

(1852); d'Anglais at Rennes by Labrouste (1854); Clouet at Orléans by Boeswillwald (1856). Indeed, the centralization could get a little high-handed. In 1854 H.-J. Espérandieu was appointed architect of Notre-Dame-de-la-Garde in Marseilles on Vaudoier's recommendation (Espérandieu had been his student and *inspecteur* at the cathedral), but was discovered by the local church authorities to be a Protestant. While having to accept the appointment, they wrote several sharp letters to Paris suggesting that one could not always take for granted the spiritual suitability of the Minister's appointments nor assume his sensitivity to local feeling.<sup>34</sup>

Several questions remain. What was the exact nature of these various activities and how much time and effort did they require? What were the architects' obligations and, under these circumstances, how could they do good work? Let me approach these questions by sketching the responsibilities of the four Romantic *pensionnaires* in three representative years, 1838, 1845, and 1858.

In 1838 they were all in the first decade of professional practice and all novices in the administration of the Bâtiments Civils. What legally occupied the time of Labrouste and Vaudoier is quite clear: they were *inspecteurs* in that service, Labrouste at Duban's Ecole des Beaux-Arts and Vaudoier at Lacornée's "Palais d'Orsay," and by the decree of 1832 were present on those sites during working hours—twelve hours a day, six days a week. Considering this fact, it is extraordinary that both were then conducting ateliers (each located very near their building sites, however<sup>35</sup>) that required daily visits and were also holding other minor posts, both public and private. Vaudoier served as *suppléant* to his father in the post of Secrétaire-Archiviste of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts and actually performed most of the elder Vaudoier's duties between 1838 and his death in 1845, which consisted, in the former year, of attending sixteen meetings of two to four hours duration each.<sup>36</sup> Labrouste in 1838 was architect of two dormant projects: the Dépôt des Marbres (a warehouse) and the Pont de la Concorde (the latter in partnership with his brother Théodore). He produced two exquisitely drawn projects for monumental bronze lamps on the bridge dated January 30 and February 15, 1838.<sup>37</sup> Though Vaudoier and Labrouste obviously did not spend all their time on their building sites when *inspecteurs*, they were not extensively engaged elsewhere. (From 1833 Questel worked under Labrouste at the Ecole as *second inspecteur*, but then he couldn't have spent all his time on the site either since in 1835–36 he won the competition to design the church of Saint-Paul at Nîmes.) It must have been frustrating at the age of thirty-five (Vaudoier) or thirty-seven (Labrouste) to be chiefly occupied in executing other men's designs.

Labrouste and Vaudoier escaped this grind when on June 18 and July 22, 1838, respectively, they were named *architectes-en-chef* of the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève and the Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers. They

thereby joined Duban and Duc in positions that required only weekly visits to the site, the signature of all important documents, and the preparation of designs. At this point in the architect's career, he passed from the workshop to the studio, from hourly and daily labor to the free schedule of the gentleman and artist. Yet this artistic work could be time-consuming in its own way. Duc engaged in absolutely no other activity during the 1830s but the design of the Colonne de Juillet, and Labrouste worked very hard indeed between June 1838 and December 1839 to produce his first project for the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève.<sup>38</sup> Duban, however, beyond his work as *architecte-en-chef* of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, was engaged in 1838 in the completion of a major private commission, the Hôtel Pourtalès.

By the decree of 1832, Labrouste and Vaudoyer would have received between 1800 and 2400 francs a year as *inspecteurs* in 1838, while Duc and Duban would have received between one-half and three percent of the cost of the work being executed plus 600 to 1000 francs a year and all costs incurred in preparing drawings. In 1834, when 639,142.49 francs of work was executed at the Ecole, Duban should have earned 3195 francs as his fee, but in 1838 when only a last 55,678.87 francs were spent, his earnings should have fallen to 1670 francs.<sup>39</sup>

In 1845 all four of the Romantic *pensionnaires* were mature architects. Duban, Labrouste, and Vaudoyer still conducted their ateliers. Each was an *architecte-en-chef* of a major public building with *inspecteurs* and *sous-inspecteurs* to help him. However, in this year only Labrouste's design, the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, was actually under construction. Vaudoyer was preparing final drawings and estimates for the Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers, and Duc was engaged in a long controversy about just how the Police Correctionnel block of the Palais de Justice should relate to the Sainte-Chapelle. Duban, upon the completion of the Ecole buildings in 1838, was not assigned a new project and was left to occupy himself with maintenance and with the conception of plans for its enlargement. In 1845 he designed and set in place some very elegant iron columns to support the sagging floors of the second story of the Palais des Etudes and drew up a project to extend the cloister block along the rue Bonaparte. This meant greatly reduced fees for Duban, but by 1845 he had developed an important private practice, including the rebuilding of the château at Dampierre for the Duc de Luynes and projects for the rebuilding of that at Chantilly for the Duc d'Aumale.<sup>40</sup>

Significantly, by 1845 the *pensionnaires* were engaged in a second kind of government employment, membership on commissions. Vaudoyer continued to perform his duties as Secrétaire-Archiviste Adjoint at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, and Duban was now a member of the Commission des Monuments Historiques and a *membre honoraire* of the Conseil des Bâti-

ments Civils. These bodies met twenty-six and eighty-eight times, respectively, that year. Such a commitment could be time-consuming, but Duban in fact attended only twelve of the meetings of the Commission des Monuments Historiques and four of those of the Conseil.<sup>41</sup> Furthermore, the real work of these bodies was the writing of reports analyzing projects submitted for their approval. In 1845 all Duban did was report to the Commission des Monuments Historiques on his own work at the Sainte-Chapelle and on a belfry at Peronne, while serving as part of a commission to analyze one of Visconti's projects for the Bibliothèque Royale. On the other hand, Duban was deeply involved in the practical work of the Commission des Monuments Historiques, conducting the restoration of the Sainte-Chapelle and the château at Blois in 1845, both very complex problems in interior decoration. Blois, we know, he visited twice monthly.<sup>42</sup> He also spent much time away at Dampierre and Chantilly. Labrouste also worked for the Commission, beginning the restoration of the cathedral at Mantes in 1841–44, but resigned in frustration at the bad local workmanship.<sup>43</sup>

Duban, the oldest, was the busiest of the four in 1845. Vaudoier, for his part, considered himself abandoned and was in despair until the Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers was actually funded. In the meantime he occupied himself with writing his articles for the *Magasin pittoresque* (two of which appeared in 1845), a study of the domestic architecture of Orléans for the Commission des Monuments Historiques, and a preliminary report on the erection of a cathedral at Marseilles. The last, which resulted in no further employment or fees until 1851 and which occupied a twenty-one-day visit there plus ninety *vacations* labor (about twenty-five working days), netted him 1025 francs, from which living expenses in Marseilles had to be deducted.<sup>44</sup> He was forty-two years old.

In 1858 all four of the *pensionnaires* were fully occupied, each with a major building actually under construction. The acceleration of public construction during the Second Empire was directly reflected in their experience. Duban was authorized to carry out 100,000 francs worth of work on his new quai Malaquais wing of the Ecole; Labrouste 150,000 francs worth of work at the Bibliothèque Nationale. Vaudoier, however, was the busiest, with 749,450 francs budgeted for Marseilles Cathedral and 843,297.21 francs actually spent. As one result of this increased activity, both Duban and Labrouste had closed their ateliers.<sup>45</sup>

Besides major construction projects, which required a steady flow of detail and structural drawings from the architect's *agence*, the *pensionnaires'* work on committees had greatly expanded. Duban was now a member of the Académie des Beaux-Arts, attending in 1855 thirty-six of its forty-eight Saturday afternoon meetings and writing the program for the Grand Prix competition in architecture. He was also now an Inspecteur Général

of the Conseil des Bâtiments Civils, of which Labrouste was a *membre flottant*. Both attended virtually all of its seventy-eight meetings in that year, and they wrote twenty-two and eighteen reports, respectively.<sup>46</sup> Duban, Vaudoyer, and Labrouste were now all members of the Commission des Monuments Historiques, but Duban attended only one of the six meetings the body was now reduced to holding. Vaudoyer attended five, served on a committee that visited the château at Vivier (Seine-et-Marne), and wrote the report. Most time-consuming of all was the Comité des Inspecteurs Généraux des Edifices Diocésains, consisting in 1858 of Labrouste, Vaudoyer, and Viollet-le-Duc. They did 144, 92, and 95 reports respectively. Besides attending the meetings and writing the reports, the *inspecteurs généraux* each had to undertake an annual inspection tour of a third of the dioceses. In 1858 Labrouste's assignment was Agen, Angers, Angoulême, Nantes, Orléans, Périgueux, Poitiers, Quimper, La Rochelle, Saint-Brieux, Tours, Tulle, and Vannes. He accomplished this grueling task in increments, spending August 4 to 13 on one leg, September 3 to 20 visiting Orléans, Blois, Nantes, and Périgueux, and October 6 to 17 at Rennes (where he also inspected his work on the seminary), Quimper, and Saint-Brieux.<sup>47</sup> He would have needed one or two more trips to finish the tour, meaning that it would have occupied about two months of his year (and left him thoroughly disrupted and worn out).

By this stage in a government architect's career, the importance of private commissions was somewhat reduced. Duban, after his frustration over the rebuilding of the Louvre, is supposed to have turned increasingly to making architectural watercolors.<sup>48</sup> Labrouste, however, was just now embarking on a short but vigorous spate of private building. In 1858 he completed the Hôtel Fould, which led to commissions for the Hôtel Thouret in 1860, the offices of the Paris–Lyon–Méditerranée railroad in 1862, and the Hôtel Vilgruy in 1865. Duc remained satisfied with his one great public commission, the Palais de Justice. He neither built privately (except for a house for himself at Croissy of 1875<sup>49</sup>), nor conducted an atelier, nor was active on commissions (except for serving from 1862 as *chef divisionnaire* in charge of schools in the architectural department of the city of Paris).

The kind of week and year a successful professional architect experienced we can see in the case of Labrouste in 1858. Winter, spring, and summer he was engaged four times a week for most of an afternoon: every Monday and Wednesday from noon to about four with the Conseil des Bâtiments Civils and every Tuesday and Saturday from three to about six with the Comité des Inspecteurs Généraux des Edifices Diocésains. He furthermore wrote and then presented an average of two reports at each meeting of the latter body and a total of eighteen during the year at the former.<sup>50</sup> In the fall he took four or five ten-day to two-week tours of

diocesan building. In what time remained—mornings and Tuesday and Thursday afternoons—he oversaw the construction of the seminary at Rennes, completed the decoration of the Hôtel Fould, and completed the restoration of the Hôtel Mazarin, while preparing projects for the rebuilding of the Bibliothèque Nationale.

We also know precisely what Labrouste was paid because his account book survives. In the 1850s his average income was between 25,000 and 30,000 francs, being 24,203.56 in 1855, 30,401.78 in 1856, 22,696.44 in 1857, 33,008 in 1859, and 35,426.49 in 1860. In 1858 he received his fee for the Hôtel Fould in one lump sum, 55,690.35 francs, which raised what would have been an income of 24,341.21 to 80,031.56 francs for that one prosperous year. (The advantage of private practice is obvious. In 1865 Labrouste received a five-percent commission for the Hôtel Vilgruy, 22,828.90 francs on 456,578.14 francs of work, of which he gave two-fifths to his *inspecteur*, J.-F.-M.-J. Thobois and kept 13,697.34 francs for himself.<sup>51</sup>) Otherwise in 1858 Labrouste earned 5,361.27 francs for his work at the Bibliothèque Nationale, 2,969.37 for that at Rennes, and 588.61 and 200.97 for maintenance work at the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève and the Dépôt des Marbres, respectively. Roughly balancing one of the two major items of income was the 3000 francs he received in monthly increments of 250 francs for his work for the Conseil des Bâti-ments Civils. Early in 1859 he received his 6000 franc salary as an *Inspecteur Général des Edifices Diocésains*. Thus, adding in his salary as *Inspecteur Général* and spreading the Fould fee over the three years the work actually consumed, out of an adjusted income of 48,904.66 francs in 1858, Labrouste earned twenty percent (9000 francs) for his work on government commissions, a little less than another twenty percent (8,330.64 francs) for construction at two major public buildings, one-and-a-half percent (789.58 francs) as architect of two completed structures, and forty percent (18,563.45 francs) from the construction of one major private house. (The remaining twenty percent of Labrouste's income in 1858 was from interest on various securities.)

One can see why in the 1840s Duban had been so willing to slight his government responsibilities for private commissions: if one worked in the right circles, these were at least as remunerative as public commissions. It might be noted that both the seminary at Rennes and the Bibliothèque Nationale were buildings of moderate size erected over many years. Vaudoyer at Marseilles was receiving fees on the order of 21,511.18 francs yearly (1859)<sup>52</sup>—and built himself a house on the rue Lesueur just off the Avenue de l'Impératrice as a result. As *Architecte de l'Empereur*, Lefuel received a yearly salary of 40,000 francs. One could conclude that a government architect without interest income or private commissions might earn as much as a member of the various administrative boards as he

would from the construction of government buildings. One should also note that these boards would consume about a third to a half of his time. Such an architect was, in a word, well on his way to becoming a bureaucrat—a neat piece of the evolving nineteenth-century governmental machine, just as the administrators hoped.

This is significant because it demonstrates that the French architectural profession was very nearly congruent with the government administration. Architects functioned along the edge of the administrative class of *fonctionnaires*—what the Germans gave legal definition as the *Beamtenstand*. In mid-nineteenth-century France this was a fact of immense importance. The administrative class—the employees, *chefs-de-bureau*, and *directeurs* of all the multitudinous parts of the governmental bureaucracy—was one of the central facts of contemporary French culture.<sup>53</sup> Americans are unfamiliar with the idea of government service as a lifetime profession, in part from Andrew Jackson's Tenure of Office Act of 1828, which made such officials revocable. In Europe, and especially in France, however, the status of the *fonctionnaire* brought with it *immobilité* and immunity from civil law suits.<sup>54</sup> The administrative class was legally, economically, and philosophically a separate estate. It figures as a force influencing French history in de Toqueville's *Ancien régime et la révolution* (1856) and Taine's *Origines de la France contemporaine* (1876–94). It provides a setting for Balzac's *Les Employés* (1838) and a subject for his "Physiologie des employés" (1841).

Architects do not seem to have been precisely and legally *fonctionnaires*—they retained the right to pursue a private practice—but they largely functioned as such. That is to say, their work was produced within the administrative system and their method of proceeding necessarily responded to the *fonctionnaires'* methods and preconceptions. More precisely, these architects were careful to work within clear functional and budgetary limits, were aware of producing models that were both up-to-date and widely applicable, and finally assumed that architecture was an intellectual enterprise—the conception of a system which others might execute—rather than a craft or a technique.

The specific standards of the administration as they applied to architecture are evident in the *procès verbal* of the Conseil des Bâtiments Civils and the Comité des Inspecteurs Généraux des Edifices Diocésains. They were three: fiscal accuracy, functional satisfaction, and aesthetic propriety. The art historian is always mystified and impressed by the tremendous detail in the estimates presented with a project to these bodies. These were carefully criticized in the reports to the Conseil and the Comité and their verification clearly constituted one of the largest parts of the *rapporteur's* work. The architects were expected to keep within these estimates: Labrousse's Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève came in precisely on budget, as

did most of the work of the Romantic *pensionnaires* during the bureaucratic reign of Louis-Philippe. During the Restoration, Huyot—well connected at Court—had been cavalier about the costs of the Arc de Triomphe, and in 1832 he was investigated and removed from his post.<sup>55</sup> Napoleon III and Haussmann were notorious for overspending on projects like the New Louvre and the Opera, but had to buck the resistance of the administration as well as of the public, as we shall see.<sup>56</sup>

The functional criticisms that fill the *procès verbaux*—suggestions that corridors be widened, staircases be reversed, structural systems be reconsidered—reflect two important aspects of the *fonctionnaire*'s charge: the administration existed to satisfy the public's material needs, and the implements that it used to this end were to be the most technically sophisticated of their type. The second point is important. The primary concern of the Conseil des Bâtiments Civils was the great public buildings of Paris. (Indeed, after the Decentralization Decree of March 25, 1852, these were its only concern, although its advice was often sought on other projects.) In 1891 Maurice Block could list all ninety-six structures involved in his *Dictionnaire administrative française*.<sup>57</sup> But these were no ordinary buildings: they were the prototypes for similar structures in the provinces and the great manifestation of French building science set out in the metropolis for comparison with the best that London, Vienna, or Berlin had to offer.<sup>58</sup> We are used to encountering little cellular prisons like the Mazas in the French provinces and colonies; little Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève and Palais de Justices, or, most particularly, little copies of Baltard's Halles Centrales. The great Parisian prototypes were based on exhaustive studies of function by their designers. Labrouste in 1857 traveled to London to examine the British Museum Library (as well as the Crystal Palace at Sydenham); J.-L. Pascal made a more thorough study of English libraries upon succeeding Labrouste at the Bibliothèque Nationale.<sup>59</sup> Earlier, in 1836, Blouet had visited the United States to study prison architecture, publishing a report upon his return, and in 1845 Baltard had traveled about Europe on a government mission studying market buildings, then published a report in 1846.<sup>60</sup> The buildings these architects produced after these studies were contributions to the scientific study of their type and for generations after were analyzed as models.<sup>61</sup>

Despite the time necessarily devoted to estimates and function in the *procès verbaux* of the Conseil and the Comité, the art historian is nonetheless gratified to find that the most lengthy and animated discussions were on points of art. We have cited the Conseil's resistance to Duban's use of architectural fragments in the courtyards of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts because they presented models "impure" to the Neoclassical mind. During the Second Empire, the body was to debate the over-decoration of Visconti's projects for the New Louvre, the oddness of Duc's elevations for

the Palais de Justice, and the character of the facade of Garnier's Opera, while the Comité was to find Vaudoyer's first project for Marseilles Cathedral too obscure in its historical references. The length of these discussions, however, also emphasizes their frequent uselessness, since issues of philosophy became confused with ones of quality. This was a problem the administration recognized, and it made efforts to disentangle the two, to define the opposing philosophies of art, and to support the one apparently most sympathetic to the State. A particularly direct, if crude, effort in this direction is found in the fourth volume of C.-P. Marie Haas's *Administration de la France* (1857–59) where for the benefit of administrators and law students, the author, citing Edouard Charton, distinguishes three philosophies of art—the Sensualist, the Catholic Spiritualist, and the Rational Spiritualist (Eclectic)—and summarizes the “doctrines philosophiques,” “doctrines morales,” and “tendences politiques” of each.<sup>62</sup> Sensualism, we read, “prefers liberty but accommodates itself perfectly to an enlightened despotism.”<sup>63</sup> Catholic Spiritualism supports a theocratic monarchy, while Rational Spiritualism (Eclecticism) is not so much defined as warmly praised: “it envisions the education, not the chastisement, of mankind.”<sup>64</sup> In implying that Eclecticism might best function as a state philosophy of art, Haas unwittingly echoes the accusation of Pierre Leroux and Hippolyte Taine.<sup>65</sup>

If an administrator really believed Haas's distinctions, he would be obliged to employ adherents to this philosophy as *fonctionnaires* in an art administration. That is what Hippolyte Fortoul almost accomplished when he founded the Comité des Inspecteurs Généraux des Edifices Diocésains with Vaudoyer and Reynaud as members. But Viollet-le-Duc was the third member and was both indispensable because of his tremendous expertise and forceful in his resistance to the *pensionnaires'* Eclecticism. Here, the lines were most clearly drawn, as they were not in the Conseil des Bâtiments Civils, and in the next chapter we shall witness how difficult it was to apply bureaucratic doctrine to the art and industry of building.

