JEAN-JACQUES LEQUEU, *ORTHOGRAPH(I)E* AND THE RITUAL DRAWING OF *L'ARCHITECTURE CIVILE.*

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For Yves.....

ABSTRACT

In the fantastical world of the *Architecture Civile,* Jean-Jacques Lequeu (1757-1826) designed the architect's space of appearance across a ritual act of representation. The meticulous crafting of the architectural drawing defined the very site upon which his highly syncretic and imaginative ornamental language was developed. It was in the idea of ornament that Lequeu articulated his veneration of, and dedication to the restoration of, architectural beauty and delight.

In the drawing and writing of the *orthograph(i)e,* Lequeu enacted the primordial trait of the *dessinateur* to found his art and science of representation. In the shadowed depths of the surface and its edge, the elevation and its section, the portrait and its profile, the figural ornaments of Nature and Architecture were made to appear. These, the principal characteristics of his architectural language, were expressed across all three scales of being: the cosmic-sacred, the mythic-historic, and the poetic-psychic. Lequeu's allegorical and symbolic narratives sought to reveal the problematic relationship that existed between architectural thought and its representation, at the threshold of modernity.

RÉSUMÉ

Dans le monde fantastique de l'Architecture Civile, Jean-Jacques Lequeu (1757-1826) crée, à travers un acte rituel de représentation, le lieu où l'architecte se présente. La fabrication meticuleuse du dessin architectural détermine le lieu propre au développement de son langage ornemental hautement syncrétique et imaginatif. C'est dans l'idée d'ornement que Lequeu articule sa vénération de la beauté et du plaisir architectural, ainsi que son dévouement à la rétablissement de ceux-ci.

Dans les dessins et les écrits de l'orthograph(i)e, Lequeu, en procédant au premier trait du dessinateur, fonde son art et sa science de la représentation. C'est dans la profondeur des ombres crées par la surface et son contour, l'élévation et sa coupe, le portrait et son profil, que les figures ornementales de la Nature et de l'Architecture apparaissent. Ces figures, principales caractéristiques de son langage architectural, s'expriment à travers les trois échelles de l'être: le cosmique-sacré, le mythique-historique, et le poétique-psychique. Les histoires allégoriques et symboliques de Lequeu tenient de mettre en lumière la problématique de la représentation de la pensée architecturale au seuil de la modernité.

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And finally, in the impossibility of finding words worthy enough to express my gratitude, I offer a heartful thank you, to Yves Gauthier.

"The ancients feared the future and invented formulas to exorcise it; we would give our lives to know its shining face -- a face we will never see."

Octavio Paz, *Children of the Mire.*

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FOREWORD

Jean Jacques Lequeu was undoubtedly a most meticulous and gifted architectural draughtsman. Even a brief glance at any one of the hundreds of plates given in bequest to the then *Bibliothèque Royale*, will bear witness to his great skill. In his scrupulous representations of both Nature and Architecture, drawing was Lequeu's principal means of expression. Tempted as one may be to see in the eyes and hands of this late eighteenth, early nineteenth century artist and author, the profile of the modern architectural technician, I would contend that, with a careful look at the very words and drawings of Lequeu one is introduced to a somewhat different picture. As architect, historian, antiquarian, natural scientist, religious philosopher, and mystic, his was the

Figure 1. Jean-Jacques Lequeu, Self Portrait -- 1786.

mind and soul of the pre-romantic artist. Throughout the development of his architectural narratives, Lequeu aspired to safeguard the sacred knowledge of his ancestors whilst engaging in the eternal pursuit of perfection and Beauty.

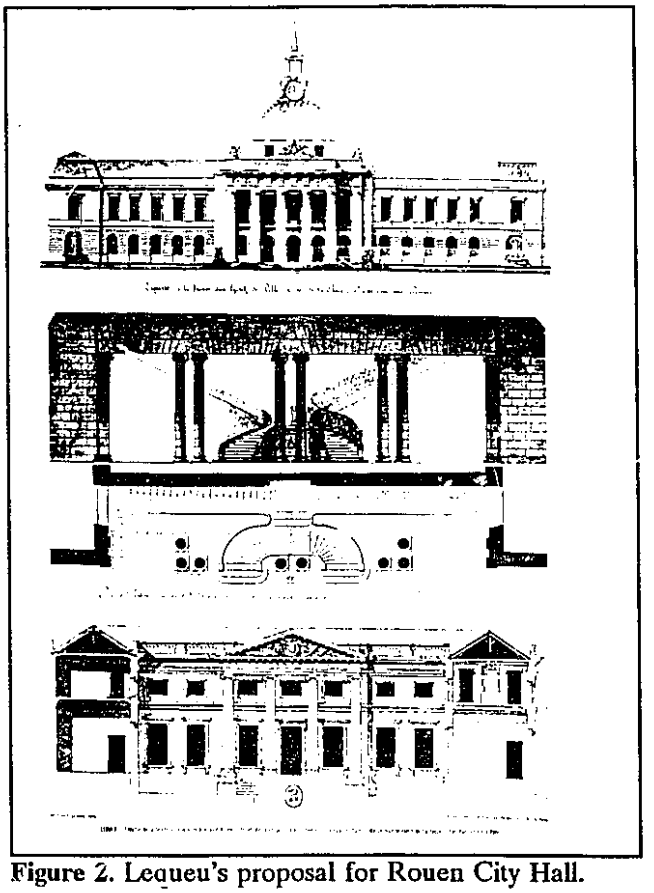

Figure 2. Lequeu's proposal for Rouen City Hall.

In the beginning, on September 14, 1757, the city of Rouen, was home to the birth of Jean-Jacques Lequeu. As one of France's oldest cities, its recorded history dates from the days of the Romans. The capital of Haute Normandie, Rouen is located to the northwest of Paris, on the banks of the Seine. This ancient city was the first city to bridge the estuary of this life giving river. Over the years, Rouen has given France some of its most illustrious citizens, including: the French martyr Jeanne d'Arc, one of the first tragic poets and playwrights of the seventeenth century to redefine the new french stage - Pierre Corneille, the influential eighteenth century architect who sought to organize architectural education and normalise the profession - Jacques-François Blondel, and the early nineteenth century master of the Romantic picturesque school of painting - Theodore Géricault.

Lequeu was one such son of Rouen. While little is known about his mother, we are told a great deal more about his father, Jean-Jacques-François Lequeu (1701-1766), cabinet maker and furniture designer, with interests in architecture and landscape design.[1] A series of sketches produced by his father were included by Lequeu along with his own work which he

[1]Phillipe Duboy, *Lequeu, An Architectural Enigma*, p. 63.

submitted to the *Bibliothèque Royale*.[2] While these rather small drawings are not as elaborate or meticulous as those produced by Lequeu *le fils*, amongst the work ascribed to Lequeu senior there appears a complete elevational study for a new city hall. Professionally, Lequeu followed in the footsteps of his father. However having had a more extensive formal education, he succeeded in taking his talents to Paris. Lequeu never lost site of his origins in Rouen, even as late as 1814 he was still to sign his drawing plates: *Jean-Jacques Lequeu, Architecte de Rouen.*[3] It was important for Lequeu to ground his own artistic lineage within a genealogy which named his father as craftsman in the art of joinery. He presented his family as one of the oldest in Rouen and claimed that they had participated in building several of its churches. In this explicit writing of his own personal history, Lequeu metaphorically adopted the traditional language of the guilds, where the right to profess a craft was guarded from father to son. Only in this patrilineal association could one pass on to another the secrets of one's knowledge.

Lequeu's life and work would have remained a secret were it not for his second birth at the hands of architectural historian Emil Kaufmann. In repeated attempts to introduce Lequeu into the arena of eighteenth century architectural scholarship, Kaufmann first published his drawings sixty years ago. His book *Von Ledoux bis Le Corbusier* and article "Etienne-Louis Boullée" both cite Lequeu. In Kaufmann's most extensive presentation on Lequeu, made in his 1949 article,[4] the major personal and professional events which shaped his life and career are listed. Both works produced prior to the Revolution and those produced after are featured. While Kaufmann was the first to highlight the idiosyncratic disposition of the artist, he proposed that Lequeu's fantastic revelries were less the result of madness than of the general context of the times which saw in the revolutionary spirit the need for a new expression. In his 1952 presentation to the American Philosophical Society, Kaufmann aligned Lequeu with two other eighteenth century architects, Claude Nicholas Ledoux and Etienne-Louis Boullée, their common interest in formal geometrical abstractions defining the basis for Kaufmann's grouping. In reply to this proposition, I would contend that the drawing activity of these three architects was not exclusively preoccupied with formal manipulations. Rather, what these architects did share was an understanding that the

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[2]MS (Ha 80 à 80c rés Folio 3), Plates 21-23.

[3]MS Architecture Civile, Plate 45.

[4]Emil Kaufmann, "Jean-Jacques Lequeu," in *The Art Bulletin* no. 1- 4 (March 1949):130-135.

architectural drawing was an important independent site for the exploration of architectural meaning. Boullée was a consummate and successful practitioner, and yet he wrote his own treatise on architecture in his *Essai sur l'Art*. While never published until this century, this theoretical work demonstrated that architecture was not simply defined as the art of building.

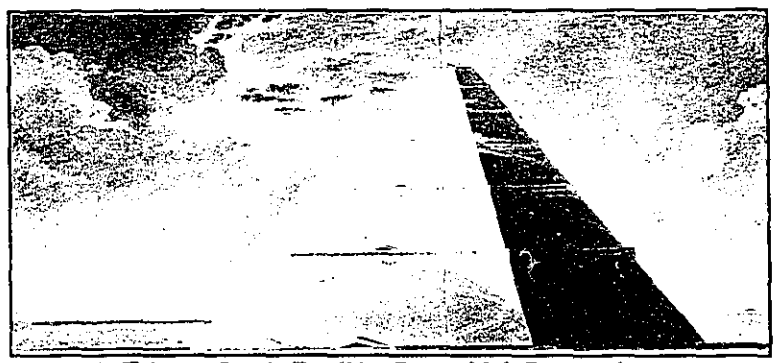

Figure 3. Etienne-Louis Boullée, Pyramidal Cenotaph. *(Bibliothèque Nationale).*

It was also in the process of ideation, in the science and theory of architecture, that meaning was made to appear.[5] As such I interpret Boullée's grandiose and formally abstract designs and drawings as the making present of a theory of architecture. Ledoux, like Boullée, understood that architecture was traditionally constituted by its ideal as by its material reality. In his own theoretical work which he published in the concluding days of his life, *L'Architecture Considerée sous le Rapport de l'Art* (1804), Ledoux presented the world of the ideal in the design of his city of Chaux. Both Boullée and Ledoux practiced the art of building, and yet both of these architects also drew and wrote their theory of architecture. As such, they denote a particular architectural genius which believes in the drawing as a primary mode of investigation and enquiry. It is in this light that I have come to understand the drawing work of Jean-Jacques Lequeu. First and foremost, as intellectual speculations, his architectural drawing narratives express the world of the ideal, the world of the mental construction.

Lequeu's work was published once again in 1949, this time in an article by Helen Rosenau.[6] Her exploration centred on the symbolic content of his drawings. In the presentation of a select number of his images, Rosenau discussed both the influence of Freemasonry and that of the French Revolution on his work. The presence of syncretic representations, in both text

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[5]Alberto Pérez-Gómez, *Architecture and the Crisis of Modern Science*, p. 134.

[6]Helen Rosenau, "Architecture and the French Revolution: Jean-Jacques Lequeu." in *Architectural Review* vol. 106 (August 1949):111-116.

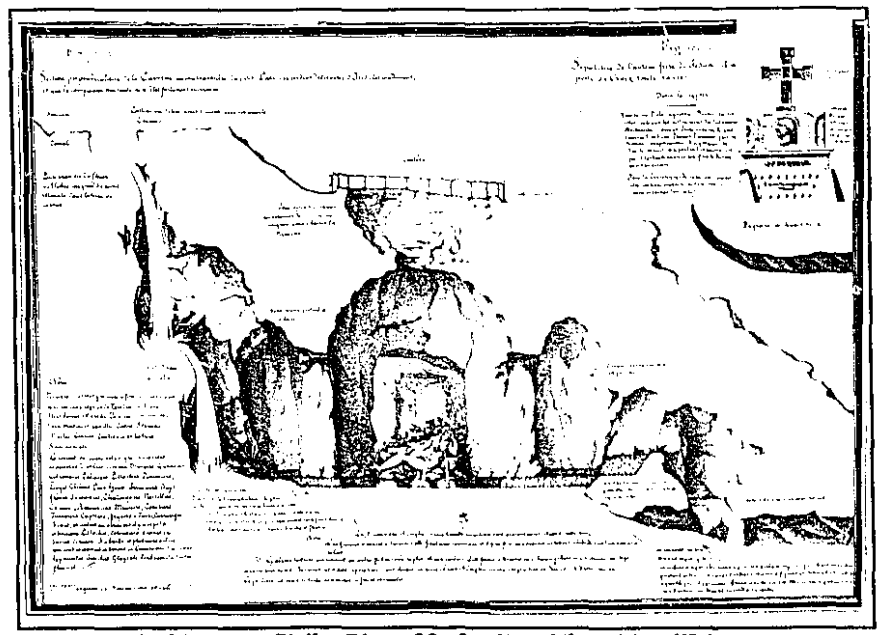

Figure 4. *Architecture Civile*, Plate 33. *Jardins délectables d'Isis.*

and drawing was paramount in her conclusion that Lequeu was most certainly aware of the accepted stories and tales of Freemasonry. In the Gothic, Moorish, Egyptian, and Roman architectural themes, Rosenau noted the intellectual disposition of the Mason. Parallels and comparisons were forged between Lequeu's works and those of his British contemporary Batty Langley, and his French contemporary Quatremère de Quincy. Lequeu's repeated references to both the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid and *The Golden Ass* of Lucius Apuleuis, both critical narratives in the Masonic system of beliefs, further attests to his knowledge of the brotherhood. Rosenau presents his designs as fraught with the imagery of freedom and equality. However, while these were certainly themes which Lequeu drew upon throughout his career, repeatedly, Lequeu uses his pen and wash to question the Revolution and its enlightenment ideals; privy equally to the reign of terror and to the exhilaration of freedom.

Architectural historian Jacques Guillerme introduced a reading of Lequeu as an eclectic and eccentric artist.[7] His interest in grottos, labyrinths, and the exotic was noted as indicative of his involvement in the world of the irregular. For Guillerme, Lequeu's inventive genius had at its root characteristics of a pyscho-pathological personality; his lascivious figure studies and

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[7]Jacques Guillerme, "Lequeu et l'invention du mauvias gout," in *Gazette des Beaux Arts VI* Tome 66 n. 1158-1163 (deuxieme semestre):153-166, and "Lequeu, entre l'irrégulier et l'éclectique," in *Dix-huitième siècle* no. 6 (1974):167-180.

his obtuse references to licentious activities, being symptomatic of the neurotic. Guillerme understood Lequeu's landscape designs as the most appropriate site for the development of the foreign and the bizarre. In the language of the sublime, Lequeu's projects expressed an *architecture parlante* grounded in the architectural representation of contrast and asymmetry.

The most comprehensive, and yet most obscure presentation of Lequeu was furnished by Philippe Duboy in the monograph *Lequeu, an Architectural Enigma.* Duboy's wildly flamboyant interpretation paints Lequeu in all his eccentricities. The major drawing folios which comprise the Lequeu collection are reproduced nearly in their entirety. Duboy's argument was constructed on the hypothesis that much of the original plates and accompanying documents were manually doctored at the turn of the century. He emphasizes that the full extent of the collection was only catalogued at the end of the nineteenth century. Moreover, the folios in which the plates are bound do not reflect the original submission by Lequeu in 1825. Duboy speculates that in fact, their existed a four way conspiracy to adulterate the drawings, involving Marcel Duchamp, Guillaume Apollinaire, George Bataille, and several "pata-physicians" including Jacques Lacan.[8] The intention of this act was to create a work which, when eventually made available to the public, would counter-act the "rationalizing" influence of Le Corbusier. While Duchamp and Bataille were both employed at the *Bibliothèque Nationale* during this period, the validity of Duboy's claim is nearly impossible to prove. Duboy's own actions may indeed have contributed to the conspiracy for, more than anyone else, he has brought Lequeu to the attention of architects. Whether or not Lequeu's graphic work contributed to a contrived exercise in Surrealist subversion, his drawings and texts define a vital ground for a reconsideration of the status of representation within the context of modern architecture.

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[8]Joseph Rykwert, "Pinnacoli di assurdita," in *Casabella* vol. LI(Maggio 1987):36.

My thesis is indebted to these, and others who have addressed the life and work of Lequeu.[9] In the chapters which follow I will venture my own interpretation of Lequeu's fantastical constructions. The first chapter will introduce Lequeu's impassioned involvement in the art of drawing. For Lequeu, the ornamental drawing of architecture was the preeminent art form. As such it was worthy of a life-long interest in the ritual craft of drawing. The focus of the second chapter will be an examination of his exclusive use of the orthographic projection in the communication of architectural meaning. This, the privileged form of his representations, was the principal vehicle for the elaboration of his allegories stories. Chapter three will present an interpretation of the architectural narratives which define the words and images of the *Architecture Civile.*

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[9]Other authors which have written on Lequeu include: Andre Chastel, "The Moralizing Architecture of Jean-Jacques Lequeu", in *Art News Annual* n. 32 (1966):72; Murielle Gagnebin, "Une Pathologie de l'ecart: le cas de Jean-Jacques Lequeu", in *L'Irrepresentable ou les silence de l'oeuvre* (Paris,1984).:227-243; Gunter Metken, "Jean Jacques Lequeu ou L'Architecture révée", in *Gazette des Beaux Arts* n. 1152-1157 (Avril 1965):213-230; Johannes Odenthal, "Lequeu's *Architecture Civile* and the *Kosmos* of Alexander von Humboldt", in *Daidalos* n. 34 (15 Dec 1989):30-41; and Anthony Vidler whose interpretation in *The Writing of the Walls,* I will look at more closely in the chapters that follow.

CHAPTER ONE

THE ART OF DRAWING

"Avis aux Amateurs et Amis des arts"

On the Origin and Preeminence of Drawings

Instruments, Materials and Operations of the *Dessinateur*

"AVIS AUX AMATEURS ET AMIS DES ARTS"[1]

Le sieur Lequeu qui à proffessé l'Architecture sous des Maîtres éclairés à Rouën, n'ayant rien autant à coeur que de mériter lestime et la protection de cette ville et d'offrir à ses concitoyens des services de son genre, annonce un bureau où il donnera des leçons de dessin tant de la figure que d'ornement, d'architecture et des autres parties de son art.

Comme le sieur Lequeu joint a la connaissance des plans et détails du Bâtiment (dont il fait son travail habituel), le dessin de la figure à l'encre de la Chine, maniere noire, où coloriée &&. Persuadé que ce genre hardi pourrait interesser les personnes qu'un goût distingué pour les beaux arts anime et leur fait désirer d'avoir des regles du lavis sur le Portrait, le Paysage, la Carte et l'Architecture &&, il en donnera des leçons. Ainsi les malpropres crayons de sanguine ou de pierre noire seraient remplacés par des pinceaux et des plumes.

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[1]MS *Architecture Civile*, Folio 1. Throughout this thesis I have chosen to transcribe Lequeu's orthography, exactly as it appears in his work.

This offer of services, penned by Jean-Jacques Lequeu and at present bound alongside the drawing plates that are the *Architecture Civile*, was addressed to all Amateurs and friends of the Arts. It made known Lequeu's wish to instruct, those with the most distinguished of tastes, in matters of fine art. Having practised architecture under the guidance of many enlightened Masters, Lequeu hoped to merit the esteem and protection of the city of Rouen by offering the fruits of his knowledge to its citizens. With this object in mind, he announced the opening of a drawing studio. He was concerned to note that his talents did not only partake of the drawing of plans and details: the drawings which defined his more customary and habitual work activity. Rather, his drawing class would instruct in the ink drawing of architectural figures and ornament, as well as on other subjects derived from this art. Furthermore, for those with such interests, he would teach the rules of the watercolour wash as used in the drawing of Portraits, Landscapes, Cartography and Architecture.

Lequeu's submission was important for a series of reasons. To begin with, it clearly presents his early commitment to the art of drawing. Lequeu was blessed at an early age with exceptional talent and skill in the drawing of lines and the painting of shades. His drawing education began in 1766 at the age of nine as a student at the *École Gratuite de Dessin, Peinture et Architecture de l'Académie des Sciences, Belles Lettres et Arts de Rouen*, founded by Jean Baptiste Descamps, the celebrated court painter and member of the *Académie Royale* in Paris. From the age of sixteen Lequeu's drawn work was recognized and awarded honourable mentions and prizes.[2] A series of his drawing plates which date from 1777, and located at the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, attest to the early presence of both a keen eye and meticulous hand. In these densely composed plates of tiny measured sketches not a corner of the drawing sheet is left untouched.[3] One can already note the intricacy with which he observed and recorded the natural world. Even the most indeterminate of project outlines reveals a depth of knowledge in the history of architecture.

Some of the very first plates of the *Architecture Civile* were produced during this early period. Plates 5 through 10 are preliminary figure studies of geometric shapes in which Lequeu displayed his great skill of watercolour; that is, scrupulously layering degrees of washes, pigment and water in a delicate combination, a subtle play of light and shadow.

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[2]Philippe Duboy, *Lequeu An Architectural Enigma*, p. 353.

[3]MS *Architecture Civile*, (folio 5).

Throughout the numerous transformations which his career underwent, Lequeu consistently and successfully solicited architectural work across the vision of his hands. This offer of services represents but only one of the many instances in which Lequeu actively introduces himself and his drawing talents to a learned audience. As instructor in the drawing and design of architecture, this independent venture into teaching occurred early on in his career. The year was 1778: one year prior to his arrival in Paris, to his admittance by David Le Roy to the *Académie d'Architecture*, and to his appointment in the architectural office of Jacques Germain Soufflot, architect of the Pantheon.[4] In his introduction to the *Nouvelle Méthode,* his manuscript on the geometric operations required in the drawing of the figure of the head, a further reference is made to this early teaching activity.

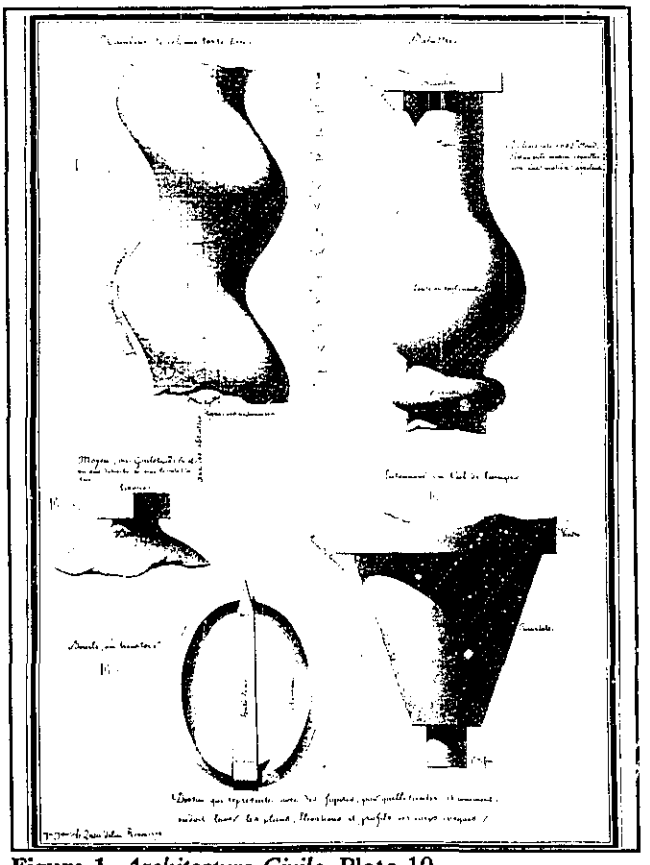

Figure 1. *Architecture Civile*, Plate 10.

> *... la tête, objet principal, des deux sexes, que j'avais étudie et que j'ajoutai à des développement didactiques qui tenaient aux fonctions de professeur d'Architecture, dont je m'occupais à Rouen en 1778.*[5]

It was this considerable talent for drawing which paved the way for Lequeu's eventual arrival in Paris. With repeated professional and public encouragement from Descamps, Lequeu was secured financial passage to Paris, by his uncle Abbé le Gentil. As well he was offered a selection of personal introductions to architects, artists and other influential creative Parisians. In this letter, seemingly composed by Descamps, appear the names of various men whom Lequeu met upon his arrival. The list included: Cochin, Houël and Le Barbier. Both Houël and Le Barbier were

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[4]Philippe Duboy, *Lequeu An Architectural Enigma,* p. 353.

[5]MS *Nouvelle Méthode,* Avertissement.

originally from Lequeu's native city and were eventually to be named *Membre de l'Académie Royale de Peinture*. The influence of Houël is noted in the presence of forty-four of Houël's drawing works amongst the original works of representation found in Lequeu's apartment at the time of his death.[6] Jean-Jacques-François Le Barbier's early life paralleled that of Lequeu's, more particularly. He also received great acclaim at the age of seventeen from the *Académie de Dessin* in Rouen. He went on to travel in Switzerland and Rome and exhibited his drawings at the 1814 Salon.[7] It was however to Cochin, *Chevalier de l'Ordre du Roi secretaire historigraphe de l'Académie Royale de Peinture*, that Lequeu was asked to deliver a personal letter of salutations from Descamps. Years later, in his own work the *Nouvelle Méthode,* Lequeu makes reference to Cochin as being one of the greatest French artists of his time. Nearly a decade later, Descamps remained central to the advancement of Lequeu's career. In a series of letters, we note once again how his early master was instrumental in Lequeu's appointment to the *Académie Royale de Rouën*, in 1786. In the copy of a letter addressed to Descamps, Lequeu expresses his excitement at his potential naming of *adjoint associé.*

> *...je tremblait en ouvrant votre lettre; mais je suis un peu plus assuré. Je vous prie donc, Monsieur, de vouloir bien me recommander a ces Messieurs,... cette nouvelle marque de bouté de votre part ne peut que hâter mon avancement.*[8]

On Wednesday August 30, 1786, four days after having written his letter to Descamps, Lequeu was duly appointed to the title of *adjoint associé.*

In the number of design commissions which he held independently from his work as architectural draughtsman prior to the revolution, or in the project entries which he unfailingly offered post-revolutionary governments, Lequeu's drawing activity was remarkably prolific. Throughout the pages of the *Architecture Civile* there are numerous examples of independent proposals: the *Théâtre Royale*, the *Porte de Parisis*, and a plethora of monuments dedicated to the glory and honour of France, her revolution and her Emperor.

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[6] Werner Szambien, "L'inventaire après décès de Jean Jacques Lequeu," *Revue de L'Art* 90 (1990):104-107.

[7] *Crosscurrents, French and Italian Neoclassical Drawings and Prints,* p. 73.

[8] MS *Architecture Civile,* (folio 1).

The years just prior to the fall of the Bastille were intensely active years for Lequeu. In 1787 he designed his circular *Temple de la Nature* for *M^r.Q...^xx, Avocat au Grand Conseil.* In 1788 no less than three major projects were issued from Lequeu's drawing table. His second private pleasure house, the Temple of Silence, was designed for one of France's notorious characters, M^r. S.^xx, *Fermier Général.*[9] A similar majestic temple front residence was in fact built for the Comte de Bouville, a wealthy Freemason from Boulogne-sur-Seine. Another of Lequeu's early indulgent residences was engraved and published by Krafft and Ransonnette in their survey of pre-revolutionary buildings in *Recueil d'architecture civile, des environs de Paris et dans les départements voisins*, of 1812. This residence, along with that of the Comte de Bouville, appears to have been destroyed following the revolution. The *Maison, appelée Cazin de Terlinden, à Sgrawensel*, was described by the authors as:

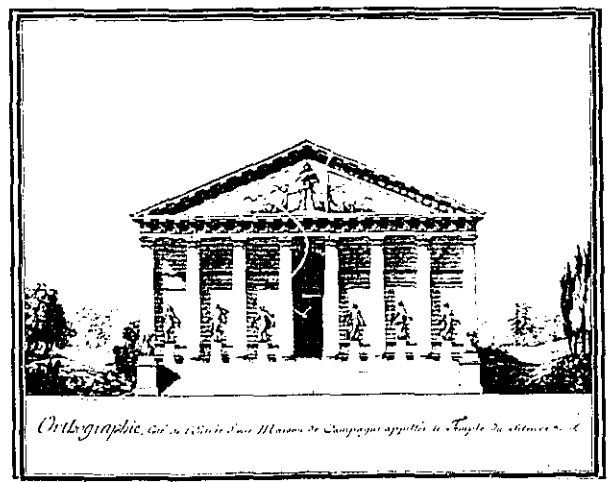

Figure 2. Temple of Silence, 1788.

> *Cette maison est assez considérable par son étendue, par le grand nombre de pièces qu'elle contient, et par la grande décoration de quelques-unes des principales de ces pièces... La face d'entrée est décorée d'un grand ordre de colonnes doriques couronée d'un fronton.*[10]

During the year 1788 Lequeu also submitted entries for two religious projects: the new pulpit design for the church of Saint Sulpice and the new church for the *Dames Religieuses Capucines.* The Saint Sulpice project is a rather amusing example of his tenacious disposition. The commission, initiated by the heirs of the duc d'Aiguillon, was finally awarded to Charles de Wailly, a prominent Freemason,[11] winner of the *Grand Prix de Rome* in 1752, and the architect responsible for the redesign of *Théâtre Odéon* in Paris. In Lequeu's proposal, located on Plate 47 of the fourth folio, a series of plans and elevations illustrate his early interest in the

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[9]MS (Ha 80 à 80c rés Folio 3, Plate 3) The *Fermier Génerale* was the royal tax collector who administered the King's agricultural resources and estates.

[10]Krafft et Ransonnette, *Recueil d'architecture civile* (1812), p. 14.

[11]*Crosscurrents, French and Italian Neoclassical Drawings and Prints*, p. 57 and Anthony Vidler, *The Writing of the Walls*, p 91.

interchangeability of physical appearances. His highly eclectic presentation was achieved by the graphic superimposition of five different proposals. By using lift up tabs and overleafs, the various plan and elevation proposals were labelled from A through E. While options A and B both represented the traditional plan of a stepped pulpit, they were dissimilar in the specific ornamental figures which were used to adorn them. In proposals C and D the stepped pulpit was replaced by a promontory of natural rocks and boulders.

In the last and most amusing proposal the pulpit base was literally represented by the circular globe of the earth. This perfect sphere was labelled and partially drawn with the continents of Asia, Africa, and Europe. The truly fantastical feature of this last proposal is found in Lequeu's representation of the holy spirit. While the backdrop of the pulpit presents the traditional Christian crucifix, it does not carry the crucified naked body of Christ, rather it displays the body of an angel figure in mid-flight, wrapped in the folds of draperies and clutching in the right hand the portrait drawing of a human head. From the most traditional design to the most allegorical, Lequeu was not only ready to present five different symbolic and ornamental drawings for the Saint Sulpice, but throughout the plans and elevations one may observe his repeated attempts to promote himself aggressively with the various religious personages in charge.[12] On numerous occasions, ardent letters and notices were sent by Lequeu requesting to meet with the appointed officials, of which most were refused.

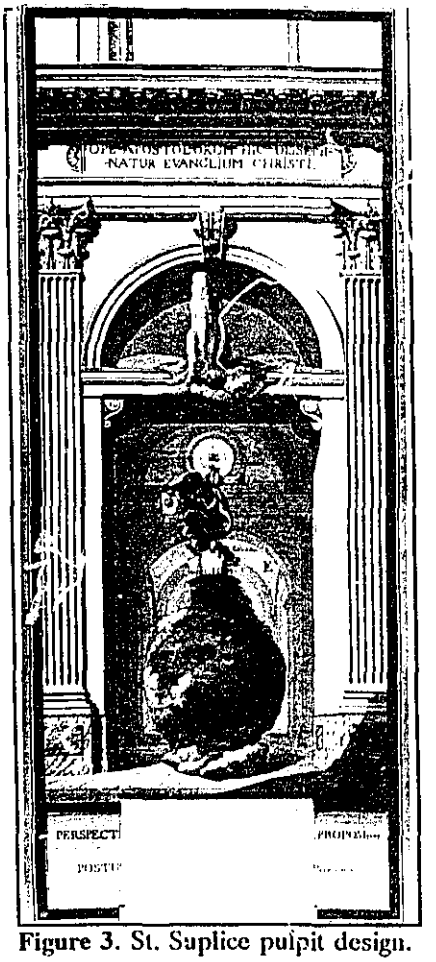

Figure 3. St. Suplice pulpit design.

Another important submission of 1788, was his proposal for the convent church of the *Dames Religieuses Capucines de Marseille dites les Filles de la Passion.* In this proposal Lequeu drastically redefined the traditional French Latin cross church plan. His proposal was for a circular plan, divided in two semicircular halves, one for the entrance porch and the other for the main nave, separated by a rectangular entrance gallery. The design of his building section, reminiscent of the Pantheon, ensured that

[12]MS (Ha 80 à 80c rés Folio 4).

the altar would be lit only from an opening in the roof profile.

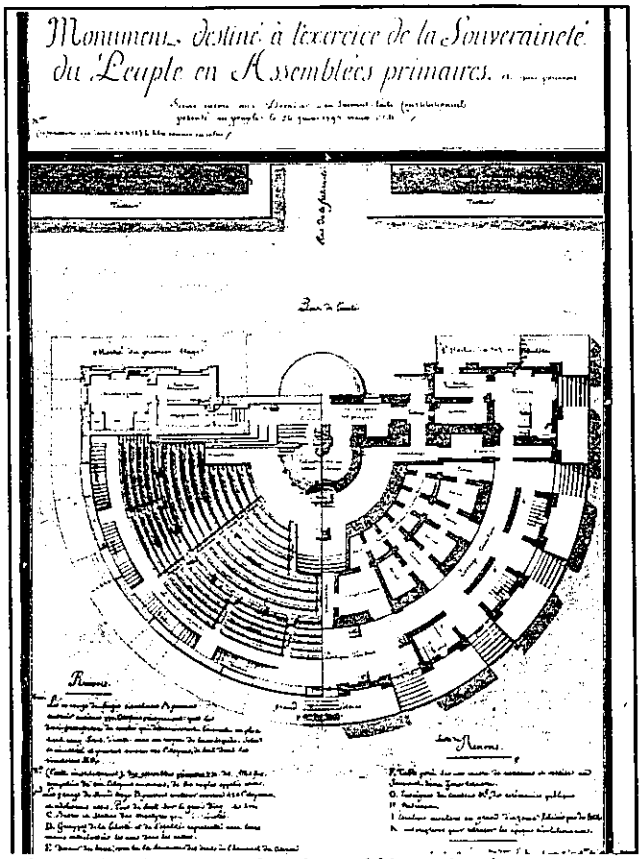

Figure 4. *Monument des Assemblées primaires.*

Lequeu returned to the semicircular plan nearly seven years later when he designed his proposal for the *Monument destiné à l'exercice de la Souveraineté du Peuple en Assemblées primaires.*[13] This competition, initiated by the new revolutionary government in *l'an 2 de la république* (1795), sought to define the new and more appropriate shape for the truly democratic assembly of the nation's citizens. Gone was the long rectangular audience chamber where the King, seated at one of the long ends, would greet his many visitors. Many an architect, including Le Grand and Molinos, proposed the return to the ancient semi-circular plan, that which in the past had been used to gather large numbers of people.[14] Lequeu's own precedent for this new assembly hall was the semi-circular Greek theatre. Both plan and elevations, carefully labelled, demonstrate the various tiered rows of seating and the regularly positioned stands erected for the "*Bustes et Statues des Martyres pour la liberté.*" Complete with ornamental flags, banners and military *faisceaux*, this domed and top lit monument was Lequeu's submission to France's ruling *Convention nationale.*

The detailed and lavishly ornamented proposals for both the church of the *Dames Religieuses* and the semicircular monument dedicated to the *Souveraineté du Peuple en Assemblées primaires* attest to Lequeu's continued participation in major public architectural competitions. However his drawing talent did not secure him any of these public and post-revolutionary projects. Regardless,

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[13]MS (Ha 80 à 80c rés Folio 3), Plates 8- 9.

[14]Jacques & Mouilleseaux, *Les architectes de la liberté*, p. 46.

throughout his professional life, whether as student, independent architect, or government official, Lequeu consistently sought the attention of important and lucrative patrons. The anxious solicitations which appear throughout the letters and drawings of the *Architecture Civile,* whether successful or not, attest to a clear mastery of hand and eye.

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The most significant characteristic of Lequeu's offer of services, his *Avis aux Amateurs*, is the manner in which it reveals his particular understanding of the architectural drawing. For Lequeu, the making of architecture was not solely defined as the representation of that which one projects, details and builds. Throughout the eighteenth century architectural practice developed in consequence to the institutionalization of the building process. Increasingly the related discipline of engineering came to influence the role of drawing in the making of architecture. In this, the independence which the work of representation held from the building process was eliminated, It came to respond, primarily, to the needs of construction. It is my contention that Lequeu's drawings were not instrumental in the modern sense, but rather they appeared as an alternative to the scientific making of order. It is the premise of this thesis that Lequeu's art of drawing was concerned with representing the various appearances of Nature's figures: the human body, the garden, the earth, and of course architecture. For Lequeu, the observation, recording, and drawing of the ornaments and figures of Nature partook of a different order of meaning than the drawing of buildings destined for material construction. His works of representation were not merely tools to an end, nor were they repositories of technical information.

His life long devotion to drawing, included knowledge of the geometric operations that name the various drawing lines, together with an intense and profound scholarship of the craft and practice of drawing. Repeatedly, Lequeu demonstrates his erudition on the origin, history, and material practice that is the art of drawing. In the opening text of the *Nouvelle Méthode* one of Lequeu's first important works to specifically discuss the most heavenly of all of Nature's figures, Lequeu narrated the eternal history of drawing in the representation of the head. Here Lequeu reveals his concern with presenting the art of ornamental drawing as the most ancient and preeminent form of representation. This partly historical and partly mythic narrative recounts the periodic re-birth of drawing in its development throughout the history of the imitative arts. For Lequeu drawing was the original, most primitive, and thus most natural form of art. It was an

independent form of representation, with its own history, its own reason, and thus its own craft. Its origins as an imitative art which revered the beauty that was nature, made of drawing the original sacred art.

Lequeu understood drawing as a poetic practice, a *techne*.[15] Drawing was not the activity of the mere artisan, but rather it was that which incorporated both the inventive and poetic activities of production. This is most clearly noted in Plate 4 of the *Architecture Civile* (1782), one of the opening plates in which Lequeu narrates a detailed presentation of the instruments, materials, and operations required of the *dessinateur*. While the drawing figures and text appear to be typical references to the practice of drawing, a closer examination discloses a decidedly more obscure and oblique interpretation of the ritual craft that is the making of representations. A concern for both that which appears to the eye and that which does not was central to Lequeu's presentation of the elementary and ritual operations of drawing.

In this plate, as in all the plates of the *Nouvelle Méthode* and the *Architecture Civile,* the *trait* and the *lavis*, the architectural drawing line and the shadow wash, are both participants in a quasi-poetic, quasi-divinatorial act of representation. Both partake in a simultaneous revelation and concealment of the truths of drawing.

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[15]My use of the Greek term *techne* refers to Hans-Georg Gadamer's definition in his essay "Poetry and mimesis", in *The Relevance of the Beautiful* p. 118. For Gadamer *techne* designates both the manual production of the artisan and the poetic content of the text. The status of a work of *techne* is not derived from the use of the object, rather its purpose is simply to exist. It is given an architectural context by Marco Frascari in his understanding of *techne* as an element of rhetoric. "The essence of *techne* is by no means technological. *Techne* belongs to the notion of *poesis*, which reveals or discloses *aletheia*, the truth, and goes hand in hand with *episteme* or *scientia*. In common language, the derivative words (technical, technique, technology) have lost the original meaning and are understood to be only of an instrumental value." *Monsters of Architecture*, p. 117.

ON THE ORIGINS AND PREEMINENCE OF DRAWINGS

Nouvelle Méthode appliquée aux principes élémentaires du dessin tendant à perfectionner graphiquement le tracé de la tête de l'homme au moyen de diverses figures géométriques. Par Jean Jacques Lequeu J.eur..., Architecte Dessinateur.[16]

While knowledge of the art of drawing was crucial to Lequeu's professional work as builder and civil servant, it was his parallel interest in more scholarly research that resulted in his narrative on the mythical origins and historical development of drawing. In the opening text of the manuscript entitled *Nouvelle Méthode,* Lequeu's treatise on the art and science of physiognomy, this narrative is brought to light. While the main intent of the manuscript was to present the geometric principles of Lequeu's new drawing method, conceived to attain graphically the most perfect representation of the male human head, the partly factual and partly fictional narrative confirms the author's interest in making drawing the preeminent art of representation.

