The Ruins of *Iconologie*: Redefining Architecture in Jean-Charles Delafosse's *Desseins*

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I advise you to be wary of the talents of an architect who is not a great draftsman.
—Denis Diderot, *Sur la Peinture* (1765)[1]

In eighteenth-century France, the word *dessein* denoted drawing, draftsmanship, and design, with the orthographic and theoretical division between drawing (*dessin*) and design (*dessein*) only established later in the century. This paper explores this dual meaning in the context of the social and cultural debates on the definition of architectural authority during this period. Architecture in late eighteenth-century France equally signaled two dichotomous practices—the design process, which was regarded as a production of artistic imagination, and the mechanical activity of building as its after-effect.[2] With this in mind, this paper studies a series of seventeen architecture and ruin fantasy drawings by the French *architecte-décorateur* Jean-Charles Delafosse (1734-89) in light of his professional navigations among the debates and conflicts between artists, architects, and artisans concerning *bon goût*—proper taste. More specifically, it interprets these drawings as a tool of professionalization, as a means for Delafosse to align himself with the high academic rather than the artisanal tradition, with the drawings forming a bridge between Delafosse's practice as an *architecte* and as a *décorateur*.[3]

Born in Paris in 1734, Delafosse worked as an architect, a professor of geometry and perspective at the city's Académie de Saint-Luc (the school of the painters' and sculptors' guild of which he became a member in 1774), an engraver, and a decorator; he operated a drawing school for artisans, and from 1781, was an academician at Académie Royale de Bordeaux.[4] He was one of the most prolific *ornemaniste,* a term designating an artist or an artisan whose principal production is the creation of ornamental motifs, of the second half of the eighteenth century. To date, he is considered a progenitor of the *goût grec*, the so-called Greek style that came into fashion in the late 1750s that was characterized by ornamental motifs derived from Greek and Roman architecture such as heavy garlands, Greek keys, vases, antique bands and friezes. Previous scholarship has focused on Delafosse's project, *Nouvelle Iconologie Historique* (1767, with later editions continuously published until 1785), which was an ambitious publication in scope, invention, and comprehensiveness.[5] In his preface, Delafosse explained that in this publication he sought to present "the most memorable events from the creation of the world to the present, following the major epochs in both sacred and profane history."[6] The *Nouvelle Iconologie Historique* merged the ornamental pattern books used by *marchand-merciers* and artisans with the iconological tradition exemplified by Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia* (first published without illustrations in 1593, with many later revised and expanded editions), with the latter serving as a

1 "*Je vous conseille de vous méfier du talent d'un architecte qui n'est pas un grand dessinateur*." Denis Diderot, "Sur la Peinture," in *Oeuvres de Denis Diderot*. *Salons* (Paris: Chez J. L. J Brière, Libraire, 1821), 1:491.

2 The architect Étienne-Louis Boullée outlined this division in his posthumous publication, *Essai Sur Art* (*c*. 1794), as noted in Alberto Pérez Gómez, *L'architecture et la crise de la science moderne* (Liège: P. Mardaga, 1987), 139.

3 It may be possible that there are more ruin drawings by Delafosse in private collections. Due to the lack of a comprehensive catalogue raisonné, as of yet, the complete number of ruin and architectural fantasy drawings remains indefinite. In this article, I have chosen to illustrate six of the seventeen drawings. Out of the seventeen, six of the drawings are in the collection of the Royal Institute of British Architects in London while ten of the larger drawings are conserved at Musée d'Arts Décoratifs in Paris, and one ruin drawing is at the British Museum in London. Close to 400 drawings by Delafosse are dispersed throughout public collections worldwide with 233 drawings conserved at Musée d'Arts Décoratifs in Paris, alone. The title "*architecte-décorateur*" is taken from the 1771 advertisement of his publication, *Nouvelle Iconologie Historique*, in the journal *Mercure de France* and the *L'avant-coureur* in June 1771 and May 1771, respectively.

4 Delafosse realized architectural designs in Paris from 1776-83, including the still surviving Hôtel Titon and Hôtel Goix (1776-83) and now destroyed houses in Pantin and Rue Saint-Apolline. In the last years of the 1780s, he proposed plans to build barracks for the Garde Nationale. Svend Eriksen, *Early Neo-classicism in France* (London: Faber and Faber, 1974), 170; and Michel Gallet, *Les Architectes parisiens du XVIIIe siècle: dictionnaire biographique et critique* (Paris: Mengès, 1995), 174-5.

5 Full title of the recueil is *Nouvelle iconologie historique ou Attributs hiéroglyphiques, qui ont pour objets les quatre éléments, les quatre saisons, les quatre parties du monde et les différentes complexion de l'homme*. The plates were published in 1767 with descriptions added in 1768. The first edition was sold at Delafosse's own house as well as Chez Delalain, Rue *St. Jacques*; Chez Daumont, Rue *Saint-Martin*; and chez Chéreau, Rue *des Mathurins*. The *Nouvelle Iconologie Historique* was the first in a series of publications that Delafosse continued to work on until 1785.

6 "*Je présente à l'imagination tout ce qui s'est passé de plus mémorable depuis la Création du Monde jusqu'à présent, en suivant les Époques principales de l'Histoire, tant Sacrée que Prophane*." Jean-Charles Delafosse, "Avant-propos," in *Nouvelle iconologie historique, ou Attributs hiéroglyphiques qui ont pour objets les quatre éléments, les quatre saisons, les quatre parties du monde et les différentes complexions*

reference for grand manner paintings in France during the long eighteenth century.[7] As such, the publication integrated emblematic and allegorical images with designs for seating and standing furniture, fountains, monuments, mausoleums, as well as architectural ornaments for interiors and exteriors.

