STYLISTIC, ICONOGRAPHIC AND POLITICAL ASPECTS OF THE ST. PETERSBURG BOURSE

by

CHRISTINE McKEE STEVENSON
B. A., University of Victoria, 1975

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT

OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS

in the Department [redacted]

of

History in Art

ACCEPTED
FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
DEAN
DATE Sept 1980

We accept this thesis as conforming
to the required standard

[redacted]

Alan Gowans

[redacted]

S. Anthony Welch

[redacted]

Ralph C. Croizier

UNIVERSITY OF VICTORIA

June, 1979

architectural styles. Each of the styles thus used had specific associated meanings for Thomon's contemporaries: taken as a whole, the fabric of the Bourse may be read as a catalogue of desirable national values.

In order to determine whether the building may be justifiably interpreted as a symbolic statement, a brief history of construction in St. Petersburg is presented. This discussion examines Imperial building activity with a methodology based on the assumption that architecture may serve a "social function" beyond utilitarian purpose and aesthetic value. Having established that Imperial construction prior to Alexander often served his predecessors in this fashion, the St. Petersburg Bourse is finally examined in relation to the character and aspirations of its patron, Alexander I. In the previous two centuries, the Exchange as an institution had evolved as a metaphor for international unity under the auspices of enlightened principle; this meaning is so nearly identical to Alexander's vision of a new European order that the commissioning of Thomon's Bourse must be considered a deliberately political act.

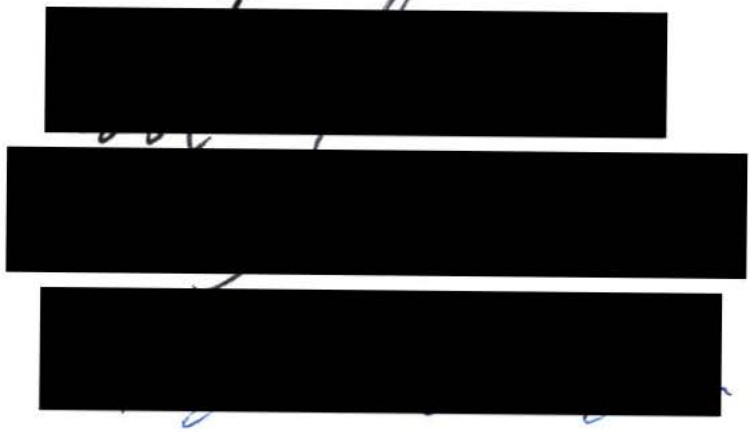


TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure Page

Figure Page

INTRODUCTION

On the point of Vasiliyevskiy Island in Leningrad stands a building which since 1940 has housed the Central Navy Museum of the Soviet Union. It was constructed between 1804 and 1811 when the city was the capital of the Russian Empire under Alexander I. The building--arguably the finest neo-classical commercial structure in the world--was then the home of the St. Petersburg Exchange. Its architect was a Frenchman, Thomas de Thomon, and the first chapter of this discussion deals with Thomon's works as architect, designer, and graphic artist in the Russian Empire.

Such a biographical approach necessarily isolates the central figure. Too often, the method implies that the artist somehow stands apart from the prosaic mainstream of society by virtue of his creativity, generally equated with his originality. Furthermore, this originality is rewarded in the artist's lifetime if he is lucky, or by posterity if he is not.

Thomon's career refutes the validity of these assumptions. It is indissolubly linked with the contemporary political and aesthetic currents to which he adapted himself so well. At a time of social disruption and architectural

inactivity in France, Thomon consistently found aristocratic sponsors on the basis of his royalist sympathies and some unexecuted project designs. Under his last and greatest patron, Alexander I, Thomon was given the opportunity to build monumental architecture for the Russian Empire. Yet Thomon's projects were competent but not original. His talent did not approach genius but unlike many of his colleagues, he found himself in the right place at the right time. Unless one is unwilling to accept the Bourse as one of the greatest neo-classical ensembles built, one must reject the notion of great architecture as genius rewarded with a commission.

In the first chapter, we shall see how Thomon was given the opportunity to build the Bourse. In the second, the sources of Thomon's style, the international neo-classicism of the late eighteenth century, will be examined with specific reference to the projects and buildings of Thomon's teachers and colleagues which he borrowed for his Bourse. This neo-classicism was not only stylistically revolutionary, it was inseparable from contemporary social reform movements. Theoretically--and theory was crucial in its formation--this architecture was to be as pure and rational in form as the society it was to help create. In practise, the resultant geometry of cubes and spheres was uselessly obscure as a metaphor for the new age. In the traditional fashion of architecture, the geometry was

gradually replaced with historical "quotations" far more meaningful to the uninitiated. The Bourse abounds with such historicist symbols whose meanings are iconographically described in the next chapter, the third.

In this fashion, it is assumed that an examination of this architectural style without reference to its ideological trappings would be artificial and unprofitable. These associated meanings can be usefully elucidated through an examination of patronage, for one cannot artificially divide construction from the intellectual, social, and political activities of the patron. The planning of the city variously called St. Petersburg, Petrograd, and Leningrad has been subject to an extraordinary degree of autocratic control from the day of its foundation. The history of the city as architectural showcase, a collection of visual metaphors of progress for the benefit of the rest of Europe, is described in the final two chapters. Thomon's Bourse will then be demonstrated in its political, as well as stylistic and iconographic, context. Only with an appreciation of both style and meaning can one attempt to fully understand it, or any other, building.

CHAPTER I

THE ARCHITECT OF THE BOURSE: THOMAS DE THOMON

Student Years in France and Italy

Little is reliably known of Thomas de Thomon's early career, and this chapter offers only a summary of his travels in Europe before his decisive move to St. Petersburg.[1] Thomon was born in Nancy, in north-east France, 21 December 1754. No information is available about his childhood or student days at the Academy of Architecture in Paris, which he probably attended in the mid-1770s. Thomon later stated that he had been a personal pupil of Claude-Nicholas Ledoux (1736-1806), then one of the most prominent of the academicians and today perhaps the most famous of all. This claim is likely false, although Ledoux was accepted as a teacher at the Academy in 1773: his temperament did not attract many personal pupils, and the assumption of personal instruction is not necessary to explain Thomon's later style. Ledoux was to become famous in Russia, and Thomon probably claimed the direct connection to enhance his own reputation there.[2]

An annual event at the Academy of Architecture was the student competition for which the first prize was the Prix de Rome, a scholarship for three years' study in Italy.

In Russia, Thomon also claimed to have earned this distinction, in the competition of 1780.[3] Whether sponsored by the Academy or not, Thomon did journey to Italy, a period devoted as much to painting as to architecture.[4] In the light of his extant paintings and drawings, examined later in this chapter, Thomon's debt to the Roman vogue of romantic reconstructions of ancient scenes seems very clear. The classical sites of south Italy and Sicily provided popular attractions in that archaeologically-minded period; and Thomon's 1810 letter to the St. Petersburg academicians implies that he toured them, too:

> . . . depuis trente années je me suis toujours occupé de l'architecture. . . . toute mes études à Rome et dans toute l'Italie n'ont eu que cet art pour but . . . .[5]

Thomon here de-emphasizes his painting since this letter is an application to be named Professor of Architecture at the Academy.

No record of Thomon's artistic activities in France survives. Once back in Paris, he entered the service of the Comte d'Artois (1757-1836), brother of Louis XVI. The Count had emerged in the late 1780s as an opponent to concessions to the Third Estate, and was ordered to leave France for his own safety after the fall of the Bastille. Thomon, a self-declared royalist, followed his patron first to the Austrian Netherlands, then to Turin, and finally to Vienna.[6]

In Vienna, Thomon found another aristocratic patron

in Prince Nicholas Esterhazy (1765-1833), a connoisseur and collector of paintings and engravings. Again, no constructions mark Thomon's residence there; but extant project plans from that period include designs for a public school, bath house, and a pavilion for an "English" garden.[7] These projects reveal Thomon's debt to the Academy of Architecture. The public school (Fig. 1) most nearly approaches the extremes of geometric simplicity advocated by contemporary French architects, with its symmetrical facade broken only by heavily rusticates masonry and an interesting window treatment. The garden pavilion is similarly severe with a circular colonnaded temple form between two flanking wings. The pavilion and the bath house share Doric columns and Roman domes.[8]

Thomon left Vienna for Russia in 1798 or 1799 at the invitation of Prince Golitsyn, one of that prominent Russian family which had supplied ambassadors to Paris and Vienna.[9] His decision was also influenced by the example of his Vienna friend Elizabeth Vigée-Lebrun (1755-1842), another emigré artist, who arrived in St. Petersburg in 1795.[10]

Thomon and Vigée-Lebrun were but two of the thousands of French emigrés who came to Russia after the start of the French Revolution. It was a natural choice because by 1789, Russia had long since shed its reputation of barbarism in France. During the preceding two decades, Parisian interest

in Russia was fed by Catherine's patronage of the philosophes, the visit of the Grand Duke Paul and his wife in 1792, and the presence of a wealthy and cultured group of voluntary exiles centred at the Russian Embassy. In 1782, Baron Grimm wrote that "En général, la nation russe est considérablement à la mode . . . ."[11] Thomon had undoubtedly shared the general interest in Russia, which filtered down from the salons to the popular level. In Italy, too, he would have encountered the Russian gentry: at a time when every European with pretensions to culture was obliged to tour the classical sites, the Russians did not wish to appear backward. Members of the Stroganov, the Golitsyn, and other great families travelled to Herculaneum, Pompeii, and Paestum, and patronized Romans sales of antiquities and drawings of classical ruins. Thus we may be sure Thomon entertained reasonable expectations of profiting from aristocratic and perhaps even Imperial patronage in Russia. He must have known too that a number of ambitious Frenchmen had already graced the salons of St. Petersburg, as observed by William Richardson, tutor to the sons of the British Ambassador:

> Perhaps in no other country in Europe could you obtain a juster idea of the parasitical character, ... The parasites here are in general Frenchmen, whose lively loquacity seems absolutely necessary for the amusement of those great men, to whose tables they have admission.[12]

The Early Russian Commissions: Palaces and Theatres

Thomon executed no architectural projects prior to his arrival in Russia, but his career advanced rapidly there. In 1800 he submitted competition plans for the proposed new Kazan Cathedral. The commission was awarded to his colleague Voronikhin but that same year Thomon began the reconstruction of the St. Petersburg palace of Prince Laval, the first of his many private and public commissions in the Empire.

Nor did Thomon fail to distinguish himself as an academic. In his letter of 1810 to the members of the St. Petersburg Academy of Art, a successful application to become Professor of Architecture, Thomon summarized his career in Russia:

> Il y a dix ans aujourdhuy [sic] que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'admettre à vos assemblées en me nommant membre de l'Académie Impériale des Beaux-Arts.
> Le 30 Janvier 1802 Sa Majesté l'Empéreur Alexandre I a daigné m'attacher à son service en qualité de son architecte.
> Le 11 December 1802 vous m'avez honnorez Messiers du titre de Professeur de Perspective . . . .[13]

Among the other "honours" Thomon received over the years were his appointments as sub-director of the Academy of Art; and professor at the "Institute of Ways and Communications", or School of Engineers. As a member of the diplomatic community, John Quincy Adams was invited to attend the latter institution's examinations, in 1812.

> We . . . went and looked over the designs and drawings and plans of the young men . . . . They appeared to be all well executed, but the name of the professor was annexed to each of the designs, as well as of the pupil who executed it. Mr. Thomond [sic], the architect, is one of the professors, and all of the designs of architecture appeared to be his.[14]

Thomon's 1802 nomination for the position of Court Architect had been through the intervention of Count Stroganov, Russia's most distinguished patron of the arts.[15] First the Comte d'Artois, then Esterhazy, and later Stroganov: with the aid of yet another aristocratic sponsor, Thomon had won the favour of the most powerful of all, Alexander I.

Soon after his appointment, Thomon started his first public building, the reconstruction of the Grand, or Bolshoi Theatre in St. Petersburg. Another theatre, in the Black Sea town of Odessa, as well as the Severina House in St. Petersburg, were begun the next year. In the early workd, Thomon demonstrated his facility with a wide variety of architectural styles. While his "vocabulary" was consistently classical, his "syntax" encompassed not only antiquity itself but the Renaissance, Baroque, and eighteenth-century departures from the ancient model.

Like many architects of the period, Thomon offered classical prototypes for his designs. About his St. Petersburg theatre, he wrote "Les ornements sont du style du théâtres grecs, les portes représentent les vomitoria de l'antique, les espaces entre les portes sont chargés

de trophées."[16] A German named Tischbein had built the original theatre in 1784. Thomon's building, finished in 1805, was destroyed by fire in 1811, rebuilt, and pulled down finally in the 1880s, but fairly complete records survive in Thomon's Recueil des principaux monuments construits à St. Pétersbourg plans et façades (St. Petersburg, 1806); in his Description accompagnée de plans, coupes et élévations de plusiers édifices remarquables construits depuis le commencement de siècle à St. Pétersbourg et dans quelques gouvernements de l'Empire de Russie sur les dessins de Thomas de Thomon (Paris, 1819); and in contemporary representations (Fig. 2). As Thomon suggested, the facade was very classical: a two-storey portico of eight Ionic columns supported a pediment decorated with representations of Apollo and the Muses in high relief.

The Laval Palace (later the Palace of the Senate) on the English Quay also incorporated antique quotations. On each side of the facade (Fig. 3) small temple fronts with Doric pilasters stand above balconies. Above, friezes in rectangular frames, formed in contrasting colours of stone, depict homage to Athena. Inside, the dining room cornice was also covered in a relief with figures after the horizontal format of Greek vases, at that time still popularly considered "Etruscan".

When appropriate, Thomon demonstrated his familiarity with other styles. Paul's ecumenical vision, discussed in

the fifth chapter, required papal overtones in his Kazan Cathedral: accordingly, Thomon's designs proposed a squat, drum-like body topped by a dome similar to that of Bramante's Tempietto, enclosed by sweeping semi-circular colonnades reminiscent of St. Peter's in Rome.[17] Alternatively, Renaissance echoes were suitable for a great urban palace, and Thomon's facade for Prince Laval's residence boasted a giant order of attached Ionic columns above a podium formed by a rusticated ground floor.[18] Anne-Adrien-Pierre de Montmorency, the Duc de Laval (1768-1837), was a distinguished emigré noted for his collection of Greek and Roman antiquities. The most important rooms in the palace were those devoted to the books and art collection; and these were decorated in yet another neo-classical style, the eighteenth-century "arabesque".[19] The library and gallery were planned in that rather light-hearted spirit, down to the rosettes for the caissons of the semi-circular arched ceiling and the allegorical sculptural groups in the tympana thus formed.[20]

In spite of his easy facility with classical antiquity, the Italian Renaissance and Baroque, and the arabesque, Thomon was trained in the severely neo-classical style of late eighteenth-century France, and that style predominates in most of his buildings. Even in the others, it emerges in certain details: the entrance to the vestibule of the Laval Palace, flanked by squat Doric

columns; and the wide semi-circular opening, emphasized by oversized guttae and arch surround, in the attic storey of the Severina House (Fig. 4).

Thomon's private commissions thus only hinted at the new, geometric neo-classicism; but the public works of this early period already showed his mastery of it.[21] The St. Petersburg Theatre, with its Tuscan Doric portico and windows and doors appearing as unframed openings in the heavily rusticated masonry, was obviously influenced by Marie-Joseph Peyre's Théâtre Française, now known as the Odéon, of 1767 in Paris (Fig. 5). Thomon's 1803 design for a theatre in the Black Sea town of Odessa is even starker in effect, despite the four large statues placed behind the six Ionic columns of the portico (Fig. 6).[22] The plain walls are marked only by a Doric frieze in a mixture of the standard classical orders which extends to a miniature Tuscan arcade extending one-third of the way down the sides of the rectangular plan, at the basement level. Both the Odessa and the St. Petersburg theatres follow the standard plan established by Peyre, in which the horseshoe-shaped auditorium is approached by monumental double staircases.[23]

The Bourse

The severe neo-classicism of the projects, palaces, and theatres was continued in Thomon's greatest achievement,

the Bourse in St. Petersburg. Since this building will be examined thematically in the following chapters, only a brief description and building history will be offered here.

The original commission had been awarded in 1784 to the architect Giacomo Quarenghi (1744-1817) but his version was never completed. Thomon presented his first proposal to the new emperor Alexander in 1801 (Fig. 7).[24] The projected facade shows a rectangular building with Tuscan Doric porticoes on each face, standing on a pedestal of huge seamed blocks. Ten columns adorn each of the front and back porticoes, with sixteen on either side. Above the porticoes the roof of the main hall of the building rises in a clerestory fashion, opened by semi-circular glazed arches admitting light to the central area. The centre hall is lined with columns. On the exterior, this "first variant" presents a waterfront complex with light-houses in the form of rostral columns on either side and curved ramps descending to the surface of the Neva.

Thomon's 1801 project is almost identical to the Projet d'un Bourse by Pierre Bernard (1761- ?), a medal-winner at the Paris Academy of Architecture in 1782 (Fig. 8). Bernard's design also boasted a central colonnade of ten Doric columns, pedimented windows in the strongly-marked brickwork at either side of the colonnade, and flanking rostral columns decorated with ships' prows. It must be

considered the direct model for Thomon's first variant.

Projects such as Bernard's were widely circulated in late eighteenth-century Europe through the engravings of Armand-Parfait Prieur, who in 1787 had received permission from the Academy to reproduce the winning designs of the annual student competitions. These were published as the Collection des prix que la ci-devant Académie d'architecture proposait et couronnait tous les ans. Later volumes of engravings of the Academy's Grands Prix were published by Allais, Détournelle, and Vaudoyer in 1806; and by Baltard and Vaudoyer in 1818.[25] Such competitions did not stress the importance of originality in the submissions, but rather the impressive presentation of innovative detail on buildings which as a group are remarkably similar, although widely divergent in function. We may assume that such borrowings did not interfere with the judges' appreciation of the designs, because many prize-winning projects were derivative. Bernard's plan itself contained many elements borrowed from previous designs to be examined in the following chapter. Thomon's work, in the case of the Bourse and certain other projects, was even less original.[26] If his patrons and colleagues were aware of this plagiarism, it obviously did not reduce the Frenchman's standing in their eyes; a conclusion which has interesting implications for any assessment of contemporary patronage. The possibility remains, of course, that they were unfamiliar

with Thomon's sources; although this seems unlikely in view of the wide circulation of Prieur's volumes in Russia.

Thomon's first Bourse project was examined by a Council of the St. Petersburg Academy of Art. This council, which included his great native colleagues A. D. Zakharov (1761-1811) and A. N. Voronokhin (1760-1814), paid close attention to succeeding plans and were in constant supervision during the four years of the Bourse's planning. Zakharov's criticisms of the first project, on both utilitarian and symbolic grounds, have survived. I his opinion, Thomon's semi-circular windows at the front and back of the main hall were unsuitable for the climate of St. Petersburg; the cylindrical vault would in time deteriorate for the same reason. The floor plan should be rearranged to permit more convenient connections between the rooms. A wider entrance would allow an open view of the Neva from the hall; the Exchange as a whole should be broader as a monument to the flowering of Russian trade.[27]

In 1803, Thomon presented another building proposal, the "second variant", to Alexander I.

> J'ai l'honneur d'informer Votre Excellence que l'échelle du plan de la Bourse a été reduite d'un neuvième d'après l'ordre que j'ai reçu de M. le Comte de Romantzoff ministre du Commerce qui les avoit reçu lui même de S. M. Impériale.[28]

Although Thomon refers specifically to a reduction in scale, not an enlargement as Zakharov had suggested, the major change in the second proposal was the substitution of a

peristyle Tuscan colonnade of forty-eight columns for the porticoes of the first variant (Fig. 9). The plan of the second variant shows that the interior columns were eliminated and the main hall divided into two rooms of unequal area.[29] The exterior of this project seems to have been acceptable to the Council and the ministers to whom Thomon was responsible, although the number of columns on the finished building was forty-four, not forty-eight.

Yet another change was effected in the interior arrangement before the cornerstone was laid in 1805. The plan of the Bourse published in Thomon's Recueil (nearly identical to the plan of the building today), shows that the main hall formed by the central rectangular area was restored (Fig. 10). It is surrounded on the long sides by a series of smaller rooms in a line. These rooms are accessible through entrances off the main hall. On the short sides, vestibules with semi-circular exedras at each side flank the main hall.

The internal substitution of graceful Ionic porticoes for the severe Doric columns on the exterior signifies a stylistic shift apparent upon entering the building. Similarly, Thomon's designs for the tiles and caissons decorating the coffered tunnel-vault of the main hall made free use of the egg-and-dart and acanthus, motifs more delicate than the abstraction and geometry of the building's exterior.[30]

The features of the building as planned may best be seen in Thomon's meticulous wooden model, now preserved in the Moscow Architectural Museum.[31] The arrangement of curved ramps and flanking rostral columns, which owed much to Zakharov's creative guidance, remained in construction essentially unchanged from the first and second variant projects.

The Exchange was built between 1805 and 1811 but did not open its doors until 1816,[32] the year in which Alexander introduced a more liberal tariff structure (see chapter V). In early nineteenth-century Russia, little distinction was made between stock and commodity speculation, and Thomon's Exchange housed both functions. A separate Stock Exchange was finally created almost a century later; its activities continued in Thomon's building.[33]

Later Architecture: Monuments to a Man, a Battle, and Social Welfare

By 1804 Thomon had established himself, through his Exchange and theatre designs, as a recognized architect of buildings serving specific public needs. During the planning of the Bourse, Thomon also occupied himself with another state-sponsored building, the Odessa Hospital which was begun in 1804. This Black Sea town had been founded in 1794 by Catherine in territory conquered from the Turks. During the first two decades of the nineteenth century

Alexander added buildings, including Thomon's theatre and hospital, which formed it into a unified neo-classical scheme.

The late eighteenth century had seen a great upsurge of interest in public hygiene among enlightened circles. It was generally concluded that traditional hospital plans, ultimately derived from the medieval cloister, were unsatisfactory. The physician J. R. Tenon (1724-1816) had suggested the renovation of the Hôtel-Dieu in Paris by arranging wards in pairs perpendicular to a longitudinal axis.[34] This arrangement was often followed in later hospital construction, including Thomon's Odessa Hospital (Fig. 11). The design for the facade shows a long, low building marked in the centre by a temple-fronted, domed pavilion, and at the ends by less elaborate projections. The project plan reveals that this arrangement indeed reflects a parallel-ward interior.[35] It is worth noting that Nicholas-Marie Clavareau (1751-1815), the official architect of the Parisian hospitals in the first decade of the nineteenth century, was invited to Russia. He refused, but the invitation suggests that Alexander was interested in acquainting his architects with the latest Western European developments, and Thomon's work indeed resembles other contemporary hospitals.[36] He was therefore following well-established types; although his personal taste emerges in such details as the heavy rustication,

Tuscan porticoes, descending ramps, and semi-circular openings at the basement level of the central pavilion.[37]

The following year, Thomon designed tallow warehouses on the Salni Embankment in St. Petersburg, again imparting severe elegance to a utilitarian structure. The building, completed in 1805, is an irregular quadrilateral with a central courtyard formed by four rows of rooms of identical width. The courtyard is thus in the same shape as the exterior wall.[38] On each side projecting temple-front pavilions add focus and interest to what could be a monotonous series of entrances to each storage area (Fig. 12), a solution also used for the Odessa Hospital. The porticoes are impressive in the heavily geometric manner of contemporary French neo-classicism.[39]

Numerous project designs survive to indicate that Thomon was involved with Alexander's town-planning schemes. Some twenty, whose present locations are unknown, were grouped under the general title Différents projets pour une Ville de Gouvernement. The house projects were identified by the position of the occupant, for example the "Maison du gouverneur militaire", and the "Maison du gouverneur civil".[40]

It is not known for which provincial town these designs were intended. Perhaps Odessa, although Praz suggests that Thomon was involved in the re-planning of the Ukrainian town of Poltava, begun in 1804.[41] In 1805, Thomon was certainly given the commission of the Triumphal Column

in Poltava, to commemorate Peter the Great's victory against the Swedes there nearly a century before. The monument (Fig. 13) forms the dominant element in the circular Alexandrovskaya Plaza, seven hundred feet in diameter. Fifty-six feet high, it consists of a column on top of a bracket-shaped, stepped base.[42] Cannon snouts protrude from the bottom of the base, while steps allow access to the column itself in a lateral ramp pattern frequent to French neo-classicism and also seen at the Bourse. A podium with battered sides, sheltered between the two arms of the bracket, features ornate sculpture by F. F. Schedrin, who also designed the Imperial Eage poised with outstretched wings at the top of the memorial.[43]

The design of memorials to great men as both melancholy reminder and inspiration to future generations was a problem of interest to architects of the late eighteenth century.[44] One of Thomon's last projects was the memorial chapel (usually called the "mausoleum"), dedicated to Alexander's father Paul, a commission awarded by Paul's widow Marie Feodorovna (Fig. 14). Again citing antique architecture, Thomon called the building "Le Temple funeraire" in his letter of 1810 to the academicians.[45]

The chapel was built between 1806 and 1808 in the park at Pavlovsk, formerly Paul's country residence, seventeen kilometres south of the capital. A Greek prostyle temple in plan, Paul's memorial has a portico with four unfluted Doric columns without bases. A Cyrillic inscription

"To the husband and benefactor" on the pediment accompanies tragic masks in high relief on the metopes. The door to the interior has a metal grating on which the designer Thomon grouped a delicate Greek key pattern with slender, stylized funerary urns.[46] The tympana formed by the semi-cylindrical vault above the cornice are decorated with groups of draped mourners. Dominating the interior is a granite truncated pyramid with a marble medallion of Paul and weeping females below, and a base relief representing mourning relatives (Fig. 15). The Russian funerary sculptor Ivan Petrovich Martos (1754-1835) designed these melancholy reliefs. Egyptian forms, with their associations of the cult of the dead, were considered eminently suitable for funerary monuments.[47]

Such architectural miniatures in park or garden settings are today often dismissed as "follies". However, the mausoleum of Paul is a dignified piece of architectural sculpture for which the Dowager Empress Marie did not consider the location inappropriate. Her devotion to the memory of her murdered husband was legendary--and unique.

In 1809, Thomon designed and built an impressive fountain at Pulkavya, near St. Petersburg (Fig. 16). Like triumphal arches and columns, fountains could serve as foci and counterweights to the predominantly horizontal elements surrounding the public squares of the early nineteenth century. Important as planning elements, fountains also

gave the architect an opportunity to play with architectural components without concession to utility. More sculpture than architecture, they, like the architecture on paper which characterized the academic instruction at this time, allowed the designer freedom to be fantastic, and to create symbols in an era when ideologies were rampant.

In the Pulkavya fountain, Thomon took full advantage of this freedom. The observer is presented with a structure which might be a model for a "rational" building, as defined by the theorist Laugier half a century before, reduced to the strictly necessary components of an entablature raised on four squat and unfluted Doric columns. At the base of the fountain, two pairs of carved sphinxes, themselves reduced to the point of abstraction, stare out impassively on either side of semi-circular bases. The combination of Greek and Egyptian elements does not seem ludicrous as one sees that the project as a whole is governed by a sombre primitivism expressed in the reduction of the elements to near-geometric purity.[48] The Pulkavya fountain was Thomon's last architectural project. Although obscure, it ranks with the Bourse if one may, for a moment, judge architecture only in terms of visual drama.

Architectural Decay in Thomon's Graphic Works

In the eighteenth century, the dividing line between architecture and the graphic arts was sometimes

obscure. At the Paris Academy of Architecture, Thomon was trained by such architects as Peyre, Boullée, and Ledoux, who in their turn had been taught by architects emerging from the "Roman school" of the 1740s. This architectural tradition emphasized the importance of accurate representation of classical monuments and the artist's own projected buildings. Both types of drawings were widely circulated in albums and printed works among the connoisseurs of Europe. In an age when antique ruin and the sometimes-visionary projects carried strong emotional associations for the viewer, however, these drawings were valued not only for their exactitude, but also for the romantic spirit with which the truly gifted, such as Piranesi and Ledoux, could infuse them.

In the following chapter, the role of the "Roman school" of architectural representation in the development of Thomon's style will be examined more fully. It was in this context that Thomon's drawings were held in such high contemporary esteem that he earned the position of Professor of Perspective at the St. Petersburg Academy on the strength of them. From this post, Thomon moved naturally into the position of Court Architect for the Russian Empire. In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the roles of painter and architect were by no means mutually exclusive.

Among Thomon's published works was a Traité de peinture précédé de l'origine des arts (St. Petersburg, 1809).[49] In his treatise, Thomon incorporated the fruits

of his Italian researches. His drawings clearly show the influence of the romantic archaeology of the late eighteenth century: they confirm the knowledge of classical and Egyptian forms suggested by Thomon's architectural projects and executed works.

With the exception of David (in Rome 1775-80, again in 1784), few first-rank painters could still be found in the Rome of the 1780s, when Thomon studied there. However, the influence of Anton Rapael Mengs (1728-79, in Rome from 1740), Joseph-Marie Vien (1716-1809, in Rome 1744-50) and Hubert Robert (1733-1808) who had returned to France after eleven years in Rome in 1765 to become "peintre des ruines" at the Academy the next year, lived on. The production of these evocative visions was not confined to painters: Jacques Louis Clérisseau (1721-1820; in Rome 1749-66) and a host of architectural students from the Paris Academy, among them Thomon, contributed to this genre.

One element shared in the works of all these artists was the powerful influence of Giovanni Battista Piranesi (1720-78), the architect whose executed buildings are far less stimulating than his theoretical discussions, views of Roman ruins over-run by nature, and fantastic compositions of classical buildings. Thomon's Prison Scene, now in the Vassar College Art Gallery (Fig. 17), a sombre and dramatic treatment of massive architectural components (here with a certain Gothic flavour added by pointed arches and springing ribs) suggests the obvious influence of

Piranesi's Carceri d'Invenzione of 1744-45.

Thomon's favoured subjects included classical ruins; an interest in keeping with the period's emotional fascination with death and decay, and intellectual appreciation for the fruits of archaeological excavations. A drawing of the Roman Pantheon regarded by figures in modern dress, an ochre drawing of crumbling Greek ruins, and another called The Aqueduct showing Roman ruins lying outside a contemporary Mediterranean village, are typical of these landscapes in which architectural remains of classical civilization are of primary importance.[50]

Other drawings by Thomon are more fanciful reconstructions of the past. Oshchepkov reproduces a water-colour (No. 126) showing the great fire of Rome: the dramatic lighting and massive architectural forms, dwarfing the fleeing population, is reminiscent of Robert's work. Thomon shared the older artist's sense of the picturesque, typified by composite landscapes with actual buildings put together in a fanciful way. Thomon pursues this genre in watercolours of ruins populated by figures in classical dress, in this way implying an even more distant past. This interest becomes evident in his fantastic interior of an ancient Egyptian temple (Fig. 18), a gloomy, incense-filled cavern dominated by severely frontal statuary, and a flat ceiling supported by lotus capitals. Even in a rare treatment of a Christian theme, the Rest of the Holy Family on the Flight into Egypt, Thomon surrounds and dwarfs the

figures with heavy lotus columns, mastabas, palm trees, and other natural and man-made evocations of an exotic and distant past.[51]

"The Style of Display": Furniture

Like many of his contemporaries, Thomon did not confine his activities to architecture and painting, for patrons did not confine their commissions to the "fine" arts. Neo-classical architecture cannot be successfully separated from its interior accessories. Many architects interested themselves in furniture design in attempts to create neo-classical buildings that were not simple shells, but unified environments.[52] The French architects Charles Percier (1764-1838) and P.-F.-L. Fontaine (1762-1853) were crucial to the formation of the Empire style of furniture which epitomized the monumental aspect of neo-classical architecture. Their book, the Recueil des Décorations interieurs (Paris, 1801) was the Bible of Empire ornament. In its Introduction, they articulated the ethic of the contemporary designer:

> Building and decoration cannot be separated from one another; they are intimately connected, and if appearances seem to disprove this, then there is something wrong with one or the other.[53]

The furniture style which was considered suitable for neo-classical buildings was never stripped to the purity of the architectural style. Instead, its amalgam of

Pompeiian, Egyptian, and "Etruscan" elements moved directly from a refined and Rococo sensibility to the heavy splendour associated with the architecture of the French Empire.

Although the style was often known as "Jacob" in Russia, after Georges Jacob (1739-1814) a leading designer for both French monarchy and Empire, the most influential designer in the history of Empire furniture in Russia was the German David Roentgen (1743-1807). Roentgen visited St. Petersburg in 1783, and from that date numerous shipments were made from his workshop in Neuwied to satisfy the cultivated patronage of Catherine II and Alexander I. The latter also set up furniture workshops which encouraged Russian and foreign designers to work from imported pieces as models. Between 1809 and 1815, the Tsar ordered a set of watercolours and manuscript notes from Percier and Fontaine of their decoration of the Tuileries,[54] in this way establishing the taste for the Empire style in the applied arts in Russia. Thomon played an important part in its dissemination as Chief Designer at the Imperial Glass Factory, and as a designer of furniture for the Tsar and the Imperial household.[55]

No records of Thomon's activities at the Glass Factory survive, but some of his interior and furniture designs are available for study. The designs for the Laval Palace and the memorial chapel at Pavlovsk have already been mentioned. Interior designs also survive for the

interior of Rastrelli's Winter Palace at St. Petersburg (1754-62), including plaster decorations for the Oval Hall in an ornately neo-classical mode not dissimilar in spirit to Rastrelli's Rococo, and a plan for a "Cold Bath" there.[56]

The frontispiece of Thomon's Souvenir d'Italie album shows two ornate vases flanking an "athénienne" (Fig. 19). This tripodal form, manufactured after "Etruscan" vase paintings, was a typical subject for the Empire furniture style. Two other drawings show figures in contemporary costume in very neo-classical interiors. In one, a woman is seated in an austere Empire chair at a desk supported by two griffins, a typical motif. The other, a domestic interior with similarly Empire trappings including a miniature pyramid in one corner, is a rather illogical extension of the contemporary Egyptian craze.[57]

At its most sensitive observer described it, the Empire is "a style of display; by common consent, it admits of no familiarity and is alien of intimacy: in a word, it is monumental."[58] This style is epitomized by a consol table Thomon designed for the Pavlosk Palace office of Marie Feodorovna, the Dowager Empress (Fig. 20). No matter that the "bronze" sphinxes and inlays on this piece may actually be painted wood, as was often the Russian custom. It is evident that Thomon designed furniture confidently, and that in this as in all his other fields of activity, the Frenchman was a competent servant of the Imperial court at St. Petersburg.

The Assessment

Thomon died in St. Petersburg in August of 1813. He had spent just over one quarter of his life in Russia, but during those fourteen years he completed nine or ten major architectural commissions; and innumerable building projects, drawings, and furniture and glass designs. It was a surprising end to what was an unpromising career, and as such poses problems for the biographer who would look for early glimmers of genius followed by a straightforward maturation.

Thomon designed and executed the world's finest neo-classical commercial structure. His work, visually dramatic and functionally satisfying, injected the best of French academicism into Alexandrian architecture. It was a major factor in the formation of one of the most coherent strains of the European neo-classical tradition. Thomon's designs were not the products of creative genius; but of an intelligent, discriminating and occasionally unscrupulous talent. One is inescapably drawn to the conclusion that an artist's degree of talent, if he has it, matters far less to the creation of art than the circumstances in which he finds himself--or which he makes for himself.[59] St. Petersburg offered Thomon, as Western Europe had not, the opportunity to build. A simple account of Thomon's life and works does not explain why the aristocratic protégé of France and Italy produced only elegant drawings and

unexecuted projects while the aristocratic protégé of Russia found himself fully occupied with Imperial commissions. Nor does it explain the existence of a Bourse, disguised as a Greek temple, on the shores of the Neva.

The rest of this discussion will be devoted to the latter problem. In the next two chapters, it shall emerge that stylistically and iconographically, the architecture of Thomon and his instructors and contemporaries in France was both the instrument and expression of social reformers. In the final three, we shall examine the paradox posed by the adoption of this "revolutionary" style by the autocrats of Imperial Russia.

Notes

[1]No monograph on Thomon has been published in Western Europe. G. D. Oshchepkov, in Arkhitektor Tomon (Moscow: Izd-vo Akademii arkhitektury SSSR, 1950), provides the most complete biography of the architect. Other important sources are Alexandre Troubnikoff, "Thomas de Thomon", Starye Gody (1908): 494-512 (in Russian); Igor Grabar, "Les débuts du classicisme sous Alexandre et ses sources françaises", Starye Gody (1912): 68-97 (in Russian); and Igor Grabar, ed., Istoriya russkago iskusstva (Moscow: I. Knebel, 1910-14), 3: 491-502. George Loukomski's "Thomas de Thomon", Apollo 42 (December 1945): 297, 304 is extremely superficial but is the only English discussion available, with the exception of standard works dealing with eighteenth century French and Russian architecture.

[2]Loukomski, "Thomon", 279, and Adolf Max Vogt, Russische und Französische Revolutions Architektur (Cologne: M. DuMont Schauberg, 1974), p. 121, state without elaboration that Thomon was Ledoux's pupil. Kaufmann, however, does not include Thomon among Ledoux's personal pupils in the most detailed examination of Ledoux's career extant: Emil Kaufmann, "Three Revolutionary Architects, Boullée, Ledoux, and Lequeu", Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, n.s. 42(1952):477.

[3]Louis Hautecoeur, L'Architecture classique à Saint-Pétersbourg à la fin du XVIII^{e} siècle (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1912), p. 82; and Vogt, Revolutions Architektur, p.121, support Thomon's claim. In Ulrich Thieme and Felix Becker, Allgemeines Lexicon der Bildenden Künstler (1915-50; rpt. Zwickau: F. Ullman Kg, 1964) 33:72, it is stated that Thomon's boast was false since his name did not appear on the prize lists.

[4]Hautecoeur states that Thomon translated "for his own instruction some of the more interesting of Da Vinci's injunctions on the art of painting." L'Architecture, p. 82.

[5]Quoted in Troubnikoff, "Thomon", 509.

[6]Loukomski, "Thomon", 297, states that the architect

returned to France in 1785. Hautecoeur, L'Architecture, p. 82 agrees that Thomon did return to France at some unspecified date, as does Thieme-Becker, 33:72. Of the authorities, only George Heard Hamilton, The Art and Architecture of Russia, ed. Nikolaus Pevsner, The Pelican History of Art (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1954), p. 208, considers that Thomon entered the service of the Count after the latter had gone into exile.

[7]All these projects are now in Leningrad, Hermitage Museum. School, dated 1795, nos. 23473 and 23474; bath house, dated 1795, no. 23462; pavilion "à Vienne 1795", no. 23463.

[8]Illustrated in Oshchepkov, Tomon, nos. 2-5.

[9]Hamilton (Architecture of Russia, p. 208) believes that Thomon arrived in Russia in 1790, a date that is obviously too early according to the dates on the Vienna projects. Thieme-Becker (33:72) states that after a trip to Hungary, Thomon arrived in Russia in 1798. Grabar, ed., Istoriya, 3:492, gives 1799 as the date. Loukomski, "Thomon", 297, mentions that Thomon was called to Russia by a Prince Galitzin [sic].

[10]According to Loukomski, "Thomon", 297, Vigée-Lebrun mentions a portrait of Thomon in a catalogue of her Vienna works, but there is no mention of the architect in her memoirs. The rather crude portrait reproduced in Oshchepkov, Tomon, labelled "By an anonymous painter", is undoubtedly not the work of that fashionable artist.

[11]Quoted in Dimitri S. von Mohrenschildt, Russia in the Intellectual Life of Eighteenth-Century France, Columbia University Studies in Comparative Literature (1936: rpt. New York: Octagon Books, 1972) p. 48, no source cited.

[12]William Richardson, Anecdotes of the Russian Empire (1784; rpt. London: Frank Cass, 1968), pp. 219-220.

[13]Quoted in Troubnikoff, "Thomon", 509.

[14]Diary entry, 21 May 1812. John Quincy Adams, John Quincy Adams in Russia, ed. Charles Francis Adams, Source Books and Studies in Russian and Soviet History (1874; rpt. New York: Praeger, 1970), p. 373. Adams considered the Exchange building "remarkable principally for its simplicity." Ibid., p. 170.

[15]Loukomski, "Thomon", 297.

[16]Quoted in Hautecoeur, L'Architecture, pp. 83-84, no source cited.

[17]Projet d'un cathédrale pour la Place de Cazan Fait par Ordre de S. M. I. Paul Premier, dated 1800. Now Hermitage, nos. 23454-23456. Facade design reproduced in Oshchepkov, Tomon, nos. 6 and 7. From a stylistic point of view, Thomon's reduction of these elements to severe geometry owes more to the language of contemporary neo-classiciam than to that of the Roman Baroque. Since an Eastern orientation was necessary for the Orthodox rite, Thomon's plans placed the main axis of the interior parallel to the Nevskiy Prospekt; and thus the colonnade faced south, not west. Voronikhin's cathedral, built 1801-11 on a Latin cross plan, made similar accommodation to a difficult site.

[18]The St. Petersburg Theatre also had some Italianate details. The ground floor was rusticated, and the Palladian windows interrupted the smoother masonry of the second storey. This may have been due to the necessity of retaining part of Tischbein's original walls. Hamilton, Architecture of Russia, p. 208.

[19]Cf. Thomon's description of the colonnade of the St. Petersburg Theatre: "un plafond où l'on voit les neuf Muses sous des voûtes decorées dans le genre arabesque . . . ." Quoted in Hautecoeur, L'Architecture, pp. 83-84, no source cited.

[20]Illustrated in Oshchepkov, Tomon, nos. 62-70. John Quincy Adams was a dinner-guest in 1812, just before Laval's return to France. The diplomat noted numerous objects in the collection, which he found "amusing", but had no great respect for Thomon's art:

> "These curiosities furnish one large saloon. The rest of the house, though fitted up with equal magnificence, has no particular recommend-ation to my taste. It is merely the ordinary princely style."

Diary entry, 8 February 1812. In Adams, Adams in Russia, p. 340.

[21]In 1803, Thomon did design a severely simple palace facade, for the renovation of Count Stroganov's town house in St. Petersburg. It is easy to see why the

project did not find favour even with that cultured patron. Although far more progressive by the standards of contemporary Europe than the facade of the Laval Palace, its proportions are awkward and the effect is fragile and without distinction. Stroganov's protege Voronikhin was awarded the commission. Thomon's facade design is now in the Moscow State Historical Museum, no. P-2591. It is illustrated in Oshchepkov, Tomon, no. 73.

[22]Loukomski, "Thomon", 304, states that after a fire and Renaissance-style rebuilding, the Odessa theatre was restored in 1924. Hamilton, Architecture of Russia, p. 208, notes that the building is no longer preserved.

[23]Facade design now in Odessa State Museum for Western and Eastern Arts. Plan reproduced in Oshchepkov, Tomon, no. 50. At time of writing (1950) the plan was in the collection of Oshchepkov. At least nineteen designs of unexecuted theatres, including plans, facades, cross-sections, and one set design, survive to demonstrate Thomon's continuing interest in theatre projects. Oshchepkov reproduces some of these designs, nos. 51-56. With the exception of one labelled "First Variant", which has an elaborate Corinthian portico extending the full width of the facade, the projects are all very similar to the executed St. Petersburg and Odessa theatres. Most of these designs are in the Hermitage, three in Moscow Museum of the Soviet Academy of Painting, and one in the Moscow State Theatrical Museum.

[24]Facade design now Hermitage, no. 23503, plan no. 23504.

[25]One of Prieur's volumes is reprinted in Helen Rosenau, "The Engravings of the Grand Prix of the French Academy of Architecture", Architectural History 3 (1960): 15-180.

[26]Grabar, in "Débuts du classicisme", 87-89, was the first to demonstrate this rather unattractive side to Thomon's character. Thomon's Proje d'un Mausolée was nearly identical to one which won a French architect named Moreau the Grand Prix in 1785; a project for a chapel was copied from one by Jean-Nicolas Sobre (act. 1786-c.1805), a pupil of Ledoux. Thomon signed as his own work a Coupe d'un Cathédrale identical to one by Moîte, a second-prize winner at the Academy in 1781.

[27]In 1914, the cylindrical wooden vault was

replaced by one of ferrous concrete. M. P. Vyatkin, ed., Essays in the History of Leningrad, (Moscow: USSR Academy of Sciences, 1955) 1:552.

[28]Letter written by Thomon, dated 1803. Quoted in Troubnikoff, "Thomon", 509. I have corrected some minor grammatical errors; it is impossible to determine whether these were Thomon's or not.

[29]Reproduced in Oshchepkov, Tomon, no. 19. Now in the Moscow Museum of the Academy of Paining.

[30]Ibid., nos. 21, 24, 36.

[31]Ibid., no. 27.

[32]Grabar, ed. Istoriya, 3: 499.

[33]James H. Bater, St. Petersburg (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1976), p. 258.

[34]In his Mémoires sur les hôpitaux de Paris (Paris, 1788). See Helen Rosenau, Social Purpose in Architecture (London: Studio Vista, 1970), p. 52.

[35]Illustrated in Oshchepkov, Tomon, no. 57a.

[36]Odessa Hospital designs now in the Hermitage, nos 23450 and 23451. This 1804 project strongly resembles George Dance the Younger's St. Luke's Hospital for the Insane, built in London 1782-84, and John P. Gandy's competition design for the new Bethlem Hospital (1810-11).

[37]The Odessa Hospital was listed by Thomon among his achievements in his 1810 letter to the Academy, but it has not been possible to trace its subsequent history.

[38]Plan reproduced in Oshchepkov, Tomon, no. 75.

[39]Grabar suggests a specific prototype in Larsonneur's design for a guard house ("Médaille décernée par l'Académie", sometime during the 1780s), which shows the addition of keystone and voussoir shapes to the pediment. These motifs were successfully used in the pavilions of Thomon's warehouse. "Débuts du classicisme", 85.

[40]The others are the houses for the "maître de Police", the "maître de poste", the "Ecole publique", "Bâtiment pour un Maréchal ferrant", "Auberge", "Projet d'un Bain de Vapeur" (a uniquely Russian contribution to the standard architectural repertoire!), "Pavillon de Plaisance", eight "Divers Bâtiments", three "Fontaines publiques", and a "Projet d'un Bourse". Listed in Troubnikoff, "Thomon", 511; some illustrated in Oshchepkov, Tomon, nos. 78-86.