Clearly, during the eighteenth century the anthropomorphic study of appearances was considered an important source of worldly knowledge. The human body and face were observed, studied, and drawn, with the aim of revealing a correspondence between the geometric lines which were apparent on the surface of the body and the character of the figure which one intended to draw. This character was studied and defined in relation to one's beliefs, morals, human nature, and virtues. This was a corporeal knowledge in which the body's visible traits were scrutinized with the express aim of revealing and divining the unseen. Observations of the multiple and infinitely varied appearances of Nature began to furnish the eighteenth century scholar with a systematised view of that which was not normally apparent and available to the eye. This specialised science of interpretation was eventually believed to bring to light the inner workings of the human psyche. Those who were properly initiated could read the mirroring of the soul on the flesh of the body.[17] Increasingly, this search for correspondences between a set of bodily traits and human nature became the basis of all visual knowledge required of the eighteenth century artist involved in imitative representations. As such, the various geometric operations which were drawn and described by Lequeu in the *Nouvelle Méthode* take part in articulating his own set of relationships between line, form, expression and character.

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[16]MS *Nouvelle Méthode,* Cover Plate. I wish to acknowledge the work of Jean-François Bedard, who in "*La Mesure de L'Expression,*" transcribed the text of the *Nouvelle Méthode.*

[17]Barbara Maria Stafford, *Body Criticism,* p. 84.

It is important to observe that, as presented by Jurgis Baltrusiatis, the origins of physiognomy lie in its ancient practice: in observing the figures of the sky one sought the basis for interpreting the figures of the earth. Belief in a unity of origins, governing both poles of the natural universe, led many ancient authors to suggest an intimate association between celestial and earthly phenomena. As a quasi-divinatorial science physiognomy developed into a form of knowledge which increasingly studied the body of man in relation to the bodies of the stars. Ritually enacted by the city's high priests, this ancient form of corporeal knowledge was of the most sacred and most divine. Some of the earliest Latin and Greek treatises which present physiognomic texts were those of Pseudo-Aristotle, known as *The Secret of Secrets*, and those of Pseudo-Apuleuis.[18] During the Middle Ages these texts were safeguarded and re-interpreted by scholars of the east, of the Islamic world. Their twelfth and thirteenth century re-translations into Latin repeatedly presented the existence of a close relationship between the human body and the heavenly bodies. During the Renaissance one could still read in the natural appearance of things a governing matrix of cosmo-biological relationships. It was not uncommon to believe that the astrological sign under which a person was born actually contributed to the nature and disposition of that person. Savonarola, in the fifteenth century work *Speculum Physionomiae,* claimed that the stars were at the origins of a system of appearances which determined one's character and temperament. One was recognized as being either choleric, phlegmatic, sanguine or melancholic. To each temperament was associated one of the four natural elements, fire, water, air or earth respectively.[19] While particular details varied from author to author, consistently physiognomy sought to reveal the inner workings of the individual in interpreting one's appearance vis a vis that of the stars. This astrological physiognomy was clearly in evidence in the early sixteenth century publication by hermetic philosophers and Bolognese doctors, Cocles and Achellini - *Anastasis* (1503).[20] For these savants the body's surface was clearly linked to its inner disposition for, "... the soul follows the habit of the body, i.e., the signs."[21] In the later work of 1586, *De Humana Physiognomia*, Giambattista Della Porta includes a brief historical review of physiognomy where, according to Della Porta, the Stoics and Pythagoreans, having believed in metempsychosis,

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[18]Jurgis Baltrusiatus, *Aberrations,* p. 2.

[19]Ibid., p. 5.

[20]As mentionned by Baltrusiatis, Achellini conducted some of the first anatomic dissections.

[21]Ibid., p. 7. This translation of the original Latin text is that furnished by Baltrusiatis.

actually undermined the progress of the science.[22] Rather, it was Aristotle who was the true source: his teachings had been revalorized by Polemon and Adamantios. Physiognomy played an important role in the arts of representation during the Renaissance. For Rubens, it was in the perfection of the face that one found the most virile and powerful human form, as it was the work of Divinity to have given us such an ideaof beauty, expressed in the perfection of the face.[23]

As well, throughout the Renaissance, the developing science of physiognomy, aimed at revealing that which was jealously kept hidden, as an activity analogous to the ancient ritual practices of the oracle in which the gifted seer "... reads the configuration of the body like a book."[24] Until the early seventeenth century, these ritual practises did maintain an operative relationship between the image and its interpretation. It was by the mid-seventeenth century that belief in the astrological correspondence of body to star was seriously cast into doubt. With the French language translations of *de Humana Physiognomia,* published in Rouen in 1650 and 1665, the ability of ancient physiognomy to make present a metaphorical correspondence between bodily figures and celestial stars was put into question. Physiognomic discourse became increasingly more focused on the science of the bodily Passions, on the transient and fleeting emotions, which while only temporary, were still believed to leave their mark on the physical constitution of the person. As such, from the late seventeenth century onward, the study of the human face was adopted by scholars and artists who sought to understand the hidden nature of human temperaments, expression, and character.

However, in Lequeu's late eighteenth century treatise on physiognomy, knowledge of the ancient origins of physiognomy was crucial to all facets of his drawing activity. As read in the opening plates of the *Nouvelle Méthode,* his narrative on the mythic and fable-like origins of drawing clearly alludes to the importance of celestial observation in the drawing of Nature.

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[22]Ibid., p. 7. Metempsychosis here refers to the passing of the soul at death in another body, either human or animal.

[23]Ibid., p. 15.

[24]Ibid., p. 7.

Dissertation on the Origins of the Drawing

Lequeu's dissertation on the origins and history of drawing is a lengthy introduction to a long lineage of artists, architects, philosophers, and poets: masters and scholars whose works and words Lequeu designated of crucial importance in defining the original founding canons of his chosen art of representation, and in its subsequent development throughout the ages. For Lequeu, the quintessential site for the veneration of one's ancestors was, the space of the library: the home of books and of drawings. The textual source, which included both word and image, was of great importance.

> *"Dans nos bibliothèques on trouve des ouvrages de plusieurs peintres et amateurs qui ont laissé une foule de connaissances sur diverses parties de la peinture."*[25]

Painters, and other amateurs, have left a vast array of written knowledge on the various parts of painting. These works are now housed within the great libraries of France. The royal libraries, whose collections were originally amassed at Fountainbleau and subsequently transferred to the then *Bibliothèque Royale* in Paris, were unparalleled in all the courts of Europe. During the eighteenth century the royal collections, together with those of the nobleman and the emerging bourgeois, made of the libraries of France the most outstanding compendium of textual and drawing knowledge. A great deal of Lequeu's life work originated from a reverence for the written and the drawn. Consistently, throughout his introductory text of the *Nouvelle Méthode,* Lequeu exhibits his knowledge of and preference for certain authors and artists. Worthy savants, ancient and contemporary, are clearly named and referenced. At other times, it is in the obvious parallels between the content of his writing and that of his sources that one can trace the origins of Lequeu's words and images. Lequeu recognizes in the works of his ancestors, and in the diligent study of past voices, a basis for his own contemporary mode of making, appropriate to his own moment in history.

While a general historical chronology is proposed in the *Nouvelle Méthode*, the narrative does not name in any definitive and conclusive manner the date, site, nation, or peoples believed to have been at the origins of drawing. Rather Lequeu is clear in stating that, *"...le commencement du dessin se perdrait dans la nuit de leur antiquité."*[26] As such, his presentation on the origins of drawing is necessarily a work of interpretation. Lequeu offers the reader concurrent stories of founding and beginnings each grounded in the authority of an ancient author. In an attempt to

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[25]MS *Nouvelle Méthode,* Plate 3.

[26]MS *Nouvelle Méthode,* Plate 1.

posit the geographical origins of knowledge in general, he states that the Chaldeans had been in possession of science having had knowledge of celestial observations and astronomical tables. It was *Callisthène* of Babylonia who carried to Alexandria, thousands of years before the Italians, the knowledge of the motions of the sky. The Chinese, on the other hand, were in possession of the first King, thousands of years before the arrival of Jesus. And while some would posit that India was the birth place of the arts, the Egyptians claim that their land was the true cradle, as they gave us the first elements of the arts centuries before the Greeks. In these very first sentences of the work, Lequeu makes present his syncretic understanding of the history of knowledge. For Lequeu, any serious interest in the ancient origins of both the arts and sciences had to acknowledge the study of the sky as well as the close association that had traditionally existed between Divinity, ruler and artist.

Lequeu presented two versions of the founding narrative of the art of drawing. In his first story he began by repeating the claim made by many an ancient author that it was an Egyptian named *Philocles* or a Greek named *Cléante*, "*... qui tracerent les premieres un trait d'essai autour de l'ombre d'un homme.*"[27] He proceeded to state that one should not doubt the integrity of those authors who have claimed that it was *Craton*, much before *Philocles* and *Cléante*, who came to draw the shadow of a lovely woman projected on a whitened table, *une table blanchie.* However, regardless of the specific place and time, the first *trait* was drawn as an imitative gesture of the shadow of the human body. In never straying too far from his sources, in the writings of Pliny the Elder resonances can be found with Lequeu's first story. Pliny's *Naturalis Historiae* of 77 AD, was the first compendium of natural knowledge. It included detailed accounts of all earthly and sky bound matter as well as historical information on human institutions and inventions. In Book XXXV Pliny recounts the origins of painting together with a full dissertation on the nature of pigments, stones and other such materials of the earth.[28] Painting represents for Pliny a far more illustrious art than that which uses marbles and gold, and it is the portrait which Pliny considers the first object of painting. Moreover, in a lengthy discourse on the practices of ancient Rome, Pliny discloses that veneration for one's ancestors and confirmation of one's material and spiritual lineage was truly an important avenue to truth and knowledge in Ancient Rome, and to this end the portrait painting was important.

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[27]Ibid.

[28]Pliny, *Naturalis Historiae Volume IX Libri XXXIII-XXXV* (Loeb Classical Library, 1938), p. 261.

> The painting of portraits, used to transmit through the ages extremely correct likenesses of persons,... In the halls of our ancestors...portraits were the objects displayed to be looked at,... wax models of faces were set out each on a separate side-board, to furnish likenesses to be carried in a procession at the funeral in the clan... the pedigrees too were traced in a spread of lines running near the several painted portraits. The archive-rooms were kept filled with books of records and with written memorials of official careers.[29]

Pliny goes on to deplore the loss of importance suffered by the portrait painting, for both artists and patrons no longer recognized in the painting of real likenesses value and beauty. In the paragraphs that follow, Pliny's interpretation of the origins of painting was nearly identical to that which was offered by Lequeu. The Egyptians claim to have invented painting 6000 years before the Greeks, and "line-drawing was invented by the Egyptian Philocles or by the Corinthian Cleanthes." Pliny himself declared conclusively that while agreement was shortcoming as to its specific place of origin, "... all agree that it began with tracing an outline round a man's shadow."[30]

The narrative presented in Lequeu's second version suggested that the very origins of the drawn line lay in the eternal need to represent the manifold appearances of love, desire and veneration. While somewhat similar in intent to the first version, this tale demonstrated Lequeu's interpretive and inventive abilities. He claimed that, for the longest time, striving for perfection in the art of painting had succeeded in engendering pleasure for the eyes and in stimulating thought for the mind.

> *...on sait que les femmes auront pour lui, dans tous les tems, un goût particulier: il offre de grands moyens que ce sexe aimable a mis souvent en usage pour nous charmer.*[31]

Throughout history, women have had a particular taste for painting. In the knowledge of painting women were given considerable means by which to enchant men, for in representing men, women charmed men. Had he been so favoured by nature, a woman would desire "... *l'imitation des traits de ma figure.*"[32] He, equally wanting to be in possession of her image, would reciprocate in the imitative drawing of her physical traits. Therefore, in the yearning for a representation of he or

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[29]Ibid., p. 265.

[30]Ibid., p. 271.

[31]MS *Nouvelle Méthode,* Plate 1.

[32]Ibid.

she whom one desires Lequeu situates the origins of drawing and painting in the veneration of the other. By way of an example, he describes the following tale.

> *Ainsi, croyons qu'une jeune fille qui ne voulait absolument vivre que pour son ami, désirant conserver d'une manière comparative la douce phisionomie de cet amant chérie que le salut de la patrie forçait à s'éloigner.*[33]

It was believed that a young maiden wishing to live for the love of her mate, desired to keep a tender physiognomy of him, for he, having been called to take up arms in the safeguarding of his fatherland, was destined to depart. From her deep affection sprang an inflamed desire to capture the precious image of his virginal head. Therefore in this portrayal, memory and recognition were crucial facets of the art of drawing. Moreover, Lequeu specified in a footnote that this impassioned discovery was also cited by authors who claim that "... *la fille de Dibutades mouleur de vases de Corinthe...*"[34] traced the profile a thousand years before the coming of Jesus Christ and a hundred years before that of Daedalus.

While this tale was a well known classical *topos* cited since the Renaissance,[35] Lequeu's detailed description of the exact moment in which the young virgin girl captures her sweet lover's image reveals not only a specific eighteenth century concern for the workings of light but it also begins to disclose Lequeu's fascination with the natural matter that is the earth's surface. Incited to capture his image she raises her head to the sky.

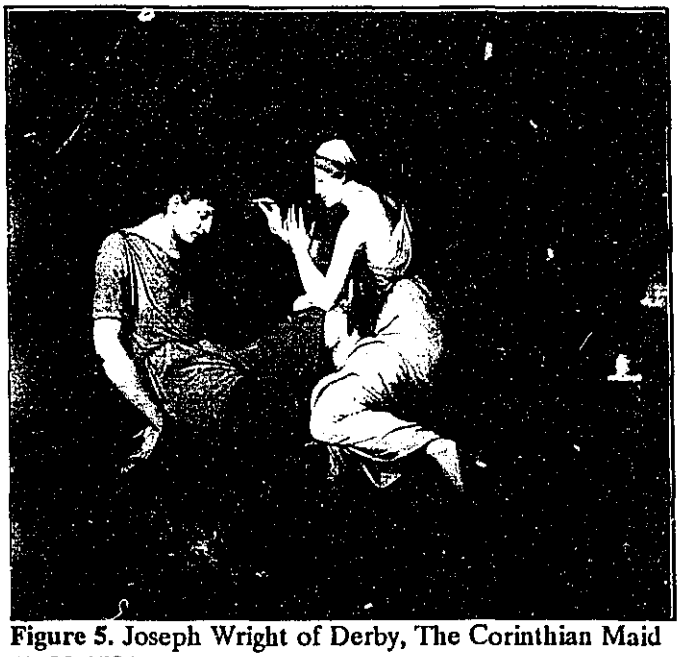

Figure 5. Joseph Wright of Derby, The Corinthian Maid (1783-1784).

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[33]Ibid.

[34]MS *Nouvelle Méthode*, Plate 2.

[35]This was brought to my attention by Prof. Alberto Pérez-Gómez and is cited by Joseph Rykwert in *The First Moderns,*(pp. 368 &405). In Book XXV of Pliny the elder's *Naturalis Historiae*, the invention of the profile drawing was ascribed to the daughter of Dibutabes in a near exact manner as it had been by Lequeu.

...alors sa tête virginale levée vers le ciel nébuleux y cherche cette image précieuse; ensuite ses yeux, d'intelligence avec ses doigts, en tracèrent le profil sur le plat d'un rocher amolli d'humidité, suivant fidèlement les extrémités de l'ombre que lui offrait un côté de son visage frappé heureusement dans le moment de la lumière solaire.[36]

This significant paragraph metaphorically presents Lequeu's quest for beauty. His maiden will search for, in the celestial vault, the most perfect image of that which she desires. This description alludes to an age old belief in the observation of the stars as the true source of beauty. The ancient Greeks believed that in the order of the cosmos the idea of the beautiful was given. This Pythagorean element in Greek thought suggested that in the cyclical and eternal motion of the stars the beautiful and the true were present. However, being able to contemplate this divine dance was truly the privilege of the gods, for the human soul by its very presence in the material body was destined to view this celestial image but momentarily. Caught in the clouded and sensuous desires of our bodies, our view of beauty could be but short lived.[37] In this lay the necessity to metaphorically capture the fleeting image of beauty. For Lequeu this was the essence of drawing.

And yet, the acquisition of the beautiful did not proceed without an interest in the more obscure. In Lequeu's own interpretation of this classical canon he introduced two important variations. The sky to which the young maiden looks to was originally described as being nebulous. How is one to read the image of beauty and truth in the face of formlessness? And yet this is Lequeu's insinuation. Only in lifting her head towards the nebulous sky can the maiden's eyes, followed by the intelligence of her fingers, come to trace her lover's profile on the flat bed of a soft humid mountain-face. Only then can her lover happily offer himself to the solar light rays which, in striking a side of his face, define the extremities of shadow. The second important variation appear in the surface upon which the image is drawn. The description of a wet and humid surface would seem to contradict the dictum of drawing. Such a surface would capture, with difficulty, a drawn image, and yet this is the state of the earth's surface. In both of these variations to the canon, Lequeu uses the element of contradiction to introduce his own inventive interpretation of these ancient stories. While the accepted canon of the origins of drawing is presented as a near copy of the age old tale, the introduction of a subtle variation is indication enough that Lequeu will draw and write his own particular interpretation of history.

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[36]MS *Nouvelle Méthode,* Plate 2.

[37]Hans-Georg Gadamer, *The Relevance of the Beautiful*, p. 15.

Therefore, in this second narrative, as in the first, establishing the exact site and moment of the origin of drawing was not of crucial importance. What was important was articulating the origins of drawing across a language of shadow, memory, desire, veneration and beauty; a metaphorical expression of the passion of one for the image of the other. It was in this light that the drawing of the head, the art of the portrait, brought to life the art of drawing.

Of the Progress of this Art in Italy and in France

Following this presentation on the origins of drawing, Lequeu continues to explore the history of drawing. He introduces ancient Italy as the home of the Thyrrenians and Etruscans: cultivators of the drawing arts during the height of antiquity. To the Romans who followed them, and during the time of their Republic, drawing was part of the education of its most illustrious citizens. Noble heroes, having sustained serious injuries while in defense of their nation, would devote themselves to the most noble art of painting upon their return to the fatherland. In a marginal note which runs half the length of the page Lequeu presents,

> *Un grand de l'illustre maison des fabiens, timbre en honneur de porter le surnom de Peintre, il peignit même dans Rome les ornemens du Temple de Salubrité en l'an 450 de la fondation de cette maîtresse du monde et le dessin...*[38]

The influence of Pliny is here once again made present. In Pliny's own writings on early Roman painting he states,

> *a very distinguished clan of the Fabii derived from it their surname of Pictor, 'Painter', and the first holder of the name himself painted the Temple of Health in the year 450 from the foundation of the City.*[39]

The obvious correspondence between Pliny's version and Lequeu's requires further consideration. In a closer look at Pliny's description of this Temple, we note Lequeu's particular interest in including this reference in his own work. The focus of both quotations are the paintings ascribed to the illustrious member of the Fabii clan; referred to by Lequeu as being the Temple's ornaments. Pliny goes on to describe these paintings as having survived the ravages of a fire that eventually destroyed the Temple proper. Therefore, in this tale Lequeu's ornaments, which were Pliny's paintings, outlived the built matter that was the Temple of Health.

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[38]MS *Nouvelle Méthode*, Plate 2.

[39]Pliny, *Naturalis Historiae* (Loeb Classical Library, 1938), p. 275.

Lequeu proceeds to signal the year 1013 as an important date in the rebirth of drawing from the ashes of Ancient Rome. Greek painters, having fled the invasion of ignorance which befell their country, found refuge in Italy and maintained the knowledge of drawing. It was the architect and painter [sic] *Cinabué* who in 1270 crayoned gothic traces and became the master of those who once again applied themselves to this art. He mentions *Giotto* and his student *Thaddeo Paddi*, both architects and painters, as well as *Jean de Bruges* and *Pierre Perugin*. *Michel-Ange* and *Léonard de Vinci*, in and around 1490, offered their protectors and patrons some of the most accomplished studies. But it was with Raphael of Urbino that the drawing was fully restored to its most elevated position, outshining his predecessors and contemporaries.

> *Cet homme incomparable représenta la nature, en générale, si belle, si expressive, qu'il n'a pu être égalé.*[40]

Enlightened men such as *Polydore, le Poussin, Jouvent, Titian, Champagne, Le Brun* and others, had also left prodigious drawing studies. In speaking more specifically about the drawing of the human figure, *Leonardo, Rubens, Watelet, Dubos, Winckelman, Cochin, Felibien, Dufresne, Jombert, Testelin,* and *Dufresnoy* had written on the principles of drawing the head, while others had discussed the drawing of the whole human body. While Lequeu knew of *Durer* and *Lommazzo*, he was not aware of the details of their works. The work of many a physician, including *Vesale, Albinus, Bourdon, Schilder and Hérophile Alexandrin* - the first to have dissected the human body and perfected anatomy - was also of importance to Lequeu. As such, in this exhaustive listing of individuals is intimated the sources which Lequeu himself might have studied in composing this text. Furthermore, he notes that these artists and authors should be consulted by any student of the art of drawing.

Lequeu's presentation of the great masters was followed by a truly revealing paragraph. Lequeu discusses, by way of an example, his own position in one of the most heated artistic debates of the eighteenth century: the dispute of the ancients and the moderns. The diligent and studied acquisition of ancient truths was not without its problems of interpretation during the eighteenth century. Unquestionably the religious, political, and intellectual world of the ancient scholar was not that of the enlightened *philosophe*. Already by the mid-seventeenth century, scientific and artistic discourse placed in doubt the exclusive status of truth that had been granted to the ancients. With the introduction of an epistemology of Empiricism all that could be viewed, observed, and concretely confirmed was also deemed worthy of truth. In this climate of

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[40]MS *Nouvelle Méthode,* Plate 3.

investigation artistic debates were instigated as the observation and recording of ancient ruins problematized the relationship of theory to practice. By the late seventeenth century, journeys to Greece and Rome, undertaken by architects, artists, antiquarians, and historians, confirmed a lack of numerical and proportional correspondence between the fragments of antiquity and the ancient texts in which they had originally appeared. This lack of correspondence between word and matter eventually undermined and devalorised a great deal of the teachings which originated with the ancients. Architecturally, the debate made itself first present in the polemical writings of Claude Perrault. He believed that the ancients, in setting out the original building proportions, assumed the existence of a one to one correspondence between theory and practice, where an architectural theory grounded in the numerical proportions of the building's orders corresponded to the material reality of the constructed building. For Perrault the lack of correspondence recorded in the ruins of the ancients was certainly due to the carelessness with which craftsman had incorrectly interpreted the original proportions.[41] While Perrault never questioned the authority of the ancients, his assumption that idea and materiality coincided was terribly erroneous. Clearly, the ancients did not have this understanding of theory and practice. For them the realm of theory was in no way analogous to that of matter. There always existed an operative distance between idea and artifact. To seek a direct and closed correspondence between the theory of the thing and its material realization was unimaginable, for the earthly realm of matter could never attain the divine ideal of theory. Until the seventeenth century this lack of correspondence was never of the order of error and falsity. Suffice it to say that the modern intellect which insisted on this closure of interpretation made of the ideal and the invisible questionable truths. As noted by Alberto Pérez-Gómez, Perrault himself rejected "the magical implications of numerical systems as the invisible cause of beauty."[42]

To this debate Lequeu presents his own particular position as he brings to light the antiquarian work of *Girard Andran* who, along with several other contemporary artists, had taken to measuring ancient Greek and Roman statues.

> *Toutes ces figures et les principes de la tête d'Apollon et de Vénus modeste qu'il a dessinées, servent à prouver à ceux qui n'auraient vu que des plâtres imparfaits ou des gravures de ces chefs-d'oeuvres que les proportions de la Nature,...ont infiniment varié chez les Anciens.*[43]

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[41]Alberto Pérez-Gómez, *Architecture and the Crisis of Modern Science*, pp. 32-34.

[42]Ibid., p. 34.

[43]MS *Nouvelle Méthode*, Plate 3.

Lequeu believes that the numerous depictions of Apollo and Venus, drawn by *Andran*, confirm to those who have but seen imperfect plaster casts or engravings of these masterpieces, that the proportions of these statues had infinitely varied amongst the ancients. Their heads were not carved and proportioned in exactly the same manner at all times and by all artists. In what I contend is one of the most important passages of this work Lequeu clearly states that this truth was known by Vitruvius.

> *Cette vérité connu de Vitruve, architecte romain, me fait croire que le mode absolu de diviser les parties du corps humain n'était point d'usage, même de son temps, et que les maîtres de l'art se laissaient successivement le choix de la division convenable à la précision du sujet dont ils s'occupaient.*[44]

In a first reading of this paragraph, it would appear that Lequeu believed drawing proportions to have always been of a relative order; that is, during the time of Vitruvius as during his own, no founding numerical relationships existed. This was certainly a belief prevalent amongst late eighteenth century architects who came to reject in total the divinely given origins of architectural proportions. This refusal to acknowledge the otherwise traditional association between numbers and their symbolic role in architecture, led many architects to posit the outright relativism of the orders and their ornaments, and to repudiate the existence on any absolute manner of proportioning.[45] Yet Lequeu's remark that there exists no *mode absolu* of dividing the various parts of the human body should not be interpreted as the renunciation of the Divine origins of representation. Lequeu understood that no two statues of Venus could be carved out in exactly the same manner for in each there existed a very different material reality: theory was not of the order of applied science. There was no absolute theory that one applied. As such Lequeu would not have agreed with Perrault's assessment of the lack of correspondence between artifact and word.

> *N'était-ce pas aussi par vénération pour la mémoire des Dieux [imortels] pour qui on avait déterminé des proportions majestueuses et des formes célestes, bien différentes aux uns et aux autres..que, par comparaison, des artistes firent souvent respirer... leurs blocs de marbre, variés à l'infini,...*[46]

Furthermore, in this statement, Lequeu confirms his knowledge of the ancient relationship that had existed between the observation of the stars and the veneration of immortal gods. In

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[44]Ibid.

[45]Alberto Pérez-Gómez, *Architecture and the Crisis of Modern Science*, p. 35.

[46]MS *Nouvelle Méthode* Plate 4.

moments of celestial reverie the nature and truth of their majestic proportions were revealed. The very foundation of the imitative arts lay in the contemplative gaze towards the sky which gave to the initiated knowledge of the absolute and ideal. In part this was the ancient science of physiognomy where appearances were still ruled by the natural order of the sky and where the tracing of the human body was regulated by this order.

In Lequeu's own interpretation, each of the gods displayed a different set of proportions. The appropriateness of proportional divisions was based on the particular subject that one had reason to draw: different subjects required different levels of precision. For Lequeu the sky was home to a great diversity of celestial gods and as such to a great diversity of proportional systems. No one system could exclusively govern and adequately represent the great variety of forms that were manifest in the human body. That which ordered the infinite variety of earthly appearances was founded on the infinite variety of the celestial appearances. This refusal to acknowledge one single absolute, rational and all encompassing manner of subdivision was due in general terms to his polytheism and syncretism. And yet, for many an eighteenth century mind, diversity and difference could only be understood comparatively: one appearance set in opposition to another. While Lequeu acknowledged the influence which comparative reasoning, *comparaison*, had on the work of the artist, his was a reason tempered by the rule of the gods.

> *Pourquoi la tête était-elle particulièrement sous la protection de Jupiter; le front sous celle du Génie; les sourcils sous celle de Junon; les yeux sous celle de Cupidon; l'oreille sous celle de Mars; les reins sous celle de Vénus; les pieds sous celle de Mercure; les mains sous celle de la Foi; les doigts sous celle de Minerve?*[47]

In naming specific gods and in setting their relationship to particular body parts, Lequeu defined his space of private speculation. While he states its existence, nowhere does he discuss the actual specifics of this association. The eyes were governed by Cupid and the feet by Mercury, but we are never told how. In claiming that the Sun presides over the spirits of the heart, and the Moon over the body and its humours, Lequeu formally adopted the ancient language of astro-biology: this in hope of maintaining, even if only naively, the all important distance of interpretation between the theory and practice of the imitative arts.

And yet, it should be remembered that Lequeu was unquestionably a personality of the late eighteenth century. His belief in the power of the stars was not that held by the ancient savant,

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[47]Ibid.

who in divining the signs that appeared to the eye, could speak of the invisible. Lequeu adopted the language of the ancients in the hope of holding back the forces of reason which increasingly demanded complete closure between that which was of this world and that which was not. In this light, his measure of the human body, while derived from that of the sky, the most divine element of nature, knew of no direct and absolute mensuration. His drawings never claim to define unconditionally the ideal image, the ideal face, nor the ideal building. For Lequeu, no *mode absolu*, no absolute correspondence could exist between observations of the sky and their representation in the substance that was the lived world. It was only in the firmament of the stars that the absolute was given. The very nature of the human body, and of any work that partook of the art of building, while modeled on the ideal, still partook of the corruptible and the defilable.

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The Ornamental Drawing

In this short and rather curious paragraph Lequeu discusses in more specific detail the relationship of drawing to architectural representation.

> *...il est bon de rappeller aux amis des arts, que l'art de représenter la stature humaine en général, la connaissance exacte de la géométrie et de la perspective, doivent faire constamment la base des études de ceux qui embrassent l'architecture.*[48]

Had there existed any doubt as to Lequeu's reasons for being interested in the representation of the human body, they are here dispelled. In this text Lequeu confirms drawing as the root knowledge of all architectural studies: as it is best suited to developing the various nuances of the architect's talents. Yet the most revelatory statement is that which suggests that drawing was as much about the architectural trace that defined the ornament, where "... *le tracé des ces ornamens fait véritable partie du dessin...*",[49] as it was about geometrical operations. Lequeu knew of the crucial role of the ornament: of that which orders as it augments. Essential to Lequeu's work was the understanding that as architectural proportions were believed contained in the geometrical line, the stories which defined the art of drawing were carried by the ornament. Moreover, it was in the drawing of Nature's figures that the appearance of the ornament was made manifest.

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[48]Ibid.

[49]Ibid.

Having already discussed the work of artists who contributed to the development of both drawing and geometry, Lequeu then proceeds to address the origins and development of the ornament in the history of drawings. To this end he discusses the great artists of France who have distinguished themselves in the exercise of this art for over two centuries. Whether, in the proper distribution of the plan, in decorating with elegance interior and exterior masses, in the skilful painting of each individual finished drawing, or in having one's ideas built with the best materials and accessories:

> *... on doit l'avantage aux écrits [sacrés] de Vitruve-Pallio, notre plus ancien maître, comme aussi de quelques savans qui ont donné d'excellens principes sur cet art [de décorer et] de bâtir.*[50]

The seventeenth and eighteenth century was certainly a triumphant moment for the practice of both art and architecture in France. Her post-baroque reign as the classical Empress of creative beauty was unsurpassed well into the mid-nineteenth century. Lequeu claims that this was due, in part, to the writings of the most ancient master Vitruvius, as to other illustrious minds who furnished excellent principles with which to ornament and to build. This quotation is important for a series of reasons.

To begin with, Lequeu makes explicit reference to the French re-appropriation of the Italian Renaissance tradition which made of Vitruvius' texts the most ancient authentic architectural history and theory. In Lequeu's citation of important architects responsible for the best of France's artistic production, this transference of Vitruvian thought is emphasized:

> *Brunelleschi, Daniel Barbaro, Poliphile, Philander, Scamozzi, Palladio, Vignole, Albert, Delorme, Serlio, Chambray,... Boffran, Ducerceau, Perrault, Laugier, Daviler and Le Camus, &&.*[51]

As well, in Lequeu's frequently re-edited manuscript the subsequent introduction of the words *[sacré]* and *[...décorer...]* is important. His introduction of the word *sacré* established Vitruvius as sacred progenitor and founding father of the architectural text. In this light Vitruvius approached the status of divinity. In Lequeu's insertion of the word *décorer* is suggested multiple interpretations. The first of which, is that Lequeu may be alluding to the theoretical split which

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[50]Ibid.

[51]Ibid.

saw in the modern work of architecture a division between the architectural building structure and the ornamental layer in which it was clothed: a division which, seen analogously to the human body, eventually pitted the supportive bones of the body in opposition to its skin and surface covering. This defining condition of nineteenth century eclecticism, may have been at the origins of this addition. A second possible rational for the insertion of the term *décorer* may have been to highlight Lequeu's knowledge of a particular aspect of Alberti's writing. For Alberti, the art of building was understood at that which one needed in order to construct the actual building, while the art of ornamentation as that which revealed the Beauty of the design, its ideal.[52] In this Lequeu confirms his understanding of architecture as only partly defined by its art of building, where the art of ornamentation was in and of itself an ordering activity. In the design and disposition of the ornament the harmony of the building was assured. By aligning the work of ornamentation with that of architectural history and theory, Lequeu suggested a possible route to the revalorisation of architectural practice.

Most importantly, in the title of this section, "*Du Dessin d'ornement en Architecture,*" it would appear that Lequeu intended to speak about the drawing of ornament in architecture. However, the text itself discusses those who have excelled in architectural writing. Lequeu recognizes the value of architects who have translated the great works, who have written on the various aspects of architecture, and with the use of the compass and set square, measured and drawn the precious ornamental vestiges and antique profiles of antiquity. Lequeu proceeds to list *Pline le jeune, Lucien, Cassidore, Fussius, Varron, Septinius, Cessius,* and *Cossistus*, among the ancients who had written on architecture. His mention of *Fussius, Varron, Septinius*, and *Cossistus*, is significant in the context of this discussion. These authors and artists are mentioned by Vitruvius in his preface to Book VII of *Les dix livres d'architecture.* Similarly to Lequeu, Vitruvius concludes Book VI and introduces his preface to Book VII, in which he discusses his own history of the architectural text, with this statement:

> *Ayant donné les regles qu'il faut suivre dans la construction des edifices particuliers le plus clairement qu'il m'a esté possible, il me reste à parler des ornemens qui les peuvent embellir,...*[53]

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[52]Leon Battista Alberti, *The Ten Books of Architecture* (Leoni Edition, 1755), p. 113. In Alberti's chapter on "Beauty and Ornament, their Effects and Difference," Beauty is defined as the harmony of the design: "I shall define Beauty to be a Harmony of all the parts, in whatsoever Subject it appears, fitted together with such Proportion and Connection, that nothing could be added, diminished or altered, but for the Worse."

[53]Claude Perrault, *Les dix livres d'architecture* (Paris, 1684), p. 230.

Book VII is Vitruvius' analysis on: the various types of pavements, the mixing of stucco and lime, the decoration of dining rooms, the decadence of fresco painting, the uses of marble, and on the different varieties of pigments. Interestingly, it is in this preface that Vitruvius himself speaks about the importance of the very first written works of architecture.

> *Il faut avoüer que nos Ancestres ne pouvoient rien faire de plus sage ny de plus utile que de mettre par écrit leurs belles inventions. Car c'est ce qui nous en a conservé la memoire: & il est arrivé que chaque siecle ayant adjoûtér quelque chose aux connoissances des siecles precedens, les Arts & les Sciences ont esté portées à la perfection où nous les voyons maintement.*[54]

In discussing the important efforts undertaken by the ancients to preserve these written records, Vitruvius comes to discuss the origins of libraries. He suggests that, in jealous envy for the library at Pergamus built by the Attalid Kings, Ptolemy set to build and establish his own library at Alexandria. Through a process of competitions and games poets would be chosen to fill Ptolemy's library with new and imaginative works. A captivating account of one such competition tells of how Aristophanes came to denounce the poets who had plagiarized the work of their ancestors by not having clearly given them due credit. By comparing the poets' supposed new work with the contents of papyrus rolls on which the ancestors' work had been recorded, Aristophanes publicly condemned the forgerers. The King rewarded Aristophanes by making him the keeper of the royal library. This moral tale is used by Vitruvius to introduce his own list of sources. He cites *Fussius, Varro,* and *Septimius* for their writing on symmetry. *Cossutius* the Roman architect is mentioned for having built a great temple to Jupiter with a double colonnade and a symmetrical architrave.[55] In a list of important works of architectural writings, Vitruvius claims that one of the first records of architectural significance was the commentary to a tragedy staged by Aeschylus. This commentary described the various lines of sight that composed the elevational *scaenographi* of the theatre. Vitruvius notes that while works have been written on the orders, proportions, and temple ornaments, few of the great Greek architects have actually made public their methods.

This historical anecdote which tells of the origins of the library is also mentioned by Pliny the Elder in his Book XXXV of *Naturalis Historiae*. In Pliny's presentation however, it appears as part of a discourse on the origins of painting, which as we have already seen, lie in the art of the portrait. In this way Pliny connects the Roman practice of portraits to the founding of libraries,

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[54]Ibid.

[55]Ibid., pp. 231-233.

where likenesses,

> *... are set up in the libraries in honour of those whose immortal spirits speak to us in the same places...Whether this practice began earlier, with the Kings of Alexandria and of Pergamum, between such a keen competition in founding libraries, I cannot readily say.*[56]

Furthermore, Pliny includes the founding of libraries amongst his comprehensive presentation on the materials of representation that are pigments, earths and stones, "... inventions... that belong to Earth herself."[57]

Therefore, it is significant that both the founding of libraries and the history of architectural texts were presented by Vitruvius in his preface to Book VII on marbles, stucco, fresco painting, and pigments, and similarly by Pliny in his Book XXXV. For both ancient masters these materials of the surface ornamented and dressed both walls and paper and as such were important in safeguarding and authenticating the knowledge of the ancients. With every facade that was a portrait, Lequeu painstakingly ornamented the face of his buildings with both pigment and stone. Sharing common origins in the earth, the pigment was to the portrait painting what the stone was to the building facade. With the application of this layer of ornamentation the beauty of that which one had built, was augmented. In this sense, ornament operated in the realm of the "cosmetic". Etymologically, Heraclitus had noted that the principal root of *cosmesis* was *cosmos*. The ornamented surface as cosmetic layer was revelatory of a particular order of beauty.[58] For Lequeu, this liminal layer of appearances dressed both the face and the building and narrated the origins and historical development of drawing and architecture.

Lequeu's opening remarks on the origins of drawing are an early indication of his own profound admiration for libraries. They were home to both the written work of architecture and to the portrait, where regardless of form, the truth of our ancestors resonated in both the word and the image. Throughout these first few plates of the *Nouvelle Méthode*, Lequeu's praise runs high for those who have laboured in giving us important models in both the drawn and written history of architecture. I contend that, for Lequeu, the written work of architecture, its theory, was intrinsically related to the ornamental drawing, for it was in the drawing of the ornament that the

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[56]Pliny, *Naturalis Historiae* (Loeb Classical Library, 1938), p. 267.

[57]Ibid., p. 383.

[58]Marco Frascari, "The Tell-The-Tale Detail," in *Via* 7 (1984):33.

architectural narrative came to life; that is, it communicated the history of architecture in as much as it spoke of its origins. Given the demise of absolute numerical principles it was in the allegorical and ornamental study of its founding that architecture maintained an operative link with its sacred origins. This study of origins defined the role of the ornament throughout the whole of the *Architecture Civile.*

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Divine Origins of Architecture

> *Les anciens donnèrent à ce grand art le titre primitif qu'il a encore: prééminence qu'il tient autant de son antiquité, que de ce qu'il associa ensuite les autres arts à sa décoration.*[59]

Lequeu believed that the creative art of ornamental drawing was the most original and preeminent form of expression. Its origins, during the darkest of ages, were attributed to a talent in possession of reason, inspiration, and a penetrating spirit. Its development and growth was a result of both its utility and of its general magnificence. As such, the ornamental drawing of architecture was involved throughout history in both the making of the most simple rustic hut and in the design of the most lavish Royal Palace. It was the ancients who bestowed upon this great art the title of most primitive. This honourable position was due to its great antiquity as well as to that which the other arts of representation had come to attribute to its ornamentation.

Lequeu's interest in presenting the space of the pastoral landscape, the theatre and the surfaces of the earth was a consequence of his desire to articulate the manner in which painting and sculpture had given to the drawing of architecture its ornamental language. It was across these three most significant and quasi-sacred sites, that Lequeu would come to discuss the making of ornamental representations.

> *La sculpture et la peinture trouvèrent d'abord la nature de chaque lieu, aux pantomimes pastorales dans des bousquets, depuis par les tableaux animés, sur les Théâtres,...*[60]

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[59]MS *Nouvelle Méthode,* Plate 5.

[60]Ibid.

In the painting and sculptural depiction of the figure, the site, and the construction, the Nature of each was derived. Whether in the pastoral pantomimes of the sacred grove or in the animated canvases of the theatre, these imitative arts advanced a great variety of models. Belief in the forested grove, as the original natural model for the universal house of God, was prevalent throughout the century. As well, the pivotal role played by the theatre during the eighteenth century is confirmed in a footnote added to Lequeu's reference on the theatre. He reads in the etymology of the word *Théâtre* the word *theorein*, which he states originates in *Theos*, (God).[61] Finally as with both the grove and the theatre, the surface of the earth furnished Lequeu with the ornaments of architecture. He spoke of the different regions of the earth which defined the totality of its surface and which consistently presented those who dug and explored the entrails of its masses, the purest of stones essential for construction: be they formed of chalk, clay, gypsum, shale, quartz, or granite. While his detailed description of the earth's layers may be interpreted as an explicit presentation of the building materials that issue forth from the ground, as with the grove and the theatre, Lequeu presented this surface as a Divine source for the arts of imitation.

