A Journal for Ideas and
Criticism in Architecture

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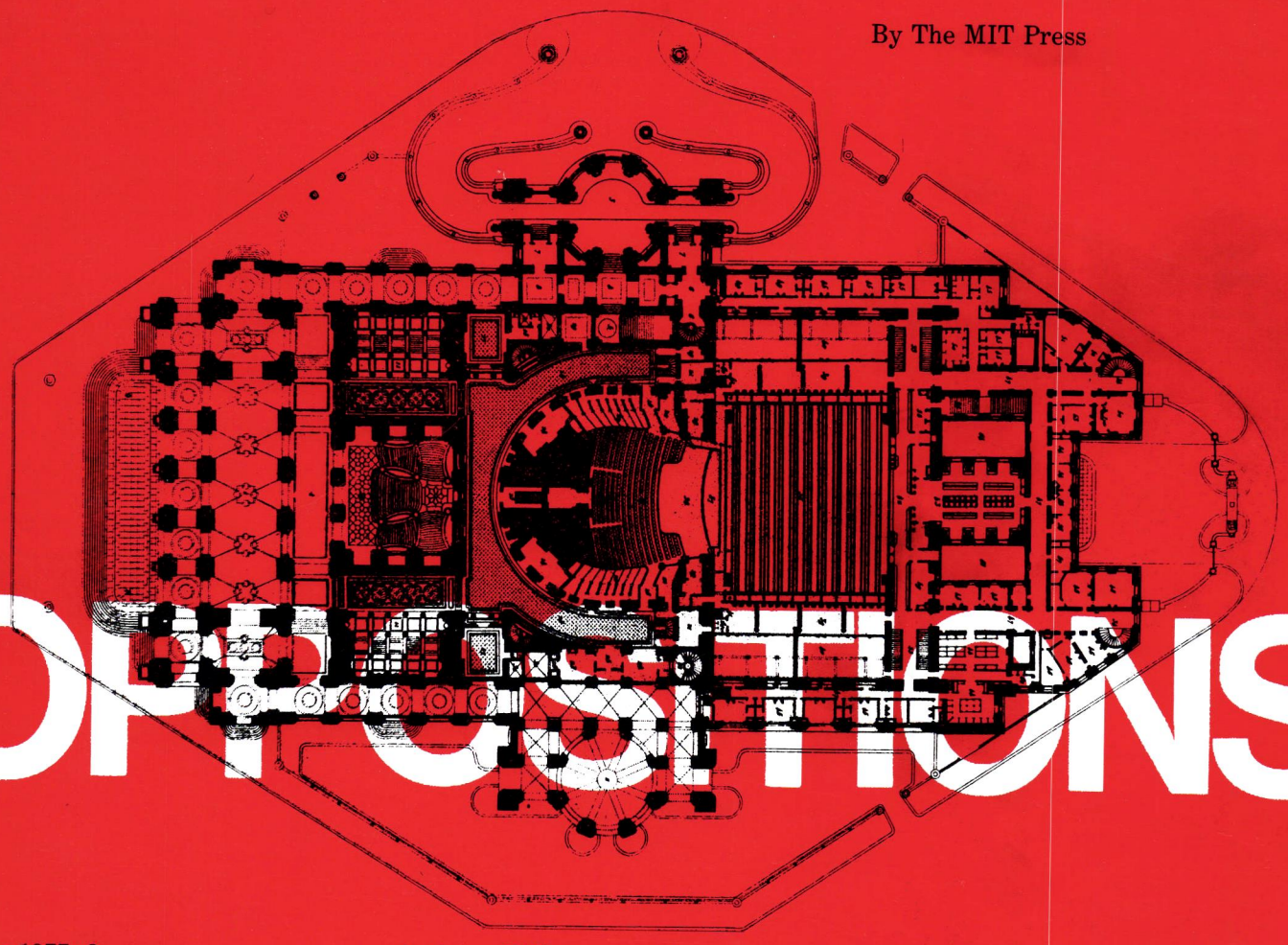

OPPOSITIONS

Spring 1977: 8

Special Issue
Paris under the Academy:
City and Ideology

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Academicism : Modernism

Anthony Vidler

The Modern Movement defined its progressive stance as much in opposition to the empty formulas of academicism as with any positive vision of the "spirit of the age." Indeed, the shining purity of machine art was rendered the more heroic by contrast to the ornamentalism, eclecticism, and pattern making of the Academic tradition. Throughout the first quarter of this century the modernists, confronted and threatened by the ever-present forces of reaction and archaism embodied in the Academy, proclaimed the redeeming virtues of production and abstraction. This white crusade demanded a highly visible battleground and an identifiable enemy; it found both in the brown world of nineteenth century bourgeois kitsch, surviving almost intact within the dogmas and practice of the Ecole des Beaux Arts.

Thus, underlying the programs and manifestos of the 1920's is a continuing and implicit attack on the Ecole; every modernist principle seems to have been framed with its negative counterpart in mind. The historical styles are defeated by their dissolution into abstraction, the unitary principle of modern expression; ornament, already characterized by Loos as decadent, is similarly pronounced redundant with the final triumph of stereometric geometry; the dots and lines of Beaux-Arts plans—those "recipes" for star patterns condemned so vehemently in *Vers Une Architecture*—are denied by the modernist "plan with intentions," "plans of battle" as Le Corbusier called them, which summarize in their mathematical clarity the characteristic new structures of the new society.

This anti-Academic discourse, however necessary to the polemics of modernism, nevertheless encouraged the formation of a myth around the architectural production of the nineteenth century and specifically around the institution of the Beaux-Arts, and this myth has tended to obscure all subsequent attempts to analyze not only the conditions of that production but also those of the Modern Movement itself. The retrospective and apologetic history of modernism has seen only the struggle for the emancipation of geometry from ornament, new technology from old, a new functionalist ethic from Academic formalism. The social bases of the new architecture have similarly been traced from single currents of utopian socialism—technological utopia from Saint-Simon and social utopia from Fourier. For the rest, despite the real attempts of historians in the last decade, no easy way of comprehending the architecture of the nineteenth century in its entirety has been found. Thus the Gothic revival is more studied for its evidently proto-modern ideology than for its revived stylistic language; the work of the arts and craft movement is understood more readily in terms of social engagement than according to any aesthetic criteria. The modernist sensibility has so profoundly engaged our standards of criticism and modes of

perception as to render it all but impossible to *see* the nineteenth century with any clarity.

The Academy and the Modern Movement: Le Corbusier seeks Enlightenment.

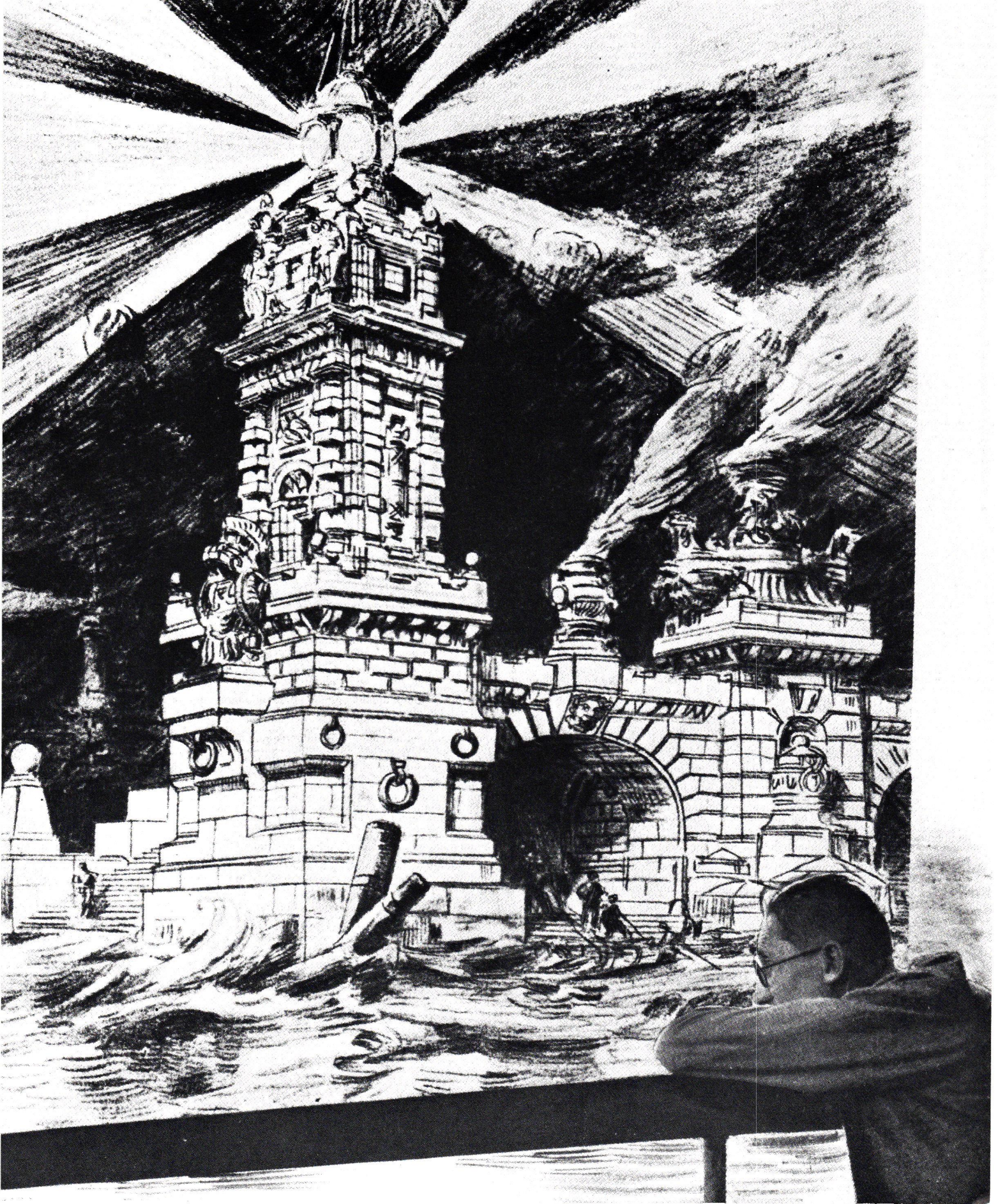
The recent exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art has been heralded as an indication that this sensibility is changing. "Post-modernism," it is claimed, allows an appreciation, if not an enthusiastic espousal, of ornament, pattern, colors other than primaries, symmetry, monumental fantasy, even of the pure technique of rendering for its own sake; with the critique of functionalism, pure abstraction, and the machine utopia, realms of experience up to now forbidden by the stern purism of modernism are opened up. We are also shown evidence that a new generation of scholars is able to examine
2 dispassionately the evidence of the previous century and to write its history for the first time without bias or second sight. The exhibition emerged in fact as the Museum of Modern Art's auto-critical act, exorcising in 1977 the Modern Movement principles it had so heartily embraced in 1932.

And yet the attempt to counter modernism by resurrecting its longstanding opponent seems merely to repeat, or at least to be blinded by, a similar historical mythology. The simple unrolling of student drawings, however elegant in themselves, is hardly more than to challenge the Modern Movement on its own terms and through its own flawed vision. To accept the mythological status of the Ecole as supreme enemy is in effect to confirm the ideology of modernism by accepting its terms of reference. A truly critical history of the modern period must be more than such a neat reversal.

It becomes increasingly clear that to accept the ideological rupture proposed by modernism itself as the instrument of its own interpretation is to deliberately obscure the circumstances of its origins and the nature of its production. If we are indeed entering a period of post-modernist sensibility, then a clear understanding of modernism should be sought, one that begins to establish the ontological bases of its project rather than one that repeats the ideological polemics of its intentions. For such an understanding it is impossible to accept the clear lines proposed as essential to modern architecture between realism and abstraction, between academicism and the avant-garde, between craft art and machine art, between historical styles and "style." The dissolving of these lines however implies a comprehension of the modern period as a whole, not as a field for tracing lines of influence but as a total condition of culture that, responding to the profound industrial, political, and social changes of the nineteenth century, resulted in a radical transformation of the concept of man in relation to his environment.

This issue of *Oppositions* has been developed as a counter to those kinds of historical interpretations of nineteenth century architecture that rest solely on stylistic or ideological models of explanation. The articles selected, while necessarily remaining partial in their scope, are all in different ways dedicated to an understanding of the pre-conditions of modernist architecture and specifically to a widening of the definition of "modern" to include ideologies and designs that without superficial formal or cultural similarity nevertheless constitutionally belong to the beginnings of modernity and its conscious self-formulation.

The self-conscious experience defined by the poets of the mid-nineteenth century as "modernity" was bound up with and a direct consequence of, the emergence of *metropolis:* the incredibly rapid transformation of the large



towns and cities of the first industrial revolution into the metropoli of the second. This transformation prepared the conditions for modernism in architecture in two distinct levels.

The first level was progressive and positivistic, an immediate reflection of the increasing size of the city, and confirmed the place of architecture in the construction of bourgeois society by virtue of creating a demand for new and highly differentiated building types. At the same time it delineated an interconnection between architecture—the "art of embellishment"—and urbanism, the science of urban development. In the process of building the metropolis, these relations between society, architecture, and urbanism
 seemed to bear out the progressive philosophies of the Enlightenment, even to the extent of ratifying the intimate connection proposed by the late eighteenth century between architecture and utopia.

The second level, marked by an increasing emphasis on artistic technique and the internal forms of text and painting, from the realism of Courbet to the proto-symbolism of Baudelaire, began to describe what might be called a "pre-formalist" condition. This condition, while on the surface dividing over issues of the social relations of art embodied in the programs of realism, naturalism, and symbolism, was essentially united around the questions of technique, production, and the position of the artist-producer as increasingly isolated, individualized, and alienated. Such an emphasis on technique was the inevitable response to industrialized production on the one hand and the burgeoning taste culture of the middle classes on the other; the alienation of the artist was effected not only by the revolution in production and the accompanying division of labor but also by the personal experience of metropolis.

These two levels—the positivistic and the formalistic—were in the nineteenth century largely distinct and apparently serving different interests, the one buttressing the dominant power of liberal and conservative government, the other disaffected and implicitly critical of dominant culture. Their final welding into the internally contradictory modernism of the 1920's was, of course, the product of the ideological and social practice of an architectural avant-garde. It was, finally, in the "invention" of this avant-garde, in project and reality, that the nineteenth century metropolis had its greatest effect on modern architecture.

In seeking to understand the conditions for the production of modernism, *Oppositions* has concentrated on one city—Paris—and one dominant ideology—academicism. Firstly, we have chosen to reveal the transformation of Paris in the nineteenth century through an examination of its "symptomatic" environments—that is, those spaces, collections of buildings, and processes that demonstrate most clearly the interface between bourgeois society, architecture, and urbanism. Thus the cemetery not only makes evident in its layout the class structure of the new society, it also provides a realm of experimentation for the architect as he seeks to understand the limits of characterization and monumentality. The development of the types of bourgeois housing, at once a product of social need and the result of the architects' attempt at typification of that new need, demonstrates the increasing separation of private and public realms, first in the streets and boulevards and then in the villas in the garden suburbs. The design of the Parisian promenades makes complete the artificial rendering of nature and

confirms the patterns of leisure of metropolis, while the successive exhibitions of trade and industry, of which that of 1889 is perhaps the most powerful example, exhibited not only wares, but also all the emerging contradiction of an increasingly powerful bourgeois culture in which kitsch was provided and supported by an industrial growth whose needs and determinants (exemplified in the Eiffel Tower and the Gallery of Machines) ran counter to this dominant culture.

Secondly, these transformations in environment and production naturally presented intractable problems for architectural theory and design, an ideology, still, by the mid-nineteenth century, largely dominated by the humanist inheritance of the Renaissance and the Enlightenment as transmitted through the doctrines of the Academy. In the process of redefining a practice, this body of theory was gradually de-composed and reconstituted with ever more contradictions to ratify modernist production. Thus the idea of *type*, an essentially neo-platonic classicism, was entirely reformulated under the pressures of utility and science; the question of *style*, at first "solved" by an eclecticism on the same level as fashion in clothing, ended by opening the question of architectural ontology in a way as fundamental as the Renaissance's confrontation of the Middle Ages. Throughout the century the dreams of all thinking architects were haunted by the consciousness of the possibility that this ontology, once found, might indeed produce of itself an entirely new architecture, appropriate to new social order and as unique for modernity as previous architectures seemed for their own cultures.

In addressing these themes, and seeing them as critical to any informed discussion of modernism, and thereby of "post-modernism," it is not the intention of *Oppositions* to found a new orthodoxy, nor to chronicle the events of the past as accomplished, knowable facts. Rather, we hope to encourage the investigation of the recent past as an instrument for the analysis and criticism of the present, not once more as any fulfillment of the "spirit of the age," but now as an aid to understanding the impossible contradictions of our own practice.

The Text of the City

Peter Brooks

Oscar Wilde, in one of those epigrams that cut to the heart of the matter, states our subject in broadest outline: "Balzac invented the nineteenth century." The remark is profoundly true, in that the identification of an era—its shape, salient characteristics, its meaning—depends on its having been self-consciously conceptualized and articulated. The sense of an era comes to consciousness when it becomes a *text*. And Balzac's *Comédie Humaine* is pre-eminently the text in which the nineteenth century takes cognizance of itself, recognizes itself as modernity, a new epoch governed by new sets of laws, criss-crossed by new codes of significance.

Balzac is in fact one of the first writers to be aware of the radically changed situation of literature in the new age: an age that for the first time made of literature itself a commodity, a commercial product which depended on the play of market forces, including advertising, journalism, and the attraction of investment capital, rather than on the old system of royal or aristocratic patronage. This transformation is the theme of *Illusions perdues*, possibly Balzac's greatest novel, which has been described by Georg Lukács as the epic of "the capitalization of spirit." Along with the commercialization of the very medium in which he was working, the other inescapable phenomenon facing the writer of Balzac's era was, not yet so much industrialization—this was only beginning to make its impact in continental Europe in the 1830's—but urbanization. From the time of the French Revolution through the 1830's, the population of Paris had nearly doubled, largely because of immigration from the provinces—an example of which was Balzac himself. The growth of the city was apparent to the observer principally in two ways: in the building of new residential areas in what had previously been suburb (to the accompaniment of considerable land speculation) and, much more strikingly, in a greatly increased density of inhabitation in the old quarters of the city, especially in the working-class districts. The urban *crowd* became a recognizable phenomenon and a felt presence. There was a new sense of the city as a total dynamic entity and way of life, a total horizon bounding one's perception and one's life, beyond which was simply the unthinkable darkness of the provinces. As the fates of so many Balzacian characters show, while life in Paris may be a struggle, there are no viable alternative worlds elsewhere.

Balzac made the choice of Paris—resisting all his family's urgings to return to the provinces—and immersed himself in its commercial, journalistic, and literary lives. Yet his reaction to the modern urban milieu is curiously one of nostalgia and loss. The sentiment of loss has to do with the density, anonymity, and uncenteredness of modern urban life, or, in a term I find more specifically appropriate to his problems as an artist, its *indifferentiation*. Again and again, we find Balzac complaining about the "platitude" of modern existence: its flatness, the way it has been leveled and has lost what he believes to have been an earlier system of traditional distinguishing characteristics and marks. The refrain comes back repeatedly; it is perhaps most succinctly stated in the preface to one of his novels, *Une Fille d'Eve* (1839), where he argues that in the hierarchical society of the Old Régime one could tell who people were from their outward appearance and demeanour, even from their clothes. Bourgeois, merchant or artisan, noble, enslaved peasantry: all had their distinctive and defining marks. Now, however, equality has produced a world of "infinite nuances." Previously, he writes, "the caste system gave each person a physiognomy which was more important than the individual; today, the individual gets his physiognomy from himself." This is a lucid statement of a historical passage from what a sociologist would call a system of "assigned identity" to one of "achieved identity." Curiously, this new individual self-definition makes it more, not less, difficult to tell who anyone is, makes the process of differentiation infinitely more subtle and problematic. With the eclipse of the political and spiritual center of social authority—monarch and church—there has been a loss of a clear and accepted system of signs with unambiguous, hierarchized referents.

Balzac, a self-proclaimed political reactionary, finds what he calls the "disorder" of modern existence to be both deplorable and exciting. The profusion of life styles and self-definitions which it offers creates a challenge and a problem for the novelist. The writer who turns his attention to the portrayal of modern life, particularly life in the urban landscape, must encounter and overcome the fact of indiffer-

entiation. He must find the system of nuanced distinctions, contrasts, hierarchies which will allow him to create meaning in a social world that appears threatened by a *loss* of meaning. He must discover—or invent—those *codes* that will allow him to make sense of the grayish phenomena (blackish, in fact, since that has become the predominant color of male dress) before his eyes. Indeed, since meaning has in some sense been occulted, he may have to reach beyond the surface appearances of reality, to uncover those latent systems of signification which the surfaces mask.

We can witness Balzac attempting to recover meaning in the urban landscape in such an early and apparently trivial text as his *Petit Dictionnaire critique et anecdotique des Enseignes de Paris* (1826)—dictionary of the tradesmen's signs hung above shop doors along the streets of Paris. Signed "Par un batteur du pavé" ("By a stroller of the streets") the Dictionary suggests already the Baudelairian figure of the urban *flâneur:* the curious stroller or prowler of the urban landscape.[1] But here the stroller is concerned to organize a systematic interpretation of legible meanings in the urban landscape. Recording and commenting upon the shop signs in fact becomes a "semiotic" enterprise, a consideration of how shops' names and pictorial emblems relate to the interior aspects of the shops, their merchandise, the character of the establishment and its proprietor. The *Dictionary* becomes an inquiry into one of the sign-systems which the city has created to organize and convey certain of its meanings.

The *Dictionary* is an early and relatively crude version of what was to become an almost obsessive concern with finding the bases of an urban semiotic: a way of discovering, elaborating, the codes which would allow the indifferentiated surfaces of modern urban existence to reveal their systematic meaning. In the manner that modern linguistics has discovered that language is fundamentally a system of differences—that a system of differences, beginning with phonological oppositions, subtends the process of selection and combination which creates the code and makes possible the message—Balzac, we find, is concerned to locate differences, distinctions which will allow him to discern basic units of meaning, and their articulation in networks of significance. In a series of occasional texts, such as the "New Theory of the Luncheon," "The Study of Manners by Way of Gloves," the "Physiology of the Toilette," he returns again and again to the problem of distinctive *marks* or *signs*.[2] For instance, in the first part of "Physiologie de la Toilette," entitled "On the Cravat, Considered in Itself and in its Relations with Society and the Individual," he begins: "The French Revolution was for the toilette, as for the civil and political order, a time of crisis and anarchy. . . . During the Old Régime, each class of society had its costume; one recognized by his dress the lord, the bourgeois, the artisan." The cravat held no personal importance. Then Frenchmen gained a theoretical equality, and differences in the cut and material of clothing were no longer a sure measure of social distinction. Threatened with this uniformity, how could one distinguish the rank of an individual? From this moment on, the cravat took on a new destiny: "for it was called upon to reestablish the lost nuances of the toilette." The cravat, tied by its owner, becomes the sign by which man "reveals and makes himself manifest." After Balzac has categorized the different manners of cravat-tying, the various possible messages made available by its codes, the cravat has come, at the end of the article, to approximate the literary text: an "expression of thought, as is style." The cravat has thus been established as a key signifier in the social text, a sign that traces differences and distinctions.

Balzac apparently intended to group such articles as those I have mentioned, plus a number of others projected but never written, in a volume which would bear the title, *Pathologie de la vie sociale*, a complete "codification" of the "laws of exterior existence" and what it expresses. The title, "The Pathology of Social Life," cannot but recall Freud's *Psychopathology of Everyday Life*, which is also about the ways in which people reveal themselves in what may at first appear to be the innocent and insignificant gestures of quotidian reality. The most important fragment of Balzac's projected pathology is no doubt the "Théorie de la démarche," a curious text which registers his discovery that everything in a person's bearing or gait, each posture and gesture, is somehow revelatory. The whole of human movement is meaningful; it bears the imprint of will and

thought. Thus "a simple gesture, an involuntary tremor of the lips can become the terrible *dénouement* of a drama long hidden within two hearts." This essay emanates a sense of Balzac's excitement at his discovery that a whole realm of human existence can become semiotic, a realm of messages made available to the writer. These messages are in fact latent within the demeanour and comportment of man in society; the "Théorie" is a demonstration of how to *read* the latent text in and through the manifest text, how to recover the significations of the one through the indicators of the other. As in Freud's *Psychopathology*, in Balzac's fragmentary *Pathology* we have a sense of a new field of meaning recuperated for human discourse.

The discovery of a new way to read meanings in human behavior—in the presentation of selves in everyday life—is peculiarly tied to modern urban existence in that it permits the decipherment of those occulted signs of character and meaning in the urban crowd. It allows the "observer"—as the Balzacian narrator will so often label himself—to make distinctions in the sea of bodies, faces, attitudes, gestures before his eyes, and to penetrate to the latent signifieds which these signifiers both conceal and reveal. Rehearsed many times in Balzac's fiction is the moment where the observer's insistent gaze directed at reality begins to organize its signs, then in a moment of penetration passes through surface forms to the messages they represent, strikes through to a vision of the networks of social and psychological meaning which constitute the latent texts of individuals or social groups, and which allow them to become *legible*.

This kind of observation can be applied to the city as a whole, as in the "Histoire et Physiologie des Boulevards de Paris," where Balzac begins by recording his preference for Paris over London, Vienna, St. Petersburg, because, despite the encroaching indifferentiation of modern existence, Paris displays a greater capacity for self-representation, for spectacle: it puts itself on *show* more than other cities. Paris to the observer who has trained himself in the distinction of social nuance can be highly dramatic, the place where repressed conflict and hidden symbolic action are ever on the verge of becoming manifest. The boulevards of Paris constitute a free performance. And in fact, as Balzac proceeds with his sociological cartography of Paris in this article, the spiritual center of Paris, the place of its essential drama, comes to be, not the Tuileries or the Assemblée Nationale, nor even the Banque, but rather the Boulevard du Temple, place of the principal popular theaters of the city. Eight theaters, fifty open-air vendors, and a dense crowd—the world recreated in *Les Enfants du paradis*: here we have a kind of concentrated theater within the generalized theater of Paris, the place where a culture puts itself self-consciously on the stage, recognizes the need for acting out its central concerns, legitimizes its informal drama. That the productions of the Boulevard du Temple's theaters at this time were principally melodramas is not unrelated to Balzac's quest for meaning. For melodrama is a form that calls for heightened meanings, meanings made explicit through their overt manifestation and acting out. Balzac sometimes complains that social comedy as it was known in the Old Régime—based as it was on a system of clear social norms and distinctions—no longer is possible in the modern era. Melodrama has in fact come to take its place, to enact with obviousness and force essential truths about people and their relations, about ethical and psychological forces that risk remaining latent in everyday reality. Melodrama thus presents another version of Balzac's concern with making manifest the systems of meaning that can be uncovered within and behind the indifferentiation of surfaces. [3]

Were there space here for more extended discussion, one might consider further some of the moments in Balzac's novels that show the narrator-observer at work, interrogating the surfaces of urban life, searching for the systematic orders that will allow him to detect the presence of meaning, exercising on façade, contour, posture, gesture a pressure of insistence that makes them yield their significance in legible texts. For instance, in *Ferragus* (the first of the "Scènes de la Vie Parisienne"), the narrator begins by an effort to organize the web of Paris streets into a morally significant network: "There are in Paris certain streets as dishonored as a man accused of infamy; then there are noble streets, then simply honest streets, then young streets on whose morality the public hasn't yet formed an opinion;

then homicidal streets, streets older than old dowagers are old, estimable streets. . . ." But this is not enough; the narrator goes on to lay out the interrelations of different quarters of the city and their characteristics, then finally articulates the whole as the anatomical parts of a monstrous body. The monster provides an organic metaphor of the city, whose every detail is a "lobe of cellular tissue" in the whole; but the image of the monster's articulations also suggests how a significant message is put together from the elements of the code. In another instance, at the start of *La Fille aux yeux d'or*, Paris becomes a set of circles in imitation of Dante's Inferno, through which we spiral up or down, moved by the universal principle: gold and pleasure. In *Illusions perdues*, the ambitious young provincial, Lucien de Rubempré, goes for his first stroll in the Tuileries garden and discovers he is at a performance, where the littlest things—the "world of necessary superfluities"—are used to create messages concerning vital social discriminations.

Central to the different metaphors and schemes, grids of perception and rhetorical devices, used to organize, categorize, and explain the physiognomy of Paris, is the sense of city as theater:[4] not spectacle merely, but the potentially revelatory enactment of meanings, of the sort theoretically formulated in the "Théorie de la démarche." The observer is thus never a passive spectator: he must work on what is before his eyes, bring to it a pressure of insistence that will make the latent text show through the manifest text. Balzac's best-known novel enacts for us in its final scene the ambition of the narrator-observer: at the end of *Le Père Goriot*, Eugène de Rastignac stands at the top of the slope of the Père Lachaise cemetery, and looks down on Paris, stretched along the snakelike Seine, as dusk gathers and the first lights begin to shine. Paris is spread before Rastignac like a map to be read, and the quarter inhabited by high society—the world where Rastignac desires to succeed—is marked out as by two grandiose drawing pins: the Column of the Place Vendôme and the Dome of the Invalides, both of which incidentally evoke the conqueror Napoleon, and which organize the map into symbolic legibility. Rastignac, who began the novel in the sordid quarters which the narrator called a "valley of plaster," has now attained an altitude from which he can read Paris, seize it in one possessive glance, interpret its messages, and utter his famous line of challenge: "A nous deux maintenant!" ("Now it's between the two of us!") which presages what we know, from the sequels, to be a successful campaign of conquest. The conquest of Paris ultimately depends on the reading of Paris: being able to seize the city as a legible and meaningful text.

This condition of legibility is one that all the ambitious young Balzacian heroes aspire to, and one that their narrator must attain. All that we have said about Balzac's efforts to work on and work through the apparent indifferentiation of surfaces, to systems of meaning which make of the cityscape and the urban crowd legible texts, could be summarized in the statement that Balzac is everywhere seeking to find, to postulate, to invent the semiotic preconditions that make the modern novel possible. The very existence of what we think of as "the Balzacian novel" and indeed as "the nineteenth-century novel" depends on this effort to make meaning in modern urban life. Starting from the anxiety that this new world, deprived of its former clear codes of meaning, might be threatened by loss of meaning—as, socially and politically it is threatened by chaos—Balzac's response is the insistence on meaning. By claiming, as he most explicitly does in the "Théorie de la démarche," that nothing is meaningless, that the world cannot *not* mean, he makes possible the text of modernity. He invents the nineteenth century by bringing to consciousness the very shape of modernity as a set of texts subject to our reading and interpretation.

By way of conclusion, I want briefly to reach beyond Balzac to the poet who was his great admirer and who best understood the importance of the city to the artist of modern life: Charles Baudelaire. Baudelaire's celebrated essay on Constantin Guys, "The Painter of Modern Life," comes closer than any text I know of to defining the aesthetic of modern urban art, "tyrannized by the circumstance," concerned with the transitory and the fugitive, dedicated to wresting beauty from the restless crowdedness of the city streets. There is a poem set as epilogue to *Le Spleen de Paris* (Baudelaire's collection of prose poems) in which the

speaker, imitating Rastignac's position at the end of *Le Père Goriot*, climbs to the heights of Montmartre to look down on and possess through his gaze Paris stretched below him. But I want to say a word instead about one of the poems from the section of *Les Fleurs du mal* called "Tableaux parisiens," the sonnet entitled "A une passante" ("To a passer-by").

La rue assourdissante autour de moi, hurlait.
Longue, mince, en grand deuil, douleur majestueuse,
Une femme passa, d'une main fastueuse
Soulevant, balançant le feston et l'ourlet;

Agile et noble, avec sa jambe de statue.
Moi, je buvais, crispé comme un extravagant,
Dans son oeil, ciel livide où germe l'ouragan,
La douceur qui fascine et le plaisir qui tue.

Un éclair . . . puis la nuit!—Fugitive beauté
Dont le regard m'a fait soudainement renaître,
Ne te verrai-je plus que dans l'éternité?

Ailleurs, bien loin d'ici! trop tard! *jamais* peut-être!
Car j'ignore où tu fuis, tu ne sais où je vais,
O toi que j'eusse aimée, ô toi qui le savais!

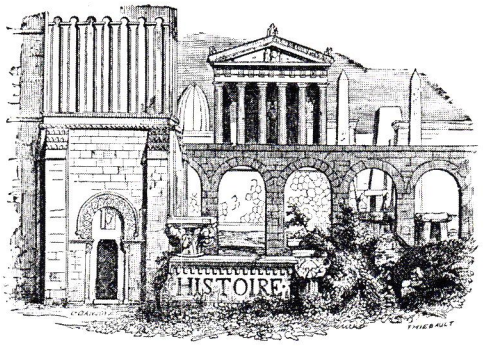
(The deafening street roared around me. Tall, slender, in heavy mourning, majestic grief, a woman passed, with a sumptuous hand raising, swinging the flounces and hem of her skirt, agile and noble, with legs like a statue. I drank, tense as a madman, from her eye, livid sky where tempests germinate, the sweetness that fascinates and the pleasure that kills. A lightning flash . . . then night! Fleeting beauty by whose glance I was suddenly reborn, shall I see you no more except in eternity? Elsewhere, far, far from here! too late! *never* perhaps! For I know not where you fled, you know not where I go, O you whom I would have loved, O you who knew it!)[5]

The poem describes an urban *encounter*, which is not quite a *meeting*. The anonymous woman suddenly emerges from the crowd, from the deafening street, while the speaker of the poem watches, fascinated, reading from her costume and attitude, precisely from her *démarche* indeed, the possibility of a new sweet and dangerous pleasure. When we move from the quatrains to the tercets of the sonnet, the encounter is already over; she is gone, she has passed by like a lightning flash in the movement of the city street. This urban beauty is unstable, fleeting, *fugitive*. What we have had is a promise of meeting in love, and hence of a new meaning—a lightning-like knowledge of reciprocity, message of revelation from the instantaneous reading of an encounter—which is then obliterated, effaced. We have here the dynamics of urban sentiment, always *interruptus*, always menaced with effacement by that very crowd which confers on this sentiment its excitement, its perverse tension. The excitement depends on the dynamics of urban reading and interpretation, where the text may offer the flash of revelation, the fugitive transparency of latent meanings, but is then immediately subject to the pathos of loss, effacement. Meaning is indeed fugitive in the urban landscape. The act of reading is consubstantial with the act of erasure, significance incorporate with loss. This is why to those nineteenth-century writers who had chosen the city as context and text, the city called for an ever-renewed semiotic enterprise. Have we in our own time seen this enterprise lose its potency: has the city ceased to be legible? Has it been surrendered to loss of meaning?

Notes

1. On the *flâneur*, see Walter Benjamin, *Charles Baudelaire: A Lyric Poet in the Era of High Capitalism*, trans. Harry Zohn (London: New Left Books, 1973). My remarks here are in general indebted to Benjamin's remarkable study of Baudelaire as urban poet.
2. These, and other essays mentioned here (including the *Dictionnaire*), can most conveniently be consulted in Balzac, *Oeuvres diverses*, 3 vols. (Paris: Conard, 1935–40). Translations from Balzac are my own.
3. On melodrama, and Balzac's relation to it, see my study, *The Melodramatic Imagination* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976).
4. I owe this phrase, and the suggestive concept, to Richard Sennett, *The Fall of Public Man* (New York: Knopf, 1976).
5. I take this prose translation, which has the advantage of literalness, from the very useful anthology edited by Elaine Marks, *French Poetry from Baudelaire to the Present* (New York: Dell, 1962).

Cemeteries of Life and Death



"Between words and things," wrote Quatremère de Quincy in 1788, "there almost always exists an involuntary relationship of analogy." Thus, the word at one time used for burial place—charnier—*exactly expressed the reality of the infectious rubbish tips or charnel houses so long festering in the heart of the city, while the word that emerged and was used more commonly in the later eighteenth century*—cimetière *or "place of sleep"—perfectly summarized the qualities desired of a last resting place.*

Two formal models contested for primacy in the last years of the century in the attempt to design a typical and completely harmonious environment for burial. The first, based on the medieval campo santo *at Pisa, and espoused by Quatremère and his fellow neo-classicists, was completely architectural in design. Surrounded on all sides with porticos enclosing niches, each with monumental tablets or urns and a small chapel at the center, it formed a precinct bounded by walls and rows of cypress trees, where memory of the dead might be combined with a healthy removal of burial from the city. The second, emerging as a corollary of the landscape garden fashion just before the Revolution, and espoused by the pre-Romantic philosophers and architects influenced by Rousseau, conceived of the cemetery as an arcadian realm, a landscape garden itself, with individual monuments set picturesquely within groves of trees linked by winding paths.*

In both these paradigms, the city of the dead was conceived as parallel to that of the living, and it is not surprising to find the same environmental qualities desired of both. From the character of the whole layout to that of each individual monument, the design of a cemetery represented in microcosm that of the architectural problem of the city as a whole. Further, cemeteries that were built at the beginning of the nineteenth century rapidly became a part of the rhythms of daily life in the quarters to which they were attached, in many cases serving as parks for crowded quarters of habitation.

The blurring of the distinction between the cemetery and park on one scale, and the funeral monument and the architectural monument on another, produced in the nineteenth century a landscape of the dead, so to speak, that intimately reflected that of life. In most instances, indeed, the cemetery might surpass that attainable in the city, founding in this way a veritable utopia in reality, *and providing intimations of city embellishment long before the actual transformations occurred. Thus the cemetery of Père Lachaise anticipated the promenades of Alphand on the Buttes-Chaumont by some fifty years.*
AV

1 Cemetery entrance by moonlight by J. Lecointe.

1

Landscapes of Eternity:
Funerary Architecture and the Cemetery, 1793-1881.

Richard A. Etlin

In the eighteenth century the European conception of the city underwent a radical transformation. The reforms that were sought were significant not only for the new attitudes toward individual elements of the urban fabric, but also and more especially, for the comprehensive vision of a new city they evoked, and together with this city, of a new society. This vision of the new city questioned both the physical aspect of the urban infrastructure—squares, streets, and the network of houses—and the public institutions which traditionally were located there. The reform program was twofold in its aims. First, it sought to refashion the city through an amelioration of the public thoroughfares and the private dwellings. Second, it embarked upon a campaign of exclusion which sought to rid the inner city of institutions which harbored disease and decay. The hospital, the prison, the slaughterhouse, and the cemetery were the social institutions and architectural elements that were to be removed from the city and relocated along its fringes. By the end of the century, indeed, this reallocation of sites for insalubrious institutions had become a commonplace of architectural theory. Thus, Durand, testing his students at the Ecole Polytechnique as to the means for decorating the broad avenues leading into a city, was able to imagine a "truly simple" solution. A city would be suitably arranged if those buildings which ought not to be located within its boundaries "such as hospitals, cemeteries, etc. were relegated to the land outside the city walls." Durand's acceptance of this solution is the more remarkable when it is noted that for centuries these institutions had been situated deep within the city or parish and that their presence had manifested their place in the spiritual life of the community. The Hôtel-Dieu, the major hospital of Paris, was operated by the church and located next to the spiritual center of Notre Dame; likewise the cemetery, similarly a church institution, was placed next to the parish church. To depart from these time-honored arrangements constituted a radical alternation of the meaning and nature of these institutions, and thereby of the city itself.

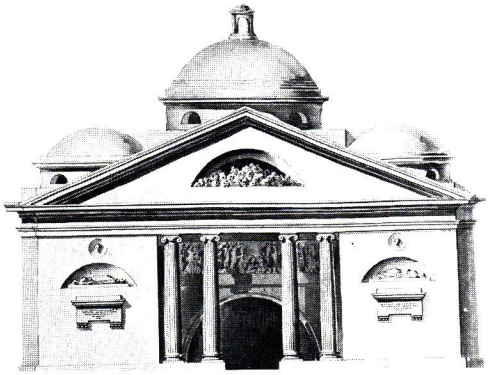
This change in meaning took place in the short space of some fifty years; while Durand in 1805 was able to write in a matter of fact way about the new prescriptions for siting unhealthy institutions, a commentator like the Abbé Porée writing in 1743 was in some sense a pioneer as he described his vision of a city of the future in the form of a pilgrimage to a new "radiant city." "What a sight for the traveler! Let us imagine it now (this will be its only reality unless those in authority adopt our ideas). From afar I spy the city; its towers, whose points disappear into the sky, inform me of its religion. Further I remark its ramparts which show me its protective forces; then, approaching the city, I see the buildings which tell me about its size, its commerce, its riches, its taste. There I am sure to find the living, for I know that the dead are all within the expansive confines of those funerary buildings which I had noticed along the way."[1]

The Abbé Porée's *Letters on Sepulchers* was in fact the first published French work of an extensive body of literature, reform projects, and architectural designs that would question and condemn the traditional intimacy between the cemetery and the city. These works would continue to appear over the next six decades until the promulgation of Napoleon's Imperial Decree on Burials of 1804, which effectively ratified the separation of burial grounds from habitations.

While the instance of the cemetery was only one case of the continuous movement toward the segregation of the institutions that threatened the health, aspect, and social stability of city neighborhoods, it was nevertheless characteristic in every respect. The cemetery united in its varied environmental forms almost every type of architectural and landscape space and afforded in its progressive transformations from the middle of the eighteenth century until the first quarter of the nineteenth a microcosmic view of the conceived relations between living and dead, living and living, monument and landscape, city and country in such a way as to provide a mirror for the transformation of the city as a whole during this period. In a very real sense the inhabitants of the eighteenth and nineteenth century city constructed their world as much in the city of the dead as in that of the living, demonstrating their fears and aspirations about collective and individual life in their proposals for a new type of burial ground. The new cemetery was not only a solution to the insalubrity of traditional burial practices,

2 Mortuary Chapel. J.-Ch. Delafosse, architect, c.1780.

3 Project for a Parisian cemetery. J.-Ch. Delafosse, architect, 1776.



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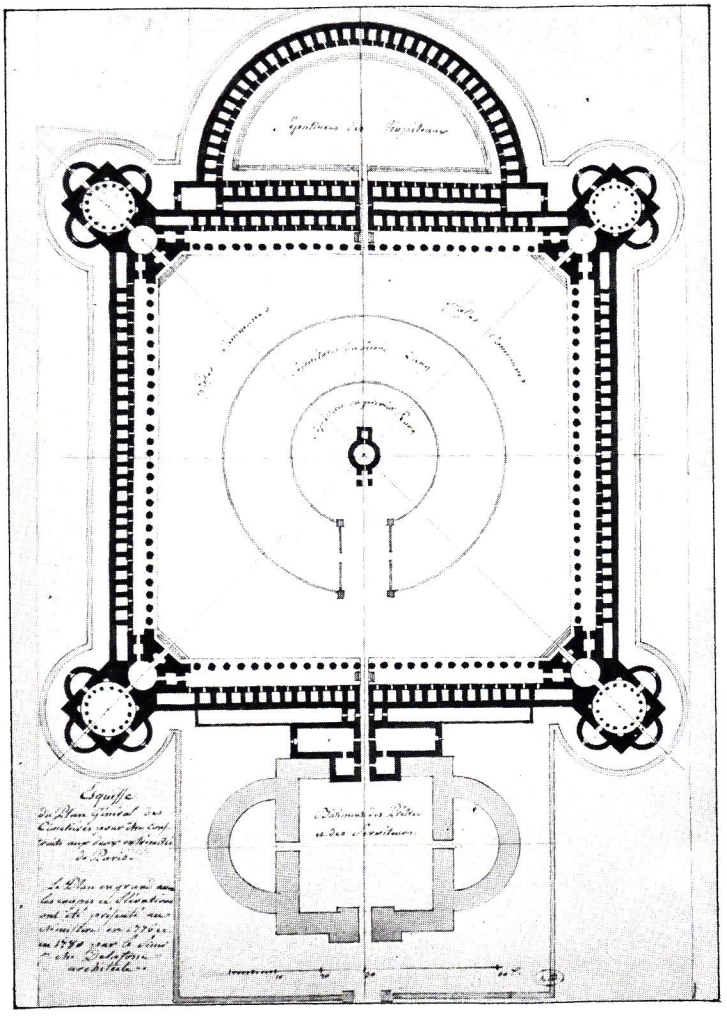

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thereby restoring the primitive purity of a separate community of the dead from the living, and serving as an instrument of preventive medicine, but it was finally to be a cultural and social institution in itself—a museum of great art, its funerary monuments stimulating emulation among architects and sculptors, exhibiting the highest degree of expressive character demanded of true monumental architecture, and at the same time, a school of virtue, whose commemoration of great achievements would inspire a responsive citizenry and whose environs were conducive to the art of memory and contemplation.

