

style.²⁶ Raoul-Rochette concluded that it was not appropriate to use that style, but no better to adopt that of Greco-Roman antiquity. Instead he made a new suggestion: adapt the Renaissance style. Christianity had not been static in its architectural expression, he wrote, but evolved constantly, although in Italy it never forswore what was universally valid in ancient architecture, its “*éléments et règles*” embodied in the Orders, understood abstractly by Raoul-Rochette, as a system of proportions and relationships applied to all parts of a structure, not just to its freestanding columns. He lists Alberti, Brunelleschi, Bramante, the San Gallos, Peruzzi, Palladio, and Vignola together with Bullant, Delorme, and Lescot as the modern architect’s proper precursors. He demands that Notre-Dame and the Sainte-Chapelle not be valued at the expense of the Val-de-Grâce and the dome of the Invalides. “It is necessary,” he ends, “to teach not to copy the Greeks and the Romans, but to imitate them, by taking, like them, from art and from nature what lends itself to the conventions of all societies and the needs of all periods.”²⁷

The concept of the Orders survived that of the primitive hut. It did so because Quatremère’s idea of the expressive, sculptural column was based on a rudimentary form of aesthetic psychology and because aesthetic psychology emerged around 1850 as the mainstream of art theory. There is a continuous tradition of aesthetic investigation leading from Quatremère’s first suggestions down to Violet Paget and Geoffrey Scott.²⁸ The first generation after Quatremère, that of the Monarchy of July, was dominated by Victor Cousin and his disciple Théodore Jouffroy, who, while accepting progress and evolution, depicted architectural aesthetics as essentially unchanging because based on the human body as reflected in the Orders. Cousin founded his “Eclecticism” on what he termed psychology, on the human mind that evolved and passed through a sequence of phases historically represented by different manners of conceptualization. Jouffroy studied this psychology further, producing his *Cours d’esthétique*, propounded in the 1820s to an audience that included Ludovic Vitet and Sainte-Beuve and published posthumously in 1842 by J.-P. Damiron. Here he develops the Cousinian idea that the beautiful lies in the response of the beholder, not in the object beheld, and goes on to explore the idea of sympathy, the psychological pleasure of seeing one’s own form and expressions manifested in external objects. “Man loves himself,” he says in the second lesson, “and the objects that demonstrate the triumph of his nature please him. . . . We love ourselves; there lies the origin of pleasure.”²⁹ Through the influence of Cousin, Jouffroy, and Damiron—dominating the Conseil Royale de l’Instruction Publique, the Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques, and the Ecole Normale Supérieure during the Monarchy of July—Eclecticism and its accompanying psychological aesthetic came to characterize French academic philosophy.

Raoul-Rochette in his 1846 restatement of academic classicism obviously reflects their ideas. As they wrote, however, a third generation was formulating its more dramatic extension of these concepts. On September 11, 1846, the establishment of the *Ecole Française d'Athènes* was authorized by the *Chambre des Députés*. It was to be a small institute (more political in origin than pedagogical) for the *architectes pensionnaires* and *normaliens* to perfect their knowledge of Greece.³⁰ Eleven French students were dispatched to Athens: the *pensionnaires* Philippe-Auguste Titeux, Théodore Ballu, and Alexis Paccard as well as eight *normaliens* including Emile Burnouf and Charles Lévêque. Among the *pensionnaires* who followed during the next few years was Charles Garnier, in 1851, and among the *normaliens* were Jules Girard (arriving December 19, 1848), Ernest Beulé (September 20, 1849), and Edmond About (December 1, 1851). They were all classicists, the architects mostly trained in the ateliers of Huyot and Lebas, the *normaliens* under the regime of Cousin (and, in the case of Lévêque, Jouffroy).³¹ In Athens they were all profoundly struck by the details and particular beauty of the Greek environment and began to formulate what by 1872 Lévêque would call a “psychologie de l'architecture.”³² Its first manifestations were an essay by Burnouf, “Le Parthénon,” published in the *Revue des deux mondes* on December 1, 1847, and a thesis by Lévêque, “Essai sur les causes physiques de la perfection de l'art dans la Grèce ancienne,” begun in 1847 and partially published in the *Revue des deux mondes* of August 15, 1851.³³ Beulé's excavations on the Acropolis (1852–53) and his publications followed.³⁴

Refinements in the Athenian temples—the curving of the stylobates and the inclination of the columns—had been discovered by the English architect Joseph Pennethorne in 1837 and had been confirmed by his countryman Francis Cranmer Penrose during the winter of 1846–47 as well as by the French *pensionnaires* Titeux, Ballu, and Paccard.³⁵ Beulé and Lévêque immediately perceived that not only were the columns animated by entasis (explained by Vitruvius) but the whole Greek temple pulsed with the curves and adjustments of a living organism. Quatremère was proved to be more correct than he had realized: his analogy with sculpture stood behind the Greek temple as a whole.³⁶ Burnouf asserted that the temple was analogous to an organic body not only in its curves and adjustments, but also in responding to the landscape surrounding it: “Greek art, born whole from nature and inspired by her at its origin, curved the steps and the pavement of the temples, the architraves, the friezes, and the pediments, as nature curved the sea, the horizons, and the rounded backs of the mountains.”³⁷

Beulé carried on their intense identification of Greek architecture with its human and natural context in his numerous and influential publications of the 1850s and 1860s. Lévêque made it part of a general theory of art in

his *La Science du beau* of 1861. This last work the author presents as a continuation of the labors of Cousin and Jouffroy, that is, as a psychological theory of the ideal in art.³⁸ Like his precursors, Lévêque declares beauty to be independent of religion (and any other transitory influences) and to be based upon expression: the communication of a clear, worthy idea. But what, he asks, are the “expressive energies” in architecture? He then answers, “A certain power . . . the resistant force of inorganic matter.”³⁹ A building becomes expressive through the display of its construction and most particularly through the metamorphosis of structural force into curves that render the architectural mass living: “Aggrandized in all ways by architecture, the powerful resistance of inorganic matter is always submitted by this art to a visible form which recalls in more than one way the form of the living body.”⁴⁰ These expressive thrusts and counterthrusts bind the building together, from outside in, just as a living organism is bound together by thrusts and counterthrusts from inside out. “Deprived of this internal dynamism [of organic bodies], architecture imitates the effects as best it can. Incapable of achieving the relationship of the interior and the exterior by dilatation, it functions from outside inward by concentration.”⁴¹ Form is controlled by symmetry and proportion, yet is free to respond to climate by openness or enclosure and, most importantly, to function by the modulation of its ornamental dress. Lévêque’s statements, he claimed in 1872, outlined a “psychologie de l’architecture.”⁴²

A parallel school of architectural theory was defining itself in Germany during these years. At the University of Berlin during the 1840s, Franz Kugler had formulated a definition of architecture not just as expressive structure (so simply manifested in the Greek temple) but as the expressive manipulation of space and had praised Renaissance design as the impressive manifestation of this *Raumschönheit*.⁴³ This was a bold confrontation of the rationalist and picturesque ideas of Schinkel (who died in 1841) and the Schinkelschule.⁴⁴ His students and assistants, Jakob Burkhardt and Wilhelm Lübke, followed his lead with enthusiasm, producing the former’s *Cicerone* (1855, dedicated to Kugler) and the latter’s *Reise nach Italien* (1858), coincident with Kugler’s early death in 1858. Beginning in 1862 Burkhardt and Lübke together completed Kugler’s *Geschichte der Architektur* by writing the volume on the Renaissance. Here the concepts of expressively proportioned mass and space—*Raumstil*, *Raumschönheit*—are fully developed. The “living” system of proportions of the Renaissance, they wrote, was based neither on copied Greek models nor on numerical ratios; it was an elastic and individual quality in Italian architecture hinted at in late-Roman vaulted construction and in medieval building but finding its purest expression in the Renaissance.⁴⁵

There is a figure that serves as a bridge between these German writers and the French: Heinrich von Geymüller (1839–1909). He was a Swiss,

brought up in Vienna, trained as an engineer first in Switzerland, then at the Ecole Centrale des Arts et Manufactures in Paris, and finally as an architect, first at the Bauschule in Berlin, then at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris as a student of Questel.⁴⁶ In Berlin he met Lübke and was introduced by him to French Renaissance architecture and to the problems of reconstructing Bramante's original project for St. Peter's Cathedral, which they realized was the greatest but the least understood monument of Renaissance conception. This experience seems to have made Geymüller see the French tradition in a new light. In 1863 he returned to Paris and in 1864 he traveled to Italy to search for documents of Bramante's project, making the acquaintance of Burkhardt in Basel on the way. From this there evolved a close friendship and Geymüller's great study of St. Peter's, published fragmentally in 1868 and then definitively as a folio volume in French and German in 1875.⁴⁷ He reconstructed Bramante's project in a magnificent series of drawings and declared in his text that this proved that it was not just the Pantheon placed on top of the Basilica of Constantine, but an organic whole unified by a system of proportions and by its "majestueuse harmonie de l'espace." His compendium *Architektur des Renaissance in Toscana* followed in 1885–1908.

Geymüller lived in Paris, when not pursuing research in Italy, and became close friends with the Alsatian Eugène Müntz, librarian of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts and a regular contributor to the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, founded in 1859 by Charles Blanc. In the pages of that most prestigious art journal, Müntz, Blanc, Beulé, and Geymüller, among others, published numerous articles during the 1860s and 1870s expostulating their individual interpretations of classicism revived by psychology.⁴⁸ By 1870 Kugler's first suggestions of a *Raumschönheit* had become Geymüller's evocation of "this mysterious impression" which one experiences only in certain of the best Renaissance buildings in Italy: "The mind enjoys a real pleasure in embracing these places; it seems that it dilates in the building and occupies the entire space: it would not wish to experience it any larger or any smaller. This charm comes from the harmony of the proportions of the interior volume."⁴⁹ Back in Basel, Burkhardt's colleague Hermann Siebeck elaborated this into a philosophy of art in his *Das Wesen der ästhetischen Anschauung* (1876) and his brilliant pupil Heinrich Wölfflin devoted his dissertation, "Prolegomena zu einer psychologie der Architektur" (1886), to a definitive formulation of the idea.

During the years 1846–70 these men had transformed Quatremère's statuesque conception of the Orders into a psychology of architecture—a system of reading architecture as the projection of bodily states—that in Germany, during the last decade of the century, became the science of *Einfühlung*, empathy. This, in turn, produced the ideas of Bernard Berenson, Violet Paget, and Geoffrey Scott. In France its formulators went on

to posts of great importance: in 1862 Beulé was named Secrétaire Perpétuel of the Académie des Beaux-Arts, succeeding Quatremère and Raoul-Rochette; in 1857 Lévêque succeeded Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire as Professor of History of Greek Philosophy at the Collège de France, while his *La Science du beau* was proclaimed by some the principal aesthetic treatise of mid-nineteenth-century France.⁵⁰

If the Académie was moving to expand the old Neoclassical doctrine of the Orders, Duc was moving to meet them, declaring that one could not have order without Orders, defining the latter in broad, empathetic terms. In 1879 Paul Sédille published a letter written in 1856 by Duc to one of the other Romantic *pensionnaires*:

My esteem and admiration for the arch is no less great than that for the Order, but they are nevertheless of a completely different nature.

First, I pose as a principle that the one should not take the place of the other: the Order pertains to poetry, it is lyrical, it speaks nobly, it declaims and sings.

The arch pertains to prose, it is positive, it works, serves and carries.

The Order is noble, it is master and commands; the arch is plebian, servant and obeys.

The arch is nothing by itself as a term of art, it gains meaning only by a new element which is foreign to it and added, ornamentation. . . .

The arch by itself is incapable of constituting an architecture, the arch is only a method of building. . . .

If one asserts the equivalence of the Order and the arch, and not the supremacy of the first over the second, the logic of utility will present itself all the time, the terrain formerly shared will be appropriated exclusively by the arch so as to make the artistic law of the Order forgotten.⁵¹

Sédille also quotes Duc from an unidentified source:

Without the Order, what would our monuments be? Is it not the Order, with its proportions fixed by those of man, that becomes the unity and the measure of the buildings? . . .

Even in the Middle Ages, the Orders were incorporated into the pillars, at first on their principal faces, later in their angles and where there were loads to be supported. This was the organ of beauty in these monuments, despite the sacrifice of all proportion in the Orders. Without these last vestiges of poetic essence, there would be only masses of inert matter.

*Fiction should occupy the primary place in architecture . . . it is its essence. Was not the Greek temple a legend in stone? All the members that composed it were so many natural objects which, by their transmutation into stone, not by imitation, but by translation, became so many fictions or nightmares. It is from this mysterious work of creation between nature and the human heart that art is born. It is this incorporation of nature into matter, an almost divine act, that is the whole dogma of architecture; the rest is earthy and remains only building.*⁵²

The empathetic theory of Greek and Renaissance architecture emerging in the 1850s and 1860s gave powerful new life to the idea of the columnar Orders. But it is still difficult to get from this generality to the explanation of the details of the facade of Duc's Vestibule de Harlay. His columns are not Greek, because they are engaged in the facade, nor Renaissance, because they are actually buttressing the thrusts of a ribbed vault inside. Burkhardt and Geymüller insisted categorically that the expressive deformations of Renaissance forms were disassociated from structural reality,⁵³ while Duc links the two, producing what Viollet-le-Duc praised as a decoration that adheres to the structure.

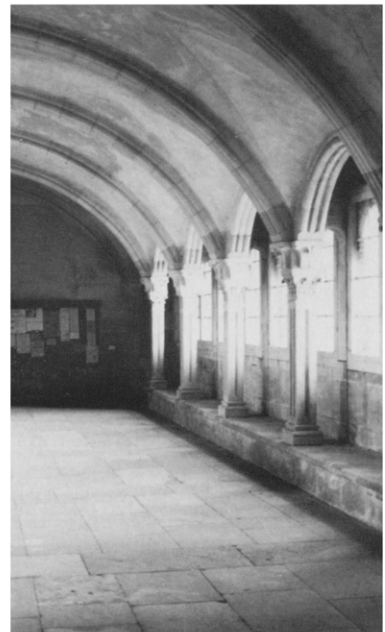
Duc's facade is constructed entirely of cut stone, the blocks elaborately keyed together (and bound with iron clamps) so that the structural pressure pushes them together and is carried to earth by the strongest, narrowest chain of support. The facade is thus almost entirely open in broad windows, and the buttress-columns are made of large stones built into the lighter masonry. This was a great tour-de-force of stereotomy, an art that had reached its peak in France in such eighteenth-century extravaganzas as Soufflot's Pantheon and that Duc prided himself upon having revived, first in the hanging stone staircase of the Police Correctionnel wing (1847–52) and then in the Vestibule de Harlay.⁵⁴ Stereotomy also is precisely what Viollet-le-Duc admired in Gothic construction. We mentioned in the last chapter that he saw the ribbed vault as a uniquely light and practical form of construction because of its principle of elasticity. In the first volume of his *Entretiens* (1863), he constantly compared the Greeks and the French Gothic builders of the twelfth century and pointed out that when the Greeks did have to build attached columns in their largest temple, that of Zeus at Agrigento, they had made the shafts out of large pieces of stone keyed into the thinner wall-veil like a medieval construction of ribs and webbing. This he compared deprecatingly to the Roman practice of applying pilasters to their concrete constructions as mere decoration.⁵⁵

In applying his theory of elastic construction, Viollet-le-Duc encountered two problems: first, that it was not expressed emphatically in Gothic design; second, that it did not function structurally the way he wished to believe it did.

Gothic buttresses, the principal elements of the hypothetical elastic system, were rarely ornamented in a manner expressive of this fact. Viollet-le-Duc accepted that the curves and refinements of Greek architecture were expressive of structural force and observed that they reflected a sensitivity to structure that would come to fruition in Gothic building, but he could point to no more decisive expression of this Gothic sensitivity than the use of colonettes enframing doorways, supporting vaults, and inserted at corners. In his own Neo-Gothic work such elements became more prominent than they had been historically: the buttresses supporting the vaults in his cloister at Vézelay (1850) and along the court facade at Pierrefonds (1859–70) are marked by large, thick, compressed columns that make their carrying function palpable (figure 69). Indeed Neo-Gothic architects throughout Europe and America similarly tried to envision the style as structurally expressive in the use of colonettes during the 1850s, 1860s, and 1870s.⁵⁶



69
*Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc,
Cloister added in front of the Chap-
ter House, Vézelay, c. 1850.*



A more basic fact is that Gothic construction was not, in fact, elastic. The celebrated instances during World War I where at Soissons shell damage to ribbed vaults caused the ribs to collapse and the webbing to remain intact indicated that, regardless of the help the skeletal system might have provided in construction, once the mortar had set, the vaults were monolithic.⁵⁷ The architect Pol Abraham in 1934 synthesized this evidence into a lengthy refutation of Viollet-le-Duc's elastic theory. The origin of Viollet-le-Duc's idea, however, was clear when he formulated it in the 1840s: not Gothic building at all, but the great French tradition of stereotomy in which stones were held together by their complex shape and structural arrangement without the help of mortar.⁵⁸ This actually was elastic. What made contemporary stereotomy unacceptable to Viollet-le-Duc was its complexity. He optimistically believed that in the Gothic ribbed vault he had found a more simple, practical, democratic version of this great French contribution to construction.

The two problems in Viollet-le-Duc's theory were solved in Duc's Vestibule de Harlay. Duc's column-buttresses are powerfully and decisively expressive of their structural function, more so than Vaudoyer's at the Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers, Duban's at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, or Viollet-le-Duc's at Vézelay and Pierrefonds. Duc's structure furthermore is not Gothic but eighteenth century, that is, composed of complexly cut stones keyed together so that they are in elastic equilibrium. Indeed the Vestibule de Harlay makes one aware that what Viollet-le-Duc was doing was projecting the science of modern stereotomy back into the Gothic period to purify it with the naïveté and practicality of that simpler age. He was, like most of his contemporaries, working out the present by projection into the past. Duc, ready to accept the whole continuum of architectural history, including the recent past, was freer to manipulate his elements, and he came up with a solution as simple in its effect as it is multiple in its sources. "Here, everything holds together," Viollet-le-Duc wrote, "everything is linked by a lucid thought. The execution, as always happens, responds to the design; it is fine and pure. One senses an artist, a rare thing in our times, who respects his art and the public."⁵⁹

The advantages of Duc's return to the Orders extend beyond this. The classical column includes a large capital that also can be manipulated expressively, but symbolically rather than empathetically. These capitals are the equivalent of the Gothic saints attached to the shafts of the Sainte-Chapelle or the kings of France topping the piers of the Gothic Grand'Salle once in the Palais de Justice itself, although in Duc's reconstituted classical system they are completely integrated into the unitary column form.

Neoclassicism, of course, had recognized the capital as the keynote of the expressive Order, as fixed in its forms as the shafts were in their proportions. The Order that Quatremère de Quincy proposed for a *palais de*

justice (and that his friend L.-P. Baltard adopted in his magnificent law court in Lyon of 1832–35) was the Corinthian because it was the middle term between the Doric and Ionic and expressed “richesse et magnificence.”⁶⁰ Yet Duc’s capitals, like his shafts, are not conventional or of any immediately recognizable Order. Externally they display fluted bells emerging from two tiers of stubby acanthus leaves, a sort of elementary Corinthian resting on shafts whose proportions (1:8.5) are Roman Doric. He is trying to sharpen and focus the message of these forms by inflection and combination.