[41]Mario Praz, "The Meaning and Diffusion of the Empire Style", in Council of Europe, The Age of Neo-Classicism, Catalogue of the Fourteenth Exhibition of the Council of Europe (London: Arts Council of Great Britain, 1972), xciv. According to Praz, such details as the number of columns and the shape of the pediments signified the hierarchical rank of the buildings.

[42]Plan of the base, dated 1811, now in the Hermitage, no. 23453. Reproduced in Oshchepkov, Tomon, no. 94.

[43]That this commission sparked Thomon's imagination is evident from two project designs for victory columns and obelisks illustrated in Oshchepkov, Tomon, nos. 95 and 96. In one, the symbolism of the cannon snout as trophy of war is extended to absurdity, as they bristle from every layer of an even higher circular podium and base. In the other drawing, six variant projects are displayed in a park-like setting. These are geometric plays on the column and obelisk types.

In the same commemorative vein are six projects for triumphal gates, executed in 1807. Although one is very similar to Percier and Fontaine's contemporary Arc du Carrousel in Paris, they are generally the products of a more stringent neo-classicism than that which characterized Napoleonic France. Illustrated in Oshchepkov, Tomon, nos. 8-13.

[44]Cf. the Encyclopédie article on "Sculpture":

> "Thus the worthiest goal of sculpture, considered from the moral point of view, is to perpetuate the memory of famous men and to provide models of virtue . . . ."

Denis Diderot and others, Encyclopedia: Selections, ed. and trans. Nelly S. Hoyt and Thomas Cassirer, (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1965), p. 312.

[45]Hautecoeur states that this structure, built between 1806 and 1808, was intended to be a sacellum in

the manner of the ancients. L'Architecture, p. 85. Project design now in Moscow, Museum of the Academy of Soviet Architecture, no. 2961.

[46]Reproduced in Oshchepkov, Tomon, no. 100.

[47]Compare the appearance of the pyramid in Antonio Canova's monument to the Archduchess Maria Christina, 1799-1805, in Vienna, Augustiner-Kirche, and Michel-Ange Slodz's monument to Archbishop Montmorin, 1740-44, Vienne Cathedral.

[48]Among his other accomplishments, Thomon in his 1810 letter cites "les fontaines sur la route de Tzarkocello" but no record can be found of these. Thomon had a long-standing interest in fountain design. Six drawings from his album Souvenir d'Italie show them (Oshchepkov, nos. 108 and 109), and there exists an 1807 plan for a fountain in Poltava, now in the Hermitage, no. 23502. At least six projects survive from 1809 (Oshchepkov, no. 111). All are additively composed of rigidly geometric elements: some are elaborated with a variety of exotic sculptural motifs, including figures, Grecian urns, even a Viking longship.

[49]Few copies of this are extant and none were available for use in this study.

[50]Pantheon, dated 1790, now Hermitage, no. 40487. The first two are reproduced in Oshchepkov, Tomon, nos. 124 and 128. Aqueduct is illustrated in Artist 32 (September 1946):23, no location given. A full list of Thomon's "perspective views" of antiquity is offered in his Traité de peinture.

[51]Dated 1805. Now in Hermitage, no. 9248. Reproduced in Oshchepkov, Tomon, no. 128.

[52]In Europe, architects who were also interior designers, to name only the most famous, included Robert Adam (1728-92) and William Chambers (1726-96) in England; A.-T. Brogniart (1739-1813), Percier and Fontaine in France; Piranesi in Italy; and Karl Friedrich Schinkel (1781-1841) in Germany.

[53]Quoted in Serge Grandjean, Empire Furniture: 1800 to 1825 (New York: Taplinger, 1966), p. 84.

[54]Grandjean, Furniture, p. 32

[55]Richard Hare, The Art and Artists of Russia (London: Methuen, 1965), p. 259, notes Thomon's involvement with the Glass Factory. Grandjean, Furniture, p. 64, states that Thomon designed furniture for the Tsar and was in general Alexander's advisor in matters of art.

[56]Designs reproduced in Oshchepkov, Tomon, nos. 60 and 61.

[57]Reproduced in Oshchepkov, Tomon, nos. 60 and 61.

[58]Mario Praz, On Neoclassicism, trans. Angus Davidson (London: Thames and Hudson, 1969), p. 157.

[59]This point of view is becoming more generally accepted in art history, although in certain fields faster than in others. See George Kubler, The Shape of Time (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962), pp. 7-8 for an elegant exposition of "talent versus opportunity" to which I am indebted. See also Linda Nochlin, "Why Are There No Great Women Artists?" in Women in Sexist Society, ed. Vivian Gornick and Barbara K. Moran, Mentor Books (New York: New American Library, 1971), pp. 480-510, for a discussion with far broader implications than the title might suggest.

CHAPTER II

THE STYLE OF THE BOURSE AND ITS SOURCES IN THE FRENCH ACADEMIC TRADITION

Thomas de Thomon received his formal training at the Academy of Architecture. The motifs, compositional patterns, and subjects favoured by the Paris academicians in the last three decades of the century together formed the last distinctive European exegesis of classical architecture. The St. Petersburg Bourse provides the outstanding executed example of this style, variously labelled "romantic classicism" or "revolutionary neo-classicism".

The term "romantic classicism" was introduced into English by Fiske Kimball, who considered all classicism of the mid- and late eighteenth century to be romantic in origin.[1] This seeming paradox disappears if one recalls, with Friedlaender, that "classicism" and "romanticism" refer to different levels of experience"

> The one implies an ideal of form directly or indirectly dependent upon the antique, while the other describes a mood or sentiment which a creative artist expresses through the medium of his work.[2]

The French architects' idea of form was classical, but their mood was romantic, involving both primitivist and Utopian

longings. In this sense the phrase "romantic classicism", although awkward, does embrace an important quality of their style.

The label "revolutionary neo-classicism" (or "classicism") is problematic, since most architects in the style were not politically active. The association of political and artistic revolution in eighteenth-century France is not new--Victor Hugo made contemptuous reference to "Messidor architecture"[3]--and it is valid at a subtler level. There exists an affinity between reformist social philosophy--to which such absolute monarchs as Catherine II and Alexander I adhered--and the architecture of late eighteenth-century France. This social philosophy did not advocate political revolution, but its premises were later adapted by those who did. The architectural treatises, notably those of Boullée and Ledoux, instructors at the Academy during Thomon's student days, provide the vital link between political theory and building practice. Theory and practice shared the premises of "enlightened" thought, and we may not attain any full appreciation of the Bourse as "revolutionary neo-classicism" without an understanding of the philosophical framework expressed in these treatises.

As the most articulate French architects of the period, Boullée and Ledoux have received their fair share of scholarly attention, which has perhaps over-emphasized their singularity.[4] In this chapter, they are discussed as

part of the mainstream of French academic theory and practice, as it ultimately influenced architecture in Great Britain, Germany, Scandinavia, and Russia.

Contemporary practitioners and learned supporters called the painting style of late eighteenth-century Europe simply the "true" or "correct" style. The term "neo-classicism", by which we now know this new artistic attitude, was first applied in the 1880s when good taste had learned to deprecate it.[5] "Neo-classicism" will be used here to designate both the painting and architecture of late eighteenth-century France, unless special distinction must be made betwen it and earlier artistic traditions dependent on classical canons. In this discussion, too, "architecture" is not confined to executed buildings, but embraces treatises, fantasies, and unexecuted projects as well; for a new emphasis on architectural representation as an integral part of architectural practise (or even as a satisfying replacement for building) was one of the most distinctive aspects of this neo-classicism.

The neo-classicism devised at the Paris Academy in which Thomon trained may be fairly labelled both "romantic" and "revolutionary". Yet the one implies a subjective, nostalgic and often passive approach to art and life; the other, a dynamic, utilitarian and progressive approach. This paradox reflects a fundamental schism in the thought

of enlightened Europe, for neo-classicism was a reflection of its age. It reconciled, however uneasily at times, romanticism with revolution.

Sources for Neo-classicism: The "Roman School"

In his day, Thomas de Thomon was equally renowned for his graphic works and his executed architecture. Furthermore, he seems to have established himself in St. Petersburg as a practising architect solely on the basis of project designs. This seems to imply that these designs--surely judged on their painterly as well as their architectural merits--were considered sufficient proof of his skill.

This attitude was not confined to the Russian Court but was rather a constant theme in French neo-classical practice during the preceding century. Its origins were not in France, however, but in the salons, academies, and archaeological excavations of Italy. Rome in particular had never lost its fascination for foreigners like Thomon, who continued through the century to meet and exchange ideas against a backdrop of antique ruin. The Roman contribution to the development of neo-classical painting is well known, but its importance for architecture should be emphasized as well. At the Académie de France in Rome, the most gifted painting and architecture students directed their skills towards architectural fantasy and

festival design. Through the 1740s, they evolved a theatrical, grandiose, and consummately romantic species of architectural representation which was to have a profound effect on Parisian academic instruction and practice upon their return.

The painters included Charles Michel-Ange Challe, who had begun in France as a student of architecture (1718-78; in Rome 1741-49), Louise-Joseph Le Lorrain (1715-59; in Rome 1740-48) and Joseph-Marie Vien (1716-1809; in Rome 1744-50). The most remarkable architectural student was Jean-Laurent Legeay (c.1710-c.1786; in Rome 1737-42). All outstayed the normal three year period in Rome; all made successful re-entries into the French academic system but (with the exception of Vien) as designers and instructors rather than practising architects and painters. As instructors, they are relevant to this discussion. Thomon would have been taught by Legeay and his pupils Peyre, Charles de Wailly, and Boullée who were themselves influential academicians. Thomon was probably familiar, too, with the work of Challe, who was Professor of Perspective at the Academy of Painting during Thomon's student days.

In 1720, the Académie royale d'Architecture in Paris introduced an annual Prix de Rome competition like those of the older Académie royale de Peinture et de Sculpture. Since 1666, winners of the Prix de Rome in

painting and sculpture had been awarded a three-year scholarship to study at the Académie de France in Rome. There, the students were to continue their formal studies with special emphasis on the copying of the most valuable works of antique and Renaissance Rome. Similarly, students from the Academy of Architecture were required to survey ancient buildings during their three-year stay.

Many students took only a desultory interest in their prescribed programme: Challe lingered seven years over his copy of a fresco by Raphael.[6] However, more interesting and potentially lucrative opportunities presented themselves, and Challe and his colleagues Le Lorrain and Vien turned to festival design. In this they were joined by the architecture students in residence, notably Legeay.

The eighteenth century saw great public festivals all over Europe and opportunities to pursue this interest were abundant in Rome. Louis-Joseph Le Lorrain assisted the Roman authorities with designs for the semi-annual Festa della Chinea, of which the design of 1746 (Fig. 21) may be considered typical. He planned an elaborate temporary structure in the form of a temple to Minerva, but his design is far from the rational outline of architectural form one might expect. Clouds of incense obscure the temple in an approach to architectural representation which is theatrical in the sense of regarding the building only as

a suitable backdrop for dramatic human ceremony.

Le Lorrain's tendency to obscure the distinction between painting and architecture reflected a common student interest in the work of Piranesi, who himself had many contacts in the French school. Like the French students, Piranesi was more influential as an instructor and theoretician than as a practising architect. Direct and mutual influences can be traced in a kind of architectural representation which presents romantic pastiches with detail drawn from antique, Renaissance, and Baroque models. Challe's Fantasy of about 1747 (Fig. 22), for example, presents three huge pyramidal forms, scored by ascending stairs. They dwarf not only the cloaked figures on the ground, but also a triumphal arch and arcade surmounted by elaborate triumphal columns, in a representation which owes a great deal to Piranesi's vision.[7] In their colossal scale, fascination with the movement created by patterns of light and shadow, and asymmetric angles of vision, Piranesi and Challe remain stylistically within the painterly, Baroque tradition. One recalls their ultimate source, through Piranesi, in the Venetian stage designs of Bibienas and others.[8]

Upon their return to France, most pensionnaires made successful re-entries into the French academic system. Challe taught as Professor of Perspective at the Academy of Painting, and became the designer of the royal Menus

Plaisirs, for court festivities. The ephemeral nature of festival architecture--an art form which became of great public importance during the Revolution--permitted the inclusion of the most advanced forms devised in Rome. Among the architects, Legeay enjoyed the greatest contemporary reputation: the architect Charles Chochin noted that the novelty and beauty of Legeay's designs revolutionized architectural studies, to the astonishment of the old academicians.[9] Like the other Roman students, Legeay was primarily influential not as a practitioner, but as an instructor of students the calibre of Peyre, Charles de Wailly, and Boullée. From him they learned not only specific architectural details, but a language of architural representation which emphasized colossal scale and dramatic lighting effects. Boullée's rendition of the Cathedral (Fig. 23) is, in this sense, the lineal descendent of Challe's Fantasy.

It is worth noting how painters and architects continued to invade one another's domain as Piranesi and the French students had in Rome. Challe began his career as a student of architecture, and eventually returned to his first interest as a festival designer. Four suites of engravings remain as the most significant production of the architect Legeay.[10] Jean-François Blondel (1705-74), the most influential teacher of the century, advised his pupils to acquire architectural taste through the paintings

of Raphael.[11] Boullée, pupil of both Legeay and Blondel, had started as a painting student, and apparently regretted his eventual choice of career for the rest of his life.[12] Finally, it will be recollected that Thomon was as renowned for his designs and sketches as his architecture.

These examples must suffice to indicate an important reason for a truly "revolutionary" trend in eighteenth century architecture.

> The architectural drawing took on the value of a finished work, for now there was increasingly less to distinguish the plan of a fine piece of architecture, the inventions of an ornamentalist, or elaborate perspective drawings from the works of a landscape painter or painter of ruins.[13]

Furthermore, the distinction between architectural representation and the executed buildings themselves became obscured. With the growing circulation of the architectural treatises, the graphic renderings of buildings--projected or actually built--became increasingly important to the development of the style.

Sources for Neo-classicism: Theory

During certain periods, notably the Renaissance and the mid-eighteenth century, architectural writings played an important role in stylistic development. Neo-classicism, with its theoretical dependence upon universally-valued "ideal types" was particularly susceptible to literary evaluation in the eyes of layman and

architect alike.

By the 1760s, the architectural Rococo had no articulate defenders in France, although a few patrons were still unenlightened enough to prefer it. Indeed, the Rococo was variously attacked on aesthetic, moral and functional grounds, and its critics were united in a call for a return to simplicity in architecture. These critics were antiquarians, architects, and philosophes who saw it as their pleasure and duty to collect, study, and write about art.

The extant model for "simple" architecture was undoubtedly classical architecture, becoming better understood at this time through the efforts of the archaeologists. However, one did not study Greek and Roman architecture in order to build more Greek and Roman architecture, for imitation was in theory disparaged. Rather, one hoped to learn "natural" simplicity and rational adherence to structural necessity through those great examples. As Boullee put it, "j'entends par art tout ce qui a pour objet, l'imitation de la nature . . .".[14]

In some instances it was popular writers, essentially literary middlemen, who articulated the ideal of natural simplicity in architecture just as others explained Newton's universe or Locke's epistemology to the literate public. Thus one of the most influential of the architectural theorists was Marc-Antoine Laugier (1713-69),

a Jesuit diplomat and writer of very limited practical experience.

In his Essai sur l'architecture (Paris, 1753) and Observations sur l'architecture (The Hague, 1765) Laugier, in the customary fashion, praises Greek architecture as a source of firm standards independent of personal taste. However Laugier took the fundamental neo-classical concept of "universal consent" one step further. Like many of his countrymen, Laugier admired the work of Newton, and in his first book attempts to demonstrate that art, like science, is merely an elaboration of first principles which govern the whole in its diversity.[15] To Laugier, the primitive hut embodied the first principles of architecture, and thus formed the norm by which contemporary architecture should be judged. The frontispiece of the Essai depicts this hut, consisting simply of four uprights of living trees, four crosspieces, and a roof. Absolute beauty may be found in this example of "natural" architecture, purer even than that of the Greeks. Certain corollaries are drawn, the most important of which is the rejection of all forms deviating from the simplicity of nature. This meant not only the exclusion of superfluous ornament, but indeed of all components not structurally necessary. The example of the hut proves that only the columns, entablature, and pediment are necessary to any building.[16]

According to Blondel, the Essai was avidly read by the young architects, although many criticized it,

resenting the intrusion of "philosophical" enquiry into their craft.[17] But architects themselves began to discuss their craft by the light of reason. Blondel's own Cours d'architecture (1771-73) asserted that the "enlightened" builder was to be guided by reason in a rejection of all that did not contribute to a building's fitness for use.[18] The architect of the Odéon, Marie-Joseph Peyre, wrote in his Oeuvres d'architecture (1765) that the imitation of the Antique was only a preliminary step and that the examples could be surpassed. Although the Baroque canons of architectural unity and harmonious proportions were still important to him, he too aspired to simplicity in architecture, to "impress the soul".[19]

Such vague effusions may seem far removed from the expensive and necessarily co-operative effort that is building construction. However, the books were read with serious and critical consideration by practising architects and students, among them Thomon. This is evident not only from contemporary records, but from the evidence of the buildings themselves which apply the restrictive canons of the theorists with increasing severity. Plain, sturdy columns and unbroken pediments replace the rich profusion of Baroque facades in accordance with the new ideals of "simplicity" and the "natural" revelation of structure.

The Revolution in Style

The neo-classicism which emerged in late eighteenth-century France reconciled the romanticism of "Roman-style" architectural representation with the rational discipline advocated by the theorists. A third catalyst, to be discussed in the next chapter, emerged in the wave of archaeological interest which swept Paris in the 1760s. The architecture which developed through the interaction of these impulses was stylistically indeed "revolutionary". It incorporated new architectural elements into compositional patterns very different from those of Baroque architecture. Its promoters praised simplicity as perceived in the model of antique architecture, and some architects discarded even the clarity of classical form in favour of a starker geometry.

It has already been suggested that the criterion of originality if not applicable in judging eighteenth-century architecture: even with this stipulation in mind, Thomon's Bourse can only be regarded as a clever incorporation of a number of academic projects. The pattern of a low pedimented temple flanked by two rostral columns had become an academic cliché in France twenty years before the construction of Thomon's masterpiece. The Bourse is worth examination as one of the few neo-classical ensembles built in entirety, not as a new solution to an artistic problem. However, Thomon's building and its academic prototypes

provide excellent examples of the new style in all its subtlety, and will be used throughout this discussion.

Although European Baroque architecture by no means formed as coherent a style as this severe neo-classicism, its principal stylistic features may be summarized as

> a preference for a large scale, the use of irregular and complex forms, movement in line, mass and space, a fusion of the arts of painting and sculpture with architecture, the bold use of illusionism and directed light, dramatic action extended over architectural space, and richness of materials.[20]

The differentiation of the Baroque and Rococo styles is a problem, but in general one might safely say that the Rococo, successor to the Baroque in France, further obscured the visible structural elements of column, entablature and pilaster, or else used them in a purely decorative spirit.[21]

A mutually exclusive distinction between "Baroque" and "neo-classical" architecture would be misleading, for they shared some qualities. Both derived some inspiration from the architecture of classical antiquity; both strived for monumental and dramatic effect. However, the differences between seventeenth- and late eighteenth-century European architecture are immediately evident. Neo-classicism avoided blended sculpture and architecture, preferring flat reliefs after classical models. For the elaborate variation of architectural elements of the Baroque, it

substituted blank walls, unbroken pediments, and the plainest classical orders. The component parts of a Baroque building are fluidly united but the individual parts of a neo-classical structure are clearly defined and isolated to the eye. In this respect it resembles antique architecture as exemplified in the Greek temple, where one may "read" the structural organization from the exterior. This structural clarity, conforming to "natural law" as applied to architecture by the theorists, provides the chief distinction between neo-classicism and the illusionism of the Rococo.

Columns, justified by the twin lights of archaeological interest and structural necessity, were used in monotonous succession on the facades of neo-classical buildings. The low pedimented temple with a columned portico, or even encircled by columns, was a standard academic response to competitions posing a variety of building types. In his Projet d'une banque nationale, a medal winner at the Academy in 1780, an architectural student named Bergognon presented a low, plain facade marked only by a small arcade (Fig. 24). Above the cornice the triangular roof is broken by the semi-circular opening familiar from Thomon's first and second Bourse variants.[22] Bergognon's arcade is surmounted by a relief in a square frame. Such low reliefs, looking as if the decoration of an "Etruscan" vase had been transferred to the building,

were virtually the only sculptural decoration these purists allowed themselves, in striking contrast to the three-dimensional integration of sculpture and architecture of the Baroque. Thomon used a similar arrangement on the facade of the Laval Palace (Fig. 3).

A visual tension emerges between the elements of a building in which each component part is given independence and equivalence. This is used to dramatic effect in Thomon's first Bourse project (Fig. 7), and in Pierre Bernard's Bourse project in 1782, previously mentioned as a model for Thomon's design (Fig. 8). A comparison of the two shows that Bernard stayed closer to the Greek source of his inspiration, with a plain Doric pediment above the heavy cornice instead of Thomon's semi-circular opening. Both architects interpreted the colonnade as a "flat-roofed porch or loggia, behind which the building proper rises . . . in a clerestory fashion . . . ".[23] Thus the colonnade and the main hall of the building, while structurally united, are visually separate. Neo-classicism commonly displays this ambiguous, additive quality, in contrast to the organic concatenation of the Baroque.

The projects illustrate another distinctive feature of the new style, the emphasis on horizontal articulation. With no firm proportional relationships established, the monument separates into layers divided by endless and unbroken cornices.

The new compositional principles are well demonstrated in the work of Etienne-Louis Boullée (1728-99). Although an influential instructor and active member of the Academy of Architecture from 1762, few of Boullée's designs were built. For an indication of his particular genius one must turn to his manuscript Architecture: Essai sur l'art.[24] Boullée's text forms an interesting discussion of architecture as the purest expression of Nature, but it is in his attached designs that the full power of the new style emerges.

In Boullée's Projet de Museum of 1783, the plan alone demonstrates the new compositional patterns. It is completely symmetrical, with four semi-circular porticoes on each side of blind walls enclosing a square court. Within the court stands the Temple à la Renommée (Temple of Fame) in the shape of a Greek cross. In the drawing, its porticoes seem to thrust through the blind walls just as the cylindrical centre of the Temple emerges from the cubic substructure (Fig. 25). The three major parts of the Museum--porticoes, court, and Temple--are completely independent geometric forms. The Temple assumes a certain dominance by virtue of its central position, but otherwise no part is assigned special importance.

As we have seen in Bergognon's Banque, neo-classicism discarded the elaborate architectural decoration of the Baroque in favour of plain surfaces which do not

conceal the component volumes of the structure. Compensatory interest is added through dramatic shadow effects. In the absence of the integrated architectural sculpture of the Baroque, there is a revival of the exaggerated textural effects of Mannerist architecture, which many French architects would have had opportunity to see in Italy. The Renaissance had sought "ideal" architecture, independent of the nature of the materials. Neo-classicists, seeking Nature, shuddered at the illusionism of stucco pilasters and embraced the opportunity to emphasize the "stoniness" of masonry, particularly through rustication. A favorite device was the exaggerated keystone, used by Thomon in his tallow warehouse in St. Petersburg (Fig. 12). It had been featured by Jean-Jacques Tardieu (1762- ?) in a design which bears strong resemblance to the St. Petersburg Bourse (Fig. 28).[25] Tardie's design of an Exchange for a Sea Port had won the Prix d'emulation (Honourable Mention) in the Prix de Rome competition of 1786. It is also in the low temple form with flanking lighthouses and features a large semi-circular opening, marked by exaggerated keystones, above the cornice line.

Rustication in its extreme form evoked the starkness of classical ruins, which held extraordinarily powerful associations for contemporary aesthetes. But these neo-classicists (in theory, if not always in practice)

saw the example of those plain Antique orders as the means to an even purer, more "natural" end. Stylistically, this desire manifested itself in pure geometric shapes, such as Thomon's semi-circular Bourse window, Boullée's cyclindrical Temple, and Peyre's solidly rectangular Odeon facade (Fig. 5). Such geometric forms lent themselves to simplicity and the new compositional principle of independence, in contrast to the flowing organic features of the Baroque.

A dramatic and lucid method of isolating the component parts of a building was the use of colour contrast architecture. In Western Europe, architectural polychromy did not appear until the 1830s, but in Russia a strong native tradition of coloured architecture survived to become a distinctive feature of eighteenth-century architecture there. Thomon applied a three-part colour scheme to the Bourse, clarifying the relationship of the component parts to the whole. The pediment was of greyish-red granite, all load-bearing parts of the colonnade and the main building white, and the walls were washed pale grey-green.[26]

Two massive granite spheres on cubic pedestals mark the opening of the sweeping semi-circle of the embankment in front of Thomon's Bourse (Fig. 27). As Vogt points out, these spheres are highlighted in a contemporary reproduction, implying that they were

considered one of the key motifs of the complex.[27] The prototype for these forms was Goethe's Altar of Good Fortune (Agatha Tyche) designed in 1777 for the garden of the poet's house in Weimar. It is doubtful that Thomon imbued these with the depth of symbolism intended by Goethe: "restless desires, represented by the instability of the sphere, are finally put to rest by virtue, represented by the stability of the solid block".[28] We may speculate that the Frenchman appreciated the motif rather as the ultimate geometric reduction of architectural form, a process sanctioned by the example of his masters Boullée and Ledoux.

For Boullée, the purpose of pure geometric shapes was the evocation of emotional responses from the viewer. Among the currents of thought then prevalent was the notion that emotions and instincts, being natural, were bettwe guides to art and behavior than reason. Boullée's treatise deals with the intrinsic power of shapes, "their power to stir our senses, their analogy with our own physical structure".[29] The cube, pyramid, cylinder, and sphere are independent forms of expression with innate aesthetic and symbolic qualities. Claude-Nicholas Ledoux (1736-1806) was also a theoretician. In his L'Architecture considérée sous la rapport de l'art, des moeurs et de la législation (Paris, 1804) he wrote that in order to discover the prime elements of architectural beauty--also the purpose of Laugier--the architect must go beyond the classical orders

and discern the elemental forms which comprise them.

> Those who circumscribe their inspiration within the pentameter [five orders] are misled. Real harmony consists in the way one uses the notes from which it is fashioned.

The circle and the square are the "notes" from which this "harmony" is formed. "There you have the letters of the alphabet used by artists in putting together their best works."[30]

Neo-classical architects sought a "natural" style. They found it through compositional patterns which exemplified structural rationality. The component elements--windows, doors, porticoes, cornices, columns--were those of the "primitive" Greek and Tuscan Doric orders, or the even more natural forms of elementary geometry. Walls were freed from heavy sculptural embellishment, if not from Manneristic stone treatments.

These changes contributed to a "revolution" in style, but they do not themselves form neo-classicism, which included as well new attitudes toward building function and the role of the architect.

Public and Visionary Architecture

We have seen that Thomon as an architect in the Russian Empire built theatres, an exchange, warehouses, a hospital, and various memorials and fountains. Only a relatively small part of his work was for private patronage. For the most part he was sponsored by the Russian State,

and in this respect, Thomon's career was typical of the period.

If one associates the Baroque in all its stylistic variations with palaces and churches, neo-classicism was rather the style of theatres, banks, hospitals, and exchanges. It was a public architecture, sponsored by emerging European and North American states to provide a home for secular and social, rather than religious and aristocratic, institutions. New forms had to be found for new institutions such as public museums, and for old institutions such as exchanges, by then confined in inappropriate or inadequate structures.

In most countries public monuments began to flourish only in the early nineteenth century. As early as the 1760s, however, the Paris Academy of Architecture had set public buildings as competition projects. Poor economic conditions in France prevented the contemporary realization of these buildings. Paradoxically enough, the architects most vociferous in their demands for socially useful monuments seem to have preferred it that way. Boullée and Ledoux sought a "pure" architecture, divorced from the necessity of conforming to the demands of cloddish patronage, whether public or private. In a continuation of the preferred genres of the "Roman school" of the 1740s, they considered architectural projects, now often dismissed as fantasy, the only personally fulfilling products of their craft.

It is difficult for the modern observer to consider architecture separately from the art of building, but an attempt must be made in order to appreciate the irony of this neo-classicism. In attempting to serve public needs on a too-grandiose scale, it remained largely the dream of the individual artist.

The emergence of publicly-sponsored buildings as subjects for architectural projects was concomitant with the academic rejection of the Rococo.

> Il n'en est pas des productions de l'architecture comme de celles des autres arts. Celles-ci interessent plus particulièrement leurs auteurs. Celles-là, au contraire, intéressent le Gouvernement, la Nation.[31]

As this passage suggests, Boullée devoted the major part of his treatise to a discussion of public structures such as city gates, an opera, a court house, and a library.

> Il est des sujets en Poésie, en Peinture, comme en architecture, plus ou moins favorables: en architecture par example, un Théâtre, un Cénotaphe, un temple, sont des sujets marqués, par conséquent susceptibles d'être saisis et caractérisés par un main habile.
>
> Les sujets stériles sont ceux d'habitations . . . il est difficile d'y introduire la Poésie de l'architecture.[32]

Thus Boullée dismisses houses, architectural problems unworthy of the artist's consideration. As an active member of the Academy, he sat on several occasions as a member of the commission choosing themes for the Prix de Rome competition, themes which reflect the new preference for public buildings.[33]

Boullée's interests were shared by other influential members of the Academy of Architecture. Blondel had written at length about the construction of such utilitarian buildings as mints, exchanges, judiciary buildings, and markets.[34] Ledoux had also grown interested in projects for public buildings after an early career devoted to the construction of fashionable Parisian hôtels.

One reason for this new preference was the consideration of actual social needs as presented in contemporary writings dealing with economic, social, and judicial reform. In the influential Wealth of Nations, for example, Adam Smith reflected the ideas of the French Physiocrats with whom he had studied when he wrote that one of the duties "of the Sovereign or commonwealth is that of erecting and maintaining those public works which, though they may be in the highest degree advantageous to a great society, are . . . of such a nature that the profit could never repay the expense".[35] The "public works" to which Smith refers are roads, canals, bridges, and harbours, yet more radical reformers extended the responsibility of the public sector to include other monuments. According to one egalitarian thinker and revolutionary, François-Noël Babeuf:

> Quand il n'y aurait plus de palais, il n'y aurait plus de masures; les maisons seraient simples, et la magnificence de l'architecture et des arts . . . serait réservée aux magasins publics, aux amphithéâtres, aux cirques, aux aqueducs, aux ponts, aux canaux, aux places,

> aux archives, aux bibliothèques, et surtout aux lieux consacrés aux délibérations des magistrats et à l'exercice de la souveraineté populaire.[36]

The very definition of the word "monument" had undergone a change in the French lexicon. Etymologically, and in older French dictionaries, the word had been used in the sense of a comme orative edifice.[37] Compare the definitions of the antiquarian Quatremère de Quincy (1755-1849): "monumental architecture presupposes a complete organization of the surrounding masses"; and Boullée:

> Un monument colossal doit exciter notre admiration . . . . Sa proportion doit atténuer tout ce qui l'environne.[38]

Under this definition, theatres, as well as palaces and cathedrals, could be subsumed. In one sense, neo-classical buildings remained monuments under the traditional definition: monuments neither to an individual patron, nor to God, but to collective purpose. A new kind of social grouping, the modern state, was being created even before the French Revolution under the "enlightened despots" of Europe. These states "demanded visible demonstration of this progress" in the form of schools, law courts, prisons, non-denominational cemetaries, museums, theatres, banks and exchanges.[39] Some of these did not emerge as special building types until the early nineteenth century. Until then, many social functions could be accommodated in buildings adapted and modified to suit the new requirements:

plays were presented in estate ballrooms, law courts sat in medieval council chambers. For the most part it was only in early nineteenth-century Europe that urban populations expanded, and administrative complexity grew to the point that governments were forced to commission truly public buildings.

Thomon's Exchange is a perfect example of this "revolution" in architecture, linking as it does the precocious problems the French academicians set themselves with the needs of the new states. Traditionally, exchanges, even if erected specifically to provide a meeting place for merchants, were in design still closely associated with the medieval cloister and guildhall. The Birzha,[40] one of the first buildings erected in Peter the Great's new capital, followed the "Dutch" style according to contemporary accounts.[41] As established in the London Royal Exchange (built by the Flemish mason Hendrik van Passe; opened in 1571) and the Amsterdam Beurs (built by Hendrik de Keyser, 1608-11) this building type typically featured an arcaded loggia around an open courtyard. This standard pattern had developed through the amalgamation of a number of earlier building types: the medieval cloister, Renaissance Italian palazzi, and Flemish guild- and town-halls.[42] These symbolic sanctions were obviously no longer significant for the secular states of later eighteenth-century Europe and another type of Bourse building developed. The

functional requirements are not exacting: a Bourse need only be situated close to the commercial activity of which it is the concrete expression. In design, it should provide an open hall in which the merchants may congregate, and some private offices. Thus the classical temple form, so desirable from a number of aesthetic and ideological points of view, was easily adapted to perfectly accommodate functional requirements as well. Thomon's colleagues were given opportunity through the academic competitions to design such a building; Thomon was fortunate enough to be able to construct it.

In many instances, the architecture of the French neo-classicists was never realized. In fact, of all the buildings so far examined, only two--Thomon's Bourse and Peyre's Odéon--were built. Although naturally only a very selective sample is presented, this disproportionate number of purely visionary structures reflects contemporary architectural activity rather accurately. Economic conditions in France did not permit much publicly-sponsored building in the last part of the century, but "paper architecture" was not produced wholly by default. For some architects, it seems to have been the preferred means of expression.

The Bibienas, Piranesi, and the "Roman school" of French architectural students after them had established

that architecture may enjoy an existence independent of execution, and that this existence might even offer some artistic advantages to the architect. By the removal of the restrictions of technology, capital, and use--by confining architecture to paper--the artist heightens architecture's capacity to exploit our need for self-dramatization, increasing "man's psychological stature to an angel's . . . ".[43] Such romantic fantasies cannot be defined simply as one genre of the two-dimensional graphic arts, for their effectiveness specifically depends on the designer's ability to permit the viewer to project himself into the scene and there find imaginative escape.[44]

Boullée summed up the attitude he inherited from the "Roman school":

> Qu'est-ce que l'architecture? La définerai-je avec Vitruve, l'art de bâtir? Non . . . Vitruve prend l'effet pour la cause.
>
> Il faut concevoir pour effectuer. Nos premiers pères n'ont bâti leur cabanes qu'après en avoir conçu l'image. C'est cette production de l'esprit, c'est cette création, qui constitue l'architecture.[45]

A constructed building is not the sum of "architecture" to Boullee, nor is it even a necessary part of it. By keeping architecture private, the creation of one man, the artist may sever his ties with unappreciative patrons and become free.

> On sçait que les personnes en place, qui ordonne les monumens publics, ne sont communément pas plus dociles que les particuliers. Qu'arrive-t-il donc? que, pour obéir à des ordres supérieures,

> l'architecte se voit dans la nécessité de renoncer à des belles idées.[46]

The radicalism of Boullée and Ledoux lies in their wish to make architecture absolute, cut off from utility. In their designs, which some modern scholars see as foreshadowing the functionalism of the twentieth century, one finds structures which could never have been built with contemporary technology.[47] It is indeed an architecture based on reason and necessity, but suffused with a mood of romantic exultation.

The inherent contradiction in a public architecture remaining purely theoretical tempts one to confine the "visionary architects", notably Boullée and Ledoux and some of their followers, to a footnote in architectural history. Yet the paradox represented by their work is one of the most interesting manifestations of a ubiquitous eighteenth century intellectual phenomenon. This was the uneasy co-existence of projection and achievement in all its incarnations: between selfless benevolence and pragmatic utilitarianism, nostalgic primitivism and the ideal of progress, sensibility and reason, romanticism and revolution. This is not to say that the same individuals consistently espoused either camp: most accommodated both, just as Boullée and Ledoux trumpeted social utility, yet designed buildings that were impossibly gigantic or otherwise infeasible.

In neo-classical architecture, the paradox began in mid-century, with the compromise between the extravagant "Roman school" of representation, expressed in the visionary designs, and the theorists' rationalism. One aspect of this rationalism was the didactic potency which some architects ascribed to architecture, yet as we shall see this pragmatism was inseparable from certain emotional and romantic corollaries.

Didactic Architecture

Since the opportunity to build public monuments was limited during the later years of the Old Regime, and even more so under the various Revolutionary governments, it seems odd that the French academicians preferred to devote their energy to such unfruitful subjects. The reason lies in a shared dream at the same time utilitarian and hopelessly romantic: the creation of a perfect social order through "ennobling" public projects. The association of this style with social reform was a major reason for its adoption by Catherine the Great and her grandson Alexander I. At present, the description of this intellectual link will be confined to the context of the French academic system in which some of their greatest architects, including Thomon, trained.

Among contemporary painters the notion prevailed that certain subjects enjoyed greater inherent dignity

than others. These subjects were those that lent themselves to moral lessons which were presumed to have potent impact on the mind of the viewer. Architecture is not, like painting, a narrative art, but this difficulty was overcome for the architects through the use of caractère, a term referring to the psychological impact of a building.

Some architects, notably Ledoux, saw themselves shaping a perfect society through the improving medium of their craft. Not all reformist or Utopian thinkers in France became revolutionaries, and indeed Boullée and Ledoux seem to have adhered to the thesis that France could be most efficiently governed by an enlightened monarch in conjunction with the Third Estate. Both were suspect during the Revolution. Thomon, of course, left France as a self-declared royalist. The "revolutionary" architects were therefore not revolutionaries, but they did accord great moral and social potency to architecture.

A concern with the ethical or didactic content of art had been an undercurrent in French painting at least since Poussin's time.[48] Later eighteenth-century painting revived this undercurrent, substituting improving themes and one-dimensional virtues for the frivolity and psychological subtlety of the Rococo. Architectural neo-classicism entered the arena too in an attempt to match the didacticism of painting; an attempt that is important even if it ultimately failed to have the popular impact

of David's canvases.

In order to appreciate this concept of art as a didactic medium, it is necessary to briefly examine contemporary philosophical currents. Generally, according to Enlightenment thinkers, what is "natural" is preferable to what is acquired by art. Natural law is easily comprehensible and self-evident, by the very light of Nature of which every man is part. This seems to obviate the need for art as an inculcator of moral virtue, but this contradiction (like so many others) was resolved in the following fashion: simple, unlettered men, uncontaminated by luxury and the other vices of civilization, may easily discover and practise natural goodness; but modern Europeans corrupted by prejudice and custom need teaching to rediscover natural law.[49] Thus, although man's original state was the most natural, the possibility existed that man might find future perfection in accordance with natural law. Art was to be a major instrument in the demonstration of natural goodness to man, who could not possibly resist the example which reflected his own unspoiled essence.

It is important to remember, in view of the popular association of didactic art with the canvases of J.-L. David and other artist-revolutionaries, that the call for improving themes began under Louis XV. Count D'Angiviller, the Directeur des Bâtiments from 1773 to 1791, was convinced of the "moral, political, and social value" of

works of art--among them David"s Oath of the Horatii--as a means to "revive the virtues and public sentiments".[50] This loyal sentiment was shared by Jacques-Louis David, the archetype of the artist-revolutionary:

> The true patriot ought to seize with avidity every means of enlightening his fellow citizens and of presenting ceaselessly to their eyes the sublime traits of heroism and virtue . . . . Citizens, the Supreme Being . . . wishes that I express my thought by the organ of painting.

On a later occasion, he said "The arts ought to contribute powerfully to public instruction."[51]

There was a similar call for didactic efficiency in architecture during the Revolution. Deputé Kersaint wrote in 1791:

> Affermissons la liberté et tout deviendra facile . . . . Pour y parvenir, joignons aux instructions de la parole le langage énergique des monumens: la confiance qu'il est nécessaire d'inspirer sur la stabilité de nos nouvelles lois s'établira, par une sorte d'instinct, sur la solidité des édifices destinés à les conserver et à en préparer la durée.[52]

As the deputy suggested, the problem of the lack of narrative element in architecture could be overcome through the presentation of what Boullée called caractère: the creation of a psychologically effective atmosphere suited to the function of the building.[53] Thus law courts and legislative assemblies must inspire confidence in the stability of the regime: but theatres and Vauxhalls could afford a "caractère de légéreté" achieved through a light

and delicate exterior treatment.[54]

An interest in the psychological impact of architecture did not originate with Boullée. Montesquieu and the theorist Laugier were among those who had noted that the Gothic style, although quaint, was admirably suited to its ecclesiastic function.[55] In his Ouvres, Peyre had written "La bonne Architecture produit sur notre âme, les affections les plus fortes; elle inspire la terreur, la crainte, . . . la volupté."[56] Boullée seems to have been the first to articulate that this caractère could be used in the service of didacticism. Yet even his ingenuity could not envisage how such specific virtues of patriotism and filial devotion--so easy for the painter to indicate through the selection of improving themes from the classics --could be inculcated with simple caractère. This lack could be conveniently overcome, however, through the use of a rather heavy-handed symbolism which in the next century received the useful title, architecture parlante.[57]

A perfect example of architecture parlante was Boullée's planned Palais de Justice, which was to sit on top of prisons:

> Il m'a semble qu'en présentent cet august Palais élevé sur l'antre ténébreux de Crime, je pourrois non seulement faire valoir la noblesse d'architecture par les oppositions qui en résulteroient, mais encore, présenter d'une manière métaphorique, le tableau imposant des Vices accablés sous les poids de la Justice.[58]

In another design, a fortified city gate sports archivolts made of gun barrels, in a manner reminiscent of Thomon's Poltava monument.[59] Ledoux summed up architecture parlante in his aphorism "L'art sans éloquence est comme l'amour sans virilité . . . ."[60] Thus public projects, commissions which lent themselves to treatments exciting powerful and socially desirable emotions in spectators, were favoured. Architecture had become a narrative language, with implications far wider than mere aesthetics, and architects saw themselves as spokesmen for a new society.

As early as 1765, Laugier had written that art was too important to leave to artists alone:

> . . . la Théorie des Arts n'est point l'affaire des artistes. Leur devoir se borne à en perfectionner les procédés. C'est aux Philosophes à porter le flambeau de la raison dans l'obscurité des principes & des régles. L'exécution est le propre de l'artiste, & c'est au Philosophe qu'appartient la législation.[61]

Laugier remarked that it would be advantageous if the same man were both Artist and Philosopher, but who would have the time or the genius? Two such men, Boullée and Ledoux, emerged before the end of the century, and attempted to span the gulf between art and artistic theory.

The personalities, philosophy, and designs of these architects differed in many ways, but both saw themselves as instruments of a new social order. Boullée never stated this overtly, allowing such projects as that for a National Assembly Hall to speak for themselves.[62] Ledoux was far

less diffident:

> Vous philosophes! Vous législateurs, qui dictez les lois du bonheur; vous souverains qui commandez! vous ministres des dieux . . . venez prendre ici un leçon

introduces one section of his significantly-titled L'architecture considérée sous le rapport de l'art, des moeurs et de la législation.[63] Ledoux regarded it as the privilege of the architect to concern himself with any issue

> . . . tout est de son ressort, politique, morale, législation, culte, gouvernements.
> Cet art qui rassemble toutes les connaissances, n'est-il par lié par des attractions sensibles, à l'administration générale, à la politique des coeurs, aux moeurs publiques et particulières, aux sciences, à la littérature, à l'économie rurale, au commerce?[64]

This attitude emerges most strongly in connection with his plans for an ideal town to be built at the saltworks of Chaux. The Hospice there, for example, was to be located at a distance from the city, in woods. The worthy traveller would gain shelter, but the suspected malefactor would be put on trial. If found guilty, he would be condemned to forced labour. To Ledoux, architecture was not a social convenience, but a model of natural law and goodness to which society might sometimes have to be forced to conform.

In his Introduction to L'Architecture, Ledoux is concerned with the question of vice and virtue and how they are inculcated. Using a memorable simile, he remarks "On

peut être verteux ou vicieux, comme le caillou rude ou poli, par le frottement dans ce qui nous entour . . . ."[65] The architect, creator of man's environment, willingly assumes responsibility for the development of man's moral qualities, the same qualities sought in the stoic Roman republicanism of David's canvases.

Unlike David, Boullée and Ledoux were not politically active during the Revolution. Boullée was suspected of Royalist tendencies,[66] and ironically enough, Ledoux became unpopular as the architect of the outstanding French examples of "revolutionary" architecture, the customs houses built around Paris between 1784 and 1789. He was arrested in 1793, narrowly escaped the guillotine, and freed in 1795, apparently to take his place on the academic juries again.

The missionary pose of Boullée and Ledoux explains a great deal about their architecture. The didactic function of architecture could be equally well realized in the drawings and text of treatises as in actual construction: thus most of their architecture remained on paper and they considered their writing at least as important as their designs. Many architects before and after them, including Thomon, produced illustrated treatises and albums but few, until the twentieth century, shared their proselytizing zeal.

This sense of mission; the emotional qualities

Boullée sought to infuse in his architecture; Ledoux's primitivist, anti-rational stance;[67] the freedom with which they shopped among historical styles--all suggest an incipient romanticism, a movement away from objective classical canons. Here one encouters the central problem posed by these two figures. It has been customary to single them out from the flow of eighteenth century "academic" development. Vogt, for example, considers that Boullée and the other revolutionary architects consciously opposed the exponents of neo-classicism, citing Boullée's statement that architects should not be the "slave of the ancients" but "the slave of nature".[68]

In theory, however, no academic architect advocated imitation of the past, and Boullée's statement was hardly radical. The return to classical models in the resurgence of academic authority in France was part of a search for "true" and uncorrupted form, a primitivistic search that involved a progressivist desire for change in a return to a simpler and more natural social order. Perhaps those architects who left no treatises could not have explained why the simple forms they used appeared "right" to them, but the difference between them and the "revolutionary" architects was simply the lack of that self-conscious and messianic sense of purpose which drove Boullée and Ledoux. To separate on the basis of "Neo-classic" and "Romantic" tendencies is as false in the study of architecture as in

painting. Thus the "revolutionary" architects can be labelled "romantic" without jeopardizing their position as influential and respected members of the dominantly neo-classical Paris Academy of Architecture. The influence of this Academy spread over half the globe, and was particularly welcomed by the Imperial Court in St. Petersburg.

International Neo-classicism

Although this chapter has concentrated on the theoretical premises and contributing artistic currents of what I have chosen to call "neo-classicism", there were actually several "neo-classicisms" prevailing in France through most of the eighteenth century. The stylistically severe variety was only one of these: until about 1780, a building erected in France was as likely to echo Palladio or Mansart as a "primitive" Greek temple. In the last two decades of the century, the few monumental buildings erected in Paris did display the blank walls, isolated elements, geometric forms, and plainer classical orders typical of the style.

