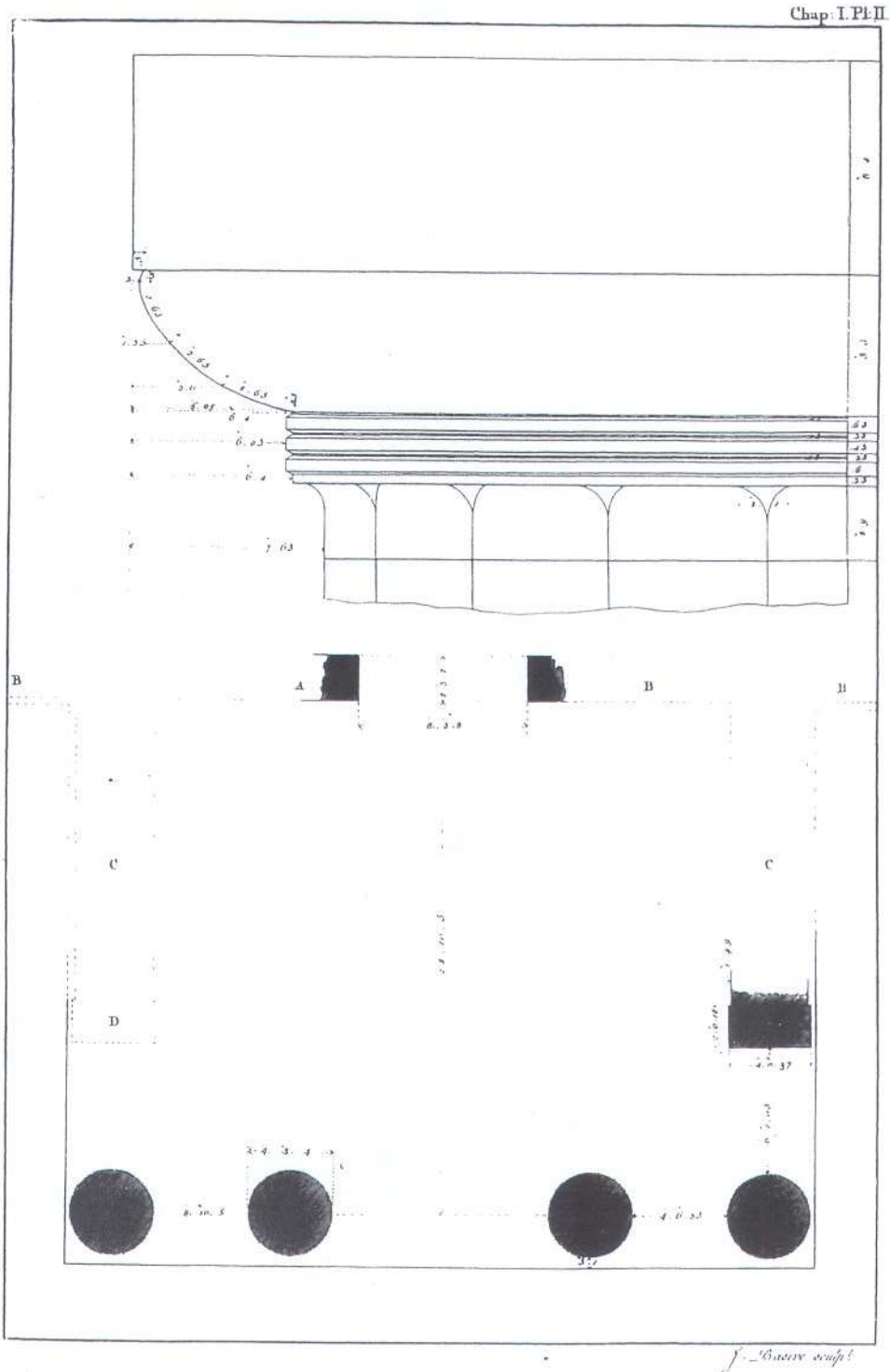
Plan des divisions principales d'un catalogue méthodique.

1	2	3	4
Numéros placés sur chaque objet.	Nombre des objets sous le même numéro.	Nomenclature et courte description des objets.	Signes de remarque.

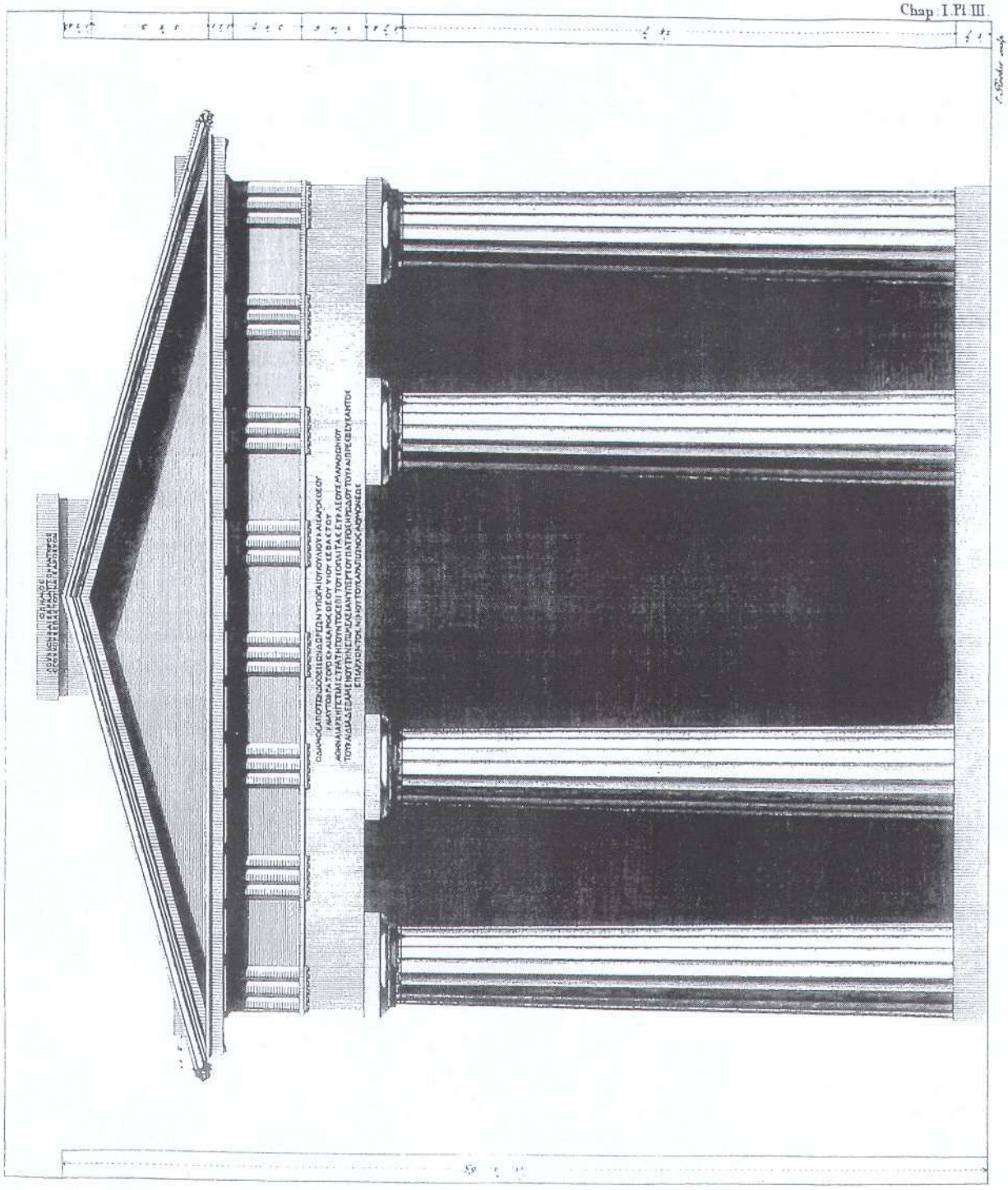
Ill. 66 Examples of labels and inventories, in: *Instruction sur la manière d'inventorier et de conserver ... tous les objets qui peuvent servir aux arts* (1794).



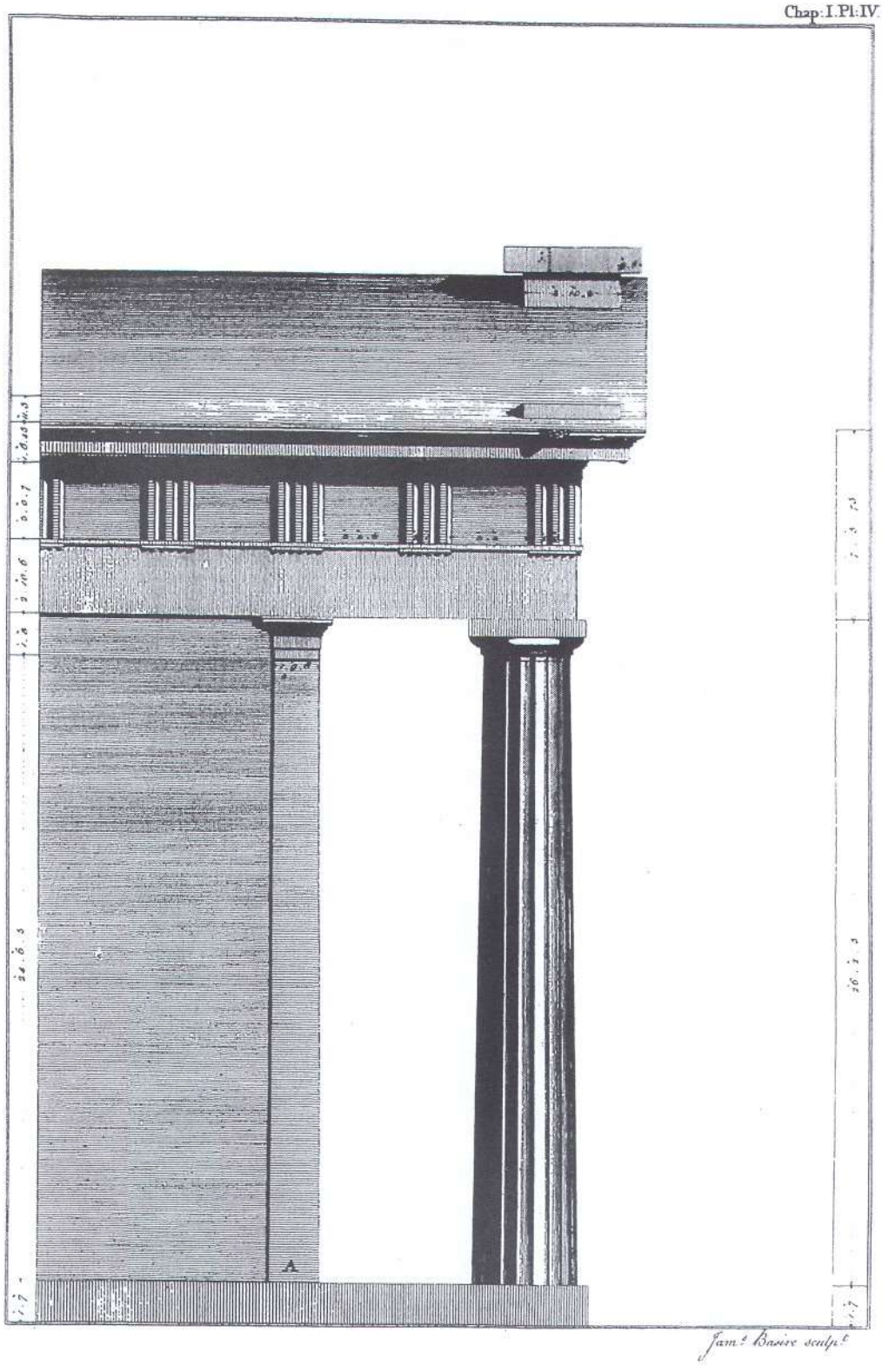
Ill. 67 'A view of the portico in its present state', E. Rooker sc., in: Stuart & Revett, *Antiquities of Athens*, vol. 1 (1762), ch. 1, plate 1.



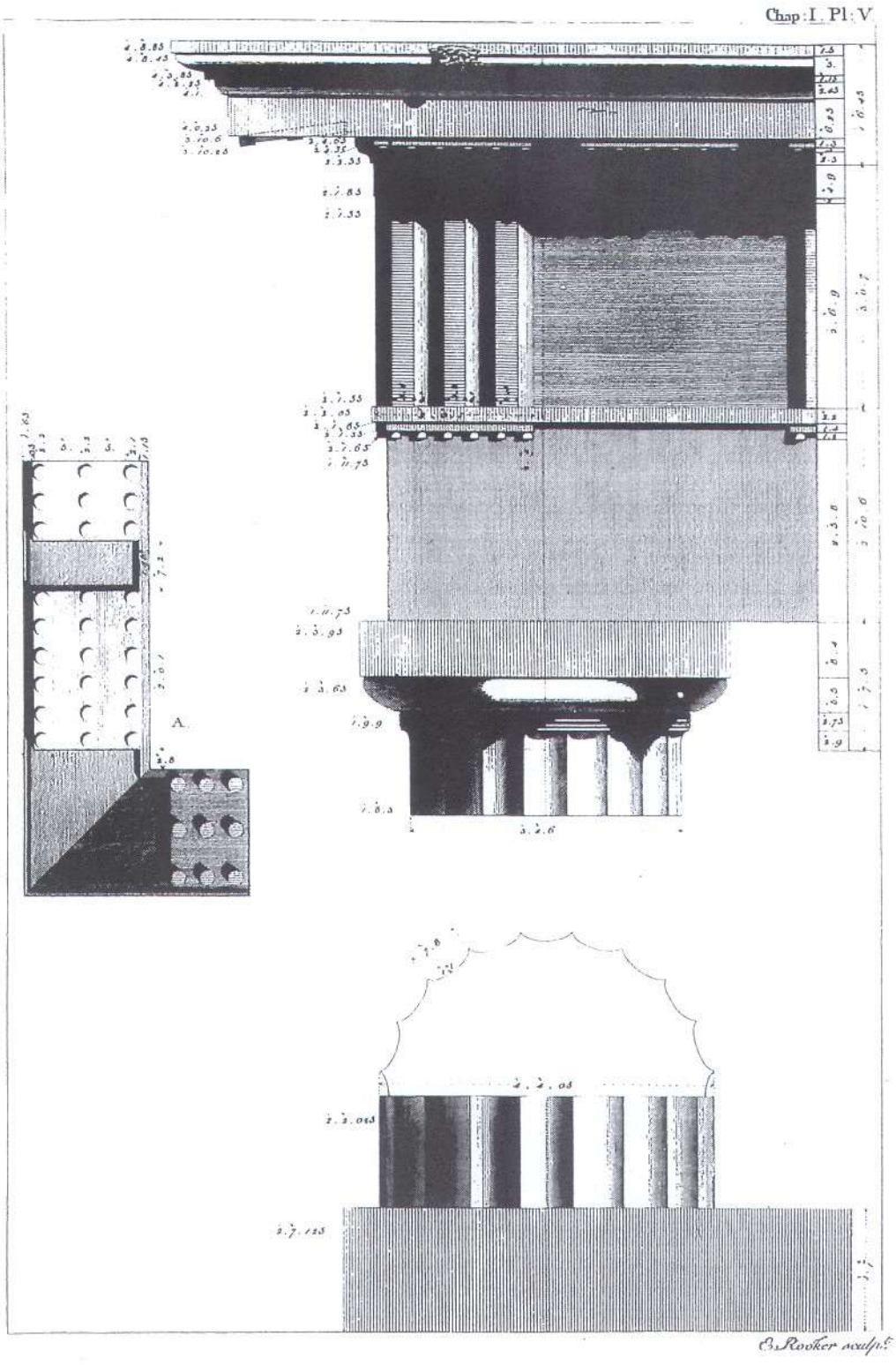
Ill. 68 'Plan of the portico; profile of the capital of the columns of this portico', Basire sc., in: Stuart & Revett, *Antiquities of Athens*, vol. 1 (1762), ch. 1, plate 2.