There is thus an inherent conflict within the *Nouvelle Iconologie Historique* since it was a pattern book for decorators in the guise of allegorical emblems intended for grand manner paintings. In fact, the publication illustrates grand manner painting topics such as the fall of Rome in the format of a proposal for a cartouche design. The advertisements for the *Nouvelle Iconologie Historique* mirror Delafosse's dual orientation toward two distinctive markets: the high academic-sanctioned arts and the "low" artisanal practices. One of the first advertisements of Delafosse's publication in the journal *Année littéraire* in 1767 claimed that the *Nouvelle Iconologie Historique* would not only serve the high arts of painting, sculpture, and architecture, but would also be useful to artisans and designers.[8] The tensions between fine arts and artisanal practices can be traced back to Delafosse's own affiliation with Académie de Saint-Luc, which remained the domain of artisans, and his professional work as an architect unaffiliated with the Académie Royale d'Architecture in Paris.[9] Close examination of Delafosse's public reputation unveils this diverging gap: in the advertisements for his publications he is referred to often as an architect, while in his dealings with the Académie Royal d'Architecture, he is continuously described as a sculptor, decorator, or as an engraver.[10]

Following the extensive number of published designs, Delafosse left behind a sizable number of drawings, ranging from architectural plans, furniture designs, ornamental motifs, allegorical emblems and fantastical landscapes. The latter are outliers in his repertoire in both draftsmanship and style and have been largely overlooked in scholarship.[11] These fantastic ruin drawings can be dated to 1765-1775, a particularly prolific time in Delafosse's career, when he was teaching, exhibiting, and publishing. They were likely personal references since they were not contemporaneously published, but some may have been exhibited in public through Salons at Académie de Saint-Luc. Based on the dimensions, the seventeen drawings can be sorted into two sets, six smaller architectural fantasies dated 1765-70 (Figures 1-3), and eleven larger ruin drawings dated 1770-75 (Figures 4-6).[12] All seventeen drawings are executed with graphite, pen, ink and grey or blue wash, standard media for eighteenth-century architects. They are largely monochromatic and decrease in tone from the foreground to the background, with the adumbrations of the buildings in the background merging with the washed sky, thus destabilizing the perspectival space. Moreover, the *élan* of his draftsmanship suspends the drawings in *non-finito.* Compared to the technical execution in his designs and architectural proposals, the activity of drawing becomes primary rather than subservient to the composition on the sheet. As a result, the ruin and architectural fantasy drawings may be seen to document Delafosse's activity as a *dessinateur*.

Furthermore, the drawings are highly textural, with ink layers visible on the surface, and the fluidity of line and the loose deployment of wash can even be considered "painterly." The emphasis on the material condition of the drawings can be considered alongside the French art critic Roger de

de l'homme. (Paris: chez l'auteur, rue Poissonnières, en la maison de M. Menan, paveur, entre la rue de la Lune et celle de Beauregard, et chez Delalain, libraire, rue St. Jacques, 1768), n.p.

7 For example, the painter Charles Le Brun based his allegorical program for Versailles on Ripa's publication, with the latter popularized in France through Jean Baudoin's translation in 1644. As for Delafosse, direct references to Ripa's publication can be seen in plates 80-1 and 84-5 in *Nouvelle Iconologie Historique* in which allegories are presented in small circles, mirroring Ripa's mode of presentation.

8 Élie-Catherine Fréron, ed. "*Nouvelle Iconologie Historique*," in *L'Année Littéraire* (June, 1767), 4:65-66.

9 Delafosse presented his publication to a group at the Académie Royale d'Architecture which included the architects Jacques-François Blondel, Étienne-Louis Boullée, Julien-David Leroy, Jean-Rodolphe Perronet, Marie-Joseph Peyre, Jacques-Germain Soufflot, and Charles De Wailly. It was received as "*une oeuvre étrange, mais admirablement*. A copy of Delafosse's publication can be found under lot 91 in Soufflot's après-décès. In "Du Lundy 21e Novembre 1768," in *Procès-verbaux de l'Académie Royale d'Architecture*, 1671-1793, ed. Henry Lemonnier (Paris: J. Schemit, 1911), 8:34.

10 Delafosse is given the title "*Architecte & Professeur pour le Dessein*," and "*Architecte, Décorateur et Professeur en Desseins*" in advertisements in the *Avant-Coureur* and the *Année Littéraire* in 1767, as "*Architecte, Décorateur et Professeur en Desseins*," in the preface of the *Nouvelle Iconologie Historique* in 1768, as "*Architecte-décorateur*," in the advertisements in *Mercure de France* and *L'Avant-coureur* in 1771, as "*Architecte, ancien Adjoint à Professeur de Géométrie et Perspective*," in the description for the Salon of 1774 at the Académie de Saint-Luc, and finally as "*Architect Académicien*," in the description for the Salon of 1787 at the Académie de Bordeaux. Conversely, the Académie Royale d'Architecture in Paris referred to him as "*Sculpteur décorateur et professeur de dessin*," in 1768 and Jacques-François Blondel, the Professor of Architecture at the Académie in Paris, referred to him in 1774 still as "*Dessinateur, Sculpteur & Graveur*."

11 Monique Mosser has noted that this particularly series of ruin and architectural fantasy drawings have been ignored in scholarship although some analyses can be found in Gilbert Erouart, *L'architecture au pinceau: Jean-Laurent Legeay, un piranésien français dans l'Europe des lumières* (Paris : Electa Moniteur, 1982); and in Bruno Reudenbach: *G.B. Piranesi: Architektur als Bild. Der Wandel der Architekturauffassung des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Munich: Prestel, 1979). Georges Brunel, ed., *Piranèse et les Français: 1740-1790* (Rome: Académie de France à Rome, Edizioni Dell'Elefante, 1976), 105.

12 Delafosse's drawings were contemporaneously purchased by J-B. Fl. G. de Meyran, Marquis de Lagoy (1764-1829), Prince Albert Casimir August of Saxony, Duke of Teschen (1738-1822) ; Prince Charles de Ligne (1735–1814), J. L. Soulavie (1752-1813), Marquis de Calvière (1693-1777), and the draftsman and engraver Pierre-Nicolas Ransonnette (1745-1810). Eriksen, *Early Neo-classicism in France*, 175.