Repeatedly, Lequeu authenticates the importance of the arts of representation in light of their close association to the world of the sacred grove, the theatre, and the earth, for all three sites are different visual manifestations of one reality: Nature.

> *Or, pour reconnaître tout ce grand mélange, voilé dans la Nature et si utile à la construction, à l'ornement, il a donc fallu de la capacité, une profonde expérience et une activité toujours nouvelle aux hommes de tous les âges...*[62]

Throughout the whole of history, unveiling that which Nature concealed, and recognising the great diversity that was the world of appearances, had been of crucial importance to both construction and ornamentation as it had called forth the profound mastery of many men. Architecturally for Lequeu, the diversity of appearances was nowhere more apparent than in the multitude of *"Eglises, [Temples], Synagogues, Mosquées, Pagodes, &: [toutes maisons de Dieu]."*[63]

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[61]Ibid., Note 9.

[62]Ibid.

[63]MS *Nouvelle Méthode*, Plate 7.

The Fable

Throughout the development of his narrative, Lequeu increasingly makes pointed references to the question of Divine origins. He cautions those who do not subscribe to, nor accept as truth, the teachings of the great masters for their wisdom was confirmed by many a seasoned traveller who came to witness for themselves the great number of their built works. It was believed that in them were held the original teachings and lessons of Architecture. For this sovereign mistress of the art of building, her truths were of the order of Divine revelation.

> *L'Architecture, cette souveraine maîtresse de l'art de bâtir, cet art de première nécessité donna son nom parmi nous aux hommes ingénieux, inventeurs qui le professent seuls dans tout le monde, à l'exemple des Dieux.*[64]

The inventive work of architecture could only proceed by the example of the gods. In a footnote following this quotation, Lequeu presented a fable-like narrative of the origins of the arts and sciences. It recounted the sacred work of *Apollo* - maker of the first bricks for the mural structure at Troy, that of *Minerve* - first metallurgist responsible for the raising of the Towers, that of *Mercure* - inventor of Geometry who had learnt of architecture from the Egyptians, and finally that of *Tosorthrus* to whom had been attributed the invention of Egyptian architecture. In this second interpretation of the origins of the arts and sciences, Lequeu used the fable to speak of a mythic and pre-historic understanding of primordial origins. In these cosmic beginnings of time it was in the deeds of supernatural beings that the order of reality was thought to have come to the world.[65] For Lequeu, it was certainly not through the power of human action that knowledge first came to the human maker.

Lequeu also adopted the fable in an earlier footnote which succeeded in personifying the actions of his gods in the founding of the first communal act of habitation.

> *Selon la fable, Amphion, Cérés...Bizance, fils de Neptune, Orphée,...Biston fils de Mars,...&& persuadèrent à des hommes sauvages, mais industrieux, qui habitaient les cavernes des rochers, les campagnes désertes cà et là, de se réunir dans des enceintes. Phoronée et Thésée leur apprirent à vivre en société; Osiris leurs enseigne à semer, planter et a révérer l'Eternel;...*[66]

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[64]Ibid.

[65]Mircea Eliade, *Myth and Reality*, p. 5.

[66]MS *Nouvelle Méthode*, Plates 5 & 6.

Figure 6. The invention of fire. After Cesariano's 1521 edition of Vitruvius.

Listed are a series of gods who were fundamental in having enticed the savage, but otherwise industrious human, to leave behind the cavernous mountain and deserted countryside and to live with others in a community of like. Instructed in the seeding of the Earth and taught to revere the Eternal, this community of labourers, artisans, priests and soldiers, defined the original city. It was in this first city that men, called to live together by Divine example, built their first works of architecture. Lequeu, in reciting this fable as the origins of architecture, understood the traditional role of architecture as the maker of a shared space for gathering. Architecture was not simply an issue of shelter, for the savage already had his sheltered environment in the mountain cave. Rather, the making of architecture involved the design of a common ground for discourse and communication. In a similar allegorical reading of the origins of architecture, Vitruvius himself suggests that the knowledge of fire, having been given to the savage by a fortuitous event of Nature, was at the birth of a common life amongst humans.[67] Only with such founding knowledge could Lequeu proceed to discuss the important arts and sciences which came to define this first city.

> *Ainsi il est incontestable qu'apres que les premiers hommes sauvages eurent pourvu chacun à leur subsistance,...;après avoir inventé quelques paroles utiles à leur passions et imaginé un idiôme ils se donnèrent des chefs;...*[68]

Survival assured the invention of language as an expression of their passions. They appointed their rulers from amongst the wisest of the city's priests. These rulers taught in the great power of the Sun, in brotherly love, and community life. Altars and temples dedicated to the *Createur* and homes dedicated to the founding fathers were erected as the first buildings. Lequeu describes this primordial condition as the primitive state of architecture, where the artist "... *orna d'imitation*

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[67]Frank Granger, *Vitruvius on Architecture* (Loeb Classical Library, 1983), vol 1 p. 77. "Men, in the old way, were born like animals in forests and caves and woods, and passed their life feeding on the food of the fields. Meanwhile, once upon a time, in a certain place, trees, thickly crowded, tossed by storms and winds and rubbing their branches together, kindled a fire....Therefore, because of the discovery of fire, there arose, at the beginning, concourse among men, deliberation and a life in common."

[68]MS *Nouvelle Méthode*, Plate 6.

naturelle l'exterieur et l'intérieur de ces petits édifices."[69] The eventual progress of ornamentation from this direct imitation of Nature to that of *l'architecture secondaire* was referenced to Genesis and to the building of *Enoch* by Caën. Fascinated by exhaustive genealogical lists Lequeu presented the important moments and buildings in the history of nations and in the founding of cities. The deluge of Noah and his family, Nimrod and the tower of Babel, the founding of Athens by *Cécrops* &&, all figure prominently. He listed the building of temples dedicated to Ceres, Venus, and Bacchus, the building of the *Eglise de Ste. Sophie* and the *Basilique de St. Pierre*. Also mentioned is the work of Hiram who built the most superb temple in Jerusalem and for which Seth had raised two columns, one in brick and the other in stone. Lequeu's introduction of the Temple of Solomon is important for a series of reasons. To begin with, it was in keeping with the general resurgence of interest in the archetypal building during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In a desire to weave together the traditions of the Greco-Romans and Judeo-Christians, scholarly interest in the Temple grew as it came to be seen as the trans-historical model for a symbolic architecture. With the demise of the Renaissance and its syncretic systems of belief, the Temple was "the only monument directly inspired by God still visible on earth."[70]

However, in his list of other equally important founding works Lequeu discloses his inability to participate in a simple return to the syncretic world of the Renaissance. While his incessant interest in the origins of architecture and ornamental drawing suggests a profound belief in the return to a primordial time, his world was already that of history. His was not the cyclical time of the ancients, but rather, the linear consciousness of the moderns. In a desperate attempt to suggest that there did exist a link between his historical moment and that of all the great founding works of architecture, Lequeu dated each and every one of these past works. Curiously, his chronology did not acknowledge the birth of Christ, St. Peter's Basilica was built in the year 5492 and the Temple of Solomon in 2972. Furthermore, in needing to ensure that the genealogical trail of the ancients would find its way to enlightenment France, to his own moment in history, he asked his reader to remember that the name of Architect was composed of two Greek words, *Archos* and *Tecton*;

> *...qui signifient [directeur essentiel], principal artiste ou [bien] Cementarii(maçon) nom qui fut longtemps [en usage] en France.*[71]

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[69]Ibid., Note 8.

[70]Alberto Pérez-Gómez, *Architecture and the Crisis of Modern Science*, p. 126.

[71]MS *Nouvelle Méthode,* Plate 8.

Nevertheless, the architectural works of great dignity, produced by the first founders and savants, became exemplary models for all future nations for in them were housed Architecture's original teachings. Only in these models could the transference of Divine knowledge be assured.

> *Qu'ils me sont chers ces premiers pères des arts connus! Que j'aime à me rappeller et à voir leurs noms si justement honorés!* [72]

In his listing of ingenious inventors Lequeu presents his patrilineal genealogy of the Divine origins of architecture. *Pelasgus,* son of *Triopas,* built a series of temples: the most magnificent being dedicated to Ceres. *Trophonius,* working with his brother *Agamèdes,* had built the temple of Neptune in *Delphes. Epeur,* descendent of Jupiter, had built a ram in the form of a wooden horse. The ancestor *Dédale,* maker of statues and founder of a school on the island of Crete, was named the architect demi-god. The famous *Tenichus* built a sailing ship of stone, while "... *Argus et Acale, artistes célèbres subirent une métamorphose.*"[73] For Lequeu, all of these personages were of the highest importance in the history and theory of architecture. Witnesses to the presence of the gods, they knew of the sacred and original truths. Lequeu goes on to present a thoroughly exhaustive list of well over one hundred ancient Greek artists including, *Polydore, Socrate, and Xénocrate,* each important for their own meditations and deliberations on the imitative arts of representation.

Therefore, by way of the fable, Lequeu demonstrated his knowledge of the mythic-histories that lay at the origin of both the first cities and the first arts and sciences. Cities, books, and drawings, originated from the same source: the veneration of Nature and of Antiquity. Wanting to present the origins of drawing Lequeu simultaneously presented the founding of cities and the birth of architectural theory. Lequeu justified the preeminence of the ornamental drawing through its participation in the original founding myth. The origins of the ornamental drawing, the drawing of Nature's figures, were bound to the primordial gestures of the city's founding fathers. This coupling of the history of cities with the drawing of architectural ornaments was not a mere coincidence, for throughout the *Architecture Civile* Lequeu went on to draw the founding of cities in a manner analogous to his writing on the sacred history of drawing. As such, the principal themes set by Lequeu in his narrative of the *Nouvelle Méthode*, were those which defined the drawing plates of the *Architecture Civile.*

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[72]MS *Nouvelle Méthode*, Plate 7.

[73]Ibid.

Geometry

In his *Avertissement* to the *Nouvelle Méthode*, Lequeu claims that, upon his arrival in Paris in early 1779, he was asked by enlightened Geometers and Painters to make known to the public his "... *nouveau mode de principes.*" It was believed that these, Lequeu's new principles of drawing, gave to physiognomy "*...l'unité et la pureté des formes exactes, ornées de leurs perfections.*"[74] Lequeu's self proclaimed admirers were Geometers and Painters, scholars and artists who, prior to the French Revolution, still partook of a common activity: the observation, representation and interpretation of Nature. Yet, with the epistemological changes which subsequently served to define the century, the sacred truths of both Geometry and Painting were to a great extent lost. For the ancients, Geometry - long considered the *prima philosophia* - was entrusted with the measurement of the sacred bodies; it knew of the physical traits of the earth and of the sky. Lequeu was aware of the ancient ritual practice of geometry. It was evident to him that it originated in quasi-religious operations. This can be noted in a statement which presents the Greek Geometer as both priest and philosopher.

> *On sait que la Géometrie... était née chez cette savante nation; puisque Thalès grec y avait vu dans un rond à déduire toutes les propriétés du cercle. Aussi Pythagore grec y avait lù l'énoncé sur l'hypothénuse du triangle-rectangle, et même on donnoit le nom d'Arpedonaptes, aux prêtres seuls géomètres, depuis plusieurs Philosophes Grecs l'ont enrichie.*[75]

Deciphering the role played by the geometric *trait* in Lequeu's own work requires a closer examination of the changing status of this ancient science of Geometry following its post-Renaissance development. Progressively, from the sixteenth century through to the eighteenth century, the geometrical operation was divested of all sense of ritual and metaphysical justification. All that was not immediately measurable and quantifiable was no longer part of the language of Geometry. This eventually led to the functionalization of Euclidean geometry by the early nineteenth century.[76]

However, this was not the case for Lequeu, who throughout the drawing plates of the *Nouvelle Méthode,* simultaneously drew and named his geometric lines and operations using both the rules of descriptive geometry and his more metaphorical, language of expression. In his representation

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[74]MS *Nouvelle Méthode,* Avertissement.

[75]MS *Nouvelle Méthode,* Plate 2.

[76]Alberto Pérez Gómez, *Architecture and the Crisis of Modern Science,* p. 279.

of lips, their sinuous curves were allegorically represented as the formal abstraction of a hunting bow. Geometry still held a symbolic role for Lequeu, albeit different from that which it held during the seventeenth century when it was at the origins of most works of representation during the French classical period.

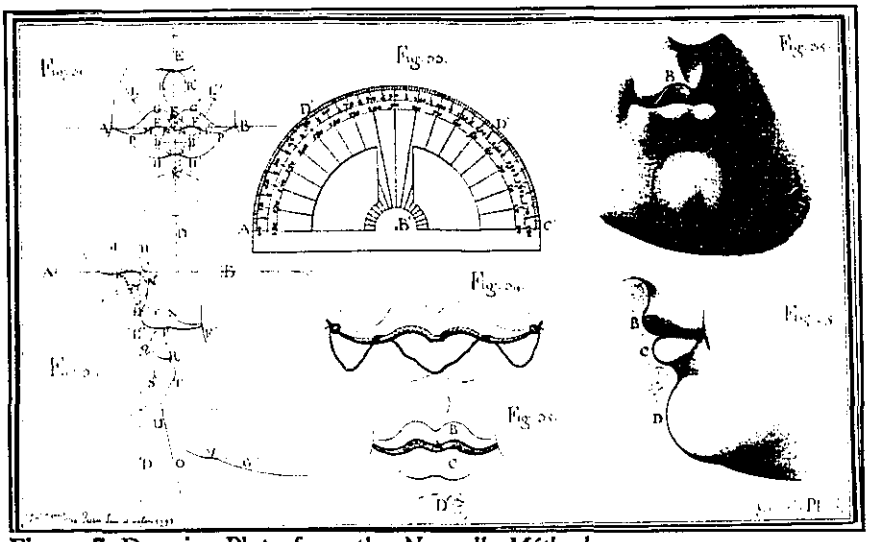

Figure 7. Drawing Plate from the *Nouvelle Méthode.*

By the late eighteenth century, were it not for its deification by the proponents of Speculative Freemasonry, Geometry might have been devoid of any symbolic content. One such advocate was the eighteenth century British architect Batty Langley. For Langley, geometric operations were fundamental to any act of design. In his 1726 edition of *Practical Geometry Applied to the Useful Arts of Building, Surveying, Gardening and Mensuration* the definitions and theorems of Euclid were presented as foundational to all building crafts. His preoccupation with Geometry was not without an equal reverence for the knowledge and authority of the ancients. The co-existence of geometrical operations with an unconditional praise of past buildings and texts, was due to Langley's affiliation with Freemasonry.[77] For both Langley and Lequeu, belief in the power of geometric operations was not founded solely in numerical and proportional relationships. Rather in grounding a practice of geometry in the more obscure masonic language of ritual their operations were assured a quasi-transcendental and invisible power. In this light, Geometry remained the unquestionable underpinning of all that one represented in the name of

[77]Ibid., p. 126.

Architecture and Nature. Furthermore, in the masonic reappropriation of ancient knowledge, the ritualised veneration of one's ancestors was believed to unveil the secrets of Nature.

> Thus we must necessarily look back to OUR FIRST PARENT, as the original Professor of the WORSHIP OF THE TRUE GOD, to whom the Religion and mysteries of NATURE were first revealed, and from whom all the WISDOM of the world was in the beginning derived.[78]

Throughout his narrative on the origins of architectural drawing Lequeu accepted the value of ancient authority. All future progress relied on the knowledge of those which had already engaged in the craft. In Nature, Lequeu found his guide. Through the order of natural philosophy Lequeu interpreted the teaching of the ancients. In the Mysteries of Nature he sought to re-capture the sacred quality of the physical *trait.* Therefore, truth, for Lequeu, lay in the words of the ancients as much as in the speculative natural observations of the moderns. Such a reconciliatory attitude towards these two modes of knowledge, understood as contradictory in the context of the debate between the moderns and the ancients, was not prevalent amongst most eighteenth century architects. For Charles Perrault, during the seventeenth century, the empirical knowledge of the moderns was seen as superior to that of the ancients. In his own *Parallèle des Anciens et Modernes,* Perrault understood the ancient literary sources as being in opposition to that of observable knowledge. Seeing was believing: only in that which was immediately given to the senses could truth be revealed.[79] For Lequeu, this was no longer a tenable position, truth resided in both.

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[78]William Hutchison, *The Spirit of Masonry* (1775).

[79]Alberto Pérez-Gómez, *Architecture and the Crisis of Modern Science*, p. 22.

INSTRUMENTS, MATERIALS, AND OPERATIONS OF THE *DESSINATEUR.*

The art of drawing necessarily involves the corporeal gestures of the body. In its interface with the instruments and materials of drawing, the body, and more specifically the hand, channel the world of thoughts and dreams onto the fabric of paper. This quasi-ritualized act was the basis of Lequeu's geometrical operations in the *Architecture Civile.*

Architecture Civile de Jean-Jacques Lequeu contenant nombre d'édifices de différents Peuples disséminés sur la terre, et au nu desquels sont les Elements des ombres, leurs éfets différents produits par la lumière solaire ou de corps enflammées sur leurs plans, élevations et profils.[80]

Before proceeding with my interpretive reading of this work of architectural draughtsmanship, I propose a detailed examination of a critical opening plate. By way of introduction to both the form and content of the *Architecture Civile,* Plate 4 demonstrates the very nature of Lequeu's drawing ritual: to conceal in the very process of revealing. In presenting the material apparatus and procedures of drawing Lequeu suggests an important connection between his chosen craft, the representation of Nature, and philosophies of obfuscation.

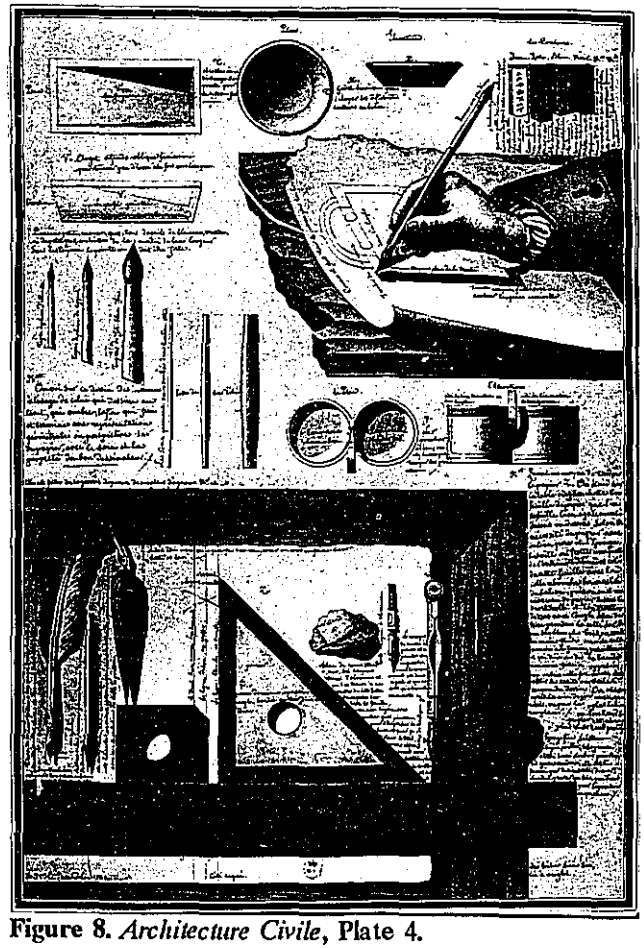

Figure 8. *Architecture Civile*, Plate 4.

N.°l On voi sur ce dessin des instrumens à l'usage de celui qui dessine au trait, qui ombre; enfin qui fini et termine une représentation géométrale où perspective sur du papier, avec le soin et la propreté du bon dessinateur.[81]

The instruments, material, and operations which appear on this plate are to be used by the

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[80]MS *Architecture Civile,* Cover Plate.

[81]MS *Architecture Civile,* Plate 4.

competent *dessinateur* in drawing fully finished representations with both care and neatness. For Lequeu, the two elemental operations that defined the art of drawing were: the *trait* - the marking and tracing of the imprint, and the shadow - the shading of the drawing with water and pigment. Signed and dated in 1782, it was one of the few fully rendered plates of the folio; that is, extensively washed with watercolour, from edge to edge. Both drawing figures and text appear intertwined across the whole surface of the plate.

Elaborately detailed descriptions of quills, woods, papers, and pigments, paint a fully sensorial picture, alive with the sense of smell, touch, and taste. The presence of Nature was felt throughout. Whether extracted from the earth, collected from the sea, or harvested from forests: soils, animals, and vegetation, all figure prominently in the drawing process. By way of an example, Lequeu states that the ingredients required for a particular glue included sheep skin flakes, white sugar from *d'Orleans*, and orange peel..

> *Elle est faite de rognures de peaux de mouton d'agneau &. et appellée colle de Flandre, on y ajoute de l'eau pure du sucre blanc d'Orleans et de la peau d'orange.*[82]

The choice of quills was dependent upon the provenance and general health of the crow.

> *Plume de corbeau, du nord, taillés à bec coupé droite bien net ... mais d'un oiseau en bonne santé et point fort jeune, afin qu'elle dédouble pas.*[83]

His more than superficial knowledge of Geography is also to be noted. His erasing rubber was imported from America and made from a whitish sap. Secreted from the incisions and cuts made to trees, the sap appeared to blacken in colour when smoked. Whether in reference to the wood drawing sticks which come from Cumberland, the yellow pigment and black ink which originate from China, or the wood measuring rulers which come from India, Lequeu was clearly aware of lands far and away.

Lequeu presented in an exhaustive manner the sum of operations to be undertaken by the *dessinateur*. They included: the wetting and washing of the paper, the initializing marks of the *trait,* the binding of the *trait* to the paper, and finally the addition of the pigment and stain. However, a closer look at the various stages of Lequeu's drawing process reveals a second more obscure reading of his language of drawing. In the operations and craft of the *dessinateur* one

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[82]Ibid.

[83]Ibid.

finds more than simple didactic recipes for action. The text harbours for Lequeu allusions to practices not necessarily in keeping with the architect's drawing table. Lequeu repeatedly makes reference to a parallel system of ideas. Specifically chosen words are used to associate the immediate description as found on the drawing, to a more cryptic description which operates in the realm of ritual.

The Washing of the Paper

> *Quant au moyen de tendre le papier on étend sur la table où planchette la feuille de papier que l'on moüille bien également dessus ou dessous selon la nécessité du papier avec de l'eau pure...*[84]

The sheet of drawing paper, of a beautiful white, lies in wait on the principal horizontal surface that is the drawing table. Drawing can only proceed after the paper has been fully prepared, that is, soaked, heated, stretched and restrained. To this end the paper must be wet with the purest of waters. A soft, very porous sponge, of a tightly knit tissue, and formed by sea insects was to be used. Glue, of the quality mentioned above, methodically applied to each of the corners, would adhere the paper to the walnut table.

The Initiation of the Trait

Once the paper has been properly stretched, cleansed and bound, drawing tools come to inscribe the impression, the trait. Quills, pencils, compasses, lead holders, rulers and set squares all appear as part of the accepted drawing instruments of the *dessinateur.* The imperative of all the instruments is to generate the straight and true line. To this end it is important that the principal horizontal ruler be formed into a chamfer such that its edge insure the proper execution of this rectilinear line.

> *Regle de bois sec d'Inde abbatue en chanfrein, pour faciliter la conduite de la ligne droite.*[85]

This most enigmatic of statements is one example of Lequeu's game of revealing and concealing. Within the obvious language of drawing lines and wood rulers is contained the world of ritual initiations and ceremonies. This emphasis on maintaining the proper conduct and execution of the straight line is important when the statement is read as an allegorical reference to the ethical and moral conduct of men. A double meaning can be read across the word *abbatue*: the act of

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[84]Ibid.

[85]Ibid.

striking and the state of demoralization. I contend that in this description Lequeu makes allusion to the first stage in the Freemasonic ritual of initiation, where "...the inductee was ritually cleansed and led to the door of the lodge, where the sword-bearing brothers staged a mock battle for entry...all the while making a great noise, throwing gunpowder on the candles, and clashing their swords. Some candidates confessed to fright and exhaustion as they encountered obstacles at each step."[86] Anthony Vidler has observed that, the initiate to the Freemasonic ritual was metaphorically struck, victimized, and *abbatue*, as part of the initiation route into the stage of Apprentice. For the novice, this first and foundational stage, ensured the moral and ethical demeanour of the future Master Mason. In yet another of Lequeu's descriptions of wood instruments, the quill sharpener, which is to have a well aged, finely grained, uniformly shaped body is well "beaten" and washed.

...il doit être vieux, sec à grin-fin bien uni, avoir un corps uniforme bien battu et lavé.[87]

Moreover, in Lequeu's description of the *dessinateur*'s trinity of architectural drawing lines, three different *traits* are presented as essential to the act of drawing.

Le trait bien nourie également.
La ligne délicé, ou grosse.
La ligne blanche, ou occulte.[88]

In keeping with the traditional language of watercolour drawing, the first line-type makes reference to the dry ink line which is traced when the drawing sheet is dry. With this technique one achieves the most even and consistent of lines. The second drawing line is that which results when the ink is applied to the wet paper, soaked with water. Traditionally, the mastery of this line is more difficult to attain, for the ink when applied wet will tend to run and spread, making it difficult to attain a consistent thickness of line. The third is the most obscure and difficult to reference, for in fact, it does not exist. No line is drawn. It is the edge of the set square which defines this final line. In the naming of the third line, it is clear that Lequeu is making reference to more than the art of the watercolour wash. Once again, secondary meanings can be read in the descriptions of these most elementary drawing lines essential to the art of the *dessinateur.* As

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[86]Anthony Vidler, *The Writing of the Walls,* p. 87.

[87]MS *Architecture Civile,* Plate 4.

[88]Ibid.

in his description of the wood instruments, Lequeu uses a metaphorical language of human behaviour to introduce particular modes of conduct.

The first line, described as a line of consistent thickness, speaks of the most even and stable of demeanours, akin to the one well bred. However, the second line, referred to as *délicé,* is suggestive of one accustomed to partaking in the most refined of pleasures, indulgences and delicacies: in one who knows of the embellishments of life. In an etymological search, *délicé* is clearly associated with the pursuit of delight and voluptuousness. And yet, Lequeu's coupling of the wet drawing line with the finery of living, is not coincidental. Etymologically, *délicé* is also related to the flow of water via the word *delicia*, the run-off collected in a gutter.[89] This etymological connection between delight and water would lead one to suggest that Lequeu was well aware of the metaphorical relationship between the element of water and the space of the ornament. Gaston Bachelard, in his essay on the imagination of matter and the symbolic intentionality of water, discussed this relationship as a poetic association. Water, for Bachelard, is the feminine element which symbolises the more hidden human powers and the substance of intimacy. Moreover, poets and dreamers, "... often entertained...by the superficial play of water"; knew of it as '... the embellishment for their landscapes."[90] As such, water's destiny is one of endless changes and appearances. A being dedicated to water is one in constant flux, one who daily dies and is reborn. For Bachelard, water is the element of transition.[91] Therefore, while this second line, applied when the paper is wet, alludes to the ornamental drawing: that which makes appear the changing guises of embellishment, it also references particular aspects of Lequeu's psyche..

The third line, not made to appear on the drawing sheet, is referred to as the white line, the occult line. This description defines the very impossibility of drawing, a white line on a white drawing sheet. This paradox of drawing is clearly Lequeu's manner of making more explicit his knowledge of the intimate association, that had existed throughout history, between drawing and the invisible. Together with the actual drawing paper, described as "*feuille de papier d'un beau blanc*", the designation of the line as being of white colour carries an engaging reference to symbols of innocence, purity, baptism and chastity. Adopted allegorically by Freemasons in their

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[89]Lewis and Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, p. 538. According to this source Vitruvius speaks of *delicia* in Chapter 6, when presenting the influence of climate on architecture.

[90]Gaston Bachelard, *Water and Dreams*, p. 4.

[91]Ibid., p. 6.

ritual vestments, white came to symbolize moral and ethical innocence, where "in the service of CERES, under whom was symbolized the gift of Providence in the fruits of the earth–the Grecian priests put on white."[92] Therefore in the masonic ritual use of the sheep skin apron, the white vestment was believed emblematic of a purity of character and soul.[93] In the naming of these three drawing line types, Lequeu presents his own moral fortitude, sense of refinement, and purity.

The Fixing of the Drawing

Once the paper cleansed, and the drawing lines traced, the drawn image is to be set and bound to the paper. To this end, "*Alum de rome très pur; sel toujours formé d'alumine et que l'on trouve à 42 milles de cette ville,...*"[94] constitutes the principal material in this operation. Drawn as a white crystalline substance, it is to be spread across the full face of the sheet using a very light water and a very large paintbrush. This skilful operation must insure that the *trait* be properly fixed without soaking the paper and releasing the ink marks. The table was to be set in the vertical position to help insure that the water and alum run freely across the face of the paper.

This natural substance was known by ancient civilizations. Its many variations were recorded by Pliny in Book XXXV of *Naturalis Historiae*. According to Pliny this natural element, extracted from the earth, was highly effective in the treatment of many a bodily illness, including the elimination of detrimental humours.

> *...alum, by which is meant a salt exudation from the earth...is produced from water and slime,... its maturity by crystallisation is completed by the sunshine of summer; the part of it that separates earliest is whiter in colour...The chief property of all kinds of alum is their astringent effect,...*[95]

For Lequeu, this crystal salt was the most miraculous of substances for it engendered the transformation of drawings from ink line drawings to watercolour wash drawings. It permitted the ink impression to adhere to the drawing page without releasing the image previously drawn in ink. As an astringent, the alum would evaporate and bind the *trait* to its surface.

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[92]William Hutchison, *The Spirit of Masonry*, p. 224.

[93]Ibid., p. 121.

[94]MS *Architecture Civile*, Plate 4.

[95]Pliny, *Naturalis Historiae* (The Loeb Classical Library 1938), pp. 399-401.

The coupled operations of evaporation and binding were also crucial to another architectural process; this being the use of lime-mortar in the erecting of masonry walls. The process by which mortar bonds two layers of stone is nearly identical to that of the stain. In the evaporation of lime, the mortar hardens and fastens the two building stones together. Throughout the history of stone building, initiation into the secrets of lime mortars was the privilege of the Master Mason. Without this knowledge of the Word, no building wall could be elevated beyond the limits set by dry walls.[96]

The Stain

Once the ink line set, the application of shadows and coloured washes proceeds with paintbrushes of different sizes, made from the fur of both plant and meat eating badgers. A description is included of the 4 principal pigments: yellow, rose, blue and black. Most of the pigments originate from the natural landscape or the surface of the earth: the yellow Chinese pigment is extracted from the gum of a tree, the rose pigment is described as the carmine colour which originates in the cochenille, a Mexican insect. However, Prussian blue is an artificial colour and a product of chemistry. While, various shaped water bowls are used for mixing pigments, the two sided water cup, labelled as *pincellier,* is worthy of note. Drawn in both plan and elevation, this water holder is used for wetting the paintbrush in the application of the pigment. The curious aspect of this *pincellier* is its metaphorical allusion to the states of purity and impurity.

> *Eau pure et bonne à boire.*
> *Eau salie et plusieurs fois...côté où l'on en altère la transparence.*[97]

One side of the *pincellier* holds the unadulterated water: drinkable, very clear and transparent. The other, holds water washed with a slight pink tone, its transparency altered by the stain. It is by way of the water holder that Lequeu references the act of staining to that of lustration; the rite of ceremonial purification. Thus, in the very nature of watercolour drawing one finds the paradox of lustration. While the ritual of watercolour wash resonates with notions of cleanliness and purification, in its double role as carrier of the pigment, the water is also source to that which stains, shades and obscures.

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[96]James Stevens Curl, *The Art and Architecture of Freemasonry,* p. 240.

[97]MS *Architecture Civile,* Plate 4.

CHAPTER TWO

ORTHOGRAPH(I)E

Orthographie and the Natural Character of Facades.

Orthographe and the Origins of Languages

ORTHOGRAPHIE AND THE NATURAL CHARACTERS OF FACADES

Facades

The elevational drawing was, for Lequeu, the principal form of architectural expression. In drawing the various architectural figures that defined the *Architecture Civile,* the elevation was by far the most favoured drawing type adopted by Lequeu. Exterior facades, interior elevations and building profiles were all fundamental drawings in the elaboration of his architectural language of ornament. His drawings of exterior building facades included the: *Portail d'Eglise de la Temple de Isis, Prison de la jurisdiction des choses spirituelles, Glacière côte du Septentrion,* and the *Maison Astronomique du desert.* Interior elevations included the: *Grote Océanitides, Chapelle Ducale, Salon de la Maison Chinoise, Salle à Manger de la Maison Gothique,* and the *Boudoir au rez-de-Chaussée.* As well, his detailed profiles of building sections, volutes, entablatures, and capitals introduced the various characters of his ornamental language. The Gothic, Egyptian, Chinese and Etruscan *fabriques,*[1] altars and temples disclosed Lequeu's syncretic understanding of history. Most

important were his freestanding monuments, cenotaphs, sepulchral columns and portrait statues dedicated to illustrious poets, patriots, and philosophers. In the elevational drawing, these vertically oriented commemorative designs, traditionally involved in marking the extension between ground and sky, were best represented.

Of the one hundred and twelve plates and the over two hundred and eighty one figures present, a maximum of twenty are plan drawings. In this, the presence of the architectural plan is negligible. Not one drawing plate is exclusively dedicated to the plan. When it does appear it is in the form of a smaller figure made to accompany the main elevation. Even the most elaborate and detailed of plans number but a handful. One such drawing, located on Plate 41, represents in plan, elevation, and profile, his design for *le Pont Egïptien Eclusé* to be located at the entrance to the *champs Elissées*. The plan, occupying the top half of the plate, is an elaborate display of his drawing talent. His meticulous and extremely detailed crafting of the various layers of building materials presents a quilt-like reading of textures: cubic paving stones, oak planks, and brick coursings. The drawing expresses not only the construction of the bridge, but also the multiple layers that come to define the surface and top layer of the bridge.

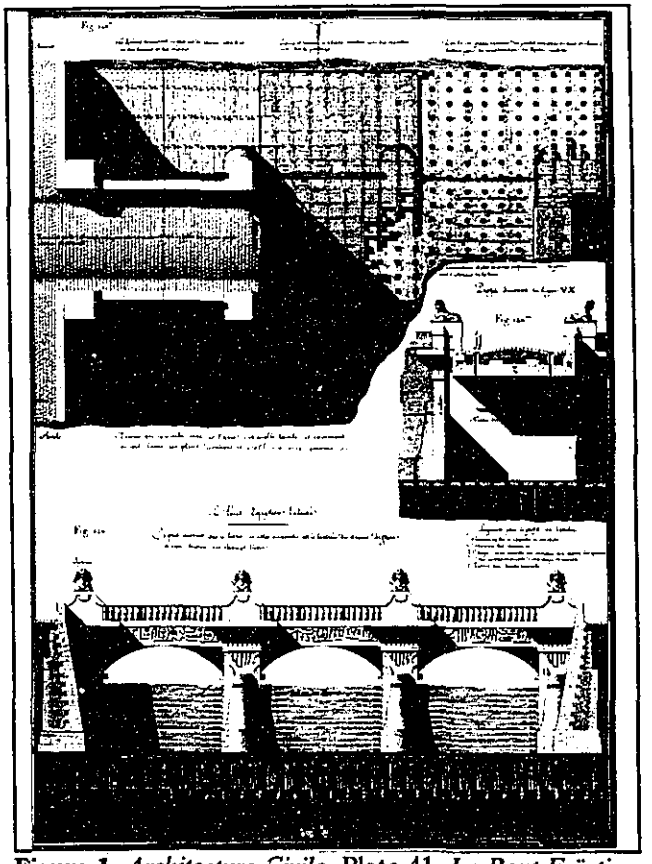

Figure 1. *Architecture Civile*, Plate 41. *Le Pont Egïptien Eclusé.*

[1]The French term *fabrique* was used throughout the eighteenth century to designate a freestanding pavilion, most often sited within a green landscape. In my particular use of the term I intend for it to suggest the meaning ascribed to its Italian spelling *fabbrica,* as put forth by Marco Frascari in *Monsters of Architecture*, p. 25. The *fabbrica* signified a mnemonic device, which as a repository of topical images, activated the inventive imagination.

The second example is located on Plate 45 of the *Théâtre Royale*. The web-like composition of the plate is such that the partial plan of the theatre is carved out of the upper left hand corner and intentionally labelled "*Partie d'un Premier étage de Théâtre Royale*". This first floor plan, assymetrically drawn and incomplete, is the only level of the theatre represented. The appearance of this, the most detailed plan in the *Architecture Civile,* may be specifically owing to Lequeu's own participation in the eighteenth century debate which sought to establish the most appropriate distribution for the French tragic theatre.

In neither of these two examples is the plan the focal point of the drawing. As such the great majority of all drawing in the *Architecture Civile* remained within the language of the elevation. Moreover, in a closer reading of the titles and descriptions that name and situate the various buildings, gardens, and monuments, the existence of an overall planned and ordered spatial organization is intimated. The siting of particular *fabriques* is repeatedly cross-referenced to other drawing plates. However Lequeu offers no overall site plan to confirm the actual distribution of any of his inventions. In one example "*Le Bosquet taillé de l'Aurore est sur la hauteur du grand parc, a l'Orient ./.*"[2] yet the location of this park is never disclosed.

Therefore, it is solely in the presentation of facades, portraits and landscapes that we are given access to the *Architecture Civile*. This almost obsessive reliance on the elevational drawing has been noted by Anthony Vidler in a critical statement which suggests that Lequeu's buildings "... always have an orthographic personality, but rarely a plan."[3]

The words Lequeu uses most often, and interchangeably, in naming these elevations are: *Profil, Elevation Géometrale,* and *Orthographie.* The Latin term for *Orthographie,* known as *Orthographia,* had been used throughout the history of architectural drawing to designate the geometric representation of the building elevation. For Vitruvius the *Orthographia,* was "the vertical image of the front, and a figure slightly tinted to show the lines of the future work."[4] It defined, along with the *Ichnographia* - the plan, and the *Scaenographia* - the "perspective" drawing of the ancients, one of the three drawing figures in which the architectural idea was made manifest.[5] For

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[2]MS *Architecture Civil,* Plate 53.

[3]Anthony Vidler, *The Writing of the Wall,* p. 121.

[4]Frank Granger, *Vitruvius on Architecture* (Loeb Classical Library, 1983), p. 25.

[5]Ibid.

ancient Greek architects these were the three *ideai* (types of) of architectural drawing, each in their own way a result of both a process of thought and a process of *techne*.[6]

While a handful of plans do appear scattered amongst the hundreds of figures, not one drawing is a perspective. This is a significant observation, in light of the fact that the perspective drawing, as used by eighteenth century architects, already insisted on the direct correspondence between the perspectival construction and the built reality it represented.[7] The perspective was not to be used by Lequeu to represent the dimension of depth. Rather it was the vertical profile which in casting its shadow communicated the distance of things and gave the drawing its depth. This shaded drawing of both section and elevation was used for both interiors and exteriors. Details, ornaments, and openings captured the day, moon, and candle-light, and cast their shadows on the various surfaces of the building. This reversal on the part of Lequeu is worthy of further study.

Claude Perrault, in his seventeenth century French translation of Vitruvius' *Les dix livres d'architecture,* suggested that the *Profil* drawing be added as a fourth drawing type to the existing Vitruvian triad. The *Profil* would be an interior elevation used to represent the darker and more shaded spaces of the building. Perrault developed the *Profil* following his own interpretation of the conflict which revolved around the different readings of Vitruvius' *Scaenographie.* Perrault believed that Barbaro, in publishing his own Italian edition of Vitruvius in 1584, incorrectly replaced *Scaenographia* with *Sciographia.* According to Perrault, Barbaro did not understand that the original term used by Vitruvius referred to the ancient optical foreshortening traditionally used in scenographic perspectives: a drawing of the front and the side of buildings with all lines tending towards the centre of a circle. For Perrault, Barbaro's *Sciographia* was but a mere elaboration of the traditional elevational drawing, now shaded with watercolour wash and not the "perspectival" drawing originally intended by Vitruvius.[8] Yet Perrault decided not to eliminate Barbaro's interpretation but rather to add it as a fourth *ideai*. The *Profil,* as the representation of interior shadows was Perrault's variation of Barbaro's *Sciographia*.

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[6]Marco Frascari, *The Monsters of Architecture*, p.95.