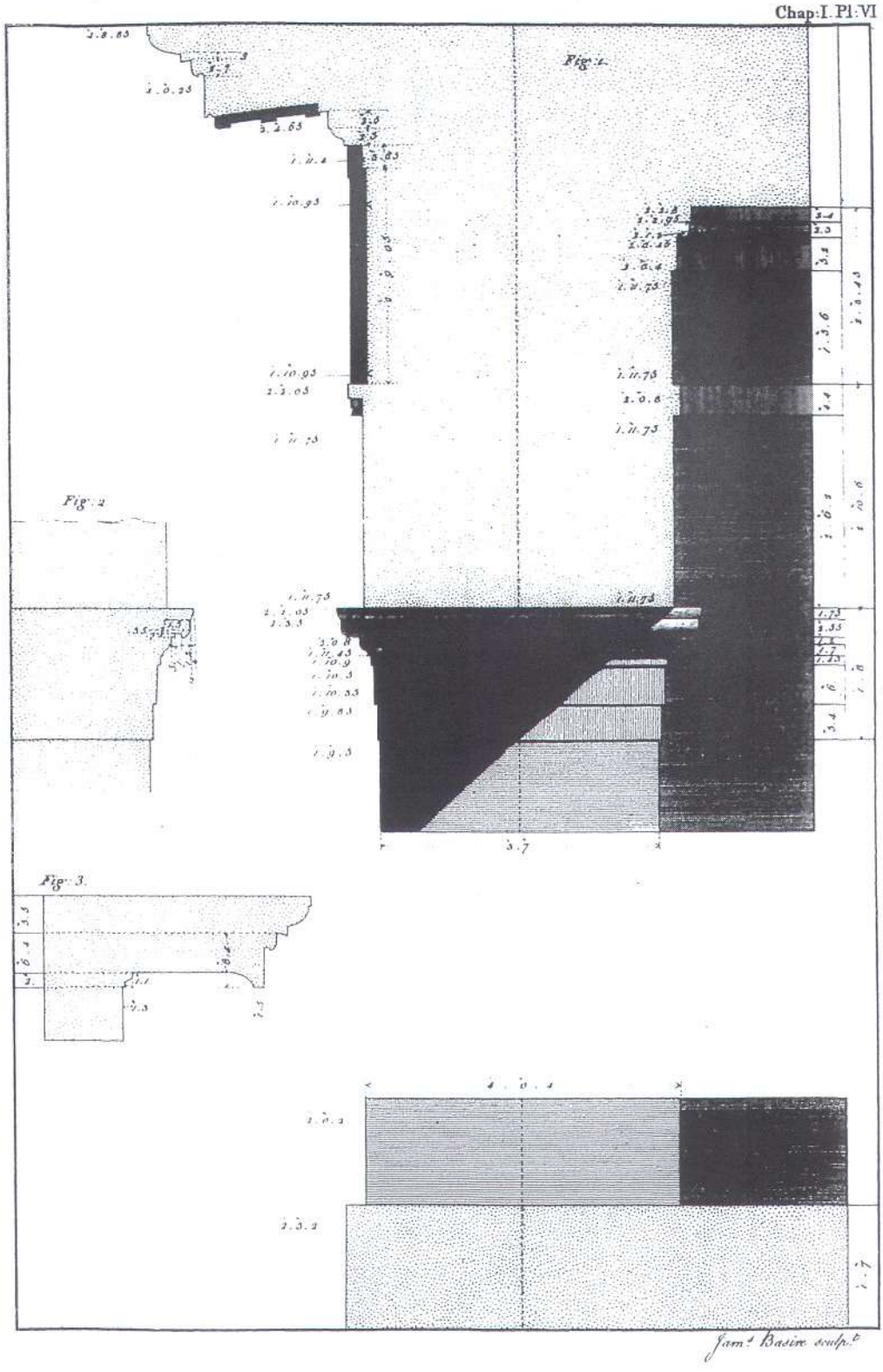
Ill. 69 'Front elevation of the portico', Rooker sc., in: Stuart & Revett, *Antiquities of Athens*, vol. 1 (1762), ch. 1, plate 3.



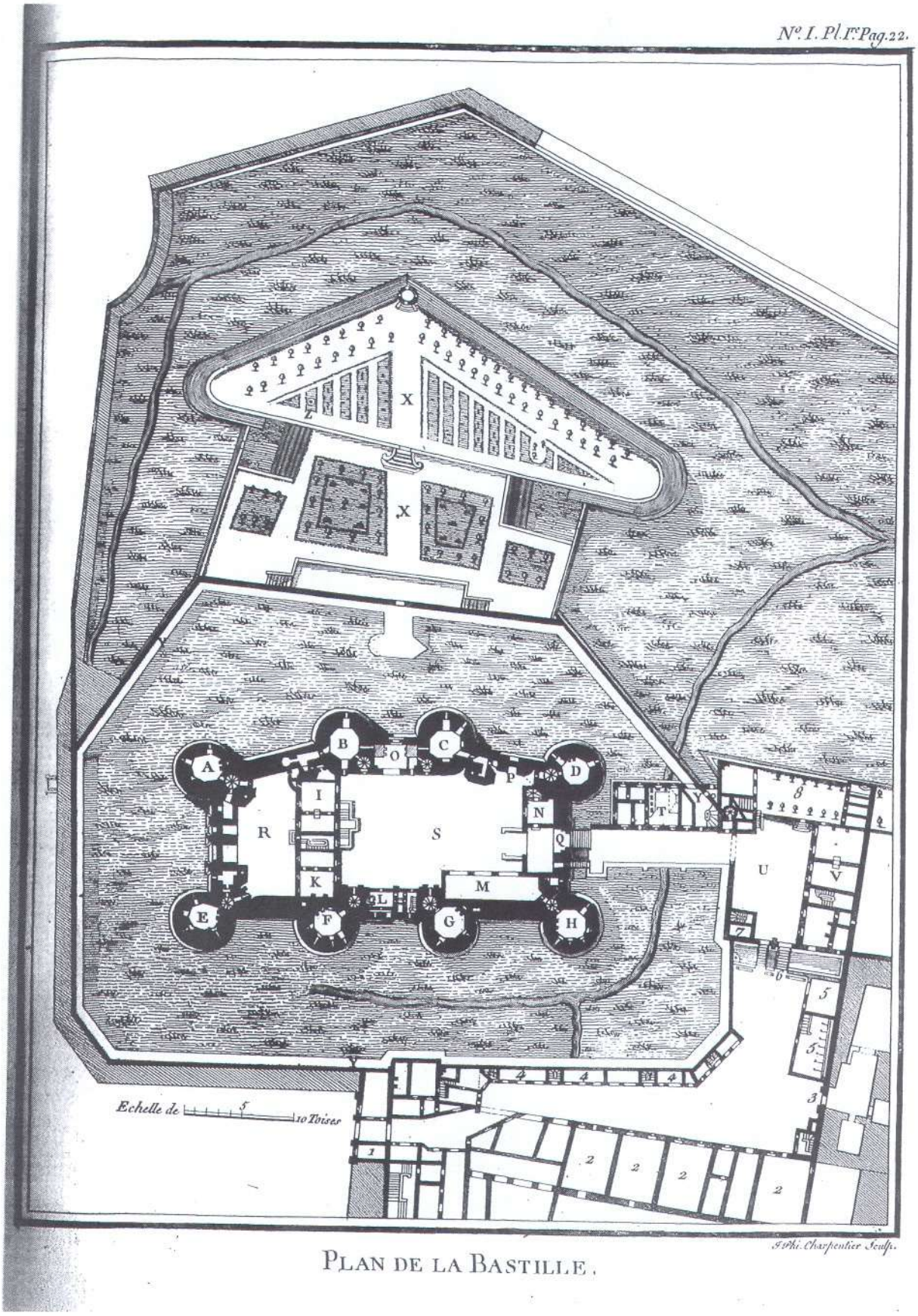
Ill. 70 'Lateral elevation of the portico', Basire sc., in: Stuart & Revett, *Antiquities of Athens*, vol. 1 (1762), ch. 1, plate 4.



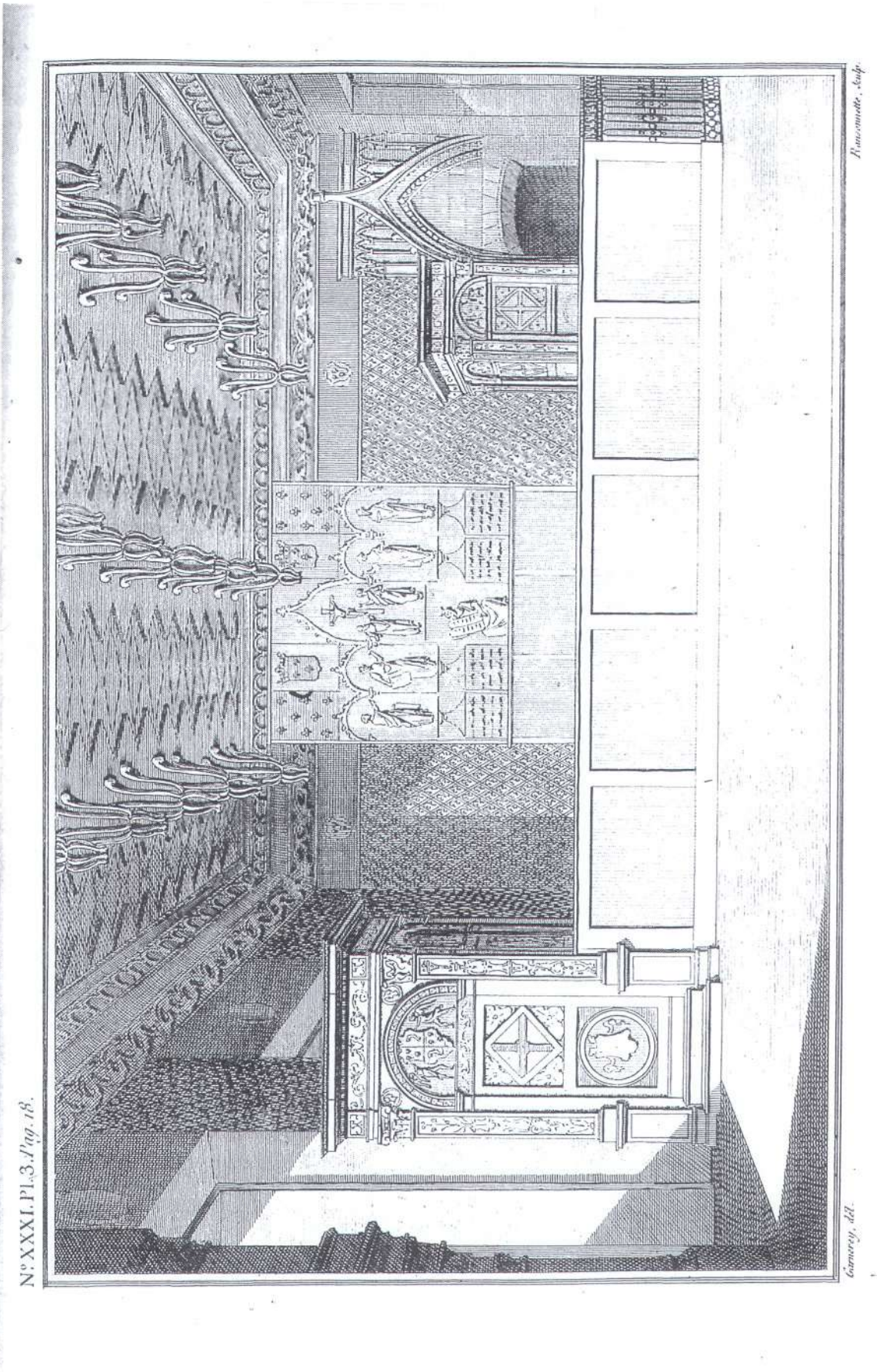
Ill. 71 'Capital and entablature', Rooker sc., in: Stuart & Revett, *Antiquities of Athens*, vol. 1 (1762), ch. 1, plate 5.



