divine realization of earthy forms," but wonders "is not this dream impious, and would it not tend to pull ideas and the arts backward?"[43] This is an important crisis in Romantic architecture: its vision of something as vast as the experience of nature itself—expressed a generation before in the projects of Boullée and the young Schinkel—is checked by the realization that this is too easy, if not sacrilegious. Fortoul goes on to say that such a vision, in fact, is that of primitive man, a kind of fetishism. "The constructions of Asia and India imitate earthly forms and sometimes incorporate them."[44] The Greeks, in contrast, saw architecture as a tool, something created by man to serve him: "Is it not this which brings about its social, communal, civilizing character; it becomes the envelope of man instead of being that of the forces of nature. The Greek temples were only the houses of the gods and not their images."[45]

For architecture to thus cut itself off from the natural world, Fortoul continues, is for it to sidestep its ultimate task, which is to reproduce the universe as it is reflected and transformed in the mind of man. This Christian Gothic architecture alone accomplished:

*Gothic architecture appears to me to have progressed in recreating the universe. Oriental architecture is the refuge of man crushed by nature; Greek architecture is the whole man posed on top of nature; Gothic architecture is nature itself—transfigured by human thought; it is the universe where . . . foliage, sculpted figures, songs, images and smells of man, the vault of the sky itself, proclaim with one concerted voice the presence of God.*[46]

But Gothic art is not complete: it has to be made rationally expressive by the imposition of some system of proportions equivalent to the Greek Orders. Fortoul asks himself, "What compromise might produce the union of Greek and medieval art? . . . Is a new Dark Age necessary to make them elastic in an unexpected manner?" And he answers, "It seems to me that in the modern conception of nature one might find the source for their transformation."[47] We know from Reynaud's entries "Architecture" and "Colonne"—indeed from many of the entries the Reynaud brothers collected in the *Encyclopédie nouvelle*—that the "sentiment moderne de la nature" was the scientific perception of its inner laws. The way Fortoul proposes that Gothic be made effective is through its synthesis with Greek building, both understood as natural emanations of man's mind. Indeed, in a note at the end of his musings, Fortoul hints at a moment in the history of architecture when such a synthesis of the Greek and Gothic had already been broached: "Edgar Quinet notes in the Byzantine monuments of the Peloponnesus the fusion of all earlier features and the announcement of a Gothic architecture that is going to be a new transformation of these historical elements."[48]

What, then, is the task of the architect in 1830? There is a necessary sense of powerlessness in this "doctrine" that damns pure imaginative expression as caprice and that makes architecture the result of social and technological forces. To this Fortoul, the *literatus*, adds that history and society move to an inevitable but dimly perceived plan. "Peoples, like individuals," he says in *De l'Art en Allemagne,* "are instruments that serve the accomplishment of the general plan of creation; it is this plan which a serious mind should propose to study."[49] Architecture cannot move forward until society and science have evolved onto higher planes. Fortoul wrote in his notebook:

*Architecture is of all the arts the least predictable, because it is a posterior art (*art postérieur*) that presupposes something to satisfy and to envelop. Thus, if such a thing existed today, there is no doubt that architecture would offer it its garment. If one could project the spirit of this thing, one would know how to project its form.*[50]

Fortoul, as writer and philosopher, is bold enough to admit he cannot perceive the modern architect's goal. *De l'Art en Allemagne*—all 1,150 pages of its two volumes—is structured around the exposition of a theory that develops what we have seen in Reynaud and Vaudoyer. The book is ostensibly a tour of German cities and museums. These give rise to general observations that slowly expand and merge to dominate the narrative by the end. The work is divided into a preparatory section, extending to chapter six in volume two, where the discussion of modern German philosophy, painting, and architecture leads to an "idée générale," and a culminating section in which that idea is demonstrated, first in the history of German and Italian painting, then in the history of German medieval architecture. Fortoul ends the book with his prescription for the architecture of the future.

Fortoul's "idée générale" is that historical and artistic phenomena, in all their superficial variety, are united in their inner principle and evolve from each other in a three-part cycle. This cycle is most paradigmatically demonstrated in the Greek Orders—the primitive Doric coming first, followed by the refined Ionic, then the complex Corinthian, which is a synthesis of the first two. This law he sees obeyed in the art of Dürer (a synthesis of the North and the South) and of Giotto and Arnolfo di Cambio (adding Northern, Gothic elements to the Italian classical tradition). "His glory," he says of Giotto, "and the immense step forward that he caused painting to make thus lies in his establishing in Italy the passage from the *Dorian* epoch to the *Ionic* and in his creating the principle of the latter by the fusion of the medieval element with a lesser portion of the antique element, which was bound to dominate, little by little, in Italy and lead imperceptibly to a final revolution."[51] The modern art of Cornelius

he sees as successful for the same reason and that of Overbeck as futile because it is exclusively Gothic.

In the culminating portion of his work, Fortoul demonstrates how early Renaissance painting, from Giotto to Leonardo, synthesized the ancient and the medieval, but then in the mid-sixteenth century fell into mannerism. When he turns to architecture, he begins by identifying the inner principle of all Christian building as the arch, whether round or pointed. Proceeding through the monuments of Germany from Trier to Regensburg, Fortoul tries to show that the Romanesque and Gothic were not only chronologically distinct but also national styles—German and French, respectively[52]—and as such were two distinct orders of medieval building, like the Doric and the Ionic. They embodied the first two periods of the cycle of Christian architecture; the third, the synthesis, has yet to come. He concludes that it is a modern architect's task to accomplish this synthesis and to produce a third style of arched building adhering to a fixed system of mathematical proportions:

*The mission of contemporary art is to begin the study of curvilinear rhythms. If this effort might ever succeed, which criticism should never prejudge, the semicircular arch and the pointed arch, brought together by fixed relationships and measured by Orders which remain unknown to us, will become, in the hands of our architects, what the Doric and the Ionic were for the architects of the last Greek period, modulations susceptible of being combined into one complex and supreme modulation. Such new and regularly determined relationships will necessarily give birth to an analogous style which will return to sculpture and painting their lost majesty, and which, more and more, will spread the sentiment of order and beauty through all the productions of our society, left [now] to anarchy and bad taste. That is what our architects must meditate and what they alone can accomplish.*[53]

This book is thus the answer to the question Fortoul posed himself in his notebook years before, "What result might be produced by the union of Greek and Medieval art?"[54] It also answers the "question of the Orders posed in the square at Bamberg" referred to in Vaudoyer's letter to Fortoul of July 31, 1843.

The basic concept of the "doctrine" produced by Reynaud, Fortoul, and Vaudoyer is that architecture is the structural envelope of a social institution and so expresses that institution in its form, changes with it, and evolves as technical knowledge becomes more sophisticated. A biological analogy was quick to present itself. Indeed, Reynaud ends the introductory part of his entry "Architecture" with the observation, "One may, in

a profound sense, compare human monuments to those shells formed by animals who give them the shape of their bodies and live in them: the method of the naturalists makes no distinction between the description of the shell and that of the mollusk."[55] Edgar Quinet in 1839 described architectural remains as the skeletons of perished civilizations.[56] This is more than a literary analogy. Georges Cuvier and Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire were defining the mechanism of natural life during these years, making it common intellectual coin and engaging in a celebrated public controversy in 1830–31 that embroiled even Goethe far away in Weimar.[57] Saint-Hilaire subsequently carried on his side of the polemic in the extensive series of entries he contributed to the *Encyclopédie nouvelle*.[58]

Cuvier, beginning with his *Recherches sur les ossemens fossiles* of 1812, demonstrated with relentless and incontrovertible precision that all the forms of a biological organism are the direct outcome of its function—its locomotion, diet, environment, etc. More impressive to the contemporary imagination, he showed how a complete organism might be reconstructed from a single bone by a process of logic that takes these factors into account. One achievement was the reconstruction of the gruesome pterodactyl of 1809.[59] (It is a cliché that the modern mystery story, a new Romantic literary genre, grew out of Cuvier's demonstrations of reconstructive logic.[60]) It was common to cite Cuvier's biology as an analogy for the system of the Greek Orders.[61]

There is, however, more to Reynaud's conception of architecture as mankind's shell than simple functional determinism. He believed architectural organisms evolved. Cuvier held that, because every organism is perfectly constructed, there can be no change or evolution since these would throw off the balance. Saint-Hilaire, on the contrary, insisted that organisms do evolve; indeed, that all organisms are linked together and descend from one primordial parent, the zoological equivalent of Goethe's *Urpflanze*. In his entries in the *Encyclopédie nouvelle* and elsewhere, Saint-Hilaire spun out his idea that function inflects organic structure—that it is an active force manifesting itself in many ways and degrees—but that a "unité de plan" survives everywhere underneath. It was Saint-Hilaire's analogy that Reynaud adopted (just as it was Cuvier's that a conservative like Ernest Beulé found sympathetic).

Around 1830 the concept of nature—the model for architecture of every generation since the Renaissance—was transformed, and ideal, God-given form was replaced by physical adaptation to function as its basic principle. The last volume of the *Encyclopédie nouvelle* contains a dramatic statement of the biological analogy, here broadened to embrace the conception of the city. Not inappropriately, it is from the pen of Jean Reynaud, although it is quoted extensively in Léonce Reynaud's *Traité d'architecture*.[62] Cities

should not be laid out regularly and all at once, Jean writes, but rather should be irregularly adapted to their natural and social environments and be built up slowly.

*I imagine a site conveniently chosen, the streets, the gardens, the squares neatly laid out, the position of each building marked, the houses built to the taste of each [resident], and one feels, looking at them, that they are all of the same family. . . . Each street is a harmony of which the various houses composing it are the terms and of which the reciprocal propriety of the inhabitants of each neighborhood is the principle. Each quarter, by an analogous propriety of all the streets that it contains, forms another harmony of a more elevated order. Finally, the city itself, by the composition of all these harmonies between themselves and with the public buildings, constitutes a last [harmony] which can either be seen as a whole from several points of view or divide itself into separate elements, similar to the various but always related phrases of a well-conducted melody, and striking, one after another, the eye which promenades through the interior of the city. And this great monument of architecture which, with so much unity in its ensemble, permits itself nonetheless to be divided without resistance into a multitude of different monuments, is but the symbolic shape of the society which it contains and of which it is, one might say, the garment. . . .*

*One might thus consider each city an inscription marking on the earth, in sharp and positive letters, the history of the world at the point where it rises. I even remark that as the taste, the spirit, the customs, the political and religious institutions vary from one place to another in accordance with the climate and the dispersion of the primitive peoples, cities, which are properly the expression of these things, vary naturally across the earth in the same way. So that, differing one from another by the character of their construction following a system of variation strictly identical with that of the diverse groups of which the human species is composed, they constitute together a single city which, enveloping the whole globe and increasingly harmonizing with it each day, makes sparkle among the stars this symbolic expression of the human race itself.*[63]

Reynaud, Vaudoyer, and Fortoul did not envision architecture evolving merely biologically, but also historically, in stages responding to successive states of human consciousness. In this their "doctrine" parallels that of contemporary historians, specifically the Romantic political and philo-

sophical historians who envisioned the evolution of Western culture in a new manner.

Traditional history in France had presented the Roman Empire as the age of enlightenment, with the Greek democracies merely preparing the way; the Middle Ages as barbarism; and the Renaissance as a slow progress back toward Roman glory, peaking during the reign of Louis XIV. After 1815 Romantic historians, led by Saint-Simon's old collaborator Augustin Thierry, began to attack these conceptions from three directions. First, they proposed continuous progress and perfection in history, not cyclical return to an ideal, original state. Second, measuring with the yardstick of popular sovereignty because of their Liberal political orientation, they perceived in Western history a series of forward thrusts coinciding with crises in the evolution of democracy: the Greek and Early Roman democracies; the medieval communes established after the year 1000; the perfection of parliamentary government, especially in Britain, with the Reformation and the decay of feudalism in the Renaissance; the French Revolution. These moments, formerly seen as ages of darkness and chaos, were now illuminated and depicted as epochs of wonderful popular élan by Sismondi in his *Histoire des républiques italiennes* (1807–9) and *Histoire des Français* (1821–44); by Thierry in his *Lettres sur l'histoire de France* (1820, 1827); by Guizot in his *Histoire des origines du gouvernement représentatif* (1821–22), *Histoire de la révolution d'Angleterre,* and *Histoire de la civilization en France* (1830); and by Mignet's and Thiers's histories of the French Revolution (1824 and 1823–27, respectively). Third, influenced by Romantic philosophy, these historians emphasized the two great post-antique crises in religion as evolutionary epochs so that the establishment of Christianity at the fall of the Roman Empire was depicted as a moment of advance into a new theological culture rather than as a decline, and the appearance of Protestantism not as a regrettable fall from orthodoxy, but as a second step forward—a step the once-glorified Louis XIV prevented France from making with the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The Revolution was finally the establishment of the principles of a new age. It is upon these epochs that the subsequent philosophical histories of Quinet and Michelet would concentrate.[64]

This Romantic structuring of history is, of course, that adopted by Reynaud, Vaudoyer, and Fortoul. Progress is the foundation of their thinking. The Greco-Roman tradition is admired, but depicted as irrelevant since it is based on an elementary state of human consciousness. The establishment of Christianity is a step forward, carrying architecture into the "style curviligne" with the "affranchissement de l'arcade." A more decisive advance, however, comes with the Renaissance, when Christian theological insight is tempered with scientific reason. In contrast, the age of Louis XIV is seen as a moment of regression because of the emergence of aca-

demicism. Finally, the task of the modern architect is to return to the moment of the inception of the Renaissance, the Reformation and the perfection of representative government, and to evolve a rational style avoiding the pitfalls of imitation and academicism, the architectural equivalents of absolutism.

Where the influence of Romantic historical thinking becomes most direct and unquestionable is in Fortoul's *De l'Art en Allemagne,* with its hypothesis of dialectical architectural evolution. As we have seen, he proposed that this proceeded in stages, in the case of Christian "architecture curviligne" from the round arch of the German Romanesque to the pointed arch of the French Gothic and finally to a future system of fixed geometric relationships not yet conceived but historically inevitable. Confidence in such a structure is nothing unexpected in a Saint-Simonian protégé of Edgar Quinet who claimed, on occasion, to be an interpreter of Hegel to France.[65] At first glance this theory appears to be a crude application of Hegelian dialectical evolution. But Fortoul need not have gone so far. Saint-Simonism was based on a belief in progress in which evolution was defined as a spiraling alternation between "organic" and "critical" epochs moving forward through three stages of human consciousness: the ancient superstitious, the medieval "theological," and the Renaissance "positive."[66] Nonetheless, the closest parallel to Fortoul's theory in *De l'Art en Allemagne* is the theory of progress enunciated by Victor Cousin, mentor of Quinet and Michelet, in his celebrated lectures at the Sorbonne of 1828–29.[67] Here Cousin draws the strictest picture of historical fatality and dialectical evolution. History consists of distinct cultures, each necessary and characteristic of its time and place, but tread down by its successor. Great men do not emerge by their own powers, but because their qualities are appropriate to their time. Wars are not won by personal valor, but by irresistible movements of historical progress. Consciousness, Cousin states, has passed through two great contrasting eras—the finite and the infinite—and now, in the modern epoch, is about to achieve maturity in the synthesis of the two, when the vision of the infinite will be grasped and held by the sense of the finite.

In the first lecture of his 1829 series, Cousin summarizes his conception and states its implications for modern man. He notes that it is France's task, as the great central power in Europe, to carry the Renaissance to completion. The Reformation had been a local phenomenon in Germany, the Puritan revolution a provincial affair in Britain. In absolutist, Catholic France and elsewhere, the Middle Ages continued down to 1789, when, after the philosophical preparation of the eighteenth century, the old world of religion and politics was finally swept away. But nothing new has been set firmly in its place; these movements were destructive only. It is the task of France in the nineteenth century to construct a new world order,

generalizing the advances of the Reformation and the Revolution and synthesizing them with the traditions of the past. (Discreetly, he adds that the constitution of 1814 accomplished this, approbation he would withdraw as soon as the Revolution of 1830 was accomplished and he ensconsed in the Conseil Royale de l'Instruction Publique.) This, of course, is precisely what we have seen in Fortoul: that the nineteenth century was to create a general system from the local attempts of the Renaissance, one synthesizing the finite aesthetic of antiquity and the infinite art of the Middle Ages and based on the positive science of the eighteenth century.

In comparison to Fortoul's, Cousin's concept of the expression of idealism in modern architecture is crude: he imagines that it can be imposed by the traditional use of applied Orders. Closer contemporaries of Fortoul, like Quinet, do little better. Their sense of organicism in the relation of the parts of a culture is much sharper, but they follow Hegel in treating architecture as an expression of pre-Hellenic paganism and consequently dropping its analysis in later epochs as if building itself had ceased.[68] What Fortoul accomplished is the considered application of the Cousinian, "eclectic" point of view to Christian, modern architecture. First, in accepting the arch as the basic expressive element, he distinguishes the modern epoch from the Hellenic and pre-Hellenic. Then, by proposing a single system in arcuation itself—one embracing simultaneously the Roman, Byzantine, Romanesque, and Gothic styles—he moves analysis to a plane where distinctions of detail can be subordinated. Finally, in his projection of an architecture in which the abstract ratios of the Greek Orders will be applied to Christian arcuation, Fortoul admits that at a level of abstraction beyond that imagined by Cousin—not that of the Orders but that of the mathematical abstraction of them—all architecture shares a common organ of beauty. Nonetheless, in his insistence on the need to transform and purify arcuated building, Fortoul echoes his friend Quinet, who wrote in *Le Génie des religions* that, while every artist is the product of his time and culture, he is not just a passive product but a conscious individual struggling to reach beyond them to the common ideals of art—in short, is a prophet and a revolutionary.