[7]Alberto Pérez-Gómez, *Architecture and the Crisis of Modern Science*, p. 190.

[8]Claude Perrault, *Les dix livres de l'architecture de Vitruve* (Paris, 1684), p. 10. "*Mais la Sciographie qui, selon Barbaro, n'est autre chose que l'élevation en tant qu'elle est ombrée avec le lavis, ne peut faire une troisième espece de dessein, parce que ces ombres ou ce lavis n'adjoustent rien d'essentiel à l'Orthographie; & le reproche que Barbaro apporte contre le Scenographie, sçavoir que le Perspective corrompt les mesures, n'est point considerable:*"

Therefore, it would appear that Lequeu's exclusion of all "perspectival" drawing in the *Architectural Civile* reflects his acceptance of Barbaro's triad as well as his refusal of Perrault's foursome. In this light, Lequeu's elevational drawings are orthographic *Sciographias* of shadow. The statement with which he signed each one of the over one hundred plates reveals Lequeu's triad of plan, elevation and profile.

> *Dessin qui réprésente avec des figures, par quelle teintes, et comment on doit laver les plans, Elevations et profils, des corps opaques.*[9]

His calligraphy clearly capitalized, *Elevations*. This statement which appeared in the *Nouvelle Méthode* confirms the triad.

> *Je traiterai du véritable effet des ombres dans les plans, élévations et profils &, de mon ouvrage d'Architecture Civile, et cela par la puissance du grand (Architecte) de l'univers.*[10]

During the Italian Renaissance the elevation became an important site in the development of the architectural idea. In the works of Alberti, who referred to architecture as being formed of two parts, Design and Structure, the elevation was articulated as the carrier of the architectural Design.

> The whole Force and Rule of the Design, consists in a right and exact adapting and joining together the Lines and Angles which compose and form the Face of the Building.[11]

In the words "right and exact adapting" resonates the etymology of the word *Orthographia*. For its meaning originates in the two words, *orthos* which in its Greek etymology references the straight and the true, and *graphe* which references the act of marking and inscribing. Perrault himself mentions that Barbaro's use of *Sciographia* was in part due to his inability to accept the adulterated line of the *Scaenographia*, for in the drawing of lines that are no longer horizontal and parallel to the horizon, these lines no longer carry the true measure.[12] Perrault himself in

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[9]MS *Architecture Civile.*

[10]MS *Nouvelle Méthode,* Plate 12.

[11]Leon Battista Alberti, *The Ten Books of Architecture* (Leoni Edition, 1755), p. 1.

[12]See Footnote 8.

describing the *Orthographie,* points to *Orthos* as the straight and rectilinear,[13] he used *Elevation Geometrale* and *Orthographie* interchangeably.

In Lequeu's use of the right, true and incorruptible line the idea, design, architectural narrative and symbolic intentionality were communicated. Clothed in the discourse of appearances the *Profil, Elevation Geometrale*, and the *Orthographie*, maintained their status as truth during the eighteenth century. In bringing into appearance the various faces of the building, the work of representation was assured its visibility and recognition. Lequeu's explicit and near exclusive adoption of the elevation revealed his awareness that, by the turn of the nineteenth century, the ability of the architectural drawing to represent and communicate a shared experience of truth was being progressively undermined.[14] Increasingly the mathematization and historical determinism of architectural design failed to project narratives supportive of a larger transcendental order of meaning.[15]

This shift in the ground of architectural meaning brought to light serious questions regarding the role of the plan in architectural representation. With the near complete desacralization of the plan, the footprint of the building was no longer capable of expressing the architectural idea, outside of merely presenting the building's spatial planning and distribution. Anthony Vidler in his "Asylums of Libertinage" discusses this very issue in demonstrating the inability of the plan, as designed by the Marquis de Sade in his literary theatres of the macabre, to express a symbolic language.[16] The architectural quality of his pleasure palaces were offered to the reader in a spatial language devoid of any rhetorical content. Vidler suggests that already in the words of de Sade the architectural distribution of the plan speaks of a hyper-rationalism divested of any symbolic traces. In project proposals for his licensed brothels for the city of Paris, de Sade's plans and sketches were also devoid of all metaphorical or imaginary content. As such his spatial projections could have just as easily represented the distribution of a prison, as that of a hospital. In another example Vidler points to Ledoux's own House of Pleasure, the *Oikema*, where the expressivity

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[13]Claude Perrault, *Les dix livres de l'architecture de Vitruve* (Paris, 1684), p. 10. "*Nous l'apellons l'Elevation Geometrale. Elle est apellée Orthographie en Grec, parce que Orthos signifie droit, & c'est cette rectitude des lignes paralleles à la ligne de l'Horizon, qui distingue l'Orthographie de la Scenographie ou Elevation Perspective, où toutes les lignes horizontales ne sont pas droites:...*"

[14]Alberto Pérez-Gómez, *Architecture and the Crisis of Modern Science*, p. 311.

[15]Ibid., pp. 302-304.

[16]Anthony Vidler, *The Writing of the Walls,* p. 108.

of the plan was derived from the explicit figural representation of genitalia. Yet this project, for the *Ville Ideal de Chaux*, was just that, an ideal project. Its material translation was not an issue. Remaining at the level of drawing, of idea, Ledoux avoided both the reduction of his plan to a diagram of program and the assimilation of its symbolism to the status of mere sign. However, Ledoux's use of figural representation constituted the basis of an *architecture parlante* where the architectural meaning was made available through the direct visual correspondence of the image with its natural figure. While Lequeu was himself no stranger to the use of natural figures, in shifting his attention to the elevation, the drawing figures were predominantly ornamental and allegorical. As such while his figures were available to the eyes of all, their meanings were less so.

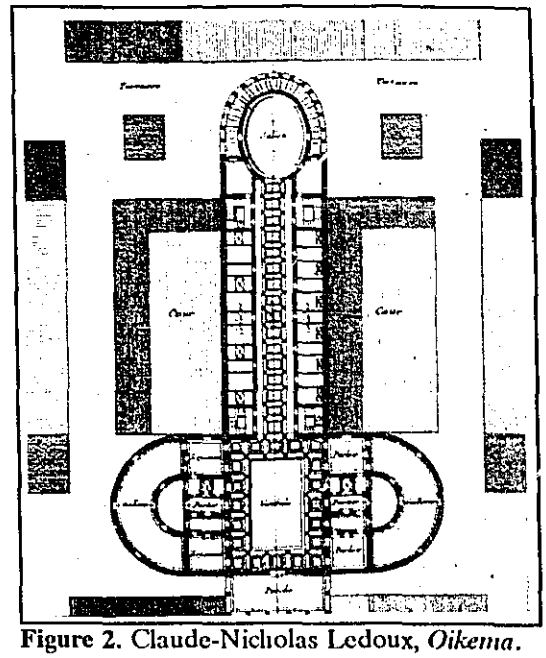

Figure 2. Claude-Nicholas Ledoux, *Oikema.*

Therefore, in the context of late eighteenth century architectural discourse, the facade represented for Lequeu the most appropriate site upon which to engage the making of architectural meaning.

> *Façade:<Facies aedificii>, Face que présente un bâtiment considérale sur une rue, une cour ou un Jardin.*[17]

From the earliest days of architectural theory, the orthographic projection was understood as analogous to the human face. Vitruvius and Alberti both make reference to the facade of the building as the face of a building. Similarly, Lequeu's facade is clearly a building face, where the architectural body of the building is analogous to the human

Figure 3. Lequeu's, *La Dormeuse.*

[17]*Le Grand Vocabulaire François,* Tome Dixième (Paris 1770), p. 221.

head. This serious concern for the features of the face was prevalent throughout his drawing activity. His prolific production of self-portraits, costume designs, lascivious figures, expressive facial studies, and sleeping beauties all attest to his life long interest in the human body and form. However, in his study of faces and facades one sees reflected an interest in the larger question of appearances and worldly knowledge.

As demonstrated in the previous chapter, the geometrical representation of the human figure defined for Lequeu, not only the original gesture of drawing, but the beginnings of recorded history itself. Lequeu's preference for the *Orthographia* was in part due to its transhistorical role as the bearer of meaning and in part to the specific context of the late eighteenth century, where the faces of appearance were the bearers of truth. In reiterating an idea originally stated by Lucius Apuleius, roman author, philosopher and rhetorician, Charles LeBrun (1619-1690) foremost painter in the court of Louis XIV and chancellor of the *Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture*, believed that:

> Although it is maintained that the gesture of the whole body is one of the most important signs, it is nevertheless possible to confine oneself to the signs of the head, in which man wholely reveals himself.[18]

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The Geometry of Passion

By the eighteenth century the drawing of physiognomic resemblances that are portraits, and the painting of earthly resemblances that are landscapes, became the principal mode of expression in the representational arts. It was in the development of *Expression* by Charles LeBrun that painting and drawing came to speak of the truth of Nature. In his *Conférence de M. LeBrun sur l'expression générale et particulière* of 1698,[19] LeBrun drew and defined the full range of facial expressions crucial in the painting of both human characteristics and natural dispositions.

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[18]Jurgis Baltrusiatis, *Aberrations,* p. 19.This quotation furnished by Baltrusiatis.

[19]Charles LeBrun, *A Method to Learn to Design the Passions* (1734). This is the English language translation of *Conférence de M.LeBrun sur l'expression générale et particulière* delivered to the *Académie Royale de Peinture* and subsequently published in Paris by E. Picard in 1698.

> EXPRESSION, in my opinion, is a lively and natural resemblance of the things we are to represent... EXPRESSION: it is what stamps the true characters of every thing: it is by this we distinguish the nature of Bodies; that figures seem to have motion; and that whatever is feigned appears to be real.[20]

Lequeu's mention of LeBrun in the text of the *Nouvelle Méthode* is important for two reasons. We will recall that LeBrun's study of *Expression* was to some extent a derivative of Renaissance belief in the bodily temperaments and humours. Yet, the better part of his discourse was based on René Descartes' theory of physiology. In his rationalized reading of the human body, Descartes claimed that the individual's transient feelings were in fact biologically derived from within the body proper. They were situated in the pineal gland and circulated by the body's blood. With this mid-seventeenth century interpretation, emotive correspondences were no longer read as originating from a pre-given matrix of cosmic relationships, translatable in the observation of celestial stars. Rather, with Descartes' physiological reading, it was from within the individual that expression was born. The Renaissance system of the four bodily humours was replaced by Descartes six primitive passions and its forty subdivisions.[21] As such, the rules which LeBrun himself gave for the drawing of the *Expression* reveal his credo in this internal source. Expression in its articulation of the Passions, spoke of the way in which the body portrayed on its exterior surface the emotive and internal dispositions of the individual; that is the internal movements of the soul.

> But, if there be a Part, where the Soul more immediately exercises her functions, and if it be the Part mentioned, in the middle of the brain, we may conclude that the Face is the Part of the Body where the Passions more particularly discover themselves.[22]

In this interpretation by LeBrun, the very stirrings of the soul leave noticeable impressions on the body. Here are found the origins of *Expression*. The soul, having received the sentiment from the heart came to express this sentiment in the features of the face.

> EXPRESSION is also a part that intimates the emotions of the Soul, and renders visible the effects of Passion.[23]

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[20]Ibid., p. 12.

[21]Jurgis Baltrusiatis, *Aberrations,* p. 17.

[22]Ibid., p. 20.

[23]Charles LeBrun, *A Method to Learn to Design the Passions*, p. 12.

LeBrun removed the cosmo-biological reading from his science of the Passions. The vault of the sky would no longer act as divining agent for visible knowledge. However within his discourse on the soul was safeguarded the metaphysical content of his physiognomic drawing method. During the eighteenth century, with the fall of the Bastille, the collapse of the *Ancien Regime*, and the near onslaught of enlightenment thought, intellectual speculations grounded in the rational thinking initiated by Descartes terminated any future interpretations of Divinity and representation. Only in the soul - the seat of Nature - was it still permitted to contemplate the inner connectedness of all beings. It must be remembered that the soul, in the context of the eighteenth century, was not yet that of the privatized personality of nineteenth century psychology, but rather the common spirit which, believed to exist in all living things, transcended life and perpetually returned to Nature.

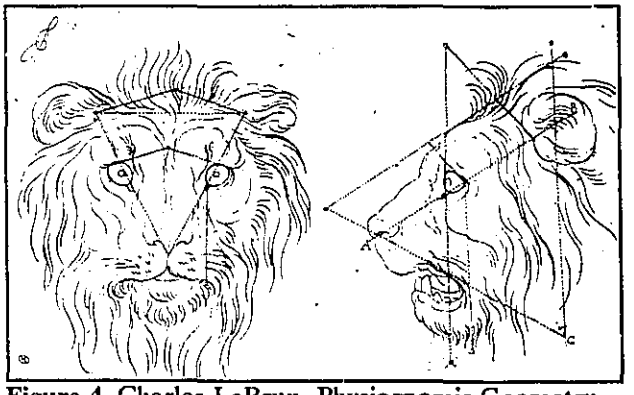

Figure 4. Charles LeBrun, Physiognomic Geometry.

There was however a second reason why LeBrun was mentioned by Lequeu. It was LeBrun who, as painter, introduced Geometry into the science of physiognomy. As measure and geometrical figures were brought to the study of the face, LeBrun restored to the facial line its status as divine mensuration.[24] With the mathematization of all observable knowledge during the seventeenth century, the ancient science of natural correspondences maintained its status of truth by this introduction of Geometry. The interpretation of all visible phenomena involved ascribing to it the immutable geometric figures and numbers originally reserved for the representation of celestial phenomena.[25] In this light LeBrun's drawing of *Expression*, based on such geometric figures, became of critical importance for painters and other visual artists.

However, this geometrization of the drawing did not result in mathematized and scientific forms of representation. In contrast to the natural scientists of the late eighteenth century, which went on to write about the face and its geometry, LeBrun was first and foremost a painter. In his work,

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[24]Jean François Bedard, "The Measure of Expression," *Chora 1, Intervals in the Philosophy of Architecture* (1994):45.

[25]Alberto Pérez-Gómez, *Architecture and the Crisis of Modern Science*, p. 167.

and in the work of many a savant clearly imbedded in the French court, Geometry was first and foremost part of the symbolic work of ordering. It set to convey the character of the patron in conveying the order of the Divine for "... geometrical science throughout the seventeenth century retained powerful symbolic connotation."[26] Nowhere is this more eloquently noted than in the vast and exuberant garden designs of Fouquet and Le Nôtre. Each in their own way married the science of geometry to the art of sculpting the surface of the earth.[27] Their choice of vistas, *allées*, and platonic solids made of this geometry a quasi-divine work of the soil. In this marking of the earth, the idea of the drawing was transferred to the earth proper.

Lequeu was aware of the seventeenth century transfer of divine mensuration from out of the realm of the heavens and onto that of the earth, where the new science of geometry collapsed the face of the sky onto the lived matter of the world, eventually eliminating the interpretative distance between theory and practice, idea and matter. In metaphorically bestowing various facial features with the characteristics of certain Divinities, Lequeu formally attempted to restitute the power of the celestial gods in maintaining a place for visual allegory in the drawing of faces and facades. In recalling that the origins of his geometrical operations lay in the knowledge held by the sacred priests of ancient Greece, his interpretation of the geometric line was closer in intention to reconstituting the fleeting order of cosmo-biological analogies than to that found in the positivist drawings of the nineteenth century. Lequeu's geometric drawings of both faces and facades were not concerned with the comparative presentation of profiles, catalogued and classified. As such, Lequeu's geometric operations, in both the *Nouvelle Méthode* and *Architecture Civile* were developed and defined in the hope of maintaining the symbolic origins of this science of drawings. And yet Lequeu could not foresee that in wishing to make visible the otherwise invisible, this was a near impossible venture, for the representational arts maintained but little true interest for the speculative and the obscure on the eve of Modernity.

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[26]Ibid., p. 168.

[27]Vincent Scully, *Architecture, The Natural and the Manmade*, p. 233.

The Expression of Natural Character

The painterly language of *Expression* developed into the language of *Caractère* by the eighteenth century. As observation and recording became the principal agents of knowledge for the arts and sciences, bringing to light the natural and cultural character of both the work of art and its patron was the principal demonstration of order in the eighteenth century. Drawing, painting, and architecture sought to capture in the *Caractère* of the work the representative traits of the individual, his buildings and landscapes. For the nobility and the bourgeois *Caractère* was still primarily involved with deciphering, interpreting, and representing the personal and social characteristics in the drawn and painted face.

> *Caractère: se dit en termes de peinture,...d'une passion bien exprimée sur un visage, que c'est un beau caractère.*[28]

Similarly, the architectural expression of *Caractère* was also in part related to the painterly physiognomic study of surfaces and faces. By the mid-eighteenth century, in the anthropomorphic correspondence of face to facade, an architectural theory of *Caractère* was developed. Different building types were articulated in relation to their different characters.[29] Critically developed on French soil, in the work of Jacques-François Blondel, Boffrand, Boullée and Le Camus de Mézières, *Caractère* became the ordering principal in architectural compositions.[30] For Le Camus in his *Le Genie de l'Architecture, Caractère* was expressed in the proportions and ornaments of the orders. The various column and ornamental room profiles were said to correspond to the natural and cultural character of individuals. The Doric order was best suited to the noble, sober, and manly character of the military hero, while the Ionic was to be used in portraying a more slender, majestic, and elegant character.

Lequeu's understanding of character was certainly influenced by these works. However in his own drawing out of *Caractère,* his invention and selection of ornaments and profiles, were not necessarily reflective of the social and cultural position of his architectural design. Rather Lequeu's building portraits were revelatory of the internal nature and emotive disposition associated with the building. His understanding of character was less about attaining a coherent organizational theory, which would categorize and codify the different building types, than about a narrative search to represent in the faces of buildings a trans-historical model of interpretation.

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[28]*Le Grand Vocabulaire François,* Tome Cinquième (1768), p. 18.

[29]Anthony Vidler, *The Writing of the Walls,* p. 121.

[30]Jean-François Bedard, "La Mesure de L'Expression", (Master's thesis McGill University, 1992).

As such, Lequeu's architectural designs represent a profound interest in the workings of natural character.

Following the eighteenth century challenge to the hegemony of religious dogmas and coupled with the ever increasing importance of human morals and virtues, the conduct and actions of men came to be understood as a function of both Nature and Culture. As noted in this eighteenth century definition;

> *Caractère: se dit de ce qui distingue une personne des autres, à l'égard des moeurs ou de l'esprit. & Caractère: se dit encore, à peu près dans le même sens, de cette diposition habituelle de l'ame, par laquelle on est portée vers certains objets que vers d'autres.*[31]

Caractère made reference to both one's social standing and to one's natural character. It was the indicator of a person's mores and habits: natural or acquired. It disclosed a way of life, customs, and manners of conduct. However, critical to the development of this thesis was the manner in which *Caractère,* also represented the disposition of the soul, that which regulated the human passions and desires.

As discussed in detail by Richard Sennett in *The Fall of Public Man,* eighteenth century *Caractère* was understood as both partly constructed and partly innate. All individuals were believed to possess both aspects of character. Natural and cultural characters were concurrent modes of expression. The given and indeterminate in one's natural character acted as counterweight to the otherwise willed and cultural shaping of the individual.[32] Nevertheless, while concurrent, Nature and Culture found their expression in different sites and settings. It was in the public realm that the individual was made; in the private realm that one's nature was realized.[33] One's cultural character was constructed in the city's spaces of appearance, while one's natural character was lived out and effected in the private company of family and friends. In this geographical division of private and public, of Nature and Culture, there existed a philosophical and ideological balance for the better part of the eighteenth century.[34]

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[31]*Le Grand Vocabulaire François,* Tome Cinquième (Paris 1768), p. 18.

[32]Richard Sennett, *The Fall of Public Man*, p. 91.

[33]Ibid., p. 18.

[34]Ibid., p. 19.

The city was the space of appearance *par excellence*. With the return of the French court to Paris, the city became the home of nobility, commerce, and labour, and a network of social diversity. One appeared in full costume, in full disguise, and in full character to one and all. As an orchestrated and constructed appearance, dressed, masked and designed, one presented to the city one's social standing and rank.[35] Georges Gusdorf in his *Naissance de la Conscience Romantique au Siècle des Lumières*, presents the eighteenth century city as a veritable stage of human representations. In appointed and designated public actions, one's public character was defined. In the open forum of this new mercantile city of exchange, gestures of appearance institutionalized modes of behaviour. Visibility in the eye of the city confirmed one's presence, status and recognition.[36]

The counterpart to the public forum of the city was the private space of intimate associations. In this, natural character, versed in the language of sentiments and sympathies, was expressed. The sympathies were defined as a "natural sensitivity to the needs of others, no matter what the differences in their social circumstances."[37] Regardless of one's financial standing, professional activities, or spiritual beliefs, natural character, housed in the inner disposition of the soul, was the universally shared component of experience. Moreover, regardless of the differences manifest in physical appearances, this universal soul was common to the nature of each individual. As already noted, this natural condition was not chosen by man, it was innate. As with all the splendours of the natural world - stars, earth, creatures big and small, - human nature was given. Transcendent and quasi-Divine, it could never be violated nor destroyed by the arrangements of social or human convention. In natural character the last remnant of the transcendental was found in the individual soul, in the individual psyche.

For the greater part of the eighteenth century the human soul was, in some measure still, able to recognize its origins in the Renaissance notion of bodily humours and in its subsequent translation in the Cartesian definition of the Passions. However, in Descartes designation of the pineal gland as home to the soul, and in its ensuing complete internalization, the classical episteme of the psyche was transformed into the nineteenth century science of psychology. By the turn of the nineteenth century one's natural and cultural characters were no longer seen as separate and distinct. Public and social character was reduced and collapsed onto the internalized

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[35]Ibid., p. 65.

[36]Georges Gusdorf, *Naissance de la Conscience Romantique au Siècle des Lumières,* p. 369.

[37]Richard Sennett, *The Fall of Public Man*, p. 91.

disposition of the mind. *Caractère* was now completely assimilated to the realm of one's private nature where personal character became equated to subjective personality.[38] To this end, the interpretation and representation of *Caractère* by the nineteenth century amounted to the drawing and painting of pathognomy, and not physiognomy.

This increasing command of Nature over Culture was also reflected in the moral, geographical, and philosophical challenge that developed between the space of the city and that of the country-side. As with the geographical division between public and private, for the greater part of the eighteenth century an equilibrium was maintained between the interests of the city nobleman and that of the gentleman farmer. However, as a result of the French Revolution, and its accompanying revolutions in philosophical and scientific thought, the emerging bourgeois rallied against the space and consciousness of the city, believed to be superficial, corrupted and essentially inharmonious.[39] In the fabrication of the artificial environment of the city, it was though that the individual was de-natured and vital life rhythms were ruptured and severed. The city that man built had become a violator of all that was original, of all that stemmed from the golden age of the gods. The dream was to return to the simple and rustic life.[40] The simplicity of morals and the naivety of the natural spirit were important characteristics of this rustic landscape.[41] Metaphorically, the *domaine* of the country *gentil-homme* was the quintessential space for the all that was ethically and spiritually right. It was this idyllic return to the earth that procured the sensitive soul, in his revolt against the adulterated morals and fraudulent spirits of the city, a vision of Divinity and origins. In this quasi-millenary search for Arcadia, *l'Isle de Cythère*, or the Garden of Eden, many a poet, playwright, and painter sought to represent the return to this more idyllic existence. Goethe himself, in Hermann et Dorothée, presented such a rural narrative.[42] In the design of these primordial islands, gardens, and groves was sought the return to Nature.

This rustic life was the home of Jean Jacques Rousseau's noble savage. In his own rebuke of the enlightened artist and scientist of the *Académies*, Rousseau suggested a return to man's natural

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[38]Ibid., p. 152.

[39]Georges Gusdorf, *Naissance de la Conscience Romantique au Siècle des Lumières*, p. 376.

[40]Ibid., p. 361.

[41]Ibid., p. 365.

[42]Ibid., p. 383.

constitution. The primitive condition, regardless of species, was shared in the natural origins of man; in this most primal state, the soul was most pure for no artificial human construction had yet come to corrupt it.[43] His preface to the "Second Discourse" eloquently discloses the inability of contemporary man to recognize his own soul. Throughout history, the human soul had been corrupted by the many demands and conditions imposed upon it by society. For "like the statue of Glaucus, which time, sea, and storms had so disfigured that it looked less like a god than a wild beast, the human soul, altered in the bosom of society by a thousand continually renewed causes,...has...changed its appearance to the point of being unrecognizable."[44] This return to original truth became the paradigmatic quest of the eighteenth century.

As such Lequeu offers his own amusing interpretation of Rousseau's natural man. On Plate 70 of the *Architecture Civile* are drawn two *fabriques* seemingly intended for this noble savage. While he most certainly had knowledge of early anthropological accounts, Lequeu did not offer a faithful reconstruction of rustic habitations of primitive peoples, as they were thought to have existed. On the contrary what is offered on *Fig. 169, Vue des Cabanes des Sauvages du dessert, et plûtot chaumine ou Bicoque* is a fastidiously groomed and vaulted hut made of grass and wheat strands. Exactly where one would find wheat in the desert is not quite clear. Moreover, in his second figure labelled the *Chaumiere du chef de l'île des hommes de la nature*, Lequeu discusses the interior decoration of this, the chief's house.

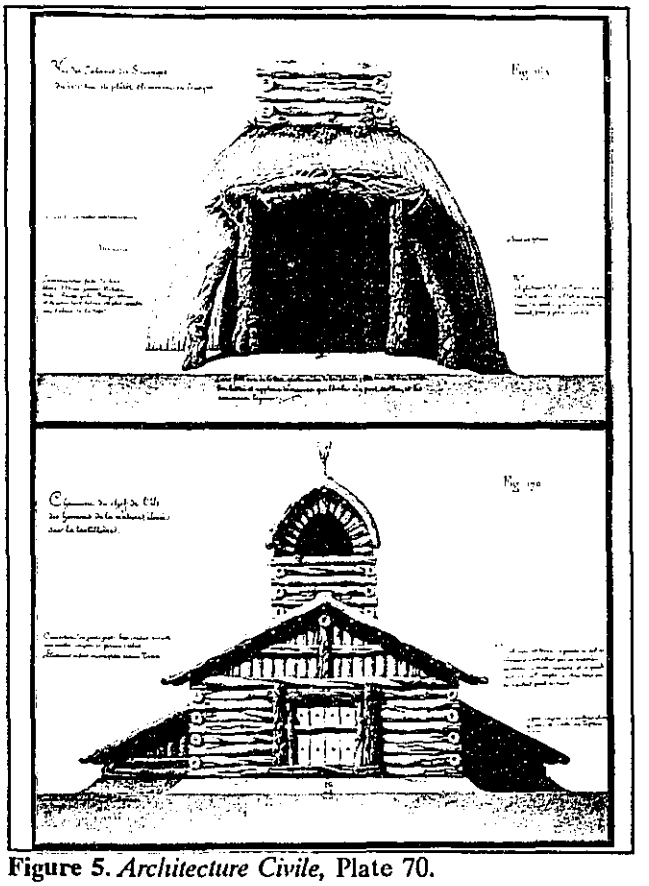

Figure 5. *Architecture Civile,* Plate 70.

[43]Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The First and Second Discourses*, p. 93.

[44]Ibid., p. 91.

L'interieur est tendué de peaux de cerf de chamois diversifiées par un mélange agréable de vives couleurs, et les grands coussins sont remplis de coton roses qui ne chauffent pas les reins./.[45]

This was not quite the primal hut. Replete with colourfully dyed stag skins and pink cotton-stuffed pillows this construction is a far cry from the primitive rustic domain. Furthermore, while the *fabrique* is labelled as being a *Chaumiere,* a grassed and thatched hut, it is in fact a triangular roofed log cabin, complete with pointed arch tower and made of *bois incorruptible nommé Tecca.* The craft of wood joinery and its accompanying natural techniques of water protection were known by Lequeu's original builder. In recalling Lequeu's fable-like origins of architecture presented in the *Nouvelle Méthode* we will come to recognize the particular characteristics of this interpretation of Rousseau's savage. Lequeu's natural man is not the lone individual, independent from all social conventions. Having learnt, by Divine example, to gather with others and establish a shared ground for discourse, knowledge of the arts and sciences was fundamental to the life of Lequeu's savage. In this light, the interior ornamentation of the hut and techniques of joinery were of fundamental importance. Lequeu also remembered in drawing what he noted in writing. One of the founding acts of any new city was the building of the ruler's home.

In contrast to most interpreters of Rousseau's natural savage, Lequeu did not reject the culturally constructed and shared space of artifice. And yet, in his extensive drawing of quasi-pastoral landscapes, many scholars have interpreted his return to Nature, in the *Architecture Civile,* solely as indicative of an interest in English landscape gardens. He certainly was involved in the design and construction of actual pleasure gardens. For Comte de Bouville, he built a private dwelling and landscaped garden estate near Portenort.[46] His countless *fabriques* - Chinese pagodas, funereal monuments, grottos, *glacières* and portrait statues - were all thought to represent the design of independent and free-standing garden pavilions. The design of the *fabrique* was a cardinal metaphor and organizing principle throughout the *Architecture Civile,* but it is my contention that Lequeu was not designing the space of the landscaped garden. Undoubtedly, the work abounds in: temples of earthly pleasures dedicated to Nature, hermitages designed to receive the most contemplative minds, and aquatic grottoes which bear the fruit of the earth. However, in Lequeu's own interpretation of *l'Isle de Cythère,* drawn in *Fig. 118, Le Couvert Consolatoire, Elevé sur la Voye de Cythere*[47], we note his more particular interest in the space of

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[45]MS *Architecture Civile,* Plate 70.

[46]Anthony Vidler, "The Architecture of the Lodges," *Oppositions* n. 5:89.

[47]MS *Architecture Civile,* Plate 40.

the city. In this covered archway, a portrait statue is mounted atop a half column, luxuriously draped at its base. It is used as a boundary marker (*cippe*) along the road to *Cythère*. This drawing figure alludes to the ritual marking of territory, an early practice of apportioning land in the city. Moreover, in *Fig, 106, Orthographie du Frontispice tetrastyle de l'hermitage, forment comme un porche à cet solitude,* and *Fig. 144, La Porte de Cloture de l'hermitage est sur le chemin solitaire,* the *colonne pastorale* is the architectural order which defines both the entrance portico of the hermitage and the entrance gate to the domain of the recluse destined to "*une vie érémitique*".[48] This otherwise secluded and solitary building, home to the philosopher and mystic, is honoured with a temple front and visible to all from the road of solitude. Rather than represent the private space of internalized and solitary withdrawal, in his application of the pedimented front the hermitage alludes to the ancient temples which were built for the sacred rituals of gathering. In countless examples, his *fabriques* are less about designing isolated garden pavilions than they are about naming the principal building characters essential to the founding of the city, the space of shared experiences.

In this, a look at Plate 36 is of some importance. The drawing which carries the elevation of a hermitage is also composed of two other *fabriques*: the richly ornate Chinese pagoda used as a rest stop during the game of the hunt, and the new building type of the eighteenth century, the space of the industrial worker. Each of these three building characters were essential to Lequeu's *Architecture Civile:* a space for private contemplation, a new home for the labouring class, and a palace of rest and pleasures. Worship, hard work, and entertainment were all essential activities in this new city.

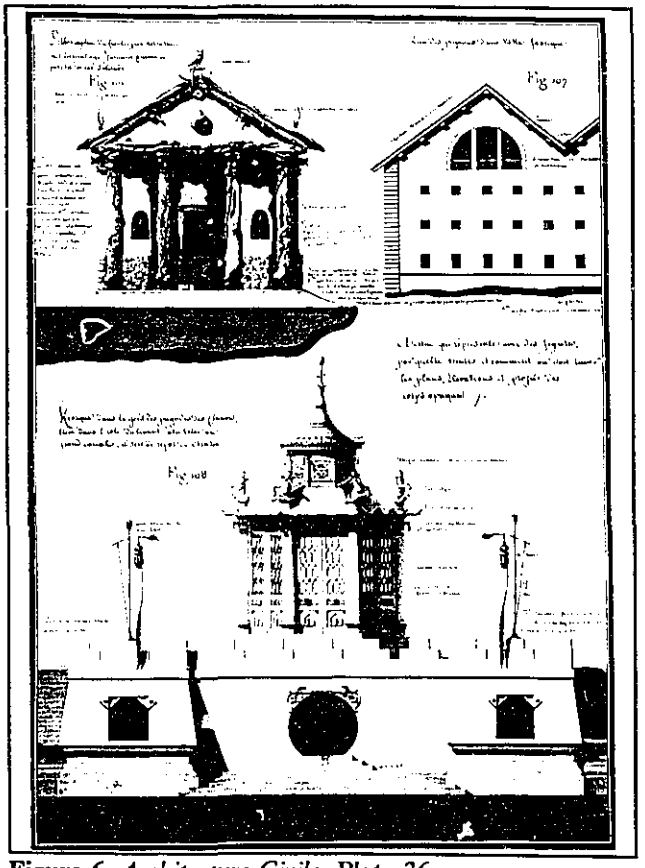

Figure 6. *Architecture Civile*, Plate 36.

[48]Ibid., Plates 36 & 55.

Lequeu had knowledge of the intimate connection that once existed between Nature and the founding of cities. His first savages learnt to sow the fields and revere the Eternal in their very first acts of communal life. Equally Lequeu also believed that it was only in the intent to forge a shared space of experience that Architecture itself was defined. Distinct from mere building, Architecture gathered and founded. On the back side of Plate 57 is found a personification of the arts and sciences where Lequeu charmingly presents an allegorical narrative on the skills and crafts practised by our animal friends. Spiders are crafty at weaving, while the finesse of the fox makes it destined for the art of war. Most noteworthy is the fact that the architect and builder are not represented by the same animal.

L'art de bâtir.	*Les Hirondels se font comme de petits hutes bien jointes et fort serrés pour logemens.*
L'architecture.	*Les Castors logent par une digue sur les bords des lacs ou des rivieres, dans toutes sortes de petites cabanes de terre qu'ils constuisent sur pilotis; mais en societé.*[49]

Thus, it would not be a surprise to note that in Lequeu's self portrait of 1792 the insignia of the beaver is represented on the keystone of his arched *aedicula.*It is in this sense that the drawing plates of the *Architecture Civile* portray the design of a new city, with an architectural language of natural character, and Lequeu as architect.

Figure 7. Lequeu Self-Portrait, 1792.

In his elevational drawings of facades, the expressivity of the geometric trait and the shadow wash establish the natural character of the design. Analogous to the way in which the face expressed the internal workings of the soul, so the vertical surfaces of Lequeu's designs ventured to express the architectural space of Nature and

[49]MS *Architecture Civile,* Plate 57, backside. (my emphasis).

transcendence. In this, Lequeu made allusions to a long standing tradition. The idea that buildings conveyed in the design of their members spiritual essences was part of an age old belief. In ancient Greece and Rome it was maintained that as home to the soul, the head of humans, animals, and plants were repositories for their spiritual essences. Given that the Temple and the human body, both understood as *physis*, were analogically and metaphysically related, it was in the column head that the soul of the building was believed to exist.[50] As late as the Middle Ages the erection of church naves was often carried out using the pillaged column heads from older churches. In reappropriating the column head, the spirit of the former church was destined to continue living in the reborn transfiguration.

Therefore, Lequeu's near exclusive use of the elevation was in part due to his awareness of this traditional belief. It making appear the face of his inventions Lequeu attempted to redesign a quasi-sacred space for the art of drawing. In the *Nouvelle Méthode,* Lequeu used the celestial gods to re-ascribe to the face a quasi-spiritual character. In asserting that the face was governed by the sacred stars of Venus, Mercury, and Jupiter; Lequeu hoped to silence the rationalizing words of much contemporary theory. As faces became facades the *Architecture Civile* was a similar attempt to insure that the drawing of architecture could still partake in a ritual making and founding of order.

As noted by Anthony Vidler in his own analysis of faces, facades, and architectural meaning, the chronic predicament of modern architecture is its failure to adequately address, in the design of its building faces, the public domain. As such, a critique of contemporary architectural practice can be articulated across the inability of the building facade to present to the city, the original architectural space of gathering, a meaningful expression of its natural character.[51] While the reasons for this are many, suffice to note that already in the nineteenth century collapse of public geography the city was no longer home to a shared consciousness. Lequeu's drawings throughout the *Architecture Civile* reflect his awareness of this collapse for they represent his own attempts at reconstituting a shared space of experience.

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[50]George Hersey, *The Lost Meaning of Classical Architecture*, p. 23.

[51]Anthony Vidler, *The Architectural Uncanny*, p. 85.

ORTHOGRAPHE AND THE ORIGINS OF LANGUAGE.

The Latin word *Orthographia* refers to both *Orthographie* and *Orthographe,* in French. As such *Orthographia* speaks equally about the art of drawing elevations as it does about the art of writing well. This linguistic trope harbours the marriage of drawing and writing so crucial to the work of Lequeu. In my hybrid spelling of *Orthograph(i)e* is presented the threshold condition of Lequeu's creative endeavours. In this coupling of the elevation with the written word lives the dual nature of Lequeu's *Architecture Civile.* While it is a work of drawing, it is also a work of language.

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Caractère and the Art of Writing

> *Caractère: <Signum> C'est en général, une empreinte, une marque, une figure tracée sur du papier, du bois, de la pierre, ou quelqu'autre matière, avec un instrument quelconque, pour faire connoître ou représenter quelque chose.*[52]

This definition of *Caractère,* being specifically material, is of crucial importance in the interpretation of Lequeu's work. Using an instrument, an imprint, mark, or figure is traced out on paper, wood or stone. Originating in the Latin word for sign, this definition of *Caractère,* with its reference to the making of impressions, denotes both the trait of drawing and the script of writing. Understood in its general sense as imprint, the character partakes of the world of drawing and images as of the world of writing and texts. As such the *Architecture Civile,* is an example of *Caractère* in the way that it employs the line and stroke at the threshold of drawing and text. This compilation of architectural designs is not merely a work of traditional draughtsmanship or ornamental drawing. The unrelenting and determined presence of titles, anecdotes, marginal notes and material descriptions, ensures that no one drawing is without text. Equally, no single drawing plate contains the written word exclusively. In this sense Plates 3 and 78 are distinctive. Plate 3, situated immediately after the frontispice, is divided into two sections entitled *Reflexions Préliminaires* and *De la Science des Ombres naturelles et du Lavis dans le genre fini.* Plate 78, the very last plate, is entitled *Sommaire alphabètique des Termes usités dans cet*

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[52]*Le Grand Vocabulaire François,* Tome Cinquième (Paris 1768), p.18.

ouvrage. While it would appear that Lequeu intended to describe: introductory comments, observations on the science of shadows, and an alphabetic summary of the different terms which he came to use in the work, both plates are left completely blank; no text appears on either. As such no one plate was exclusively composed of either drawing or text. Compositionally uniting both text and drawing on the same plate was contrary to his work in the *Nouvelle Méthode,* which was composed of separate and distinct plates for drawing and for text. The plates which held his facial drawing studies were not interspersed with the written history of drawing and with descriptions of geometric operations. However, in the *Architecture Civile* this division between text and image is completely obliterated.

In addition to the French language text and the drawn line, the plates are composed of other forms of *Caractère*. A closer examination of Lequeu's imprints, marks, and figures reveals his interest in various other character types including: punctuation marks, cross referencing symbols, foreign language characters, and hieroglyphics. The first two types operate in organizing the plates. The punctuation marks are used to number over one hundred plates and three hundred drawing figures. Appearing in the form of different asterisks, stars, and triangles they allow Lequeu to progressively rework the plates, adding more and more drawn details without losing the overall chronological order. The cross-referencing symbols operate at the level of the individual plates. Presented in the form of a legend, their principal role is to name and describe various points of interest on the drawing plate. Alphabetic characters predominantly Greek, Egyptian, and Coptic, are also used to itemize various technical notes, to name materials, and describe building sections.

For example, in his drawing of a timber frame water reservoir on *Fig. 115, Le réservoir d'eau pure de la Métairie*, Lequeu lists and names all the different wood members required in the building of this medieval tower. On Plate 50, in yet another water pump design, Lequeu also uses the cross referencing legend. This time to identify the different pulleys, chains, and wheels used in the pumping system.

However, most of the foreign language and hieroglyphic characters in the *Architecture Civile* define a different type of *Caractère*. They are not external to the narrative content of the plates: they do not organize the work. Rather, they are intrinsic to the building's which carry them. As inscriptions and ornamental text, they operate on the surface of the building's skin, appearing to speak about the building proper. Lequeu's profound knowledge of world geography is once again noted in his inclusion of alphabetic characters from around the world. Different peoples, nations and languages are represented: Islamic, Hebraic, Ancient Greek, Chinese, and Sanscript abound.