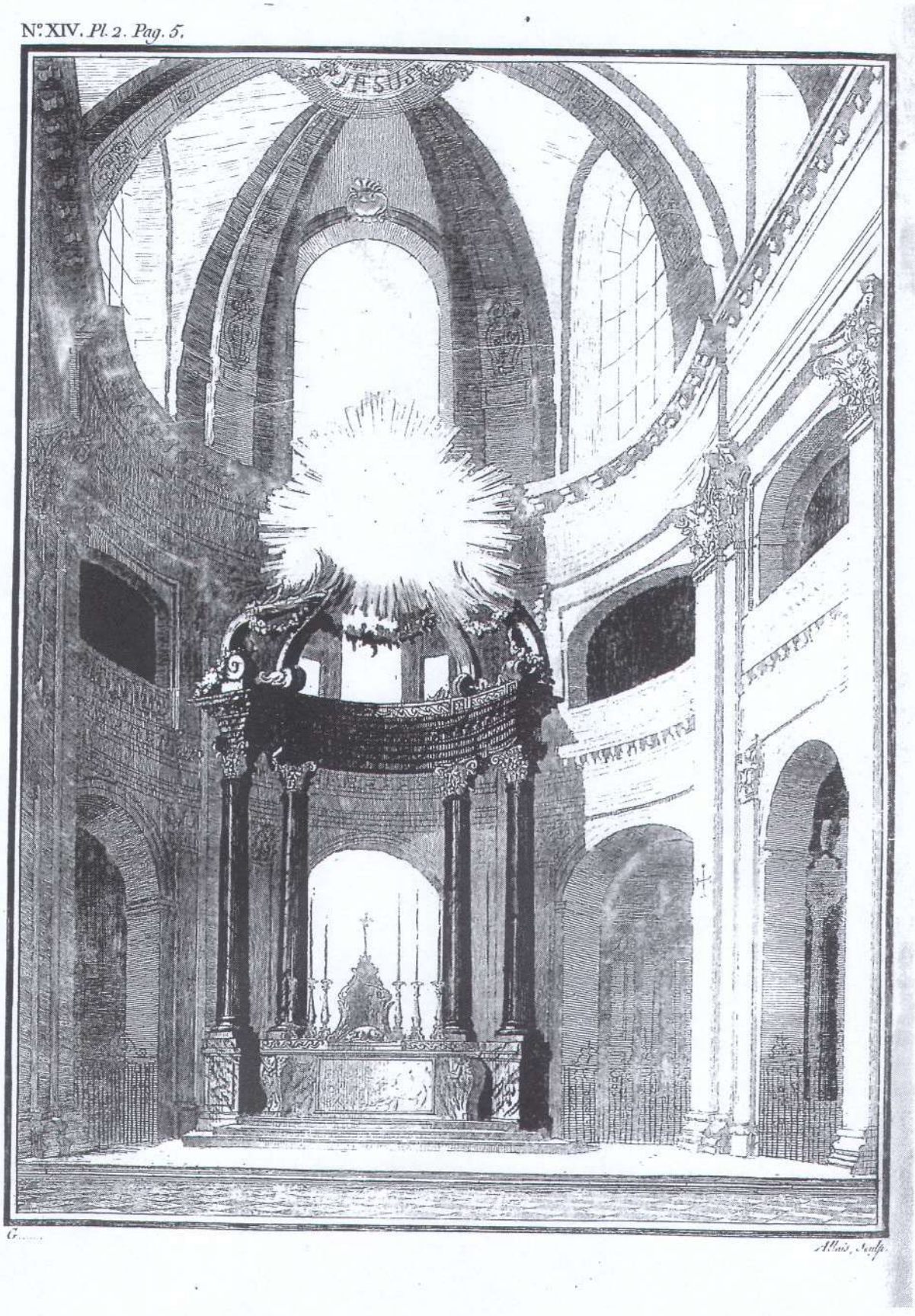
Ill. 72 'Capital of the antae; section of the capital of the antae; section of the cornice over the pediment', Basire sc., in: Stuart & Revett, *Antiquities of Athens*, vol. 1 (1762), ch. 1, plate 6.



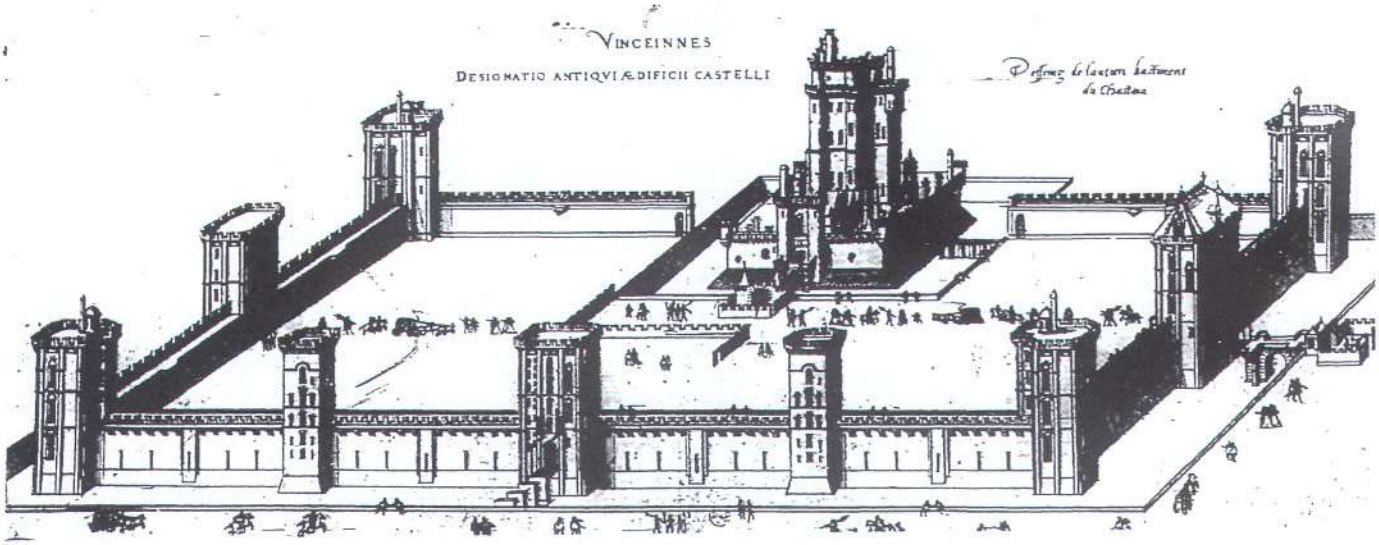
Ill. 73 'Plan de la Bastille', Charpentier sc., in: *Antiquités nationales*, vol. 1 (1790), art. I, La Bastille, plate 1.

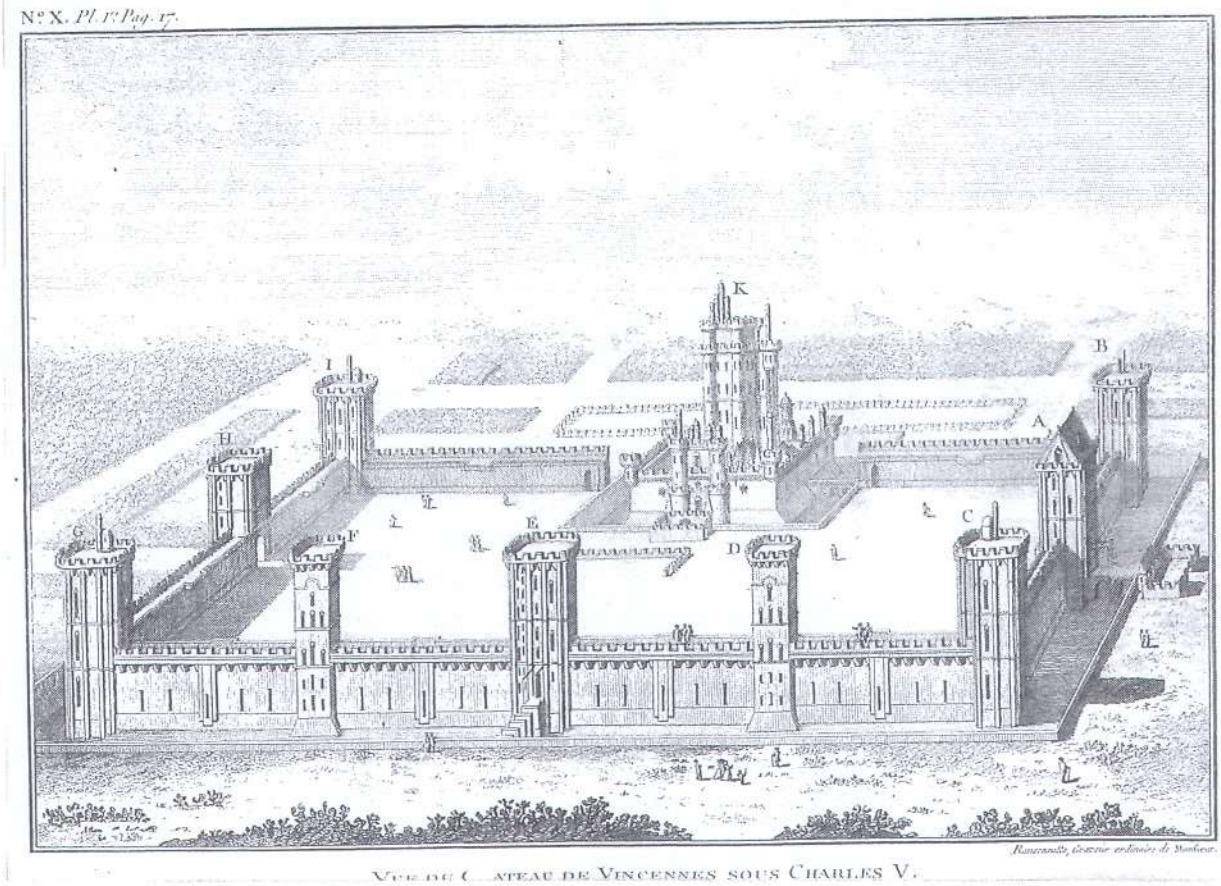


Ill. 74 'Grand' chambre', Garnerey del., Ransonnette sc., in: *Antiquités nationales*, vol. 3 (1791), art. XXXI, Palais de Justice de Rouen, plate 3.



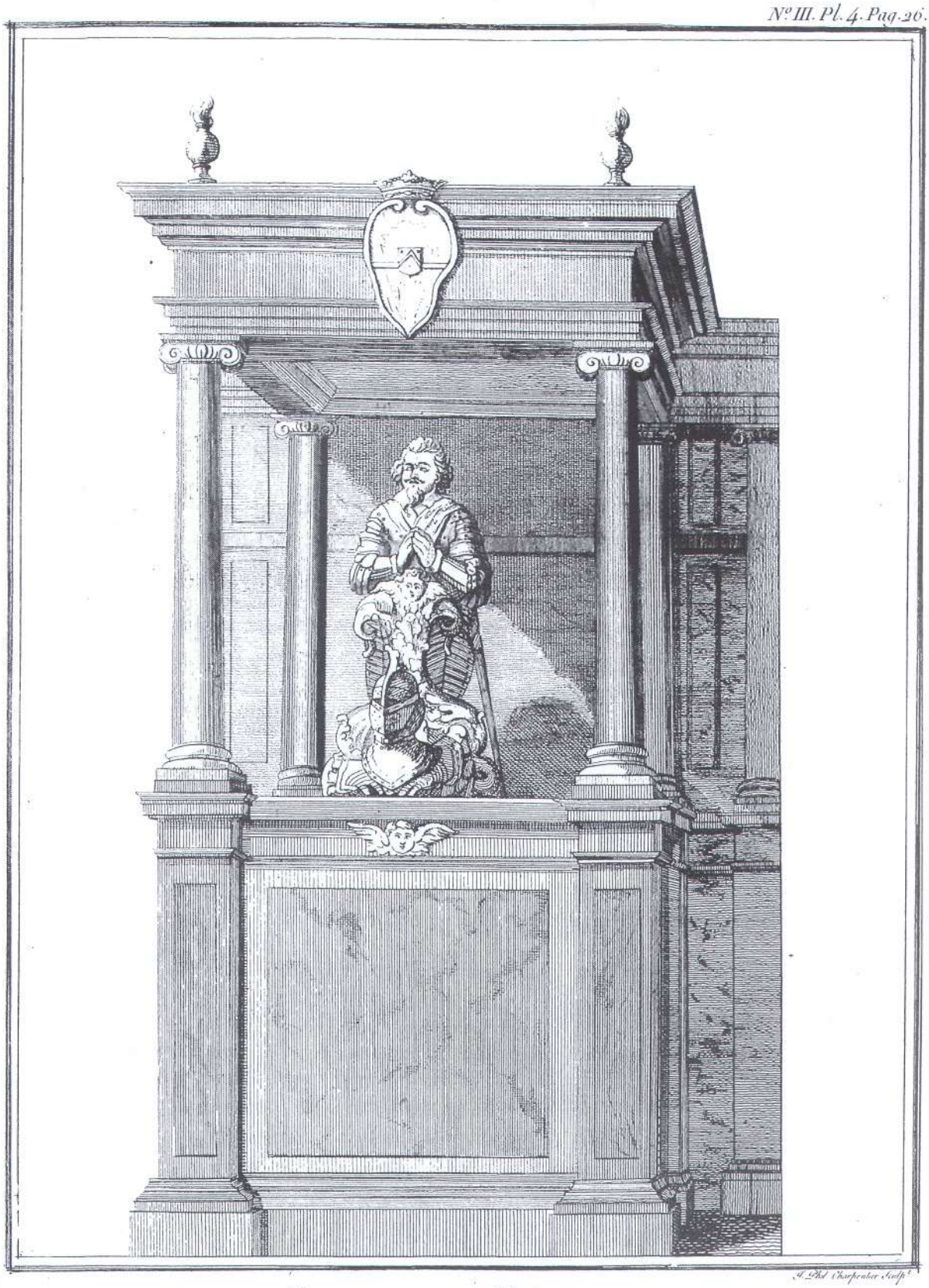
Ill. 75 'Intérieur de l'église. Grand-Autel', Garnerey del., Allais sc., in: *Antiquités nationales*, vol. 2 (1791), art. XIV, Couvent de l'Oratoire, plate 2.