Public sponsorship of architecture was limited due to a chronic shortage of funds under the Old Regime, but patronage dwindled even more during the unsettled years of the Revolution. For the most part, the architectural activity of the various revolutionary governments was

limited to organizing competitions for designs, like those for a National Assembly Hall, which were accumulated but never built. Two exceptions were the Salle de Cinq Cents (later the Chambre des Deputés) built into the Bourbon Palace 1795-97 by the architects Gisors and Leconte; and the Rue des Colonnes in Paris, an arcaded street built under the Directorate.

Far more significant in France were designs for temporary structures for the revolutionary festivals. Originally spontaneous, these festivals had soon become organized expressions of public enthusiasm and loyalty for which David designed portable pavilions, costumes and banners.[69] In the tradition of his master Vien, David was the last and greatest French artist to combine architecture and painting in the design of ephemeral festival structures. His designs, for example the flaming altars for the "Festival of Unity and Indivisibility" of 1793, were remarkably similar to those devised for the Roman religious processions half a century before.

Enlightened thinkers scorned nationalism, for was the light of reason not identical in all men?[70] Appropriately, neo-classicism, the architectural expression of the Enlightenment, was the most cosmopolitan style the world had seen prior to the present century. In architectural practice, the internationalism of form was supported not only by the universal sanction of antiquity and the Nature it represented, but by the willingness of

architects like Thomon to move around Europe to find patronage, by the wide distribution of numerous didactic treatises, and by the growing power of the art academies.

Thus the severe neo-classical style was demonstrated in the work of John Soane (1753-1837) in England, perhaps the first modern architect to use the archaic Doric column. In Germany, Carl Gotthard Langhans (1732-1808), Peter Speeth (1772-1831), Friedrich Gilly (1772-1841) were among those strongly influenced by the work of the French neo-classicists, particularly Ledoux. Carl August Ehrensvärd (1745-1800), a Swedish admiral, was one of the most spectacularly "archaic" designers of the period. In America, Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826) displayed geometric forms in his pavilions for the University of Virginia. In Russia, neo-classicism received some of its finest executed examples anywhere from the architects Thomon (1754-1813), Vasili Ivanovich Bazhenov (1737-99), Adrian Dmitrievich Zakharov (1761-1811) and Andrei Nikiforovich Voronokhin (1760-1814).

The ties between French and Russian architectural practice had been strong since the mid-eighteenth century, as indeed had cultural ties in general. In 1757, the Empress Elizabeth approved plans for the St. Petersburg Academy of Arts. It remained a department of the University of Moscow until 1763, at which time the artistically ambitious Empress Catherine enlarged its budget and

enrollment, and approved plans for its permanent home. Significantly, the Academy building itself was designed by a French architect, the great Jean-François Blondel, and executed by another, J.-B.-M. Vallin de la Mothe (1729-1800).

The regulations of the St. Petersburg Academy, like those of most other of the period, were modelled on those of the French Academies, although in St. Petersburg the schools of architecture, painting, and sculpture were grouped under one roof. Membership was, as in France, accorded in three grades: Associate, Academician, and Full Professor. The instructors at the school were almost exclusively recruited from France: Vallin de la Mothe was the first Professor of Architecture. In addition, the best students were sent abroad to Paris and Rome in groups of twelve every three years, to study with the masters there. Although their behavor was sometimes disreputable[71] many did well by any standards: a student named Volkov assisted Peyre and de Wailly on the building of the Odeon.

Thus the Russia in which Thomon arrived was fully prepared for this new neo-classical style, largely because of the international standardization of academic instruction. Although Alexander's reign saw its finest examples in Russia, notably Thomon's Bourse and Zakharov's New Admiralty, structures anticipating the style were built during Catherine's reign, discussed in the fourth chapter.

Conclusion

This chapter has touched on numerous aspects of the architectural neo-classicism devised in late eighteenth-century France: the style itself and what it looked like, its origins in the "Roman school" of architectural representation and in theory, and its preferred building subjects. As a student, Thomon read the treatises, studied the prize-winning projects, and incorporated what he learned from both into his own work. As a result, Thomon and his Bourse were products of the architecture of pre-Revolutionary France and the academic system which supported it.

In its simplicity and adherence to rational structure, neo-classical architecture reflected prevailing intellectual currents very closely. Yet this architecture was not just a by-product of its age: it was also a tool of those who sought to re-make France. Whether or not it succeeded as a force for social renewal beyond the circles already committed to change is beside the point. Neo-classical architecture was perceived to be an "image of persuasion",[72] and as such was adopted by the enlightened absolute rulers of Europe, and of the Russian Empire in particular.

In theory, the very simplicity of neo-classicism was to reflect and promote the onset of a new and pristine society. In practice, geometric severity gave way to

historicism--references to past styles for the sake of their intellectual and emotional associations--as the most effective method of injecting architecture with meaning. In the next chapter, the examination of Western European neo-classicism concludes with a look at the most important historicist symbols of the period, with specific reference to Thomon's Bourse.

Notes

[1]"Romantic Classicism in Architecture", Gazette des Beaux-Arts 25(1944):105. "Romantic" is to distinguish this architecture from that of the Renaissance, and the "academic classicism" of seventeenth century Holland, England, and France. I would argue that while French eighteenth-century classicism was romantic, it remained under academic domination. The term "romantic classicism" was coined by Sigfried Giedion, Spätbarocker und romantischer Klassizismus (Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1922).

[2]Walter Friedlaender, David to Delacroix, trans. Robert Goldwater (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1952), v.

[3]Quatre-vingt-treize (Paris, 1874)3:1,iii. Quoted in Jean-Marie Pérouse de Montclos, Etienne-Louis Boullée (1728-1799), trans. James Emmons (New York: Braziller, 1974), p. 43. Cf. Baudelaire (1855):

> "When that ice-cold star David, . . . rose above the artistic horizon a great revolution took place."

"The Universal Exhibition of 1855: The Fine Arts", in Baudelaire: Selected Writings on Art and Artists, trans. with an Introduction by P. E. Charvet, The Penguin Classics (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1972), p. 124.

[4]"Revolutionary" neo-classicism, particularly the visionary designs and writings of Boullée and Ledoux, has enjoyed increasing scholarly attention in the last fifty years, partly because aesthetic affinities are perceived between the older style and some twentieth century architectural movements. Witness the title of Emil Kaufmann's early study Von Ledoux bis Le Corbusier (Vienna, 1933), and J. C. Lemagny's comment

> "Ledoux, who went so far as to do away with all decoration . . . can be considered as one of the forerunners of modern architectural aesthetics."

Introduction, Visionary Architects: Boullée, Ledoux, Lequeu, Exhibition Catalogue (Houston: University of St. Thomas, 1968), p. 68.

[5]Hugh Honour, "Neo-classicism", in Council of Europe, The Age of Neo-Classicism, Catalogue, The Fourteenth Exhibition of the Council of Europe (London: The Arts Council of Great Britain, 1972), xxii

[6]Even in the early days of the Académie de France, Noël Coypel, its second director, complained that "Les peintres sont disgoutés de copier." Nikolaus Pevsner, Academies of Art (1940; rpt. New York: Da Capo Press, 1973), p. 100. On Challe, see Richard P. Wunder, "Charles Michel-Ange Challe", Apollo 87 (January, 1968): 23.

[7]See Wunder, "Challe", plates 8 and 9. John Harris draws a telling comparison between the works of Piranesi and Legeay, "Le Geay, Piranesi and International Neo-classicism in Rome 1740-1750", Essays in the History of Architecture Presented to Rudolf Wittkower, ed. Douglas Fraser and others (London: Phaidon Press, 1967), plates 15 and 18. This essay is the best available introduction to the "Roman school" as a whole.

[8]See Peter Murray, Piranesi and the Grandeur of Ancient Rome, Walter Neurath Memorial Lecture 1971 (London: Thames and Hudson, 1971), passim, for a detailed examination of the tradition of architectural representation of which Piranesi was the greatest exponent.

[9]Other returned architectural students included Gabriel-Pierre Martin Dumon (1720-90) and Ennemond-Alexandre Petitot (1727-1801). Cochin in Mémoires Inedits, ed. C. Henry (Paris, 1880), p. 142. Quoted in Harris, "Le Geay", 190.

[10]Vasi (n.d.), Fontane (1767), Tombaux (1768), and Rovine (1768).

[11]Cours d'architecture 1:186. Quoted in Pérouse de Montclos, Boullée, p. 37.

[12]Boullée, Architecture: Essai sur l'art. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Français 9153, f 38. Cited in Pérouse de Montclos, Boullée, p. 37

[13]Ibid., p. 29

[14]Boullée, Essai f° 76v. In Helen Rosenau, ed. Boullée and Visionary Architecture including Boullée's "Architecture, Essay on Art" (London: Academy Editions, 1976; New York: Harmony Books, 1976), p. 120. On the many eighteenth century discriminations of the meaning of "nature", see Arthur Lovejoy, "'Nature' as Aesthetic Norm", Essays in the History of Ideas (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1948), pp. 69-77.

[15]For a more extensive analysis of this argument, see Wolfgang Herrmann, Laugier and Eighteenth Century French Theory, Studies in Architecture 6 (London: A. Zwemmer Ltd., 1962), pp. 35-42.

[16]Others, such as walls, windows, doors, and engaged columns (strictly non-essential but accepted in general practice) are licenses. Graver faults are caprices, bizarre elements included for the sake of novelty, such as pilasters, arcades, niches, and pedestals. Ibid., pp. 50-51.

[17]"The majority of our young architects are rationalists yet do not reason . . . . Because they have read the essay of Père Logier [sic], they think themselves well educated." Blondel, L'Homme du monde éclairé par les arts (1774). Council of Europe, Neo-classicism, s.v. "Blondel".

[18]Cours d'Architecture . . . contenant leçons données en 1750 et les années suivantes, 5:vi. Quoted in Emil Kaufmann, "Three Revolutionary Architects, Boullée, Ledoux, and Lequeu", Transactions of the American Philosophical Society n.s. 42 (1952):437.

[19]Oeuvres d'architecture, second edition (Paris: 1795), p. 8. Quoted in Emil Kaufmann, Architecture in the Age of Reason (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1955), p. 143.

[20]Anthony Blunt, Some Uses and Misuses of the Terms Baroque and Rococo as applied to Architecture, Lecture on Aspects of Art, Henriette Hertz Trust of the British Academy 1972 (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), p. 9. Blunt's definition refers to the High Roman Baroque, to which the style in other parts of Europe conformed to a greater or lesser extent.

[21]Ibid., p. 24.

[22]Igor Grabar was the source of this comparison. "Les débuts du classicisme sous Alexandre et ses sources françaises", Starye Gody (1912):78.

[23]Georges Loukomski, "Thomas de Thomon", Apollo 42 (December, 1945): 297.

[24]First published in 1953, and recently translated into English. Rosenau, ed. Boullée.

[25]A 1788 drawing of a treasury building very similar to that of the Bourse won Tardieu the Prix de Rome that year. Visionary Architects, p. 214.

[26]Described in Adolf Max Vogt, Russische und Französische Revolutions Architektur (Cologne: Verlag M. DuMont Schauberg, 1974), p. 124. This is also the colour scheme of the present Maritime Museum.

[27]See the coloured engraving of I. Chesky after the drawing of M. Shotoshnikov. Illustrated in Vogt, Revolutions Architektur, p. 121

[28]Robert Rosenblum, Transformations in Late Eighteenth Century Art (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1967), p. 150.

[29]Boullée, Essai, f°70r. In Rosenau, Boullée, p. 118.

[30]Both quoted in Visionary Architects, p. 67.

[31]Boullée, Essai, f°132v. In Rosenau, Boullée, p. 138.

[32]Boullée, Essai, f°110v. In Rosenau, Boullée, p. 131.

[33]Kaufmann, "Revolutionary Architects", 456.

[34]Cours d'architecture 2: 389-449. Cited in Kaufmann, "Revolutionary Architects", 443.

[35]Adam Smith, An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations, fifth edition, The Modern Library, ed. Edwin Connor, with an Introduction by Max Lerner (1789; rpt., New York: Random House, 1937), p. 681.

[36]Quoted in Helen Rosenau, "Boullée and Ledoux as Town Planners, a Re-assessment", Gazette des Beaux-Arts 63 (March, 1964); 175-76, no source cited.

[37]Pérouse de Montclos, Boullée, p. 26.

[38]De Quincy quoted in ibid., pp. 26-27, no source cited. Boullée's definition from Essai, f°142v. In Rosenau, Boullée, p. 141.

[39]Martin Frölich, "New Challenges to the Architect", in Adolf Max Vogt, Art of the Nineteenth Century, trans. A. F. Bance (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1973), pp. 54-55.

[40]The word "birzha", by definition in Russian a place where merchants gather, is an example of the wholesale introduction of Western words into the language during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The word may be derived from the name of the family van der Beurse, who kept an inn at Bruges in the fourteenth century, or alternatively from the French for "purse". A. Preobrazhensky, Etymological Dictionary of the Russian Language (New York: Columbia University Press, 1952), s.v. "birzha".

[41]Tamara Talbot Rice, Russian Art (West Drayton, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1949), p. 129 and Louis Hautecoeur, L'Architecture Classique à Saint-Pétersbourg à la fin du XVIII[e] siècle (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1912), p. 84.

[42]H. Gerson and E. H. ter Kuile, Art and Architecture in Belgium, 1600 to 1800, The Pelican History of Art (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1960), p. 13.

[43]John Summerson, "The Vision of J. M. Gandy", in Heavenly Mansions and Other Essays in Architecture (London: Cresset Press, 1949), p. 113.

[44]See Warren Hunting Smith, Architecture in English Fiction (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1934), pp. 217-220 for a discussion of the part contemporary literature played in popularizing architectural fantasy.

[45]Boullée, Essai, f°70v. In Rosenau, Boullée, p. 119.

[46]Boullée, Essai, f°74v. In Rosenau, Boullée, p. 120.

[47]For example, Ledoux's spherical Quarters for a Rural Caretaker, in which the steps are placed too low to counterbalance the thrust of the dome. Visionary Architects, p. 92.

[48]Friedlaender, David to Delacroix, p. 1.

[49]Lois Whitney, Primitivism and the Idea of Progress in English Popular Literature of the Eighteenth Century, with an Introduction by Arthur O. Lovejoy (1934; rpt. New York: Octagon Books, 1965), pp. 10-20, is the source of this summary.

[50]Letter to Jean-Baptiste Pierre, Director of the French Academy of Painting and Sculpture, 14 March 1776. Quoted in David Lloyd Dowd, Pageant-Master of the Republic (1948; rpt. Freeport, N. Y.: Books for Libraries Press, 1969), pp. 3-4. This campaign was very different from the autocracy-centred programmes of Louis XIV. It may have been, as Antal suggests, in response to the "new spirit of the middle class", and was intended to suggest "the appearance of enlightened absolutism". Frederick Antal, "Reflections on Classicism and Romanticism", Classicism and Romanticism (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966), pp. 4-6.

[51]Speeches to the National Assembly, 29 March 1793 and 15 November 1793. Quoted in Dowd, Pageant-Master, p. 79.

[52]Discours sur les monuments publics. Quoted in Gérard Le Coat, "Thomas Jefferson et l'architecture métaphorique: 'le village academique' a l'Université de Virginie", RACAR (Canadian Art Review)3, no. 2(1976):10 and 12.

[53]"Mettre du caractère dans un ouvrage, c'est employer avec justesse, tous les moyens propres à ne nous faire éprouver d'autres sensations que celles qui doivent résulter du sujet."
Boullée, Essai, f°84r. In Rosenau, Boullée, p. 123.

[54]Boullée, Essai, f°86v. In Rosenau, Boullée, p. 124.

[55]Montesquieu, Voyages, 1728. See Herrmann, Laugier, pp. 72-79.

[56]Oeuvres, second edition (Paris: 1795), p. 8. Quoted in Kaufmann, Architecture, p. 143.

[57]In the Magasin pittoresque, 1852. Cited in Le Coat, "Thomas Jefferson", 11.

[58]Boullée, Essai, f°107v. In Rosenau, Boullée, p. 130, illustration p. 53.

[59]Possibly referring to Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale HA 55, no. 32. Illustrated in Rosenau, Boullée, p. 77.

[60]Claude-Nicholas Ledoux, L'Architecture considérée sous le rapport de l'art, des moeurs et de la législation (1804; rpt. Paris: Fernand de Nobele, 1961), 2:61.

[61]Marc-Antoine Laugier, Observations sur l'architecture (1765; rpt. Farnborough, Hants: Gregg Press, 1966), p. 4.

[62]Its facade was inscribed with the "sacred" text of the laws, "l'objet de l'amour de tous, parce que tous les ont vouloues!" Boullée, Essai, f°109r. In Rosenau, Boullée, p. 131.

[63]Ledoux, L'Architecture, 2: 35-36.

[64]Ibid., 2: 17.

[65]Ibid., 2: 3

[66]A public notice was displayed in Paris, to which Boullee's colleague Lequeu added:

> "Des artistes ondit qu'ils paroissent que les opinions du party Boullée etoient pleinement academique et royalistes."

Quoted in Helen Rosenau, Boullée's Treatise on Architecture (London: Alec Tiranti, 1953), p. 2.

[67]Ledoux planned a sylvan retreat for his town, where people might return to "natural" conditions, with no "philosophical" interference. Kaufmann, "Three Revolutionary Architects", 536-37.

[68]Council of Europe, Neo-classicism, s.v. "Boullée".

[69]See Dowd, Pageant-Master, for the most detailed study available of David's processions.

[70]See Arthur O. Lovejoy, "The Parallel of Deism and Classicism", Essays in the History of Ideas (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1948), pp. 78-95, for a full exposition of this underlying theme of neo-classicism.

[71]Diderot, appointed in 1773 to report the students' progress to the Academy, advised Catherine to send the students directly to Rome. Dmitri S. von Mohrenschildt, Russia in the Intellectual Life of Eighteenth-Century France, Columbia University Studies in Comparative Literature (1936; rpt. New York: Octagon Books, 1972), p. 54.

[72]"tangible symbols and visual metaphors of ideas and beliefs which a given society collectively holds, or, it is felt, ought to hold . . . ."
Alan Gowans, On Parallels in Universal History Discoverable in Arts and Artifacts, History in the Arts 6 (Victoria: University of Victoria 1972), p. 11.

CHAPTER III

THE MEANING OF THE BOURSE: HISTORICIST SYMBOLISM

The Definition of "Historicism"

The St. Petersburg Bourse is one of the finest extant examples of the neo-classical style of the late eighteenth century. Stylistically, this architecture is severe, notable for its simple geometric forms and plain surfaces. Ideologically, it is linked to a utilitarianism which verges on Utopian romanticism. One important aspect of this neo-classicism remains to be described, however. As Wittkower formulated it, the essential difference between this architecture and that of the earlier eighteenth century is a first-hand, empirical approach to the classical monuments of Italy and Greece themselves.[1] Earlier architects depended on Palladio, Vitruvius and other interpreters of antiquity but the architects of the late eighteenth century had access (either personally or through published excavation reports) to the actual antique buildings.

Thus it is this archaeological approach, in keeping with the empirical and rational spirit of the Enlightenment, that distinguishes the architecture of enlightened Europe.

In the general cultural context, this objective attitude to the past has been labelled "Historicism" in German studies. In English art history, Nikolaus Pevsner applies the term to architectural history; Robert Rosenblum would attach it to all media around 1800.[2] "Historicism" embraces the new attention paid to historical and geographical exactitude in all media, manifested in David's paintings, Roentgen's furniture, and Thomon's architecture. The term avoids the Romantic-Neoclassic polarity, and usefully include pre-classical (ancient Near Eastern and Etruscan), post-classical (medieval) and non-Western (Chinese and Islamic) arts in their rightful position as important stimuli to the "neo-classical" architecture of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Egyptian, Greek, Roman, and possibly "Biblical" models are apparent in the "neo-classical" Bourse, for example.

However, the unconditional acceptance of archaeological exactitude as the definitive feature of late eighteenth century architecture presents problems, for the eighteenth century, like the twentieth, was multifarious in its attitudes toward "history". It is tempting to generalize about eighteenth-century historiography, but the fact remains that co-existing with "Athenian" Stuart's careful documentation of the remains of the Acropolis was the attitude expressed by Hume:

> Mankind are so much the same, in all times and places, that history informs us of nothing new or strange in the particular. Its chief use is only to discover the constant and universal principles of human nature.[3]

These "constant and universal principles" were Hume's "useful truths", rising above regional peculiarities and chronological development. In the light of these universally-applicable principles, contemporary society could be improved; and the temptation existed to make history conform to a preconceived notion of how mankind should behave.

Thus political history was not only written to elucidate historical truth, but as a guide to the future. In the new discipline of art history, there was a similar disregard for "objectivity", for the point was not to clarify the past, but to draw from it artistic motifs (corresponding to the "useful truths" of Hume) which could be applied to improve contemporary architecture.

It is important to remember that the new interest in architectural history was one manifestation of the eighteenth-century search for man's original, unspoiled state. Thus it was a matter of no mere academic interest as to whether the Hebrew, Egyptian, Greek, or Etruscan-Roman civilization originated the first "true" stone architecture. Contemporary architectural practice, attempting to return to its primitive roots, would be affected by the final decision. The dispute over primacy in stone

architecture was therefore bitter, argued from personal and often chauvinist conviction.

Archaeological exactitude formed one part of this "Historicist" neo-classicism, but this accuracy was trivial compared with the meanings imbued in the various forms borrowed from the ancient Near East and classical antiquity. To put it another way, "Historicism" lay in the shared cultural assumption that the manifestations of the past were stimulants, but not models, for contemporary architectural practice.

In emulation of the eighteenth-century attitude, this chapter will pay little attention to the accuracy of the antique prototypes incorporated into the Bourse. Rather, an attempt will be made to describe what these "quotations" signified in the prevailing "Historicist" atmosphere. With this caution in mind, the various classical and pre-classical elements of the Bourse will be enumerated and examined in the context of the art history that Thomon learned in Paris and Rome.

The Revival of the Doric Orders

The Bourse's debt to classical architecture is apparent at first glance, for the lower exterior of the building is that of a Greek peripteral temple. This was a conscious imitation: the architect himself wrote that he aspired "à la pureté du style grec" and that the columns

were modelled on the Doric order of the Greek temples at Paestum, in Italy.[4] Thomon probably visited the site while in Italy, but the temples were also accessible through such contemporary volumes as Dumont's Suitte de plans, coupes, profils . . . de trois temples antiques . . . dans la bourgade de Poesto (Paris: 1764).

Thomon took liberties with his models, reducing the diameter of the top of the shaft to less than that of the capital, adding low bases, and substituting smooth shafts for the heavy fluting of the originals. Thus they were not in fact the early Greek Doric but the even plainer variation of the order understood to be the "Tuscan" Doric. A brief history of the reappearance of these two orders is necessary for an understanding of the significance of these alterations.

The fluted and baseless Greek Doric column was generally unknown from antiquity until about 1750.[5] Until then, most architectural writings had followed Vitruvius, who, in his discussion of the Doric order (IV,1) did not clearly state whether the Doric had a base or not. In 1521, the first printed edition of Vitruvius illustrated a slender, unfluted Doric with a base. Alberti's Decem Libri de Architectura, written about 1450, did not question the base's presence. Subsequent authors, among them Serlio and Palladio, occasionally granted the original existence of a baseless Doric, but in general they considered the

order with a base aesthetically preferable.[6] Thus the slender variations known as Roman Doric when fluted, and Tuscan Doric when unfluted, were always used with bases in construction.

Illustrations of Athens first reached the West in 1678, and the Doric temples of Girgenti (Agrigentum) in Sicily were published in 1732.[7] The early accounts had rather crude illustrations which failed to impress any practising architects with the beauty of the "primitive" Greek order. The baseless, fluted order was used for the first time since antiquity in 1758, when James ("Athenian") Stuart (1713-88), who had returned from Greece three years previously, built a miniature Greek Doric temple, modelled on the Theseum in Athens, in Hagley Park near Birmingham. The first archaeologically details and visually appealing record of early Greek architecture to be published was David Le Roy's Les Ruines des plus beaux monuments de la Grèce (Paris: 1758), followed in 1764 by Dumont's Poesto. After that, innumerable publications of excavation reports from Greece, Italy, and Sicily appeared.[8]

The contemporary interest in archaeological discovery did not signify the universal acceptance of the Greek Doric in the 1760s. William Chambers remarked that the columns at Hagley Park were "gouty" and "excited no desire for more"; James Adam considered the Paestum temples "inelegant".[9] Even the progressive Laugier considered the

Doric awkward and difficult to apply architecturally, preferring the "elegant simplicity" of the Ionic.[10] Blondel wrote in his Cours d'architecture (1771-73) that the slender Doric column with a base that the Renaissance had developed was preferable to the short, baseless variety.[11]

The architectural influence of the excavation reports was not felt for years, but in 1778, Ledoux used the Greek Doric inside the theatre at Besançon, and on the exteriors of some of his barrières around Paris between 1784 and 1789.[12] Outside France, the German Hans Christian Genelli (1763-1823) and the Englishman John Soane used the Greek Doric.[13] The first to use the order in Russia was the Scot Charles Cameron (c.1740-1812) in the circular Temple of Friendship at Pavlovsk for the future Emperor Paul, built in 1780 (Fig. 28).

Far more prevalent in France was the unfluted Tuscan Doric column. It was used by Ledoux at the Salines de Chaux at Arc-et-Senans (1774-79), by Peyre on the Odéon facade (Fig. 6), and by Brogniart at the Cloister of the Capuchins (Paris, 1783).[14] In Russian, the French- and Italian-trained architect Ivan Yegorovich Starov (1743-1808) used the unfluted Tuscan Doric with considerable success in his belfry and church at Nikolskoe (1774-76).[15] In 1804, the Frenchman Thomon used it for his Bourse.

In short, the archaeological excavation reports of

the 1760s had revealed the early Greek Doric order, which a number of prominent neo-classicists, including Laugier, Adam, Blondel, and Chambers, rejected as heavy and inelegant. Some years later, the order, along with a correspondingly severe Tuscan Doric, began to appear in executed monuments. The fluted Greek Doric variety was generally favoured in England and Germany, the unfluted Tuscan Doric in France. In Russia, both varieties appeared, depending on the country in which the individual architect had trained.

The reasons for this pattern of stylistic development are complex, and it would be impossible to do them full justice here. The appreciation of the Greek and Tuscan Doric orders had begun in a conscious intellectual effort on the part of the architects and critics. Approval of the classical orders in general was connected with the rejection of Baroque and Rococo architecture as structurally misleading: in this, Laugier and Ledoux were united. The Greek and Tuscan Doric orders began to find favour in architectural practise and social acceptance when "simplicity" joined structural integrity as a desirable quality specifically contributing to the beauty of a building. Thus Thomon specifically refers to the "purity" of the Greek style.

The call for simplicity in architecture was part of a larger intellectual yearning for a simpler and more "natural" way of life, the "primitivism" so characteristic

of Enlightenment thinking. As a philosophy of history, "primitivism" may be defined as the belief that the earliest condition of man and his society was the best.[16] In neo-classical aesthetics, this was reflected in the belief that simplicity is intrinsically better than surface variation; and that the further one retreats into the past, the simpler things become.[17] The Doric, as the earliest architectural order known to man, must therefore be the most natural, uncontaminated by the excessive refinements of civilization. This primitivist aesthetic confirmed the victory of the Doric order over the Ionic, Corinthian and others which equally well displayed structural integrity but which were undeniably decorative.

This worship of the Antique was justified on both rational and emotional grounds. In part, it was in response to the argument that luxuries such as art were part of the trappings of modern civilization contributing to its decline.[18] The counter-argument held that art was not intrinsically bad, but a tool which could be perverted to frivolous, luxurious, and non-productive ends, as evidenced in the Rococo. To redeem art, it must be returned to an unspoiled state. Society must soon follow, for art was considered a powerful weapon for social improvement.

This belief, discussed in the last chapter, had its own antique sanction. Under "Painting", the Encyclopedists had written:

> Those who, in all times, have ruled over people have always used paintings and statues in order better to inspire in their subjects the sentiments they wanted them to have, either in religion or politics.[19]

The authors cited the ancient Greeks and Etruscans as societies which recognized the danger of immoral art contaminating the natural refinement of the citizens, and which therefore required artists to show proof of sound judgement and right intent.[20]

As primitivism came to include an undifferentiating embrace of such varied phenomena as Doric temples, Shakespeare's plays, the nobility of the Red Indian, and the fraudulent saga of Ossian, it is evident that it also had its romantic side. "Simplicity" was considered to have emotional, and therefore didactic power over the spectator; for many, the pragmatism of this argument was lost in the depths of the primeval.

In France, "primitivism" specifically came to signify a nostalgia for the civic virtues of Republican Rome and the aesthetic qualities of the corresponding Tuscan Doric order. At first, the Tuscan Doric had been a simple vogue in Paris, originally favoured through the influence of Piranesi on the Academy of Architecture's scholarship students in Rome. Piranesi had championed Etruscan-Roman architecture, and in particular the Tuscan Doric order, as the "true" and original stone architecture. "Etruscan" architecture, characterized by irregular ashlar, heavy

cornices, and ornament after Etruscan funeral vases, became the fashion in Paris with the return of these students. Knowledge of Etruscan artifacts became more exact over the years, as Italian scholars, seeking to prove the artistic superiority of their ancient country, began excavations at Volterra, Carneto, and Chiusi, and founded Etruscan academies and museums.[21]

In France the appreciation of the style came to have social and political overtones. "Etruscan" architecture was popularly considered to be that of the Roman Republic, and all educated Frenchmen had been raised on Plutarch, Cicero, Sallust and other Roman authors.[22] These classical authors themselves mourned the passing of the early days of the Republic, a past resplendent with virtue. Similarly, many French regretted the passing of the Golden Age of Louis XIV; some saw a path back to power and virtue through republican institutions. Of the children who had studied the classics, a few grew up to propose republican institutions in the Constituent Assembly, others to criticize society on primitivistic premises. Artists used the Tuscan Doric, the artistic expression of Republican virtues and institutions. In painting, the Doric order was featured to add authenticity, most notably in David's progressive simplification of the Tuscan Doric from the arcading in the Oath of the Horatii to the post-and-lintel of the Brutus.[23] David's use of the Tuscan Doric was also

a conscious attempt to evoke the civic virtues of Republican Rome. The French architects shared the primitivistic premises which fueled the Revolution, and as a product of this environment, Thomon used the Tuscan Doric on the Bourse in St. Petersburg. The use of the style had implied a devotion to the classic republican virtues of loyalty, self-sacrifice, and freedom from oppression: either the symbolism had lost its meaning by 1804, or its use in St. Petersburg presents a complex problem. The circumstances surrounding its appearance in the context of the Alexandrian Empire will be examined in the final chapter.

Symbols of the Roman Republic

Thomon's use of Roman Republican symbolism was not confined to his Tuscan Doric colonnade. Two other elements, one based on Roman naval monuments, the other on the greatest of the Roman sewers, were also incorporated into the ensemble.

Two columns, each 112 feet high, flank the former Exchange in Leningrad (Fig. 27). The columns served as lighthouses in the St. Petersburg harbour but were obviously more than functional with their heavy sculptural embellishment, including the ships' prows and anchors on the shaft and allegorical figures on the plinth.

These columns are of an antique type called

"rostral", a form symbolising Roman Republican greatness from its inception. In 338 B. C., the prows of ships captured by the Republic at the battle of Antium were placed on the rostra, or orators' platform, in the old Forum as a victory monument. During the First Punic War of the next century, at least two commanders were honoured with the erection of columna rostrata, columns similarly decorated with ships' beaks. These columns were described by Pliny and other classical authors; in addition, a Renaissance reproduction of the column voted to the commander Caius Duilius after the Battle of Mylae in 260 B. C. was available for examination in eighteenth-century Rome.[24]

Ships' prows were a common decorative element, and the pattern of a low peripteral temple flanked by rostral columns had become an academic cliché in France by the 1780s. In Challe's Roman Composition of 1746, the artist presents the typical "Roman style" amalgamation of outsize scale, and fantastic architectural elements loosely based on the classical. An elaborately carved peripteral temple is seen from the vantage point of a water setting emphasizing a matched pair of bridges in heavily articulated masonry. Each bridge has two smooth towers decorated with ships' prows.[25] Challe's design was influential. The columns decorated with ships' prows are copied in the Projet d'un Pont Tromphal (1748) of his colleague Nicholas-Henri Jardin (1720-99). The contemporary Pont Triomphal

of Ennemond-Alexandre Petitot uses the prows on the bridge itself, in an artistic tradition which Boullée and Ledoux continued.[26]

Rostral columns were frequently submitted for Academy competitions requiring lighthouse designs. Bourgeot's (1768- ?) lighthouse project of 1788 had ships' prows on each quadrant of the tower and on the bottom of the plinth (Fig. 29). C. P. J. Normand (1765-1840) used the motif in a prizewinning design of 1781, with a rostral column on a multi-storied, stepped base and a sophisticated scheme of sculptural decoration, increasing as it ascends the structure to counter-balance the attenuation of the column.[27] Ledoux also used rostral columns in his design (titled with a fine disregard for classical consistency) for a Paris "Propylaea" of 1780.[28]

Flanking lighthouses in the form of rostral columns were also featured in the designs of Bergognon (Fig. 24), Bernard (Fig. 8), and Tardieu (Fig. 26), discussed in the last chapter as sources for Thomon's Bourse.[29] These columns provide necessary vertical accents to the horizontality of the main building. They add interest to the paper projects and the example of Thomon's Bourse proves that the design had strength enough to survive the transition into execution.

The rostral columns, like the Doric order, were at first exotic architectural elements included in the

designs for novelty's sake. Later, they similarly came to evoke the "primitive" virtues, and specifically the resultant military might, of Republican Rome in an age when, for many domestic critics, France lacked both.

The rostral column was certainly recognized as a symbol of naval prowess in Russia. A letter of Catherine II to Voltaire, dated 14 August 1771, describes the monuments she commissioned for the park at Tsarskoe Selo. All commemorated Russian victories of the first Turkish war: the battle of Kogul prompted an obelisk, the taking of the Crimea a column, and "la bataille navale de Tchesme à fait naître, dans un très grande pièce d'eau, une colonne rostrale . . . ."[30] For Catherine, the rostral column was the most appropriate possible monument to a naval victory. Their use in front of the Bourse, the building which visually dominated the St. Petersburg waterfront, suggests that Alexander was well aware of their triumphal association.

This "message" of maritime power was elaborated by the statuary at the foot of each column, and on the Bourse's facade in front of the hemicyclical window. Two pairs of allegorical figures, executed by the sculptor I. P. Prokofiev (1758-1828) sit at the base of the rostral columns (Fig. 30). They represent the Neva, Volga, Volchov, and Don, the four great rivers of internal Russian commerce. The symbolism of the statuary may be interpreted as follows:

in St. Petersburg, the fruits of Russian industry end their river journey but are then funnelled out into the wider world. Neptune, sitting benignly above the cornice of the Bourse, protects their sea voyage. The Bourse was indeed a monument to the "flowering of Russian trade", as Zakharov had indicated in his criticism of Thomon's early designs.

On the plinth of Bourgeot's lighthouse (Fig. 29), there appears a semi-circular opening. A similar form is found in the embankment underneath the main building and each of the lighthouses of Thomon's Bourse ensemble. Like the columns, these openings served both utilitarian and symbolic ends. They were water entrances to a system of underground grottoes, but they also evoked the cloaca maxima, the great sewer of Republican Rome.[31] The history of the cloaca maxima, like that of the rostral column, had been discussed by several antique authors, and the vaulted superstructure was clearly visible to any visitor to Rome.[32]

A sewer may seem an unlikely form to imitate, but the cloaca maxima had been specifically cited in the eighteenth century as an example of Roman architectural genius. Blondel included it with the Pantheon and the Colosseum in his influential Architecture française (1752-56).[33] Piranesi wrote that

> . . . the Cloaca Maxima . . . allows us to remark that even where there seemed to be little need for magnificence, as in this structure which was hidden from view, the Romans chose nevertheless to display magnificence all the more . . . .[34]

The above is excerpted from Piranesi's Magnificenza ed Architettura de'Romani (1761-62), a work specifically written to rebut Le Roy who in his Ruines . . . de la Grèce of 1758 had accused the Romans of copying Greek buildings. Piranesi cited the cloaca maxima, aqueducts, and roads to demonstrate the technical superiority and originality of the Etruscans--and, by extension, the Romans and their Italian descendents.

Piranesi's was one shot in a scholarly battle which lasted from the 1750s until the 1780s. The battle was over the question of whether the Greeks, or the Etruscans and Romans, were the first to build classical monuments in stone. Piranesi was answered in 1764 by a Frenchman named Mariette, who wrote that the Etruscans were Greek colonists. Adding insult to injury, Mariette noted that all Roman art was executed by Greek slaves anyway.[35]

In his defense of Etruscan primacy, Piranesi seems to have been strongly influenced by Carlo Lodoli (1690-1761) a Venetian theorist and lecturer who never himself published. His views, formed during the 1750s and widely influential, were popularized by his disciples, notably Andrea Memmo. In the latter's Elementi del'architettura Lodoliana

(Rome, 1786), we read that Lodoli considered stone architecture to have originated in Egypt. The tradition was passed on to the Phoenicians and thence to the Etruscans, who formulated their architecture before the Greeks developed theirs.[36] Furthermore, the Greek orders were based on wooden architecture, a development to be regretted since wood and stone have their own artistic laws and the two should not be confused. Thus, Greek architecture, which originated in Egypt, passed to the Etruscans, and reached full maturity under the Roman Republic.

Such a doctrine clearly contradicted the widely held view, expounded by Laugier among others, that Greek architecture was the mimetic perpetuation in stone of the primitive hut, the first construction known to man. Roman architecture, according to Laugier and his disciples, copied Greek architecture, the first stone construction. Some supporters of Greek primacy explained that Greek architecture copied Egyptian architecture. Voltaire wrote that the Egyptians "were acquainted with the great, but not the beautiful. They taught the first Greeks, but the Greeks were afterwards their masters in every thing . . . ."[37]

However, Piranesi's defense of Etruscan primacy eventually found wide acceptance in France through his French colleagues studying in Rome and their pupils in turn. Boullée, for example, preferred Roman architecture to Greek

for its supposed use of "caractère", the adaptation of architectural form to building function.[38] Countless other architects, of course, were influenced by Piranesi's published etchings of Roman ruins, and here his image of the cloaca maxima with its base buried in the earth was particularly stimulating. The shallow arch appealed not only to Thomon, for architects as diverse as Peter Speeth and Thomas Jefferson used the hemicycle as well: the former at his Würzburg Barracks of 1809; the latter at the University of Virginia campus at Charlottesville (1817-24).[39] By the first decade of the nineteenth century, the buried arch was probably appreciated mostly as an evocation of buried grandeur, but its associations with the technical superiority of Republican Rome had originally favoured its adoption.

Toward the end of the eighteenth century, the question of "Greek" versus "Roman" primacy in architecture became of less pressing concern as some authors and architects sought to understand and master the forms of Egypt, which many agreed was the home of the first stone architecture.

Pre-Classical Antiquity

Certain details of Thomon's Bourse seem to suggest an architecture even more "primitive" than that of Republican Rome. These include the battered sides of the

entrances on the pedestal, the long ramps leading to the entrances on the building's flanks, and the exaggerated keystone on the doors and windows (Fig. 31). While all recall the mastaba and pyramid to the mind of the viewer, such elements are not as obviously reminiscent of Memphis as rostral columns are of Rome, or a peripteral temple of Athens. Only an examination of Thomon's cultural background can confirm the validity of this interpretation.

The revival of Egyptian motifs is generally associated with the fashion prompted by Napoleon's Egyptian campaigns of 1798 and after, but in fact the knowledge of Egyptian art did not completely die out after classical antiquity. An interest in Egypt was evident during the Italian Renaissance: Nanni da Viterbo was perhaps the first Italian to trace cultural descent from Egypt through Etruria into Rome, in an attempt to prove that the current Borgia Pope was a descendent of Osiris![40]

Not surprisingly, the inclusion of Egyptian elements was a feature of the exotic architectural pastiches produced by the "Roman school": Le Lorrain's plan for a Macchina (1747) for the Festa della Chinea had four flanking obelisks; N. H. Jardin's Chapelle Sepulchrale (1748) was in the shape of a pyramid; a drawing by Legeay, probably of the early 1740s, shows four sphinxes flanking a tomb.[41] Later students in Rome continued this interest. Hubert Robert's Capriccio egyptien, painted in Rome in 1760, shows

lounging figures in modern dress in a colonnaded, barrel-vaulted hall with huge Egyptian statues.[42] Thomon's drawing of an Egyptian temple interior (Fig. 18) reveals that he was undoubtedly familiar with the work of Robert, the "peintre des ruines" at the Paris Academy of Painting.

Predictably, sphinxes, obelisks and pyramids found their way into the picturesque gardens and interior decoration schemes of the period. For example, Piranesi's 1769 design for a monumental fireplace featured heads of the cow-goddess Hathor, sphinxes, winged figures with Pharoanic headdresses, lotus capitals, and obelisks covered with hieroglyphs in a production that seems rather far removed from the simplicity he espoused elsewhere.[43] By 1772, the fashion had grown to such an extent that Blondel could complain in his Cours d'architecture about the thoughtless imitation of inventions from "Memphis".[44]

However, a more serious interest in the specific aesthetic qualities of Egyptian art was sustained by such publications as Piranesi's Della Magnificenza ed Architettura de'Romani. Piranesi pointed out that the Etruscans built in the unadorned "grand style" of the Egyptians, in contrast to the fussy "prettiness" of the Greeks.[45] The Greeks not only over-decorated their architecture, they violated the principles of construction with their mimetic perpetuation of wooden temple forms in stone. Column and entablature, as the Greeks built them, were unsuited in

nature and proportion to stone building. The ramps, exaggerated keystones, battered openings, and pyramidal forms of the Egyptian tradition on the other hand used stone according to its nature, and had the extra sanction of greater antiquity.[46]

The speciousness of this argument, first advanced by Lodoli and appropriated by Piranesi, did not seem to deter the French architects. It is the severe geometry of cylinder, sphere, and cube that distinguishes their neo-classicism stylistically. These forms are in part based on the popular interpretation of Egyptian architecture, and their appreciation stems from the same primitivist impulse that prompted the revival of the Doric orders.

Boullée was struck by the severe grandeur of Egyptian building.

> Les Egyptiens avoient des idées très grandes; on admire avec raison leurs Pyramides; l'ordonnance d'architecture qui règne dans leurs Temples offrent l'image du grand. Dans la représentation de leurs Divinités, le genre colossal est porté au plus haut degré.[47]

Egypt was also associated with the cult of the dead in an age when architects took a melancholy delight in the design of funerary monuments dedicated to the memory of the great. As a result, we find the pyramidal form inside Thomon's memorial to Paul I (Fig. 15). Boullée added sphinxes to the bottom of the ramp ascending the spherical surface of his most famous memorial, the Cenotaph dedicated to the

memory of Isaac Newton, and designed numerous other cenotaphs in the form of truncated pyramids. For Boullée, the pyramid was inherently melancholy, presenting "l'image triste des monts arids et de l'immutabilité".[48] Egyptian architecture invited comparison with the forms of nature, for it was the first, and therefore the most "natural" form of stone architecture.

Boullée's projects, too far removed from the norms of public taste, remained on paper. Executed neo-classicism struck a compromise between the Egyptian and Greek modes of architecture.[49] Thus the Egyptian influence in Thomon's Bourse is confined to the suggestiveness of the ramps and keystones. However, these inclusions must be considered deliberate evocations of the origin of stone architecture. Thomon's intent is confirmed by the great contemporary interest in Egyptiana manifested by Piranesi, Robert, Boullee, and the other great artists and writers in Paris and Rome who undoubtedly influenced him. Thomon's own knowledge of the forms of ancient Egypt is abundantly displayed in his work in all media. Sphinxes adorn his consol table (Fig. 20) and Pulkavya fountain (Fig. 16); obelisks appear in his project designs for columns; and a pyramid, rather incongruously, in one domestic interior.

Many of the theorists Thomon studied considered Egyptian architecture to be the oldest stone construction. In an age seeking the natural origins of architecture, this

would have been sanction enough for its use. But for those with a mystical bent, Egypt had the extra attraction as the home of ancient hermetic secrets, particularly those associated with the cult of the dead. This more romantic attitude also contributed to the re-appearance of Egyptian detail, and in this movement, the Freemasons were influential.