Duc’s principal accomplishment before he was named architect of the Palais de Justice had been the redesigning of the Colonne de Juillet to make it more specifically expressive of the Revolution of July 1830 (figure 70).⁶¹

70

*Louis Duc, Colonne de Juillet,
Paris, 1834–39.*



In 1830 he had submitted a fifth-year *envoi* of a columnar monument to the victims of the revolution, and it was appropriate that on July 31, 1832, he had been named *sous-inspecteur* to Jean-Antoine Alavoine, commissioned to erect a columnar monument to the event in the middle of the Place de la Bastille. Alavoine proposed a simple, conventional Doric shaft in iron (his proposal of zinc having been coldly received) topped by a winged statue, *Génie de la Liberté*, by the sculptor Augustin Dumont. Duc referred to the design with disgust as a “stovepipe.” When on November 14, 1834, Alavoine died, Duc was named *architecte-en-chef* and redesigned the column to increase the force and specificity of its references. He divided the shaft into three broad bands and inscribed in gilt letters the names of all those killed during the three days of the uprising. He decorated the base as a huge sarcophagus, garlanded and surmounted by French cocks at the corners. He altered the profiles of the moldings to acknowledge their execution in metal. Most importantly, Duc completely reformulated the capital as a Corinthian type alive with unfamiliar symbolic details. Fortunately a description of its meaning was published in the *Magasin pittoresque* in 1840 (just after Duc led the Fortoul–Vaudoyer group, who were involved in that publication, on a visit to the column).⁶²

There is one part where M. Duc perceived that, even from afar, one might see what is elegant and triumphant about his column: this part is the capital. The Vendôme Column, all loaded with its rich sculptures, can do without this ornament; M. Duc, on the contrary, has put all the emphasis of his column on the coiffure that he has designed for it. Among the ancients, when architecture began to free itself from the austere forms of its origin, the capital became the part of the decoration where they expressed by specific signs the idea attached to each of their monuments. It was there that one engraved the mysterious symbols of art. As the soul projects itself better on the face than on other parts of the body, so the idea of a building made itself more clearly legible in the capital than elsewhere. M. Duc has imitated this custom of the ancients; the composition of his capital is also the most scholarly, the richest and the most interesting part of his design. The lower part of the capital is ornamented with a ring of palm fronds that are like the last echo of a mourning cry rising up to heaven; above this base commences a mélange of symbols of victory. In the midst of a sprouting vegetation that will support the angle volutes, one sees the edges of the bell we had glimpsed in the lower parts of the column; it is from the interior of this bell that the powerful thrusts which support the abacus unfurl. But around this festive basket four putti with an audacious allure dance an animated round, placing their feet on the funereal leaves, holding in

*their hands celebratory garlands, placing their heads below those of the lions, which are flanked by paired triumphal leaves comprising the finials. The balustrade that rests on top of the abacus is designed with a rare elegance so as to serve as a diadem.*⁶³

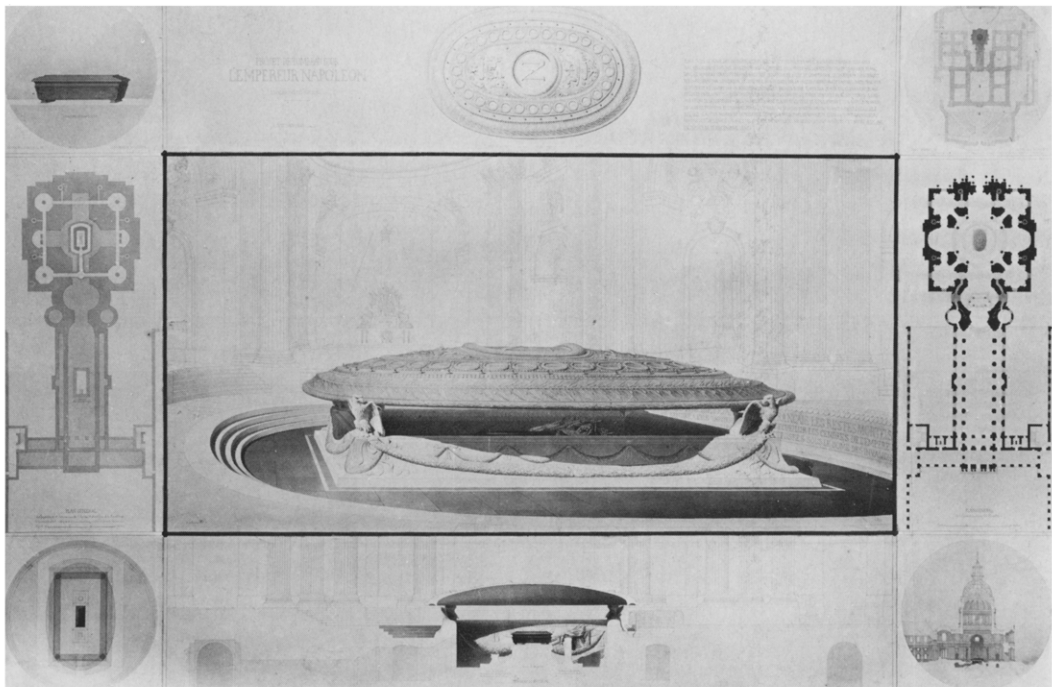
When Duc's friend and fellow *pensionnaire* Hector Berlioz wrote his *Symphonie funèbre et triomphale* for the inauguration ceremony of the monument, he similarly conceived it as a funeral march that by degrees becomes a hymn of triumph and celebration.⁶⁴ It was, in a word, the poetic content of Duc's capital expressed in another medium.

Duc's memorial column and its elaborately symbolic capital introduce a side of the work of the Romantic *pensionnaires* we have slighted until now. Certain of their circle believed that architecture could express very specific ideas, could constitute "poetry" itself, even to the point that structure, function, and material were actually impediments. This was a development of the idea by now familiar to us that architecture is "a method of communicating thought independent of all human convention" and "the true writing of peoples."⁶⁵ In Marseilles Cathedral this meant expression by configurations of architectural volumes, but Espérandieu in his contemporaneous Notre-Dame-de-la-Garde extended this to engender the overt symbolism of the gigantic Virgin on the tower top, which paralleled certain Néo-Grec projects produced at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in 1852 while he had been a student there (figures 56, 71–76). The Néo-Grec was a branching of the Romantic *pensionnaires'* movement emanating from the ateliers of Labrouste and Constant-Dufeux. It coalesced during the 1840s and centered upon two particularly radical ateliers, those of the Duban student Joseph Nicolle (1810–87) and the Huyot and Labrouste student Léon Danjoy (1806–62). They gained a strong ally in Duban's student César Daly, whose important journal, the *Revue générale de l'architecture et des travaux publics*, pressed for the "poetic" rather than the purely architectural implementation of the Romantic *pensionnaires'* program.⁶⁶

Earlier we noted that Labrouste simplified moldings in the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève so that they became part of the wall itself and that he used inscriptions and symbols (the flaming lamps flanking the entrance) to make specific statements about the institution. In 1841 there had been a competition for the design of the tomb of Napoleon at the time of the repatriation of his remains, and Labrouste had submitted a design proposing a huge bronze shield held above the floor on the backs of four eagles to permit a view into a crypt containing the Emperor's sarcophagus and a mass of battle flags and memorabilia (figure 71).⁶⁷ The symbolism of the leader buried under his shield and the poignant immediacy of the objects piled in the crypt made César Daly single it out as a model and to praise it as both new and "poetic": "The poetry and novelty in a modern monument! Courage, artists! Art has not yet said its last word."⁶⁸

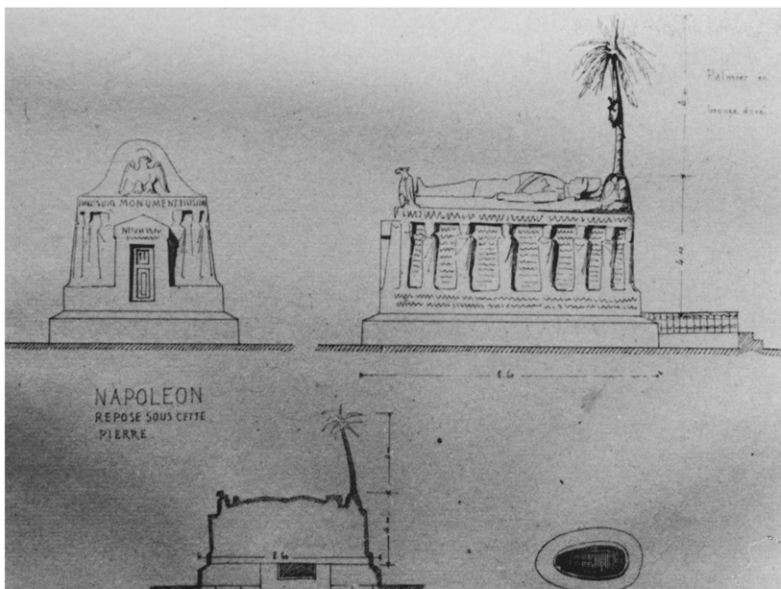
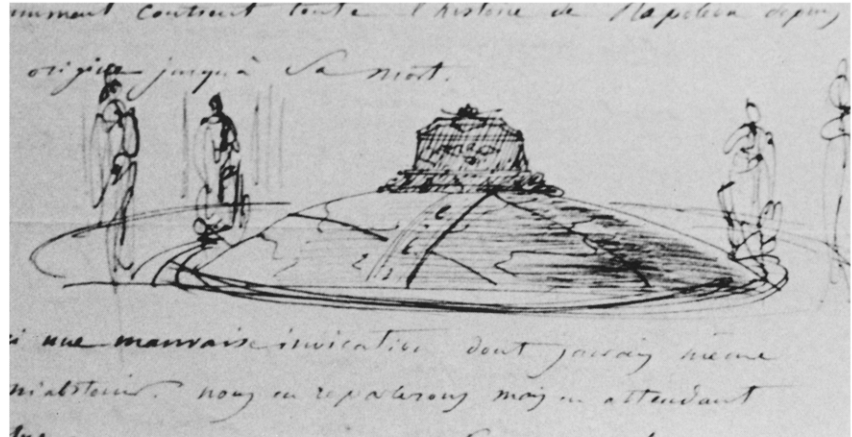
71

Henri Labrouste, Competition project for the tomb of Napoleon under the dome of the Invalides, Paris. Signed and dated "1^{er} octobre 1841." Cabinet des Dessins, Louvre, Paris.



72

Félix Duban, Competition project
for the tomb of Napoleon, 1840–41.
Sketch by Léon Vaudoyer. Ar-
chives Nationales, Paris.



73

Simon-Claude Constant-Dufeux,
Competition project for the tomb of
Napoleon, 1840–41. Redrawn
and published lithographically by
A. Joilly, Paris, 1872–75.

Daly reproduced the project in the first volume of his journal along with Duban's. The latter's seems less impressive until one knows the original idea (preserved in a letter of Vaudoyer's, figure 72), which represents the Emperor's sarcophagus surmounting the globe, half-buried in the pavement.⁶⁹ In his design, Constant-Dufeux suggested depicting Napoleon in effigy on a bier shaded by an upright palm tree symbolizing his death on distant Saint Helena (figure 73).⁷⁰ There were similar projects by Duc, Nicolle, and Danjoy, which we know only from descriptions. We read in *La Quotidienne*, for example, that Danjoy's was a "Byzantine" sarcophagus surrounded by chroniclers writing the history of Napoleon's reign and in the *Revue générale de l'architecture* that Nicolle's consisted of an "Etruscan" sarcophagus ornamented with historical reliefs against purple mosaic backgrounds. Surrounding this were scattered crowns and personifications of the states created by the Emperor, girdled by a barrier topped with "victories" driving miniature chariots.⁷¹ What distinguished this series of projects, Daly emphasized, was that each was the elaboration of an original and specific conceit, immediate and poignant rather than conventional and decorous. What also distinguished them was the adoption of the "Byzantine" or "Etruscan" simplified geometry of the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève that was, by 1850, to be the characteristic mark of this movement and the source of its popular name, the Néo-Grec.

A conventional design by Charles Percier's student L.-T.-G. Visconti was selected by the jury; Labrousse was asked to collaborate with him on the design of the ceremony of translation.⁷² A year later Constant-Dufeux received the opportunity to design a similar memorial, erected in 1842–44 in the Cimetière Montparnasse, to Admiral Dumont d'Urville (figure 74).⁷³ The Admiral, after a distinguished career as an explorer, had been burned to death with his wife and son in the first French railroad accident on the Paris–Versailles line on May 8, 1842. Constant-Dufeux had been in the accident himself, so the commission had particular immediacy. In 1849 Daly published the monument with the architect's explanation, pronounced at its inauguration on November 1, 1844, and a highly laudatory introduction. Constant-Dufeux explained that it was his intention to express a complex sentiment combining both death and glorification. Death is embodied in the solid sepulchral stone that forms the base; glorification in the tall parabolic stone set on it, painted brilliant red. The stone's profile, he explained, describes the line of a projectile fired into the air, the line "the eye follows with the greatest pleasure." In its red robe—the color "most noble and most proud"⁷⁴—among the surrounding marble tombs, it images the explorer standing in the polar regions he discovered. Finally, it is the flame that killed the admiral: on one of its faces a flaming locomotive is inscribed in gold; above it three figures mount toward heaven.

74

*Simon-Claude Constant-Dufeux,
Tomb of Admiral Dumont d'Urville,
Montparnasse Cemetery,
Paris, 1842–44.*



These two elements are not all: between them is a drum upon which the events of the Admiral's career are rendered in painted pictograms. At the front projects a ship's prow supporting his bust, colored realistically with black hair, blue eyes, and red lips.

The Dumont d'Urville tomb, with its narrative details and painting as well as its multiple scales, is obviously the precursor of the celebrated Ecole lighthouses of 1852 (figure 56). Again Daly is our guide in reading them. He published them at once in his *Revue* and praised their demonstration that one can make poetry in architecture.⁷⁵ He explained:

A lighthouse is [not simply a light-holder] placed on high so as to be seen from a distance and to be kept sheltered from the assaults of the sea. . . . To respect these factors is not much more than an effort of pure reason, an application of science to utility; feeling has hardly any part in it. . . . A lighthouse [is a] monument of solicitude and . . . interest, [a] monument of love and anxiety, [a] work born both of a need . . . and of a spiritual emotion, [a] work of UTILITY and of RELIGION.

Feeling, religion, [that is] . . . what constitutes the true artistic, architectural character monument.

Except for Juste Lisch's, each design is a huge sculpture to which the lantern is made to seem incidental. Léopold-Amédée Hardy's shows the Madonna and Child floating amid tiny angels below a glowing halo; Victor Pertuisot's an anxious colossus peering into the night with the aid of the light; Emile Delange's an angel holding the tree of life presenting the lamp as if a gift. Neil Levine has pointed out that each seems to embody one of the sentiments Daly listed in his critique: love, anxiety, and solicitude, respectively.

The project of Labrousse's student Lisch is not completely metaphorical like those of the students of Nicolle and Danjoy. What was seen as distinctive in their teaching was the complete denial of the functional in favor of the "poetic." Adolphe Lance, a more critical observer than Daly, summarized their doctrine in 1872:

Danjoy . . . pretended to free himself, necessarily, from all forms consecrated by science or tradition, and wished that feeling should dominate everything, even the material. Starting from there, he imagined a sort of imitative architecture (architecture imitative), which was like a poetic painting in relief of the objects of life, like a new art suspended between dream and reality.⁷⁶

They and their students were designers more than architects. Nicolle worked principally as a ceramic designer for Sèvres, producing objects of remarkable color and wit (figure 75).⁷⁷ They were excellent draftsmen and



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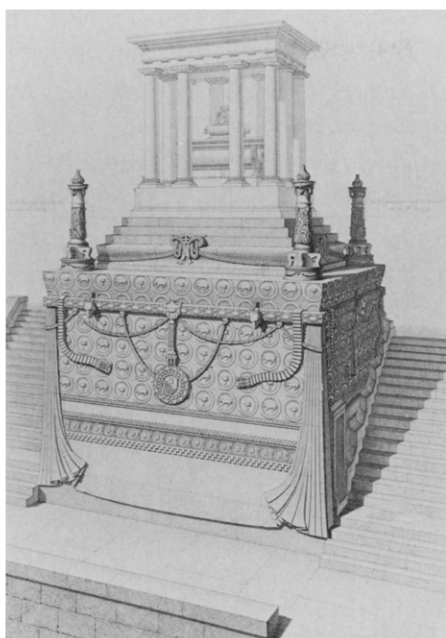
*Joseph Nicolle, Vase Nicolle,
Manufacture de Sèvres, 1867.
(Photo: Philadelphia Museum of
Art)*

sent striking architectural conceits to the Salons. One regrets not being able to see Hardy's fountain of 1853, a composition of colored marble basins made to resemble a parterre of flowers, or his scheme of 1855 that the *Moniteur des architectes* described as the "translation d'une hallucination."⁷⁸

But one can visit Père Lachaise cemetery to examine Danjoy's transformation of the tomb of Elizabeth Stroganoff Demidoff, executed sometime in the 1850s (figure 76).⁷⁹ His design is actually only carved into the surface of an existing monument erected in 1818 by André-Marie Chatillon, the sarcophagus and aedicula of which Danjoy retained unaltered. By re-carving the base and adding four flaming lamps at the corners, Danjoy has transformed it into a primitive funeral bier covered with a patterned shroud, folded and blowing at the corners and held in place by a worked-metal girdle with switching bands and ribbons. Here the Neoclassical of Chatillon and the Néo-Grec of Danjoy are clearly distinguished. The Neoclassical is simple and conventional: a familiar ancient sarcophagus type ensconced in a canonical Tuscan enframing. It is a conventional tomb conventionally elaborated; nothing less and nothing more. The Néo-Grec is Greek only in the expressive, stylized cutting of its surfaces—the exotic, Romantic Greek of Gleyre and Gautier. The veil of conventions that Quatremère de Quincy insisted should filter any sentiment has here been torn away, revealing a vivid slice of reality: death as it was celebrated in the deceased's Russian culture, with all its richness and strangeness. And there is also a literary twist, a joke: were Danjoy's bier actually set aflame, what would be consumed would be Chatillon's conventional sarcophagus and aedicula. This is the tomb not only of Elizabeth Stroganoff Demidoff, but also of Neoclassicism.

The final statement of the Néo-Grec metaphorical, "poetic" memorial is César Daly's folio *Architecture funéraire* of 1871, which illustrates the Demidoff tomb as well as dozens of others. Daly categorizes the examples in his volume by the ideas they express—*La Foi*, *La Mort*, *La Glorification*; and by their combination of these ideas—*La Foi et la Mort*, *La Foi et la Glorification*, *La Mort et la Glorification*; and finally all together—*La Foi, la Mort et la Glorification*. (The Demidoff tomb he placed in this last category.) He makes it clear here, as he did in his analysis of the projects for Napoleon's tomb in 1841, that to conceive or to read a Néo-Grec design, one must determine its precise message, and that this is a matter of logic rather than impressionism.