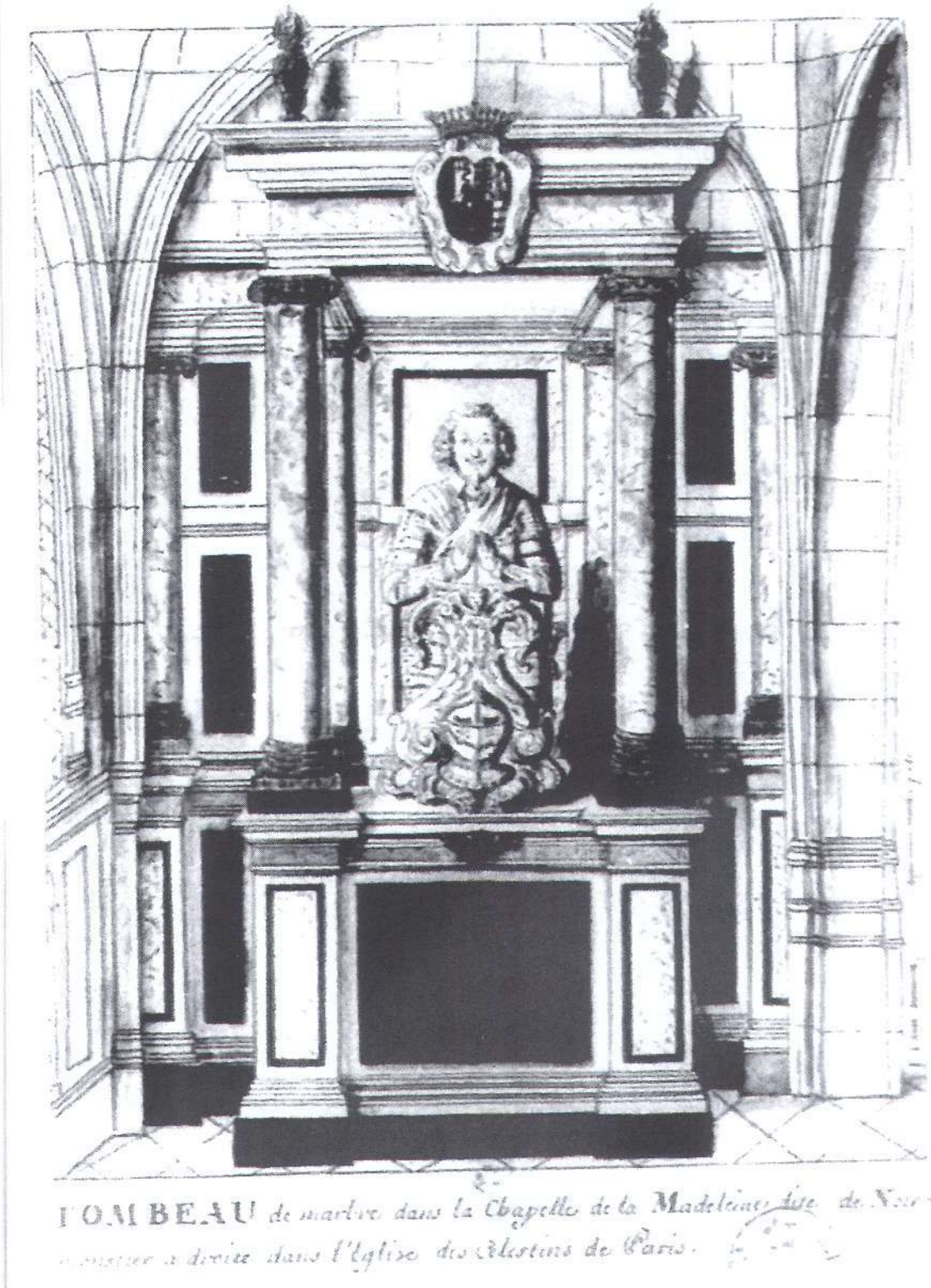


Ill. 76a 'Vinceinnes', in: Jacques Androuet Du Cerceau, *Les plus excellens bastiments de France* (1576).

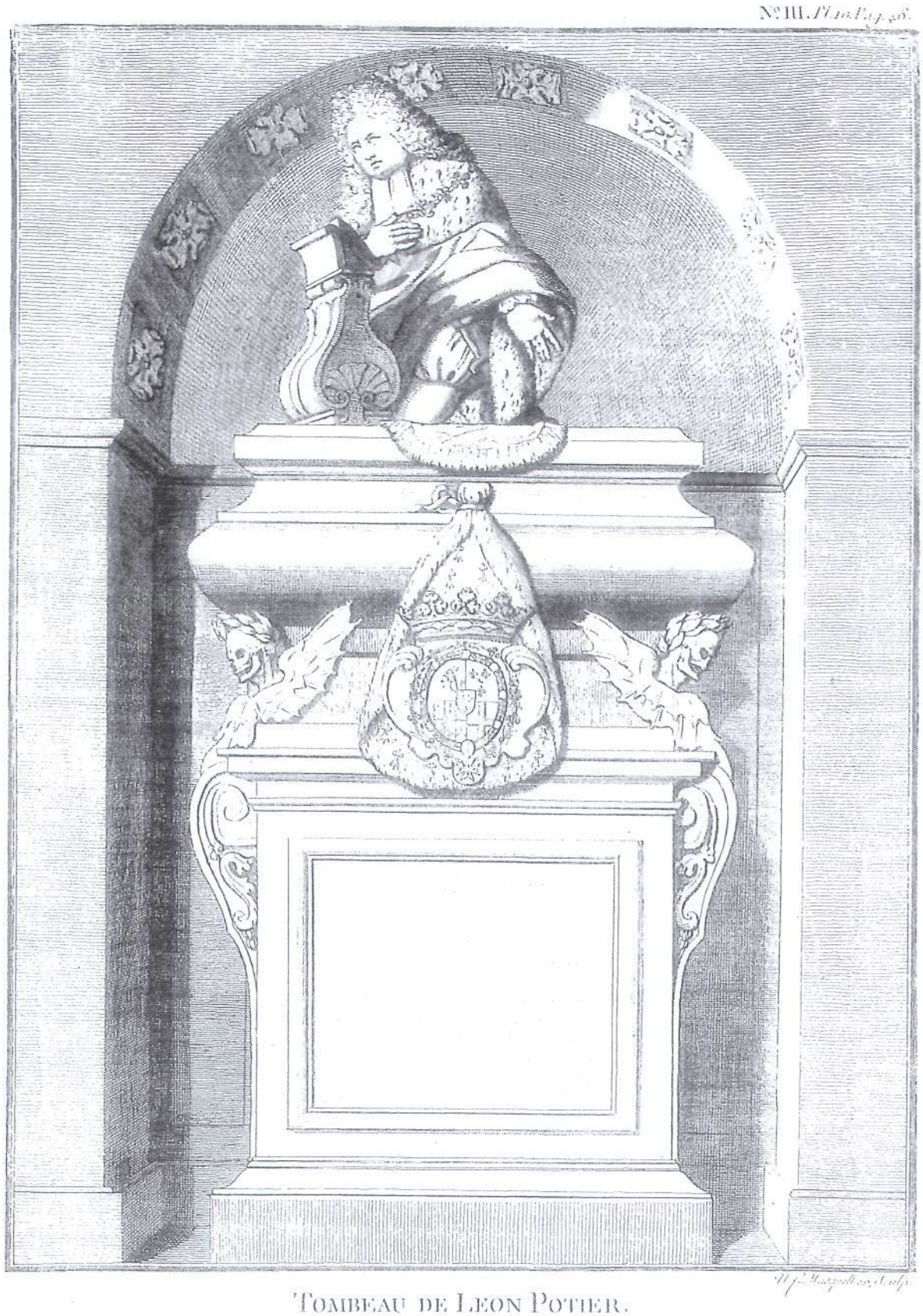
Ill. 76b 'Vue du Chateau de Vincennes sous Charles V', Ransonnette sc., in: *Antiquités nationales*, vol. 2 (1791), art. X, Vincennes, plate 1.



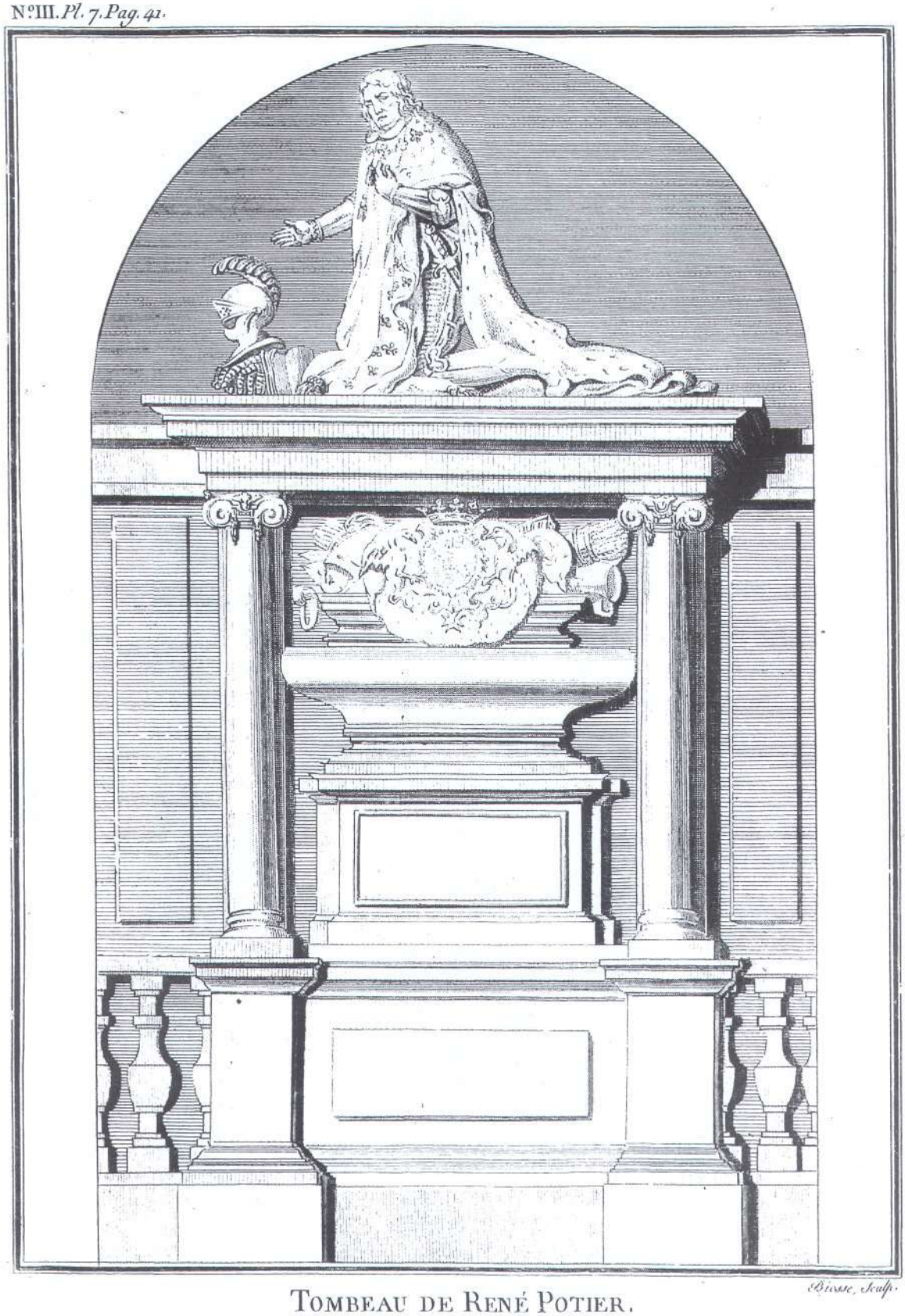
Ill. 77 'Tombeau de la Trimouille', Charpentier sc., in: *Antiquités nationales*, vol. 1 (1790), art. III, Les Célestins, plate 4.



Ill. 78 Louis Boudan, 'Tombeau de Louis de La Trémoïlle', BNF, Cabinet des estampes, Rés. Pe 11, fol. 18.



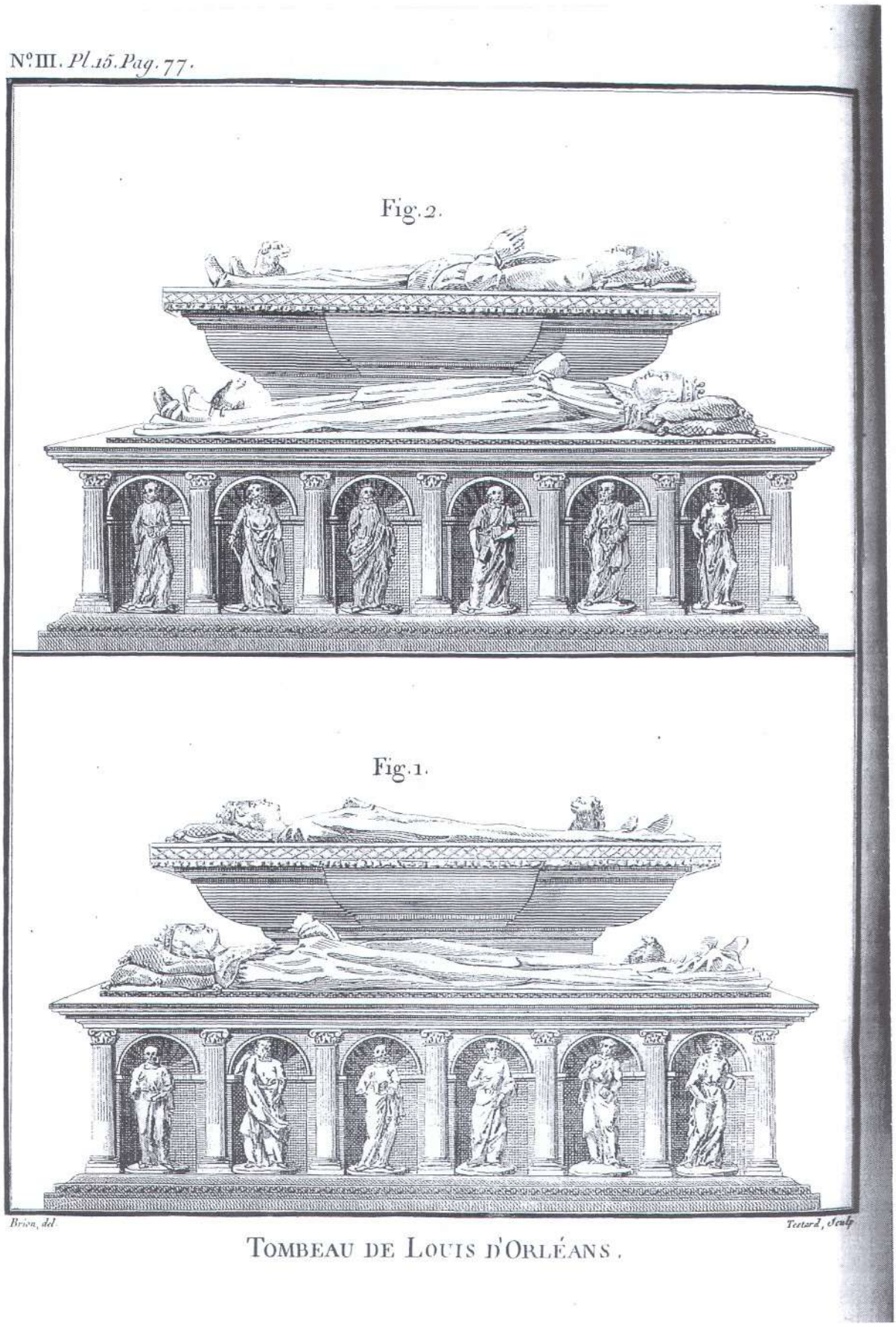
Ill. 79 'Tombeau de Léon Potier', Masquelier sc., in: *Antiquités nationales*, vol. 1 (1790), art. III, Les Célestins, plate 10.



Ill. 80 'Tombeau de René Potier', Beausse sc., in: *Antiquités nationales*, vol. 1 (1790), art. III, Les Célestins, plate 7.