Freemasonry

The esoteric knowledge popularly supposed to be locked away in ancient Egyptian hieroglyphs held a great fascination for the rapidly increasing numbers of adherents to the various Masonic Orders all over Europe. As far as architecture was concerned, however, the Freemasons were quite clear on one point: the origin of "true" stone architecture, and therefore of their Craft, pre-dated Egyptian architecture. In the earlier Masonic writings, it was stated that the Tower of Babel was the first stone structure and King Nimrod the figure who gave Operative Masons (i.e. the actual stone workers) their first "charge". With the new moral and spiritual emphasis of Speculative Masonry in the first half of the eighteenth century, the Biblical Temple of Solomon replaced the pagan Tower. As late as 1756, however, one manuscript stated that Nimrod "made Masons".[50]

The speculations of the Fremasons obviously

parallel the contemporary intellectual debate over primacy in stone architecture very closely. It seems reasonable to suppose that the Masonic tradition was also reflected in stone construction, specifically in the St. Petersburg Bourse. Since no documentary evidence survives to indicate that Thomon was a Freemason, it is necessary to rely on circumstantial evidence to support this interpretation.[51]

For a great number of eighteenth century intellectuals the philosophical model presented by Freemasonry, which combined mystical contemplation with philanthropic action, was extremely attractive. Given the supposed origin of the Order in the learning of the "craft" of stone masonry at the time of Solomon, it seems natural that architects, in particular, should have been attracted to the Order.[52] Indeed, Masonic meetings included discussion of the techniques and symbolism of ancient architects, including those of "Persia" and Egypt as well as Greece and Rome. For Masons, architecture was the most perfect of the arts, since it reflected the work of the "Divine Architect", i.e. the cosmos, or Nature. Recently, Pérouse de Montclos's biography of Boullée, and le Coat's examination of Jefferson's University of Virginia campus, have established that the influence of the Masonic rites on these two architects was considerable.[53] Boullée considered the Tower of Babel to be a symbol of unity among nations, in a possible reflection of the earliest rites of

of the Speculative Masons. Similarly, he refers obliquely to Masonic initiation rites and the "Great Architect of the Universe" in his commentary for designs of a Metropolitan Church.[54]

Conditions in early nineteenth century Russia were particularly conducive to Masonic-influenced architecture. The Order was popular among the educated classes, and in particular attracted those gentry who were impatient with their traditional role within the state system. As Turgenev nostalgically recalled it, Freemasonry under Catherine and Alexander attracted good men who wanted to serve their country, and at the same time remain in contact with "European civilization"--a common dilemma for Russians before and since. They saw that their duty lay in public instruction, upon which they exervised "a great and salutary influence", through the foundation of publishing houses, scholarships and libraries.[55] Thus, in spite of their strong mystical bent, Russian Masons were associated with social reform. Turgenev considered that, had the Masons been allowed to continue, they would have eventually turned their attentions to the freeing of the serfs.[56] But Catherine became suspicious of Masonic idealism during the French Revolution; among those who fell into disfavour was the architect Bazhenov. After a renaissance under the Emperor Paul (who may have secretly belonged to the Order), and during the early reign of

Alexander, the movement was repressed in the 1820s by officials who shared Catherine's fears.[57]

In the first decade of the nineteenth century, however, the Freemasons still prospered under Imperial approval. The most influential was Prince Alexander Golitsyn, Alexander I's civilian procurator of the Holy Synod, who had undergone a conversion to Protestant Pietism in the first decade of the nineteenth century. The Pietists were active in the promotion of higher-order Masonry in Russia, and Golitsyn, as supervisor of heraldic symbols, sought to invest Masonic iconography into the coinage and architecture of the period.[58]

Masonic iconography centred on Solomon's Temple, of which every Lodge was an allegorical representation. As described in the Bible, the porch of the Jerusalem Temple had two pillars, usually interpreted as free-standing by Masons, named Jochin and Boaz.[59] Chronicles also refers to pomegranates, probably symbols of fertility, on the capitals of these columns: the Masonic Lectures of the eighteenth century misinterpreted these as "spherical balls", delineated with "Maps of the Celestial and Terrestrial Globes."[60] In spite of the obvious anachronism, such globes remained a feature of Masonic architecture into the nineteenth century.[61]

The most important feature of Solomon's Temple, as interpreted through Masonic rite, was therefore the two

free-standing columns topped with spheres: both column and sphere appear in the Bourse ensemble, although the spheres appear at the end of the curved access ramps in front of the building, not on top of the columns. Considering the influence of the Masons on Thomon's professor Boullée, and Prince Golitsyn's attempts to promote Masonic symbolism at the time of the building's construction, it is not unreasonable to interpret the rostral columns and granite spheres of Thomon's Bourse as "disguised" Masonic symbols. Again, architectural elements with politically liberal associations was incorporated into the St. Petersburg Bourse.

The Meaning of the Bourse

Thomon's Bourse is "historicist", but the accuracy of the stone "quotations" incorporated into the fabric of the structure is of secondary importance. All the elements had certain potent and specific meanings for contemporaries. The Tuscan columns signified a structural integrity appropriate to the rational purity of an enlightened state. In addition, they connoted Roman Republican virtue; the rostral columns and the cloaca maxima added the specific associations of naval might and technical superiority. The battered edges of the Egyptian tradition signified the true origin of stone architecture, obscured as it was by the mystery of the most primeval

antiquity. The granite spheres and free-standing rostral columns probably symbolized as well the progressive and philanthropic Masonic tradition.

Iconographically, these elements together form a rather complete statement about a new social order: one governed by a pragmatic rationalism based on Roman virtue, but tempered by social reform and a mystical appreciation of the higher realms of thought. However, the coherence of this statement does not necessarily prove that it was deliberate. A clue to the intention of the building's patron Alexander I lies in the history of St. Petersburg as an urban entity subject to consistent and complete autocratic control since the day of its foundation.

Notes

[1]F. Saxl and Rudolf Wittkower, British Art and the Mediterranean (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1948), p. 71. Cited in John Harris, "Le Geay, Piranesi and International Neo-Classicism in Rome 1740-50", Essays in the History of Architecture Presented to Rudolf Wittkower, ed. Douglas Fraser and others (London: Phaidon Press, 1967), 189.

[2]See W. Eugene Kleinbauer, Modern Perspectives in Western Art History (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1971), p. 17; and Robert Rosenblum, Transformations in Late Eighteenth Century Art (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1967), pp. 33-34 for discussions of the use of "Historicism" in art history.

[3]Essays (1742), p. 94. Quoted in Carl L. Becker, The Heavenly City of the Eighteenth Century Philosophers (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1943), p. 95.

[4]Louis Hautecoeur, L'Architecture Classique à Saint-Pétersbourg à la fin du XVIII^{e} siècle (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1912), p. 84. No source is cited, but the quote is probably from Thomon's Recueil.

[5]This and the subsequent discussion follows the important article by Nikolaus Pevsner and S. Lang, "Apollo or Baboon", Architectural Review 104 (1948): 271-279

[6]For example, Batty Langley, who wrote in 1721: "This order was originally made without a base . . . but a base adds Grace to a Column and strengthens its standing also . . . ." The Sure Guide to Builders, quoted in Pevsner, "Apollo", 273.

[7]Spon and Wheeler, Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grèce et du Levant (Paris, 1768) and Pancrazi, Antichità Siciliane (1732). Cited in Pevsner, "Apollo", 273.

[8]See summaries in Pevsner, "Apollo", 273-74, and Warren Hunting Smith, Architecture in English Fiction (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1934), p. 27.

[9]Quoted in Hugh Honour, Neo-classicism, Style and Civilization series (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1968), p. 126, no source cited.

[10]"Le Dorique est le premier [order] & le plus pesant . . . . Le Dorique & le Corinthien sont deux extrêmes . . . . Entre ces deux extrêmes l'Ionique nous donne un juste & heureux milieu."
Marc-Antoine Laugier, Essai sur l'architecture, second ed. (1755; rpt. Farnborough, Hants.: Gregg Press, 1966), pp. 63-64.

[11]Quoted in Pevsner, "Apollo", 275, exact source not cited.

[12]The exterior of the Besançon theatre displays Ionic columns. The interior Doric columns are visible in Ledoux's famous Eye Reflecting the Interior of the Theatre at Besançon. See Emil Kaufmann, "Three Revolutionary Architects, Boullée, Ledoux and Lequeu", Transactions of the American Philosophical Society n.s. 42 (1952): 489, 501-07 for illustrations of the theatre and the barrières.

[13]See Pevsner, "Apollo", 279 for more detail.

[14]Illustrated in Wend Graf Kalnein and Michael Levey, Art and Architecture of the Eighteenth Century in France, ed. Nikolaus Pevsner, trans. J. F. Foster, The Pelican History of Art (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1972), plates 286, 291, 294.

[15]Illustrated in George Heard Hamilton, The Art and Architecture of Russia, ed. Nikolaus Pevsner, The Pelican History of Art (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1954), plate 127B.

[16]Arthur O. Lovejoy, Introduction to Primitivism and the Idea of Progress in English Popular Literature of the Eighteenth Century, by Lois Whitney (1934; rpt. New York: Octagon Books, 1965), p. xi.

[17]Robert Goldwater, Primitivism in Modern Art, revised ed., Vintage Books (New York: Random House, 1967), p. 251.

[18]Advanced, for example, by Rousseau in his Discourses sur les sciences et les arts (1750). Cited in James A. Leith, The Idea of Art as Propaganda in France 1750-1799 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), p. 11. Compare Goldwater's definition of the connecting thread of all manifestations of primitivism which "lies in a common assumption . . . that externals, whether those of a social or cultural group, of individual psychology, or of the physical world, are intricate and complicated and as such are not desirable." [Italics Goldwater's] Goldwater, Primitivism, p. 251

[19]Denis Diderot and others, Encyclopedia: Selections, ed. and trans. Nelly S. Hoyt and Thomas Cassirer (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1965), p. 280.

[20]Leith, Idea of Art, p. 61

[21]See Rudolf Wittkower, "Piranesi's Parere su l'Architettura", Journal of the Warburg Institute 2 (1938-39), 149 for more detail.

[22]Harold T. Parker, The Cult of Antiquity and the French Revolutionaries (1937; rpt. New York: Octagon Books, 1965), p. 20.

[23]See Rosenblum, Transformations, pp. 28, 92, 124-26 for discussions of the use of the Tuscan Doric in paintings by David and other French artists.

[24]A photograph of this replica, taken from an antique relief, now in the Capitoline Museum, Rome, may be found in H. D. L. Viereck, Die römische Flotte: Classis Romana (Herford: Koehlers, 1975), p. 299.

[25]Now in the collection of Mrs. Phyllis Lambert. Illustrated in Harris, "Le Geay", Fig. 26.

[26]Jardin's Pont Triomphal is one of a suite of engravings published in his Plans, Coupes et Elevations de L'Eglise Royale De Frederic V. No information about Petitot's design is available. See Harris, "Le Geay", Figs. 27 and 32.

Ledoux's Bridge Across the Loue designed with piers in the shape of galleys, is illustrated in Kaufmann, "Revolutionary Architects" 516. Boullée's bridge design, in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, HA 55, no. 35, is illustrated in Rosenau, ed. Boullée, p. 78

[27]Illustrated in Emil Kaufmann, Architecture in the Age of Reason (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1955), Fig. 208.

[28]Illustrated in Adolf Max Vogt, Russische und französische Revolutions Architektur (Cologne: M. DuMont Schauberg, 1974), p. 130.

[29]In addition, Boullée's third Projet pour la Restauration du Chateau de Versailles, for the competition of 1780, and his Facade for a National Assembly Hall each had gigantic flanking columns modelled after the Roman Imperial columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius. Illustrated in Rosenau, ed. Boullée, pp. 54, 78.

[30]Quoted in Hamilton, Architecture of Russia, pp. 218-19.

[31]Vogt, Revolutions Architektur, p. 126.

[32]Among the authors were Varro, Livy, Plautus, and Strabo. See Axel Boethius and J. B. Ward-Perkins, Etruscan and Roman Architecture, ed. Nikolaus Pevsner, The Pelican History of Art (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1970), pp. 91, 175. For a photograph of the superstructure of the cloaca, see Ernest Nash, Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome, second ed. (New York and Washington: Praeger, 1968) 1:Fig. 301.

[33]Council of Europe, The Age of Neo-Classicism, Catalogue, The Fourteenth Exhibition of the Council of Europe (London: The Arts Council of Great Britain, 1972), s.v. "Blondel".

[34]Quoted in Lorenz Eitner, ed. Neoclassicism and Romanticism 1750-1850, (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1970) 1:28.

[35]In the Gazette Littéraire de l'Europe. Cited in Wittkower, "Piranesi", 150.

[36]See Wolfgang Hermann, Laugier and Eighteenth Century French Theory, studies in Architecture Vol. 6 (London: Zwemmer, 1962), pp. 160-64 and Joseph Rykwert, On Adam's House in Paradise, Museum of Modern Art Papers on Architecture (Greenwich, Conn.: New York Graphic Society for the Museum of Modern Art, 1972), pp. 49-56, for more detailed expositions of this and other aspects of Lodoli's theories.

[37]Francois Marie Arouet de Voltaire, The Philosophy of History, with a Preface by Thomas Kiernan (1766; rpt. New York: Philosophical Library, 1965), p. 97. The antiquarian Comte de Caylus, in his Recueil d'antiquités (1751-67) also tried to show that primitive Greek architecture was founded on that of Egypt, encountered during the course of trade. Hermann, Laugier, pp. 23-24.

[38]Essai, f°142r. In Rosenau, ed. Boullée, p. 141:

> ". . . il faut convenir, qu'il ne semble pas que les Grecs se soient occupés d'imprimer à leurs ouvrages le caractère qui leur est propre. Leurs Temples ont une similitude frappante; ils ont tous, à peu près, la même forme."

[39]Scully specifically mentions the hemicycle behind the column screen as a favorite motif of "romantic classicism" in Russia. "There the instinct was, like Jefferson's to stretch forms horizontally . . . (already the image of a common Russo-American historical destiny, which was to create a new scale by spreading across continents, is physically apparent)." Vincent Scully, American Architecture and Urbanism (New York: Praeger, 1969), p. 57.

[40]Nikolaus Pevsner and S. Lang, "The Egyptian Revival", The Architectural Review 119 (1956), rpt. in Studies in Art, Architecture and Design (New York: Walker, 1968) 1:219.

[41]Le Lorrain's engraving in Copenhagen, Kunstindustri Museum; Jardin's Chapelle one of a suite of engravings in Plans, Coupes et Elevations De L'Eglise Royale De Frederic V (1765); drawing by William Chambers after that of Legeay from Franco-Italian Album, Victoria and Albert Museum 5712, location 93, B.21, drawing no. 500. All reproduced in Harris, "Le Geay", Figs. 25, 30, 4.

[42]Now in a private collection in London; reproduced in Pevsner, "Egyptian", Fig. 1.

[43]From Diverse Maniere d'adornare i cammini, Illustrated in Pevsner, "Egyptian", Fig. 13

[44]Ibid., 216.

[45]Wittkower, "Piranesi", 147.

[46]It was popularly held that the Egyptians built the first stone arch in the year 547 after the Flood. Rykwert, Adam's House, p. 51

[47]Italics Boullée's. Essai, f°143r., in Rosenau, ed. Boullée, p. 141.

[48]Essai, f°123v., in Rosenau, ed. Boullée, p. 135. Illustrations pp. 64-69, 70-73.

[49]A. M. Vogt considers that an appreciation of the tension between "Greek" and "Egyptian" architecture is crucial to an understanding of Thomon's work. Thomon drew a compromise between the two modes by adopting strongly geometric, almost Egyptian, core around which he placed a Grecian covering. Unlike Boullée and Ledoux, the strict "revolutionaries", Thomon no longer maintained the illusion that "Egyptian", or excessively stark, architecture would be acceptable, and sought a new formula through a combination. Vogt, Revolutions Architektur, p. 137.

[50]Alex Horne, King Solomon's Temple in the Masonic Tradition (London: Aquarian Press, 1972), p. 44.

[51]"I think there is a reasonably strong presumption that Masonic symbolism was used in the Bourse and elsewhere at that time, but . . . I suspect the case would have to be circumstantial in any case."
James H. Billington, personal letter, 16 November 1978.

[52]Speculative Freemasonry counted a number of "gentlemen architects" among its members. A 1723 text of the Constitutions recommended the study of Vituvius and Palladio. Gérard Le Coat, "Thomas Jefferson et

l'architecture métaphorique: 'le village académique' à l'Université de Virginie", RACAR (Canadian Art Review) 3, no. 2(1976), 25.

[53]Jean-Marie Pérouse de Montclos, Etienne-Louis Boullée (1728-1799) trans. James Emmons (New York: Braziller, 1974), p. 41; Le Coat, "Thomas Jefferson", 8-34.

[54]Pérouse de Montclos, Boullée, p. 41.

[55]Ivan Turgenev, La Russie et les Russes, La Russie et l'opinion française au 19e siècle series, no. 56-58 (1847; rpt. Paris: Microeditions Hachette, 1972) 3:363-81.

[56]Ibid., 3:375.

[57]James H. Billington, The Icon and the Axe, Vintage Books (New York: Random House, 1970), p. 289.

[58]Ibid., p. 285.

[59]II Chronicles 3:15-17; I Kings 7:15-20. For a Masonic illustration of these pillars, se Le Coat, "Thomas Jefferson", 31.

[60]From the English Emulation Lectures. These globes appeared in Biblical illustrations, of which among the earliest was that of a Bible (Geneva; 1560) which included a marginal note on "chapiter or round ball upon the pillar of five cubites height . . . ." Horne, Temple, pp. 215, 238, 242. For a discussion of the pre-Masonic influence of the ideal of Solomon's Temple, see Rykwert, Adam's House, pp. 120-40.

[61]For example, they may be seen in front of Teague's Masonic Temple, built in 1878 in Victoria, B. C.

CHAPTER IV

THE SETTING OF THE BOURSE: ARCHITECTURE AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ST. PETERSBURG

It has already been suggested that Thomon's Bourse reflected, and at the same time promoted, Emperor Alexander's aspirations for the Russian Empire. This chapter will attempt to amplify this statement, in establishing that Alexander inherited a tradition of monumental architecture often intended by its sponsors to be of ideological as well as aesthetic significance. The tsars did not consciously transmit this tradition, but examples do occur often enough to justify the examination of Russian architecture by the light of this model of "social function".

Certain pre-Petrine tsars were very likely aware of the social and political uses of architectural style. The coincidence of Ivan III's (r. 1462-1505) importation of Italian architects and his vision of Moscow as the "third Rome" is suggestive.[1] Under one of his successors, Ivan IV (r. 1533-84) the essentially synthetic "high Muscovite" architectural style came to full fruition as the authoritative expression of a centralized government. It incorporated elements of the local styles just as Ivan solidified the unity of the former states of appanage Russia.[2]

However, this chapter will concentrate on the activities of Russia's great eighteenth-century tsars Peter I and Catherine II. Between them, by means of the ukases or Imperial decrees which controlled construction and town planning in the capital and throughout the Empire, these monarchs shaped the St. Petersburg which Alexander inherited. Both were demonstrably concerned with Russia's image in the eyes of Western Europeans and native Russians; both sought to change it through the foundation and maintenance of St. Petersburg as showpiece and symbol of the progressiveness of the country.

In particular, the patronage of Catherine offers parallels with that of her grandson Alexander: like him inspired by literary interests and reformist sympathies, she attempted to promote her vision of the Russian state through the medium of architecture. The architectural neo-classicism developed in late eighteenth-century France lent itself to this effort. It was no coincidence that most of Catherine's and Alexander's greatest architects, including Thomon, had trained at the Paris Academy of Architecture, the home of spokesmen for social utility and rational reform.

Peter the Great and the Significance of his Capital

The sixteenth-century tsar Ivan IV had claimed divine sanction as justification for his rule.[3] The argument advanced by the next great tsar, Peter I

(r. 1682-1725) ran along quite different lines. Peter's official court apologia, The Justice of the Monarch's Will, was based on the secular premise that an autocracy was necessary to control a debased and disorganized humanity for its own good.[4] The difference encapsulates the change that had occurred in the intervening century: by 1725, Russia had been transformed from a nation centred on its religion to a "multinational secular state".[5]

The social and political upheavals involved in this transformation have been well documented. Many were the result of Peter's determination to achieve the prosperity of the countries of Protestant Europe--particularly Sweden, Holland, and England--by transferring their administrative and commercial institutions wholesale to Russia.

Predictably, the style of state-sponsored architecture also became dependent on Northern European models. Nearly all the buildings Peter commissioned served commercial, administrative, and military needs in the new capital of St. Petersburg. Palaces and churches were also built, but there had been a fundamental change in the function of the architecture. To the historian, it is this change, not the appearance of the new style, which signals the dislocation of the old Russian way of life. Peter commissioned buildings to serve the new state he was instrumental in creating: their very existence implied the permanence and efficiency of the new social order.

Early in the course of the Great Northern War with Sweden, Peter captured a Swedish fort at the source of the Neva River, on the Gulf of Finland. On 29 June 1703, he laid the foundations of a fort and a cathedral on nearby Peterburgskiy Island (Fig. 32). Soon after the shipyards, called the "Admiralty", were begun on the opposite shore beside the main navigation channel of the Neva. By 1704 Peter had decided that this city of Sankt Pieter Burkh, as he called it in Dutch, was to be the new capital of Russia.[6]

The foundation of a new, European-style capital was a symbolic act, but not a revolutionary one. The country had long received practical technology and a smattering of culture from European immigrants and visitors, particularly during the century before Peter's reign. For various reasons most were from the Protestant North: England and Holland had actively traded with Russia since the sixteenth century; civil strife in seventeenth-century Germany and England had made some skilled individuals available; and the Russian Orthodox were generally suspicious of Catholics.[7]

Administrative and technical dependence on Europe culminated during the reign of Peter, who consciously modelled administrative reforms on the operations of north European states. The quasi-military administrative systems of Sweden and Prussia, for example, were influential in

Peter's reorganization of civil servants on a scale of fourteen levels, outlined in the Table of Ranks of 1722. The church was similarly reorganized in a synodal pattern under firm state control along Baltic Lutheran lines.[8] Peter's foundation of an Academy of Sciences and other educational institutions inculcating practical knowledge reflected the emphasis given to sciences and modern languages in the educational systems of seventeenth-century Germany.

With the exception of architecture, Peter neglected Russia's cultural development. Yet architecture was to be a very important exception, for the Tsar chose to build a completely new city to house the administrative offices and academies required by his reforms. The decision required great determination, for the sacrifices were enormous. At the human level, thousands of workmen lost their lives due to overwork, disease, and malnutrition during the early years. Politically, Peter incurred the resentment of many of the wealthier classes who were forcibly relocated to the new city, a resentment against St. Petersburg and the changes it represented which was to last for a very long time. Economically, the new capital nearly crippled Russia: after the army and navy, public building accounted for the largest portion of state expenditure. Peter "expanded upon highly permanent but not immediately productive forms of capital so excessive a proportion of the national income as to go perilously near the

careless ruin of his people so that he might erect the material fabric of a state".[9]

For Peter, the erection of "the material fabric of a state" in St. Petersburg must have been a project important enough to outweigh even these considerations. The inducements were not wholly material; for while the location did offer certain commercial and military advantages over Moscow these were not enough to justify the relocation of the capital. Rather, the existence of St. Petersburg represented in the most forceful possible way the upheaval which had occurred in Russia. The European-style institutions the Tsar introduced had to be housed in a proper European-style setting, for the benefit both of foreign observers and the obstinate native gentry.[10] Every planning decision he made reflected the Tsar's determination to make his capital look, and by extension function, like a European city.

Peter controlled every aspect of construction through the ukases or Imperial decrees which were the only Russian law. In the ukases dealing with town planning, the Tsar's admiration for Amsterdam and Saardam, cities he visited during his famous European travels of 1697-98, is clear, particularly in his emphasis on the importance of waterways. Vasiliyevskiy Island, for example, was scored with canals which it was hoped would help drain that low-lying area.

Although at least four architects were commissioned between 1714 and 1717 to prepare city plans in accordance with the Tsar's general requirements, St. Petersburg did not see the realization of any large-scale plans during Peter's reign; nor did the Tsar approach the problem in the systematic fashion of his successor Catherine. However, the foundation of St. Petersburg and other new towns,[11] and the partial rebuilding of Moscow and Novgorod after disastrous fires there in 1712 and 1723 respectively, represent the first Russion urban planning attempts. Before Peter, Russian towns (including Moscow) were simply fortified centres surrounded by sprawling settlements.[12] Peter's ukases directly combatted this traditional urban type with a barrage of decrees which reflected his conception of a proper, European city.

The traditional Russian practice of building houses in the middle of courts, surrounded by outbuildings projecting into the streets, was despised by the Tsar. An ukaz ordered the gentry to erect mansions "like the buildings of other European states . . . on the line . . . and not in the middle of the court",[13] thus forming a continuous and impressive facade out of the house fronts. Only stone and brick buildings--the latter often plastered to look like stone--were allowed in the centre of the city. This decree simultaneously eliminated the traditional wooden house type,

reduced the danger of fire, and enforced the separation of the inhabitants by income and profession.

Many commentators have pointed out that Russia saw its first clear class distinctions during Peter's reign,[14] and this schism is reflected in St. Petersburg's architecture. Not only were the gentry and the humbler workers physically separated in the new capital, but the Westernized style was clearly intended for the urban gentry while the native remained with the villagers and the older landed families in Moscow and the provincial centres. This distinction between "court" and "country" was to become obscured, however, with the interest that the later empresses Elizabeth and Catherine displayed in the native style and with Catherine's exportation of neo-classicism to the provincial centres.

Peter's first chief architect was the Swiss-Italian Domenico Tressini (1670-1734). As "Master of Building, Construction and Fortifications" the planning and construction of mass housing to relieve the acute shortage of the early years of the city was Tressini's first responsibility. He solved the problem and ensured that the private homes would meet Peter's expectations through his model projects. The first model cottage was built in 1711; later, citizens were also obliged to purchase building plans. Peter admonished Tressini to follow "the manner of the Dutch",[15] and the model projects (Fig. 33) are indeed in what may usefully be

categorized as the Northern Baroque style with which Tressini had become familiar as an architect in Copenhagen.

A distinguished visitor, Count Francesco Algarotti, described the cumulative effect of Peter's efforts in 1739:

> There reigns in this capital a kind of bastard architecture, which partakes of the Italian, the French, and the Dutch: the last is however the most prevalent. The tsar's first studies were in Holland, and it was at Saardam that this new Prometheus took the fire with which he animated the nation. It seems likewise to have been solely in remembrance of Holland that he planted rows of trees along the streets, and intersected them with canals . . . .[16]

St. Petersburg was intended to be a commercial, as well as a military and administrative centre. A network of overland roads and canals was constructed to connect the upper Volga and the Dnieper with the lakes of the north, making the new capital the effective commercial mouth of the Volga. Imperial ukases forced foreign goods to enter the country at St. Petersburg, and by 1725 it was Russia's most active port.[17] Foreign merchants, mostly Dutch and English, began to voluntarily join their relocated Russian colleagues. A Ministry of Commerce was founded in 1716 to help supervise commercial and civic affairs, but the foci of commercial activities were the Exchange and the markets.

The birzha, or Exchange, and the gostinyi dvor, a caravanserai-like complex of wholesale and retail shops erected by the city and rented to merchants, were both started in the year of the city's foundation. The former,

originally located on Peterburgskiy Island, was moved to Vasiliyevskiy Island to take its place beside the administrative Colleges and the customs houses. As the population of the city grew,[18] the operations of the Exchange became more complex. By the 1720s its functions had enlarged to include the providing of detailed information on commodity prices throughout the internal markets.[19]

In keeping with the other early buildings, St. Petersburg's first Exchange was of the standard north European type, similar to the Amsterdam Beurs discussed in Chapter II.[20] But the St. Petersburg Exchange had been founded by the Tsar, not through the initiative of a group of merchants. With his centralized control of commercial activity, Peter established yet another precedent for his Imperial successors.[21]

The utilitarian simplicity of Tressini's style revealed in his model projects became less suitable for the capital as Peter became more interested in monumental architecture which spoke of imperial grandeur and the class-structured state rather than simple administrative efficiency. Tressini was accordingly superseded by such architects as Gottfried Schädel (1680-1752) who began the Oranienbaum residence for Prince Menshikov, Peter's chief advisor, in 1713. This was the first of the large country palaces in the area of St. Petersburg and an influential

example with its "unusual combination of ostentation and domesticity . . . present in so many of the early buildings of the capital."[22]

Peter's own residence at Peterhof was built by Alexandre Jean-Baptiste Le Blond (1679-1719), Chief Architect since 1716. Le Blond had been a pupil of Andre Le Nôtre, one of the architects of Versailles. Peter had visited the French palace in 1717, and it seems clear that he wished to emulate the great prototype, down to the formal gardens and French-named pavilions. This reproduction becomes even more significant when one recalls that Peter's own taste favoured rather plain buildings with small, low-ceilinged rooms.[23] The style of the monarch's residence had assumed symbolic importance. Russian architecture had incorporated European Baroque as early as the seventeenth century in church and monastic structures, but the Baroque of St. Petersburg was intended for urban, aristocratic consumption.

Planning of St. Petersburg under Anna

After Peter's death in 1725, much of the population thankfully deserted the city, following the examples of Catherine I (r. 1725-27) and Peter II (r. 1727-30), who spent most of their time in Moscow. Anna Ivanovna, Peter the Great's cousin, moved back to St. Petersburg in 1732, and the history of the royal court there properly began then.

In spite of Peter's orders, wooden buildings had continued to predominate in some parts of the capital, and the years 1736 and 1737 saw disastrous fires there. Anna took the opportunity to rebuild, and in 1737 a "Commission for the Orderly Development of St. Petersburg" was formed. The new Commission, concentrating on the Admiralty area south of the river, banned factories (and in effect the poor) there. Standards were established for new upper class homes for which Anna had created a demand by the simple expedient of expelling a number of courtiers from her palace. A topographic inventory of existing buildings was made from which planning proposals were devised. The most outstanding was the creation of the "three-pronged" street layout behind the Admiralty district, formed by the Nevskiy Prospect, the Goroskiy Prospect, and the Voznesenskiy Prospect (Fig. 32). Each street terminated with institutions of special significance: Nevskiy Prospect with the Aleksandro Nevskiy Monastery, since the reign of Peter a symbol of the continuing authority of the clergy. The other two streets ended in the garrisons of regiments--the Ismailovskiy and the Seminovskiy--which provided the chief military support for the monarchy, an arrangement at the same time symbolic and practical.[24]

Anna, like Peter, ruled with the help of powerful German advisors. Partly in reaction to this, the reign of Elizabeth was marked by stirrings of nationalism among the

educated, an intellectual and social phenomenon reflected in the later architecture of the capital.

Elizabeth I and the Problem of "Westernization"

When Peter the Great heard of the decisive victory of 1712 against the Swedes at Poltava, he reportedly said "Now the final stone is laid on the foundations of St. Petersburg".[25] The creation of the St. Petersburg of later romantic imaginations--the "Northern Venice", the "Palmyra of the North", the hothouse flower set in the desert--began, however, under Elizabeth Petrovna (r. 1741-62).

The reigns of Elizabeth I and the next Empress, Catherine II, are generally associated with the height of cultural "Francophilia" in Russia. Indeed, Russia's official diplomatic relations with France, which were often uneasy during the centry,[26] did not affect the imperial court's sense of identification with French language and art. The trend had begun under Peter, who instructed his agent in Paris to recruit craftsmen and artists for the new capital. During Elizabeth's reign, the interest spread among the wealthier gentry, who had begun to travel to Western Europe and in turn receive foreign visitors. Through this contact, Russia became exposed to classical forms of art and literature which it had never encountered in any systematic way before. The literati started experimenting with pastorals and odes and their use of these classical forms of exposition, however

mediocre in many cases, signifies the contemporary shift in Russian thought.[27] Elizabeth's reign saw the beginning of a widespread attitude among the educated classes that classical forms of art and life might serve as supplement, or even alternative, to those of Orthodox Christianity.[28]

At the same time, the more consistent contact with Western culture gave the Russians a more objective viewpoint on their own. The "Westernization" of Russian culture permitted a corollary "national consciousness", an appreciation of Russia as a culture different from, but equal to, any other. Literary manifestations of this paradox did not appear until later in the century, but the architecture of Elizabeth's reign reflects the Empress's personal sense of straddling two worlds.

French art was introduced into Russia for the most part under the auspices of the St. Petersburg Academy of Arts. The Academy had been projected since Peter's reign: the idea was revived by Elizabeth's friend Count Ivan Shuvalov (1727-97), a patron of the arts and enthusiast for anything French. Elizabeth approved his plans for it in 1757, and an ukaz of the same year formally established the Academy in St. Petersburg, although it remained a department of the University of Moscow until 1763. The regulations of the Academy, like those of most others founded in the eighteenth century, were modeled on

those of the Paris Academies; the instructors at the school were almost exclusively recruited from France; and the best students were sent abroad to Paris and Rome in groups of twelve every three years to study with the masters there. Inevitably, French painting, sculpture and architecture became crucial in the formation of the secular Russian traditions.

Elizabeth's favourite architect, however, was the naturalized Russian Bartolommeo Francesco Rastrelli (1700-71). In his twenty-year domination of architectural activity in Russia, Rastrelli managed to cultivate a distinctively national Rococo, which made full use of colour, large scale, and plastic handling of materials. Although later monarchs scorned the Rococo as it ceased to be the symbol of the cultured aristocracy in Europe, Rastrelli's overwhelming colonnaded palace facades became standard for all Russian imperial and noble residences of any pretension.[29]

In spite of this general enthusiasm for the Western Rococo, Elizabeth's reign had begun in a burst of patriotic enthusiasm for Peter the Great's daughter after eleven years of supposedly "foreign" rule by Anna's German advisors.[30] Not unexpectedly, one finds traditional Russian forms again expressed in official architectural projects, for the first time in at least half a century. Elizabeth professed an admiration for Old Muscovite religious architecture above any other, and wished Rastrelli to regard it as a source of

inspiration.[31] She was certainly prompted by her considerable personal piety, and perhaps also by political considerations.

Religious architecture emerged as the strongest metaphor of the tension between East and West in Russian society. Rastrelli's combination of the Western European style with the Orthodox Greek cross plans Elizabeth demanded became the definitive church prototype. His most important religious project was the planning and partial construction of the Smolney Convent and Cathedral in St. Petersburg (1748-55). In the words of A. Matveev, the purpose of this project was to demonstrate to the "people" the piety of the "Little Mother Queen" and her generosity in the beautification of the "House-of-God".[32] It is interesting to note that a huge bell tower, a traditional element pregnant with meaning for the Orthodox, was conceived as the entrance motif, although it was never built.[33] (Rastrelli only began the Cathedral, and the work was not finished until 1835.) Architecture was offered in the church forms as a uniquely Russian image of conviction with particular political applicability to the question of nationalist support for Elizabeth.[34] This theme was to be re-iterated during the reign of Catherine II.

A correlation emerges between the personal tastes, the political and social preoccupations of the Tsars, and the architecture built under their patronage. Peter's

Northern Baroque commercial structures, and later his Versailles-like palace at Peterhof; Elizabeth's balance of Rococo and native styles: all these artisitic phenomena reflect rather closely the non-artistic events of their reign. But is was their successor Catherine who would provide the most striking eighteenth-century example of this interdependence in St. Petersburg.

Catherine the Great: The Enlightened Empress

Elizabeth Petrovna, who died in 1762, was briefly succeeded by her son Peter, assassinated that same year. His wife, a German princess by birth, ascended the throne as Catherine II.

Many accounts of Catherine the Great's reign (1762-96) concentrate on the discrepancy between her professions of "enlightenment" and the actual social conditions in the Russia she left to her successors. Was Catherine genuinely idealistic but finally discouraged by conservative opposition in her own country, and disillusioned by the excesses of the French revolution? Alternatively, did she calculatingly display an enlightened face to Europe to gain first the approbation which flattered her vanity, and second the economic and political support which increased her personal power? Catherine's sincerity (or lack of it) fascinated her contemporaries and remains the most controversial question in the historiography of her reign.

A closer understanding of Catherine's intentions may be sought in her architecture. Building activity was intense during the thirty-four years of her reign, for the Empress sponsored entire new towns as well as individual buildings. The latter fall into two categories neatly corresponding to the "Western" and "native" aspects of Russian society. The first group consists of state-sponsored urban constructions, many in St. Petersburg, which were stylistically advanced by Western standards. The second, less numerous, included smaller-scale and essentially rural churches and residences. Stylistically heterogenous to our eyes, they were in fact intended to represent the native Russian style.

An explanation of what all these buildings signified in the context of Catherine's stated aspirations for Russia can help illuminate her underlying intent and, by extension, that of her grandson Alexander. Both shared the "dilemma of the reforming despot"[35]: the need to reconcile Western theory and the perceived necessity for state efficiency, with the growing disaffection of educated gentry and peasants alike. Their architecture reflected this dilemma. It also contributed to it, inasmuch as nationalistic feelings were aggravated by the enforced Westernization of the urban environment. Most interestingly, it was an active tool in the attempt to reconcile Russia with the West, and the West with Russia.

As a young princess at the court of the Empress Elizabeth, the future Catherine II read voraciously from the works of the philosophes, the influential literary, social, and philosophical commentators of contemporary France. In the first year of her reign, Catherine started a correspondence with Voltaire, one of her early favourites, which remained vigorous until his death. Other correspondents came to include Baron Friedrich Grimm, whom Catherine appointed as her minister in Hamburg; and Denis Diderot, who received financial support from the Imperial Court and was granted the honour of an invitation to St. Petersburg in 1773.

Catherine's letters were addressed to the most important representatives of literary and philosophical France. Ostensibly private, they were in fact intended to be circulated, copied, and even published, as letters of the distinguished often were at that time. A typical example, published by the French Academy, reprimands D'Alembert for his refusal to come to Russia to tutor her son Paul:

> Votre philosophie est fondée sur l'humanité; permettez-moi de vous dire que de ne point se prêter à la servir tandis qu'on le peut, c'est manquer son but . . . peut-être vous trouverez plus de liberté et de repos que chez vous.[36]

Catherine's correspondents were largely responsible "for the spread of a general vogue for her and for the

increase of her personal prestige abroad".[37] This admiration was often expressed in the most extravagant terms. Voltaire dedicated his Philosophy of History to her, ". . . protectress of the arts and sciences, by her genius entitled to judge of ancient nations, as she is by merit worthy to govern her own". Her subjects had "imbibed her genius"; "half a century has more enlightened the court of Scythia, than ever were Greece or Rome".[38] Such language has tempted some to dismiss the philosophes as syncophants and fools.[39] The rhetorical flourishes were common courtesy at the time, however. Catherine herself wrote to Voltaire in a charmingly humble tone. Furthermore, one cannot dismiss the philosophes as a class: some writers did suspect the Empress of hypocrisy. Many were encouraged, however, by her intelligent interest in the progress of philosophy and the arts and by her tentative administrative, social, and economic reforms.

Many of Catherine's progressive measures had been advocated by the philosophes, for like her contemporaries Maria Theresa and Joseph II in Austria and Frederick II of Prussia, Catherine was an "enlightened" absolute monarch.[40] The sanction of "divine right" had been thoroughly discredited since the Golden Age of Louis XIV.[41] By the last half of the eighteenth century Continental monarchs justified their power in secular utilitarianism derived from contemporary philosophy. Few thinkers then were democrats. In fact, it was generally conceded that only

an absolute monarch had the power to rule and efficiently reform the multi-national empires of the eighteenth century. This useful sanction was reflected in Catherine's Instructions (in Russian, Nakaz), submitted in 1766 to a legislative commission charged with drawing up the first uniform law code in Russian history:

> The Extent of the Dominion requires an absolute Power to be vested in that Person who rules over it. It is expedient so to be, that the quick Dispatch of Affairs, sent from distant Parts, might make ample Amends for the Delay occasioned by the great Distance of the Places.[42]

But the philosophes did not merely provide justification for the existence of absolute monarchy. Out of a need for state cohesion and efficiency in an age of international commercial and military rivalry, many monarchs introduced economic, social, and administrative reforms designed to increase the efficiency and therefore the wealth and power of the state. Under the "enlightened" rulers, native systems and traditions were examined by the single, utilitarian standard of material contribution to the state, embodied in the person of the monarch.

In this spirit, Catherine promoted a new code of laws which would simplify and therefore increase state authority at the expense of the aristocracy. The legislative commission bogged down in detail and was

eventually dismissed, but other reforms were carried out. A reorganization of local government effectively increased the centralization of authority. Church lands were "secularized" and placed under State control. In keeping with the economic theories of the Physiocrats, Catherine substantially increased the amount of agricultural lands under cultivation through the foundation of the "Free Economic Society for the Encouragement in Russia of Agriculture and Household Management" in 1765. Government credit facilities, previously unavailable in Russia, encouraged private enterprise but not laissez-faire capitalism: state loans in fact allowed even greater government involvement in planning and development. Public education was a priority, and royal academies and scientific societies emphasizing the practical disciplines of engineering and agriculture were founded. The dissemination of useful knowledge was further encouraged by the establishment of publishing houses to translate and publish Western European books, notably the Encyclopédie.

All these measures had counterparts under the enlightened monarchs in other parts of Europe, but Catherine received a unique volume of public acclaim for them. This publicity may be attributed first to the interest Russia itself inspired as a kind of enfant sauvage being educated according to enlightened principles; second, to Catherine's gender; and third, to her own skilful self-promotion.

Contemporaries agree that she was acutely conscious of her reputation:

> Sometimes, indeed, there is a sort of whim or affectation of singularity, in the manner of conferring her favours, that looks as if the desire of being spoken of, fully as much as the desire of doing good, was the fountain from which they flow.[43]

Vanity does not necessarily signify hypocrisy; but Catherine's self-consciousness in an age when the Monarch effectively was the State had far-reaching implications for Russia and its architecture.

Town-Planning under Catherine: The Creation of "Heavenly Cities"

> From the very first establishment of settlements all peoples recognized the advantages of building towns . . . . From the dawn of history, beginning with antiquity, we meet everywhere the founders of cities equally with the memories of lawmakers.[44]

As her words suggest, Catherine was aware of the judgement of posterity. Once established as a law-maker, she became and enthusiastic "founder of cities" too. In 1762 an Imperial ukaz established the "Commission for the Masonry Construction of the Cities of St. Petersburg and Moscow"; by 1768, the Commission controlled urban planning all over the Empire. Four hundred and sixteen plans for the foundation of new towns and the rebuilding of old centres were approved between 1763 and 1796.[45]

This programme formed part of Catherine's larger plan for the economic and social Westernization of Russia. "Russia is a European State" was a proud declaration in her Nakaz,[46] and new towns were one way to ease the Empire's entrance into the Western European community. Like her predecessor Peter, Catherine wanted to rebuild towns to make them look "European" rather than "Old Russian" or "Slavic".[47]

The provincial towns were designated administrative centres to instrument the "Regulations for the Administration of the Provinces" of 1775 which regularized Imperial authority at the local level. These reforms specifically called for the construction of schools, hospitals, asylums, and jails in each of the provincial centres financed by Imperially-administered Boards of Public Welfare.[48] In keeping with the spirit of enlightened absolutism, the state assumed responsibility for the health care, education, and welfare of the people; and from the architect's point of view, public buildings had become a vital source of commissions in Russia as well as in France.

The new towns were also intended as "safe havens for trade and handicrafts" in an attempt to encourage a healthy economic base for the Empire. Once administrative and commercial institutions were established, it was hoped, these new towns would evolve into centres of "civilization".[49]

This dream is reminiscent of the hopes of the French architectural theorists. Like Ledoux, Catherine and her planners felt that a man, once placed into an urban environment designed in the spirit of rational utilitarianism, would become the perfected creature described in innumerable contemporary novels and essays. This similarity is not too surprising. In the eighteenth century, many thinkers clung to the idea of the perfect existence awaiting mankind, even though opinions differed on how this might be achieved. For some, man could recapture the Golden Age, not in Heaven, but in a very heavenly world of the future where man would be perfected through the amelioration of society. One must take this dream into account when considering Catherine's programmes of town-planning. "Her method not only presupposed growth and progress; it implied that explicit knowledge of the ideal enables humans to detect growth and progress toward the realization of the ideal."[50]

It is possible to speak of the new towns as a class, for they differed very little whether intended for the shores of the Black Sea or the plains west of the Urals. The street plans approved by the Commission always included some variation of the grid or radial pattern. In cities divided by water, such as St. Petersburg, the most important areas were on a radial plan and others on a grid.[51] This spirit of rational uniformity also governed the construction

of the buildings, as decorative effects changed from Elizabethan Rococo to simpler neo-classical shapes.

The reconstruction of the town of Tver, described by the English traveller William Coxe in 1778, may be taken as a typical example of the planning process. In 1763, most of the town had burned to the ground.

> The empress was no sooner informed of this calamity, than she ordered a regular and beautiful plan of a new town to be sketched by an eminent architect, and enjoined, that all the houses should be re-constructed in conformity to this model.[52]

The new plan was radial, with streets emerging from a central octagon. A governor's house, bishop's palace, courts of justice, exchange, and prison were thereafter built at Imperial expense.

The new towns founded on the Black Sea lands annexed from the Turks formed a special group. Catherine dreamed of conquering Constantinople, and these cities included a subtle imperialistic metaphor. The Imperial Roman circus, or oblong with exedras at two ends, "was chosen to represent the majesty of Catherine's Empire at Azov, Tagenrog, and Marienpol".[53] The most successful of these new towns was Odessa, founded in 1795: a decade later, Thomon contributed a hospital and a theatre for the benefit of its growing numbers of citizens.

Travellers generally wrote admiringly, as Coxe did, of the new and reconstructed towns; but the Englishman

John Parkinson sniffed in 1793:

> The Empress seems to have made a point on this road [between St. Petersburg and Moscow] of embellishing as many places as possible . . . . particularly with shewy Churches. The contrast between the wooden huts of the Russians and these gay specimens of Grecian Architecture is very striking and almost ridiculous.[54]

The work of the Commission in St. Petersburg was confined to the 1760s and 1770s. One of its first acts was to open a competition for the planning of the capital. The conditions, published in November of 1763, reflect the organizers' concerns for public welfare and public relations.

> Everywhere there shall be among the buildings regular order and complete correspondence, both for the use and comfort of the inhabitants and for the embellishment fitting a capital city.[55]

No complete rebuilding of the city resulted, but ideas emerged which were later applied to a master composite plan.

The creation of a central, unified waterfront was the first accomplishment of Catherine's reign. In a "climate of opinion" which emphasized the importance of commerce for the economic life of a nation, and the wonders of nature for its spiritual well-being, the development of river-fronts and harbours was important. Many competition projects at the Paris Academy of

Architecture situated buildings on romantic waterfront settings.[56] The interest was not confined to paper: the quays of Marseilles, Dublin, and Helsinki were converted into open places fronting the water in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The project of facing the Neva waterfront with granite was entrusted by Catherine to Yuri Matveevish Velten (1730-1801). Begun in 1764, they remain the most coherent architectural ensemble of their kind and are an outstanding early example of the severe neo-classicism with their plain granite posts in the form of Doric columns.

The quays of St. Petersburg provided a foundation for waterfront construction. In 1765, Catherine approved the Commission's proposal to increase the height of the buildings along Dvortsovaia Quay, an aristocratic promenade between the Winter Palace and the Summer Gardon, "to bring them into harmony with the grandeur of the granite quays, which are famous all over the world for their beauty and utility".[57] Baroque planning principles aimed at magnificence through open squares and vistas, and harmonious facades along them. It was felt, therefore, that the buildings like the embankments below should present a unified and impressive facade to the water. In building the "Old" Hermitage between 1764 and 1767 beside Rastrelli's Winter Palace, the architect Jean Baptiste Michel Vallin de la Mothe (1729-1800) conformed to the height, cornice lines,

and fenestration of the older building to its west, permitting the "harmony" demanded by the Commission. Velten's "Second" Hermitage (1771-75) repeated the proportions and some of the details of the other buildings. This ensemble on the Dvortsovaia Quay thus possessed the desired unified character without sacrificing the originality of each of the buildings.

After the creation of this central grouping, the problem of what to do with the Strelka was considered. For planners, the chief difficulty presented by the natural conformation of St. Petersburg was the achievement of visual unity among the three major areas divided by the branches of the Neva: Vasiliyevskiy Island, Peterburgskiy Island, and the Admiralty District. Different projects were proposed, among them the unification of the Academy of Sciences, the Academy of Arts, the Kunstkammer and other pre-existing buildings facing the Dvortsovaia Quay into a similar unified complex. In 1782, Giacomo Quarenghi (1744-1817) took over the planning of the Strelka. Using the existing plan of the island as his basis, his solution was simply to construct a major element, the Exchange, on the top of the Strelka. By inclining the building slightly to the south-east from the natural axis of the island, he maintained both the pre-eminence of the left bank of the Neva and the importance of the Strelka, since the main facade of his Exchange could be seen from the full length of the Dvortsovaia Quay.[58] The solution was a good one according

to Baroque design principles but twenty years later the neo-classical plan of Thomon was preferred.