As important as the specific standards expected to be maintained by a *fonctionnaire* were the mentality and the ways of working that architects took over as they became more deeply involved in the administrative system. The most basic of these predispositions was how one thought through a problem. An Inspecteur Général spent a great deal of his time judging, and he had to have a general method of analysis in order to do so quickly, effectively, and as the administration expected.

This, of course, is what French architecture students are celebrated for having learned at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts under the rubric “composition.” They were trained to read a program critically, to select the salient features, to embody these features in a memorable and expressive form, and, finally, by the elaboration of axes and cross-axes, to spin out a whole

complex of secondary spaces around it. Fundamentals were clearly distinguished from details. What came first in the analysis of a design problem was clearly distinguished from what came later. Architecture students thus learned to think quickly and surely in terms of architectural composition. Also, importantly, they could be sure all their colleagues were learning in the same manner, so that their judgments would be understood.

Implicit in the *fonctionnaire's* method of reasoning was his way of working—the fact that the *fonctionnaire* gave orders to *employés* (architects) and did not execute them himself. We have seen that a man in Duban's or Labrouste's position in 1858 spent a third of his time in committee meetings and perhaps an equal amount in writing analyses of projects. Just as they came to have a sense of generalities in this work, they also had methods for designing less by drawing themselves than by giving orders to be carried out by the staffs of their large *agences*. The *architecte-en-chef*, as we have seen, was only required to visit a site weekly and was provided with a full-time staff of *inspecteurs* to produce drawings and oversee construction. In the provinces, visits were more infrequent, with Duban going to Blois twice a month and Vaudoyer going to Marseilles twice a year.<sup>66</sup> The consistent high quality of nineteenth-century French architectural drawings was largely due to the specialists employed to execute them. We know from his letters, for example, that Espérandieu as a student in 1852 divided his time between drawing an exquisite set of renderings of Questel's Saint-Paul at Nîmes (now in the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Nîmes) and executing Vaudoyer's initial studies for Marseilles Cathedral (figures 44–46).<sup>67</sup> At the Ecole the Grand Prix drawings were already executed not by the competitors but by large teams of “nègres” under their supervision. There thus was a profound tradition of “talking up” a design rather than drawing it out, personally and in detail.

A final aspect of the *fonctionnaire's* mentality that one might mention is that it was one shared with an entire social class. It was often complained that the government architects were a caste, with ancestors and descendants in the government service.<sup>68</sup> Léon Vaudoyer's father, A.-L.-T. Vaudoyer, was Secrétaire-Archiviste of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts and a member of the Académie des Beaux-Arts, while his son, Alfred, became Architecte de la Ville de Paris and his grandson, Jean-Louis Vaudoyer, a member of the Académie Française. Victor Baltard's father, Louis-Pierre, was Professor of the Theory of Architecture at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts and a member of the Institut. Labrouste's son Léon succeeded him as architect of the Bibliothèque Nationale; his brother Théodore was in 1853 appointed *architecte-en-chef* of the Administration des Hôpitaux et Hospices; while another brother, Pierre-Victor-Alexandre, was director of the Collège Sainte-Barbe. His father, François-Marie-Alexandre, was Premier Commis des Finances in the Ministère des Finances and a very highly re-

spected *fonctionnaire*.<sup>69</sup> In the next chapter we will examine the collaboration between the critic-become-Minister Fortoul and the *inspecteurs généraux* Reynaud and Vaudoyer, and it is important to realize that not only could an *haut fonctionnaire* like Fortoul be particularly well informed about art, but architects like Vaudoyer and Reynaud could be intimately acquainted with administration.

This brings us back to the question posed at the beginning of this chapter: who were the Romantic *pensionnaires*' clients? By now it must be clear that there is no simple answer. Duban, Labrousse, Duc, and Vaudoyer were government architects in every sense: they devoted most of their time to governmental administration and design, they derived most of their income from it, and the best creative work they produced was on the government's behalf. Their bureaucratic titles and commissions were not simply window dressing; they embodied the basic fact of their careers.

With whom, then, did these architects work out their designs? From the administrative standpoint this is perfectly clear: the essence of the French system was centralization, and so the architect was under the orders of those above him in the chain of command. That meant the head of state, represented by his minister, delegating to his directors and *chefs-de-bureau*, advised by professional advisory councils. Of course, in fact, things were not so clear. The head of state could not pass an architectural wish down a chain of command which transformed it into a handsome design. Who, within this system, was really in charge? More pointedly, where in all this were the individuals who would actually occupy the finished buildings—the faculty of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, the librarian of the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, the director of the Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers?

In considering the first question, it is clear that the advisory boards usually exercised the most authority in criticizing and approving plans. The middle-level *fonctionnaires*—the *directeurs* and *chefs-de-bureau*—were relatively unobtrusive figures. Most of them were well born and possessed some modest personal competence or pretense, as the careers of the Comte de Montalivet, Directeur of Louis-Philippe's Liste Civil, or de Cardaillac, Directeur des Bâtiments Civils, bear out.<sup>70</sup> Some of this class could be quite forceful, as was the case with Ludovic Vitet and then Prosper Mérimée at the Monuments Historiques. But such forcefulness was usually exceptional. Charles Garnier depicts de Cardaillac as a well-intentioned mediator.<sup>71</sup> Effective leadership within the administration, if it appeared at all, usually came at the ministerial level, as in the cases of Thiers in 1832–33, or of Fortoul in 1852–56. In the parallel administration of the departments, of course, there was Georges Haussmann, Prefect of the Seine from 1854 to 1869.

In considering the second question, it is remarkable how little influence the occupants of particular buildings seem to have had. According to bu-

reaucratic procedure, the architect was to consult with these occupants in formulating his initial design. The surviving records about this preliminary consultation are quite slight,<sup>72</sup> and there is little evidence that the occupants were consulted after the project was sent to the advisory boards, the minister, and finally to the *Chambre des Députés* for funding. The attitude appears to have been that these were less individual buildings than collective expressions of the state, materialized and coordinated by the responsible boards of professional designers.

It was, then, the advisory boards—that is, the architects themselves—who constituted the consistent, dominant patrons and overseers of French government architecture. They had the knowledge, authority, and patience to coordinate all the building projects of the state. They could and did resist the intrusions of the politicians and the personal desires of the occupants of the buildings. They were a caste—part *fonctionnaire*, part liberal professional—following rules they themselves set. Labrouste's 1852 description of the *Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève* prepared for César Daly ends with the declaration:

*I forgot to mention to you the different ministers who succeeded each other in the direction of government works.*

*M. de Montalivet, who commissioned and had this project studied.*

*M. Teste, who presented the authorizing bill.*

*M. Dumon, who set the cornerstone.*

*MM. Jayr, Trélat, Recrut, Vivien, Lacrosse, Bineau, Magne.*

*In all, eleven ministers; but there was only one architect.<sup>73</sup>*

# *Five*

## VAUDOYER'S MARSEILLES CATHEDRAL

---

We opened the last chapter by asking how eminent architects like the four Romantic *pensionnaires* could produce so few major buildings, especially after receiving the lengthiest and most sophisticated training then available in the world. The answer broached was that as they rose to the pinnacle of their profession they were transformed into *fonctionnaires* who spent much of their time sitting on committees and judging the work of other professional colleagues. Yet their committee work was an extension of their design labors, and vice versa, because each was the painstaking formulation and application of general principles. The designer of a major public building and his various consultative committeemen went through a long process of suggestion and adjustment together—they were, after all, architects of similar background and often close personal friends—to produce a large and serious edifice standing for the new rational, bureaucratic state. Committee work was no diversion; it was where the judgment basic in this sort of design was refined and exercised.

A case in point is Vaudoyer's design of Marseilles Cathedral, carried out between 1845 and 1858 (figures 44–50).<sup>1</sup> It is illuminating, first, because it is an instance of the cooperation of the bureaucracy and the profession; second, because it was a project that brought forward the central Second Empire concerns for the support of the Church and the economic development of the Mediterranean; third, because its response to these concerns was expressed in the great building type of Western culture, the church; fourth, because the final design did indeed acknowledge the complexity of the situation that produced it. The result was one of the seminal buildings of the age.

The stages and chronology of the design and construction of Marseilles Cathedral are complex. By the beginning of the nineteenth century the old cathedral, the Romanesque church of Sainte-Marie-Majeure, was a narrow, dark, partly ruinous fragment—ideally sited, however, on the edge of the cliffs facing seaward west of the Vieux Port. It had become entirely inadequate, especially as Marseilles grew with the railroad to Paris and

with the new port. Upon his appointment as Bishop in 1837, C.-J.-E. de Mazenod (1782–1861) began a campaign for the erection of a new structure.<sup>2</sup> The Duc d'Orléans, in a visit to Marseilles on November 17, 1839, promised to push the matter, but bureaucratic obfuscation bore his initiatives to a halt after his death in 1842. In the summer of 1844 Bishop de Mazenod enlisted the aid of the Prefect for another campaign, the tone of which was clear in his first letter to the Garde des Sceaux:

*It is to be feared that a longer disillusionment of the hopes given to this pious population might negatively effect the idea it has formed of the good intentions of the government in regard to religion. At the present moment, when passions have been raised to sow discontent on this point (discontent that I certainly recognize as completely without justification), an unmistakable fact like the encouragement to construct the cathedral at Marseilles would render vain this effort at divisiveness and perhaps would attract again to the government of the King those who have not benefited from the other advantages the city has received since 1830.*<sup>3</sup>

To their delight, in August 1845 Léon Vaudoyer arrived from Paris to make an initial survey of the situation.<sup>4</sup>

At issue at this stage was the selection of a site. The choice was between that of the old cathedral, a dramatic but peripheral spot necessitating the demolition of that building, or one on the Cours du Chapitre at the end of a projected avenue in the center of town. Vaudoyer remained in Marseilles fifteen days; when he returned to Paris, he drew up his report with three block plans for the building supporting the Cours du Chapitre site.<sup>5</sup> This he submitted to the *Ministre de l'Instruction Publique et des Cultes* on December 20. A sharp dispute then developed between the Marseilles administration and the ministry in Paris about how to split the five-million-franc cost that Vaudoyer estimated. The ministry insisted the major part should be paid by the city, while the city offered only one million francs (in ten yearly increments).<sup>6</sup> It was pointed out in response that the public treasury was already burdened with the expense of the erection of a new port and the completion of the railroad line from Avignon. "The construction of a new cathedral at Marseilles," the Minister replied on October 16, 1846, "is not called for by the imperious needs of *utilité publique*. It is a project of purely local interest, the expense of which should be first of all and almost exclusively borne by the population that will receive the benefit of it."<sup>7</sup> Finally, on November 27, 1847, Bishop de Mazenod wrote directly to the King, citing the earlier offer of a million francs and begging that work begin at once. The King was sympathetic, as his son had been eight years before, but his reign was prematurely ended by revolution only thirty-eight days after he had written his Minister (on January 18, 1848) to push the matter.

Bishop de Mazenod neither rested nor despaired. The revolution installed a series of vigorous prefects at Marseilles, first Emile Ollivier, then A.-L.-A.-E. de Suleau, and the latter commenced a series of large building projects into which the cathedral was strategically inserted. On January 15, 1850, Suleau sent a lengthy report to Paris proposing the sale of the old lazaret at Marseilles (its functions having been moved to the island of Frioul) and the expenditure of the resulting profit on an extension of the new port, the provision of warehouses and a rail spur, and the simultaneous erection of a new bourse and a new cathedral. He offered three million francs (in addition to the one million already offered in 1846) to defray the cost of the cathedral and requested only two million francs from the state. His balancing of the cathedral with a bourse was not inharmonious with the spirit of the report, which pointed out that other public works in Marseilles were coming to completion so that the “classes laborieuses” would present a peril to “l’ordre publique” if new works of some sort were not undertaken.

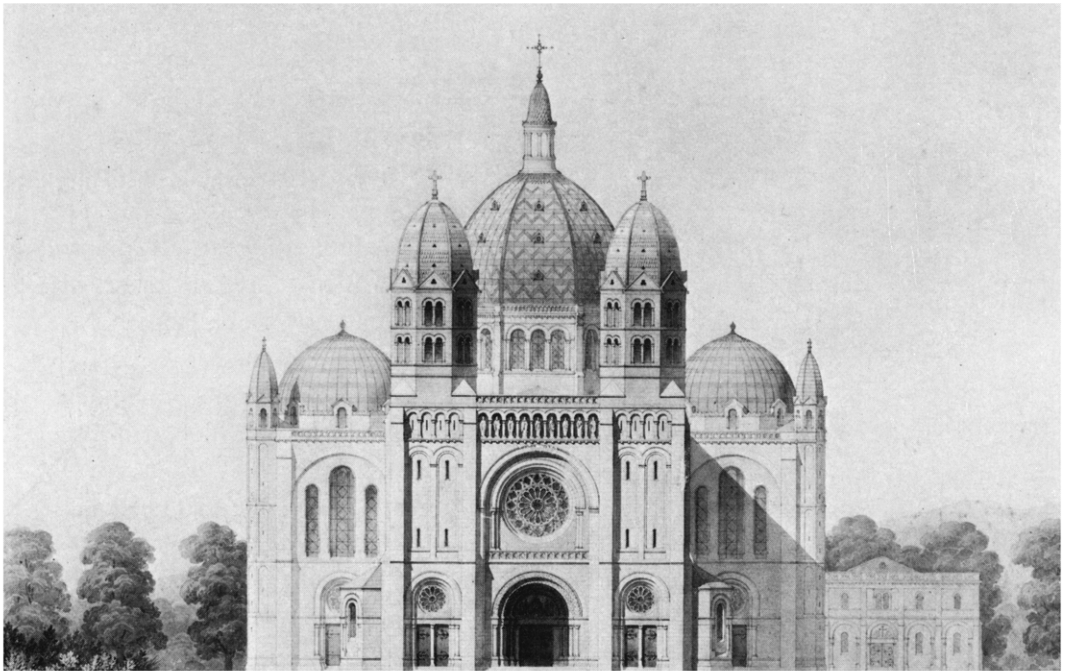
The Minister agreed to pursue the matter, and on December 20, 1850, Vaudoyer was asked to review his project of 1845, and in particular to change its site to that of Sainte-Marie-Majeure, overlooking the projected new port extension. Ten months later, on October 30, 1851, Vaudoyer was instructed to start work on a definitive project for the cathedral and to submit it with “le plus bref delai.” On January 19, 1852, the sale of the lazaret was approved by the government. Meanwhile, on January 15 Vaudoyer had sent a site and building plan to Marseilles. It was analyzed there at inquiries commencing on February 18 and returned to him on May 14 with the suggestion that the project be set on a high platform extending out over the new port.