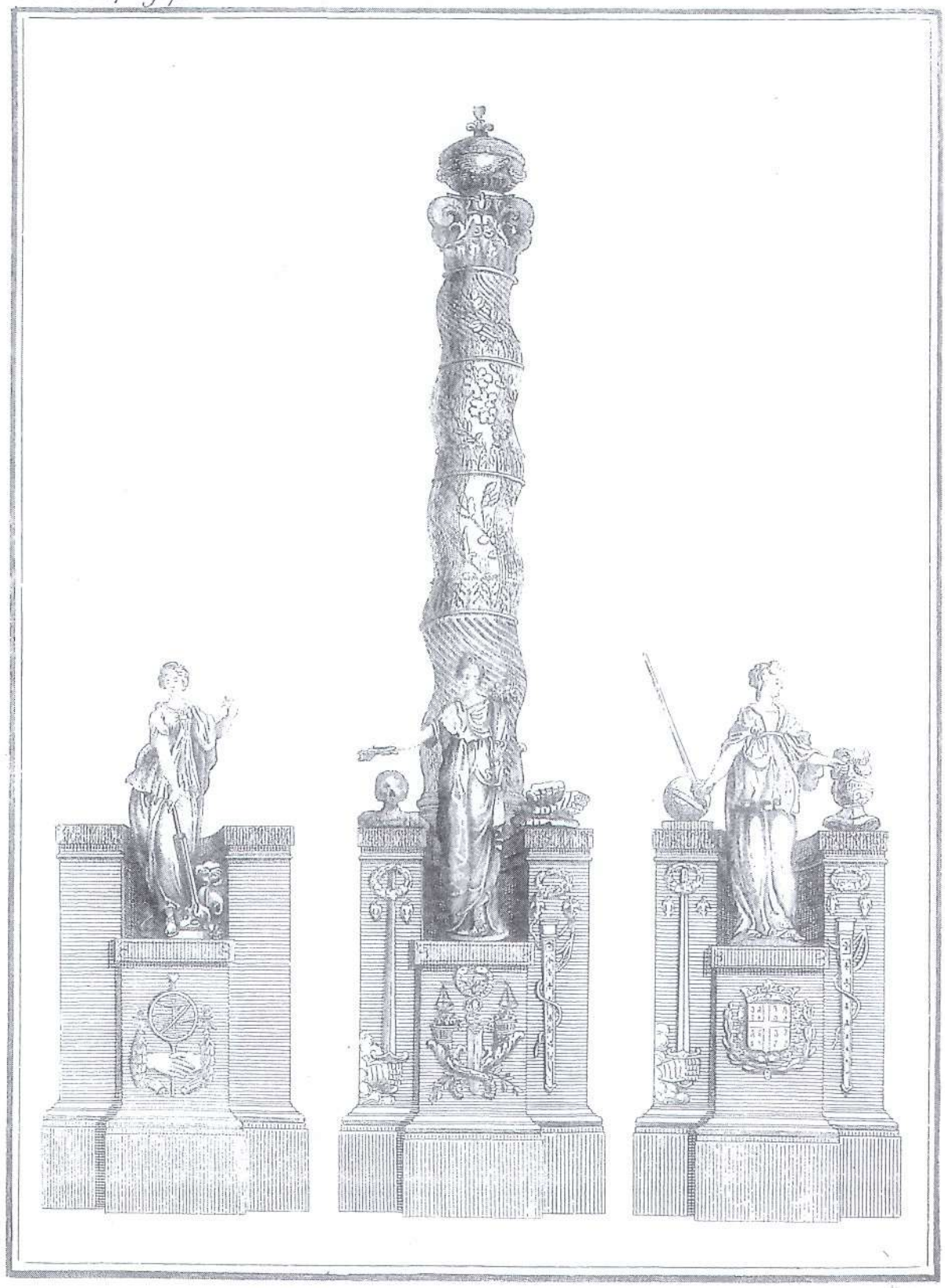
Tombeau de Philippe Chabot.

Ill. 81 'Tombeau de Philippe Chabot', Beausse sc., in: *Antiquités nationales*, vol. 1 (1790), art. III, Les Célestins, plate 12.



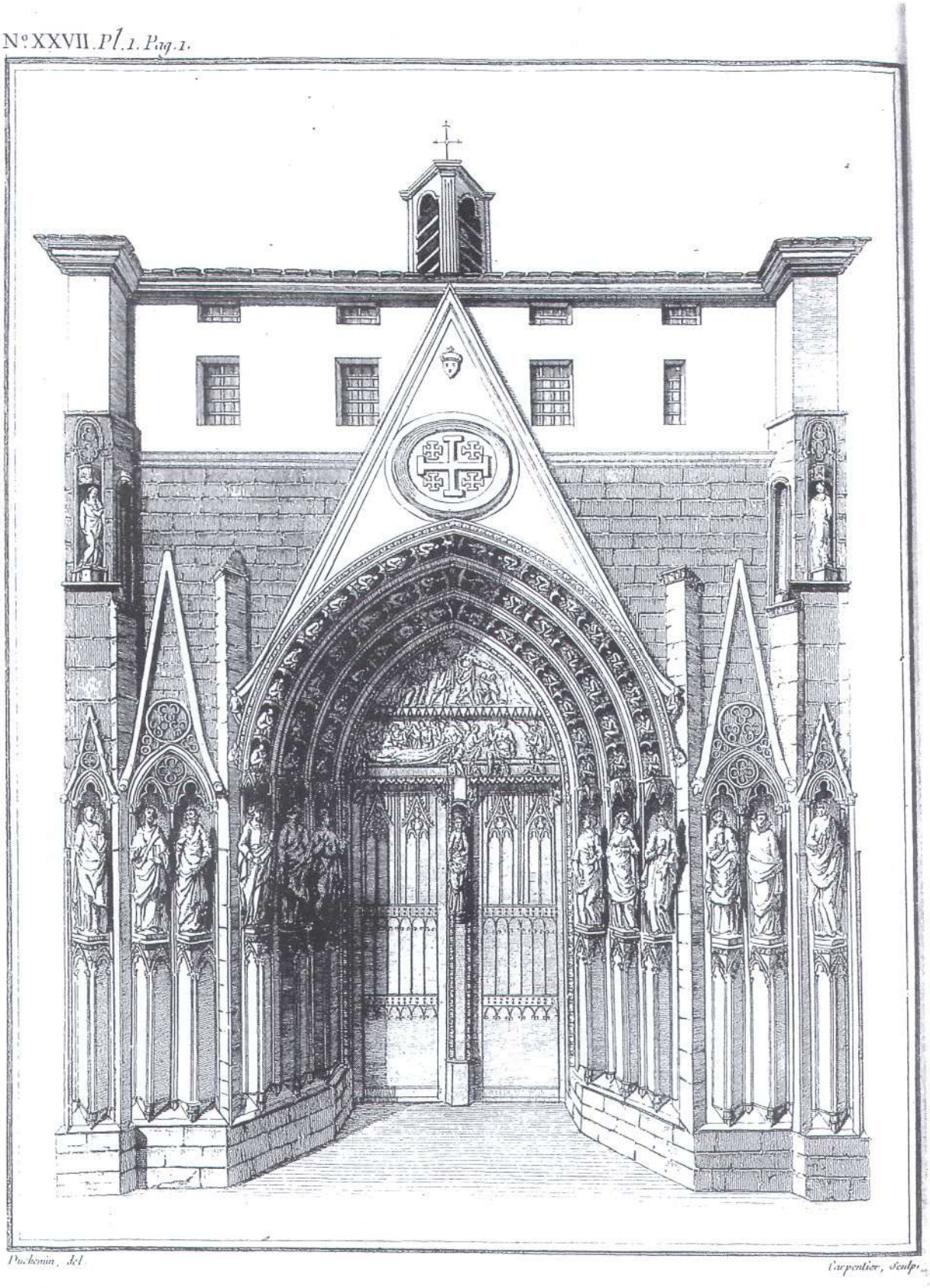
Ill. 82 'Tombeau de Louis d'Orléans', Brion del., Testard sc., in: *Antiquités nationales*, vol. 1 (1790), art. III, Les Célestins, plate 15.

N°. III. *Pl. 14. Pag. 71.*

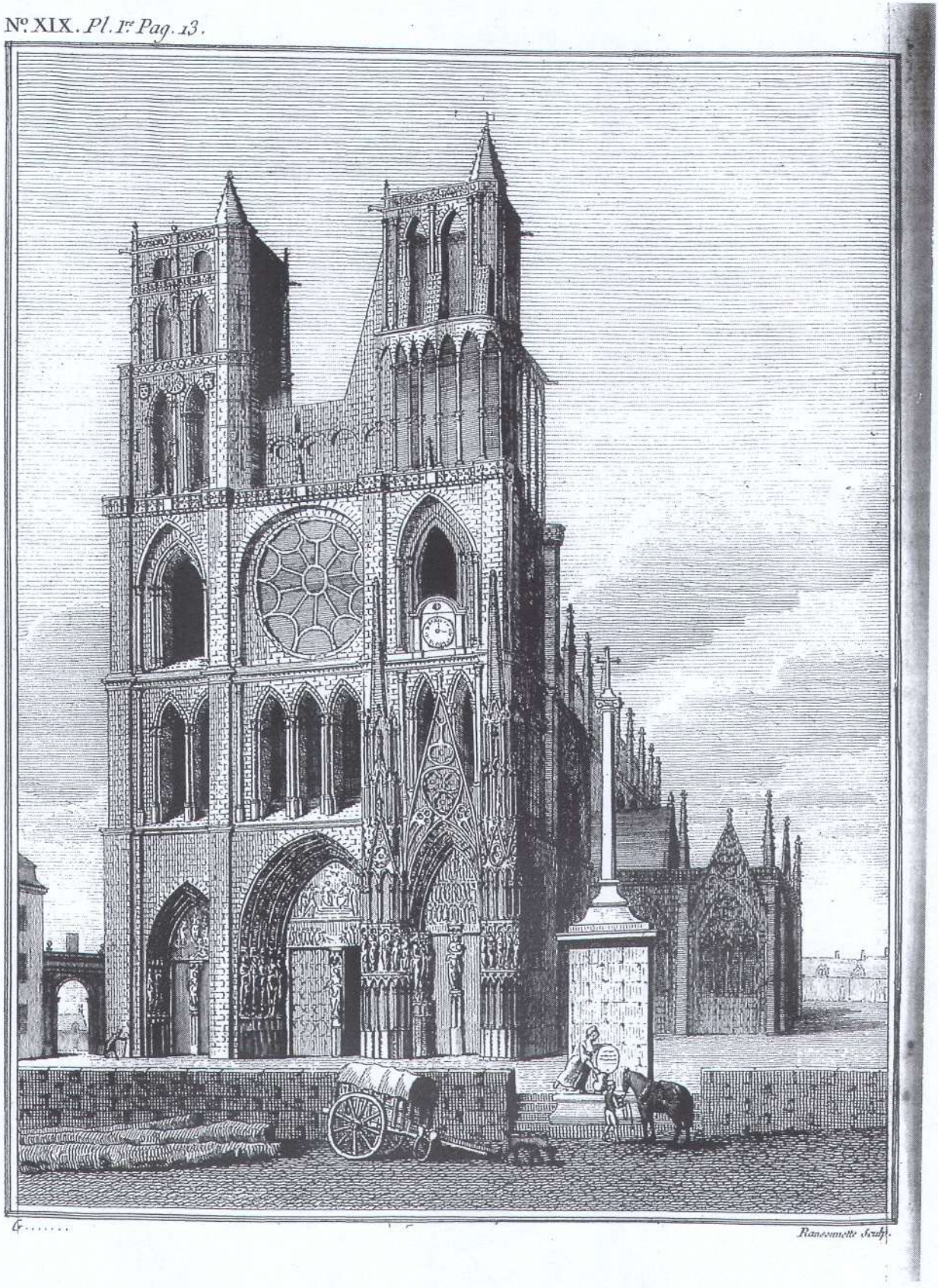


SÉPULTURE DU CŒUR D'ANNE DE MONTMORENCI.

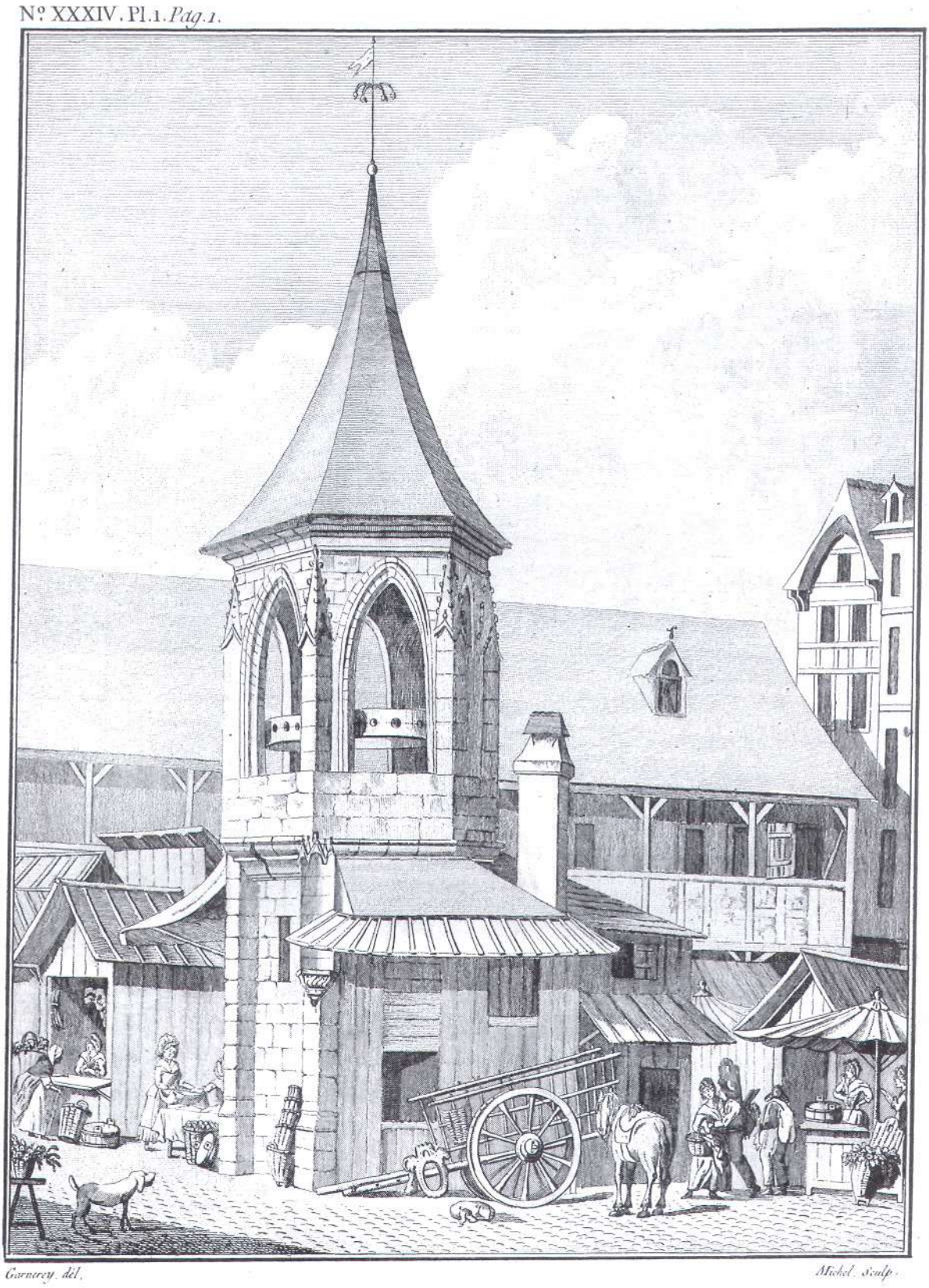
Ill. 83 'Sépulture du cœur d'Anne de Montmorenci', Chapuy sc., in: *Antiquités nationales*, vol. 1 (1790), art. III, Les Célestins, plate 14.