From Charnel House to Elysium

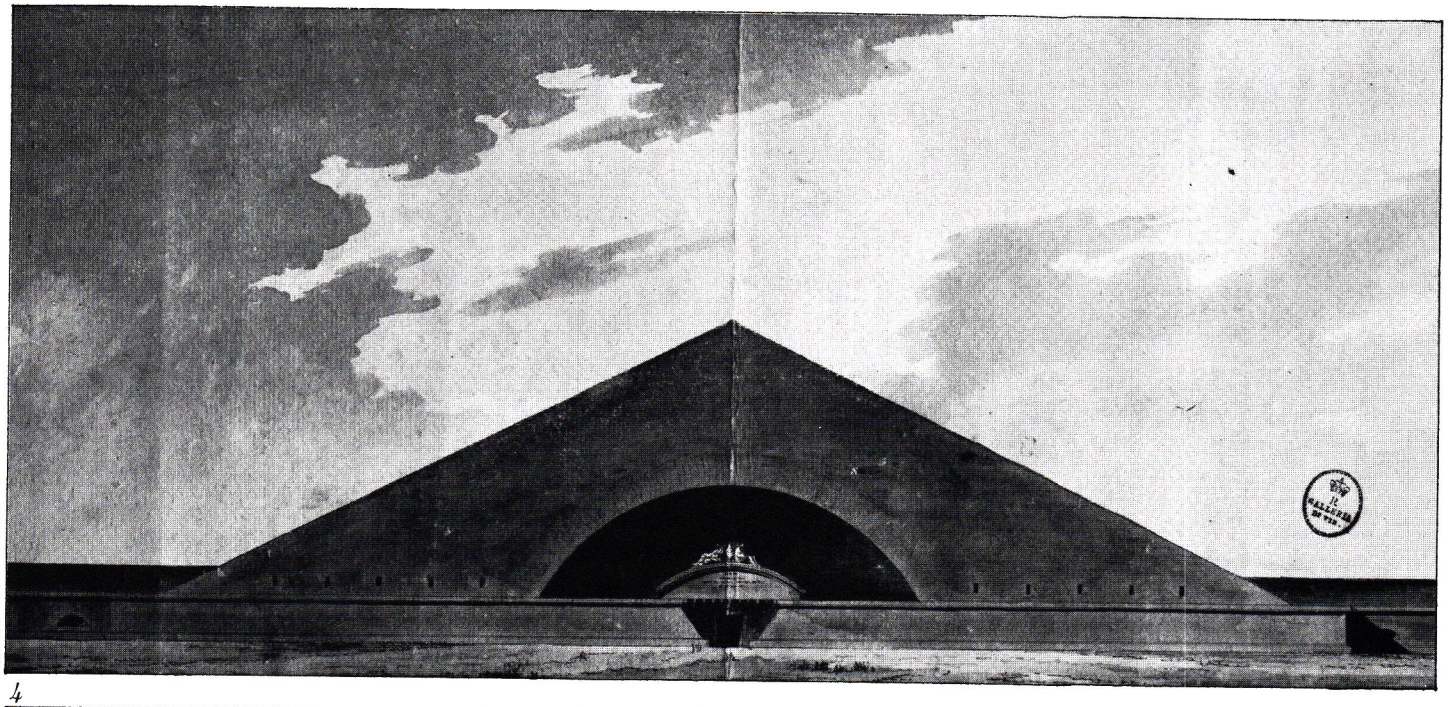
From mid-century onward, it is possible to identify three successive architectural models for the cemetery. In the first burial grounds proposed for the outskirts of Paris, the architects accepted the customary system of burial and organization of social distinctions. The wealthy would still be given an individual grave or a family sepulchral vault and the rest of the population relegated to the customary mass graves, eighteen to twenty feet deep collecting hundreds of bodies. Austere in their architecture, generally devoid of trees and sometimes decorated with skulls and bones, the cemetery projects of this period perpetuated the Baroque tradition of funerary art and of Catholic theology (figs. 2, 3). Perhaps the major difference between the old and new cemeteries would be space—the mass graves would not be reopened until all the bodies had been decomposed—and geometry—architectural regularity replaced the visual chaos of the traditional *intra muros* burial ground (fig. 6). Now, in the new cemetery, social distinctions would be given a topographical clarity with each concentric zone destined for a different class of citizens (see fig. 3).

The second type of burial ground constituted a brief interlude in the history of the reform movement (c.1783–1787) but it furnished the magnificent designs by Etienne-Louis Boullée. Developing a doubly new genre of an "architecture of shadows" (fig. 4) and a "buried architecture" (fig. 5), Boullée designed the cemetery as an Egyptian wasteland. Here architecture presented an image of timelessness evoked through the central monument reminiscent of an Egyptian pyramid, set upon an arid field, expressive of

4 Funerary chapel. Etienne-Louis Boullée, architect, c.1785.

5 Funerary monument. Etienne-Louis Boullée, architect, c.1785.

6 Cemetery of the Innocents, Paris, 1780. Plan.



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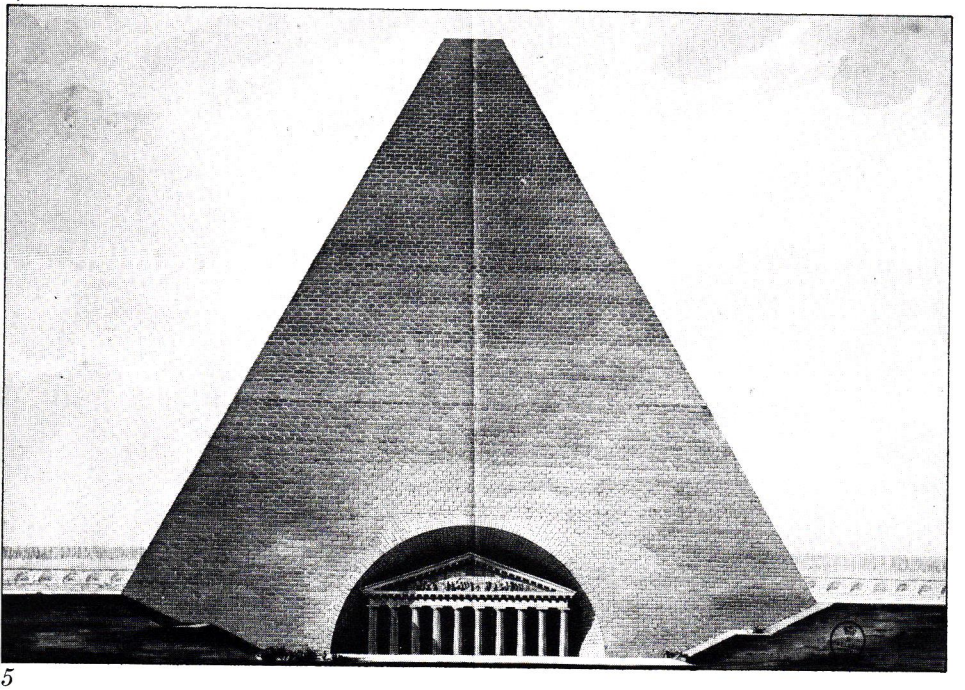

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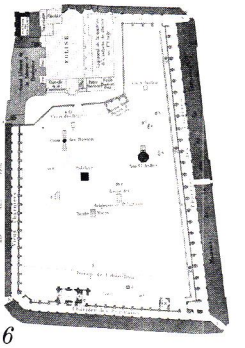

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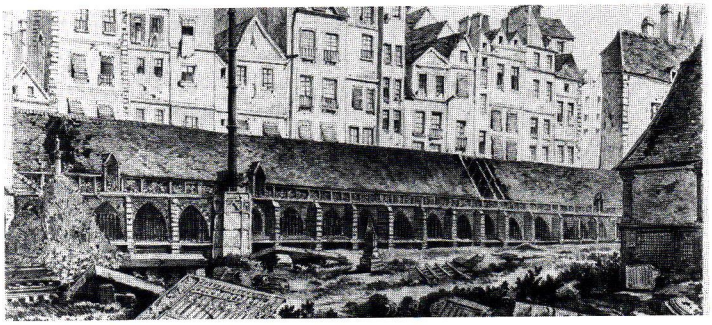


7 Cemetery of the Innocents, Paris, by Bernier, 1786. View looking toward the rue aux Fers.

"immutability." In such a burial ground, death was no longer a defeat or humiliation dependent upon redemption at the Day of Judgment, but rather, as Jean Starobinski has justly observed, a triumph which could be seen in the ascendancy of the vast pyramid, this multi-faceted icon of Death, Nature, and Eternity.

By the time of the Revolution, however, the specter of the mass communal grave, which was still common in the heart of Paris, evoked expressions of horror in authors who sought an alternative conception of the cemetery that would satisfy their new understanding of both life and death. Writing at the end of the century, the architect Pierre Patte was speaking for an entire decade when he recorded his "horror arising from the idea of those prodigious graves, from those great confused heaps of bodies, like veritable refuse dumps that debase the honors due to the dead."[2] The traditional cemetery was not only pernicious to the health and revolting to the senses, it also denied the very dignity of human life itself. Furthermore, the visual reminders of man's corporeality made it difficult to retain a conviction of human immortality. Thus, a contemporary was sickened by the thought of leaving his dead mother at the cemetery by the Barrière Blanche, where she would be "thrown . . . into a fetid hole, amidst putrefying cadavers." For a moment, this picture of a "dishonored humanity" made him doubt that man had "an immortal soul and that his body, so marvelously organized, was in fact the work of a god."[3]

Burial practices, however, not only engaged the individual's deepest personal convictions, but influenced his social behavior. If the dead were treated as so much refuse, like the corpses of animals discarded "so as not to infect the air," then relationships among the living would inevitably suffer: "when one attends to the remains of a human as no more than those of a dead animal, any basic feeling of humanity is inevitably destroyed; one is prone to regard a living person with as little respect as one would show toward some unreasoning beast."[4] Thus, the image of the cemetery, together with the ceremonials of the funeral and the methods of burial, affected equally one's consciousness of Life and Death.

7

Against the view of death as "suffering and destruction," made manifest by the very aspect of the old cemetery (fig. 7), architects and social philosophers proffered an alternative vision of death as a "sweet rest" which could be nurtured and sustained by a different architectural setting. If "exterior signs"[5] were responsible for demoralizing man facing death, then perhaps these same physical "accessories"[6] might also be employed "to soften . . . the natural fears of death."[7]

The traditional burial ground, abounding in skulls and bones and with its "atrocious trenches," depicted "only the rapaciousness of death and ignored its repose."[8] A more fitting cemetery would have to provide a radically different atmosphere as well as a new method of burial. At stake was the ability to control a deep-rooted anxiety at the thought of death as total destruction, "this involuntary impression one experiences, that insurmountable repugnance to annihilation."[9]

The new cemetery which would console rather than frighten, the third image of the cemetery offered to reformers and architects, was conceived as an Arcadian "field of rest" (see fig. 1). Designed as a verdant landscape in which ideally each individual would be given a separate and isolated grave, this burial ground would provide solace for both those who were dying and those who were mourning. In such a man-made Elysium, the living might imagine their relatives' eternal rest and even anticipate their own. The physical setting would instill such "a calm . . . that one will insensibly forget his loss even to the point of envying the deceased."[10] Surrounded by friends and family, the dying, sustained by "sweet tears," would expire with the happy assurance of a "cherished memory." In death, remembrance would be sustained through repeated visits to the grave, at once an anchor for expression of friendship, love, and filial respect, and, through its tombstone, a guarantor of identity into the future.

The vision of the cemetery as Elysium provided a new dimension to the goal of locating the burial ground beyond the city. Now the site would not only ensure salubrity, it would also allow the cemetery to join nature itself. Whereas

the old urban cemetery had been doubly enclosed, once within the city and then again inside the walls of its surrounding charnel houses, the new Arcadian cemetery would become an integral part of the countryside. In the first two alternatives to the traditional cemetery, the new Christian burial ground, and the Egyptian wasteland, the architects had sought to avail themselves of sterile terrain so that the dead would not reduce the available arable land close to the city. With this last transformation, the pleasures of a visit to a park seemed to justify the occupation of fertile land. Even so, several authors envisaged the new Elysium as a veritable paradisiacal garden, replete with "useful" fruit-bearing trees.

With the cemetery assimilated to the countryside, and featuring aromatic plants, flowers, birds, and, if possible, a murmuring stream, the burial ground would become a type of Arcadian dreamland. Here the living, through the mediation of nature, would commune with the dead. The tomb, wrote Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, stood as a monument "placed on the frontier between two worlds":

"Through the charms of this site, called toward their faded remains
We will come to mourn those whom we cherished
We will imagine seeing their attentive shades float about;
We will imagine that to our plaintive souls
Their voices respond in saddened tones
In the voice of the winds sighing around them . . .
In the flowers, in the woods, escaping fate
Our parents will return to converse with us."[11]

Since this third vision of the cemetery as a field of rest was to become the basis of the nineteenth century Parisian burial grounds, it is necessary to identify its temporal origins and successive transformations from a Revolutionary affirmation of egalitarianism to a post-Revolutionary celebration of individual privilege and wealth.

The Contradictions of Bourgeois Equality

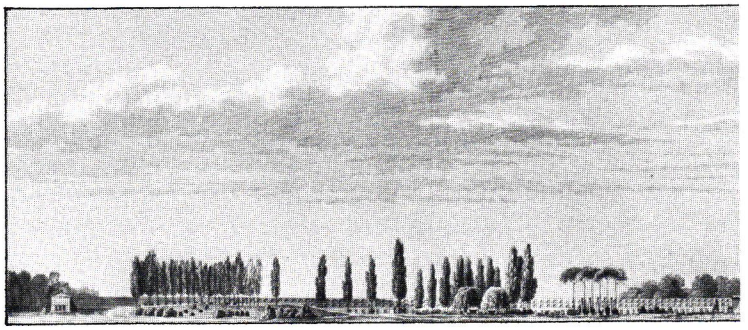
The concept of the cemetery as a field of rest was officially born during the Terror as a classless "garden of Equality."[12] On October 19, 1793, Chaumette, Procureur-Syndic of the Commune of Paris, proclaimed that henceforth funerary honors for the wealthy and the poor should be the same. Rejecting a report on burial grounds by the Administration on Public Works, Chaumette affirmed that the cemetery should not demonstrate signs of melancholy but rather should "inspire less somber and more tender feelings." "I want Elysian fields . . . where visitors would not encounter skulls and bones."[13] The new report, presented on January 10, 1794, complied with the admonition "to replace images of sadness and despair with sweeter, more philanthropical ideas." Proposing four *extra muros* "fields of rest" for Paris, the commissioners outlined a mode of egalitarian burial set within a site "at once simple, rustic, isolated, and surrounded by silence."[14] Whereas the architect and teacher Jacques-François Blondel had once advocated a cemetery design replete with vermiculated rustication to recall the "destruction of matter" and with kinesthetic reminders of "the terrible but inevitable" end which awaited all mortals (for example, one would walk down into the cemetery),[15] now Avril envisaged a diametrically opposed architectural landscape to obviate just such reminders and to foster "a sweet melancholy" to charm one's sadness. The cemetery would not be enclosed by a somber and lugubrious charnel house to collect the exhumed bones, but rather by a kind of ha-ha or large ditch, protected by a waist-high hedge on the exterior and planted with grass along its outer sloping wall. The terrain of the burial ground itself would likewise be grassed over and would be raised up to present a pleasing view and to counter any fearsome intimations about death. Proscribing both the "haughty mausolea" of the Ancien Régime as well as the revolting mass grave, the commissioner stipulated that all bodies would be buried in an egalitarian and modest way in linear trenches of single rows one body deep. Following the customary practice, the graves would be reopened and used again after the bodies had decomposed.

This egalitarian ideal continued to enjoy favor under the Directory as legislators and concerned citizens made new proposals for the burial grounds which would, in the event, not be established until the beginning of the nineteenth century. After Thermidor, the idea of equality that a cemetery could foster seemed to be a powerful tool to assist the development of domestic and public virtues that would

8 Cemetery project for Paris. Jacques Molinos, architect, 1799.

9 Country sepulcher scene by A. Belanger.

10 Bois des Tombeaux, *Park Monceau, by L. C. de Carmontelle, 1779.*



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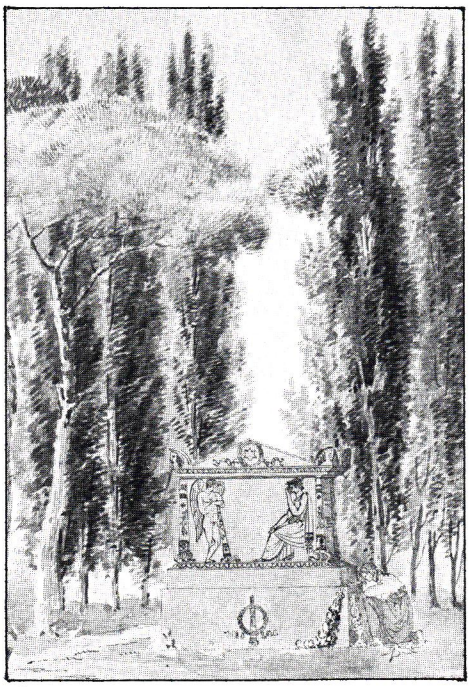

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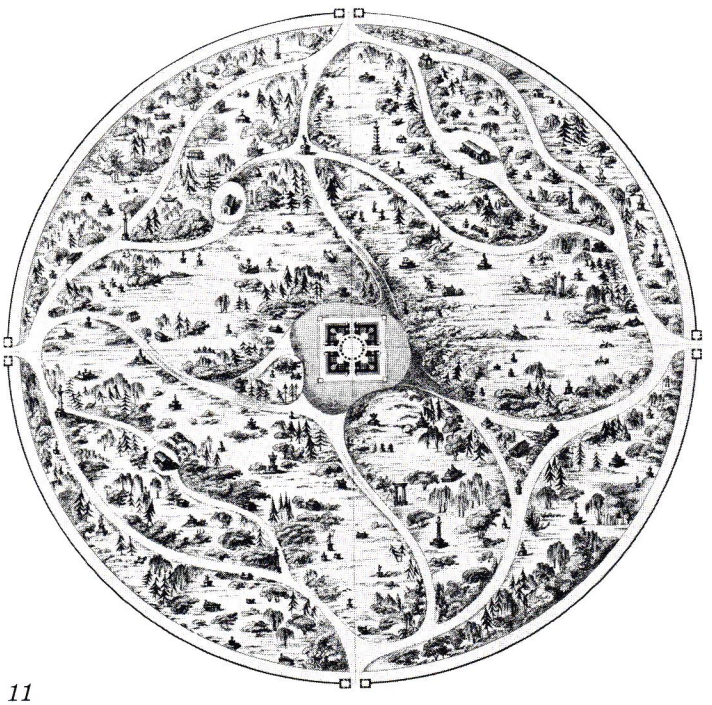

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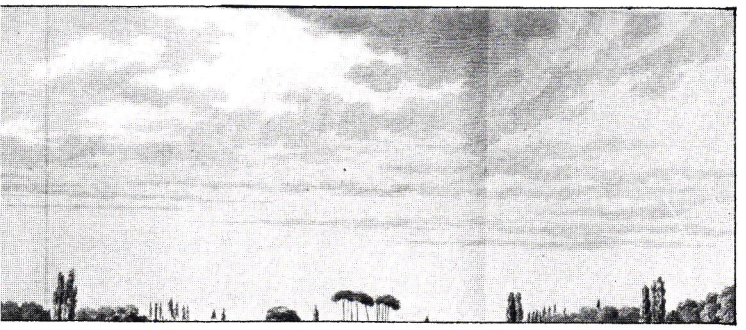


11 Cemetery project for Paris. Jacques Molinos, architect, 1799. Plan.

stabilize the social order. In his report to the legislative body, Leclerc, for example, sought to assume an "equality in tombs" for all Frenchmen. Everywhere, graves would be "uniform." To sustain the institution of the family within an egalitarian framework, each family would be apportioned spaces together, but no "visible divisions" would distinguish one cluster from another.[16]

During this period and until the first years of the next century, a new literature flourished which decried the revolting burial conditions in Paris' cemeteries. In one sense, these complaints reflected more a new sensibility than a major worsening of conditions. The old mass graves had now become totally unacceptable. Moreover, the comforting traditions of the religious ceremonial had been ruptured by the Revolution. Certain parish cemeteries had also been closed, others were becoming overcrowded by accommodating larger sectors of the city, and new places of interment were hastily being pressed into service. Finally, the distinction between church burial and individual graves within the cemetery was no longer available. All of these conditions, coupled with a nostalgia and attachment to the homeland, contributed to an emerging movement for a right to burial on one's private property, a movement inevitably running counter to the egalitarian pretensions of the early Revolutionary years.

The ideal of interment on a privately owned domain introduced a pastoral element into cemetery literature. For several decades before the Revolution, wealthy landowners had placed tombs, often empty, in their landscape gardens. The use of the sepulchral monument as *fabrique* in a landscape park was finally codified by Delille in his poem *Les Jardins* (1782) where he advocated real burial in place of the architectural conceit. Toward the end of the century, social philosophers indulged a propensity toward a highly favored melancholy as they shed sweet literary tears over the image of a young woman crying softly (but not bitterly) by the solitary grave of her dead husband (fig. 9). To the champions of private burial, Rousseau's much visited tomb, erected by "the hands of friendship" in the park at Ermenonville, became an exemplary model which helped justify their arguments.

The response to this new movement was twofold. On the one hand, burial on private land would threaten the ideal of equality in death and would undermine the social cohesiveness sought through establishing the new cemetery as an embodiment of the collectivity. Furthermore, government leaders further argued that the vicissitudes of land ownership made the inviolability of such graves extremely precarious. Only the system of separate burials within the communal cemetery would satisfy these several social and political ends.[17] Before Thermidor, certain revolutionaries had envisaged a diametrically opposite solution. To Saint-Just and Jean-Charles Laveaux, egalitarianism and patriotism would best be served if each family possessed a piece of land, either garden or field, in which to bury its dead.[18]

The aesthetics of the landscape garden, both as the most suitable support of the ideology of separate burials, not even in linear trenches but in truly isolated graves as guarantors and expressions of individuality, became the basis of the Cambry report of 1799 which won the approval of the municipal government.[19]

Cambry, an administrator of the Department of the Seine, advocated a new burial ground designed by the architect Molinos which would be constructed at the abandoned quarries of Montmartre. Except for a monumental pyramid at the geometric center of a circular piece of property, the "field of rest" would, in all other respects, be arranged as a landscape garden (fig. 8). Irregular paths would meander across the site, planted with a variety of trees and decorated with isolated funerary monuments of all architectural types (fig. 11). The underground quarries themselves were to be exploited, as architects, sculptors, and painters would fashion them into sumptuous sepulchral vaults evocative of the ancient Italian catacombs.

Molinos' architectural *parti* was by no means a new idea. The pre-Revolutionary landscape parks had had similar areas consecrated as *fabriques* designed as funerary monuments. The atmosphere of the "bois des tombeaux," for example, in the Park Monceau, can be seen in Carmontelle's engraving which shows fashionable Parisians promenading among the tombs (fig. 10). In 1784, Bernardin de

Saint-Pierre had described an Elysium which was nothing other than a landscape garden in which the sacred funerary grove had invaded the entire park: "within this vast terrain . . . there will be no alignments . . . no manicured lawns, no pruned and shaped trees, nothing that resembles our [formal] gardens."[20]

While elements of this architectural vision can be found in a few pre-Revolutionary cemetery projects, the underlying spiritual imperatives were not widely felt until the Revolutionary era. However, the social and political conditions at the time that the first official fields of rest were envisaged made the aesthetic premises of the landscape garden, with its emphasis on the individual monument, unacceptable. The social climate had changed, though, by the end of the century. Hence Cambry's report became an apologia for the visible expression of socio-economic differences. Here the space of equality was finally abandoned in favor of a delight in the contrasts between humble memorials for the poor and magnificent mausolea for the rich: "Allow everybody then the freedom to act according to his tastes, his will. You modest people, be content with a simple urn; you wealthy ones, raise tombs that will nourish the architect, the painter, and the scores of workmen you employ. . . . All wills, all caprices should know no limit. Ah! Who could deprive a free man of the right to dispose of his ashes and use a part of his fortune to shelter them from the ravages of accidents and storms, or the ferocity of men?"

Whereas the belief in special distinctions for the meritorious dead was complemented by the belief in egalitarianism during the Terror and Directory, the individualism of the Consulate and the Empire accepted and justified for social, economic, and artistic reasons the "vanity" which prompted the erection of elaborate mausolea. "No doubt death equalizes all men," Quatremère de Quincy explained to the municipal government, "but it is precisely the injustice of this leveling that men should rectify."[21] The nineteenth century cemetery did, in its final form, satisfy this desire both in its apportionment of space and time and through its ideology of individual and family monuments.

With these goals in mind, Frochot, Prefect of the Seine, attempted, albeit unsuccessfully, to acquire the Park Monçeau as a municipal cemetery. He did manage to purchase the magnificent hilltop estate once owned by the confessor of Louis XIV, Père Lachaise (fig. 13). Here was a ready-made, resplendent landscape park. It was opened in 1804 as the first of three cemeteries prescribed by Frochot's order of 21 Ventose Year IX (March 12, 1801), later to be joined by the Cemetery of Montparnasse (1824) and the Cemetery of Montmartre (1825), and serving as "ideal burial" grounds to assist the nineteenth century Parisian in his quest for an Arcadian place of final rest. These cemeteries, though, were not just for the dead. They contributed to the pleasures and edification of city life. With their resplendent greenery and melancholy prospects, they provided an opportunity to promenade in a rustic setting close to the city. "The living fled the old cemeteries which were hideous and depressing; but the new cemeteries, which have the charm of a beautiful garden attract a crowd of curious visitors."[22] Here the stroller's physical vigor would benefit from the "pure air" and his moral constitution from the sight of so many funerary monuments.

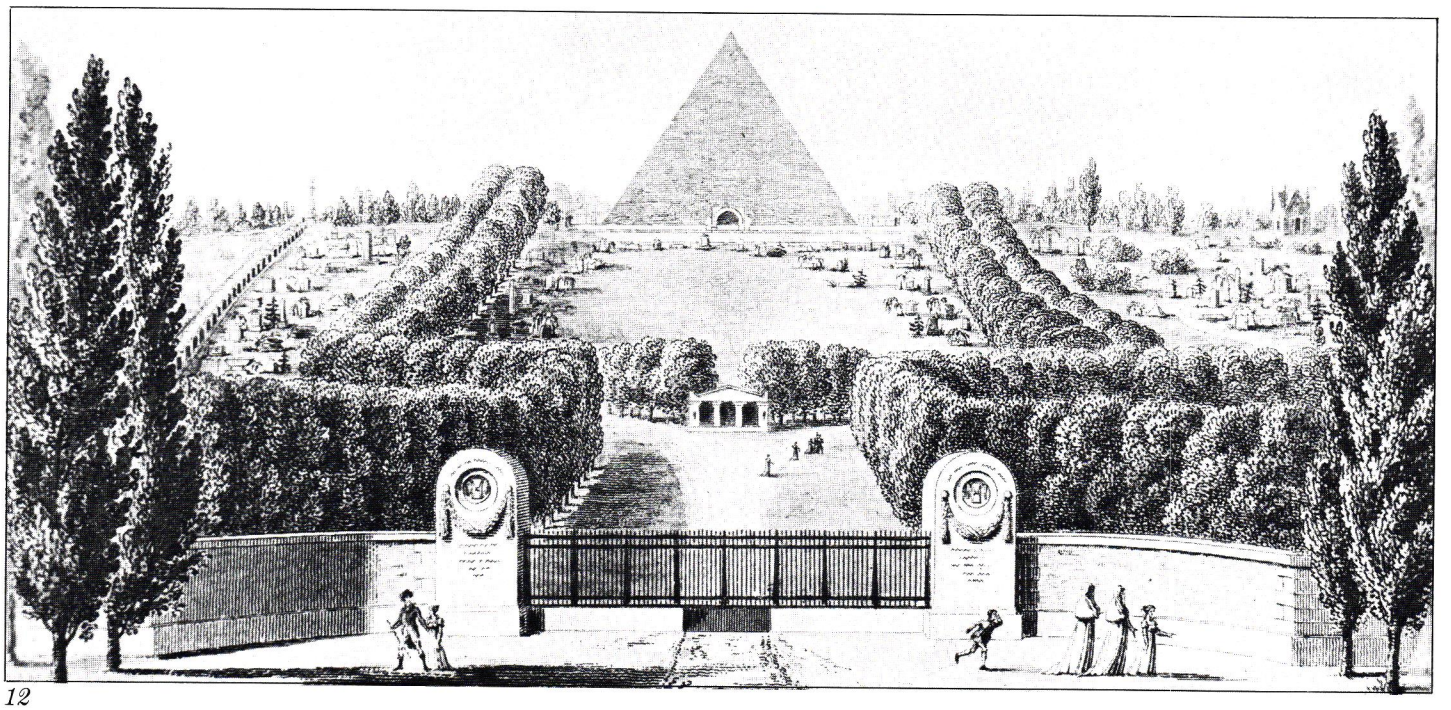
To assist the visitor to Paris' new Arcadian dreamlands, a special literary genre arose. Complementary to the guidebooks which introduced the wonders of the city to the living, these new publications served as companions to a tour through the city of the dead. Much as the earlier pilgrim to Rousseau's tomb at Ermenonville was directed to the diverse *fabriques* scattered throughout the park, now the visitor was sent from tomb to tomb, each noteworthy for the illustrious dead which it housed or for the architectural merit which it displayed. The monument was to become an integral feature of the nineteenth century Parisian cemetery whose landscape, as a backdrop, would recede before the encroachment of omnipresent stone constructions.

Monuments to Individuality

In the nineteenth century, the families of "the well-off class of society"[23] constructed their world as much in the city of the dead as in that of the living. Funerary monuments were, in a manner of speaking, generously proportioned to the size of a family as the Opéra was to the size of a crowd, or rather, as one of its ideological patrons expressed it, to a

12 Cemetery of Père Lachaise, Paris. A. T. Brongniart, architect, c.1815. Idealized view showing the proposed pyramidal chapel.

13 Plan.



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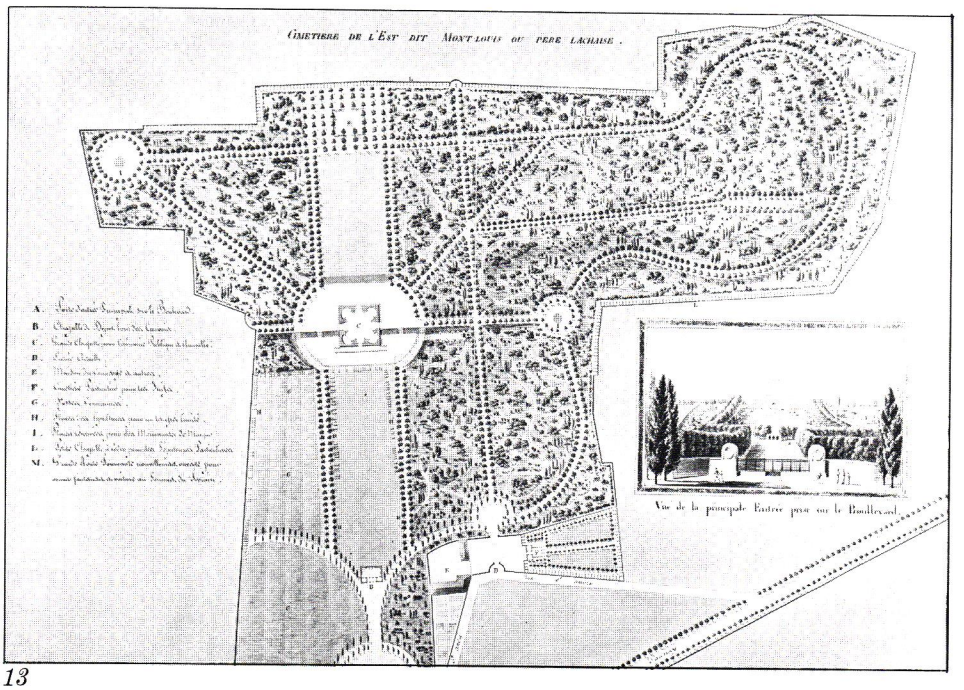

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14 Cemetery of the Père Lachaise by Civeton, 1829.

15 Tomb of Mme. Delaroche, Cemetery of Montmartre, Paris. Felix Duban, architect, c.1851.

16 View of the Cemetery of Père Lachaise, Paris, by Courvoisier, c.1815.

17 Tomb of M. Alcide Billaud, Cemetery of Montmartre, Paris. S. Constant-Dufeux, architect, 1847. Section.

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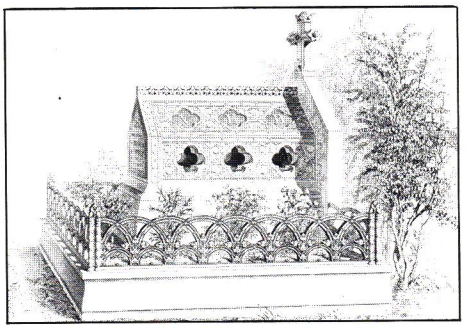

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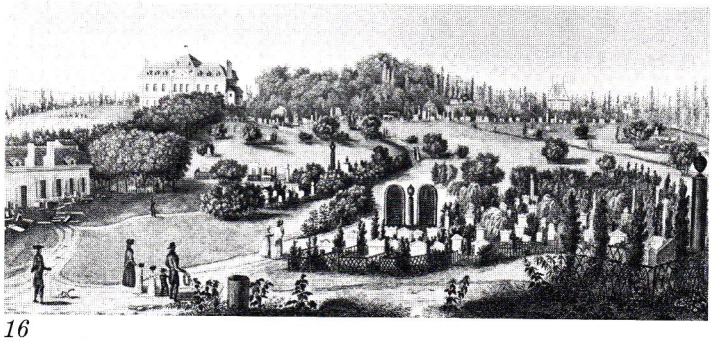
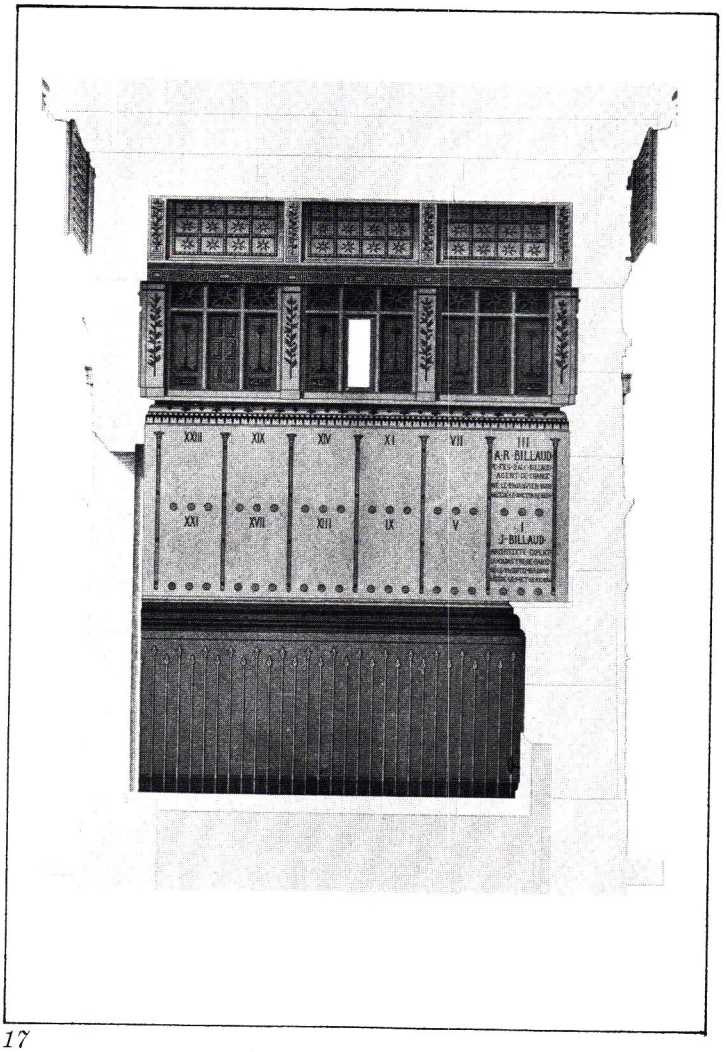


16

gathering of "the best in French society."[24] This development of the monument becomes clear when two early views of the Père Lachaise drawn about 1815, one with Brongniart's never-to-be-realized pyramid (fig. 12), the other with the house which this chapel was to replace (fig. 16), are compared with an engraving of 1829 (fig. 14). By the later date people of modest taste or means might still content themselves with a simple stone, but the wealthy were commissioning tombs that were truly pieces of architecture. The Restoration had indeed precipitated a vogue for monumental funerary architecture, and thus the architect gained final ascendancy over the cemetery caretaker as the designer of memorials as he developed what was to become a veritable building type to house his client in the city of the dead.[25] In a Catholic France, the funerary monument testified to a religiosity that promised an after life and invoked Divinity "in favor of the deceased." The tomb as small chapel, a "sacred retreat" evocative of the guardian church or its adjacent mortuary chapel which had sheltered the remains of the privileged under the Ancien Régime, now became a popular type (fig. 15).



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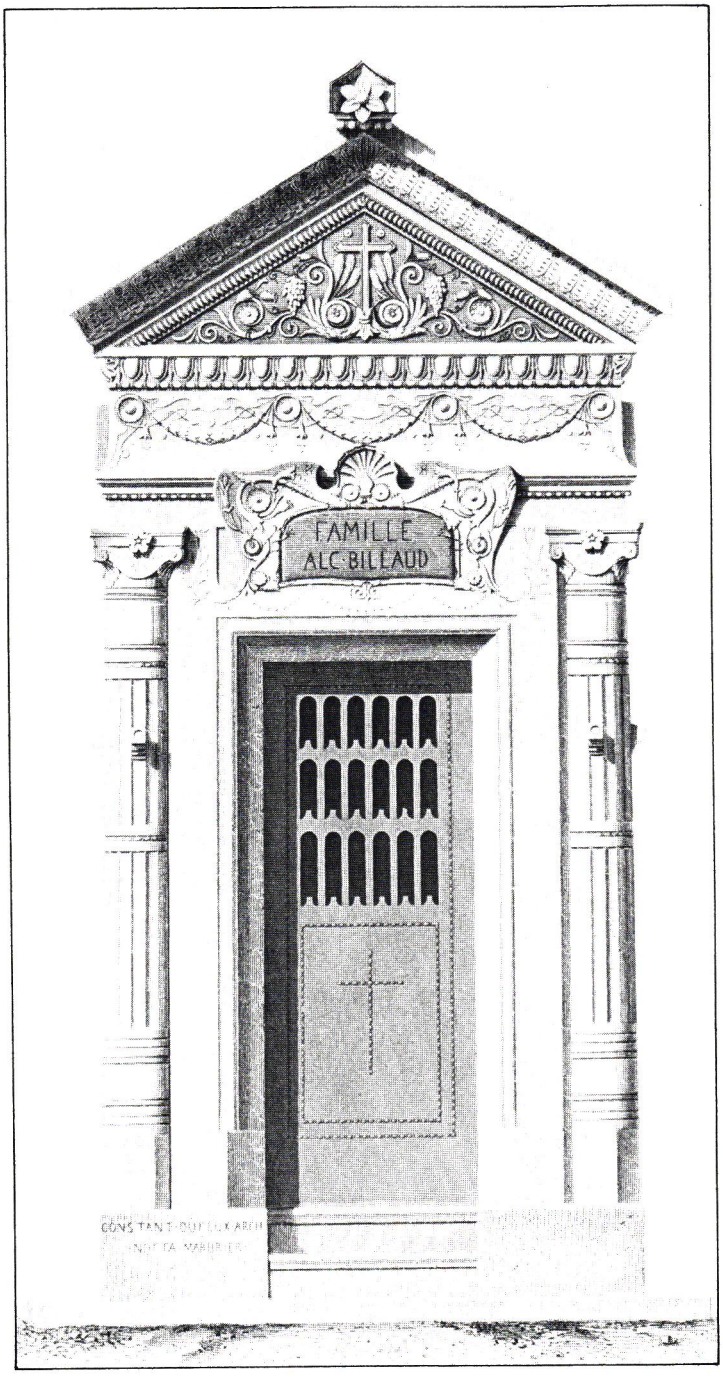
While the mausoleum easily assimilated itself to a Christian theology attuned to what Lord Byron would term "the rapture of repose . . . the loveliness in death," it also underwent a more difficult grafting to the eighteenth century tradition of expressive architecture. In 1869, César Daly, looking back over more than a half century of funerary architecture, was to lament that so few monuments had succeeded in vanquishing the "supreme difficulty" of this genre, that "of finding the appropriate expression, of embodying the correct character for each memorial."[26] The tomb, as the "dwelling place of the deceased," had, in fact, to express an individual personality. Architects believed that if the funerary monument were to display the "interior life" of the commemorated person, then "one could not adopt the same sepulchral forms for all people indifferently." Thus, the designer sought to differentiate his creation by accounting both for general qualities or conditions—youth, maternity, heroism—and for particular accomplishments. Inscriptions were important, but the essence of the monument resided in its architectural composition. "Let us forget [for a moment] the name inscribed on

18, 19 Tomb of M. Alcide Billaud,
Cemetery of Montmartre, Paris.
S. Constant-Dufeux, architect, 1847.