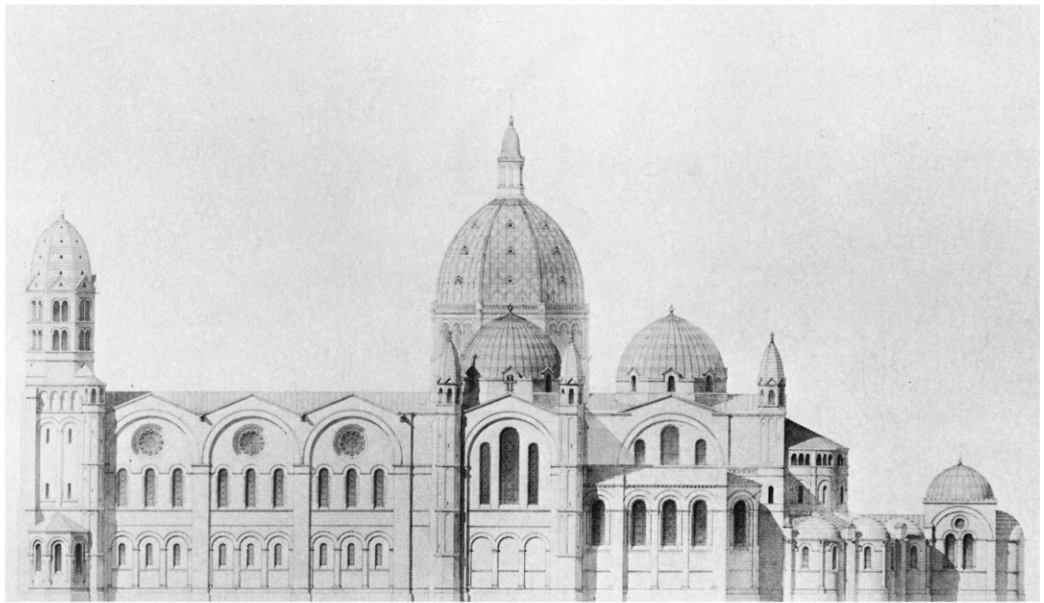
This was the moment of Louis Napoleon’s coup d’état and Fortoul’s consequent appointment as *Ministre de l’Instruction Publique et des Cultes*. One of the first moves Napoleon made to consolidate his government was to tour the Midi accompanied by the *meridional* Fortoul. He was in Marseilles on September 26, 1852, and signed a decree authorizing the execution of Suleau’s bold project and ceremoniously laying the cornerstones of both the bourse and the cathedral.<sup>8</sup> To the city’s four-million-franc contribution he promised two-and-a-half million from the state.

For this visit a final project for the cathedral, or at least something convincingly resembling one, was needed in a hurry. Vaudoyer was accordingly instructed to draw up a project, to go to Marseilles (evidently for the first time since 1845), and to be ready to present his work to the Prince-President during the ceremonies. He produced a set of drawings, dated August 15, 1852, which he placed before Bishop de Mazenod for his approval on September 24 and displayed to Louis Napoleon two days later (figures 44–46).

**44**

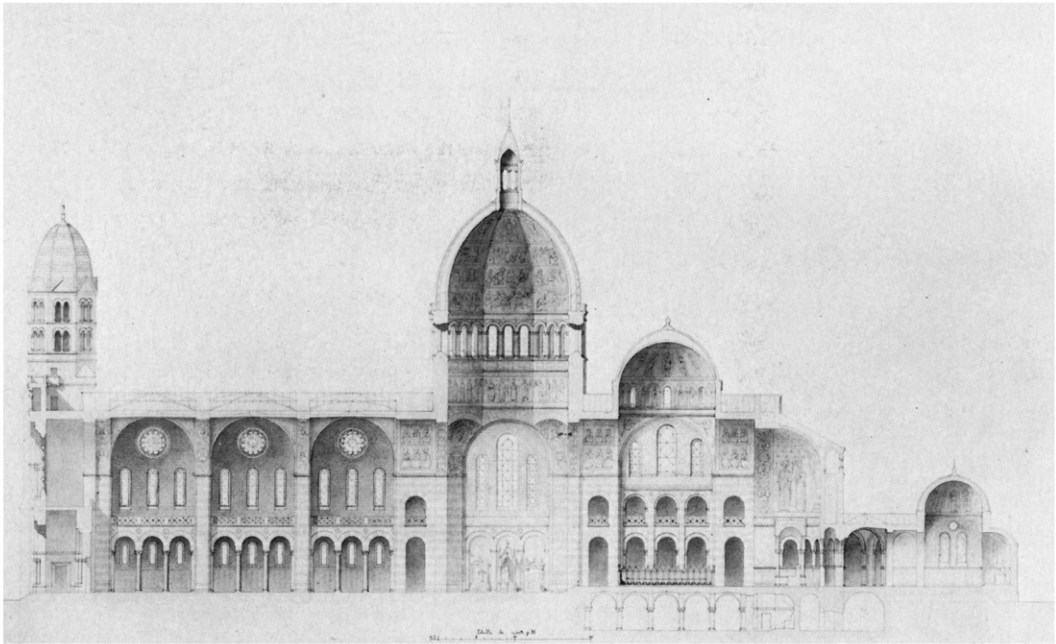
*Léon Vaudoyer, Cathedral of  
Sainte-Marie-Majeure, Marseilles,  
preliminary project, facade. Signed  
and dated "le 15 août 1852."  
(Photo: Bulloz)*





45

*Léon Vaudoyer, Cathedral of Sainte-Marie-Majeure, preliminary project, side elevation. Signed and dated "le 15 août 1852." Private collection, Paris. (Photo: Bulloz)*



**46**

*Léon Vaudoyer, Cathedral of  
Sainte-Marie-Majeure, preliminary  
project, cross section. Signed and  
dated "le 15 août 1852." Private  
collection, Paris. (Photo: Bulloz)*

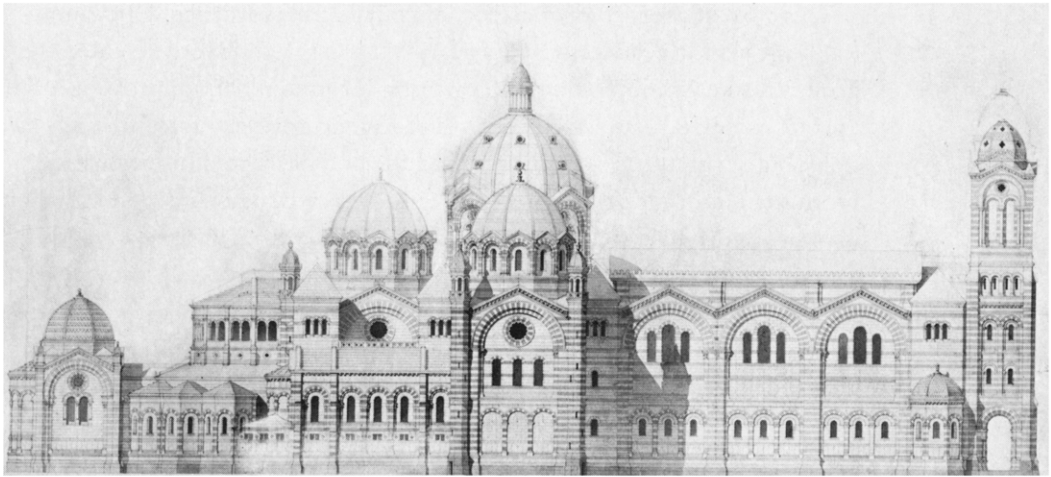
This way of proceeding was not, of course, in accordance with canonical bureaucratic practice. On February 15, 1853, Vaudoyer presented the project to the Commission de Répartition for preliminary approval as a "projet esquisse." On March 10 Viollet-le-Duc criticized it sympathetically but severely, as we shall see, and the body accepted his evaluation.<sup>9</sup> From then until the spring of 1855, Vaudoyer worked on a second, definitive project (figure 47), which Bishop de Mazenod again signed on April 15 and Viollet-le-Duc reported on approvingly on May 15. Almost immediately afterward bids were solicited for the foundations and construction began.

The design, however, was still only approximate. As late as April 8, 1857, the Comité des Inspecteurs Généraux des Edifices Diocésains approved a revised project moving the facade one bay westward (figure 48),<sup>10</sup> and constant modifications were made in proportions and details. Vaudoyer kept a model of the cathedral in his Marseilles office, upon which he made and studied each change (figure 49).<sup>11</sup> He did not live long enough to design any of the decorative carving of the capitals and cornices; all but the capitals of the west belfries are from the designs of his successors Henri Espérandieu (*premier inspecteur* at the cathedral from 1854 and in 1872–74 *architecte-en-chef*) and Henry-Antoine Revoil (*architecte-en-chef* from 1874 to 1900).<sup>12</sup>

Work on the site had begun in 1854 with the acquisition of the necessary land and continued in 1855 and 1856 with work on the foundations. Construction of the cathedral proper commenced in 1857. By the time of Vaudoyer's death in 1872 the masonry shell was up and twenty million francs had already been spent in increments varying between 650,000 and 200,000 francs yearly.<sup>13</sup> On November 3, 1893, the state officially relinquished the building to the Catholic Church, after spending another million. Work costing 100,000 francs was nonetheless done in 1894; by 1899 this had fallen to 15,325.01 francs and the building was more or less as we see it today (figures 50, 51).

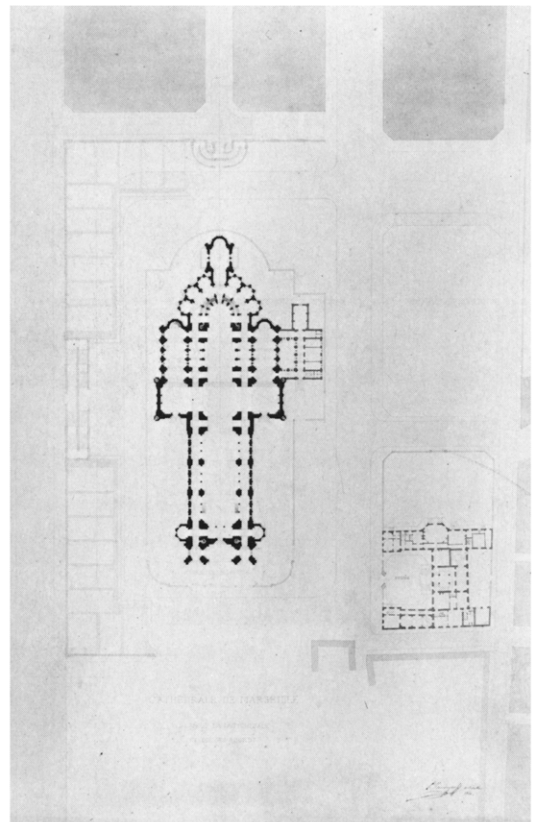
It is gratifying that the Ministre de l'Instruction Publique et des Cultes all through the final development of Vaudoyer's project was his mentor Hippolyte Fortoul. We know they worked on the project together. When the matter was first raised, Vaudoyer wrote Fortoul on May 15, 1845, "It will be necessary to put on the table the celebrated problem of the Catholic [church] type in 1845. Alas, this is not easy and I tremble."<sup>14</sup> In two subsequent letters Vaudoyer tried to arrange a meeting with Fortoul, then a professor in Toulouse, to discuss the matter.<sup>15</sup> Ten years later, when the project was complete, Fortoul wrote in his diary:

*I went to Vaudoyer's to see the project for Marseilles Cathedral. I made a few more observations, but I find the plan sufficiently ameliorated to produce one of the*



47

*Léon Vaudoyer, Cathedral of Sainte-Marie-Majeure, definitive project, side elevation, 1857 or after. Private collection, Paris. (Photo: Bulloz)*



48

*Léon Vaudoyer, Cathedral of Sainte-Marie-Majeure, definitive project, plan, 1860. Private collection, Paris. (Photo: Bulloz)*



**49**  
*Léon Vaudoyer, Cathedral of  
Sainte-Marie-Majeure, 1856–93,  
models.*

50

*Léon Vaudoyer, Cathedral of  
Sainte-Marie-Majeure, exterior  
from the harbor. (Photo: N. D.  
Roger-Viollet)*





*most beautiful and curious monuments with which France might honor itself. It is a work of which I shall be the most proud. I think that I contributed a great deal even to the first conception.*<sup>16</sup>

Here is an important instance of collaboration between a government architect and a high official who was simultaneously a knowledgeable critic. But things are never perfect. Vaudoier actually became architect of the project quite by chance. While Fortoul was still an obscure professor in Toulouse, Vaudoier was named architect at Marseilles in compensation for not having been named architect for the restoration of the cathedral at Bourges. In applying for that latter post, Vaudoier himself, and Vitet backing him, emphasized his knowledge of Gothic architecture—expertise important for Bourges but irrelevant for the Marseilles project.<sup>17</sup> But then, all he was really being hired to do in 1845 was to visit Marseilles and pass upon a problem of urbanism. Only 2000 francs were budgeted and Vaudoier suspected the whole thing would result in nothing.<sup>18</sup> His suspicion was nearly realized; the ministry did not correspond with him about Marseilles again until five years later; and even when the project came to life again, Bishop de Mazenod and Prefect Suleau proposed, in letters of December 24, 1851, and January 2, 1852, that Léon Feuchère be named architect.<sup>19</sup> What Fortoul did was to reject this suggestion, keep Vaudoier in this position, and raise him to the more solid dignity of *architecte diocésain* on July 27, 1853, making fruitful the opportunity Vaudoier had already received by chance.

Vaudoier's first project, that dated August 15, 1852, was a most elaborate configuration of volumes (figures 44–46). A tall octagonal dome over the crossing is surrounded by three lower domes over identical square bays comprising the transepts and choir. A broad nave in three groin-vaulted bays extends forward with passages (rather than aisles) below narrow balconies on each side (figure 51). Two octagonal towers with tall curving roofs mark the facade with its king's gallery, rose window, and carved tympanum over the main door inset at the back of a porch. At the chevet a huge mosaic half-dome terminates the axis. Below it a double ring of arches opens into an ambulatory and a crown of semicircular chapels. A domed Lady Chapel extends out the rear, and two deep parish chapels stretch back from the transepts.

It is often observed that Vaudoier's project combines the Roman vaulted hall and the Byzantine domical church. Vaudoier's *inspecteur* and successor at the cathedral, Henri Espérandieu, wrote Charles Blanc in a letter of February 19, 1875, "The layout of the cathedral derives simultaneously from the halls of the Roman baths and from the Byzantine churches (especially Saint Mark's at Venice)."<sup>20</sup> Liturgically this made good sense. A cathedral was an urban institution, the seat of a bishop and



**51**

*Léon Vaudoyer, Cathedral of  
Sainte-Marie-Majeure, nave.  
(Photo: N. D. Roger-Viollet)*

his chapter serving the city population with their schools and administration of the diocese.<sup>21</sup> During the Renaissance bishops had come to take their duties lightly and the public functions of the cathedral had declined. But in the nineteenth century the institution was reinvigorated, both in France and in England, and, as part of the politics of clericism and legitimacy, its functions were emphasized. In the case of de Mazenod at Marseilles, the cathedral was the symbolic core of a worldwide missionary project. Thus a broad practical nave for the congregation became necessary, as well as a dramatic, ritualistic chevet for the bishop and the chapter. In the vocabulary of historical architecture, the type of the unencumbered public space was the Roman thermal hall, while the type of the splendid ritualistic space was the Byzantine domical church. The basilican type that dominated French church building from Chalgrin's Saint-Philippe-du-Roule (1769) to Hittorff's Saint-Vincent-de-Paul (1824–48) had not permitted the expression of this distinction, but it was acknowledged in several of the more important medieval church restorations (Baltard's of Saint-Germain-des-Prés of 1842–47 and Vaudoyer's of Saint-Martin-des-Champs of 1840 and after, for example). It appeared decisively in the first major church designed by the circle of the Romantic *pensionnaires*, Questel's Neo-Romanesque Saint-Paul at Nîmes of 1836–48, where a barnlike nave introduces a richly decorated east end past a tall crossing tower. In his 1852 project for Marseilles Cathedral, Vaudoyer made this distinction between nave and chancel still more emphatic and added a pair of facade towers modeled on those of Sankt Maria in Capitol in Cologne and a crown of ambulatory chapels around the chevet like those at Saint-Sernin at Toulouse.

Marseilles Cathedral can thus be explained functionally and be shown to manifest—to make symbolic—an interpretation of the Christian institution of the cathedral. Its forms are not geometrically abstract, but clearly historical in derivation: the nave from Rome, the chevet from Venice, the chapels from Toulouse, the towers from Cologne. We know from Vaudoyer's historical studies as well as from his design for the Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers how tremendously conscious he was of historical continuity. We also know that Fortoul wished a building to display its history through a combination of forms, like the Residenz in Munich. And we have the basis for a historical reading of Vaudoyer's project in the history of architecture that he, together with Fortoul and Reynaud, formulated during the 1830s and 1840s, in which Arnolfo di Cambio is pictured as founding Renaissance architecture when, “sensing . . . the need to reforge the entire chain of its tradition,”<sup>22</sup> he linked the Roman thermal hall and the Byzantine domical church in his plan of the Duomo (figure 52).