It is not easy to precisely locate the ideas of Fortoul and his friends among the competing architectural ideals of the 1830s because these were partially and variously expressed. In 1830—and indeed down until the end of the reign of Louis-Philippe—there was no one volume definitively expounding any variety of post-Neoclassical professional theory. Although there were a number of lecture series in the theory and history of architecture being delivered, none had the cogency and radical purpose of those in history and philosophy by Cousin, Guizot, and Villemain at the Sorbonne in 1828–30. Quatremère de Quincy, of course, spoke for the Académie as

Secrétaire Perpétuel until 1839. His *Histoire des vies et ouvrages des plus célèbres architectes du X^e^ au XVIII^e^ siècle* (1830), the revised edition of his *Dictionnaire historique d'architecture* (1832)—not to mention his broader essays, *Essai sur la nature, le but et les moyens de l'imitation dans les beaux-arts* (1823) and *Essai sur l'idéal dans ses applications pratique aux arts de dessin* (1837)—were the only general treatises of recent publication the uninformed visitor would have found to purchase during the decade.[69] L.-P. Baltard, Professor of Theory at the Ecole until his death in 1846, followed Quatremère's doctrine scrupulously.[70] Huyot, Professor of the History of Architecture, was broader in his interests and more advanced in his arguments, but ended up at much the same place conceptually, as we have seen.[71] There is little evidence that the more inquiring students of this moment attended the lectures of J.-N.-L. Durand (1760–1834) at the Ecole Polytechnique, where he continued to teach until 1834, or studied his *Précis des leçons d'architecture données à l'Ecole Polytechnique* (1802, 1805, 1817, 1821).[72] In place of the packed, applauding crowds that filled Cousin's, Guizot's, and Villemain's lecture halls, we should imagine the enrolled *Polytechniciens* sitting in stiff uniforms (executing the crude, rote graphic exercises perserved in the school's archives) in Durand's hall and a half-dozen dutiful stragglers in Baltard's and Huyot's.[73]

Alternatives to Neoclassicism were being formulated nonetheless, but in less easily discovered places and publications: in the ateliers of Duban (who began teaching in 1829), Labrouste (opened August 1, 1830), Vaudoyer (1832), and Constant-Dufeux (1837); in novels and utopian tracts and journals, especially *L'Artiste* (founded in 1830), but also more obscure sheets like *La Liberté* (1832–33); and finally in formal groupings and sects, notably the Fourierists and Saint-Simonians. Also, of course, there were groups of friends. Petrus Borel lived with Théophile Gautier, Gérard de Nerval, and the rest of the *petit cénacle* in the rue de Vaugirard and was slowly being converted from architect to author.[74] Hector Horeau, François-Alexis Cendrier, and Charles-Joseph Lambert established a small Saint-Simonian foyer on the rue de Seine.[75] Duban's student César Daly was part of the inner circle of Charles Fourier in the mid-1830s.[76] In comparison to these groupings, the visits and picnics of Fortoul, Reynaud, Duc, Duban, and Vaudoyer seem rather staid.

There was an important bohemian current among the young architects in 1830. Borel organized these bohemians as the claque in the orchestra for the opening of *Hernani* on February 28, 1830.[77] But they had no doctrine. At first they addressed themselves to Duban and Labrouste for instruction.[78] In late 1828, after the scandal of the display of Duban's *temple protestant* and Labrouste's Paestum series at the Collège des Quatre Nations, the students in the atelier of Abel Blouet (1796–1853) requested that Duban

serve as Blouet's replacement while he was absent on the Peloponnesian expedition of 1828–29.[79] Duban then joined his brother-in-law Debret in conducting his atelier, but on January 6, 1832, founded his own when their ideas proved incompatible.[80] In 1830 a rebellious group within A.-L.-T. Vaudoyer's atelier broke away and eventually presented themselves to Labrouste, who opened his atelier for them on August 1, 1830.[81] In 1832 Léon Vaudoyer opened his own atelier, succeeding his father.[82] Otherwise the only place the radical students went was to the office of the decorator Aimé Chenevard (1798–1838), who had established himself in Paris in 1829. A.-I.-A. Couchaud (1813–49), for example, did so in the mid-1830s before joining Labrouste's atelier. Chenevard had invented a florid decorative mode combining many historical styles, especially the Gothic and Oriental.[83] Before his unexpected death, he had a high reputation among innovators, being compared positively to Duban and Labrouste[84] and receiving commissions for stained glass for the Louvre and the royal château at Eu. The editors of *L'Artiste* turned to him for their frontispieces during the 1830s.

The students themselves produced the weekly *journal des arts, La Liberté,* from September 1832 to January 1833. Besides pieces by Borel, Vivant Didron, Delacroix, and the Republican painters Gabriel Laviron and P.-A. Jeanron, there were a number of architectural essays by Alfred Pommier (1801–40) and Bruno Galbaccio. Their approach was what the journal's title suggests: bitter criticism of the established system in the arts (especially as it was manifested in the Académie and Ecole) and the call for imaginative freedom. They otherwise proposed no deliberate, positive doctrine. Pommier had been in the atelier Duban took over from Blouet and was considered one of the most brilliant architecture students of the late 1820s, but all that we know from his hand are architectural fantasies shown in the Salons (figure 19).[85] Galbaccio published Hugoian poetry and designed the café-concert Casino Paganini at 11 Chaussée d'Antin, opened in 1837 and received enthusiastically by his friends the radical critics Gabriel Laviron and Théophile Thoré.[86] It was, however, in the late Empire style and displayed nothing not familiar in Hittorff's contemporaneous cafés on the Champs-Elysées. Jean Gigoux remembered Galbaccio in 1885: "This Galbaccio could make the most interesting and varied conversation in the world but he always concluded by negating everything."[87]

As might be expected, from the start there was tension between the Romantic bohemian students and the *pensionnaires chefs d'ateliers.* We know a good deal about the circumstances of the founding of Labrouste's atelier. In a letter of July 23, 1830, A.-L.-T. Vaudoyer huffily wrote Léon of the actions of these "Romantiques à la barbe":

**19**
*Alfred Pommier, Architectural fantasy exhibited in the Salon of 1833. From G. Laviron,* Salon of 1833.

*In April there were grave disorders. . . . We [A.-L.-T. Vaudoyer and his assistant Hippolyte Lebas] decided that those who felt themselves dissatisfied with our objectives were free to stop following our lessons and that, in order to suppress the disorders, the atelier would be closed for two days.*

*One of the ringleaders—there is always one such—gathered the students at a café or somewhere and signed up those who wished to desert the atelier. He obtained the signatures of seven or eight sheep who have not since reappeared. . . .*

*Accomplishing nothing during three months, they thought that Labrouste, having just arrived, might receive them [as students] and they presented him with a petition.*

*M. Labrouste refused them at first, saying that he wished to submit this demand to us since it questioned our integrity. . . .*

*Flattered by this action, instead of opposing this proposition which seemed useful for him . . . we encouraged Labrouste to accept this fledgling atelier.*[88]

The facts of the story are confirmed by Labrouste's son Léon.[89] And Vaudoyer's acerbic tone is reflected, very gently, in a letter of November 20, 1830, from Labrouste to his brother Théodore in Rome. "I work enormously and, what is more difficult, I make my students work."[90] Few of the initial group stayed long; a second, larger group took their place. Certainly there was no love lost between Pommier, who railed at the *envois* of 1831 in *La Liberté*,[91] and Léon Vaudoyer, who received the news that Pommier was second *en loge* in the competition for the Grand Prix in 1828 with, "how Pommier could have placed second I in no way comprehend."[92]

By 1833 the younger generation, once united in their resistance to the Académie, realized that their ideas were becoming distinct and various. Borel had been the bohemians' leader since the *Bataille d'Hernani* and in this year he was asked to contribute an article to *L'Artiste*, "Du Mouvement en architecture." Here he reviews the first years of the Duban and Labrouste ateliers with the insight his experience provided. He attacks them for importing the architectural vocabulary of Southern, Italian architecture to France. Duban and Labrouste are freer and more imaginative, he allows, but still Neoclassicists. "Do they make progress? No, because they turn back to the Etruscans and to Pompeii. Do they make relative progress? Yes, because they have better intentions than their predecessors and they are more skillful."[93] Borel asks for a new architecture derived directly from French society and the French environment. He praises the propriety of the "style riche gothique" of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, which is "Roman-oriental" in its intricacy. It is clearly the work of Pommier and Chenevard that he most admires; in another

article in *L'Artiste* of that year he praised the latter as the only "thinking" architect in France.[94]

In this same year, Fortoul made perhaps his deepest mark as a critic when he published his article "De l'Art actuel" in the *Revue encyclopédique* attacking the "Roman-oriental" Gothicism popular among Hugo and his circle and coining the phrase "l'art pour l'art" to describe it.[95] He accused them of seeking beauty and exoticness of form regardless of meaning, criticisms (which Fortoul expresses by expended architectural analogies) even more applicable to the work of Pommier and Chenevard. This has not taken the form of a program, "code avoué et complète," but "it is the password recognized by the affiliates of certain coteries."[96] He proposes instead a theory of Saint-Simonian social literature.

To Fortoul this group's art was essentially fantastic. "Poetry," he mimics them, "is the glorious fantasy of one man."[97] But he makes no mention of the particular points Hugo proposed in his principal Gothic novel of these years, *Notre-Dame de Paris* (1831–32)[98]: that the printing press has destroyed the cathedral as the "book" of humanity.[99] Another utopian, the Fourierist Victor Considérant, attacked Hugo on this score in his *Considérations sociales sur l'architectonique* of 1834. This widely circulated and often-reprinted volume set the idea and image of the *phalanestère* in the public mind.[100] It described and illustrated the huge palatial structure that was to provide a psychologically balanced community with all the comforts of modern science—gas lighting, running water, good ventilation, fireproof construction—and that was to be the instrument of the perfection of society. This great industrial habitation would become the expression of modern civilization as the cathedral had been of medieval culture. In his conclusion, Considérant cites Hugo and attacks him as a narrow aesthete who cannot comprehend the fundamental importance of architecture as a social mechanism as well as an art:

*M. Hugo! M. Hugo! who has put together I don't know what ridiculous theory, who sweats blood for three or four chapters in order to establish in pompous phrases that humanity once created architecture to the* unique *and* simple *end of making poetry. . . .*

*Thus, artists, believe in the genius of humanity rather than in the voice of false prophets. . . . Architecture, which you are told is dead and buried, truly has still to grow several cubits to achieve full stature!—the future is broad, man is strong. The apostles of the scanty and weak, of the poor and the meager, do not take their inspiration from vital sources, and it is not to them that one should listen.*[101]

By 1833–34 the Romantic generation had split into the Hugoian Gothicists and the utopians. By 1838 both of these groups had evolved and split.

Gothicism in architecture lost its radical branch and became the serious archaeological and liturgical concern of the Commission des Monuments Historiques. Borel after 1833 turned his attention entirely to literature; Chenevard died in 1838; Pommier was obliged to flee to America in 1833 for political reasons; Galbaccio committed suicide. As these figures departed the scene, a new group appeared in their place. First came Ludovic Vitet, the young *literatus* and journalist who caused himself to be appointed Inspecteur des Monuments Historiques in 1830.[102] In 1831 he produced a forcefully argued report on the condition of historic monuments in France that called for a government bureau to supervise their restoration. In 1834 another Romantic *literatus*, Prosper Mérimée replaced Vitet as *inspecteur* (chief assistant architect) and in 1837 he completed the establishment of the Commission des Monuments Historiques. The original commissioners were principally antiquaries (Vatout, Taylor, Leprevost, Montesquiou), except for the architects Duban and A.-N. Caristie. Slowly, however, there grew up a staff of young architects engaged in restoration work. Among the very first were Viollet-le-Duc, sent to Vézelay in 1839; J.-B. Lassus, the leader of the students who had presented themselves to Labrouste and now Duban's *inspecteur* for the restoration of the Sainte-Chapelle; a Labrouste admirer, Léon Danjoy, sent to Lisieux; and Charles Questel, Duban's student and then his *inspecteur* at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts. As the 1840s, 1850s, and 1860s unfolded, these men became the core of a skillful and influential group of medievalists led by Viollet-le-Duc.

The completion in 1838 of the first major work by one of the *pensionnaires,* Duban's Ecole des Beaux-Arts, occasioned a corresponding split in the ranks of the utopians. Fortoul, representing the moderate Saint-Simonians, considered the building a model.[103] Théophile Thoré, representing a more resolute point of view, questioned it in a pair of articles in *L'Artiste*.[104] He listed three options Duban had in framing his design: doing a historic pastiche in the style of the fragments on the site, inventing a new style of architecture, or following established academic practice. Thoré describes the second option with unmistakable enthusiasm: "It is for a long time now that theory has dreamed of revolutionizing architecture."[105] He is disappointed that Duban has declined to do so. "Why has he not taken the initiative to make a radical reform and thus make a place for his name in the history of art, as the great reformers of the Renaissance did in their time, Bullant, Philibert, and Lescot?"[106] Instead Thoré concludes that Duban has combined all three options and produced an "eclectic" result. This still has a virtue, but a negative one: that of placing the existing system in doubt. "After one has practiced for a while this mixed and rather anarchic architecture, it will no longer be possible to go back to the old orthodoxy."[107] But this is only a first step toward architecture's real objective.

"It is very necessary that we eventually create an art in harmony with the conditions of our time and our country because here are the two relative and variable elements that combine to produce a marvelous unity with poetry, that divine faculty, which is as unchanging and absolute as truth."[108]

Fortoul and his friends Duban, Duc, Reynaud, and Vaudoyer held back from a radical transformation of architecture either in terms of giving themselves up to fantasy, adopting a local style as the archaeological medievalists would do, or accepting exclusively functional and social determinants. They sought some absolute order in the new world of possibilities opened before them by Romantic historicism and science. Fortoul found it in his concept of order without Orders, a modern arcuated architecture controlled by precise expressive ratios. His architect friends had a more difficult task, for they had to materialize this idea in actual buildings. We will watch their efforts in the next and later chapters.

A last note. One can see from this why it is difficult to attach a label to this group. The Romantic architectural students in Paris in 1830 proclaimed them their leaders principally because they lacked spokesmen and goals of their own. The circle of Labrouste nonetheless saw themselves as quite distinct from the bohemians and opened a progressively widening gap between themselves and those whom they perceived unsympathetically as "Gothicists." It was a cliché repeated several times in the necrologies of the *pensionnaires* in the 1870s that they were "Romantiques de la façon d'Ingres."[109] Nor were they utopians either, or "Néo-Grecs," despite important contacts with both these groups. With Charles Garnier's appropriation of the label "eclectic" during the 1860s, even this is denied us today, although originally it was probably the most accurate term for defining their enterprise and the one they themselves adopted between the mid-1830s and the end of the Second Empire.[110] This obliges us to find our own designation. In the end Labrouste, Duban, Duc, and Vaudoyer were the most influential practitioners of achitecture in France between 1830 and 1860, the period of Romanticism broadly defined. Their definition of Romanticism was narrower than ours; what we now perceive as the characteristics of the period apply to their work as well as to that of Lassus and Pommier. Romantics they were, even if "de la façon d'Ingres." They were the generation's Romantic architects, who clarified their ideas in Rome at the French Academy and who henceforth worked in the government system: that is, they were always *pensionnaires*. Thus the label I have attached to them in this book: the Romantic *pensionnaires*.

# *Three*

# THE FIRST BUILDINGS: THE ECOLE DES BEAUX-ARTS, BIBLIOTHEQUE SAINTE-GENEVIEVE, AND CONSERVATOIRE DES ARTS ET METIERS

Upon their return from Rome, the *pensionnaires* received the minor appointments usually bestowed by the government upon Grand Prix winners. In 1829 Duban was made *inspecteur* to his brother-in-law, François Debret, for the rebuilding of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts. When Duban was appointed architect of that structure in 1832, Labrouste was named his *inspecteur*. That same year Duc was appointed *sous-inspecteur* under J.-A. Alavoine (1778–1834) for the Colonne de Juillet on the Place de la Bastille. In 1833 Vaudoyer was named *inspecteur* on the staff of Jacques Lacornée (1779–1856) in the erection of the "Palais d'Orsay," a massive block of government offices dominating the left bank of the Seine (burned during the Commune in 1871). They also received some private commissions: Duban erected the Hôtel Pourtalès on the rue Tronchet in 1835–39 and Labrouste won the competitions for the design of an insane asylum in Lausanne, Switzerland, in 1836 and of a prison at Alessandria, Italy, in 1839–40. Far more importantly, however, as the decade of the 1830s progressed each was nominated *architecte-en-chef* of a major government monument. First was Duban when he replaced Debret at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts. Then Duc succeeded Alavoine at the Colonne de Juillet in 1834. Finally, in 1838 Labrouste was appointed *architecte-en-chef* of the new building for the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, and in that same year Vaudoyer was put in charge of the expansion of the Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers.