By 1795, the Commission had succeeded in tripling the number of stone and brick buildings in St. Petersburg to 1,385.[59] Catherine's zoning regulations, like Peter's, were intended to produce a settlement pattern based on wealth, with less desirable activities confined to the outskirts of the city. This preserved the character of the aristocratic districts, but at the cost of some inconvenience to the rest of the population.[60] The desirability of plans promoting the "comfort of the inhabitants" referred to in the 1763 competition announcement had, of course, a limited application.

In spite of Catherine's vigorous efforts, by 1796 only four percent of the population of Muscovy lived in towns, as distinct from the sometimes-enormous but essentially rural estate villages.[61] The towns also failed as industrial centres, for most handicraft operations remained with the serfs on the estates. It is more difficult to assess their impact as missions spreading the gospel of Enlightenment. The new towns undoubtedly facilitated the education of the gentry. In Tver, Coxe noted admiringly, ". . . the empress instituted a school for the instruction of 200 burghers' children . . . . In June, 1779, an academy was also opened in the town, for the education of the young nobility of the province, at the charge of

the same imperial patroness".[62] Simply as administrative and residential centres for the aristocracy, too, they undoubtedly contributed to the Westernization of the gentry.

> Thousands of provincial figures--including many who were neither aristocratic nor literate--participated in the building of the new cities; and architecture proved in many ways as important as literature in spreading the new ideal of rational order and classical style.[63]

The fact of urban living itself indicated a fundamental shift in attitude among the gentry. The unprecedented building activity under Catherine was in part due to the willingness of the wealthier classes to take up residence in the Imperial or provincial capitals. By 1800, Peter's vision of an urbanized and progressive Russia had started to materialize.

The Architecture of the Russian Enlightenment

In attempting to define the social factors which conditioned construction in Russia during Catherine's thirty-year reign, one returns inevitably to the personality of the Empress herself. She was keenly interested in the progress of architecture in Western Europe; she was also acutely conscious of her reputation as a sophisticated patron. She was anxious to overcome the traditional image of Russia as a land of ignorance and superstition; but she was also anxious to combat the ignorance and superstition she in

fact perceived in her adopted country. And she loved architecture:

> You should know that our mania for building is stronger than ever and no earthquake can have destroyed more buildings than we are erecting. The mania for building is a diabolical thing; it consumes money, and the more one builds the more one wants to build; it is a disease like drunkenness.[64]

Catherine did not exaggerate the degree of her madness. Like Peter the Great, she poured a significant percentage of the Imperial revenue into architectural display,[65] particularly in St. Petersburg. Some projects had to be abandoned at the end of her reign for lack of funds. But the enforced austerity was not apparent to visitors who unfailingly noted the dominance of the neo-classical style. Upon her arrival in 1795, the ever-effusive Elizabeth Vigée-Lebrun wrote "I was enchanted with the magnificence of the city . . . . St. Petersburg transported me to the time of Agamemnon [with] the grandeur of its monuments . . . ."[66] Even the staid John Parkinson had been similarly affected three years previously:

> I cannot describe the impressions which were made this morning on my mind by the first sight of this magnificent town, which in grandeur very far exceeds every other that I have seen. But I am particularly struck in all the private as well as public edifices with such an uncommon display of Grecian Architecture, which might lead us to fancy ourselves under the genial atmosphere of Athens, instead of so northern a latitude.[67]

The progressively severer classicism of Russian architecture reflected the rationally ordered state Catherine was trying to create. It was also one of the means by which she was trying to create this state. Buildings with details evoking the civic virtues of Greece and Rome surely could not fail to affect the attitudes of the Russian people. The balance of architectural subjects shifted, as in Western Europe, from buildings serving God and the aristocracy to those filling the public needs created by Catherine's social and economic measures.

Catherine's reign saw the beginning of native involvement in state-sponsored architecture, as the Russians Kokorinov, Velten, and Bazhenov produced impressive structures in the Western tradition. Diderot had urged the Empress to develop native talent by giving Russian architects preference over foreigners,[68] but there is no evidence to indicate that the Empress chose either Westerners or Russians consistently, for the French and Italians also continued to find major commissions in Russia. Many were recruited for a specific project, arranged by Catherine through her agents abroad. Amont those who remained was Jean Baptiste Michel Vallin de la Mothe (1729-1800; in Russia 1759-75), the first Professor of Architecture at the St. Petersburg Academy. As the first major architectural figure of Catherine's reign, his arrival saw the influx of the neo-classical style which would come to replace the Rococo in France and Russia.

The domestic merchants' market (gostinyi dvor), planned to replace Peter's building, provides an example of this changing taste. In 1757, Rastrelli had designed a building very similar to the traditional Exchange type, with a two-storey arcade around an open court surmounted by an elaborately Rococo clock tower. De la Mothe's revised market, completed in 1785, stripped the ornament to produce a far starker and simpler effect (Fig. 34).[69]

The work of Vasili Ivanovich Bazhenov (1737-99), one of the first Russian architects to be trained at the St. Petersburg Academy, is also marked by a turn to simple, geometric form, reflecting his studies with Charles de Wailly and Soufflot in Paris.[70] The Arsenal of 1768-69, his first important commission, is an aggressively monumental composition with huge Doric columns linking a rusticated basement and heavy cornice above (Fig. 35). Catherine approved, and entrusted Bazhenov with the design of the Institute for the Daughters of the Nobility. Bazhenov's proposed Institute was never realized, and his planned reconstruction of the Moscow Kremlin--surely Catherine's most presumptuous town-planning project--was also abandoned, after six years, in 1775. During the 1780s Bazhenov exerted considerable influence as a designer of severely neo-classical country houses near Moscow.

The work of the Scot Charles Cameron (c.1740-1812) reveals another dimension of Catherine's neo-classical taste. His intimate version of the "Roman" style, based

on his studies of Palladio and ancient architecture, found expression first in Catherine's private apartments at Tsarskoe Selo, 1782-85. As a decorator, Cameron's work resembled that of Robert Adam but remained distinctive through its brilliant colour and imaginative handling of a wide variety of materials for exotic effect. Cameron's success at Tsarskoe Selo led to work for the Grand Duke Paul at his country house at Pavlovsk. The first project included a series of small garden pavilions, again in the English mode, of which the circular Temple of Friendship (1780; Fig. 28) comprised the first use of the Greek Doric in Russia. Cameron's largest commission was the rebuilding of the Pavlovsk Palace itself from 1782 to 1785. It boasted palatial interiors very reminiscent of Adam's work and an exterior which is a neat compromise between Palladian delicacy and the cleanly-articulated severity of the new classicism.[71]

Giacomo Quarenghi, the last great architect of Catherine's reign, had studied the temples at Paestum and the works of Palladio in his native Italy, where he worked with Mengs. Baron Grimm "discovered" him there, and he arrived in St. Petersburg in 1780. Quarenghi completed an enormous number of projects, of which the most prestigious in his early career was the English Palace at Peterhof, 1781-89.[72] Simple and symmetrical in plan, it reveals an architectural abstraction comparable to the most progressive work in contemporary France.

In 1785, Catherine wrote to Baron Grimm:

> Ce Quarenghi nous fait des choses charmantes: toute la ville est déjà farcie de ces bâtiments; il bâtit la Banque, la Bourse, des magasins en quantité . . . et ses bâtiments sont ce qu'il y a de mieux.[73]

The Empress specifically mentions Quarenghi's Bank and Exchange buildings, with the gostinyi dvor the first major commercial commissions in St. Petersburg since the foundation of the city. Commercial projects, at that time attracting academic interest in France, were of particular interest to Catherine whose reign was marked by certain economic reforms. These included government promotion of cultivation, the sponsoring of credit facilities, and the creation of a large state debt through domestic and foreign borrowing. To a certain extent, she found inspiration in the writings of the Physiocrats, the group of philosophes who concerned themselves with the application of the laws of Nature to economics.[74] The Empress probably regarded the new Bank and Exchange as statements to Russia and the world about her state's progressive economic policies.

Quarenghi's style was generally severer than that of his predecessors in Russia. His State Bank (1783-88) is very close to the French "revolutionary" style, with its use of simple Doric columns and pilasters, strongly marked keystones above rectangular windows, and plain pediment (Fig. 36). The Exchange, commissioned to replace

the old "Dutch-style" bourse, was built on a circus-shaped plan with front and back Doric temple facades and a half dome on each side of the main block (Fig. 37). The uncompleted building was torn down to make way for Thomon's exchange: the record reveals that its abandoment was due to the lack of funds which affected many projects during Catherine's later reign.[75]

Catherine the Great, the "enlightened" absolute monarch, sponsored the neo-classical architecture which was among the Enlightenment's most distinctive cultural products. It would be safe to say that this was so because Catherine and the Doric revival were children of the same age. But the evidence suggests that the Empress consciously used the style to further her vision of the Russian Empire, indissolubly linked with her personal prestige.

The last word must be left to Quarenghi, as reported by his friend, the ubiquitous Parkinson,

> Quarenghi is going to leave the country. He has sent away already all his books and papers . . . . He disapproves entirely of introducing without distinction such a quantity of Architecture, as everyone must remark at Petersburg. It gives him a surfeit, he says, of the Grecian column to see it prostituted in such a manner.[76]

But Quarenghi remained in Russia until he died; and the private opinions of architects could not alter the will of Empresses.

Imperial "Romanticism"

Not all the state-sponsored architecture of Catherine's reign took the form of urban public buildings, nor was it all stylistically neo-classical.

The structures comprising the exception to the general rule fall into two categories. First are the pavilions to be found in the grounds of the suburban palaces, notably Tsarskoe Selo. In Russia, as in Western Europe, they appeared in a variety of styles from Chinese to "Gothick", reflecting the growing historicism of the period. But in Russia some were imbued with a specific metaphorical function linked to Catherine's ambition to expand the Russian Empire to Constantinople itself; a function far from the "romanticism" with which their corresponding numbers in the West are today associated.

The second group of buildings includes the rural churches and residences Catherine commissioned in the native Russian style during the 1770s. They are consistent with the Empress's declared interest in the history of her adopted country, but difficult to reconcile with her determination to rebuild the urban centres to make them look more "European". These buildings pose another problem for the historiography of Catherine's reign.

In 1772 Catherine wrote to Voltaire:

> J'aime à la folie présentement les jardins à l'anglais, les lignes courbes, les pentes douces, les étangs en forme de lacs . . . . Je haïs les fontaines qui donnent la torture à l'eau pour lui faire prendre un cours contraire à sa nature: les statues sont reléguées dans les galeries, les vestibules, etc.; en un mot, l'anglomanie domine dans ma plantomanie.[77]

The Empress's usual lively prose dismisses the traditional Baroque garden type, and at Tsarskoe Selo she did indeed substitute the fashionable type of English garden complete with accessories for Elizabeth's formal grounds. Most of her architects were pressed into the construction of ruins, Gothic pavilions, Turkish kiosks, ornamental bridges, Dutch houses, and Chinese caprices.[78] Some, like the pyramidal tomb for Catherine's favourite pet dogs, are certainly expressions of whimsical sentimentality. There is no doubt, however, that many of the garden ornaments Catherine commissioned are serious political statements in spite of their small scale and fanciful design. In an earlier letter to Voltaire, she had described how she erected at Tsarskoe Selo an obelisk in memory of the Battle of Kogul, a rostral column in water to the naval Battle of Tchesme, and a great column in honour of the taking of the Crimea.[79] A copy at Tsarskoe Selo of the Imperial Pavilion at Constantinople (rather fancifully suggested by Hautecoeur to be in commemoration of the roots of native Russian architecture) was, rather, a statement of Catherine's

"grand design" to capture Constantinople and divide the Balkans with the Hapsburg emperor.[80]

Other commemorative structures also served the Court more directly. Y. M. Velton, noted earlier for his granite embankments along the Neva, in 1770 designed two monuments outside St. Petersburg to the Russian naval victory over the Turks at Tchesme. The palace, a square block with circular corner pavilions, featured flattened domes considered Turkish and pointed windows contributing a suitably medieval feeling.[81] The church represents an even more bizarre mixture of styles (Fig. 38). The plan is quatrefoil, like some seventeenth century Muscovite churches, with five domed bell towers. Certain of the decorative details, picked out in white, have a vague "Russian" feeling; others, particularly the pointed and rose windows, are an overstated Western Gothic. To commemorate an important naval victory Catherine ordered a palace partly in the style of the defeated country; and a church, that most distinctively Russian institution, in a style only partially native but certainly medieval.

The social function of the rest of the Russian revival architecture of the 1770s is not easy to explain. Catherine commissioned Bazhenov to build her an Old Russian church (1768-84) at Znamenki, featuring medieval Russian ornament combined with neo-Gothic spires, ogee, and segmental arches.[82] In 1775, a country residence at Tsaritsen

near Moscow was ordered from the same architect. The plan called for a palace and auxiliary buildings in the "Gothic" style. In eighteenth-century Russia, the term "Gothic" encompassed a wide variety of native styles defined in this way simply because they did not adhere to a system of classical orders.[83] Bazhenov's palace, mostly completed by 1785, was stylistically a mixture of earlier Russian vernacular decorative effects in brick and stone with pointed arches and true Gothic shafts.[84]

All these manifestations of Catherine's interest in the native Russian style share the sketchy and inconsistent application of medieval ornament by architects also conversant with the neo-classical style. The inaccuracy of the stylistic quotations is really immaterial as long as the buildings were perceived to be in the native Russian style. But did the buildings satisfy a purely literary or intellectual interest on Catherine's part, or did they, too, state and promote her political aspirations? A definitive answer is elusive, but an examination of Catherine's declared attitudes toward pre-Petrine Russia is relevant.

While making it clear that there were aspects of Old Russia which, as a good liberal, she despised,[85] Catherine was also aware that political stability depended on her popular identification with national goals.

> In the Eve[g] we had a gathering... & the old Russian amusements such as National Songs....The Princess [Dashkov] tells me that in the Empress Katherine's [sic] time these amusements were very often at the Hermitage & the Empress knew all the old National songs, traditions, dances, plays &c.&c.&c. and encouraged everything of the kind most excessively which made her of course extremely popular.[86]

The writer is Martha Wilmot, a visitor to Russia in the early nineteenth century. Wilmot's style is never exacting, and her implication that Catherine deliberately courted popularity in this fashion may be fortuitous. But Catherine was undeniably a serious student of Russian history: in 1784 she wrote "Je crois qu'il est impossible de se délasser plus utilement pour l'empire qu'en débrouillant et arrangeant son histoire".[87] In doing so, she managed simultaneously to affirm her love for Russia and the necessity of wise legislation for its welfare, thus solidifying her position as a foreign-born Empress.

In the satirical journal Miscellany of 1769, published and largely written by Catherine, she called for demonstrations of the goodness of the native Russian character, particularly under the influence of her social measures. In her "Antidot" of 1770, a refutation of Abbé Chappe d'Auteroche's critical Voyage en Sibérie (1768) Catherine stated that thoughtful consideration would reveal that Russian history had for the most part paralleled Western development; the unsettling conditions of the

seventeenth century had caused a slight lag which wise legislation would soon remedy.[88] During 1783 and 1784 she published regular Notes sur l'Histoire de Russie in the St. Petersburg Interlocuteur, consisting of liberal extracts from the old chronicles interspersed with defenses of the Russian character.

Catherine's national awareness, reflected in her writings and her "medieval" buildings, was shared by educated Russians. The emergence of a sense of national consciousness in Russia during this period is a complex issue, in part because it cannot be easily separated from the Westernization distinctive of the gentry at this time. Nationalistic intellectuals in eighteenth-century Russia sometimes resented the degree to which their country imitated the West, but the expression of the discontent would not have been possible without the ideas and education acquired through this very process.[89]

On occasion, this discontent posed a real threat to the security of the throne, to which Catherine had no legal claim.[90] A powerful undercurrent of opposition to St. Petersburg's secular culture had been evident even in Peter the Great's time. This opposition took three main forms: Old Believer communities, isolated by choice against encroaching bureaucracy; Russian intellectualism;[91] and Cossack-led peasant revolts protesting increasing government demands. The Pugachev rebellion, put down in 1774, was

symptomatic of the contemporary cleavage between the popular and elite cultures. All these currents were fundamentally conservative, taking their values from an idealization of the past Muscovite religious civilization that Catherine was systematically dissolving as much as she dared in the name of progress and profit.

Even as a newly-arrived princess at Elizabeth's court, Catherine was aware of this conservatism. With reference to her strict observance of Russian Orthodox custom, she afterwards wrote in her Memoirs "I have taken care to avoid each and everything to the smallest trifle which could offend the national peculiarity still dominating the masses at that time".[92] Another version is presented by her contemporary Shcherbatov in his critique On the Corruption of Morals in Russia: ". . . carried away by her indiscriminate reading of modern writers, she thinks nothing of the Christian religion, though she pretends to be devout". Interestingly, Shcherbatov directly related Catherine's huge number of buildings to her "love of glory".[93]

Catherine was aware that she trod a delicate path between Westernization and the resultant increase in personal prestige and power; and conservatism driven by the xenophobic "national peculiarity" which could destroy her. It seems clear that her literary activities were in part an attempt to allay public fears about her policies, to show that she did in fact have the best interests of Russia at heart.

It is not clear how the Russian revival buildings played a part in this effort: if she wanted to demonstrate her love for the native style surely the construction of some prominent metropolitan church, comparable to Elizabeth's Smolney Cathedral complex, would have been more effective.[94] The commissioning of such buildings ceased after 1780: perhaps the Empress perceived the futility of the effort; perhaps she no longer required the extra sanction. Official interest in pre-Petrine architecture did not stop entirely: some urban plans carefully accommodated structures of local historical interest, especially churches, monasteries, and city gates.[95] The construction, and the preservation, of such buildings must be considered more than coincidental when taken into account with the national consciousness shared by Catherine and her subjects.

The city of St. Petersburg, product of an artificially rich and rapid nurturance, subsumes the entire stylistic and functional range of eighteenth-century architecture in Europe: from a Baroque cathedral to a neo-classical bank.

Furthermore, it presents the perfect specimen for the student who would study the relationship between architecture and the extra-artisitic aspects of a society. Every building mentioned in this chapter was the materialization of an Imperial ukaz. For the Tsars, architecture

was simultaneously proud expression of their wealth, culture, and power and a weapon in the battle against the inefficiency and ignorance of Russia. But the struggle was complicated by the depth of native conservatism and, in the case of Elizabeth and Catherine, by their own appreciation of the national tradition. This qualification, too, was reflected in building construction.

In the final chapters, an attempt will be made to fit Alexander I and his new Exchange against this background of creative and politically-charged patronage.

Notes

[1]See George Heard Hamilton, The Art and Architecture of Russia, ed. Nikolaus Pevsner, The Pelican History of Art (Harmondsworth: Penquin Books, 1954), pp. 120-26; James H. Billington, The Icon and the Axe, Vintage Books (New York: Random House, 1966), pp. 58-63; and Arthur Voyce, Russian Architecture (1948; rpt. New York: Greenwood Press, 1969), pp. 8-10.

[2]" . . . the century covered by the reigns of Ivan III, Basil III, and Ivan IV was coloured by an insistence on Russian nationality. That these tower-like churches appear first on the private estates of the dynasty and as assertions of dynastic prestige would seem sufficient warrant for the belief that the Tsars themselves, in seeking a characteristic national expression, looked to the tent churches of the popular cult." (Hamilton, Architecture of Russia, p. 129.)

[3]In two letters written to the fugitive Andrew Kurbsky, written between 1564 and 1579, Ivan explained that even if he were a tyrant, a faithful Christian subject could only submit to divinely-sanctioned autocracy. Nicholas V. Riasonovsky, A History of Russia, second ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969), p. 223.

[4]Billington, Icon, p. 183.

[5]Ibid., p. 114.

[6]James H. Bater, St. Petersburg (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1976), p. 20. St. Petersburg was formally declared the capital in 1712, and most of the residential population was shifted there at that time.

[7]Marc Raeff, "The Enlightenment in Russia and Russian Thought in the Enlightenment", The Eighteenth Century in Russia, ed. J.G. Garrard (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), p. 28.

[8]Billington, Icon, p. 201.

[9]In 1725, the year of Peter's death, out of 7,770,000 roubles total state expenditure, public buildings were the second largest expense (662,000) after the army and navy (5,974,000). James Mavor, An Economic History of Russia, second ed. (1925; rpt. New York: Russell & Russell, 1965) 1:139, 141.

[10]As a Soviet scholar put it:

> "This new 'face' of the city was above all calculated to impress foreign visitors approaching the harbour and Strelka of Vasiliyevskiy Island from the direction of the Gulf of Finland . . . . Peter I was well aware of the liklihood that sailors and merchants would soon spread the news of its phenomenal growth and magnificence throughout Europe. Thus architectural means were used to further a political purpose."

Iurii Alekseevich Egorov, The Architectural Planning of St. Petersburg, trans. Eric Dluhosch (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1969), pp. 9-10.

[11]See Hans Blumenfeld, "Russian City Planning of the 18th and Early 19th Centuries", Journal of the American Society of Architectural Historians 4, no. 1 (January, 1944), 66. Like St. Petersburg, the other new towns (for example, Azov and Taganrog) were founded at strategic points in newly conquered territories. Petrozavodsk--"Peter's factory"--was more elaborate effort, founded in 1703 on a rectangular plan.

[12]Blumenfeld, "Russian Planning", 23. This was the standard sixteenth- and seventeenth-century type. The settlements outside the wall of the fortress, or kreml, was actually composed of the gorod, or city proper, and the passad or settlement. The latter included the tradesmen's quarters and was virtually identical to a rural village.

[13]Ibid.

[14]Perhaps the first was Nikolai Karamzin (1766-1826), who in his Memoir on Ancient and Modern Russia (1811) wrote that "Peter confined his reforms to the gentry . . . . After Peter, the higher classes separated themselves from the lower

ones, . . . thus weakening the spirit of brotherly national unity binding the estates of the realm." Quoted in L. Jay Oliva, ed. Russia and the West from Peter to Khrushchev (Boston: Heath, 1965), p. 21.

[15]Egorov, St. Petersburg, p. 24.

[16]Letter of June 30, 1739; Letters from Count Algarotti to Lord Hervey (London: 1769) 1:76, quoted in Hamilton, Architecture of Russia, p. 283.

[17]Bater estimates that between two and three thousand inhabitants made their living directly or indirectly from commerce during the early years of the century. Bater, St. Petersburg, pp. 44-45.

[18]In 1725, the population was about 40,000; by 1750, 90,000. Wright Miller, Leningrad, Cities of the World (London: Dent, 1970), p. 19.

[19]Bater, St. Petersburg, p.45.

[20]Louis Hautecoeur, in L'Architecture Classique à Saint-Pétersbourg à la fin du XVIII[e] siècle (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1912), p. 84, suggests that this exchange was in the "Dutch" style.

[21]". . . spanning the [economic] reform initiatives from Peter I to Catherine II was a consciousness of the absence of European-style corporate organizations of merchants and artisans. Later historians were to evaluate the efforts to set up new organizations . . . as unsuccessful attempts to give vitality to commercial organization without granting the autonomy from state government that had long been customary in European cities."
Gilbert Rozman, Urban Networks in Russia (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), p. 130.

[22]Hamilton, Architecture of Russia, p. 173; illustrated pl. 112.

[23]Ibid., p. 172.

[24]See Egorov, St. Petersburg, pp. 28-34.

[25]Miller, Leningrad, p. 8.

[26]See Barbara Jelavich, A Century of Russian Foreign Policy (Philadelphia and New York: Lippincott, 1964), pp. 13-25. Elizabeth's reign did see a brief alliance with the ancien régime, as Russia joined Austria and France against Frederick the Great in 1756, at the beginning of the Seven Years' War.

[27]See Harold B. Segel, "Classicism and Classical Antiquity in Eighteenth- and Early Nineteenth-Century Russian Literature", The Eighteenth Century in Russia, ed. J.G. Garrard (Oxford: Clarendon, 1973), pp. 48-71. Segel demonstrates that the rapid assimilation of Western literary development of the preceding century, including German as well as French models

> "resulted, in Russian literary evolution in the first half of the eighteenth century, in a curious kind of classicism, an amalgam of French high classicism, seventeenth-century précieux poetry, late German Baroque, and the poesie légère of late classicism and the rococo."

The bulk of the translations, even after 1750, were from French and Roman authors. The European Hellenism of eighteenth-century Europe only became established in Russian literature in the early nineteenth century.

[28]Billington, Icon, p. 189.

[29]Among the immense number of projects Rastrelli completed, the most important secular ones are: the reconstruction and enlargement of Peter I's palace at Peterhof (1747-52); the rebuilding of the Great Palace at Tsarskoe Selo (1749-56, later called the Catherine Palace) and the construction of garden pavilions there; and the rebuilding of the Winter Palace at St. Petersburg. See Hamilton, Architecture of Russia, pp. 178-82.

[30]After Elizabeth's seizure of the throne, the Archbishop of Novgorod complained about the foreigners in Russian service under Anna:

> "Their bodies, their shades may have been in Russia but heart and soul remained abroad . . . . Thus they brought Russia to impotence, poverty, and ruin."

Quoted in Hans Rogger, National Consciousness in Eighteenth-Century Russia (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1960), p. 31.

[31]Tamara Talbot Rice, "The Conflux of Influences in Eighteenth-Century Russian Art and Architecture: A Journey from the Spiritual to the Realistic", The Eighteenth Century in Russia, ed. J.G. Garrard (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), p. 282. See also Hamilton, Architecture of Russia, p. 177.

[32]See plate XL and note facing in Voyce, Russian Architecture.

[33]On the symbolic importance of the bell see Billington, Icon, p. 37. The wooden model of the proposed belfry is illustrated in Hamilton, Architecture of Russia, pl. 118a.

[34]Rastrelli's other important religious commissions were the Cathedral of St. Andrew at Kiev (1747-67) and the oratory of the Holy Sepulchre in the New Jerusalem Monastery (1747-60). See ibid., pp. 180-82.

[35]Billington, Icon, p. 219.

[36]Letter dated 13 November 1762. Quoted in Dimitri S. von Mohrenschildt, Russia in the Intellectual Life of Eighteenth-Century France, Columbia University Studies in Comparative Literature (1936; rpt. New York: Octagon Books, 1972), p. 144.

[37]Ibid., p. 155.

[38]François Marie Arout de Voltaire, The Philosophy of History, with a Preface by Thomas Kiernan (1766; rpt. New York: Philosophical Library, 1965), frontispiece and p. 64.

[39]Paul Hazard, in European Thought in the Eighteenth Century, trans. J. Lewis May (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954), p. 334, is amusingly cynical:

> "A rumour got about that Catherine II had had her husband murdered, in order that she might rule; an unpleasant story, which it would be well to hush up; people like that were hardly pupils to be proud of . . . . That was the error; the philosophers thought that they were using the kings, and it was the kings who were using them."

[40]Others included Leopold of Tuscany, Charles III of Spain, Gustavus III of Sweden, and to some extent Louis XVI of France. See E.J. Hobsbawm, The Age of Revolution (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1962), p. 22; and John G. Gagliardo, Enlightened Despotism (New York: Crowell, 1967). I have avoided the usual term "enlightened despot" because of the popular associations of "despot".

[41]"Every profane legislator who dared to feign that the Divinity had dedicated to him his laws, was a palpable blasphemer, and a traitor; a blasphemer, because he calumniated the gods; a traitor, because he subjugated his country to his own opinions." (Voltaire, Philosophy, p. 245).

[42]Instructions Chapter II, 10. In L. Jay Oliva, ed. Russia and the West from Peter to Khrushchev (Boston: Heath, 1965) p. 36.

[43]William Richardson, Anecdotes of the Russian Empire (1784; rpt. London: Frank Cass, 1968), p. 26. Of course, it has always been customary for Western male commentators to accuse the Empress of vanity: see Brenda Meehan-Waters, "Catherine the Great and the Problem of Female Rule", The Russian Review 34 (1975), 293-307.

[44]Quoted Blumenfeld, "Russian Planning", 26, no source cited.

[45]Ibid., 27.

[46]Chapter I, 6. In Oliva, Russia, p. 36.

[47]Robert E. Jones, "Urban Planning and the Development of Provincial Towns in Russia during the Reign of Catherine II", The Eighteenth Century in Russia, ed. J.G. Garrard (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), p. 322.

[48]Ibid.

[49]Ibid.

[50]Ibid., 326.

[51]Ibid., 338.

[52]William Coxe, Travels into Poland, Russia, Sweden, and Denmark, second ed., 2 vols. (London: T. Cadell, 1785) 1:378.

[53]Blumenfeld, "Russian Planning", 31.

[54]John Parkinson, A Tour of Russia, Siberia and the Crimea, ed. William Collier, Russia through European Eyes No. 11 (London: Cass, 1971), p. 97.

[55]Supplement No. 91 of the St. Petersburg News, 14 November 1763. Quoted Blumenfeld, "Russian Planning", 30.

[56]Others specifically addressed the problem: one important prototype was Combes's plan for the development of the harbour at Bordeaux. See Helen Rosenau, The Ideal City (New York: Harper & Row, 1972), p. 75; and Rosenau, Social Purpose in Architecture (London: Studio Vista, 1970), p. 32.

[57]Complete Collection of the Laws of the Russian Empire (St. Petersburg: 1839), ukaz dated 8 February 1765. Quoted in Egorov, St. Petersburg, p. 58.

[58]Ibid., p. 71.

[59]Bater, St. Petersburg, p. 33

[60]Fernand Braudel, Capitalism and Material Life: 1400-1800, trans. Miriam Kochan (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1973), p. 422.

[61]Compare the doubling of the population of Muscovy from 1722 to 1795, from 14 to 29 million. Ibid., pp. 17, 376.

[62]Coxe, Travels, 1:379.

[63]Billington, Icon, p. 228.

[64]Letter from Baron Grimm, dated 23 August 1779. Quoted in Isobel Rae, Charles Cameron (London: Elek Books, 1971), p. 47.

[65]Braudel, Capitalism, p. 423.

[66]Marie L. Elizabeth Vigée-Lebrun, Souvenirs of Madame Vigée Le Brun [sic], ed. Morris F. Tyler (New York: Worthington, 1886), pp. 211-212.

[67]Diary entry, 4 November 1792. Parkinson, Tour, p. 20.

[68]Hautecoeur, L'Architecture, p. 38.

[69]See V. Sadovnikov, Panorama of Nevsky Prospect, with an Introduction by I. Kotelnikova (Leningrad: Aurora Art Publishers, 1974), no. 35. Kotelnikova, p. 22, claims that Rastrelli's expensive design was rejected by the merchants as a "vast burden on capital". However, Hamilton, Architecture of Russia, p. 187, mentions that the markets were sponsored by the city of St. Petersburg. Furthermore, it seems very unlikely that simple economics could dictate the change in style in a decade of architectural largesse.

[70]Had he not been a foreigner, Bazhenov would have won the architectural Prix de Rome in 1762. Ibid., p. 190. However, the anonymous author of "Bazhenov" states that the Russian did win the medal, and studied in Italy from 1762 to 1764. "Vassily Bazhenov", Architectural Review 97 (January, 1945), 16.

[71]Rae, Cameron, plates 19-21.

[72]Illustrated Réau, L'Art Russe, 2:plate 18.

[73]Quoted Hamilton, Architecture of Russia, p. 198.

[74]At Diderot's suggestion, Catherine invited the Physiocrat Mercier de la Rivière to St. Petersburg in 1767. She also sent two professors from Moscow to study under Adam Smith in Edinburgh. Billington, Icon, p. 223.

[75]Hamilton, Architecture of Russia, p. 208, indicates that the building was finished, but Hautecoeur, L'Architecture, p. 84; and Bater, St. Petersburg, p. 85, state that Quarneghi's Exchange was unfinished for financial reasons. Egorov supplies more details from contemporary documents which are worth summarizing for the light they shed on contemporary patronage. The foundations were laid

in 1782; in 1787 a directive from Catherine suspended the annual allocation and ordered construction to be covered with a temporary roof. In 1789, additional sums were released, to be cut off again the next year with no specific discontent revealed. A storm in 1793 damaged construction, which continued to deteriorate. After Catherine's death, Paul committed the building to the jurisdiction of the Justice Department; a commission of a few years later decided that it was not practical to continue construction. At about this time, the decision was taken to start the building afresh and Thomon was awarded the commission. Egorov, St. Petersburg, pp. 72-74.

[76]Parkinson, Tour, p. 43.

[77]25 June/6 July 1772; in Catherine II, Empress of Russia, Documents of Catherine the Great, ed. W.F. Reddaway (1931; rpt. New York: Russell & Russell, 1971), p. 163. Emphasis mine.

[78]Hamilton, Architecture of Russia, p. 219; Hautecoeur, L'Architecture, p. 96.

[79]Letter of 1771; quoted Hamilton, Architecture of Russia, p. 219.

[80]Hautecoeur, L'Architecutre, p. 99. Catherine also wrote "a dramatic extravaganza, the First Government of Oleg, which ends with this early Russian conqueror-prince leaving his shield behind in Constantinople for future generations to reclaim". Billington, Icon, p. 225. The Imperial Porcelain Factory's Arabesque series, decoratively inspired by the Herculaneum frescoes, also illustrated Russian naval victories over Turkey. Richard Hare, The Art and Artists of Russia (London: Methuen, 1965), p. 140.

[81]Illustrated in Igor Grabar, ed. Istoriya russkago iskusstva, (Moscow: I. Knebel, 1910-1914) 3:20.

[82]Hamilton, Art and Architecture, p. 220.

[83]"Bazhenov", 16.

[84]Bazhenov's version was pulled down in 1785, to be replaced by a similar building my Matvei Feodorovich Kazakov (1733-1812). Catherine's motives are unclear: Hamilton, Architecture of Russia, p. 192, suggests that

the earlier version was too sombre for her taste, while the author of "Bazhenov" suggests that it was because Bazhenov was an active Mason. (Page 17, illustrations p. 19.) The Freemasons were falling into disfavour with Catherine at this time for their supposed insurrectionary intent. See Billington, Icon, p. 256.

[85] "Nowhere in the inhabited world is the ground so favorable to despots as here [Moscow]. From earliest infancy the children grow accustomed to it, because they see with what tyranny their parents treat their servants. For is there a single house which has not pillory, chains, whips, and similar instruments to torture for the least offense those who belong by birth to this unhappy class . . . ?"
Catherine II, Empress of Russia, Memoirs of Catherine the Great, trans. Katharine Anthony (New York: Knopf, 1927), p. 196.

[86] Diary entry, 22 April 1805. Martha and Catherine Wilmot, The Russian Journals of Martha and Catherine Wilmot, ed. H. Montgomery Hyde, with an Introduction by Edith, Marchioness of Londonderry (London: Macmillan, 1935), p. 141.

[87] Quoted in Hamilton, Architecture of Russia, p. 220.

[88] Rogger, National Consciousness, p. 263.

[89] Russia's receptivity to all Western influences made the country susceptible to "romantic" and nationalistic, as well as classical, literary and artistic influences. For example, bourgeois drama, romantic poetry, and the novel of sensibility all made their appearance in Russia as early as the 1760s. Rogger, National Consciousness, pp. 140-141. See also Marc Raeff, The Origins of the Russian Intelligentsia (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1966).

[90] Catherine justified her accession in Russia by claiming that her husband Peter II wished to deliver Russia to the foreigners. Rogger, National Consciousness, p. 38.

[91] St. Petersburg had become associated with "Voltaireanism", superficial anticlericism, and a "rather distasteful flippancy which did not sit well with the serious social and humanitarian concerns of the leading

intellectuals", centred in Moscow then and in the nineteenth century. John G. Garrard, "The Emergence of Modern Russian Literature and Thought", The Eighteenth Century in Russia, ed. J.G. Garrard (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), p. 17.

[92]Catherine, Memoirs, p. 176.

[93]Mikhail M. Shcherbatov, On the Corruption of Morals in Russia, trans. and ed. A. Lentin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), pp. 251 and 257.

[94]With reference to the Bazhenov churches, Hamilton states that Catherine "knew that she had not the slightest legal claim to the throne and that to maintain her position, she must identify herself as closely as possible to the past as well as the present of Russia". Architecture of Russia, p. 220. Predictably, Soviet scholars support this point of view. Alpatov states that art "in the eyes of the Russian government . . . was a medium for official propaganda". Mikhail Alpatov, Russian Impact on Art, ed. Martin L. Wolf, trans. Ivy Litvinov (New York: Philosophical Library, 1950), p. 120.

[95]Blumenfeld, "Russian Planning", p. 30. The new plan for Oboyev, for example, retained the cathedral and two smaller churches in 1779, the only pre-existing structures to be saved. The plan for the town of Lyoubim (1784) featured a group of small historic churches as the focal point in the central square.

CHAPTER V

THE PATRON OF THE BOURSE: ALEXANDER I

The first three chapters examined Thomas de Thomon's Bourse in its historical, stylistic, and iconographic contexts. Here we return to the building in continuing the story of St. Petersburg as an architectural showcase, a collection of visual metaphors of progress for the benefit of Russians and Westerners alike.

Alexander of course commissioned the Bourse; but his father Paul, despite reigning so short a time, made relevant contributions which should not be overlooked. It was Paul who first introduced the name and ideas of Claude-Nicholas Ledoux to Russia; Paul who personally befriended and encouraged the native-born architects Bazhenov and Voronikhin. It is easy to dismiss his reign, including its architectural patronage, as an unpleasant interlude between two "enlightened" autocrats. More careful evaluation suggests that Paul was a connoisseur of architecture who had as profound an influence as Catherine on the development of Alexander's architectural taste.

Paul

Catherine II failed to have her grandson and

protégé Alexander succeed her, as she had planned, and her son Paul became Emperor after her death in 1796 to reign until his assassination in 1801.

Historians have long regarded Paul, with his personal instability and eccentric and often cruel decrees, as something of a Russian Caligula. Recent works have ameliorated this traditional judgement,[1] and art-historical conclusions are in the process of revision as well. Far from being an aesthetic moron, Paul evidently took an intelligent interest in architecture, an interest dating from his Western European travels.

In 1782, the Grand Duke Paul and his wife visited Paris under the ingenuous pseudonyms of the "Comte and Comtesse du Nord". French society was enchanted with them, and the couple in fact contributed to contemporary "russophilia" in Paris. Paul met the architect Ledoux during the course of the visit, and was impressed by his work. At the Grand Duke's request, the engraver Johann Georg Wille sent 273 copies of Ledoux's drawings to St. Petersburg in 1789. The engravings arrived safely, delighting not only the prince but also later architects for whom Ledolcian geometry served as a continuing source of inspiration.[2]

Back in Russia, Paul befriended the architect Bazhenov, who had built the St. Petersburg Arsenal and other precociously severe works discussed in the last

chapter. The association distressed Catherine since Bazhenov was a member of the increasingly suspect Masonic circle in Moscow.[3] In spite of her displeasure (or perhaps because of it) Paul installed Bazhenov as the architect of his "Small Court" at Gatchina.

The most important single project of Paul's short reign was the construction of a Cathedral to house the miraculous icon of the Virgin of Kazan. Quarenghi had devised a plan in 1785, and Thomon submitted a proposal for an 1801 competition; but Paul and his friend Count Stroganov, President of the Academy of Arts, were determined to award this archetypically Russian commission to a native artist.[4] Stroganov proposed the appointment of his protege Andrei Nikiforovich Voronikhin (1760-1814), and the architect began construction in 1801.

Voronikhin had been born a serf on one of Stroganov's estates. His talent, recognized early, was developed at his master's expense in St. Petersburg, Paris, and Rome. Upon his return to Russia in 1790 as a free man, he displayed his conversance with the most advanced European neo-classicism in several works, including a dacha, or country house, for the Count. The Kazan Cathedral (Fig. 39), finished in 1811, reflects the French influence in some details but the overall effect is reminiscent of the Roman Baroque in a shift of stylistic emphasis that once again can only properly be explained with reference to contemporary political events.

The Order of St. John of Jerusalem, known as the Knights of Malta, had placed themselves under the protection of Paul when their independence became threatened by the Mediterranean struggles between the French and English. Encouraged by this gesture, and furthermore by his election to the Grand Mastership of the Order in 1800, Paul dreamed of being elected Pope and effecting a union between Roman Catholicism and Eastern Orthodoxy--an ecumenical vision probably influenced by the teachings of higher-order Masonry, and one which anticipates Alexander's reign.

This vision is certainly reflected in the Catholic chapel dedicated to the Knights of Malta that Paul ordered from Quarenghi. It is evident as well in the design of the "most thoroughly Catholic and Roman church in Russian classicism":[5] Voronikhin's Kazan Cathedral. With its dome, giant exterior order, and semi-circular colonnade fronting the Nevskiy Prospect, Voronikhin's Cathedral obviously drew inspiration from St. Peter's in Rome and the Piazza before it. Like Ivan III so long before, Paul envisioned himself at the head of a newly unified Christendom, but his ambition was realized only in the form of a papal-style home for a sacred Russian icon.

The coffered barrel-vault ceiling, powerful cornice, and double rows of columns inside the Kazan Cathedral, however, is more reminiscent of the severe neo-classicism of contemporary France. This is in accordance

with Voronikhin's studies in Paris,[6] and Paul's personal taste.

Paul's son Alexander shared his admiration for this style. And Alexander, like Paul and Catherine, used architecture to reflect and promote his personal aspirations for the Russian Empire.

The Early Reign of Alexander I

The first decade of Alexander's life as Emperor presents striking similarities to the reign of Catherine II. Both subscribed to an "enlightened" point of view, the grandson far more whole-heartedly than the grandmother, and both made certain domestic reforms according to progressive principles. These reforms were mostly far too tentative to effect any lasting change, but in spite of this failure, both received widespread acclaim domestically and abroad as monarchs who would rescue Russia from serfdom and other institutionalized evils.

Russian and Western European liberals welcomed the accession of Paul's son Alexander, known to have been educated according to "enlightened" principles by Catherine and the tutor she appointed, the Swiss Frederic César de La Harpe (1754-1838). As Alexander's closest friend Adam Czartoryski recalled in the disillusionment of his later years, La Harpe belonged

> to the generation of men nourished with the illusions of the last part of the eighteenth century, who thought their doctrine a sort of philosopher's stone, a universal remedy which removed all difficulties to the regeneration of society.[7]

Alexander spent his ten years of formal education with La Harpe writing short compositions based on excerpts from Plutarch and Livy. Like his literary models, the future Tsar admired the Republican virtues of simplicity, probity, and liberty. La Harpe advocated monarchy under law, not democracy,[8] but his impressionable pupil became a confirmed republican, an idealism he shared with young men he thought might be sympathetic. In his first conversation with the rather embarrassed Czartoryski, Alexander announced

> that he detested despotism everywhere, no matter in what way it was exercised; that he loved liberty, to which all men had a right; that he had taken the strongest interest in the French Revolution, and that while condemning its terrible excesses, he wished the French Republic success . . . . His opinions were those of one brought up in the ideas of 1789, who wishes to see republics everywhere . . . . He held, among other things, that heriditary monarchy was an unjust and absurd institution, and that the supreme authority should be granted . . . by the votes of the nation . . . .[9]

At that time, Alexander was determined to abdicate in favour of a democracy upon his accession.[10] The decision was reinforced by the despotic example of his father Paul, by the young Grand Duke's almost complete ignorance of Russian conditions, and by his fear of ruling.

At nineteen, Alexander still contemplated flight to Switzerland to escape the awful obligation of responsibility for his people's happiness; but five years later he at last fulfilled his grandmother's dream and ascended the throne as Alexander I.

The new Tsar promised to reign "according to the heart and laws" of Catherine II.[11] The statement was vague enough to allow various interpretations; and the accession was acclaimed by those Russians and foreigners who desired reform. But as Czartoryski recalled it, after Alexander's accession

> There was no longer any question of the old reveries of extreme liberalism . . . . But he was constantly thinking of more practical matters, such as the administration of justice, the emancipation of the masses, equitable reforms, and liberal institutions; this was his diversion when he was alone with me.[12]

Such informal discussions became institutionalized into the meetings of the so-called Unofficial Committee, a group which included Czartoryski and Count Paul Stroganov among others: the latter, to the envy of his friends and the horror of his father, had actually been tutored in Paris by the former librarian of the Jacobin Club! The conservative aristocracy was suspicious of the group, which they variously referred to as the "Jacobin Gang" or the "Committee of Public Safety".[13] The feeling was mutual, and Alexander felt the resultant strain keenly.

In the first days of his reign, it seemed that

Alexander's domestic policies would fulfill the expectations of his liberal admirers, but the early hopes were doomed to disappointment. Like Catherine, he appointed a commission to draw up a new code of laws--but, also like her, he proceeded to ignore it. The young Tsar similarly made a couple of preliminary gestures towards the abolishment of serfdom, an institution the Committee of course abhorred; measures that ultimately proved to be as ineffective, for fear of antagonizing the landed gentry too much.

Alexander did repeal Catherine's ban on secret societies, permitting a brief Masonic renaissance. In a similar spirit, he founded institutions of higher learning, theoretically open to all and in particular intended for the poorer gentry, who might then go out and teach the lower classes.

The most exciting reform that Alexander promised was the introduction of a constitutional monarchy. Preliminary measures included the commissioning of a "Charter for the Russian People": as drawn up, it emphasized the monarch's responsibility for the public welfare and included provisions for freedom of speech, personal security and habeus corpus. But the Charter was rejected, and Alexander never agreed to any restraints on his personal power in Russia after the first year of his reign.