What, then, is the message of the capitals dominating the facade of the Vestibule de Harlay? Contemporary critics are unhelpful because they—unlike the writer for the *Magasin pittoresque* (Fortoul?)—seek satisfaction in naming a historical source. Charles Clément says in the *Journal des Débats* that Duc has reproduced the primitive Corinthian Order of the Temple of the Winds in Athens, while Paul Sédille states that the capitals derive from

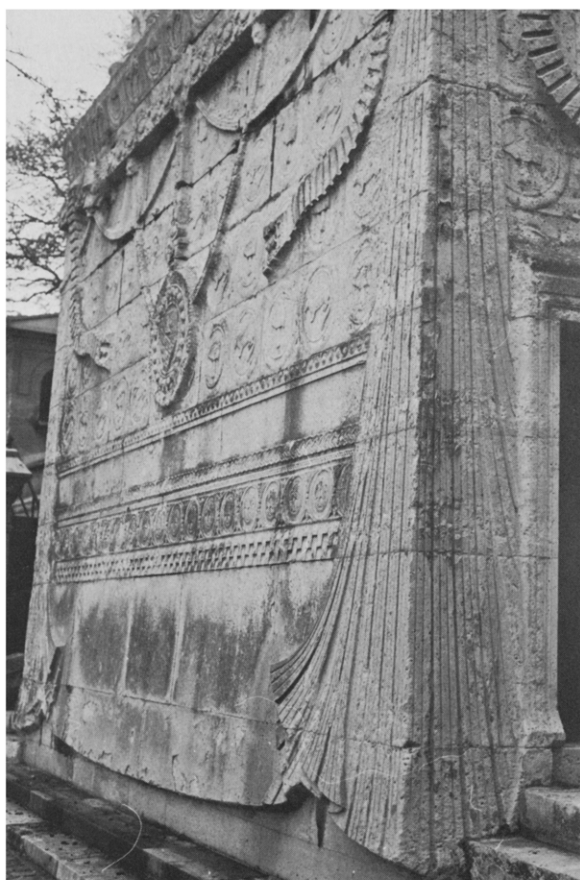


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Léon Danjoy, *Tomb of Elizabeth Stroganoff Demidoff, Père Lachaise Cemetery, Paris, c. 1855.*

a. Engraving of Danjoy's plan from C. Daly, *Architecture funéraire contemporaine*, 1871, pl. 31.

b. Detail of carved surface.

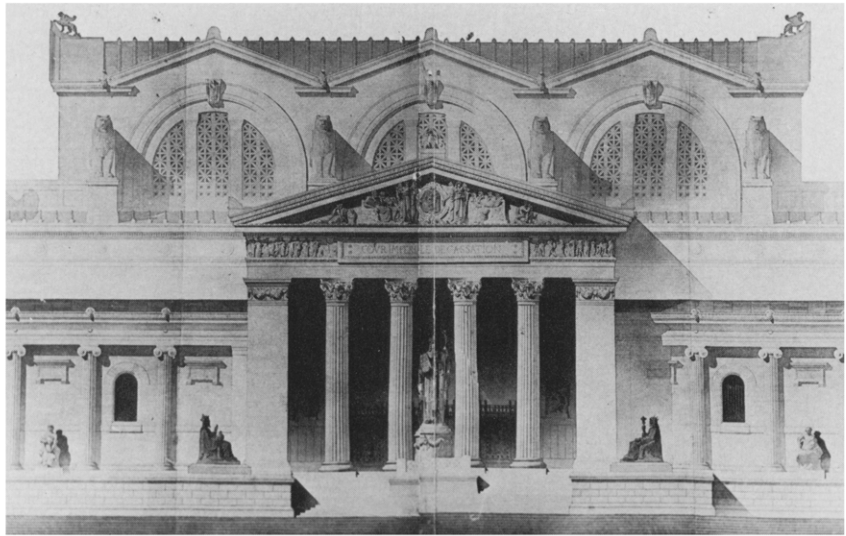


Stratonica, probably citing inaccurately the celebrated tomb near that site at Mylasa with similar “Carian” capitals.⁸⁰ But neither model is exact and the two critics do not suggest why Duc would have chosen them, leaving one to assume that it was mere aesthetic preference. A more helpful, if more distant, document is the Grand Prix design for a Cour de Cassation by François-Philippe Boitte premiated in 1859, the year after Duc’s definitive design for his facade had been published (figure 77). It is a severe design fronted with a portico of four conventional Corinthian columns labeled on the entablature *Sagesse*, *Force*, *Vigilance*, and *Prudence*. They are thus the symbolic as well as the actual “pillars of justice,” their inscriptions stating the specific qualities that Boitte hopes his conventional choice of Order might suggest and which a more subtle artist like Duc would seek to integrate into the form of his capitals.

More evidence lies in the decoration of the Palais de Justice itself. The theme was set in the Renaissance relief on the Tour de l’Horloge (attributed to Jean Pilon) representing *Justice* paired with *Force*. It was reiterated over the door of the old Cour de Cassation in a relief of *Justice* between two lions (representing *Force*) and stated more elaborately in the statues set over the four columns of the Cour de Mai facade in the 1780s: *Force*, *Justice*, *Abondance*, and *Prudence*.⁸¹ The theme was clearly equity paired with firmness, the former expressed metaphorically as the books of the law, the latter as the lion. There might be added to this two-part quality prudence in the exercise of judgment, and authority and prosperity as their objective. This tradition was carried on in Boitte’s inscription, where *Force* is doubled with *Vigilance* and equity divided into *Prudence* and *Sagesse*. It is continued and expanded in the six large reliefs in the lower part of Duc’s Harlay facade expressing three qualities of equity and three of firmness: *Prudence*, *Vérité*, *Équité*, *Châtiment*, *Protection*, *Force*.⁸²

There remains, however, one last step we must take in applying this long exploration of the Néo-Grec poetics first broached by Duc himself in the Colonne de Juillet to evaluate the Vestibule de Harlay: the analysis of how it is transformed when elaborated in a space-containing structure rather than applied to a freestanding memorial.

The radical movement centering on the work of Labrousse, Constant-Dufeux, Danjoy, and Nicolle received the definitive label Néo-Grec in place of more tentative appellations, particularly Etruscan, during the early 1850s because it was seen as part of the general rediscovery of Greece that coincided with the founding of the Ecole Française d’Athènes.⁸³ The links between the movement and the Ecole were loose but nonetheless multifarious. We noted one important parallel in Vaudoyer’s adoption of polychromy. Of importance here is a second: the transformation of the vision of Greek architecture brought about by the detailed examination of



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*François-Philippe Boitte, Design
for a cour de cassation, premiated
project for the Grand Prix de Rome,
1859. From Guerinot, Les Grands
Prix de Rome d'architecture,
pl. 37.*

the monuments of the Acropolis in the light of the Romantic idea that ancient architecture was specific in its meanings and highly inflected in its forms.

The *pensionnaires* and *normaliens* at the Ecole Française d'Athènes discovered that the buildings of the Acropolis were not simple renditions of conventional types but rather displayed infinite circumstantial inflection. Their confirmation of Pennethorne's discovery of refinements and of earlier researchers' projections of polychromatic decoration was only the beginning of their new visualization. We quoted Burnouf's 1847 essay on the Parthenon earlier in this chapter. In June 1848 he completed an essay on the Propylea (restored in 1846 by Titeux and Chaudet) that broached the puzzling question of its strange shape and mixture of Orders.⁸⁴ He concluded that it was not a temple (as Le Roy had supposed) but instead a gateway, which explained the intercolumniation widening toward the center, the lack of sculpture in the pediment, and finally the placement of heavy Doric shafts on the facades with more delicate Ionic columns inside. He noted how unity was nonetheless maintained by the rendering of the Ionic with Doric simplicity and the inflection of the form and proportions of the wings to balance each other and enframe the central mass. In a word, he demonstrated that the subtleties of the Orders were applied to complicated civil as well as simple religious types in Periclean Athens.

Interestingly, Burnouf's interpretation immediately inspired a more elaborate and more ingenious one from Beulé. He found the Propylea too carefully wrought to be a defensive gateway rather than just a "monument de décoration," and in 1852 he began excavations to find an outer defense shielding it, laying bare the Beulé Gate at the foot of the Acropolis steps.⁸⁵ This discovery not only proved his suspicion correct, but also gave the precise point from which the ancient visitor first glimpsed the Propylea and so demonstrated how subtly it had been designed to be seen in foreshortened perspective.⁸⁶ In 1853–54 Beulé published his influential *Acropole d'Athènes*, which emphasizes the Propylea because of its "originalité" and depicts the whole Acropolis as characterized by elaborate and essentially picturesque inflections of form and symbolism. "The Greeks," he concludes of the Erechtheum, "seem to have sought with particular care, in their great architectural ensembles, accidents, whether of construction or of perspective. This one notes everywhere, in the smallest Pompeian house as in the largest buildings of Athens."⁸⁷ He insists that a single mind must have dominated and coordinated this picturesquely unified ensemble and that it must have been that of the sculptor Phidias.⁸⁸

Duc's Vestibule de Harlay was likewise an inflected, picturesque vision of classical architecture. It was, first of all, symbolically inflected: the interior is feminine and the expression of *Justice*; the enclosing exterior masculine and a manifestation of *Force*. The inner wall of the Vestibule is

dominated at its center by a columnar aedicule marking the public entry of the Assizes. Above this is a large relief by Jean-Joseph Perraud of *Justice* holding the attributes of equity (the tablets of the law) and firmness (the sceptre), flanked by caryatids. All the figures are female and the columns supporting them Ionic, the feminine Order. Around the Vestibule, supporting the ribs of the vault, are piers with strange capitals bracketed forward and sculpted into female heads crowned with rudimentary Ionic volutes. The separate elements of the aedicule—the female figures and the Ionic Order—are merged in these brackets and integrated into the structure of the room. We saw earlier that Duc had rendered the elements of the Vestibule “alive”; here we see that they live as the personification of *Justice*. But the interior is distinct in expression from the exterior: outside *Force* rather than *Justice* is the dominant quality, expressed most clearly in the lions flanking the central stairway and the shields with swords carved across the frieze, but also clearly expressed in the stark capitals whose Doric bells rise above a mere ruffle of Corinthian leaves.

It is important to note, finally, that this picturesque classicism justifies Duc's union of the Vestibule de Harlay with the rest of the Palais de Justice complex, which is medieval in some parts, Renaissance in others, and Baroque in still others. What unites these parts is not their various stylistic references: these are necessarily distinct because it is through them that the institution tells its history. What unites them is Duc's composition, his picturesque balancing of masses around the firm armature of the two east-west corridors. Also uniting them are a consistent scale and a consistent surface rendering in yellow Paris limestone. The ornamental motifs may be in one style or another, but they are all cut with the same expressive snap, so that the Gothic moldings are just a bit more Gothic, the Renaissance more Renaissance, and, of course, the nineteenth-century Greek more exquisite and subtle than Periclean Greek.

All of this raises a more basic and important question: what is the relationship of decorative sculpture to architecture? The key to the reading of Duc's rue de Harlay facade are the reliefs of *Prudence*, *Vérité*, *Equité*, *Châtiment*, *Protection*, and *Force* by the respected academic sculptors Dumont, François Jouffroy, and Jean-Louis Jaley. The foundation of its success is the manner in which they are both symbolically and formally integrated into the whole structure, lined up across the front like the columns they echo. This particularly complete harmony of decoration and architecture came to be characteristic of Second Empire government buildings and was a conscious objective of government patronage of the arts.

One of the most celebrated instances of a Second Empire architect obliging a respected sculptor to complement his building was Charles Garnier's instructions to Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux as he formulated *La Danse* for the facade of Garnier's Opera (figure 80).⁸⁹ We know that Gar-

nier gave Carpeaux and the other sculptors commissioned to execute the facade groups their subjects, in the form of outline drawings of silhouettes to which they were to adhere, and that he had the authority to reject their proposals. The other artists conformed closely to Garnier's strictures, and their works complement the facade like the reliefs along Duc's rue de Harlay elevation. Carpeaux, however, resisted, and after much argument and revision, a more independent work resulted. Garnier, relating the story in his *Nouvel Opéra de Paris*, tellingly concluded: "Statuary sculpture forming part of the decoration of a building must accept several strictures of simple ornamental sculpture."⁹⁰

This incident points up the fact that a Second Empire architect expected the work of even well-known artists to complement their structures like "la simple sculpture ornementale." This attitude had bureaucratic sanction. During the Second Empire, a committee attached to the cabinet of the Prefect of the Seine, the Commission des Beaux-Arts, oversaw decorative projects. Its head was Victor Baltard, whose title was Inspecteur des Beaux-Arts, a much broader title than merely Inspecteur Général of architectural work. The committee named artists to specific projects, approved models, and settled disputes, consistently backing the architects' right to enforce harmony with their designs. Indeed, so little initiative seems to have been left to the sculptors that one wonders how they viewed these commissions.⁹¹ The technical term for such commissions used in the government documents, "encouragement," is significant: it places such decorative jobs in the category of governmental charity in the support of artists. When the line for the support of artists first appeared in the budget of the Prefect of the Seine in 1816, it was just that, for the encouragement of artists by purchasing their existing works, which afterward would be hung in some government establishment. It was only at the end of the Monarchy of July and in the Second Empire that this system of "encouragements" became the commissioning of decorative works intended to be so tightly related to their architectural settings. It enriched the tools of the architects, but it restricted the freedom of the sculptors and, in the case of Carpeaux, was bitterly resented.

We noted at the beginning of this chapter that in 1869 Duc was awarded the Grand Prix de l'Empereur for his design of the Palais de Justice. This was a prize of 100,000 francs decreed on August 12, 1864, to be bestowed every five years on a work of painting, sculpture, or architecture that was "reconnue digne de cette récompense."⁹² The jury was to be presided over by the Ministre d'Etat et de la Maison de l'Empereur, J.-P.-B. Vaillant, and was to have thirty members, ten from the Académie des Beaux-Arts. The Académie made the counterproposal that half the members be academicians, and that there be forty-two jurors, but the Minister rejected this and by *arrêté* of May 14, 1867, named the thirty jurors, ten in each field.

The Académie was represented by four painters, three sculptors, and three architects.⁹³ The architects were Duban, Lefuel, and Labrouste of the Académie and Ballu, Boeswillwald, Clerget, Garnier, Questel, Reynaud, and Viollet-le-Duc.⁹⁴ This was a liberal panel, especially if compared to that of the Opera competition of 1860–61. Lebas and Lesueur were passed over among the academicians (as well as Baltard, Gilbert, and Duc). Viollet-le-Duc and Boeswillwald were Gothic rationalists; Labrouste, Duban, Clerget, Questel, and Reynaud classicist rationalists; which left only Lefuel, Garnier, and Ballu to represent the Neoclassical tradition in their own watered-down manner.

The jury first met by sections and nominated works for consideration. The architects agreed upon three—Duc's Palais de Justice, Duban's restoration of the château at Blois, and Labrouste's Bibliothèque Nationale—plus four “complémentaires”—Viollet-le-Duc's restoration at Pierrefonds, Baltard's Halles Centrales, Ballu's La Trinité, and Garnier's Opera. The jury then met in plenary session and expanded the nominations from each section to ten; Lefuel's New Louvre, Questel's Asile Sainte-Anne, and Abadie's church of Saint-Ferdinand at Bordeaux were added to the architects' seven. These were then reduced to three in each medium: by vote, Duc's Palais de Justice, Lefuel's New Louvre (figures 78, 79), and Garnier's Opera (figures 80, 81) were now the architectural nominations. Since Lefuel and Garnier were members of the jury, they had to step down and were replaced by Vaudoyer and Charles Laisné, both rationalists.

The final voting of the plenary session is illuminating. Twenty-nine of the thirty jurors attended. The list of nominations included, besides the three buildings, Paul-Jacques-Aimé Baudry's ceilings at the hôtels Païva and Galliera, Alexandre Cabanel's *Paradis Perdu*, and Nicolas-Auguste Hesse's Chapel of Saint-Laurent at Saint-Gervais, as well as Jean-Baptiste Guillaume's group on the Opera facade, Charles Gumery's monument to Favart in Chambéry, and Perraud's *Le Désespoir*. In the first round the Palais de Justice received nine votes; although the voting continued for thirteen rounds it never received less, and after the seventh round mounted steadily to the necessary majority of fifteen.⁹⁵ The building had already been proposed by the architectural section by near unanimity (nine votes), and after the withdrawal of Lefuel and Garnier from the jury there were nine rationalists on the panel. They had clearly made up their minds and refused to compromise even when, after six rounds of voting, they still had only one convert. The movement to a compromise candidate that might have been expected after the third or fourth round never took place (although in the fourth, fifth, and sixth rounds Baudry's work received support it had previously lacked, then lost it again).

Lefuel's New Louvre received seven or eight votes in each of the first seven rounds of voting but had never received more than a single vote

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*L.-T.-J. Visconti and Hector
Lefuel, New Louvre, Paris,
1852–57.*





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Hector Lefuel, "Guichets" in the Grande Galerie de Bord de l'Eau, Louvre, Paris, 1862–69. (Photo: N. D. Roger-Viollet)

when the architects had met separately. It had to be added to their list of nominations at the beginning of the plenary session, we are told by the painters and sculptors whom Lefuel had so extensively employed on the project.⁹⁶ The same must have been true of Garnier's Opera, which received two or three votes each time up to the eighth round. The sculpture *Le Désespoir*, like the Palais de Justice, retained its support (three or four votes) until the twelfth round: the "swing votes" were obviously those going to the Opera and the New Louvre, and these votes went earlier to the Palais de Justice, especially after the seventh and eighth rounds when it became obvious that the support for Duc would not weaken.

This raises two questions: Why did the architects refuse to compromise when the painters and sculptors were suggesting the New Louvre and the Opera by their support; and why did the painters and sculptors resist so long when it became obvious that the Palais de Justice would eventually win? The answer to the first question must be that, given that the architects nominated the monument by nine out of a possible ten votes in the architectural section, the design must have profoundly satisfied a broad spectrum of the architectural profession. The answer to the second question must be that the Palais de Justice did not at all satisfy the painters and sculptors.

The telling point is that the New Louvre was added to the list of nominations by the painters and sculptors and supported in the voting over Labrouste's Bibliothèque Nationale and the restorations of Duban and Viollet-le-Duc. The painters and sculptors were agreeable to a building receiving the prize (except for the three or four who held out for Perraud's *Le Désespoir*), but it had to be a building of a particular sort. That sort seems to have been a highly decorated building, one with statues across its facade and allegorical ceilings interpreting its architectural statements. In this context one realizes how little ornament Duc permitted on and in his building and how thoroughly he had subordinated it to the architecture. The issue seems to have been the relationship between the arts and the executing artists. Lefuel had given the decorative artists free reign; Duc had controlled them tightly.⁹⁷

In a word, the issue was the means by which a monument communicated an idea. We are thus led to ask two last questions of that solid nine-vote block that stole the Grand Prix de l'Empereur: Why were such a various collection of rationalists able to settle so firmly upon the Palais de Justice as their choice; and why did the government accept their decision (and indeed pack the jury to begin with)? The answer to these is circular: because it was the job of a government architect to make a public building speak and describe itself, so the building making the loudest and most unified declaration—that is, the Palais de Justice—would be simultaneously preferred by the profession and the administration.