The appointment of Duban and Labrouste to rebuild the home of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts (figures 20–28)[1] was itself a challenge to the Académie and the Ecole administration, both Bourbon foundations and staffed with Bourbon appointees. The new Liberal government seems to have intended that. Like the Commission des Beaux-Arts of 1831, a bill of 1832 authorizing 100 million francs to complete the monuments of Paris, and a law of 1832 restricting government architects to one major commis-

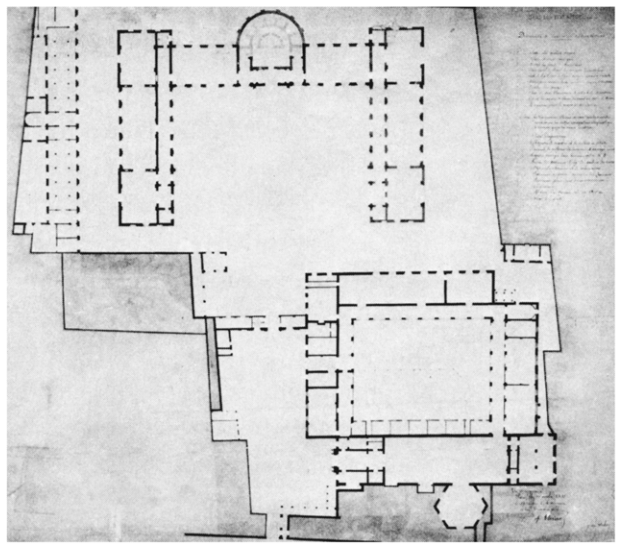
sion at a time (giving Duban this commission in particular), this was another effort to support Romanticism and to extend the Revolution beyond a mere change of kings.[2]

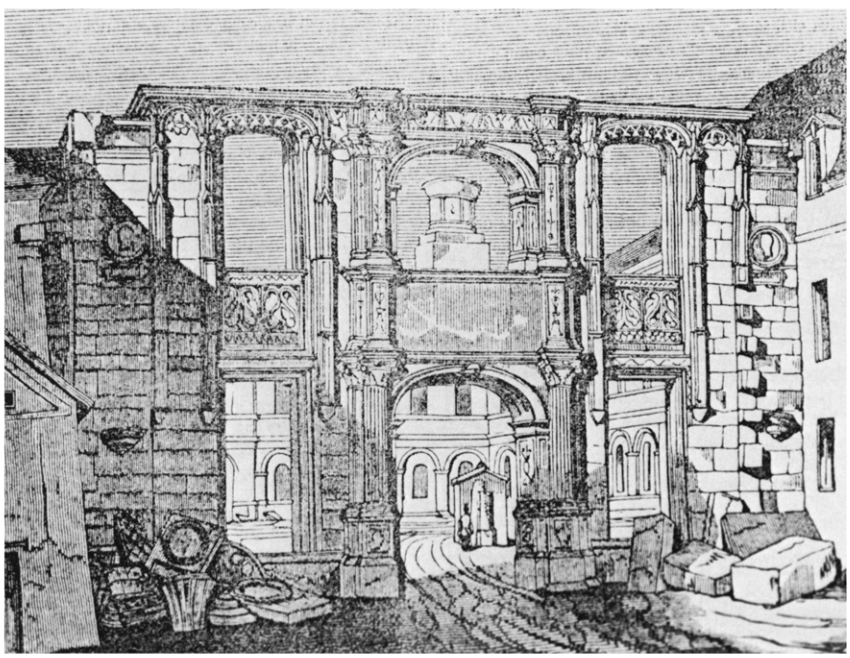
Duban did his best to carry out his difficult assignment. He pushed his design through despite resistance on the part of the Ecole professors and, to a lesser extent, of the Conseil des Bâtiments Civils, fraying bureaucratic nerves on all sides and producing some of the most emotion-laden documents moldering today in the Archives Nationales—documents no less emotional for the sincere conviction with which Duban defended his principles.

In the end a puzzling building arose. The liberals claimed to love it.[3] The conservatives claimed to hate it. But the uncommitted claimed not to understand it at all. "Have you seen the new constructions at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts?" the *pensionnaire* Mathieu-Prosper Morey (1805–78) confronted his friend Viollet-le-Duc when the latter visited Rome in 1836. "Some say: admirable! Others say: absurd! I do not permit myself to judge in such an absolute manner, but if I must give you my opinion, I admit to you that I don't understand that architecture; some call it Renaissance, others Late Empire, still others Etruscan."[4] What was so confusing was that this new architecture was something other than a new vocabulary of forms, at least as it stood in 1833. It had the elements of a synthesis, but not yet the synthesis itself. Like the *envois* of the years immediately before, it delineated a point of view and made a gesture, but nothing more.

Duban's design of 1833 was for the alteration and completion of the Ecole building begun in 1820 by the Neoclassical architect Debret (figures 20, 21). The three wings furthest from the rue Bonaparte were essentially complete in 1830. The building occupied the garden of the seventeenth-century Couvent des Petits Augustins, the cloister and chapel of which stood along the street, temporarily divided into studios and habitations for the institution. When Debret's building was completed, these vestiges of the cloister were to be demolished to open a suitably dignified open space around it. However, piled in the basements and littering the courtyards of the old monastery were masses of French medieval and Renaissance architectural fragments, including two whole facades rising dramatically above the confusion, that of the château at Anet (by Philibert de Lorme) and that of the château at Gaillon (thought to be by Fra Giocondo) (figure 21). Upon the supression of the religious orders at the time of the Revolution, these fragments had been gathered here by Alexandre Lenoir. Between 1791 and 1814 he created his Musée des Monuments Français, the first intentionally constituted museum of national antiquities and a beloved resort of the Romantic artists of the Empire.[5] Upon the restoration of the Bourbon dynasty (by decrees of September 15, 1815; April 25, 1816; and December 18, 1816), the museum was dissolved and its collections re-

**20**
*Félix Duban, Plan of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, Paris, before beginning work in 1832. Ecole des Beaux-Arts, Paris.*





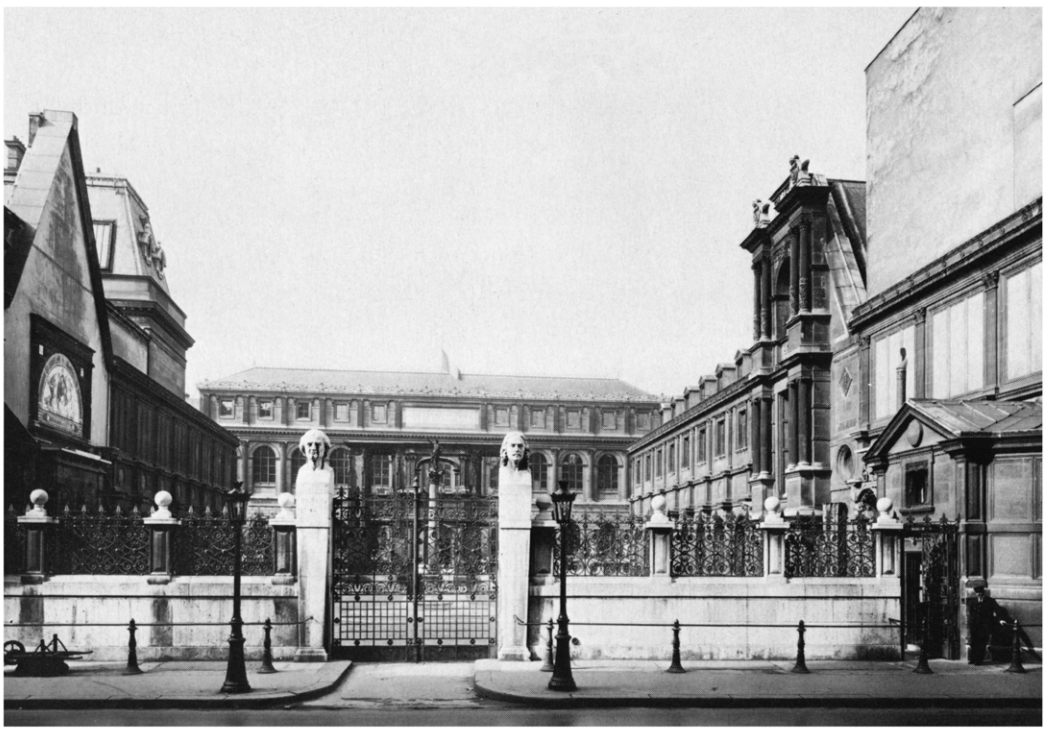
**21**
*Ecole des Beaux-Arts, view across the remains of the Musée des Monuments Français. From* Magasin pittoresque *2 (1834): 284.*

turned to their former owners—the church and emigré nobility—and the site itself given to the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, which was in the process of reconstitution. Not surprisingly, however, the former owners of the fragments displayed little industry in dragging them away, so by 1830 the Ecole was functioning amid the ruins of the museum.

On July 31, 1832, Duban was asked to draw up a plan to complete the Ecole structure, and he presented a finished project on April 5, 1833. In preparing his design he entirely rethought the problem. He sought to retain the monastery and the museum as well as to complete Debret's block in the garden. Doing so permitted him to divide the functions of the institution into two parts: instruction and research. The instructional spaces—studios for the required course on anatomy, etc.—he put in the old cloister, partly rebuilt. The research collections—casts, the library, the archives, premiated Grand Prix designs—he placed in Debret's half-built block. He opened its interior to make it a museum, simplified its staircase, and suppressed a monumental vaulted hall that was to occupy the center of the courtyard and to introduce the ceremonial hemicycle for prize ceremonies, the Salle des Prix. Duban now called this block the Palais des Etudes and redesigned its facade in an elegant but conventional style, adding an attic story to house the library (cf. figures 22, 23). Duban furthermore proposed to leave the facades of the châteaux of Anet and Gaillon in place and to make them the organizing features of a pair of narrow courtyards leading from the rue Bonaparte. These courtyards would be ornamented with other fragments from Lenoir's collection and thus would constitute museum spaces—an outdoor museum of French national architecture like the original Musée des Monuments Français.

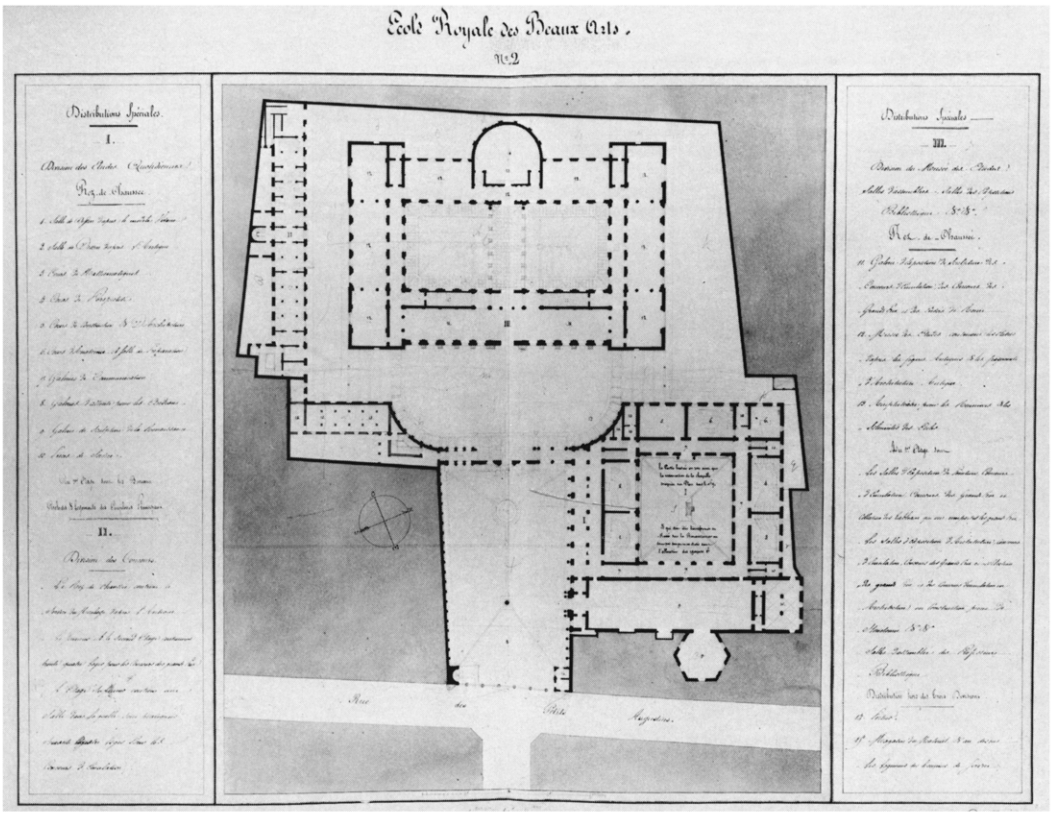
Like all designs for French government buildings, Duban's project had to be evaluated by a board of architects, the Conseil des Bâtiments Civils, and corrected if necessary before being submitted to the Minister for signature and presentation to the Chambre des Députés for funding. This occasioned an illuminating dispute.

On June 18, 1833, the Conseil met with Duban and a delegation of Ecole professors and officials (the latter consisting of the artists Ingres and Cortot and the officials Léonor Mérimée and Charles-Léon Vinit[6]). The body concluded that Duban should be asked to remove the facade of Gaillon—the so-called Arc de Gaillon—from the center of the forecourt to its south wall, to omit the attic of the Palais des Etudes, and to restudy his details. Duban protested, appearing at the June 21 meeting of the Conseil to read a lengthy but carefully reasoned memorandum explaining his intentions in retaining the Arc de Gaillon. "Charged by the Minister with the definitive formulation of a project to complete the Ecole des Beaux-Arts," he commences, "I was first of all obliged to make an account, through careful study, of the state of the buildings."[7] The Arc, he had

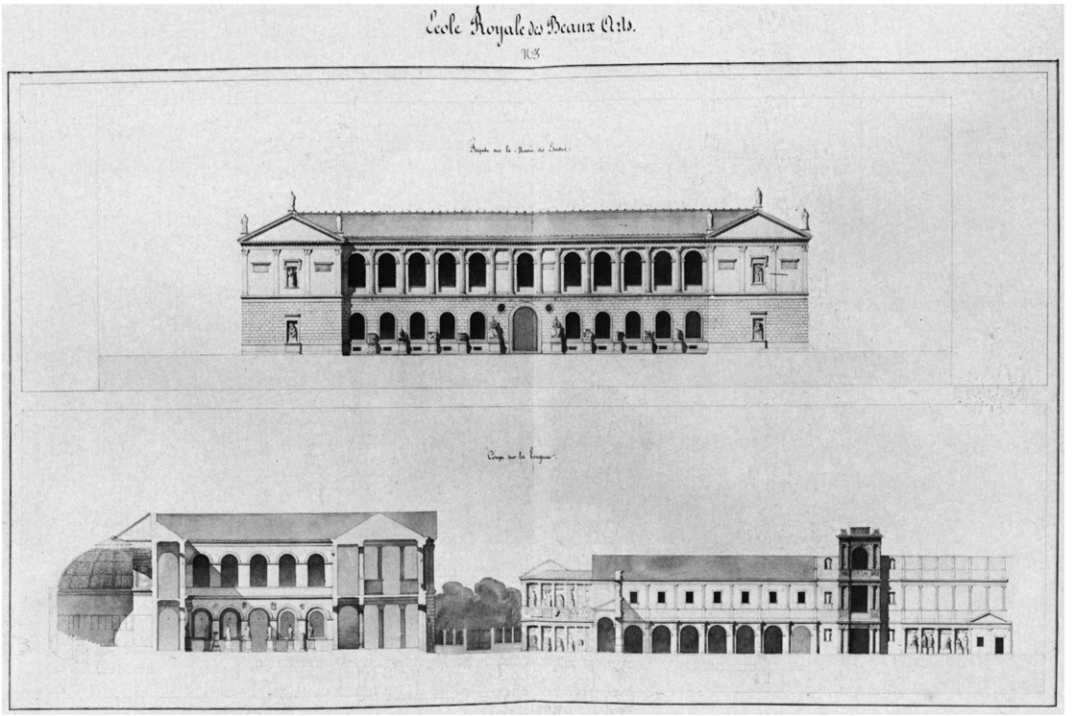


**22**
*Félix Duban, Ecole des Beaux-Arts, 1832–40, view across courtyards from the rue Bonaparte. (Photo: Giraudon)*

**23**
*Félix Duban, Ecole des Beaux-Arts, view of inner courtyard looking north. (Photo: Giraudon)*




**24**
*Félix Duban, Project for the completion of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts. Inscribed "Vu et approuvé . . . le 1er octobre 1833" by Minister Thiers. Archives Nationales, Paris. (Photo: Bulloz)*




**25**
*Félix Duban, Project for the completion of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts. Archives Nationales, Paris. (Photo: Bulloz)*

decided, was both appropriate to mark a school of art and fortuitously sited to articulate the spaces in front of the Palais des Etudes.