13 "*Ce qu'on nomme ordinairement dessein…s'est premierement formé dans l'imagination.*" In Roger de Piles, *Élémens de peinture pratique* (Paris: Jombert 1766), 31.

Piles's assertion, "that which we commonly call drawing… is first formed in the imagination."[13] De Piles proposed that drawing signified the entire thought, plan and execution of a given work with both the act and medium of drawing as the site where artistic imagination was manifested. It may even be proposed that the primacy of the act of drawing in the seventeen sheets locate them under the mantle of artistic imagination, closer to the Académie-led fine arts rather than the guild-led mechanical arts.

The drawings can be linked to the on-going pedagogical system at the royal academies of paintings and architecture in Paris and in Rome. The ruinous and fantastic landscapes are filled with architectural fragments, uprooted trees (evocative of Vitruvius—and later Filarete's—visualization that columns originated from tree trunks), mausoleums, tombs, and crumbling antique temples and monuments.[14] Although Delafosse never travelled to Italy, the drawings are suggestive of antique landscapes. For example, elements in Figure 5 can be identified as the Temple of Vesta and the Pyramid of Cestius in Rome, and in Figure 6, the equestrian statue, the columns with relief bands wrapped around it and the obelisk are objects that have classical counterparts in Rome. The composition and subject matter in Delafosse's drawings can even be compared to capricci and vedute produced by French artists and architects studying in Rome in the early eighteenth century. Visual similarities between such drawings have led scholars to label Delafosse as part of the generation of architects and artists strongly influenced by Giovanni Battista Piranesi—an extensive list that includes Jean-Laurent Legeay, Charles-Louis Clérisseau, Charles Michel-Ange Challe, Louis-Joseph Le Lorrain, and Charles de Wailly. The trope of the bridge leading into the palace-temple in Figure 2 is a compositional device favored by Claude Lorrain and adapted by artists such as Piranesi, Challe, and Legeay and later in the century, by the French painter Hubert Robert. Even preceding Piranesi's generation, explicit comparisons can be drawn between Figure 6 and Giovanni Niccolò Servandoni's *Ruines Antiques* (Figure 7). The two drawings are created with similar media and Delafosse echoes Servandoni's composition including the long colonnade, the foreground ruins, and the statue-topped column in the background.[15] Delafosse's drawings thus invoke the visual history of classicism itself, led by Claude to its later revival under Piranesi.

Unlike Piranesi, Servandoni, and the artists in their milieu, Delafosse had never travelled to Italy. In this context, the drawings may have been a virtual experience of the Grand Tour. In fact, Delafosse likely owned drawings by Piranesi since he provided Piranesi's drawings for Campo Marzio to the Bibliothèque du Roi (King's Library) in 1783.[16] For Delafosse, the ruin drawings can be seen as exercises by means of which he became familiar with antique landscapes and ornaments that artists at the Académie de France in Rome would have acquired in person. At this time, the academic tradition in Rome, according to Thomas Crow, symbolized "a unified and universal body of traditions by which French art would continually check its bearings," and subsequently served as a marker of the *bon goût*.[17] The experience of Rome through prints and drawings was an on-going strategy for many artisans and draftsman in Paris. During this period, measured drawings of ruins would even be studied as stand-ins for the actual models. As such, both scientific and imaginary renderings of the views of Rome, produced and circulated by artists such as Piranesi, would profoundly influence the contemporary French cultural imagination of Italy. For example, the printmaker and draftsman Gabriel de Saint-Aubin channeled his failed ambitions to become a history painter by illustrating Philippe de Prétot's *Le Spectacle de l'histoire romaine* (1760). Like Delafosse, Saint-Aubin had never been to Rome and in his designs he appropriated monuments from Piranesi's *Antichità-Romane* (1756), resulting in the inclusion of anachronistic elements in his compositions.[18] Saint-Aubin's illustrations for *Histoire Romaine* were published and circulated, and similarly, Delafosse's antique landscapes were also exhibited in public. They were likely shown at the Académie de Saint-Luc's Salon of 1774 because the description of works exhibited by Delafosse included "Architectural ruins, perspective view of a funerary monument,

14 Reudenbach, *Piranesi: Architektur als Bild*, 109.

15 Servandoni studied in Rome with Giovanni Paolo Panini from 1715-24. Servandoni worked mainly as an artist and architect in Paris and was part of the generation preceding Piranesi. As Servandoni exhibited his paintings at the Salon of 1765 at the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture, Delafosse may have been familiar with some of Servandoni's artistic vocabulary.

16 There is a drawing at the National Gallery of Scotland in Edinburgh by Delafosse (Inv. no.D 1039r) which is very similar in composition to Piranesi's *Carcere Oscura*, with the latter etched as part of Piranesi's *Prima Parte* (1743). The practice of copying after Piranesi's engravings and etching was a didactic exercise that even English artists such as Joseph Mallord William Turner participated in. Madeleine Bargin, "*Les collectionneurs de Piranèse en France au XVIIIe siècle d'après le catalogues de vente et les inventaires*," in Georges Brunel, ed., *Piranèse et les Français: colloque tenu à la Villa Médicis, 12-14 mai 1976* (Rome: Edizioni dell'Elefante, 1978), 44.

17 Thomas Crow, *Painters and Public Life in Eighteenth-century Paris* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 28.