In the drawing of his *Arc Triomphal du chemin particulier des triomphateurs du cirque*, the full planar expanse of his segmental arch is covered with what appears to be Arabic or Persian dedications.[53] Labelled by Lequeu as "*L'inscription*", the narrative which appears atop the *Porte Sacrée* seemingly discloses the triumphant endeavours of distinguished warriors. Ornamental busts of the *triomphateurs du cirque* cap each of the four Ionic columns.

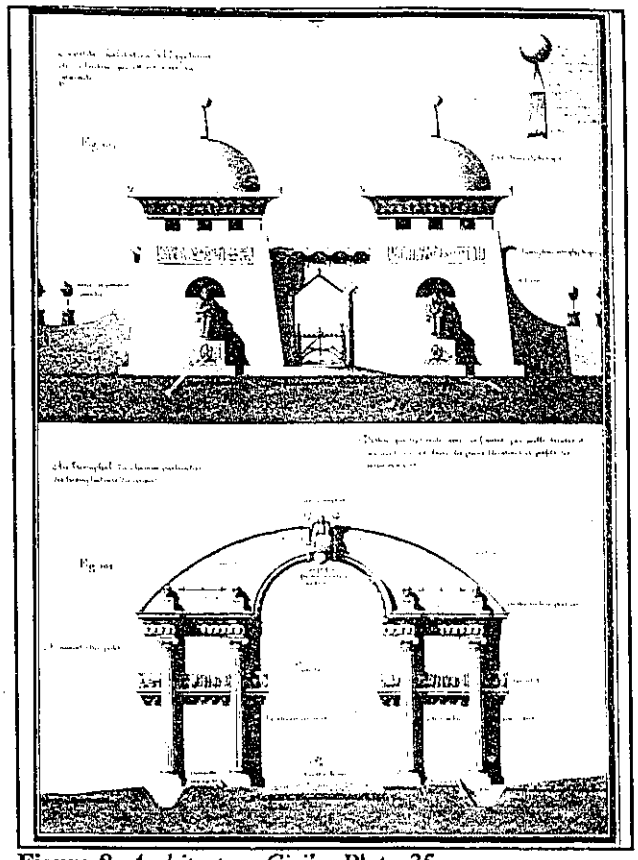

Figure 8. *Architecture Civile,* Plate 35.

In an another example, Lequeu's use of foreign language characters is noted in his interior elevation of the *Maison Chinoise* on Plate 66.[54] Here he draws yet another opening and threshold. This time his oval entrance door is to the Temple of Light, the inner chamber which gains one access to the *représentation de Confucius.* On either side of the opening all wall, ceiling, and column surfaces are richly ornamented with cedar and Brazilian ebony intaglios and *appliqués.* At the centre of each of two decorative wall panels Lequeu draws, what appear to be, a series of ten Chinese characters. In Chinese calligraphy Lequeu recognized a truly geometric form of writing. The eighty thousand characters which define the Chinese language are all derivative of two hundred and fourteen keys, *clefs.* Each of these key characters is the combination of six primary geometrical traits: the straight line, the perpendicular line, the point, two curved lines and another perpendicular line.[55] Labelled as "*Caracteres d'instructions morales, proverbes, écrits en bleu d'azur,*" these Chinese markings were intended to convey moral teachings and proverbs. And yet, in this example, and in most instances in which Lequeu includes these foreign language characters as inscriptions, they are never

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[53]MS *Architecture Civile,* Plate 35.

[54]Ibid., Plate 66.

[55]*L'Encyclopédie Diderot et D'Alembert*, p. 218.

presented in a clear and legible manner. None of the epitaphs written on Voltaire's mausoleum are legible.[56] Equally, none of the inscriptions on his various triumphal columns articulate their content. Therefore, while Lequeu suggests the importance of looking at these vertical inscriptions, we are never made privy to the full extent of their moral and philosophical teachings.

Knowledge of new and foreign languages was made available to a larger audience by the mid-eighteenth century. In Diderot and d'Alembert's *Encyclopédie* a dozen plates of foreign language alphabets were included in the section *L'écriture, le livre.*[57] Vowels, consonants, and punctuation marks appear for a complete array of ancient and modern languages. Even the language of the Tibetan Lamas was included.

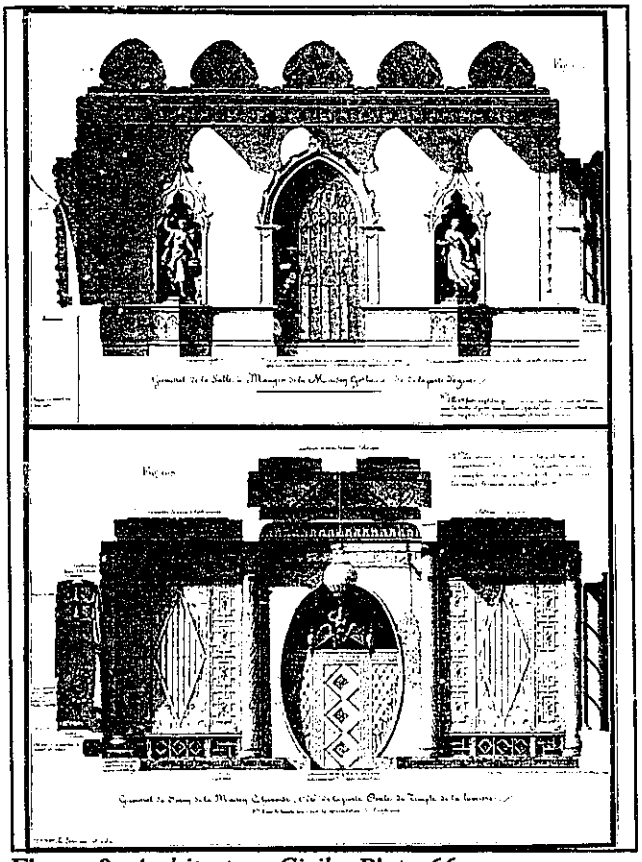

Figure 9. *Architecture Civile.* Plate 66.

These alphabetic tables, introductions to the art of writing and techniques of fabricating books, immediately precede two plates on which are drawn the instruments, materials, and operations of the writer. Here appear represented not only the quills, sharpeners, inkstands, and blotters essential to the act of writing; but also the most graceful and eloquent hand posture to be maintained while writing. In the obvious similarity between these plates and Lequeu's own presentation of the practice of drawing, it would appear that Lequeu had been influenced by this chapter of the *Encyclopédie.*[58]

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[56]MS *Architecture Civile,* Plate 30 Fig. 92.

[57]*L'Encyclopédie Diderot et D'Alembert,* pp. 212-217.

[58]See Chapter One Fig. 8.

Furthermore, this exhaustive compilation of the world's observable knowledge was not without its own historical speculations. A narrative account of the origins of alphabets was included in this section of, *L'écriture, le livre.* According to legend, the origins of writing were attributed to the Egyptian practice of idolatry. This writing of images subsequently developed into the Phoenician alphabet where it was their prince Cadmos who disseminated it in the founding of his Greek colony, only to have it eventually substituted with proper Greek characters by Ptolemy.

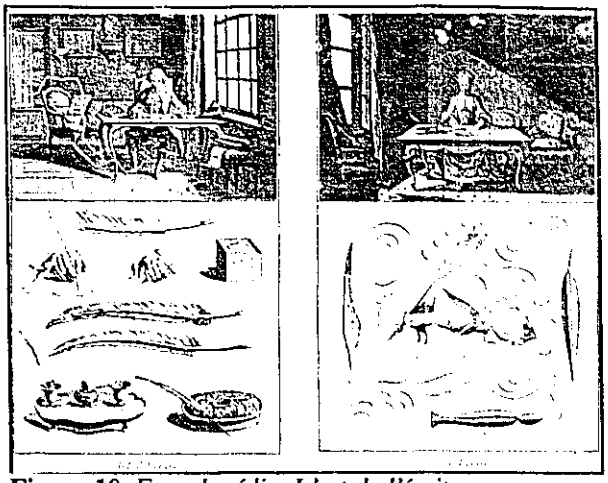

Figure 10. *Encyclopédie, L'art de l'écriture.*

The important aspect of this legend is the implication, by the Phoenician Pancho-Sanchoniathon, that the very first Egyptian characters were nothing other than portraits of the gods believed to have been drawn by Thot himself. From the "*sculptures sacrées*" of hieroglyphics, it also believed that one could derive a grammata; that is, one could reduce the portrait to a series of fundamental traits which would constitute the basic gestures and rules of a language. In this, the paintbrush and the ink-pen would come to succeed the steel-blade of the stone cutter.[59]

It is not entirely surprising to discover that the hieroglyph was one of Lequeu's important character types. His Egyptian designs were covered with inscriptions of birds, dogs and other symbolic imagery. Lequeu's drawing of the *Interieur de la Salle fraîche de l'habitation à L'Egyptienne*[60] was an explicit illustration of his knowledge of the sacred history of the hieroglyph. In this, yet another of Lequeu's many portals and thresholds designs, the central opening is flanked on either side by two cubic pillars. In this instance, the surface inscriptions appear on the face of the entrance door. In labelling this decorative panel "*Osiris sous diverse figures*" Lequeu reveals his knowledge of transfigurations, where the Egyptian god of the Underworld is made to appear in various formal mutations and transformations. Clearly Lequeu strove to represent the

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[59]*L'Encyclopédie Diderot et D'Alembert*, p. 213

[60]MS *Architecture Civile*, Plate 58, Fig. 150.

various faces and portraits of the Egyptian god Osiris by presenting two variations of the pillar head capital, both humorously alluding to phallic imagery.

In the pictographic language of the Egyptian hieroglyph, Lequeu understood the power of metaphorical languages to simultaneously communicate multiple levels of meaning: a symbolic language for which complete disclosure and scientific exactitude were impossible. Hieroglyphics were believed to contain various meanings and to this day it remains one of the most cryptic forms of written language. In the figural drawing of the moon, the sun and their subjects, the hieroglyphic language did not posit a direct correspondence between the moon carved in stone and that found in the sky. A complete symbolic field of interpretation lay behind the obvious appearances of its figures. In the ultimate pictorial language of the hieroglyph, the union of writing and drawing was made manifest, and in this it was the most original and primitive form of *Caractère.*

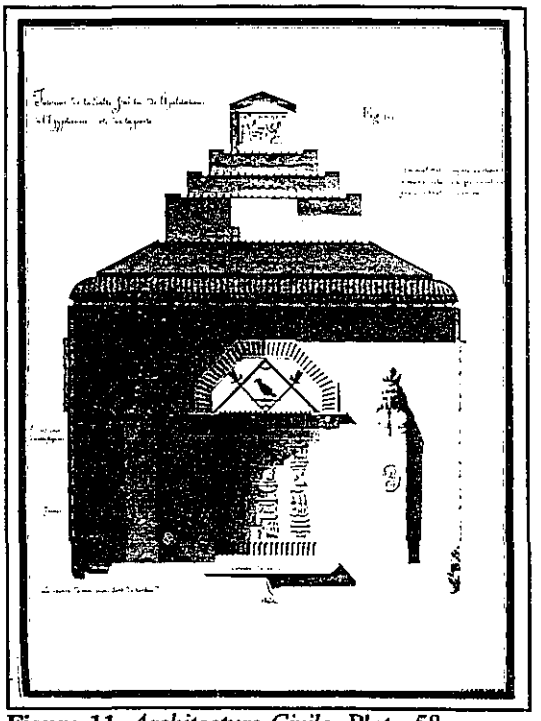

Figure 11. *Architecture Civile,* Plate 58.

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The Origins of Language

The question of architectural language was central to Lequeu's work in the *Architecture Civile.* It was in the symbolic content of his ornamental drawings that he revealed his position in the highly fragmented eighteenth century discourse of architectural signification. His world was one in which the visual language of symbols was not part of a commonly shared system of images and meanings. Sixteenth and seventeenth century analogical correspondences were no longer universally shared. For centuries explorers had been discovering the artifacts of lost civilization. With world-wide explorations and the knowledge of other cultures, the demise of the European emblem was fully realized. As such, historians were consumed with the origins of language. Hundreds of dialects were found on the African continent alone. Colonial expansion consistently

revealed that even aboriginal tribes living in close proximity differed in their native tongues. In what appeared to be the existence of an infinite number of languages, numerous theories were expounded as to their origins. At first, a universal language was sought to envelope all languages. Increasingly however, enlightened thinkers used the fruits of rational thought to propose a scientific history of languages. Already by the end of the eighteenth century, the debate in France established the study of languages as a science rooted in comparative methods of investigation and analysis.

Scholarship in the history of languages is of particular interest in our look at the *Architecture Civile*, and this most specifically with reference to three particular characteristics of its development. To begin with, I contend that a valuable parallel may be drawn between Lequeu's architectural expression of natural character and the origins of languages as articulated by Etienne Bonnot Abbé Condillac (1715-1780) during the mid-eighteenth century. Condillac wrote his comprehensive theory on the history and development of languages in the belief that language as the communication of thoughts and sentiments, originated in the primacy of human action. However Condillac's thesis did not completely negate the power and influence of Divine will. In his discussion on the "Origins and Progress of Language,"[61] it is clearly stated that it was with the assistance of the Deity that man and woman had acquired the use of the first language. This most primal form of exchange, which resembled the cries of passion, was accompanied by bodily motion, gestures, and actions. Not unlike LeBrun's understanding of the Passions, its origin, centred in the body of man, lay in the human need for expressivity. This form of communication which was given to the ancients, was termed by Condillac as the "dance of gestures."[62] In this bodily centred language of dramatic action all of the imitative arts were born.[63] References to Condillac's essay were made throughout the eighteenth century. This was the language of Rousseau's noble savage.

> For a long time inarticulate cries, many gestures, and some imitative noises must have composed the universal language.[64]

As oral languages - grounded in the study of rhetoric, progressed into written languages of the sign, the physical manifestation of this language of action was the pictorial sign, a representation

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[61]Condillac, *An Essay on the Origins of Human Knowledge*, p. 169.

[62]Ibid., p. 178.

[63]Ibid., p. 199.

[64]Jean-Jacques Rousseau, "Second Discourse", p. 145.

which combined both gesture and image.[65] For Condillac this drawn and written sign defined the original figural language of pictorial writing. Part drawing and part text, the Egyptian hieroglyph was a clear example of the written sign. Condillac was committed to suggesting that this form of writing, in its use of analogous figures, where "Two hands for instance, one holding a shield and the other a bow, represented a battle," were designed to create a symbolic language of secrets and mysteries.[66] Articulating such a language of analogy was highly dependent upon the orthographic quality of the image. Therefore, in Condillac's presentation of the universal human language of action, and in his interpretation of the pictorial writing of the Egyptians, three of Lequeu's major concerns were combined: a language of the passions, a confirmation of the shared origins of the image and the text, and a symbolic language of mysteries.

The second characteristic important to the development of languages is the study of individual words; that is, their origins and the changes in meaning which they have undergone throughout history. In the *Architecture Civile* Lequeu consistently entertains the reader with his astute knowledge of the different meanings that his words convey. In the many orthographic variations of a particular word parallel imaginary worlds are created. The most obvious example may be found in his own name. Depending on the spelling which it takes, (Lequeu, Le Queu, LeQueux) it comes to signify interchangeably: a bodily appendage that is a tail or the male reproductive organ, a queue of persons waiting, or a beaver. While one word could signify many things, different words could also be used to mean the same thing where an object, idea, or person could appear under different names. This study of the variability in meaning fascinated some and frustrated others.

Michel Foucault stated in his own analysis of the origins and history of language, that changes in meaning - etymologies, are more easily studied than variations in spelling of words - orthographies. Etymological changes have obeyed certain principles which one can trace. It is worthy of note in this context that for Foucault, these principles are of a spatial order; that is,

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[65]Condillac, *An Essay on the Origins of Human Knowledge*, p. 273. "When mankind had once acquired the art of communicating their conceptions by sounds, they began to feel the necessity of inventing new signs proper for perpetuating them, and for making them know at a distance. Their imaginations then represented nothing more to them than those same images, which they had already expressed by gestures and words, and which from the very beginning had rendered language figurative and metaphorical."

[66]Ibid., p. 274. "The symbolic hieroglyphics were employed to conceal; these were also distinguished into two species, tropical and enigmatic...the tropical represented one thing by another which had some resemblance or common analogy to it.... and the enigmatic were composed of the mysterious assemblage of different things..."

they are concerned with the visual correspondences, resemblances, and adjacencies that exist amongst things. They are concerned with the form of words and their variations across various languages. In this union of figure and writing Foucault discerned what was for him the essential problematic of the etymological study of words. Throughout history two forms of writing had existed in parallel: one grounded in the meaning of words, the other in phonetics. The former was most often associated with graphically oriented societies, where conveying the meaning of a word amounted to the making of a drawing, to the making of a pictorial representation.[67] The Egyptian hieroglyph was such a form of pictorial writing. As an ancient symbolic language it developed as a result of metaphorical interpretations articulated though time. In a general distrust for such symbolic languages, Foucault believed that their intrinsically ambiguous nature made them esoteric and founded in superstition. Hieroglyphic languages were open to various interpretations and as such no one definitive sign could be attributed to any one meaning. Etymology, having originated in this open field of interpretations could not be a conclusive science of the word. Suspicion in the validity of etymological studies was clearly evident during the mid-eighteenth century, when scientific and historic precision insisted on the rationalized visual correspondence of orthography to meaning.

> *Étymologie:...l'origine d'un mot est en général un fait à deviner, in fait ingnoré, auquel on ne peut arriver que par des conjectures,...il est quelques étymologies d'une utilité evidente, par la clarté qu'elles répandent sur certains objets, il en est une infinité d'autres qu'on peut regarder comme indifférentes ou inutiles, & même comme nuisibles, si l'on considère que c'est au culte superstitieux qu'on leur a rendu, que nous devons rapporter la plupart des vices de notre orthographe.*[68]

From this period quotation one may discern that all orthographic inconsistencies of the French language were attributed to the superstitious cult of etymology. This author of *Le Grand Vocabulaire François*, an exponent of the *Port-Royal,* would appear to share Foucault's disdain for etymological sources. Therefore, having originated in the in-between space of the text and the figure, Foucault does not consider symbolic languages appropriate to the lucid communication of men.[69] Lequeu had no such disdain for the open ended, often obscure, interpretation of symbols, for he clearly understood that it was in the metaphor that the ancient allegorical

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[67]Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things*, p. 110.

[68]*Le Grand Vocabulaire François,* Tome Dixième (Paris 1762) p. 65.

[69]Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things*, p. 112. "... symbolic writing, in attempting to spatialize representations themselves, obeys the confused law of similitudes, and causes language to slip out of the forms of reflective thought,... alphabetic writing, by abandoning the attempt to draw the representation, transposes into its analysis of sound the rules that are valid for reason itself."

languages came into being.[70]

The third significant characteristic of the study of languages, is the question of Divine origins. For a select few, discovering the great diversity of earthly languages did not necessarily constitute the breakdown of belief in a primordial language whose origins had been in of Divine revelation. George Steiner has observed in *After Babel*, that there exists, in a tenet of an occult tradition, a belief that at the root of this multitude of voices there once existed a truly Divine language.[71] Not being privy to that original language, our existence is destined to multiple voices and to the irreconcilable nature of names and images. Fundamental to this first language was an original congruence between the word and the image, for in "the mere naming of the thing was the necessary and sufficient cause of its leap into reality."[72] Originally given to Adam in the naming of all of the earth's creatures, this truth was and is no longer accessible to man. As such history has in part been written as the search for a return to this first language. According to Steiner, it is in the study of words, in their etymologies, that we can hope to trace our way back to that original language. While Steiner presents various individuals and general currents of thought who have subscribed to this messianic belief throughout history, when speaking of the eighteenth century he suggests that the general climate was unfavourable to such dream-like thinking. And yet, in the *Architecture Civile*, Lequeu's drawing of natural character and of the world of the hero, there is a suggestion of a serious regards for this original language.

It is unclear to what extent belief in the Divine original language was still prevalent during the eighteenth century. Antoine Court de Gebelin (1725-1784), French literary savant, student of antiquity, and author of numerous works on mythology, history and etymology (French, Greek, Latin) was another eighteenth century scholar who ventured an interpretation of the origins of languages. In form and content Gebelin's *Histoire Naturelle de la Parole, ou Precis de L'origine du Langage & de la Grammaire Universelle* and his *Le Monde Primitif, analyse avec le monde Moderne; considéré dans son génie allégorique, et dans les allégories aux quelles conduisit ce génie,* were two important works diametrically opposed to contemporary interpretations of the origins of language.

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[70]Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things*, p. 111.

[71]George Steiner, *After Babel*, p. 61.

[72]Ibid., p. 60.

The *Histoire Naturelle de la Parole*(1776), was divided into three main areas of study: the principles of *l'Art d'Etymologie, Écriture* which dealt with the orthography of words, and *Grammaire Universelle* which discussed the rules of composition. However, latent in the text was Gebelin's interest in presenting the sacred origins of language. For Gebelin the genesis of words, of *la Parole,* whether spoken or written, lay in their relationship to the Divinity of Nature.

> *.... la Parole ne fut point l'effet du hasard & de la simple recherche des hommes,... elle est fondée sur des Elémens pris dans la Nature.*[73]

In the observation of Nature, truth made itself manifest. In the natural history of the word was found the basis of all of human knowledge. In this statement by Gebelin we may note his belief in pre-given language. Man has not the capacity to create it, he can only by imitation tend towards its perfection.

> *L'Homme n'invente rien; mais il imite & il perfectionne: c'est de ces facultés que naquit L'Écriture.*[74]

In the opening statement of the work, Gebelin establishes a metaphorical connection between the art of writing and the arts of representation.

> *Nous peignons nos idées par la Parole; nous rendons cette peinture stable par l'Ecriture.*[75]

The word represents the painting of ideas where the orthography of the word was a painting. In this the art of writing, the representation found its grounding. The interdependence between image and word was made explicit. In the process of thinking, the mind associated to an idea, a thing, or object which represented it. In the drawing out of the different figures and characters of writing the idea was made to appear. Gebelin goes on to discuss hieroglyphic characters. Obelisks and urns are but two examples of the many artifacts which still carry these ancient Egyptian characters. Gebelin believed, unconditionally, that they belonged to the *Mystère Sacrés:* to the practice of some ancient mysterious and sacred Celtist for Gebelin this was not the making of false and nebulous presentations, rather it was his intention to connect these mysterious

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[73]Antoine Court de Gebelin, *Histoire Naturelle de la Parole* (Paris 1776), p. 21.

[74]Ibid., p. 107.

[75]Ibid., p. 1.

practices to his own. He attempted to sanctify modern languages by tracing their sacred origins to his own French language. in this way Gebelin went on to suggest that the alphabetic characters were themselves a collection of hieroglyphic characters. He sought to historically graft the most abstract of characters to the most figurative.

> *Puisque toute Ecriture est peinture, ou hiéroglyphique, il en résulte nécessairement que l'Ecriture Alphabétique est elle-même un assemblage de caratères hiéroglyphiques.*[76]

For Gebelin, the language of hieroglyphics was the most original and primordial language. Generously bequeathed to the Egyptians by the god Mercury, the art of writing, along with Agriculture and Astronomy, defined the foundational arts of the Ancients. This interpretation of the origins of writing was not unlike that given in the *Encyclopédie,* or that proposed by Lequeu himself where knowledge of writing had been given to man, in the form of a gift.

> *C'est donc avec raison que les Egyptiens firent marcher d'un pas égal l'invention de l'Agriculture, del'Astronomie & de l'Ecriture. Ils regarderent ces trois Arts comme également divins, comme les dons de Mercure.*[77]

Gebelin's presentation of the origins of languages attempts to maintain an allegorical reading of history. In form, the work legitimizes the sacred interpretation of origins in deifying the stars and the earth. He demonstrates the way in which the modern study of ancient etymologies can connect the french word to those first words given in the transcendental writing of Nature. In was in his *Monde Primitif,* that these allegories were presented and described with the greatest of details. Three full length tales were presented, each symbolizing one of its heroes: Saturn was allegorically connected to Agriculture, Mercury to Astronomy, and Hercules to the earth. At the very heart of these allegories was found his veneration of Nature.

Gebelin was an important figure in fraternal circles of the *Ancien Regime.* He was the first historian of the Scottish Rite of French Freemasonry. He recorded their yearly meetings, which took place on December 25, between the years 1778 and 1789. It appears that no further meetings were to have taken place after the Revolution, until well into the nineteenth century. It was during these seances that Gebelin discussed his dissertation on the great masonic allegories which connected the ancient Egyptian and Greek mysteries to those of Freemasonry.[78]

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[76]Ibid., p. 113.

[77]Ibid., p. 107.

[78]Alexandre Lenoir, *La Franche Maçonerie rendue à sa veritble origine* (Paris 1812).

However, serious his attempts to return to the ancients, in the words which he used to explain the role of etymologies the veiled thinking of the eighteenth century rationalist is detected. For Gebelin the etymology of the word painted the reason of the word. In tracing back its history, one could reveal the reason why the word made reference to a particular idea. Etymology would explain the variety of forms which the word had taken throughout history. It would attempt to explain the reason why the word came to exhibit so many appearances. In the end Gebelin's etymologies would establish the one original unit and root common to all the different appearances of the word. In the possibility of actually finding this root, it was believed that a direct correspondence between idea and image could be attained. Moreover, for Gebelin each individual character had a particular reason and related to a specific set of ideas. There could be no arbitrary assignment of image to character. In this quotation, Gebelin reveals, by paralleling language to the painting of portraits his concern with immediate and exact recognitions.

> *Il en est ici comme d'un portrait qui ne peut être arbitraire, mais qui doit être conforme à son modèle; puisque si on le faisoit de fantaisie, on n'en reconnoîtroit pas l'objet, on n'auroit pas fait un portrait,...*[79]

This need for a direct correspondence made of Gebelin's writing a masked presentation of rationalist thinking, nostalgically embedded in an empty language of the ancients. And yet while Gebelin wrote that which Lequeu drew: their stories being founded in ancient myth and allegory, Lequeu's exploration of history and language presents an important opening in this closure of thought.

Lequeu's own highly figural drawings raise some serious questions for architectural representation. His

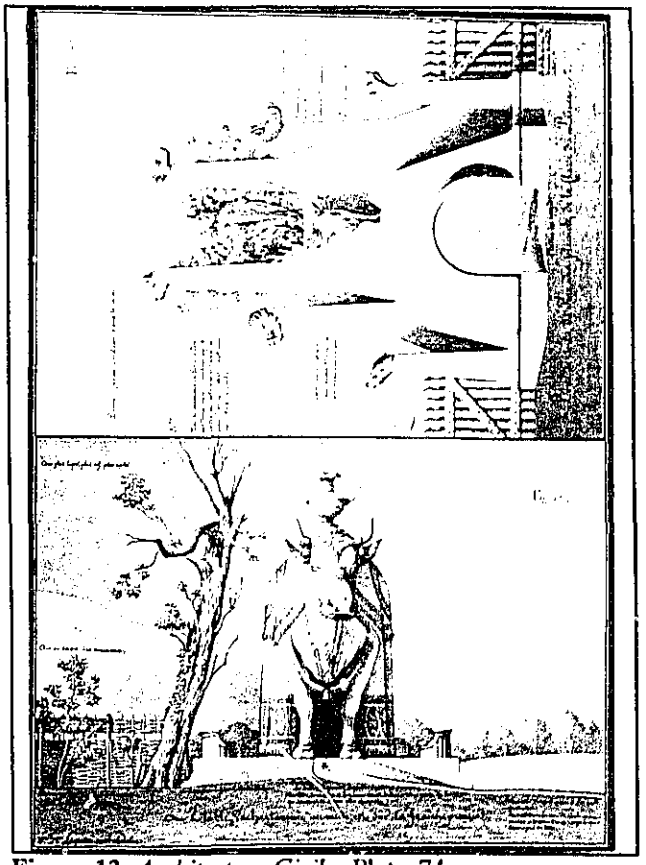

Figure 12. *Architecture Civile,* Plate 74.

[79]Antoine Court de Gebelin, *Histoire Naturelle de la Parole* (Paris 1776), p. 8.

"*L'Etable à Vache tournée au midi...*"[80] may, quite simply, refer to his design for a barn in the shape of a cow. What more appropriate way to symbolize the barn than by using the creature which it protects. To the surface of the building skin was applied an exact figuration of its internal function. Moreover, in his design for the entrance gate to the "*Parc des plaisirs, de la Chasse du Prince,*"[81] appear the heads of stags, hogs and dogs. This arched threshold of animal headed ornaments declare to all eyes the gateway to the hunt. In yet another amusing example, the letter "A", sized to the scale of a door, is used to designate the arched opening to the *Temple de la Terre.*[82]

To interpret these figural representations as merely owing to the dictates of an *Architecture Parlante,* where ornaments express the inner workings of the building, would be incorrect. Furthermore, it would be erroneous to suggest that in this display of function, Lequeu's work was that of a proto-postmodernist whose operation of ornamentation was akin to an empty gesture of signification. While Lequeu repeatedly draws literal representations of Nature, the status of his imitative art is somewhat more obscure. Do Lequeu's explicit ornamental figures suggest that the visual form and image of the building should correspond to its name, or rather does the ornamental figure make allusion to something other than itself? I contend that his cow shed is more than a mere cow house for bovines. In its French designation of *L'Etable,* rings another word used by Lequeu throughout the *Architecture Civile.*

> *Retable;...Ornement d'Architecture contre lequel est appuyé l'autel, & qui enferme ordinairement un tableau.*[83]

Moreover, in the orthography of the title, Lequeu introduces the preposition *[à]* along the bottom of the title. With the addition, the title simply references the cow shed. Without the addition, the French expression *L'Étable vache*, presents the less refined aspects of the French language. It refers to a meanness of spirit, something gone bad, as well as the state of being damned. To this end interpreting his ornamental figures without their accompanying text is problematic. Repeatedly parts of his written narrative significantly elaborate, if not contradict, the image drawn. In the choice of specific words Lequeu will conceal his second meaning. The

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[80]MS *Architecture Civile,* Plate 74, Fig. 174.

[81]Ibid., Fig. 175.

[82]MS *Architecture Civile,* Plate 72, Fig. 172.

[83]*Le Grand Vocabulaire François,* Tome Vingt-Cinquième (Paris 1773), p. 45.

importance of the text calls to mind the work of historian Emil Kaufmann who, in first bringing to light Lequeu , contextualized his rational architectural forms as belonging to the revolutionary spirit of the Enlightenment.[84] In the simplicity of his large scaled forms he was considered a modern architect. Yet Kaufmann says very little of the text, notes and anecdotes which litter the whole of the drawing plates. The photographs which he published included very little text.[85] And yet the text is as important as the intensely ornate surfaces which detail Lequeu's forms and which narrate the context of his overall designs.

Trapped between the text and the drawing ornament is Lequeu's serious struggle to reconcile the world of the ancients to that of the moderns. This is as much an issue which concerns the study of language as it is an issue for architecture. Contrary to appearances, Lequeu's ornamental language forbids direct closure between the word and image. Much to the detriment of the reader Lequeu enjoys this playful evasion. To this end we will recall how the great majority of his foreign language inscriptions were illegible. The question which presents itself is whether this elusive text was meant as mere surface *appliqué*, where, akin to the most derogatory definition of ornament, the inscription is blind to its traditional rhetorical role as symbolic bearer of meaning. Or, whether Lequeu was making allusion to the once more sacred, secret and obscure origins of both ornament and languages in the hands of priests, poets and philosophers. Regardless, ensuring the reader's inability to grasp but one conclusive meaning was Lequeu's game. For in the simultaneous co-existence of several meanings, a symbolic language for architecture was assured.

Lequeu did not pronounce himself explicitly on matters of language, as he had done with both drawing and architecture. Yet in both his quasi-mythic presentation on the origins of the representational arts and in the allegorical stories of the *Architecture Civile* he suggests an analogical model for his thoughts on language. In the drawing of Lequeu's ornamental figures throughout the *Architecture Civile* there lives the making of a symbolic language of pictorial writing.

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[84]Emil Kaufmann, "Jean-Jacques Lequeu", in *Art Bulletin* no. 1-4 (March-December 1949):130-135.

[85]This is also highlighted by Joseph Rykwert in "Pinnacoli di assurdita" in *Casabella* vol. LI (Maggio 87):36.

CHAPTER THREE

ALLEGORICAL HIS-STORIES

Cosmography

Myth and the Ritual Founding of Cities

COSMOGRAPHY

Frontispice

> *Pour premier principe de cet ouvrage, les Corps isolés et environnés d'objets composent des masses, seront éclairés d'un raïon de lumière tombent à 45 degrés sur leurs façes horizontales ou verticales./.*[1]

This note, appearing on the *frontispice* - the very first drawing plate in the *Architecture Civile*, describes Lequeu's foremost principle of drawing and shading. In the projection of a ray of light, at the prescribed forty-five degrees, both the vertical and horizontal faces of the solid body cast their respective shadows. This naming of the *chiaroscuro* technique was not simply a practical statement of method penned by an architectural draughtsman, it was equally a metaphor for the thinking process of the mystic philosopher. As such, the *frontispice* to the *Architecture Civile* represents, in both drawing and text, Lequeu's metaphysical world of ideas.

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[1]MS *Architecture Civile*, Plate 2.

While, the elementary geometric operations required in the act of drawing were included in the margins of the plate, its radial and concentric composition focused all attention on the centrepiece. This focal point was dedicated to revering the various light sources available to the human eye.

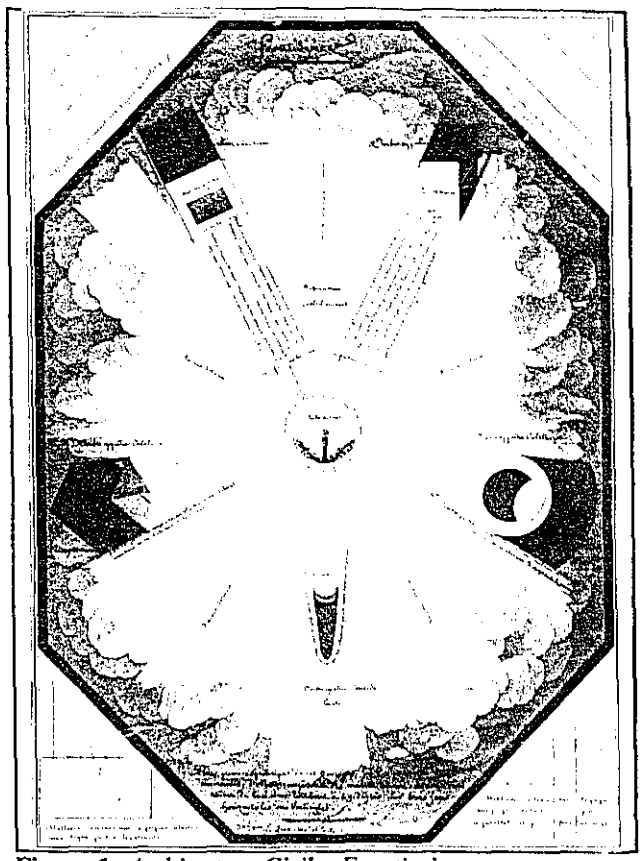

Figure 1. *Architecture Civile, Frontispice.*

> *...le Soleil, ou la Lune, ou un Flambeau, ou enfin un Bûcher.*[2]

Sunshine, moonlight, candle-light, and burning hearth, were all articulated as essential sources in Lequeu's drawing of architectural expression. Highlighted in the very first plate of this work, the naming of these light sources foreshadows the meticulous language of watercolour rendering developed throughout the *Architecture Civile*. In the painting of shadows, the drawings reveal their light source. Central to the composition of each plate, and to the design of each building figure, was the origins of its light, and as such its shadow. Midnight or midday, natural or manmade, each drawing spoke eloquently of the nature of its light.

This *frontispice* represents Lequeu's world of observable shadows. Quasi-platonic solids are geometrically disposed across the surface of his celestial vault. They, as recipients of the light, present to the viewer three shadow types which define Lequeu's cosmography. The first of these he terms *Cylindrique*. These are shadow lines which remain always parallel, given that the light source is the same size as the object which is being lit. In the case of celestial bodies, the sun and the moon always produce parallel shadows no matter what the dimension of the receiving body. The second shadow type is the *Calat(h)oide*. This shadow is similar to that produced by a torch in that the shadow of the solid body increases the further it moves away from the light source

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[2]Ibid.

with which it is lit. The last, termed *Conoide,* is the shadow which results when bodies, which are smaller than the body by which they are lit, have shadows which converge to a point.

Regardless of which light source is used, and which shadow type is produced, the common feature throughout is the nature of the light rays themselves: that is Lequeu's "*faisceau lumineux.*" Principally, the *faisceau* names the light beam which, emitted perpendicularly from its source, generates the shadow. However, it is in the multiple meanings of this word that Lequeu allegorically reveals his cosmography. In combing the etymological origins of the word, its Latin root "*fascis*" discloses additional interpretations of interest. To begin with, it references the material clusters and bundles of twigs, wood, and straw that are the sheafs of grain traditionally carried by Lady Virgo. Historically the *fascis* also represented the bundle of rods and axe carried before the highest magistrate in Ancient Rome and used to behead criminals, a symbol appropriated by France in the cluster of spears carried by the female allegory of the Revolution, *Liberté.*

Figure 2. Allegorical painting by Bertry, *Musée Carnavalet, Paris.*

Lequeu drew the *fascis* on a series of plates entitled "Ornaments from Italy", seemingly modeled on Piranesi's own "Etruscan Monuments."[3] Both plates display a vast number of ornaments from ancient Rome. In the work of both authors the *fascis* appears alongside a multitude of other ancient artifacts. In the *Architecture Civile* the *fascis* appears represented on several occasions. In one

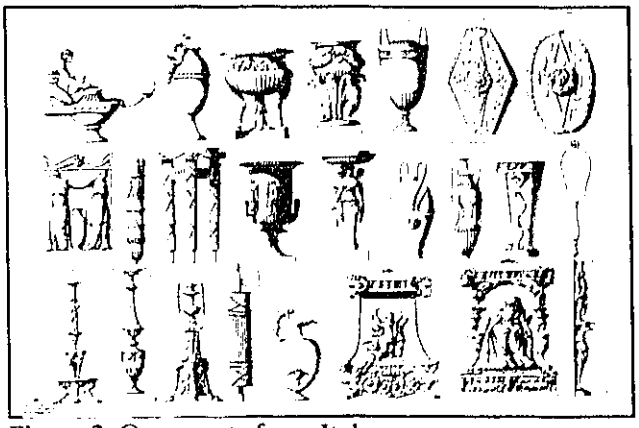

Figure 3. Ornaments from Italy.

[3]Philippe Duboy, *Lequeu, An Architectural Enigma*, p. 48.

instance it appears as the ornamental character perched at the pinnacle of his *Monument à ériger au centre de l'Etoile* in honour of his fatherland.[4]

Architectural historian George Hersey, in studying the relationship between ancient ornaments and language, has connected these vertical bundles to the Greek (ῥάβδοι). The term *rabdoi* designates: the rods, wand, and shafts of spears, the vertical fabric folds in a Greek *chiton*, and most importantly, the carvings of a column's vertical fillets and flutes.[5] With these vertical surface articulations, the column acquires its shadow. As well it also referred to Hermes' caduceus.

Its derivative in Latin, *fascia* makes reference to the side casing of a threshold, door or window: the vertical edge which frames the opening and defines the profile of its shadow. It is also the ornamental wreath or listel that one drapes around a column.[6] As "a flat horizontal member of an order... having the form of a flat band or broad fillet"[7] it is the top strand which runs the length of the temple architrave. Traditionally it was believed that this band represented the cord with which the remains of sacrificial animals were strung together after their dismemberment. In this, it is analogous to the torus, rope, or *scotia* detail that appears wrapped at the base of each column. Moreover, Vitruvius himself mentions the *scotia* detail as the horizontal fillets of the Ionic order.[8] Hersey, in his mention of the Greek term for scotia (Σχοτία), suggests that it represented the space of shadow, for it referred to the protectress and goddess of both the underworld and of darkness. As both a horizontal reveal and fillet, the fascia is that which gives to the column its horizontal shadows. This translation of spiritual belief into material reality - mouldings and profiles - was not gratuitous formalism. We will recall that for the ancients the shadow was believed to be, not simply the absence of light, but the very real presence of a dark and dense vapour that carried the souls of the dead.[9] Therefore, in the root word *fascis,* the all-important connection between sheafs and spears, light and shadow, appears. It designates both that which is bound and that which binds.

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[4]MS *Architecture Civile,* Plate 68, Fig. 166.

[5]George Hersey, *The Lost Meaning of Classical Architecture*, p. 23.

[6]Lewis and Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, p. 726.

[7]*Websters Ninth New Collegiate Dictionary* p. 450.

[8]Frank Granger, *Vitruvius on Architecture* (Loeb Classical Library, 1983), p. 185.

[9]George Hersey, *The Lost Meaning of Classical Architecture*, p. 21.

These light rays of Lequeu's *faisceau,* collected and gathered, carry the light source to the intended object and give expression and form to shadow. For Lequeu, these rays of light represent the original and generative life force, they transform that which they touch. In Newton's *Opticks*, Light takes part in the continuous transformations of Nature.