It is not entirely clear why, in the light of his genuinely liberal sympathies, Alexander's plans for substantial domestic reform never materialized. The Tsar himself

blamed the universal bureaucratic corruption, which had left him no reliable state servants, and the sullen resistence of the "Old Russians" to the importation of trained foreigners and other reforms.[14] Paradoxically enough, he was also warned by even the most liberal gentry against extreme measures: Count Simon Vorontsov wrote that constitutional changes in an "unprepared, ignorant, and corrupt" nation would lead to a bloody revolution.[15]

In spite of these early indications of faltering purpose, Alexander received widespread acclaim for his intent. His letters, like Catherine's, were circulated among educated admirers in Europe and America. A letter sent by the radical Unitarian J. H. Stone to Joseph Priestley, who in turn transmitted it to Thomas Jefferson, quoted a portion of one Alexander wrote in 1802 to his old tutor La Harpe:

> . . . to you my dear friend I owe everything I possess, it is from you alone that I have imbibed these principles which shall be the regulators of my conduct . . . . The only recompense I can ever hope to make you will be reducing to practice the lessons you have taught and by becoming an instrument of the happiness and liberty of this hitherto ill-instructed and ill-governed people . . . .[16]

Such statements encouraged Jefferson, Priestley and the other liberals in a plan to educate Alexander and prepare him as a leader in the radical reconstruction of Europe. As Jefferson replied to Priestley, "the appearance of such a man on the throne is one of the phenomena which will

distinguish the present epoch so remarkable in the history of man."[17]

Through intermediaries, Jefferson and Alexander began a private correspondence which lasted from 1804 to 1806. The President's letters, while conveying suitable expressions of esteem for the young Tsar, were specifically concerned with the promotion of safe and free commerce between the two nations. In response, Alexander wrote in general terms about the desirability of unimpeded commerce, and waxed enthusiastic over the United States "qui a su faire de son independence l'emploi le plus noble en se donnent une constitution libre".[18]

Alexander was perceived by figures as disparate as the statesman Jefferson, the scientist Priestley, and as we shall see, the architect Ledoux to be willing and able to found a new order in Russia that would be a model for the rest of the world. Nor was the tsar averse to being cast in this messianic role on the international stage. His public image would find concrete expression in Thomon's Bourse, one of the greatest examples of the style known as "Alexandrian Classicism".

Alexandrian Classicism

In spite of the near-adultation with which he was received upon his accession, Alexander's character seems

to have remained rather colourless to visitors and natives who met him and afterwards wrote about him. Nor was his correspondence as prolific or sinewy as that of Catherine, whose personality shadowed his reign as a constant source of lively reminiscence and comparison.

Reliable information about Alexander's personal artistic taste is therefore meagre; although with his classicial education, a preference for neo-classical architecture was predictable. This expectation is confirmed by the buildings themselves, and by one Herr Muller for whom the appearance of Grecian architecture close to the Arctic Circle--a fascinating incongruity for some--held no charms:

> Si quelque chose pouvait déplaire dans l'architecture de Pétersbourg ce serait cette profusion de colonnes, qui partout frappent l'oeil et paraissent souvent déplacées. Le goût particulier de l'Empereur, qui veut partout des colonnes, est, dit on, la cause de cette profusion.[19]

The student of Plutarch and Livy favoured columns as his father and grandmother had. Geometric neo-classicism also accorded with Alexander's personal preference for simplicity, a preference reflected too in the young Tsar's attempts to reduce court splendour and ceremonial.[20]

The first decade of Alexander's reign saw the construction of buildings within the stylistically severe and ideologically progressive tradition of late eighteenth-century France, although Alexandrian classicism was by no means entirely derivative. In spite of the enormous

cultural impact the flood of French royalist emigres--including Thomon and Madame Vigée-Lebrun--had on Russia during the 1790s, St. Petersburg had long since ceased to be a cultural colony of Paris. The relationship might more accurately be described as an example of what Kubler has labelled a "wandering series", the shift of artistic innovation from one centre to another.[21] The Russian capital, unlike Revolutionary Paris, could offer wealthy patrons and more intangibly, an openness to innovation in a country where institutional needs were not yet satisfactorily filled and stylistic patterns not yet rigidly established. Not that Russia was necessarily dependent on foreign architects; of the three great figures of Alexander's early reign, only Thomon was foreign-born and his work by no means towered over that of his Russian contemporaries Voronikhin and Zakharov.

A. N. Voronikhin has already been mentioned as the architect of the Cathedral of the Virgin of Kazan, begun in 1801 for Paul. His other major building before his premature death in 1814 was the Academy of Mines (Gorni Institut) begun in 1806 on the Vasili Ostrov (Fig. 40).

Thomon had claimed that his Bourse's columns were modelled on those of Paestum; Voronikhin modelled his entire portico on the Greek Temple of Poseidon there. With its solid Greek Doric columns, the Institute is certainly within the historicist tradition that

romanticized earliest classical antiquity. Russia was as conversant with ancient Greek architecture as any other country in Europe; and produced too a limited variety of literary Hellenism during Alexander's reign.[22] Yet it would be erroneous to define "Alexandrian Classicism" in architecture or literature as simple Greek Revival. Russia had learned about classical art through Western European intermediaries; the tradition was further filtered through the secular traditions developing in St. Petersburg. Appropriately, the Academy's portico thrusts out of plain side wings in accordance with the style Voronikhin had learned at the Paris Academy of Architecture.[23]

After the Bourse and the Academy of Mines, the third outstanding monument of Alexander's early reign was the New Admiralty of Adrian Dmitrievich Zakharov (1761-1811). Zakharov, like Voronikhin, had studied at the Academies in St. Petersburg, Paris, and Rome, returning to Russia to teach at the St. Petersburg Academy for the rest of his life.

The reconstruction of the Admiralty building had become necessary with the reorganization and expansion of the Admiralty Council into the "Ministry of Naval Forces": a typical example of the way in which early nineteenth-century architects found commissions with the elaboration and reorganization of public institutions. Zakharov's task was to design a new facade for the building. It was

a massive undertaking to unify shipyards and offices stretching along the waterfront for over one quarter of a mile, and the work was not finished until 1823, after the architect's death.

The resultant rectangle is so huge that it is visible as a whole only on the project designs; an interesting reminder of the importance of the paper projects in manifestations of this style (Fig. 41). The building was clearly designed under the influence of the French neo-classicists: Zakharov had personally studied with Boullée's pupil Jean-François Chalgrin (1739-1811) in Paris. The association was maintained for Zakharov, as for Voronikhin and Thomon, by the drawings and plans available in Russia through the publications of Ledoux, Vaudoyer, and others.

Zakharov confronted the problem of simultaneously maintaining interest and continuity on the enormous facade with a sequence of pavilions on either side of the central tower, alternating with tranquil bays. The solution is remiscent of Thomon's humbler tallow warehouses, discussed in the first chapter. Considering the architects' common educational backgrounds, the similarity is not too surprising.

The facades of the terminating pavilions, turned the sides and not visible on the drawing illustrated, present the most stylistically daring aspect of the complex.

A colossal Doric order flanks the semi-circular entrances reminiscent of those opening the base of Thomon's Bourse, and supports a cylindrical drum.[24] The sculpture and certain architectural elements are picked out in white against yellow walls in the use of colour contrast architecture, again shared by Thomon's Bourse, that is one of the most distinctive features of this Russian neo-classicism.

This combination of blank geometric elements was softened by the application of large relief sculpture which illustrated themes such as the foundation of the Russian fleet and the heroic deeds of Russian sailors, much as symbolic sculpture was incorporated into the Bourse complex. Huge caryatids support globes on either side of the principal entrance, a device borrowed from Boullée and executed by the sculptor F. F. Shchedrin (1751-1825), who had also worked on Thomon's Poltava monument.[25]

A coherent description of Alexandrian Classicism, in contradistinction to other national adaptations of the Paris Academy's paper projects, remains elusive.[26] Perhaps the simple fact of the pervasiveness of the style is distinctive. The classical revival dominated more public and private buildings in Russia at this time than anywhere else, with the possible exception of the United States a decade later. It left its mark permanently on the Russian environment, not only in St. Petersburg but on textiles, furniture, country houses, and entire towns throughout

the Empire.

If one must link it to an historical style, then that must be the Greek, but its greatest monuments, like the Bourse, borrowed from many other periods and then subordinated these disparate elements into a whole dominated by the compositional patterns devised in Paris but executed, for the most part, elsewhere.

Neo-Classical Town-Planning

Unlike other artists, architects must fit their work into an unchanging context. Thomon related his Bourse to the pre-existing urban scheme of St. Petersburg with great skill. The way in which he chose to do so again reflects the tenets of late eighteenth-century French neo-classicism; a style developed with reference to the exigencies of urban planning.

The enormous size of most of the projects and some of the executed buildings, the apparent isolation of the buildings in the project designs, and the dramatic linear simplicity of the elements within each monument are all attributes which suggest that this neo-classicism was intended to be impersonal, to be admired from a psychological and physical distance. Just as these buildings housed institutions serving the State rather than individual patrons, so did this style transcend intimacy in its monumental scale.

After the middle of the century, an increasing number of open spaces in the form of crescents, ovals, circuses, and squares began appearing in re-planned French towns,[27] reflecting theoreticians like Laugier and Patte who appealed to the "autorité publique" to remodel and plan towns in accordance with aesthetic and humanitarian considerations.[28] They emphasized the importance of open spaces, parks, and improved lighting and paving for the well-being of the rapidly-increasing number of urban dwellers. Other European cities, including St. Petersburg, followed the French lead.[29]

The planning principles of the Baroque, which would subordinate all individual structures to the harmony and picturesqueness of the whole, had proved costly as cities expanded in area and function. In an attempt to balance economy with the need for magnificence and the new aesthetic ideal, different planning principles evolved. Buildings endowed with an antique quality were given individual visual authority in a type of planning Kalnein calls "Romantic" to distinguish it from the axial complexities of the Baroque.[30] An example of a Baroque complex would be St. Petersburg's Dvortsovaia Quay, discussed in the last chapter. Facing the Quay across the Neva, is one of the finest examples of "Romantic" planning, Thomon's Bourse.[31]

The Baroque principle of spatial organization

aiming at magnificence through the unification of buildings along a square or vista was thus replaced by one in which the spectator was required to make the visual connections between a distribution of magnificent buildings separated by those of lesser importance. These buildings were "monuments" under the new definition discussed in the second chapter: they dominated the surrounding masses, rather than subordinating themselves to the total effect. In this effort, they were aided by a style which emphasized severe, larger-than-life elements clearly distinguishable from a distance: the style of Ledoux, his colleagues, and their followers in St. Petersburg.

Thus the central pavilion of Zakharov's Admiralty was the focus of the "thre-pronged" street plan, visible as an independent element from each of the three avenues. Similarly, the side wings of the Admiralty provided the visual and architectural terminations for the Dvortsovaia and Angliiskaia Quays on either side. As one of its most astute observers has noted, every architectural element in the Admiralty "is based on clear contrast such as solid against hollow and straightline [sic] against curvilinear. Everything is calculated to be read clearly from a great distance."[32] The scale of the design, including its sculptural ornaments, is not related to the individual observer but to the geographical features of the site as a whole. Baroque complexity would not have suited this purpose.

While the new Admiralty visually unified the disparate elements to the south of the river, it did not tie together the three main elements divided by the Neva: the Admiralty District itself, Vasiliyevsky Island, and the so-called Petersburg District centreing on the Peter and Paul Fortress to the north. This was the problem faced by all St. Petersburg planners, to which Quarenghi had attempted a solution with his Exchange inclined, and subordinate to, the Dvortsovaia Quay. Quarenghi's solution, legitimate by earlier standards, was superseded by Thomon's building.

Thomon's plan re-shaped the Strelka ("arrow") or point of Vasiliyevsky Island, placing the Exchange and its semi-circular platform parallel to the natural axis of the water basin.[33] This shift in the axis of the building, seen in Figure 42, radically altered the balance between the elements of the waterfront ensemble. The Strelka was no longer subordinate to the Dvortsovaia waterfront, but equal to it in a master stroke which united the waterfront elements in visual tension. The Exchange, with its semi-circular platform and flanking rostral columns, would be an outstanding element in any visual context, but situated on the Strelka it became irresistible to the eye and an immediately-recognizable symbol of the city.[34] The entire area at the end of the Island was planned as a monumental setting for civic and commercial ceremonies; an intent

reminiscent of the Roman festivals of the 1740s and their importance to the formation of this architectural style.

As an isolated structure, the Bourse testifies to the power of the neo-classicism its architect studied in late eighteenth-century France. As an architectural complex taking part in the St. Petersburg waterfront, it is one of the greatest monuments to a style indissolubly linked with the new principles of urban planning.

The fabric of the Bourse complex was pregnant with historicist references to republican virtue, a symbolism that accorded well with the ideals of its patrons. But it was the construction of an exchange as an institution that provides the deepest insight into the character of the Tsar.

Notes

[1]See, for example, Sydney Jackman's note in Romanov Relations (London: MacMillan, 1969), p. 50.

[2]Emil Kaufmann, "Three Revolutionary Architects: Boullée, Ledoux, and Lequeu", Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, n.s. 42(1952): 476.

[3]The story is a complex one, but worth retelling since it has only recently emerged in its entirety. When Catherine discovered that the intellectual Nicholas Novikov had been a friend of Alexander Radischev--already sentenced to ten years' exile after the publication of Journey from St. Petersburg to Moscow--she ordered a police raid on Novikov's Moscow home. There, a memorandum written by Bazhenov was found. It described how Paul had accepted gifts of books from members of the Masonic circle. It appears to have been popular wisdom at this time in Europe that the Freemasons prepared coups through impressionable members of royal families: Catherine may have felt that she was in genuine danger. Witness John Parkinson's diary entry of 29 November 1793, first published in 1971:

> "Gagarin [Procurator General] having been Grand Master of the Free Masons at Moscow pretends to know for certain that the Jacobin Principles had their origin in the meetings of that society. Cagliostro had been by this means enabled, he thought, to foretell the fall of the Bastille. The Duke of Orleans was Grand Master at Paris and the Duke of Södermanland [who became Regent after the assassination of Gustavus III] at Stockholm."

A Tour of Russia, Siberia and the Crimea 1792-1794, ed. William Collier, Russia through European Eyes No. 11 (London: Frank Cass, 1971), p. 215. See also V. Cronin, Catherine (London: Collins, 1978), p. 286.

[4]Louis Hautecoeur, L'Architecture Classique à Saint-Pétersbourg à la fin du XVIII^{e} siècle (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1912), p. 80.

[5]George Heard Hamilton, The Art and Architecture of Russia, ed. Nikolaus Pevsner, The Pelican History of Art (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1954), p. 207.

[6]Réau states that Voronikhin was inspired by a drawing of Marie-Joseph Peyre, the architect of the Odéon. L'Art Russe (Paris: Henri Laurens, 1922), 2:23. Hamilton notes that the building's proportions are closer to Soufflot's St. Genviève (the Pantheon) than to St. Peter's in Rome. Architecture of Russia, p. 208.

[7]Adam J. Czartoryski, Memoirs, ed. Adam Gielgud (1888; rpt. Orono, Maine: Academic International, 1968) 1:262.

[8]Allen McConnell, Tsar Alexander I (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1970), p. 5.

[9]Czartoryski, Memoirs, 1:111 and 117.

[10]Before Czartoryski's departure for a visit to Poland, Alexander insisted that the Pole draught him a proclamation expressing the Grand Duke's intention to give Russia "liberty and justice" and then abdicate; in case Alexander was called to the throne before his friend's return. Ibid., 1:161.

[11]McConnell, Alexander, p. 21.

[12]Czartoryski, Memoirs, 1:257.

[13]The former was the judgement of G. R. Derzhavin. See McConnell, Alexander, p. 34; and James H. Billington, The Icon and the Axe, Vintage Books (New York: Random House, 1966), p. 261.

[14]Encyclopaedia Britannica, 11th ed., s.v "Alexander I.", by Walter Alison Phillips.

[15]Quoted in McConnell, Alexander, p. 34; no source.

[16]Quoted in N. Hans, "Tsar Alexander I and Jefferson: Unpublished Correspondence", Slavonic and East European Review 32 no. 78 (December, 1953) :216.

[17]Letter of 29 November 1802; quoted ibid., 217.

[18]Letter of 22 August 1805; quoted ibid., 222.

[19]Chrétien Müller, Tableau de Pétersbourg, ou lettres sur la Russie, French trans. (Paris: 1814), quoted in Alexandre Troubnikoff, "Thomas de Thomon", Starye Gody (1908): 507.

[20]Alexander's mother-in-law, the Margravine of Baden, disapproved of this attempt, pointing out the example of Napoleon, who knew that pomp and magnificence were necessary to gain mankind's respect. Czartoryski, Memoirs, 1: 266.

[21]George Kubler, The Shape of Time (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962), p. 116.

[22]The foremost Hellenist was Nikolay Ivanovich Gnedich (1784-1833) who among other works made the first complete translation of the Iliad into Russian. See Harold B. Segel, "Classicism and Classical Antiquity in Eighteenth- and Early Nineteenth-Century Russian Literature", in The Eighteenth Century in Russia, ed. J. G. Garrard (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), pp. 61-65.

[23]According to one author (whose thesis is that Russian architecture betrays a stylistic continuity surviving all Western influences) Alexandrian Classicism echoes medieval Russian traditions. Voyce suggests that the simplicity, smooth wall surfaces, and structural integrity of the Greek Doric was shared by the great native traditions of Novgorod and Pskov. Russian Architecture (1948; rpt. New York: Greenwood Press, 1969), p. 15.

[24]For a full description, see Hamilton, Architecture of Russia, p. 210.

[25]See Boullée's facade design for a Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris, Bib. Nat. HA 56, no. 44), illustrated in Helen Rosenau, ed. Boullée and Visionary Architecture Including Boullée's "Architure, Essay on Art" (London: Academy Editions, 1976; New York: Harmony Books, 1976), p. 58. In view of Boullée's oblique references to the Masonic ritual, the device of figures supporting globes may have been intended as a variation of the free-standing pillars, topped with "Maps of the Celestial and Terrestrial

Globes" supposed to have flanked Solomon's Temple. See Chapter III.

[26]Cf. Hamilton, who can only say that Zakharov's Admiralty created an effect which "bore the accent of Alexandrian Classicism, related to, but not entirely like similar designs elsewhere in Europe". Architecture in Russia, p. 210.

[27]See Wend Graf Kalnein and Michael Levey, Art and Architecture of the Eighteenth Century in France, ed. Nikolaus Pevsner and Judy Nairn, trans. J. R. Foster, The Pelican History of Art (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1972), pp. 272-83.

[28]See Wolfgang Herrmann, Laugier and Eighteenth-Century French Theory, Studies in Architecture 6 (London: A. Zwemmer, 1962), p. 227.

[29]Such improvements were also incorporated into London, Paris, and Milan; and were a feature of the "new towns" associated with Munich, Berlin, Edinburgh, and Helsinki. See Alistair Rowan, "Neo-Classical Town-Planning", in Council of Europe, The Age of Neo-Classicism, Catalogue, The Fourteenth Exhibition of the Council of Europe (London: The Arts Council of Great Britain, 1972): 657.

[30]Wend Graf Kalnein, "Architecture in the Age of Neo-Classicism", in Council of Europe, Neo-Classicism, liii.

[31]Kalnein considers Thomon's Exchange, with Zakharov's Admiralty, to be among the most impressive monuments of what he calls "romantic classicism". Ibid., lvii.

[32]Iurii Alekseevich Egorov, The Architectural Planning of St. Petersburg, trans. Eric Dluhosch (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1969), p. 113. Egorov's discussion of early nineteenth-century planning in St. Petersburg is valuable, and applicable in a broader context.

[33]Vyatkin suggests that the scheme was indebted to Zakharov, but there is no mention of the Russian architect in Egorov's more detailed study. M. P. Vyatkin, ed. Essays in the History of Leningrad (Moscow: Academy of Sciences USSR, 1955)1:552.

[34]F. G. Monnier's formal portrait of Alexander's wife the Empress Elizabeth ("formerly in the Strogonoff collection in St. Petersburg", but present location unknown) shows the Bourse in the background. Reproduced in Martha Wilmot, The Russian Journals of Martha and Catherine Wilmot . . . , ed. H. Montgomery Hyde, with an Introduction by Edith, Marchioness of Londonderry (London: MacMillan, 1935), facing p. 172. The Bourse continues to be featured on contemporary souvenirs of Leningrad.

CHAPTER VI

THE SYMBOLIC FUNCTION OF THE BOURSE

Thomon's Bourse functioned at several levels of understanding. As a building, it sheltered the merchants and industrialists of St. Petersburg while they speculated on the stock- and commodity-markets. As an aesthetic masterpiece, it unified the elements of the Neva water-front, solving a perennial problem for the capital's planners. Yet the very dominance of the Bourse's position raises the question of why an exchange--rather than a bank, hospital, government office or any other institution--was chosen for the point of Vasiliyevskiy Island. The answer lies in the relationship between the symbolic function of an exchange, as it was then understood, and the ideals of this Exchange's patron.

In the architectural lexicon of the turn of the eighteenth century, "banks and stock exchanges symbolized universal prosperity".[1] Under Catherine, both institutions found new homes in a programme of architectural patronage which was linked to her economic policies. These policies

paid lip-service to laissez-faire economic theory as developed by the Physiocrats, Adam Smith, and other thinkers.

Contemporary economic assumptions which pertained to industry and commerce may be summarized as follows. Man, as an economic being, is governed by self-interest. The natural order of the universe ensures that all individual strivings for self-interest add up to a common prosperity. Government interference in industry and commerce is therefore superfluous, except to preserve order and perform certain routine functions. This latter conclusion was of course in direct conflict with prevailing mercantilist theories.[2]

These arguments, which dignified greed with the authority of "natural law", summarized the prevailing temper of the mercantile and industrial classes in Europe, and were therefore allied with revolutionary philosophy in their common emphasis on individual liberty. The fall of Ledoux's toll-houses around Paris in 1793 occasioned general rejoicing; the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen of 1798 considered free enterprise to be a natural right.[3]

The new economic theories were self-evidently correct to the enlightened, and apparently common currency in Alexandrian Russia. Alexander Pushkin (1799-1837) satirized the intellectual superficiality of his hero

Eugene Onegin in the following fashion:

> Theocritus and Homer he disparaged,
> but read, in compensation, Adam Smith,
> and was a deep economist:
> that is, he could assess the way
> a state grows rich,
> what it subsists on, and why
> it needs not gold
> when it has got the simple product.
> His father could not understand him,
> and mortgaged his lands.[4]

Like Onegin senior, the Tsars had found the transformation of theory into practice difficult, and perhaps not wholly desirable. St. Petersburg had always lacked a truly independent mercantile-industrial class, although its numbers had increased during the eighteenth century as the city grew to handle two-thirds of Russia's maritime trade, and as the number of privately-owned enterprises grew.[5] However, most of the latter had come into existence by permission of, and often with assistance from, the state. They were protected by tariffs, which also served to increase state revenue and restore a favorable balance of trade. After the middle of the century, tariffs were revised steadily up, a trend culminating under Paul.

The need for protectionism was perceived to be greater during wartime; and the combination of the Continental Blocakde and the Napoleonic War led Alexander to impose even more prohibitive tariffs in 1811, the year of the Bourse's completion. This was an inauspicious beginning for the home of an institution devoted to free

enterprise, but Alexander could not have foreseen the European conflict in the early years of the century, when he commissioned the building. At that time, Alexander was in full sympathy with the anti-mercantilism expressed in Jefferson's first letter to the young Tsar:

> I see with great pleasure the rising commerce between our two countries. We have not gone into the policy which European nations have so long tried, and to so little good effect, of multiplying commercial treaties, in national, as in individual dealings . . . .[6]

In reply, Alexander wrote "Je désire que ce témoignage non équivoque de Mes bonnes dispositions, serve à augmenter les relations commerciales qui commencent à s'etablir entre les deux Pays; . . . "[7]

After the cessation of hostilities, the Tsar "in keeping with the spirit of the times, introduced a new tariff structure in 1816, one which removed many prohibitions."[8] In that same year, Thomon's Bourse finally opened its doors to international commerce as a magnificent, prominently-displayed symbol of the prosperity the new order would bring to Russia and the world.[9]

Thus Thomon's Bourse was an obvious materialization of the Physiocratic ideal of free and unimpeded commerce. As an institution, however, it had possessed a more fundamental meaning throughout its entire existence, a symbolic function traceable through seventeenth- and

eighteenth-century European literature.

To the seventeenth-century Dutch poet Jeremias de Decker (1609-1666), the Amsterdam Beurs was

> A strolling place where Moor with Northman bargained
> A church where Jew and Turk and Christian gathered
> A school of every tongue, a market field of every ware
> An exchange which swells all exchanges in the world.

His contemporary, Joost van der Vondel (1587-1679) wrote that

> All foreign blood that afternoons collected here
> Flowed in a single auricle
> Fed by many veins
> Giving life to the blood of the city.[10]

Joseph Addison's (1672-1719) description of the London Exchange, available in French translation since 1722, made the Dutch poets' metaphors specific.

> J'avoue que la Bourse dans son fort me paraît être un Grand Conseil où toutes les nations un peu distinguées ont leurs représentants.

Addison enumerates the French, Danes, Swedes, Jews, Armenians, Japanese, and subjects of the Great Moghul as among those in attendance at this "Great Council".[11] Voltaire, whom Addison's words may have inspired, substitutes religion for nationality in a passage which masterfully ridicules the institution of the Church through a comparison with that of the Exchange:

> Entrez dans la Bourse de Londres, cette Place plus respectable que bien des Cours, vous y voïez rassemblées les députés de toutes les Nations pour l'utilité des hommes; là le Juif, le Mahométan & le Chrétien traitent l'un avec l'autre comme s'ils étoient de la même Religion, & ne donnent le nom d'infidèles qu'a ceux qui font banqueroute; là le Presbiterien se fie à l'Anabaptiste, & l'Anglican reçoit la promesse de Quaker. Au sortir de ces pacifiques & libres assemblées, les uns vont à la Sinagogue, des autres vont boire, celui-ci va se faire baptiser dans un grande cuve au nom du Pere par le Fils au Saint Esprit: celui-là faut couper le prépuce de son fils & fait marmoter sur Enfant des paroles hébraïques qu'il ne n'entend point: ces autres vont dans leur Eglise attendre l'inspiration de Dieu leur chapeau sur la tête, & tous sont contens.[12]

The absurdity of conventional religion is contrasted with the freedom and unity of a cult "dictated by the egotism of individuals" but beneficial to all human society. Free international business does not divide men, but unifies them under the roof of the exchange, "symbol of the ideal co-operation of all human society".[13]

It is probable that Alexander read Voltaire's "Philosophical Letter"; undoubtedly his grandmother Catherine knew it. A statement about the quasi-sacred function of the exchange with which Alexander was assuredly familiar appeared in Claude-Nicholas Ledoux's L'Architecture. This chaotic but effective correlation between city planning, architectural style, public utility, and personal ethics could not have failed to impress Alexander's idealism.[14] Furthermore, the circumstances surrounding the book's gestation suggest that the Tsar would have taken particular note of its contents.

Alexander's father Paul had taken flattering notice of Ledoux's work while in Paris. The architect was delighted by this royal attention, in particular because he felt himself to be a prophet without honour in his own land.[15] By the time L'Architecture was finally published, Paul was dead. But Alexander was even more likely, from all accounts, to be sympathetic to the architect's dream of a city planned and governed by "philosophy". Ledoux's book was accordingly dedicated to "His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias". The dedication read, in part:

> Tous les peuples de la terre diront à l'Alexandre du Nord: Vous êtes un homme! puisque vous voulez bien accueillir un systême social, qui contribuera au bonheur du genre humain.[16]

In his plans for the ideal town to be attached to the salt works at Chaux executed during the 1780s, Ledoux assigns the Bourse to the central position in at least one perspective view of the city and in his text: "Il faut que, dégagé du tout embarras, il soit placé au centre de la ville."[16] This position suited the importance of the institution as a symbol of irreproachable morality in a city "founded by philosophy":

> Qu'entend-on par une bourse? C'est dans les cités nombreuses un monument qui doit attester la pureté des moeurs; dans la ville que la philosophie fonda, c'est le rassemblement d'hommes choisis, qui traitent de bonne foi, soit en matières réelles, soit en échanges.[18]

The Bourse is an association interested in the

multiplication of products and commerce for the general good, not for the rich "egoïste" who accumulates in isolation.

> C'est un corps dont le privilège est de négocier dans le quatre parties du monde la bienfaisance qu'il répand autour de lui. Tel le puissant dieu de jour, embrâsant les cieux, descend sur la terre et verse avec profusion ses bienfaits sur l'humanité.[19]

Like Voltaire, Ledoux speaks of the Bourse in religious metaphor. The architect considers the exchange to be the dispensary of God's plenty on this planet. Ideally, the Bourse, like the Church, stands above government for it generates its own laws, to which it is ever subject: "Voyez les moeurs pures de la Hollande" Ledoux remarks.[20]

Ledoux also outlines the specific functions of the Bourse and the resultant benefits for mankind: it sends ships to all the seas, levies taxes, and establishes necessary tariffs although it is ever alert to fight "vile monopolies". Most interestingly, it sends ambassadors to effect the economic education of "barbarous peoples": substitute "missionaries" for "ambassadors" and the Exchange's symbolic debt to the Church is once again apparent.[21]

Of course, the building itself was to be designed according to the principles of <u>architecture parlante</u>. The style should not be frivolous, for it was the expression of an institution operating according to

immutable and self-evident laws"

> . . . il est construit en pierres durables; les assises sont alignées avec les loix de la solidité qui la dirigent; elles sont égales, parce que la marche de cet établissement est invariable.[22]

The design that Ledoux produced in accordance with these guidelines (Fig. 43) is of a peripteral temple on a high-stepped podium, a rather more classical design, with its Ionic columns, than many of his other projects.[23] The temple form was ideally suited to the functional requirements of the exchange, which needed, as Ledoux noted, an open area for big assemblies and special rooms for private discussions.[24] Thomon of course used a very similar arrangement of peripteral temple on a high podium with ascending ramps although the design executed in St. Petersburg was rendered more elaborate by the inclusion of a greater range of historicist symbols.

Alexander could not have been directly influenced by Ledoux's book. L'Architecture was not published until 1804, when the plans for the new Bourse were well underway. However, it is obvious that as an institution the exchange had come to symbolize something in addition to the progressive economic theories of laissez-faire capitalism. It was a palace of peace, of free and true "exchange", not only of commodities and capital, but of ideas and understanding on an international scale. As such, it was the quintessential expression of the ideals of the

Enlightenment, and of Alexander's personal vision of the new European order.

In 1804, the Tsar had a vision of a European Confederation policing the maintenance of universal peace and the rights of individual nations. His "Instructions" of 11 September 1804 to Novosiltsev, his special envoy to London, spoke of the triumph of the "sacred rights of humanity" and the foundation of a European confederation maintaining "general pacification" and the "new code of the law of the nations".[25] The theme of international unity, "l'intérêt commun de toutes les nations civilisées", recurs in his letters to Jefferson.[26]

Much later, Alexander declared that the Holy Alliance contracted in 1815 upon the downfall of Napoleon, would place this "confederation of Europe" on a firm basis.[27] His conviction had been strengthened by his introduction to Protestant Pietism around 1812. Originally an international missionary movement, Pietism had moved closer to the mysticism of the higher Masonic orders in the years since the French Revolution. Both movements emphasized the need for a universal church, and for a European alliance of "true Christians".[28] The monarchs who signed the Alliance in fact pledged aid to each other in the Masonic manner. But as Alexander embraced spirituality, progressive Russians became subject to increasing censorship. The Tsar was no longer hailed by

the enlightened, but by the "romantic-reactionary intellectuals" appearing in greater numbers upon the European scene.[29]

These changes in the Tsar's personal role were reflected, as is well known, in the architecture of his later reign.[30] The deaths of Voronikhin, Zakharov, and Thomon in the years between 1811 and 1814 also contributed to the stylistic shift from "revolutionary" neo-classicism to more grandiose and historicist monuments in the manner of the defeated Napoleon. The inter-relationships between Alexander's personality, his domestic and foreign policies, and his architecture are as complex in the last half of his reign as in the first; and a closer examination will not be attempted here.

We will therefore conclude with the Bourse, a symbol of international understanding on the common ground of enlightened principle. A child of the project designs presented to the Paris Academy of Architecture, the St. Petersburg Bourse was, in its severe style and public function, inextricably bound up with the spirit that animated Thomon's masters. This spirit was simultaneously utilitarian, but romantic; reforming, but primitivist. The style of the theorists and the academics found its most generous welcome in the Russia of Catherine and Alexander, a backward Empire searching for a painless path to enlightenment and harmony. It was an optimism shared

by architects and antiquarians, Freemasons and Tsars.

The Bourse was a fitting symbol for what Turgenev called the "esprit éclairé" of the first decade of Alexander's reign,[31] and at the same time anticipated the dream that would eventually drive the Tsar into cloudy and anti-rational realms. But at the turn of the eighteenth century, it seemed only appropriate that the world's most magnificent Exchange building was sponsored by an idealistic ruler in the capital of an Empire which he and many other optimists thought would point the way to a new world order.

Notes

[1]Martin Frölich, "New Challenges to the Architect", in Adolf Max Vogt, Art of the Nineteenth Century, trans. A. F. Bance (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1973), p. 55.

[2]See Max Lerner's excellent Introduction to Adam Smith, An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations, fifth ed., ed. Edwin Cannan, The Modern Library (London: 1789; New York: Random House, 1937), pp. viii-ix.

[3]Paragraph 4. ". . . tout citoyen est libre d'employer ses bras, son industrie et ses capitaux comme il juge bon et utile à lui même . . . . Il peut fabriquer ce qui lui plait et comme il plait . . . . L'exercise des droits naturels de chaque homme n'a de borne que celles qui assurent aux autres membres de la société la juissance des mêmes droits."
Quoted in E. J. Hobsbawm, The Age of Revolution (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1962), p. 237.

[4]Chapter 1, VII, lines 5-14. Aleksandr Sergeevich Pushkin, Eugene Onegin, trans. Vladimir Nabokov, Bollingen Series 72, 4 vols. (New York: Random House, Pantheon Books, 1964)1:98.

[5]From 25 at mid-century to 110 in 1797. James H. Bater, St. Petersburg (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1976), p. 46.

[6]15 June 1804. In N. Hans, "Tsar Alexander I and Jefferson: Unpublished Correspondence", Slavonic and East European Review 32, no. 78 (December, 1953), 221.

[7]20 August 1805. Ibid., 222.

[8]Bater, St. Petersburg, p. 53.

[9]Vogt believes that the location of the Exchange actually betrays an ambivalence towards the institution in relation to the "feudal agricultural structure" of traditional Russia. The Bourse is given an outstanding location; but at the same time the actual city centre was across the river to the south. Adolf Max Vogt, Russische und Französische Revolutions Architektur (Cologne: M. DuMont Schauberg, 1974), p. 133. This, I feel, is rather stretching a point. The location of Thomon's building can be explained in terms of its visual importance to the entire urban scheme, and by the fact that the exchange had been located on Vasiliyevskiy Island for nearly a century.

[10]Both passages quoted in John J. Murray, Amsterdam in the Age of Rembrandt (Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1967), p. 60; no source cited.

[11]From the Spectator, quoted in notes to François Marie Arout de Voltaire, Lettres Philosophiques, ed. Gustave Lanson, with an Introduction by André M. Rousseau, Société de textes français modernes, new ed. (Paris: Marcel Didier, 1964), p. 76.

[12]Sixth "Lettre Philosophique", lines 53-68. In Voltaire, Lettres, p. 74.

[13]From Erich Auerbach's summary of this passage, in Mimesis, trans. Willard R. Trask (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1953), pp. 403-403.

[14]The opinion of Hamilton, with which I concur. The Art and Architecture of Russia, ed. Nikolaus Pevsner, The Pelican History of Art (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1954), p. 206.

[15]"Le sucès qui suit la marche des réputations est en raison inverse des distances. Les plus éloignées l'emportent sur celles que l'on voit de pies . . . ."
A footnote to this resigned comment notes that "Joseph II, Paul I.^{er}, viennent à Paris et voient cet ouvrage, ils souscrivent douze ans en avance." Claude-Nicholas Ledoux, L'Architecture considérée sous le rapport de l'art, des moeurs et de la législation, 2 vols. (Paris: H. L. Perronneau, 1804; reprint ed. Paris: Fernand de Nobele, 1961)2:52.

[16]Ibid., dedicatory page.

[17]Ibid., 2:126. View of Chaux, ibid., 1:15.

[18]Ibid., 2:126.

[19]Ibid.

[20]Ibid., 2:162.

[21]Ibid., 2:127.

[22]Ibid.

[23]Kaufmann, "Revolutionary Architects", 514, is critical:

> "Ledoux' Bourse, like that of Brogniart in Paris, already reveals the end of revolutionary élan and the rise of the morbid style of the Empire."

[24]Ledoux, L'Architecture 2:126.

[25]Serge Tatischeff, Alexandre I. et Napoléon d'après leur correspondance inédite (Paris, 1801), in Encyclopaedia Britannica, 11th ed., s.v. "Alexander I.", by Walter Alison Phillips.

[26]10 August 1806. Hans, "Tsar Alexander", 224.

[27]F. de Martens, Recueil des traités conclues par la Russie &c. (St. Petersburg: 1874 on)4.i:49. Quoted in Encyclopaedia Britannica, s.v. "Alexander I."

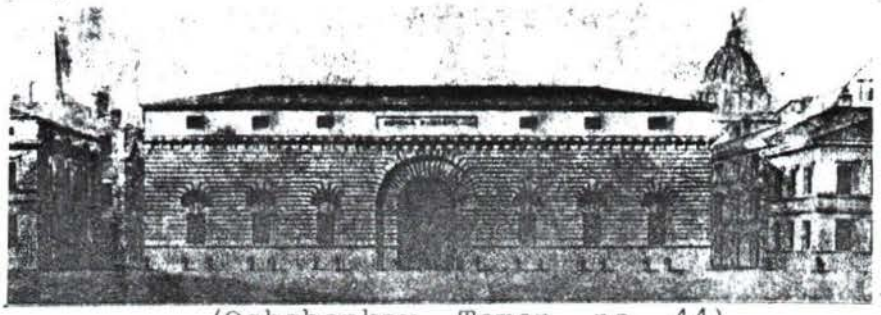
[28]See Billington, Icon, pp. 276-89.

[29]E. J. Hobsbawm, The Age of Revolution (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1962), p. 230.

[30]Hamilton, Architecture of Russia, pp. 211-217.

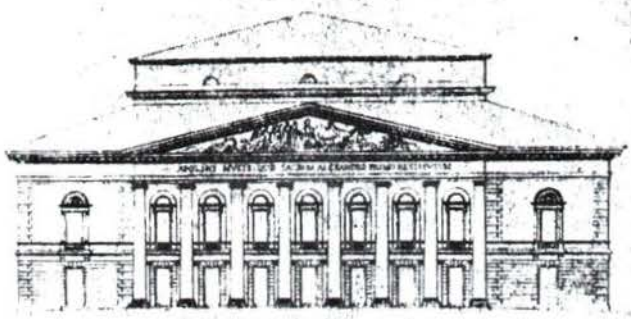
[31]Ivan Turgenev, La Russie et les Russes, La Russie et l'opinion française au 19e siècle 56-58, 3 vols. (1847; rpt. Paris: Microeditions Hachette, 1972) 2:360.

Fig. 1. Thomon: Public School Project, 1795



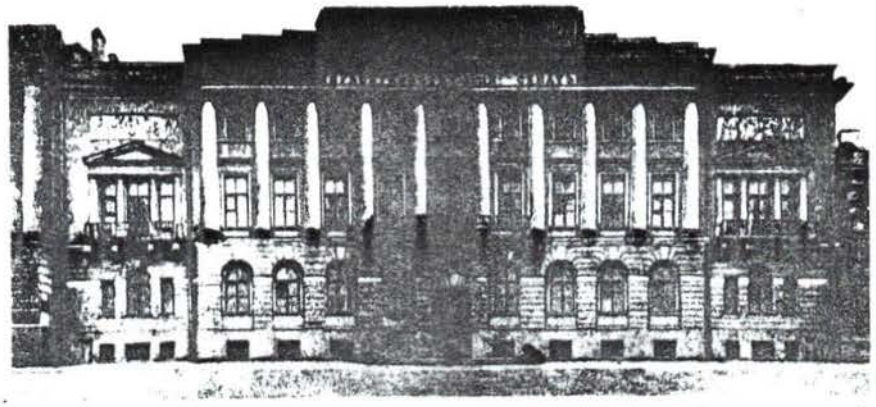
(Oshchepkov, Tomon, no. 44)

Fig. 2. Thomon: Bolshoi Theatre, St. Petersburg, begun 1802. Project.



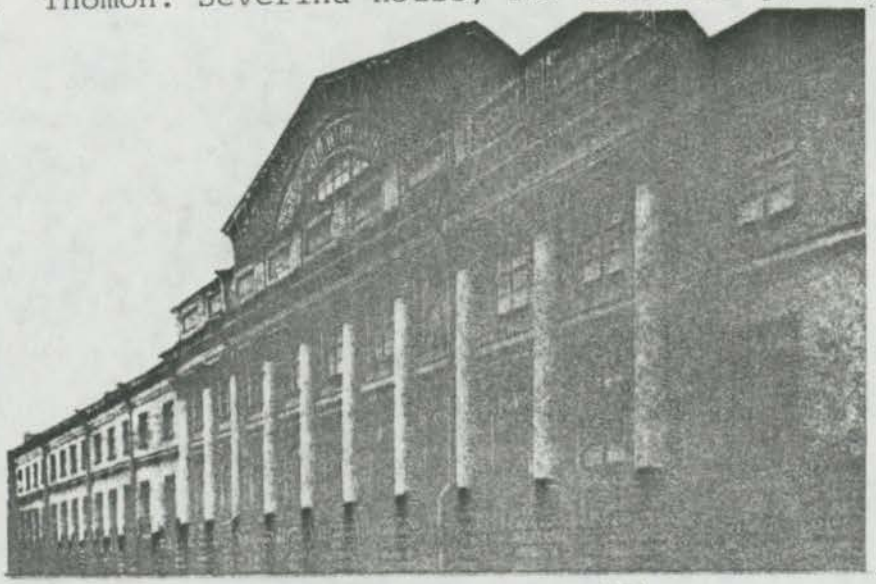
(Oshchepkov, Tomon, no. 44)

Fig. 3. Thomon: Laval Palace, St. Petersburg, begun 1801



(Oshchepkov, Tomon, no. 71)

Fig. 4. Thomon: Severina House, St. Petersburg, begun 1801

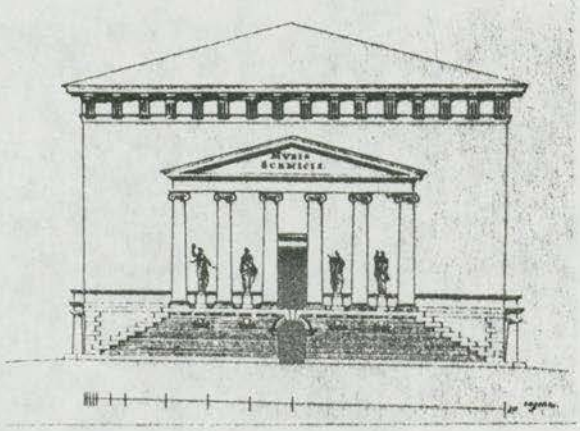


(Oshchepkov, Tomon, no. 72)

Fig. 5. M.-J. Peyre: Odéon, Paris, 1778-82

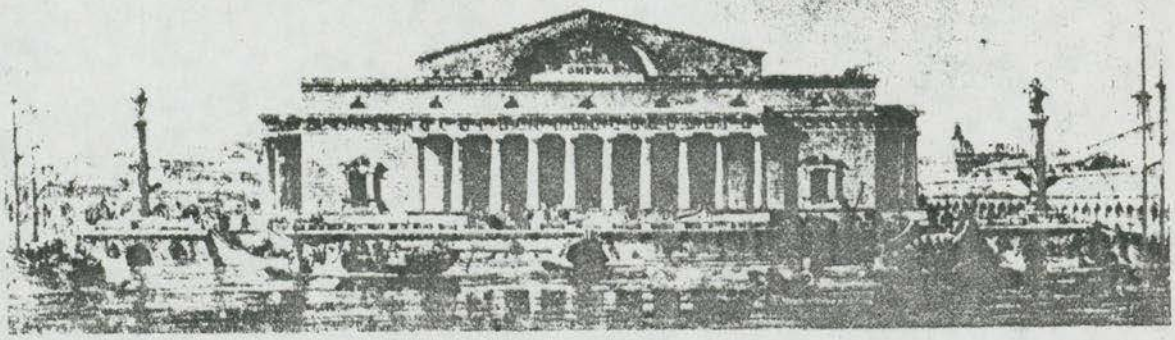
(Kalnein, Eighteenth Century in France, pl. 286)

Fig. 6. Thomon: Theatre, Odessa, begun 1803. Drawing.



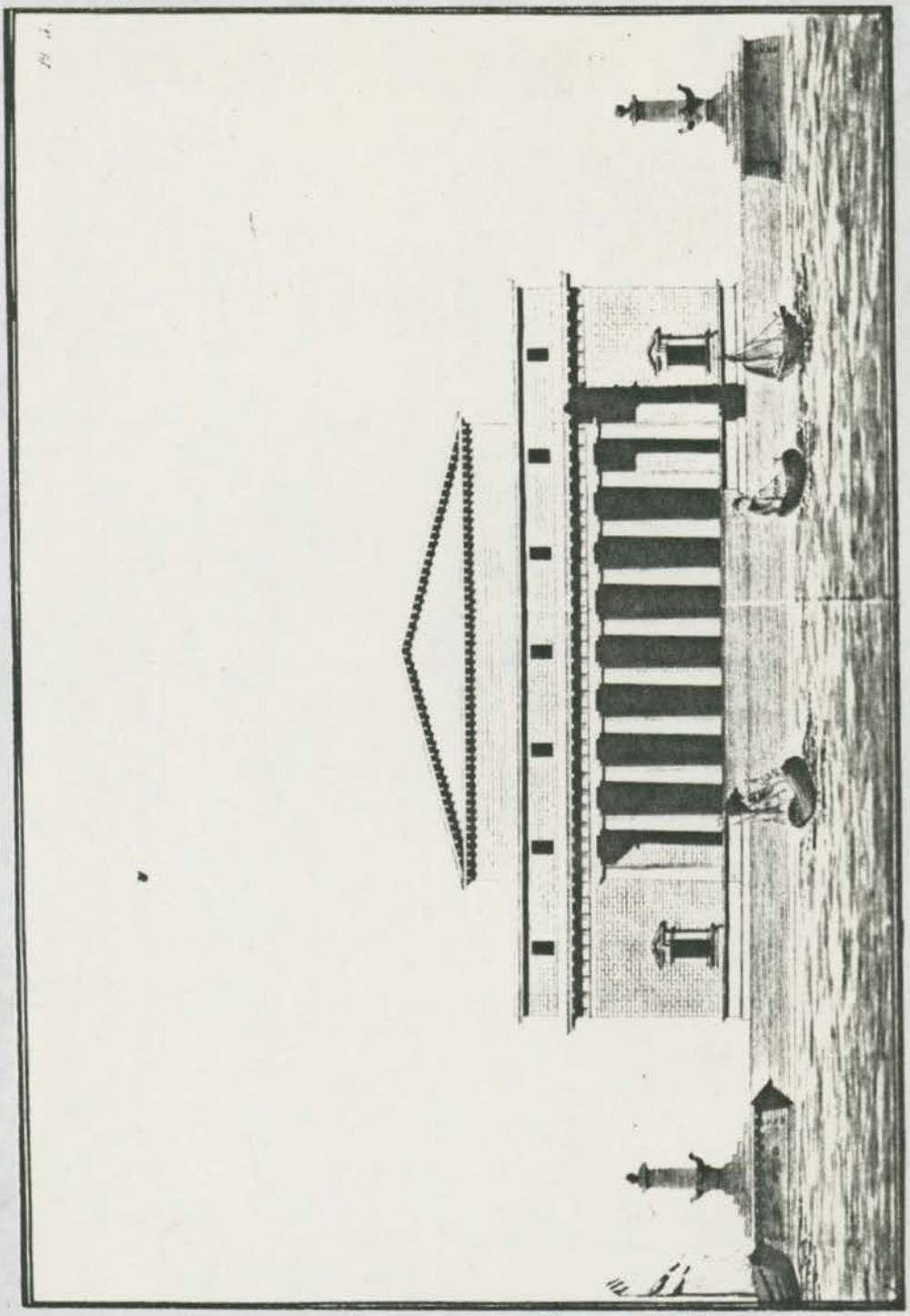
(Grabar, Istoriya, 3:492)

Fig. 7. Thomon: Bourse, St. Petersburg. First Variant Project, 1801.