We have described how the Palais de Justice speaks in all its parts, but we have not analyzed what it says in terms of its political context. From 1789 to 1875 France was governed under an evolving series of patterns of authority. Each pattern was the expression of the philosophy of the regime and its symbol. The regime of Louis-Philippe and Guizot was a “parliamentary” one, as we have seen, and its essential elements were the chief executive and the legislature: the Tuileries, the Chambre des Députés, and the Luxembourg (all three of which were rebuilt during the Monarchy of July). Napoleon III’s Empire was the negation of this. What he outlined in his *Idées napoléoniennes* of 1839 and embodied in the constitution of January 14, 1852, was a system controlled by a chief executive answerable directly to the people and restrained by law. The cabinet was appointed by the chief executive and was not responsible to the legislature, which itself was only consultative. Thus there were three elements to this government: the ruler, the people, and the law. The Chambre des Députés and the Luxembourg were not significantly embellished during the Second Empire, but vast sums were expended upon the New Louvre, the public works of Paris (symbolized perhaps by the Halles Centrales and the Hôtel Dieu), and, finally, the Palais de Justice.

This characterization of Napoleon III’s government is too general, however, because in precisely 1869, when the Grand Prix de l’Empereur was being awarded, its public image was being modified to emphasize its democratic rather than its authoritarian qualities. Napoleon III seemed to affirm the intimations that he was an opportunist prepared to modify his regime in response to pressure. When the clerical party weakened after 1860, he began to loosen the restraints on the press, political agitators, and the legislature. He set about wooing a Republican, Emile Ollivier, to lead his government. After the electoral campaign of May–June 1869, Ollivier negotiated the position of Prime Minister and a new constitution, taking power on January 2, 1870.⁹⁸ (Interestingly, Garnier and Ballu, sent to Marseilles and Bordeaux by the architectural section of the jury to examine buildings under consideration outside Paris, took time in their report to mention visiting Ollivier’s new villa near Avignon and to praise its “qualités d’étude et de distinction.” This is the only such side trip they permitted themselves and one wonders why they did so.⁹⁹)

In light of this, the clear lead in the voting established by the New Louvre and the Palais de Justice makes sense. These monuments from the start were the most worthy competitors for the Emperor’s recognition. One might protest the whole situation—as those voting for Garnier’s Opera or Perraud’s *Le Désespoir* or casting blank ballots might have been doing—but the real choice was between the New Louvre and the Palais de Justice. The jury was a professional panel, both academic and non-academic. It selected, in the end, the more controlled, professional design.

Seven

LABROUSTE'S BIBLIOTHEQUE NATIONALE

In this volume we have repeatedly encountered the idea that a building should be an organism, mechanical in being fabricated from inert material, but also anthropomorphic in being shaped to appear to be experiencing elastic loads and thrusts in its structure like a human body. Duc's Vestibule de Harlay is only the most perfect manifestation of this idea, which we first encountered, tentatively and partially, in Labrouste's Paestum reconstructions of 1828–29. Cuvier's demonstration that all the parts of a biological organism are interrelated, so that the whole can be reconstructed from a single element, was accepted as a *typos* applicable to architecture by writers as different as Viollet-le-Duc and Beulé.¹ The ideal, in a word, was transparency, the situation where the whole work of architecture—its structure, its function, its philosophical nature—might be grasped by a glance at its exterior, as if one were conceptually seeing right through its walls. Léopold-Amédée Hardy even used the word in 1887 to characterize the approach of his *maître d'atelier*, Joseph Nicolle: “He sought to make the interior show through (*transparaître*) on the exterior of a building.”² This is just the turn of phrase one wants to describe the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Marseilles Cathedral, and the Vestibule de Harlay.³

In chapter two we saw how such an organic, “transparent” conception of architecture was possible at this time, especially in the circle producing the *Encyclopédie nouvelle*, but we have not explored why this idea was applied specifically to architecture. This is an important matter because until 1830 a work of architecture was not conceived as a self-sufficient object but as a setting. Its forms were determined by the social functions they enclosed rather than by their individual material nature. Architecture had been understood as an extension of clothing, furniture, and interior decoration. And, most importantly, it was the French above all who perfected the coordinated social setting: foreigners in the nineteenth century did not go to French designers for “transparency” in furniture or building but, on the contrary, for the most theatrical yet stylish and tasteful pretense.

Before the Revolution, French society was indistinguishable from the persons of the aristocracy and architecture was synonymous with the aristocratic habitation. The expression of the latter was the pretenses of the former; the aristocratic habitation was the statement of the rank and quality of the inhabitant.⁴ Jacques-François Blondel does not enumerate building types in his compendious *Cours d'architecture* (1771–77, completed by Pierre Patte), and the chief specific examples he discusses are palaces. His other publications, *Architecture française* (1752–56) and *De la Distribution des maisons de plaisance* (1737–38), are mostly devoted to the topic of the expression of character. Among the things remarkable about Boullée's unpublished *Essai sur l'art* (c. 1785–93), Ledoux's *Architecture considérée . . .* (1804), and Durand's *Précis des leçons . . .* (1802 and 1805) is that they interpret the problem as one of distinguishing functional types rather than degrees of aristocratic rank and quality. During the 1830s in his lectures at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, Huyot was extraordinary in developing the idea that building's origins were social, not formal, and in excoriating the concentration upon private architecture as a sign of decadence. "It was personal interest that . . . brought on the decadence of architecture," we read in his lecture notes, "and the sumptuous palaces built for simple, private individuals during the later times of the Great Empires sufficiently attest that the arts, in prostituting, so to speak, their works to the fashion and caprice of wealth, will perish themselves with the institutions to which they owe their origin."⁵

The links between these texts and the mentality of the Revolution (Huyot was a student of David in the 1790s) has been frequently noted.⁶ Nevertheless the Empire and especially the Restoration revived many of the trappings of rank, and, appropriately, the leading architects of these two periods were palace designers, Charles Percier (1764–1838) and Pierre-François-Léonard Fontaine (1762–1853). All of their influential publications were of habitations or interior decoration, starting with their *Palais, maisons et autres édifices dessinés à Rome* (1798) and culminating in their *Plans de plusieurs châteaux, palais et résidences de souverains de France, d'Italie, d'Espagne et de Russie* of 1833, the last and most impressive volume devoted to royal architectural etiquette.⁷ Percier's numerous students explored the genre further in a beautiful series of publications including Grandjean de Montigny and A.-P.-S.-M. Famin's *Architecture toscane* (1815), M.-P. Gauthier's *Plus beaux édifices de la ville de Gênes* (1818–30), L.-P. Haudebourt's *Palais Massimi à Rome* (1818), J.-B. Lesueur's *Architecture italienne* (with F. Callet, 1827), Jules Bouchet's *Villa Pia* (1837), and Paul-Marie Letarouilly's celebrated *Edifices de Rome moderne* (1840–57).

Percier and Fontaine in their 1833 volume quote Napoleon neatly rationalizing his needs at Malmaison by proposing three wings, two for his "habitation" and "travail," enframing a third, monumental block for

his “représentation.”⁸ “Représentation,” the 1835 edition of the dictionary of the Académie Française states, “denotes the rank (*état*) held by a person distinguished by his rank, by his dignity, etc. . . . It also denotes the good appearance (*bonne mine*), the imposing figure cut by a man who is tall and well proportioned.”⁹ It was an aristocratic, pre-Revolutionary term; Larousse in the 1860s just quotes the Académie’s definition verbatim while Littré contemporaneously cites only seventeenth- and eighteenth-century examples of use. What is remarkable about Napoleon’s conception of Malmaison is not that it centered on the sovereign’s “représentation,” but that his “habitation” and “travail” were given wings rather than space in the basement or the attic. What this points up is an important change that came with the Revolution: respect for the comfort and personality of the person being “represented.” Before this what was being “represented” was rank. Etiquette, the *Encyclopédie des gens du monde* informs us in 1835, was originally merely the matter of precedence, deriving from the legal term “*est hic quaestio*” denoting the order of documents. Precedence is the subject of the great seventeenth- and eighteenth-century compendia of court etiquette, Théodore and Denys’s *Cérémonial français* (1649) and Dumont’s *Corps universel diplomatique* (1726–31). These consist of summaries of the order of processions and assemblies commencing (as far as documentation permits) with Charlemagne. The sumptuous publications of Napoleon’s marriage ceremonies and *sacre* as well as the proposed publication of the *sacre* of Charles X were documents of precedence.¹⁰ It was only in the nineteenth century, with the emergence of the dandy, that rank became less important than accomplishment, often expressed in calculated eccentricities.¹¹

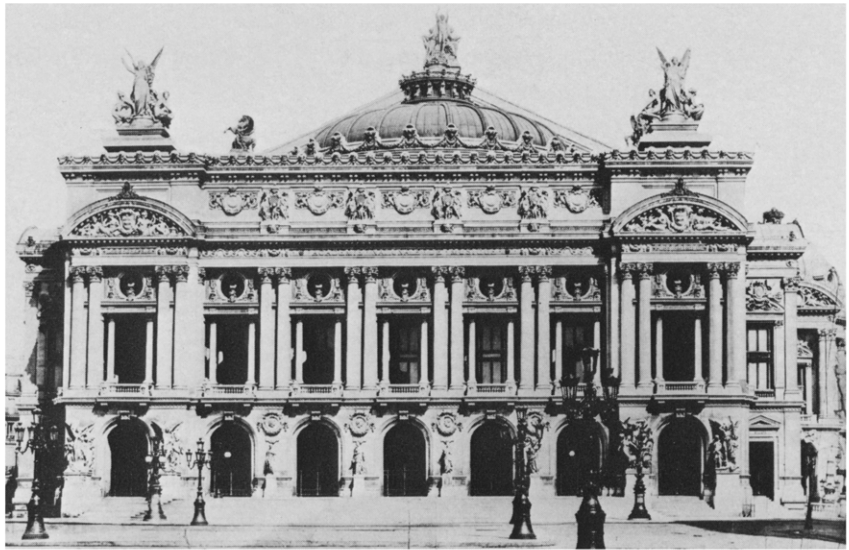
Louis XIV and his minister Colbert understood most clearly that a monarch’s “représentation” lay in the adornment of his person, of the rooms he appeared in, of the palace containing these rooms, and of the grounds surrounding this palace—all equivalent in their splendor and hierarchy to the ceremonial assembly of his courtiers.¹² Versailles was the great manifestation of their vision. Just as they established firm, hieratic court etiquette, Louis XIV and Colbert organized the sartorial, decorative, and architectural setting—after reorganizing the royal finances and the French economy to support it all. In 1664 Colbert appointed himself Surintendant Général des Bâtiments du Roi, Arts et Manufactures, taking under his control royal building, the academies, the art manufacturies (Beauvais, Gobelins, Sèvres), the royal fêtes, the Opera, the royal museums, and the royal library. To maintain Louis XIV’s “représentation,” a vast plant employing dozens of artists of the first rank and hundreds of craftsmen was created. Other monarchs trying to compete with the Sun King and his successors had to create similar plants, as the kings of Prussia did at Potsdam during the eighteenth century. But for all the em-

phasis upon excellence, manifested particularly in the deliberations of the academies, this was not an enterprise dedicated to disinterested professional quality: the object of it all was the “représentation” of the King and abstract ideals entered only insofar as the monarch saw himself as an ideal. It was the unqualified statement of the monarchic system, and Labrousse, for one, refused to visit Versailles because it was so completely at variance with his Liberal values.¹³

The plant created for the “représentation” of the last of the Bourbons continued after the Revolution, partly out of bureaucratic momentum, partly because components like Sèvres, Beauvais, and Gobelins were profitable, partly because the heads of the French state were still concerned about their “représentation.”¹⁴ The last monarch, Napoleon III, was the most concerned of all and the most profligate in his expenditures.

During the Second Empire the quality of “représentation” was extended to certain newly distinguished types producing a strange but influential hybrid, simultaneously palatial and institutional. The pattern was set in Napoleon III’s creation of a Ministère d’Etat et de la Maison de l’Empereur, simultaneously a department of the bureaucracy and the Emperor’s personal staff. The ministry’s first great enterprise, the New Louvre, filled the pattern in: a building made to look palatial, like the Tuileries, but containing government offices, libraries, and museums instead. A second building from the second decade of the Empire raised that pattern to a paradigm: the new Opera, designed and erected from 1861 to 1875 by Charles Garnier (figures 80, 81).¹⁵

Duban had been appointed architect for the restoration of the Louvre voted by the Assemblée Constituante on May 24, 1848. The Prince-President, elected at the end of that year, finding Duban too difficult—having to treat with him “de puissance à puissance,” we are told¹⁶—passed him over for the design of the New Louvre in favor of L.-J.-T. Visconti, an efficient and well-connected private and government architect, recommended perhaps by being the designer of Napoleon’s tomb under the dome of the Invalides. Visconti died on December 23, 1853, however, and was replaced by a young Grand Prix winner and son of a successful building contractor in Versailles, Hector Lefuel, who was already in the administration of the Palais Impériaux and had done excellent work at Fontainebleau.¹⁷ He proved a tremendous success with the Emperor, redesigning Visconti’s facades and carrying the work to rapid completion in 1857.¹⁸ He established himself close to the Emperor and especially the Empress Eugénie, redoing the private rooms at the Tuileries and Saint-Cloud, receiving commissions for houses and interiors from Fould, Nieuwerkerke (Directeur de Musées Impériaux), and the Princesse Mathilde, and drawing upon himself the venom of Viel-Castel.¹⁹ We have



80

*Charles Garnier, Opera, Paris,
1862–75. (Photo: Giraudon)*



81

*Charles Garnier, Opera, grand
staircase. (Photo courtesy North-
western University)*

already noted how in spite of this success the leaders of his profession resisted the consideration of his New Louvre for the Grand Prix de l'Empereur.

Garnier was a full generation younger than the Romantic *pensionnaires* and, as a student of Lebas, was not from their camp. He was only thirty-five when he was named architect of the Opera as the result of a two-part competition. The jury had been the architecture section of the Académie des Beaux-Arts and the members of the Conseil des Bâtiments Civils combined, a group of twelve in which Questel, Constant-Dufoix, Duban, and Gilbert were the only rationalists.²⁰ Garnier defeated Viollet-le-Duc on the first round and Duc (by default) on the second.

Napoleon III's lusty supporter Théophile Gautier received Garnier's design with great enthusiasm in the pages of the official *Moniteur universel* while it was still only a project or under construction.²¹ At the display of the competition drawings on February 11, 1861, he wrote: "It is clearly the most individual project in the exhibition. It recalls no known monument."²² When Garnier displayed a model at the Salon in 1863, Gautier waxed eloquent over the facade, which he compared to those of the Venetian palaces on the Grand Canal. "It reconciles the demands of architecture and those of life." Here he saw the grand staircase and used his literary talents to evoke the effect soon to be famous in actual fact:

A graciously curving ramp, the steps of which one hardly senses, leads to a landing from which two other ramps rise to the first floor by gentle slopes. The well of the staircase is supported by coupled Ionic columns in Seracolin marble upon which are posed immense arches and which unite, from floor to floor, the balconies with their richly ornamented balustrades where the curious can lean over as in a painting by Paolo Veronese, simultaneously spectators and spectacle, to watch at their leisure that marvel of modern civilization which one calls a sortie d'Opéra, that is, this cascade of diamonds, of pearls, of feathers, of flowers, of white shoulders, of satins, of velvets, of moirés, of gauzes, of laces, which here foams on the white marble steps, to the sparkling of vivid lights, framed by a fairy architecture.²³

Finally on August 5, 1867, Gautier wrote with enthusiasm of the facade that would be revealed when the scaffolding was removed on the fifteenth of that month:

The Opera is the temple of modern civilization, it is the culmination of art, luxury, elegance, all the refinements of the haute vie. The fortunate of society who frequent it are discerning and wish to find there the sumptuosities of their palaces and their hôtels.

*It must be both charming and grandiose, coy and pure, fashionable and classic; the problem is not easy to solve. M. Garnier has succeeded in this almost impossible task.*²⁴

Unfortunately Gautier died before the building was completely finished and inaugurated on January 5, 1875; one would like to have had his eruptions upon that occasion.

Duban, however, had been assigned to report on Garnier's project for the Conseil des Bâtiments Civils. What he presented at their meeting on July 16, 1861, was more critical. He thought the vehicle access too restricted, criticized the grand staircase, and particularly criticized the lack of appropriate character in the facade. This he saw as based on the palatial models of Perrault's Louvre and Gabriel's Place de la Concorde.

*We express the opinion that if such a great show of architectural splendor must indicate the function of the establishment, the elements should not be borrowed from whatever building of diverse function, but on the contrary should indicate the special function of the opera by displaying a definite character, a character which, in our opinion, should embrace equally the beauty of external forms and the appearance of internal comfort which good society seeks in the places that it frequents.*²⁵

He recommended further studies to clarify the character and to unify what he saw as the incoherence of the arched system of the first story and the trabeated one of the *piano nobile*.

Garnier made some modifications but answered most devastatingly in the building itself and in a series of articles published in the *Moniteur universel* during the 1860s (republished as a book, *A travers les Arts*, in 1869), in a theoretical treatise, *Le Théâtre* (1871), and finally in his monumental *Le nouvel Opéra de Paris* (two volumes and atlas, 1878–81). In the building as well as in his writings, Garnier insists that architecture is not a matter of principles but of experiences. *Le Théâtre* is completely devoted to the description of the carefully paced path he has laid out from coach to box and the changing but appropriate tableaux he arranges at each stage. The subscribers—the class that managed the Opera and Garnier's principal audience—arrived by coach at the east *porte-cochère* and entered the low, circular *vestibule des abonnés* under the auditorium itself. This was provided with mirrors and comfortable *poufs*; it was where the wealthy women of the *haut monde* removed their wraps and prepared for their public appearance ascending the grand staircase. It was thus feminine and rococo in decoration, preparatory to the most majestic piece of theater in the building, the Venetian grand staircase. Of this last Garnier wrote:

If the great central stairway is a place of luxury and movement, if ornament is elegantly arranged, if the animation that rules the steps is an interesting and varied

spectacle, it will be an advantage from which everyone will profit. With the lateral walls of the staircase arranged to be left open, all the people circulating on each floor will be able to entertain themselves with the view of the great hall and with the incessant comings and goings of the crowd up and down the stairs. . . . Finally, by arranging fabrics and wall hangings, garlands, candelabra and chandeliers, as well as marble and flowers, color everywhere, one makes of this ensemble a brilliant and sumptuous composition that will recall in real life certain of the resplendent tableaux that Veronese fixed on his canvases. The sparkling lamps, the splendid gowns, the animated and smiling faces, the greetings exchanged, all have the air of festivity and pleasure, and without realizing what is owed to the architecture for the magical effect, everyone will enjoy it and everyone will, by their favorable impression, pay homage to this great art, so mighty in its manifestations, so noble in its effects.²⁶

Garnier's Opera and the books he wrote in defense of it contrast sharply with the French architectural tradition studied in this volume. Vaudoyer, Reynaud, Fortoul, and Viollet-le-Duc insisted on historical and structural consistency in a work of architecture and also on a consistent, unifying chain of logic in the elaboration of the design and detailing. Yet Garnier praised the intuitive over the rational and precise:

Theories often have as their end the explanation of what has already been done; but they could sometimes be very dangerous if one were to listen to them before setting to work. From the first the artist has to compose and even execute without overly troubling himself with these axioms and dogmatic rationalizations. It is by intuition alone that they must penetrate into the spirit; it is by intuition alone that they must be manifested, and when they do so, they have more power, feeling being in harmony with reason. . . .