> Are not gross Bodies and Light convertible into one another, and may not Bodies receive much of their Activity from the Particles of Light which enter their Composition?... The changing of Bodies into Light, and Light into Bodies, is very conformable to the Course of Nature, which seems delighted with Transmutations. Water, which is a very fluid tasteless Salt, she changes by Heat into Vapour, which is a sort of Air, and by Cold into Ice, which is a hard, pellucid, brittle, fusible Stone; and this Stone returns into Water by Heat, and Vapour returns into Water by Cold.[10]

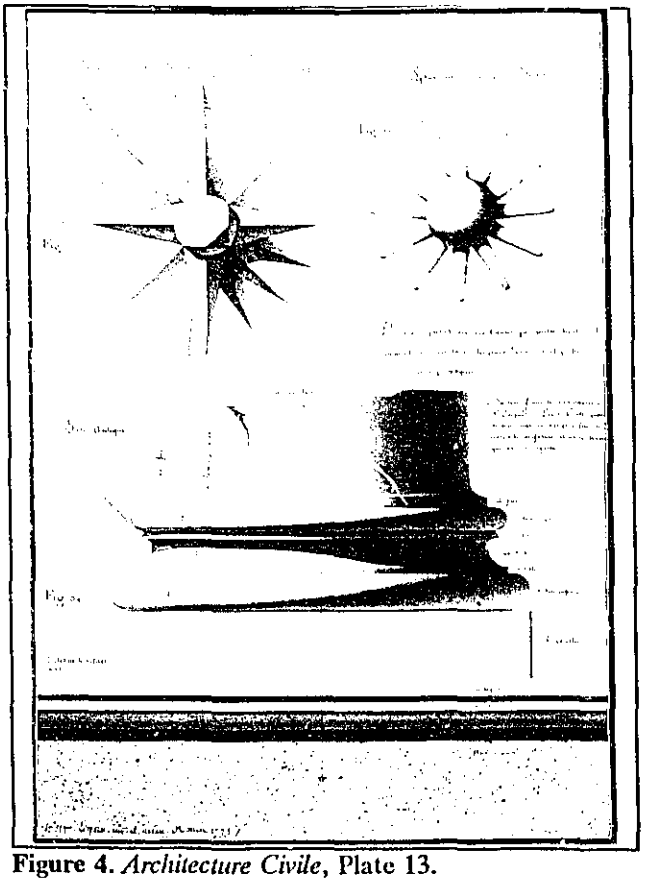

Figure 4. *Architecture Civile*, Plate 13.

This vision of light as tangible material presence animates the work of Lequeu. In the drawing of shadow, in the momentary union of light and profile, the various faces of Nature are made to appear. As such, this *frontispice* is the allegorical representation of Lequeu's cosmography of light.

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[10]Sir Isaac Newton, *Opticks* (1730), Book Three, Part 1 p. 374.

The Geometry of Figures

The opening plates of the *Architecture Civile*, 5 through 11 were drawn prior to Lequeu's arrival in Paris, in the years 1777 and 1778. They present the principal drawing operations needed by the *dessinateur* in the tracing and washing of a full range of architectural figures and solids. Prisms, octagons, pyramids, volutes, and column shafts all appear. Drawn as both preliminary sketches and finished studies, they evolve from the simplest of plane surfaces to the most sinuous of balustrade details, where increasingly his examples exhibit a greater number of fragmentary surfaces. Complex circular bodies depicting various basins and canals further exhibit his talent for watercolour washes. In this series of plates Lequeu presents the geometrical operations essential to his craft. However, his narrative is never devoid of metaphor. In Plate 8 the reader is initiated to the symbolic importance of geometry.

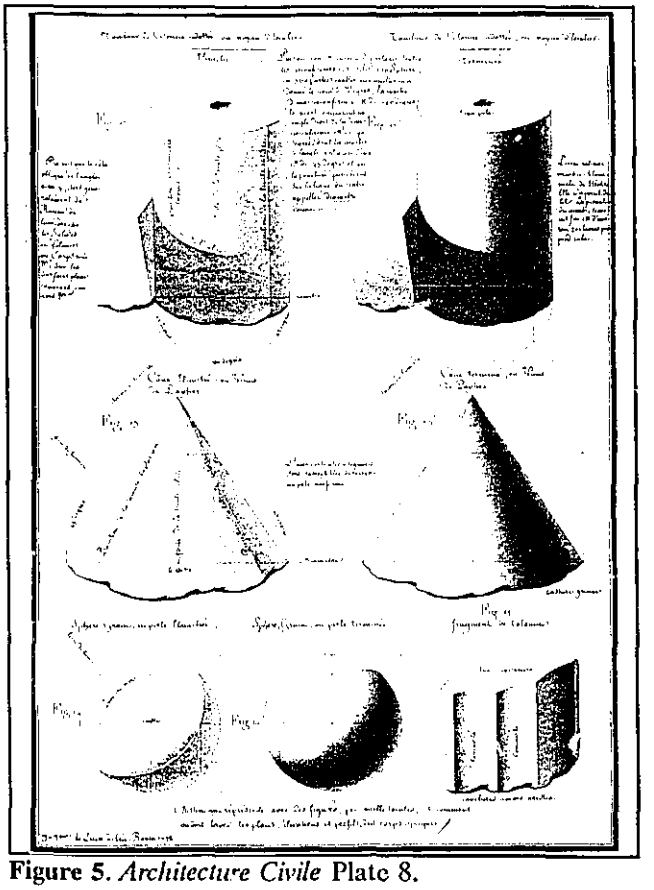

Figure 5. *Architecture Civile* Plate 8.

At first glance it would appear that Lequeu intended to discuss the nature of shadows as they are cast by rectangular bodies on the shaft of columns. The textual descriptions are filled with references to lines, angles, and the operations which define them, but in no way do they communicate any method to be used in representing these figures or their shadows. While the text goes on to mention the solids, volumes, round bodies, and surfaces that are plane, convex and concave, it does not describe the actual drawing process. Rather, in naming the various angles which subdivide the circumference of a circle and define the shade patterns of the column, Lequeu makes allusion to more than the simple operations of geometry. Encoded in the language of the angle is the importance of an alternative method of thinking. On first reading Lequeu presents a series of geometric operations across a language of circumference, degrees and the subdivision of the circle.

Puisque l'on est covenu de partager toutes les circonférences des cercles de la Sphere, en 360 parties égalles aux quelles on a donné le nom de degrés; la moitié d'une circonférence est de 180 degrés le quart composant un angle droit de la demi-circonférence est de 90 degrés, dont la moitie de l'angle a chacun d'eux est de 45 degrés, et que la ponctuée panchant sur la ligne du centre appellée diametre donne...[11]

Apart from stating one of the most obvious operations of geometry, the text is far more cryptic than it is descriptive. Later on, when presenting the shadow that is projected by the square figure on the surface of the circular column, the shadow angles speak of the oblique and the acute. Therefore, in the very language of his geometrical operations Lequeu obscures his ritual of drawing. Despite their striking precision, Lequeu's geometrical figures partake in the world of the metaphor. Lequeu's association with Freemasonry may provide a rationale for this language of circles, degrees, and angles, since within the brotherhood, Geometry was still the operational science through which a metaphysics of allegory was channelled. In the ritual enactment of what were believed to be the sacred geometric gestures of measurement and division, eighteenth century Freemasonry bestowed onto Geometry its title of first science.[12]

However, Lequeu's Geometry, tied to a Euclidean understanding, was first and foremost an element of ideation where "parallel lines do not converge in Euclidean space."[13] Understood as operational ideas, Euclidean geometry ensured the embodied corporeality of that which it represented: it did not demand that the drawn line reflect and represent the material body of the world in which it lived. Lequeu's symbolic use of geometry strove to maintain a distance between the idea of the drawing and the variable and imprecise nature of the building, where in the interface of idea and nature, theory and ritual, Lequeu sought to explore and name the obscured truths of architecture.

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Divine Allegories

Lequeu's intimate relationship with sacred and allegorical stories of ancient Greece and Italy is evident in these early plates. In both drawn and written narratives, Lequeu makes limitless references to the history of lost civilizations. As in the *Nouvelle Méthode,* tales and historical accounts of past peoples constitute the foundations of his stories in the *Architecture Civile.*

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[11]MS *Architecture Civile,* Plate 8.

[12]James Stevens Curl, *The Art and Architecture of Freemasonry*, p. 19.

[13]Alberto Pérez Gómez, *Architecture and the Crisis of Modern Science*, p. 100.

However, his work is not that of the antiquarian interested in historical accuracy. The witty and clever narrative in which Lequeu appropriates these stories allows for the recognition of their trans-historical importance while simultaneously negating any possibility of their being given to his moment in history in a direct translation from their ancient origins. As such, in the comments and notes which accompany his drawn figures the impossibility of ever truly reconciling past history with present action is set in a language of irony and incongruity.

By way of an example, Lequeu repeatedly interchanges names and designations. On Plate 7, he proceeds to name a quadrilateral diamond-pointed pyramid *Minerve d'Athènes.* Here Minerva, the Roman goddess of Wisdom, was surely used to reference Athena, the Greek goddess of Wisdom. Were Greek and Roman deities carelessly interchanged? Later, on Plate 8, he names another of his solid bodies, this time in the form of a conical stone, "*Cone terminé; ou Vénus de Paphos.*"[14] Once again, Venus, the Roman goddess of love and beauty is interchanged with Aphrodite, the Greek goddess of love and beauty. Was this really an error of ignorance on Lequeu's part? It is my contention that a sophisticated rationale was at work in Lequeu's manipulation of the classical iconographies. In this example, the coupling of Venus and Paphos is of importance. Paphos was an ancient city on the island of Cyprus. Its temple, dedicated to Aphrodite, " was one of the oldest, richest, and most famous of all ancient Greek holy places."[15] In his mention of *Vénus de Paphos,* Lequeu may be referring to this highly significant temple. Originally surrounded by a sacred grove, its focus was the black meteorite stone worshipped in the name of the goddess. The origins of this sacred stone are read in the mythic account which tells of Saturn's quarrel with his father Uranus. In anger against his father, Saturn proceeded to sever the paternal penis and toss it into the sea off Paphos. As the member hit the sea foam it turned into Aphrodite.[16] Still housed today in the Cyprus museum the stone, once believed to have been the paternal penis, is conical in shape and undoubtedly the root of Lequeu's own abstracted conical figure. This meteorite, tossed from out of the heavenly firmament, represents the fallen phallic stone. In the union with water, the stone becomes the sacred symbol of both the male member and of the love of women. Worshippers of Aphrodite carried bowls of sea salt and phalli in memory of this aquatic transformation.[17] Born of the phallic stone, Aphrodite

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[14]MS *Architecture Civile,* Plate 8. See Figure 5.

[15]George Hersey, *The Lost Meaning of Classical Architecture,* p. 47.

[16]Ibid.

[17]Ibid., p. 49.

symbolized the town of Paphos. To this end, it is worth mentioning that the city of Paphos was the ancient centre of sacred prostitution. Priestesses ritually incarnated the goddess Aphrodite, their bodies conduits in the religious union between man and god.[18]

Throughout the *Architecture Civile* Lequeu imbues his drawing plates with rich historical anecdotes and references. In a clever manipulation of words and figures, he develops a series of architectural narratives, each with their own imaginative critical interpretation of history.

MYTH AND THE RITUAL FOUNDING OF CITIES.

The Orders of Architecture[19]

No architectural treatise would be complete without its own presentation of the architectural orders. The history of the art of building and that of the architectural text have been inextricably linked to the architectural column and its order. Until the end of the Renaissance, it was to Vitruvius and his scholars that architects referred to for the harmonic numerical principles which governed the column. By the seventeenth century, architectural discourse was centred on the search for both the true proportional relationships with which to apportion the column, and on the most appropriate ornamental language with which to adorn it. In this, the column was the principal generator of meaning in the composition of the elevation. The extent to which it became a critical element in French architectural theory can be traced from Philibert de l'Orme's first proposal for a truly French order, in his *Architecture* of 1567, to Claude Perrault's polemical design for the Louvre colonnade - the Parisian commission *par excellence* of the seventeenth century.[20]

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[18]Ibid., p. 52.

[19]MS *Architecture Civile*, Plates 14, 16, 18 and 19 (Fig. 35, 42 and Fig. 49, 50, 51).

[20]Joseph Rykwert, *The First Moderns*, p. 89.

In the *Architecture Civile* Lequeu drew his own imaginative interpretations of the traditional Vitruvian orders. In his use of both established and invented ornamental characters, the role of the architectural column was redefined. Lequeu's concern was not with engaging the architectural debate of the eighteenth century, which sought to establish the most rational measure for the design of columns, rather, his interest in the column lay in the articulation of the specificity of its natural character and in recounting the story of its origins through the dress and ornament with which it was made to appear.

Four drawing plates 14, 16, 18, and 19, completed between the years 1782 and 1784, represent four different column orders: the Tyrrhenian, the Doric, the Ionic, and the Corinthian. The Tyrrhenian is a new column order introduced by Lequeu into an already confused polemic. While its profile resembles that of the Tuscan order, Lequeu's specific manipulation of its capital resulted in the creation of a new invention. Drawn twice, the first Tyrrhenian column is represented as a column capital topped with a pedimented headdress. In its second appearance, the column is presented with a full entablature.[21] While both of these figures are clearly labelled as being *Tyrrehénien*, the profile of the capital is drawn interchangeably as convex in one figure and concave in the order. As the column capital sports more than one profile, so its title brings to mind a series of different historical associations. Geographically, Tyre figures prominently in the history of ancient civilizations. As coastal maritime capital of ancient Phoenicia, it was said to have been the birthplace of many illustrious minds.

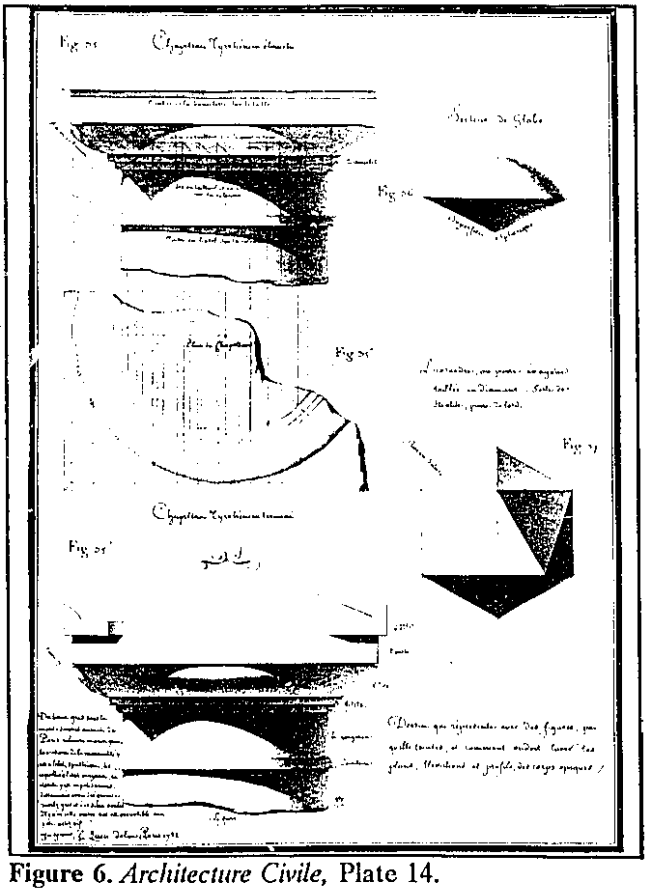

Figure 6. *Architecture Civile,* Plate 14.

[21]MS *Architecture Civile* Plate 14 Fig. 35 & Fig. 35', Plate 16 Fig. 42.

> Euclid, son of Naucrates, grandson of Zenarchus, called the author of geometry, a philosopher of somewhat ancient date, a Greek by nationality..., born at Tyre,... published a most excellent and most useful work entitled the foundations or elements of geometry.[22]

This statement, by Arabic authors of the thirteenth century, interested in associating the divine religion of geometry with their own eastern history, represented but one of the many instances in which the origins of Euclid were traced to the city of Tyre. Another illustrious character to be associated with Tyre, was Hiram, King of Tyre and builder of the Temple of Solomon. Legend recounts that he sent Solomon the materials with which to build the Temple. As its builder, he was considered its architect. An unfortunate fate awaited Hiram, for it appears that he was killed in an attempt to extract from him the secrets of building.[23] Moreover, during the seventeenth and eighteenth century the ruined city of Tyre was visited by archaeologists in search of the origins of architecture. During the early decades of the seventeenth century, British pioneer explorer William Lithgow's travelled to Tyre. It was said, that he saw the very columns taken down by Samson himself.[24] Finally, *Tyrrhenien* makes reference to the Tyrrhenian seaboard of Italy, bound by Sicily to the south, and the islands of Corsica and Sardegnia to the west. This coastal region was the birth place of the ancient Etruscans. One of its founders was Tyrrhenus, "the eponymous hero of the whole Etruscan nation."[25] In the correspondence of column title to hero, one may suggest that, in fact, Lequeu's order was the Tuscan. In a quotation from the *Nouvelle Méthode,* which describes the developments in the craft of drawing accomplished by the ancient Italians, the two nations are presented interchangeably.

> *...des auteurs prétendent que les Thyrréniens ou Etrusques cultivèrent aussi les arts dans la plus haute antiquité.*[26]

Therefore, in naming the order *Tyrrhenien*, Lequeu allegorically and syncretically associates Euclid, Hiram, Samson, and Tyrrhenus, all of whom were founders and heroes of this architectural order.

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[22]The original source, Casiri. *Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana Escurialensis* p. 339, was mentioned in *Euclid, The Thirteen Books of the Elements* (New York 1956), vol. 1 p. 4.

[23]James Stevens Curl, *The Art and Architecture of Freemasonry*, p. 239.

[24]Joseph Rykwert, *The First Moderns*, p. 273.

[25]Joseph Rykwert, *The Idea of Town*, p. 157.

[26]MS *Nouvelle Méthode,* Plate 2.

In his presentation of the Doric order, Lequeu explicitly suggests the existence of a link between the architectural column and a belief in the eternal rituals of foundation. Entitled, the *Colonne Milliaire, d'Ordonnance Dorique,* both the title of the column and its ornamental language make allusion to the founding hero.

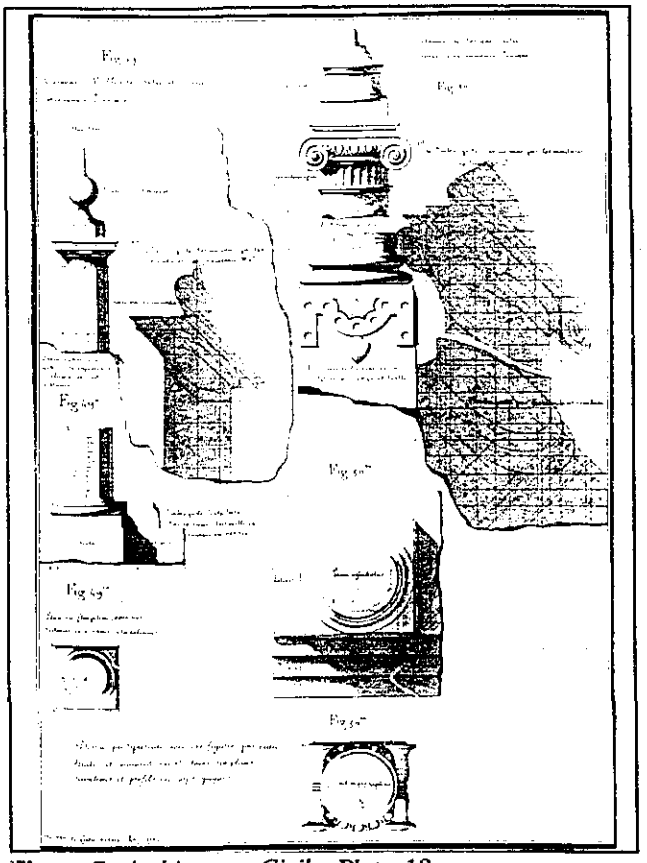

Figure 7. *Architecture Civile,* Plate 18.

> *Milliaire; colonne milliaire, en parlant des colonnes que les Romains plaçoient au près de leurs grands chemins, & sur les quelles la differance des lieux était marquée en comptant par milles.*[27]

In the very definition of "millenarianism" the hero is central. On one level, it speaks of the Biblical prophecy of Revelation 20, the 1000 year earthly reign of Christ on earth, where Jesus is understood to be the supreme symbol of the hero in the Christian system of belief. Furthermore, "millenarianism" speaks of the coming of an ideal society founded on the revolutionary actions of its heroes.[28] This term may have seemed particularly appropriate, both historically and geographically, to the French nation on the eve of its Revolution. However "millenarianism" also belonged to a more occult tradition which believed in the Adamic truth of God given revelation, where Adam, the first hero, was given the original word and image.[29]

Lequeu was aware of the various meanings of this term, as he was of the more traditional

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[27]*Le Grand Vocabulaire François*, Tome DixHuitième (1771), p.100.

[28]*Le Grand Vocabulaire François*, Tome DixHuitième (1771), p. 96." *Millénaire ; on a ainsi appelé ceux qui croyoient qu'apres le jugement universel, les élus demeureroient milles ans sur la terre à jouir de toute sorte de plaisir. Ceux qui ont soutenu cette opinion n'étoient point une sorte d'hérétiques ou de schismatiques séparés de l'Eglise..."*

[29]George Steiner, *After Babel*, p. 60.

narrative which accompanied the founding of the Doric order. Its origins lay in the persona of Dorus, ancient Greek ruler and warrior. According to Vitruvius, as son of Hellen, he reigned as King over all Peloponnese and built himself a temple in the style which came to take his name.[30] Dorus, as leader to a nation of soldiers and conquerors, was the original hero, the founder of the first column order. In naming the Doric order the *Colonne Milliaire,* Lequeu brought together heroic and military founding narratives from across the world of ancient Greece to Revolutionary France. The Doric order was said to "furnish the proportions of a man's body, its strength and grace,"[31] as such it was the mimetic reflection of the virile male and the world of the hero.

However, Herodotus the fifth century Greek historian, pointed to the short lived history of the city built by Dorus. It appears that Dorus, out of an act of madness, did not consult the oracle at Delphi prior to the building of his city, and as a result it survived but only for three years.[32] Dorus, without Divine guidance, could not insure the prosperity and livelihood of the city which he had built. The King was a fallen hero. In this moral tale is Lequeu offering a warning to all those journeymen who would dare to do the same? Could one engage in founding rituals without consulting Divinity? For his part, Lequeu knew well the traditional importance of the oracle. His own *fabrique,* dedicated to the *Temple de la Devination,* ornamented with the divinatorial fork and nestled in the northern end of the Eleusian fields, was home to iconographic bronze statues which spoke of the highest civic, moral and spiritual virtues.[33]

Communicating the truths of the conquering hero was the role played by the surface of his *Colonne Milliaire.* It appears fully covered in text with: "*des inscriptions pour instruire le voyageur et du chemin et des distances.*"[34] Inscribed within the flutes of the column shaft, the narrative of this *Colonne Milliaire* makes manifest the knowledge that is required of any hero in the pursuit of travels and adventures.

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[30]Frank Granger, *Vitruvius on Architecture* (Loeb Classical Library, 1983), p. 205.

[31]Ibid., p. 207.

[32]Fustel de Coulanges, *The Ancient City*, p. 188.

[33]MS *Architecture Civile,* Plate 63.

[34]MS *Architecture Civile,* Plate 18.

In a similar manner the Ionic column, the *Colonne Historique,* is inscribed with text. This time the text is not written on the flutes of the column, which are too narrow and numerous. Rather, labelled as the "*historial du heros*", the inscriptions appear on a smooth covering which wraps the circumference of the column. This, the hero's his-story, is in fact the story of journeys, trials, hardships, and revelations: the hero's truth. Guided by the knowledge which offers the *Colonne Milliaire*, the hero proceeds in his adventures in the hope of returning to recount that which he has seen. This explicit use of the hero in defining the character of the Ionic column makes direct reference to the traditional role played by heroes as founders of ancient cities. Architectural historian Joseph Rykwert, in speaking of the founding rituals of both the ancient Greek and Roman civilizations has observed that,

> ... city founding, and the fathering of tribes, as well as the invention of skills and trades are among the 'typical' characteristics of heroes... ; they have the strongest connection with all matters concerning death, the hunt, games, divination, healing, and mystery cults... The city had to be founded by a hero; only a hero could found a city.[35]

This understanding of the city founder as hero was also presented by Fustel de Coulanges. In his explorations, de Coulanges suggested the existence of a clear association between the founding of cities and the religious practices that took place within them. In fact, the founding of the city was tantamount to the performance of a religious act. As such it was the founder, who by prayers and rites, called the gods into the city and offered them as protectorates. Moreover, as founder of both the physical city and of its sacred practices, the hero was known as the father of the city and ancestor to all those who, born of the city, would come to succeed him. Once the city was founded and its hero dead, maintaining the city's protectorates involved the act of ritually re-founding the city limits. To this end sacrifices and festivals were officiated annually in the name of the father, in the name of the hero, at the site of his tomb.[36] In honour of this eponymous hero the ancient Greeks named their cities. This once mortal hero, now sacred god, gave to the city its religion and in return, the city gave unto him altars and festivals.[37]

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[35]Joseph Rykwert, *The Idea of Town,* pp. 24-25.

[36]Fustel de Coulanges, *The Ancient City*, p. 142.

[37]Ibid., p. 120.

With Lequeu's last column order, knowledge of the connection that existed between founding heroes, the dead, games, and divination was presented in the inventive design of this, the most decorated column. As *Monument funèraire, d'ordonnance corinthienne, Erigé prés le mur de la Ville.!.*, it speaks most eloquently of his veneration for the cult of the dead. Replete with funereal urn and skull figurations, the column capital and shaft abound in allegorical markers to the world of past souls. Ornaments of garlands, festoons, lush hanging draperies, torches, and guttae all attest to Lequeu's awareness of the intimate association that existed between ancient founding rituals, ornament and the practices of sacred sacrifices. Of particular interest are the vertical stone members said to have been involved in such sacrificial practices. In *Hyginus Gromaticus*, these stones are steles; that is, vertical columns.

> They set stones vertically in solid earth... they decorated them with unguents, garland and clothing... they sprinkled them with blood and laid fruit and frankincense, beans and vines on them,... and when the [god's] meal had been consumed by the fire they laid the smoking remains on the stones.[38]

A second stone of greater importance would then be carved with the image of the sacrificial remains. The remains were drawn as they were held together by ribbons and bands. Could these ribbons have been Lequeu's *fasci*? Plato, in describing the mythic island of Atlantis, also spoke of the column as central to the sacrificial act and as writing surface for the city's founding laws,

> ... they cut his throat over the top of the pillar so that the blood flowed over the inscription. And on the pillar there was engraved, in addition to the laws, an oath invoking awful curses on those who disobeyed it.[39]

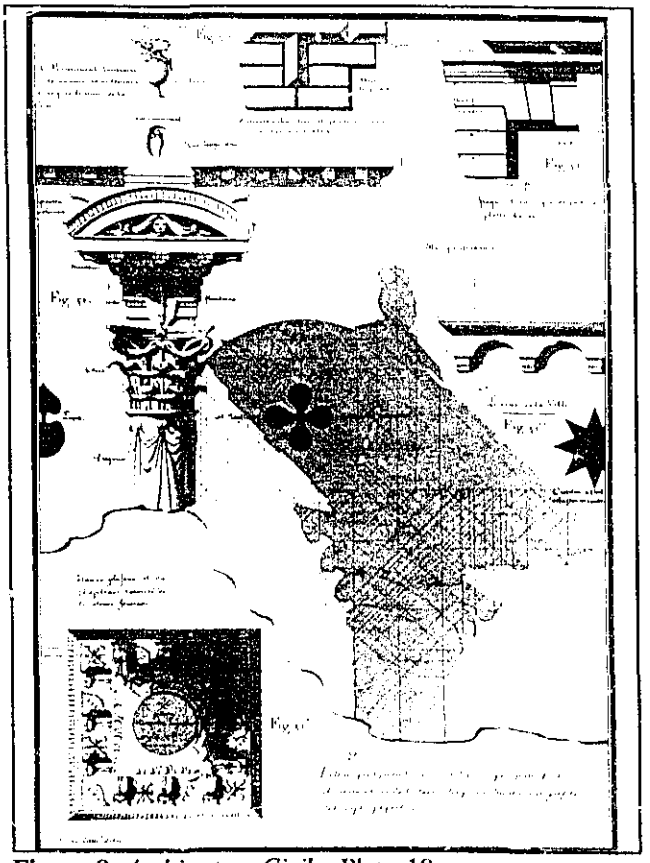

Figure 8. *Architecture Civile,* Plate 19.

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[38]George Hersey, *The Lost Meaning of Classical Architecture*, p. 42.

[39]Plato, *Timaeus and Critias*, p. 144.

The Corinthian column was participant to the ritual of sacrifice; that is, to the practice of dismemberment and reconstruction. There existed a dual nature to the sacrifice. It was only with the ritual destruction of the sacrificial body that the preservation of the city's people and its livelihood were believed assured. Many myths which speak about the process of reconstructing the dismembered victim were in fact the foundation myths necessary as a precondition to the erection of sacred temples.[40] To this end, the ornamental language in Lequeu's *Monument Funèraire* was conceived as the personification of the sacrificial victim.

In this instance, the column shaft was not inscribed with text, rather, its surface was marked by the presence of sumptuous hung draperies. Folds and pleats defined letters in this language of vestments and coverings. As well, appearing on either side of the column, and located on the surface of the city wall, were the *Pique* and the *Trefle*, both black faced figures of French playing cards. In this the world of games and trickery, shadow and obscurity are brought to light. The *Pique,* rendered in solid black tint, introduces Lequeu's linguistic game of tropes. Its figure represents the spade or military weapon whose end terminates in a sharp and dangerous point.[41] Moreover, the *Pique* makes references to an ancient measure of length. However, the word *piqué* which is written similarly to *pique*, short of the accent, is an important variation of the word. To begin with the term *piqué,* makes reference to the state of madness and anger. As well, in this second guise is brought to light the connection between weapons, the measure, and the cloth. The word *piqué* defines the stitching detail which results when the needle pierces both the front and the back of the fabric pieces. This detail is one of the many references which Lequeu makes both in drawing and in text to the art of vestments. Here the column shaft of the *Monument Funèraire* is clearly designed with ornamental fabric joints. Throughout the *Architecture Civile*, ornamental vestment details appear. They come to define the balcony designs for his *Théâtre Royale* on Plate 45, where reams of ornamental fabric are used to face the theatre boxes.

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[40]Ibid., p. 16. Traditionally, there existed a connection between the ritual enactment of sacrifices, the founding of cities and the making of social and religious order. This is described by Joseph Rykwert in his presentation on the sacrificial activities of Chinese Dynasties. Of importance was the manner in which the quartering of the body was understood as a sacred and symbolic gesture analogous to the quartering of the world, both enacted in the making of social order where, "the monster's (or victim's) body is transformed into the world fabric." *The Idea of Town*, p. 175.

[41]*Le Grand Vocabulaire François*, Tome Vingt-Deuxième (1772), p. 195. "*Pique; Sorte d'arme à longbois, dont le bout est garni d'un fer plat & pointer. Les piques qu'on voit dans les monumens fait du temps des Empereurs Romains.*"

In Fig. 118, a knotted drapery detail is used to articulate the base of the column statue dedicated to *Cythère.* On Plate 52 as the *Sanctuaire des voix Célestes,* this same detail is main form of the drawing figure. This interior sanctuary dedicated to the Eternal God is comprised of a raised throne-like platform over which is hung a fabric covering folded in the form of a rounded knot analogous to that which holds the fabric of Lequeu's Corinthian column.[42]

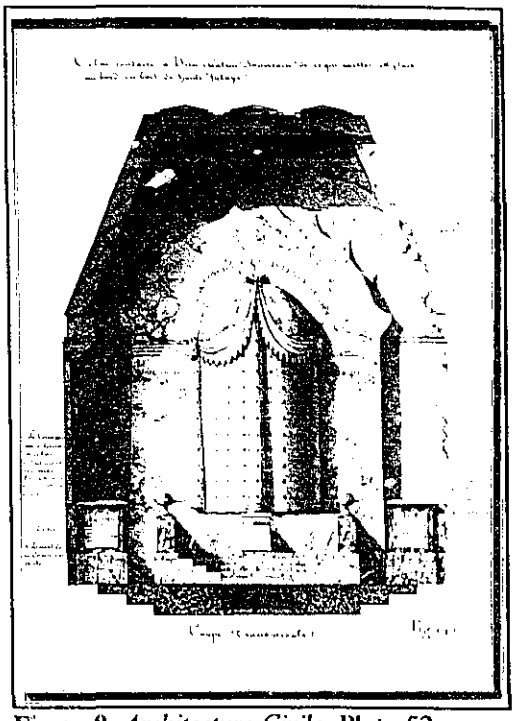
Figure 9. *Architecture Civile,* Plate 52.

Surely Lequeu was alluding to vestments in his statement "*Pique et Trefles éclairent des garderobes.*"[43] The *garderobe* was the body's private space of appearance wherein the rituals of clothing and denuding took place. It referenced not only the space of one's wardrobe, but equally that of one's bedroom and that of the body's restorative toiletries. All were typical of Sennett's space of natural character.

In his drawing of the third black figure to appear on the city wall, labelled as "*Ouverture à Etoile de la Vüe de Servitude*",[44]one comes to understand the nature of the enlightenment, *éclairent,* which is offered by Lequeu. All three figures, *Pique, Trefle,* and *Etoile*, are controlled openings into the wall of the city. They provide only visual access into Lequeu's "natural city" of wardrobes, bedrooms, and ritual washings. In presenting these openings and orifices in the skin of the city wall, I would contend that Lequeu is making reference to the opening of the "peep hole" and to the space of the prostitute. In this small controlled opening one may discern the paradigmatic expression of representation during the eighteenth century. In its analogy with the *camera obscura,* the opening, in furnishing the room with its only light, filtered an image of the exterior

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[42]*Le Grand Vocabulaire François*, Tome Vingt-Deuxième (1772) p. 196. "*Piquer; est encore un terme fort usité dans les Manufactures est les Communautes des Arts & Métiers & signifie faire avec du fil ou de la soie sur les étoffes.*"

[43]MS *Architecture Civile,* Plate 19.

[44]Ibid.

world.[45] The *camera obscura* was the mechanical device used by the *dessinateur* throughout the century in order to capture that which he wished to represent. Lequeu was fascinated with vision and observation at all levels. For Lequeu this contrivance was modified into a full- scale building elevation. His own sketches present designs for mechanical systems which allow the onlooker to survey the interior of a room, via this "peep hole" opening without being noticed.[46] Lequeu's design moved to the inside of the box, the real matter of the world, the live-body.

Le cadre de cette glace était criblé de trous dans l'ornement d'où l'on voit tout ce qui se faisait dans la chambre. Celle qui connait le secret peut très facilement remplir tous les trous et rendre la niche B inacessible aux curieux.[47]

In this device for the *Casin d'enchantement,* Lequeu presents his own interpretation of the eighteenth century temple of sacred marriages.[48] As the ancients before him, he believed that in the body of women lay a particular route to knowledge. It was the conduit which insured the passage of the initiate to the space of the underworld and to the sacred domains of the soul.

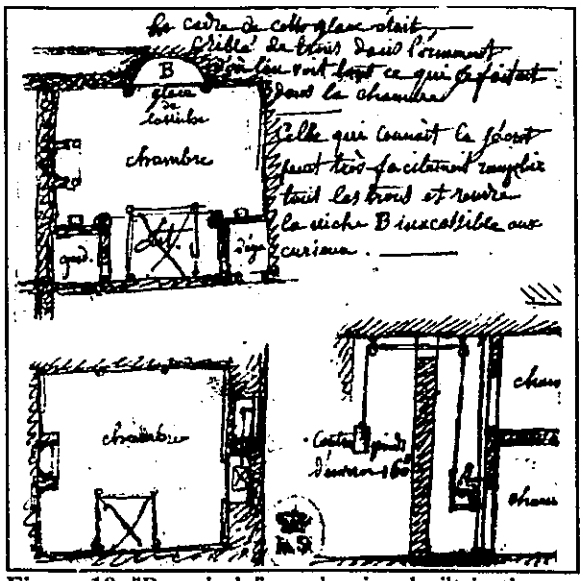

Figure 10. "Peep hole" mechanism built in the *Casin d'enchantement.*

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[45]Jonathan Crary,"The Camera Obscura and its Subject", in *Techniques of the Observer.* This artifice of light and shadow developed into the modern metaphor for vision. By the nineteenth century it became the exclusive model of observation.

[46]During the eighteenth century several enlightened authors believed in the institutionalisation of prostitution. Ledoux himself offered his Oikema as the House of Pleasure in his city of Chaux. Restif de la Bretonne published a *Projet de Reglement* and presented it to the city of Paris in his bid to sanitize and regularize prostitution. In this, his own description of one such house of enchantment, the "peep hole" is central to the deroulement of the procedure. "*Les maisons à construire, seront situées dans des quartiers peu habités:.. Tous les hommes.... seront admis dans ce Jardin: il s'y trouvera différentes entrées masquées par des arbres,...afin qu'on puisse se glisser sans être remarqué.... l'on y donnera le prix fixé par le Tarif, en recevant un Billet, qui désignera le Corridor... dans lequel l'homme qui l'a reçu pourra choisir... Aussitôt qu'un homme sera dans le Corridor désigné par son Billet, une Gouvernante le conduira dans un cabinet obscur; elle lèvera une petite coulisse, l'homme examinera par cette ouverture toutes les jeunes filles du premier ou du second côté du Corridor,.. .il fera connaître à la Gouvernante celle qu'il choisit.....*" Restif de la Bretonne, *Le Pornographe, ou Idées d'un Honnête Homme* (1770).

[47]Phillipe Duboy, *Lequeu an Architectural Enigma*, p. 59.

[48]MS *Architecture Civile,* Plate 38.

This connection between the space of the prostitute and that the symbolic content of the Corinthian column was not a coincidence or mere invention on the part of Lequeu. The *Monument Funèraire,* as a derivative of the Corinthian column, represented the natural transformation of stone into acanthus. As recorded by Callimachus, the development of the Corinthian capital was founded on the mythic narrative which painted the unfortunate early death of a maiden, just prior to her own sacred marriage. It is at the foot of the tomb of this maiden that this metamorphoses of plant into stone took place. In noting that the city of Corinth was second only to that of Paphos in its involvement with sacred prostitution, this would suggest that Lequeu's metaphorical association between the rituals of sacrifice and the space of woman was far from tenuous. Corinth's own temple, dedicated to Aphrodite, was a site of such sacred marriages.[49] In the very word Corinth, lies its root *Kore.* It speaks of the virgin girl, who as personification of Persephone, queen of the underworld, darkness, and shadows, was akin to *Scotia.*[50] The city of Corinth had already figured prominently in the work of Lequeu. His presentation on the origins of drawing in the *Nouvelle Méthode,* mentions Cleantes of Corinth as having been influential to its development. As well, Lequeu suggested that the origins of representation lay in the work of the young Corinthian girl, who as moulder of vases was first to use the drawing tracc.

On sait aussi que cette découverte suggérée par la passion d'une jeune personne est également citée par des écrivains qui la donnent à la fille de Dibutade mouleur de vases à Corinthe.[51]

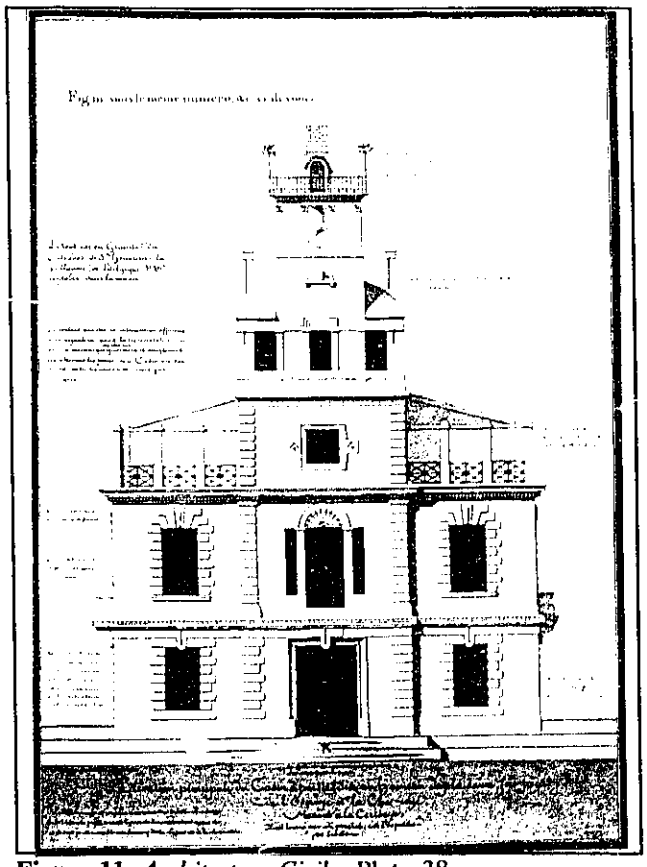

Figure 11. *Architecture Civile,* Plate 38.