*Its position facing southeast so favorable for the light and graceful forms that compose it; its parallelism with the street, which permits the eye to grasp immediately the configuration; its open forms, which let the glance penetrate to the Palais which it precedes, which announces, one might say, the boundary it in a sense establishes between the outer court made up of forms of past centuries and that of the Musée des Etudes; the subjects for examination and comparison it offers for consideration—all this, in a word, all this forced me to treat it as the chief ornament of the establishment.*

*The fragments scattered in the courtyards of the Ecole, the numbered courses of masonry ready to retake their original forms, about which public opinion has so long reproached the administration for the abandon and resulting decay, gave me the idea of erecting two light, open porticos to consolidate the principal monument, realizing an idea conceived thirty years ago by the illustrious Master of all masters [Charles Percier] to define a courtyard where young students might come, if not seeking models, at least to admire what former centuries had produced. Foreigners envy our national riches and everyone—artists, literati, antiquaries—will thank the Administration that saves and protects this storehouse of art confided to it.*

*Beyond [the Arc de Gaillon] two semicircles will be encrusted with all the fragments that cannot be utilized in the construction of these buildings, permitting the eye to penetrate to and to embrace the whole facade of the Palais. Exiting from the Musée des Etudes this amphitheatrical form will offer an immense surface of fragments artistically arranged, interrupted by the open porticos which define this sort of roofless museum.*[8]

He concluded by proving that any fear that the Arc de Gaillon would mask the Palais des Etudes was unfounded because such an arrangement had been adopted in many of the most admired ancient ensembles—the Portico of Octavius (the subject of his fourth-year *envoi*), the Temple of Juno and Jupiter, and the Basilica Ulpia.

This apparently was ineffectual, and Duban prepared a far more passionate document for a third meeting of June 25.

*I must state that in this case removal is synonymous with destruction.*

*No one will dispute that because of the lightness and delicacy of the parts of the building we are discussing, they will not survive a double demolition and a double reconstruction unscathed.*[9]

He reviewed again the fortuitous siting and symbolism of the Arc de Gaillon. Then he declared more pointedly than before:

*If the architect of a building can raise his voice in favor, not of his own work, but of the work of the great masters of which he asks the preservation, I say here that the facade of the principal building was conceived to be, not masked, but preceded by this elegant portico, by this sign (I dare thus say) of the establishment that he has to restore, that the relief of its details was worked out to make a visually agreeable whole, picturesque without disorder, to be articulated by contrasting the forms of the principal building with the elegant lightness of the open portico which masks the edifice as the Arc du Carrousel does the Tuileries, as the obelisk of Luxor does the Chambre des Députés, as all the basilicas were masked by the open porticos which preceded them, as the Egyptian temples were by their pylons, as all buildings of all periods whose beauty is always increased by the picturesque combination of structures that precede and accompany them.*

*But what for many buildings is a simple picturesque beauty is here, I dare say, an appropriate enhancement. If this portico did not exist, the architect would have had to propose an equivalent. Indeed, when one thinks about the parts of the establishment—in front, the entrance court [with], to the right, the daily studies, masses of students milling about at all hours on their way to classes, the constant coming and going of employees; beyond, everything is silence and meditation: a museum, a library, exhibition rooms, all places where one goes individually for study and examination. Such different functions demand a dividing wall:* a grill in the opinion of the Conseil: *indeed, this grill exists, it is of stone, it exists, it is a masterpiece from the past, it is an admirable fragment of architecture and sculpture, it is a reminder of Giocondo, of Louis XII, of Georges d'Amboise; it exists there, in the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, where the government would have to erect it were it not there already, together with the portico from Anet and the Gothic fragments which would be laid out in front, an admirable summary of our national architecture, and a council composed of the most eminent architects of France ponders its relocation, that is to say, its ruin!*[10]

Duban was then asked by the members of the Conseil to withdraw. The Arc de Gaillon was the central issue and the minutes show that the Conseil reviewed the advantages of moving it or keeping it where it was. They appreciated that it would serve as a neat demarcation between the outer

courtyard, opening along the facade of the studio block, and the inner courtyard fronting the Palais des Etudes. But they insisted that its Late Gothic–Early Renaissance style would not be in harmony with Duban's facade and that it would mask the view of it from the street. They also asserted that the use of fragments from several historical epochs was regrettable, and finally expressed doubt: "Perhaps one should avoid, in the museum of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, placing too prominently works of art whose composition and taste are not entirely in harmony with the principles of ancient architecture."[11] However, in typically bureaucratic fashion, the Conseil finally deferred decision, permitting the Arc de Gaillon to remain in place during construction until its effect could be judged, while demanding the removal of two low loggias linking it to the north and south sides of the outer courtyard. Their injunction to remove the attic and restudy the details was reaffirmed.

Duban drew up a new project (figures 24, 25), which was signed by the Minister, Thiers, on October 1, 1833, and construction pushed forward. When it was completed in 1838, the attic had reappeared (authorized by the Minister during a visit to the site on September 25, 1834) and the Arc de Gaillon, of course, was still in place. It remained there until 1978, when it was abruptly dismantled and sent back to the municipality of Gaillon.

What the Empire architects comprising the Conseil des Bâtiments Civils did not seem to appreciate was that Duban's fragments were, in fact, an ordered museum of French national antiquities meant to train the students of the next generation through the broader lessons of architectural evolution and inflection that Duban and his friends had themselves learned in Rome. Young architects, Léonce Reynaud observed in 1834, "before creating for themselves a new system of architecture, must examine those that were followed by our fathers to determine their worth and to study their laws."[12] This however, was to be a museum of a very particular part of the whole subject, of the Late Gothic and Early Renaissance epochs. In the initial submission of his design, Duban described the arrangement of the courtyards thus: "The objective of this proposal is to offer in the principal court for admiration and study: fragments of Gothic art on the left facade, the architectural forms of the century of Louis XII [reigned 1498–1515] at the back, and those of the reign of Henri II [1547–59] on the right, a summary of our national architecture."[13] Fra Giocondo was regarded as the first architect to design in the Renaissance style in France and the château at Gaillon, still Gothic in many parts, as the first Gallic statement of the new style. Later, in 1844, Duban attempted to have the facade of the Gothic Hôtel Dieu at Orléans removed to the Ecole to face that of Anet across the outer courtyard. The *procès verbal* of the Commission des Monuments Historiques record him explaining, "It will occupy the place he designated for a thirteenth-century doorway, facing the fragment from

Anet."[14] In the organization of his design, quite without any ornamental oddities, Duban had transformed the instruction of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts without removing any of the Bourbon appointees who comprised its staff. As construction was being completed another statement of Duban's message was conceived—the mural occupying the entire curved wall of the semicircular Salle des Prix (figures 26–28). It was commissioned from Paul Delaroche in 1836 and opened to public view on December 1, 1841.[15] Delaroche was a friend of Duban and Thiers and a Romantic in the inclusive sense of that term in the 1830s.

The Salle des Prix was a ceremonial chamber at the culmination of the building's axis used for the annual award of student prizes. "The function of the room in a sense indicated the choice of subject," one critic wrote.[16] What Delaroche chose to represent were the great artists of the Christian Gothic and Renaissance eras—painters, sculptors, and architects—discussing their art (figure 26). Set apart from the two conversing groups and unacknowledged by them are Apelles, Ictinus, and Phidias—the masters of painting, architecture, and sculpture of ancient Greece. In front of them, mediating between them and the Christian artists, are four figures representing Greece, Rome, the Middle Ages, and the Renaissance. The latter two are "like the link that connects the ancient and entirely ideal portion of the painting with the modern and almost living part," Ludovic Vitet explained in an admiring review.[17] A nude genius at their feet throws a victor's crown into the Salle des Prix itself.

There are two things extraordinary about this mural at first glance: first, the spatial composition is not self-contained but rather the illusionistic continuation of the room it decorates; second, the subject is not allegorical but instead the portraiture of historical figures. "M. Delaroche," Ludovic Vitet wrote,

*by the temper of his spirit and by the direction of his studies, is a historian more than a poet: his ideas are uncomfortable in the field of symbolic abstractions, they more happily take on the costume of a country or a time, they attach themselves to a place, a date, they make specific and personify. Where others see art, he sees the artist: sculpture for him is the sculptor.*[18]

Spatially, Delaroche continues the rings of steps and benches of the hemicycle up into his mural and closes it with a file of Ionic columns supporting an entablature precisely coinciding with that of Duban's room (figure 27). Considering the architecture of the room and the narrow, bending field Duban provided Delaroche, this is the only way it could have been treated. It was meant to be painted this way, as a frieze of figures illusionistically *in* the space, unified not within the painting itself, but by means of the activities in the room, the prize ceremonies. To make

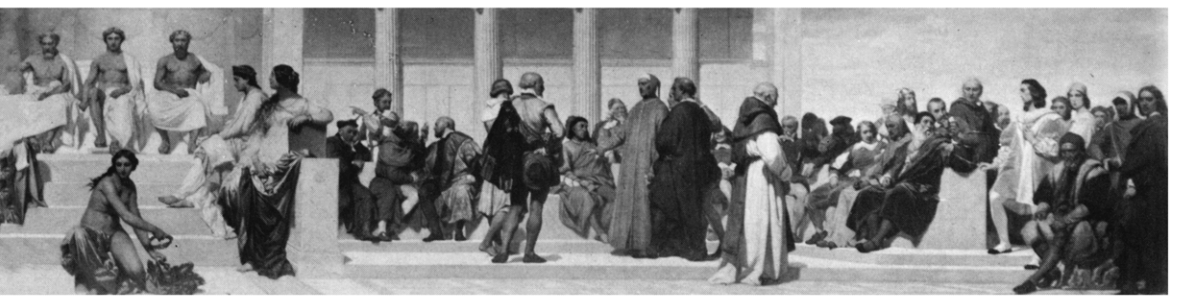
this point unmistakable—to create a point of entry into the illusion—Delaroche paints the genius actually throwing the victor's laurels outward, toward the rostrum.

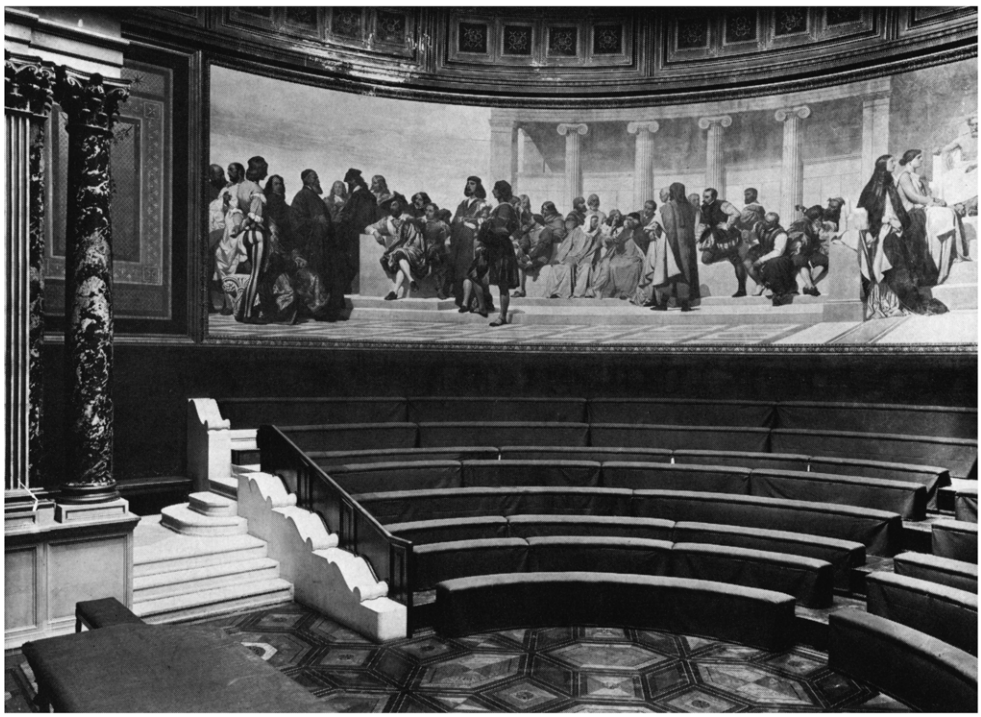
But these historical figures are not merely present, they are characterized: in conversing they are taking positions among themselves and responding to one another. "One thinks one hears them," wrote Charles Blanc, "so great is the precision, the fine intention, the clarity in his characterization, in his pantomime."[19] Delaroche makes the architects act out the history of their art (figure 28). At their center addressing them is Arnolfo di Cambio, the Gothic designer who began the Duomo in 1292. Brunelleschi and Bramante stand immediately to his left and right; the former, Vitet notes, "listens, but with a slightly distracted air; one perceives that he is already considering his dome."[20] Inigo Jones and Pierre Lescot stand next to them, and Lescot, "with the petulance of a Frenchman, advances to listen to the old Florentine and leans familiarly on the shoulder of Bramante."[21] Further away, observing the scene but not participating in it, are Robert de Luzarches and Palladio, standing together as friends in afterlife. Erwin von Steinbach, Jacapo Sansovino, and Peruzzi, all late masters of developed styles, talk together. To the right of Arnolfo's auditors sits François Mansart, elegantly attired and looking bemused. Lescot's elbow, however, blocks our view of his eyes. At the far left Philibert de Lorme sits head in hand, lost in thought. Vignola is cut off from the group at the left. Delaroche has thus not only depicted the individual characters of the historical masters of Christian architecture, but also dramatized their common enterprise. They crowd around and listen to Arnolfo di Cambio, just as their buildings can be seen as responses to his Duomo.

This, of course, is precisely the history we saw Labrouste and Duban formulating in Rome in the 1820s and Vaudoyer, Reynaud, and Fortoul exploring in the 1830s. It is also the history made palpable in the fragments Duban used to organize the spaces of the Ecole courtyards. As the critic Louis Peisse observed in 1840, the public "may [now] traverse with us these rooms and galleries . . . and see with their eyes and touch with their hands this *histoire figurée* of art which M. Delaroche has been able to paint symbolically on the wall of the amphitheater."[22]

The facade of Labrouste's Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève of 1843–50 (figures 29–34)[23] also reflects the ideas and events of 1828–40, but in a very different sense. It is the *pensionnaires'* and Reynaud's and Fortoul's reading of history that one sees materialized in the Ecole, while it is their acceptance of structure as the basic material of design that is manifested in the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève. And, most importantly, Labrouste's

**26**
*Paul Delaroche, Replica of the mural in the Salle des Prix, Ecole des Beaux-Arts. Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore.*





**27**
*Félix Duban, architect, and Paul Delaroche, painter, Salle des Prix, Ecole des Beaux-Arts, 1840–42. (Photo: Giraudon)*

**28**
*Paul Delaroche, Detail of the architects, Salle des Prix, Ecole des Beaux-Arts. Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore.*

building presents something like a new style of architecture, while Duban's Ecole presents only its materials.

What one encounters set on the edge of the Montagne Sainte-Geneviève is a narrow, rectangular box wedged onto a long, constricted site ringed by a continuous range of arches on tall, narrow piers—a sort of viaduct doubling back on itself—not disrupted by pavilions, projections, or pilasters (figure 32).[24] The interior space is defined and protected by curtain walls filling the lower two-thirds of the arches, but these are set back and distinguished by their ornamentation of names, once picked out in red paint so that they did not blur the expression of the structural skeleton. Lightly fitted inside is an almost transparent floor and ceiling structure of iron and plaster tied together by a row of spindly iron columns down the axis of the single major interior space.

A number of circumstances render such a reticent treatment of the building appropriate.[25] Forming part of the facade of the public square surrounding the Pantheon, one of the principal monuments of Paris, it could neither compete with that structure for attention (indeed, had it done so with a display of pavilions and projections, it would have seemed ridiculous in its comparatively small scale), nor ignore its position as part of the entourage. Furthermore, as a library, it is neither a building that is traditionally a monumental element of the cityscape, nor one that requires a spatial configuration any more elaborate than the long rectangular one suggested by this site.[26] Other architects would surely have proposed designs similar in shape and emphasis.

Labrouste could not have been distressed that these factors obliged such a simple, boxy solution. The whole thrust of his study in Rome, as we have seen, was to distinguish profound differences through details of articulation and ornament read closely where previously only typological similarity had been seen. Thus he had perceived the basic distinction of function between the basilica and the temples at Paestum, regardless of the fact that they all had the same boxy layout. One of the points of Labrouste's Paestum *envoi* is that a simple box, if read closely, can be as architecturally expressive as an elaborate academic composition of contrasting volumes—a point repeated in Duban's and Constant-Dufeux's fifth-year *envois*.

The history of the design of the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève is not as complex as that of the Ecole: the project did not touch so tender a place in the Académie's heart, and the architect's aesthetic intentions harmonized with the bureaucracy's practical objectives.