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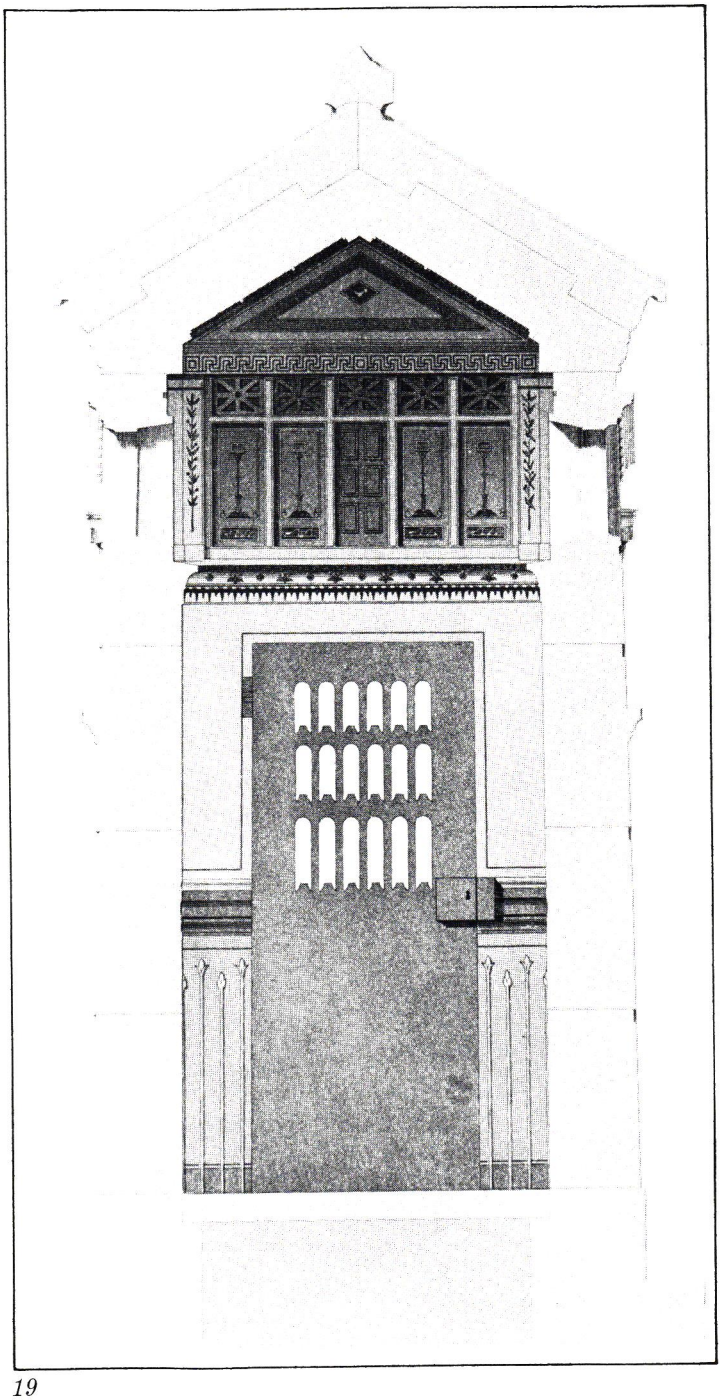

19

20 Tomb of M. Dumont d'Urville,
Cemetery of Montparnasse, Paris.
S. Constant-Dufeux, architect, 1844.

21 Tomb of M. Bottée de Toulmon,
Cemetery of Père Lachaise, Paris.
Albert Lenoir, architect, c.1853.

20

21

this tomb and ask if the monument itself tells us what type of remains it protects, and what is the memory it consecrates," admonished Husson.[27]

The truly individualized monument fulfilled a double purpose. While explicitly characterizing the individual and marking the social status and often the temporal continuity of his family, it also implicitly satisfied the aesthetics of the landscape garden, which required differing forms. Over the course of the century, the *Revue générale* published those monuments which successfully realized these ends. In these the architect employed symbolic forms aided by sculptural relief and inscriptions to give physical presence to his poetically conceived program. Thus, the tomb for Madame Delaroche was designed in the form of a reliquary (fig. 15), with a cross conceived more as "a smile, a blossoming" than as a "symbol of suffering," to convey this woman's saintliness; delicate in its articulations, the monument was also intended to express the woman's elegance and beauty. Similarly, to demonstrate the musical achievement of Monsieur Bottée de Toulmon, whose specialities were both Antiquity and the Middle Ages, the architect Albert Lenoir combined Classical and Gothic styles, overladen with numerous inscriptions (fig. 21); while the navigator Dumont d'Urville enjoyed a manner of apotheosis through the verticality of his tomb, around which a bas-relief of ships "sailed" to designate his remarkable achievements (fig. 20). Finally, although the architect Constant-Dufeux chose the popular form of a chapel for the tomb of the dead architect Alcide Billaud, he personalized it with sculptural motifs from Billaud's work (figs. 17–19).

Thus conceived, the funerary monument required a special and close relationship between the architect and the client. "An architect," wrote Daly, "is charged to make a tomb. Suppose that he does not know the deceased; that the deceased's personal history and feelings are unknown to the artist. What will this tomb then be? Either falsehood or a commonplace."[28] At best, an existential bond, fashioned through some significant event in life or death, should become the basis of the relationship between creator and commemorated. Constant-Dufeux, having served as "first inspector" for Billaud in the construction of one of the dead architect's major works, thereby enjoyed a privileged status for designing his tomb. In this manner, the monument was doubly individualized: through its characterization of the deceased and through the homage paid by the architect to his client. Similarly, Constant-Dufeux, as a survivor of the railroad accident which killed Dumont d'Urville—thus sharing both the horror of the event and, in a manner of speaking, the moment of his death—was the candidate par excellence to erect a commemorative monument.[29] These special relationships, though, were not in themselves sufficient to create an appropriate memorial. If so much funerary architecture did not succeed, "the cause," stated Daly, "can almost invariably be found in this circumstance: that the architect did not arrive at a precise enough notion of the idea or feeling that he wanted to express."[30]

Perils to Eternity

Security was a requisite condition for a peaceful rest in the nineteenth century Parisian cemetery. The poetry, of a monument alone, however, was certainly no guarantor of a safe future for very real and material perils endangered any architectural pretensions toward eternity.

Firstly, the very ambience of the cemetery might be altered or even destroyed. In the cemetery of Montmartre a landfill, accompanied by the destruction of trees finally ruined, in the eyes of an observer, the atmosphere of "eternal rest" so necessary to inspire "the calm and the inward silence" imperative for a visit to the grave. Formerly, these open-faced quarries had presented a veritable "valley of tombs," with the solitude of their excavated pits, their mysterious light, and the glimpses of monuments through the foliage. Now the altered landscape had lost its visual screening and psychological isolation from the surrounding dwellings that towered above.[31]

Then, the garden-like quality of the Elysium could be destroyed simply by the erection of increasing numbers of monuments. At mid-century, Daly praised an engraving of a monument with its "beautiful setting of living and variegated foliage, symbol of the eternal source of creation that animates the world." This verdant depiction, though, was entirely imaginary "because in the city of the dead, at the

Père Lachaise, lodgings are as costly as among the living, and the tombs crowd together there, so cramped among each other, that each monument imprisons itself within an iron grillwork in defense against encroachments."[32]

Moreover, the land itself offered varying degrees of security. Certain sites within the cemetery were "much more favorable to the stability of constructions" than others.[33] Being obliged to build upon recently moved earth hurt even the most modest hopes for a semblance of an everlasting rest.[34] The past history of the cemeteries of Montmartre and of the Père Lachaise, with their underground galleries and steep escarpments from earlier quarrying, haunted the stability of the fields of rest; from time to time, the land caved in or the ridges gave way, tumbling down and even "swallowing up entire graves."[35]

If the site contributed greatly to compromising the promise of "that pompous inscription, 'perpetual concession'," the very construction of the tombs constituted another threat. Not all monuments could boast of solid stones erected with elaborately interlocking pieces, skillfully detailed with channels to aid drainage and moldings to protect carefully positioned joints (figs. 17, 18). Constant-Dufeux's tomb for the Billaud family might well have been so well built that Sirodet could praise its *firmitas* as second only to carving a monument out of a single block of stone,[36] however, other tombs possessed "walls only twelve to fifteen centimeters thick, built for the most part on bad foundations, placed on land fills made only a few years earlier" as their means "to follow time in its rapid march toward eternity."[37] "How many tombs have we seen erected hardly fifteen or twenty years ago that have fallen into ruin!"[38]

The greatest danger to permanent repose appeared, however, in the 1860's when once again it seemed that the cemeteries would be transferred out of the city. The three cemeteries of Montmartre, Montparnasse, and Père Lachaise were becoming crowded and would, according to Haussmann, soon be totally filled. In addition, the 1860 annexation of neighboring communes now placed these cemeteries within the newly extended city limits and thus in contravention of the law of 23 Prairial, year XII. Finally, the water passing through the sub-soil of these cemeteries was polluting the city's wells and the river Seine.[39]

The most radical solutions envisaged the establishment of vast burial grounds at a considerable distance from the city, using special railway lines for access. Interment, according to *La Patrie*, could occur in the "great sacred forests of Fontainebleau or Compiègne" where all citizens might be assured of a peaceful rest. "Every human being, however humble his condition, would have the right to a separate plot, and would remain there forever, his remains never to be exposed to the immoral and vile desecration that we witness today."[40]

Such was the strategy adopted, but without success, by Haussmann. Choosing a plateau at Méry-sur-Oise whose size and soil seemed the most propitious to inhumations, he proposed a new cemetery system. The temporary concessions and the free burials would remain untouched for thirty or fifty years, "that is to say the equivalent of perpetuity; for after thirty years, the grave of a single individual is generally no longer visited or cared for."

While the distance to the proposed cemetery at Méry would make the funeral procession on foot an impossibility, the slow march out to the peripheral cemeteries proposed by one group of his opponents would, according to Haussmann, be truly fatiguing. In contrast, a special railroad, with stations built at the three existing cemeteries, would provide a rapid service across the intervening twenty-two kilometers to Méry. He envisaged a two-stage ceremony. As in the past, the procession would proceed from the funeral home to the place of worship and then to one of the old cemeteries. Here in a special "vast hall," replete with funerary chapels, most of the funeral party would address its farewells to the deceased. The rest would then continue with the body to the cemetery at Méry in a voyage estimated to be approximately twenty minutes. To assure that all would be able to enjoy the benefits of this system, free train tickets would be distributed to the poor.[41]

In the mind of his opposition, Haussmann's project would leave Paris without its soul. "Pas de cimetière, pas de

cité,"[42] without the cemetery, there could be no city as a viable organism of human community, so bound into the life of the nineteenth century city had the new cemeteries become. The distance from Paris would discourage visits and break the popular "cult of the dead."[43] This was the great epoch of the visit to the cemetery.[44] On All Saints' Day of 1866, one hundred and eighty thousand came to the cemetery of Montmartre, which received a third of Paris' dead; the next day, eighty thousand.[45] As a "workers' petition" to the Emperor published in *Le Temps* explained: "The worker prizes being able to accompany his family, employers, friends, companions, in effect, all who have been dear to him, to their final resting place, on foot and with bared head. He likes to visit the cemetery with his family; and these pious visits that call for a contemplative mood incontestably have the advantage of strengthening the ties of union, affection, and tenderness between members of the family."[46] In the end, the projects of Haussmann and later, in 1881, those of the Prefect Duval, "excited so general and strong an opposition that they had to be abandoned."[47]

A Class Portrait

In its concrete realization, the nineteenth century Parisian cemetery mirrored the social contradictions which beset the community of the living. Even in theory, the benefits of its most immediate predecessor, Molinos' magnificent garden and catacombs, would have been available only to the wealthy because the poor were to have been cremated in furnaces skillfully hidden in the central pyramid—their ashes were to have been relegated to factory-produced funerary urns cheap enough for anybody to purchase! Likewise, the three new Parisian burial grounds had their own means of providing for certain classes by neglecting others. Writing in 1874, the commissioner Hérold, future Prefect of the Seine, explained that throughout the nineteenth century in order to "judiciously employ the available land, free burials in Paris had continued according to the old manner." At first, the coffins had been superimposed; later, they were aligned side by side in long rows. "The dead were still placed head to head with only a miniscule twenty centimeters of earth between them."[48] In this manner, even articles four and five of the Imperial Decree of 1804 with their slightly more generous spacing (thirty to forty centimeters to the sides and thirty to fifty head to foot) were not being satisfied.

Thus, in order to realize the ideal of the Arcadian cemetery as a landscape garden an unavoidable disparity of conditions had to be maintained. The wealthy and privileged could enjoy the isolation of an individual grave surrounded by vegetation only if the poor were crowded together. From the earliest days of the Père Lachaise, this social portrait of the cemetery was assured. The prefectorial *Arrêté* of March 6, 1805, clearly designated the "plain" (fig. 13, lower left corner labeled "G") for communal graves. Temporary gravestones, to be removed after six years when the space would be reoccupied, were to be permitted there. Around the periphery of this area and along that of the main lawn in front of the large chapel with Brongniart hoped to construct on top of the hill, burials of "long duration" could be marked with monuments which would be removed if they fell into disrepair. This provision for temporary graves independent of the *fosse commune* was regularized in 1827 and 1829 for the limited duration of first six, then five years. From 1805 until 1824, the cemetery of Père Lachaise was the only Parisian burial ground in which the more prestigious "perpetual concession" was permitted. By 1864, the portrait was complete. Viewing the Père Lachaise from its uppermost heights, Jacot found here the physical image of Parisian society in microcosm: "The important people, the high dignitaries, the various celebrities occupy the upper parts of the hill; the middle classes are ranged in tiers along the slope; gathered together, the populace lies at their feet to form the tail of this procession."[49]

Figure Credits

1, 9 Ecole des Beaux-Arts, Paris. Photo: J.-C. Vaysse.
2, 3 Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris. Photo: J.-C. Vaysse.
4, 5 Gabinetto Fotografico, Uffizi, Florence.
6–8, 10, 11, 14, 16 Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
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15 Reprinted from *Revue générale de l'architecture et des travaux publics*, Vol. 9 (1851), pl. 9.
17–19 Reprinted from *Revue générale de l'architecture et des travaux publics*, Vol. 13 (1855), pls. 39, 42, 44.
20 Reprinted from *Revue générale de l'architecture et des travaux publics*, Vol. 8 (1849–1850), pl. 45.
21 Reprinted from *Revue générale de l'architecture et des travaux publics*, Vol. 11 (1853), pl. 16.

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1. Abbé C. G. Porée, *Lettres sur la sépulture dans les églises* (Caen, 1749), pp. 41–42.
2. Pierre Patte, "De la translation des cimetières hors de Paris, . . ." *Mémoires qui intéressant particulièrement Paris* (Paris, year IX), p. 7; see also, François-Valentin Mulot, *Discours qui a partagé le prix proposé par l'Institut National . . . sur . . . les funérailles* . . . (Paris, year IX), p. 78.
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4. Louis-Marie Révellière-Lépeaux, *Réflexions sur le culte, sur les cérémonies civiles et sur les fêtes nationales* . . . (Paris, year V), pp. 29–30.
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6. Roederer, *Des institutions funéraires convenables à une république qui permet tous les cultes, et n'en adopte aucun* . . . (Paris, year IV), pp. 9–10.
7. *Moniteur universel*, 24 Messidor, year IV (July 12, 1796) reporting Roederer's address.
8. F. -V. M[ulot], *Vues d'un citoyen, ancien député à l'Assemblée législative, sur les sépultures* (n.p., n.d.), p. 11.
9. Daubermesnil, *Rapport*, p. 8.
10. *Rapport de l'Administration des travaux publics, sur les cimetières, lu au Conseil-Général par le citoyen Avril* ([January 10, 1974], n.p., n.d.), p. 7.
11. G. Legouve, "La sépulture" (poem read to the Institut National in the year V).
12. A revolutionary designation noted in Maurice Dommanget, "Les sacrements civiques: la dechristianisation à Beauvais," *Annales révolutionnaires*, II (1919), p. 187.
13. *Moniteur universel*, 21 October 1793 (30 Vendémiaire, year II).
14. Avril, *Rapport*.
15. J.-F. Blondel, *Cours d'architecture* (Paris, 1771), II, pp. 340–342.
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17. Leclerc, *Rapport;* Révellière-Lepeaux, *Réflexions*.
18. Saint-Just, *L'esprit de la Révolution suivi de Fragments sur les institutions républicaines*, intro. Robert Mandrou (Paris, 1963), p. 170; *Journal de la Montagne*, July 19, 1793.
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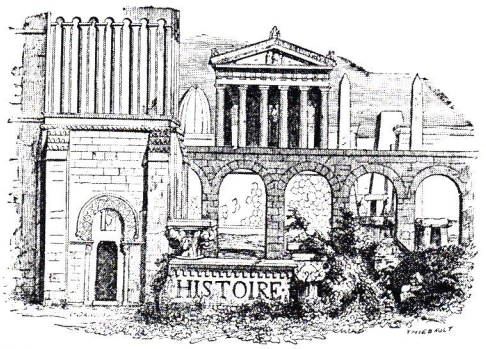
22. J.-A. Dulaure, *Histoire civile, physique et morale de Paris*, 3rd edition (Paris, 1825, IX, p. 298.
23. H. H[usson], "Tombeau de la famille Lepelletier," *Revue générale de l'architecture et des travaux publics*, 10 (1852), col. 406.
24. The characterization is by C.A. de Salelles (1869), quoted in Monika Steinhauser, *Petite encyclopédie illustrée de l'Opéra de Paris* (Paris, 1974), p. 58.
25. N. Paul-Albert, *Histoire de Père La Chaise* (Paris, 1937), pp. 33–42.
26. César Daly, "L'architecture funéraire," *Revue générale*, 27 (1869), col. 7.
27. *Revue générale*, 9 (1851), col. 63 (Husson).
28. Ibid., 8 (1849–1850), col. 330 (Daly).
29. "Unknown to you, I was your companion in that fatal voyage; under my eyes, I saw you perish, mingled with so many victims!" Constant-Dufeux, "Discours," *Revue générale*, 8 (1849–1850), col. 445.
30. *Revue générale*, 27 (1869), col. 7 (Daly).
31. H. Janniard, "Coup d'oeil sur les cimetières de Paris," *Revue générale*, 4 (1843), col. 250.
32. C. Daly, "Tombeau de Cherubini," *Revue générale*, 12 (1854), col. 51.
33. *Revue générale*, 10 (1852), col. 406 (Husson).
34. Ibid., 4 (1843), col. 243 (Janniard).
35. Ibid., col. 253.
36. Ibid., 13 (1855), col. 356 (Sirodet).
37. Ibid., 4 (1843), col. 242 (Janniard).
38. Ibid., col. 243.
39. Georges-Eugène Haussmann, *Mémoires du Baron Haussmann*, 3rd edition (Paris: 1893), III, pp. 419, 423–424, 428–429, 440–441, 444–446.
40. Quoted in the *Revue générale*, 20 (1862), col. 230.
41. Haussmann, *Mémoires*, pp. 421, 423, 426, 430–431, 436, 441–443, 448, 449.
42. Dr. Robinet, *Paris sans cimetière* (Paris, 1869). For a discussion of this text, see Philippe Ariès, *Essais sur l'histoire de la mort en Occident, du moyen âge à nos jours* (Paris, 1975), pp. 151–152.
43. Chenel, *Note sur les nouveaux cimetières de Paris* (Paris, 1868), pp. 4–5.
44. On this theme, see Ariès, *Essais*.
45. Chenel, *Note*, p. 10. Chenel insisted upon the physical impossibility of providing adequate train service (pp. 12–13).
46. Quoted in Chenel, *Note*, p. 7.
47. Ariès, *Essais*, p. 151.
48. *Rapport présenté par M. Hérold, au nom de la 2e commission sur le projet de création d'un cimetière parisien à Méry-sur-Oise. Annexe au procès-verbal de la séance du 11, avril 1874*, p. 5, 49.
49. R. S. Jacot, *Notice historique et descriptive du Cimetière du Père-Lachaise* (Paris, 1804), p. 11.



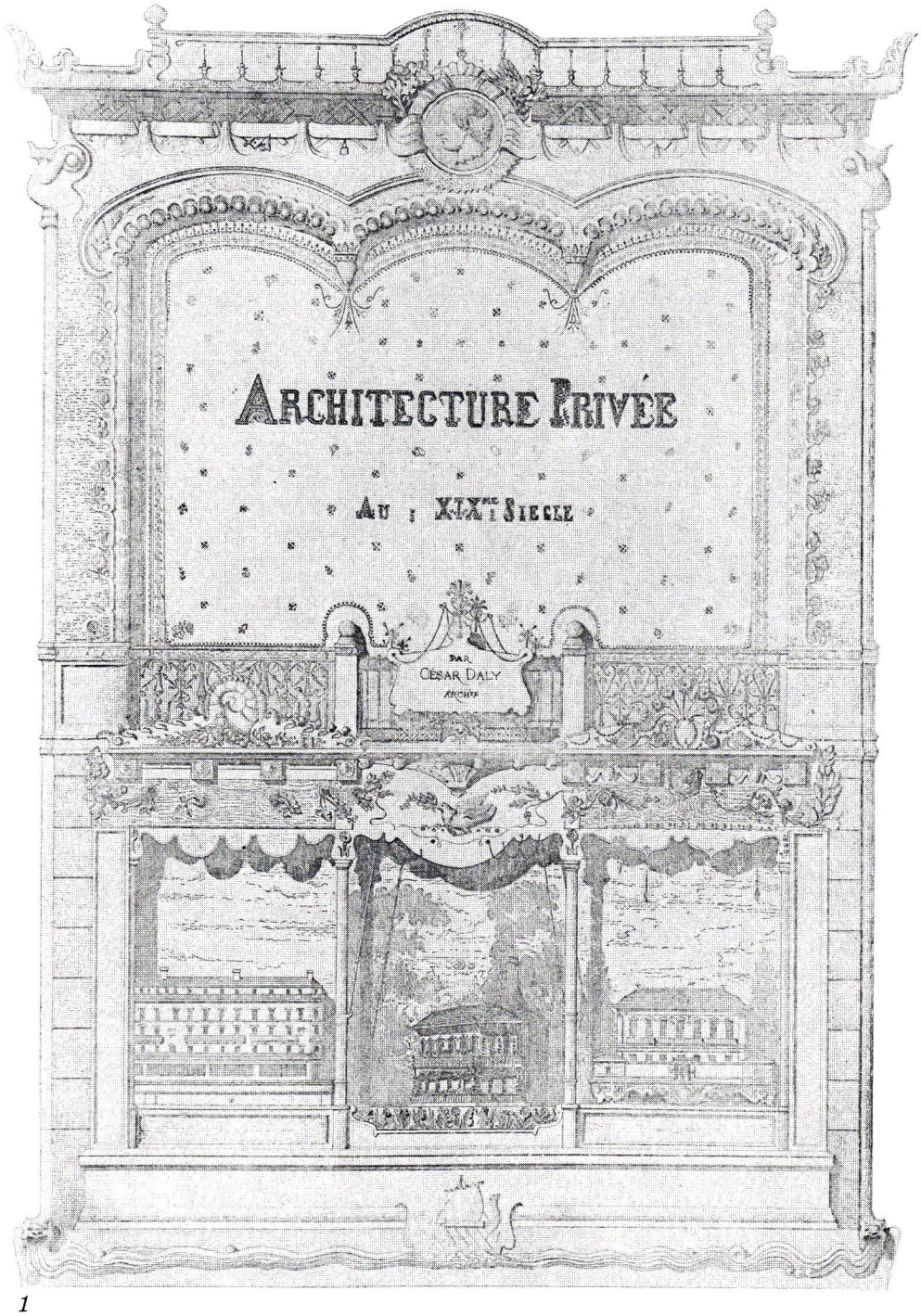
The outcome of this Fourierist activity was the Revue générale *and a theory of social architecture which continued to develop throughout the nineteenth century. It is characteristic that the first number of the* Revue *contained an article by the Saint-Simonian engineer Hector Horeau on the planning of a new apartment house type in fireproof iron.*
AV

The middle classes were forced to look at the "housing question" in two distinct ways in the nineteenth century. The first, which related directly to their interest in the wellbeing of the working classes, was focused on the possible forms of worker habitation. Thus, proposals for collective dwellings (as economic, serviceable, and eminently easy to control) were developed by managers, reformers, and utopian speculators alike. These proposals emphasized the sharing of communal services (whether for reasons of economy or of philosophy), a minimum environment (whether for reasons of parsimony or emphasis on the public realm) and isolation (either as a requirement of control and order or of rural decentralization). Thus the "workers barracks" conceived by the architects of Napoleon III shared certain common characteristics with the communes, phalansteries, and rural collectives of quasi socialist groups throughout the century. The type forms adopted for these schemes generally derived in some way from the "palace" (whether "palace" for the people or "palace" of labor).

The second housing vision of the middle classes concerned their own housing and its appropriate form. The upper ranks of society emulated the hôtel *of seventeenth and eighteenth century aristocratic life, and together with the* hôtel *in the city, many combined a* villa *in the country. If the former was modeled on the prototypes of Mansart and Blondel, the latter was a developing type that demanded copybook variety. From the geometrically unified, but stylistically eclectic models of Ledoux's student Dubut (done in 1803) to the elegant line engravings of Normand some years later, the Parisian bourgeois of the first half of the nineteenth century sought ever more examples of the* villa *genre. But for many the prospect of* hôtel *or* villa *was remote; accordingly the greatest building enterprise of the century was developed about the rental apartment—the* maison à loyer. *This type, hardly known in the preceding century until the speculative venture of the Duke of Orleans at the Palais Royal, burgeoned with the rise of the middle classes themselves until by the 1840's it was perhaps the most characteristic and omnipresent of all buildings; in many quarters the apartment house formed the continuous and homogeneous fabric of newly developed quarters.*

In the debate over the correct form of these dwelling types, from the 1840's until the 1880's, no one figure was so influential in his writing and his publishing as the ubiquitous César Daly. Daly's first experiments in housing were on behalf of a utopian socialist reform, with Victor Considerant and then with Flora Tristan working to institute a Fourierist community and to develop its architecture. For Flora Tristan, who saw very clearly indeed the difficulty of developing an architecture for a yet to be instituted society, Daly was the only architect of her generation who might succeed.

1 César Daly, 1864. In a fantastic structure that is both stage curtain, stage and building facade, where in and out (inside and outside) are transmuted, the three housing types appear in their ideological order, each under an appropriate leafy vegetation. In the real order of publication the villa *came last. Here, however, it is the centerpiece, placed under the dove of peace. Did Daly foresee a deluge that would destroy the urban dwellings?*



1

Housing The Bourgeoisie: César Daly and The Ideal Home

Hélène Lipstadt

It would not be fair to make us responsible . . . either for the failures of this century, or for the fact that a modern work, useful for the study of one of its aspects, might be less recommendable for that of another.
César Daly
Revue générale de l'architecture, *1863, p. 10 (vol. 21).*

The bourgeois apartment house, the *maison à loyer,*[1] is the oustanding monument of nineteenth century Paris, "the origin of the transformation" of the city.[2] The construction of speculative housing along the new boulevards and streets, on empty or underbuilt lots within the ancient urban tissue, and in vast numbers on the semi-rural land annexed to the city in 1860 definitively modified the physiognomy of Paris. The *maison à loyer* was in many ways the material and the tool of the urbanism of Baron Haussmann and Napoléon III. The basic architectural unit of the cityscape, the discreet backdrop for the new monuments and monumentalized spaces, and the origin of many prominent Second Empire fortunes, it was at once wealth, capital, and dwelling place. More than merely habitat, it was, for its inhabitants, a means of expression of status and an instrument in the bourgeois struggle to make the city their own.

César Daly (fig. 3), founder and editor of France's leading architectural journal,[3] the *Revue générale de l'architecture et des travaux publics* (1839–1888) recognized as early as 1840 the central role that the *maison à loyer* was to play in French architecture.[4] Twenty-four years later, in 1864, his continuous preoccupation with the problem of the bourgeois home culminated in the publication of *Architecture privée sous Napoléon III,* a luxuriously illustrated collection of contemporary examples of Parisian mansions, apartment houses, and villas, completed by a long theoretical preface and a laudatory dedication to Haussmann. Prescriptive in style, the text describes the "conditions of art" propitious to the creation of a perfect domestic architecture; it is Daly's manifesto of the ideal bourgeois habitat. The praise given to the creator of the new Paris, with its defense of both his architectural and political policies, makes Daly appear a faithful spokesman of Second Empire urbanism and a supporter of contemporary domestic architecture.[5]

This was not always the case. Daly's early activism in the Fourierist movement, his relations with the master himself, and his lifelong friendship with Victor Considerant, chief disciple of Fourier, should have committed him to a stance of direct opposition to the cities of the period in which he lived. Indeed, Daly's early initiatives in architectural journalism were praised in the Fourierist journal *Democratie Pacifique,* and several of his articles on housing were reprinted in *La Phalange.*[6] Tacit approval from the latter, the major Fourierist organ, implies that Daly's early thoughts on housing were consistent with the tenets of orthodox Fourierism.

The utopian ideas of Charles Fourier and their architectural embodiment—the *phalanstère*—challenged the forms of nineteenth century domestic architecture and presupposed a belief in the potential role of architecture in the improvement of society. The *phalanstère* was by definition a complex multiple dwelling, a transmutation of the Palais Royal into a vast harmonious apartment house. Fourier's projects, which took into account all aspects of the environment from galleries to zoning laws, went beyond any theory of habitat within architecture itself. Informed by these Fourierist beliefs, Daly's writings potentially contained a theory of domestic housing and of mass habitat far in advance of its time.

Within the profession, proponents of classical architectural theory had long been indifferent—if not actually hostile—to multiple dwellings. J. F. Blondel spoke of them with disdain in his *Cours,* while Durand dismissed the type with the following remark: "*Maisons à loyer* are destined to shelter several individuals or families. A proprietor, who often has his own individual home, scarcely builds one except to draw a revenue from it. To assure that revenue, as much as possible, in all times and all circumstances, it is necessary that these houses be distributed in a manner that permits the rooms within the apartments to be rented, at will, separately or independently."[7]

By the late 1820's, advanced architectural theorists like Louis Bruyère, following the lead of L. A. Dubut and early nineteenth century proponents of the detached single family

dwelling, suggested that small houses with gardens situated in "quarters far from business centers, would reduce the party walls to mere enclosures [*clôtures*], would improve the circulation of air, and would make the streets more agreeable by the appearance of patches of green between the buildings."[8]

Léonce Reynaud, at mid-century, held a more moderate point of view. He found it "quite difficult to take a position" on the relative advantages and disadvantages of the multiple versus the single family dwelling. The former was "less protected, less quiet"; it was without privacy, its staircase a public thoroughfare, the lower floors without light and air, and the surrounding streets and courts unhealthy and humid. Moreover, the inhabitants were forced "to climb painfully" to the upper floors. On the other hand, the latter, too, had stairs which made the servants' work more difficult and necessitated a larger staff than the single floor apartment. Family members, as well, were often obliged to climb up and down. The construction of a single family home was also more expensive, and the city was divided up by the extensive land use this housing type required. In spite of his apparent open-mindedness, Reynaud seems to have been positing the choice between ill-health and expense. It is difficult to consider his remarks a defense of the *maison à loyer*.[9]

As late as the 1860's, when Haussmann's Paris had already been planted with rows of proud bourgeois apartment houses in stone, Viollet-le-Duc could still write with undisguised animosity: "Nothing is better made to demoralize a population than these big *maisons à loyer* in which the personality of the individual disappears and where it is scarcely possible to allow the love of home [*foyer*] . . . from the love of home springs the love of work, or order and wise economy." The repetitive facades reminded him of the "cages of a zoological park." His final conclusion on the question of housing is well known: "In our opinion, a State cannot proclaim itself morally civilized before the day when each citizen has his own lodging." This sentence should not be misconstrued: it was not an early call for a governmental housing program, but a diatribe against the *maison à loyer*.[10]

While architectural theorists disapproved of the type itself, doctors and hygienists criticized the unhealthy conditions within it.[11] Despite its apparent luxury—the false marble and gilt, and the large, decorated formal reception rooms described by Zola in *Pot-bouille*—the plan of the bourgeois apartment was thought by some to be a degradation of the family's environment. Felix Abate, a reformer who sought to implant the English town house on French soil, listed the faults: "dependence of the bedrooms on the *passage* [the long narrow unlit corridor], misplacement of rooms, loss of space, absence of necessary rooms due to missing light, air, and ventilation, lack of cleanliness and quiet."[12]

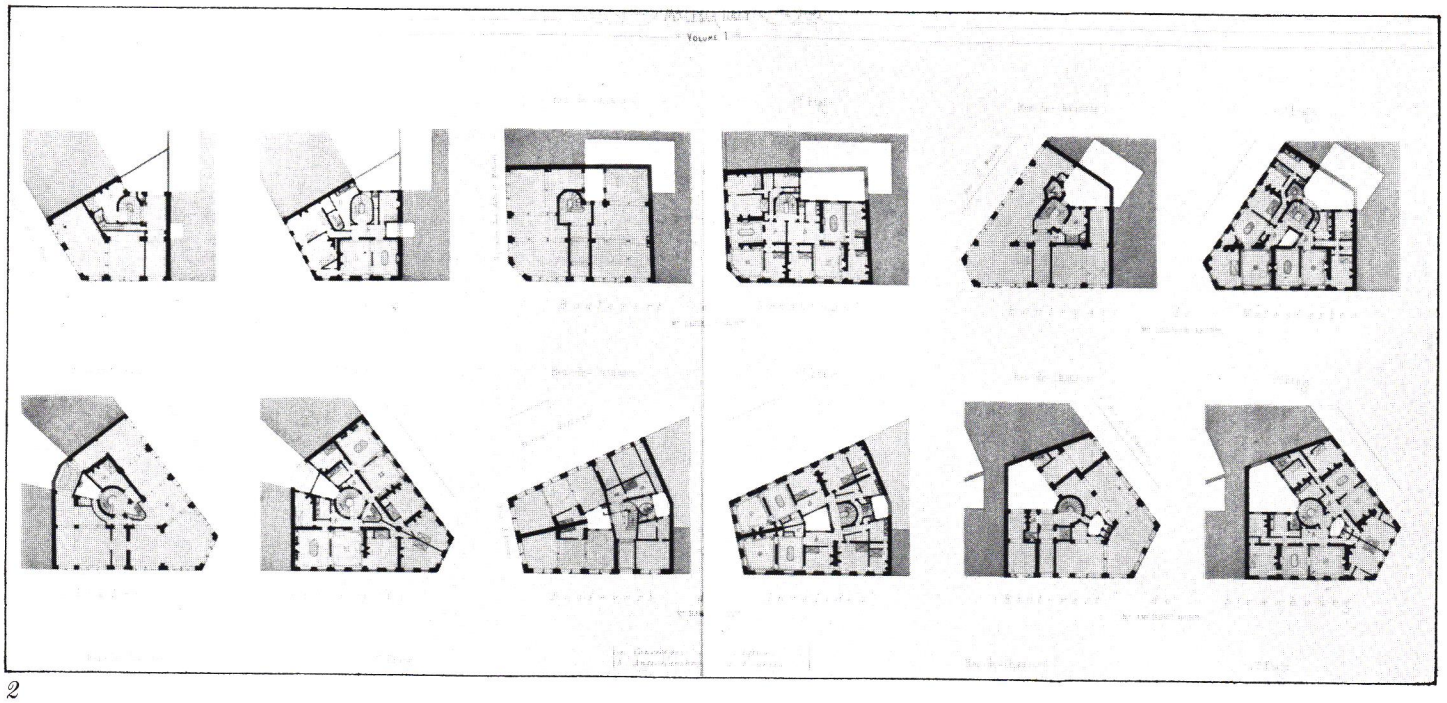
However, the historical importance of the *maison à loyer*, especially in the urban fabric of Paris, makes it the obligatory starting point for a study of Parisian housing types (fig. 2). As a source for such a study, the *Revue générale de l'architecture* imposes itself on the historian because of its preeminent position and the long period of its publication (1839–1888). Here, finally, the multiple dwelling could be expected to find a defender.

In the 1840's, Daly compared the multiple dwelling with the eighteenth century aristocratic mansion, the *maison à loyer* of his time with the *hôtel* of the past. In 1858, the appearance of a new sort of mansions, the modernized "*hôtels* of ministers, of our famous bankers and our great industrialists," surpassing everything built in the previous century, inspired him to "take up again the study of the models of private architecture."[13] The *Architecture privée*, which he began publishing one year later, is the fruit of that study. In it Daly describes the general condition of domestic bourgeois architecture in Paris, and the three dominant housing types, the *hôtel moderne*, the *maison à loyer*, and the detached *villa*. Of these three types, each examined in detail by Daly, only one, the *villa*, ultimately meets his criteria for the perfect nineteenth century bourgeois home (see fig. 1).

The Artistic Qualities of Domestic Architecture[14]

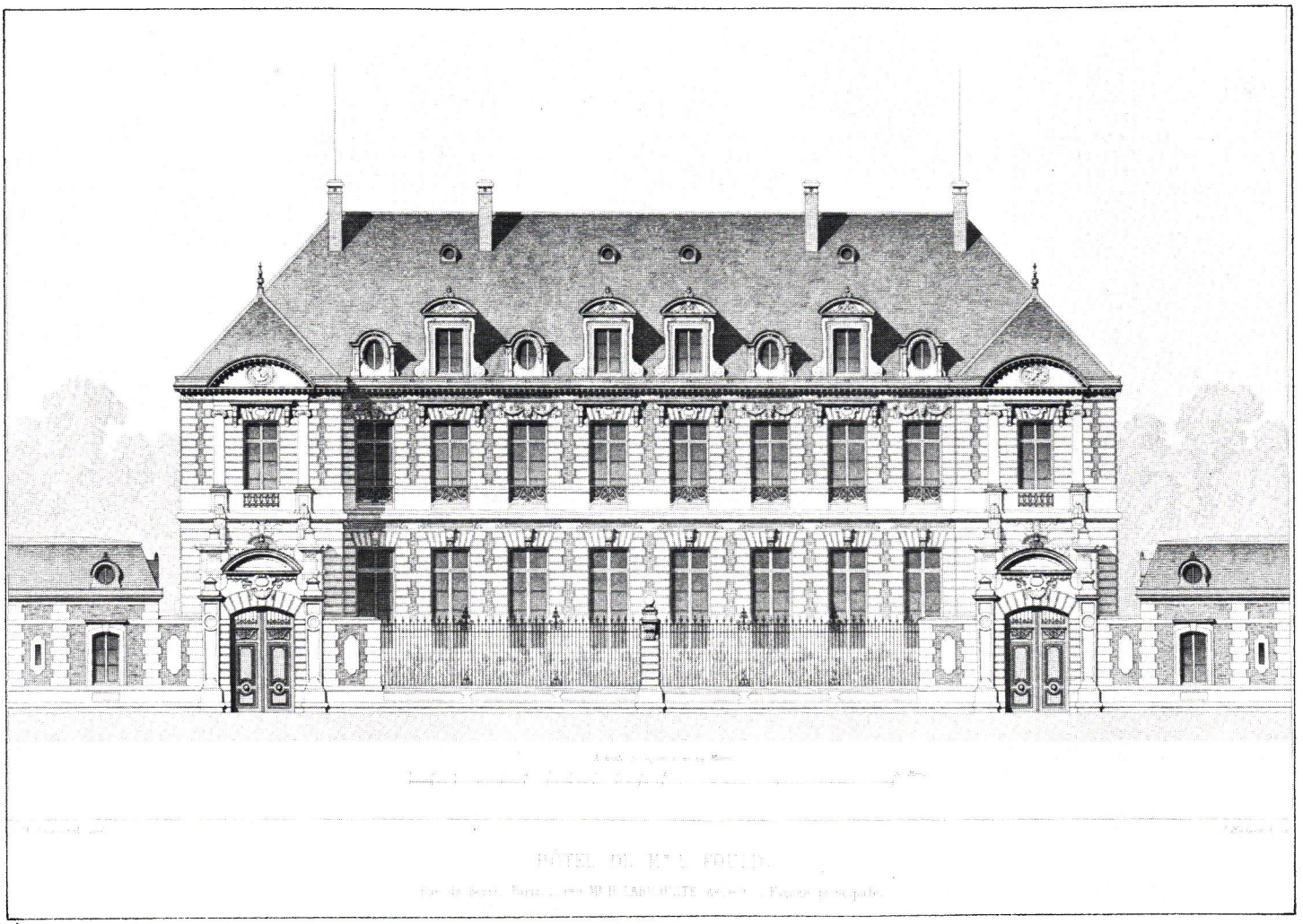
From 1840 to 1864, Daly maintained that the house expressed the organization and structure of the family and society, as well as the supporting technology. This was

2 César Daly's first parallèle *of the Second Order, 1864. Daly used* parallèles, *similar to those of Durand, to show additional house plans in each class of each building type, illustrating typical solutions to problems of siting.*



3 César Daly and his family. A photograph from Considerant's family album. Identified by the presence of Daly's three sons Marcel, Victor, and Raymond.

4 Hôtel for the Minister Fould, rue de Berri. Henri Labrouste, architect, 1850. Facade. The first hôtel privé *to appear in the* Revue Générale de l'architecture: *double doors lead to two identical mansions for the Minister and his family (destroyed).*



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revealed in "a thousand ways," he wrote in *Architecture privée*. Further, the plan of the house affected the "domestic functions," "the discretion of intimacy," and "the exterior relations of friendship"; the decoration occasioned "permanent humiliation" or "triumph" for its owner. Daly's theory echoed that of Considerant, whom he cited surreptitiously in the second volume of the *Revue* with the phrase "Architecture writes history."[15]

Endowing the house with the power of an environmental force facilitated Daly's task in *Architecture privée:* the defense of domestic architecture, the "feminine or minor branch," against public architecture, the "masculine and major branch." Public monuments "expressed the national sentiment of beauty"; domestic architecture, that of "an individual, a family, a group." Thus, domestic architecture might have "its own style" but not "style" in the more general sense. Its qualities were to be "amiable grace, prettiness, picturesqueness, and fantasy." As for the "distribution" or plan organization of the house, Daly's stricture is elliptical: "a house wants comfort."

Implicit in Daly's vision of domestic architecture is a direct relationship between architect and client, whose "tastes" and "fantasies" are to be translated in the program. The house is the reification of the client's desires, of his property rights, of his liberty of self-expression.[16]

Thus Daly laid down the "*caractère d'art*" of domestic architecture, the conditions for the ideal dwelling—a strange, impoverished utopia, whose major features can only be inferred by subtraction from the dominant male entity of public architecture.

The Hôtel Moderne

The *hôtel moderne*[17] was a most unlikely model for the ideal bourgeois habitat (fig. 4). Daly was conscious of its anachronistic position in "egalitarian and democratic" France. He exploited the contemporary ideology of social mobility and unlimited social ascent to justify both the existence of the type and the recent increase in its numbers. It was, he argued, a "very natural fact" of the current social transformation. The aristocratic *hôtel* exemplified the "noble blood and tradition" of its owner; the modern version represented the wealth and "life savings" of the bourgeois banker, industrialist, or merchant seeking "a means of well-being" more than a "source of pride." After the rigors of a public life during which he had made his fortune, he sought in the *hôtel moderne* advances in hygiene and comfort unknown in the eighteenth century *hôtel* and a privacy unattainable in the *maison à loyer*.

The style of the modern *hôtel*, according to Daly, should be different from that of its predecessor. The "architect of taste" should know how to give the mansion a "particular nuance" that would reflect the rank and profession of the client, a "*physiognomie pittoresque*." The furniture and interior decoration, Daly advised, should give an air of gravity and suggest a permanent appropriation of its spaces; in all, it should be clearly distinguished from the *maison à loyer*. The proprietor, he concluded, is "supposed to be established forever in his house."

As for the plan, Daly recommended the traditional division of the rooms used for "the duties and pleasures of family life" from the rooms where the public was received. Between them, separated but integrated, should be the spaces for domestic services. These rules, he further maintained, should be applied to all sorts of houses.

Above all, Daly preferred mansions planned for extended families, which he compared to "those beautiful tropical trees whose branches extend to the ground where they take root and are transformed into new trees." Such sentimentality appears in his description of a home for "the sacred family group . . . which constitutes a sort of transition between the *hôtel* of a single family and the high style *maison à loyer*." This is a significant point as it provides a clue for comprehending Daly's unexpected argument. Daly is the only architectural theorist to assign a special place to the extended family mansion; he alone places in it a transitional position between the *hôtel* and the *maison à loyer*. Indeed, he has integrated into his account of the ideal bourgeois habitat an essential element of the Fourierist system, the housing of the city of the sixth period.

Fourier had foreseen the need for an intermediary housing type as instrumental to the foundation of the *phalanstère*. The spatial organization and decoration requirements of the city of the sixth period—a sort of dictatorship of the *pittoresque*—would oblige most of the population to take up residence in apartment houses with shared dining facilities. This intermediate form of housing halfway between the private dwelling and the *phalanstère* would accustom them to life in utopia, the seventh and eighth periods.