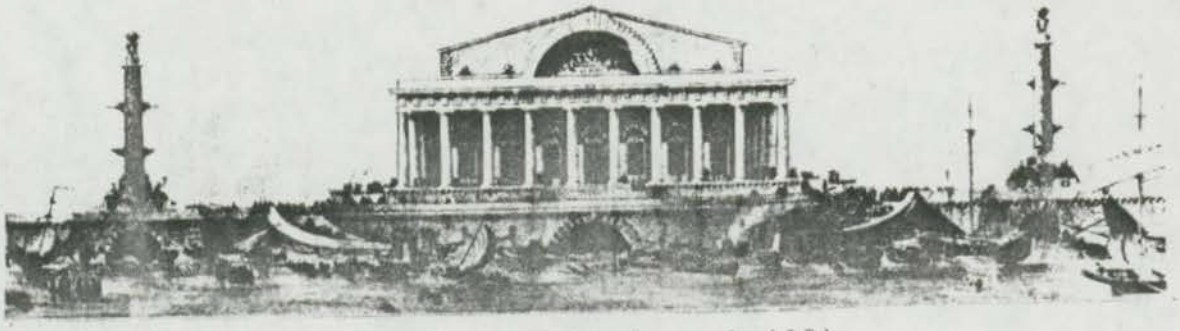
(Oshchepkov, Tomon, no. 16)

Fig. 8. P. Bernard: Bourse Project, 1782



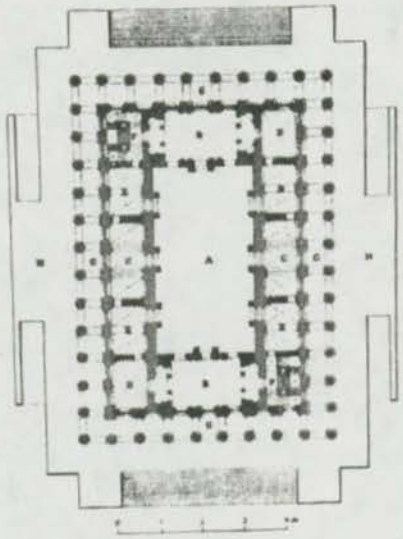
(Rosenau, "Engravings", p. 120)

Fig. 9. Thomon: Bourse, St. Petersburg. Second Variant Project, 1803.



(Grabar, Istoriya, 3:493)

Fig. 10. Thomon: Bourse, St. Petersburg. Plan as completed.

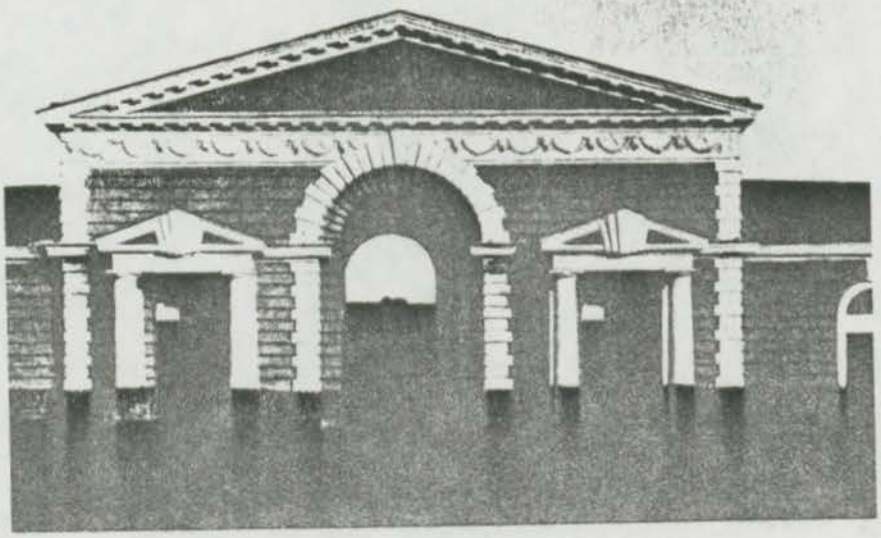


(Oshchepkov, Tomon, no. 23)

Fig. 11. Thomon: Hospital, Odessa. Project, 1804.

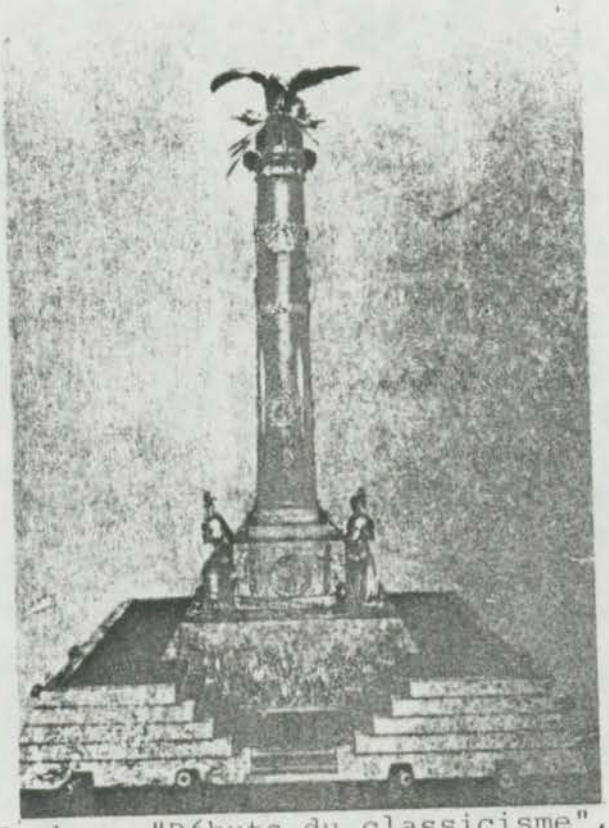
(Oshchepkov, Tomon, no. 57)

Fig. 12. Thomon: Salni Warehouses, St. Petersburg, 1805



(Grabar, Istoriya, 3:498)

Fig. 13. Thomon: Poltava Column
1805. Project model.



(Grabar, "Débuts du classicisme", 91)

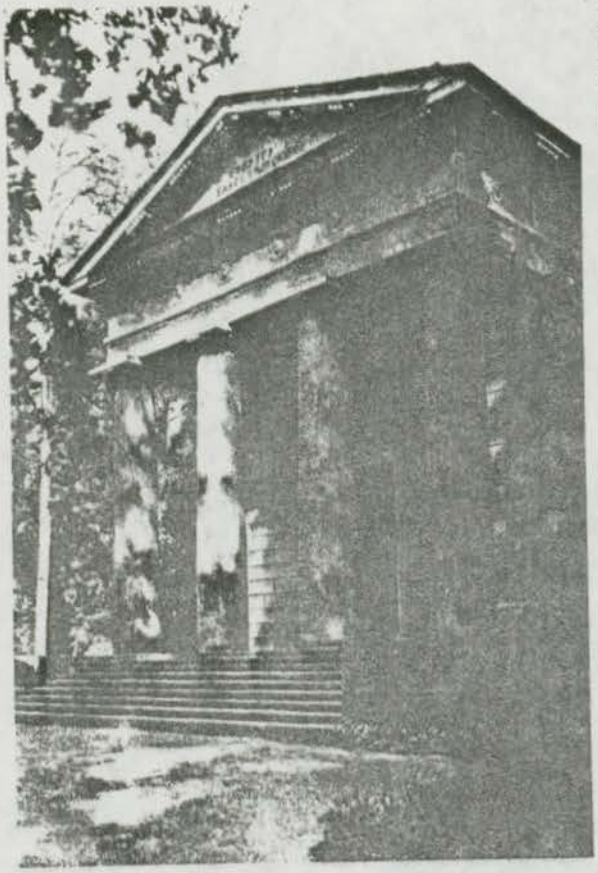


Fig. 14
Thomon: Memorial to Paul I, Pavlovsk, begun 1806. Facade.

(Oshchepkov, Tomon, no. 97)

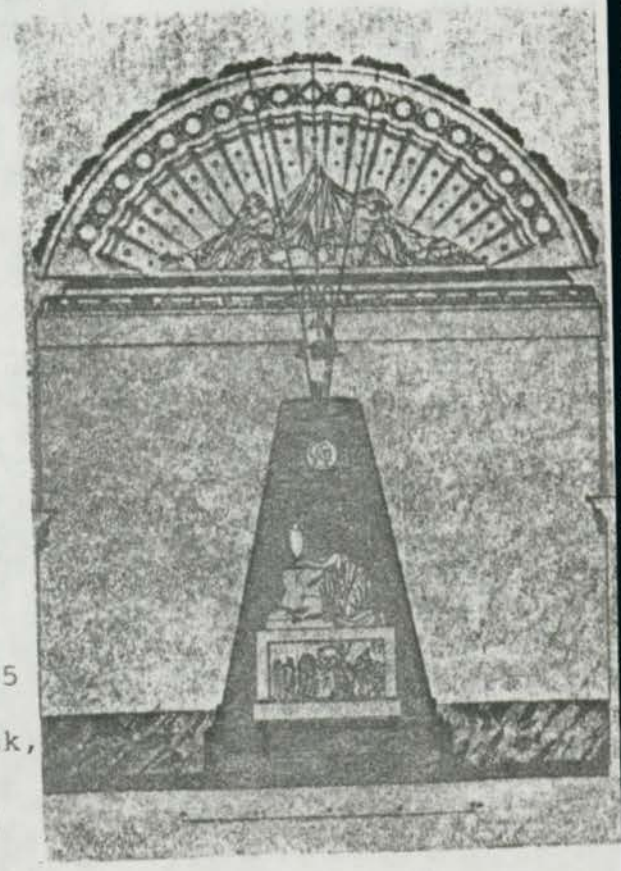
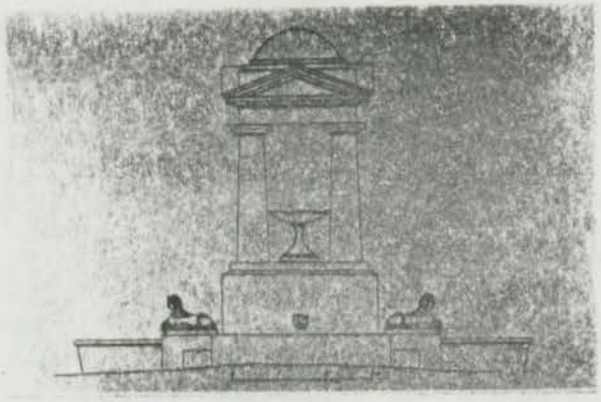
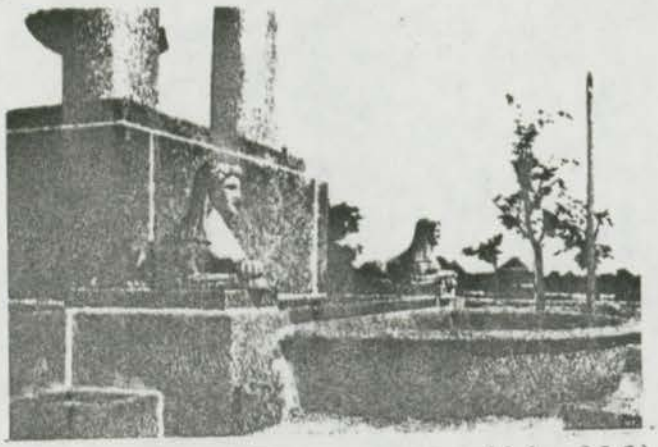


Fig. 15
Thomon and I. P. Martos: Memorial to Paul I, Pavlovsk, begun 1806. Interior.

(Oschepkov, Tomon, no. 103)

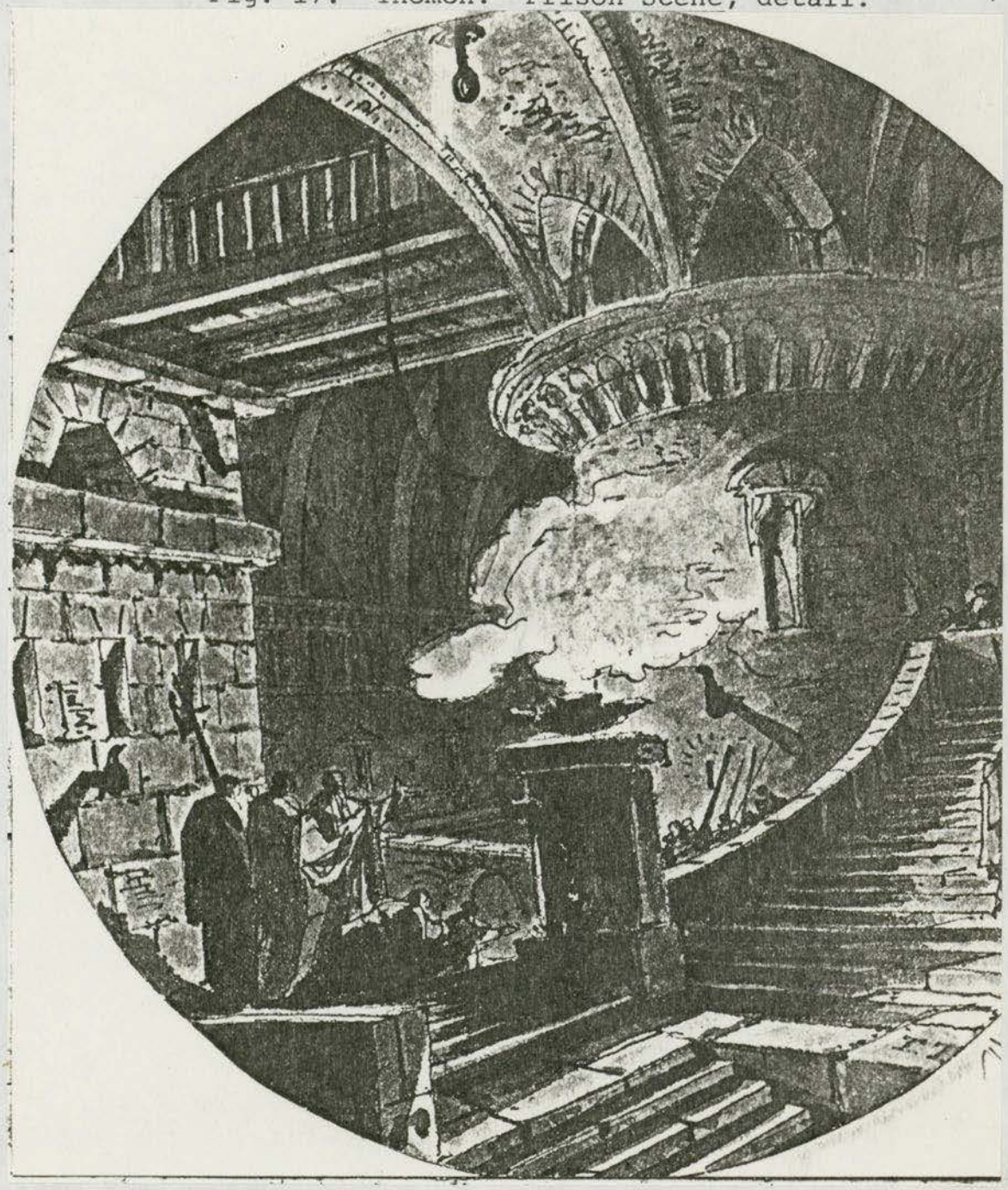
Fig. 16. Thomon: Fountain, Pulkavya, 1809. (a) Drawing (b) Detail.





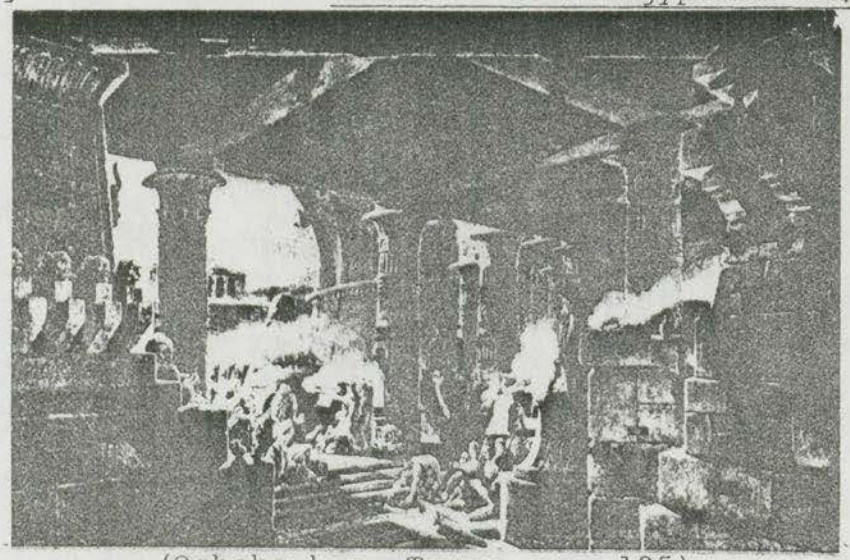
(Oshchepkov, Tomon, nos. 114, 116)

Fig. 17. Thomon: Prison Scene, detail.



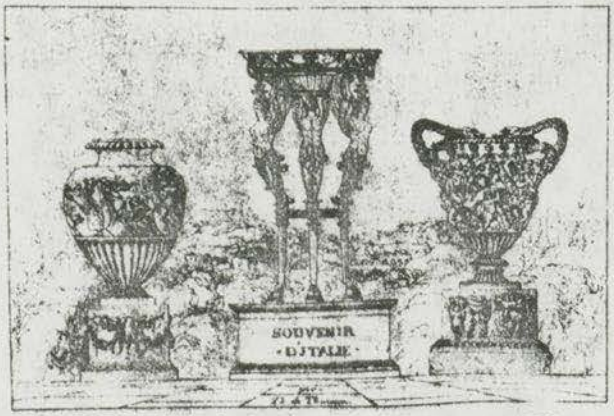
(Vassar College Art Gallery. Photo: Paulus Leeser)

Fig. 18. Thomon: Interior of an Egyptian Temple



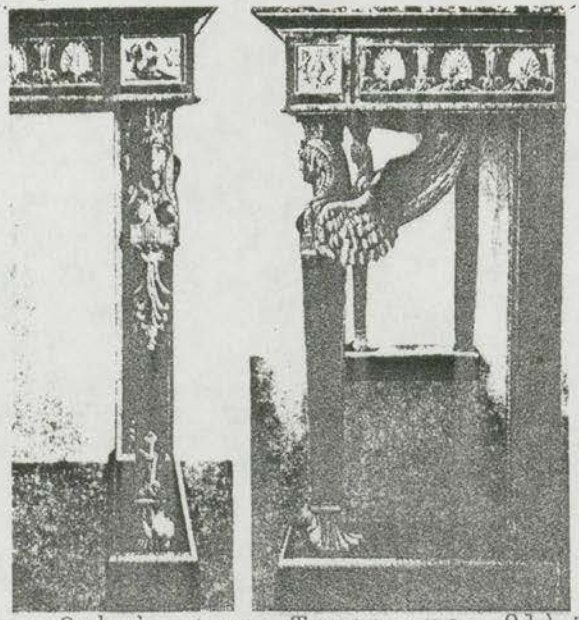
(Oshchepkov, Tomon, no. 125)

Fig. 19. Thomon: Frontispiece, Souvenir d'Italie



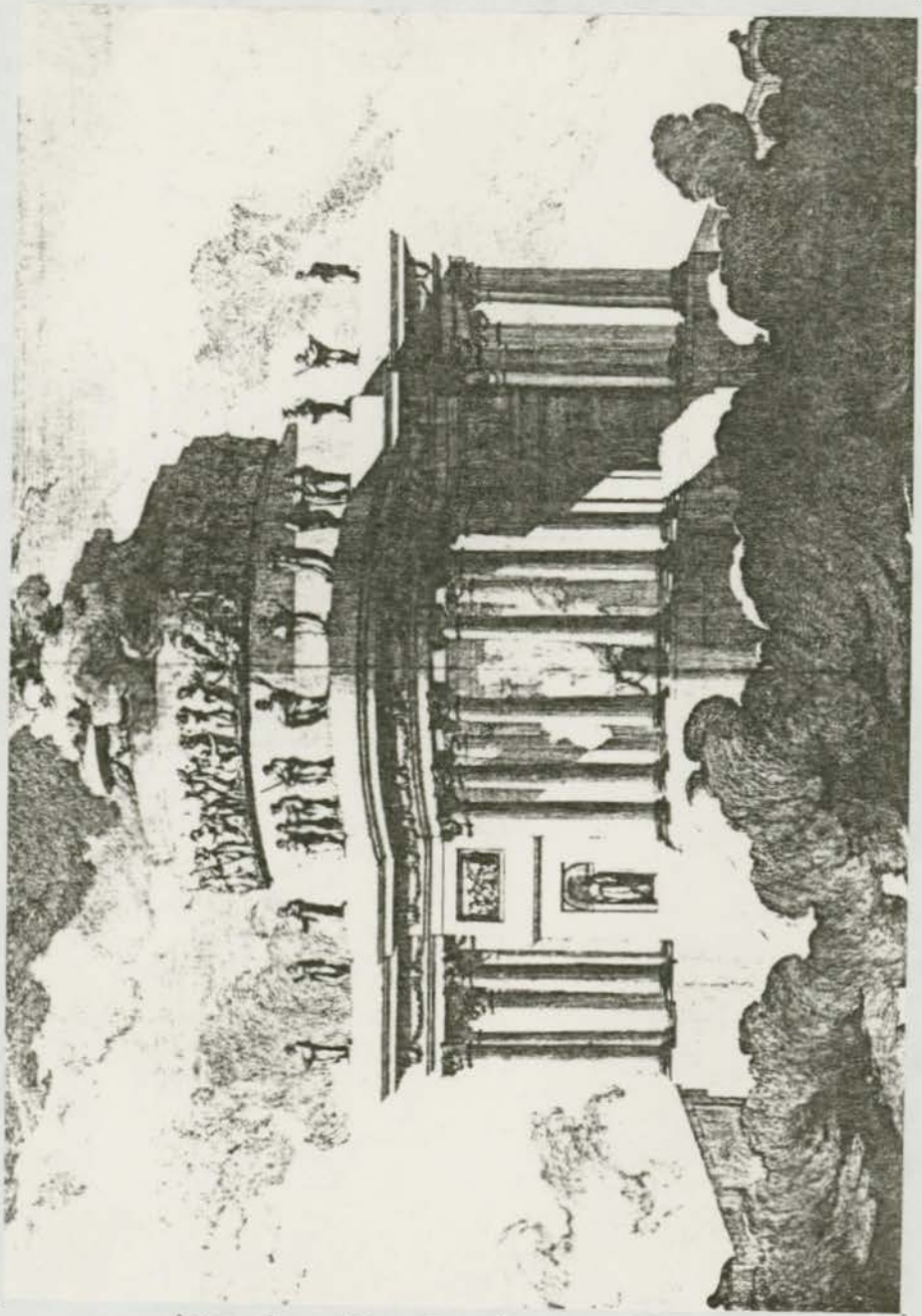
(Oshchepkov, Tomon, no. 1)

Fig. 20. Thomon: Consol Table



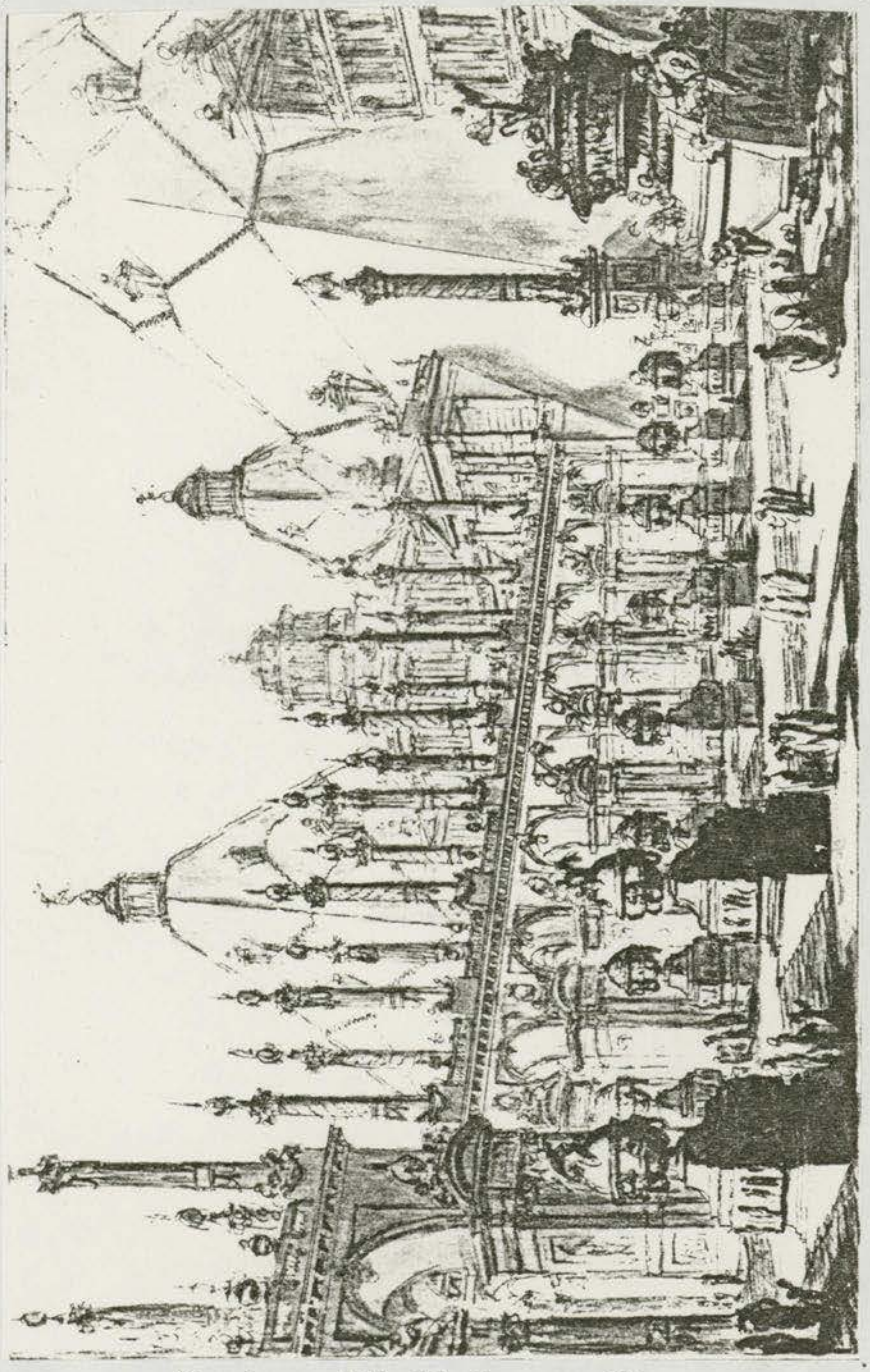
(Oshch. pkov, Tomon, no. 91)

Fig. 21. J. L. Le Lorrain: Macchina for Festival of the Chinea, 1746.



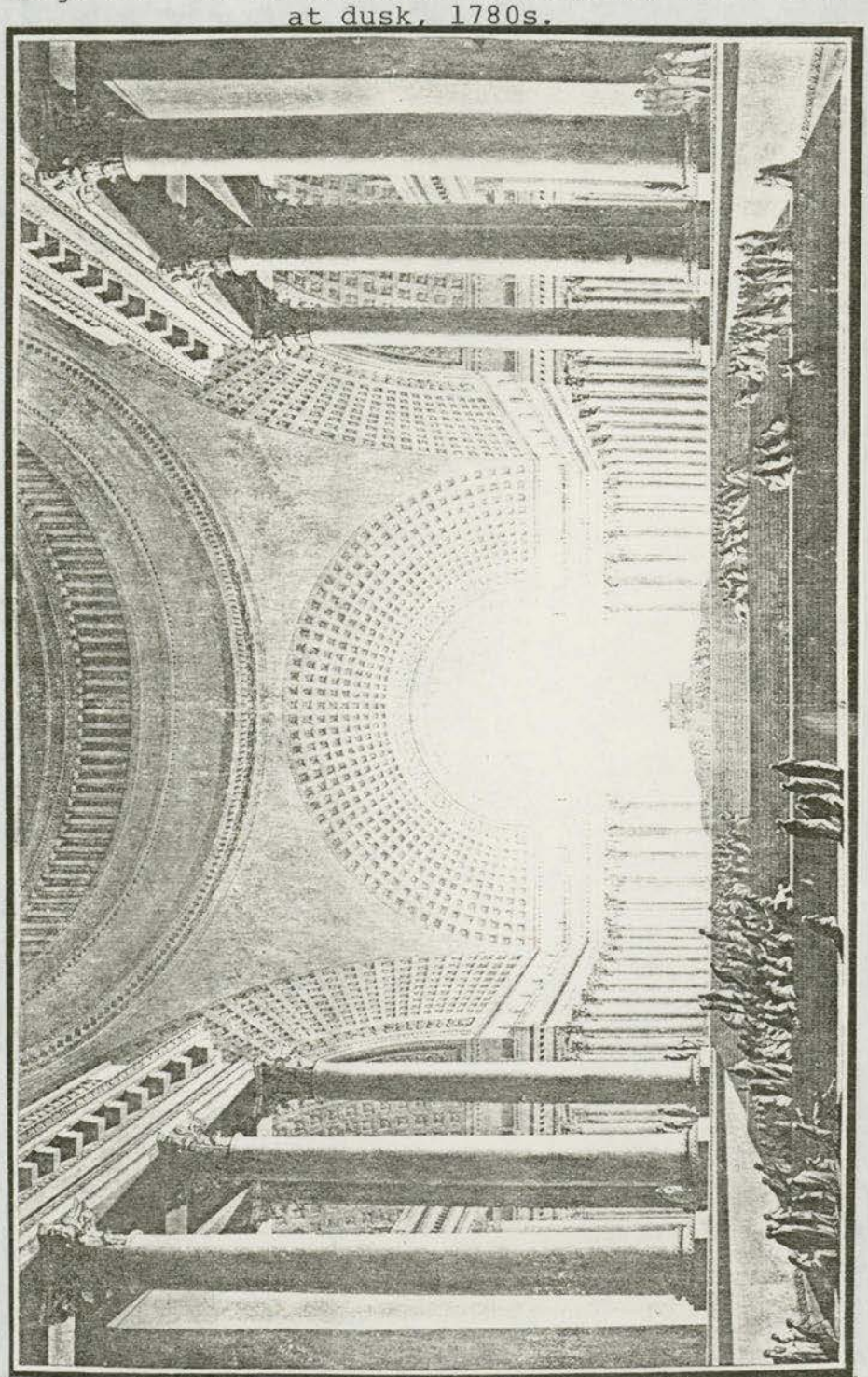
(Harris, "Le Geay", no. 23)

Fig. 22. C. M.-A. Challe: Architectural Fantasy, c. 1746.



(Wunder, "Challe", no. 9)

Fig. 23. E.-L. Boullée: Metropole, int. view at dusk, 1780s.

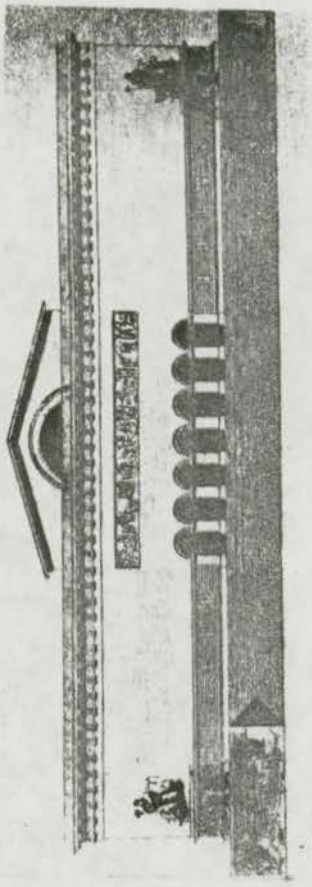


(Rosenau, Boullée, p. 39)

(below)

Fig. 24
Bergognon: Projet d'une banque nationale, c. 1780

(Grabar, "Débuts du classicisme", 78)



(right)

Fig. 25
E.-L. Boullée: Museum, elevation, c. 1783

(Rosenau, Boullée, p. 40)

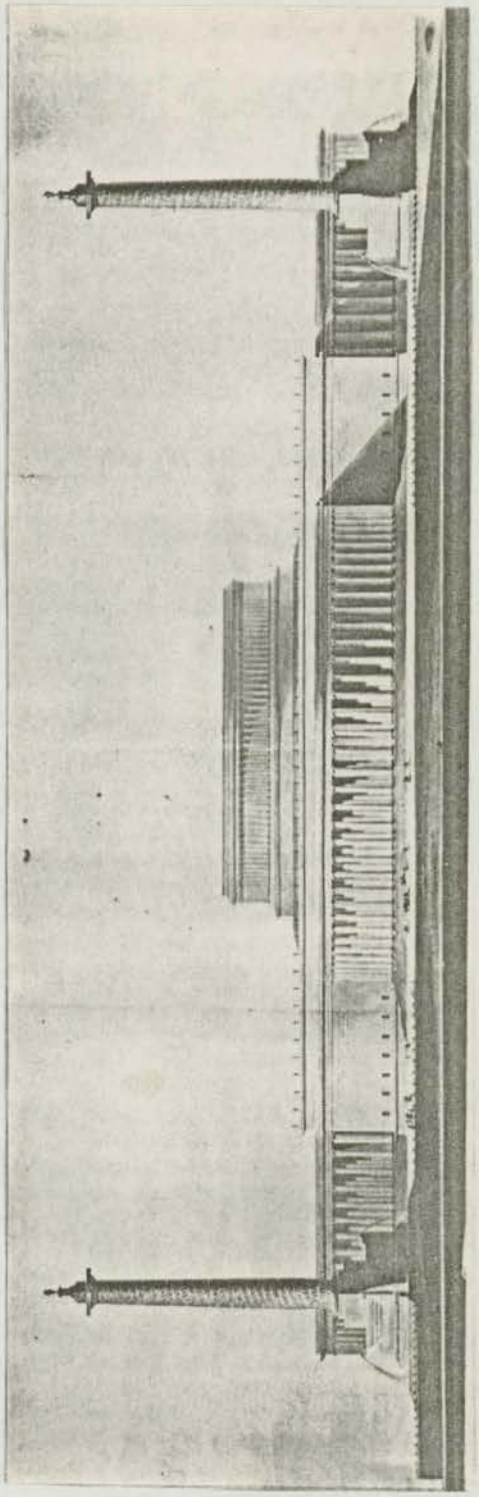
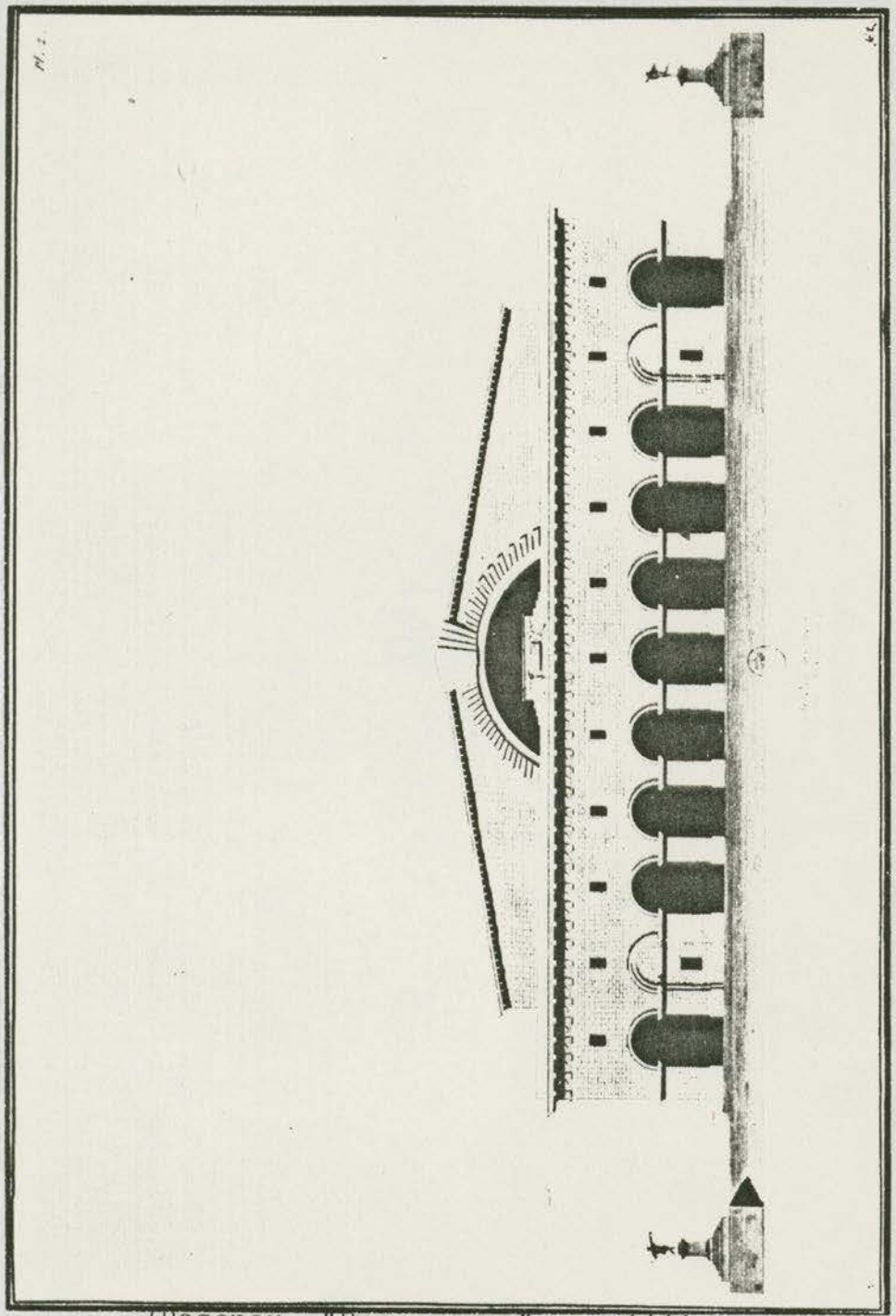
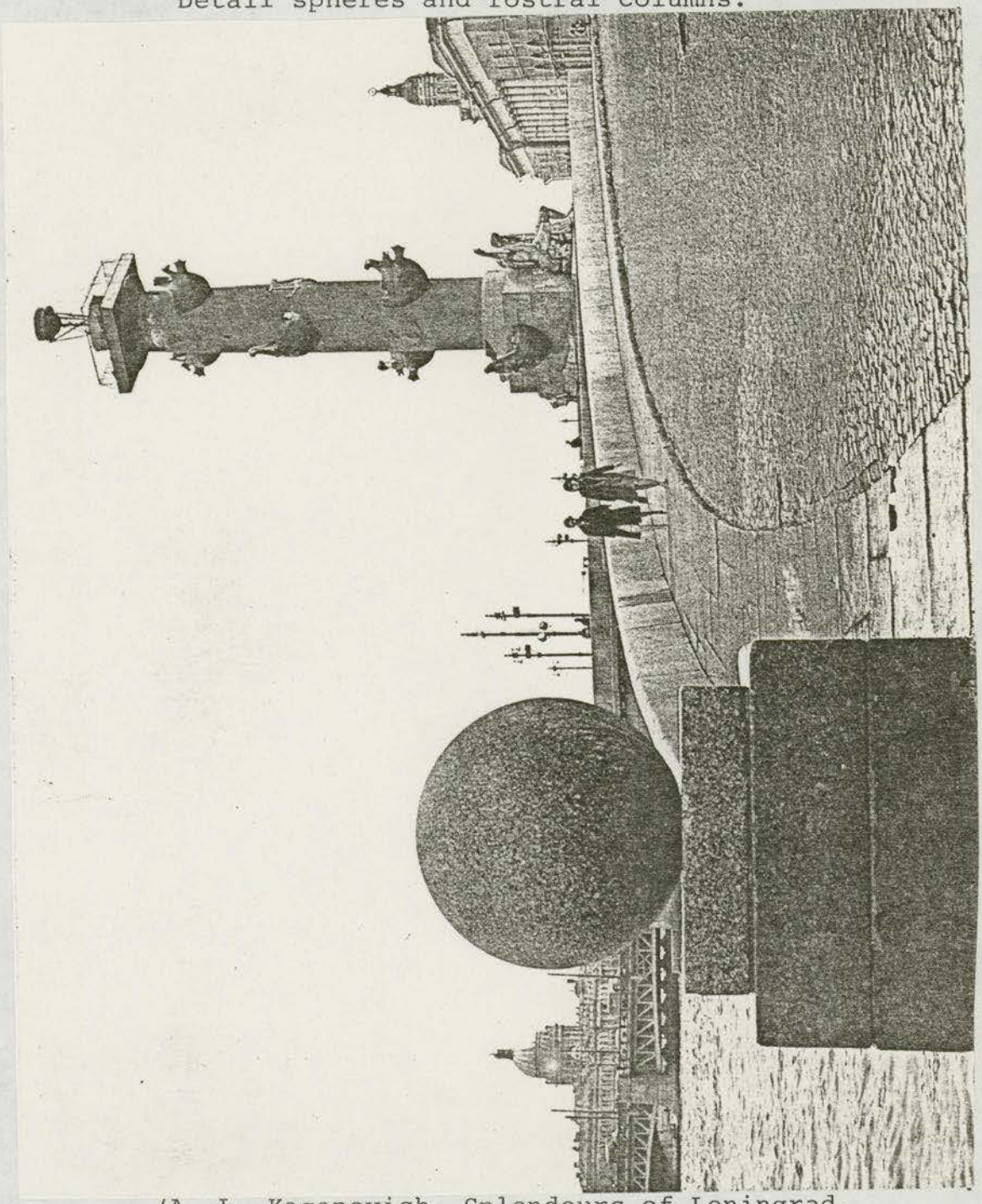


Fig. 26. Tardieu: Projet de bourse pour un ville maritime, 1782.



(Rosenau, "Engravings", p. 111)

Fig. 27. Thomon: Bourse, St. Petersburg, begun 1804.
Detail spheres and rostral columns.

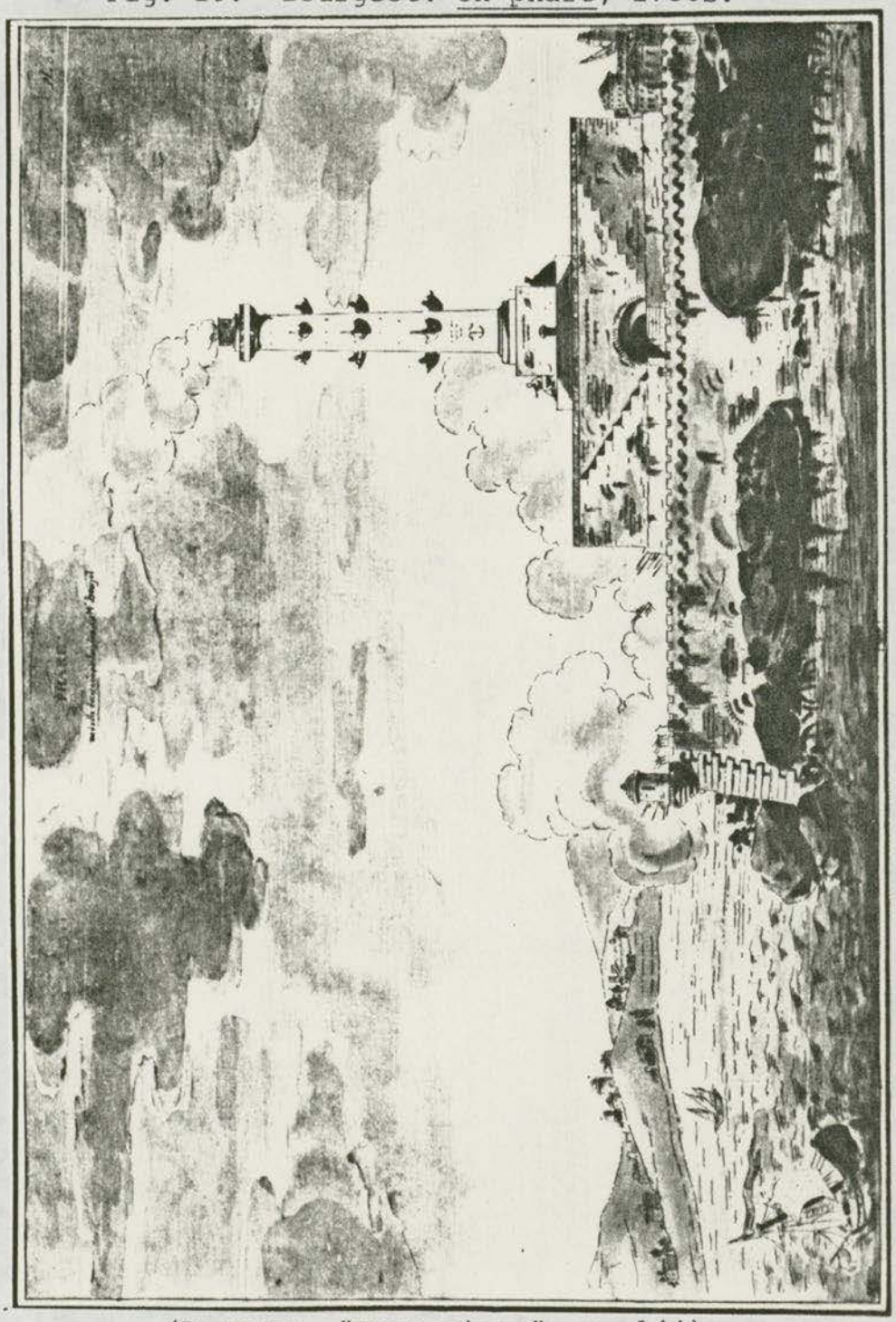


(A. L. Kaganovich, Splendours of Leningrad, p. 35)

Fig. 28. C. Cameron: Temple of Friendship, Pavlovsk, 1780.