18 Saint-Aubin also taught drawing, human proportions, historical attributes, and secular and sacred allegories at Blondel's École from 1747 to 1764. Saint-Aubin was affiliated with the same institutions as Delafosse in that he learned to draw at the studio of Jean-Baptiste Sarrazin (a professor at the Académie de Saint-Luc) before going on to study at Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture in Paris. Like Delafosse, Saint-Aubin was particularly interested in the creation of allegory and emblems. Émile Dacier, *Gabriel de Saint Aubin, peintre, dessinateur et graveur (1724-1780), Catalogue raisonné* (Paris: G. Van Oest, 1929), 27; Colin B. Bailey, "The indefatigable, unclassifiable art lover: Saint-Aubin's curiosité," in *Gabriel de Saint-Aubin: 1724-1780*, Colin B. Bailey, ed. (Paris: Musée du Louvre, 2007), 72n27; and Victor Carlson, Ellen D'Oench, and Richard S. Field, *Prints and Drawings by Gabriel de Saint-Aubin, 1724-1780* (Middletown: Davison Art Center, 1975), 28.

and a temple of Mars."[19] While none of Delafosse's known drawings has been directly tied to the Salon of 1774, it is quite possible that any of the seventeen drawings were displayed under the vague description of "Architectural ruins."

Delafosse's emphasis on the art and architecture of Rome can be considered in context of the eighteenth-century connoisseur, collector, and critic Charles-Nicolas Cochin: in 1755 he blamed the artisans who had never been to Rome as the perpetrators of the "bad taste" of the period. Two decades later, in 1771, Cochin criticized the architects who had never left Paris who were promoting and exercising the Greek style, particularly since the latter was coming under scrutiny by the 1770s.[20] By publically exhibiting his ruin drawings, Delafosse distances his architectural and decorative projects from Cochin's criticism and rather presents them as production of erudition and training in Rome, rather than another in a long queue of uninformed works *à la grecque*.[21]

The ruin and architectural fantasy drawings are reincarnated as a proposal for a painting in his 1769 drawing of a *Grande Galerie* (Figure 8). Executed in the same media as his ruin drawings, the *Grande Galerie* is the only surviving drawing of a full interior view by Delafosse. It is signed "*J.C. Delafosse Inv. Fecit. 1769,*" in the lower left corner. In the drawing, a ruined architectural fantasy composition just off center is a collage of elements from his ruined fantasy landscapes: the circular Ionic temple and obelisk can be found in Figure 1, the architectural fragments and the crumbling bridge in Figure 5, and the equestrian statue and ruined arch in Figure 6.[22] The format of the drawing mirrors that of drawings produced as part of the pedagogical program at Jacques-François Blondel's École des Arts, where Delafosse began his first forays into architecture. Opened in 1740 and officially sanctioned in 1743, Blondel's school on Rue de la Harpe was the first full-time school of architecture in Paris and made lessons available to amateurs, craftsmen, connoisseurs, and the interested public. The curriculum encompassed the principles of architecture, drawing, mathematics, perspective, masonry, and stereotomy. [23] Blondel particularly emphasized drawing, writing that without it, "even the most ingenious of architects is halted."[24] Students drew landscapes, figures, ornaments, trophies, and topics from sacred and profane histories with lessons supplemented by class trips to study first-hand the exterior and interior of Parisian buildings. Students were instructed to make drawings on the spot inside the Hôtel de Soubise, Hôtel du Lassay, and the Notre-Dame Cathedral.[25]

Delafosse's drawing follows the typology of this latter class of drawings. However, rather than the then-fashionable rococo style, Delafosse's interior makes reference to the classical past and overflows with relief ornaments, furniture, and decorations derived from his personal decorative vocabulary. The emblematic trophies flanking the architectural fantasy painting are lifted from his iconography for nations in his *Nouvelle Iconologie Historique*, and the vases on the pedestals, the architectonic console tables with heavy garlands, and sphinxes and roundels over the door can be traced to his published designs. Because the drawing is an imagined interior rather than a pre-existing space, it becomes a fictitious place showcasing Delafosse's novel ornamental vocabulary. In quoting the format of an architectural study, Delafosse's drawing can be simultaneously considered as an existing interior that could have been recommended for study by Blondel, thus elevating his decorations to the type of ornaments that were considered as the *bon goût*—the proper academic taste. Additionally, Delafosse's drawing was likely shown, at least to a small audience of students, since Mary Myers has linked the drawing to his pedagogical program as a professor at Saint-Luc.[26] In this grand gallery, Delafosse thus

19 "*Ruines d'architecture…Vue Perspective d'un Monument funéraire… Ruine d'un temple de Mars*." Jules Marie Joseph Guiffrey, ed., *Académie St. Luc, Livrets des expositions de l'Académie de Saint-Luc à Paris: pendant les années 1751, 1752, 1753, 1756, 1762, 1764 et 1774* (Paris: Baur et Détaille, 1872), 149.

20 "*Architectes anciens qui n'avoient pas sorti de Paris voulurent faire voir qu'ils seroient bien aussi dans ce goust grec*." Charles-Nicolas Cochin, "Lettre à m. l'abbé R***," in *Mercure de France* (February, 1755), 157; and Charles Henry, ed., *Mémoires inédits de Charles Nicolas Cochin sur le comte de Caylus, Bouchardon, les Slodtz* (Paris: Baur, 1880), 142.

21 In fact, modern day scholarship often includes Delafosse into the generation of the 1740s (as part of the artists and architects who led the revival of classical art), without recourse to detailed exegeses or historical evidence. In this respect, Delafosse's engagement with the *capriccios* produced at the Académie de France may be seen as a successful strategy, at least from a current contemporary standpoint.

22 The equestrian statue may be a reference to his own design for an equestrian statue of Louis XV (1763). See Jean-Charles Delafosse, *Projet de piédestal pour la statue de Louis XV*, conserved at École nationale supérieure des beaux-arts, Paris (Inv. No. EBA 1944). The adaptation of a ruined architectural fantasy composition as a possible painting panel follows the vogue for ruin paintings popularized by Hubert Robert. For more information on the popularization of ruins see Nina L. Dubin, *Futures & Ruins: Eighteenth-century Paris and the Art of Hubert Robert* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2010).