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[49]George Hersey, *The Lost Meaning of Classical Architecture,* p. 66.

[50]Ibid.

[51]MS *Nouvelle Méthode,* Plate 10, Note11.

Could this young Corinthian maiden, moulder of vases and the first to have drawn the drawing trace have been architecture's own founding sacrifice?

Lequeu's interpretation of the architectural orders was not concerned with establishing the right numerical ratios and proportions needed in the drawing of the column. In his inventions: the *Ordre Tyrrhénien*, the *Colonne Milliaire*, the *Colonne Historique*, and the *Monument Funèraire*, Lequeu not once in the four plates draws the entire full length of the column. Nowhere are the separate parts of the column - entablature, capital, shaft, and base, present as a complete order. These columns are free-standing and carry no material building weight and as such have no structural necessity. Labelled as *isolée et décorées*, the principal role of these free-standing monuments is symbolic.[52] As markers, Lequeu's columns carried the symbolic and allegorical language developed in the meticulous crafting of each drawing ornament. As surface, skin, and parchment, they were pivotal in composing the founding narrative of the *Architecture Civile*. The shaft of the column was literally home to the inscription, where the narrative was contained within the character of the marking. The other part of the column which was destined to carry a great part of this ornamental language was, not surprisingly, the capital, the head of the column. It was here that the ornamental headdress came to represent the tropes of the hero as he travelled in the space of war and in that of love. Lequeu's columns were boundary markers and steles central to both the cult of the dead and the veneration of Nature. They represented the ancient and sacred stones upon which were inscribed and recorded the knowledge of journeys, the histories of heroes, and the transformative power of Nature. The *Architecture Civile* was the drawing out of this founding ritual, replete with its own heroes, altars and festivals.

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[52] In this, they are not dissimilar to the pillars which have traditionally come to frame the openings and portals of temples and sanctuaries. In a particular reference to Freemasonic imagery, right and left hand pillars, named Jachin and Boaz, were used to mark the entrance to the lodge. Having survived the ravages of fire and water, they were thought to heraldically carry the secret knowledge of the masons. James Stevens Curl, *The Art and Architecture of Freemasonry*, p. 29.

The Pyramid and the Vault

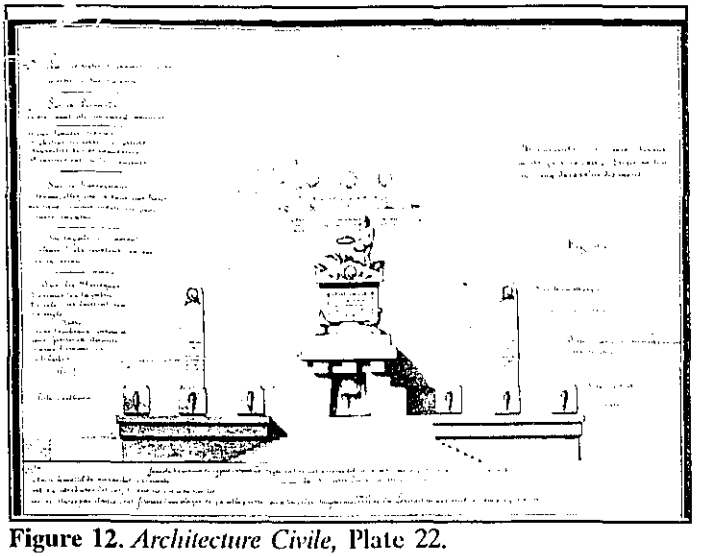

Figure 12. *Architecture Civile,* Plate 22.

As in the drawing of the orders, so in the drawing of his *fabriques* Lequeu is cognizant of the historical details of the ritual origins of architecture. Plate 22, *Le Centre du Cimetière et la Maîtresse Voute,* reveals the manner in which Lequeu synthesizes the two principal aspects of the cult of the dead, the funereal monument and the sacred hearth. In the plate's two elevations appear a sepulchral pyramid located at the centre of the cemetery and a vaulted threshold which provides access to the deep interior of a rock faced mountain. The sepulchral pyramid, located in the top half of the plate, is dedicated to the veneration of revolutionary heros. The rallying cry inscribed on the exterior surface of the sarcophagi announces to all their efforts in the preservation of the fatherland.

> *Monuments des braves citoyens morts pour la patrie; Erigés au lieu du Sang de la vallee des morts...Citoyens, allez dire à tous nos frères que nous sommes morts ici pour sauver la patrie.*[53]

Furthermore, the facade carries an inscription dedicated to those whom wars leave behind, the grieving mothers and wives. It was hoped that in approaching the mausoleum, they would come to find solace for their tears and their pains. Situated in the valley of the dead, the monument honoured all those brave citizens who shed their blood in honour of their country. The interior of the crypt was filled with the tombs of many illustrious mortals. The loss of life in the name of one's country awarded honour to the hero's death.

> *Ces sepultures par étages sont fermées d'une plaque de pareille pierre, qui a son cadre simple, mais elle est ornée du Portrait en bas relief de chaque personne.*"[54]

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[53]MS *Architecture Civile,* Plate 22.

[54]Ibid.

Not surprisingly, each was covered with an ornamental stone carrying the portrait of the fallen hero. With its air of battle, conquest, the pyramid brings to mind the spirit of "millenarianism" which saw the creation of Lequeu's Doric order.

The architectural character of this facade makes allusion to ancient bounded domains traditionally recognized as the *patrie*. In ancient cities, he who was citizen of the *patrie - terra patria* - necessarily lived within this ritually defined space. This was the space originally traced out by the city's founder. The *patrie* operated at two levels simultaneously: at that of the family enclosure and at that of the city at large. Each domain had its own father, its own tomb, and its own hearth.[55] As such, battles which saw the hero defend his home necessarily saw the hero defend the city's divine protectorates. The fall of the city necessarily involved the fall of its gods. The seriousness with which one went to battle meant that soldiers were in combat with not only other soldiers but, with the very gods which protected their enemies.[56] The role of safeguarding the freedom of the city was regarded to be as important as that of having founded it originally. Therefore, Lequeu's design for this pyramidal monument presents the revolutionary hero as divine ancestor of the fatherland.

Lequeu's golden stars, obelisks, and *Cippe Sépulchral* appear across the whole of the facade. All were important ornaments which crafted his language of the dead. For these ancient civilizations marking and maintaining these boundaries and limits was not only specific to the act of war, it was also related to the sacred worship of the stars. Lequeu's use of the *Cippe* reveals his knowledge of the close association that existed between the vertical stone, the marking of territories, and the veneration of the celestial gods. Etruscans and Romans engaged in the erection of the *cippus,* a ritual act performed during the founding of their cities. This vertical stone protected and governed the land and its bounded territories.[57] However, while the *cippus* was associated with the worship of the sky, as sacrificial altar it was also instrumental as passage to the underworld.[58]

This route to the unknown was paved by Lequeu in the details of the opening to the sepulchral

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[55]Fustel de Coulanges, *The Ancient City*, p. 198.

[56]Ibid., p. 205.

[57]Joseph Rykwert, *The Idea of Town*, p. 106.

[58]Ibid., p. 116.

pyramid. All who enter through the door of forgetfulness, labelled as "*Porte d'oubliance*", will read the words of *Silence* inscribed on the keystone scroll. This is Lequeu's most explicit reference to the ancient allegorical role of the keystone. As the wedge-shaped stone at the head of the masonry opening, the keystone bound the arch together and ensured its strength.. Traditionally, the making of the keystone constituted one of the most important secrets of the craft of building. Without the knowledge of how to geometrically design and chisel out its shape, the erection of large span supporting arches would have been impossible. As such the *Cementarii*'s craft secret was maintained in the keystone. In Masonic iconology, the arched opening was analogous to the human orifice most capable of communicating this secret, the mouth and its voice. In this light, it was the tongue which came to represent the keystone.[59] This is nowhere more explicit than in Lequeu's own drawing of the *clef*, his keystone in the stylized form of a tongue in Fig. 38. On Plate 22, the keystone to the sepulchral pyramid is in the form of a scroll, its message, "*Silence! ils reposent au fond de ce caveau.*"

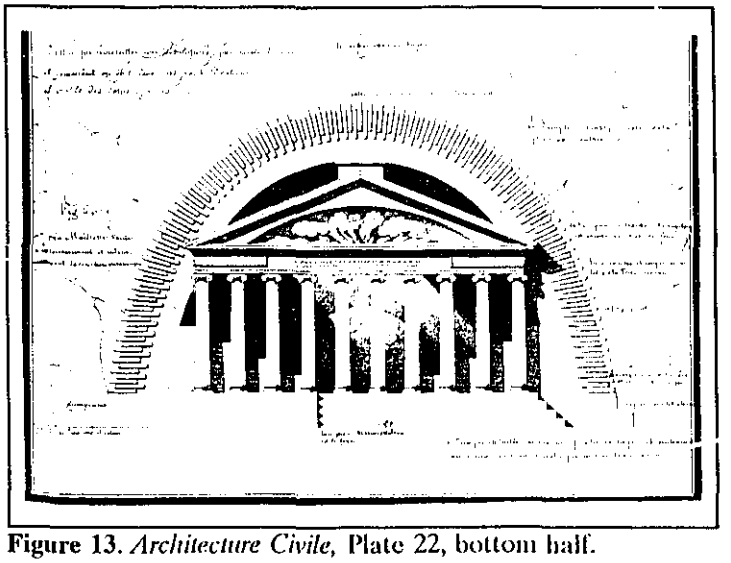

Figure 13. *Architecture Civile,* Plate 22, bottom half.

On the bottom portion of the Plate 22 is drawn *La Maîtresse Voute*, loosely translated as the Mistress Vault. The symmetrical composition of the plate presents the all important elliptical stone arch which, cut from the surface of the mountain, frames the mountain's dark and mysterious mouth. The decastyle temple front screens the terrestrial altar located deep within, and emblazoned with the sacred flames of "*le feu perpètuel*". Here Lequeu refers to the eternal fire of the sacred hearth without which the city could not exist. It was within the space of the hearth that the safety and preservation of the city and its inhabitants were assured. The human body, and that of the city, were thought to be sustained both materially and spiritually because of this eternal flame.[60] Vesta

[59]James Stevens Curl, *The Art and Architecture of Freemasonry*, p. 240.

[60]Fustel de Coulanges, *The Ancient City*, p. 31.

was the protectress of the ancient sacred fires. She protected both the family hearth of each of the city's patriarchs and the city's main civic fire. Offerings were made to her altar on a daily basis. Never should the fire burn out, for the outcome of future generations lay in the constant nourishment of its flames. In Lequeu's drawing of this great mistress vault, threshold to the perpetual flames of Vesta, the fire glows atop an altar that is the very figure of the earth. Without this sacred fire Lequeu's *Architecture Civile* was not founded.

Moreover, Romulus in the founding of Rome set up an altar. Having lit a fire upon it he made of it the holy hearth of the city.[61] The tale of Romulus and Remus proposes that they were born of the Vestal Rhea. This was a recurring mythical model in which ancient city founders were born of virgin births and fathered by some Divine force.[62] Vestal virgins were entrusted to protect not only the sacred flame but also the various sacred objects which were associated with the origins of the city and which were contained in the *penus Vestae,* the storehouses which held the city's food. As such it is surprising that Vesta also represented the Chthonian deity whose domain was that of the earth. It was in the power of Vesta to bind and unite the inhabitants of a city to the soil that nourished them.[63] These sacred objects named *fascinus*, were phallic shaped icons in wood or bone which , "...suspended from the back of a triumphant general's chariot, to protect him from the envy of onlookers." Connected to the warring general which secured the city's liberty, this *fascinus* was instrumental in founding the city. As a relic and a near god, guarded and worshipped by the Vestals, it came to symbolize the great regenerative power of the founding father. This sacred veneration of the *fascinus* may in some way be connected to the belief held by many that the icon of the phallus carries great powers of protection from the forces of evil.[64] Abstracted versions of these icons, popularized into decorative neck pendants, are still worn to this day and offered as gifts at the birth of a male child, in Italy. Superstitious belief still holds that they ward off negative intentions projected by others. Lequeu's own vestal virgin was made to carry and wear the *fascinus*.

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[61]Fustel de Coulanges, *The Ancient City*, p. 137.

[62]Joseph Rykwert, *The Idea of a Town*, p. 105.

[63]Joseph Rykwert, *The Idea of a Town*, p. 100.

[64]Ibid., pp. 101 & 159.

Vesta the virgin goddess of the sacred fire personified rectitude, moral order, and virtue. Imagined as the "universal soul, it was she who regulated the different movements of the world, as the human soul regulated the inner order of the body.[65]

Lequeu recognized the intimate connection between the cult of the dead and that of the sacred fire both ancient forms of worship practiced in the ritual founding of cities.

> When we sought the most ancient beliefs of these men, we found a religion which had their dead ancestors for its object, and for its principal symbol the sacred fire.[66]

Figure 14. Vestal virgin.

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Terminus and Mundus

As noted, Lequeu had profound knowledge of many ritual practices of the ancients. His drawings and texts attest to not only his historical and geographical knowledge of past civilizations, but equally to their practices of worship. As such, represented throughout the *Architecture Civile* are his designs for both the ancient *terminus* and *mundus*. Historically the *terminus*, in a similar fashion to the *cippus*, was the boundary marker which divided different territorial precincts and which separated the sacred from the profane. It appeared in the form of a vertical column and

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[65]Fustel de Coulanges, *The Ancient City*, p. 32.

[66]Ibid., p. 120.

stone monument dedicated to the founding fathers, the original participants in the consecration of the city. This rite of the *terminus* usually involved the practice of sacrifice,[67] and in this way we can recognize Lequeu's interpretation of the Corinthian order as the drawing of a *terminus*.

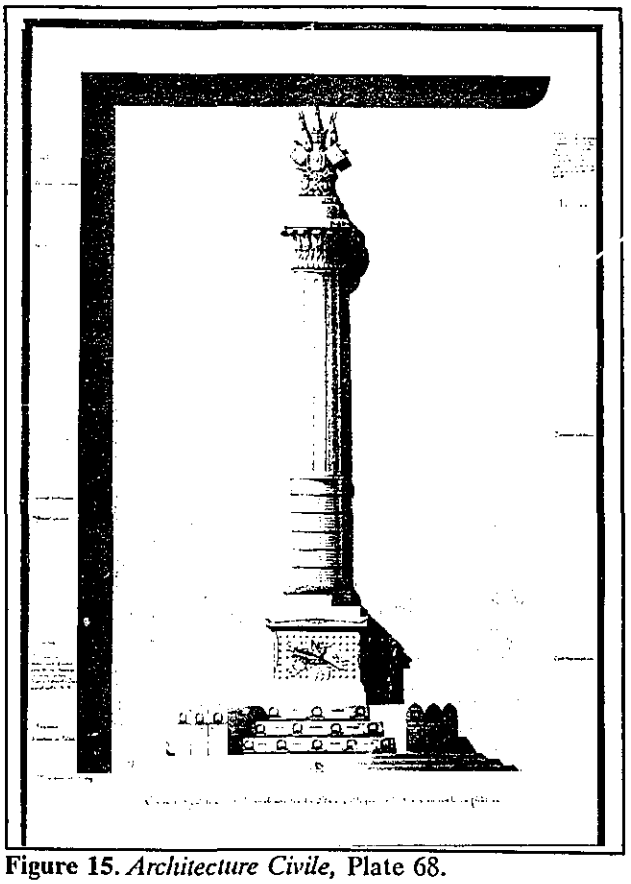

Figure 15. *Architecture Civile,* Plate 68.

The column as civic icon appears most explicitly in his Plate 68, the design of a monumental commemorative Corinthian column. Described as a *colonne solitaire* it was dedicated to the Generals, Officers, and Soldiers of the French Republic. On Plate 75, Lequeu draws two more versions of these large scaled columns. In the first version the column is richly ornamented with the armoury, casks, bugles, flags, sheaths, and uniforms of war. Its base is articulated with the full sized *"Statues de la République. Les vainqueurs aux travaux perilleux...."*[68] With these column designs Lequeu participated in the founding of his new nation. The Republican government, of this the first democratic nation of Europe, knew of no better way to commemorate its victory than by instituting a program for the erection of monumental columns throughout France in honour of the revolutionary fighters. In 1800, the *Convention nationale* decided to erect in every *département* (regional district) of France a commemorative column dedicated to all those brave fighters that had fallen in the name of liberty. An invited competition in which the likes of David, Fontaine, and Legrand were jury members, received over three hundred entries.[69] Whether Lequeu was himself officially invited to participate is unclear. It is

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[67]Joseph Rykwert, *The Idea of a Town*, p. 117. The erection of the *terminus* stone was an ancient ritual practice connected to the *Terminus* religion described by the Roman surveyor Sicculus Flaccus.

[68]MS *Architecture Civile,* Plate 75, Fig. 176.

[69]Ibid., p. 108.

possible that his being employed by the regulating body of the competition, *Le Conseil des Bâtiments,* may have ensured his participation. Lequeu's own proposal for the district column is found amongst the plates of the *Architecture Civile*. The backside of the plate with his Corinthian funereal column was signed: *"Dessin deposé dans le Bureau du classement des colonnes departementales hôtels du Ministère de l'Interieur. Germinal an 9.f".*[70]

While the first stones were laid on July 14, 1800, none of the columns designed for this project, were awarded or constructed.[71] Many other grandiose post-revolutionary building projects which hoped to embody the new spirit of democracy, and to which Lequeu participated, were also never realized. However, in the drawing of his new *patrie* Lequeu was not as patriotic as most. In the design of the second column on Plate 75, this drawing of a commemorative column, represented both freedom and bondage. The column shaft presented the bound and constricted bodies of men wearing the *Bonnet de Liberté*, the head casket symbolic of those who fought for the death of the King. This representation, as others, was symptomatic of Lequeu's often ambiguous and contradictory sentiments for the French Revolution and its aftermath. The emancipation of man was not for Lequeu an obvious root to freedom.

Figure 16. *Architecture Civile,* Plate 57.

The other principal building form involved in founding rituals, was the *mundus,* the sacred site which defined access to one's ancestors. This opening in the surface of the earth was a threshold to the underworld; that is, a route to the world of the dead where the focus of the ritual was the earth itself. Lequeu's knowledge of the *mundus* is read in the

[70]MS *Architecture Civile,* Plate 68 backside.

[71]Jacques et Mouilleseaux, *Les architectes de la liberté*, p. 108.

subject of his Plate 57 *Temple de Verdure de Cérés situé au milieu de la plaine campagne./.*, an allegory to the transformative and generative power of the earth. This drawing presents a circular temple of vegetation dedicated to the Chthonian goddess of the earth, Ceres, "the great plebeian mother-goddess of Roman religion".[72] Built of columnar arches and topped with a sloping roof, the symmetrically disposed *fabrique* appears to be covered in its entirety with greenery and vegetation. The columns are ornamented with spiral *fascis* and festoons, while the arches are draped with swags and garlands of flowers. Centred atop each of the four supporting columns are medallion openings inscribed with the names and symbols of the four summer months. Referred to by their Republican, post-revolutionary names, the months of Prairial, Messidor, Thermidor and Fructidor, correspond to the astrological signs of Gemini, Cancer, Leo and Virgo: these are the four months in which the earth furnishes the splendour of its growth and fruits. As the fecundity of Ceres was limited to the summer, the drawing offers no other medallion openings apart from those which represent the estival months. Interestingly, it is the last month of summer, Lequeu's own astrological sign of Virgo, that is drawn and cast in the darkness of shadow.

The temple's main inscription describes true happiness as found in the country-side, abounding in virtues of simplicity, in the pleasure of labour, and in that of love, virtues found within the fecundity and fertility that is the regenerative earth.

> *Pante-douce de la terre nouricière qui est non dégrassé, non dessolée et dessaissonnée; mais bien cultivée.*[73]

This land is not barren, nor stripped of its nutrients, for the crops are seasonally rotated. Rather it is well cultivated as it is neither over smoked nor sowed with too large a grain. The variety of crops that are sowed around the temple are: wheat, rye, barley, and *avene.*

I will pause briefly at the spelling of the French word for oats, *avene.* In this, Lequeu is alluding to the Latin

Figure 17. *Vanneur D'avoine*, Lequeu.

[72]Joseph Rykwert, *The Idea of a Town*, p. 125.

[73]MS *Architecture Civile* Plate 57.

derivation in the word *avena*. The more traditional French spelling of the word would have been *avoine*. An amusing aspect of this intentional change in orthography is found in a cross-reference to *Le Monde Primitif* by Court de Gebelin. In this book, which presented the allegorical narratives of the first peoples and their languages, a specific mention is made of this word *avoine*. In a discussion on the etymologies of the Latin languages Gebelin connects *avoine* to *avena* and mentions that this Latin derivative was a significant word for the ancient poets.[74]

> *Quant au ble(d); de cette substance alimentaire farine de tems immémorial, à sa fécule blanche et sa partie glutineuse tenace, ductile, élastique, d'un gris blanchâtre.*[75]

This food substance which, is the immemorial flour made from both the white starch and the greyish-white part of the wheat, is viscous, ductile, and very elastic. Could this not be the very generative substance which defines the focal point of this symmetrical composition? Its centre is dedicated to the statue of Mamosa, depicted with her splendorous torso of multiple breasts, carrying a sickle in the right hand and a sheaf of wheat in the other. Mamosa makes reference to the nourishing power of the earth, symbolized by the life giving breasts that contain her *mammelles*. She is surrounded by a series of gushing water fountains; necessary springs of hydration without which the earth's miracles would be impossible.

While Lequeu undertakes to present this temple and the generative power that belongs to this goddess of the earth, in an idyllic and pastoral manner, I contend that Lequeu knowingly represents this temple of Ceres as an essential constituent in the cult of the dead and in the founding of the first religions and cities. There existed an intimate connection between the Roman earth goddess Ceres and the Etruscan word *mundus*. Servius Tullius, founding father of ancient Rome, asserted that every shrine dedicated to the Chthonian deities, of which Ceres was one, was called a *mundus*.[76] As with the *terminus*, the sacred nature of these sites was conferred by the sacrifices which took place there. The *mundus*, as opening, cut, fissure, or crack in the earth's surface, was the site of often secret, regenerative and creative rituals in honour of the

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[74]Court de Gebelin, *Le Monde Primitif*, p. 38. "*Le mot ne signifia pas seulement chez ce Peuple Agriculture, de l'Avoine; mais, 2°. par synecdoque, de la paille d'avoine; & 3°. par métonymie un chalumeau; aussi le plus grands de leurs poetes n'a t-il pas dédaigné d'employer dans ses vers un mot qui avoit tant de grace chez eux.*"

[75]Ibid., Plate 57.

[76]Joseph Rykwert, *The Idea of a Town*, p. 117.

earth and its deities.[77] Within this opening, vegetal matter was offered to Ceres by a special priesthood. This sacred opening was the guard of priests and initiates for it was believed that danger would befall all who would venture to look within; only those privy to the mysteries of the cult could venture inside. Fruits, seed grain, and like matter were thrown into the opening. In the transformation of Nature's gifts back into Nature's food the cyclical return of the power of the earth was believed to be assured. In order to guard the opening, a vertical stone was erected. Could this stone not in fact be the circular-egg shaped stone which frames the back drop of Mamosa? J.J. Bachofen reveals the importance of these primary shapes when describing the open crater into which the founders threw the fruit and produce as the " ... maternal *locus genitalis*, from which all blessings spring. Its opening was closely connected with the cereal egg. As the egg was a picture of the whole universe so the telluric *mundus* became a representation of what the Pythagoreans were the first to call cosmos."[78]

Lequeu's *Temple de la Verdure* is clearly a *mundus*. Built entirely of vegetation it is itself the sacrificial offering to the goddess of the earth. In the very title of the plate an important clue is offered. It claims the temple to be situated in the middle of a *plaine campagne,* yet it is not situated in the middle of a flat countryside. The landscape which surrounds the temple is one of hills. The temple is set on the gentle slope of an earth mound. The key is found in a derivative of Lequeu's own word *mammelle:* the adjective *mamelonné* which describes a surface covered with round protrusions or mounds. It is in the expression *plaines mamelonnées* that one comes to understand that the *plaine* to which Lequeu is making reference is in fact this nipple surfaced countryside. This etymological hunt for the *mundus* is confirmed in its designation as the *cista mystica.*[79] In the root *cista* is read the cystic protrusion that is the woman's breast and nipple. Equally the *cista* made reference to the box of accoutrements necessary to a woman's toiletries. As such, the *mundus* represented the dressing-room container in which was found "... all those things which Aphrodite used to heighten her sex-appeal."[80] Lequeu's drawing is as much an allegory to the secret powers of Nature as it is to the mystical power of women.

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[77]Ibid., p. 59.

[78]Ibid., p. 126.

[79]Joseph Rykwert, *The Idea of a Town*, p. 124.

[80]Ibid., p. 126. Quote originally from J.J. Bachofen, *Versuch über die Gräbersymbolik der Alten.*

The megalithic earth mound was known by ancient societies as symbolic of the regenerative powers of women. In the mound they saw the belly that gave birth to all. In this Lequeu drew his own series of monumental earth mounds.

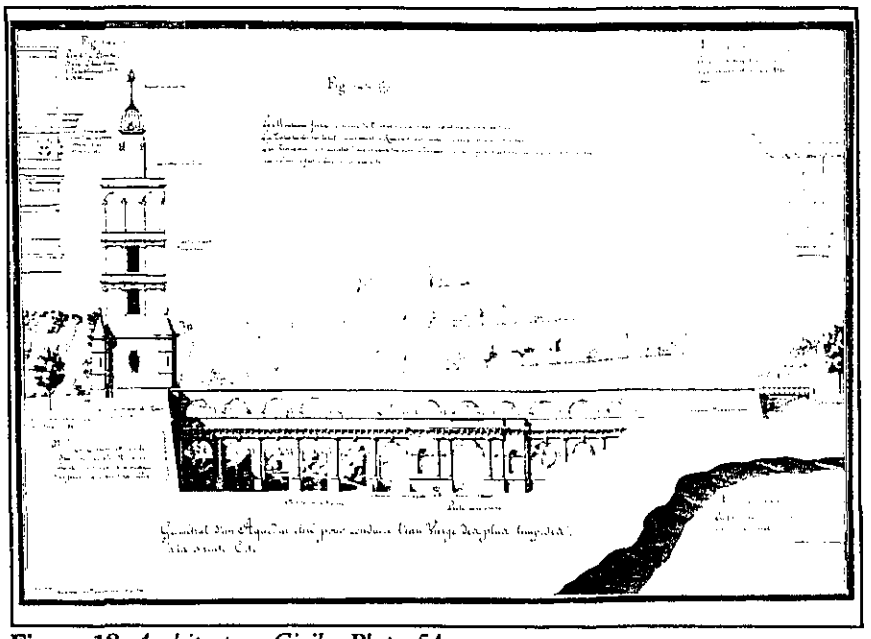

Figure 18. *Architecture Civile,* Plate 54.

In the representation of the *mundus* in Fig. 142, it is coupled with the design of the "*Aquèduc éléve pour conduire l'eau Vierge des plus limpides, à la Sainte Cité.*" Throughout, in both name and ornament, Lequeu dedicates this drawing to the transformative power of woman and water. Lequeu makes explicit reference to the city as that of the *Mere-cité.* It is of interest to note that another etymological derivative of the *mundus*, is it association to cleanliness and tidiness.[81] Without the supply of clear and pure water to any city this condition could not be assured.

Moreover, as first described by the ancient author Cato, the *mundus* also designated a sacred vaulted underground chamber whose ceiling was believed analogous to the sky of the universe. It appears, throughout the *Architecture Civile,* as a multi-tiered and domed interior space. Historically, these multi-levelled chambers, often found underneath early Christian churches, were

[81]Ibid., p. 124.

thought to have been the original sacred openings made to the earth by ancestors.[82] They were symbolic underground temples and places of worship. Lequeu identifies his own designs for subterranean palaces, with the *mundus,* in the particular drawing of their roof profiles. They are multi-vaulted spaces which give no lateral opening to the outside and which do not offer the sky as limit. The *mundus* appears in Plates 50 and 77, both elaborate and richly ornate interior elevations of a thronal room of appearances and a chapel dedicated to *Sainte-Gènevieve Vierge*.

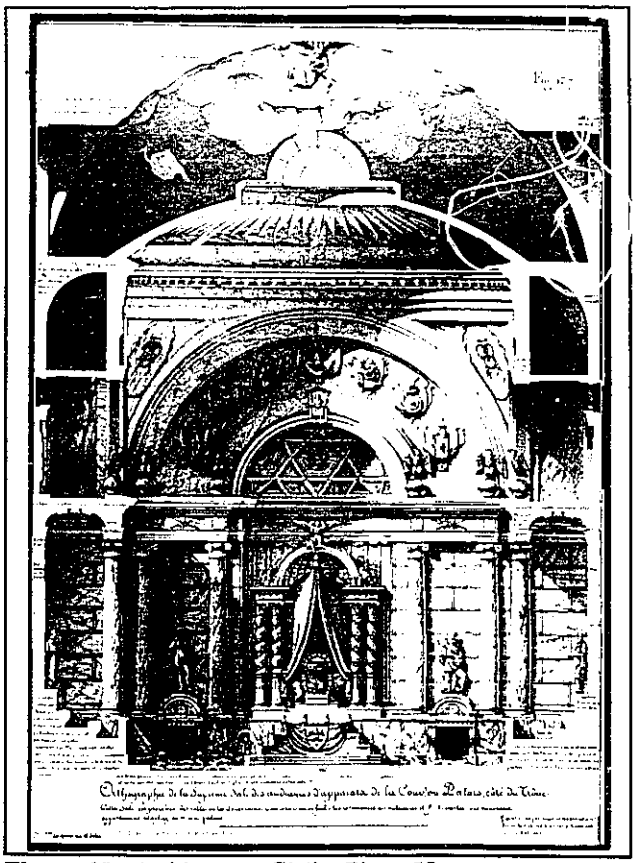

Figure 19. *Architecture Civile,* Plate 50.

In another, Plate 60, is the drawing of the *Temple de Venus Terrestre.* As adobe of earthly Venus, its altar was designed as the sleeping chamber or *Boudoir.* This space of ritual beddings was also the space of ritual weddings. Amorous couplings are represented throughout. "*Cupidon avec son arc*" is enthroned as master matchmaker. Ornamental sculptures represent Venus and Mars, Psyche and Eros. This space of the boudoir, modelled on the transformative power of nature, was an allegory to the earthly power of love.

Figure 20. *Architecture Civile*, Plate 60.

[82]Ibid., p. 121.

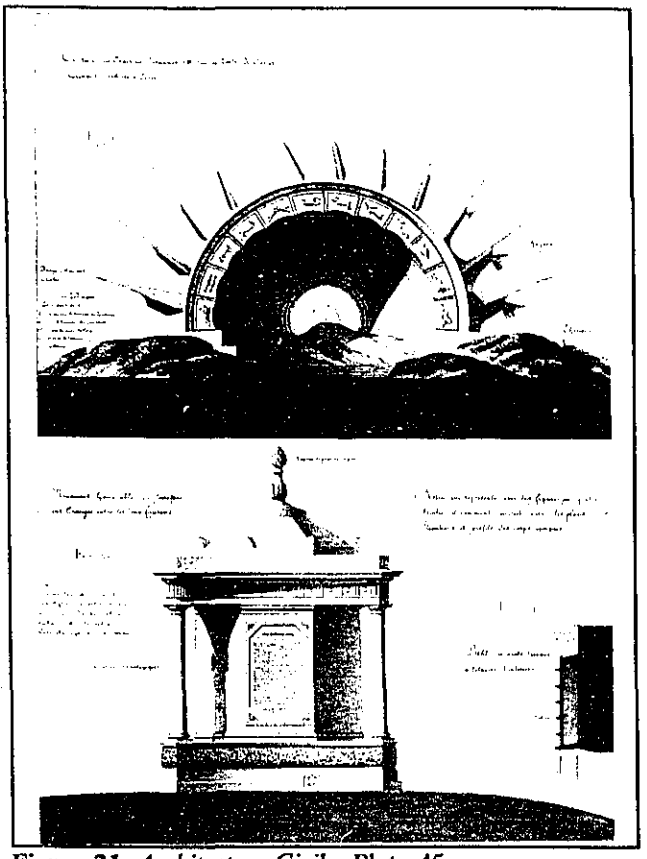

Figure 21. *Architecture Civile,* Plate 45.

However Lequeu's presentation of the *terminus* and the *mundus* was not always in keeping with historical evidence. Plate 45 is one such example. In the top half of the plate is Fig. 128, a semi-circular vaulted pavilion labelled as "*lieu des Oraisons Persannes est sur le Tertre du Soleil,*" was dedicated to the celestial stars. All twelve houses of the zodiac were drawn and represented along the face and the circumference of the great arch. At first glance one would suggest that this representation is an allegorical drawing in veneration of the clear lucid light that is the gift of the sun. However, an examination of the title reveals that both the horizon line and the actual form of the pavilion cause the appearance of contradictions and inconsistencies. In the form of this design Lequeu has drawn the ancient *mundus*. In the choice of the word *Tertre,* his title affirms the site as solar mound. The profile of the horizon is littered with rolling hills. Moreover, its circular opening located at the very centre of its elevation and labelled "*le centre de notre tourbillion,*" is in form, in keeping with the sacred opening which marked the making of the *mundus*. We will recall that while the *mundus* was an analogous ritual to that of the boundary marker in the founding of cities, it was dedicated to the infernal gods. It seems incongruous that a temple whose surface ornament is dedicated to the stars would appear in the form of a temple dedicated to the inner darkness of the underworld.

The second elevation, in the bottom half of the plate, was involved in a similar reversal. The monument is in the archetypal form of the *terminus*, the vertical monolith erected as boundary marker. For Lequeu, this *terminus* was said to divide two cantons.

> *Sur une façe laterale on lit (Ce n'est plus ici le canton de Cérés, mais celui de Bacchus.) et sur l'autre, (C'est ici le canton de Cérés, et non pas celui de Bacchus.)*[83]

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[83]MS *Architecture Civile,* Plate 45, Fig. 129.

Herein lies the essential contradiction of this design. The *terminus* was traditionally a marker dedicated to the Ouranian divinities replete with astrological and zodiacal icons. And yet, Lequeu's boundary monument is dedicated not to the divinities of the sky but rather to those of the earth. Ceres as agrarian mother, and Bacchus as viticultural father, were both archetypal goddess and god of the earth. It would therefore seem that Lequeu is subverting the established understanding of the *mundus* and the *terminus*.

Throughout the *Architecture Civile* Lequeu draws the mundus, the vessel-like space of natural transformations side by side his drawings of the terminal marker. The drawing of both of these forms of architectural expression is crucial to the founding practice of architecture. For both the *terminus* and the *mundus*, the liminal surface is that of the earth. The Earth's surface forms not only the base of the *terminus* and the mouth of the *mundus*, but it also defines the edge between air and underground, light and darkness.

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Threshold

Throughout the *Architecture Civile* the threshold condition that is the Earth's surface was of particular concern to Lequeu. It is the origin and source of the building stones and materials with which we construct our building's, and the pigments and sand crystals, with which we cover and ornate them. The descriptive text interwoven amongst the various drawing figures includes the unrelenting presentation of the materiality of all solid bodies. Each plate is explicit about the origins of the building stone to be used for the various designs. The composition of the stone, its strength and durability, the structure of its grain, its combustible qualities, its malleability, the manner in which it reacts with different materials, as well as any particular visual characteristics are noted.

> *En pierre calcaire d'Arceuil ne fondant pas dans l'eau. Cette substance à gros grains et non scintillante est facile à tailler par les instrumens; elle fait effervescence avec les acides.*[84]

This is but one of the hundreds of references made to the material specificity of stone. Instructions are given which direct the builder in the techniques of construction and clues of identification. On nearly every plate one finds some reference to marble, plaster, or stucco; that

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[84]MS *Architecture Civile,* Plate 5, Fig. 41.

is, to the surface coverings and dress of each design. The preparation of building finishes, whose raw materials are extracted from the earth and made to combine with other materials, including pargings of all types made from various natural ingredients, are described to their minutest details. Both the proportions of the various ingredients and the necessary moisture levels of each are included.

> *Le tout est fait avec du ciment imperméable: composé de chaux bouillante mêlée promptement avec un tiers de sable, ⅓ de cendre, ⅓ de brique pilée./. La chaux, substance blanche come on le sait, est une pierre d'ure blanc gris. Sa saveur chaude, âcre et urineuse est asséz forte pour enflamer le tissu de la peau./.*[85]

The materiality of Lequeu's designs is known and described with the precision and depth of the natural scientist. Lequeu's building stone is very much alive, it is as much of nature as any vegetation. Throughout the drawings, the stone surfaces take on the appearance of natural coverings, plants, and ornamental floral work. Stalactites abound in his underground grottos. For Lequeu the stone is *prima materia* of the earth, without it no building could ever take place. From the orifices of the earth the stone is mined and extracted from its belly. As regenerative mother Earth is what gives birth to the stone.

Lequeu's last professional responsibilities were as Cartographer - *Dessinateur Géographe* - to the Empire.[86] The measure of the earth was the essence of his work. In his 1802 appointment to the *Ministère de l'Intérieur*, authors have suggested that Lequeu underwent his final demise. I contend that Lequeu, contrary to our modern normalised understanding of the architectural profession, did not believe that the architect's role was exclusive to the building process. Lequeu was engaged in furnishing Paris with its new plan, but he was also involved in the study and representation of France's viticultural landscape. In his 1792 self-portrait, the architect surrounded by his books and drawings, prominently displays the spine of his book on Geography. For Lequeu the work of Cartography, the measure of the earth was a most important activity. Observing, measuring, and drawing the threshold of the earth's surface was closest to the original science, that ritually practised by the sacred Geometers.[87]

While he clearly itemises and describes the building materials that issue forth from the ground,

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[85]MS *Architecture Civile,* Plate 64, Fig. 160.

[86]MS *Architecture Civile*. Letter document following Plate 1, Folio 1.

[87]James Stevens Curl, *The Art and Architecture of Freemasonry*, p. 20.

Lequeu suggests in the *Nouvelle Méthode* that this surface is in fact a divine source for the arts of imitation.

> *... les régions qui forment ensemble la superficie et première couche de notre globe n'ont toujours offert aux hommes qui fouillèrent ensuite les entrailles de leurs masses primitives et secondaires que des pierres... propres aux constructions;.... Mais il n'est rien qui ne soit Mystère en cette masse ronde et il fallait par le travail de la métallurgie, la préparer à former nos productions imaginatives ....*[88]

There is nothing which issues forth from the earth , from this *masse ronde,* that does not partake of the mysterious. In fact, in Lequeu's use of his reference to alchemy and metallurgy, he suggests the transformative power of this Mystery; the power which is at the origins of all imaginative and inventive designs. In this eighteenth century definition, *Mystére,* whose Latin root was *Mysterium*, made specific reference to that which was most secret.

> *Il se dit proprement en matière de religion & signifie ce qu'une religion a de plus caché. Les anciens appleloient Mystères, par excellence, ceux qu'on célébroit en l'honneur de Ceres à Eleusis.*[89]

Lequeu's interest in representing the surface of the earth was less about the modern surveying of land masses than it was about restoring to the earth, the underworld, shadow, and darkness, their strengths and truths dispelled by the Enlightenment.

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[88]MS *Nouvelle Méthode,* Plate 5.

[89]*Le Grand Vocabulaire Françoise* Tome Dix-Huitième(Paris 1771), p.613.

EPILOGUE

Architectural Drawing and the *Dessinateur*

Portraits and Portals

Poetics of the City

The Fall

ARCHITECTURAL DRAWING AND THE *DESSINATEUR*

Drawing from Nature

> *Dessinateur: <Delineandi peritus> C'est en général, l'artiste qui fait rendre au crayon ou à la plume, les objets tels que la nature nous les présente.*[1]

In this definition of the *dessinateur*, the craft of drawing, takes as its source the imitation and representation of Nature in general. However, in the following definition, which is more specific to the practice of architecture, the role of the *dessinateur* is more exclusively related to the representation of measured buildings, existing or projected.

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[1] *Le Grand Vocabulaire François*, Tome Huitième (Paris 1769), p. 101.