From the time he first wrote on domestic architecture in 1840, Daly expressed fears that his appreciation of the aristocratic house might be misunderstood. His intention was not to reestablish the rich homes of the faubourg Saint-Germain, but to use them as a criterion for the examination of the contemporary *maison à loyer*. Both the form—"what was truly great and beautiful about those former dwellings"—and the "needs" satisfied by the *hôtel*, he argued, should be analyzed to achieve "architectural results at least equal, if not superior, to those whose loss we deplore." The aristocratic *hôtel* would then serve as both social and physical model for his improved bourgeois habitat. It alone satisfied his aesthetic requirements, expressing through "variety" and "harmony" its social and architectural organization. The classical distribution into *corps de logis* and wings for services might be read "like a book printed in beautiful characters."[18]

Daly's Fourierist beliefs account only in part for the position he took toward the *hôtel*. The model of the Palais Royal provided Fourier not only with the galleries but with what may be called the 'royalty' of his *phalanstère*. There, the poorest member of the community could say "I am better served than the kings of civilization."[19] Fourier accepted the palatial form, but rejected the social content: the social organization of the *phalanstère* of Harmony. Daly, on the other hand, adopted the model of the aristocratic *hôtel* in its entirety—its hierarchy of spaces, forms, and functions. He missed the old style *hôtel* and sentimentalized its *ancien régime* mix of masters, servants, and dependents. Whereas Fourier manipulated his model, Daly was overcome by it.

The *hôtel moderne*, "*demeure bourgeoise riche, aisée à la vie*," was an appropriate dwelling for the elite. But for Daly it approached an ideal habitat only when it brought together many branches of an extended family. In the end, the seriousness and "duration and fixedness" of the single family *hôtel* made it more a public monument than a "home," which in contrast had to be picturesque, graceful, and full of fantasy.

The Maison à Loyer

In *Architecture privée*, Daly insisted continually, almost obsessively, on the ultimate *banality* of the *maison à loyer*.[20] It was "the dwelling for everyone," "intended for the crowd"; it had to "satisfy the common needs and tastes of the great mass of the population" (fig. 5). This most usual of houses was a "commonplace" ("*lieu commun*") for which architectural "common sense" was sufficient. In this sense, Daly seemed to exclude it from the category of architecture and high art: "If it is not art, in the elevated sense of the word, it is at least the practical reality of life." Daly's disdain extended from the house to its inhabitants. These he described as *petit bourgeois* who had just begun to participate in an extended social life of receiving and visiting. But his severest criticisms were reserved for the style of the house. While domestic architecture in general was to have its own style, as opposed to "style" in the high sense, the *maison à loyer* was to have no style at all. It should be "entirely unexceptional," without "any originality of physiognomy," the opposite, indeed, of the *hôtel*, which was all physiognomy and picturesque as well. He proscribed "elevations of style," "flights of imagination," and above all "fantasy." Thus, the architect was told to avoid the Renaissance, Antique, or Gothic modes, for only the "sober" forms of a "wise" or "well-mannered" [*sage*] taste would do.

The *maison à loyer* was thus excluded—by its appearance—from the category of domestic architecture in Daly's account. There was little left then to recommend it as a bourgeois habitat except its plan. Daly therefore renewed his call for a proper division of the house into three zones, a division made all the more imperative because the three zones had to be contained on a single floor. In addition, he recommended standards of hygiene: good circulation of light and air, adequate water supply and evacuation of wastes,

5 Maison à Loyer. *Raban, architect, 1857–1858. The first house of the first class. 1, avenue de l'Impératrice, now Foch, thus the Etoile.*

5

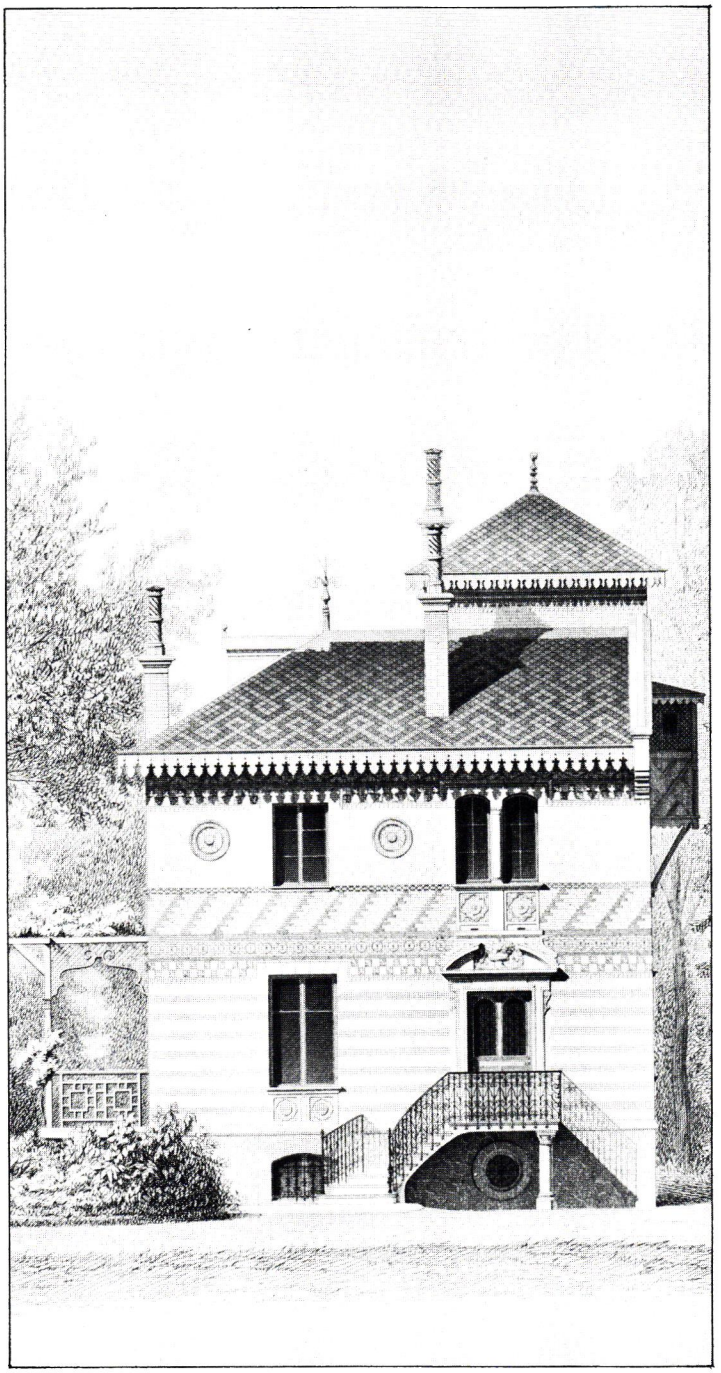
and gas lighting. The salient feature of the bourgeois apartment was the antechamber, which divided the home from the outside world and protected it from the noise of its neighbors. Within the apartment, it served as a "no man's land [*terrain neutre*]" between servants and masters and separated those permitted to enter the public or private zones from those excluded. Equally important was the service stair which, indeed, "it [was] absolutely necessary to have."

The solicitude expressed for the well-being of the family, for their "liberty and potential for isolation," indicates a sensitivity to psycho-social needs. At the same time, it is clear that Daly's major preoccupation was the assurance—through the plan—of a high rental value. Daly argued that the proprietor of a *maison à loyer*, because of his daughters' dowries and his sons' careers, considered the house "above all else . . . a good investment of capital." For him, as for the author of *Architecture privée*, what mattered "above all the rest" was the distribution and comfort of the apartment.

In the *Revue*, articles plans had mattered, too. In 1840, and again in 1852, Daly had insisted on the importance of the study of the distribution of apartments. In his article entitled "Les Maisons de Paris," written in 1852, he published the plans of thirteen houses without reference to their facades or even the name of their architects. During this period, the functional criteria for a good plan remained unchanged. From the beginning Daly insisted on the need for an easy circulation for servants, sufficient light and air, and the presence of a service stair. The latter was the sine qua non of bourgeois status, a feature which "all frankly bourgeois houses must have."[21] The antechamber appeared as an additional requirement in 1852, equal in importance to the service stair. In fact, the only apparent difference between the apartment described in 1840 and that described in 1864 is the placement of the servant's room. At first, it appeared in the apartment itself, but by 1864, Daly assumed it to be under the roof, separated from the bourgeois section of the house.

The significant difference between the writings of 1840 and those of 1864, however, is the change in the rules for style.

6 The Villa of Light, Croissy. J. M. Duc, architect (first published in 1874).



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Twenty-four years before he had described the *maison à loyer* as a "commonplace," Daly had called it a "true work of art," "the result of a complete revolution" in domestic architecture. Daly regretted only "the insipid monotony" of its appearance, which detracted from the progress achieved in comfort and hygiene. The necessary corrective, he then suggested, was to make the *maison à loyer* more similar to the *hôtel*, with its complex social structure and hierarchy of forms.[22] Daly's probable intention was to overlay his architectural theory with a Fourierist model, specifically the improved dwelling designated by Fourier for the city of the sixth period.

The architect who followed Daly's strictures on style in *Architecture privée* could not help but produce the very house that Daly had attacked in 1840. Its "absence of exceptional traits," which Daly suggested in 1864, could only lead to the "tracings of a common type," which he had decried in the *Revue* years before. Thus, the *maison à loyer*, because of its style as much as its social function, failed to meet Daly's conditions for a good domestic architecture and an ideal bourgeois habitat; this left only the *villa*.

The Villa

The bourgeois suburban *villa*,[23] Daly maintained, was a product of the same social and economic forces that created the class which inhabited it (fig. 6). Thus, it was a culmination of a social revolution and an architectural evolution. Daly traced the slow change in the meaning of the word, from a Roman country residence, to an aristocratic and *haute bourgeoise* country house, to the contemporary definition: "a new word which designated the class of construction more elegant than vast, sought by the bourgeois with a middling fortune."

Drawing upon a long tradition of architectural ideology—inherited from Pliny, Alberti, and the Venetians[24]—his description of the pleasures of rural life and family joy concretized in the *villa* the social aspirations and values of the new class. Here was the perfected bourgeois habitat, the architectural statement of the "absorbing power of the bourgeoisie, so characteristic of contemporary France" and the symbol of the nineteenth century. Like the temple and

the pyramid, symbols of ancient civilization, "suburban architecture could serve to indicate the genius and character of modern civilization."

Moreover, the *villa* met all of the conditions posed by Daly for domestic architecture; it was "feminine," picturesque, free as the nature in which it was situated, and destined for liberty and the expression of fantasy. Released from the constraints of symmetry, it was also the most functional, and thus the type that best satisfied the need for "comfort."

In the introduction of *Architecture privée,* Daly presented his most complete theoretical statement on bourgeois housing. His final word on the subject, concerning a *villa* by the Beaux-Arts master Duc was a reminder of the necessity to "reduce to the minimum" the relations of servants and masters, because of the irreconcilable differences of "ideas, habits, and education," a change that would be "of equal benefit to both classes." Duc's *villa* at Croissy, near Paris, ended Daly's search for a perfect example of the bourgeois habitat. Here, in a home where class distinctions were respected, he found the very antithesis of the primitive hut: "the House of the savage is the shadow; the House of Croissy, the light" (see fig. 6).[25]

César Daly: Ideologist of the Bourgeois Habitat

Daly's first objective, boldly stated in the section called "the purpose of this book," was to provide the architect with pictures, not words; with "solutions," not "manners to resolve problems." He wished to "address the eyes with images [*parler aux yeux par le dessin*]."[26] *Architecture privée* could be, and was, used without the aid of the text, which was published in 1864 as the last installment of the five year long subscription. Daly's text, however, when considered apart from the plates, was, in fact, a veritable manual of strategies for the architect, a guide to the manipulation of a new sort of client, the bourgeois of the Second Empire. The commission for a *hôtel* could come from such *nouveaux riches,* whose fortunes had been made in a shorter period than previously possible because of the rapid industrialization and general enrichment of the middle class, if not because of "frenetic speculation" in property. As for the owners of the *maison à loyer,* the change in their social status was dramatic. "During the first half of the nineteenth century, the middle class, especially store owners, dominated, numerically speaking, the milieu of Parisian property owners." By the end of the Empire, however, the apartment houses of Paris had become "an investment [*bien*] reserved for the most bourgeois and richest categories of the population." The architect would come into contact, in both cases, with powerful members of the newly enriched class; the actual builders of the *maisons à loyer* were "entrepreneurs . . . rich capitalists or groups of investors, or more rarely single individuals disposing of more or less large sums."[27] *Villas* were, after the revolution of 1830, sought by both the middle and lower bourgeoisie.[28]

Architecture privée guided the architect by informing him of the ideological needs of the middle classes, their status symbols and burgeoning consciousness. The desire to exhibit wealth ostentatiously through clothes, life style, and, above all, lodgings was recognized by the sharp-tongued mother-in-law of Adolph Thiers: "One cannot accuse these gentlemen of our times of trying to hide their newly made fortunes."[29] Motivating the behavior of this group was the widely held belief in social mobility. Adeline Daumard's recent research has shown that the "majority of Frenchmen of the time held before their eyes an ideal society founded on the principle of the equality of men of equal aptitude. This was at least the motivation for their individual and family comportment."[30]

The wealthy bourgeoisie had appropriated the city and its houses for themselves; it was their wealth, their "spatial practice," and their "spaces of representation."[31] They effected the first of these conquests by the slow exclusion of the small investor from the class of property owners; the second by their adoption of the new constructions of the Second Empire—the cafés, boulevards, parks, galleries, and houses—as the spaces for their rituals and status seeking; and the third by transmuting the new Paris—regularized, aligned, and apparently freed of poverty—into an image of their ideal world.

In such a society, the author of *Architecture privée* found it easy to justify his method and to explain away the impres-

sion that his division of each housing type into three classes of houses corresponded to a parallel system of social stratification. Daly argued that the degree of social mobility in France was virtually infinite: "To pass from the lowest rank of society to the highest, with the exception of the throne, the Frenchman meets no other obstacle than that which his own imperfections and the treachery of fortune put before him." In addition, he frankly associated his publication with the urbanism of Haussmann. He intended to "make known the homes built in Paris and its surroundings since the administration, inspired to good effect, had undertaken by immense public works the establishment of a harmony that was formerly missing between the great Parisian city and its inhabitants . . . inspiring an equal effort on the part of speculators and architects." It was to "make them evident, to spread them and generalize the fortunate results that we publish this book."

Daly was thus the spokesman for all that the urbanism of Haussmann represented: the development of an industrial economy and the regularization and social homogenization of the city. The "harmony" of Daly's Fourierist beliefs sadly does service here as the metaphor for Haussmann's effort to purify the center of Paris of "dangerous classes."[32]

Finally, a perceptive analysis of bourgeois behavior permitted Daly to insert, by allusion, a lesson for architects in the new ideology. Daly helped the architect to recognize the needs of the newly arrived class and to apply them to their homes. And the architect required Daly's guidance. Models of behavior and cultural values were rapidly and drastically changing. The bourgeois notions of probity and prudence, of the value of work remained, but the modes of expression of bourgeois status now differed. The self-made man, described in *Architecture privée*, sought to display in his home qualities that were previously forbidden by the traditional ideology of architecture, that of *bienséance* and the *convenances*. Eighteenth century theorists had taught that propriety in architectural form corresponded to the client's social position in the *ancien régime* structure;[33] classical theory and its building types were imbued with this belief. In the eighteenth century, bourgeois and aristocratic houses had been differentiated: "the relationship they exhibited between the streets and the private spaces, the order of the rooms, the plot and the siting, the definition and the meaning" were diametrically opposed to each other.[34] But the nineteenth century bourgeoisie inherited the aristocratic type and transformed it. Daly understood this transmutation and built into his text guidelines for its use.

In the *hôtel*, Daly's client was a *parvenu*, to whom Napoléon III alluded when he said "we are all *parvenus*." This *nouveau riche* wanted his house to resemble and even to surpass the aristocratic dwelling. He adopted the distribution, the formal ordering and circuit of the reception rooms, but in addition required spaces to shelter his smaller nuclear family. Daly strongly implied that the architect should protect the client from his own wish to imitate the style of the aristocratic dwelling, in order that the "picturesque physiognomy" be entirely bourgeois. He might parade his own status symbols, but not those of the *ancien régime*. Daly's image of the architect was that of a statesman, arbitrating between eighteenth century architectural ideology and nineteenth century values.

"The *bon bourgeois*, the *rentier* who lives off his investments, and the heads of industry suffer constantly from their inability to show off their wealth."[35] The *hôtel* satisfied only the third group; the others found relief in the Haussmannian *maisons à loyer*. Their *alignement* and constant repetition reflected the combined forces of wealth, shared values, and class cohesion. This homogeneity of class in the Parisian apartment house has usually been described as an after effect of Haussmann's urbanism, even as it has been assumed that the inverted social pyramid characterized the houses of the first half of the century. Nowhere in Daly's theory, however, or in his published plans, is such a "pyramid" apparent. Daly tacitly assumed from 1840 to 1864 that the *maison à loyer* was inhabited by members of the same class, with varying degrees of wealth, and his interpretation of social reality is supported by recent research on the houses of Paris.[36]

While in the face of the phenomenon of the new class consciousness of the bourgeoisie, Daly appeared as a conserva-

tive for whom only propriety would do, when confronted by the *villa*, he was very much a child of his own century and felt free to invent a new ideology. This perfect habitat, guarantor of family happiness and cohesion, was intended to assure health and prosperity. Influenced by the study of English models, Daly's position represented an advance over earlier writers like Durand, whose vision of the *villa* was a heritage from Pliny and Palladio, and from his own earlier idea that the last "perfectly understood" country houses were built under Louis XV and Louis XVI.[37]

Interestingly, a basic schism exists in the very structure of *Architecture privée*. In the three volumes of plates, the housing types are presented as models of equal importance and merit,[38] but in the text, the *villa* emerges as the single ideal bourgeois habitat. Its preeminence results from Daly's absorption of the *hôtel* into the category of public architecture and his exclusion of the *maison à loyer* from the category of domestic architecture. These contradictions in Daly's presentation reveal his ideological intentions.[39]

Daly proceeds from the assumption that unlimited social mobility exists; he adapts the *convenances* and *la bienséance* to mid-century social reality. He announces the appearance of "suburbanism"[40] as a mass phenomenon in industrialized society, taking the *villa* as the symbol of modern civilization. In this way, he anticipates, if he does not help to formulate, the justification used by the bourgeoisie for their flight from the city. Ultimately, then, he is as anti-urban as the bourgeoisie he describes. Heir to the English picturesque tradition, he transforms his Fourierist belief in a perfected mass habitat, a multiple dwelling in the countryside, into the image of a single family dwelling in the suburbs.[41] In the end, he returns to the hated individualistic housing and economy that had elicited Fourier's vision and his own solution of a society of the Phalanstèriens.

Daly's dedication to Haussmann is, nevertheless, a paean to the urbanism of Napoléon III, to the "panorama of the new Paris emerging . . . as if from a fog."[42] It is clear that his *villa* depends on a "city of art" made rational and healthy; a financial, commercial, and cultural capital. Unlike a true utopian, Daly understood too well the "failures of his century" to destroy the industrial city. His proposal is not a return to nature or to craftsmanship, but a continuous, unimpeded appropriation of space by the urbanized bourgeoisie of industrial society.

In 1864, Daly asked that he not be held responsible for the faults and contradiction of modern architecture; neither he nor the architects of mid-century Paris were to be faulted. Architectural theory relegated the multiple dwelling to the status of a necessary, but not admirable, aspect of urban life. It taught the necessity of applying the spaces and values of the aristocratic typology to the bourgeois apartment, and the bourgeoisie welcomed this hand-me-down, which they needed to legitimize their rituals and status seeking. The functions of the apartment were thus divided: the family functions were dismissed to the dark and ill-ventilated rooms giving onto the court, while the formal reception rooms were favored with light, air, and a view onto the street. Architects projected onto the city the aesthetics of symmetry and regularization and re-absorbed them into the distribution of the apartment. The spaces of the city were endowed with one social and artistic value which transformed its boulevards, parks, and cemeteries into a veritable salon.

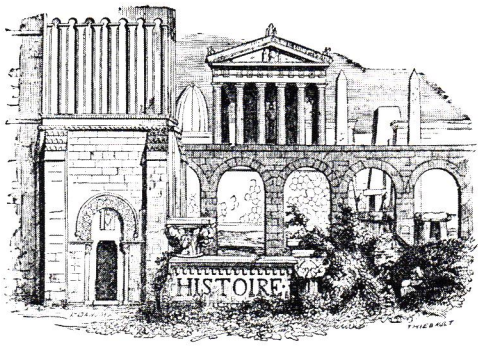
In mid-century imperial Paris, the bourgeoisie made the city its own. With the *villa*, it extended its power to the suburbs, to the colonialization of the land.

1. The French terms used by Daly have been retained: *hôtel privé* (mansion), *maison à loyer* (apartment house), and *villa*. Although the term *maison à loyer* is not found in the dictionaries of the period, the other terms are common. It should be noted that the terms *maison à loyer, maison de rapport,* and *immeuble* are not interchangeable in the nineteenth century; nor are the words *appartement* and *logement.* On the latter point, see Pierre Saddy, "Appartement et logement," C.O.R.D.A., in preparation, to be published by The Secretaire d'Etat des Affaires Culturelles in 1977.
2. Adeline Daumard, *Les Maisons de Paris et les propriétaires parisiens au XIXième siècle* (Paris, 1965), p. 33. Madame Daumard's study provides the social and economic context in which a study of the *maison à loyer* must be placed. Her complementary work, *Les bourgeois de Paris au XIXième siècle* (Paris, 1970), covers the period 1815 to 1848 and is equally essential for the understanding of the bourgeois habitat.
3. His contemporaries considered him "the creator of the French architectural press, if not the European press," *Emulation,* XIX (1894) p. 48. Even Daly's rival, Paul Planat, felt that "from the double point of view of author and publisher, the long career of M. Daly will remain ultimately connected with the architectural movement of the last fifty-five years," *Construction Moderne,* 20 January 1894, p. 191.
4. See appendix of articles by Daly on bourgeois housing in the *Revue générale de l'architecture et des travaux publics* (henceforward referred to as *RGA*).
5. The series was continued under the title *Architecture privée au XIXième siècle,* deuxième sèries, 3 vols. (Paris, 1872, henceforward referred to as *AP*); *Décorations peintes,* 2 vols. (Paris, 1877). There is no further text. The illustrations are of exterior and interior decorations, rooms and shops, and garden structures. Henry Russell Hitchcock has commented on the world wide influence of this publication in *Architecture: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1971), first paperback edition, p. 202.
6. Ann Lorenz Van Zanten kindly pointed out the praise in the Fourierist newspaper for Daly's journal: the articles reprinted are in *La Phalange,* 9e année, vol. 3 (July 1840), col. 251–255; Ibid., 11e année (September 1841), col. 571.
7. Michel Gallet's chapter on the middle class house is the best introduction to the eighteenth century habitat in both theory and practice, *Paris: Domestic Architecture of the XVIII Century* (London, 1972), p. 63 and ff. J. N. L. Durand, *Précis des Leçons d'architecture* (Paris, 1817), II, p. 83.
8. Louis Bruyère, *Etudes relatives à la Construction* (Paris, 1823), II, Recueil 8.
9. Léonce Reynaud, *Traité d'architecture* (Paris, 1858), 2e partie, p. 522.
10. *Entretiens sur l'architecture* (Paris, 1863–1872), II, pp. 304–305; *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture* (Paris, 1854–1859), VI, pp. 240, 273.
11. J. B. Fossagrives, *La maison ou l'étude de l'hygiène et de bien-être domestiques* (Paris, 1871).
12. Felix Abate, *L'architecture domestique en France* (Saint Germain-en-Laye, 1856).
13. *RGA,* XV (1857), p. 277.
14. *Architecture Privée au XIXième siècle sous Napoléon III: nouvelles maisons de Paris et des environs* (Paris, 1859–1864), I, pp. 10–13.
15. *RGA,* II (1841), p. 198.
16. In a long excursus of the absolute liberty permitted by the system of private property and its potential threat to "the moral rights" of the public to beauty, Daly prepares the architect for eventual conflict with his bourgeois client. The architect will find himself the arbiter between the "laws of beauty" and "the individual liberty" of ownership. Like the statesman, the architect faces the "great political problem of modern times," the conflict between liberty and order. He will, like his model, "do his best." *AP,* I, p. 13.
17. *AP,* I, pp. 13–16.
18. *RGA,* II (1841), pp. 198, 201.
19. *Oeuvres Complètes* (Paris, 1966–1968), VI, p. 323.
20. *AP,* I, pp. 16–19.
21. *RGA,* X, (1852), p. 401.
22. *RGA,* I (1840), pp. 166, 200.
23. *AP,* I, pp. 19–23.
24. A controversial book on the ideological charge of the villa explicates this tradition. Reinhard Bentmann and Michel Müller, *La Villa, architecture de domination* (Brussels, 1975).
25. *RGA,* XXXII (1875), p. 274.
26. *AP,* I, pp. 9, 15.
27. Daumard, *Maisons de Paris,* pp. 264, 239, 271, 264.
28. H. and M. G. Raymond and N. and A. Haumont, *L'Habitat pavillionaire,* 2nd edition (Paris, 1971), p. 35.
29. Madame Dosne, quoted in Alan Plessis, *De la Fête impériale aux murs des fédérés, 1852–1871* (Paris, 1973), p. 168.
30. "Les évolutions des structures sociales en France à l'époque de l'industrialisation (1851–1914)," *L'Industrialisation en Europe* (Paris, 1972), p. 328.
31. These terms are borrowed from Henri Lefebvre, *La production de l'espace* (Paris, 1974), pp. 42, 49.
32. *AP,* I, pp. 9, 32.
33. Françoise Fichet-Poitry, "La gloire et l'argent: architectes et entrepreneurs au XVIIe siècle," *Revue Française de Sociologie,* X (1969), pp. 702–723. On attitudes of the French bourgeoisie, see Elinor Barber, *The Bourgeoisie in Eighteenth Century France* (Princeton, N.J., 1965).
34. Christian de Villiers, "Typologie de l'habitat et morphologie urbaine," *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui,* 174, July–August 1974, pp. 18–19.
35. A nineteenth century citation, quoted by P. Pierrard, *La vie ouvrière à Lille sous le Second Empire* (Paris, 1965), p. 101. Compare also Charles Garnier's remarks in *L'Habitation humaine:* "it is absolutely necessary to make obvious that such a house contains only apartments destined for rich families" (Paris, 1892), p. 820.
36. Daumard, *Maisons de Paris,* pp. 91–92, 205–206. A different view of social segregation in Second Empire Paris is found in Jeanne Gaillard, *Paris, la ville* (Paris, 1976).
37. *RGA,* XII (1845), pp. 83–84; Daly's visit to London, which he describes in 1855, seems to have been his introduction to the suburban phenomenon, *RGA,* XIII (1855), pp. 58–59.
38. The difference between the total number of *hôtels*—thirty—

and of *maisons à loyer* and *villas*—sixty-one each—may be attributed to the importance of the interior decor in the case of the former, with more plates given to details. This schism will be treated in my work on "The Two Discourses of the *Recueil*."
39. Bernard Huet first suggested to me that the text of the *Recueil* is by its very nature ideological.
40. With Daly, the term *suburbaine* is applied, probably for the first time, to architecture; the word is unusual in French and remains rare today.
41. The model that Daly suggested for the proper bourgeois home must have been influenced by his own home, and, in fact, his choice of habitat imbued by his own principles. In fact, Daly's various addresses during the years before the publication of *Architecture privée* were at *maisons à loyer* in Paris, presumably like the apartment above Delacroix's on place Furstenberg. Later, Daly spent much of his time in his country house in Wissous near Paris.
42. *AP*, I, p. 7.

Figure Credits
1 Reprinted from *L'Architecture privée au XIXième siècle sous Napoléon III; nouvelles maisons de Paris et des environs* (Paris: A. Morel et Cie., 1864).
2, 5 Reprinted from *L'architecture privée au XIXième siècle sous Napoléon III; nouvelles maisons de Paris et des environs*, Vol. II (Paris: A. Morel et Cie., 1864).
3 Courtesy Archives Nationale, Paris. Date unknown.
4 Reprinted from *Revue générale de l'architecture et des travaux publics*, Vol. XVI (Paris: 1858), plate 6.
6 Reprinted from *Revue générale de l'architecture et des travaux publics*, Vol. XXXIII (Paris, 1876), plate 53.

Promenades for Leisure



The most characteristic forms of Haussmann's Paris, besides the monumental public buildings, were the new boulevard and the new park. Uniting park and boulevard into one continuous interlocking environment, sometimes linear, sometimes centralized, the concept of promenade reigned in the vocabulary and the practice of the day. The activity "promenade" was the slow strolling of the crowd; it was also the special weekend excursion to the great parks of Boulogne and Vincennes, the picnic by the artificial lakes. The space "promenade" represented these leisure activities inserted into the city and rapidly becoming the daily environments of business and labor.

Comprehending, in its section, the sidewalk, with all its attendant furniture, as well as the roadway, with its lighting and drainage, both tree-lined like some infinitely long and straight park, the boulevard/promenade was the sophisticated instrument of the transformation of Paris into the Enlightenment city of Napoleon's dreams. It was also the mechanism by which city became metropolis. It was hygienic—answering the need, articulated since Voltaire, to bring air, greenery, and light into the crowded districts; it was strategic, providing straight, fast transport to and through riotous quarters; it was pleasurable, endowing the culture of café and concert with a mis-en-scène of elegant verdure. The aesthetics of the linear promenade were of course those of the Baroque as adopted by Enlightenment architects like Pierre Patte and Pierre Moreau—a series of straight routes cutting through the old city and forming a network of embellishment that would distribute the tangible benefits of enlightenment to its inhabitants. In the eighteenth century the city had been likened to a forest (Laugier) and the planner to a gardener, cutting and pruning, taming and cultivating. In the early nineteenth century the Saint-Simonian reformers adopted this prototype form, and advocated the cutting of routes, this time not through a city-forest, but through a city-body, a body whose pathology indicated sickness and cancer and the need for surgical cutting. The boulevard then became a technique invested with all the scientific promise of the Saint-Simonian project. The engineer Perreymond argued, in the columns of Daly's Revue, *for the whole of Paris to be operated upon in this way. In the promenade of Haussmann as designed by his engineer Alphand, the two practices of gardener and surgeon came together in a street that was at once park and scientific service.*

The original Enlightenment metaphor, city as park, had given to the form of the cutting, however, a pattern evocative of the old hunting parks of the early eighteenth century, with their straight allées *intersecting in* rond-points *and evenly cut out meeting places. The simple transference of this form to the city allowed the* allées *to become avenues, and the* rond-points *to become squares in which public monuments could be isolated thus terminating the view without obstructing the traffic. Haussmann adopted this aesthetic exactly for his streets. But by the beginning of the nineteenth century the image of the park itself had radically changed from the hunting forest to the landscaped garden. And by the 1850's the aristocratic private landscaped garden, imitative of the English fashion, had become the image of public leisure and relaxation. Napoleon III, returning from his exile in England, had determined that Paris should no longer be deprived of its Saint James' Park, its Hyde Park, its Regent's Park. Accordingly, he opened the royal hunting forests of Boulogne and Vincennes to the public, and encouraged Haussmann and Alphand to develop new smaller parks within the city. These hunting forests, with their* allées, *were immediately transformed into landscape gardens, adopting all the forms of the picturesque in the service of artificial informality. Similar picturesque parks were installed on the rubbish tip of Chaumont and near the reservoir of Montsouris. Thus, at the same instant as the hunting forest was finally opened up to the city fabric, the landscape garden replaced it in the parks, a reversal which succeeded in making nature and city interchangeable and unified under the designer's talent for artifice.*
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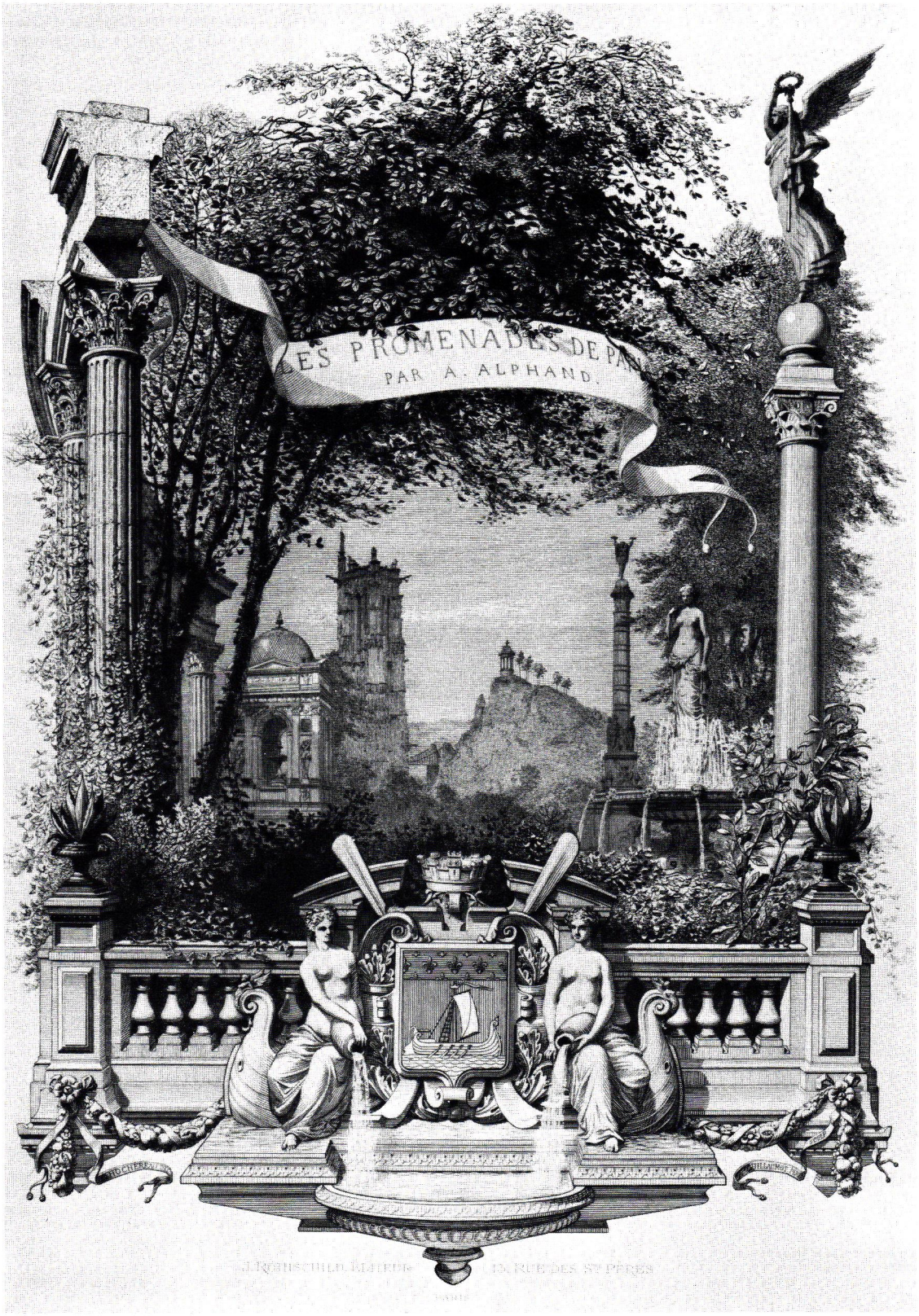


1 Frontispiece to A. Alphand, Les Promenades de Paris, *1869.*

The Promenades of Paris

Antoine Grumbach

Translated by Marlène Barsoum and Hélène Lipstadt

"Art is beauty realized by utility," pronounced Baron Haussmann in his memoirs, written between 1890-1893 after his disgrace. Too long considered solely in respect to their circulatory and military aspects, the public works directed by the Prefect Haussmann also deserve to be approached as a system of beauty.[1] In a memorandum presented to the municipal council of Paris, he wrote: "The new plan [of Paris], very much different from the old projects, is inspired not only by a careful study of the Parisian riots and by a perfect knowledge of the daily movement of the population and the interrelationship of the *quartiers*, but also by a strong feeling for art."

In the light of this "strong feeling for art," an analysis of the unprecedented physical upheaval suffered by Paris from 1853-1869 may be allowed to deviate from an overly literal interpretation of the building works. A simple exegesis of Haussmann's doubtful and complex financial transactions, which led to the publication of the *Fantastic Accounts of Haussmann* by Jules Ferry in 1868, and the ultimate disgrace of the Prefect in 1869, does not exhaust the questions that the visible realm of the city—the "presence" of the buildings of the green areas—still pose today. The history of cities cannot be written solely by deciphering their conditions of production: the relative autonomy of constructed objects, in their physical manifestations, can also be demonstrated. We will analyze this autonomy as it is demonstrated by the deliberate fabrication of "beauty," specifically in relationship to the historical fabric of the old city and the celebration of the sentiment of nature in the new parks.

The Arithmetic of Beauty

To carry out his task, Haussmann surrounded himself with numerous collaborators among them Jean Alphand, "Ingénieur des Ponts et des Chaussées," whom he recruited in 1854 after meeting him in Bordeaux. Of the man who would create the Office of Promenades of Paris, the Prefect said: "I charge him to embellish what I have made clean and healthful." Thus Alphand became the manufacturer of the "beauty" of Paris; between 1869 and 1873 he published *The Promenades of Paris* (fig. 1), a presentation of all the projects that he had accomplished. This book can be considered the essential treatise on urban art for the second half of the nineteenth century, as influential for architecture as Durand's was in the first half.

One of the conditions for the creation of beauty in the city achieved by Alphand was that it could be named, measured, and tallied: any superfluous beauty was inconceivable in this age of materialism. Thus, throughout Alphand's text one finds a detailed accounting of the attempt to create beauty accompanying each project, as for example in the description of the square des Innocents (fig. 2).[2]

For the "inexpressible" beauty jealously guarded by the artists and architects of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts since the founding of the Academy, an arithmetic of ornament was substituted. Thus, applying himself to these enumerations with an almost carnal passion, "the city of Paris is a mistress who demands much of her servants, imposing on them unceasing and burdensome labor which requires their complete self-sacrifice and their entire life," Alphand marshaled his figures in a way that recalls Fourier's insistence on numbers. Calculating the number of linear feet of flowerbeds, or detailing the typical ornaments of the grillwork around the squares, became, for him, a passion exactly characteristic of his professional mind—that of an engineer of bridges and roads, except that the calculation of the resistence of materials led here to a "calculation" of sumptuousness.

This furious arithmetic deserves respect. What city, what administration in the past had ever expended so much energy in calculating public beauty! It is evident that this expense on sumptuousness, beyond that of fiscal speculation, bears witness to an unprecedented attention lavished on the public realm. The creation of the Office of Promenades of the City of Paris, in 1854, is further evidence of the recognition of precisely that aspect of the city not taken into account by the economic and social domain: that of its collective pleasure. Historians who have attributed the building works to Napoléon III's obsession with hygiene, resulting from his exile in England before 1849, have not satisfactorily explained the shift in Haussmann's thought from a concern for salubrity to this celebration of beauty. In

fact, a reversal of the values traditionally ascribed to nature on the one hand, and to the city on the other, is manifested in Alphand's use of the word *Promenade* in the title of his book. The *promenade*, originally a rural walk conceived as an alternative to the motion of city life, was built by Alphand into the city fabric itself as the domain of its citizens' pleasures. A century before the publication of Alphand's work, Jean-Jacques Rousseau had anticipated this reversal in his *Rêveries du Promeneur Solitaire*, the title referring to promenades which he took in the *faubourgs* of Paris, at the edge of the built city. This "edge realm" offered to Rousseau the same advantage as that which one derived from "writing on liberty when one is confined, and on spring, when it snows." From then on, the literary genre of the promenade bore the mark of Rousseau's critique of the city.

The creation of an Office of the Promenades of the City of Paris institutionalized this reversal.

The wide circulation of Alphand's work underlines the importance of his concern for the alchemy of pleasure in the city. The three lists of "persons who receive the *Promenades*," which appear at the beginning of the work, describe its dissemination: there was no great city, no prince who did not receive it. One could easily trace a geography of the progressive embellishment of nineteenth century cities by marking on a map of the world the places where this work was sent. No other architectural treatise, no other technical work had hitherto had the benefit of such a diffusion.[3]

There is, however, a more concrete and mundane reality that conceals the reciprocal play of images and text which is opposed to the universal vocation to which the *Promenades* aspire. Thus, the meticulous description of certain techniques and their illustrations would seem to have a kinship with Diderot's *Encyclopédie*—that great catalogue of *arts et métiers* that demonstrates all the trades and crafts, its plates populated with busy workers—were it not for the fact that throughout Alphand's work, with the exception of three plates—a few silhouettes laboring in the icehouses of the Bois de Boulogne (fig. 3) and in the St. Maur factory, and elsewhere a gardener handling a water hose nozzle (fig. 4)—the gardeners and the workers do not exist. In the end, apparently, the "beautiful" can only exist outside of all consideration of labor.

Similarly, the apparent blindness to the social events for which Paris provided the physical setting, and to which the great works undertaken themselves remained indifferent, further reveals this underlying conception of the permanence of cities. Following the destruction of the city during the fall of the Paris Commune in 1871, Alphand, the faithful servant of the now disgraced Haussmann, was named by Thiers as Director of Works for Paris. The ruins left by the Commune clearly had to be eradicated, and Alphand applied himself to the task with "competence and efficiency." In the *Promenades of Paris*, the front page of which is dated 1868 (although a note indicates that the work was in fact elaborated between 1868 and 1873), this is the only mention made of the events of the Commune: "The benches, the necessary accessories of the planted routes, were 8,428 in number before the painful events which Paris has just suffered; nearly a third have been destroyed or lost. We are busy replacing what remains by making a new allocation between the different boulevards and avenues."[4]

The foundations of the arithmetic of beauty had not been disturbed: "the painful events" were just the pretext for another game of calculation, a game of calculation which is related to the culinary art: "the mixture" (*la combinatoire*).

The Art of Urban Cuisine

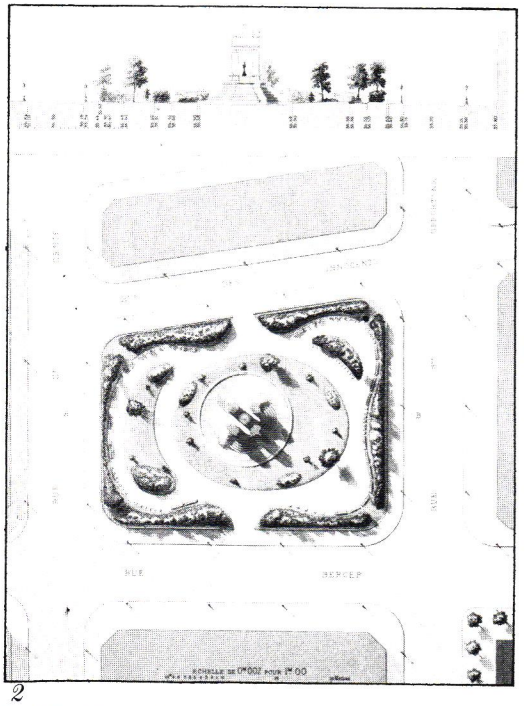
The composition of a cookbook obeys certain laws, and the *Promenades of Paris*, book of urban cookery, does not escape these rules.