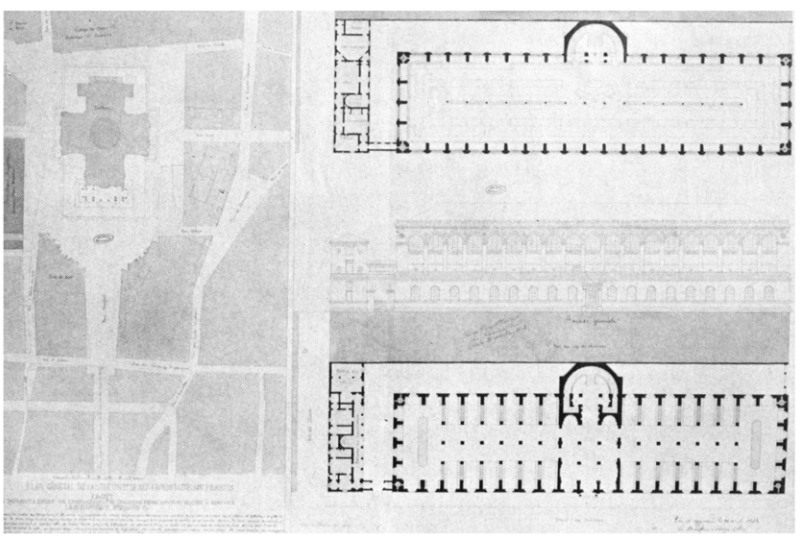
The institution itself was the former monastic library of the abbey of Sainte-Geneviève, founded in 1624 and housed, until 1850, in a large cross-shaped space occupying the attic of the abbey behind the Pantheon. It had been nationalized in 1791 and by the 1830s had become an impor-

tant place of study for the students in the colleges surrounding the Montagne Sainte-Geneviève. So heavily used was it, in fact, that in 1838 it became the first library in Paris to be opened at night and illuminated with gas. The government had been concerned about the insufficiency of its old quarters, however, and in 1836 had asked Alphonse de Gisors (1796–1866) to draw up a project for a new building on the site of the Prison Montaigou, nearby on the south side of the Place du Panthéon.[27] The matter lay dormant until June 6, 1838, when Labrouste was appointed to replace de Gisors (who was commissioned to rebuild the Luxembourg for the Senate) and a new project was requested for that same site.

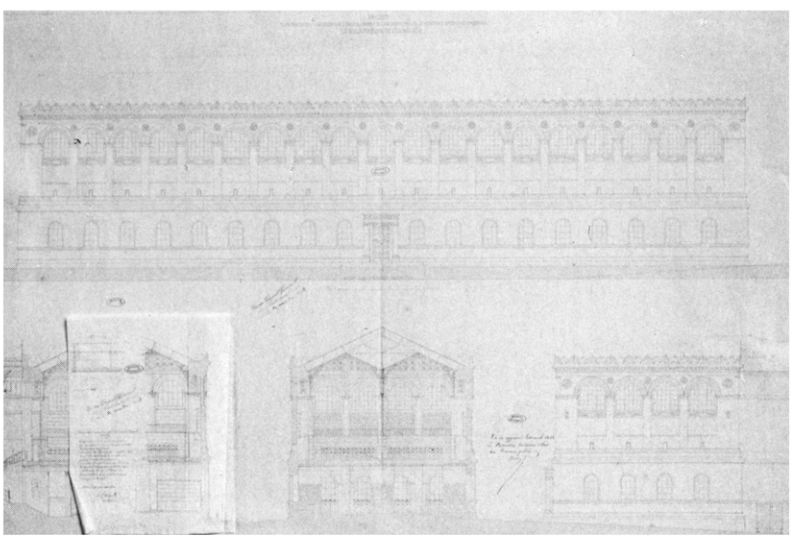
Labrouste presented his design on December 19, 1839 (figures 29–31). It was analyzed and approved by the Conseil des Bâtiments Civils in meetings of January 23 and 25, 1840, and a bill to fund it was prepared for the Chambre des Députés. Delays followed, however, including a further examination of the project by the Conseil on November 21, 1842; and it was only on July 19, 1843, that the funds were appropriated. Excavation was begun on August 1, 1843; the structure was completed in December 1850; and it was opened to the public on February 4, 1851.

The preliminary design of 1839 is very general in its depiction of the building's articulation—which was finalized only as the masonry actually rose during the late 1840s—but the plan and the structure are already clearly set. It is fireproof, gas-lit, and centrally heated and ventilated. The plan is neatly arranged, with a main reading room occupying the whole of its upper story and book storage, special reading rooms, and a vestibule below. Its most conspicuous innovation is the iron interior frame, which is the first use of a consistent, exposed iron skeleton in a monumental public building in the history of architecture.[28] This frame troubled the Conseil des Bâtiments Civils. They suggested that Labrouste study a stone vaulting system instead. He replied that he had considered that solution and had found that the masonry would be so heavy and produce such lateral thrusts that the window openings would have to be eliminated at the two ends of the structure. The iron frame, he pointed out, was not only light enough to permit an even light in daytime, but also could be fabricated off the site while construction of the masonry envelope was proceeding, thus considerably shortening the construction time. The Conseil remained dubious, asking Labrouste to rethink the question in 1842, but in the end it did not forbid his innovation. He proceeded with remarkable success, changing only the profile of the ceiling from the angular shed roof of the project to a barrel-vaulted one, which was less honest to its material but more harmonious with the masonry arches around the four walls.

How is one to read this retiring masonry box? First, through inflections in its structural skeleton; second, through legible symbols integrated into its ornamentation; third, through the actual rendering of the stone sur-

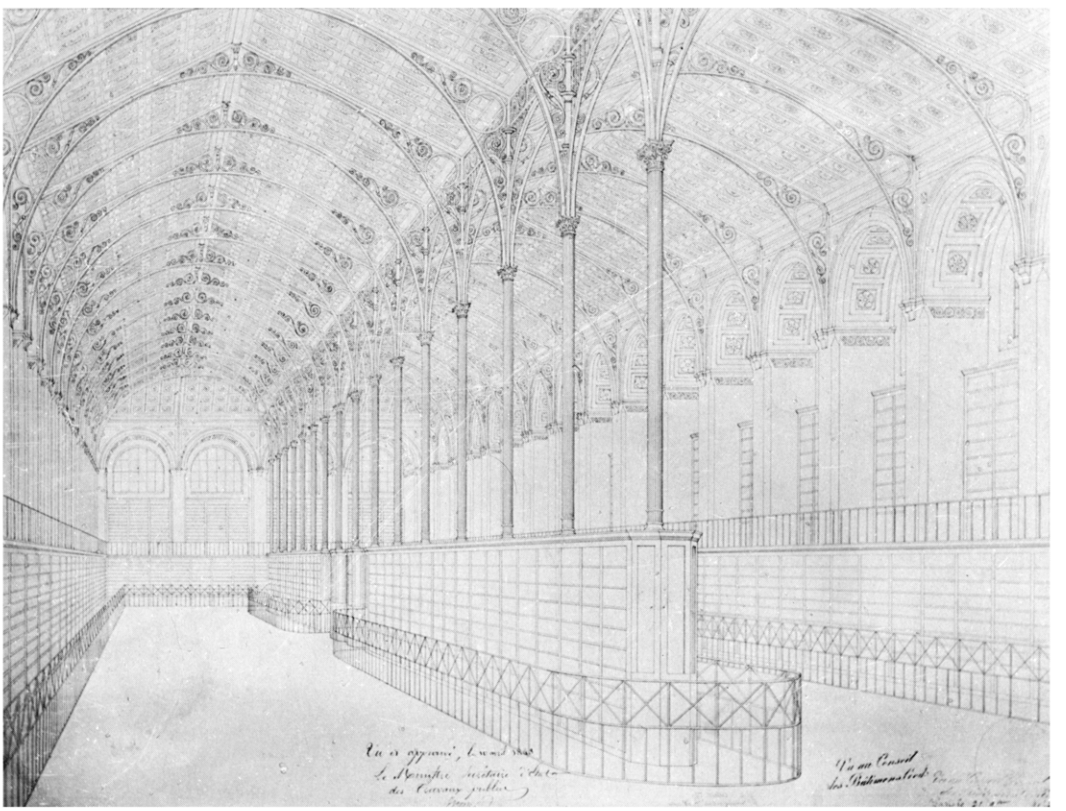


**29**
*Henri Labrouste, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Paris, preliminary project. Inscribed "Vu et approuvé, le 10 avril 1843" by the Minister. Archives Nationales, Paris.*



**30**
*Henri Labrouste, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, preliminary project. Inscribed "Vu et approuvé, le 10 avril 1843" by the Minister. Archives Nationales, Paris.*

**31**
*Henri Labrouste, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, preliminary project for reading room interior. Inscribed "Vu et approuvé, le 10 avril 1843" by the Minister. Cabinet des Dessins, Louvre, Paris.*

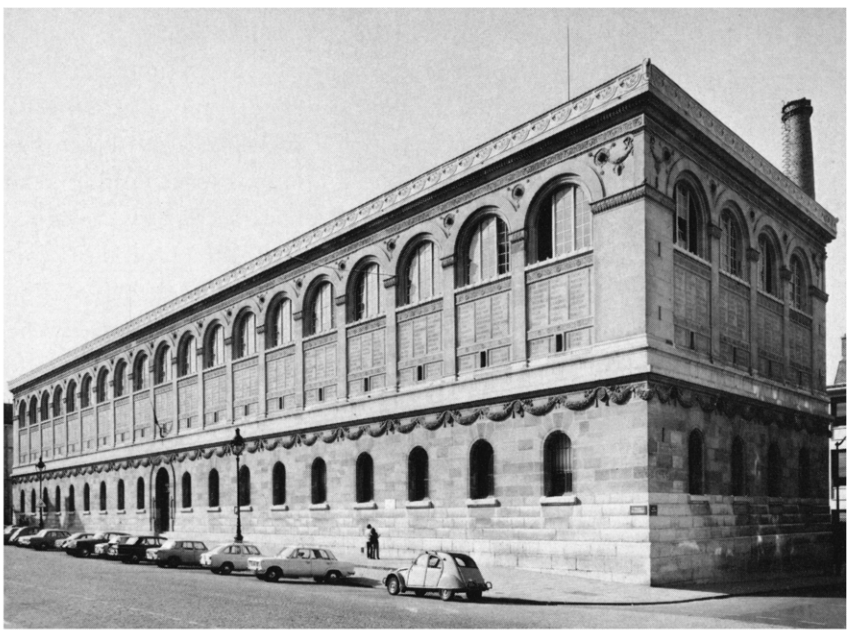


faces—for everything has been thought through and made to reflect its function in the ensemble. There are no conventions; even the two columns framing the door in the preliminary design were replaced with more specific symbolic motifs as construction progressed.

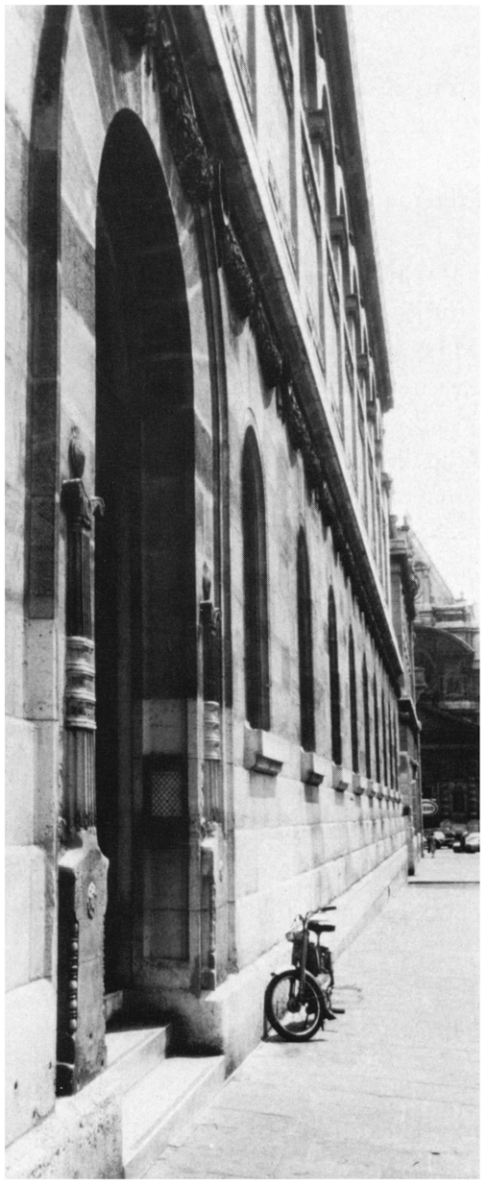
The upper and lower stories contain the primary (reading room) and secondary (storage, vestibule, manuscripts) spaces, respectively. The predominance of the reading room is made clear by the emergence of the skeleton in the upper story as a tall, arched cage, while it is concealed by a horizontal veil of masonry below. The monumental column-ribs of the reading room have been freed by draping a curtain wall across the inside of the arch embrasures, while their upper thirds are opened into broad windows that signify the continuous space inside and admit a flood of light. Built within this skeleton are secondary structures that show through on the surface: a staircase to the roof in the corner piers, identified by lines of tiny windows; two tiers of bookshelves ringing the reading room, expressed by the curtain walls, which are enriched like bookspines with the names of authors; and a range of small storage rooms below the upper tier of shelves signified by a string of openings. Finally, the iron interior structure emerges in the form of two ranges of tie rods at the top of each story, blossoming into platelike pateras that support a carved garland on the first floor and compositions of ribbons and swags on the second. Thus by the size of the window openings and the degree of relief, Labrouste makes the interior appear through the confining skeletal cage, which becomes a compositional grid organizing and unifying what is a highly varied, emphatic spatial configuration.

The building is decorated with carved stone ornaments, but they are not conventional motifs (figure 33). "This monumental catalogue," Labrouste wrote of the fields of lettering on the curtain wall, "is the principal decoration of the facade, as the books themselves are the most beautiful ornament of the interior."[29] The only other significant ornamentation is the main entrance, which is shown flat-lintelled and flanked with Tuscan columns in the approved design but was executed arched and with two flaming lamps sculpted in the masonry on each side. Henry Trianon, the librarian, explained in 1851 that these carvings commemorated the opening of the library at night for the convenience of students and workers.[30]

All of Labrouste's ornamentation thus simply articulates facts of the building. It functions directly, without any intervening filter of conventional Neoclassical forms or Orders. The primary fact remains the building's structure: externally arched construction in layers of limestone. Even the cutting of the surfaces brings out the structure, through a new reticence of relief and a new expressiveness of curve in moldings. To continue the wall plane and to take emphasis away from the windows of the lower story, Labrouste indents the surface around them, thereby subtly outlining



**32**
*Henri Labrouste, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Paris, 1844–50. (Photo: James Austin)*



**33**
*Henri Labrouste, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, details of masonry at doorway.*

them with a single, sharp, continuous shadow line. Deeper in the embrasure is a second continuous surface, now made into a broad cymation to vary the shadow. To give emphasis to the upper story arcade, Labrouste carves an elaborate plinth (sharply contrasting with the mere bevels marking the stony, solid base of the lower story), but one composed only of bevels and exquisitely drawn quarter-rounds so that the bands of light and shadow are broad and distinct.

Most impressive and illuminating is his treatment of the carving at the entrance (figure 33). The plane of the lower-story masonry is brought right to the edge of the arched opening but is subtly and perversely "slowed" here by a single thin projection ringing the embrasure like a wave caused by a stone dropped in a pond (all the more so for permitting the swags hung on the tie rods to run unbroken through it). This molding, square on two sides with a cymation on the third, establishes a plane an inch-and-a-half in front of the wall plane that is picked up in the window sills and that defines the relief of the flaming lamps. One is made to feel every millimeter of the wall surface cut back in the *ravalement* from the continuous datum of the molding, sills, and lamps. Further, one is made to sense the coursing of the stone, already clearly stated in the bevels along the top of the lowest course of the wall base, as Labrouste confines each division of the lamp form within each stone field and has the flame just lick the mortar joint of the course above.

The manner in which Labrouste draws forth the moldings reflects his objective in the whole design: to draw art forms out of structure, not impose them upon it. Nowhere is his ornament a veil over the stone surface obeying sculptural rules of its own. Either it emerges from the mass itself, like the lower-story plinth moldings, or it is clearly attached, like the garland of swags. Taking the design as a whole, there is neither a colonnade nor a tier of windows on the main story—that is, neither an ornamental convention nor a series of holes in a passive wall plane—but rather a ring of piers bearing a continuous arcade, truly and unmistakably the skeleton of the building. The strange little capitals that emerge at the pier tops oblige one to read it thus—a colonnade, if you will, transformed into Fortoul's "style curviligne." This, the pier-borne arcade, is the organizing element of the design. Other spaces and elements are subordinated to it, inserted into it. Labrouste even extends its characteristic semicircular span into the ironwork of the interior, knowingly distorting its practical form so that it can echo and reinforce the motif that he, in the spirit of Vaudoyer, Reynaud, and Fortoul, accepts as the quintessential expression of this first design in a purely arcuated style of architecture.