52

*Cathedral Santa Maria del Fiore  
(Duomo), Florence, 1298–1452.  
(Photo: Alinari)*



But Arnolfo was a late-medieval architect and Vaudoyer a nineteenth-century one: where does this mean that Vaudoyer places himself historically? Again, there is a hint from Fortoul, whose basic point in *De l'Art en Allemagne* is that when the Orders became explicit in the High Renaissance, architecture went astray, and the task of the modern architect is to get back before that moment of failure and proceed forward again using a system of implicit Orders—coordinated proportions and curves—that embraces both the architectural and the monumental decorative forms. (Significantly Vaudoyer indicates a hieratic Byzantine decorative scheme covering the vaults and domes of his project, a very regular one closely related to the architecture.<sup>23</sup>) Thus it would be illogical to expect Vaudoyer to cite any historical sources later than the Duomo. But he is, nonetheless, here attempting to correct, place, and update the Duomo. Arnolfo included no bell towers in his plan for the Duomo, so Giotto had to erect a freestanding one beside the facade. Vaudoyer sought a more organic solution by consulting a Northern, Romanesque source, the heavily Byzantinizing churches of Cologne, to adopt the facade towers of Sankt Maria in Capitol (which likewise had a Roman nave and a Byzantine chevet). Arnolfo provided only three open chapels around the crossing of the Duomo; Vaudoyer adds an ambulatory and chapels behind his chancel dome. Finally, where Arnolfo is free in his adaptation of historical models, Vaudoyer is precise and accurate so that one can read each part. The only reference that is obscure is that to the Duomo itself, for to Fortoul and Vaudoyer the Renaissance was without form, only marked by memory and intellect, as Fortoul insisted the nineteenth century was as well.

Reading Vaudoyer's project symbolically and historically is still not to read it architecturally, as aesthetic form. Fortoul saw the need for French art to educate itself through the study of German historicism, but nonetheless to retain its native sense of "invention" to produce a new, powerful synthesis.<sup>24</sup> It was this French native skill in the manipulation of forms that he hoped would succeed in creating a new architecture of implicit Orders.

Vaudoyer's problem was that he could not create such a new style out of whole cloth. He had to have some consistent vocabulary and tradition to hold his composition together, and this vocabulary could not be the traditional one of the Greco-Roman Orders. The solution to his dilemma had been broached in Reynaud's writings of the 1830s and again in Fortoul's *De l'Art en Allemagne*: the elevation of the Romanesque and Byzantine styles from the status of isolated historical modes to that of a general tradition continuing that of ancient Rome and preparing for that of the Renaissance. The last ten chapters of Fortoul's book is an architectural tour of Germany (in fact, precisely the trip made in company with Vaudoyer in 1840<sup>25</sup>) in which he everywhere emphasizes the Romanesque style. Even

in Cologne Fortoul spends most of his time on the Romanesque churches, depicting the cathedral (following French scholarship) as a foreign intrusion, a copy of Beauvais Cathedral in France, and the beginning of decadence.<sup>26</sup> At Bamberg he wrote:

*This is not the first time that antiquity appeared to me to be alive almost on the eve of the century which pretended, after a thousand years, to draw it from the tomb. In all the directions embraced by the expansion of the human spirit, it kept its dominance almost to the end of the twelfth century; in the thirteenth it was momentarily vanquished by a movement that gave birth at the same time to modern languages and to the Gothic style; but swiftly in the fifteenth century it regained all its authority in Italy and was about to impose itself on all Europe more powerfully than ever.*<sup>27</sup>

It is only in the context of this belief in a continuous vaulted tradition from Rome to the Renaissance that we can understand a paragraph Vaudoyer inserted at the end of his installment of “*Etudes d’architecture en France*” of April 1846, immediately after his first trip to Marseilles. Here he states the proper basis of modern church design:

*We think that, in order to succeed, the program should be formulated thus:—In layout, the application of all the advantages furnished by the science of vaulted construction; the adoption of the style vertical and of the arcade free and unencumbered by the ancient Orders; introduction of the dome without the exclusion of towers. As to style, take as the point of departure the great principles of ancient architecture while recognizing the contribution of those appertaining to Christian art, and propose in general to create a monument that will be of our times, of our country, and that will be of the same family as those for which other needs might motivate the construction at the same place.*<sup>28</sup>

We have noted that Viollet-le-Duc wrote a critique of Vaudoyer’s initial project that was adopted by the Commission de Répartition at their meeting of March 10, 1853. This was immediately before Fortoul transformed that body into the Comité des Inspecteurs Généraux des Edifices Diocésains by *arrêtés* of March 7 and May 20 of that year; its members were Duban, Labrousse, and Mérimée as well as Viollet-le-Duc, Fortoul, and Vaudoyer.<sup>29</sup> It is an unusually long report. Viollet-le-Duc begins by noting that his colleague, Vaudoyer, understands the importance of the project, “which, by its scale as well as by its situation in one of the richest and most beautiful cities in France, should attract the attention of all intelligent men in Europe.”<sup>30</sup> It is a polite, diplomatic document. (Reports in general, and those if Viollet-le-Duc in particular, were not always so.) But for all

its apparent restraint, it is of great importance; first, because it was accepted by the Commission and occasioned a basic revision of the project; second, because, while seeming to imply a softening of its author's Gothicism, it in fact demonstrates one of its subtlest and most profound aspects; and third, because by a gentle and calculated naïveté in its assumptions, it showed Vaudoyer and Fortoul how close they were to a position they wished to avoid and thus forced them to be careful about a matter that, as the 1850s progressed, became the crux of an important controversy. Viollet-le-Duc's document is diplomatic not only in tone but also in intent: by its strategy it put Vaudoyer and Fortoul in a position where they were obliged to respond to important issues.

After noting the importance of the project, Viollet-le-Duc broaches the matter of in what system of architecture such a building should be designed. "There were two choices: either project a monument according to completely new parameters that would summarize the particular taste of our time, or follow traditions and take inspiration from historical types."<sup>31</sup> The first choice, he notes, Vaudoyer has wisely put aside, "for who among us can define the architecture of our times?"<sup>32</sup> Having chosen to follow a historical style, Vaudoyer, in Viollet-le-Duc's opinion, was wise to have selected the Byzantine. His choice was between the Early Christian, Byzantine, Gothic, and Renaissance. Early Christian is too ancient, Viollet-le-Duc judges; a building in that style could not satisfy the needs of a modern cathedral. But Gothic too would have been inappropriate because "to take our great Gothic cathedrals as models would be to erect a monument in disharmony with Southern architecture, with the elements and traditions of these localities."<sup>33</sup> The choice of the Renaissance style, Viollet-le-Duc declares, would not have been so much inappropriate as depraved: "To take inspiration from our Renaissance buildings would be to reproduce a bastard architecture, to risk committing the mistakes so frequent in this architecture."<sup>34</sup>

What is significant about this formulation by Viollet-le-Duc of Vaudoyer's thinking is not only that he prefers the Byzantine to the Gothic because of the requirement that style have local significance, but also that he backs Vaudoyer into an embarrassing dilemma by refusing to comprehend that the project *is* a Renaissance conception—the very sort of thing Viollet-le-Duc calls "bâtard"—and not Byzantine at all.

In the paragraph that follows, Viollet-le-Duc is more blunt:

*M. Vaudoyer seems to have occupied himself too much, in the ensemble of his composition, with the banal citation of sources (accusation banale d'imitation). He seems to wish to prove that one might combine in a single building forms appertaining to different peoples and ages. Certainly, if someone were able to surmount this difficulty, it is M. Vaudoyer, who has patiently studied the styles*

that he wishes to combine; but if one can here laud the efforts of the scholar, admiring his skill in bringing together forms of diverse origin, the artist nevertheless regrets these efforts, which destroy unity without adding effect.

*M. Vaudoyer knows better than us that an architecture is not the product of chance; when one thus decides to adopt a style (and how to do otherwise today?), why not take it as it is at its purest source? Why seek to create a macronic language when one already has in hand a simple and beautiful speech?*<sup>35</sup>

Earlier in his critique Viollet-le-Duc had stated that what constituted “une architecture” was the perfect harmony of parts and details so that no others could be imagined in their place. This quality, he asserts, was to be found in Amiens as well as in Saint Mark’s in Venice and was the source of aesthetic satisfaction to the educated as well as to the general public.

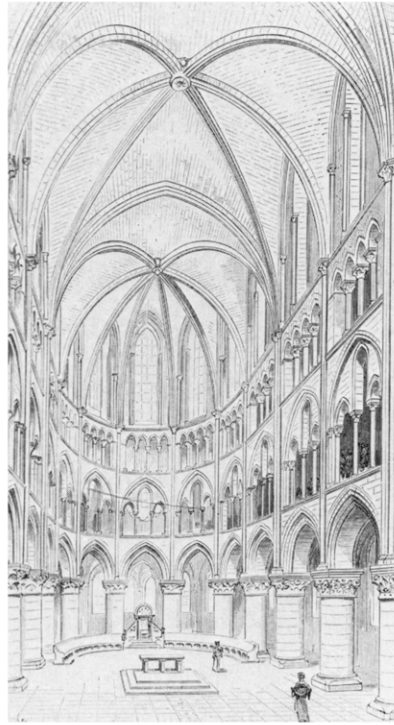
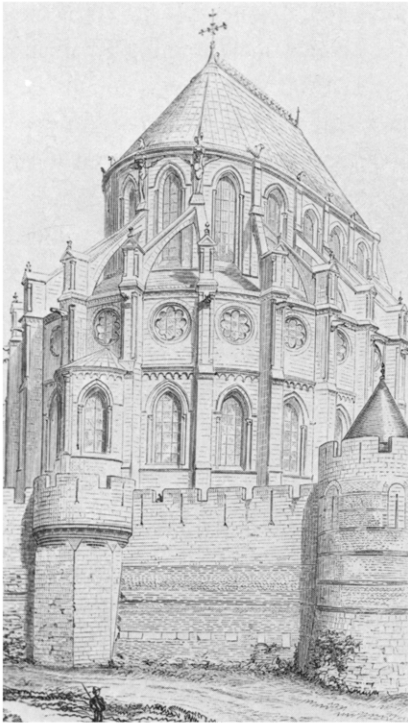
Why is Viollet-le-Duc, the Gothicist, trying to push Vaudoyer into doing a Byzantine design, especially an archaeologically correct one, citing the example of Saint Mark’s? We have noted, like generations of earlier scholars, that Viollet-le-Duc understood Gothic structurally. We have not noted, however, that this structural exploration was for him simply the instrument for understanding the historical and social reality of Gothic in particular and of the whole history of architecture in general. Structure was merely a means to an end—the great Romantic historicist end discussed earlier, the resuscitation of the past. To Viollet-le-Duc, it was by the way in which a society built that it most vividly manifested to the modern archaeologist (a name he accepted with pride) its particular qualities.

Viollet-le-Duc’s discovery in his examination of Gothic architecture was the multitudinous details of its tremendous structural efficiency. This was also the source of his delight in it, for he perceived that this reflected a rational, democratic society. He summarized this in his series of articles “De la Construction des édifices religieux en France” in the *Annales archéologiques* of 1844–47 and stated it definitively in his entry “Construction” in the fourth volume of the *Dictionnaire raisonné* of 1859. The Gothic system, he points out, used small, hard, precisely cut stones, cut so that the least material was wasted and carved at the quarry to lessen the weight to be transported to the site. The Roman system of construction, in contrast, using masses of concrete poured over forms, had been inefficient and was possible only because of Imperial Roman centralization and slave labor. The Gothic was the building system of free, thinking men. Viollet-le-Duc discovered the elasticity of Gothic structure, the manner in which each vault thrust is balanced by a counterthrust so that the mass of construction could be reduced to a minimum. The Romans, with their army and slaves, he imagines, did not worry about such fine-tuning of the structure and grounded vault thrusts with huge inert masses of masonry.

Again, Viollet-le-Duc points out that the Gothic bay system permitted construction to proceed slowly, bay by bay, so that a huge structure could be erected in steps as the money and labor became available. Thus the Gothic cathedral's piecemeal appearance, its changes of plan and decoration from part to part, was indicative of the fact that it was not erected all at one time to a single architect's plans.

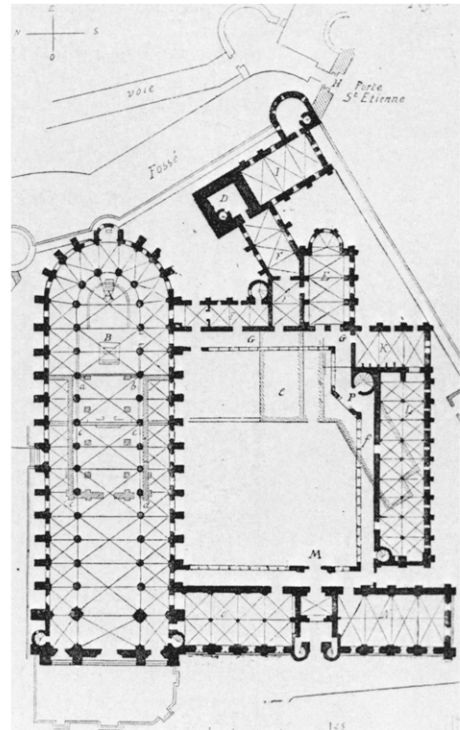
But the Gothic builder Viollet-le-Duc envisioned was not just a clever, happy tinkerer. First in the entry "Cathédrale" in the second volume of his *Dictionnaire raisonné* (1856), then again in the sixth and seventh of his *Entretiens sur l'architecture* (1863), and finally in his *Histoire d'un hôtel de ville et d'une cathédrale* (1875), he localizes the invention of the Gothic style in the city cathedrals of the Ile de France begun in the mid-twelfth century: those of Paris, Bourges (which he misdates to 1172), Noyon, and Laon. As any reader of republican Romantic history knew well, this was the time and place of the establishment of the first French democracies, the communes. Augustin Thierry's *Lettres sur l'histoire de France* of 1820 was principally devoted to this topic, and Viollet-le-Duc cites that volume repeatedly. Already in 1845 Ludovic Vitet had published his *Monographie de l'église Notre-Dame-de-Noyon*, where he studies the political evolution of that town in order to explain the interweaving in its cathedral of the Romanesque round arch and the Gothic pointed one. He concludes that the pointed arch was symbolic of republican, civil spirit and the round arch of traditional, centralized Papal authority, but he states firmly that each was merely a geometric form chosen by its supporting party by chance.<sup>36</sup> Viollet-le-Duc, working from his contemporaneous study of Gothic construction, takes a step beyond his friend Vitet when he proposes why the pointed arch was republican and the round arch authoritarian: because one permitted efficient, piecemeal construction and thus presumed political freedom, while the other assumed single building campaigns and thus controlled mass labor and capital.

Using his extraordinary powers of archaeological extrapolation, Viollet-le-Duc reconstructed the first Gothic cathedrals. Peeling away the accumulated chapels and transepts of the later, declining periods, he discovered the model that in 1875 he embodied in his imaginary cathedral at Clusy (figure 53). As at Bourges, there are no transepts; as in his reconstruction of the first state of Notre-Dame, there is only one small chapel in the chevet; as in all the Early Gothic cathedrals, there is a high tribune gallery so that the building would hold most of the city's population at one time. All of these qualities harmonize with the efficiency of its structural system to indicate that the building was conceived as a meeting place for the commune's inhabitants; it is a structure so huge in proportion to the city's population that only the new Gothic system made it possible to build in the first place. Its resemblance to a Roman basilica was thus not fortuitous: these first Gothic cathedrals were at least as much civic monu-



53

*Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, Imagined Early Gothic cathedral at Clusy. From Histoire d'un hôtel de ville et d'une cathédrale, 1878, pp. 82, 86.*



ments as religious ones. With Thierry and Vitet, Viollet-le-Duc envisioned the bishops who built the first cathedrals as consciously making an alliance with the bourgeoisie of the commune to resist the feudal lords and abbots, who still built in the authoritarian Romanesque manner. The communes thus built these new structures on a scale previously unheard of, but with rights to hold festivals in them and to conduct in them business of all sorts.

*Where do we find the great cathedrals erected at the end of the twelfth century and the beginning of the thirteenth? In towns like Noyon, Soissons, Laon, Reims, Amiens, which all had, among the first, given the signal for the liberation of the communes. . . .*

*At the beginning of the twelfth century the feudal system was established; it enmeshed France in a net whose links, strongly forged, would never, it seemed, permit the nation to develop. The regular and secular clergy never protested against this regime; it associated itself with it. . . . It was not the same with the bishops; they had not profited from the exceptional position spiritual power gave them; they began to array themselves, like the lay lords, behind the banners of their sovereigns. . . . It was then that, sustained by the already significant monarchic power, strong from the support of the population, who were rapidly turning toward the openings where they glimpsed the hope of liberty, the bishops wished to give a visible form to a power that seemed henceforth founded on imperturbable bases; they gathered immense sums and tore down the old cathedrals that had become too small, they set to work at once upon the construction of huge monuments built to unite forever around their episcopal throne these populations desirous of freedom from the feudal yoke.<sup>37</sup>*

Viollet-le-Duc's vision of structural rationalism led him to two conclusions important for his critique of Vaudoyer's Marseilles Cathedral project: that Gothic architecture, although vaulted in principle, was essentially distinct from Roman architecture and its derivatives; and that such a republican architecture, emanating from the community and conceived with local conditions in mind, must vary from place to place, always reflecting its social and natural environment.