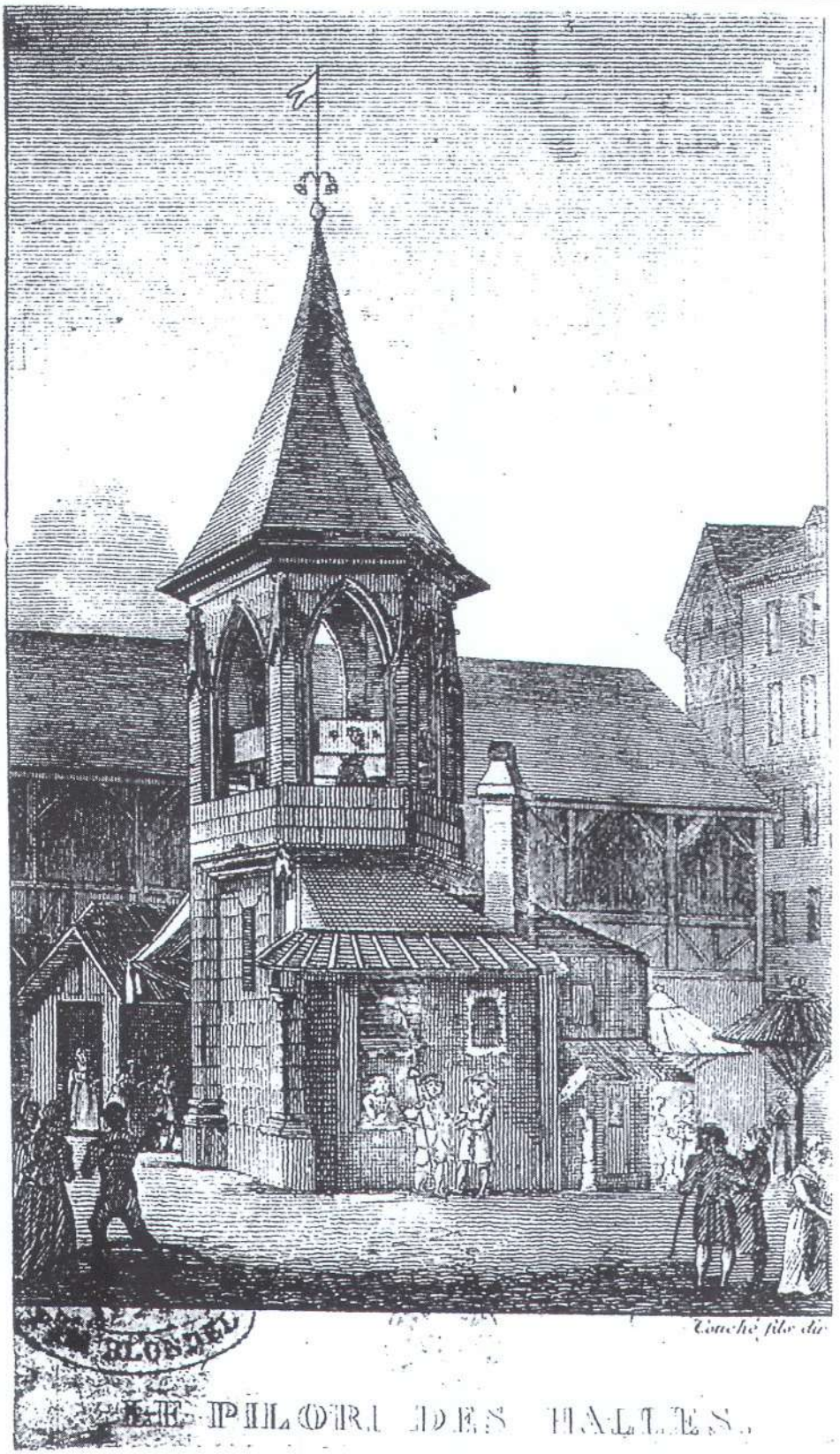
Ill. 84 'Portail', Duchemin del., Le Carpentier sc., in: *Antiquités nationales*, vol. 3 (1791), art. XXVII, Église du Sépulcre, plate 1.



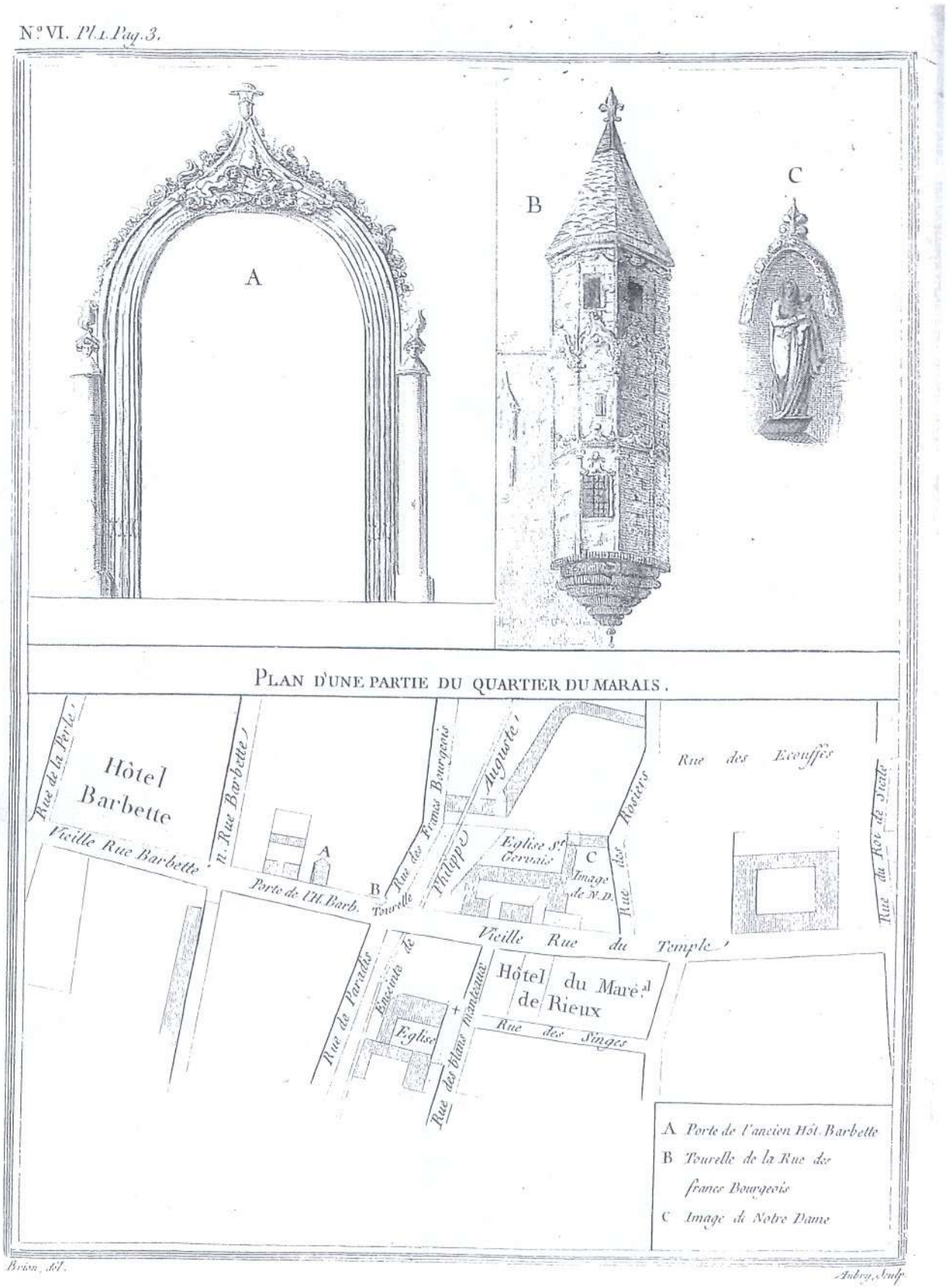
Ill. 85 'Notre-Dame de Mantes', Garnerey del., Ransonnette sc., in: *Antiquités nationales*, vol. 2 (1791), art. XIX, Notre-Dame de Mantes, plate 1.



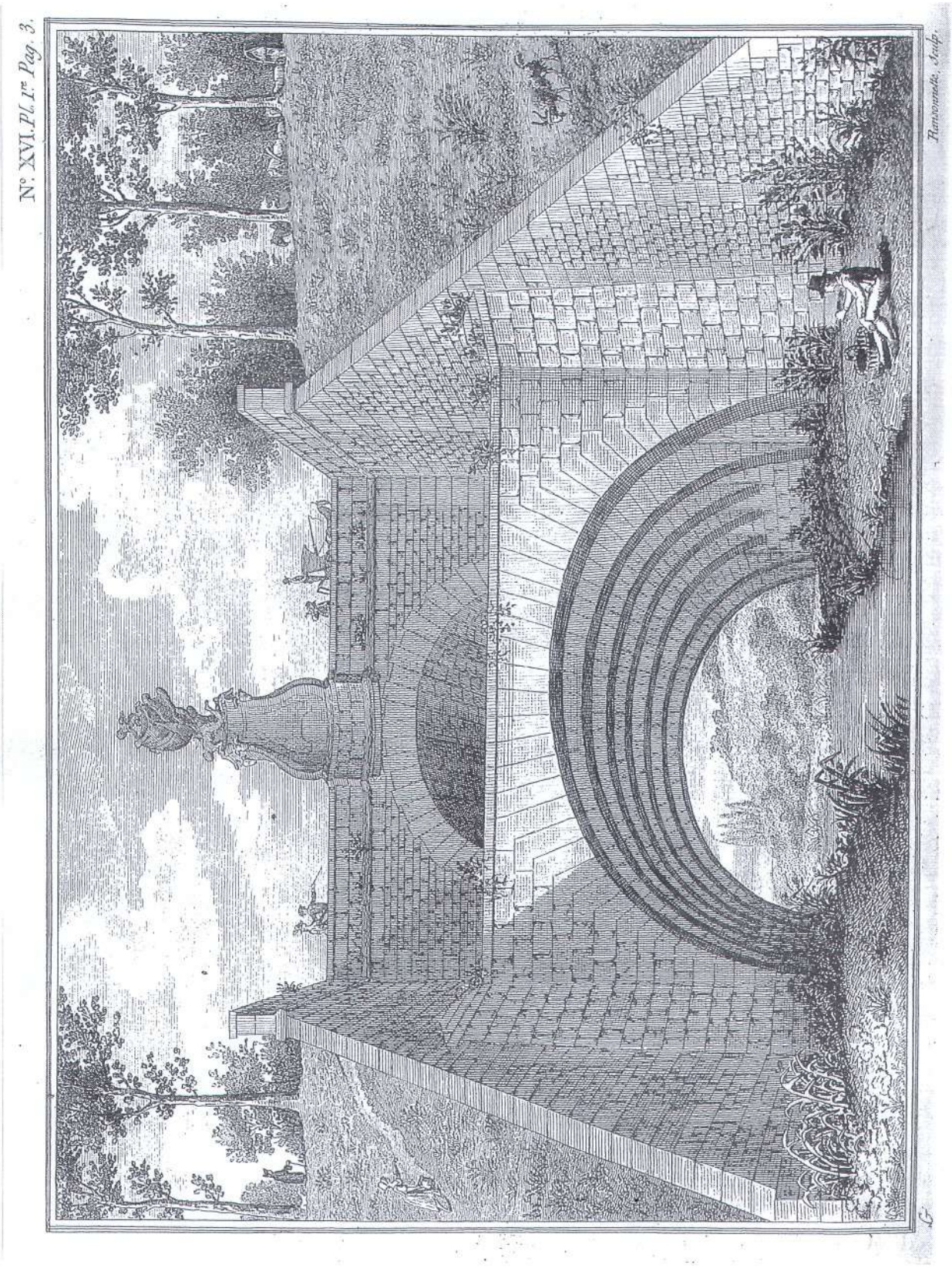
Ill. 86 'Vue de la Place du Pilori', Garnerey del., Michel sc., in: *Antiquités nationales*, vol. 3 (1791), art. XXXIV, Le Pilori, plate 1.