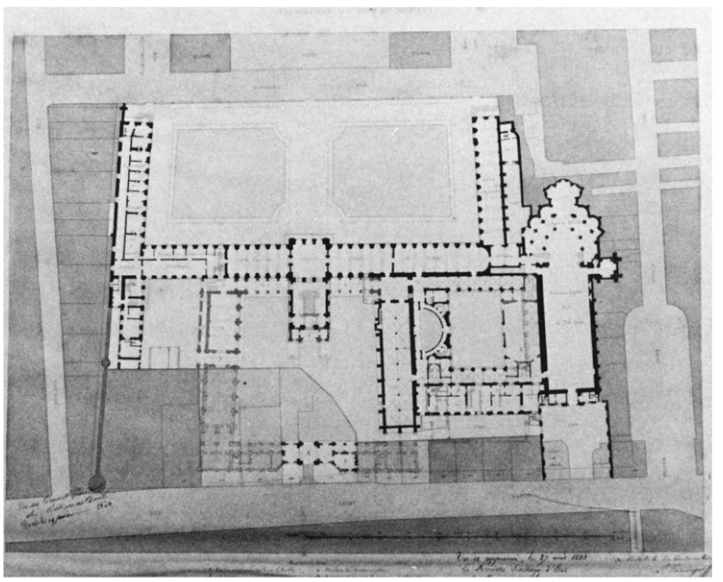
The exterior walls of the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève hold themselves with tremendous firmness, especially when seen from the inside in their full depth (figure 34). They seem to complement and hold in the

**34**
*Henri Labrouste, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, interior of reading room. (Photo: James Austin)*

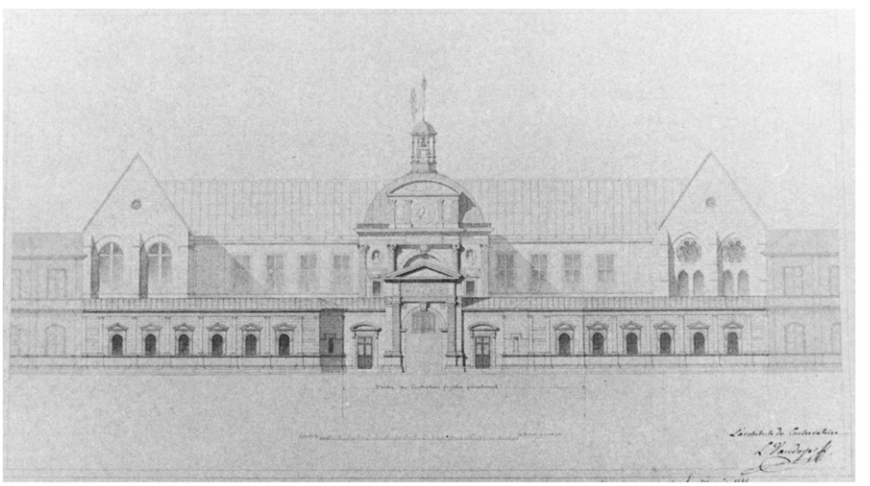
dramatic iron webwork of the interior. But there is a problem with this intuitive assumption: Labrouste's iron armature in fact applies no thrust against the stone exterior at all. Being of cast iron, bolted together in large sections, the ironwork exerts no live thrusts despite its resemblance to a pair of barrel vaults. It is simply a series of lateral cantilevers balanced on the row of central columns, infilled with a thin plaster webbing.[31] Labrouste even tries to impress this disturbing fact on us by supporting the iron trusses where they meet the girdling masonry wall by nothing more than the slightest corbels. The function of these corbels is merely to stabilize the cantilevers at their ends; as a result, the skeletalized but nonetheless thick and stable stone viaduct enclosing the space supports nothing more than its own weight. And as a further consequence, despite superficial appearances, because of Labrouste's use of iron the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève has no structural relation to the Cathedral at Albi, the refectory of the monastery of Saint-Martin-des-Champs, the Vatican Library, or any other masonry-vaulted historical sources that present themselves.[32]

Why, then, did Labrouste conceal the most remarkable advantage of his new iron system by enclosing it in this thick stone envelope? The answer is, in a sense, very obvious: not only for stability but also because the building is a library, a place illuminated properly for reading, and because proper lighting is difficult here since the site is flattened and oriented along its whole vast length directly toward the southern sun. The only means Labrouste had to provide a diffused, comfortable light was to protect the interior by a light, deep arcade whose thin piers would act as sun screens, breaking the direct rays and diffusing the sunlight by reflection off their flat, unornamented sides. This is also why the windows are set so close to the outer plane of the facade and why the ceiling was altered from the structurally "honest" form of flat panelled planes (figure 31) to the "irrational" one of undecorated, white half-cylinders suggesting vaults. In 1860–67 Labrouste went a step further in his Salle des Imprimés at the Bibliothèque Nationale (figure 84), where he erected nine domes of paper-thin ceramic tile—domes not in the structural sense, but merely hemispheres, reflectors amplifying and diffusing the light admitted by oculi at each peak.[33] (The succeeding architect of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Jean-Louis Pascal, did not understand this and in building the Salle des Périodiques at the turn of the century provided a single large skylight without reflecting surfaces that resulted in an ill-lit hole.) Labrouste was building with light even more than with iron and stone. His approach is indeed functionalist, but not just narrowly that of a structural rationalist.

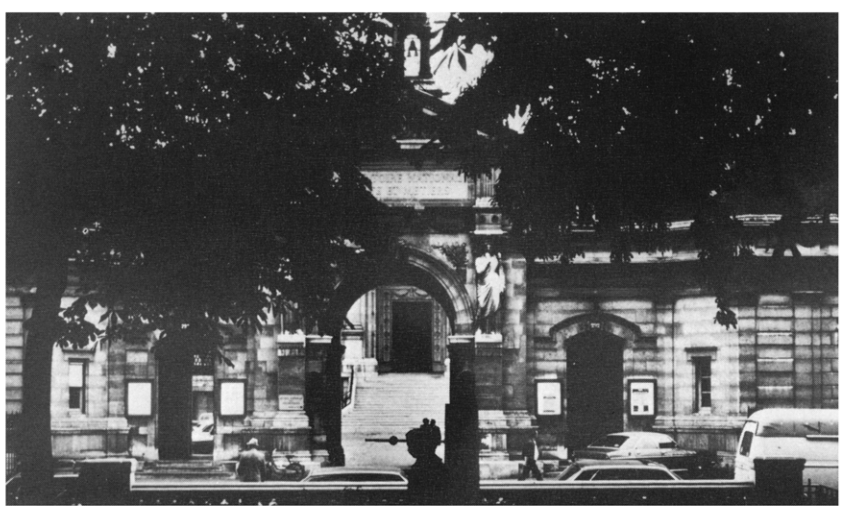
Vaudoyer's Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers, designed and erected beginning in the 1840s, mixes the qualities of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts and the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève (figures 35–42).[34] It is both a completion and a spatial articulation of a complex of historic monuments



**35**
*Léon Vaudoyer, Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers, Paris, preliminary project. Inscribed "Vu et approuvé le 27 avril 1844" by the Minister. Archives Nationales, Paris.*



**36**
*Léon Vaudoyer, Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers, preliminary project. Inscribed "Vu et approuvé le 27 avril 1844" by the Minister. Archives Nationales, Paris.*

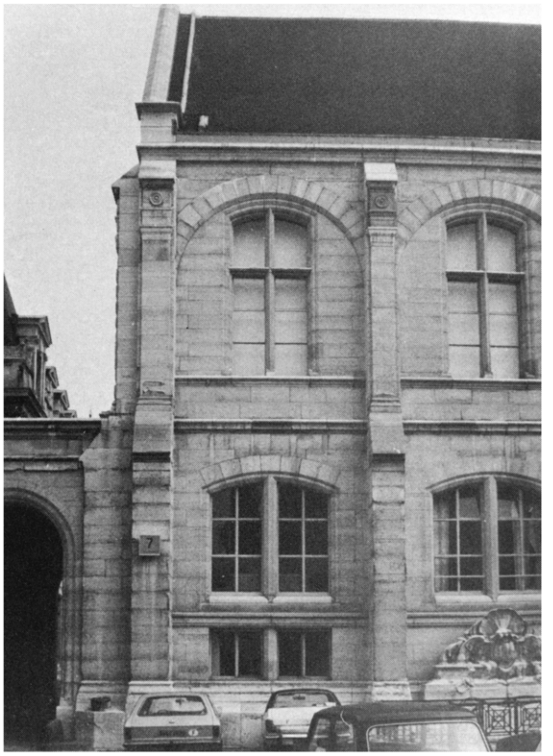


**37**
*Léon Vaudoyer, Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers, Paris, 1847–58, facade from Square Chautemps.*

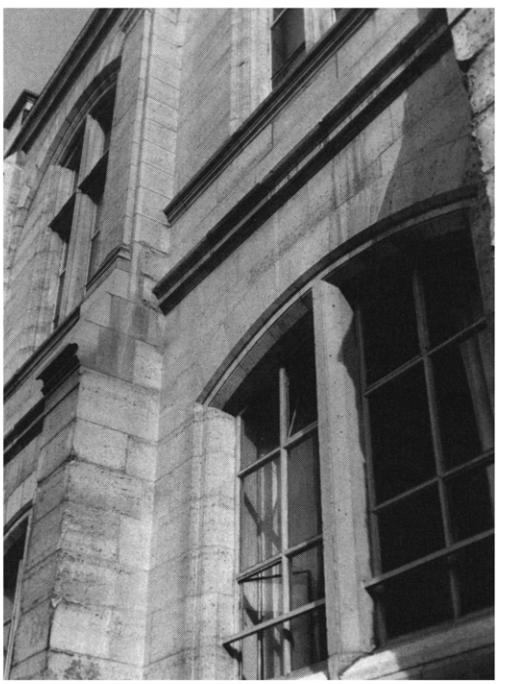

**38**
*Léon Vaudoyer, Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers, exterior facade on Square Chautemps. (Photo: James Austin)*

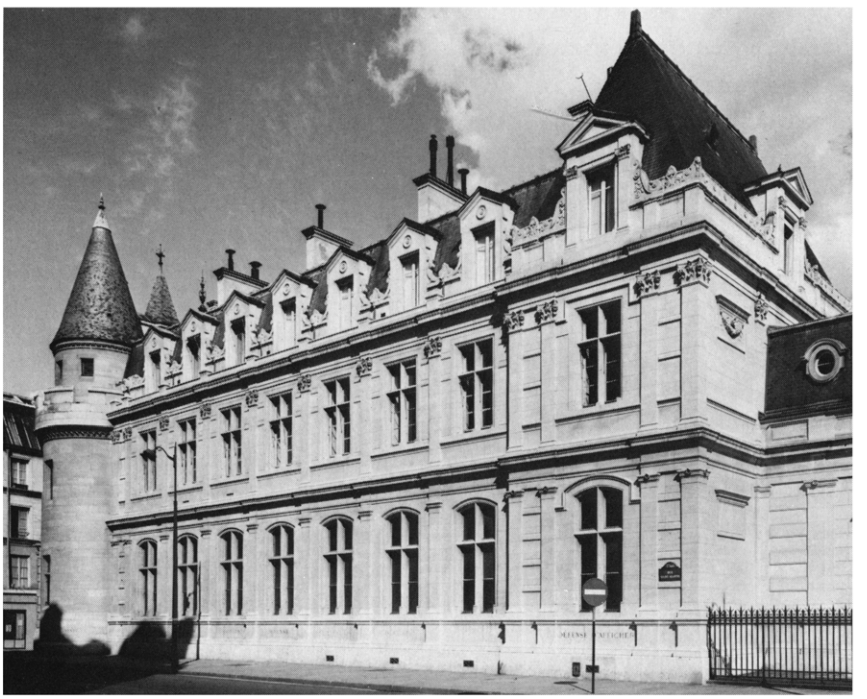
**39**
*Léon Vaudoyer, Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers, monumental entrance to museum in east wing in first courtyard. (Photo: James Austin)*

**40**
*Léon Vaudoyer, Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers, north wing in first courtyard.*



**41**
*Léon Vaudoyer, Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers, details of masonry on north wing in first courtyard.*





**42**
*Léon Vaudoyer, Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers, facades along rue Saint-Martin. (Photo: James Austin)*

and, in parts, the demonstration of a new, nineteenth-century style of skeletal design. It is elegant and supple but ultimately lacks the concentrated historical reference of the Ecole as well as the constructional toughness of the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève. It is a professional rather than an inspired design.

This is a general characteristic of Vaudoyer's work, which might fatigue us somewhat today but which in the mid-nineteenth century made it the model for progressive professional practitioners. The work of the next two generations of progressive architects—of Charles Questel, for example, beginning in the late 1830s; of Emile Vaudremer beginning in the late 1850s; and of Richard Morris Hunt in the United States—parallels Vaudoyer's at the Conservatoire.

The institution itself was a museum founded in 1793–94 and recognized in 1819–20 and in 1839–40. It's purpose was to foster mechanical knowledge through displays of machines and technical models, through its technical library, and through demonstrations and an expanding series of public lectures. It was envisioned as a "haute école d'application des connaissances scientifiques au commerce et à l'industrie." Jacquard, Dolfus, and Schneider of Le Creusot all studied there during the Revolution.

It was established in the old monastery of Saint-Martin-des-Champs, which had been nationalized during the Revolution.[35] This comprised a large chapel (with an extraordinary Early Gothic chevet and a bald, unfinished Late Gothic nave), a cloister to its north, an exquisite High Gothic refectory (usually attributed to the thirteenth-century architect Pierre de Montreuil) across the north side of that, and finally a large U-shaped dormitory block extending northward from the transept and facing east to the narrow rue Vaucanson, which widens here as a public market square. This last block had been erected in 1742 by J.-D. Antoine (1733–1801) and had a beautiful stone staircase in a pavilion projecting westward from its center. On the back, the rue Saint-Martin, lined with private houses beyond the monastic garden, defined the site.

First A.-F. Peyre (1739–1823) and then Victor Dubois (1779–1850) held the post of architect of the Conservatoire; each presented projects for better adopting the complex to its new function and for its extension.[36] In 1838 Dubois was named architect of the Archives Nationales and resigned from his post at the Conservatoire. As a result, in a letter of June 22 of that year, Léon Vaudoyer received his first serious position, as *architecte-en-chef* of the institution, together with a request for an immediate project to reconstruct it. This he submitted to Jean Vatout, Directeur des Bâtiments Civils, as a sketch on October 21, 1838, and again as a preliminary project in February 1839. This project was analyzed by the Conseil des Bâtiments Civils at their meeting of January 30, 1840.

Vaudoyer's basic scheme appears at the outset, although the details of its articulation are sketchy and far from what, in the end, was actually executed.

Vaudoyer proposed to make a monumental composition of the abbey structures while retaining all its important historical elements: the chapel, the cloister, the refectory, and the Antoine block with its stairway. His plan was to reverse the axis of the complex and set it in a large urban context by erecting an ornamental pavilion around Antoine's stair block, which would have a monumental entrance opening onto its landing, and by sending an axis down a grand flight of stairs and across a *cour d'honneur* made from the abbey garden. This he defined on the north by a new block of classrooms below a display space for machines, which would balance the mass of the refectory on the south. On the west, Vaudoyer proposed to purchase the houses along the rue Saint-Martin and to open the *cour d'honneur* toward it with a monumental gateway on his new axis, thus making the reformulated complex address this more important thoroughfare. Indeed, the urban texture at this point was soon made to respond to and enlarge his gesture, as the opening of the Square Chautemps in 1861 continued the axis, repeated and emphasized the *cour d'honneur*, and provided a place from which to enjoy the view of the ensemble (figure 37).[37] Vaudoyer proposed to block off the eastern axis of the complex by placing a wing of laboratories between the ends of Antoine's wings. The library was to be established in the refectory, which was well suited to this function with its high ceiling, open structure, and large north windows. Display space would be in Antoine's wing and lecture amphitheatres in the cloister.

This was a fairly obvious solution, distinct from earlier projects by Dubois chiefly in the large scale of the elements and in the retention of the chapel. This latter had not originally been part of the Conservatoire property and instead belonged to the Département de la Seine, which used it as a *mairie* and headquarters of the Garde Nationale. The building itself was slated for demolition.[38] Vaudoyer's principal departure from his original assignment was a successful effort to appropriate the chapel as a historic monument, to preserve it, and to rebuild its dilapidated west facade. To this day it incongruously houses a display of automobiles, trains, and airplanes, continuing Vaudoyer's pretense that its retention was a practical necessity to the institution.

Vaudoyer's project was shuffled around in the bureaucratic labyrinth for a half decade. When finally it was funded, the architect wrote Fortoul, "The Chambre des Députés has proclaimed me architect . . . at 43 years old . . . I thus may finally accomplish something."[39] In the report of January 30, 1840, the Conseil des Bâtiments Civils had made some minor suggestions (notably the addition of a covered gallery on the inner, east

side of the west wing of the *cour d'honneur*), and on April 27 Vaudoyer submitted his revisions. After some glacial progress—principally the preparation of a bill to fund the project, ready in March 1842, but never submitted—the Conseil des Bâtiments Civils asked to re-examine the project. It approved it again on December 5, 1842, but objected to Vaudoyer's use of overlays to show modifications and requested a new set of drawings, which he provided on January 19, 1843 (figures 35, 36).[40] These were stamped with the Conseil's approval on that same day and with the Ministre des Travaux Public's approbation in April 1844. The bill to fund the project was then definitively prepared and passed.