In his writings, Viollet-le-Duc repeatedly equates the Gothic of the communes with Greek architecture, depicting both as structurally efficient and formally rational. This he accompanies with the flat dismissal of Roman architecture as not only authoritarian in its construction but also simply nonsensical in its ornamentation, which is a superficial cladding of the Orders borrowed from the Greeks. In the first volume of his *Entretiens sur*

*l'architecture*, he expands these ideas into a history of architecture embracing two opposing traditions, the rational and republican against the arbitrary and authoritarian. To do this he must solve certain historical problems. The first is that of the Byzantine style which—like Reynaud, Vaudoyer, and Fortoul—he pictures as a more rational form of Roman construction engendered by the frank acceptance of the arch. He saves this style for the party of rationality by insisting that its vocabulary is not a Roman derivative, but rather that of the lost style of the Hebrews.<sup>38</sup> The Byzantine Empire preserved it but was unable to develop it. Viollet-le-Duc's second problem is that of explaining the resemblance of the Romanesque to the Roman style. This he does by insisting on its localization in monastic establishments, which preserved the ancient Roman centralized authority. Finally he explains the collapse of the Gothic and the emergence of the Renaissance as a reflection of the centralization of political power in France from François I to Louis XIV. Not unexpectedly, with this periodization comes a frequently expressed dislike of Italian Gothic in particular and Italian architecture in general, which Viollet-le-Duc describes as being slave to ancient Roman forms and expressive of the political weakness of the peninsula.<sup>39</sup> Arnolfo's Duomo does not appear in his writings.

One of the greatest defects that Viollet-le-Duc decries in Renaissance authoritarian architecture is its destruction of local competence and style. He begins his ninth *Entretien*:

*In France during the Middle Ages, even the most modest house, the poorest church, was as artistic as the signeurial castle and the bishop's cathedral. . . . The art of architecture slowly withdrew from the provinces to survive vitally only in the centers of population; and the more that it accumulated immense resources in the big cities and became splendid, the more it was miserable elsewhere. . . .*

*Today architecture finds itself submitted to a sort of intellectual governance even narrower than that established by Louis XIV; it has never had its revolution of 1789.*<sup>40</sup>

Viollet-le-Duc frequently called in his letters and publications for an architectural '89, and here he makes it clear that part of his program would be the liberation of the provinces and the nurturing of local competence and local style in building. In his entry "Restauration" in the eighth volume of his *Dictionnaire raisonné* (1866), he speaks at length of how the work of the Commission des Monuments Historiques has revived provincial architecture. Even more categorical is the compendium *Eglises de bourgs et villages* of 1867 by Anatole de Baudot (identified as "élève de M. Viollet-le-Duc" on the title page), whose plates demonstrate the profoundly different results produced, from province to province, when

medieval and medievalist architecture is intelligently derived from local materials and structural devices. The Gothic parish church is not a universal type nor a cathedral model reduced in scale, de Baudot says in the introduction, but always a new, individual piece of thinking. “Each of these is based on a general system of construction formulated in terms of the dimensions of the church and the nature of the materials; thus a small church is not the reproduction of a large one and architectural character varies with the region.”<sup>41</sup> To demonstrate this de Baudot parallels Boeswillwald’s two churches at Masny (Nord) and Soissons and explains how the brick construction of the first and the cut limestone of the second result in very different configurations. His most striking example is a church by Viollet-le-Duc, that of Saint-Gimer at Carcassonne, built in 1852–59 (figure 54).<sup>42</sup> The generative fact of its design, de Baudot explains, is the use of the local system of tile roofing:

*With the system of vaults on pointed arches, the more flat the roof of the aisles, the easier it is to keep down the height of the principal vault and thus that of the building as a whole, and consequently to avoid flying buttresses. Now, fired tile requires only the slightest slope; the architect has taken advantage of this to place the springing of the main vaults as low as possible, while letting it extend above the roofs of the aisles, the rose windows occupying the breadth of each bay and giving full light to the interior.*<sup>43</sup>

Viollet-le-Duc’s church at Aillant-sur-Tholon in Burgundy (1862–67), also documented in de Baudot’s volume, is completely different because of its distinct structural system. Never, however, does de Baudot (or Viollet-le-Duc) mention regionalism as an objective in itself; to them, regional distinctions are the inevitable result of the sensitive, intelligent solution of functional problems. There is no need to conceive some symbolic local nuance: it will appear spontaneously if you work carefully and logically.

The supposed cumulative tradition of Southern round-arched architecture, extending from Constantine to Arnolfo di Cambio, in which Vaudoyer had conceived his first project for Marseilles Cathedral was thus dismissed by Viollet-le-Duc as “bâtard” in one sense or another. Such indeed it must have seemed from his rigorous definition of the organicism of style. The conception of the round-arched tradition, however, was both a legitimate expression of an earlier, Romantic historicism and of an aesthetic. It had powerful attractions. The encounter before the Commission de Répartition was only part of a broad and celebrated controversy that extended to the end of the century.

The dispute centered on the Lombards, a German tribe that ruled Italy from their defeat of the Ostrogoths in Ravenna in 568 to their own conquest by Charlemagne and his Franks in 744.<sup>44</sup> They appear to be a point

54

*Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc,  
Saint-Gimer, Carcassone, 1852–  
59. (Photo: N. D. Roger-Viollet)*



of light in the Dark Ages because their history had been recorded by a contemporary, Paul the Deacon, and published in 1514, while the law code of their King Rothari also survived. Their descendants in northern Italy were later to establish the first communes and to become a respected nation of traders. There thus was a strong temptation at the beginning of the nineteenth century to picture the Lombards as the preservers of the classical tradition. In the first volume of his *Histoire des républiques italiennes du moyen-âge* (1807), Sismondi described the Lombard conquest as a “Renaissance”: “Independent principalities, communes, republics began to establish themselves everywhere, and order was given to life in this country so long buried in lethargic sleep.”<sup>45</sup> Savigny, more emphatically and with weightier arguments and documentation, depicted the Lombard state and legal system as a continuation of the Roman and as the inspiration of the modern in his *Geschichte des römischen Rechts in Mittelalter* (1815–31; published in French in 1839).<sup>46</sup> Finally, Seroux d’Agincourt extended this to the realm of architecture when, in his posthumously published *Histoire de l’art par les monuments, depuis sa décadence au quatrième siècle jusqu’à son renouvellement au seizième* (1823), he depicted the Lombard kingdom as having a sophisticated style of building in the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries, as represented in the churches of San Giulio and San Tomasso at Bergamo and most particularly San Michele at Pavia. In 1829, however, the Atheneum at Brescia held a competition on the question of whether or not there was such a Lombard architecture bridging the Dark Ages. The proposition was carefully refuted by the antiquary Cordero di San Quintino, who demonstrated that San Michele was actually an eleventh-century successor to the original Lombard church of that designation.<sup>47</sup> Ludovic Vitet reported these conclusions in Paris in his article “De l’Architecture lombarde” of 1830.<sup>48</sup>

There one might have thought the matter would have rested. A number of later archaeologists confirmed Cordero’s arguments, beginning with Viollet-le-Duc and ending in our own century with Rivoira and Kingsly Porter.<sup>49</sup> But the idea of a mysterious style bridging the gap between the Roman and medieval times proved to have a powerful attraction, and not just to nationalist north Italian scholars like Luca Beltrami. The Brescia competition had also elicited a defense of the early dating of the Lombard churches, and this proved the more influential of the two documents.<sup>50</sup> Fortoul, as we have seen, accepted the idea. And Léonce Reynaud, in a lengthy discussion of the evolution of church architecture in the second volume of his *Traité d’architecture* of 1858, reintroduced the Lombard style.<sup>51</sup> He dated San Michele at Pavia to the Lombard kingdom, praised the epoch as a renaissance of culture and government, and declared that what henceforth would be the vocabulary of the medieval church—the articulated pier and the colonnette—was its discovery.

*These two things, piers with attached columns and elongated columns starting at the floor level, are fundamental in the history of art. They constitute the most characteristic element, the most essential basis of all medieval architecture; they are more important than the pointed arch. It is these which permitted the vaults, the elongated proportions, and the predominance of vertical lines, which brought about, in a word, the special art of Western Christianity. Their invention is a title of glory for the Lombards, which one would dispute in vain.*<sup>52</sup>

In 1860 Ferdinand Dartien (1838–1912), a student of Reynaud at the Ecole Polytechnique in the 1850s, then his assistant (*répétiteur auxiliaire*) and after 1867 his successor as Professor of Architecture there, led a mission to study the architecture of northern Italy.<sup>53</sup> He published the results, formulated during nine subsequent visits between then and 1875, as his compendious *Etude sur l'architecture lombarde* (1865–82). He backs Reynaud, step by step, and insists there was a continuous tradition of round-arched architecture in Italy from the ancient Romans to the Renaissance.

The resuscitation of the Lombard style was the crux of a broad movement during the 1830s, 1840s, and 1850s to explore the round-arched vocabulary in the medieval period. Byzantine architecture in particular had been studied in a series of articles in the first volume of Daly's *Revue générale de l'architecture* by Albert Lenoir (1840), then by A.-L.-A. Couchaud, a student of Chenevard and Labrouste, in his *Choix d'églises byzantines en Grèce* of 1842, and then by Debret's student Charles Texier in his *Description de l'Asie Mineure* of 1839–49.<sup>54</sup> In 1851 the antiquary Félix de Verneilh published his *De l'Architecture byzantine en France*, which documents the domed churches of the Périgord, dates their parent, Saint-Front at Périgueux, to 984, and describes it as a brother of Saint Mark's in Venice, not an imitation. (Vitet and Viollet-le-Duc contested this assertion.)<sup>55</sup> The celebrated restoration of the church of Saint-Front by Paul Abadie was projected in 1850 and executed from 1857.<sup>56</sup>

The problem with Reynaud's vision of a continuous round-arched tradition extending unbroken from Rome to the Renaissance was that it could not be documented. Kingsly Porter saw Dartien's massive study as entirely out of date, handling documents with the imprecision of the turn of the nineteenth century.<sup>57</sup> The idea had already been archaeologically refuted by Celeste Clericetti in 1869 and again by Raffaele Cattaneo in 1888.<sup>58</sup> Viollet-le-Duc, in the first volume of his *Entretiens* (1863), dismisses Lombard style out of hand.<sup>59</sup> But an aesthetic objective motivated this illusion of a tradition. We have noted how Fortoul in *De l'Art en Allemagne* depicted this continuous round-arched tradition as more basic and long-lived than the Gothic. To a mind like Fortoul's, seeking an orderly yet elastic and characteristic architecture, it was the way to avoid the picturesqueness of the Gothic and still be Christian. It was a vocabulary of ar-

chitectural forms as eternal as that of the Greek Orders, only needing to be recognized and given expression. Greek architecture, as an ideal, and Gothic architecture, as a threat, show through the fantasy of the Lombard style at many points. One of the recurring themes of *De l'Art en Allemagne* is the rejection of Gothicism.<sup>60</sup> Vaudoyer, in the installments of his “Etudes d’architecture en France,” attacks Gothic with increasing vehemence through the 1840s.<sup>61</sup> Reynaud’s essay on church design in his *Traité d’architecture* (1858) ends with an outspoken attack on the idea that Gothic might be an appropriate style for the modern church. “Il y a dans l’art ogival une profonde expression de contrainte, de mélancolie, de tristesse, de souffrance même” (“There is in Gothic art a profound feeling of constraint, of melancholy, of sadness, even of suffering”),<sup>62</sup> he writes, and implies that such an architecture is out of harmony with the powerful, progressive society of nineteenth-century France. In place of the Gothic cathedrals, he recommends that the modern architect study the vaulted halls of the Baths of Diocletian and the Basilica of Constantine and the domes of Hagia Sophia and the Duomo.

These last remarks were a challenge to Viollet-le-Duc, who refers to them in a number of passages in his *Entretiens* and answers them directly in an article in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* of 1859.<sup>63</sup> He disputes three of Reynaud’s assumptions: that one style of architecture might be appropriate for churches and another for other types of building; that the Gothic style elicits such emotions as “mélancolie” and “tristesse”; that there ever was a seminal “Lombard” style. The whole thrust of his *Entretiens* is to refute these points on a general level. Architecture is organic to society—one or another form of constructive logic inflected by function and material—not a vocabulary of a priori forms selected in order to arouse some appropriate sentiment. Thus in the fourth volume of his *Dictionnaire raisonné* Viollet-le-Duc rejects Verneilh’s contention that the domical Saint-Front at Périgueux proves that Byzantine architecture is organic to France because its structure was unsound and crumbling (requiring complete rebuilding by Abadie in 1857) and so clearly unnatural to its habitat.<sup>64</sup>

Now perhaps it is clear why Viollet-le-Duc in his 1853 critique of Vaudoyer’s project complimented the choice of style but not its eclecticism. In its style he saw an expression of its locality, but in its combination of forms he saw a nineteenth-century architect doing badly what nature and history, manifested in the existing local architecture of the Provence, did subtly and convincingly.

Vaudoyer revised his project in response. The revised design was approved by the Bishop on April 15, 1855, and adopted by the Comité des Inspecteurs Généraux des Edifices Diocésains, upon Viollet-le-Duc’s favorable report, on May 15. Except for the movement of the towers and

the facade one bay westward, this is the design that was executed beginning in 1857 (figures 50–51).

The composition of volumes has remained the same. It has been greatly strengthened and unified, and a consistent Byzantine style has been adopted in the detailing. In this, of course, Vaudoyer was responding to Viollet-le-Duc's criticisms, and the latter was duly laudatory in his second report:

*He has been led to give to the nave a greater breadth, to the masses surrounding the central dome and the sanctuary a simpler arrangement better related to the weights and thrusts, to his elevations and sections a quality of unity lacking in his first project. Considering this system of architecture (and it is perfectly appropriate to the climate and materials of Marseilles), one could not make a more considered and happier application.*<sup>65</sup>

Vaudoyer has retained the liturgical system of his first project, but played down the eclectic historical one. And the emphasis upon locality that has replaced the latter has introduced two completely new elements: the broad arch of the facade and the striping of the entire exterior in alternate courses of green and white marble.

As redesigned in 1857, the facade (figure 50) opens southward along the harbor toward the Vieux Port and the city center with a tall arched opening flanked by lower openings, forming a porch across the whole front. Vaudoyer both monumentalized and sanctified the facade by integrating into its composition the twin towers which in his first project had been set on top of the closed facade block like Rhenish turrets added incongruously to the facade of Saint-Denis (figure 44). Vaudoyer was in part responding to Viollet-le-Duc's criticism that the entrance of his first project needed to be widened. More importantly, however, he was making the facade a triumphant entryway by reproducing the configuration of the arches of Titus and Constantine (as well as of Orange, nearby in the Provence) with the tower buttresses in place of columns. Charles Blanc, in his *Les Artistes de mon temps*, explains Vaudoyer's building as a gateway to the Mediterranean.<sup>66</sup>

The basic fact of the cathedral project was its integration into Prefect Suleau's plan to expand the port of Marseilles. After finishing his hurried project in 1852, Vaudoyer must have become profoundly aware of this context, especially since it provided the site for his building on a platform of warehouses extending out into the new harbor. Industrially and symbolically, Marseilles was one of the most important creations of mid-nineteenth-century France, and especially of the Second Empire (which took full credit for the work).<sup>67</sup> In 1830 it had been a straggling center of 100,000 around the narrow, silted Vieux Port, competing with Toulon, Nice, and Genoa in its immediate region. It had a tremendous potential

advantage, however: it was linked to the industrial heart of northern Europe by the Rhone, which mounted to Lyon and led to canals to the Seine and Rhine basins. The possibility that Marseilles might become France's gateway to the Mediterranean had already inspired Louis XIV to develop the port and base a fleet there. This proved premature, but with the conquest of Algeria in the 1830s, the city's industrial and strategic importance began to manifest itself powerfully.

The exploitation of Marseilles came largely from outside, from the north where its significance as an outlet was understood. In 1829 the Limoges-born engineer and *polytechnicien* Paulin Talabot arrived in Nîmes to build the Aiges Mortes–Beaucaire canal.<sup>68</sup> He decided to realize the potential of the coal fields at Grand'Combe in the mountains behind Nîmes and in 1840 opened one of the first railroad lines in France, from there, past Nîmes, to Beaucaire. This success encouraged him to begin agitating for a rail line to Lyon in 1838. Working with the Saint-Simonian Didion, he persevered through all the lobbying that led up to the basic railroad legislation of June 11, 1842, the "Code des Chemins de Fer,"<sup>69</sup> and on July 24, 1843, obtained the concession for a line from Avignon to Marseilles, followed in 1845 by that for the line Avignon–Lyon (from which another company was building a line to Paris). The Gare Saint-Charles in Marseilles had been inaugurated and construction had almost reached Avignon when the economic crisis of 1848 stopped the work. On January 2, 1852, however, new laws returned Talabot's concessions with favorable clauses. The line reached Valence in 1854 and was pushed on to Lyon as the Crimean War broke out, the last section opening on April 16, 1855, in time for the returning troops to travel in relative comfort to Paris. Finally, in 1857 the Paris–Lyon company combined with Talabot's to create the famous Paris–Lyon–Méditerranée. In 1859, at the outbreak of the Piedmontese War against the Austrians in Italy, the line carried 227,669 men and 36,357 horses in eighty-six days to mount the first offensive and, incidentally, set the model that the German General Staff followed in August 1914.

Marseilles was the center of two sections of the system: the railroad to Lyon and Paris northward, and the shipping lines across the Mediterranean southward. In 1851 the Compagnie des Messageries Impériales was founded and by 1855 had forty-one ships providing service all over the sea.<sup>70</sup> In 1854 Talabot and the directors of the company founded the Compagnie des Docks et Entrepôts de Marseilles to erect the new port at La Joliette, projected since 1844 north of the Vieux Port and at the foot of Vaudoyer's cathedral.<sup>71</sup> By January 1, 1861, this new port was in full use.