Dessinateur : se dit en termes d'Architecture, de celui qui met au net les plans, profils & élévations des bâtimens , sur des mesures prises ou données.[2]

For Lequeu, the *dessinateur* exercised the craft of representation *par excellence* of the eighteenth century; not only in measuring and drawing to scale architectural projects, but also in the observation, recording, and tracing of the figures of Nature. While historically these two activities originated from the same source, the representations which resulted came to embody different intentionalities. Lequeu did not subscribe to the idea, held by many architects by the turn of the nineteenth century, that architectural drawing was simply the measured and quantitative architectural representation, destined for construction. For Lequeu, architectural drawing was first and foremost the imitative drawing of Nature's figures which endeavoured to make present architectural order and Beauty.

Blondel, who was influential in the normalization of architectural practice during the eighteenth century, described the architectural drawing as a geometrical representation used during the construction process and upon which the contract signed between client and contractor was based. However, the drawing of human figures and ornament was a skill required of the architectural draughtsman as much as it was of other representational artists. It was noted that most architects hesitated to engage in life-drawing as this was seen as the work of painters and sculptors. Regardless of this, Blondel believed that the architectural draughtsman required knowledge of the drawing and painting of *chiaroscuro*, along with knowledge of the plans and details of architecture. Lequeu would, in general, be in agreement with this. I would state however, that mastering the forms of Nature was a skill required for a far more important reason than that given by Blondel. For Blondel, observing the amorphous and sinuous forms of Nature was of use to the draughtsman in order that he would know the manner with which to endow the curves of a plan with *goût*.[3] Lequeu's *dessinateur,* meanwhile, designed and invented in drawing from Nature. As both *delineator* and *inventor*, terms which he himself used throughout when signing his plates, Lequeu understood the art of drawing as the imitative representation of the ideal, as given in Nature.

Dessein: ... on donne ce nom à l'esquisse qui est comme l'idée du tableau que le Peintre médite:...[4]

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[2]Ibid.

[3]Phillipe Duboy, Lequeu, *An Architectural Enigma*, p. 21.

[4]*Le Grand Vocabulaire François,* Tome Huitième (1769), p. 93.

Many authors, in speaking about the work of Lequeu, have discussed his life long struggle with exactly this definition of the architectural draughtsman. Many have claimed that, as a mere technician of architecture, Lequeu never quite attained the status of true architect. In my opinion, this was not the case. Lequeu was certainly not the technical specialist: the post-revolutionary individual highly learned in the reasoned operations of all that was quantifiable, knowing very little of society and its history, and for whom all that was not mathematically verifiable was not of the status of truth.[5] This was the profile of many draughtsmen at the *Conseil des Ponts et Chaussées* and the *Conseil des Bâtiments*, but it was not the characteristic profile of Lequeu. Granted, he was employed as a draughtsman by the *École Polytechnique* in 1793, by the *Commission des Travaux Publiques* in 1797, and as geographer-draughtsman by the Office of Statistics in 1802, and that he clearly had knowledge of the words and work of many notable members from the *École Polytechnique* including Monge, Laplace and Prony. However, the very nature of the drawings produced in the *Architecture Civile* are not of the order of surveys, planning, nor statistics. They attest to the presence of an inventive mind versed in both the history of architecture and in the ancient origins of the craft of the *dessinateur.* His veiled presentation of the instruments, materials, and operations of drawing is but one example of an interest in the metaphorical language of poetics, where his drawings engage the once sacred sites of the sky, the live-body, and the earth. It is my conclusion, that drawing, for Lequeu, was not a practical skill devoid of symbolism and meaning but rather a ritual enactment which sought to represent the transcendental order of Beauty.

In *Lequeu, an Architectural Enigma*, Philippe Duboy describes Lequeu's drawing activity as that of an architectural draughtsman who, in the drawing of impossible architectural compositions, invents the architectural fiction.[6] The inventions which are the *Architecture Civile* are not the work of the *dessinateur* as defined by Blondel, but rather that of the Lequeu's who, in drawing out the world of his dreams, draws out a new place for an architecture of poetics.

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[5]Alberto Pérez-Gómez, *Architecture and the Crisis of Modern Science*, p. 277.

[6]Phillipe Duboy, *Lequeu, An Architectural Enigma*, p. 24.

The Autonomy of Drawing

Lequeu contended that the practice of the *dessinateur* was derivative of an ancient art with its own theory and history, with its own principles and tools. In his exhaustive narrative on the origins of the arts and sciences, it is the ornamental drawing and the drawing from Nature which are the most primitive, most original, and thus most Divine of all the arts of representation. In this I would conclude that Lequeu's collection of drawings and tales established an independent activity from the act of building

The ancient practice of architectural drawing was discussed by Vitruvius in Book I of *De Architectura.* He spoke of drawing as one of the many skills required of the architect. Along with literature, geometry, history, philosophy, medicine, and astronomy, "... *Il doit sçavoir dessiner, afin qu'il puisse avec plus de facilité, sur les dessins qu'il aura tracez, executer tous les ouvrages qu'il projette.*"[7] While the drawing did represent, in general terms the intended construction, historically it did not dictate the material reality of the construction process. The understanding that drawing itself could be constitute a separate creative activity from the act of building, with its own intentions, originated during the Renaissance where the architect used the drawing as a means of symbolic expression. The drawing was not the precise projection of the material building, but rather a projection of the ideal building.[8] The drawing as idea, and the building as matter, were two separate realities. The architectural drawing was not equivalent to the building itself. Every act of construction required an act of translation. The architect, in the role of translator, strove to interpret the ideal of the drawing in the building of the work.

This truth was known to Lequeu. His architectural drawings were works of the ideal. In drawing out his allegorical inventions he attempted to reconcile the order of Beauty with the symbolic intentions of drawing. By making the art of drawing akin to a ritual act of ordering, Lequeu sought to balance the practice of drawing to its theory, its making to its history and theory. In his meticulous regard for the study of origins, Lequeu confirms his engagement in the traditional lineage of architects for whom translation, interpretation, and invention were the basis of their Divine activity. With them, Lequeu understood that the fable and mythic study of the origins of drawing was the age old metaphor for this process of architectural interpretation.[9] Lequeu

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[7]Vitruvue, *Les Dix Livres d'Architecture* (Perrault, 1684), p. 6.

[8]Alberto Pérez-Gómez, "Architecture as Drawing," in *Journal of Architectural Education* (Winter 1982):2.

[9]Marco Frascari, *Monsters of Architecture*, p. 94.

repeatedly demonstrates his concern for maintaining the all important space between architectural projection and building. In his language of the gods, he desperately sought to restore the invisible to the making of architecture. In this light, the observation of Nature is not destined to deliver a comprehensive survey of living matter. Rather, Nature as given in the stars and on earth, is the all encompassing *mysterium* and can, at best, be studied in its obscurity.

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Drawing as Writing

In concluding this investigation of Lequeu's thoughts on the art of drawing, it is valuable to reiterate Vitruvius' interpretation of the architect as skilful draughtsman. In naming the one who draws, Vitruvius uses the term "*peritus graphidos*".[10] In the root of the word *graphidos*, lies the act of grafting: the mark, impression, and incision, that lives both in the space of the drawing as in that of the text. In this we recall Lequeu's use of the history of representation to highlight the shared origins of both images and words. The drawing and the inscription were both original to the primordial act of founding. And yet, with the general demise of the ancient myths of origins, Lequeu sought to ensure that the textual history and theory of architecture would remain essential to the actual craft of drawing. To this end, in both drawing and writing, Lequeu came to invent figures and ornaments which articulated, throughout the *Architecture Civile*, his allegorical language of myth.

For Lequeu, this preeminence of the art of drawing was, in fact, the preeminence of the "graph", that which was common to writing, drawing and architecture. This "graph", as the first impression, partook of the original gesture, the original sign, the original image.

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[10]Frank Granger, *Vitruvius on Architecture* (Loeb Classical Library, 1983), p. 9.

PORTRAITS AND PORTALS

With very facade that was a face, Lequeu drew a portrait. The likeness in painting of one's ancestors, founding fathers, and heroes, was the form of representation which recorded for many ages to come the origins of one's history. The imitative drawing of the face played an important role in forging the history of knowledge.[11]

More specifically, the portrait played an important role in the development of architectural theory. During the sixteenth century, *Portraiture* was a vital notion in Philibert De L'Orme's de *l'Architecture* (1567), the first French language architectural treatise published on French soil. For De L'Orme, *Portraiture* was the drawing most appropriate in representing the ornamental program of the work; that is, the story or tale which the architect wished to tell. To this end De L'Orme drew people, animals, foliage and a vast number of other decorative figures. Moreover, *Portraiture* was used by the architect to instruct the stone mason in the reading of depth. Noteworthy, was De L'Orme's reminder to architects that this type of drawing had the power of deception when used to represent actual buildings and their spaces.[12] By the seventeenth century the art of *Portraiture* had become the paradigmatic visual concept which represented the search for order. Defined as the adjustment of geometry to the scale of its subject, *Portraiture* found its clearest expression in the design of expansive landscapes. French architects, painters, and royal gardeners drew a portrait of the world upon the surface of the earth in setting out the classical gardens of Louis XIV's reign. Order was revealed in this ideal geometric drawing of Nature. In its ability to reveal a universal order, *Portraiture* still held considerable power during the seventeenth century, whereas by the eighteenth century, the transference of the ideal to the body of the world reduced the earth's natural surface to an abstract line without depth and without mass.[13] However, crucial to the eighteenth century appropriation of the portrait drawing was the belief that in this representation the symbolic character of the patron and, at times, that of the artist's, was revealed.

In Lequeu's obsessive drawing of the face and facade, knowledge of the past was safeguarded, the drawing of depth was assured, and the expression of character communicated. Historical

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[11]See Pliny and the painting of portraits in Chapter One p. 13.

[12]Phillibert De L'Orme, *de L'Architecture*(Paris 1626), Book V p. 213.

[13]Vincent Scully, "The French Classical Garden: The Art of Portraiture", in *Architecture, The Natural and the Manmade* p. 233.

portraits appear throughout the *Architecture Civile* in the form of sculptural ornaments, decorative paintings, full length statues and column capitals. Inscribed on the back of Plate 45 - *Théâtre Royale* - appears an exhaustive listing of significant characters involved in French literature and theatre during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Corneille, Racine, Molière, Voltaire, Marivaux, and Rameau all figure prominently in his list entitled, "*Les Portraits des Poëtes en relief, ou bas relief ovale, marbre grec antique, sont....*"[14] Lequeu draws minuscule figures of heads in the interior elevation of the theatre. They appear as a series of vertically arranged medaillons that frame the arched balcony openings. Lequeu made of these French bards great artists of the pen and of the word, as illustrious as any of the ancient Greek poets. On Plate 69 Lequeu drew two funereal monuments, one dedicated to Corneille, the other to the painter Nicholas Poussin, each with their respective portraits. Moreover, on Plate 24 there appears the "*Pont des Philosophes sur le chemin qui communique aux Champs Elisées.*"[15] This bridge carries full length statues of the great philosophers Plato, Socrates, and Cato all drawn in their traditional Greek *chiton* and perched atop a series of inscribed pillars. Throughout, luminaries of the Arts and Sciences are mentioned and represented. All important storytellers, they are the founders of the *Architecture Civile*. Whether painter, poet, or philosopher, all partake of a common identity, that of the hero.

Nowhere is this union more clearly presented than in Lequeu's own portrait which he offers on Plate 33. Drawn in profile, Lequeu presents himself in the double guise of both enlightened architect and modern saint. In the use of the overleaf, Lequeu designs two variations to his own funereal monument. The stone base which carries

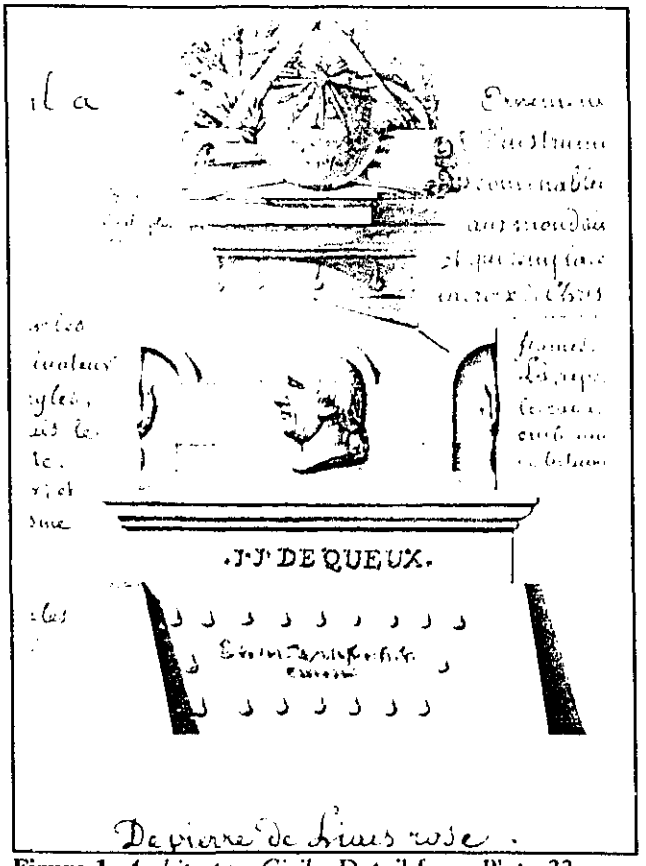

Figure 1. *Architecture Civile*, Detail from Plate 33

[14]MS *Architecture Civile*, Plate 45.

[15]MS *Architecture Civile*, Plate 24.

his portrait is common to both schemes, while the upper portion of the monument presents interchangeably a large Greek cross, and the instruments of the *dessinateur*. Entitled, "*Sepulchre de l'auteur, frère de Jesus, il a porté sa Croix toute sa vie./.*"[16] Lequeu suggests his own role as eternal hero, in the words, *porte sa Croix*. As Jean, brother of Jesus, Lequeu embodied the biblical role of Adam. As presented by the Scriptures, it was to St. Jean the Evangelist, that the sign of faith - *signe de la croix* - had been given at the moment of the Resurrection, in a gesture analogous to the first names given to Adam. Recorded in the fourth gospel of St. Jean, the metaphorical tales which speak of the hero, enigmatically communicated the signs of the cross.[17] In the correspondence of names Lequeu painted himself in-line with the primordial hero. This was the cross which he was made to carry throughout his life.

Lequeu's incessant drawing of portraits did not confine itself to the *Architecture Civile*. Dozens of figure studies are found throughout the Lequeu collection, including female allegorical studies set in ancient Greek iconography. A separate folio containing lascivious figures is also present amongst the drawings.[18] The human body was drawn repeatedly in different poses. Models were used to furnish him with various gestures and positions and important daily activities were recorded. Characteristic postures were represented such that internal and emotive dispositions were brought to the surface of the face and to the figure of the body. Moreover, in an operation akin to LeBrun's use of *Expression*, Lequeu drew a series of self-portraits which captured the facial characteristics of he who pouts and he who yawns.

Figure 2. Lequeu, the awakening.

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[16]MS *Architecture Civile*, Plate 33.

[17]François Marty, "Le signe, épreuve du croire", in *Les signes et la Croix chez saint Jean*, p. 5. "*Le livre de Jean est un livre de signes. Le signe est ambigu, opaque, il sollicite une liberté, il la met à l'epreuve, il n'informe pas, il exige la foi, il évoque l'invisible, mais il risque par son caractère énigmatique de travailler en sens inverse de sa visée. L'immediate clarté des signes est trompeuse, il n'est pas de signe clair, il n'y a que des signes crus. Aussi les signes chez Jean appellent-ils le mystère de la croix.*"

[18]MS *Figures Lascives*, (Ac 15 fol.).

Figure 3. Lequeu, the pouter.

It is my conclusion that, the manner in which the frontal projection brings to light the liminal condition between the surface of the body and the reading of its depth is critical to understanding Lequeu's use of the portrait. In every facade that is a face, Lequeu designs the identifying edge of the profile. In its union with light, the edge reveals itself in the void of its shadow. For Lequeu, the profile is the in-between condition at the boundary of the elevation and the section. It lives in both forms of representation. The totality of Lequeu's orthographic projections constitute the drawing of a threshold, of a gap and a gate. In establishing the orthographic projection as the most appropriate form of architectural representation, Lequeu is offering a tear in the fabric of architectural ideation at the turn of the nineteenth century; in this a professional climate in which the plan and perspective are no longer capable of bestowing the art of drawing with its symbolic content. For Lequeu, it was in the orthography, the figurative painting the idea of the work, that architectural meaning was communicated. And yet, this notion of the gap - the opening - also operates at a second level. The gate, traditionally the point of entry into a guarded city, was always the most significant point in the fabric of the city wall. It was in the door, *porte - porta,* that the prosperity and livelihood of the city was assured. In this, the portal was symbolic of the very life force of the city. Historically architects were pivotal interpreters in the design of such points of entry and exclusion. Since the Renaissance's reappropriation of the ancients, the construction and ornamentation of the portal and threshold constituted the articulation of the myths of entry and banishment. Lequeu's human and building portraits are all

portal entries. In both the portrait and the portal is found the root word - *portat.*[19] For Lequeu, the portal, being the architectural symbol best suited to representing the condition of the threshold, was analogous to the portrait. Interchangeably the portrait is drawn with the portal and the portal with the portrait. The *aedicula*, the framed arched opening which contains the object of the representation is used by Lequeu throughout in the drawing of his portraits. Equally, in the *Architecture Civile* the drawing of the head appears on: monumental doorways, triumphal gateways, tunnels, countless portal openings, and covered spaces.

Essential to Lequeu's adoption of the *portat* is the understanding that this point of entry was traditionally governed by the city and its citizens, and not by the immortal gods. In being the point of entry of strangers, non-citizens and the uninitiated, the gate symbolized the threshold between the sacred - the interior of the city, and the defiled - all that was exterior to the city walls. This is critically important in our interpretation of Lequeu's allegorical presentation of the ancient sacred stories. While Lequeu acknowledges their significance throughout the plates of both the *Nouvelle Méthode* and the *Architecture Civile*, Lequeu re-situates the making of order in the human body, in the spirit and soul of the human creator.

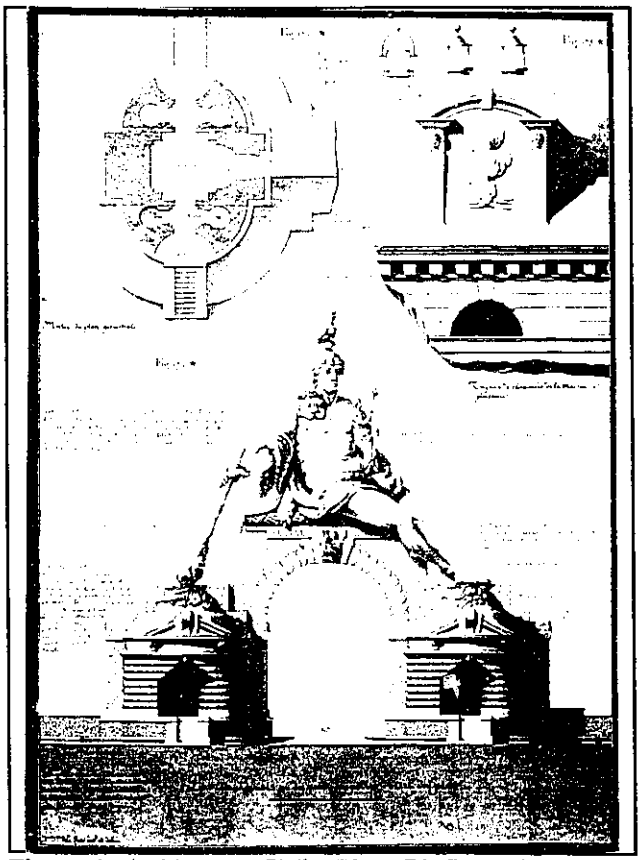

Figure 4. *Architecture Civile,* Plate 74. *Porte de Parisis.*

[19]Ivan Illich, *H_2O and the Waters of Forgetfulness*, p.14 . During the founding rituals of ancient cities in which the ceremony of the plow was used to carve out the sacred boundary limit, "...two white oxen are hitched to a bronze plow, the cow on the inside, drawing the plow counterclockwise, thus engraving the *templum* on the soil. The furrow creates a sacred circle. Like the walls that will rise on it, it is under the protection of the gods. Crossing the furrow is a sacrilege. To keep this circle open, the plowman lifts the plow when he reaches the spots where the city gates will be. He carries *(portat)* the plow to create a porta, a doorway.Unlike the furrow and walls guarded by the immortals, the threshold and gate will be under civil law."

In re-centring the art of architecture in the body proper, Lequeu's portraits and portals present the immediate frontal plane of the other, as well the point of penetration into the space of the other. This is the element of tension which pervades the whole of Lequeu's work. The building as a body, constituted by its matter, interacts with the world at the surface of the skin. It tastes, it touches, it smells, it hears, and it sees at the threshold of surfaces and orifices. This liminal condition represents the body's, as the building's, element of vulnerability. Donald Kunze has suggested that, surfaces, skins, fabrics, and building faces are all dividers of territories in their positioning between interiority and exteriority.[20] It is precisely in the role of threshold that the body and the architectural work is prone to violation. The storming of cities always took place at the weak point, the gate. Analogously, the body acquires its illnesses via its own orifices. Moreover, prior to the seventeenth century, the health of every building was believed assured in the appropriate proportional treatment of its doors, windows, chimneys, and stairs: all conduits to the building's interior. During the mid-sixteenth century, De L'Orme spoke at length of the importance of maintaining the health and balance of the building by the harmonic design of its openings; that is, the apertures in the building's skin which allow for the passage of air.[21] In the shadowed threshold of the opening, Lequeu represented the space of vulnerability. An appropriate sentiment for the delicate and fragile constitution of the drawing ornament at the dawn of modernity.

Furthermore, our material bodies, as given, define the principal trajectory of our actions. We move across the depth of the world in the projection of our bodies. In the material nature of the body we are destined to crossing that which confronts our frontal field of vision and that which we grasp at the extension of our fingertips. In this Lequeu's drawings of portraits and portals define his philosophy of the surface, surfaces which simultaneously reveal and conceal. In the Latin root of *Portraiture* - *portahere* - there is suggested the act of bringing to light, of drawing forth, of revealing. And yet, as the element of vulnerability requires concealment, the portal invites but it also excludes, the face looks but it also looks back. In this Lequeu's work is truly the "enigma" which Duboy termed it to be, never allowing for any conclusive interpretation, destined to remain in the shadow of its depth.

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[20]Donald Kunze, "Architecture as a Site of Reception", in *Chora 1, Intervals in the Philosophy of Architecture* p. 95. Kunze also discusses the surface layer as the carrier of inscriptions. The skin carries its tatoos and scars as the building face carries its ornament.

[21]Philibert de L'Orme, *de L'Architecture*, Book III Chapter 7.

THE POETICS OF THE CITY

One of the critical questions which remains, asks of this author to situate the *Architecture Civile* within the philosophical climate of the time. My interest specifically lies in furnishing an interpretation of Lequeu 's decision to draw and narrate the beginnings of architecture. Lequeu's drawing projections, which recall with fascination and near obsession the origins of architecture in the ritual founding stories of the past peoples and civilizations, are the principal sites upon which one may come to translate Lequeu's intentionality.

In the second chapter of this work, I demonstrated the manner in which Lequeu's drawings were less about fostering an ideology of the garden than they were about the re-creation and re-design of the space of the city. In the drawing of his *fabriques* and pavilions, Lequeu was not proposing the material construction of rural domains and private pleasure parks as the most appropriate mode of action for the eighteenth century architect at the precipice of modernity. Rather, for Lequeu, the architect's role was to set the principal lines of thought which would serve to create a shared ground of meaning, the priority of any architectural practice. In Lequeu's own practice this was the space crafted by the ritual act of drawing centred on the body, mind, and soul of the *dessinateur.* As such, his ornamental representations of Nature, and his allegorical presentation of the ancients, made manifest the sentiments and passions of the pre-Romantic artist. In this Lequeu strove to compose, in image and text, an architectural narrative whose essence could be shared and interpreted by all, regardless of the infinite differences that divide the human world. As such, his reappropriation of the sacred stories did not amount to a work of historical analysis and revisionism, concerned with establishing a formal language of religious, political, social, and visual order at the service of the post-revolutionary state. For both the first democratic assemblies and for Napoleon who followed, the founding of the new French Empire was bound to a language of ceremonial gestures, words, and images, devoid of their traditional symbolic content and yet still modelled on the illustrious history of ancient Rome. While "History"[22] was the operational framework across which the polemics of Neoclassical France were discussed, Lequeu did not participate in the discourse.

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[22]My use of this term "History" refers to the nineteenth century science of historiography in which Western societies set to define the one grand linear narrative of human development, at the exclusion of the multiplicity of meanings inherent in different peoples and civilizations.

Lequeu's allegorical return to the past sought to negate the onslaught of historicism which conditioned the rationalist push towards progress. Lequeu understood that the Enlightenment adoption of "History" defined a future oriented linear trajectory which removed the possibility for any authentic return to the crucial lessons of our ancestors. The very essence of modernity, the threshold at which Lequeu stood, with its self-conscious relationship to time, actually introduced historical discontinuity. One could no longer look to the ancients without being consciously aware that time itself was a human construction. As such, the consciousness of modernity was not that of traditional cultures who, immersed within their past, did not question the meaning of yesterday's acts in light of tomorrow's actions.[23] One was not aware that the present moment could be different than the one gone by.

Lequeu's philosophical intentions and allegorical inventions can be interpreted as the making of a non-history, of a return to an immemorial pre-time to a primordial time before time.[24] Lequeu's return to the origins - to an eternal present - to the state of Paradise prior to the Fall, was an explicit attempt to recognize the eschatology of the original myths.[25] Lequeu's adoption of the hero character was his conscious reinterpretation of "History." It was believed that in a return to the spirit of Adam, one could negate, if not de-structure sequential time. This was the ritual essence of Lequeu's drawing activity. Lequeu sought to dream a return to pre-rationalism in re-centring within his own body the imitative gestures of order.

In Lequeu's language of pre-Romanticism his work may be seen to operate as a critique of the modern historical consciousness.[26] According to Octavio Paz, this language narrated in the form of dreams, symbols, and metaphors, partook of the language of poetry and not of that of reason. Its two principal constituents were sensibility and passion. In sensibility one forged an operative relationship with the natural world, in passion one was led to transgress the social order.[27] Endowing the body, that was the natural world (earth, water, air, fire, stones, animals, and humans), with heavenly attributes defined the spirit of Romanticism in the work of Lequeu. The

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[23]Octavio Paz, *Children of the Mire*, p. 8.

[24]Mircea Eliade, *Myth and Reality*, p. 75.

[25]Ibid., p. 64.

[26]My use of the term pre-Romanticism is based on that furnished by Octavio Paz in *Children of the Mire*.

[27]Ibid., p. 33.

often impassioned and feverish drawings of natural character that are his orthographic drawings give light to a transgressive disposition. In his return to Nature and in his veneration of the Mysteries, Lequeu articulated his philosophical and ethical criticism of the Enlightenment and affirmed his quest for a time before "History."

However, Lequeu's return does not constitute a naive reintroduction or acceptance of Divine action. For Lequeu in the consciousness which knows of historical progress, the responsibility of actions rests in the hands of *homo-faber.* Attempts at forging a return to the ideal - to the state of perfection - are to be enacted voluntarily and deliberately by the human psyche and as such, any return is necessarily a mortal return, invented within our minds. It was in this light that Lequeu designed the ideal city of the *Architecture Civile,* an inventive work of the imagination which reconstructed its own past in the poetic making of architecture. Lequeu's allegorical stories abound in historical information, however they are works of poetry which deny "History" in their critique of rational thinking. In this light, Lequeu's drawing of the original boundary marker was as much about presenting the history of the sacred precinct as it was about revealing the impossibility of ever re-instituting a common ground of architectural meaning in the material space of nineteenth century Paris, based on the spatial polemics of the ancients.

Throughout the *Nouvelle Méthode* and the *Architecture Civile* Lequeu attempted to establish analogical relationships between the world on earth and the world of the Divine. In the *Nouvelle Méthode* the union of the lines of the sky with those of the face established a web of metaphorical and poetic correspondences. In the *Architecture Civile*, the ritual of the ornamental drawing was seen as an activity analogous to the founding of the primordial city. In this, Lequeu struggled across his drawing activity to create a shared space of experience. However, he understood that analogical thinking, as developed during the Renaissance, could never exist in and of itself again, the modern psyche was no longer bound by any all encompassing system of belief. Only in coupling analogical thinking with its modern double, its own critique, could it exist once again. For Lequeu, this constituted the presence of the ironical gaze.[28] With the self-conscious introduction of irony Lequeu could suggest that, in the stars the portrait found its orde, and that in the making of cities, society could once again share in a common language. It was in the guise of the obtuse and the obscure that irony was made present. The open ended *renvoi*, the use of allegorical etymologies and the drawing of contradictory images, were all enlisted throughout the *Architecture Civile* in the aim of maintaining an opening to interpretation. Lequeu's use of

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[28]Octavio Paz, *The Children of the Mire*, p. 74.

language forbade final closure on the words and figures of his art. No sooner had he named a drawing when he would subvert its meaning: his *L'Etable [à] Vache* was both a sacred altar and a soiled cow shed, his commemorative columns exhibit a fear of human freedom and equality as much as they represent its inevitable modern destiny.

Lequeu's *Architecture Civile* is a poetic city of the mind. In this self-conscious work which negates the hegemony of modernity and its historical determined reading of the past, Lequeu designs his ritual and allegorical return to a meaningful practice of architecture. The late twentieth century architect might do well to note in this paradoxical union of analogy and irony a creative avenue to poetic making. In the design of Lequeu's city of ornamental metaphor the craft of drawing embraces, with both desire and fear, the often terrifying gap between ourselves and the other.

Figure 5. Lequeu, Self-Portrait.

THE FALL[29]

While little is known about the personal life of Lequeu, even less is known about the way in which he spent the last years of his life. On March 28, 1826, in the small hours of the morning, Jean-Jacques Lequeu, was no longer. While his precise grave has not been identified, we know of his burial in the Père-Lachaise Cemetery.

Months earlier Lequeu had bequeathed all of his life's work. With this last public act, the housing of his dearest possessions in possibly the most prestigious and honoured library of Europe, his ongoing participation in the cultural and artistic discourse of generations yet to come, had been assured. For Lequeu this was most critical. Libraries, as the quintessential repositories of truth and worldly knowledge had been pivotal to the birth of both drawings and texts. Ensuring the continued contribution, of his own work was only possible through this donation to the *Bibliothèque Royale.*

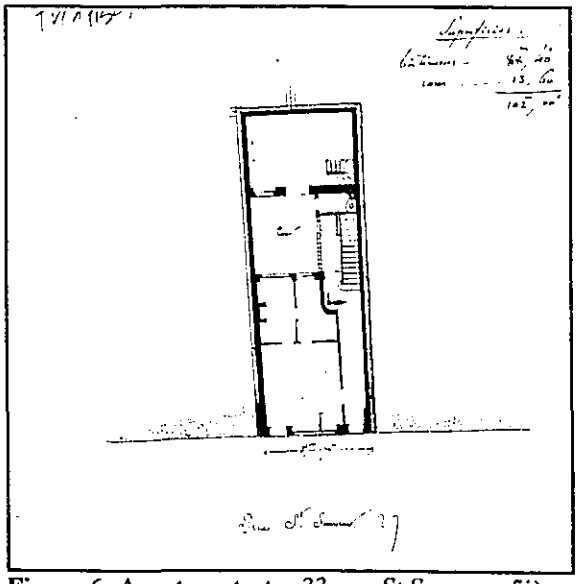

Figure 6. Apartment at n.33 *rue St.Sauveur, 5ième arrondissement, Paris.*

Following his death, state officials having found their way to n° 33 Saint Sauveur, inventoried and itemized the extent of his belongings. While they were not luxurious, they were certainly particular. As they made their way throughout the apartment they noted and itemized all that they found. His furnishing were sparse. Some of the articles found in the main living room were: a silver plated light torch, two crystal carafes with a series of glasses, a mahogany display case, a large wood framed full length dressing mirror, a second smaller mahogany framed mirror, and a statue of Venus. As well registered were, eight upholstered birch chairs, a sofa, a stool, a small mahogany table, a large two door cedar chest, a cedar buffet, a mahogany secretary

[29]The information for this section was furnished by Werner Szambien, "L'Inventaire après décès de Jean-Jacques Lequeu", in *Revue de l'Art* no. 90 (1990):104-107.

topped with marble and ornate with copper fillets, silverware, and a wood sleeping bunk with a large number of feathered pillows and linens. This was also the work-space of the *dessinateur.* A small mahogany work desk also located in this main room. In three drawers were found drawing instruments: small pocket knives, compass sets, set squares, metal and copper drawing tools, a wood box containing a block of China ink, wood rulers, a series of writing pencils, and "*un pied du Roy en quatre parties*", &,&.

However, the great majority of the articles that Lequeu left behind were: books, drawings, and clothing. The book represented one of the most important artifacts that Lequeu possessed at the time of his death. His library was extensive. It contained roughly two hundred and forty three volumes. The architectural treatise figured prominently. Copies of the great classical masters appeared: Blondel, De L'Orme, Dumont, Freart de Chambray, Boffrand, Palladio, Ducerceau, Daviller, Scamozzi and various editions of Vitruvius. Noticeably absent was the work of Durand, the leading French architectural theoretician of the early century. Indicative of his interest in Geography, he possessed several volumes of early tales and personal accounts which described the worldly travels of explorers. Literary works included that of Montaigne and a French translation of *Le Songe de Polyphile.* Lequeu also owned some far more peculiar collections. Forty volumes were counted of works which dealt with Christian scriptures. They included various editions of the Bible, recounts of the life of Joseph, and that of the other Saints. It is worth noting the presence of forty issues of Florentine *mercerie;* that is, catalogues of men's clothing.

Also found and recorded amongst his goods, were Lequeu's own manuscript of literary works of fiction. It would appear that he composed a series of nine melodramas, some of which were entitled: *Le faux Demetrius, l'Homme à deux femmes, and Sac de la fameuse Troie.* These works were not submitted to the *Bibliohèque Royale.* In 1826, they were found and inventoried with the rest of his possessions, but they are nowhere to be found, today,

His second obsession was the drawing. There were hundreds and hundreds of etchings, paintings, and medaillons found throughout the whole of his apartment. It was with these that Lequeu ornamented his apartment. They consisted of architectural views, landscapes, and the drawing of human figures. The medaillons were primarily portrait figures of important men. He had both large and small silver medaillons of Louis XVI and over forty medaillons of various other characters. Along with the landscape drawings of Houël, he had representations of large historical tableaus, painted by Ponce depicting the great men of France. As well, he owned etchings from the *Cabinet du Roi.* By far, his most extensive collection was of architectural drawings. These large scaled etchings included: sixty-six plans, elevations, and sections of existing and non existing

architectural projects, a separate collection of one hundred works of civil and military architecture, as well as a large number of portfolios of ornamental figures. A great deal of these drawings were framed in hardwood and covered in glass, over ninety in all. Lequeu spent all of his life surrounded in drawings, whether those which he drew himself or those which he collected.

Lequeu's apartment was littered in books, drawings, and ornaments. A critical parallel can be made between Lequeu and his British contemporary Sir John Soane, who himself made of his living environment a veritable museum. In his Lincoln Inn Fields residence, ornamental fragments, figural representations, and landscape etchings, all redefined the architectural interior. We will remember that Soane also bequeathed the extent of his life works, his house and museum, to the City of London upon his death. Finally, closer to home, Boullée also donated all of his life's work, to the *Bibliothèque Royale.*[30]

The third item which was of consequence, was the presence of clothing. As we noted in his library collection, Lequeu possessed a sense of finery when it came to the elements of dress. Found amongst his wardrobe possessions were a great deal of ornate and costly velours, satins, silks, and brocades, including fabrics from Naples and India. In eighteenth century France it was with this layer of surface embellishment that the body made itself present to the world. Clothing ordered the public space of Paris. Vitruvius himself described clothing, as not only that which was used to cover and protect the body, but as that which brought

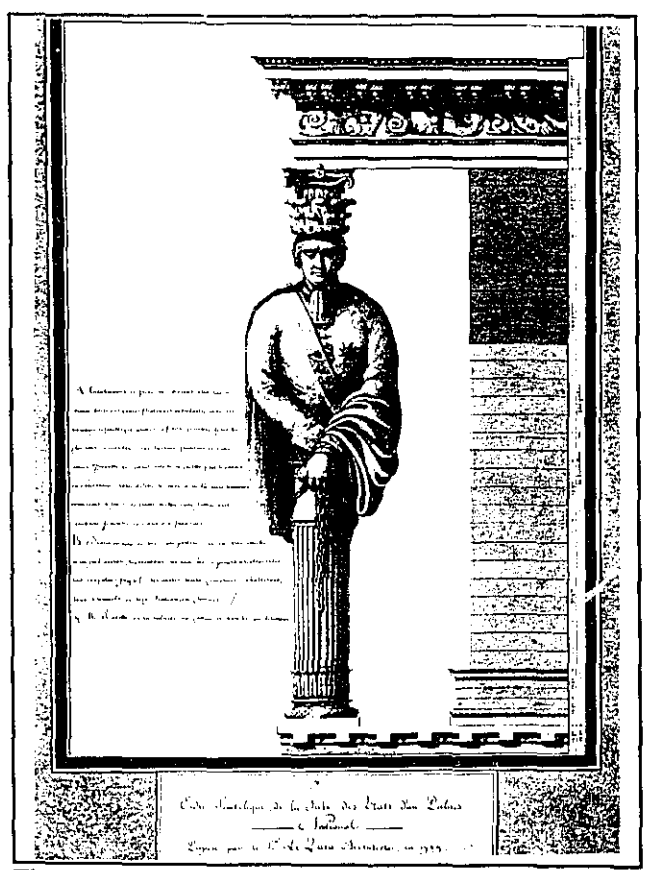

Figure 7. Lequeu's architectural order.

[30]Helen Rosenau, "Architecture and the French Revolution: Jean Jacque Lequeu." in *Architectural Review* vol. 106 (August 1949):115.

beauty to its bearer.[31] In this surface layer of fabric, the ornament and order coexisted. Lequeu understood the intimate connection between architectural ornament and the activity of dressing. The only column order which he himself drew in full length was that ornamented in the dress of his valiant hero.

However, Lequeu's particular interest in clothing foreshadowed our own modern anxiety with appearances. Amongst the variety of silks and satins which were left behind are: eight night dresses of pure silk, seven undergarment slips, exotic camisoles, and corsets from India. These, and many more examples were not the garments of public appearance. In fact, they were the vestments which portrayed one's natural character as expressed in the private space of the home. This was the element of "being" given to the individual and to which one's destiny was bound.[32] Lequeu's possession of these, the undergarments of women, suggests the natural disposition of the cross-dresser - the fashion hermaphrodite. And while one may speculate as to his idiosyncratic personal activities, they are not specifically at issue here. What is at issue, is the transformation of the public space of appearances. During Lequeu's lifetime the private and the public spaces of appearance did constitute two separate and yet equally valid spaces of experience. The order of public display did not eliminate that of private revelry, one held the other in balance. However, characteristic of our state of modernity is the loss of this public mask. We no longer conceal or shield any element of our dispositions behind the layers of appearance, the ornaments of our bodies. To our eyes the surface of the body makes explicit the internal workings of the mind and the sentiments of the heart. We are how we look. In the late twentieth century the veneer of faces and facades is an impoverished screen for the nudity of our souls.

It appears that Lequeu lived, the greater part of his stay in Paris, in the district of Montorgueil. A series of documents present his address interchangeably as St. Sauveur, le Grand Cerf, and Passage St. Denis, all of these being one block from each other. Now, as then, this area to the north of *les Halles* is noteworthy for its coupling of two main commercial activities, both of which are centred on the garment. The first is involved with the art of putting it on, the second with that of taking it off. The side streets of Montorgueil are still today, filled with commerces that deal in the local manufacture of clothing apparel. And yet, its maintain street, St. Denis, is lined

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[31]Frank Granger, *Vitruvius on Architecture* (Loeb Classical Library, 1983), Book X (1. 5) p. 279. "Let us first consider necessary inventions. In the case of clothing, by the organic arrangements of the loom, the union of the warp to the web not only covers and protects our bodies, but also adds the beauty of apparel."

[32]See Chapter Two, "The Expression of Natural Character."

with the quintessential industry of voyeurism, the modern "peep show." In these houses of enchantment, trading in the pleasures of the flesh critically engages the issue of the surface. In building faces dressed in the pulsating neon of street lights, the power of obscurity and the truths of the shadow are obliterated.

In the denudement of Nature, the surface ornament, the threshold whose presence had always been of critical importance, no longer has a place in the space of the city. Lequeu's lifelong involvement with the liminal surface that is carried by both the body and the building, might serve as inspiration to those who once again aspire to design the face of the city. In this the lessons of Lequeu's founding rituals can once again aspire to forge a meaningful place for the order of the ornament, in the order of Beauty.

Figure 8. Lequeu, Portrait study.

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