Sometimes when I take up my pencil to compose, I feel invaded by these theoretical ideas which rise before me like a schoolteacher confronting a child who has made a mistake; but I assure you that instead of trying to reason at such times with these learned visions, I chase them from me as best I can, until feelings alone, and nothing else, guide my eyes, my hand, and my thought.²⁷

He insisted that in his broader social terms there *was* a consistency and distinctiveness to modern architecture in spite of "the instinctive impression of the masses, who would call the Bourse a Greek temple."²⁸ And his writings call to mind another genre, the literature on interior design exemplified in Henry Havard's *L'Art dans la maison* of 1883.²⁹ Like Gar-

nier, Havard analyzes each space in the house in terms of the social activity it encloses. "He who says 'table' pronounces a weighty word," he opens his section on the dining room, and for sixteen pages he discourses on the shape of the table, the number of chairs, the placement of the windows, the lighting, the correct historical style, and the proper subjects for decorative paintings. "One should especially avoid posing an enigmatic composition, like a fatal question mark, before a decent man sitting down to dinner."³⁰ Also, like Garnier, Havard presumes that each room has a historical style particularly appropriate to its function: the Rococo for the bedroom; the Baroque for the vestibules and salons; the exotic styles for smoking rooms, and so on.

Garnier's accomplishment, in a word, was exactly what Duban had criticized when analyzing the project of 1861: he had made the Opera palatial, he had imposed on a public institution the concerns for social "représentation" particularly developed for domestic design. Such a development was not inexplicable at this moment. The Opera was not like a bank, a law court, or a library: it was (as Gautier insisted) a place of entertainment for the highest level of society—a perpetual *salon*, if you will—and was administered by a special commission in the Ministère d'Etat de la Maison de l'Empereur like the New Louvre. (Nevertheless Garnier never enjoyed Lefuel's access to the Emperor, in part, it is said, because the Empress Eugénie resented that her friend Viollet-le-Duc had been passed over for the commission.³¹) Furthermore, elaborateness and comfort in interior design advanced massively during the Second Empire, so much so that Siegfried Giedion could call the epoch that of the upholsterer.³² In painting and literature the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were rediscovered at this time and studied by Houssaye, the Goncourts, and even Cousin for the subtlety of that society's etiquette and social nuance.³³ Even in the work of Labrouste the hard, angular chairs of the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, opened in 1851, gave way to curving, expansive Louis XV *chaises* in the Bibliothèque Nationale when it opened in 1868.

Garnier's solution—the domestication of institutional architecture—was to become one of the most important threads of the French architectural tradition. He created in the Opera what by the end of the century emerged as the grand hotel, partially through the medium of his own casino at Monte Carlo (1878–82). He evolved something that was simultaneously comfortable and pretentious as well as indefinite in its references so that anyone and everyone could pretend it was home. He solved the problem César Daly signaled as the great one of the time in the introduction to his *Architecture privée sous Napoléon III* (1864–77): the introduction of intimacy in a modern architecture that no longer was the product of individual enterprise.³⁴ Garnier transformed and adapted the whole concept of "repré-

sentation.” In the twentieth century, at the end of the tradition, this domestication of the institutional became one of architecture’s most important elements, as for example in the work of Paul Philippe Cret, who conceived the Pan American Union building in Washington, D.C. (1907–13) as a place of meeting and so as a garden and a salon, and meant his museums, especially his Detroit Institute of Arts (1919–29), to suggest palatial residences.³⁵

So far we have been looking at only half of the matter broached at the beginning of this chapter. “Transparency,” as Hardy remarked, characterized the work of Nicolle, one of the most radical followers of the Romantic *pensionnaires*. In 1853, as Hardy relates, “he made his students study a theater in which the auditorium and stage were visible on the exterior”³⁶; and at the end of that decade Nicolle submitted a project in the competition for the Opera where indeed the interior volumes are evident externally. But more important, in that project the interior function symbolically shows through the masonry cladding in the depiction of the proscenium arch across the broad face of the flytower and in the festive tent form given the half-dome of the auditorium (figure 82).³⁷ “Transparency” to Nicolle was illusionistic and symbolic, not merely mechanical:

Stone, for him, was only a means for rendering an idea, to communicate a sentiment; it was the page of a book that one must read.

He sought to crystallize a memory, an idea, a form, an allusion.

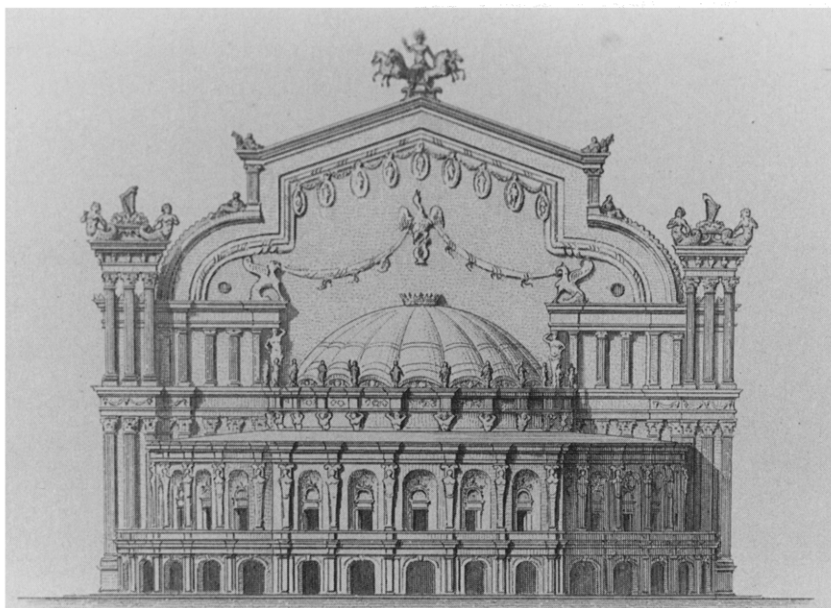
*He made us study a family tomb in the form of the paternal house, the tree which shaded it becoming itself the monument.*³⁸

Labrouste’s daughter also wrote a poignant necrology of Nicolle under her pseudonym Léon Dassy: “Seeking the logic of forms in construction, but not in an absolute and exclusive manner, he attempted to elevate sentiments and forms to ideals, to the true external expression of the contents.”³⁹

Nicolle’s example makes us realize that the “transparency” of Labrouste’s Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève is more than practical and mechanical. We have noted Labrouste’s explanation of the red-painted lists of names on the curtain walls as the manifestation of the bookshelves inside against them (figure 32). But these lists are more powerful than mere physical display: the names are not, in fact, those on the spines of the books beyond, but an abstract historical catalogue beginning with Moses and ending with the contemporary physicist Brezelius—the symbolic concentration of the meaning of a library and the knowledge it contains. Labrouste thus displays a very distinctive attitude toward the wall surface. Here it is neither a solid stone theater flat like the screen walls concealing

82

*Joseph Nicolle, Competition project
for the Opera, Paris, 1861. From
Revue générale de l'architecture
et des travaux publics 19 (1861).*



the flying buttresses and domes of Soufflot's Pantheon across the street, nor is it a skin stretched over the structural skeleton and functional organs of the interior, as in Vaudoyer's Marseilles Cathedral. Labrouste's wall, on the contrary, is a kind of lens through which one appears to see into the building, but a lens that reveals the conceptual contents instead of the empty physical space.

"Transparency" to Nicolle and Labrouste meant the external manifestation of the spiritual contents of the architectural vessel. Their designs were not so much logical as cerebral. In analyzing them one is led from the facts of mechanical construction to the images and metaphors of the imaginative mind. The problem was the moment of passage—the entry from the real world into the cerebral illusion. Contemporaneous romantic literature often solved this problem with the simple tactic of the dream.⁴⁰ Labrouste, however, was given that of the door, and in the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève he uses it to full advantage (figure 83).

Entering the door from the Place du Panthéon, one is abruptly confronted by a dark space into which intrude ranges of very solid, stone piers, without bases and with square, widely spaced flutes. These are repeated around the walls as pilasters, but the latter are interrupted and bound to the wall by leveling courses. The piers and pilasters terminate in a network of light iron trusses, the principals of Labrouste's iron floor system, which are strikingly lighter than their stone supports. Although a gesture of perfect honesty, this arrangement was very unsettling to an eye accustomed to the proportions of continuous masonry construction. In reviewing the building in *L'Artiste* in 1851, the young architect Achille Hermant wrote:

*By the manner in which these two so different materials, stone and iron, are juxtaposed and united, the pier appears heavy and the arch fragile. There is something shocking in seeing so much strength expended in supporting so little. We are perfectly aware of the objections one might make about the comparative strength of the two materials; but it must not be forgotten that everything true is not always beautiful and that what is solid and sufficient materially might not satisfy the eyes. One sees and feels before one reasons and more quickly than one reasons. Thus it is necessary, after having calculated solidity mathematically, to calculate, with less precision, the impression the form might produce. This rule has not been sufficiently observed in the detail we have just cited.*⁴¹

Hermant misses Labrouste's point, however, even though he reads the work and even notes the key when he calls the ceiling "the sky—the ceiling depicts nothing else."⁴²



83

*Henri Labrouste, Bibliothèque
Sainte-Geneviève, Paris, 1843–50,
vestibule. (Photo: James Austin)*

Labrouste paints the ceiling away as a blue sky, which, to reinforce the conceit, he carries unbroken down the two side walls, where it becomes the background for two vistas of treetops (painted by Ingres's student Alexandre Desgoffe) suggesting a garden extending right and left.⁴³ The unexpected and seemingly impossible step from the massive stone piers to the ethereal iron trusses is thus made the entry point into an illusionistic fantasy. The fantasy itself is familiar from historical sources: walls thus painted away into garden vistas were a Pompeiian motif, while the particular rendering is familiar from Ghirlandaio's *Last Supper* in the Ognisanti.⁴⁴ The leveling courses of the lateral wall masonry that cut the pilasters also serve as bands across the wall surface that define the lower limit of the painted illusion and support a row of busts of French philosophers, scientists, and artists.⁴⁵ The foliage behind each bust, in fact, is an attribute. Labrouste himself explained in 1852:

I would very much have desired that a large space planted with big trees and decorated with statues were laid out in front of the building to shield it from the noise of the street outside and to prepare those who come there for meditation. A beautiful garden would undoubtedly have been an appropriate introduction to a building devoted to study, but the narrowness of the site did not permit such an arrangement and it had to be forgone. Thus the garden I would have loved to traverse in order to arrive at this monument I painted on the walls of the vestibule, the only intermediary space between the public square and the library. My painted garden is not so fine as the beautiful allées of chestnut and plane trees, but it has the advantage of offering trees always green and in bloom, even in the month of December; and more, without regard to the climate of Paris, I may, in the fertile earth of the imagination, plant trees of all localities, and place next to Saint Bernard the palms of the Orient, flowering orange trees next to Racine, the oak and the rose next to Fontaine, and myrtle and laurels next to Poussin.

*The vestibule is a little dark, but the readers, in crossing it, perhaps will believe that this obscurity is only that of the shade of these trees which they glimpse and, if I may be pardoned, I hope they will.*⁴⁶

Thus the vestibule of the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève is a historical grove of Academe occupied by the great minds of modern times, each in his own garden at the same time. "One sees upon entering," Labrouste remarked, "that here one is in good company."⁴⁷ But the illusion lasts only a moment: it is restricted to the two lateral sides of the space, while the facing wall opens to lead one's mind and feet up the stairs to the reading room.

Labrouste's last and greatest work was the Bibliothèque Nationale, and in its principal space, the Salle des Imprimés (1859–68), he repeated and refined the theme of the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève's vestibule. The room's facade, facing north over a low vestibule into the entrance court, is skeletalized in three broad stone arches occupying the whole width of the otherwise unarticulated wall. In spite of this warning, upon entering the space through a low, unpretentious doorway, one is surprised and carried into an illusion, as in the much smaller vestibule of the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, but more profoundly (figure 84). Here, after the constriction of the entry space, there is a flood of light, but it is diffused and from concealed sources, for the walls on the three sides visible from the door are closed; there is the continuous arcuated structure signaled on the exterior, but now open and lightened to seemingly impossible proportions. The secret of the first impression is in part the broad north windows at the visitor's back, but it is due more to the nine white porcelain domes that cover the space, reflecting and diffusing the light admitted by their small central glazed oculi, like huge versions of the green porcelain lampshades at the desktops. Gas fixtures set in the pendentives of the domes function similarly by reflection and diffusion after dark. Labrouste's use of the new industrial materials of porcelain and glass to flood the reading room with light was unparalleled and extraordinarily successful, but it depended upon his utilization of a third material to open the space and lighten the roof: iron. We have noted how the stone vaulted ceiling of Duc's vestibule at the Palais de Justice answered to the nineteenth-century expectations of load and support (as enunciated by Viollet-le-Duc) and how Hermant criticized the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève vestibule for not doing so in its iron trusses. The visual insecurity of iron construction was a common theme in the 1850s when Labrouste was conceiving the Salle des Imprimés. Charles Garnier, for example, had intoned in 1857:

The impression one should feel at the sight of a monument is the sentiment of grandeur, of nobility, of calm, and of confidence. . . .

The means one should employ to give architecture this character of nobility and security all derive from the same principle, specifically the harmony of the proportions and relationships in general between the masses and the voids. What is more opposed to these requirements than construction in iron? In fact, in this genre of construction, the supports are thin, elongated, and of less importance than the parts they support.

*It is thus the inability of iron to provide masses and supports satisfying to the eye which necessitates its rejection for any artistic construction.*⁴⁸

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*Henri Labrouste, Bibliothèque
Nationale, Paris, 1860–67, Salle
des Imprimés. (Photo: James
Austin)*



Labrouste in the Salle des Imprimés does precisely what Garnier prescribes: not only is the ceiling iron but the supports are as well, all in contrast to the solid masonry shell visible from the court and around the interior walls. But, precisely as in the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève vestibule, the visual impossibility of the structure of the Salle des Imprimés is the trigger for an extended architectural illusion. The four central columns, which seem too thin to support the ceiling, and the ceiling itself, which in other hands might have been made to seem too heavy to be supported, are lightened as Labrouste arches the crossties and billows up the porcelain reflector domes as if they were cloth awnings in a gusting breeze. One seeks the source of the sustaining breeze and finds it in the lunettes along the east and west walls, painted away (again by Desgoffe) as vistas of treetops and blue sky. One seems to be in a garden tent. Labrouste ties the knot and brings the illusion back to reality behind the visitor, for the lunettes repeat the forms of the great north windows which from inside present similar vistas of blue sky and, during the nineteenth century when the courtyard was planted, treetops.⁴⁹ One becomes confused about what is real and what fictive: what weighs down seems to billow up; the painted openings are in clearer, deeper perspective than the real ones; that which is solid—the domes—glows as if transparent. Nevertheless, the effect is unitary and unified, while the light and openness are precisely what the function of a reading room demands.

Labrouste had been appointed architect of the library (during the Second Empire called the Bibliothèque Impériale) on February 16, 1854, after the death of Visconti, who had been in charge of the structure.⁵⁰ It had been housed in the seventeenth-century Palais Mazarin on the northeast corner of the rue de Richelieu and the rue des Petits-Champs, spilling over into the Hôtel Tarboeuf next door.⁵¹ A general rebuilding of the structure had been projected for decades—indeed since 1785, when Boullée had proposed turning the court into a vast vaulted reading room⁵²—and on December 19, 1857, a commission was named to produce an administrative and architectural program of reorganization with Labrouste's help. Meanwhile the architect restored the interiors of the Hôtel Tarboeuf, spending 50,000 francs in 1856; 110,000 francs in 1857; and 150,000 francs in 1858. The commission issued its report on August 20, 1858, and on April 7, 1859, Labrouste submitted a definitive project, to cost 9,000,000 francs.⁵³ It worked within the framework of the existing structures, retaining the Galerie Mazarine and the rococo library erected by Robert de Cotte, while placing a new stack structure and reading room where the *corps de logis* and garden of the old palace stood south of the *cour d'honneur*. The reading room, however, is a simple square with a coved iron ceiling pierced by a single, broad skylight; and the courtyard is shown opening into the Square Louvois through an arcade (which was omitted in execution at the request

of the library authorities for security reasons). This project was approved with warm praise by the Conseil des Bâtimens Civils on April 27, 1859; approved by the Minister on May 7; and put under construction at the rotunda on the southwest corner on June 1.⁵⁴

Sketches and preliminary projects indicate that Labrouste devoted a great deal of study and thought to the Salle des Imprimés after the approval of the initial project. The Conseil's one important criticism had been that the single mid-ceiling skylight might cast the shadow of the reader's heads on the desktops, and his system of domical reflectors would seem, in part, a response. Labrouste also added an exedra at the far end of the space and was experimenting with responding exedral forms on the court facade, creating an axis moving through the tableau of the room like that of the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève vestibule. All the while construction progressed: the reading room's foundations were laid in 1860 and its masonry envelope erected in 1862–64. On March 8, 1864, the contract for the thin faïence plaques of the domes was signed with W. T. Copeland of Birmingham, and on May 31, 1865, Labrouste certified the arrival of the last of the consignment.⁵⁵ The Salle des Imprimés was decorated in 1865 and 1866: Desgoffe contracted for his paintings on May 9, 1864, and was paid on September 29, 1865; Perraud for his caryatids at the door of the stacks on March 27, 1864 and March 28, 1865.⁵⁶ The medallions in the embrasures of the arches were authorized on May 17, 1865, and the twenty iron heaters in Labrouste's design were contracted for with Donzel on November 4, 1865, and paid for on June 28, 1868. In 1867 construction moved on to the vestibule, and early in 1868 the room was open and being reviewed in the press.⁵⁷ Work continued elsewhere in the complex, most particularly in the wing along the rue de Richelieu, until Labrouste's death in 1875; after that it was carried on by J.-L. Pascal, culminating in the erection of his disappointing Salle des Périodiques in 1906.