23 The class list for Blondel's École has not survived, as noted by Richard Cleary. Delafosse had an apprenticeship to the sculptor Jean-Baptiste Poulet, the *directeur garde* at Académie de Saint-Luc in Paris in 1747. He never completed it, instead switching to architecture sometime before 1766. In Richard Cleary, "Romancing the Tome; Or an Academician's Pursuit of a Popular Audience in 18th-Century," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 48, no. 2 (June, 1989), 140; Daniel Rabreau, *Claude-Nicolas Ledoux, 1736-1806: l'architecture et les fastes du temps* (Bordeaux: Wm. Blake & Co, 2000), 52; and Alberto Pérez Gómez and Louise Pelletier, *Architectural Representation and the Perspective Hinge* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1997), 217. The "*Ordre des leçons,*"at Blondel's school can be found in Jacques-François Blondel, *Cours d'architecture, ou Traité de la décoration, distribution & construction des bâtiments* (Paris: Chez Desaint, 1773), 3:lxxxj-xc.

24 "*L'artiste le plus ingénieux se trouve arrêté*," in Jacques-François Blondel, *Discours sur la Manière d'étudier l'Architecture* (Paris: Mariette, 1747), 66.

25 Blondel, *Cours d'architecture,* 3:lxxxv; lxxxvij.

26 The drawing features the following inscription in the lower center: "*Grand galerie de l'ordre Corinthien avec Sallon aux Extrémités/ Echelle*

employs drawing to demonstrate his entrenchment within the Blondel-led academic tradition since the format of the *Grande Galerie* both invokes academic pedagogy as well as the very practice of familiarizing oneself with *bon goût* by drawing in assigned interiors.

This relation to Academic practices can be considered alongside increasing criticisms against the Greek style, the very style displayed in Delafosse's *Grande Galerie*. The dissemination of the style in France was fueled by the extensive archaeological discoveries and subsequent publications by James Stuart and Nicolas Revett, Pierre d'Hancarville, and Thomas Major, as well as by the financial prosperity following the end of the Seven Years War (1756-63). Despite this, the cognoscenti largely considered *goût grec* as a decorative phenomenon. By the 1760s, the style had completely inundated the Parisian market with Nicolas-Thomas Barthélemy writing in 1764 in *L'Amateur* that "All but our souls are in the Greek manner."[27] The style was particularly criticized for collapsing the distinction between high architecture and banal everyday decorative objects. As early as 1763, Baron Friedrich Melchior de Grimm traced the hierarchical transfusion of the style from architects to artisans, stating that the style originated from architectural exteriors to be followed by interiors—ornaments, furniture, and even jewelry—from classical architecture to boutiques run by merchants.[28] Goût Grec was suspended between its origins in historic archaeology and architecture and its eighteenth-century applications as a decorative typology.

This tension is highlighted in two instances by Cochin. In an acerbic criticism of the rococo style, in 1755, Cochin lamented that while architecture derived from the study of antiquity was replete with difficulties, the modern style would easily transform master masons with little taste into architects at no cost.[29] In 1770, Cochin denounced the very same master masons for deforming antique ornaments with a thousand blunders.[30] His continued reference to master masons derives from the instability in the very title of the *architecte* during this period, since anyone could purchase or freely appropriate the title without membership in Académie Royale d'Architecture in Paris.[31] Delafosse may be seen as precisely the kind of self-made architect so vehemently criticized by Cochin. As noted earlier, Delafosse styled himself as an architect from 1766, while the Académie Royale d'Architecture referred to him as sculptor, decorator, or engraver, rather than as an architect.[32]

The Académie Royale's reluctance is connected to Delafosse's affiliations with Académie de Saint-Luc. From the 1750s, Saint-Luc was seen as the progenitor of "bad taste" because the vogue for decorative styles from the rococo to the *goût grec* entitled artisans to usurp the role traditionally in the purview of the Académie-affiliated architects.[33] Blondel too blamed the *architecte à la mode* at the Académie de Saint-Luc for disfiguring architecture and "substituting caprice in the place of rules and good taste."[34] In response, the normative distinction of architectural authority was established by competency in draftsmanship, a standard acknowledged by Diderot who advised in 1765 to be wary of architects who were not great draftsmen.[35] Amidst such contentions, Delafosse's ruin drawings enabled him to separate himself from the type of *architectes à la mode* condemned by Cochin and Blondel. The subject matter, format, and conditions of display allowed Delafosse to demonstrate his familiarity with the *bon goût*, and by extension present his *desseins* as productions of erudition rather than fashion.

While the ruin fantasy drawings are evidence of his engagement with the on-going dialogue with history, and academic pedagogy, they are at once firmly connected to his decorative publication: many of his drawings star his

de 12 pieds." Mary Myers has linked this inscription to Delafosse's practice of routinely executed designs given as student assignments at Académie de Saint-Luc as a display of his own virtuosity. Mary L. Myers, *French Architectural and Ornament Drawings of the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1991), 55.

27 "*Tout est Grec, excepté nos âmes*," in Maurice Badolle, *L'abbé Jean-Jacques Barthélemy et l'hellenism et France dans la second moitié du XVIIe siècle* (Paris: Les Presses universitaires de France, 1926), 224. Cochin, too, traced the development from architecture *à la grecque* to ribbons *à la grecque* in Cochin, *Mémoires inédits,* 142.

28 Baron Friedrich Melchior de Grimm and Denis Diderot, "Mai 1763," in *Correspondance littéraire, philosophique, critique, adressé à un souverain d'Allemagne, par Grimme et Diderot* (Paris: Longchamps, F. Buisson, 1813), 3:362.

29 Cochin, "Lettre à m. l'abbé R***," 151-2.

30 Cochin, *Mémoires inédits*, 142-3.

31 Roland de Virloys, *Dictionnaire d'architecture, civile, militaire et navale, antique, ancienne et moderne: et de tous les arts et métiers qui en dépendent* (Paris: Chez les Libraires Associés, 1770-1), 1:91-2.