Talabot and his collaborators did not restrict their efforts to the French side of the Mediterranean. Talabot commenced work on the Algerian railroad system in 1862 and on steel mills there at Alokta-el-Hadid in 1865. In

1846 he had visited Egypt to survey a route for a canal to the Red Sea under the authority of the Saint-Simonian Société d'Etudes pour le Canal de Suez; in 1847 he published a report that in 1854 led to the great project of his friend Ferdinand de Lesseps.<sup>72</sup> On November 17, 1869, to the strains of Verdi's *Aïda* and in the presence of the Empress Eugénie, de Lesseps's Suez Canal was inaugurated, opening Marseilles to the Indian Ocean and to France's new colonial conquests in China (1860) and Indochina (1860–67).

This dramatic realization of its strategic and economic potential transformed Marseilles. Its population rose to 195,138 in 1851, then to 300,151 in 1866. The new port at La Joliette, with its warehouses and shipping offices, rose on the shore, while the Gare Saint-Charles dominated the Canebière.<sup>73</sup> Fresh water was brought in by aqueduct to Longchamps, where in 1862–70 Espérandieu celebrated it with a massive cascade between the museums of fine arts and natural history. Boulevards of bourgeois *maisons de rapport* were cut, especially the rue Impériale, and a vast *cité ouvrière* was erected near La Joliette by the builder Curtil. A new Prefecture (Auguste Martin, architect, 1861–67), a new Palais de Justice (Martin, 1858–62), a new Ecole des Beaux-Arts (Espérandieu, 1864–69), a great new barracks, the Caserne Saint-Charles (Guillamaud, 1865–68), all rose simultaneously to transform Marseilles into one of the great cities of the Second Empire. But first among all these monuments had been those begun in 1852 by Suleau: Pascal Coste's bourse and Vaudoyer's cathedral.

Impressive as all this is, it is only the material context of Vaudoyer's building. Marseilles also had symbolic force, particularly among the Saint-Simonians, who were frequently involved in the city's economic development. Michel Chevalier, in a series of articles in the *Globe* appearing between January 20 and February 12, 1832, outlined what he called the "système de la Méditerranée." Its basis was economic: he showed how the sea was the path from Europe to Asia and how its shore was articulated by a series of river valleys with ports at their mouths that would evolve into industrial elements in a whole system. Marseilles and the Rhone Valley were the most important of these, especially because when linked to Paris, they connected London to the Mediterranean. Beyond these economic facts, Chevalier's Saint-Simonian projection depicted a wonderful future when peace and harmony would be established as a result of the complete industrial integration of the nations of Europe and of all Europe with Asia. "The day when the *système de la Méditerranée* is sufficiently elaborated that one might envision its realization, peace will come to Europe as by enchantment, and it will remain forever."<sup>74</sup> In the next year, Enfantin led the initiated of the sect to Egypt to attempt to convince the Pasha, Mohammed Ali, to construct the Suez Canal.

The Saint-Simonians characteristically imagined a fusion of East and West in their "système de la Méditerranée," but another projection of

Marseilles's significance took the more popular form of the city as "la façade principale de la France sur la Méditerranée."<sup>75</sup> The idea that France was the carrier of civilization and enlightenment to the south had been the Romantic justification of the conquest of Algeria,<sup>76</sup> and in 1834 it was applied to the city itself by the local economist Jules Julliany in his important *Essai sur la commerce de Marseilles*.

*France should possess a city that would be the capital of the Mediterranean shores. . . .*

*We have said that this is a question of general interest for France; it is more still, it is a question of civilization.*

*It is clear that the benefits of civilization can only spread over the Mediterranean coastline by means of Marseilles; it is the only important city around this sea controlled by a free people.*

*Thus we should try to cultivate at Marseilles the advances and the discoveries of civilization. . . .*

*This is not inspired by narrow local interest. It is in the interest, I dare say, of humanity as a whole that Marseilles should exercise over southern Europe, over northern Asia and Africa a progressive, civilizing, enlightening influence.<sup>77</sup>*

All of this brings us back to Vaudoyer's transformation in 1855 of his design for the most prominent monument of the new Marseilles. One understands immediately his treatment of the facade as a monumental gate symbolic of the city's significance, as Charles Blanc pointed out. One also understands the references in its forms to various characteristic features of Mediterranean architecture: its Byzantine domes (rendered Turkish by the minaret-like corner turrets of the transepts) and the Tuscan green-and-white striping of its masonry. What had been in 1852 a project summarizing the history of Christian architecture became a project summarizing the Mediterranean tradition of building as well.

The elaborately inflected 1855 design nonetheless holds together. The essence of Vaudoyer's solution is making the cathedral a symbolic object set at this specific place in this specific landscape, the artistic equivalent of Chevalier's realization that Marseilles was a pressure point in a world economic system. The cathedral as redesigned in 1855 has a strong image from a distance, just as Marseilles was seen by Chevalier from the perspective of a man on the moon contemplating all Europe and the Mediterranean from outer space. (Jean Reynaud opened his *Terre et Ciel* of 1854 by presenting Earth through the eyes of a hypothetical astronomer on Jupiter.<sup>78</sup> Monsignor François Durand found the perfect image when in his history of the cathedral he compared it to "the miniature churches that the image-makers of the Middle Ages placed in the hands of holy builders"

—the brilliantly colored, reliquary-like church models that donors are holding in medieval representations like that in the apse of San Vitale in Ravenna.<sup>79</sup>

Vaudoyer's understanding of how the cathedral fit into its immediate context must have matured during his repeated visits to Marseilles after 1852. But to convert these abstract qualities into a single, inflected form he had to see them from a distance and in a landscape, something for which even his own work on the Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers would not have prepared him. In that earlier building his solution was to create framed, closed tableaux within a cityscape; here he had to arrange forms in a broad landscape, and his tools were scale, geometric shape, and color.

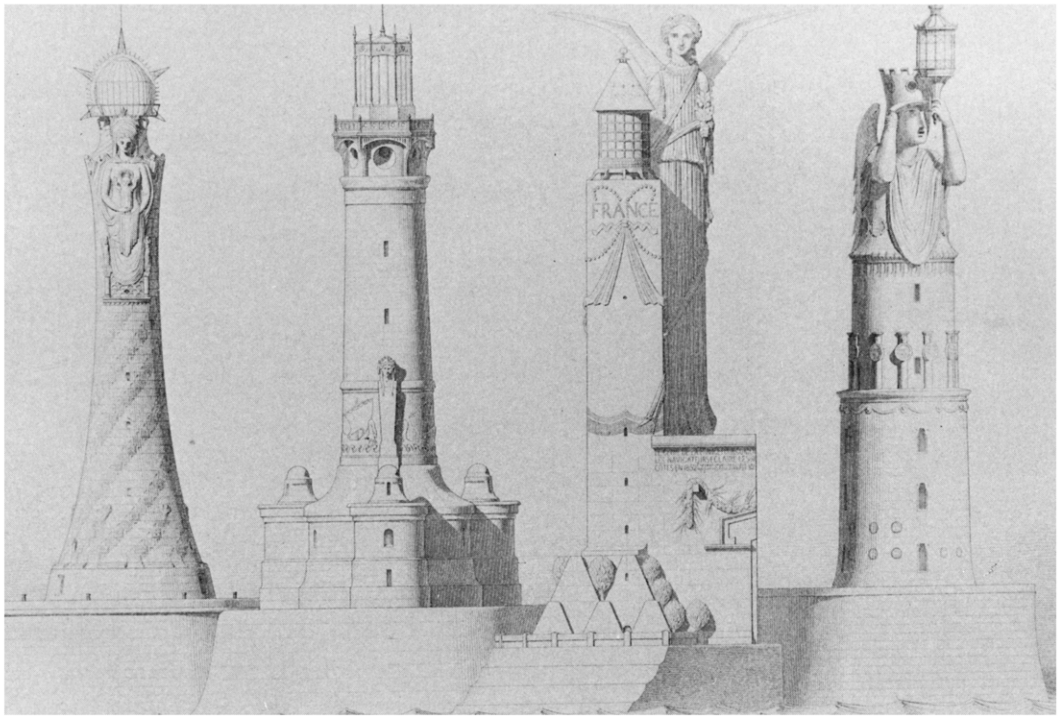
Vaudoyer's conception of the cathedral as an object in the landscape was refined in the design of the Marseilles pilgrimage chapel of Notre-Dame-de-la-Garde in 1853–54, made during the revision of the cathedral project (figure 55).<sup>80</sup> Vaudoyer himself was nominally the architect, as *architecte diocésain*, but in fact the designer was his twenty-five-year-old student and *inspecteur*, Espérandieu. Though young, Espérandieu was a Provençal and may have been much more than just a pencil in Vaudoyer's hand. Vaudoyer himself insisted upon Espérandieu's independence in conceiving the design.<sup>81</sup> The building tops a dramatic rock outcropping south of the Vieux Port and thus had to state its presence from a distance even more emphatically than the cathedral. Espérandieu's solution was to adopt the green-and-white banding simultaneously accepted by Vaudoyer and to give his structure the big, clearly defined geometric volumes of his master's projects—here a series of terraces supporting a tall, rectangular sanctuary topped by a dome and a tall, square tower. The most striking element of the composition and the key to its success is a colossal gilded statue of the Virgin topping the tower that changes the scale of the monument and makes it read from a distance as a sparkling reliquary. It was at this moment that the Marseilles sculptor Bartholdi posed the issue of colossal statuary, particularly with his project for a figural monument to mark the entrance of the Suez Canal (1867–69), the precursor of his statue of Liberty in New York harbor (1870–85).<sup>82</sup> Bartholdi claimed to have studied in Labrouste's atelier in Paris around 1850, and his Suez monument had precursors in a celebrated series of student projects for lighthouses of 1852 from the ateliers of Labrouste and his admirers Nicolle and Danjoy (figure 56).<sup>83</sup> In these as well as other projects, buildings were made in the form of colossal objects suggestive of their function and often brilliantly colored. In Bartholdi's case, the intention was to place these colossal markers at the pressure points of the new industrial world—Suez, New York, Marseilles—so that, in a sense, they would make it legible to an astronomer on Jupiter.

A basic component of the new sense of scale manifested in Notre-Dame-de-la-Garde and the cathedral, speaking to each other across the



55

*Henri Espérandieu, Notre-Dame-de-la-Garde, Marseille, 1854-64.*



56

*Léopold-Amédée Hardy, Juste Lisch, Emile Delangle, and Victor Pertuisot, Lighthouses, projects executed in the second class at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts. From Revue générale de l'architecture et des travaux publics 10 (1851): pl. 9.*

basin of Marseilles, was color, their green-and-white striping suggestive of Tuscany and Cairo but simultaneously harmonizing with the white cliffs and the green foliage of the immediate landscape. Polychromy had been an interest of the *pensionnaires* around 1830, but not this sort. Labrouste's conception of the coloring of the Basilica at Paestum and of his fantasy Agrigentum, both of 1828, was that it demonstrated the accretion of decorative clothing to the structural skeleton and was thus, in essence, painted or hung on and temporary. The polychromy of these Marseilles buildings is permanent, derived from their actual structural surfaces, and harmonious with the general chromatic tone of the region rather than expressive of specific events and ideas.

The conception of architectural polychromy had been evolving between 1830 and 1850.<sup>84</sup> In the 1820s German researchers studying the painting of the ancient Greek temples had already explained it as an effort to gain harmony with the brilliant chromatic Mediterranean environment, and the Cologne-born Hittorff offered this justification in his *Architecture antique de la Sicile* of 1827–30:

*When one has visited old Sicily, when one has lived in this country, when one has admired the sky of this blessed land, when one has seen the sun spread its morning brightness over the whole surface of this Ile Verte and enveloped it with its dying rays as with a net of gold; when one has observed the brilliant colors which in Sicily nuance the laurel, the palm, the aloe, the myrtle, the orange tree, in a word everything which the ground produces in the bosom of the desert as in the middle of a fertile field, one is convinced that the artist must take his inspiration from the beauties that surround him, place himself in harmony with them, and enrich the work of art with all the splendor of nature.*<sup>85</sup>

By the 1840s this conception had come to prevail over that of Labrouste and his admirers. The young scholar Emile Burnouf wrote in the *Revue des deux mondes* in 1847 that polychromy was intended to “soften the splendor” of the white marble temples when seen in the light and air of Athens, in the “transparent atmosphere which draws objects closer by making their contours distinct and which the vibrations of the heat render visible and almost palpable.”<sup>86</sup> And this conception of architectural color embraced all the buildings of the Mediterranean, the glazed tilework of Spain and Asia as well as the striped masonry of Tuscany and Egypt or the painted temples of Greece and Sicily. In 1833–34 the English architecture student Owen Jones, in company with the French student Jules Goury, studied the Alhambra in Granada, which resulted in the monumental *Plans, Elevations, Sections and Details of the Alhambra* (1836–45) published in brilliant chromolithograph with essays on how the red, blue, and golden colors of the decoration would have blended and shimmered in the Span-

ish sun.<sup>87</sup> In Italy, beginning in 1822, the marble *placage* of Tuscan medieval architecture was revived with G. B. Silvestri's project to complete the facade of the Duomo.<sup>88</sup> Silvestri actually erected such a colored marble facade on the cathedral of Grosseto in 1833, while in 1837 Nicolas Matas suggested a similar treatment of Santa Croce in Florence (carried out 1857–63) and in 1843 of the Duomo. In 1851 the first volume of Ruskin's *Stones of Venice* appeared, and thus Italian polychromy became one of the ideals of nineteenth-century architecture.<sup>89</sup> Paralleling these developments was the revelation of the brilliant polychromy of the Islamic buildings of Cairo in the chromolithographed plates of *Architecture arabe* (1839) and *Monuments moderne de la Perse* (1867) by the Marseilles architect Pascal Coste. This documentation of the chromatic splendor of Eastern architecture was made even more striking by Félix Thomas's reconstructions of the Assyrian remains at Khorsabad shown in the Salon of 1858 and published in 1867.<sup>90</sup>

This new visualization of architectural polychromy formed part of a contemporary movement in taste sometimes called the Néo-Grec. It was not so much Greek as exotic, and its leitmotif was this Mediterranean sense of color. Its quintessential monument was Théophile Gautier's volume of exquisite, sensual, exotic poems, *Emaux et camées*, published in 1852. The Néo-Grec had burst upon the scene in 1843 with Gleyre's painting *Soir* at the Salon and Ponsard's play *Lucrèce*, with Rachel in the title role and piquantly archaic Pompeiian sets. It gave rise to a school of Néo-Grec painters around Gleyre and Gérôme: Boulanger, Hamon, Picou, and Moreau.<sup>91</sup> It coincided with a renewal of interest in polychromy among the Grand Prix winners, now spending their fourth year in Greece. Ballu sent his reconstruction of the Erechtheum in 1844–45, Paccard his of the Parthenon in 1845–46; Titeux his of the Propylea in 1846, and finally Garnier his remarkable visualization of the temple at Aegina in 1852.<sup>92</sup> The actress Rachel redid her dining room in this style; the Prince Napoleon built his *Maison Pompéienne* (1856–60).<sup>93</sup> Paris for a moment lived in a fantasy world somewhat Oriental, somewhat Etruscan and everywhere glittering with brilliant colors and precious materials.

Vaudoyer was an habitué of the *salon* of Gautier's friend, the Néo-Grec Arsène Houssaye,<sup>94</sup> he was a close friend of Pascal Coste,<sup>95</sup> and he possessed a copy of Matas's publication of his 1843 project for the facade of the Duomo.<sup>96</sup> Indeed, in this light his and Espérandieu's solutions for Notre-Dame-de-la-Garde and Marseilles Cathedral seem almost inevitable. This is important because, in fact, during the 1840s a number of churches had been erected in Germany clothed in striped polychrome brickwork and one might be tempted to see them as the principal source of Vaudoyer's design.<sup>97</sup> Clad in reds and browns, however, they had an

earthy chromatic effect totally different from sparkling Néo-Grec coloration. Furthermore, to call the Marseilles buildings merely German would be to miss the manipulation of symbolism and scale which their polychromy subserves.

Nonetheless, this parallel introduces a basic fact of Vaudoyer's design: that it, like the Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers, is ultimately the correction and monumentalization of contemporary German architecture that Fortoul had proposed in 1842 in *De l'Art en Allemagne*. There, in volume one, as we noted earlier, he introduced the aesthetic ideal of an architecture that is rich and varied in its imagery, like that of von Klenze's Residenz or the whole Ludwigstrasse quarter in Munich. To him a palace or a cathedral should summarize the history of the architecture of its various parts, just as Vaudoyer's first project for the cathedral, in fact, does. Then, in volume two, Fortoul introduces the round-arched style as the basic vocabulary of Christian building and "capable of producing all impressions, from the simplest and most austere to the most complex and splendid: the round arch, the generative principle of these monuments, is treated in a thousand different fashions which should inspire the meditations of the artists of our age."<sup>98</sup> He especially praises the Byzantine over the Romanesque for the greater variety and expressiveness of its forms and holds that the strength of the Rhenish churches lies in their Byzantineness. Here he puts his finger on the great advance made by Vaudoyer, who already in his first project for the cathedral was using parts of the Byzantine vocabulary to escape the straitjacket of the simpler Romanesque style that Questel had introduced in his earlier attempt at a round-arched style, the church of Saint-Paul at Nîmes. Fortoul, as we have seen, called upon French designers to use their particular powers of composition and invention to transform German eclectic historicism and to make something monumental and exemplary in the round-arched vocabulary. This Vaudoyer accomplished at Marseilles. It is indeed "un des plus beaux et des plus curieux monuments dont la France puisse s'honorer," as Fortoul observed.