Vaudoyer was told to begin work at once. ("1845" is inscribed on the eastern attic of the entrance arch.) He began in the cloister, which was rebuilt to accommodate two amphitheatres and several chemistry laboratories. Meanwhile, he perfected his designs for the blocks around the *cour d'honneur,* which appear in their final form in a set of drawings bearing the watermark 1847.[41] Construction began that year. In 1858 the courtyard in front of the chapel facade was begun, together with the two blocks along the rue Saint-Martin (figures 38, 40).

Vaudoyer faced three basic design problems as he refined his project during the 1840s. First, he had to articulate his new axis of approach from the entrance on the rue Saint-Martin to the pavilion added on to Antoine's stair block. Second, he had to erect the new classroom and display space, balancing the Gothic refectory but remaining distinct and not distracting from the accent points of the main axis. Third, he had to ornament the wall of the low wing along the rue Saint-Martin as a frontispiece and *jeu d'esprit.*

Vaudoyer's solution to the first problem, the articulation of the axis, is excellent in the abstract. The pace and tableaux work perfectly, and the emphases fall where they should. But it remains disappointing in many details, as if such a traditional, Baroque problem was not yet sympathetic to the *pensionnaire's* vocabulary. In the project of 1842 (figure 36) the pavilion around Antoine's stairway is focused at its center by two three-quarter columns topping the high stair from the court. These support a pedimented attic with a clock and frame a deep archway in which is set the principal doorway. This arrangement is precisely repeated in Vaudoyer's contemporaneous proposal for the gate on the rue Saint-Martin. When imagined in perspective, the gate would have anticipated the pavilion, but on a smaller scale and with its angular pediment enframed by and contrasting with the round pediment of the pavilion attic. That in turn would link visually with the rounded roof of the whole stair block, and the little belfry would be the last, topmost term in this compressed composition of planes in space (figure 37).

It is interesting to watch how between 1842 and 1847 Vaudoyer refined

his detailing and the cutting of the stone to enrich and articulate this progression of tableaux. His most brilliant refinement (and the one most often noted and praised) was the replacement of the pilasters at the rue Saint-Martin gate with caryatids thrust high up at the springing of the arch (figure 38). They impart a light but clear emphasis here, raise the viewer's eyes toward the composition of pediments, and, most importantly, replace the banal, conventional vocabulary of the 1842 project with freer sculptural speech. These caryatids, carved by the sculptor Elias Robert, are actually engaged in the masonry of the wall and seem to push actively upward, like the voussoirs that spring at their feet. "Caryatids of great character," said Labrouste's son Léon, they are remarkable because they "form part of the masonry of the structure."[42] They are an expression of the construction as well as accents in light and shade, like similar passages in the carving of the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, but more richly sculptural. The historian and critic Charles Blanc later reminisced that watching the carving of these figures while a young man provided his first insight into architecture. He recalled:

*One day when I was passing by in the street while a young sculptor, M. Elias Robert, was working on these figures, I remarked with surprise that, far from dissimulating the joints, he tried to make evident the superposition of the courses so that the statue, traversed by the great horizontals of the masonry work, seemed not an added ornament provided by sculpture to take the place of a column, but an evolution of the stonework itself, an energetic projection of the construction and, one might say, a partuition of the building. Not knowing anything more about architecture than what everyone knows or thinks he knows, that is, knowing nothing, I was struck as by a lightning bolt and in my profound naïveté thought I had discovered, all by myself, one of the great principles of architecture, namely that decoration must be engendered by construction.*[43]

This, Blanc goes on to explain, Robert told him was Vaudoyer's precise intention.

The free play of accents inherent in sculpture is also applied by Vaudoyer to the carving of the moldings surrounding the caryatids—the powerful curve of the plinth, the profile of the brackets holding the figures, the return of the egg and dart of the pediment cornice on the two end blocks of the arch entablature. It is thus with disappointment that, upon entering the gate, one is forced to recognize that the culminating accent, the pavilion facade, is ineffectually sculpted (figure 39). The attic is inarticulate, the pilasters (replacing the columns of the 1842 project) weak, and the composition of panels, windows, and busts on the side bays ill-proportioned and overemphasized. The moldings in particular have gotten out of

hand with a multiplicity of deep, round surfaces of the sort that the *pensionnaires* had usually been so careful (and so wise) to avoid. This failure is perhaps understandable because the Baroque vocabulary that Vaudoyer was forced to echo in order to harmonize with Antoine's work was precisely that which he found least sympathetic. Indeed, he was here trying to sidestep the problem by using the details of the French Early Renaissance, Lescot's Louvre, the Hôtel Lamoignon, and the engravings of the Du Cerceaus.

The weakness of the pavilion facade is redeemed by the exquisite treatment Vaudoyer devised for his second basic design, the classroom and machine display block (figure 40). Here is one of the finest Romantic rationalist walls in Paris. It is a long, rectangular prismatic background building like the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève with its skeleton similarly emerging from its surfaces and its ornament sinking into them. Yet spatially Vaudoyer's solution is entirely different, as the lower floor is necessarily higher than Labrouste's and its surface is broken by larger windows. As a result, Vaudoyer's skeleton must emerge from the facade plane as nine buttresses (aligned to pick up the nine similar projections on the Gothic refectory across the *cour d'honneur*). He uses the round arches of the nineteenth century, which leap completely between the buttresses of the upper story and embrace spurs of curtain wall at either side of the tall vertical windows in the medieval style (a lighter structure and more vigorous combination of shapes than the simple arched bays proposed in his 1842 project, figure 36). The buttresses are similarly carried forward in time by the suggestion of Tuscan pilasters on their upper stages. Vaudoyer's adjustment of chiaroscuro in the moldings is perfect (figure 41). At points of secondary emphasis he takes the motif of the beveled moldings on the refectory, repeats these to build by transitional planes around the openings, and brilliantly sharpens their emphasis with narrow grooves, Greek in origin, at their meeting with the facade plane. On the buttress tops and the wall base he uses broader, curved moldings which are kept shallow, strong, and springy in their profile.

Along the rue Saint-Martin, to solve the third of his basic design problems, Vaudoyer carved the surface of the wing closing the *cour d'honneur* in a part-Pompeiian, part-Early Renaissance manner (figure 42). His objective was clearly to render this plane distinct from those of the blocks rising behind it in the tableau presented to the Square Chautemps. His technique was to emphasize the coursing of the masonry construction and to sink a series of pilasters and window frames into that pattern. This passage is characteristic of Vaudoyer's entire design in that, for all its structural honesty, it is closer to its historical sources and more restrained in its decorative fantasy than Labrouste's or even Duban's productions. It remains precise, logical, judicious, and very professional.

The solutions Vaudoyer offered to these three design problems were all worked out in the context of one general objective: preserving and articulating the specific architectural history manifested in these buildings, gathered over a period of seven centuries at this spot in Paris. He has neither imposed a single historical style nor restricted himself to a consistent "modern" style (although he has modified the Gothic and the Baroque in his additions and framed the whole, when seen from the Chautemps, behind a Néo-Grec frontispiece). This is a more judicious and more profound understanding of historicism than that of, for instance, the imposed fantasy in Alavoine's *flèche* at Rouen (1823–77) and was to become the model of professional architecture in Paris.

The principal example in Paris during the 1830s and 1840s of a historic building extended in its original style was the Hôtel de Ville (figure 43). This project was richly funded with fifteen million francs in 1835 and executed between 1837 and 1849 by E.-H. Godde (1781–1869), aided by J.-B. Lesueur (1794–1883), who was "very erudite in the monuments of the Renaissance."[44] They took the system of the building's Renaissance facade, simplified it and stretched it north and south to more than twice its original length, then carried it around the remaining three sides of what became a very large rectangle enclosing three internal courtyards.[45] Fortoul, near the beginning of *De l'Art en Allemagne,* derides Godde and Lesueur because they "applied to the works of the Middle Ages a routine that they could not justify by any example from the best period of antiquity."[46] What he would have preferred was the mixing of styles to bring out the history of the building. He felt von Klenze had achieved this admirably in the Munich Residenz. "My God! What would these people [Godde and Lesueur] say of the palace of the King of Bavaria? . . . The palace of King Ludwig is like a book the four parts of which, created in four different centuries, embrace the history of the art and of the world."[47] It was the enjoyment of this mixing of styles that attracted him to Munich (the subject of most of the first volume of his book), with its recent monuments in contrasting historical styles.

*In no other country is it possible to find the variety of systems and the luxury of reminiscences that one finds in the buildings of the capital of Bavaria. . . . Animated by the political and religious passions of this country, [Munich's architecture] has succeeded in realizing on its surface a living and almost complete history of architecture.*[48]

This he contrasts to the situation in France:

*In France one generally agrees that art consists primarily in invention; but this great principle, which often encourages ignorance, does not preserve it from either*

**43**
*E.-H. Godde and J.-B. Lesueur, Extended Hôtel de Ville, Paris, 1837–46. (Photo: L. L. Roger-Viollet)*

*monotony or bad taste. In Bavaria one practices art as if one accepted that it resided above all in memory; but in displaying more knowledge than genius, the architects of this country provide a fascinating field for study and criticism and perhaps prepare for a new epoch when, following the usual course of events, the transfigured forms of previous ages will be blended, with distinctions due to the particular character of each people.*[49]

This generation experienced a real excitement in seeing a story told in architecture. It was surely to this that Fortoul referred when he wrote of Duban's Ecole, "I have seen the public struck by a mysterious passion for this building, astonished to find so much pleasure in an art that bored them for so long and so much imagination in what appeared to them, until now, just the science of raising stones upon one another."[50] Yet at the Ecole and the Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers — in Duban's main facade of the Palais des Etudes and in Vaudoyer's entrance and wings on the rue Saint-Martin — and even more emphatically in later buildings by the *pensionnaires,* we find an important passage in the "new style" of the nineteenth century amid the carefully resuscitated ensemble of early forms. This pops out of the composition and dates it. As Duban declared to the Conseil des Bâtiments Civils in 1833, "The monument erected by the nineteenth century should not be denied the means which the contemporary state of the art provides to characterize our epoch."[51] These passages become progressively refined and striking during the Second Empire in Duc's Palais de Justice (figure 64) and Labrouste's Bibliothèque Nationale (figure 84). But one must not see them in isolation and analyze them by themselves. They are merely markers attached to broader and more subtle historical compositions; they are meant to bring the history of these buildings up to date but not to deflect attention from that history. The problem for the *pensionnaires* was always the whole, not the individual decorative parts.

# *Four*

# THE ORGANIZATION OF THE ARCHITECTURAL PROFESSION

We have repeatedly mentioned the broadness and abstraction of the Romantic *pensionnaires'* ideas, and have seen these worked out freely in their *envois* and in their first buildings. There have been some intrusions on their independence—especially in the case of the buildings of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts—but clients or patrons have not been prominent in our history. Why? Who were these men working for and what relationships did they maintain with them? This is a complex and important matter because it brings us to one of the most basic aspects of nineteenth-century French architecture: the fact that it was essentially government building and, as such, part of the distinctive, pervasive, but in many ways anonymous bureaucracy.[1]

The four architects we have concentrated upon were all government architects. That is to say, they had been trained at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts and the French Academy in Rome at government expense and were then employed in the construction of government buildings. Yet the first thing that is striking about their careers is how very little they produced. Vaudoyer and Labrouste both completed two major works during their careers (the Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers and Marseilles Cathedral; the Bibliothèques Sainte-Geneviève and Nationale); Duc, one, the Palais de Justice; Duban, none beyond the extension of Debret's partially complete Ecole des Beaux-Arts.[2] Even this enumeration is optimistic: only two of these buildings, Marseilles Cathedral and the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, were completely new constructions on unencumbered sites. This is an amazing lack of productivity compared to the eight to ten major public buildings built by each of their German counterparts, Leo von Klenze, Karl Friedrich von Schinkel, and Gottfried Semper, or the approximately 750 structures of all sorts and sizes produced by Sir Gilbert Scott in England. It is amazing too when one realizes that Duban and his friends each received some five years of architectural training at the Ecole and five more as *pensionnaires* in Rome. What was the government paying for? What were these architects preparing themselves to do?

The answers to these questions were by no means clear during the Restoration, and this state of affairs troubled both the government and the *pensionnaires*. Through the 1820s there were a small number of architects favored with most building projects because of royal or noble protection, especially the partnership of Charles Percier and Pierre Fontaine, who were architects to both the King and the Duc d'Orléans and who worked at the Louvre and Tuileries, the Palais Royale, and at Neuilly.[3] Since they often owed their positions to personal influence, thoroughness of training—that is, having been a *pensionnaire* in Rome—was not always a major consideration. Grand Prix winners were often left with little work while, for example, a non-*pensionnaire* like L.-T.-J. Visconti (1791–1853) enjoyed an extensive public and private practice, although he employed apparently bright young Ecole products to actually design his works.[4] In 1827, returning to Rome from Florence, Vaudoyer, Duc, and Duban sat late at Ronciglione near Lake Vico, the last coach stop before Rome, discussing just what would become of them. "Duc glimpsed magnificent horizons," Charles Blanc later described the conversation, "pictured the renovation of architecture, and abandoned himself to illusions of a Golden Age. A man of critical and practical sense, a relaxed and sharp-witted Gaul, so as not to be of the same opinion as his friend Duc, Vaudoyer laughed at him and treated his aspirations as chimerical. He foresaw that after the poetry of dreams would succeed the prose of reality and that soon enough it would be necessary to descend from the Portico of Octavius to the partywall."[5] "When I think of the fate that awaits me in Paris," Vaudoyer wrote his father on December 9, 1828, "I am overcome by moments of discouragement. It seems as if it will be all the same, we learn here that our predecessors are without positions, that that of Labrouste was given to a stenographer in the administration. . . . The Institut acknowledges the zeal of the architects, but where is our recompense?"[6] The founding document of the Société Centrale des Architectes of 1840 specifically cites the disadvantage of winning the Grand Prix, which led to losing connections and missing opportunities.[7]

Upon the establishment of the middle-class government of 1830, a thorough reorganization of the architectural service was put through by decree of July 22, 1832. The old system obviously had been inefficient in utilizing the talents of government-trained architects. Of at least as great importance, however, was a positive inclination to support the young Romantic architects on the part of several of the new government officials: Vitet and Mérimée, of course, but also Adolphe Thiers, who had been an early supporter of Romanticism in his Salon of 1824 and who actually promulgated the 1832 reform.[8] That decree reinforced the division of labor and the hierarchy of posts in the administration of the Bâtiments Civils as well as, perhaps most importantly, restricting each architect in govern-

ment service to a single project and to employment in a single branch of government service.[9] Places as *auditeurs* were reserved on the Conseil des Bâtiments Civils for former *pensionnaires*. This rigorous antitrust act was later loosened, but the tradition of monopoly had been broken. The immediate result in 1832 was the creation of a number of posts for the younger ex-*pensionnaires*. For instance, Debret as a consequence had to resign as architect of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts since he was also architect for the restoration of the Basilica of Saint-Denis, giving Duban the chance to make the first statement of French Romantic architecture.

Nonetheless, the architects themselves felt the government's actions insufficient. On June 9, 1840, a commission was created by the architects of Paris to report on how the profession might be better organized.[10] Most of its nine members were young (Blouet, Emile Gilbert, Albert Lenoir, A.-M. Garnaud), but its president was Huyot (who died before its work was complete) and the secretary Charles-Pierre Gourlier (1786–1857), Inspecteur Général du Conseil des Bâtiments Civils and that body's defender and spokesman.[11] The lengthy and carefully researched report they submitted to a second meeting of the architects of Paris on November 15, 1840, painted a dismal picture of the profession, especially in comparison to that of the engineer. They objected to the fact that training at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts failed to lead directly to employment in the government architectural service, not only because it left trained designers without work and professional security, but also because it permitted anyone wishing to call himself an architect to function as such. "As soon as they leave school," Gourlier wrote for the commission,

*engineers are admitted into the lower grades [of the administration] where they acquire at the same time the practical experience that they lack and the right to [promotion to] the higher grades and to an honorable retirement pension. The actual pecuniary advantages of this system are not great; but, in general, the position of engineers is honorable and secure. . . . Members of a well-run administration, they enjoy the public respect that is attached to it as well as what they might merit individually.*[12]

In contrast, the architects had to find a place in the government service as best they could with no assurance of regular promotion, and even when successful, they might remain underemployed while colleagues were buried in commissions. Furthermore, they could expect little employment from the private sector where contractors or young students were preferred.

The commission proposed to ameliorate the situation by founding a professional Société des Architectes with strict rules of admission. The membership would constitute a slate of qualified professionals, like doc-

tors, lawyers, and engineers. The society would also become a forum for the study of matters of professional technique. The architects at the November 15 meeting voted to found this society and to accept the commission's definition of its first members: the architect members of the Académie des Beaux-Arts; the members of the Conseil des Bâtiments Civils; the architect members of the jury of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts; the *architectes-en-chefs* and the *adjoints* of government buildings; the architect winners of the Premier and Second Grand Prix de Rome and the Premier and Second Prix Départemental. These (who turned out to number 135) would then choose further members, up to the number of 500, after careful scrutiny. During the first few years the selection of members was its principal activity.