32 Jean-Charles Delafosse, *Mémoire pour une boucherie et tuerie générale, servant à la consommation de la ville de Paris, laquelle tuerie serait placée dans l'île des Cygnes, projeté et présenté par J.-C. Delafosse* (1766), Bibliothèque nationale de France, Joly de Fleury- 584 fol. 224; Lemonnier, ed., "Du Lundy 21e Novembre 1768," 34; and Jacques-François Blondel, *L' Homme Du Monde Éclairé Par Les Arts* (Paris: Chez Monory, 1774), 2:316.

33 Katie Scott, "Hierarchy, Liberty and Order: Languages of Art and Institutional Conflict in Paris," *Oxford Art Journal* 12, no. 2 (1989), 65.

34 "*Ces licences qui défigurent l'Architecture, en substituant le caprice aux règles & au bon goût*." Jacques-François Blondel, *Discours sur la manière d'étudier l'architecture*, 64; and Freek H. Schmidt, "Expose Ignorance and Revive the 'Bon Goût': Foreign Architects at Jacques-François Blondel's École des Arts," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 61, no. 1 (March, 2002), 15.

35 Denis Diderot, "*Sur la Peinture*," 491. This reliance on drawing to uphold professional hierarchies backfired, as Roland de Virloys noted in his entry for *Architecte* in his *Dictionnaire d'architecture* (1770-71) that "as soon as a man can draw, he calls himself an architect." In Virloys, *Dictionnaire d'Architecture*, 1:91.

personal creations.[36] Figures 3 and 4 feature a mausoleum composed of four veiled female herms integrated into a hybrid base comprised of a pedestal, entablature, architrave and topped with a fragment of a fluted column. Variations of this design are revived as fountains in his other ruin landscapes and are similar to his proposal for a mausoleum (Figure 9), a version of which was etched and published from 1771 to 1775 as part of Delafosse's *recueil*. Within the ruin landscapes, Delafosse's inventions are given a virtual patina of age and, by extension, are elevated to the same level of historical value ascribed to pre-existing monuments in the compositions such as the Pyramid of Cestius and Trajan's Column. Moreover, Delafosse's monuments are given visual gravitas in the drawings—emphasized through shadows and compositional placements—with their relative structural soundness, in contrast to the crumbling backdrop, presenting them as survivors of the historical ravages of time. In this virtual space, his creations are both *nouvelle* creations by Delafosse responding to the mode for *goût grec,* but also historical monuments. This strategy allows Delafosse to position his ornamental language as a historically authenticated one rather than a decorative fancy as expressing both *Zeit* and *Zeitgeist*.[37]

The fluid and multivalent functions of the drawings are partly due to the very fact that they are of ruinous landscapes. Ruins held visual, cultural and even political currency in the second half of the eighteenth century. The *Encyclopédie* asserted in 1765 that "ruins are beautiful to paint," and Diderot proposed in his review of the Salon of 1767 that "one must ruin a palace in order to make it an object of interest."[38] Ruins during this period embodied both destruction and creation, or creative potential in the aftermath of destruction. In architectural history, ruins were generative sites due to the fact that the idea of classical architecture was constituted from material remains. For example, the sixteenth-century Italian architect Andrea Palladio reconstructed the Baths of Agrippa on paper by combining the surviving fragments, a thorough study of Vitruvius's building techniques and theories, and prevailing ideas of classical ornament and style, along with Palladio's own desire to reconstruct an ideal typology of architecture. In Delafosse's drawings, too, the ruins become a site that fosters artistic and architectural invention and imagination, particularly since he collaged together elements from his landscapes into monumental structures (Figure 10). Here, the veiled herm, tomb, column and stele from Figure 4 undergo permutation into a new model for a tomb design. In this respect, the ruin drawings inspire and enable his decorative projects—the *dessin* thus facilitating *dessein*.

To conclude, Delafosse's monuments are suspended *in potentia*, appropriated from their original historical and chronological contexts and await future transformation into decorative structures—with the said forms once again inscribed and historicized into the ruin landscapes. Delafosse's decorative vocabulary thus operates in a cycle, as both the origin and the regeneration of architecture, allowing him to monopolize the production of art—at least in the virtual archaeological site contained within his fantasy landscapes. In this gap between destruction and construction, between invention and reproduction, is Delafosse's desire to lay claim to the very origin of art and architecture itself, a claim echoed in the preface of the *Nouvelle Iconologie*.[39] Consequently, his architectural and ruin fantasy drawings can be seen as the epicenter of his own architectural ambitions—as documents conveying his own command over artistic imagination, experience, and pedagogical fluency requisite for eighteenth-century architects.

In the preface to *The Antiquities of Athens* (1762) James Stuart and Nicolas Revett wrote, "Architecture lay for Ages buried in its own ruins; and altho' from these Ruins, it has Phenix-like received a second birth."[40] Similarly, Delafosse's ruin drawings allow his monuments and decorations to be considered as historic forms in their own right, as a forgotten aesthetic recovered from the ruins and primed for their introduction into the eighteenth-century French decorative canon.

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[36] There is a drawing by Delafosse at the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Nancy of a possible project for a frontispiece (Inv. no.1502). This drawing is similar in draftsmanship and echoes familiar iconography such as an obelisk, mausoleum, sphinx, antique vases, and a round temple. It may be possible that the Nancy drawing was intended as a frontispiece for engraved versions of ruin and architectural fantasy drawings. However, in the case of Delafosse's overall oeuvre, there are few correspondences between the frontispieces for his ornamental pattern books and the designs inside. Still, the presence of this drawing further cements correlations between Delafosse's decorative publications and the ruin fantasy drawings.