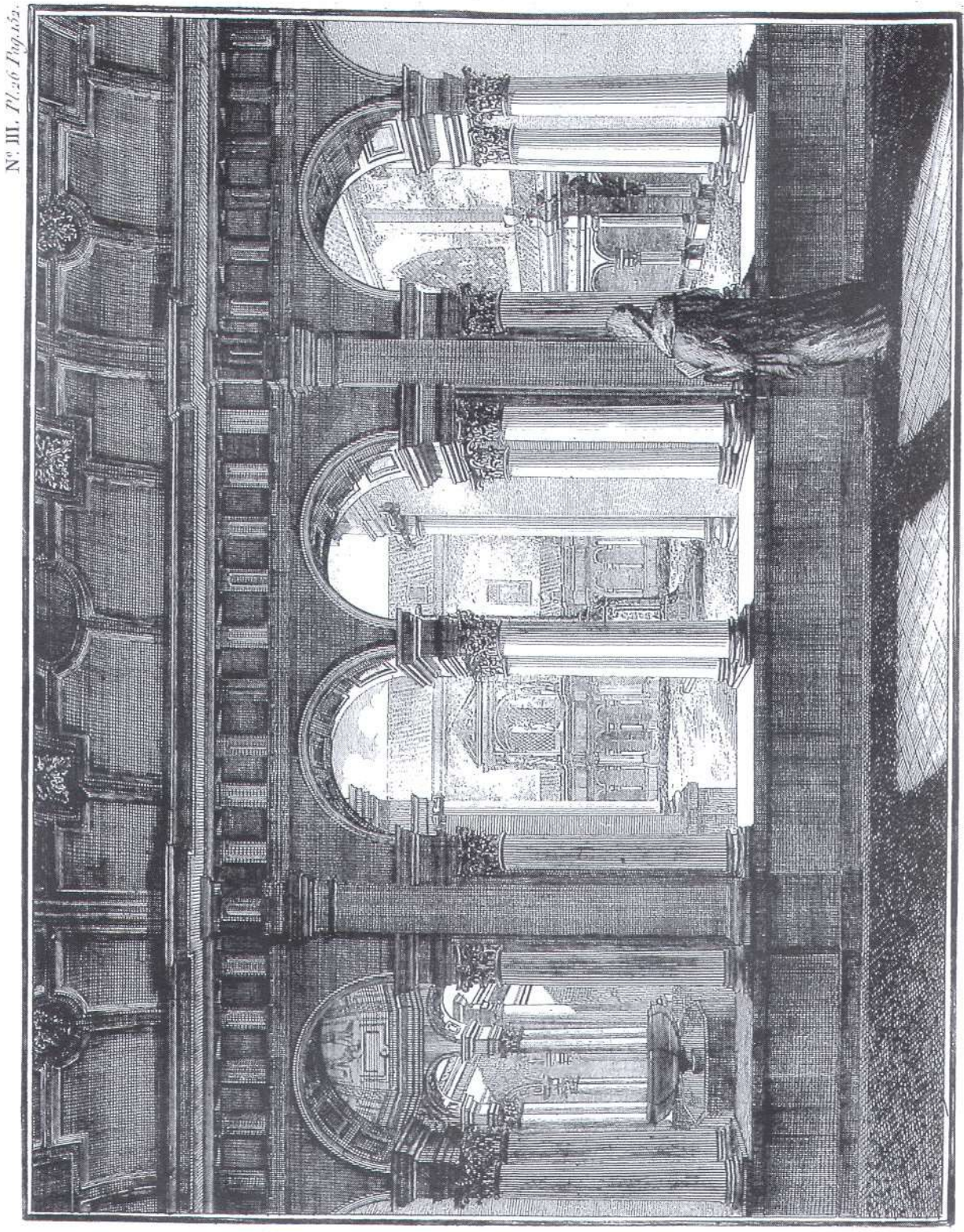
Ill. 87 'Le Pilori des Halles', engraving, Couché fils dir.



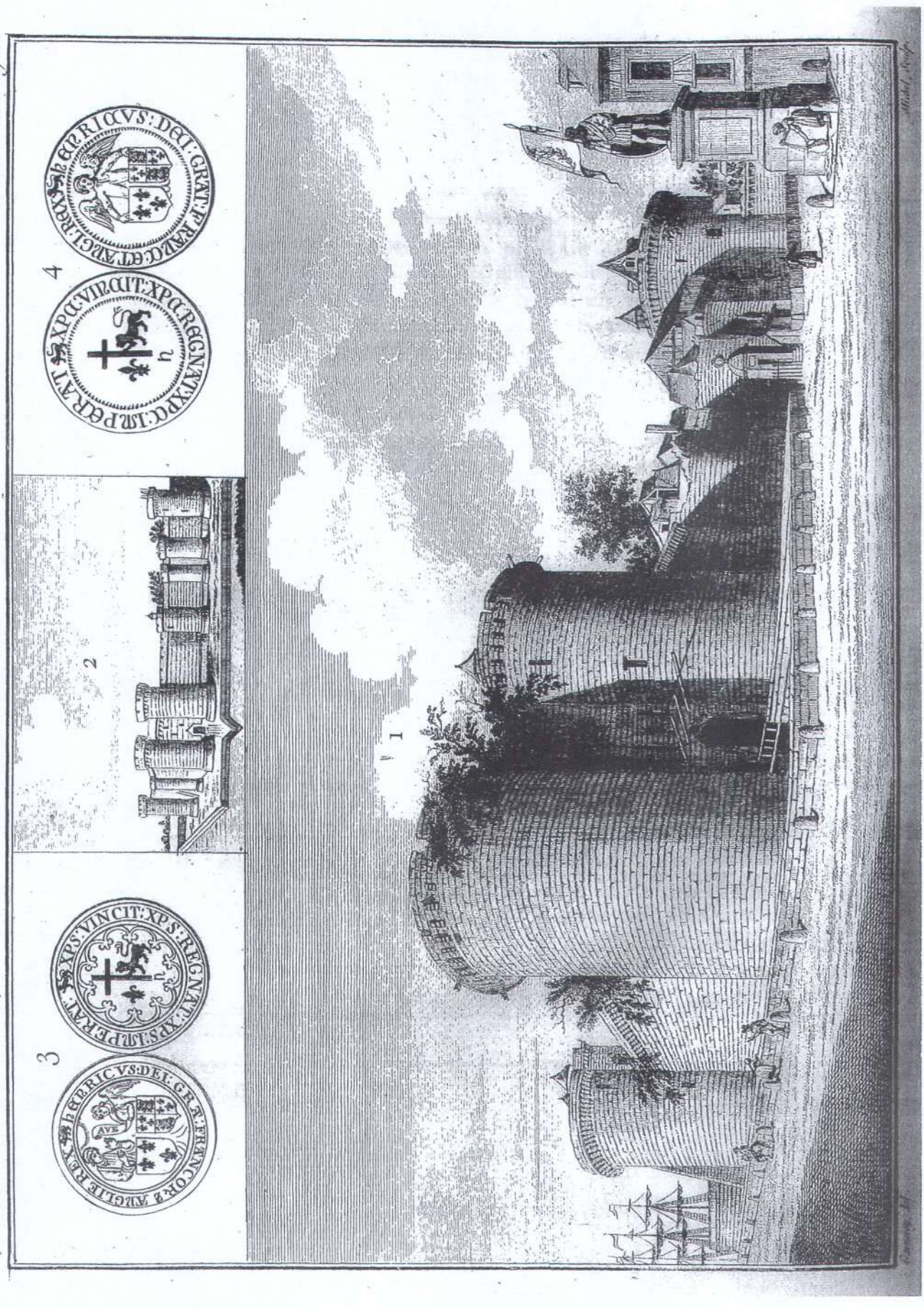
Ill. 88 'Plan d'une partie du quartier du Marais', Brion del., Aubry sc., in: *Antiquités nationales*, vol. 1 (1790), art. VI, Hôtel Barbette, plate 1.



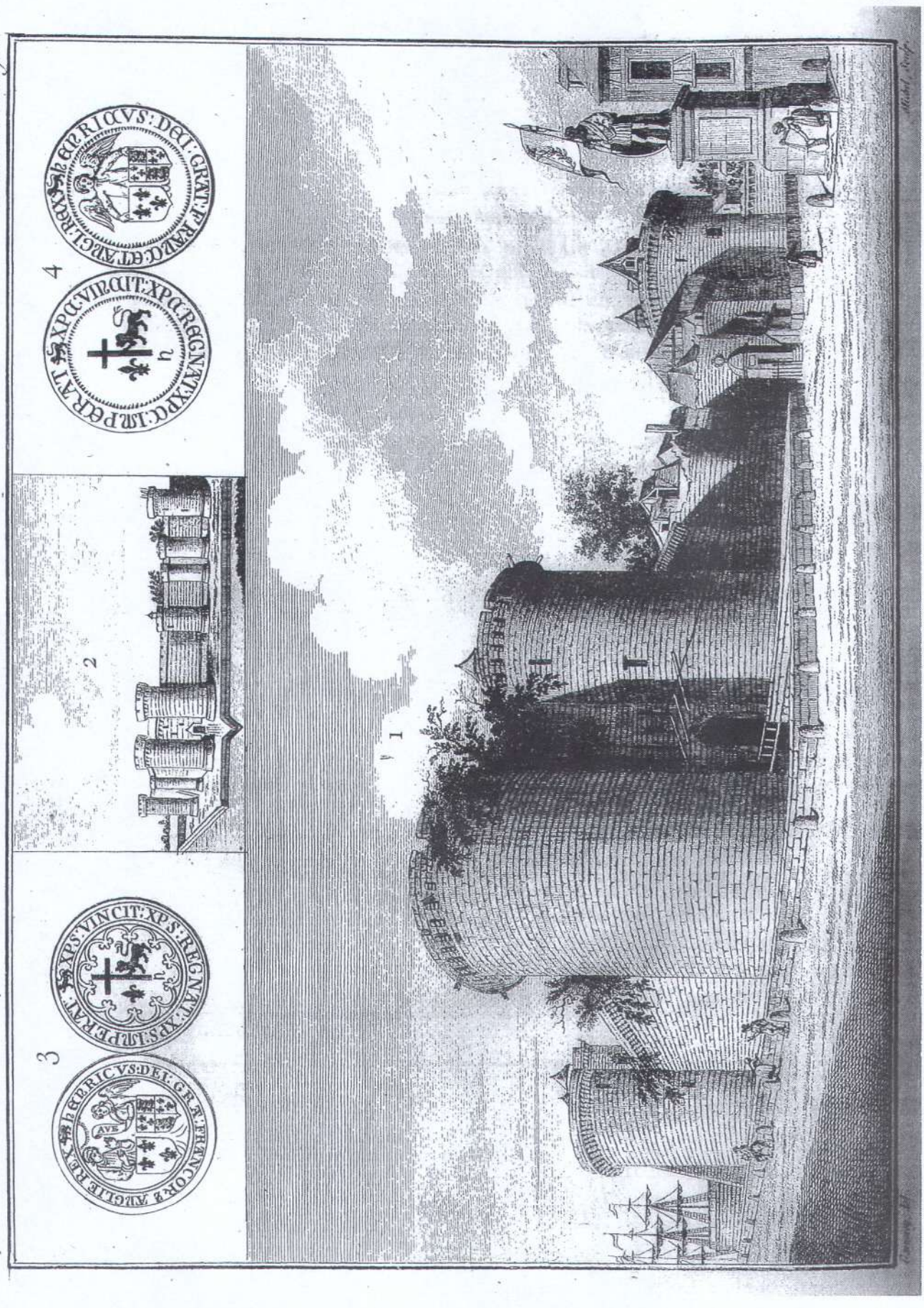
Ill. 89 'Vue inférieure des Fontaines de Juvisy', Garnerey del., Ransonnette sc., in: *Antiquités nationales*, vol. 2 (1791), art. XVI, Fontaines de Juvisy, plate 1.



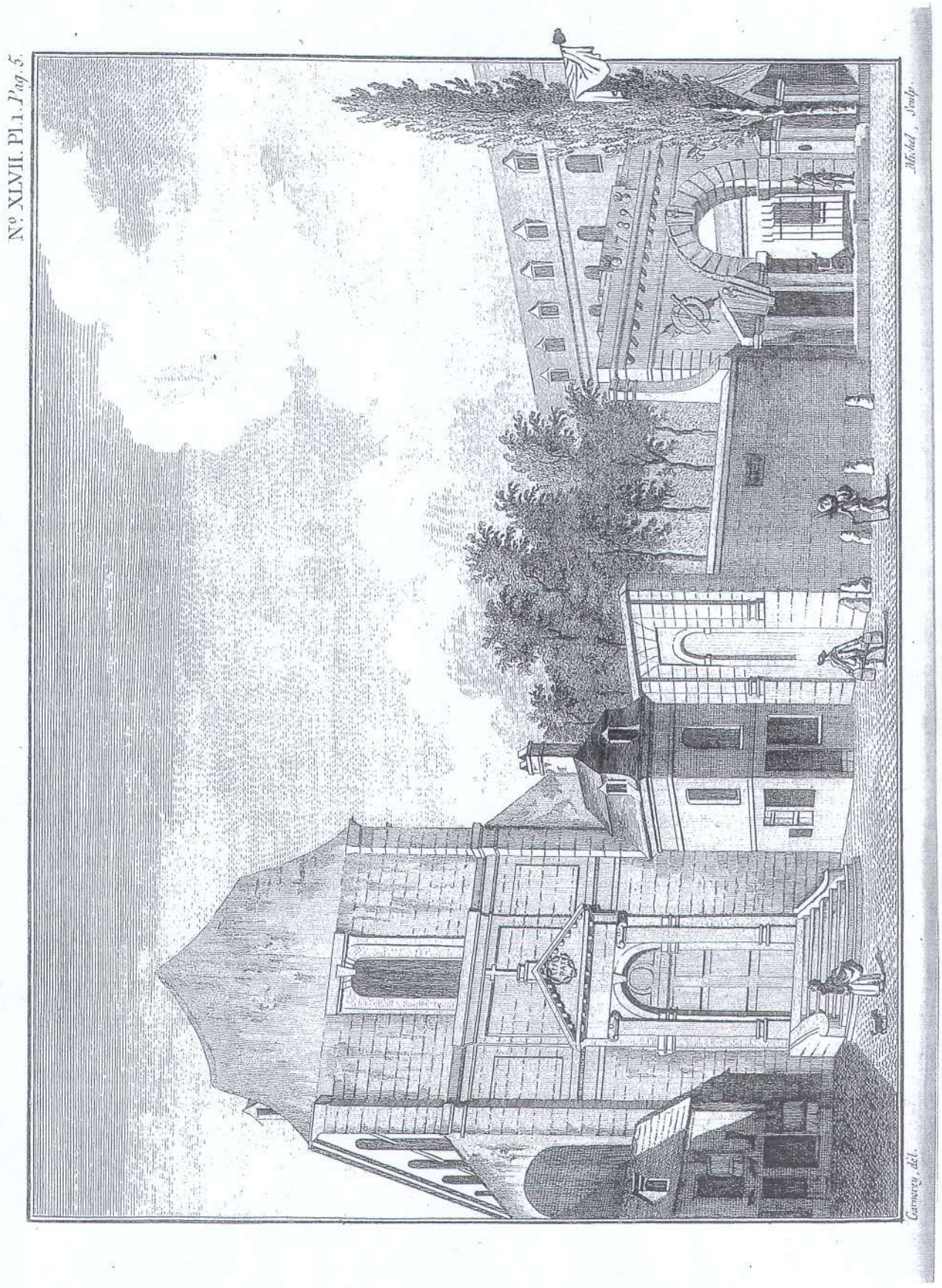
Ill. 90 'Cloitre des Célestins', Testard del. & sc., in: *Antiquités nationales*, vol. 1 (1790), art. III, Les Célestins, plate 26.



Ill. 91 'Vue actuelle. Vue ancienne. Monnoies d'Henri VI', Garnerey del., Michel sc., in: *Antiquités nationales*, vol. 2 (1791), art. XX: Le Vieux Palais a Rouen, plate 1.



Ill. 91 'Vue actuelle. Vue ancienne. Monnoies d'Henri VI', Garnerey del., Michel sc., in: *Antiquités nationales*, vol. 2 (1791), art. XX: Le Vieux Palais a Rouen, plate 1.