On January 24, 1841, a *séance d'ouverture* was held at the Société d'Encouragement, 42 rue du Bac, under the presidency of L.-P. Baltard. Albert Lenoir and Constant-Dufeux served as *secrétaires provisoires*. Of the 135 architects eligible for membership, 80 had agreed to join and 59 were present. Labrouste, Duc, and Léon Vaudoyer were among these; Duban joined in 1843. They nominated a committee to write a constitution,[13] which was accepted by the membership at a meeting on May 9, 1843, and authorized by the Ministre des Travaux Publics on May 27. The first regular meeting of what was now the Société Centrale des Architectes took place on June 27, 1843.

The founding of this society was contemporaneous with that of the Royal Institute of British Architects (1836) and with the first (abortive) founding of the American Institute of Architects.[14] Its objectives were essentially the same as theirs, but it always envisioned a close relation with the government bureaucracy and a nervous competition with the engineers. One of the first actions of the Société Centrale was to press the Ministre des Travaux Publics to assign the work regulated by the *Loi compréhensive des Chemins de Fer* of 1844 to both engineers and architects—the former supervising trackage, fills and cuts, bridges and tunnels, the latter stations, shelters, administrative buildings, warehouses, and workshops.[15] The suggestion came from Hittorff, and a delegation consisting of him and Cendrier, Constant-Dufeux, Albert Lenoir, Blouet, Gilbert, Alfred Armand, Pellechet, Gourlier, and Grillon met with the Minister. They were successful; and not only did the work made available immediately profit some of the founders of the Société, but it was also of great importance to their students, especially those of Labrouste. In 1847 three of the five *architectes-dessinateurs* employed by the Paris–Lyon railroad were recent students of his, while Labrouste's friend Cendrier was the *architecte-en-chef*.[16] Armand, like Cendrier, devoted his career to railroad station design (he also did a house for the railroad financier Emile Péreire). Hittorff, the leader of the delegation to the Minister, ended his career with the rebuilding of the Gare du Nord in 1861–64.

Napoleon I, reorganizing the government bureaucracy after the Revolution, had preferred engineers graduated from the newly founded Ecole Polytechnique for most building projects but retained Percier and Fontaine and a few other architects for palatial and decorative work.[17] The architectural profession had been seriously threatened in the early nineteenth century by the evolution of bureaucracy and industry, but during the 1830s and 1840s it carved out a place for itself, partly through its own efforts, partly through the sympathy of government officials in the age of the literary man and the dandy, officials like Vitet, Mérimée, and Thiers. A price was exacted, however, because the architect ceased to be a decorator and became instead a bureaucrat. Bureaucracy, if practiced with freshness, knowledge, and conviction, could accomplish great things, as it did in the mid-nineteenth century in the hands of Mérimée and Labrouste. But it could also become bloated and obfuscating, as it did in France after 1870.

Let us be more specific about the span, scale, and nature of the responsibilities of a French government architect between 1830 and 1870. A young architect beginning his career had at once to choose between private practice and public work, assuming that his ambition was to be more than a *dessinateur*.[18] If he chose the former course—and about fifty percent of the thousand architects in Paris around 1850 did so[19]—he had a second choice to make between being the salaried functionary of a contractor or a large corporation (as Cendrier was, for example, for the Paris–Lyon railroad), or a free agent, principally employed in designing houses and furnishings for the rich (as were Aimé Chenevard and most of the *style troubadour* designers.[20] Although today it is the government architects that we chiefly remember, in the nineteenth century it was these private decorator-architects that were judged the most impressive purveyors of Parisian taste. It was they whom visiting maecenases employed to work back home, as, for example, the Prince von Pless and barons Albert and Ferdinand Rothschild hired H.-A.-G.-W. Destailleur to build their palaces at Berlin, Vienna, and Waddeston, respectively. John Bowes hired J.-A.-F.-A. Pellechet to build his palatial museum-mansion in Barnard Castle, County Durham (1869–75), following the example set in 1848–51 when Henry Thomas Hope had P.-C. Dusillon erect his Piccadilly town house in collaboration with T. L. Donaldson. In this the foreigners were following the example of their Parisian contemporaries.

Destailleur (1822–93) was characteristic of the private architect of the first rank. He was the son of the successful Empire and Restoration architect F.-H. Destailleur (1787–1852), who had been a student of Percier, designer of the Ministry of Finance on the rue de Rivoli, and architect to several of the *grandes familles* of France, including the ducs d'Orléans, de la Trémoille, and d'Harcourt, the Comte d'Haussonville, the Vicomtesse de

Noailles, and the marquises de la Guiche and de Vogüé.[21] The son studied with Percier's most respectful student, Achille Leclère, then joined his father's practice. He carried on after the latter's death in 1852, erecting the foreign mansions already cited, rebuilding the Hôtel Pourtalès (erected originally by Duban in 1835–39), restoring the château at Vaux-le-Vicomte in 1877 (for the de Vogüé), and building Napoleon III's funerary chapel at Farnborough. He assembled an extraordinary collection of prints and drawings relating to architectural decoration, which he sold to the Berlin Kunstgewerbemuseum in 1879, and then assembled another, which was purchased by the Cabinet des Estampes of the Bibliothèque Nationale in 1890. His son, Walter-André Destailleur (1867–1940), carried on the practice in turn, building the Hôtel Wildenstein on the rue de la Boëtie (1900–3) and restoring the Hôtel Crillon. Yet for all the impact this family had upon European taste between 1810 and 1930, its members include no *logistes* in the competition for the Grand Prix de Rome, no academicians, no members of the Conseil des Bâtiments Civils. They were essentially private architects, even more so than such an English contemporary as Charles Barry, who, although he spent only a small part of his time on public work, nevertheless carried out major projects, most notably the Houses of Parliament.

Perhaps the most influential family of private architects were the Rohault de Fleurys, even though they did no work outside France and were remarkable for the justness and reticence of their style.[22] Here there was a military connection: the most eminent of the line, Charles Rohault de Fleury (1801–75) was nephew of Baron Hubert Rohault de Fleury, who was a graduate of the Ecole Polytechnique and had been an officer in the Spanish campaigns of both Napoleon and Charles X, suppressor of the Lyon uprising of April 1834, engineer in charge of the siege of Constantine, Algeria, in 1837, and a Senator. That connection was confirmed by Charles's own training at the Ecole Polytechnique in the footsteps of his father, Hubert Rohault de Fleury (1787–1846), who had become an architect in the government, won the Grand Prix de Rome in 1802, and served on the Conseil des Bâtiments Civils. After training at the Ecole Polytechnique, Charles did start in government service as architect of the Jardin des Plantes, erecting the Musée de l'Histoire Naturelle (1833–37) and the Serres there, but he did not have his father's academic or administrative acumen. He occupied himself with building discrete houses for the rich; for example, the Duc de Gramont's on the rue de Chaillot and the Hôtel Péreire on the rue du Faubourg Saint-Honoré. His son, Georges (1835–1905), carried on the practice and also published an important series of books on late medieval architecture in Italy, including *Les Edifices de Pise* (1862), *La Toscane au moyen age* (2 volumes, 1870–73), and *Le Latran* (1877). Like the Destailleurs, the Rohault de Fleurys were better known to

the general public than such important government architects as Labrouste or Blouet. Nor is there any indication from their collecting and scholarship that there was the slightest financial disadvantage in pursuing a private career of the first class. Indeed, in 1838 Labrouste had written in his letter of candidacy for the chair of architecture at the Ecole Polytechnique, "I have not engaged in private construction enterprises, which is the only way of making a fortune available to architects."[23]

If a young man chose to become a government architect, he had to select just what branch of the administration to enter, a choice most often made by chance or personal connection. The broadest path was that of the administration of the Bâtiments Civils, the successor to the Surintendance des Bâtiments du Roi first established in 1664.[24] This was responsible for the major government structures in Paris—the Chambre des Députés, the Arc de Triomphe, the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, the Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers. There were, however, other parallel services in the central government, like the Administration des Hôpitaux et Prisons, for which Blouet and Gilbert worked most successfully and happily all their careers. There was also the service of the Palais Royaux and, starting in the Second Empire, the separate service of the Ministère de l'Instruction Publique et des Cultes. Outside the central government one could be employed as diocesan architect or departmental architect in the provinces. In the case of the Département de la Seine in Paris, this became a very large and complex architectural service, divided into six sections by building type, each accorded an *architecte-en-chef* with a staff.[25] Victor Baltard, his brother-in-law Paul-Eugène Lequeux, and his uncle A.-M.-F. Jay all worked together in this service, apparently established here by their relative Edouard Gatteaux, modeler and city councilor.[26]

In the government architectural service, a clear hieratic division of responsibility was evolved for efficiency and to create a profession where ability and experience could replace the older system of preferment. The model was the Bâtiments Civils, established in 1793–95 and reorganized repeatedly thereafter, especially by Thiers in his ministerial decree of July 22, 1832.[27] By this document the service was divided into a *service ordinaire*, for the maintenance of structures already erected, and a *service extraordinaire*, for the construction of new buildings. The former was divided into eight *arrondissements* or regions with an *architecte-en-chef* in charge of each, authorized to employ an *architecte-inspecteur*, a *vérificateur*, and a *garçon de bureau*. In the latter, each building under construction had an *architecte-en-chef*, an *architecte-inspecteur*, a *vérificateur*, a *sous-inspecteur* or *conducteur*, and a *garçon de bureau*. Sometimes the subordinate posts were multiple. The *architecte-en-chef* provided the drawings to be executed, signed all documents, and provided weekly, monthly, and yearly reports

on the progress of the work. The *inspecteur* was the executant. He was obliged to be on the site all day to supervise the execution of the architect's drawings and to check the quality of materials. The *sous-inspecteur* was the scribe and draftsman, handling correspondence in particular (which, of course, was all handwritten). The *vérificateur* checked the accounts.

Controlling the whole administration of the Bâtiments Civils was the Conseil des Bâtiments Civils, presided over by a bureaucrat, the Directeur des Bâtiments Civils, and consisting of four Inspecteurs Généraux des Bâtiments Civils, a Président, and a variable number of *membres honoraires* and *flottants* or *auditeurs* to help with the analysis of projects. The *inspecteurs généraux* approved all projects before passing them on to the Minister and also made periodic visits to each building site.

A real career was thus possible within this administration. One might start as a *sous-inspecteur* while still at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts at a salary of 1200 to 1500 francs a year (as Labrouste did under Godde at Saint-Pierre-du-Gros-Caillou before he won the Grand Prix), then become an *inspecteur* at a salary of 1500–1800 (as Labrouste did under Duban at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts upon his return from Rome), then be named *architecte-en-chef* of an existing building for 1000 francs a year plus three percent of any work executed (as Labrouste was at the Pont de la Concorde in 1836), then *architecte-en-chef* of a new building at the same rate of pay (as Labrouste was of the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève in 1838), and finally perhaps be named Inspecteur Général at 6000 francs a year (as Duban was in 1857).

The records of the construction of the New Louvre are particularly complete and permit a glimpse of how this system worked in detail.[28] This was one of the largest projects of the Second Empire and was peculiar in being administered directly by the Ministère de la Maison de l'Empereur. For this very reason it shows how a career might be spun out in one corner of the system. First, these documents make clear how many architects might be employed on a project. At the beginning of construction in June 1852, there were twenty-four designers and two *garçons de bureau*; in December 1857, forty-three designers and three *garçons de bureau*; in January 1862, twenty-three designers and two *garçons de bureau*. Second, we see how many grades of promotion there might actually be. At the height of the work in December 1857, there was the *architecte-en-chef* (Lefuel, also Architecte de l'Empereur, paid 40,000 francs per annum), two *inspecteurs principaux* (Jules Thierry and Paul Piot, 5000 francs per annum), one *inspecteur de la première classe* (5000 francs per annum), five *inspecteurs de la seconde classe* (3500 to 4500 francs per annum), eleven *inspecteurs de la troisième classe* (2600 to 3000 francs per annum), eighteen *inspecteurs de la quatrième classe* (2200 francs per annum), and ten *agents de la première classe* (1800 francs per annum). In other years there were *inspecteurs de la cinquième classe* (2000 francs per annum—Richard Morris Hunt was

one of these in 1854), *agents de la seconde classe*, and *dessinateurs* employed at a daily rate. Third, one sees how this mass of professional talent was marshaled. In 1859 there was both an office of the *architecte-en-chef*, Lefuel, with a staff of three architects and two *garçons de bureau* as well as an office of the *inspecteur principal*, Piot, with two *gardes* (*garde magasin* and *garde de chantier*). The rest of the *agence* was divided into six divisions, each for a particular portion of the structure and each with an *inspecteur* in charge. The work on the Ministère d'Etat et de la Maison de l'Empereur was overseen by one Bettoise, *inspecteur de la seconde classe*, with five designers under him; the Grands Appartements formed another division, headed by Chomet (*inspecteur de la troisième classe*); the "cour et descentes à couvertes" was another, headed by Paul-Ernest Letrosne (*inspecteur de la quatrième classe*); and the "installation provisoire de la 2ème division" was headed by Jules Frédéric Gunther (*inspecteur de la cinquième classe*). The public rooms, the stables, the library, the Musée Sauvageot, and the barracks of the Gendarmerie Nationale formed other divisions.

Another thing evident in this glimpse into a cell of the governmental bureaucracy is that a career could be pursued within the *agence* of a major building. Because a structure had to be maintained after it was erected, the *agence* itself was deathless—in the case of the Louvre it exists to this day in the Pavillon Mollien with a staff of a half-dozen. In Lefuel's time, although construction was compressed into the five years 1852–57, completion of the interior and the decoration went on until 1870, after which it was partially burned in the Commune and repairs began. Thus in the pay records one can watch men slowly climb the ladder. Jean-François Verel (1814–85), for instance, started with Visconti in June 1852 as *inspecteur de la cinquième classe*; in April 1893 he became *inspecteur de la quatrième classe*; in June of that year *inspecteur de la seconde classe* in charge of the fourth division; in February 1854 temporarily *inspecteur de la première classe*; then finally, in March 1858, he became one of the four *inspecteurs principaux*. He remained in that post until 1870. There were clearly "inside" men and "outside" men in the *agence*. Verel was one of the former, as were about two-thirds of the staff of June 1852, who were still in place in December 1857, although promoted. Mixed with these were bright young men from the Ecole who stayed a shorter period, rose swiftly, and went on to careers as *architectes-en-chefs* in their own right. Among these were Alfonse Girard (in the *agence* from 1854 to 1862) and Alphonse-Nicolas Crépinet (in the *agence* from 1852 to 1860),[29] the two men Richard Morris Hunt looked up when he visited Paris in 1860–61 and 1867.[30]

The system of the Bâtiments Civils was slowly extended to the other branches of the government and was even imitated in the larger departmental administrations and the railroads. In 1837 the Commission des Monuments Historiques was created with a network of architects and

inspectors under its supervision.[31] Many respected architects of the nineteenth century worked almost exclusively in this administration: Viollet-le-Duc, of course, and his friends M.-A.-G. Ouradou, Léon Ohnet, and Emile Boeswillwald, as well as Labrouste's friend Léon Danjoy. Eleven years later a similar administration was projected for the Edifices Diocésains within the Ministère de l'Instruction Publique et des Cultes. While previously the *architectes diocésains* had been named by the prefects and had been answerable only to them and the Bishop, now they were to be named by the Minister and their projects were to be analyzed by a board in Paris like the Conseil des Bâtiments Civils.[32] Three *inspecteurs généraux* were to be named who would also make annual tours of inspection. The older *architectes diocésains*, whose modest talents (not to say near incompetence) are obvious in the designs preserved today in the administration's archives, were to be replaced by well-informed, well-trained Parisians. It is enlightening to read the original rationale for this proposal stated in the *procès verbal* of September 6, 1848, of the Commission de Répartition des Fonds et des Subventions pour les Travaux des Edifices Diocésains (which at the time included Labrouste, Vaudoyer, Fortoul, Viollet-le-Duc, and Mérimée among its seven members):

*The examination of this project [Catoire's for a seminary at Rennes] leads the commission to ask itself whether, in the case of a department that does not contain an architect capable of composing a project for a large building, should not young architects of good talent at Paris be commissioned, who would also direct the construction. Were this system adopted, it would be indispensable that the architects be named by the Minister: because the inferiority of departmental architects is especially due to their precarious position, revocable by the Prefects, there are few men who would willingly accept such a situation. It is thus necessary to give to whomever the administration employs all liberty of action by making them answer directly and absolutely to the central administration. Their number might be twenty: France could be divided into an equal number of circumscriptions arranged according to the importance of the dioceses.*[33]

A subcommittee was appointed to formulate this proposal. The result was implemented in stages over the next five years until, beginning in 1852, all *architectes diocésains* were appointed directly by the Minister and their work was overseen by a Comité des Inspecteurs Généraux des Edifices Diocésains, replacing the Commission de Répartition. Slowly the provincial architects were retired and replaced by Parisians—J.-B.-L. Catoire by Paul Abadie at Périgueux (1850); Auguste Lejeune at Fréjus, Montpellier, and Aix by H.-A. Revoil (1852); Vincent Barral at Marseilles by Vaudoyer