There has always been a temptation to read conventional symbolic meaning into the Salle des Imprimés. Already in 1868 "Y," writing in the *Moniteur des architectes* mused, "It is the garden of Academe symbolized; the walkers may, in their thoughts, stroll under these trees."⁵⁸ Recently, the German scholar Christian Beutler has interpreted the apse on the south wall as the Aula of Athena and the part-fictive, part-real vistas of foliage in the lunettes as making the space a symbolic greenhouse for the nurture of knowledge: "The library as greenhouse of science, as incubator of knowledge, and the scholars as gardeners—what a wonderful picture!"⁵⁹ Because of the room's Pompeiian style in its slim columns and fictive awning domes, I have proposed that Labrouste was referring to Pliny the Younger's study in his Laurentian villa, with its velaria and vistas on three sides.⁶⁰ Each reader would be a modern-day Pliny able to share the ancient Roman's comfort, now with 399 fellows, by the magic of paint,

porcelain, iron, glass, and gas. I have also yielded to the temptation to see the repetitive, cellular arched space as a Piranesian fantasy.⁶¹

To thus conventionally read the space's illusion, however, is to miss Labrouste's whole point. He himself insisted that his intention in painting the lunettes was *not* to distract the readers with symbolic scenes. He wrote in 1867 to Félix Thorigny of *Le Monde illustré*, "The architect thought that these calm, refreshing paintings were more appropriate to decorate a room dedicated to study than historical subjects, which might have the disadvantage of distracting the readers."⁶² This was repeated almost verbatim by Labrouste's son Léon in his booklet on the Bibliothèque Nationale of 1885.⁶³ Several contemporaneous critics, probably at the architect's suggestion, emphasized that here there were "no memories, no imitation."⁶⁴ The symbolic furniture of the space was as easy and unobtrusive as its shape or the access to it by a few steps across the vestibule from the courtyard.

Nonetheless, the tableau Labrouste creates in the Salle des Imprimés is so strong and unified that one struggles to place it and is gratified by the hint that Labrouste's student and friend, the architect A.-N.-L. Bailly, gives in his necrology of 1876. He remembers Labrouste reminiscing about the lunettes:

*When I was in lycée, before or after classes I would go and study in the Luxembourg Garden and especially in the Pépinière. There, where nothing disturbed me, my eyes as well as my mind would repose happily on the beautiful and luxuriant foliage that surrounded me. I thought that in a place of study the representation of what had had so much charm for me would be in a library a decoration without pretention, first of all, and also an occasion for rest for the minds of the readers occupying the room.*⁶⁵

In 1866 the Pépinière of the Luxembourg Garden was destroyed and the space appropriated by the university buildings along the rue d'Assas, causing the students—who, like Labrouste, enjoyed its quiet *allées*—to assail the Emperor at the Odéon in protest.⁶⁶

I have tried to interpret even this hint symbolically, as a reference to the Romantic theme of escape into a childhood fantasy of a garden past the mouth of a cave, as in Novalis's *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*.⁶⁷ One might propose that Labrouste was trying to make good his childhood refuge in the Pépinière, but its destruction was announced in 1866, well after the conception of the decoration of the Salle des Imprimés but just upon its completion. Labrouste's remark to Bailly seems an explanation offered after the fact. If that is so, however, Labrouste would have been proceeding precisely as he had in his Paestum *envoi* at the beginning of his career: the careful and elaborate interpretation of those remains was based on the

identification of the three structures as a temple to Neptune, one to Ceres, and a basilica. Those initial identifications were merely a local tradition; there was no proof of their correctness. What was important to Labrouste was what they seemed to suggest and that these suggestions were a way of accepting the otherwise mute monuments.

One is not troubled by the lack of allegorical furnishings in the Salle des Imprimés because the architecture offers enough in itself. It creates a complete, pervading, embracing impression that a fresco of Plato musing in the Academy or a statue of Minerva would shatter. This impression imposes itself by Labrouste's use of a strange, intense light and of a simple repetitive domical geometry. These qualities so tightly link all the elements of the space that it seems very small, a bit primitive, and quite impossible.

We have noted the function of the domes to soften and diffuse the light from the skylights and gas fixtures. The most obvious result of this was that the domes thus glow, day and evening, as if they were a source of light themselves and transparent. In 1857 when Labrouste visited London to study the problems of library building, he visited both Smirke's reading room at the British Museum and the ferrovitreous Crystal Palace at Sydenham. He dined with Owen Jones, who had been partly responsible for the latter and had painted its interior in the primary colors red, yellow, and blue so as to intensify its effect of light and transparency.⁶⁸ One realizes that in the Salle des Imprimés Labrouste has combined lessons from both of these London buildings. He has achieved the pervasive glow Jones sought but controlled it and protected it from the weather by his fragile porcelain interior inserted in a masonry and ferrovitreous shell.

Labrouste's glowing porcelain domes thus achieve an intensity of hue that sets off their red patterning and the green ironwork supporting them, the beige masonry, the leaf green and sky blue of Desgoffe's lunettes, and the red buildings of the tiers of books. In our earlier discussion of Vaudoyer's and Espérandieu's adaption of colored exterior masonry for Marseilles Cathedral and Notre-Dame-de-la-Garde, we noted the transformation of the concept of ancient Greek polychromy into a vivid, harmonious, atmospheric vision dematerializing solid mass and making it blend with the landscape. Gottfried Semper, the refugee German architect and theorist of polychromy, recently settled in London after spending 1849–50 in Paris, presented one of the most evocative statements of this vision in 1851:

The prevailing colours of the [ancient Greek] temple burned with all the glowing beauty of the setting sun. The colour may be defined as of a yellow-red, very vapoury, resembling that of the finest terra cotta. In fact, the general appear-

ance of the temple would precisely resemble the appearance of a fine day in an eastern climate.⁶⁹

We also saw how around 1850 this chromatic vision was applied to all the epochs of Mediterranean architecture as if an inevitable response to that luminous environment. Misty, cold Paris does not have the advantages of that climate, but modern industry has placed glass, iron, porcelain, central heating, and gas lighting at the architect's disposal so that now, during the Second Empire, he can create a Mediterranean garden inside and improve it by the suppression of seasons and times of day. The Salle des Imprimés is thus a painted Greek temple or the Alhambra turned inside out. Labrouste has done with climate what he did with geography in the paintings in the vestibule of the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève. One can say of this space what César Daly did of an interior painted by Owen Jones: "We have positively changed latitude: it seems as if the artist has reenacted the miracle of Prometheus, that he has discovered how to bring down fire from heaven to illuminate his work."⁷⁰

Labrouste has concentrated the parts of his composition so that the effect is reminiscent of the wonderful innocent architecture of Pompeian and quattrocento paintings to which its specific motifs refer. His Italian sketchbooks contain pages of architectural background extracted from these paintings, reflecting his fascination with how architecture is transformed by a naive painter's mind when freed from the trammels of function and construction. In the Salle des Imprimés he manages to create something like that, the quality Monsignor Durand recognized in Marseilles Cathedral when he compared it to a donor's model church in a medieval mosaic.

Labrouste's Salle des Imprimés is a response to and a critique of the series of solutions we have seen the Romantic *pensionnaires* offer in their great monuments of the Second Empire. Vaudoyer, in Marseilles Cathedral, demonstrated how there might be order without Orders, a round-arched vocabulary of spatial volumes that could refer to the whole history of architecture in a single, symphonic composition. Duc, in his Vestibule de Harlay, gave expressive emphasis to this eclectic ideal by returning to the Orders, now reanimated with specific structural and symbolic meaning. Labrouste, in the Salle des Imprimés, played off Duc's emphasis on the solidity of construction to create something seemingly structurally impossible and in so doing carries the viewer into a vision more timeless, scaleless, and vivid than Vaudoyer's donor's church.

Labrouste's architecture was sufficient in itself. It made no compromises with earth-borne spatial or structural forms used to express the history of the Church or the ideas of *Justice* and *Force*. His Salle des Imprimés seems pure fantasy unencumbered by any necessity to convey a specific message

at all. In the end, he produced a space that is utterly and unmistakably a reading room because here everything works to set the user's mind free, to allow it to wander conceptually rather than to labor logically.

Labrouste understood that architectural meaning had not just to be communicated, but to be embodied. Garnier embodied the meaning of his Opera in the most literal way: it is the representation, the setting, the cloak of its social function. But Labrouste's embodiment in the Salle des Imprimés is "transparent." It is not a setting for thought, it is thought itself.

CONCLUSION

There have been three questions underlying the narrative of this volume. First, what general objective, what embracing vision of architecture, had the Romantic *pensionnaires* formulated? Second, how was this manifested in specific architectural form? Third, under what circumstances and in what context did they execute their designs? I tried to answer the first two questions in my examination of the Romantic historicist ideal of the *pensionnaires* and its quite various manifestations in their first designs. In answering the third, I examined the distinct context of this work, its complete integration into the government architectural services. Finally, I analyzed the complex and impressive results in the great monuments of the Second Empire.

The Ecole des Beaux-Arts, the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, and the Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers, as well as the magisterial Cathedral of Marseilles, Palais de Justice, and Bibliothèque Nationale, constitute a series of impressive but puzzling creations. One comes to them knowing that they were considered the foundation monuments of the nineteenth-century French classical tradition, the Beaux-Arts. Yet they are not the predictable columniated machines Hasenauer and Ludwig Hoffmann, Blomfield and Baker, Burnham and McKim have made us expect. On the contrary, they are profound manifestations of the Romantic ideals of local historical projection, structural organicism, and (in the case of Labrouste) intuitive fantasy. Nevertheless, in the context of mid-nineteenth-century France, they are more accurate and incisive expressions of architectural thought than any Madeleine or Lincoln Memorial. They are firmly rooted in their time: the Ecole des Beaux-Arts is an alephlike summary in fragments of the modern artistic tradition; Marseilles Cathedral is a statement of historical and geographical colonialism; and Labrouste's two libraries are hallucinatory expressions of cerebral concentration.

These designs are manifestations not only of the mentality of a time but also of a social and professional circumstance. They were legible to the members of a certain class or circle. This was not the restricted circle of radical artists, nor the wide circle of the old nobility or the politicians or the general public. It was, instead, the circle of the administrative class—that peculiarly large, deathless, and in many ways unique segment of French society that observers from Alexis de Toqueville to Michel Crozier have felt its central phenomenon. This administrative world was the immediate context for the conception of these buildings and the factor in-forming and complicating their free and intuitive creation as works of art. The Romantic *pensionnaires*, working in the Bâtiments Civils or the

Edifices Diocésains, did not have to worry excessively about the Rothschilds or Louis-Philippe and Napoleon III, but they were beholden in myriad ways to the procedures, traditions, and mentality of their services—the procedures, traditions, and mentality as well of Labrousse's father and two brothers, of Vaudoyer's father, cousin, and son, of Duc's son-in-law, and so on.

In this context the Romantic rationalist and historicist ideals of the *pensionnaires* take on significant undertones. Marseilles Cathedral pretended to be an inflected history of the architectural culture of its site and time, yet in the end it was a remarkable statement of political and economic power: of France as the civilizing power of the Mediterranean world; of French art and scholarship as the unifying force in the history of culture. The Palais de Justice is only slightly less dramatic, especially if the Place Dauphine had been demolished to reveal the rue de Harlay facade astride the Ile de la Cité like the superstructure of a battleship. Its references are more complicated and concentrated: it is about order and authority in France itself, about a coordination of *Justice* and *Force* as perfect as that manifested in its balanced and responding half-columns and reliefs.

Here the Bibliothèque Nationale's Salle des Imprimés again stands out because it alone is speculative. Here the jingle of shibboleths—*Empire*, *Force*, *Justice*—is stilled. The lunettes, which might have been filled with symbolic turgidities, are mere illusionistic windows on treetops and sky. It is light, glowing, immaterial, where Marseilles Cathedral and the Palais de Justice had been resolutely solid and concrete. In a sense it is a protest, the quiet but firm protest of a man certain of his position and authority. Not a protest against modern industry, which provided the very materials that free his design to create illusions, nor against classicism as a tradition, which suffuses the tableau he created, but against the thoughtless repetition in iron and stone of the received ideas of mid-nineteenth-century culture. Yet it was the authority and relative freedom of his position as a government architect that gave him the opportunity to do this. He alone among the Romantic *pensionnaires* took full advantage of his position to produce in his glowing iron, glass, and porcelain box something as pointed as it was unexpected.

NOTES

ABBREVIATIONS

AN	Archives Nationales, Paris
BN	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris
<i>D d'A</i>	A.-C. Quatremère de Quincy, <i>Dictionnaire historique d'architecture</i> , 2 vols., Paris, 1832.
<i>DR</i>	E.-E. Viollet-le-Duc, <i>Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française du XI^e au XVI^e siècle</i> , 10 vols., Paris, 1854–68.
<i>EBA</i>	A. Drexler, ed., <i>The Architecture of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts</i> , Cambridge, Mass., 1977.
<i>E d'A</i>	<i>Encyclopédie d'architecture</i>
<i>EN</i>	<i>Encyclopédie nouvelle</i>
<i>Ent</i>	E.-E. Viollet-le-Duc, <i>Entretiens sur l'architecture</i> , 2 vols., Paris, 1863–72.
<i>GBA</i>	<i>Gazette des Beaux-Arts</i>
<i>Hicr</i>	L. Hauteceur, <i>Histoire de l'architecture classique en France</i> , 7 vols., Paris, 1943–57.
<i>JD</i>	<i>Journal des Débats</i>
<i>MP</i>	<i>Magasin pittoresque</i>
<i>MU</i>	<i>Moniteur universel</i>
<i>RDM</i>	<i>Revue des deux mondes</i>
<i>RGA</i>	<i>Revue générale de l'architecture et des travaux publics</i>

INTRODUCTION

1

The only modern study of Duban was one begun by Mlle. Cristine Marmoz before her death. Otherwise: L. Vaudoyer, *Discours prononcé au funérailles de M. Duban* (Paris, 1871); V. Baltard, *Hommage à Félix Duban* . . . (Paris, 1871); C.-A. Questel, *Notice sur Duban* (Paris, 1872); E. Beulé, *Eloge de Duban* (Paris, 1872); C. Blanc, *Les Artistes de mon temps* (Paris, 1876). Three volumes of Duban's historical drawings from Rome survive in the library of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, but otherwise his personal papers have not been located. Adolphe Lance provided illuminating critical entries for Duban and his friends in his *Dictionnaire des architectes français* (Paris, 1872). For Duban and his contemporaries, see also C. Bauchal, *Nouveau dictionnaire biographique et critique des architectes français* (Paris, 1887).

2

A seminal study of Labrouste exists in Neil Levine's dissertation, "Architectural Reasoning in the Age of Positivism: The Néo-Grec Idea of Henri Labrouste's Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève" (Yale University, 1975). See also: P. Saddy, *Henry Labrouste, architecte, 1801–1875* (Paris, 1977); R. Plouin, "Henry Labrouste, sa vie, son oeuvre, 1801–1875" (Thèse de troisième cycle, University of Paris, 1965); *Souvenirs d'Henri Labrouste, architecte, membre de l'Institut, notes recueillies et classées par ses enfants* (Paris, 1928); E. Millet, "Henry Labrouste, sa vie, ses oeuvres," *Bulletin de la société centrale des architectes* (1879–80); E. Bailly, *Notice sur M. Henri Labrouste* (Paris, 1876); H. Delaborde, *Notice sur la vie et les ouvrages de M. Henri Labrouste* (Paris, 1878). Labrouste's personal papers have been deposited in the Académie d'Architecture, Paris, and in the Cabinet des Estampes at the Bibliothèque Nationale.

3

There is no modern study of Duc beyond Katherine Taylor's current Harvard dissertation on the Palais de Justice. See: H. Delaborde, *Notice sur la vie et les ouvrages de M. Duc* (Paris, 1879); P. Sédille, *Joseph-Louis Duc, architecte (1802–1879)* (Paris, 1879); J.-L. Pascal, "M. Duc et son influence sur le mouvement architectural contemporain," *GBA* 2S, 19 (1879, pt. 1): 430–443; L. Cernesson, "Joseph-Louis Duc," *RGA* 37 (1880); cols. 75–79, 156–160. Duc's personal papers have not been located.

4

A monographic study of Vaudoyer is in process by Barry Bergdoll as a Columbia University dissertation. See also: G. Davioud, "Funérailles de M. Léon Vaudoyer," *Bulletin de la société centrale des architectes* (1872); A.-H. Revoil, "Léon Vaudoyer," *Le Messager du Midi*, February 14, 1872; T. Ballu, *Notice sur M. Léon Vaudoyer* (Paris, 1873); C. Blanc, *Les Artistes de mon temps*, pp. 225–248; E. Parrocel, *L'Art dans le Midi*, 4 vols. (Marseille, 1881–84). Vaudoyer's papers survive in the possession of his descendants. An illuminating series of letters about Vaudoyer written to Charles Blanc by his assistant Henri Espérandieu survive in the Blanc papers at the Institut de France, ms. 1809.

5

"Comment désespérer maintenant de notre architecture, quand on songe que la connaissance des beaux modèles est toute récente et que la véritable Renaissance ne date pas de trente ans? Guidée par l'étude et par une critique lumineuse, armée de toutes pièces, notre école a devant elle aujourd'hui la plus illustre carrière." C. Blanc, *Grammaire des arts du dessin* (Paris, 1867), p. 305.

6

"La raison et la vérité pénètrent enfin dans la domaine réservé aux arts; on comprend que l'oeuvre ne dépend pas d'une formule vide, mais de l'expression rationnelle d'une idée: une réforme artistique se prépare, et parmi les novateurs figurent au premier rang les élèves qui de 1821 à 1826 illustrent l'école de Rome, les Blouet, les Gilbert, les Duban, les Henri Labrouste, les Duc, les Vaudoyer." L. Magne, *L'Architecture française du siècle* (Paris, 1889), pp. 27–28.

7

"Au commencement du siècle, la seule esthétique était de concevoir *a priori* un édifice romain. . . . Un peu plus tard, une réaction violente substituait au romain *a priori* le moyen âge *a priori*, architecture d'une civilisation encore plus différente de la nôtre. . . . Heureusement, de fiers artistes—nos maîtres—ont vu et ont fait voir que l'indépendance ne consiste pas à changer de livrée, et notre art s'affranchi peu à peu de cette

paléontologie. Tout n'a pas été également heureux, mais tous les efforts vers ce but ont été féconds, et aujourd'hui nous savons et nous proclamons que l'art a droit à la liberté, que seule la liberté peut lui assurer la vie et la fécondité, disons mieux, le salut!"

J. Guadet, *Éléments et théorie de l'architecture*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1901–4), I, p. 85. He had started as a student of Labrouste but, when the atelier was closed in 1856, studied with the much more conservative André.

8

"Toute une pléiade d'artistes grandissait, dont les oeuvres devaient dominer le milieu du siècle et préparer l'avènement d'une architecture toute nouvelle, semblait-il en dépit de ses sources traditionnelles, par la caractère, la variété, et la vie. La génération née avec le siècle, celle en somme qui avait l'âge des grands romantiques . . . devait éclairer des compositions de sa maturité les dix-huit années du règne de Louis-Philippe et soutenir, vingt ans encore, l'art architectural du second empire des exemples de l'autorité de sa vieillesse. Quatre artistes du premier ordre, dans une même période de quatre années, vont remporter successivement le grand prix: ce sont Gilbert en 1822, Duban en 1823, Labrouste en 1824, enfin Duc en 1825." G. Gromort, *Histoire générale de l'art français de la Révolution à nos jours*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1922), II (architecture and sculpture), p. 43.