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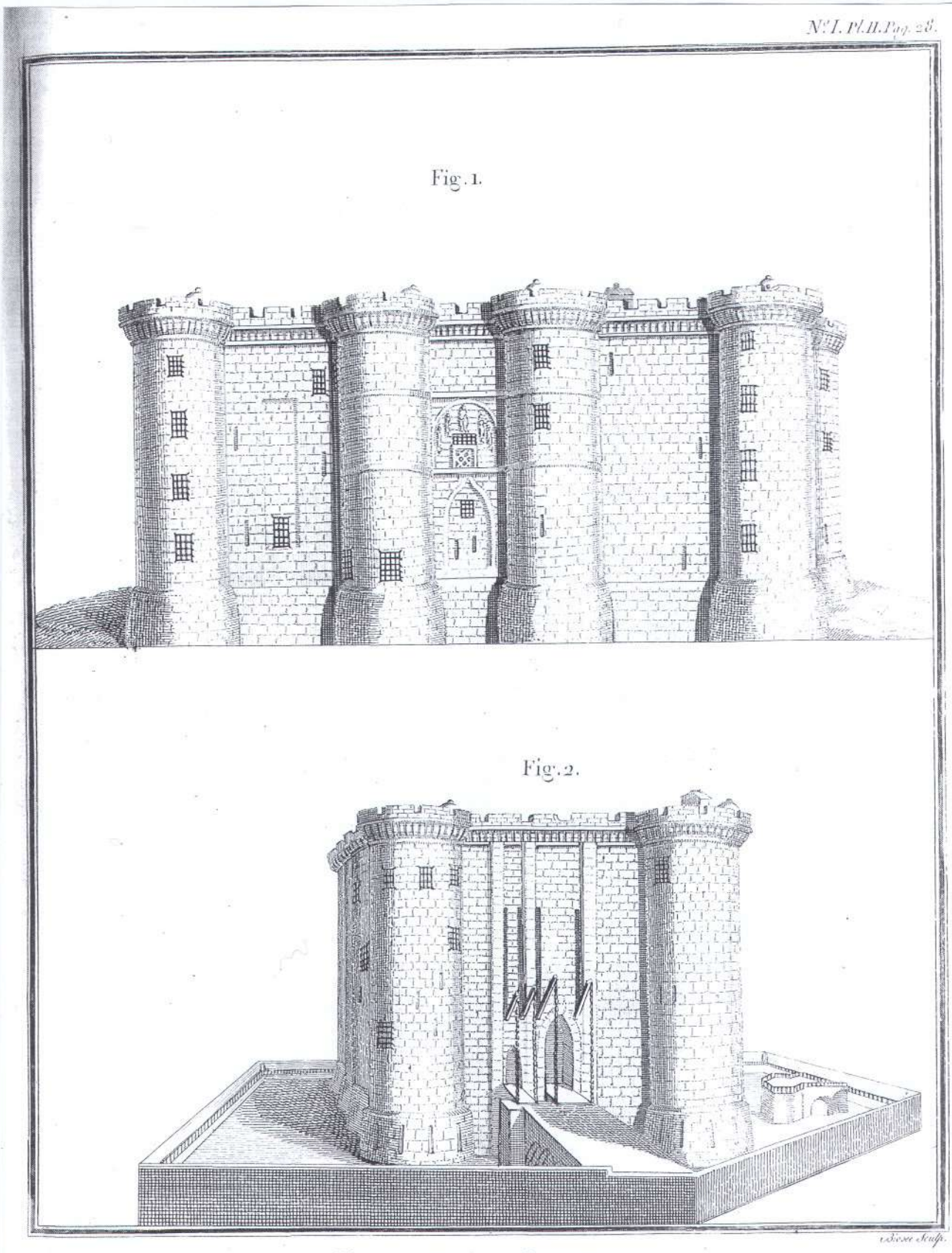

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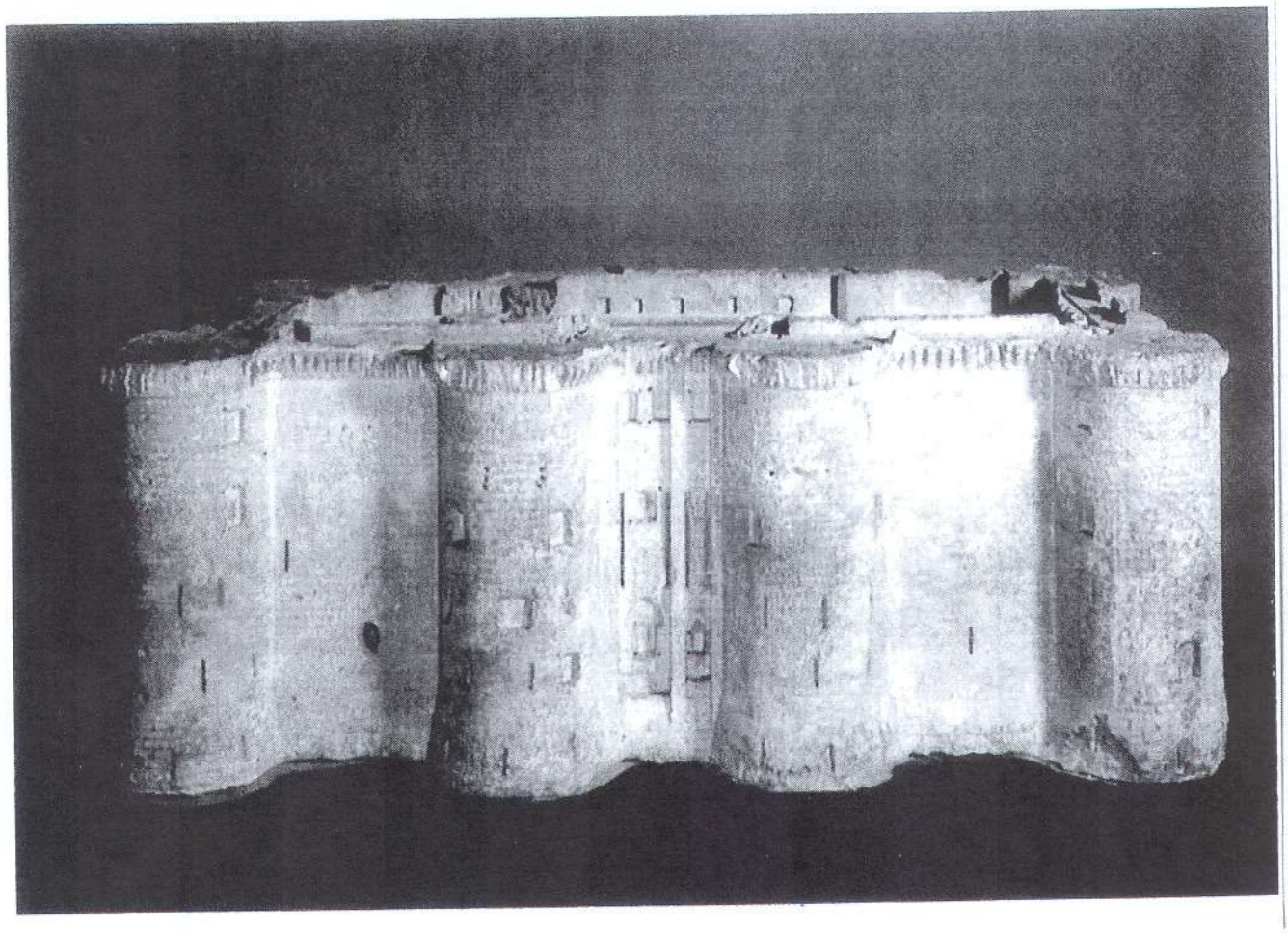

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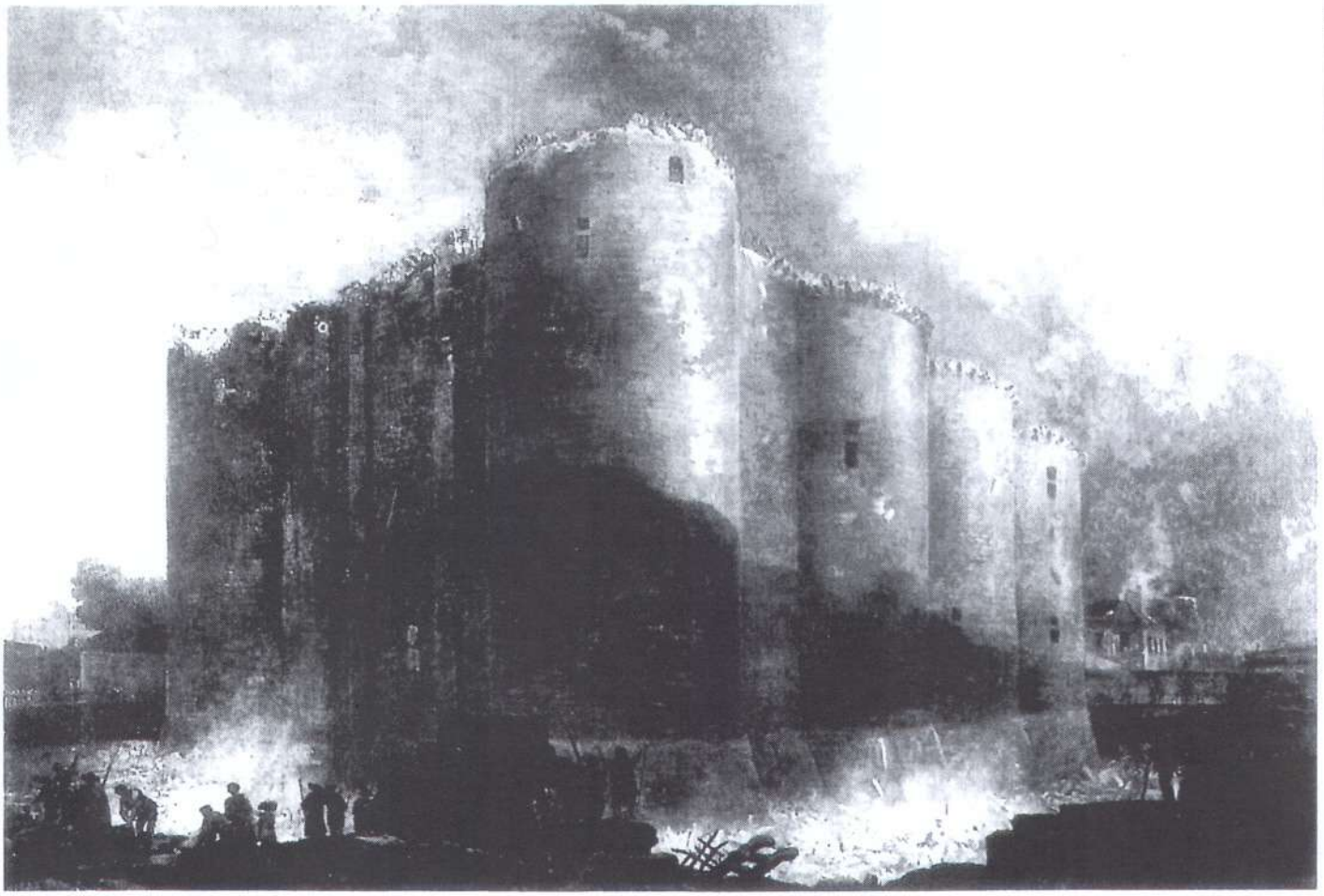

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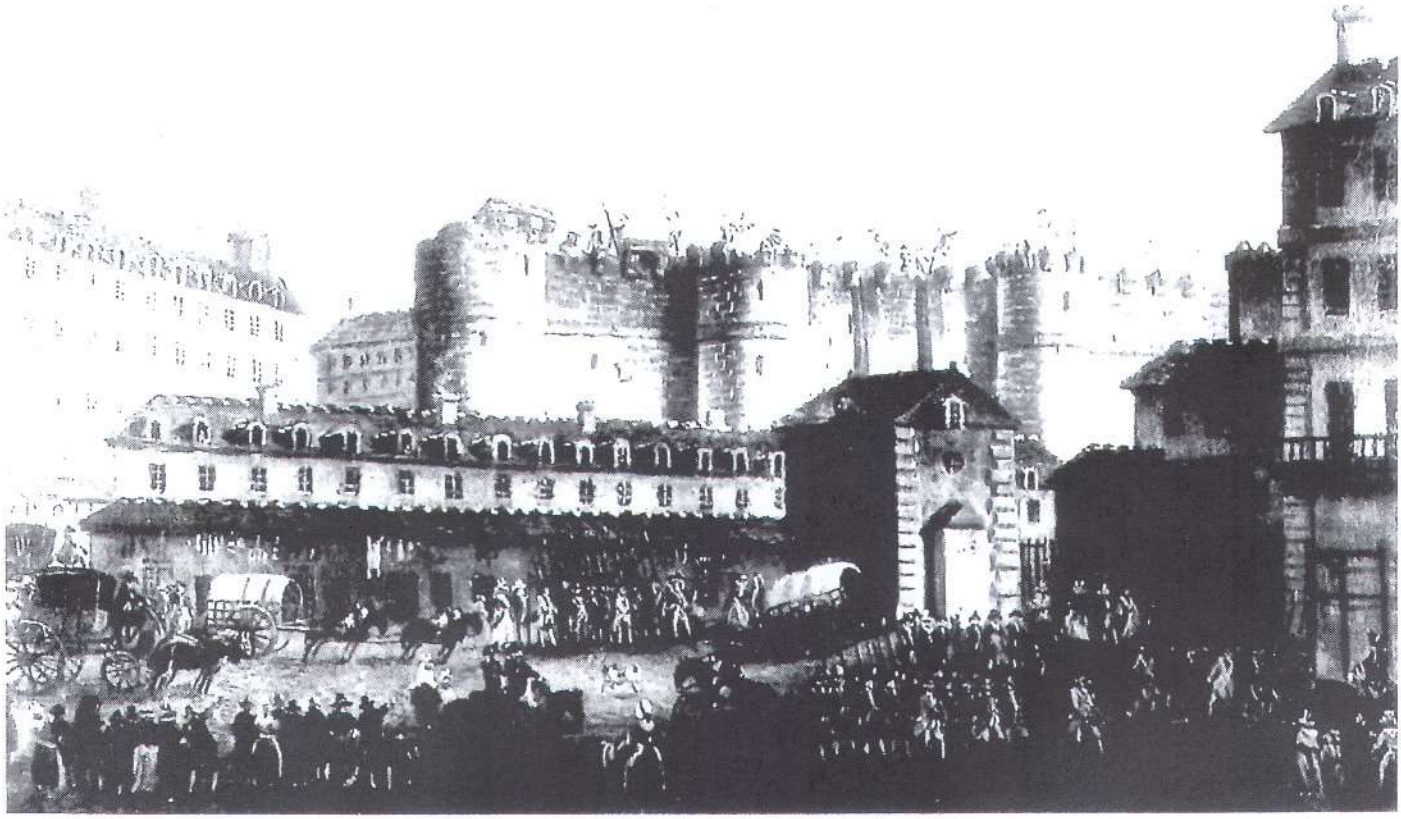

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