A history of the art of gardens, submitting to the laws of the genre, opens Alphand's book. Having for its objective the description of the promenades created in Paris by the municipal administration, the book is accordingly divided into three parts: the Bois de Boulogne, the Bois de Vincennes, and the interior promenades of Paris. The opening historical narrative authenticates the author as one competent to speak—whether on melted butter or planting:

2 Square des Innocents.

3 Interior of an icehouse in the Bois de Boulogne.

4 Gardener handling a water hose.



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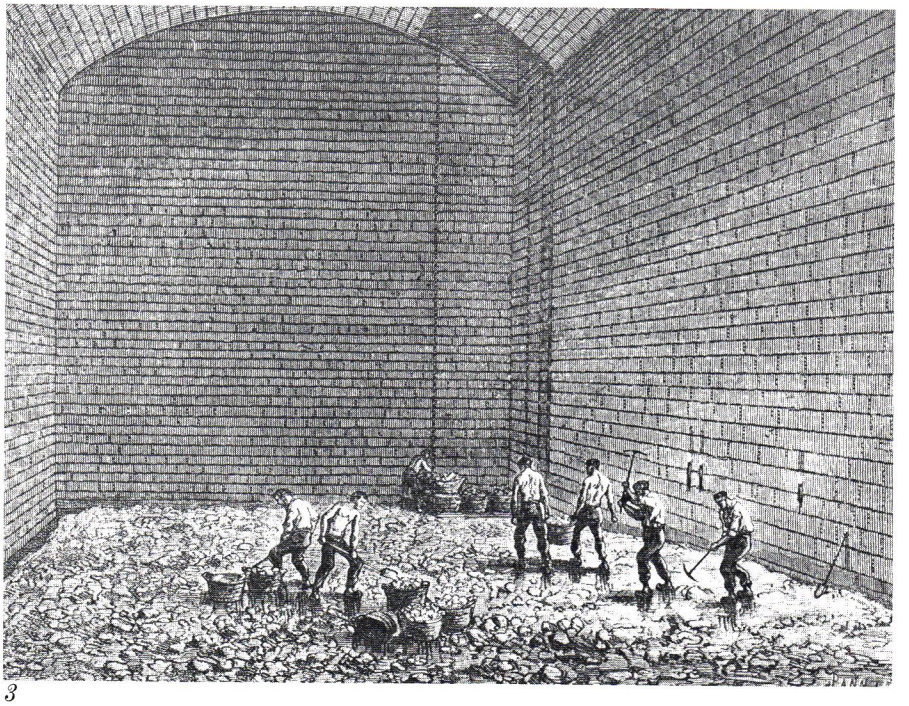

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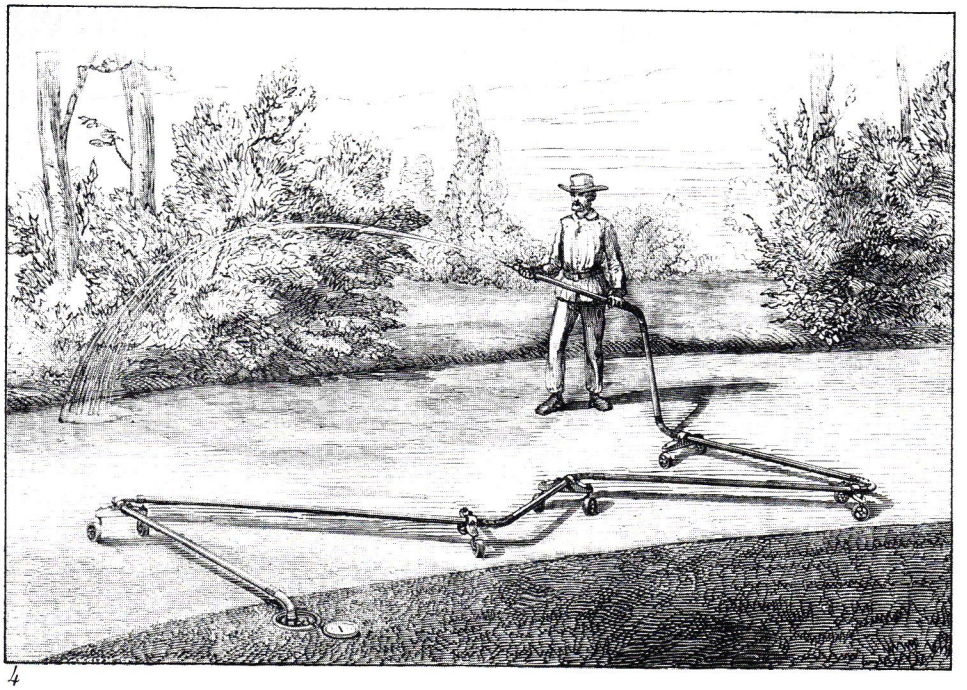

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5 Plan of Paris, 1869.

6 Place de Grenelle.

7 Place de la Chapelle.

8 Place du Château d'Eau.

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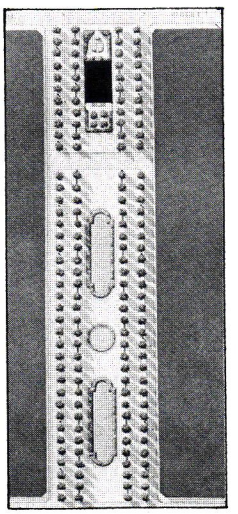

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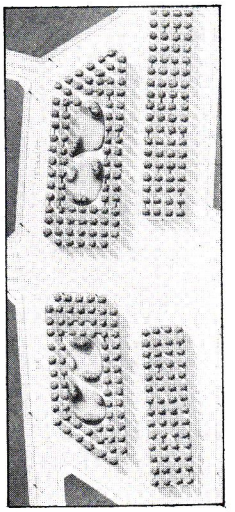

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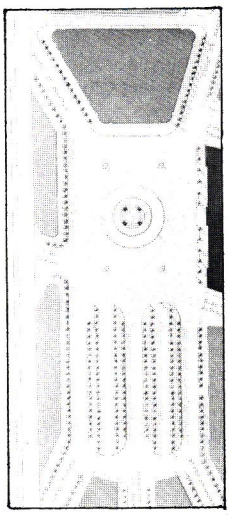

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"In the first part—the Bois de Boulogne—we have described the methods utilized in the execution of the works, methods which are the same for all the promenades. The other parts do not reproduce these details, for the sake of not being tediously repetitious." Thus, from the introduction on, the reader is advised that the book is a compilation of recipes presenting the tools, the ingredients, and the materials most frequently used: earthworks, roads and walks, distribution of water, irrigation, lakes, brooks and waterfalls, plantings, lawns and gardens, works of architecture. These ingredients are divided into two large families: the built and the vegetal. The built is described and illustrated first in the body of the text and is followed by the vegetal.[5] The general plan of Paris (fig. 5), presented at the beginning of the volume of plates, warns the reader that the recipes will be disconcerting. The web of Parisian streets, with all its twists and turns has been cut by straight lines and regularized, while the woods of Boulogne and Vincennes, old royal hunting grounds, originally cut by rectilinear alleys and by a system of starshaped crossroads, have now been transformed into labyrinthine promenades composed in curves and sinuous lines that are more natural than nature itself. Thus the city can be seen to reinforce its built character, while the vegetal constantly attempts to be ever more natural: this paradox constitutes an outline of the theory of urban art.

The interior promenades of Paris (parks, squares, planted public ways), abundantly described, measured, and numbered, are amply illustrated in the text, but the presentation of the plates involves many ideas articulated only through their graphics.

The Art of Accommodating the Leftovers

The analysis of Haussmann's projects has too often been limited to a consideration of the notion of alignment as a mode of composition of planted spaces, and, on the other hand, the treatment of gardens, lawns, and flower beds has merited no particular attention, seeming to be of interest mainly to gardeners. This blindness bears witness to a reading that is too preoccupied with the theoretical and typological aspect of public space. The profound originality of the promenades (services and parks themselves) consists precisely in something which eludes any typological approach: the organization and the practice of individual cases, of dealing with those residual spaces left by the intersection of boulevards with existing streets, or of organizing those spaces with innumerable forms that result from the overlay of elements of different systems, as when the starshaped crossroads meet bordering constructions. Alphand's practice appears as a veritable art of accommodating these leftovers, ordering disorder by means of imposing the spirit of geometry upon a sedimentary city (that is, a city laid down over time), and by means of exploiting the unconscious slips (lapses) of theoretical discourse. The oversights in the system of alignment—those street corners and those irregularly shaped *places* and *squares* of deformations—compose a treatise on urban topology.

When the system of alignment is rendered explicit with details, it does not exclude repetition, and Alphand doubles or triples spaces in order to constitute *places*; thus, the place de Grenelle (fig. 6), place de la Chapelle (fig. 7), and the place du Château d'Eau (fig. 8). In this way, the *place* is simply the glorification of alignment, unmindful of the compositional principles of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts; and thus the ordering of the buildings is preferred to the order of a false nature.

The geometrical *places* and *squares* to which a certain perfection in plan gives an air of clarity, such as square Montholon (fig. 9), square de la Trinité (fig. 10), square de la Réunion (fig. 12), square Louvois (fig. 13), square Popincourt (fig. 15), square de Montrouge (fig. 14), square Sainte Clotilde (fig. 16), are opposed to the ordering of residual spaces and to situations where a need to preserve the traces of the old city determines the composition. The square of the Ecole Polytechnique (fig. 11), for instance, a triangular plot left by the crossing of the rue Monge and the rue des Ecoles, bears witness to this illusionist art, which consists of indicating the presence of symmetry by simultaneously destroying its geometric qualities. The small triangular lawns, which are the veritable instruments of this illusionist's game, exemplify the art of accommodating the leftovers. Similarly, two squares situated to the east and

west of the Invalides Esplanade (figs. 18, 19) attest to this art of arranging, an art learned only through practice. To the east, the transition from the Boulevard des Invalides, with its typical alignments up to the edges of the *parterres "à la française"* in front of the buildings, has been given one of those shapes with soft outlines, a kind of polymorphous contour seemingly modeled in clay, a trick of composition used to fill in the openings. A "seasoning" of lawns and flower beds is also added, doubtless to ensure that it will be "at once geometric and unnamable." To the west, however, the complex of roads that never cross at right angles is subjected to a process of alignment. The right-angled triangular space delimited by the Hôtel des Invalides and the *parterres* is for its part filled up with undulating lawns. Thus, the juxtaposition and opposition of these two treatments on either side of the planted diagonal shows that Alphand's public spaces are, in fact, the product of the overlay of two systems.

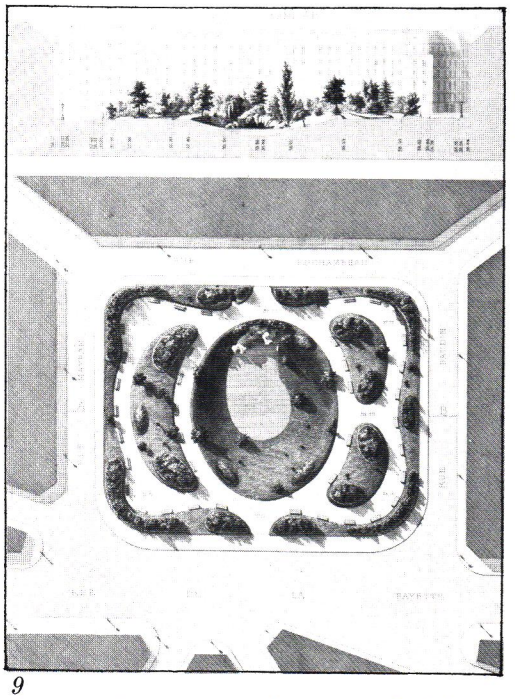
Such inconsistencies in the apparent system, readily suggested by a quick reading of the *Promenades*, are equally in evidence in the squares which, like those at Notre Dame and the tower of Saint Jacques (figs. 20, 17), were organized by means of the redistribution of pre-existing built elements. The square Saint Jacques is set at the crossroads of two important arteries, the boulevard Sebastopol and the rue de Rivoli, whose aligned borders of trees differentiate them from the rue Saint Martin and avenue Victoria, which border the square, on the two other sides. Here, the rectangular form of the site was differentiated on the basis of use. The tower of Saint Jacques, the remains of a twelfth century church, was restored, and on the site of the market that had once surrounded it a square was projected. "The tower occupies the center of the square," reads the commentary accompanying this plate in the *Promenades*. But the spirit of geometry which pretends to regulate and align the space is here betrayed by the facility of language, for the actual plan indicates a perceptible decentering. This facile use of language in the commentary, suggesting that a historical element may be sited only at the center of a composition (the physical denial of the plan is here subsidiary) attests to the fact that the city is made to be named. Similarly, the treatment of the square des Innocents (see fig. 2) also attests to the fervor for centralizing the remains of buildings. The erection of Les Halles necessitated the absorption of the market of the Innocents; however, since the fountain was situated at the extreme corner of the old market, approximately where the rue Sainte-Opportune was to be, "it was resolved to place it in the middle of the newly created square." It was dismantled piece by piece and rebuilt with modifications. The art of accommodating the built form thus had, as it first rule, centrality, both in reality and in commentary.

To these two examples of the "preservation" of historical elements one could add many others. This seasoning of the city with historical traces reveals an attachment to a public memory of the city that is opposed to the apparent offhandedness in Baron Haussmann's use of historical traces.

The presentation documents—the plates in themselves—in their page layout and graphic style, transmit an image of the city that no text can replace. A certain shortsightedness might actually lead the reader to discover a city whose texture is that created in the plates of the plans of the squares; the white spaces that separate the drawings seem to become so many other streets, and the grays begin to take on varied forms, drawing us back into that utopia to which the *Promenades* invites us: a city which appears completely merged in its public space. The composition of the plates has no other logic than the aesthetics of the graphic design. No chronological, topographical, or thematic grid presides over their disposition. In this respect, we can measure the difference between Alphand's treatise on the "Art of Gardens" and Durand's plates for his course at the Ecole Polytechnique, in which each plate was disposed according to the obligation for demonstration. Further, the plates of the *Promenades* are characterized by the play of subtle grays and shadows, occasionally interrupted by artfully placed black *poché* accents; drawn by the architect Hocherau, Inspector of the Services of Promenades, the hand of the Beaux-Arts appears in what was in the teaching of the School as fundamental, if not more fundamental than the composition: the rendering.

The border areas of the drawings of the *squares* and *places*

9–15. 9 Square Montholon; 10 Square de la Trinité; 11 Square de l'Ecole Polytechnique; 12 Square de la Réunion; 13 Square Louvois; 14 Square de Montrouge; 15 Square Popincourt.



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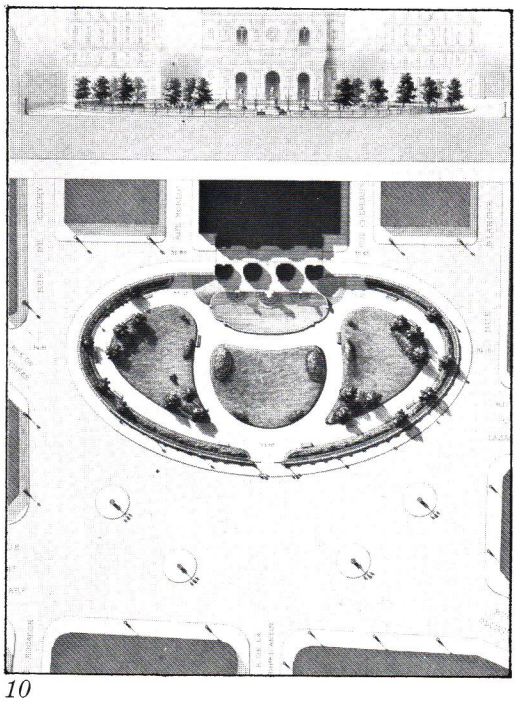

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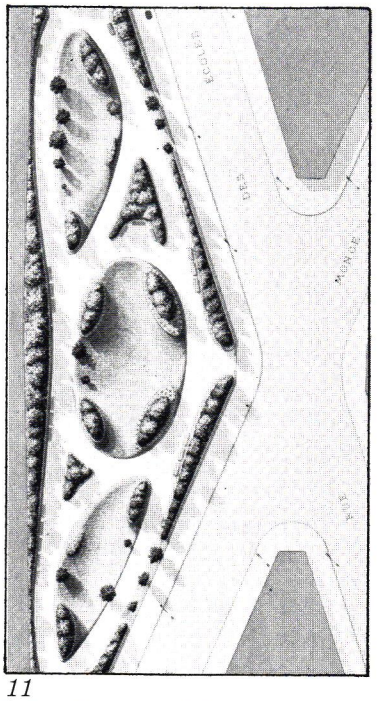

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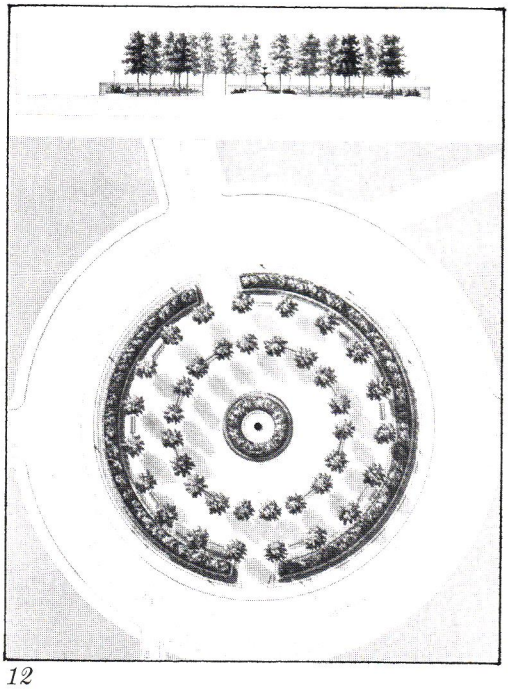

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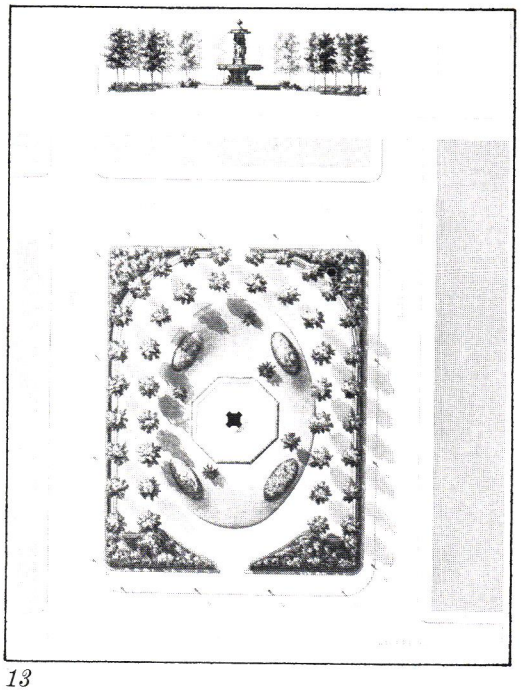

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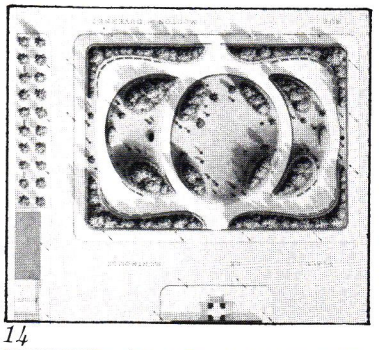

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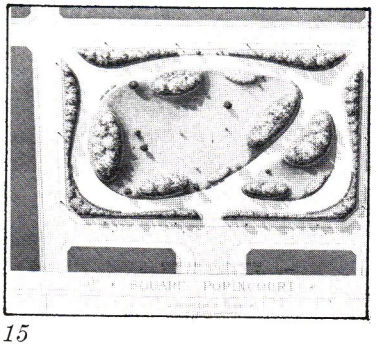

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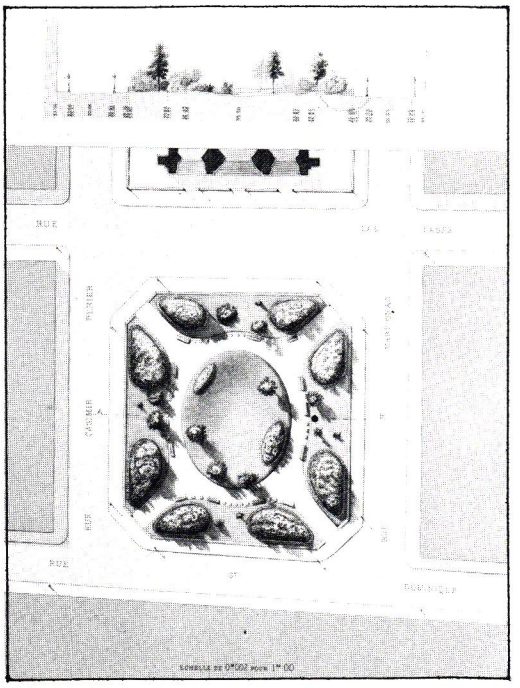

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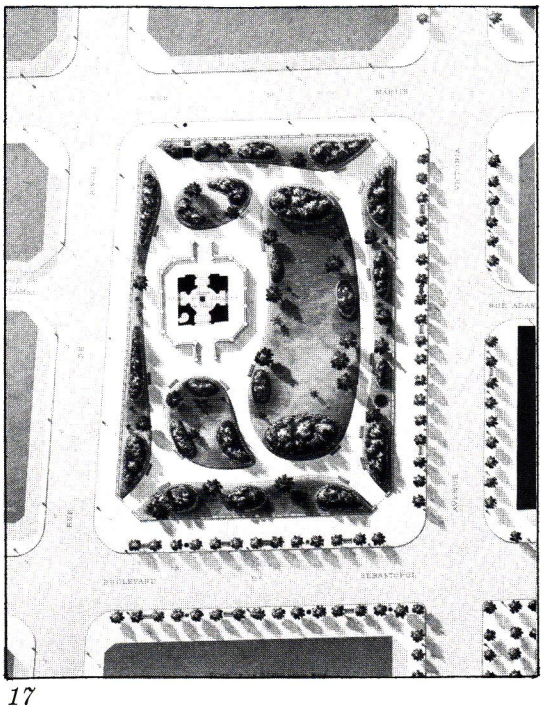

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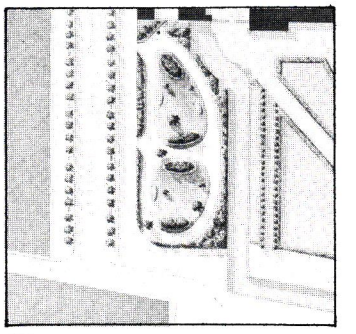

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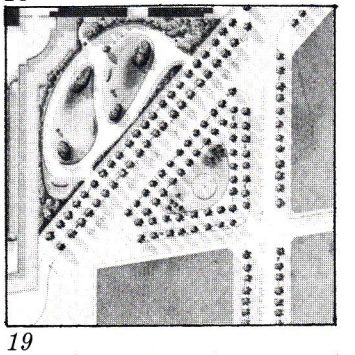

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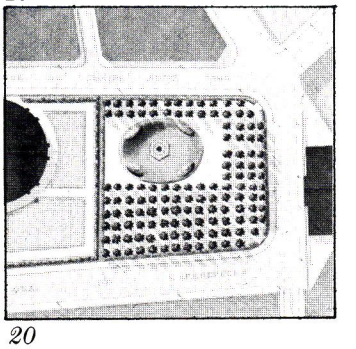

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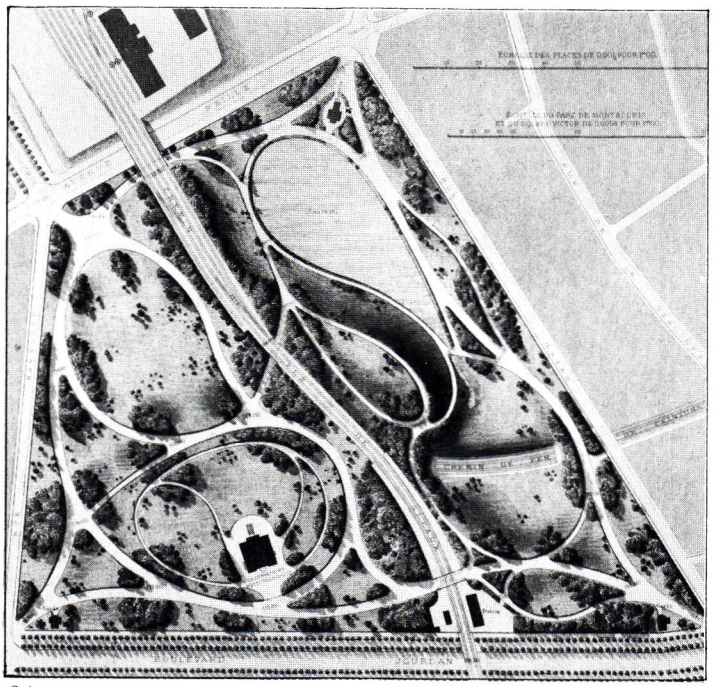
16–21. 16 Square Ste. Clotilde; 17 Square St. Jacques; 18 Square des Invalides, east; 19 Square des Invalides, west; 20 Square Notre Dame; 21 Parc de Montsouris.

are likewise far from innocent. The play of grays, used to indicate neighboring structures, reinforces the character of the organization; for example, within the same plate, the importance given to the structures bordering on the place de Grenelle (see fig. 6) indicates the planned character of this *place*, while the diffusion of grays in the silhouette of the place de la Chapelle (see fig. 7) expresses its "sedimentary" character, the result of previous urban processes. The information communicated by these additions to the plans reminds us that, as in the psychoanalytical discourse, it is in the edges, in the superfluous, that signification resides. The seemingly systematic approach here reveals a subtle art, an art of resolving the different contradictions produced by the application of a typology to the existing city.



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The resolution of apparently secondary problems by any theory gives that theory a certain credibility. Further proofs come from the consistency with which the theory deals with similar problems. The problem, in this case, borders between the vegetal and the non-vegetal, represented by the enclosures around the squares, which mark the limits of the city, or by the borders of the always private lawns which separate the public walks from the grass. It happens that the enclosures of the squares are all different, although they are made of cast iron and produced in molds. Thus, since the problems were always similar, one would have expected to see a systematized solution as was the case for trees, benches, and shelters, for which a single illustration sufficed (fig. 22). In the case of the enclosures, the existence of several plates of grilles proves once more that in spite of an apparently systematic approach each problem received its own solution. The different enclosures allow us to infer the hierarchy of operations. Haussmann writes in his memoirs, "because the balustrades are there to serve as defenses, they should present the same obstacle around all the edges that they pass along, and this is why they should relate to the public road, and not to the monuments they surround. The awkward steps one has been obliged to observe in order to follow the law of levels along steeply sloping roads is a condemnation of the law itself."[6] Thus, the customary manner of terracing levels was replaced and the road imposed its own law on the balustrades. Thus, where the roads were steeply sloping, as

around the Buttes-Chaumont on the rue de Crimée, a 450 meter long railing without changes of levels was used—a heresy forbidden by the rules of Beaux-Arts ornamental composition.

On the other hand, the problem of the separation between walks and lawns was resolved once and for all after a few experiments. Thus, inside parks and squares, a single systemic solution was imposed: the use of *galeries* (fig. 23).

The difference between these two responses implies that the laws of conformity were applied only to the actual boundaries between the built and the vegetal. A footnote in the *Promenades* on the subject of *galeries* clearly relates the problem of boundaries to those of a *system* of objects, of materials, of the imitation of nature, and of the arithmetic of beauty.[7]

Cast iron met the needs of the municipal administration: it was solid, demanded little care, and was usually attached to the ground by decorated stone bases. The entire system of public objects signified, by the solidity of its materials and its connections with the ground, that the city was meant to last. The nineteenth century was capable of exploiting this system of materials whose qualities—solidity and ease of molding—make public spaces into a construction that defied time. The phrase describing the *galeries* as made of imitation chestnut—that is, of a cast iron more durable than the real wood itself—corresponds to a complete set of attitudes toward the imitation of nature: the play between false and true, which is resolved by the creation of a very close likeness. The rocks used for the waterfalls of the Bois de Boulogne gave rise to great controversies, and Alphand himself hinted in the *Promenades* at the possibility of a geological contradiction: "Most of the cascades in the Bois de Boulogne are constructed out of sandstone from Herblay and Fontainebleau, a geological contradiction when one realizes that water courses are never found in this sort of naturally very permeable ground. But it was impossible to do otherwise. These are the only rocks to be found in the Paris region that have picturesque forms. They had to suffice in order to avoid the enormous cost of transporting blocks more suitable to the works of art undertaken."[8]

In spite of financial justification, however, this error attests once more to the desire to resolve the impossible contradiction of re-creating a savage nature at the very point where the city has become so built up on itself that it replaces the nature on which it was originally built. This obsession with verisimilitude led Alphand and the Service of Promenades to seek an alternative to such contradictions; as a result, they turned the idea of nature completely in on itself. A paragraph describes and comments on the procedures for constructing artificial rocks from rubble and cement.[9] This, the only solution that allowed any approximation of nature, this implicit apology for a false nature which had greater verisimilitude than the real, leads one to question the feeling for nature in the Paris of Haussmann.

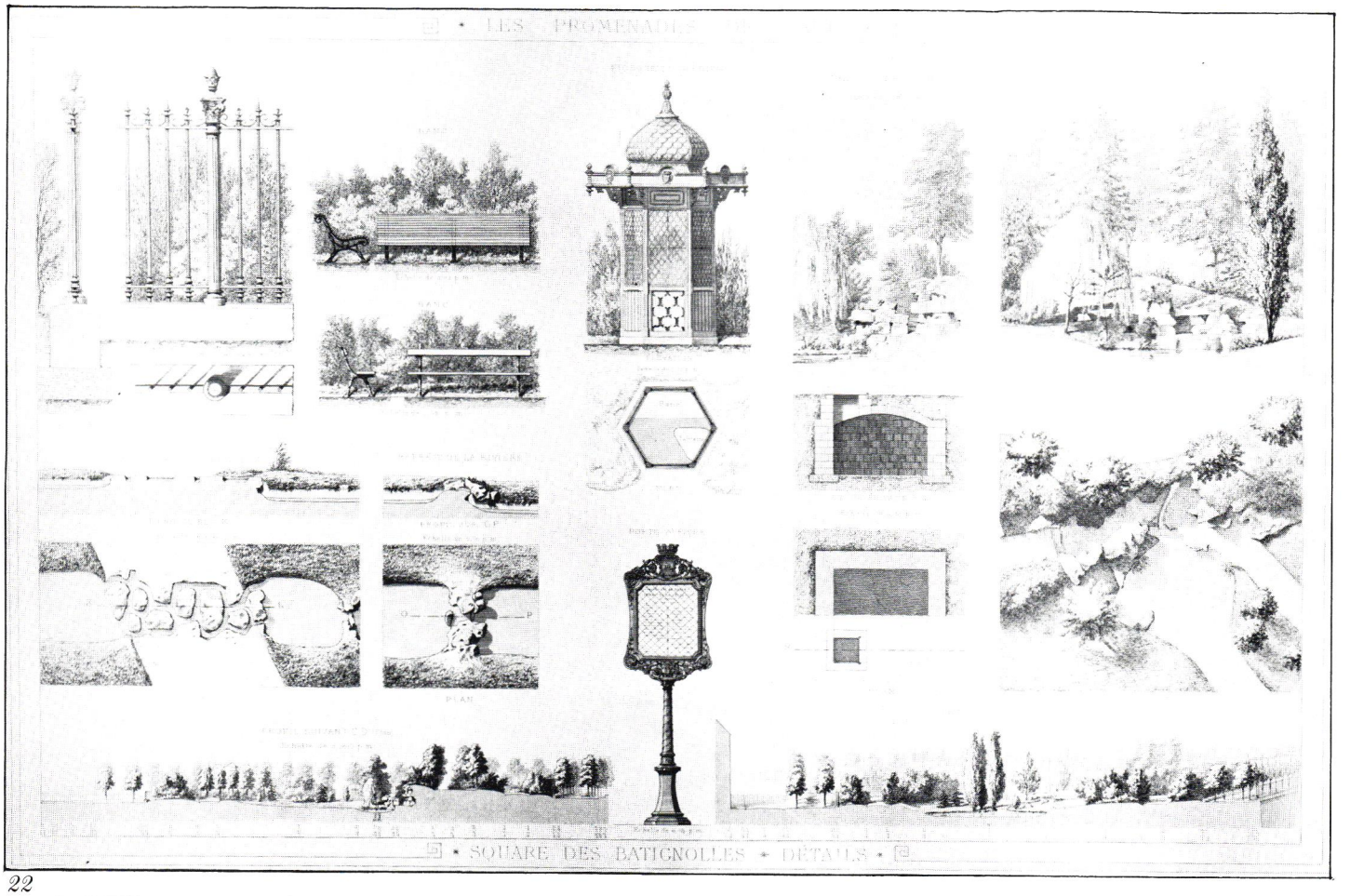
The Feeling for Nature in the Buttes-Chaumont

A replica of the Temple of the Sibyl at Tivoli crowns the promontory which dominates the park of Buttes-Chaumont (fig. 26): from there one can see the whole of Paris (fig. 27). This reference to classical antiquity, with its associations with the ancient prophetesses invites us to interpret the park of Buttes-Chaumont in mythic terms. Its size, siting, location, and organization certainly make it one of the most surprising achievements of the Service des Promenades de Paris and of its gardener Barillet-Deschamps. Elements of the grandiose, of the unusual, of the marvelous, of "mysterious harmonies" reign here in profusion. Located in the north of Paris, in one of those new sectors attached to the city in 1859, the Buttes-Chaumont was to be one of the main Parisian attractions at the Exposition Universelle of 1867. Its distance from the center did not attract the crowds, however, and to this day this astonishing park still preserves the quality of one of those hidden places that all great cities possess, those that are discovered only after much effort since they do not reveal themselves easily.

The pre-history of this artificial Eden is heavily imbued with mythical connotations: the Montfaucon gallows, where the people of Paris had watched the bodies of so many famous citizens rot; the gypsum quarry whose excavation had exposed gigantic faults, grottoes, and galleries worthy of a descent into hell; finally the bloody battles of 1848 and the transformation of the site into a stinking refuse dump

22 Square des Batignolles, details.

23 Galeries *(edgings).*



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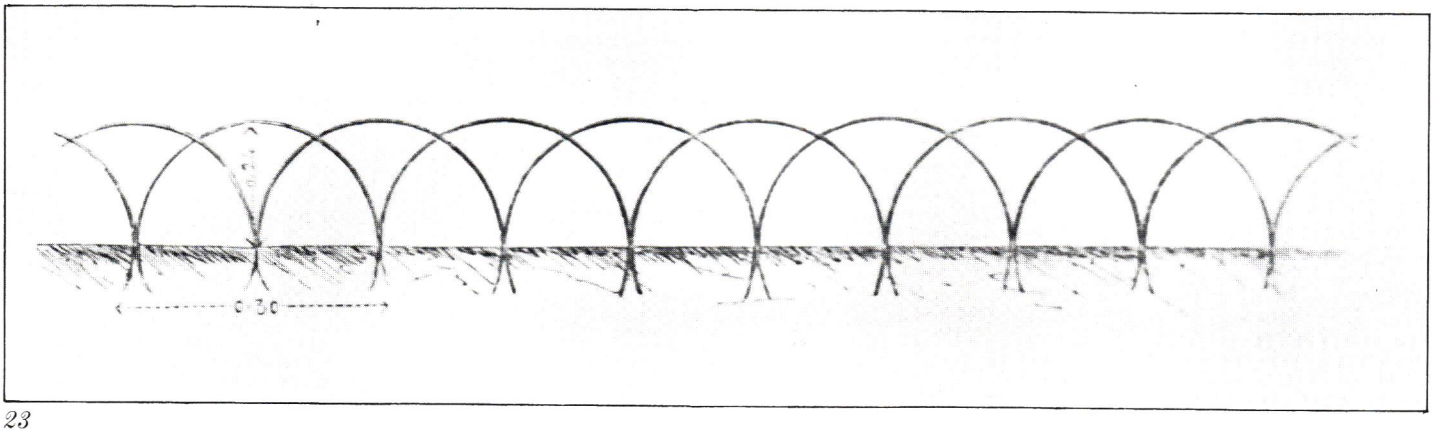

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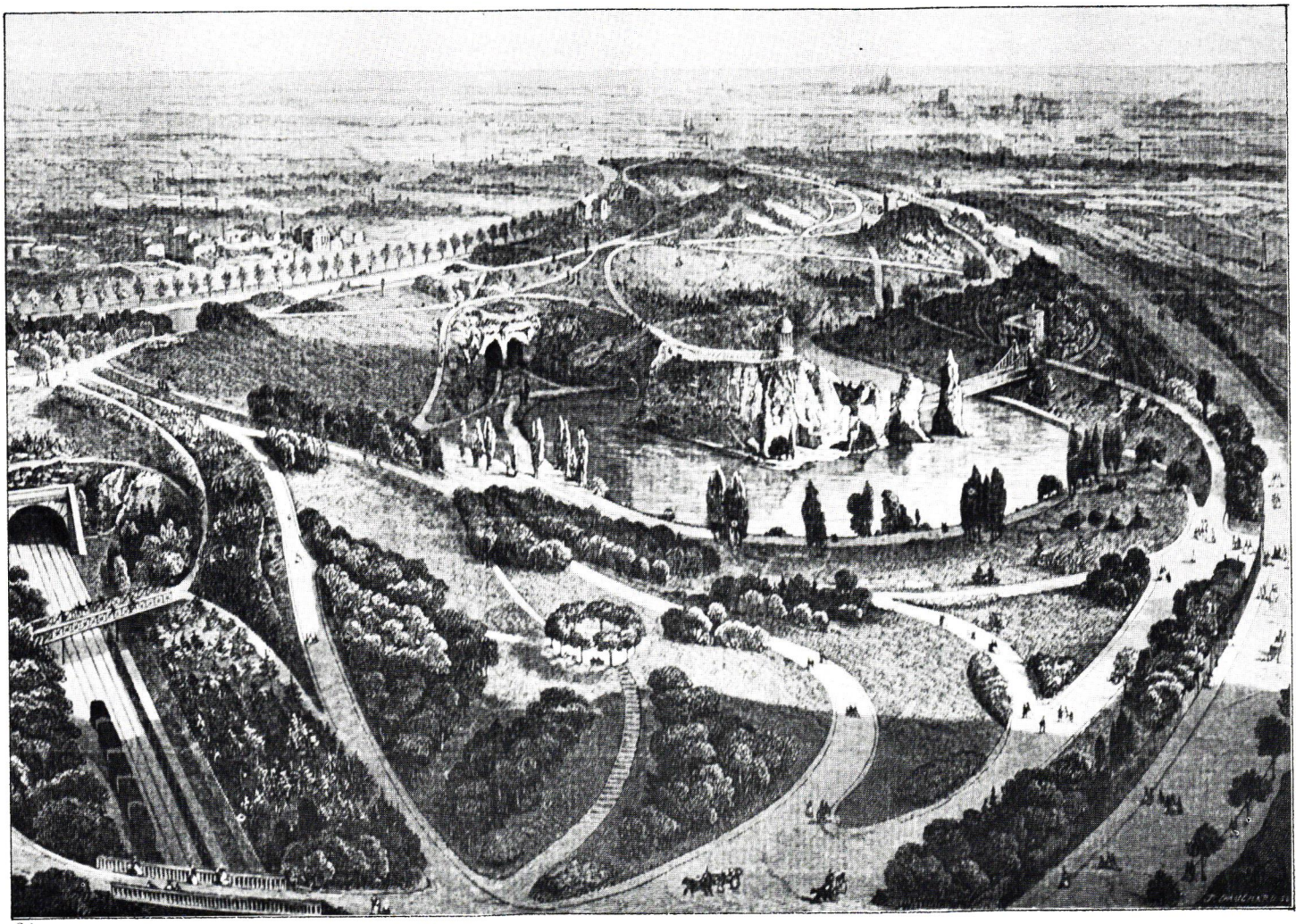

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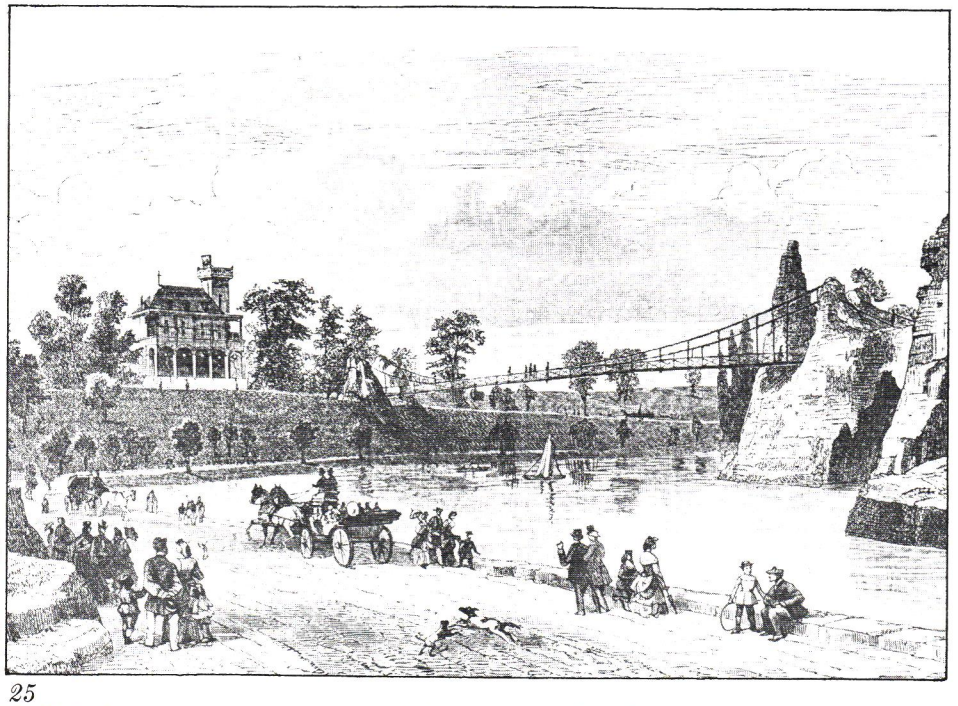
24 Bird's eye view of the Parc des Buttes Chaumont.

25 Suspension bridge, Parc des Buttes Chaumont.

26 The island and the Temple of Sibyl, Parc des Buttes Chaumont.

27 Stone bridge leading to the Temple of Sibyl, Parc des Buttes Chaumont.

28 Curving pathways, Parc des Buttes Chaumont.



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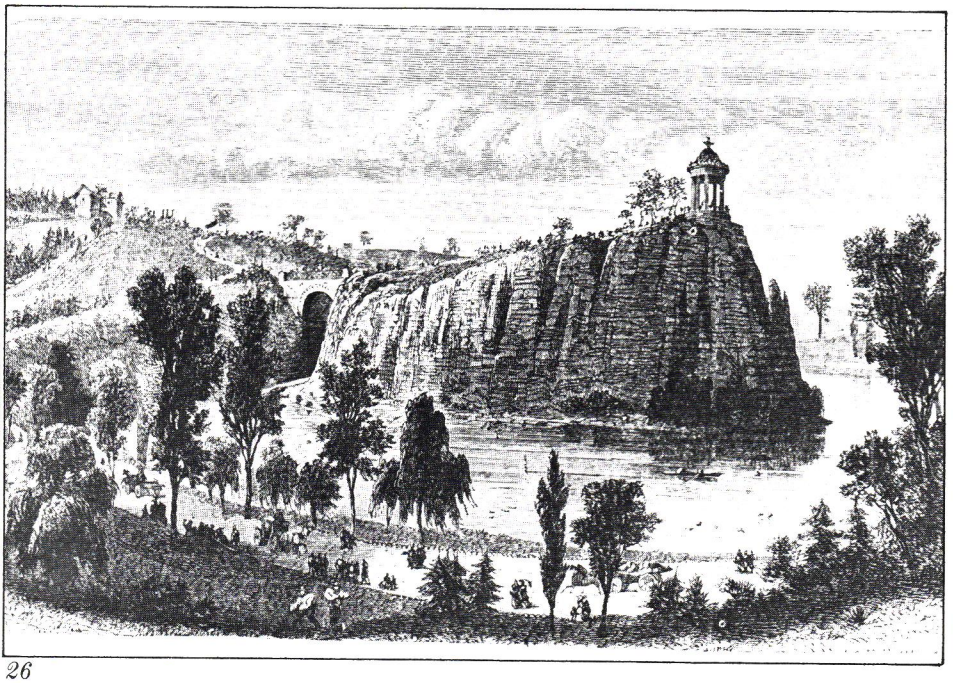

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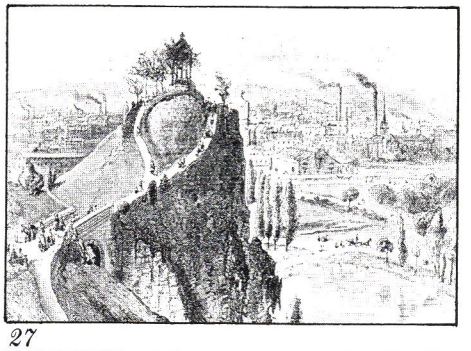

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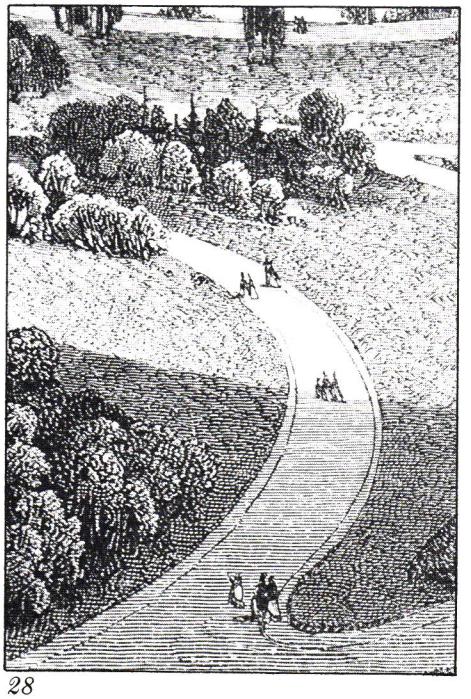

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29 Exterior of the Grotto, Parc des Buttes Chaumont.