9

See his treatment of Labrouste in *Space, Time and Architecture*, 5th edition (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), pp. 218–228.

10

See the publications of the archaeological *envois* by the Ecole des Beaux-Arts: *Pompéi: travaux et envois des architectes français au XIX^e siècle* (1981); *Paris . Rome . Athènes: le voyage en Grèce des architectes français au XIX^e et XX^e siècles* (1982); and *Roma antiqua: envois des architectes français (1788–1924). Forum, Colisée, Palatin* (1985). Exhibitions of the work of Victor Laloux and Charles Garnier are slated at the Musée d'Orsay.

11

P. Saddy, *Henry Labrouste*; D. Rabreau, et al., *Gabriel Davioud, architecte (1824–1881)* (Paris, 1981); B. Foucart, et al., *Paul Abadie, architecte, 1812–1884* (Angoulême, 1984); Uwe Westföhl, et al., *Hittorff: un architecte du XIX^e siècle* (Paris, 1986).

THE STUDENT WORK

1

This moment is studied in Neil Levine's essay, "The Romantic Idea of Architectural Legibility: Henri Labrouste and the Néo-Grec," *EBA*, pp. 325–416; in D. Van Zanten, "The Beginnings of French Romantic Architecture and Félix Duban's Temple Protestant," *In Search of Modern Architecture*, ed. Helen Searing (New York and Cambridge, Mass., 1982), pp. 64–84; as well as in Levine's dissertation, previously cited, and D. Van Zanten, "The Architectural Polychromy of the 1830's," (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1970; published under that title by the Garland Publishing Company, New York, 1976). On the Grand Prix competitions: *EBA*; D. D. Egbert, *The Beaux-Arts Tradition in French Architecture*, ed. D. Van Zanten (Princeton, 1980); Neil Levine, "The Competition for the Grand Prix in 1824," *The Beaux-Arts*, ed. Robin Middleton (London, 1982), pp. 66–123.

2

Règlements pour les travaux des pensionnaires à l'Académie de France à Rome, ordonnance of January 26, 1821. Neil Levine has kindly provided me with a photocopy of this. The Director of the Academy in Rome, Horace Vernet, protested the restriction of exploration to Rome in a letter of June 6, 1829 (in the Institut de France archives), but was overruled by the Académie.

3

Léon Vaudoyer maintained a regular correspondence with his father, who was a respected *maître d'atelier*, Secrétaire-Archiviste of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, and, from 1823, member of the Académie. These letters have been preserved by their descendants and permit a remarkable glimpse into one of the Romantic *pensionnaire's* minds.

Of Siena: "La cathédrale m'a fait un plaisir infini. Il y règne une harmonie entre l'extérieur et l'intérieur et tout cela est décoré de marbres de couleurs, de peintures, etc. . . . et ressemble en rien à nos églises blanches et froides de Paris."

Of the Pitti Palace: "dont le caractère je trouve ne convient pas à une habitation de prince."

Of the Duomo and the Baptistry: "de choses dont on [ne] peut se faire une idée quand on ne les a pas vues."

Of San Miniato: "Comme Labrousse me l'avait écrit est une bien jolie chose."

Of Florence: "Je serais bien heureux quand je retournerai pour y travailler."

4

"Nous sommes extrêmement unis, on nous trouve fiers je ne sais [pas] pourquoi; . . . Labrousse et Duc m'ont conduit voir toutes les antiquités."

5

Cf. Letter, Léon Vaudoyer to his father, February 16, 1827.

6

Decraëne became a successful architect in Tournai in his native Belgium. His drawings, including those made in Rome, are preserved in the Musée des Beaux-Arts there.

7

Léon Vaudoyer, letters of June 13 and 22, 1827.

8

C. Blanc, *Les Artistes de mon temps*, (Paris, 1876), p. 16.

9

Léon Vaudoyer, letter of June 9, 1828.

10

Letter of August 3, 1828.

11

Letters of September 10, October 30, November 18, 1828. Kubly became a successful architect in St. Gall. See Benno Schubiger, *Felix Wilhelm Kubly, 1802–1872* (St. Gall, 1984). Dr. Schubiger has been very kind in sharing his research with me. See also: G. Germann, *Der protestantische Kirchenbau in der Schweiz* (Zurich, 1963), pp. 133–135.

12

"L'aspect de cette belle antiquité m'a ravi. C'est une des choses qui m'ait fait le plus d'effet." Letter of November 18, 1828.

13

Letter of April 23, 1829.

14

Ibid.

15

Letter of September 16, 1829.

16

Letter of November 3, 1829.

17

A very sketchy journal of that trip survives in the possession of the Vaudoyer family.

18

“En général ici nous renions ce que nous avons produit à Paris et comptons par nos productions à venir effacer les erreurs du passé.”

19

Letter of January 22, 1827: “Toutes les villa [sic] que je vois me prouvent le charlatanisme de l’ouvrage de Mr. Percier.”

Letter of February 16, 1827: “Les dessins de Mr. Thibault prouvent que de son temps on faisait quelque chose de rien[. C]ette mode est passé et l’on pense plus sérieusement; on ne passe pas son temps . . . à faire des croquis à boisseaux.”

Letter of April 4, 1827: “Est-ce que avec une chambre-claire que sont fait les entablements et les chapitiaux qu’on vous envoie chaque année? J’ai mesuré celui de Jupiter Stator et j’ai été à même juger toute la peine que cela donne, à mesurer, à restaurer, à rapporter, et mettre au net. Est-ce que à la chambre-claire que Duc et Labrousse ont fait leur voyage de Pompéia dont ils ont rapporté non pas des croquis et des vues pittoresques, mais des plans et des coupes levées et rapportées; on ne fait plus de minutes comme autrefois que l’on ne rapportais jamais et qui restent au portefeuille sans être jamais consultées. On arrive à Paris aujourd’hui avec un voyage complet, tant sur l’antique que sur le moderne et dont on peut jouir immédiatement; notre manière de travailler, aujourd’hui, n’est pas un mode; elle est positive et incontestablement supérieur à celle de nos prédécesseurs.”

20

EBA, pp. 144–145. Cf. Labrousse’s laudatory remarks: “Ecole des Beaux-Arts,” *RGAI* 1 (1840): cols. 546–547. Katherine Fisher Taylor is working on Huyot as part of her Harvard dissertation on the Palais de Justice.

21

“N’ayant rien fait, étant resté un jour à Pompéia.” Letters of July 26 and April 30, 1827.

22

His first-year *envoi* had been details of what were thought to be the temple of Marcus Aurelius and that of the Sun.

23

Letter of July 20, 1829: “J’ai cherché par mon étude de 2^{ème} année à diriger mes vues sur une architecture plus primitive, sur cette architecture simple qui ne doit sa beauté qu’à ses formes et à ses proportions sans que l’attention se fixe sur une frise ou un raye de coeur plus ou moins bien fait.”

Letter of March 22, 1830: “Les modernes ont dénaturé cet ordre [at Cori] faute d’en

avoir étudié les principes[. C]'est ainsi que l'on a vu mettre des bases attiques à des colonnes doriques. . . . Je n'ai pas cherché à faire une belle porte [for the temple of Fortuna Virilis], mais à faire une porte dans le caractère du reste du monument ce qui m'a obligé d'employer des moulures un peu grossières. . . . Je n'ai pas fait de ce qu'on appelle de beaux dessins c'est-à-dire de ces détails à ornements frises, etc. . . . mais je crois [avoir] fait de bonnes études."

24

The original reports on the *envois* are in the archives of the French Academy in Rome and are in the process of publication.

25

See letters of April 28 and August 8, 1830.

26

"Je cherche à faire comprendre que je n'ai pas voulu faire une étude comparative mais bien des études isolées dans des monuments cependant qui ont quelque analogie de forme et de construction c'est-à-dire l'architecture d'arcades et de voûtes." Letter of April 28, 1830.

27

Letter of July 10, 1831.

28

Letter of September 10, 1828.

29

"Les idées ont changé [sic]; est arrivé le système constitutionnel qui nous a apporté l'esprit d'examen, de raisonnement et d'économie. On a commencé, dès lors, à penser qu'il ne suffisait pas d'avoir un excellent goût d'arrangement, d'ajuster parfaitement des ornements, de les dessiner dans la perfection, de surcharger les monuments de figures, de bas reliefs, etc. pour faire de l'architecture. . . . On est arrivé à comprendre que nos institutions politiques et sociales veulent une architecture sage, raisonnée, d'une exécution facile, simple et économique. Je ne me charge pas de décider si c'est un bien ou un mal, mais je crois, cependant, qu'il y a autant de mérite dans les monuments de la [Roman] République que dans ceux du temps de Trajan; que ce n'est pas la richesse des matériaux ni l'immensité des monuments qui constituent la véritable beauté, mais bien une juste idée des convenances, des besoins de l'époque et enfin la noblesse des formes et une expression du caractère appropriée à chaque chose. Le Temple de la Paix, de brique et de stuc, est un chef d'oeuvre qui ne cède en rien aux plus riches monuments de marbres. Je crois donc que pour arriver à satisfaire aux besoins de notre époque, il faut de préférence étudier l'architecture radicale des anciens, c'est-à-dire celle qui eut à satisfaire des usages primitifs et non encore corrompue par le luxe. C'est dans cette architecture première qu'on retrouve davantage la raison des formes[,] le *squelette* enfin qui, plus tard, se dérobe sous les habits bordés. C'est pour pouvoir dépouiller ces riches monuments de l'Empire de toutes leurs parures et y retrouver le nud qu'il faut passer par l'étude de ces monuments républicains on grecs qui n'ont pour ornements que la pureté de leurs formes et leur simplicité. . . . Or, quelle est donc cette architecture qu'on appelle Romantique, je ne sais trop pourquoi, c'est une architecture qui veut remonter aux vrais principes, qui veut que toute forme soit donnée par la raison et le besoin[,] qui veut se soumettre à la nature des matériaux, qui veut enfin, mettre cet art en harmonie avec le siècle."

30

“Après une longue discussion architectonique . . . ils se sont séparés en disant: que lui, Duc, était partisan de ce qui était donné par la raison et le besoin et que lui, Huyot, était partisan de ce qui plaisait d’abord aux yeux en dépit de ces deux considérations. . . . Voilà donc deux systèmes tout à fait incompatibles et sans qu’ils aient aucun espoir de les voir jamais changés.”

31

On Labrouste’s Paestum *envoi*: published—*Temples de Paestum par architectes élèves pensionnaires de France à Rome* (Paris, 1877); L. Dassy [pseud.], *Compte rendu sur la restauration de Paestum exécutée en 1829 par Henri Labrouste* (Paris, 1879); analyzed—Neil Levine, *EBA*, pp. 325–416, and “Architectural Reasoning . . .,” ch. 7, pt. 3. On the reaction to the *envoi*: E.-E. Viollet-le-Duc, “Lettres extra-parlementaires,” *Le XIX^e Siècle*, January 29, 1877, ff., especially March 21; H. Van Brunt, “Greek Lines,” *The Atlantic Monthly* 7 (1861): 654–667. The original drawings are preserved in the library of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts.

32

C.-M. Delagardette (or de Lagardette), *Les Ruines de Poestum ou de Posidonia mesurées et dessinées sur les lieux* (Paris, An. VII).

33

See the correspondence between the Director and the Académie in the Institut archives, especially Vernet’s letter of March 29, 1830.

34

H. Delaborde, *Notice sur la vie et les ouvrages de M. Henri Labrouste* (Paris, 1878).

35

Cf. Quatremère de Quincy, *Mémoire sur la manière dont les temples des grecs et romains étaient éclairés*, read in 1805 at the Institut.

36

Published in the colored plates of Hittorff’s *Architecture antique de la Sicile* (Paris, 1827–30). See also my doctoral dissertation, cited above, and the catalogue *Paris . Rome . Athènes* (Paris, 1982).

37

JD, September 24, 1829.

38

This Labrouste explains in the essay he sent with his drawings, published in edited form with them in 1877.

39

See Thierry’s reminiscences in his *Lettres sur l’histoire de France* (Paris, 1827).

40

Hector d’Espouy, *Fragments d’architecture antique*, 2 vols. (Paris, n.d.), I, pl. 24; II, pls. 6, 7.

41

Léon Vaudoyer, letter of December 4, 1830. Labrouste’s project is reproduced in *EBA*, 396–397.

42

“Quelque chose . . . qui fut fait pour la France mais paraît inspiré par les voyages et les études de l’Antiquité.” “Ecole des Beaux-Arts,” *RGA* 1 (1840): cols. 543–547.

43

See Levine, *EBA*, p. 400.

44

See E. Quinet, *Le Génie des religions* (Paris, 1842), ch. 2, and his concept of the “révélation de la nature.” Also: G. Monod, *La Vie et la pensée de Jules Michelet* (Paris, 1923), ch. 14.

45

“Lord Byron, et non Biron n’a jamais été admiral, mais poète très distingué et défenseur de la liberté des grecs. . . . Pour avoir une idée de son caractère il faut lire le dernier chant du Pèlerinage du Chil Harolde [sic] par Mr. A. de Lamartine[.] C’est un chef d’oeuvre de poésie française.” Letter of June 22, 1827.

46

“Il ne s’agit pas pour cela d’aller chez Merlin librairie rococo qui ne sait pas seulement de ce que c’est que Lamartine; mais chez Gosselin.” Letter of October 12, 1827.

47

F.-R. de Chateaubriand, *Mémoires d’outre-tombe* (Paris, 1849); J.-O.-B.-C. Comte d’Haussonville, “L’Ambassade de M. de Chateaubriand (1828),” *RDM* 3S, 69 (June 1, 1885): 481–504; E. Beau de Lomenie, *La Carrière politique de Chateaubriand de 1814 à 1830*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1929).

48

“On parle d’art.” Letter of December 9, 1828.

49

“Je persiste dans mon opinion il ne nous faut plus de mythologie[;] nous sommes dans le siècle du positif; je n’ai pas blâmé les vièges de Raphaël[;] au contraire je les cite comme un peintre qui a représenté les idées de son siècle[.] Quant aux sujets modernes je soutiens qu’on peut les traiter très bien je ne veux pas d’autres exemples que la Peste de Jaffa les Batailles d’Aboukir et d’Eylau de Mr. Gros le Sacre de David le Serment de jeu de paume la bataille d’Austerlitz de Gérard son Henry quatre et pour bien vous faire sentir mon idée je vous dirai que la famille malheureuse de Mr. Prud’hon me fait plus d’effet que tous les narcisses du monde[.] C’est ce que j’appelle une scène morale[.] Je n’exclue pas les sujets grecs ni romains ni l’allegorie mais il est temps . . . de peindre notre histoire. . . . On ne veut plus de mythologie[.] C’est fini dans les arts comme dans le théâtre comme en littérature.” Letter of January 6, 1830.

50

“Je n’ai pas le talent de me faire comprendre. . . . La Guerre dont je parle n’est pas dangereuse[.] I]l ne s’agit ici que de goût[.] O]r vous savez qu’en fait de gout il est difficile de prouver qu’est-ce qui a raison[;] ainsi cette guerre en architecture n’est autre chose que celle qui existe en littérature entre les Victor Hugo et les classiques et de même en peinture[.] Pourquoi l’architecture ne ferait-elle ainsi sa petite révolution[?] C]ela est tout naturel[;] C’est la force des choses qui l’amène là[.] L]’architecture d’un peuple doit emprunter son caractère 1. des institutions 2. des mœurs 3. du climat 4. de la nature des matériaux etc. . . . Ainsi donc l’architecture de 1830 ne peut être celle de 1680 ou on bâtissait Versailles en faisant mourir le peuple de faim et de misère[.] L]e luxe d’un despot est superbe étourdissant mais le bonheur d’une nation entière gouvernée sagement est bien plus satisfaisant[.] A]insi donc c’est une extrême sagesse qui nous porte aujourd’hui à ramener l’architecture à une expression plus vraie et plus en harmonie avec les idées du siècle.” Letter of March 22, 1830.

51

See Van Zanten, “The Beginnings of French Romantic Architecture.” Lecointe’s sketches are in the “Carnets Hittorff” in the library of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts; Labrousse’s are among his notebooks in the Académie d’Architecture.

52

On Stier’s project: K. E. O. Fritsch, et al., *Der Kirchenbau des Protestantismus* (Berlin, 1893), pp. 192–193. See also Berlin, Technische Universität, Plansammlung, II.M.89.

53

“Cet édifice n’admettant ni sculpture, ni peinture, ni richesse d’ornement, on regrette que M. Duban . . . n’a pas pu trouver, dans la simplicité obligé du sujet qu’il a choisie pour sa composition, les moyens d’y faire l’application de ses précédentes études.” *Compte rendu de la séance annuelle publique* . . .

54

Germann, *Der protestantische Kirchenbau*, pp. 131–135.

55

See G. Germann, “Melchior Berris Rathausentwurf für Bern (1833),” *Baseler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Alterthümkunde* (1969), pp. 239–319. Berri was brother-in-law of the historian Jakob Burckhardt.

56

In a letter to the Académie of August 22, 1829, Duban mentions visiting Geneva (Institut de France, archives); but Petrus Borel notes that “Duban avait fait en Suisse et en Allemagne une étude sérieuse et minutieuse des temples protestants” (“Du Mouvement en architecture,” *L’Artiste* 2 (1833): 74–78, especially p. 75). See Schubiger, *Felix Wilhelm Kubly*, pp. 99–100.

57

G. de Bertier de Sauvigny, *La Restauration* (Paris, 1955), p. 325.

58

“Subordonna l’Etat à l’Eglise . . . la société civile à la société religieuse, et prépara dans Genève une croyance et un gouvernement à tous ceux en Europe qui rejetteraient la croyance et s’insurgeraient contre le gouvernement de leur pays. C’est ce qui arriva en France sous la minorité de Charles IX; en Escosse, sous le règne troublé de Marie Stuart; dans les Pays-Bas, lors de la révolte des Provinces Unies; et en Angleterre sous Charles I^{er}. . . . Ce système, qui devait s’étendre dans une grande partie de l’Europe, qui préparait le protestantisme de l’insurrection contre les princes, comme le système de Luther avait préparé le protestantisme de l’insurrection contre les papes; qui mettait un gouvernement ecclésiastique à la disposition de tous les pays où le pouvoir politique n’en établissait pas un lui-même; qui devait agiter soixante ans la France, servir à l’opérer la réformation d’Escosse, contribuer à l’émancipation de la Hollande, présider à la révolution d’Angleterre, qui devait donner son empreint à Coligny, au prince d’Orange, à Cromwell, Calvin l’introduisit d’abord dans Genève.” F. Mignet, “Etablissement de la réforme à Genève,” *Mémoires historiques* (Paris, 1854), pp. 347–348. See also: Y. Knibiehles, *Naissance des sciences humaines: Mignet et l’histoire philosophique au XIX^e siècle* (Paris, 1973), especially pp. 354ff.

59

Cf. E. Quinet, *Le Christianisme et la révolution française* (Paris, 1845).