[37] This phrase is appropriated from Mike Gubser's "Time and History in Alois Riegl's Theory of Perception," and the original quotation is as follows: "Art in other words expressed *Zeit* as well as *Zeitgeist*." In his article, Gubser expands on Alois Riegl's essay "Modern Cult of Monuments" (1903). My formulations on value making at an historical, temporal, and artistic level is also based on Riegl's essay. Mike Gubser, "Time and History in Alois Riegl's Theory of Perception" *Journal of the History of Ideas* 66 (2005): 464; and Alois Riegl, *The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Character and Its Origin* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1982).

[38] "*Les ruines sont belles à peindre*"; "*il faut ruiner un palais pour en faire un objet d'intérêt*." In "*Ruine*," in *Encyclopédie Ou Dictionnaire Raisonné Des Sciences, Des Arts Et Des Métiers*, Denis Diderot and Jean Le Rond d'Alembert, eds. (Neufchastel: Samuel Faulche, 1765), 14:433 ; and Denis Diderot, "Salon de 1767," in *Oeuvres de Denis Diderot*. *Salons* (Paris: Chez J. L. J Brière, Libraire, 1821), 2:385. Ruins also held cultural currency and were deployed as political and social allegories in works such as Jacques Philippe le Bas's *Recueil des plus belles ruines de Lisbonne* (1757) and Louis Sebastien Mercier's *L'an 24440, Rêve s'il nen fut jamais* (1771), a tradition tracing back to Montesquieu who uses the ruin as a financial metaphor in *Les letters persanes* (1721). Contemporaneously, disasters and demolitions were occurring in Paris, including the burning of the Hôtel de Dieu in 1772.

[39] "*J'ai remonté jusqu'à l'origine de plusieurs choses*." Delafosse, "Avant-propos," *Nouvelle Iconologie Historique,* n.p.

[40] James Stuart and Nicholas Revett, *The Antiquities of Athens* (1762; repr. New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2008), i. All spelling and grammatical errors in the French quotations are present in the original eighteenth-century texts.

▲[*above, left*] Figure 1. Jean-Charles Delafosse, *Fantastic architectural compositions: Corinthian portico with a flight of steps flanked by statues on pedestals leading up to it, a rotunda and obelisk in the background*, *c.* 1760, pen and ink with blue-gray washes and watercolor on paper, 5.75 x 3.5 cm. RIBA Library Drawings Collection.

▲[*above, right*] Figure 2. Jean-Charles Delafosse, *Fantastic architectural compositions: monumental entry to a bridge with ascending flights of steps*, 5.75 x 3.5 cm, *c.* 1760, pen and ink with blue-gray washes and watercolor on paper. RIBA Library Drawings Collection.

◀[*left*] Figure 3. Jean-Charles Delafosse, *Fantastic architectural compositions: view of part of a triumphal bridge with sphinxes and caryatid figures in the foreground*, *c.* 1760, pen and ink with blue-gray washes and watercolor on paper, 5.75 x 3.5 cm. RIBA Library Drawings Collection.