30 The cascades inside the Grotto, Parc des Buttes Chaumont.

31 Interior of the Grotto, Parc des Buttes Chaumont.

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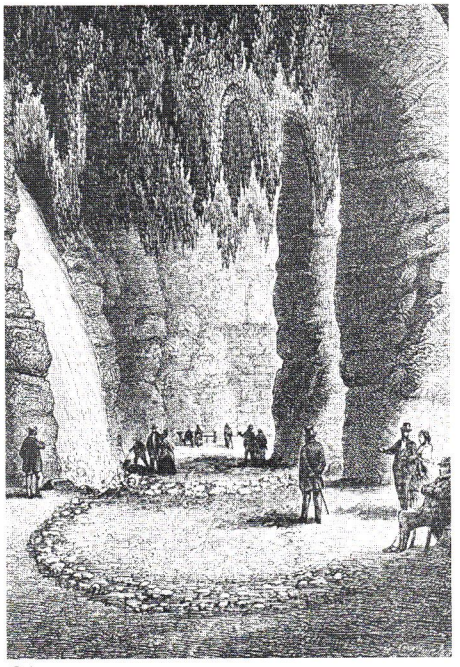

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whose odors all Paris breathed whenever the northeast wind blew. This last situation could not long be ignored by the City of Paris. The existence of a place "so deserted, so unsanitary, so dangerous" on the perimeter of the capital city, and the desire of the administration "to endow the newly annexed sectors of the city with a vast promenade" led to the acquisition of a sixty-two acre area on which the present park was created.

This considerable task, begun in 1864, was not terminated until the beginning of 1867. To grasp the extent of the operations, one must remember that more than a year (that of 1864) was needed for the leveling, despite an enormous work force and the use of steam rollers and a railroad. Two more years were required before this earthwork was finished and the immense surface covered with fertile soil, for this site intended for a park was composed of clay and marl, and absolutely inhospitable to vegetation. The high altitude of the park even obliged Alphand to build a special pump to draw water from the Ourcq canal for the waterfalls; the water was pumped into a basin situated on the upper levels of the park near the boulevard encircling the lake.

In the official commentaries, however, there was no reference to the labor that went into making the park; instead, the commentaries stressed that the park was not merely a copy, and reflected on the processes by which primitive nature might be embellished.

An anonymous author of a treatise on gardening composition and ornament published in 1867 by Audot, publisher of the *Bon Jardinier*, set down the following proposition: "when one wants to trace the walks of an English garden, all that is needed is to get your gardener drunk, and then follow his path." Despite the truth in these remarks, what the author has forgotten is that the making of a garden begins with the definition of the "axes of sight," which are determined by the natural irregularities of the ground. Subsequently, the land is planted, and the slopes are regularized to form agreeable curves and to direct the eye toward the chosen vistas, themselves framed or contained within the internal landscape arrangements. Only when this ideal world is set up are the walks traced to join together the major points of interest.

The anonymous author's attempt to "put the gardener back on his feet" as the major creator of the garden is unmindful of the difference between the design of eighteenth-century picturesque gardens and the design of urban parks. In the history of gardens that opens the *Promenades*, the author insists on the necessity of spacing out the picturesque garden. The meaning of this directive is revealed when one compares the plan of Alphand's Parisian parks (Monçeau, Montsouris [see fig. 21], and Buttes-Chaumont) with the parks of Paxton in England. In the Buttes-Chaumont in Paris, the city is present in the crossing of the park, in the hierarchy of routes, and in the existence of a dominant point of reference—the Temple of the Sibyl (fig. 24). The illusion of the immeasurability of the real extent of the park is contradicted by the presence of the promontory on which the Temple is situated. This aerial, almost supernatural presence is visible, but cannot be reached without several detours. The subtle relationship between perceiving and attaining a center, a point of reference, is thus tied to one of the sources of illusion of nature.

In Haussmann's city, both the building and the means of access to it are sighted simultaneously, but here, as with a game of hide-and-seek or a phantom ship, access must be gained by the completion of an initiation, presided over by the Sibyl. The intrepid walker who dares to venture toward the Temple must choose between three means of access: a stone bridge with a span of twelve meters, thirty meters high, which is known as the Bridge of Suicides; or a suspended metal footbridge (fig. 25), sixty-five meters above the ground, whose vibrations makes the intrepid explorer tremble; or finally, a long and complicated tour involving crossing a lake in a rowboat and a dizzy ascent of the north side of the mountain through galleries and by means of stairs carved out of the man-made stone; an experience of open space and vertigo which translates well Alphand's desire "to give the Park the appearance of a mountainous landscape." These three ways of admission to the Temple of Sibyl, always directly in view, but of labyrinthine access, make possible a perpetually changing combination of prom-

enades. One never returns by the way one enters; the cul-de-sac no longer exists, and nature itself, even when of a dizzying height, is no longer an obstacle but may be conquered by relative degrees of boldness.

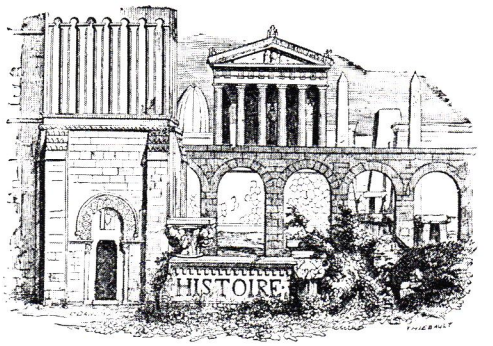
The one-sided strip invented by Moebius is the perfect image for this system of walks in a universe of dissimulated boundaries (fig. 28). A continual sliding, counterbalanced by unforeseen upward ascents, are the elements of this closed world, where the existence of many distant vistas eliminates any fear of imprisonment. The immense grotto, fourteen meters wide and twenty-five meters high, and the waterfall with its thirty-two meter cascade, combine in their exaggerated dimensions to make nature—that is, false nature—more "natural" (figs. 29-31).

The lesson of the Buttes-Chaumont is that the only true nature is the false one. Henceforth, the Parisian, when confronted with the actual countryside, could not help feeling instead of its enchantment, the absence of the Buttes-Chaumont, of its grandeur and other-worldliness, seemingly more natural than nature itself.

The persistence that characterizes all of Alphand's and the Service des Promenades' efforts to create an arithmetic of beauty, to communicate the art of managing "leftovers," and to invent a feeling for nature took place outside the academic debates of the Ecole. The imposing effect of their achievements, in their sheer number and in the play of the differences and similarities between them, has made possible a richer discourse on architecture than the impassioned discussions raging in the courtyard on the rue Bonaparte. With the work of Haussmann, Alphand, and the Service des Promenades, a new attitude toward the architect's duty to the community was born. Theirs was a conception that inspired a behavior entirely different from that associated with the privileged status conferred by the Ecole, whose teaching was blind to social conditions and site. This conception is expressed in the following judgment of Haussmann: "Architecture was for all of them a profession, probably an art. But for some it was a public service, transformed in the sight of those who were truly worthy of it into a sort of ministry."[10]

1. This aspect of the work of Haussmann was elaborated upon by Jacques Lucan in *Haussmann, un viaduc* ("Haussmann, a viaduct"), thesis of the third cycle, Pedagogical Unit no. 6 (Paris: L'Institut de l'environment de Paris, 1973).
2. "The interior surface covers 2,008.66 square meters, of which 233.84 square meters are allotted to the fountain; 1,164.29 square meters to the flower beds, green areas and decorative rocks; and 310.73 square meters to gravel-covered alleys. The expense of establishing the square is covered by the total sum of 210,581 francs and 78 centimes, out of which 170,720 francs and 92 centimes for the works of architecture is broken down as follows: metal grating, 22,994 francs and 34 centimes; garbage cans, 12,144 francs and 45 centimes; reconstruction of the fountain 94,651 francs and 36 centimes; various other works and sculptures 41,950 francs."
3. Abridged list of the "persons" who received the *Promenades* outside France: their majesties the Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of all Russia; the kings of Prussia, Italy, Sweden, Norway, Portugal, Denmark, Bavaria, Saxony, Holland, Turkey, Spain, Würtemberg, Romania, Brazil, Hungary; as well as other personalities. Often administrative heads of towns or of public libraries received the *Promenades*, such as those of Stuttgart, Geneva, Düsseldorf, Milan, London, Vienna, Breslau, Reichenberg, Berlin, Brussels, Dresden, Porto, Edinburgh, Prague, Liège, Amsterdam, Manchester, Leeds, Perth, Chicago, Bruges, Buenos-Aires, Turin, Tournai, Sellan, Potsdam, Basel, Altona, St. Petersburg, Lisbon, Stockholm, Madrid, New York, Leipzig, Boston, Cologne, Warsaw, Darmstadt, Philadelphia, Münich, Candia, Saint-Louis, Lucerne, Valparaiso, Odessa, Santiago. . . ."
4. Jean Alphand, *Les Promenades de Paris* (Paris, 1868), Vol. I, p. 246.
5. *Arboretum and Herbarium of the Town of Paris*, composed of 107 illustrations describing in detail the 1,620 trees, shrubs, and bushes, and the 2,320 flowering plants with decorative leaves that enter into the composition of urban vegetation. This description is accompanied by drawings inserted into the text and by twenty-three chromolithographic plates.
6. Alphand, *Les Promenades de Paris*, Vol. III, p. 516.
7. "The iron-rimmed edges placed at first along the sidewalks and painted with three coats of green oil paint cost seventy-five centimes per meter, a price more expensive than that of the chestnut *galeries*, which only cost thirty-five centimes. These latter *galeries* do not last and have been therefore replaced by cast-iron *galeries* molded on chestnut tree branches, which they imitate very closely, and which cost 1 franc and 25 centimes per meter."
8. Alphand, *Les Promenades de Paris*, p. 32.
9. "The high price of sandstone constructions, which amounts to over 300,000 francs in expenses for the wood, and the desire to be in greater proximity to nature by throwing rocks with a consistent geological constitution into the middle of the waters, have led to the adoption of a new method. This method, applied for the first time on the banks of the stream surrounding the ruins of the old Abbey of Longchamp, consists of forming blocks of rough masonry from quarry stones rough-cast in lime and sand mortar, and molding them into the shape the artist wants to obtain in the rock construction. A coat of cement is then applied to this masonry. The cement is liquefied so that it can be applied on the stones and the joints with a trowel. It is then cast with a brush, by means of which the entire mass is given the external appearance of natural calcareous rock" (p. 35).
10. Alphand, *Les Promenades de Paris*, Vol. III, p. 475.

Figure Credits
1–31 Courtesy the author.



The Great Exhibition of 1851 had demonstrated Great Britain's position as the foremost industrial world power, hardly rivaled by the small manifestations of French industry of 1834 and 1849. Thus, Louis-Napoleon, in his anglo-mania, and Haussmann, in his urge to open Paris to the commerce of the world, planned for a monumental opening of the new Paris. Called the Universal Exposition, it was finally held in 1867. Even as the plan of Haussmann's Paris evoked the Enlightenment vision of the forest city, so the plan of the exposition itself took the form of an Enlightenment ideal city in miniature, modeled almost literally on the plan of Ledoux's city of Chaux, the type of centralized town planning used in the eighteenth century. The exposition building at the same time monumentalized the glass arcades of the 1830's in concentric galleries that formed the streets of the city, each one dedicated to an industry and/or art. The surrounding gardens were laid out by Alphand, and the structure of the outermost arcade—the Gallerie des Machines—was calculated by the young engineer Eiffel. In this manner, the exposition, at once ideal city and circus, reoccupied the Champ de Mars, scene of the great festivals of the first Revolution.

It is a commonplace of cultural history that such exhibitions reflect the contradictions of advance and reaction: advance in the area of technique—industrial and architectural—as the engineers tried to surpass each other in the covering of interior space with the lattice tents of the new structures; reaction in the area of bourgeois culture, in the form of the manufactured and artistic objects on display. These contradictions were present, of course, in the 1867 exposition, but to a muted extent—such was the effectiveness of the evidently eclectic but ultimately unified project of Haussmann. They became clearer in the exposition of 1878, launched seven years after the civil war of the Commune and the defeat of France by Germany, in the attempt to recuperate a world position effectively lost for a decade. In this exhibition, also on the Champ de Mars, the cultural reactionism dominated the technical advancement, so that surrounded by iron galleries, the central building (fine arts) was solidly built of stone in the plan of a church.

By 1889, and following the recovery of French industry and the concomitant expansion of imperial ambitions, the advancement of technology and the defensive retrenchment of bourgeois liberalism were displayed side by side with apparent unconcern, but with devastating effect. Not only was it evident that the new engineering structures were pretending to high architectural status—a final response to the call of the Saint-Simonians, realists, and rationalists throughout the century—but also that the "culture" so jealously guarded by the middle classes was itself being superseded and invaded by mass production on a large scale. In this way, the exhibition represented the first sign of the collapse of bourgeois culture in the face of the second industrial revolution, a collapse to be finally ratified by the exposition of 1900. But at the same time, while the advance of technological utopia might be lauded by an avant-garde in painting and architecture, the clear relations between the new technology and imperialism, between the modes of production and the expansion of markets, were also spelled out in these exhibitions. It was significant that the Second International opened in Paris in 1889, attended by Marx's daughter in the company of William Morris, who, more than any Marxist of the decade, realized the connections between technique and the values which were embedded within it and challenged the notion of a value-free mode of production.

Also in 1889, a young student from Lyons, Tony Garnier, entered the Ecole des Beaux-Arts. Ten years later, and under the increasingly radical influence of Emile Zola, he was to attempt a reconciliation of technique and culture, science and art, in the framework of his new Industrial City. The form of his solution was to provide the hinge for an entire modern movement, as nineteenth century steel and concrete began to be evoked as the symbolic materials of a new, shining culture *of technology.*
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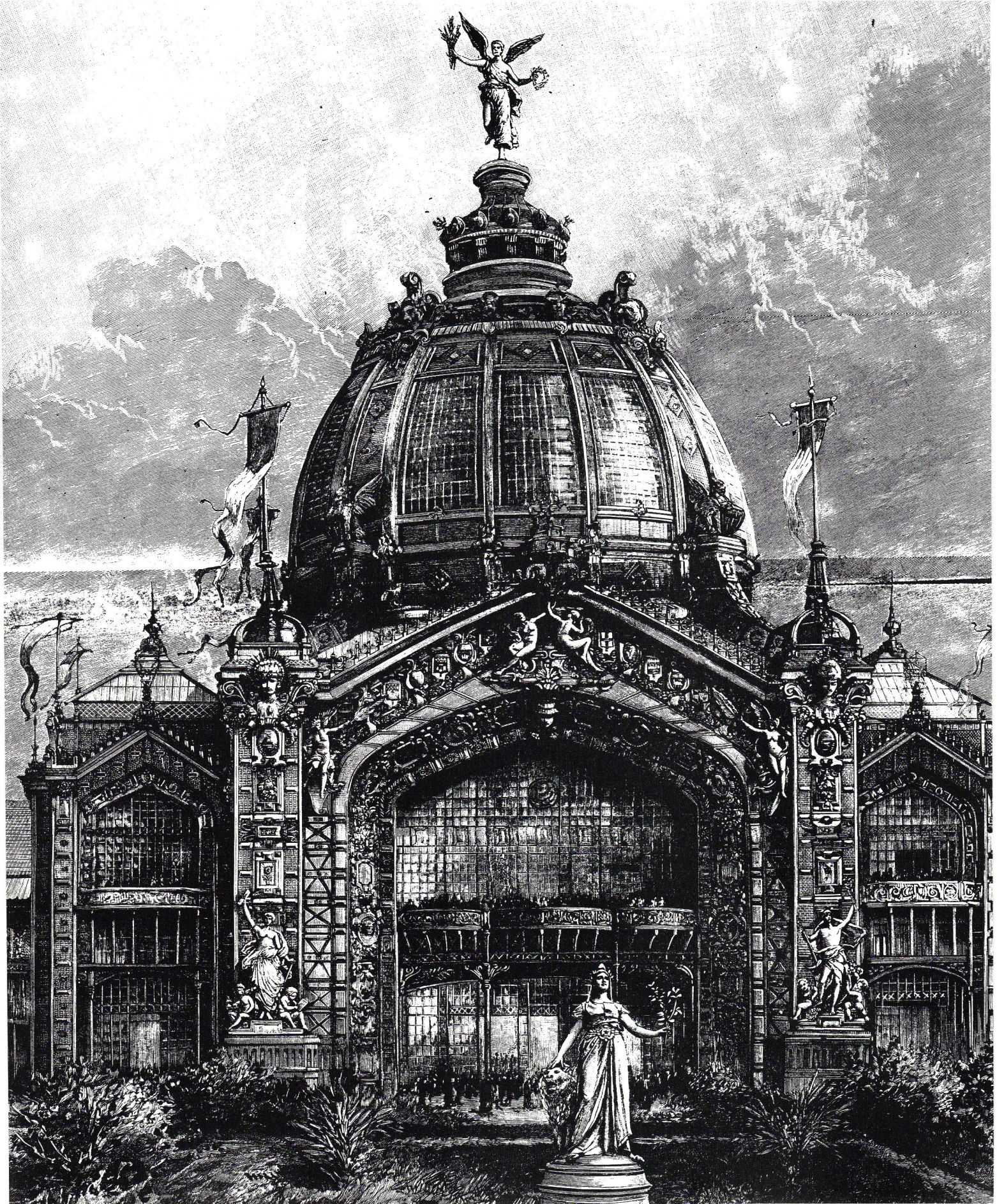


The 1889 Exhibition: The Crisis of Bourgeois Individualism

Debora L. Silverman

1 The Central Dome, the Paris Exhibition, 1889.

The building of the nineteenth century bourgeois world reached its spectacular conclusion with the unveiling of the thousand foot high Eiffel Tower in 1889. A graceful beacon of technology, the interlaced iron edifice was a synthesis of new materials and new methods of engineering construction. The imposing iron structure boldly proclaimed itself to be a modern obelisk, at once the legitimate heir to the monumental edifices of the past and the spokesman for contemporary bourgeois grandeur. The bolted wrought-iron column thus was directly posed against the decorative and, in a sense, overwrought, stone Opéra, competing for recognition as the primary statement of the new bourgeois industrial world.

The Eiffel Tower not only physically transformed the existing skyline of Paris but also constituted a revolution in cultural expression. Unmatched in sheer scale, the iron colossus was also unprecedented for another reason—it marked the birth of the iron monument. Throughout the nineteenth century, the domains of engineering and architecture, technical practice and aesthetic endeavor, had been clearly separated. Construction in iron was relegated to meeting the demands of industrial efficiency. It was utilized for the purposes of mass transport, and for the creation of such temporary structures as railroad sheds, arcades, and exhibition halls.[1] The new building material had been effectively banished from the world of art; where it was utilized overtly in public monuments—in the libraries of Labrouste for example—it was always subjected to the stylistic demands of the classicist, the gothicist, or the eclectic. The bourgeoisie preferred, when presenting a picture of itself to itself, to draw upon disparate elements of the historical past. At one time in the cloak of resplendent baroque, at another in the guise of noble classicism, the bourgeoisie eclectically borrowed its dream world from eras of spiritual greatness. This selectivity was the logic governing the creation of nineteenth-century Paris as *parvenu* cityscape.

The wrought-iron column as *monument* represented the convergence of engineering and architecture, thereby subverting the traditional rift between life and art, technical exigency and culture. The new production material confidently stated an impelling poetry of the constructed environment, fashioned in accord with an advanced industrial reality.

The origin and purpose of the Eiffel Tower was related to the Paris Exhibition of 1889 for which it was commissioned. The tower played an indispensable role in the unity of the exhibition; it was both the capstone of a series of architectural spectacles and the culmination of a series of statements to the French nation and to the European community, carefully articulated and projected by the exhibition planners. In the eyes of the sponsors of the exhibition—the moderate liberal politicians of the Third Republic—the tower, at once the gargantuan entrance to the exhibition and its most lasting monument, would state and recapitulate the exhibition's designated theme—the unprecedented achievements of French liberalism under the Third Republic. The overt monumentality of the exhibition's architecture, its unparalleled number of exhibitors, and the dazzling illuminations created by the first displays of electricity (fig. 2) were all to affirm the apotheosis of liberalism (fig. 3).

A mood of euphoria and of supreme confidence indeed pervaded the reports, speeches, and writings of contemporary sponsors.[2] Yet the exhibition itself was organized during a period of two significant crises—a short-term political crisis of the Third Republic between 1883 and 1889, and the more general crisis of European liberalism, which encountered striking challenges to both its institutions and its guiding assumptions concerning the nature of man and society during the last two decades of the nineteenth century. This dual crisis was the exhibition's thematic point of reference, and the glowing rhetoric of the exhibition sponsors must be measured against it.

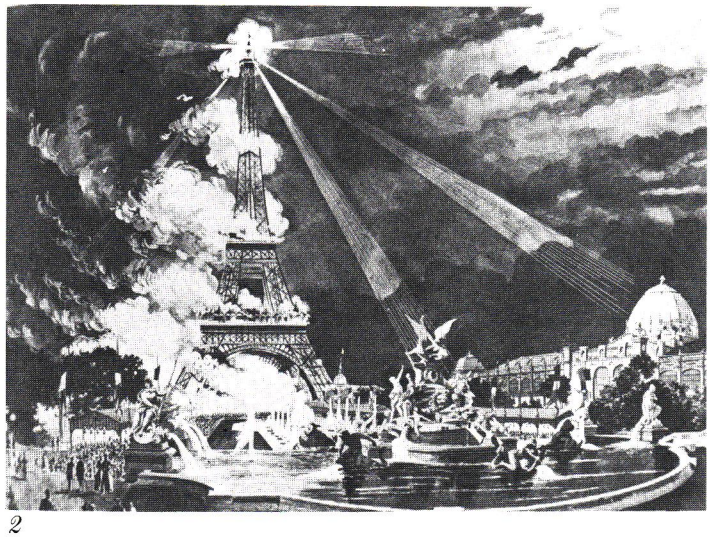
The planning of the exhibition was aimed at three political goals: reconciliation, rehabilitation at home, and imperial supremacy abroad.

As conceived by Prime Minister Jules Ferry in 1880, the idea of a grand Universal Exhibition in the year 1889 was to be a bold statement of confidence—a confirmation of the consolidation of the Third Republic and an affirmation of the

2 The Eiffel Tower, Paris. Gustav Eiffel, architect, 1889.

3 The official Exhibition medallion depicted the fair as the prefiguration of a new world; the Marianne of the Republic bestowed her garment on Homo Faber, *man the maker, who sat amidst his tools and pointed to the Exhibition, as the rays of the sun of a constructed technological world were rising on the horizon.*

4 Paris, transformed by electricity, into a cité féerique.



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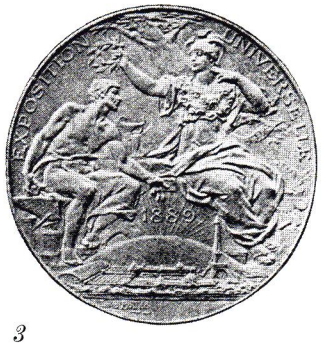

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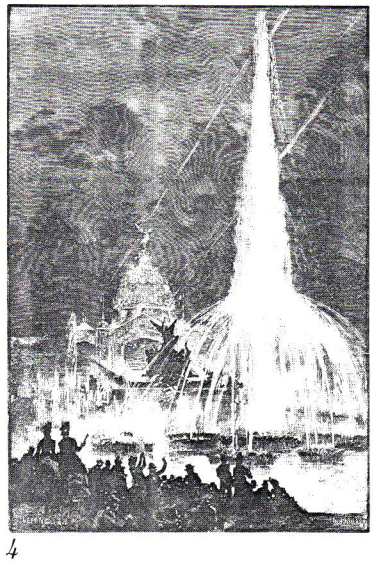

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promise of liberal republicanism in the new decade. To the nation and to its European neighbors, the exhibition would be a signal of recovery after the foreign siege and civil war of 1870–1871.[3]

Yet, as the exhibition moved from initial inspiration to actual construction between 1886 and 1889, the optimism of Jules Ferry was seriously undermined.[4] The economic, political, and social program of republican opportunism was increasingly under attack. Economically, the republican government had failed to offset the "great deflation"[5] which developed in 1873 and was intensified during the mid-1880's; the decline affected both agriculture and the new large-scale mechanized industries as well as traditional small-scale manufacturing and trades.[6] The impact of the economic crisis was manifested in the prolonged ten percent level of unemployment during the mid-eighties.[7]

Politically the hegemony of the moderate republicans had been vociferously challenged by the reorganization of the Left and the mobilization of the Right. The temporary depoliticization of the working classes in the aftermath of the Commune had been superseded by the formation of two revolutionary political parties—the Anarchists in 1881 and the Socialists in 1882[8]—and by the coordination of a militant and collectivist trade union movement in 1886–1887,[9] while the forces of the Right had been revitalized by alliances of Conservatives, Royalists, and clergy against the anti-clerical Republic.[10] The success of the right-wing militarist General Boulanger in the Parisian parliamentary elections of 1888 promised, if not a coup-d'état, a landslide victory in the general elections of the next year against a scandal-ridden republican hierarchy.[11] Thus, in 1889, the year of the Exhibition's scheduled opening, the future of the Third Republic seemed to hang in a fragile balance.

Political division at home was coupled with uneasiness abroad. Despite the fact that by 1889, France had fashioned an empire second only to England,[12] this imperial triumph was undercut by the tensions of the "armed peace"[13] between Germany, England, and their European neighbors. Each country, cordial on the surface, was absorbed at home "in preparedness for war."[14]

It was in this context of national division and international tension that the planning of the exhibition evolved. Its liberal republican sponsors came to construe the exhibition less as a Ferry-inspired offensive statement and more as an expedient defensive tactic. The exhibition would provide a means for the restoration of prestige to the ailing Third Republic, silencing its critics at home and outshining its rivals abroad.

The exhibition was thus seen as a stimulus to a lagging economy: the construction of its huge pavilions would bolster the metals industry, employ workers, and encourage the selling of French products.[15] It would also provide an invaluable public forum for displaying the achievements of French liberalism. Most importantly, the organization of the exhibition in the year 1889 gave the republicans a unique ideological advantage; they became responsible for planning the celebration of the hundredth anniversary of the French Revolution of 1789. The compelling appeal to this common historical legacy was a means for transcending contemporary social division.

The public celebration of this centennial was, therefore, inevitably fashioned in order that the past might be reinterpreted to fit the needs of the present. The official commemoration of this event of 1789 was an exercise in selective historical remembrance, centering about the specific revolutionary actors with whom the Third Republic liberals could identify. Significantly enough, the revolution commemorated in 1889 was the political revolution of 1789, a revolution framed by liberals seeking a limited civil and juridical authority; notably absent from mention was the popular explosion which had followed the egalitarian Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen. The moderate liberals of the Third Republic had no desire to disinter the memory of either the social idealism or the violent Terror of the First Republic.

The official celebration of the centennial was embodied in two ceremonies: a state pilgrimage to Versailles on May 5, 1889, and the inauguration of the Exhibition itself. At Versailles, President Sadi-Carnot, members of the ministry, and the legislative corps gathered to commemorate the opening of the Estates-General one hundred years earlier. A plaque was placed in the Salles des Menus-Plaisirs to recall the site where the representatives of the clergy, nobility, and the third estate had proclaimed the end of tyrannical kingship and the formation of a National Assembly.[16] A military review succeeded the plaque ceremony. The contrast between apparent stability and the actual political situation was perceived by one observer who dryly noted that "this martial parade had a close affinity with the day when the Paris National Guard came to protect Louis XVI against the stirring of the populace and led him safely to Paris."[17]

While the Versailles ceremony was conducted with impeccable decorum and solemn privacy, the second celebration was public and clamorous—the politicians returned to Paris. Shortly before two o'clock on May 6, 1889, President Sadi-Carnot himself led an official tribune along the Champs-Elysées, across the Pont d'Iéna, and underneath the arches of the Eiffel Tower. The procession, flanked by French *cuirassiers* and colonial honor guards, continued along the exhibition's central axis and halted beneath the Central Dome (see fig. 1).

The dedication ceremony was ritualistic, with speeches, songs, and pageantry co-mingling with an industrial and nationalistic liturgy. Prime Minister Tirard, presenting the exhibition to President Sadi-Carnot, glorified the wonders of science and called for social peace and faith in the nation and the Republic. Sadi-Carnot lauded "a great century which has opened a new era in the history of humanity" and sang praises to France, "who has the right to be proud of herself and to celebrate the economic and political centenary of 1789 with her head held high."[18] Sadi-Carnot then dedicated the Statue of the Republic which guarded the Central Dome. The speeches were followed by the singing of the "Marseillaise," led by a military orchestra and a chorus of soldiers and sailors. The rites closed with a military review, as the troops of artillery men and cavalrymen filed by the Dome under the eyes of Carnot and state officials. The officers in the garrisons saluted the Statue of the Republic with their swords and guns as they passed.[19]

Any serious assessment of the revolutionary legacy or of a century marked not only by the "material and social progress" glorified by Sadi-Carnot but also by misery, civil war, and vehement political passions was effectively foreclosed by the gala spectacles offered by the Exhibition on May 6 and every night thereafter. The whole site was turned into a fairground, creating a diversion from, and a temporary suspension of political and social differences. Unparalleled grand *fêtes,* accorded the exhilarating benefits of the new technical wonder, electricity, transformed the 228 acres of the Exhibition into a *ville lumière.* The carnival atmosphere and a spirit of fantasy made the project known as a *cité féerique* (fig. 4).[20]

The most magnificent display at the exhibition was the light show on the Eiffel Tower. High above the city, the tower's crown, a powerful electric beacon, filled the skies with flashing tricolor beams of light—blue, white, and red. Two huge revolving spotlights on the second platform lit up different sections of the fairgrounds and the monuments of the city (see fig. 2). This dizzying pageantry was coupled with clamorous sound effects as the cannon on the tower boomed and fireworks resounded. The phantasmagoria of the scene was summarized in the overwhelming image of the tower as it appeared in 1889. Not only did it direct glowing multicolored light beams into the night, but the tower's own structure was an iridescent vision. It was graced by thousands of colored light bulbs, and the surface of its iron lacework was coated by different shades of colored enamel paint.[21]

The centennial's moderate republican sponsors thus resisted a serious collective assessment of the past by a highly selective celebration of the French revolutionary legacy and by the creation of dazzling public festivities. Coupled with this distraction of attention from the complete, authentic picture of the past was another strategy—the refocusing of attention on the image and reality of a dynamic, vigorous nation. The entire exhibition resonated with the overtones of French nationalism. From the topographical disposition of the different pavilions, to the character of those architectural structures dealing with France and her products, to the patterns of iconographic representation, the theme of a glorious nation was crystallized, with two major dimensions. The first concerned the past. The idea of the French nation, one outcome of the French Revolution, was emphasized as the totality of its historical legacy, with the Third Republic projected as its guardian and direct link. The second concerned contemporary politics. The idea of the French nation was invested with new meaning in the context of the rise of an activist, militarist, and chauvinist nationalism during the decade of the 1880's.[22]

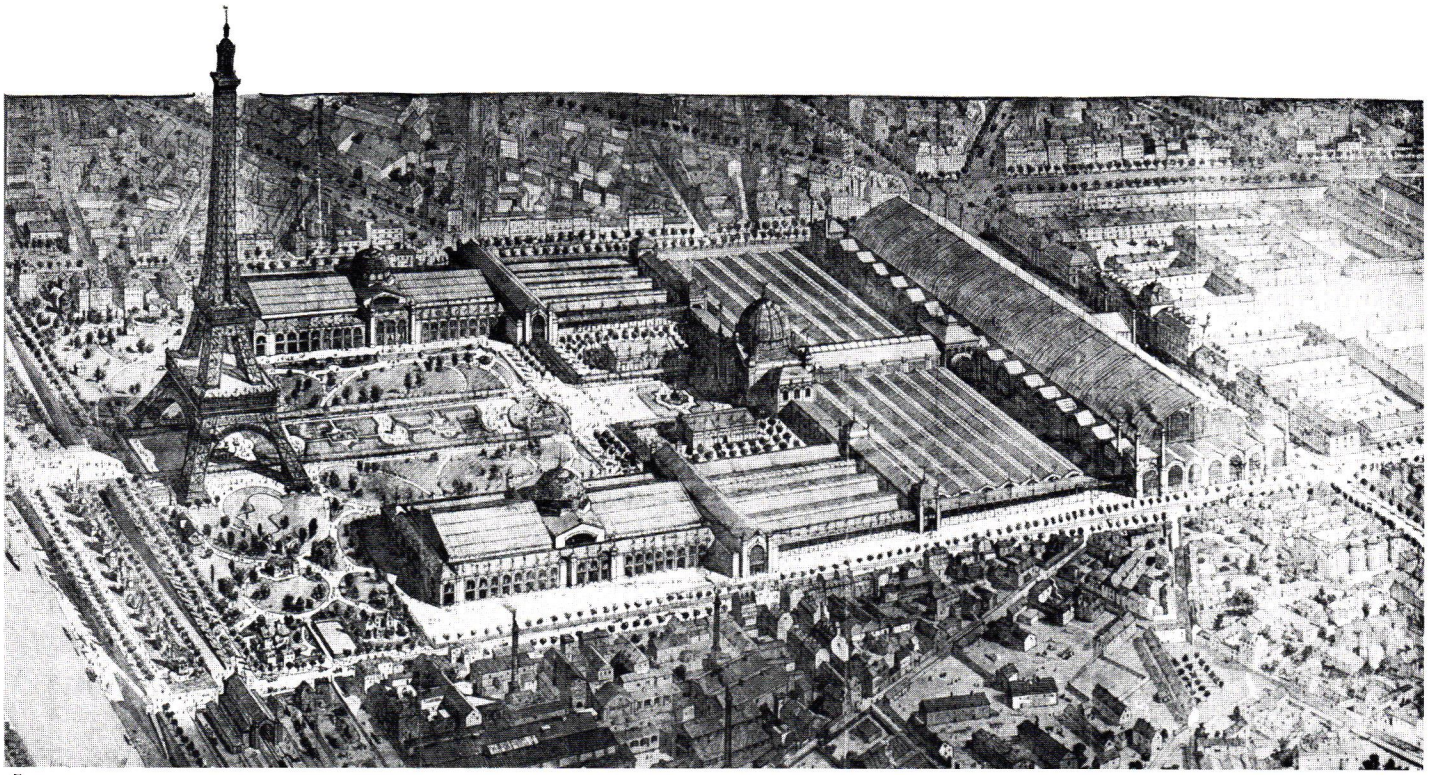
To this end, all the architectural forms, spatial effects, and iconography of religious worship were employed at the exhibition, but transposed in a new secularized key: exaltation of the glory of God was replaced with the veneration of the aura of the nation. The entire project embodied one huge cathedral. The Eiffel Tower, actually modeled on Nôtre Dame's soaring steeple, formed a lofty spire. Directly behind it, the long central axis of the Champ-de-Mars created a sweeping nave, which culminated in the massive Central Dome and Palace of Machines—an impressive horizontal transept (fig. 5).

The interior of the Central Dome was similarly arranged in the style of the religious sanctuary. The massive cupola, reminiscent of St. Peter's, was decorated with circular panels that described the development of a national history. The ground level was filled with rooms devoted to the products of national manufacturing. A circular balcony on the second level presented the triumphs of French painting and science. Along the iron pillars supporting the balcony were the by now familiar gilded plaques bearing the insignia "RF," alternated with plaques bearing the words "L'AIR, L'ELECTRICITÉ"—as if even the earthly elements were embraced in the national domain.

The approach of the spectator to the "cathedral" of the nation from beneath the colossal arches of the Eiffel Tower was along a path that led directly to the Central Dome and was marked by a series of allegorical statues (fig. 6). Similar spatial dynamics had been used at St. Peter's in Rome, where the impact of the distant central sanctuary was emphasized by the dramatic central axis preceding it. The saintly scouts which guided the pilgrim at St. Peter's were

5 The Paris Exhibition, 1889. Aerial view.

6 The central axis to the Exhibition.



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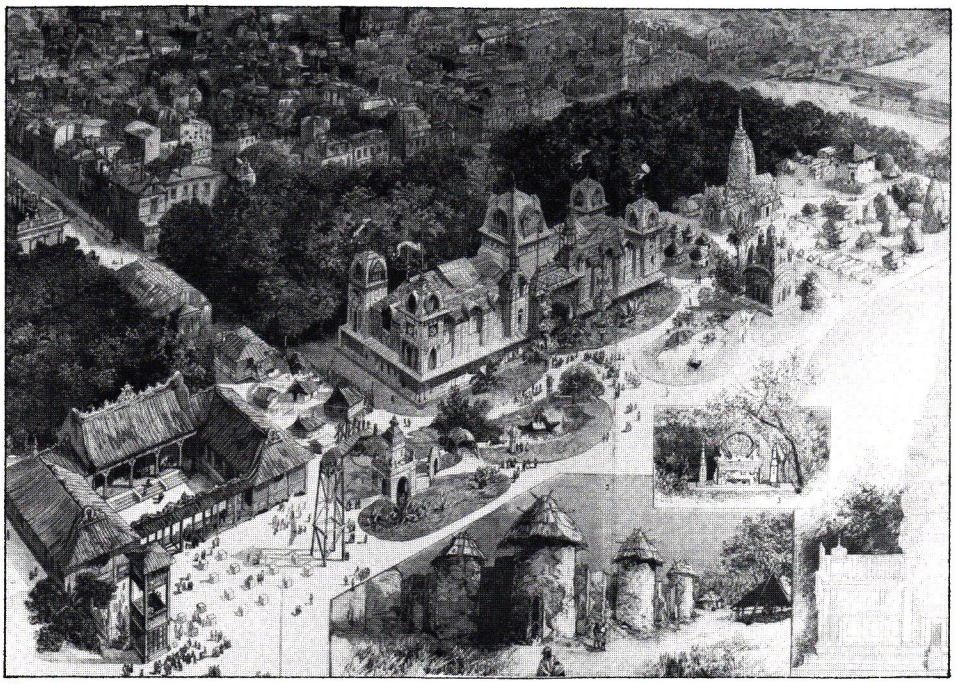
7 The colonial city, The Paris Exhibition, 1889.

8 The Ministry of War as medieval castle, The Paris Exhibition, 1889.

9 The Algerian mosques and Tunisian casbahs, The Paris Exhibition, 1889.

10 African "village" reconstituted on the Esplanade. The Paris Exhibition, 1889.

11 A typical Arab street, the rue du Caire. The Paris Exhibition, 1889.



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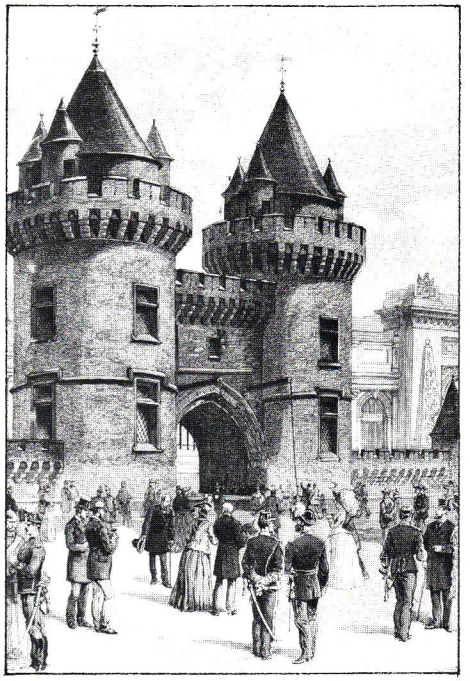

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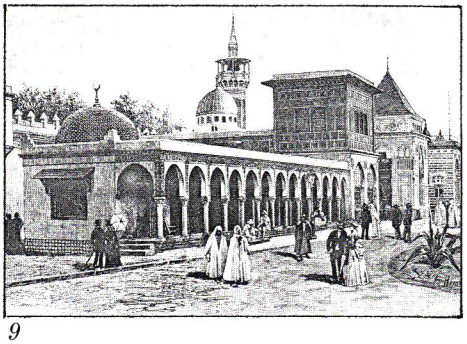

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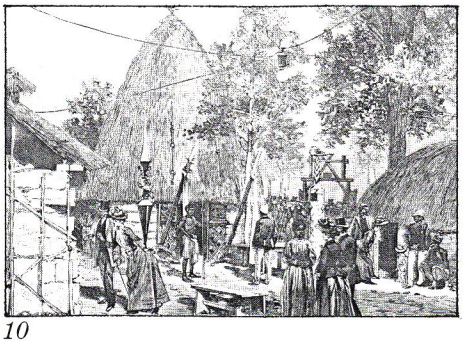

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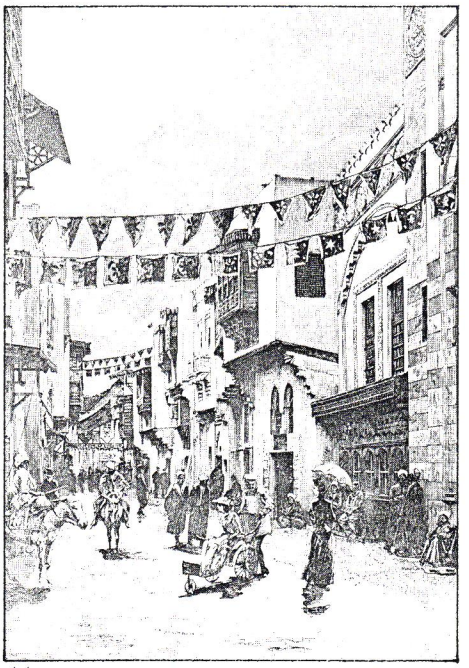

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replaced at the exhibition with figures culled from classical mythology, figures representing agriculture, and numerous mother and child figures, while the doorkeepers flanking the entry into the national shrine were Commerce and Industry.

A second form, that of the Triumphal Arch, accentuated the exhibition's nationalistic theme. The Commissioner of the project, Edward Lockroy, stated that, "it was understood that the exhibition would take the form of an Arch of Triumph laid out on the ground; the summit being formed by the Palace of Machines, the keystone by the Central Dome, and the two extended arms by the parallel Palace of the Beaux-Arts and the Palace of the Liberal Arts."[23] Gustav Eiffel, who modeled the massive arches and the first platform of his tower directly after the Arc de Triomphe in Paris noted, "My goal was to show the world that, despite her undeserved misfortunes, France is still capable of succeeding where other nations failed, by her audacity and science. I wished to raise to the glory of modern science and to the honor of French industry a triumphal arch as striking as those that preceding nations raised to conquerors."[24]

The linchpin of this new nationalism was found in two remarkable exhibits—one of the Ministry of War, and the other the newly included Exhibit of the French Colonies, both sited on the Esplanade des Invalides to the northeast of the Champ-de-Mars.