60

“Romantisme c’est le protestantisme dans les arts.” L. Vitet, “De l’indépendance en matière du goût,” *Le Globe* 89 (April 2, 1825). M. Parturier, ed., *Lettres de Mérimée à Ludovic Vitet* (Paris, 1934), biographical introduction. Also: F. Guizot, “M. Vitet, sa vie et ses oeuvres,” *RDM* 3S, 2 (March 1, 1874): 33–65; Sainte-Beuve, *Portraits littéraires* (Paris, revised ed., 1862–64), III, pp. 412–423.

61

C. Jullian, *Extraits des historiens français du XIX^e siècle* (Bordeaux, 1879); L. Halphen, *L’Histoire en France depuis cent ans* (Paris, 1914); Moreau, *L’Histoire en France au XIX^e siècle* (Paris, 1935); G. P. Gooch, *History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1913).

62

“Ce temple parfaitement composé, soigneusement pensé, d’un bel et inaccoutumé aspect, fit jeter les hauts cris à MM les académiques; cette composition, pour le moins aussi hérétique que les religionnaires à l’usage desquels elle était destinée, fut traitée comme on traitait les huguenots, et peu s’en fallut qu’on n’en fit un auto-da-fé, ou, pour parler un langage plus enharmonique, un holocoste au *Dieu de bon goût*. . . . A ce premier et terrible manifeste, la belle au bois dormant, c’est-à-dire l’Académie, s’éveilla toute en alarmes et protesta de toutes ses forces contre le temple bafouant le légitimité de son architecture de droit divin; car il est aussi des légitimités et des droits divins à l’Académie; car il est un art légitime et un art illégitime, car il est un art révélé et un art apocryphe non reconnus tels par le concile de Nicée ou de Trente, mais par le concile Fontaine et Guénepin.” Borel, “*Du Mouvement*,” p. 75. Borel’s title, “Du Mouvement en architecture,” seems to refer to the Liberal Republican “mouvement” that emerged with the Revolution of July.

63

Monod, *Michelet*, ch. 12.

64

“Ont rapporté de Rome, avec un sentiment vrai et nouveau des monuments antiques, le besoin de reprendre la tradition architecturale au point où elle était en France au commencement du XVII^e siècle.” Fourtoul, *De l’Art en Allemagne*, 2 vol. (Paris, 1842), I, p. 170.

65

F. Guizot, *Histoire de la révolution d’Angleterre* (Paris, 1826–27); Mignet, “Etablissement de la réforme à Genève”; Quinet, *Christianisme et la révolution française*, chs. 9 and 10.

66

Germann, *Der protestantische Kirchenbau*, p. 55.

67

MP 13 (1845): 77–78.

68

Léon Vaudoyer, letters to his father of August 3 and September 10, 1828.

69

The subjects are given, with short critiques in the publications of the Académie’s annual *séances publiques*.

70

Seen so by the Republican critic Théophile Thoré in *Le Siècle*, August 25, 1836.

71

“Vous allez je crois me blâmer le peu d’importance de ce projet.” “Qu’on peut faire quelque chose de très monumental et d’un grand caractère.”

72

“Je t’avoue que ce choix m’a singulièrement étonné. Est-ce que là, me suis-je dis, un motif de faire l’application (suivant le but, l’institution de ce dernier envoi) de toutes les hautes et bonnes études que tu as fait pendant tes quatre premières années? Y-a-t-il là aucune invention de plan? Une occasion de disposition et proportions architecturales et monumentales? . . . Ne crains-tu pas qu’on ne dise de ton Beffroi ce qu’on a dit . . . de la prêche de M. Duban, du pont de M. Labrouste, et enfin du petit monument de Juillet de cette année en une demie feuille du simple trait sans plan ni coupe par M. Duc?”

73

“Voilà ton coup de tonnerre . . . tache qu’il soit éclatant!”

74

“Je ne transige jamais avec mes doctrines et . . . je ne sacrifie aucune de mes idées à l’envie de plaire un moment. [J]e ne ferai point de pétard[. J]e n’en ai ni le temps ni les moyens ni le désir[. Si] on me demande demain un projet comme j’entends[,] un projet vaste[,] doit être fait, je répondrais je ne suis pas architecte[,] mes études ne sont pas terminées[,] et cela parce que les arts ne sont pas enseignés en France comme ils devraient être.”

75

“Qu’au lieu de retomber dans l’enfance de l’art, tu recueilleras dans les siècles des lumières les monuments qui datent des beaux siècles de l’architecture.”

76

“Comment peut-on faire de l’architecture comme Venus et Roma avec les idées[,] les besoins[,] les matériaux d’aujourd’hui? Voilà bien la vieille école de l’antique quand même . . . et cela produit la Madeleine, monument sans caractère local[,] puis en face la Chambre des Députés[,] qui est un autre temple antique[,] puis la Bourse[,] puis enfin le portique du Panthéon avec ses infâmes plates-bandes[. V]oilà comme depuis longtemps notre architecture est sans caractère[;] voilà pour mieux dire nous n’avons pas d’architecture. . . . Pauvre France!!! Ce que je désire le plus c’est d’avoir un mauvais rapport sur mon projet parce qu’alors je pourrais croire qu’il n’est pas mal.”

77

“S’étant renfermé dans un sujet si peu considérable, il s’est lui-même privé de tous ses moyens.” *Séance annuelle publique* . . . , 1832.

78

“Tour ou clocher, d’où l’on fait le guet, d’où il y a une cloche pour sonner l’alarme.” *Dictionnaire de l’Académie française* (Paris, 1835).

79

“C’est, dans les villes de guerre ou dans les places où la portée de l’ennemi, une tour, un clocher, ou quelque lieu élevé, dans lequel est une cloche qui sonne lorsqu’on aperçoit l’ennemi ou quel’on veut assembler les troupes.” *D d’A*, 1832, “Beffroi.”

80

“Le beffroi et l’hôtel de ville sont souvent pris l’un pour l’autre, et dans les chartes et franchises on accordait à une ville le droit de beffroi comme signe d’immunité.” *MP* (1841): 231. The issue was an important one in the 1820s; see Simonde de Sismondi’s “Histoire critique du pouvoir municipal,” *Revue encyclopédique* 41 (March 1829): 643–666; A.-G.-P.-B. de Baraute, *Des Communes et de l’aristocratie* (Paris, 1829).

81

E.-E. Viollet-le-Duc, *Histoire d’un hôtel de ville et d’une cathédrale* (Paris, 1878).

82

“La première et la plus grosse pour la convocation des assemblées; la deuxième pour signaler les incendies, attaques, émotions; la troisième pour sonner l’heure du travail des ateliers et le couvre-feu.” *Ibid.*, p. 48.

83

“Souvent, la nuit, on entendait sonner la cloche du beffroi, annonçant l’attaque d’une troupe sortie de l’évêché contre les plus riches maisons.” *Ibid.*, p. 52.

84

“On publia par la ville l’abolition de la commune et l’injonction à tous magistrats de la cité d’avoir à cesser leurs fonctions, de déposer le sceau et la bannière de la commune à l’évêché, de descendre sans délai les cloches du beffroi et de cesser toute réunion.” *Ibid.*, p. 55.

85

“Supposé en face d’un hôtel de ville qui comprendrait l’espace occupé par la place Dauphine et les rues et bâtiments qui l’environnent.” Letter of August 27, 1831.

86

These events were closely followed in the weekly *Journal des artistes*. Documents relating to the Commission des Beaux-Arts are in the Académie archives filed under the years 1829–32.

87

“Si l’Institut continue à marcher dans la voie absurde où elle aujourd’hui je me déclare en opposition ouverte avec lui . . . et cette opposition se grossira tellement qu’elle parviendra à renverser ce corps si le ne veut pas céder comme l’opposition libérale a renversé Charles X.” Letter of August 27, 1831.

88

“Il n’a pas fait sa révolution, le pauvre diable, il faut qu’il la fasse, il la fera, je n’en doute pas, . . . mais nous ne verrons probablement pas la vienne dans cette ère . . . il nous faut un 1792.” Letter to E. Millet, February 4, 1862, in *Lettres inédites de Viollet-le-Duc, recueillées et annotées par son fils* (Paris, 1902).

89

“La magnificence romaine, que l’on aimerait à voir. *Séance annuelle publique* . . . , 1834.

90

Cf. catalogue *The Second Empire 1852–1870: Art in France Under Napoleon III* (Philadelphia and Paris, 1979), entry I–9.

91

The original drawings are lost, but the design was published in a lithographic reproduction of his work by his students (A. Joilly, Paris, 1872–75). On Constant-Dufeux: P.

Féraud, “Constant-Dufaux,” *RGA* 29 (1872): cols. 81–91, 132–137, 251–255; A. Lance, *Dictionnaire des architectes français* (Paris, 1872); F. Canlowicz, “M. Constant-Dufaux,” *Moniteur des architectes* (1871): cols. 252–256.

92

P. Féraud, “Constant-Dufaux,” cols. 81–91.

93

It was being rebuilt in 1828–33 under the supervision of Jules de Joly (1788–1865).

94

Constant-Dufaux’s self-imposed program is transliterated in Joilly’s plates.

95

“Il nous semble que les habitudes d’un gouvernement fondé sur la représentation nationale, sur la discussion publique de certaines questions et l’élection des magistrats, donneront lieu à un création d’un édifice nouveau dont l’emploi pourrait avoir quelque rapport avec ceuli de la basilique antique.” *EN*, II, p. 470.

96

“Aujourd’hui où toute capitale, toute ville, et jusqu’au moindre village, doivent avoir leurs *salles d’assemblées*, pourquoi ne cherche-t-on pas là le motif d’une nouvelle architecture? Pourquoi ne fait-on pas de ces édifices un objet particulier d’études et de recherches, pour constituer un type nouveau, puisqu’ils sont maintenant au premier rang et qu’eux aussi sont nouveaux? . . . Serons-nous impuissants pour constituer une *architecture représentative*?” *RGA* 7 (1846–47): cols. 296–299, specifically col. 298.

97

“Ayons plus de confiance dans nos institutions et dans notre avenir, et surtout ayons plus de confiance en nous-mêmes. Pensons que pour arriver à faire de bonne architecture, il faut d’abord imaginer les distributions des espaces et les moyens de construction, *sans aucune préoccupation de style*, et n’avoir en vue que de *satisfaire aux besoins matériels et moraux*, aussi largement que le permet une *sage économie des moyens mis à notre disposition*. Cette première opération de l’esprit que nous appelons l’ART DE BATIR doit être suivie de celle qui constitue ce que nous appelons L’ART DE SCULPTER, c’est-à-dire l’art de concevoir et de donner à l’oeuvre la forme la plus appropriée et la plus heureusement expressive, afin qu’elle puisse à son tour recevoir de L’ART DE PEINDRE, le complément indispensable au perfectionnement de l’ouvrage pour qu’il soit digne d’être appelé monument d’art.”

98

This tradition of the ideal Republican assembly hall culminated in that described by Charles Chipiez and Emile Trélat in their *Sitellarium* (Paris, n.d.), a program given to their students at the Ecole Spéciale d’Architecture in January 1870.

Two

THE FORMULATION OF THE APPROACH

1

F. Dartien, *M. Léonce Reynaud: sa vie et ses oeuvres par l’un de ses élèves* (Paris, 1885).

2

D. A. Griffiths, *Jean Reynaud: encyclopédiste de l’époque romantique d’après sa correspondance inédite* (Paris, 1965).

3

P. Raphael and M. Goutard, *Hippolyte Fortoul, 1851–1856: un ministre de l'Instruction Publique sous l'Empire autoritaire* (Paris, 1975). His papers survive in the Archives Nationales, 246 A.P. His journal, which is part of that material, has been partially published: G. Massa-Gille, *Journal d'Hippolyte Fortoul* (Geneva, 1979 ff.).

4

See Vaudoyer's letters to Fortoul: AN 246 A.P. 14. The Marseilles architect Pascal Coste, visiting Fortoul in October 1852, found Vaudoyer, Duc, Lassus, and Gourlier in his antechamber (*Mémoires d'un artiste: notes et souvenirs de voyage (1817–1877)*, 2 vols. [Marseilles, 1878], I, p. 519).

5

G.-A. Lefevre-Pontalis, *Notice sur M. Hippolyte Carnot* (Paris, 1891). Also, G. Weill, *L'Ecole saint-simonienne* (Paris, 1896).

6

Griffiths, *Jean Reynaud*, ch. 3.

7

Cf. H. Fortoul, "L'Arc de Triomphe de l'Etoile," *La France littéraire* 26 (1839): 67–82.

8

Letters from Vaudoyer, AN 246 A.P. 14.

9

Letters from Edouard Charton, AN 246 A.P. 14.

10

"Demain mercredi nous dinons avec Duban Duc Reynaud et une de nos amis Boullée qui est à Paris maintenant. Il serait très aimable à vous joindre à nous ainsi que Fortoul. . . . C'est un pique-nique. . . .

"J'oublie de vous dire que demain nous allez visiter la colonne de Duc le rendez vous est à 2 hrs 2 1/2 hrs chez lui rue du Marché St. Honoré 4."

11

It is mentioned in Vaudoyer's subsequent letters to Fortoul (AN 246 A.P. 14) and a sketchy journal of it survives in Vaudoyer's papers. Fortoul cites it in the *avertissement* of his *De l'Art en Allemagne* (1842), p. ii.

12

AN 246 A.P. 14.

13

"Plus de bonnes dissertations du matin au milieu de la fumée bleuâtre de cigaretto! plus d'espoir de se trouver réunis autour d'un flacon de curaçao."

14

"Duban continue sa Sainte Chapelle et va commencer son château de Blois, Duc va commencer cette année son palais de justice et Reynaud vient de finir sa gare du chemin de fer du nord."

15

"Je ne comprends plus un voyage sans vous. Voyons nous souvent pour mûrir nos idées communes sur l'art en général et l'architecture en particulier." Letter of September 18, 1839.

16

“Vous ne devez pas douter en combien d’occasions j’ai été appelé à défendre des doctrines que je partage.” Letter of April 18, 1842, apropos the appearance of Fortoul’s book *De l’Art en Allemagne*.

17

“Il en a paru . . . sur la Renaissance dans laquelle vous trouvez un grand nombre de ces idées qui nous sont communes mais exprimées malheureusement dans une forme beaucoup plus vulgaire.” Letter of August 18, 1842.

18

“Quand vous revenez à Paris et quand reprendrons nous la question des ordres entamée [?] sur la place de Bamberg?” Letter of July 31, 1843.

19

Griffiths, *Jean Reynaud*, ch. 3.

20

EN, I (1834), p. 770.

21

“L’art de bâtir suivant des proportions et des règles déterminées et fixées par la Nature et le goût.” Quatremère de Quincy’s well-known 1832 *Dictionnaire historique d’architecture* was a revision of this earlier three-volume contribution to Pancoucke’s *Encyclopédie méthodique*.

22

“N’en doutons point: c’est par cette heurieuse tromperie que l’homme jouit dans l’architecture d’un plaisir d’imitation, qui sans cela, n’y auroit lieu, de ce plaisir qui accompagne tous les arts & en est le charme, de ce plaisir d’être à demi trompé, qui lui fait chérir les fictions & la poésie, lut fait préférer la vérité déguisée à la vérité nue.”

23

EN, III (1836–37), pp. 686–688.

24

“De même que, dans le corps humain, rien d’inutile ou de capricieux ne vient frapper nos regards, de même dans leurs constructions, et surtout dans leurs colonnes, ils n’ont rien admis qui ne se puisse légitimer aux yeux de la raison ou qui ne portât au moins un cachet d’utilité.” *EN*, III, p. 688.

25

“Si l’art doit puiser ses effets dans des imitations de formes, ou s’il doit les trouver dans l’observation des conditions diverses qui lui sont imposées par ses moyens de réalisation et par les convenances auxquelles il faut satisfaire; en un mot, si l’art doit demander à la création un modèle matériel ou des principes.” *EN*, III, p. 686.

26

EN, I, pp. 770–778.

27

“Nous avons établi dans tout cet ouvrage, que notre architecture est celle des anciens Grecs et Romains, en un mot, l’architecture antique.”

28

The basic texts are Reynaud's entry "Architecture," Vaudoier's "Etudes d'architecture en France" in *MP* (1839–54), and Fortoul's *De l'Art en Allemagne*.

29

"Il faut établir une distinction entre la *forme ogivale* et le *style ogival*, c'est-à-dire entre l'ogive considérée comme forme isolée, et l'ogive constituant tout un système d'architecture." "Etudes d'architecture en France," *MP* 7 (1839): 334–336, specifically 334.

30

J.-I. Hittorff and L. Zanth, *Architecture moderne de la Sicile* (Paris, 1835).

31

Fortoul's coinage, *De l'Art en Allemagne*, II, ch. 20.

32

"Vraiment le type primordial de l'architecture chrétienne en France." Vaudoier in J. Aicard, *Patria*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1846), II, col. 2138.

33

"Jamais monumens religieux n'avaient reçu un caractère plus complet et plus convenable, n'avaient été plus identifiés avec les sentiments dont ils devaient témoigner, n'avaient mieux résumé et mieux fait comprendre tout la poésie de leur époque; et jamais aussi salles plus vastes et plus élevées n'avaient été exécutées avec des points d'appui tellement rares et légers. L'art et la science avaient marché ensemble; ils s'étaient prêté un mutuel secours; et le savant et l'artiste devaient être également satisfaits à la vue de ces admirables créations." *EN*, I, p. 777.

34

"Nous attachons la plus grande importance à cette définition: *affranchissement de l'arcade*: car c'est par là que l'on peut, selon nous, expliquer tout naturellement la formation de l'art byzantin, de l'art arabe, de l'art roman et de l'art gothique, et par suite déduire enfin les principes au nom desquels ont commencé les protestations de la renaissance.

"En copiant la basilique antique pour en faire leurs premiers temples, les chrétiens n'en ont pas copié l'ordonnance. Soit qu'ils aient puisé dans les constructions de Bas-Empire l'exemple d'un système nouveau, ainsi qu'on pourrait le supposer quand on voit les restes du palais de Spalatro; soit qu'ils y aient été conduits matériellement par un mode différent de construction; soit qu'il y ait eu en eux l'instinct d'une nouvelle forme propre à donner une physionomie distincte au temple chrétien, il est constant qu'ils se servirent habituellement de colonnes pour en faire le point d'appui et de retombée des arcades qu'ils substituèrent aux plates-bandes monolithes de l'antiquité païenne. Ces colonnes furent d'abord celles qui provenaient des monuments antiques, et telles qu'elles avaient été composées pour porter des architraves; seulement on accordait la préférence à celles de l'ordre corinthien; mais bientôt on sentit le besoin d'en modifier les proportions et d'y substituer des chapiteaux d'une nouvelle forme mieux appropriée à leur nouvelle fonction; plus tard enfin, ce système de construction en arcades qui n'avait été appliqué dans le principe qu'à la réunion des points d'appui isolés, fut généralisé, et donna naissance à un système général des voûtes. C'est ainsi que fut engendré l'art byzantin, pendant que l'Italie conservait encore fidèlement ses premières basiliques latines, dont elle devait plus tard transmettre à l'Occident.

"Il semble que dans cette architecture, ainsi constituée à l'aide d'éléments tout nouveaux, on aurait dû de prime abord coordonner ces éléments et les ériger en principes, de manière à établir des rythmes totalement différents des rythmes païens; mais