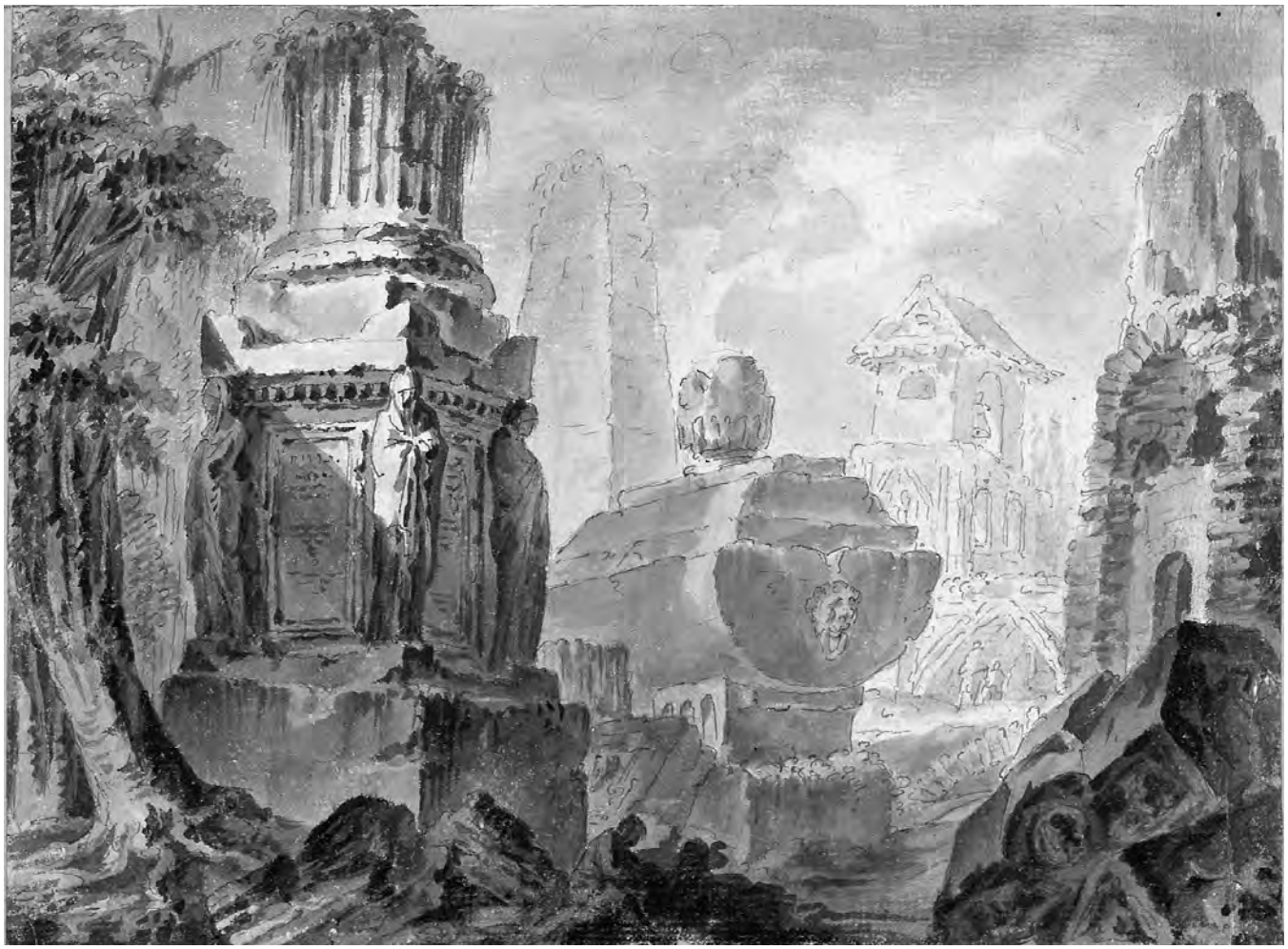


Figure 4. Jean-Charles Delafosse, *Paysage avec ruines*, second-half of the eighteenth century, pen, black ink, gray wash on paper, 17.5 x 21.5 cm. Les Arts décoratifs—Musée des Arts décoratifs, Paris. Photo credit: Les Arts décoratifs.

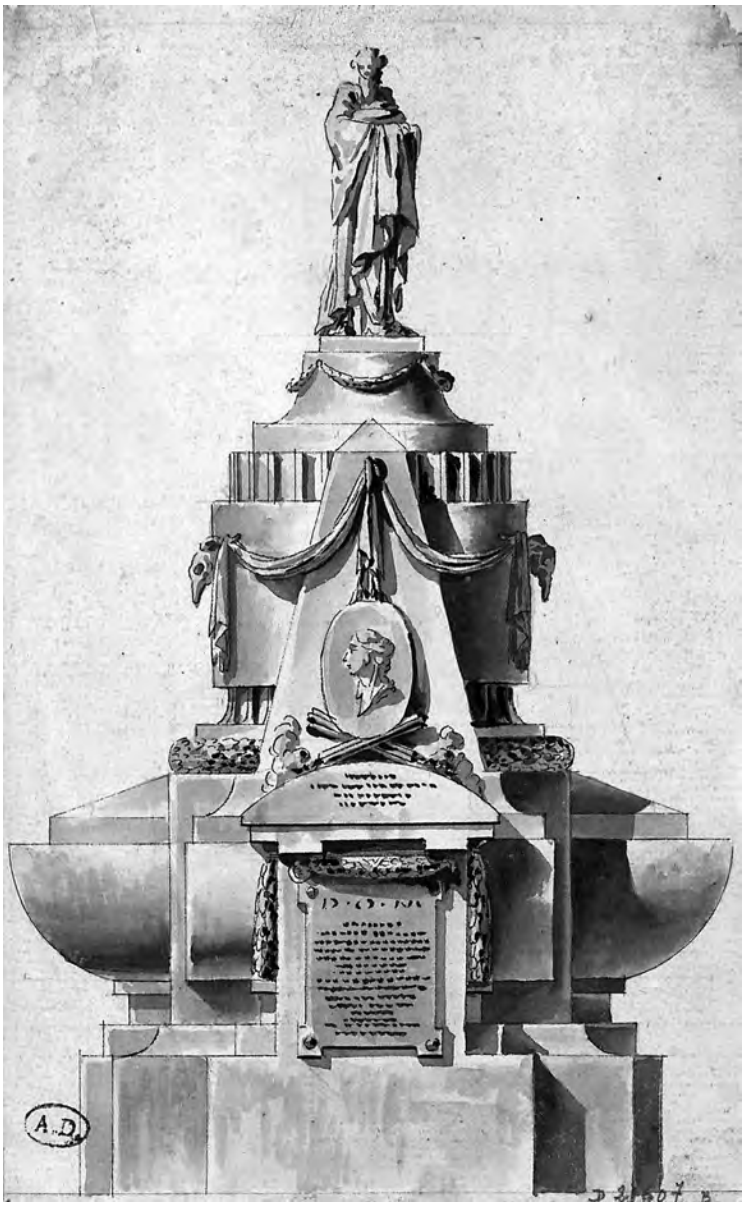
▶[*facing page, top*] Figure 5. Jean Charles Delafosse, *Imaginary landscape with classical ruins,* 1734-89, pen, black ink, grey wash with watercolor on paper, 16.0 x 23.7 cm. ©Trustees of the British Museum.

▶[*facing page, bottom*] Figure 6. Jean-Charles Delafosse, *Paysage avec ruines*, second-half of the eighteenth century, ink, watercolor and gray wash on paper, 15.6 x 24.4 cm. Les Arts décoratifs—Musée des Arts décoratifs, Paris. Photo credit: Les Arts décoratifs.

Figure 7. Jean Nicolas (Giovanni Niccolò) Servandoni, *Ruines antiques*, eighteenth century, before 1766, pen, gray ink, gray cash and black chalk, 12.1 x 19.0 cm. Musée du Louvre département des Arts graphiques, Réunion des musées nationaux. © RMN-Grand Palais/Art Resource, New York. Photo credit: Michel Urtado.

Figure 8. Jean-Charles Delafosse, *Design for a "Grande Galerie,"* 1769, pen and black ink, brush and gray and brown wash, over traces of black chalk, 37.5 x 82.4 cm. Overall view. Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1973 (1973.638). Image courtesy copyright © The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Image source: Art Resource, New York.

◀Figure 9. Jean-Charles Delafosse, *Projet de mausolée*, eighteenth century, pen, ink, watercolor on paper, 27.9 x 11 cm. Les Arts décoratifs—Musée des Arts décoratifs, Paris. Photo credit: Les Arts décoratifs.



▶Figure 10. Jean-Charles Delafosse, *Projet de tombeau*, eighteenth century, pen, black ink, gray wash on paper, 17.6 x 9.6 cm. Les Arts décoratifs—Musée des Arts décoratifs, Paris. Photo credit: Les Arts décoratifs.