Within an immense pavilion in the shape of a medieval fortress the Ministry of War displayed the newest advances in the arts of war since France's disastrous defeat in the Franco-Prussian War (fig. 8).

Beyond this was the colonial exhibit, a colorful ensemble of exotic structures—Moslem minarets, Cambodian pagodas, Algerian mosques, and Tunisian casbahs (fig. 9)—comprising an enclave filled with the sights, sounds, and smells of a non-European world. The co-mingling of the tapestries, leatherwork, and jewelry of Arabian bazaars; the ivory, gold, and woodwork of Gabonese markets; Annamite gongs; Senegalese tom-toms; and sinuous young Javanese women performing native dances introduced the spectator to the reality of France's overseas empire.[25] The planners of this exhibit created an entire colonial city on the wide plain of the Esplanade. This colonial city encompassed four different ethnic "neighborhoods"—Arab, Oceanic, African, and Asian (fig. 7). The spectator was literally transported around the world upon entering the colonial section. The quarter was divided into streets and alleys, each named after a colony or protectorate. Visitors made their way through "Le passage du Tonkin," "L'Avenue de Gabon," and "Le Rue d'Haiphong."

In this way, each colony was provided with a separate space, in which were displayed not only its identifying crafts and handiwork, but also its typical modes of habitation and the representative natives to be found in those habitats. This principle of authenticity shaped the most spectacular attraction of the colonial exhibit—the colonial peoples themselves. For the duration of the exhibition, 182 natives from Asia and Africa lived and worked in their "villages," reconstituted on the Esplanade (fig. 10). Included in the model villages were entertainments and refreshment centers, each in appropriate indigenous style. A grandiose advertising campaign for the colonies, through the exhibition, sought to mobilize support for the policies of national imperialism. The Commissioner of the Colonial Exhibit noted that "The goal of the exhibit was to show the colonies to France. . . . After seeing the 1889 colonial display, who is not astonished that only two or three years ago, there were bitter disputes about the utility of the colonies? The least suspecting visitors have been seized with enthusiasm by the spectacle before their eyes; the skeptics have been obliged to face the facts. . . . In a word, the trial of colonialism was concluded by the tribunal of public opinion in 1889."[26]

The Paris Exhibition of 1889 was an enormous success; its official closing date was postponed for a week. As the gates to the fairgrounds were finally locked on November 6, entrance records revealed that an unprecedented 32,000,000 visitors had passed through the colossal iron gateway.[27] It also appeared that the exhibition fulfilled the expectations posited by its moderate republican sponsors. As intended, the exhibition played its part in bolstering a sluggish

economy. The project provided a boost to the metals industry, employed destitute workers, and created a temporary market for craftsmen who filled the exhibition's many concessionaries with trinkets and memorabilia.[28] As a "political dividend" the exhibition proved to be an effective agent for the promotion of republican national and international policy. At home, the exhibition gave the Third Republic needed reassurance and confidence. In the general elections held shortly after the exhibition's termination, the threatened sweep of Boulanger did not materialize. The republicans, on the other hand, gained considerably in the National Assembly. Contemporary observers linked this electoral victory to the success of the exhibitions.[29] While it is difficult to support this claim of a direct relationship between the exhibition and the election, the project may have contributed in a general way to changing the image of the Third Republic in the eyes of some of the voters.

The enthusiasm of the public celebration of the centennial played its part in conveying a semblance of common purpose. One reviewer expressed particularly the theme of reconciliation: "The moral results more than the material gains from the exhibition were evinced, in that at home we have been brought together in fraternity, and are no longer like the two Frances we have been during the past years."[30]

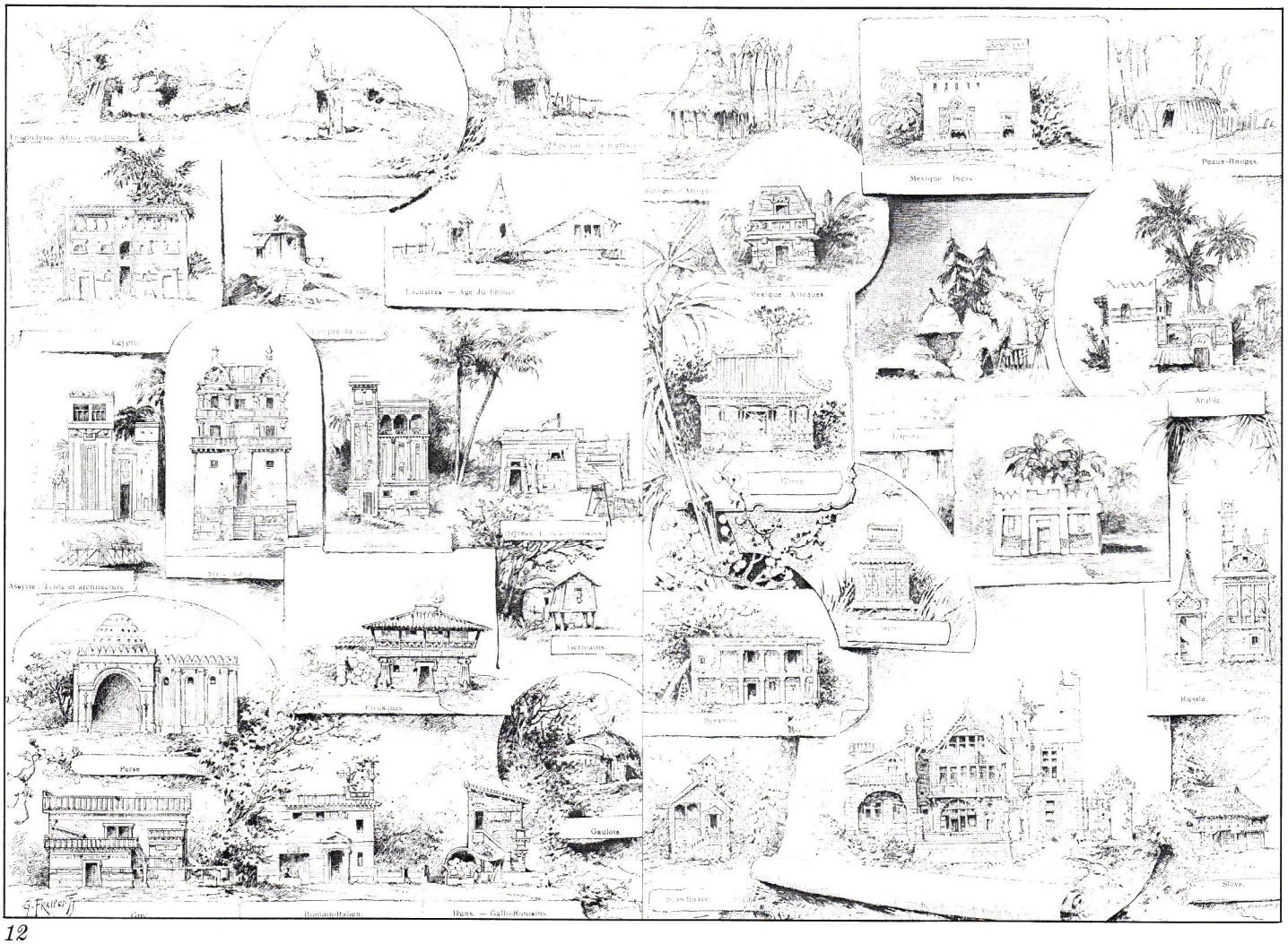
The most common reaction to the exhibition was that France had proven herself to the world. There was an agreement among many observers that the gigantic display of France's intellectual, industrial, scientific, and artistic activity was a smashing demonstration of the vitality and power of the French nation. Guy de Maupassant's statement that the exhibition had "shown the world, just when it needed to be shown, the strength, the vigor and the inexhaustible wealth of that surprising country, France"[31] was echoed by a German correspondent, who read the projected message of recovery and supremacy from the exhibition and sent this news home: "We have been too inclined to see French industrial spirit in decline. That is a fatal error, as the exhibition proves strikingly. The giant constructions . . . with their huge and richly filled galleries are proof that the French capacity for work has not been idle for a moment, and that this nation is firmly resolved to reconquer its preponderant place in world markets."[32]

While political expediency may have dictated the conscious manipulation of the centennial exhibition as a rallying point for the nation, this grand public event was also the means for the projection of cultural values. As the republicans pressed the exhibition into the service of their short-term political needs, they unconsciously fashioned it according to their cultural ideals, the ideals of bourgeois liberalism.

The primary cultural assumption on which the thematic coherence of the exhibition was based was the legacy of the eighteenth century Enlightenment. This emerged in three ways. The first was the principle of classification. Defined as a living encyclopedia, the exhibition was the incarnation of Diderot's attempt to organize reality into a compendium of taxonomies. The exhibition was an exercise in categorization and typology. Every dimension of human thought and activity was provided with a taxonomic label. The project collected and displayed objects according to geographic areas (each individual country being assigned its particular pavilion with its representative architectural forms), types of human being (from the pavilion of children to the exhibits concerning the "primitives"), varieties of intellectual experience (from painting to science), and types of human work (industrial, craft, and agricultural). Visitors were directed through the exhibition by a clear organization of the displays into nine major "groups" and eighty-three subgroups or "classes."[33]

Embodied in this process of classification was the notion of typicality. Each of the nine major groups at the exhibition was to include and present at least one sample of every known specimen in that particular category. Each group was to be truly "representative," and was to embody the essence of the subject at hand. In this way a veritable constellation of mini-cities was created, each devoted to a particular subject. Thus the *ville arabe*[34] contained an array of "characteristic" Arabian domes, minarets, and products. A typical Arab street, the rue du Caire, was actually simulated on the fairgrounds. A narrow alleyway crowded with donkeys and lined with casbahs and Arabian shutters, the rue du Caire was designed by a colonial deputy to be a

12 The History of Human Habitations. The Paris Exhibition, 1889. Charles Garnier, architect, 1889.



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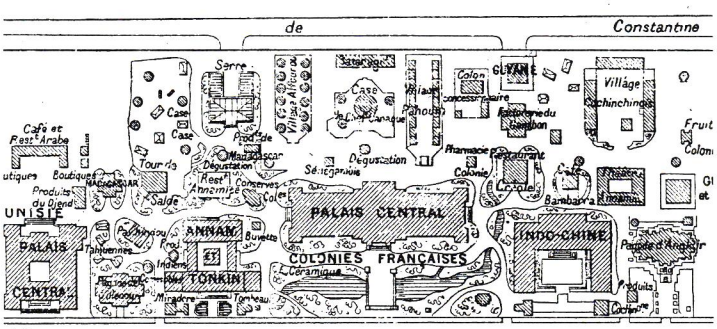
13 Plan of the Colonial Exhibition on the Esplanade des Invalides. The Paris Exhibition, 1889.



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80 synthesis of the Arab world (fig. 11). A similar interest in a representative synthesis was evinced in the *ville des fleurs*,[35] the horticultural exhibit. Here a "complete collection" of types of flowers from all over the world was assembled and displayed.[36]

The interplay of the principles of classification, typicality, and comprehensiveness came together in one remarkable exhibit, the History of Human Habitations, designed and prepared by the architect of the Paris Opéra, Charles Garnier. This display presented a living history of man through his dwelling places. Along the entire width of the fairgrounds on the Champ-de-Mars, and directly in front of the Eiffel Tower, Garnier constructed a series of edifices which encompassed with "marvelous exactitude"[37] a taxonomy of human shelters from the dwellings of cavemen to those of the present, in all countries (fig. 12). After careful research, Garnier created "authentic" reproductions of habitats for each era of man's civilization. The stages of evolution were demonstrated in the shelters of the stone, bronze, and iron ages, followed by structures from the lands of ancient Phoenicia, Assyria, Israel, and Hellenistic Greece. The next stages of civilization were marked by a tripartite edifice, which included facades from Rome, the Middle Ages, and the Renaissance in one structure. Emphasizing Garnier's complete belief in the classical humanist tradition evolved in the Renaissance, no habitat was included to indicate the centuries between the Renaissance and the structure behind it, the Eiffel Tower.

Garnier not only reconstructed each distinct housing pattern, but replicated the particular way of life with which each habitat was associated. The interiors of each habitat were furnished in the mode typical for its era and country. Simulated natives in popular costumes completed the authenticity of each reproduction. The spectator could enter any of the habitats, and, according to the display, be greeted by a Scandinavian fisherman, a Roman glassblower, or a Russian peasant. These inhabitants even served the appropriate native refreshments.[38]

The inheritance of the Enlightenment was evident not only in the classificatory style but also in the overt connection of the exhibition with the image of light. The brilliant aura of the courtly *fêtes* of the eighteenth century—the *siècle des lumières*—was recaptured as Paris in 1889 was literally transformed into a *ville lumière*. As the exhibition converted night into day with the first public use of electricity, the city was lifted out of its ordinary existence into a mysterious, fanciful realm (see fig. 2). The sweeping nightly illumination of the fairgrounds and of the main monuments of the city conveyed a technological utopianism, which had its roots in the Enlightenment faith in man's limitless potential for mastery of his environment.

Following the metaphor of "enlightenment," the exhibition further confirmed and extended the Enlightenment conceptions of education and the diffusion and application of reason to human affairs. The project as a whole was planned as a great didactic device. Three exhibits in particular captured the tone of public instruction and popular edification. The first was the Palace of the Liberal Arts, which revealed the institutionalization of public education under the Third Republic. Here, for the first time, sections of the exhibit were devoted to primary education and the development of the child and to the "organization and materials" of both secondary and advanced education.[39] The theme of this entire exhibit of the liberal arts was the great progress of man the thinker, as a being who acted upon the natural world. A series of frieze-like panels, which delineated the great inventors and the wonders of science, covered the walls of the edifice. The section on ethnography and anthropology traced the evolution of man from a "primitive" tool maker to a civilized technological expert.[40]

The social ideal of gradual evolutionary change through education and steady uplift emerged at two related exhibits on the expansive Esplanade des Invalides. Both were striking innovations, each making their first appearance at an exhibition. The first was the display directly to the right of the Exhibit of the Ministry of War—L'Exposition de l'Economie Sociale. This section was concerned with French industrial workers. Immediately facing the exhibits of the Ministry of War and of the social economy was the large section devoted to the French overseas colonies.

14 Top hat, frockcoat, and umbrella, a native from Gabon enters the bourgeoisie.

14

It was significant that the French workers, the Ministry of War, and the French colonies were all relegated to one distinct segment of the exhibition grounds. The spatial disposition itself was laden with definite meanings. On the right side of the Esplanade was the colonial city (fig. 13). On the extreme right and directly facing the section of the workers was a pavilion of a model school, *la maison d'école.* On the left side of the Esplanade, from left to right, was the imposing medieval fortress of the Ministry of War and its pavilion halls, followed by these components of the *economie sociale:* a large display of the forms of "public assistance," a display of public health, which included a model of a clean and "hygienic" worker's habitat in comparison with one that was unclean and unhygienic, a popular working-class restaurant, a model recreational *cercle ouvrier,* a series of model worker homes to be found in industrial areas, a pavilion presenting the types of cooperative associations among workers and between patron and worker, and a large pavilion displaying the forms of state-aided benefits for workers.

The total configuration symbolized the two means through which the republican elite asserted its legitimacy and authority over two threatening social groups: workers at home and colonial peoples abroad. One—force—was displayed with all of its massive up-to-date weaponry in the pavilions of the Ministry of War. The other, state paternalism, which would, it was hoped, ultimately eliminate social and racial differences, found its architectural expressions in the placement of the model school between the two exhibits, and in the construction of the large pavilions of public assistance and public health, two central forms of liberal state sponsorship.

Through the exhibit of the *economie sociale,* the state made a gesture of friendship to the workers by providing them with a separate showcase at the exhibition. The gesture was extended in the spirit of reconciliation which had followed an immediate post-Commune reaction. No previous exhibition had recognized workers as a social group which merited a distinct display.

A contemporary catalogue characterized the exposition of the *economie sociale* as "a statement, a lesson, and a means of propoganda."[41] The statement was best articulated by Edward Lockroy himself: "we wanted to honor labor in all of its forms . . . this glorification of labor will be the affirmation of the pacific intentions of our country."[42] This kind of statement shaped one purpose of the exhibit—to generate social understanding. The planners included a series of model worker dwellings and reconstructed a typical working-class restaurant and recreational center in order to familiarize the public with the working-class way of life. Yet the "lesson" and the propagandistic overtones to the exhibit were the most marked. Uniting in an ensemble a range of institutions created for the "betterment of the moral and material condition of the workers,"[43] the exhibit of the social economy was intended to impress upon both workers and patrons the mutual benefits to be derived from certain limited forms of worker association. While self-directed workers' syndicates and cooperative societies were among sixteen of the forms of worker organizations represented, the major emphasis of the exhibit dealt with those forms of organization which were sponsored by the state or by benevolent large-scale industrialists. The other sections in this exhibit dealt with types of accident insurance, retirement plans, state-sponsored credit unions, and a diversity of patronal measures which facilitated the cooperation between worker and employer. The message of this entire spectrum was best summarized in the following observation: "Scores of visitors flocked to the exhibit of the French social economy, and for many it was a veritable revelation. . . . This impression was made: that it is by the development of institutions like those represented here that we will generate and nurture the ideals of appeasement, reconciliation, and stability between workers and patrons . . . the conditions sine qua non of social progress."[44] To the skeptical employer the catalogue advised that: "[these institutions] develop in the producer the values of diligence, responsibility, and initiative. They augment the worker's value and his productivity."[45]

A similar tone of benevolent paternalism shaped the planners' attitudes toward the colonial exhibit. For, as the commissioner of this section noted, its purpose was not only "to show the colonies to France," but "to show France to the

15 View of the exterior of the Palace of Machines.

16 The Palace of Machines, the Paris Exhibition, 1889. Plan.

17 Inside of the Central Gallery showing the carved portals.

18 The mahogany cabinets of the Central Gallery.

19 The massive mahogany door-posts in the Central Gallery.

colonies."[46] The transporting of native peoples to the Parisian fairgrounds was intended to provide a contact between communities which would prove advantageous not merely as a political campaign for French public opinion. The planners hoped that the natives would imbibe the full grandeur of French civilization, and come to realize their own privileged position as members of the French family of nations (fig. 14).[47]

A second cultural assumption—the ethos of materialism—dominated this exhibition as strongly as it had the other exhibitions of the nineteenth century. The very existence of the international exhibition was rooted in the idea that everything had an exchange value. In 1889, the commodity showcase took on unprecedented and breathtaking proportions. In its 228 acres were packed hitherto unrepresented technological wonders and articles of consumption from the exotic corners of the globe.

Variety, novelty, and diversion were glorified to celebrate the apotheosis of the marketable commodity. Indeed, as one observer noted, there was some confusion as to whether one would characterize the exhibition as a static, solemn *musée* or as a fantastic, bustling *foire*.[48]

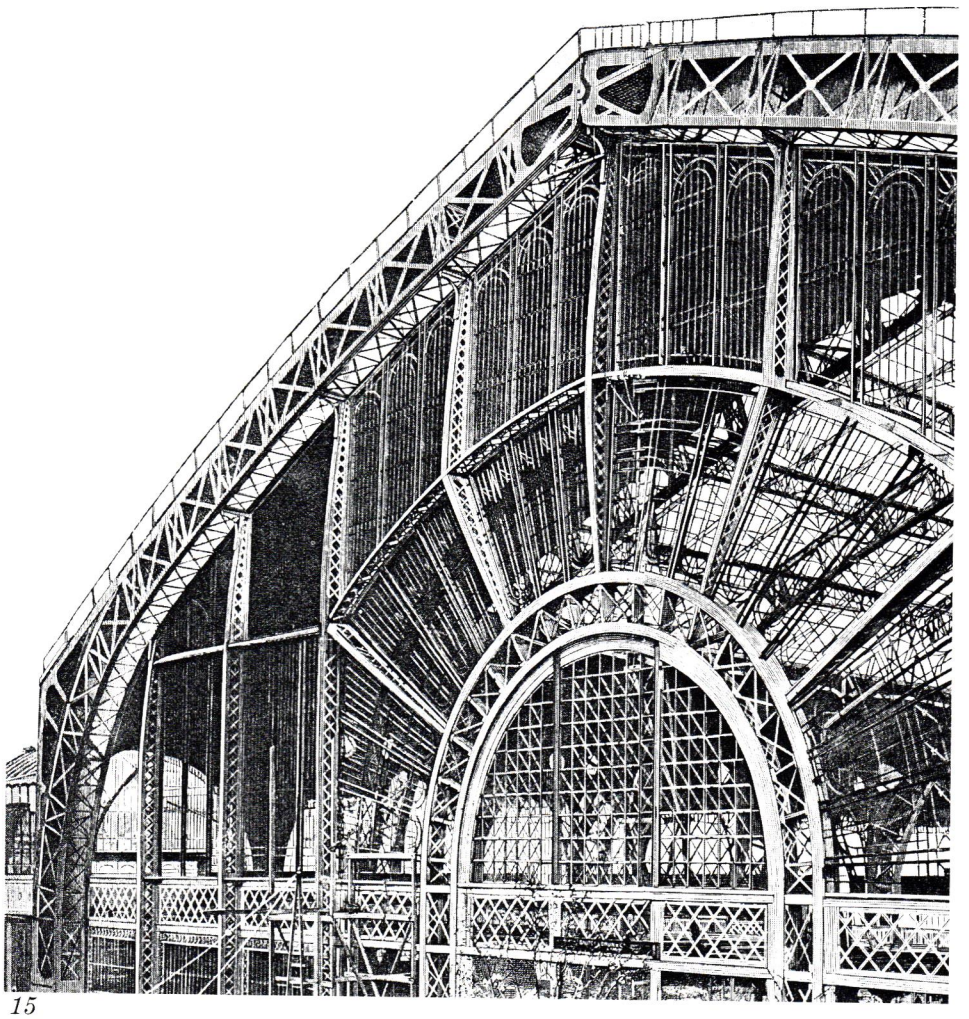
There was a variety of stimulants for each of the senses. For the eye, the constant bombardment of exquisite arabesques, co-mingling colors and architectural forms "prevented all monotony."[49] For the touch, the spectator had at his fingertips such different textures as the Gabonese weaving looms and the electric switches at the Thomas Edison pavilion. A stroll through the fairgrounds also assaulted the visitor's sense of smell. The six hundred varieties of flowers, complemented by the aromas of Oriental spices, made an intoxicating mix. Sounds were equally diverting. Among the music simultaneously being played were the undulating accompaniments to the Javanese dancers (rhythms which in 1889 sent Debussy into raptures over Oriental harmonies), Annamite gongs, Senegalese drums, and the more familiar melodies of the light opera and *café-concerts*. And, to complete this sensory spectacle there were gastonomic delights from all over the world.[50]

Paradoxically, the exhibition celebrated the Enlightenment legacy and the ethos of materialism at the very time when their validity was being undermined. The 1880's had witnessed an international retrenchment of the tenets of economic and political liberalism. Like other European countries, France's economic policies had moved away from laissez-faire toward an economic nationalism as international free trade was repudiated and tariff protection for native production was adopted.[51] The liberal political system suffered from unanticipated consequences of its own program—universal suffrage and nationalism. While the liberals assumed that the ballot was the tool of responsible citizenship, they were confronted with the reality that the ballot could be pressed into the service of anti-parliamentarism. Liberal policies were further subverted by the rise of a belligerent mass nationalism. While the liberals incorporated nationalist ideology as a rationale for imperialist policies, conservatives mobilized support around a banner of virulent, chauvinist nationalism. The very inclusion of nationalism, imperialism, and the social question at the exhibition testified to this challenge posed to institutional liberalism, and signaled the transformation of its economic and political program in the face of new realities.

More difficult to resolve, however, was the challenge posed to the liberal cultural ideology. The idea of the free individual, the theoretical core of the liberal political tradition, reached its ascendancy in the nineteenth century. Yet the late century created the forms of a mass society which undermined the hegemony of this notion. New technological structures threatened the individual with anonymity and insignificance.

The exhibition itself crystallized the confrontation between advanced technological structures and the mentality of the free individual and gave it architectural expression in the contradictions between the external form and the internal content in one of the exhibition's central structures—the Gallery of Machines.

The Gallery of Machines was a tripartite complex at the southern end of the main exhibition grounds along the Champ-de-Mars. The facade was formed by the Central



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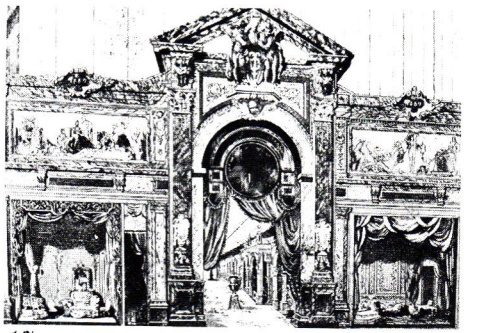

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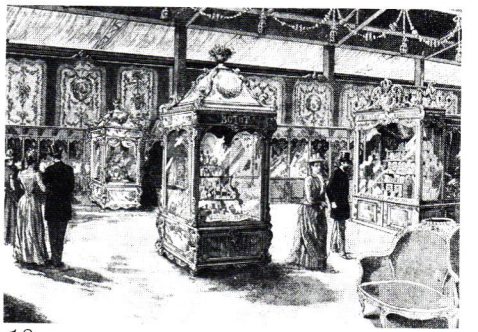

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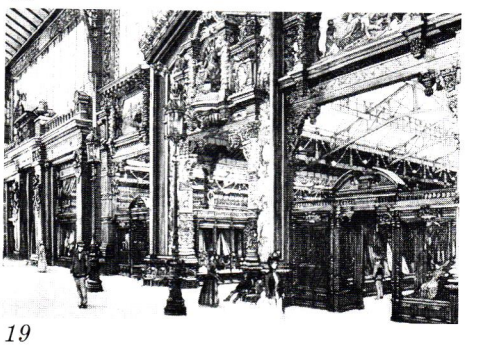

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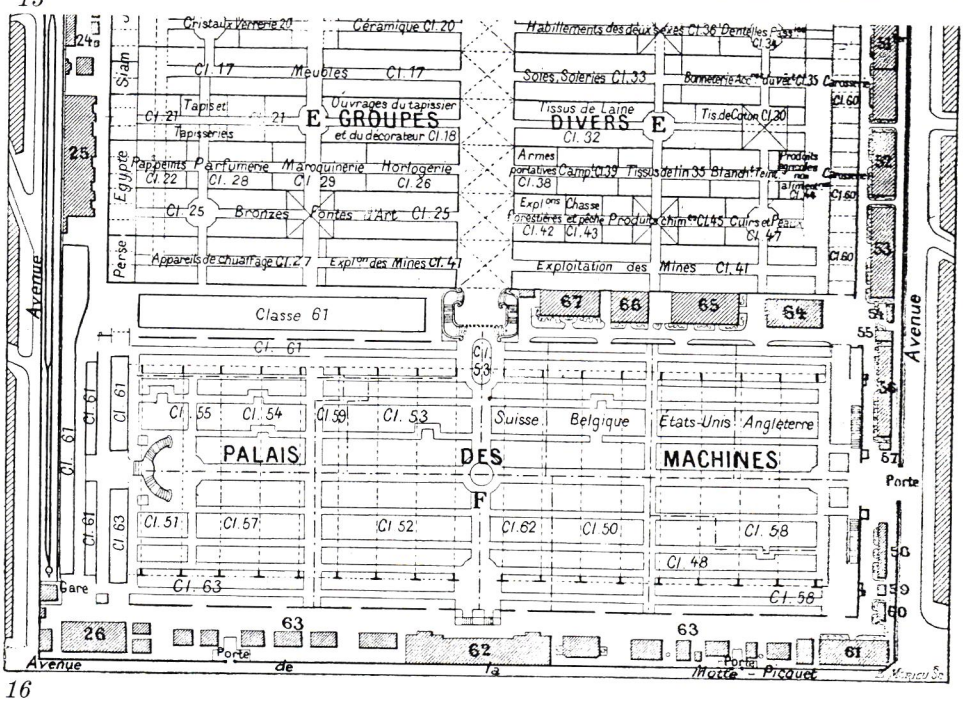
Céramique Cl. 20
Habillements des deux sexes Cl. 36
Cl. 17
Meubles Cl. 17
Soies, Soieries Cl. 33
Tapis et Tapisseries
Ouvrages du tapissier et du décorateur Cl. 18
E GROUPES
DIVERS
Tissus de Laine Cl. 32
Tis. de Coton Cl. 30
Rappeims Parfumerie Maroquinerie Horlogerie
Cl. 22 Cl. 28 Cl. 29 Cl. 26
Armes portatives Camp. Cl. 39
Cl. 38
Cl. 25 Bronzes Fontes d'Art Cl. 25
Exploits Chasse Forestières et pêche Cl. 42 Cl. 43
Produits chim.ques Cl. 45
Cuirs et Peaux Cl. 47
Appareils de chauffage Cl. 27
Expl.on des Mines Cl. 41
Exploitation des Mines Cl. 41
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PALAIS DES MACHINES
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Gare
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Avenue
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Siam
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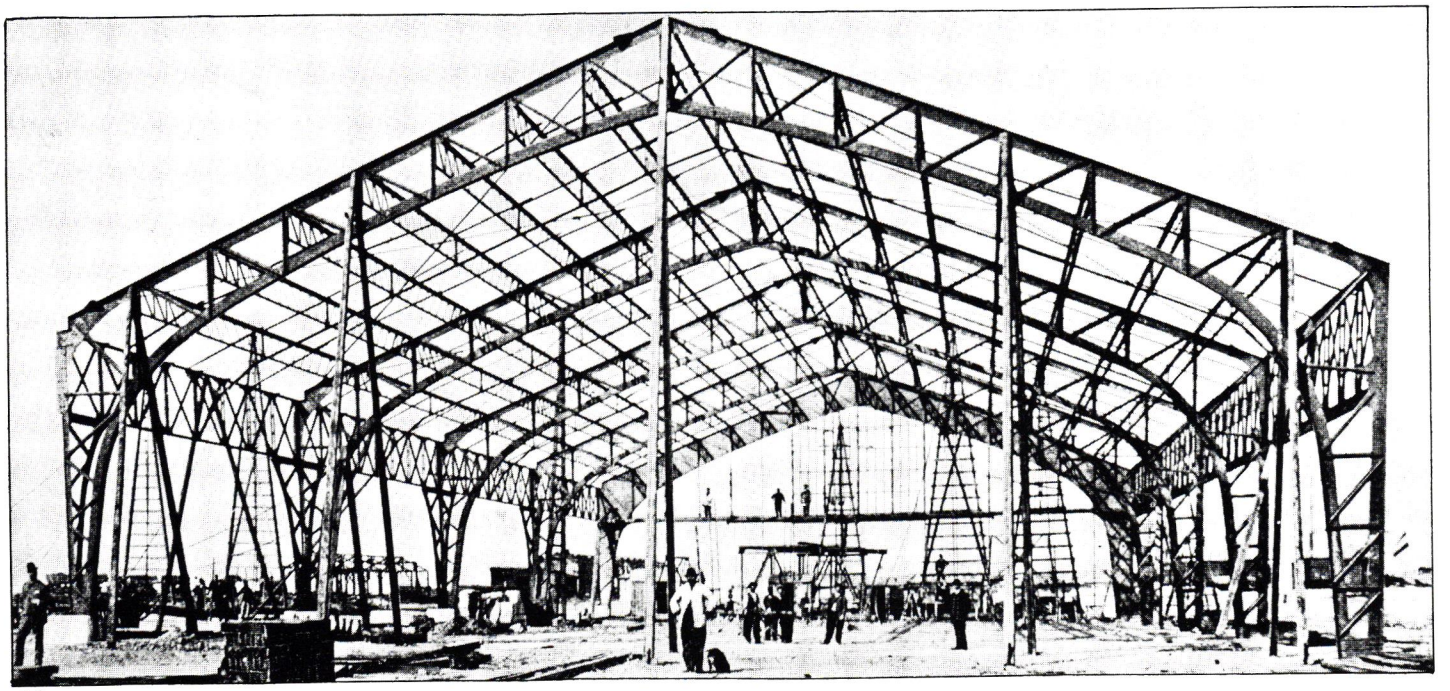
20 The framework of the iron dock sheds at Le Havre in direct affinity with the Exhibition's gallery shed.

21 The interior of the Gallery of Machines, naturally lit by its glass ceiling.

22 A cabinet case from a home handbook showing a bourgeois armoir *in contrast to the Le Havre dock shed.*



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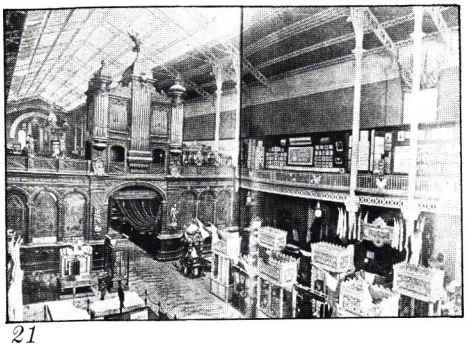

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Dome, behind which was an expansive Central Gallery, devoted to the display of objects of small-scale manufacturing and artisanal production. The complex culminated in the immense Palace of Machines, where the newest technical developments from France, other parts of Europe, and America were presented (fig. 16). The Gallery was advertized as the "synthesis of modern industry,"[52] and encapsulated French economic development during the "Second Industrial Revolution." Less explosive than that of France's European rivals, French industry during the 1880's and 1890's was marked by a parallel expansion of two contrasting forms of production—the growth of mechanized heavy industry on the one hand, and the increase of the traditional enterprises and the independent artisanal workshops on the other hand.[53] Thus among the circular panels along the cupola of the Central Dome were allegorical representations of ceramics, glassmaking, goldsmithery, and cabinetmaking. This was followed by the actual displays of these and other craft products. Among them were leatherwork, tapestries, jewelry, and lace-making. The external enclosure of the entire Central Gallery was composed of wrought-iron beams and glass panels. From the outside, the area resembled a huge shed or hangar (fig. 15). Inside, the space was divided into twenty-eight distinct sections, each devoted to the display of a particular craft. The boundaries of each room were clearly marked for the spectator by massive mahogany doorposts on which the name of each craft was inscribed (fig. 19).

The two wide wooden columns of these portals and the arch in which they converged were heavily overlaid with carving (fig. 17). The interior space of the sections, entirely arranged with the materials of dark mahogany wood and deep rich velvet, was monopolized by a series of elaborate mahogany cabinets (fig. 18). These cabinets, completely sealed by glass, served as the display cases for the different commodities. Disposed intermittently among the wood encasements were plush velvet couches for the spectators. Commodities of all shapes and sizes were carefully arranged, packed, and enclosed within the mahogany cases.

The Central Gallery was indeed a virtual labyrinth of interiors. The twenty-eight box-like rooms encompassed a series of smaller enclosures—the cabinet cases. These cases, sealed and protected interiors within an interior, were the private containers for the different commodities.

The spatial disposition and arrangement of the rooms within the Central Gallery had striking affinities with the middle class drawing room and boudoir. The interior played a central role in the bourgeois self-definition; when the nineteenth century divided the place of work—the office—from the living space—the home—the interior became the domain where the "self-made man" withdrew from the realities of business and politics into a soothing fantasy-refuge. What de Tocqueville once called the "spirit of the middle class"—its "passion for material pleasures"[54]—was expressed in the home in the private room. It was here that individualism and materialism converged. For the "passion for material pleasures" had a special relationship to the cultivation of the interior, where the individual could present himself to himself through the cherished collection of objects. The bourgeois living room and boudoir were filled with commodities, as the individual announced his status through the number and variety of the objects he owned, collected, and displayed.[55]

The cabinet and the parlor filled with eclectic commodities reappeared in the exhibition hall. Yet in the Gallery of Machines, the private interior did not remain a freestanding, autonomous unit. Within each room, the ceilings, of transparent glass supported by graceful iron beams, allowed an airy infusion of light from above (fig. 21). Two basic tensions thus emerged between the external and internal spatial organization. The first was one of material. The external frame of the Central Gallery was fashioned out of the new materials of advanced techological industry. Wrought iron, the outcome of late century mass production, was simple, prefabricated, and standardized. The internal contents of the Gallery were displayed in mahogany and velvet, elaborate, refined, and brimming with intricately detailed objects, protected by ornate encasements.

The forms of iron and glass thus impinged upon the sanctuary of materialism. The expressions of the new materials were in striking contrast to the richness and density of

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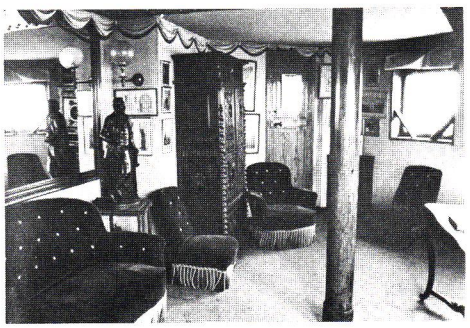

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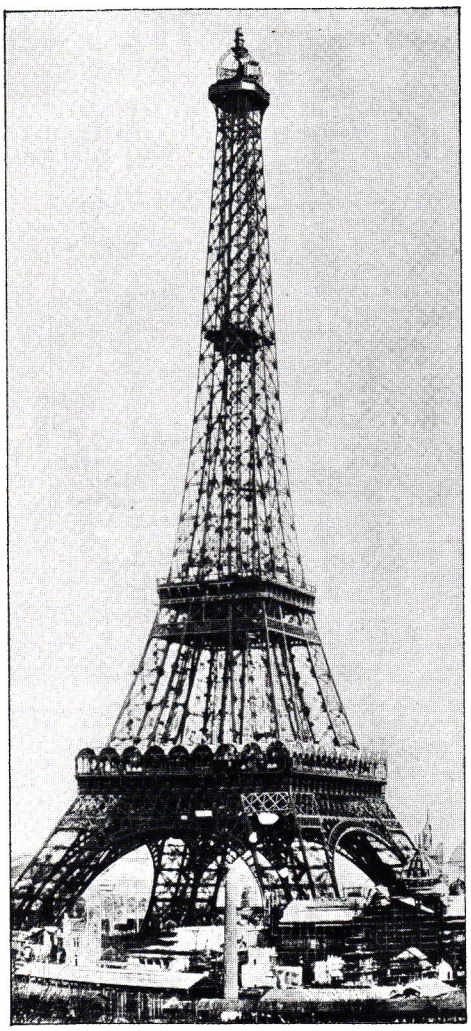

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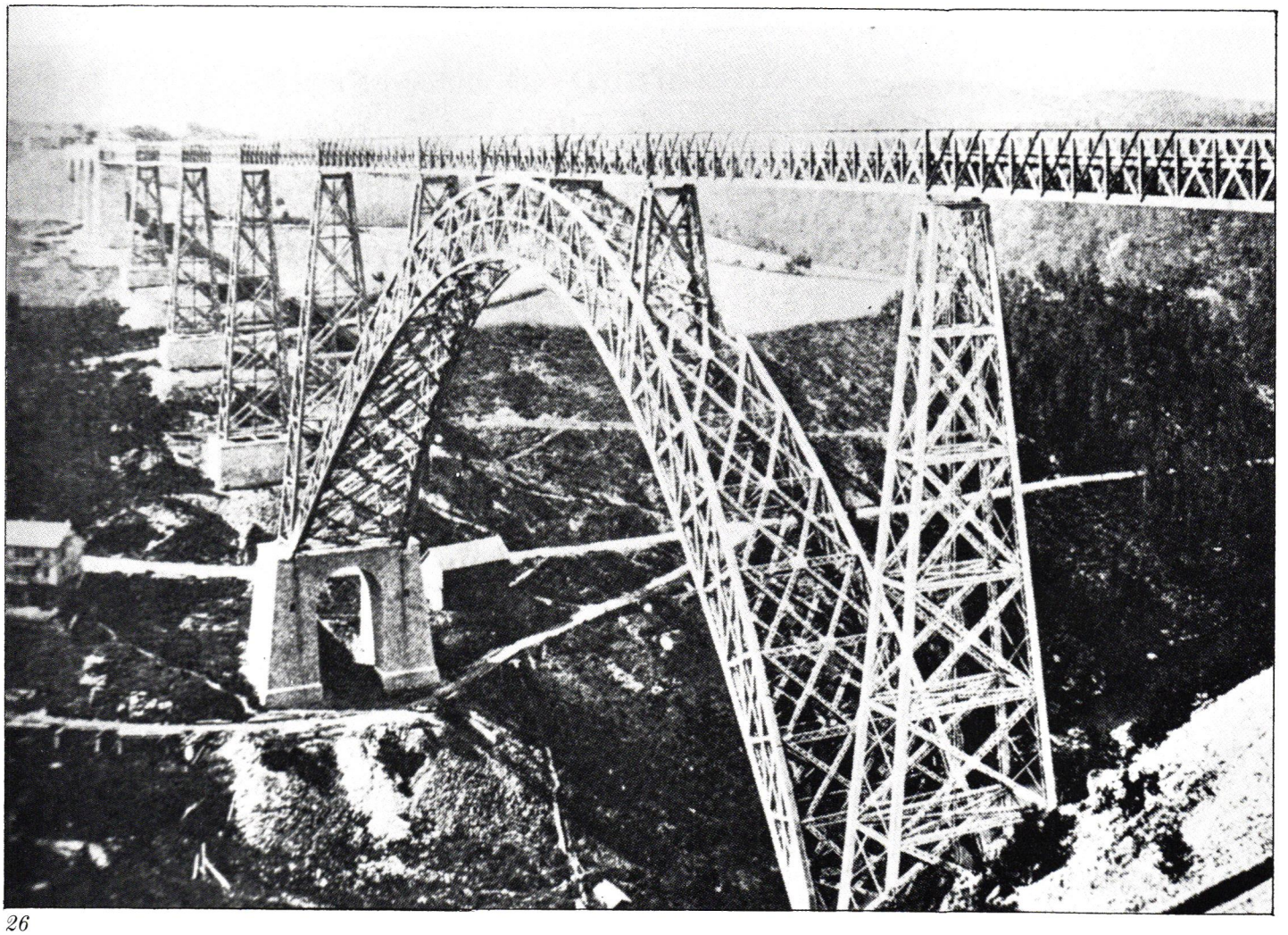
23, 25 The Eiffel Tower, Paris. Gustav Eiffel, architect, 1889.

24 Gustav Eiffel's apartment in the Eiffel Tower.

26 The Garabit iron-lace bridge, southern France. Gustav Eiffel, architect, 1885–1888.

27 Gustav Eiffel's private residence, Dijon.



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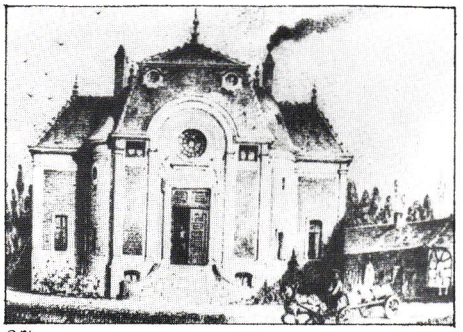

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the interiors. Where the inner space cultivated and preserved the substance of each carefully fashioned object, the light pouring in through the glass "swallowed up the thin latticework"[56] around it. The glass and iron forms created a "union and interpenetration of the building with outer space."[57] At the very time that the internal contents of the Central Gallery circumscribed the boundaries of the private, inaccessible container, the external structure asserted the obliteration of the distinctions between inner and outer, interior and exterior space.

To the tensions inherent in the juxtaposition of the two kinds of building materials were added those arising from the juxtaposition of two forms of spatial organization. As was said, the external frame of the Central Gallery, glass and iron, resembled a large shed or hangar; the spatial mode of the interior design was the private room. Each of these spatial enclosures represented a certain form of social organization. The hangar shape of the outer iron and glass frame of the Central Gallery was a basic structure of late nineteenth century public life.