Elaborate as are Vaudoyer's gestures toward local character, one must note that his attitude is essentially cosmopolitan. The building recognizes commerce, France, and Asia, but not Provence. There was a Provençal architecture represented in Saint-Trophime at Arles, the cathedral at Avignon, and in the old cathedral of Sainte-Marie-Majeure on the site of Vaudoyer's new building. The local antiquary Casimir Bousquet could only note the complete distinction between the "roman" of the old cathedral and the "romano-byzantine" of Vaudoyer's new structure.<sup>99</sup> This disregard for the actual local tradition was made more pointed by Vaudoyer's plan to demolish the Sainte-Marie-Majeure (resisted and partially canceled by local partisans<sup>100</sup>); by the example of Questel's Saint-Paul, which hon-

ored the local style; by Revoil's studies of Provençal architecture published in 1867–73;<sup>101</sup> and finally by the founding in 1854 of the Félibrige, a circle of militant poets around Frédéric Mistral campaigning for the preservation and cultivation of Provençal literature and language.<sup>102</sup> These last achieved considerable fame (Mistral winning the Nobel Prize in 1904) writing in old Provençal and using the tight, elegant forms of the troubadours to express the courtly sentiments of piety and love set in smiling nature.

Marseilles was Babylon to the Félibrige; their Provence was that of Arles, Avignon, Aix, and the farm towns between. But they were unimportant to Marseilles, which was essentially a new creation, functioning as a link in the international “système de la Méditerranée.” It is remarkable how little local influence was permitted or acknowledged in the development of the city at this time. Octave Teissier's propagandistic *Marseilles sous Napoléon III* gives all the credit to the Emperor and his appointed representative, Charlemagne-Emile de Maupas, who succeeded Suleau: *The renovating genius of Napoleon soared over Marseilles. The old Phoenician city awoke, broader ideas germinated in all minds, projects for enlargement were studied and submitted for the approval of the Prince, who France was about to proclaim Emperor.*<sup>103</sup>

It is also striking that the local authorities were neither asked for nor expressed opinions about the designer or his artistic decisions. The only matters discussed in the *procès verbal* of the Département du Bouches du Rhône and the Conseil Municipal are financial. When Espérandieu, a Protestant, was named *inspecteur*, nothing more could be done than emit an ineffectual protest and require that Vaudoyer remain the architect of record of Notre-Dame-de-la-Garde.

In May 1869 an event of great importance took place in Marseilles: the election that sent the leftists Gambetta and Esquiros to the Chambre des Députés as the representative of the city.<sup>104</sup> Gambetta defeated Thiers, standing for the Opposition Libérale et Légitimiste, and Ferdinand de Lesseps, the official candidate, standing at the personal request of Napoleon III. In spite of the huge economic benefits bestowed upon Marseilles by the Second Empire, the hero of Suez could draw only 16.4 percent of the vote. We saw at the beginning of this chapter that the cathedral was initiated in large part to placate the Left, and we see that in 1869—despite the new port at its feet and all the other public works connected with it—it failed to do so. The election of 1869 points up the basic quality of all these projects, that they were *about* Marseilles, not *of* it. They all make Marseilles nothing more than a stopping place on the way to the East. The cathedral is but a marker for an administrator in Paris (or a Saint-Simonian astronomer on Jupiter), a glittering dollhouse church placed here by the Emperor like Ecclesius in the apse mosaic at San Vitale.

# *Six*

## DUC'S PALAIS DE JUSTICE

---

That Marseilles Cathedral might be the statement of an imperial style is something of a revelation because the style of the Second Empire seems so indistinct—as indistinct, perhaps, as the Empire’s own political nature. Napoleon III himself is supposed to have declared in a celebrated confidence, “The Empress is legitimist, my cousin [the Prince Napoleon] is Republican, Morny is Orléanist, I am a socialist; the only Bonapartist is Persigny and he is mad.” In architecture the situation was no better. The Empress Eugénie was a partisan of Viollet-le-Duc’s Gothic (which was secretly Republican); the Minister Fortoul helped conceive Vaudoyer’s authoritarian Byzantine; the monument most widely accepted today as embodying the *style Napoléon III* was Garnier’s *parvenu* Baroque Opera. And the structure awarded the Grand Prix de l’Empereur in 1869—an award of 100,000 francs for the greatest work of painting, sculpture, or architecture produced during the previous five years—was Duc’s Palais de Justice, the style of which seemed so obscure that many contemporaries judged it mad.<sup>1</sup>

Viollet-le-Duc observed in the seventh volume of his *Dictionnaire raisonné* (1864) that the palace is distinguished from the château by the fact that there the King renders justice.<sup>2</sup> What came to be called the Palais de Justice in Paris was the oldest continuously inhabited royal residence in the city, mentioned as having served Eudes (887–898), supposed to have served Childebert I (d. 558), and perhaps even first erected by the Romans.<sup>3</sup> By the end of the Middle Ages, when it achieved the form recorded in the *Très riches heures* of the Duc de Berri, the palace occupied the west end of the Ile de la Cité and consisted of a fortified *enceinte* bounding the *quais* and cutting across at the rue de la Barillerie (today the boulevard du Palais). It was a public building more than a residence: an open space dominated by the Sainte-Chapelle (erected 1246–48 to contain the Crown of Thorns), the Grand’Salle (the justice hall and ceremonial chamber), the Conciergerie (the residence and office of the *concierge* in charge of the structure), and the Grand’Chambre of the Parlement. Masses of tight wooden shops crowded

the space today called the Cour de Mai and filled galleries beside the Grand'Salle, to the profit of the *concierge* in rents. This was one of the most intensely frequented corners of medieval Paris, the place of exotic shops, justice, parliamentary government, and public celebration.<sup>4</sup> Indeed, when the Seine inundated the palace in 1408, the King removed his residence, first to the Hôtel Saint-Pol, then to the Louvre. Victor Hugo opened *Notre-Dame de Paris* with an exciting and grotesque description of the public celebration of the Jour des Rois and the Fête des Fous in the Grand'Salle in 1482.

Shortly after 1500 the Cour des Comptes was erected west of the Sainte-Chapelle. In 1618 the Grand'Salle burned and Solomon de Brosse rebuilt it in 1619–38 from revenues from the sale of land cleared at Saint-Germain-des-Prés. The Grand'Chambre occupied by the Parlement was subsequently rebuilt by Libéral Bruant. In 1776 a serious fire destroyed the shops and the structures around the Cour de Mai (figure 57). A special tax was levied and a regular, monumental facade and court were erected by the architects Guillaume-Martin Couture, Pierre Desmaisons, and Jacques-Denis Antoine in 1781–83.

The terrible deliberations of the Tribunal Révolutionnaire took place here. During the Empire the law courts grew to occupy the whole of the structure except the Cour des Comptes, which became the Préfecture de Police, but no significant physical changes were made in the structures. With the regularization and reorganization of the French legal system and with the rapid growth of Paris, the building became utterly inadequate. Finally in 1835 the Conseil Général de la Seine named J.-N. Huyot to prepare plans for a modest rebuilding program to cost 1,100,000 francs. Huyot saw the grandeur of the opportunity—the monumental composition of the principal, western end of the Ile de la Cité resting like a vast man-of-war in the Seine—and made a counterproposal which he estimated would cost 3,591,617.33 francs (figures 58, 59). As Vaudoyer would later do at the Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers, Huyot appropriated a large area for new construction by building over the back garden and placing the principal entrance here, on the west, enframed by a monumental facade of Baroque pavilions and columns.

After various modifications, this project was approved by the Conseil Général de la Seine, and a royal ordinance commanded work to proceed on May 26, 1840—sixty-eight days before Huyot's unexpected death on August 3. Huyot was immediately replaced by Louis Duc, assisted by Etienne-Théodore Dommey (1801–72); the latter was previously Huyot's *inspecteur* on the project and architect of the Palais de Justice at Lille.<sup>5</sup> They presented a modified project that was approved by the Conseil Général de la Seine on November 25, 1842, and construction was begun on the wings east and south of the Sainte-Chapelle for the Police Correctionnel. This,

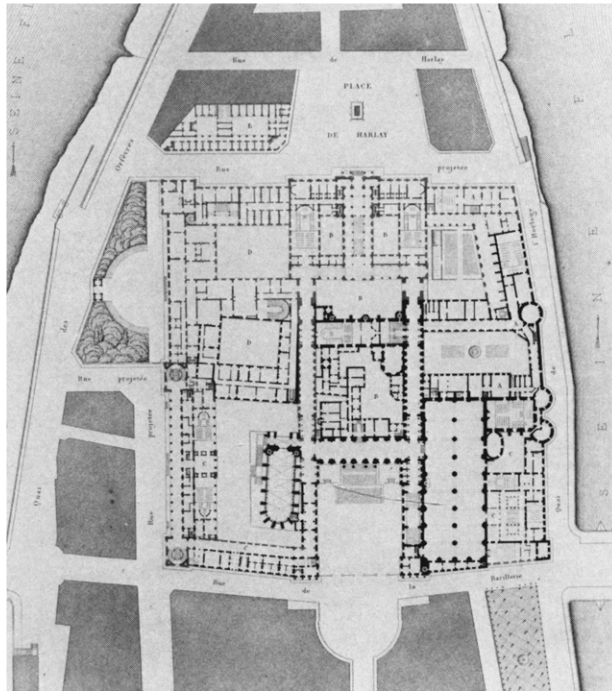




58

*Jean-Nicolas Huyot, Palais de Justice, project for enlargement, 1838.*

*From Documents relatifs au travaux du Palais de Justice de Paris, 1858, pl. 9.*



**59**

*Jean-Nicolas Huyot, Palais de Justice, project for enlargement, 1838.*  
From Documents relatifs au travaux du Palais de Justice de Paris, 1858, pl. 10.

however, inspired a vigorous protest and an order to stop work from the Commission des Monuments Historiques because it would hem in the Sainte-Chapelle excessively.<sup>6</sup> A new project was worked out and approved by the Conseil Général on November 14, 1846. The wing for the Police Correctionnel was to be completed by 1852 (figure 60). Construction was recommenced in 1847, and simultaneously a new project was submitted for the rest of the building, just in time to be postponed by the Revolution of February 1848, although it was examined and approved “en principe” by the Conseil des Bâtiments Civils on September 18, 1848 (figure 61).<sup>7</sup>

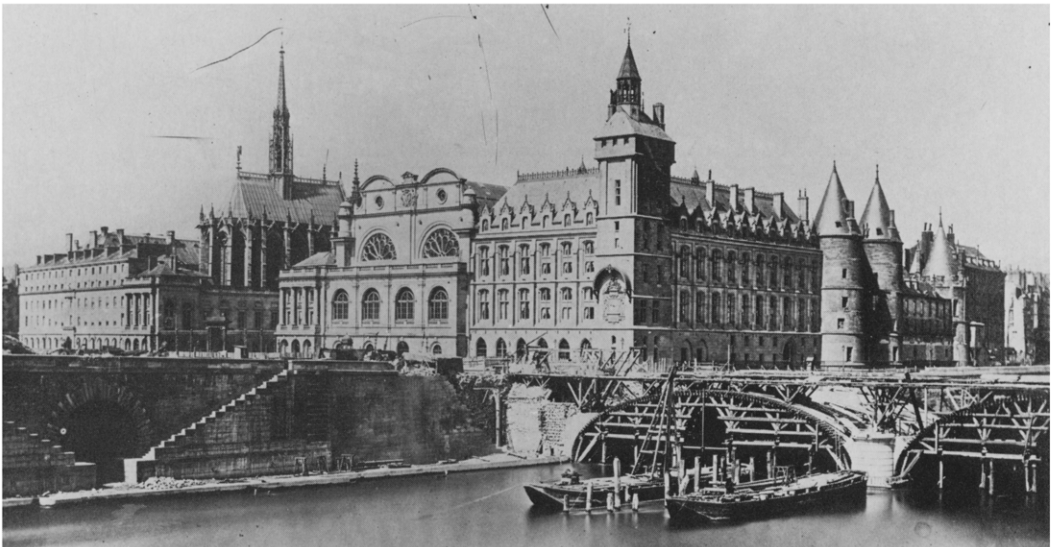
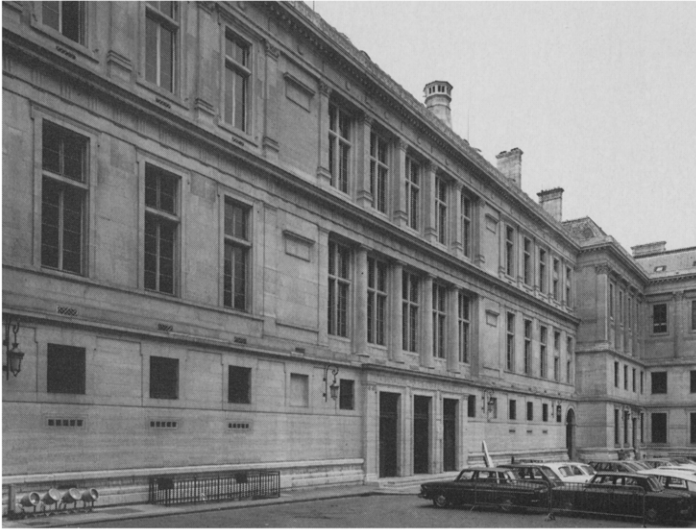
The Revolution resulted in the splitting of architectural authority. Gilbert and his son-in-law A.-S. Diet (1827–90) were put in charge of the Préfecture de Police; Louis Lenormand (1801–61) of the Cour de Cassation; Duc and Dommey of the law courts proper. The latter had retained the major part of the work, however, and added the Cour de Cassation to their charge when Lenormand died in 1861. In 1867 Dommey withdrew from the project and was replaced by Honoré Daumet (1826–1911), recently returned from the French Academy in Rome and the Macedonian archaeological expedition led by Léon Heuzey.<sup>8</sup>

In 1851 the site had been enlarged westward to the rue de Harlay just behind the Place Dauphine (figures 62, 63). New projects were prepared, especially by Duc for the west facade, which he made an even more dramatic centerpiece to the composition (figure 64). Duc also worked out a brilliant plan with the two great courtrooms of the Assizes suspended on iron columns above a large holding prison, linked back to the older parts by two straight corridors departing from the spacious Vestibule de Harlay (figure 65). The Place Dauphine was to be completely leveled to leave the western facade visible down the Seine to the Champs-Élysées and the Colonne de Chaillot (figure 66). The cost of Duc’s portion had now risen to 38,881,434 francs. The bill to fund it was sent to the Conseil Général de la Seine on January 31, 1856; construction was begun on January 1, 1857; and the grand Vestibule de Harlay opened to the public on October 30, 1868.<sup>9</sup> Two of the three sides of the Place Dauphine, however, remained standing, at first awaiting the completion of the Palais de Justice in all its parts and later as a result of public resistance to its destruction.