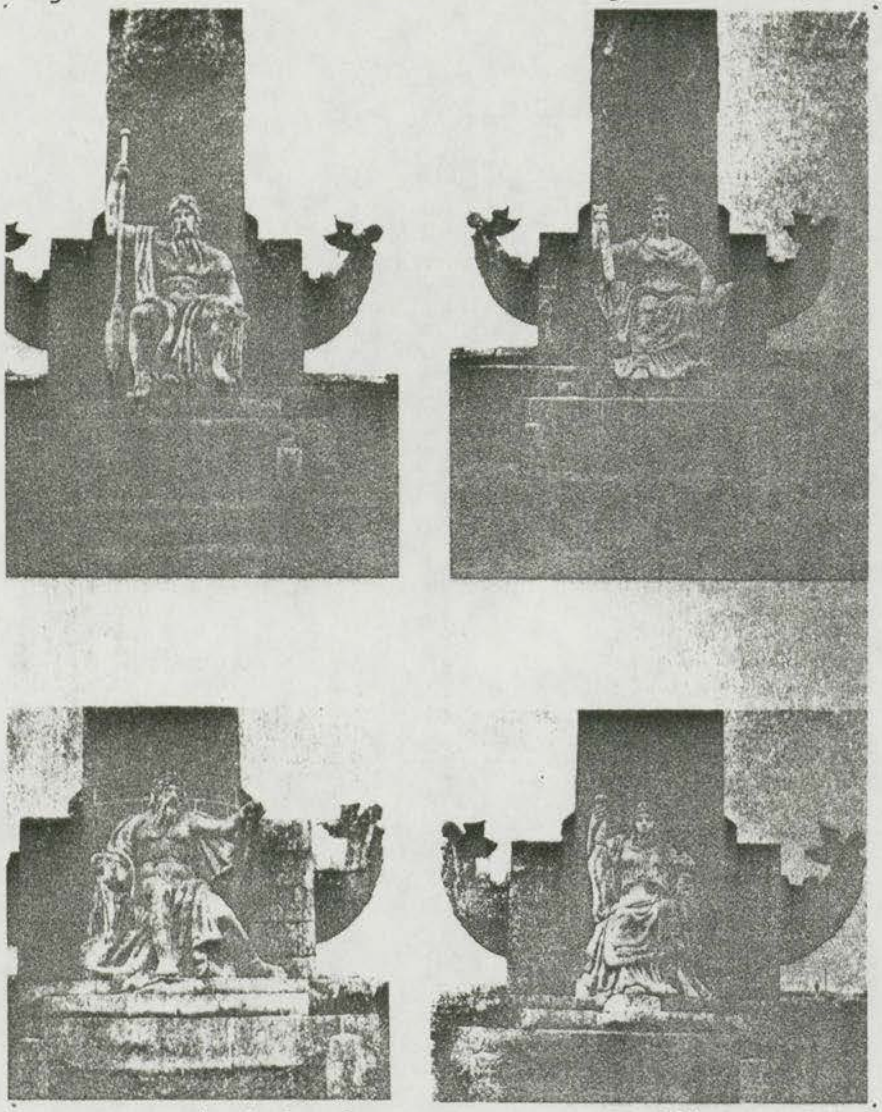
(Grabar, Istoriya, 3:375)

Fig. 29. Bourgeot: Un phare, 1780s.



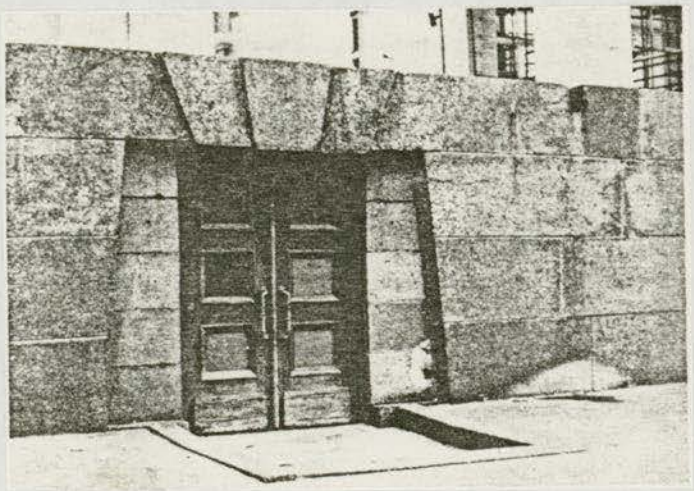
(Rosenau, "Engravings", p. 144)

Fig. 30. I. P. Prokofiev: Allegorical Figures



(Oshchepkov, Tomon, no. 29)

Fig. 31. Thomon: Bourse, St. Petersburg, begun 1804
Ext. detail.



(Vogt, Revolutions Architektur, p. 122)

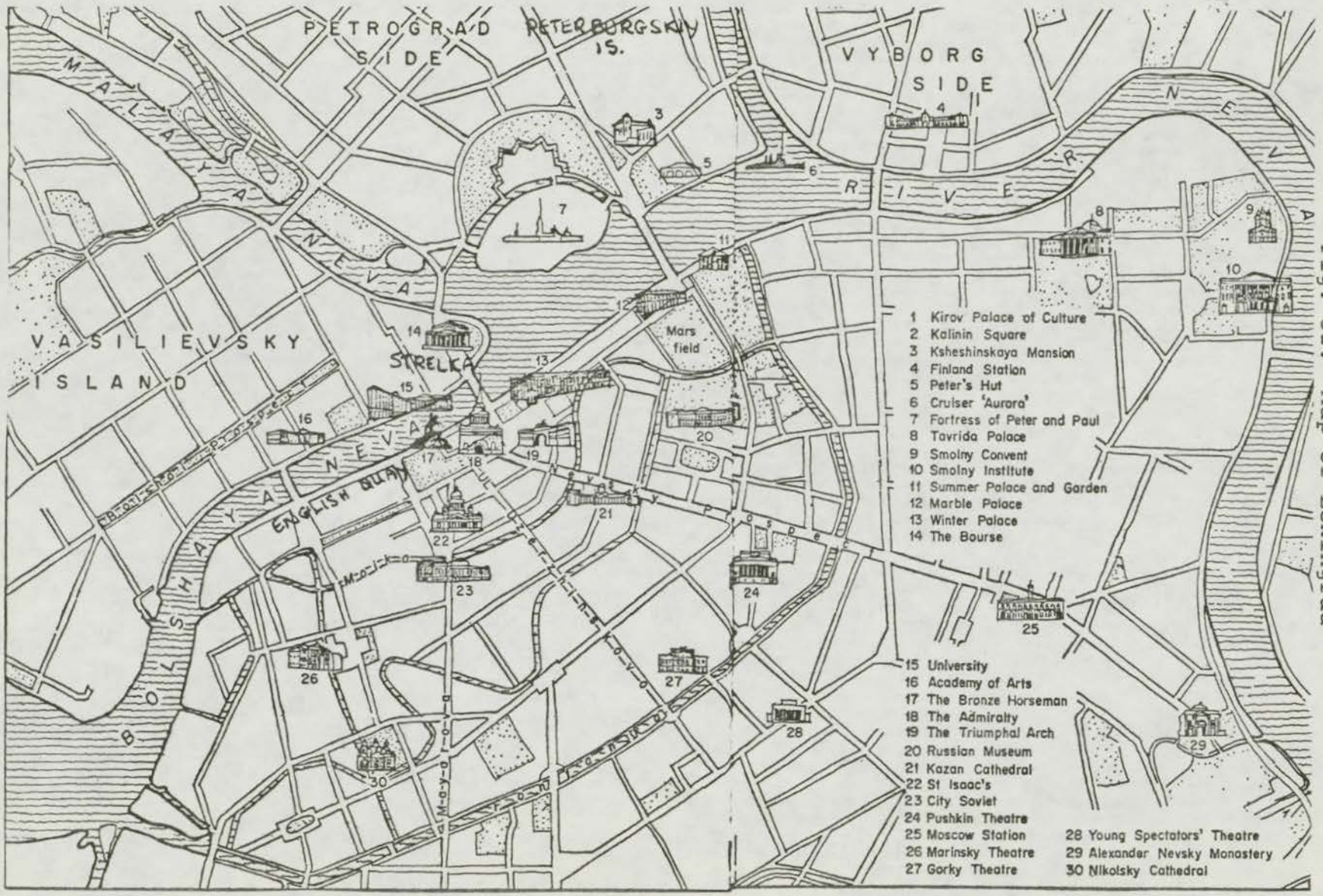
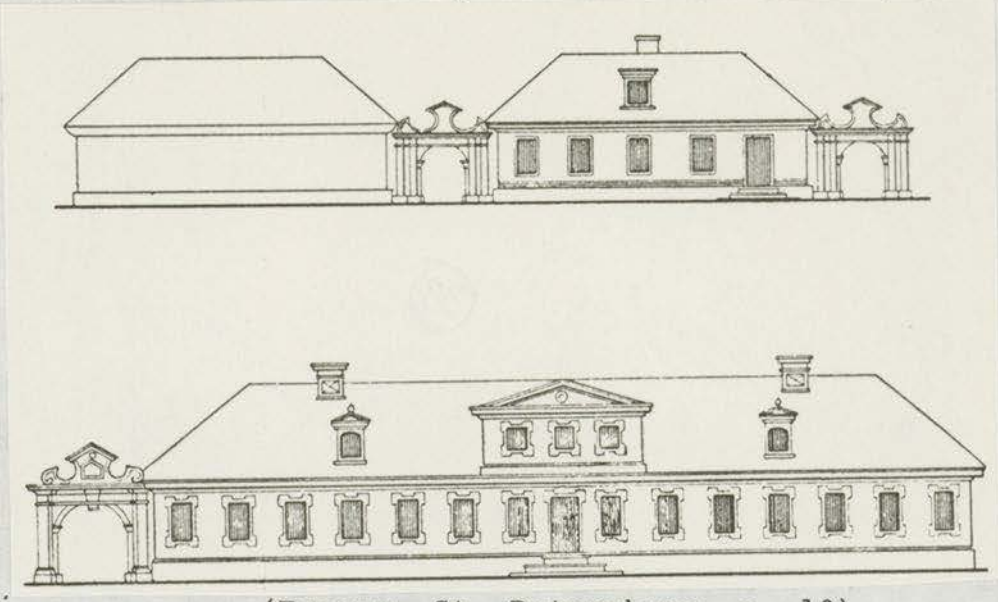


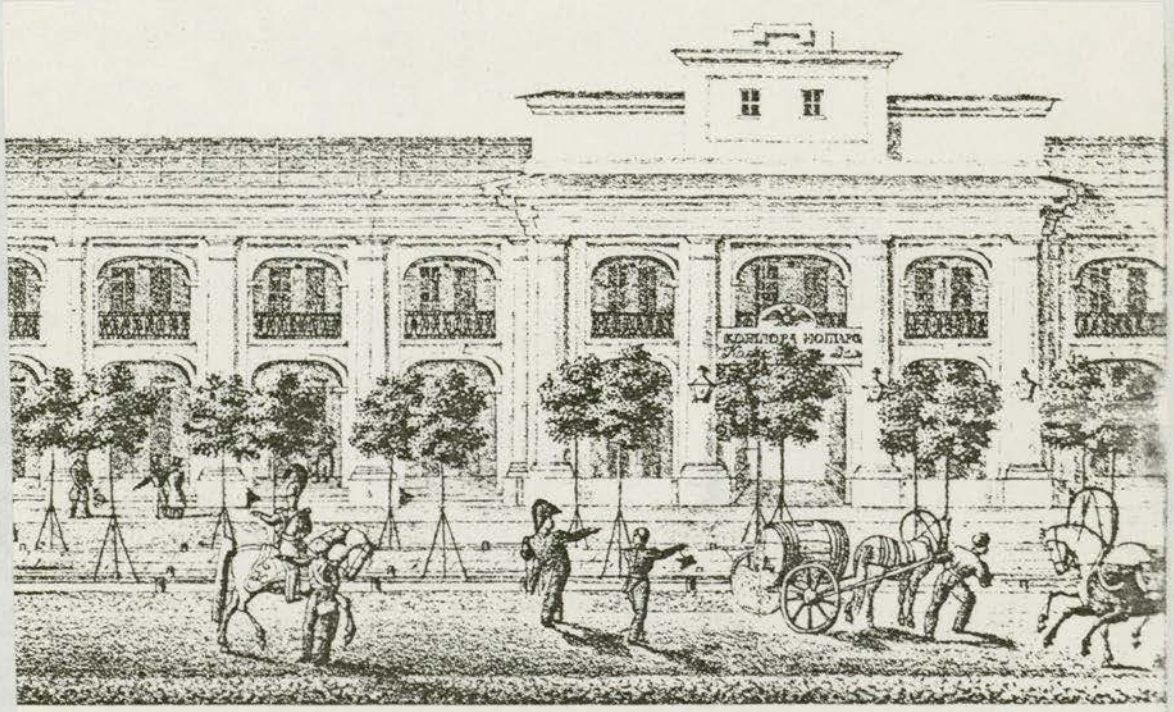
Fig. 32. Map of Leningrad

Fig. 33. D. Tressini: Designs for "Model Houses", c. 1714



(Egorov, St. Petersburg, p. 10)

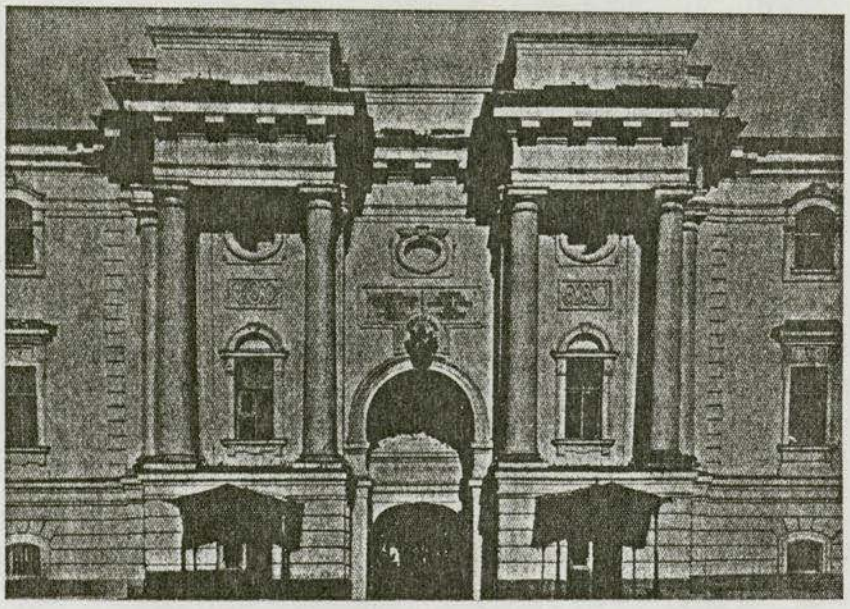
Fig. 34. J. B. M. Vallin de la Mothe: Gostinyi Dvor, St. Petersburg, compl. 1785. Detail of facade.



Гостиной Дворъ.
Grandes Boutiques (Gastinai Dvor.)

(Sadovnikov, Nevsky Prospekt)

Fig. 35. V. I. Bazhenov: Arsenal, St. Petersburg, 1768-69

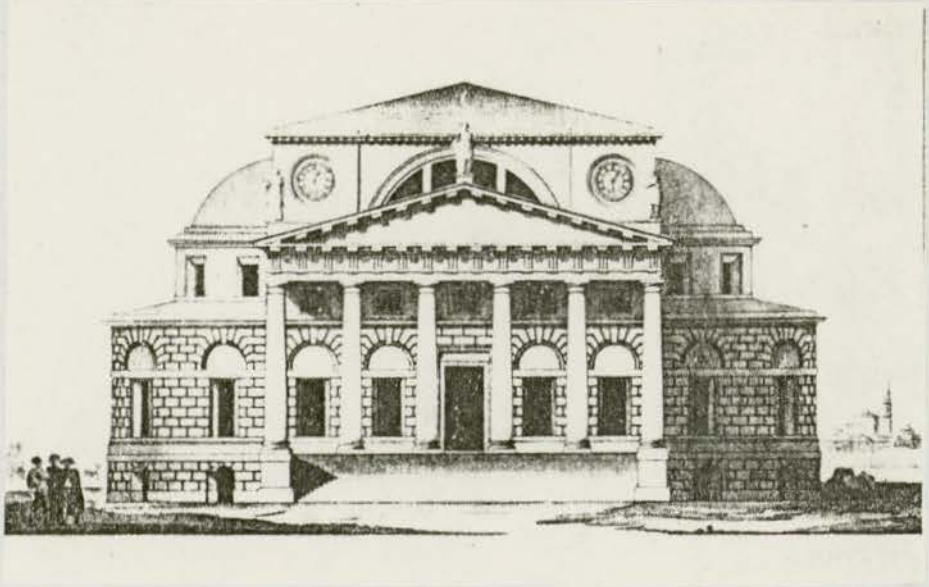


(Grabar, Istoriya, 3:329)

Fig. 36. G. Quarenghi: State Bank, St. Petersburg, 1783-88

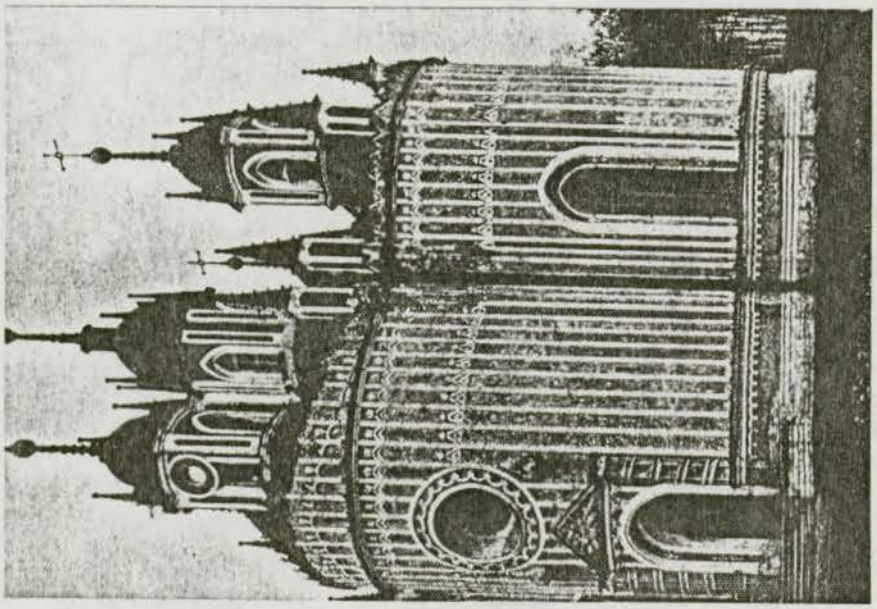
(Hamilton, Architecture of Russia, no. 130a)

Fig. 37. G. Quarenghi: Exchange, St. Petersburg, begun 1782.



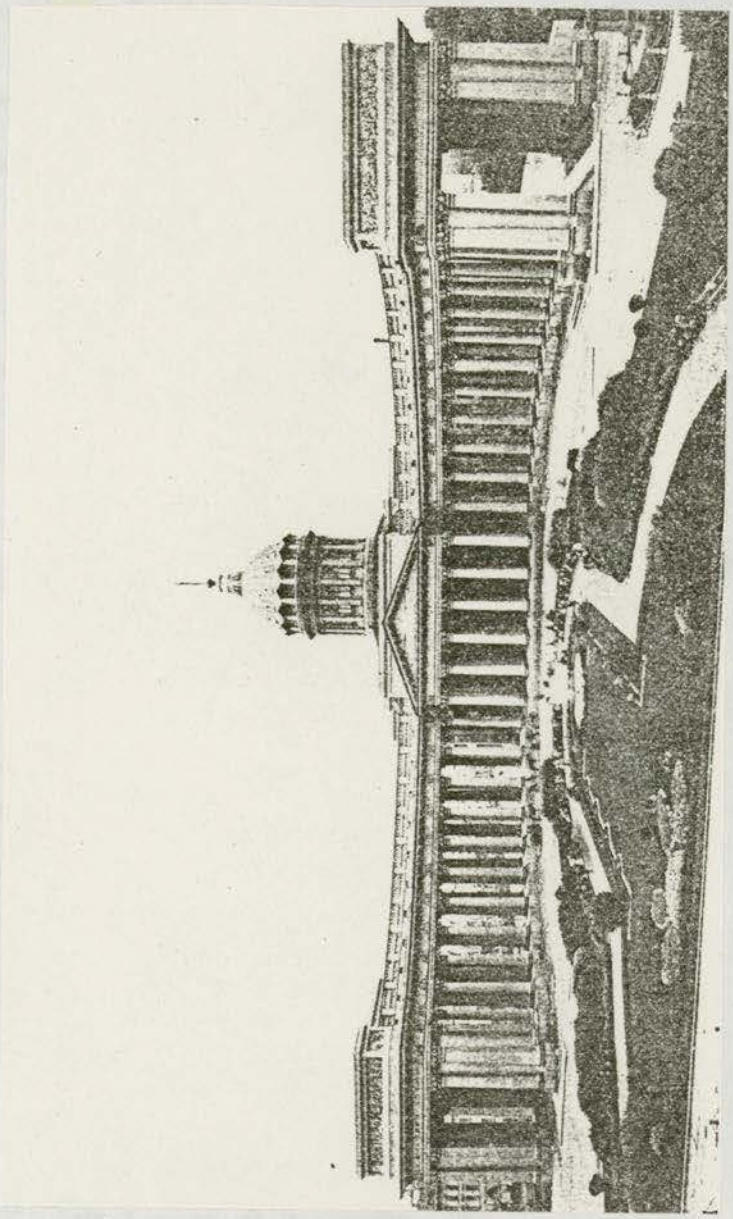
(Egorov, St. Petersburg, p. 73)

Fig. 38. Y. M. Velten: Church, Tchesme, 1770.



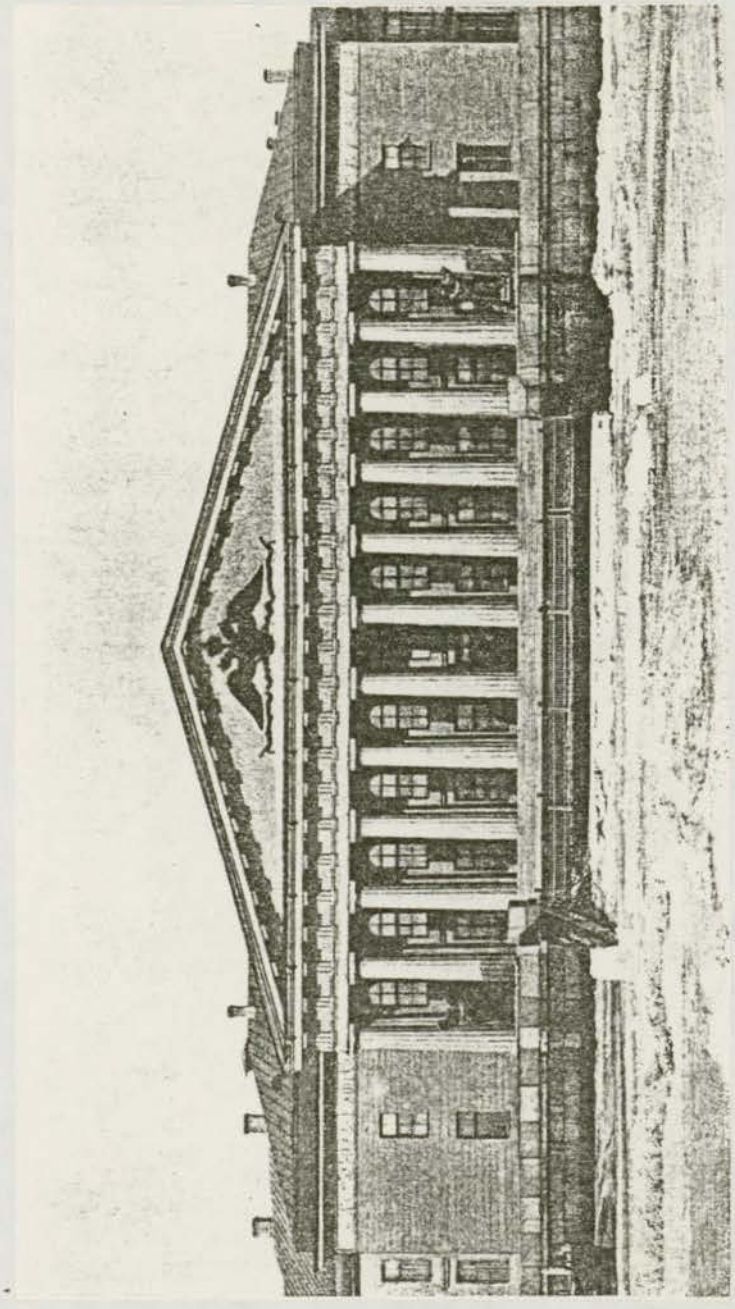
(Grabar, Istoriya 3:321)

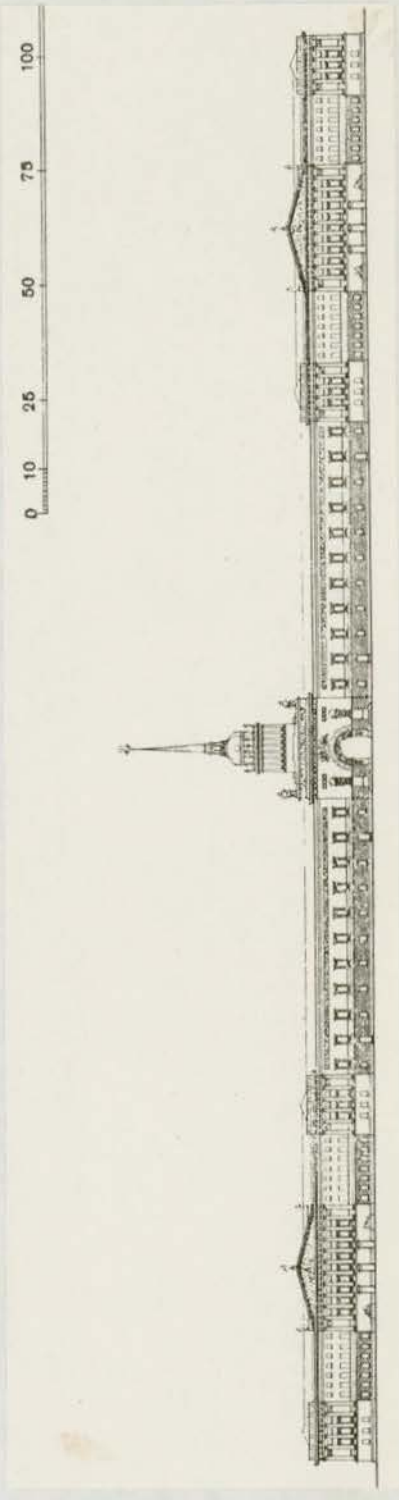
Fig. 39. A. N. Voronikhin: Kazan Cathedral, St. Petersburg 1801-11.



(Grabar, Istoriya, 3:485)

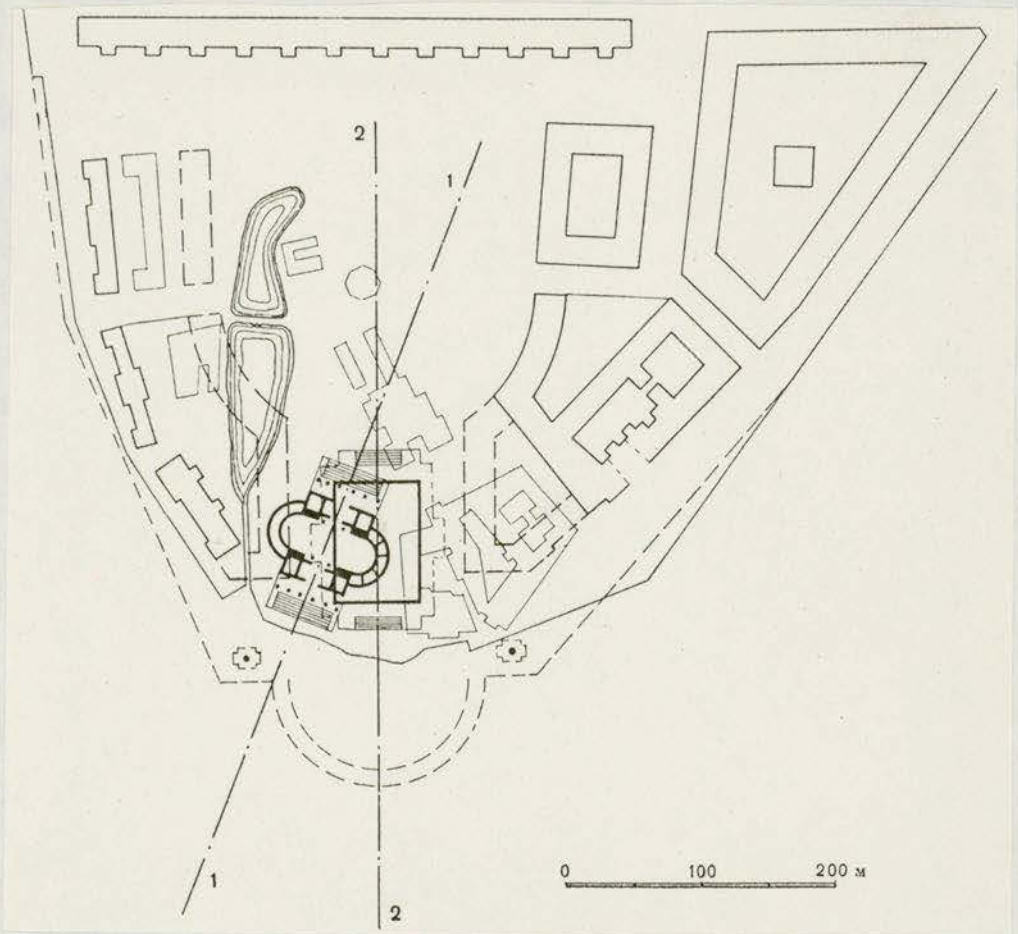
(Below) Fig. 40
A. N. Voronikhin: Academy of Mines, St. Petersburg, 1811.
(Grabar, Istoriya 3:489)





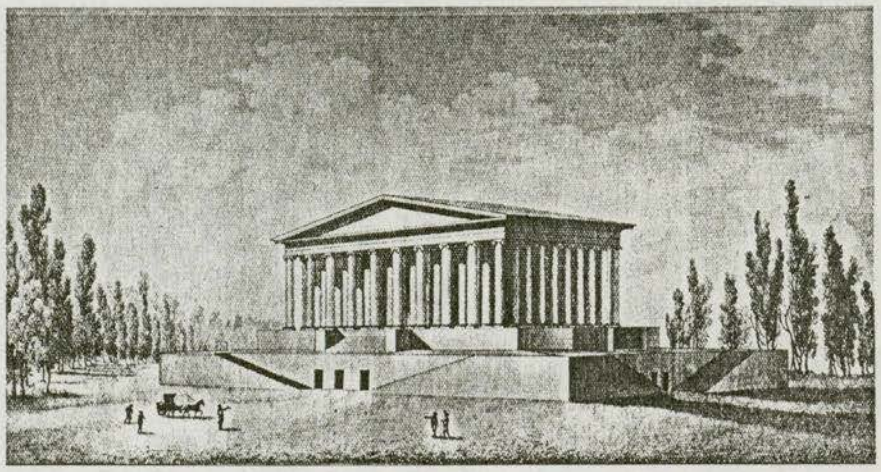
(Right) Fig. 41
A. D. Zakharov: New Admiralty, St. Petersburg, 1806-24.
Drawing.
(Egorov, St. Petersburg, p. 107)

Fig. 42. Strelka of Vasiliyevskiy Island showing superimposed plans of Quarenghi's Exchange (1-1) and Thomon's Exchange (2-2)



(Egorov, St. Petersburg, p. 92)

Fig. 43. C. N. Ledoux: Bourse Project



(Ledoux, L'Architecture, 1:50)

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adams, John Quincy. John Quincy Adams in Russia, Comprising Portions of the Diary of John Quincy Adams, from 1809 to 1814. Ed. Charles Francis Adams. Source Books and Studies in Russian and Soviet History. 1874; rpt. New York: Praeger, 1970.

Alpatov, Mikhail. Russian Impact on Art. Ed. Martin L. Wolf. Trans. Ivy Litvinov. New York: Philosophical Library, 1950.

Antal, Frederick. Classicism and Romanticism. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966.

Bater, James H. St. Petersburg: Industrialization and Change. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1976.

Billington, James H. The Icon and the Axe: An Interpretive History of Russian Culture. Vintage Books. New York: Random House, 1966.

Blumenfeld, Hans. "Russian City Planning of the 18th and Early 19th Centuries." Journal of the American Society of Architectural Historians, 4, no. 1 (January 1944), 22-33.

Braudel, Fernand. Capitalism and Material Life, 1400-1800. Trans. Miriam Kochan. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1973.

Catherine II, Empress of Russia. Documents of Catherine the Great: The Correspondence with Voltaire and the "Instruction" of 1767 in the English Text of 1768. Ed. W. F. Reddaway. 1931; rpt. New York: Russell & Russell, 1971.

_____. Memoirs of Catherine the Great. Trans. Katharine Anthony. New York: Knopf, 1927.

Council of Europe. The Age of Neo-Classicism. Catalogue, The Fourteenth Exhibition of the Council of Europe. London: The Arts Council of Great Britain, 1972.

Coxe, William. Travels into Poland, Russia, Sweden, and Denmark: Interspersed with Historical Relations and Political Inquiries. 2nd ed. 2 vols. London: T. Cadell, 1785.

Czartoryski, Adam J. Memoirs. Ed. Adam Gielgud. 2 vols. 1888; rpt. Orono, Maine: Academic International, 1968.

Diderot, Denis, and others. Encyclopedia: Selections. Ed. and trans. Nelly S. Hoyt and Thomas Cassirer. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1965.

Dowd, David Lloyd. Pageant-Master of the Republic: Jacques-Louis David and the French Revolution. 1948; rpt. Freeport, N. Y.: Books for Libraries Press, 1969.

Egorov, Iurii Alekseevich. The Architectural Planning of St. Petersburg. Trans. Eric Dluhosch. Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1969.

Friedlaender, Walter. David to Delacroix. Trans. Robert Goldwater. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1952.

Gagliardo, John G. Enlightened Despotism. New York: Crowell, 1967.

Goldwater, Robert. Primitivism in Modern Art. Revised ed. Vintage Books. New York: Random House, 1967.

Gowans, Alan. On Parallels in Universal History Discoverable in Arts and Artifacts. History in the Arts 6. Victoria: University of Victoria, 1972.

Grabar, Igor. "Les débuts du classicisme sous Alexandre et ses sources françaises." Starye Gody (1912), 68-97.

_____. Istoriya russkago iskusstva. 6 vols. Moscow: I. Knebel, 1910-1914.

Grandjean, Serge. Empire Furniture: 1800 to 1825. New York: Taplinger, 1966.

Hamilton, George Heard. The Art and Architecture of Russia. Ed. Nikolaus Pevsner. The Pelican History of Art. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1954.

Hans, N. "Tsar Alexander I and Jefferson: Unpublished Correspondence." Slavonic and East European Review 32 (December 1953), 215-225.

Harris, John. "Le Geay, Piranesi and International Neo-Classicism in Rome 1740-1750." Essays in the History of Architecture Presented to Rudolf Wittkower. Ed. Douglas Fraser and others. London: Phaidon, 1967.

Hautecoeur, Louis. L'Architecture Classique à Saint-Pétersbourg à la fin du XVIII^{e} siècle. Paris: Honoré Champion, 1912.

Herrmann, Wolfgang. Laugier and Eighteenth-Century French Theory. Studies in Architecture 6. London: Zwemmer, 1962.

Hobsbawm, E. J. The Age of Revolution: Europe 1789-1848. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1962.

Honour, Hugh. Neo-Classicism. Style and Civilization series. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1968.

Horne, Alex.: King Solomon's Temple in the Masonic Tradition. London: Aquarian Press, 1972.

Jackman, S. W., ed. Romanov Relations: The Private Correspondence of Tsars Alexander I, Nicholas I and the Grand Dukes Constantine and Michael with their Sister Queen Anna Pavlovna. London: MacMillan, 1969.

Jones, Robert E. "Urban Planning and the Development of Provincial Towns in Russia during the Reign of Catherine II." The Eighteenth Century in Russia. Ed. J. G. Garrard. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973.

Kalnein, Wend Graf, and Michael Levey. Art and Architecture of the Eighteenth Century in France. Ed. Nikolaus Pevsner and Judy Nairn. Trans. J. R. Foster. The Pelican History of Art. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972.

Kaufmann, Emil. Architecture in the Age of Reason: Baroque and Post-Baroque in England, Italy, and France. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1955.

_____. "Three Revolutionary Architects, Boullée, Ledoux, and Lequeu." Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, n.s., 42 (1952), 433-564.

Kubler, George. The Shape of Time. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962.

Laugier, Marc-Antoine. Essai sur l'architecture. 2nd ed., 1755; rpt. Farnborough, Hants.: Gregg Press, 1966.

_____. Observations sur l'architecture. 1765; rpt. Farnborough, Hants.: Gregg Press, 1966.

Le Coat, Gerard. "Thomas Jefferson et l'architecture métaphorique: 'le village académique' a l'Université de Virginie." Canadian Art Review, 3, no. 2 (1976), 8-34.

Ledoux, Claude Nicholas. L'Architecture considérée sous le rapport de l'art, des moeurs et de la législation. 2 vols. 1804; rpt. Paris: Fernand de Nobele, 1961.

Leith, James A. The Idea of Art as Propaganda in France 1750-1799: A Study in the History of Ideas. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965.

Loukomski, Georges. "Thomas de Thomon." Apollo, 42 (December, 1945), 297.

Lovejoy, Arthur O. Essays in the History of Ideas. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1948.

McConnell, Allen. Tsar Alexander I: Paternalistic Reformer. New York: Crowell, 1970.

Marsden, Christopher. Palmyra of the North: The First Days of St. Petersburg. London: Faber and Faber, 1942.

Mavor, James. An Economic History of Russia. 2nd ed. 2 vols. 1925; rpt. New York: Russell & Russell, 1965.

Miller, Wright. Leningrad. Cities of the World. London: Dent, 1970.

Mohrenschildt, Dimitri S. von. Russia in the Intellectual Life of Eighteenth-Century France. Columbia University Studies in Comparative Literature. 1936; rpt. New York: Octagon Books, 1972.

Nikolai Mikhailovich, Grand Duke. L'Empereur Alexandre Ier: Essai d'Etude Historique. 2 vols. St. Petersburg: Manufacture des Papiers de l'Etat, 1912.

Oshchepkov, G. D. Arkhitektor Tomon. Moscow: Izd-vo Akademii arkhitektury SSSR, 1950.

Parker, Harold T. The Cult of Antiquity and the French Revolutionaries. 1937; rpt. New York: Octagon Books, 1965.

Parkinson, John. A Tour of Russia, Siberia and the Crimea 1792-1794. Ed. William Collier. Russia Through European Eyes No. 11. London: Frank Cass, 1971.

Pérouse de Montclos, Jean-Marie. Etienne-Louis Boullée (1728-1799): Theoretician of Revolutionary Architecture. Trans. James Emmons. New York: Braziller, 1974.

Pevsner, Nikolaus. Academies of Art, Past and Present. 1940; rpt. New York: Da Capo Press, 1973.

_____, and S. Lang. "Apollo or Baboon." Architectural Review, 104 (1948), 271-279.

_____, and S. Lang. "The Egyptian Revival." Studies in Art, Architecture and Design. 2 vols. New York: Walker, 1968.

Praz, Mario. On Neoclassicism. Trans. Angus Davidson. London: Thames and Hudson, 1969.

Rae, Isobel. Charles Cameron: Architect to the Court of Russia. London: Elek Books, 1971.

Raeff, Marc. "The Enlightenment in Russia and Russian Thought in the Enlightenment." The Eighteenth Century in Russia. Ed. J. G. Garrard. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973.

Réau, Louis. L'Art Russe. 2 vols. Paris: Henri Laurens, 1922.

Rice, Tamara Talbot. "The Conflux of Influences in Eighteenth-Century Russian Art and Architecture: A Journey from the Spiritual to the Realistic." The Eighteenth Century in Russia. Ed. J. G. Garrard. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973.

_____. "The St. Petersburg of Alexander I." Architectural Review, 77 (June 1935), 245-249.

Richardson, William. Anecdotes of the Russian Empire. 1784; rpt. London: Frank Cass, 1968.

Rogger, Hans. National Consciousness in Eighteenth-Century Russia. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1960.

Rosenau, Helen, ed. Boullée and Visionary Architecture Including Boullée's "Architecture, Essay on Art". London: Academy Editions, 1976.

_____, ed. Boullée's Treatise on Architecture. London: Alec Tiranti, 1953.

_____. "The Engravings of the Grands Prix of the French Academy of Architecture." Architectural History, 3 (1960), 15-180.

_____. The Ideal City: Its Architectural Evolution. New York: Harper & Row, 1972.

_____. Social Purpose in Architecture: Paris and London Compared 1760-1800. London: Studio Vista, 1970.

Rosenblum, Robert. Transformations in Late Eighteenth Century Art. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1967.

Rykwert, Joseph. On Adam's House in Paradise. Museum of Modern Art Papers on Architecture. Greenwich, Conn.: New York Graphic Society for the Museum of Modern Art, 1972.

Sadovnikov, V. Panorama of Nevsky Prospekt: Reproductions of lithographs after water-colours by V. Sadovnikov produced by I. Ivanov and P. Ivanov and published by A. Prevost between 1830 and 1835. Introduction by I. Kotelnikova. Leningrad: Aurora Art Publishers, 1974.

Shcherbatov, Mikhail M. On the Corruption of Morals in Russia. Ed. and trans. A. Lentin. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969.

Smith, Adam. An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations, fifth ed. Ed. Edwin Cannan. Introduction by Max Lerner. The Modern Library. New York: Random House, 1937.

Summerson, John. Heavenly Mansions and Other Essays on Architecture. London: Cresset Press, 1949.

Troubnikoff, Alexandre. "Thomas de Thomon." Starye Gody (1908), 494-512

Turgenev, Ivan. La Russie et les Russes. 3 vols. La Russie et l'opinion française au 19e siècle, 56-58. 1847; rpt. Paris: Micróeditions Hachette, 1972.

"Vassily Bazhenov." Architectural Review, 97 (January 1945), 15-20.

Vigée-Lebrun, Marie L. Elizabeth. Souvenirs of Madame Vigée Le Brun. Ed. Morris F. Tyler. New York: Worthington, 1886.

Visionary Architects: Boullée, Ledoux, Lequeu. Exhibition Catalogue. Houston: University of St. Thomas, 1968.

Vogt, Adolf Max. Art of the Nineteenth Century. Trans. A. F. Bance. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1973.

_____. Russische und Französische Revolutions Architektur. Cologne: M. DuMont Schauberg, 1974.

Voltaire, François Marie Arouet de. Lettres philosophiques. Ed. Gustave Lanson. Introduction by André M. Rousseau. Société de textes français modernes. Paris: Marcel Didier, 1964.

_____. The Philosophy of History. Preface by Thomas Kiernan. 1766; rpt. New York: Philosophical Library, 1965.

Voyce, Arthur. Russian Architecture: Trends in Nationalism and Modernism. 1948; rpt. New York: Greenwood Press, 1969.

Vyatkin, M. P., ed. Essays in the History of Leningrad. 2 vols. Moscow: Academy of Sciences USSR, 1955.

Whitney, Lois. Primitivism and the Idea of Progress in English Popular Literature of the Eighteenth Century. Foreward by Arthur O. Lovejoy. 1934; rpt. New York: Octagon Books, 1965.

Wilmot, Martha [Bradford]. The Russian Journals of Martha and Catherine Wilmot . . . . Ed. H. Montgomery Hyde. Introduction by Edith, Marchioness of Londonderry. London: MacMillan, 1935.

Wittkower, Rudolf. "Piranesi's Parere su l'Architettura." Journal of the Warburg Institute, 2 (1938-39), 147-158.

Wunder, Richard P. "Charles Michel-Ange Challe: A Study of his Life and Work." Apollo, 87 (January 1968), 22-33.

VITA

Surname: STEVENSON Given Names: CHRISTINE McKEE

Place of Birth: HARPENDEN, HERTS., U. K. Date of Birth: 16 January 1955

Educational Institutions Attended, with Dates of Entering and Leaving:

UNIVERSITY OF VICTORIA, VICTORIA	1972	to	1979
	____	to	____
	____	to	____
	____	to	____

Degrees, Diplomas, Etc., Awarded, with Dates and Names of Institutions:

B. A. (First Class)	1975	University of Victoria
	____	
	____	

Honors and Awards:

Martlet Chapter, I. O. D. E. Prize for History in Art, 1974

University of Victoria Fellowship, 1975/76

University of Victoria Fellowship, 1976/77

Publications:

PARTIAL COPYRIGHT LICENSE

I hereby grant the right to lend my thesis (the title of which is shown below) to users of the University of Victoria Library, and to make *single copies only* for such users or in response to a request from the library of any other university, or similar institution, on its behalf or for one of its users. I further agree that permission for extensive copyong of this thesis for scholarly purposes may be granted by me or a member of the University designated by me. It is understood that copying or publication of this thesis for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.

Title of Thesis

Stylistic, Iconographic and Political Aspects of the St. Petersburg Bourse.

Author [redacted]

Signature

Christine McKee Stevenson

Name

23 February 1980

Date