The Vestibule de Harlay and its monumental columned facade are clearly the centerpiece of Duc’s composition and the accomplishments for which he was awarded the Grand Prix de l’Empereur. The classical Orders were ticklish things for the Romantic *pensionnaires*, but it is clear that Duc has handled his Orders quite uniquely, especially on the exterior. There is, first of all, the tall attic with its strange herms, and then the exotic capital type. Strange as well, and more important, is the relationship of the column shafts to the wall. These are precisely and geometrically half-

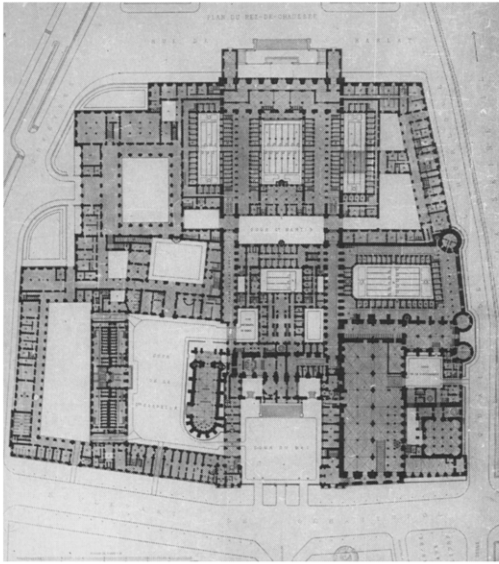
**60**

*Louis Duc, Palais de Justice, wing for the Police Correctionnel, 1847–52. (Photo: James Austin)*

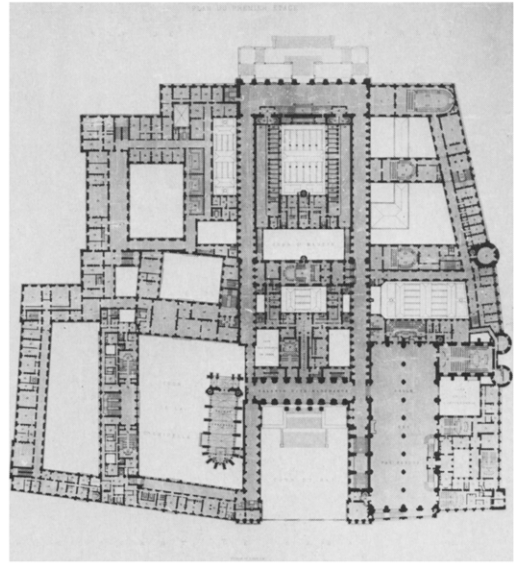


**61**

*Louis Duc, Palais de Justice, view from the northeast with the rebuilt Conciergerie, c. 1860. (Photo: Service Photographique des Monuments Historiques)*



**62**  
*Louis Duc, Palais de Justice, 1858–69, plan of lower floor. From Documents relatifs au travaux du Palais de Justice de Paris, 1858, pl. 13.*



**63**  
*Louis Duc, Palais de Justice, plan of main floor. From Documents relatifs au travaux du Palais de Justice de Paris, 1858, pl. 17.*



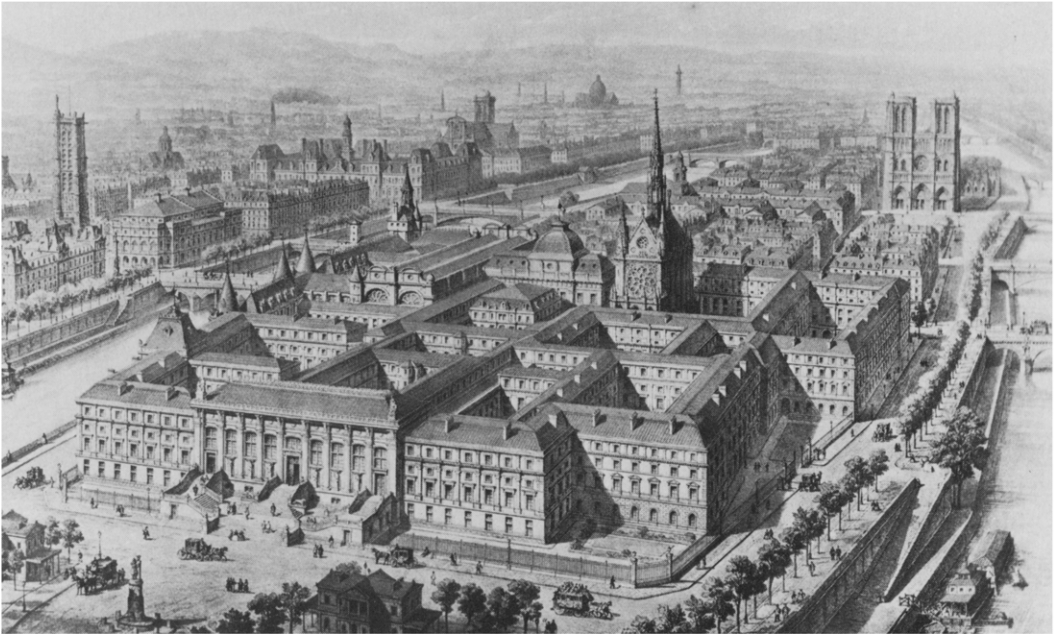
64

*Louis Duc, Palais de Justice, west  
facade on the rue de Harlay, 1857–  
68. (Photo: James Austin)*

65

*Louis Duc, Palais de Justice, interior of the Vestibule de Harlay, 1857–68. (Photo: James Austin)*





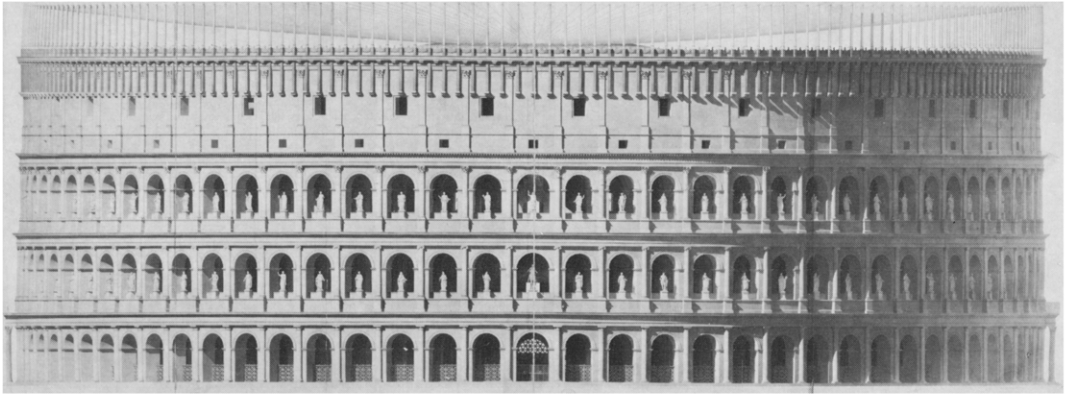
**66**

*Louis Duc, Palais de Justice, final project, before 1858. From Documents relatifs au travaux du Palais de Justice de Paris, 1858, pl. 33.*

columns, reduced to exact quarter-columns against the terminal antae. Quatremère de Quincy in 1832 had specified that a “colonne adossée” should be somewhat greater than half exposed, having either a third or only a quarter of its circumference in the wall behind.<sup>10</sup> This was so the column would clearly distinguish itself from the wall and cast a firm shadow along the line of juncture (something Duc nevertheless achieves in the Harlay facade by having his columns meet the wall in the middle of a flute, a detail ancient architects avoided<sup>11</sup>). The reason for making this sharp distinction between column and wall lay in the conception of the former architectural element: it had entasis and often fluting and so was distinct from a pilaster, which was a mere projection of the wall and thus had neither.<sup>12</sup> Duc seems to have been trying to combine the qualities of these two elements, pushing his columns into the wall and against the antae, but retaining their fluting and entasis.

Quatremère’s attitude reflects his belief in the complete separation of the column—the embodiment of the sculptural ideal—and the inert structural wall. He would have preferred that the two never touch at all and that the Orders manifest themselves only as freestanding colonnades.<sup>13</sup> The academic Neoclassical model for the engaged colonnade was the Theatre of Marcellus in Rome, where the capitals were conventional in detail and the shafts were free for two-thirds of their circumference at all three levels.<sup>14</sup> However, Duc had already challenged this paradigm in his fourth-year *envoi* of 1829–31 (figure 67), in which he studied the simplification of the Colosseum’s capitals and proposed that they were merely reliefs cut in the rough travertine of the whole structural surface.<sup>15</sup> Furthermore, his drawings showed that while the lowest of its four engaged Orders projected to three-quarters of its circumference, this was steadily reduced as the tiers rose so that the third, Corinthian, Order is precisely half exposed (like the Corinthian Order of Duc’s Harlay facade) and the fourth, Composite, Order is one merely of pilasters. That is to say, Duc demonstrated that the applied Orders of the Colosseum actually served as buttresses, built into the wall and progressively projecting as they approached the ground to steady the mass behind them.<sup>16</sup> Quatremère had dismissed the Colosseum as showing an “irrégularité” and “incertitude” in its detailing, which suggested “that one had not devoted much time or effort to the perfection of these details.”<sup>17</sup> Duc, in contrast, by submitting the building to close scrutiny, makes clear that while these Orders might lack the sculptural elaboration of those of the Theatre of Marcellus, they demonstrate a sensitivity to their actual structural function as elements in a continuous, curving, arcuated wall.

One should extend this to analyze the relationship of Duc’s Harlay facade to the interior of the vestibule. Here the reason for the tall attic and the precise half-columns of the facade becomes even clearer. The vestibule



**67**

*Louis Duc, Restoration of the Colosseum, Rome. Fourth-year envoi, 1829–31. Ecole des Beaux-Arts, Paris. (Photo: Chevojon Frères)*

is roofed with an impressive stone-ribbed vault transmitting a diagonal outward thrust which the exterior columns, working as buttresses as in the Colosseum, carry to earth. To accomplish this they need only extend up to the springing of the vaults—leaving the high attic above them—and are firmly attached to the wall rather than set out from it as three-quarter columns. This also explains the broken entablature above the columns, for the shafts were not meant to appear to support a lintel but rather were intended to buttress a wall.

This enlightening and rather obvious explanation of the Harlay facade was already noted by Charles Clément in his critique of the Palais de Justice in the *Journal des Débats* of November 17, 1868 (although it is not mentioned by Paul Sédille in his necrology of 1879, the principal source for modern scholars). It is also why Viollet-le-Duc praised the Vestibule in the fifteenth of his *Entretiens* (1872), declaring, “the decoration adheres to the structure, even supports it.”<sup>18</sup> But why would that be a virtue? Evidently because the classical analogy of the column with the human body is here made synonymous with that of the building’s own structural dynamics—its movements and elasticity.

Duc’s Harlay facade, with its deep, structurally expressive columnar decoration in relief, was not unique among the major works of the Romantic *pensionnaires*. Labrouste’s Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève (figure 32), Vaudoier’s gallery wing at the Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers (figure 40), and Duban’s quai Malaquais wing of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, erected in 1858–62 (figure 68), all contain large interior spaces girdled by thick stone facades opened with broad bays and stabilized by buttresses. All were parallel solutions to the same problem, and comparison makes the brilliance of Duc’s solution even clearer.

We have noted the depth of the thin piers that form the structural envelope of the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, holding the light iron interior frame in place and moderating the southern sunlight. Labrouste minimized the expression of these piers on the exterior by moving the window plane forward and by linking them with an arcade at the cornice. This, however, was one detail Vaudoier was firm to dispute in his gallery wing at the Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers; instead, he exposed his girdling piers as clearly recognizable buttresses, which project further as they near the ground and are linked at the top by only the arching masonry of the wall itself. The buttresses are again exposed in Duban’s quai Malaquais wing, which contains a broad, iron-roofed hall on each floor. But Duban was clearly disturbed by their disruption of the monumental surfaces of his mass, and he offered a subtle rendering of them: the facade plan is set alternately at the front and the rear of the eight bay-defining piers, giving the elevation an “indented trace,” like a fortification. As a result the buttresses do not appear as projections but as the sides of



**68**  
*Félix Duban, Ecole des Beaux-Arts, Paris, 1858–62, wing facing the quai Malaquais. (Photo: James Austin)*

three advancing bays or pavilions that are carried up into powerful rounded dormers plugged with oeils-de-boeuf at the cornice. Exposed buttresses had always troubled nineteenth-century monumental architects (as they had eighteenth-century designers as well), and church designers—whether Vaudoyer at Marseilles or Viollet-le-Duc at Carcassonne—had tried to avoid them.<sup>19</sup> Duban avoids them in the quai Malaquais wing by making a virtue of necessity and integrating his buttresses into his mass composition to achieve a “Baroque” three-dimensionality in which the advancing bays themselves, not just the piers defining them, appear to hold the interior firm.

Duc’s colonnade on the Harlay facade returns to Vaudoyer’s solution, but avoids the pitfall of breaking the wall plane by seeming not to be buttresses at all, but rather decoration in a second plane in front of the wall, pressed back into it. And the satisfaction in Duc’s solution extends a step further. All the facades we have been analyzing ornament the buttresses as columns in one way or another. Labrouste applies a sort of capital below the springing of the arcade; Vaudoyer carves Tuscan pilasters incongruously into the surfaces of the upper stage of his medieval buttresses; Duban marks his piers with meager pilasters whose cornice and pedestal moldings grid and control the proportions of the mass. None of them could accept a buttress in its pure, Gothic, structural form. Each tried to integrate it into their mass and dress it up as a classical column. But Duc was the most overt about it, and in the end the most effective. What was it about the classical column that in this, the most Gothic of all situations, it reasserted itself in the work of the Romantic *pensionnaires*?

We have seen how Hippolyte Fortoul set as his conceptual enterprise the formulation of an architecture organized by some means other than the Orders and how Reynaud and Vaudoyer pronounced Renaissance architecture to be in decline when, around 1500, the Orders became dominant and fixed. Vaudoyer deemphasized the Orders in the Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers and omitted them from Marseilles Cathedral, as Labrouste had done at the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève. Quatremère’s constant hammering on the importance of the colonnade in his writings and academic pronouncements had been answered. One of the pithiest refutations came from Fortoul’s mentor Edgar Quinet at the beginning of his *Génie des religions* of 1842. He compares the idea (put forward by Laugier and carried on by Quatremère) that architecture has an ideal model in the primitive hut erected as an instinctual response by aboriginal man to Rousseau’s conception of man as perfect in a state of nature. Quinet points out that this assumes that primitive man spontaneously thought like an eighteenth-century *philosophe*, although that had long since been proven just as wishful as it seems. Primitive man’s first instincts were superstitious, not

rational, and his earliest architecture was magical and symbolic, not structurally logical. The origin of architecture is not in the hut but in the spaceless Egyptian pyramid, Quinet concludes. The column and entablature have no claim to primordial, ideal sources.

In the face of this, one might well ask how Quatremère de Quincy—and Duc too, as well as generations of architects after him—believed that the column was the expressive element. The answer lies in the very fact that the Harlay facade columns are actually buttresses, not forming part of a lintelled colonnade of the sort Quatremère admired in the Bourse and the “Palais d’Orsay” at all. That is, Duc has peeled off a residual element in Quatremère’s theory, the ideal of the primitive hut consisting only of supports and lintels, and revealed the core that was still fecund: the idea that architecture is sculptural, expressed by adjustments in the shape of the metaphorical column.

One theme constantly reappearing in Quatremère’s works is the analogy between the sculpted column and the sculpted human form. In an essay of 1805 he sought to prove that the proportions of the Greek Orders had not become more elongated with the passage of time, as David Le Roy proposed,<sup>20</sup> but on the contrary varied constantly within fixed limits and were thus expressive, not evolutionary.<sup>21</sup> In the entry “Architecture” in the first volume of his *Architecture* of 1788 (part of the *Encyclopédie méthodique*), after explaining the Orders’ origin in the primitive hut, he asserts that through a comparison of the column with the human body, the Greeks transformed the model when they transposed it into stone.<sup>22</sup> Thus the column was shaped, as if bearing weight; related to the cornice by canonical proportions; and divided into three Orders, each unified by a distinct expression: *force* (the Doric), *grace* (the Ionic), and *majesté* (the Corinthian). He concludes:

*Nature gave to sculpture a fixed measure of relationships, a scale of proportions of the human body . . . which functioned as a module for the figure: this controlled the most subtle nuances of proportion by establishing a constant relationship of parts. . . . Architecture created for itself something similar. . . . Henceforth, a building became a sort of organized being controlled by constant laws whose principle and reason it found in itself. . . . The detailed study of the human body in all of its variations made sculpture conscious of the differences of age and nature that constituted the diverse modes Polykleitus defined in his treatise on the symmetries and of which the visible rules are preserved in ancient statutes. Architecture created a parallel in the invention of the Orders. These modes come down to three: one expresses force, the other grace, the third, by the union of these two other qualities, expresses the nobility and majesty that result.*<sup>23</sup>

Quatremère reiterated this idea in the entries “Ordre” and “Proportion” in the third volume of *Architecture* (1825), explaining that the column is the coincidence of the statue and the post, and through it the physical expression of building is raised to the moral expression of art.

There are two sides to Quatremère’s analogy between the column and the human body. On the one hand, the column should be sculpted like a figural statue with infinite nuance of form and proportion. On the other, again like a classical statue, it must not step beyond the limits of its mode and type. It is here that the idea of the primitive hut became important: it enforced these limits. One might assume that, because of his sculptural analogies, for Quatremère the perfect column form would be the caryatid, but that would be to misunderstand the importance to him of these limits, which he raised to the level of a theory of “imitation.” In his volume *Essai sur la nature, le but et les moyens de l’imitation dans les beaux-arts* (1823), Quatremère insists that the pleasure of art lies not in reproduction, but in transformation.<sup>24</sup> Two objects produced by the same mechanical process or two natural forms growing in the same way are not works of art in relation to each other because they do not activate in the viewer the “action de comparer.” The same is true of *trompe l’oeil* in painting. Transformation itself, however, is accomplished by the careful management of “conventions,” to which Quatremère devotes the last third of his volume. Reality must be translated into certain fictions, some necessitated by genre, others, like generalizations and metaphors, permitting the elevation of particularities to the plane of general expression. But what Quatremère insists must be avoided at all costs is the merely real and the merely agreeable. Thus in architecture the caryatid is artless because it is the literal transformation of the body into a column without the limits and conventions provided by the type of the hut.

The distinction between the concept of the primitive hut as the general type of architecture and that of the human body, manifested in the sculptural Orders, as its expressive element is important because it was by emphasizing the latter over the former that the classical ideal survived in French architecture and eventually prevailed after Quatremère’s resignation as Secrétaire Perpétuel of the Académie in 1839.

Quatremère sincerely believed that the hut remained the type of modern architecture, that is, the simple one-storied, colonnaded volume. The dome to him was a pointless complication; the modern Christian church should be a colonnaded Roman basilica.<sup>25</sup> In 1846, seven years after his retirement, his chosen successor as Secrétaire Perpétuel, Désiré Raoul-Rochette, altered this stand in a document approved by the Académie. “Considérations sur la question de savoir s’il est convenable au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle de bâtir des églises en style gothique” was a critique of the Prefect of the Seine’s decision to erect the church of Sainte-Clothilde in the Gothic