The wrought-iron edifice, in its many manifestations, was already transforming Paris and its *banlieues* into a landscape of industrial technology. The railroad shed, the warehouse, the dock, the department store, Les Halles—these formed the crowded assembly points of a developing mass society (fig. 20). This architecture of public space was contrasted with the quintessence of private space disposed along the gallery's inner recesses. The lavish and refined individual rooms within the Central Gallery celebrated an ethos of privacy, self-cultivation, and the "cult of the commodity" (fig. 22).[58]

In this meeting of the iron shed and the interior room, the forms of public and private space confronted each other. This extraordinary architectural juxtaposition bespoke the challenge posed to the supremacy of nineteenth century individualism, privacy, and materialism by the rising domination of twentieth century mass-standardized, advanced technological society.

The dialectic of public and private space was confirmed in the Eiffel Tower itself. This spectacular iron tower, constructed on the very principle of the interpenetration of inner and outer space, effected a dazzling spatial dematerialization (fig. 23). Enclosing nothing, the tower created continuously changing viewpoints, and was, even more than the iron and glass walls of the Central Gallery, the epitome of a design which eliminated the definite boundaries of the internal and external domains (fig. 25). In fact, the tower's form and the methods used for its assemblage were derived from Eiffel's innovations as an engineer. The tower was actually a giant iron pylon, a new kind of wrought-iron support which had led Eiffel to unprecedented structural solutions for the mastery of the elements of wind and weather. The base of high iron bridges in Asia, Africa, and southern France, the pylons, resembling slim pyramids, derived their strength and resistance to the wind from their height and their open and interlaced iron latticework.

Yet within this, the boldest expression of a new kind of public, monumental architecture, two private interiors were constructed. For Gustav Eiffel was both a daring engineer and a true son of the Second Empire. Though the undaunted manipulator of the most advanced technical forms and practices in his public vocation, Eiffel was attached to traditional forms of private material life. His taste, his attitudes, his domestic life were all distinct from his expressions in public spaces. Consider one telling contrast: Eiffel's iron bridge at Garabit in southern France, constructed by riveting into place twelve thousand exactly measured iron parts delivered to the site (fig. 26), and Eiffel's private residence in Dijon, called by Eiffel himself "Le Castel"—a massive, imposing stone fortress (fig. 27).

Eiffel recreated the Dijon world of the insulated mason castle within the Paris iron tower. For below and atop the soaring iron column were two enclosed spaces. On the ground level of the tower, Gustav Eiffel had his personal office. Sparsely furnished, it was drab and official. Very different from this in tone was the private apartment Eiffel constructed for himself on the topmost platform of the thousand-foot tower (fig. 24). This was his private space, off-limits to the public, where Eiffel welcomed his guests of

honor. A virtual transplantation of his own living room (once described as filled with "a mass of heteroclite . . . works of art"),[59] Eiffel's private interior on the tower was plush, ornate, and cluttered. Not surprisingly, the small room was arranged with the materials of deep, rich wood and dark velvet. It contained a heavy wooden desk, an elaborate mahogany cabinet, and velvet couches. The walls were packed with plaques and pictures. A square window with a dark shade was one reminder that one was not in the drawing room of a lavishly cultivated private residence. A more striking second reminder was the raised iron sheet along the ceiling, buttressed by a smooth mahogany beam. The wooden beam supported the ceiling, preventing the iron roof from crushing the interior space beneath it. The functional necessity of support exposed the interior's incapacity to physically sustain itself unaided. Shoring up the room from collapse required the invasion of the new technological forms into the recesses of the private domain.

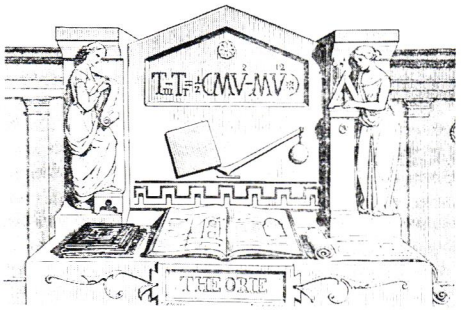
This emphatic ingression of the boundaries of private space on the very structure which proclaimed so boldly its obliteration and de-materialization provided an architectural expression of a broader central problem of late nineteenth century life: how an ethos of privacy and a mentality of individualism were to respond to the challenge posed by the advent of a new world of mass technological structures. In 1889, there was a disjunction manifested between new forms of production and culturally inherited modes of thought. The conflict inherent in the juxtaposition of two types of space, of two kinds of life, was not explicitly articulated: private room and iron shed, wooden beam and iron roof were conjoined, without mediation—they coexisted. Yet before long, the problematic implications of the new structures were more fully revealed, and by the Exhibition of 1900 a choice had been made—the power and form of the new iron structures were negated and neutralized. In 1900, traditional stone facades enclosed the giant, shed-like iron frames, and the debut exhibits of Art Nouveau miniaturized iron materials, recasting them into organic and naturalized forms. Replacing the public iron monument with the private iron ornament, Art Nouveau transposed iron structures from the disruptive industrial environment to the domestic interior environment. Thus, if in 1889 the nineteenth century waned with the glorification of the bolted wrought-iron column, christening a colossal poetry of the constructed environment and prefiguring a technological future, the new century turned in 1900 with the reinvocation of conventional, overwrought mason structures in the public domain, and the retreat to ornamental fantasy in the organicized private interior.

This article was prepared under the sponsorship of the Youthgrant Program of the National Endowment for the Humanities.

1. Walter Benjamin, "Paris—Capital of the Nineteenth Century," *Charles Baudelaire: A Lyric Poet in the Era of High Capitalism* (London: New Left Books, 1973), p. 159. Cf. Roland Barthes, *La Tour Eiffel* (Paris: Delpire, 1964), p. 60.
2. Commission reports, speeches, and writings of the exhibition's official sponsors are interspersed in E. Monod, *L'Exposition Universelle*, vols. I–III; *Catalogue Général Officiel de l'Exposition Universelle de 1889* (Lille: Imprimerie L. Danel, 1889); and in *L'Exposition de Paris 1889* (Paris: La Librairie Illustrée, 1889), vols. I–IV.
3. Jacques Morlaine, *La Tour Eiffel Inconnue* (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1971), p. 11–12; Joseph Harriss, *The Tallest Tower: Eiffel and the Belle Epoque* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1975), p. 6. Jules Ferry campaigned for the exhibition during his first administration, 1880–1881. During his second term as Prime Minister, the plans for an 1889 Exhibition were declared officially in the form of a November 8, 1884 decree. Copies of the decree and other data concerning the official origins of the 1889 Exhibition are included in E. Monod, *L'Exposition Universelle*, vol. I, p. 34–40, and in *L'Exposition de Paris*, vol. I.
4. Ferry's second cabinet was overturned in 1885; the 1889 Exhibition was subsequently prepared by four successive governments. Project plans were incorporated in an official law on July 6, 1886, under the sponsorship of President Jules Crévy and Prime Minister Freycinet. An excellent phaseology of the Third Republic cabinets responsible for the organization of the Exhibition after 1885 is described by Charles Braibant, *Histoire de la Tour Eiffel* (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1964), p. 17–32.
5. David S. Landes, *The Unbound Prometheus* (Cambridge: University Press, 1970), p. 231; Carlton J. H. Hayes, *A Generation of Materialism, 1871–1900* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1941), p. 102.
6. Georges Duby and Robert Mandrou, *Histoire de la Civilization Française, Tome II: XVII–XX siècles* (Paris: Librairie A. Colin, 1968), p. 238.
7. Jacques Nère, "La Crise Industrielle de 1882 et le Mouvement Boulangiste." Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Paris, 1959. Nère notes that while affecting all of France, the impact of this unemployment was most visible in large urban centers like Lyons and Paris, where workers gathered together to voice their grievances.
8. Jean Maitron, *Histoire du Mouvement Anarchiste en France, 1880–1914* (Paris: Société Universitaire d'Editions et de Librairie, 1955), pp. 107–108; see also George Woodcock, *Anarchism: A History of Libertarian Ideas and Movements* (New York: Meridian Books, 1962), pp. 292, 295.
9. Radically oriented trade unions took two forms. One, which emerged in 1886, was the Guesdist-influenced Federation Nationale des Syndicats, which subordinated unions to the leadership of the centralized socialist party. A second was the decentralized Bourse de Travail, which created in 1887 a means for the association of workers of all trades within a local area, independent of any specific political party. See Woodcock, *Anarchism*, p. 319; and James Joll, *The Anarchists* (New York: Grosset and Dunlop, 1964), p. 197.
10. Between 1880 and 1886 the Third Republic waged an anticlerical campaign particularly disturbing to the Conservatives, which included provisions for civil divorce and state-directed public education. In 1885, the opposition to these policies resulted in the reduction of the republican parliamentary majority by one half. See Hayes, *A Generation of Materialism*, p. 203; and Albert Guérard, *France: A Modern History* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1969), p. 340–344.
11. Frederic H. Seager, *The Boulanger Affair: Political Crossroads of France, 1886–1889* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1969), p. 5; Raymond Rudorff, *The Belle Epoque: Paris in the Nineties* (New York: Saturday Review Press, 1972), p. 23, 28.
12. By 1889, it included Tunisia, Gabon, Indochina, Algeria, Senegal, and Cambodia. See Guérard, *France*, p. 353.
13. Hayes, *A Generation of Materialism*, p. 18.
14. Ibid.
15. The arguments of the Commissioner of the Exhibition, Edward Lockroy, on its behalf. In E. Monod, *L'Exposition Universelle*, vol. I, pp. 16, 26, 31.
16. *L'Exposition de Paris 1889*, vol. I, p. 87.
17. Ibid.
18. Quoted in Harriss, *The Tallest Tower*, p. 111–112.
19. *L'Exposition de Paris 1889*, vol. I, p. 311.
20. *L'Exposition de 1889: Guide Illustré* (Paris: Delaure, 1889), p. 95.
21. "The poet Tailhade called the Tower the 'speculum-Eiffel' due to its irridescent multi-colored surface." Meyer Schapiro, "New Light on Seurat," *Art News* (April, 1958, vol. 57, #2), p. 52.
22. This new kind of nationalism was assimilated into the liberal program as an analogue to its imperialist campaign. Jules Ferry made famous the appeal for colonies on the basis of national prestige. See Hayes, *A Generation of Materialism*, pp. 203, 223; Raoul Giradet's *Le Nationalisme Francais, 1871–1914* (Paris: Colin, 1966), pp. 11–32.
23. From E. Monod, *L'Exposition Universelle*, vol. 1, p. 25.
24. From *L'Exposition de 1889: Guide Illustré*, p. 91.
25. "Nous voulons montrer les colonies à la France," as said Louis Henrique, Commissionnaire Speciale des Colonies. Quoted in E. Monod, *L'Exposition Universelle*, vol. II, p. 138.
26. Ibid.
27. Monod, *L'Exposition Universelle*, p. 40; Harriss, *The Tallest Tower*, p. 125.
28. Profits received by the railroad companies who transported visitors to the fairgrounds and ran smaller trains within them totaled twenty-three million francs. The best-selling trinkets sold at the Exhibition were miniature Eiffel Towers produced by Parisian artisans. See *Almanach Historique et Patriotique pour 1890* (Paris: Librairie de la Société Bibliographique, 1890), pp. 16, 18.
29. Lockroy himself stated that "l'Exposition dut contribuer dans une large mesure au succès des élections de 1889." Monod, *L'Exposition Universelle*, vol. I, p. 15.
30. *Almanach Historique*, p. 19.
31. Quoted in Harriss, *The Tallest Tower*, p. 138.
32. Ibid.
33. The nine major "groups" were Fine Arts, Liberal Arts, Home Furnishings and Decoration, Textiles, Heavy Industry, Electricity, Alimentation, Agriculture-Viticulture, and Horticulture.

34. *L'Exposition de 1889: Guide Illustré,* p. 63.
35. Ibid., p. 86.
36. Ibid., pp. 98, 105.
37. Ibid., p. 88.
38. Ibid., p. 90.
39. Ibid., p. 41.
40. Ibid., pp. 106–107.
41. E. Monod, *L'Exposition Universelle,* vol. II, p. 87.
42. Ibid., vol. I, p. 27.
43. Ibid., vol. II, p. 87.
44. Ibid., p. 137.
45. Ibid.
46. Ibid., p. 138.
47. "Ils remportent une impression profonde de la grandeur de notre pays. . . . Leur esprit s'est entreouvert à des idées nouvelles, et le rôle moralisateur de la France chez les peuples a été défini." Monod, *L'Exposition Universelle,* vol. II, p. 144.
48. Monod, *L'Exposition Universelle,* vol. I, pp. 27–28.
49. Ibid., p. 54.
50. Not only were food products from all corners of the globe exhibited within the alimentary pavilions along the Quai d'Orsay, but the spectator could choose among Arabian coffees, Viennese pastries, and a simulated Etruscan meal interspersed in the fairgrounds. See *Guide Illustré,* p. 90.
51. Hayes, *A Generation of Materialism,* p. 196.
52. *Guide Illustré,* p. 52.
53. Jean Bron, *Histoire du Mouvement Ouvrier Français, Tome II, 1884–1950* (Paris: Les Editions Ouvriers, 1970), pp. 14–30; David S. Landes, *The Unbound Prometheus,* p. 196.
54. Alexis de Tocqueville, *Recollections* (Anchor Paperback, 1971), pp. 6, 79.
55. The interrelations between possession, eclectic collection, and the interior in bourgeois life were captured by Gustav Flaubert in the generation preceding the 1889 Exhibition. In the *Sentimental Education,* his greatest chronicle of bourgeois politics, values, and dreams, Flaubert consistently linked each character with his special interior. The interior became a prism through which characters were defined. In one description of the aspirations of Rosannette, the prostitute who longs for respectable bourgeois life, Flaubert isolated the critical role of the interior in the bourgeois mentality. He wrote, "belonging by instinct to the middle class, she adored domestic life—the snug, the peaceful interior." The prototype of this connection between the interior and a set of values emerged from Flaubert's characterization of M. Dambreuse, the wealthy industrialist and man of politics and business: there was a telling distinction between Dambreuse's austere and tawdry office, full of "huge file cabinets, straw-bottomed chairs" and "cold, unadorned iron lids filled with blue paper notebooks," a place resembling "a dark kitchen," and the rich, self-conscious grandeur of his home. The living space was described as "massive," "majestic," and conveying an "imposing majesterial air." It was cluttered with things, an index of self-image: "On the massive mantelpiece stood a spherical clock, flanked by a pair of huge porcelain vases from which sprouted, like golden bushes, two bristling clusters of candlesticks. . . . There was an oval room, paneled in rosewood and packed with tiny pieces of furniture. . . . The three other drawing rooms were crammed with works of art; there were landscapes by old masters on the walls, porcelain and ivory on the tables, and Chinese curios on pedestals; lacquer screens stood in front of the windows, camellias were banked in masses up the fireplaces, and soft music could be heard in the distance." It was significant and no coincidence that at one point in the novel the protagonist, Frédéric, confused the shop window of the commercial Industrial Art Store with "a drawing room," for he had looked through the glass and had seen large pictures on the walls and "cabinets loaded with pieces of china, bronzes and other fascinating curios."
56. S. Giedion, *Space, Time and Architecture* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967), p. 273.
57. Ibid., p. 271.
58. Walter Benjamin's terms, describing the 1867 World Exhibition in "Paris—Capital of the Nineteenth Century," *Charles Baudelaire: Lyric Poet in the Era of High Capitalism* (London: New Left Books, 1973), p. 165.
59. Giedion, *Space, Time and Architecture,* p. 281.

Figure Credits
1–27 Courtesy the author.



The idea of type, dormant in architectural theory since the thirties, has, in the last decade, been re-invoked by the new rationalists. Following the essays of Argan and Rossi in the sixties, an increasing number of architects have seen typology as the agent of architectural regeneration in an era of dispirited functionalism and willful eclecticism. The new theories of type unite around a critique of programmatic determinism in architecture and radiant city images in urbanism. Thus, a new sensibility toward formal precedent is joined to an effort to reconstitute a city demolished by the disurbanist projects of the Modern Movement. In this way, scarcely twenty years after Sir John Summerson proposed that the source of unity in modern architecture resided in the program, a new source of unity has been presented in the guise of the type.

The idea of type has, since the late eighteenth century, informed the production of architecture in two different ways. First, by rooting architecture in a notion of first principles, either in nature or industrial production, it has provided an ontology, so to speak, for the legitimacy of design in an age which has largely discarded the ancient theory of imitation and absolute beauty. Second, when assimilated to the emerging theories of typology in the natural sciences it has provided a ready basis for the generation of entirely new species of building demanded so insistently by the rising consumption and production society. Thus, the elements of architecture, their rules of combination, and the characteristic form of the resulting building type *were, in some way, seen as similar to the generation of types in nature.*

Type theory, however, was ideologically split between an older, neo-platonic theory of original ideal types that stressed the existence a priori of suitable forms in nature and in architecture either in geometrical or constructional perfection, and this newer understanding of the production *of types. The leading exponent of the classical view, Quatremère de Quincy, succeeded in infusing the neo-platonic theory into the tradition of neo-classicism by the 1830's; for him the eternal type of architecture was the primitive hut, and its perfect achievement the Greek temple. The type theory of Durand, on the other hand, stressed the productive capacity of rules and elements according to programs inductively defined. By the middle of the century both theories of type had in some way merged within the rational vision of structure and program held by classicists and gothicists alike (Labrouste, Viollet-le-Duc), while by the last decades of the century organic metaphors and machine images were indiscriminately erected to support all kinds of functionalism.*

From there, this ambiguous heritage was taken wholesale, or else in parts, by the polemicists of the Modern Movement, who grafted evolutionary theory onto production technology, thereby developing a theory of the perfectibility of mass-produced objects. To this was added a notion of the classical residing in the very nature of standardization and regularization, which enabled Hermann Muthesius for the Deutscher Werkbund and Le Corbusier for the architects of the twenties to range the Parthenon and the Bugatti side by side (see fig. 2). The classical ideal type was thus, by 1927, firmly wedded to the cause and processes of mass production. The type theories of the Constructivists in Russia and the socialists in Germany in the twenties were similarly built on nineteenth century precedent, going back to the social typologies of the utopian socialists for their inspiration. All finally came together in the artifact, idea and building type, in the Unité d'Habitation of Le Corbusier.

It is with such a mixed pedigree that the idea of type has been resurrected. It is perhaps paradoxical, or at best a critical response to technological positivism, that the idea of type *now acts as a counter to the Modern Movement. Thus type is now seen more in the old eighteenth century sense; Quatremère de Quincy, far from seeming like the old reactionary he was, is lauded for resisting a mechanistic theory of type which ultimately resulted in the consumption of architecture itself within the process of production.*
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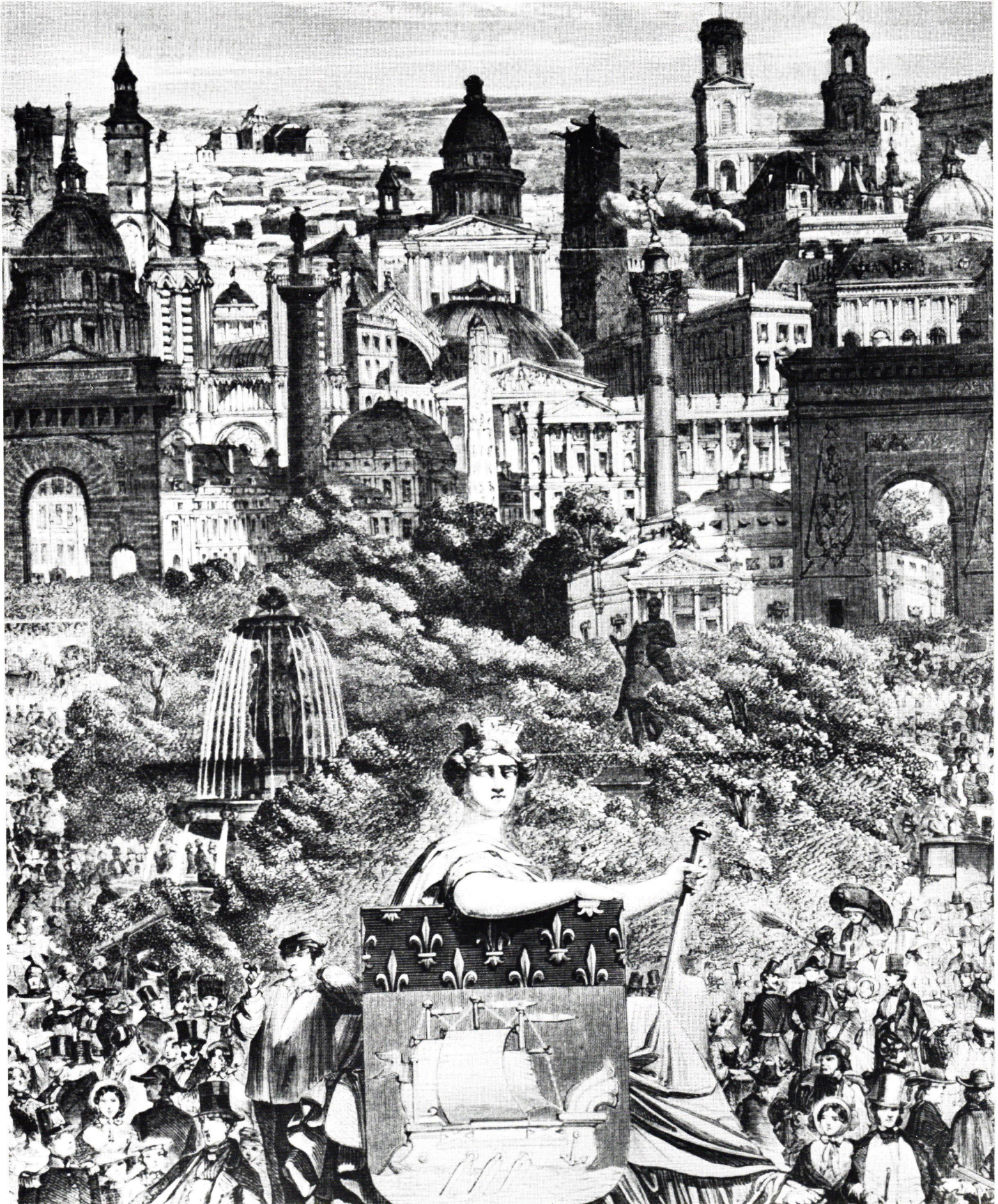


1 Paris seen as a collection of its typical monuments and inhabitants. A. Texier, engraver and architect, 1849.

The Idea of Type: The Transformation of the Academic Ideal, 1750–1830

Anthony Vidler

Type and Origins

"We must return to the source, to the principles, and to the type."[1]

The search for the origins of architecture was for the Enlightenment architect tantamount to the discovery of the true principles of his art. Like Newton in science, like Locke in philosophy, like Rousseau in anthropology, the architect-*philosophe* looked at the beginnings of shelter as the first mark or type of habitation, the root and thereby the simple natural principle of all architecture. The Abbé Laugier established this principle in his model of the hut, and in clearly stating that his "model" of shelter was in fact a "principle" he made equally clear the metaphoric, paradigmatic qualities of his artificial construct. From it he derived the essential elements of architecture and their rules of combination, in the same way that Rousseau two years before had set up a model of "natural" man by means of which to criticize contemporary civilization (see fig. 8).[2]

Neither Laugier nor Rousseau used the word "type"; to the mid-century materialist it had an air of archaism, of religious mysticism removed from the scientific. In Boyer's dictionary (1727) it was defined as "figure," "shadow," "representation": it was most used to describe the symbolic acts and emblems of Christianity—"the types and shadows" that represented the Divinity throughout the Old and New Testaments. Thus, "type" had the connotations of law (the signs disclosed to Moses and Solomon [fig. 3]) and prophecy (the Ark of Noah, *type* of the deluge [fig. 4]). In this sense, though, it still carried a neoplatonic aura inherited from the Renaissance: "according to the neoplatonists," stated the dictionary of the Académie Française, "the ideas of God are the types of all created things." Here the sense of origin was closely joined to universal law or principle, and it was in this sense that the word was gradually adopted into architecture, though not without first being given a degree of scientific credibility in astronomy (1773).[4]

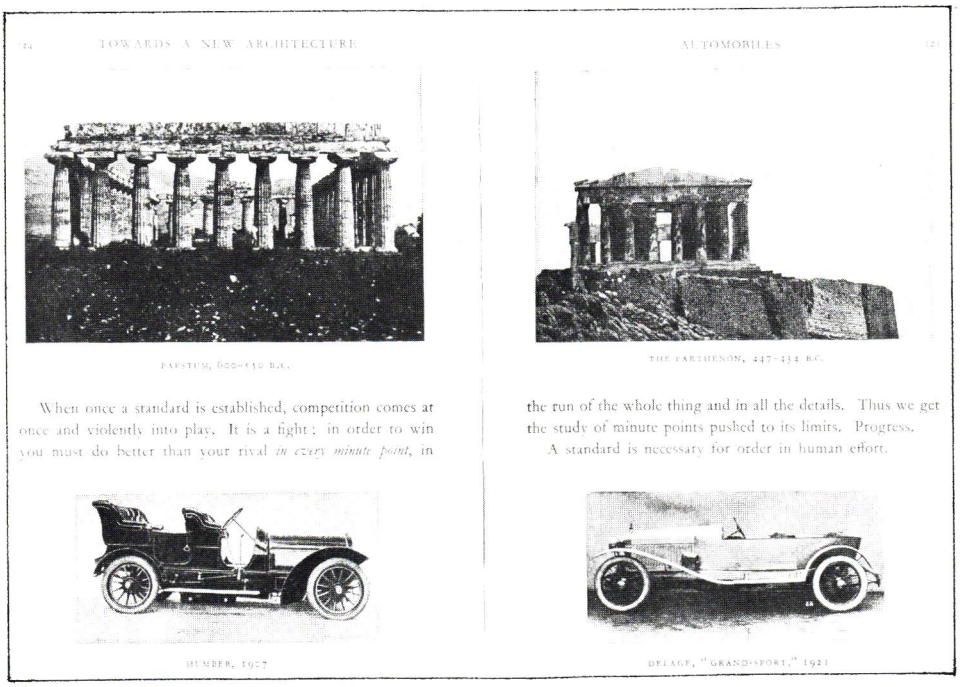
At all events, the dual connotations of *received* law and *natural* law still made for an ambiguity not necessarily eschewed by those who desired to invest their paradigms with moral authority. Out of this ambiguity there arose a

2 The evolution of the ideal type: from Paestum to the Parthenon, from the Humber to the Delage. Le Corbusier, 1923.

3 Solomon's Temple. Anonymous Freemasonic pamphlet, c.1740.

4 The Tower of Babel and Noah's Ark. Anonymous Freemasonic pamphlet, c.1740.

5 The Temple of Solomon, the type of Freemasonic architecture.



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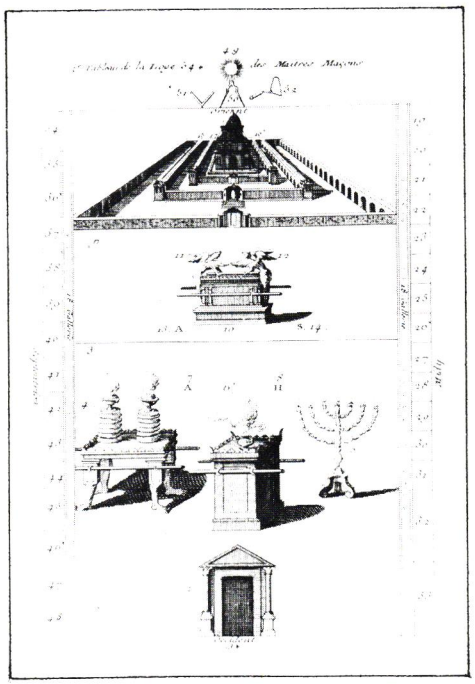

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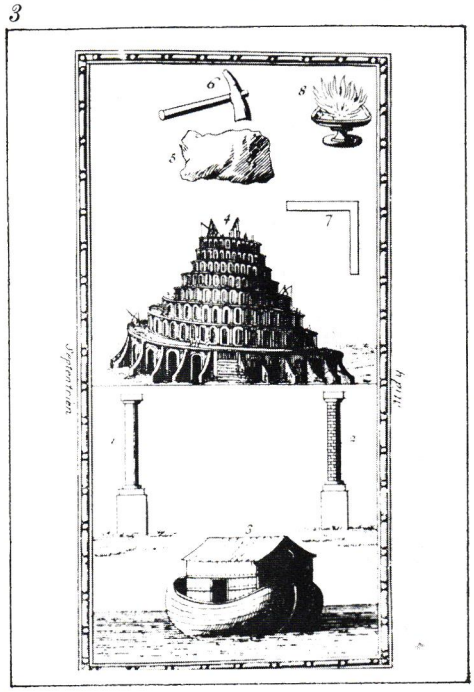

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corresponding confusion of original models: was the type of architecture the Divinely designed and given Temple of Solomon (fig. 5), or was it a naturally constructed primitive shelter? Between God's House and Adam's House the later eighteenth century eventually divided. The model of the temple, whose every measure and every element was a type of symbolic significance, was fervently espoused by those (more often than not members of the burgeoning Freemasonic society) who were unwilling to relinquish some degree of *symbolic* connotation in the forms of architecture (fig. 7). For the Freemasonic architects in particular, the reconstruction of the temple model further implied by analogy the reconstruction of society itself.[5] Thus, the Freemasonic "type" helped perpetuate the archaic meaning of a word freely used in the Freemasonic "histories" of architecture since at least the sixteenth century, forcing the materialists to define their own usages carefully.

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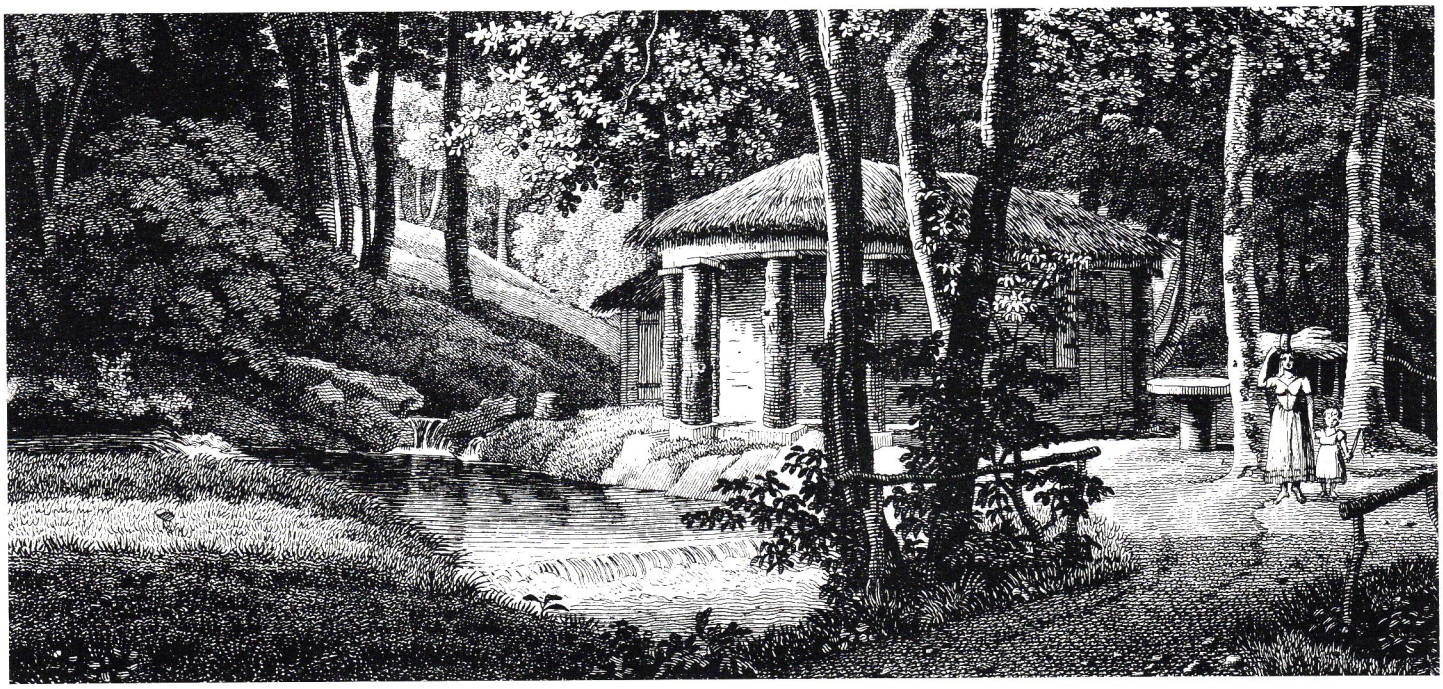
The model of the hut, on the other hand, as described by the materialist Laugier (fig. 8), was held up as the true and scientific origin of shelter while at the same time it conformed to the description of the birth of architecture derived from the Vitruvian-humanist tradition. To turn this explanation of origins into a principle of form seemed logical to those who desired to purify the excesses of Rococo, and essentially rational in terms of the elements of structure. Beyond this, the literal imitation of this primitive type gained considerable vogue in the newly developing fashion for English landscape gardens and their attendant *fabriques* (fig. 6).

Ribard de Chamoust, as late as 1783, attempted to sustain both the symbolic and the materialist in a single type form for a new "French Order." Adopting the Freemasonic triangle as the basis for his proposed tripled columns, and a species of temple as his type model, he nevertheless subscribed to the "natural" origin of these forms, claiming to have found trees growing on his estate in just such a precise combination: "I mean by this word *type*, the first attempts of man to master nature, render it propitious to his needs, suitable to his uses, and favorable to his pleasures. The perceptible objects that the Artist chooses with justness and reasoning from Nature in order to light and fix at the

6 Rustic temple fabrique, Mauperthuis. A. T. Brongniart, c.1783.

7 The Symbolic Model: Freemasonic temple, c.1774.

8 The Natural Model: Laugier's primitive hut, 1753.



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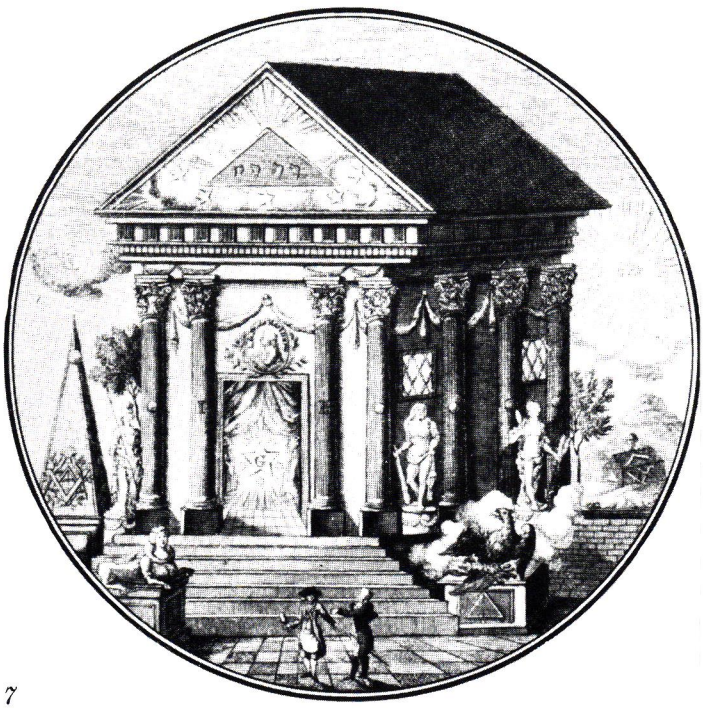

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same time the fires of his imagination, I call *archetypes.*" That is, trees were archetypes and wooden columns types of the fundamental elements of architecture. Ribard, following Laugier, thereby established the primitive hut as the type of all succeeding architecture.[6]

It is clear that in using such a specific notion of type, eighteenth century theorists, symbolists and materialists alike, were referring not simply to a designation, a static classificatory term, but rather to an active principle, a mode of design in itself, the understanding of which might in some way purify architecture of abuse and restore in the present the germ of future order. The word already held within its double allusion the nostalgic gaze into the future characteristic of the progressive ideal of enlightenment.

Type and Character

Type, of course, in its literal, original meaning from the Greek, meant "impression" or "figure," from the verb "to beat"; it was applied to the impressions of coins and after Gutenberg and Plantin to the pieces of wood or metal used in printing—the characters of the alphabet. The reference to character, reinforced by the already symbolic connotation of type, was readily assimilated by architectural theorists concerned to distinguish between kinds of building. To talk of a building type, then, implied not only its search for original validation, its ultimate restoration to the temple or hut, but also its specific aspect, the form that enabled it to be read as to its purpose at first glance: "all the different kinds of production which belong to architecture should carry the *imprint* of the particular intention of each building, each should possess a character which determines the general form and which declares the building for what it is," wrote Jacques François Blondel in 1749.[7] He used the word genre (species) rather than type, but the implications were clear: any specific kind of building should be formed, and thereby express itself, according to the laws of architectural sensation. Blondel, in his *Cours d'architecture* of 1771, listed the various kinds of building in the architect's repertory and qualified their general characters. These included theaters, halls for dancing and festivities, vauxhalls, cemeteries, colleges, hospitals, charnel-houses, hotels, exchanges, libraries, academies, factories, fountains, baths,

8

9 Physiognomies of monkeys. J. K. Lavater, 1775.

10 "Gothic" prison. Houssin, 1795.

11 Palace of Justice. E. L. Boullée, c.1785.

12 Physiognomy of the Tuscan Order. J. F. Blondel, 1771.

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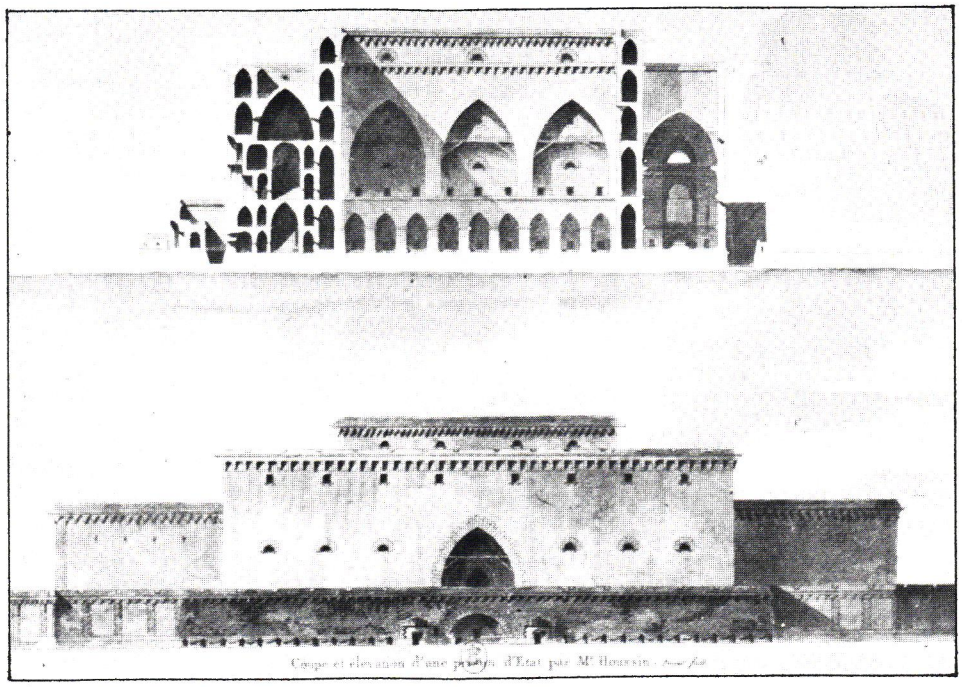

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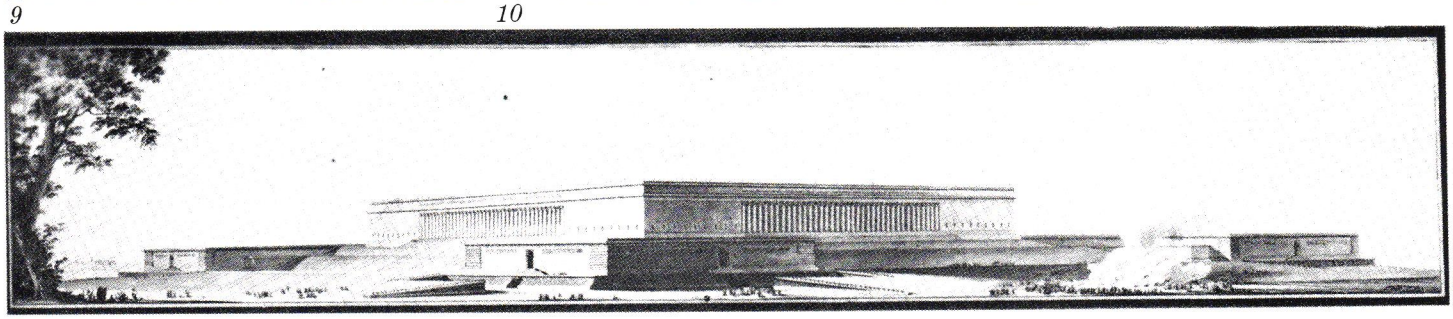

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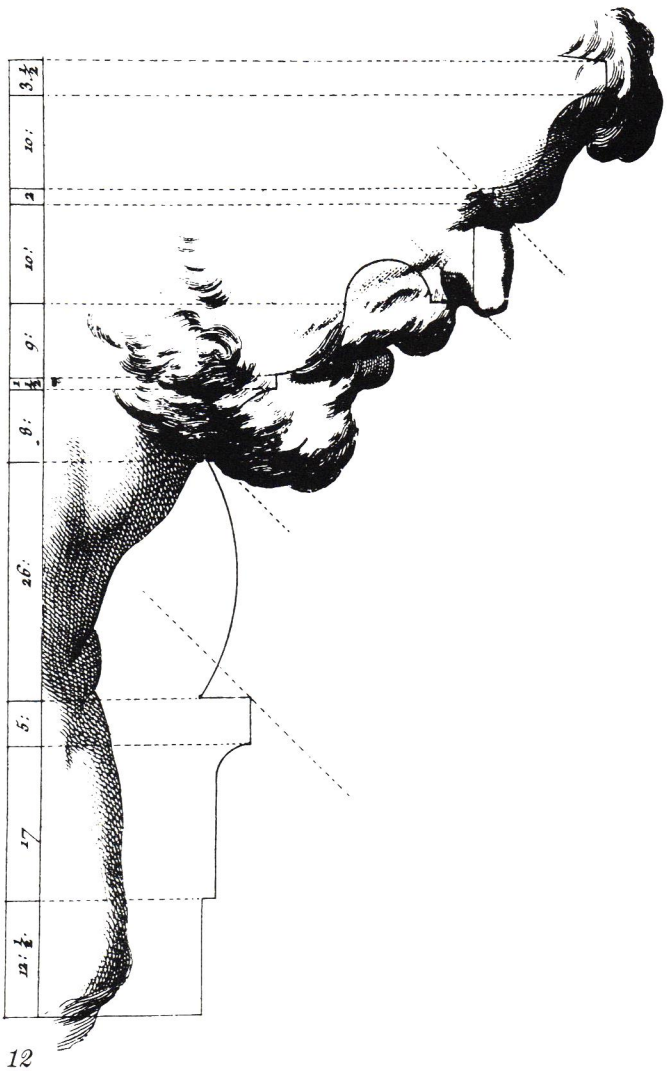
markets, fairs, slaughter-houses, barracks, town-halls, prisons, arsenals, and light houses. All the major types that in the new quarter century would be fixed in the practice of the academic architect were described—their *programs* elaborated—and their respective characters (e.g. public markets, fairs, hospitals, and military buildings should be masculine; garden structures, rustic; prisons, terrible) delineated. Each, Blondel maintained, should attain its "own manner of being, suitable for it alone, or those of its kind."

Blondel the encyclopedist was evidently transferring ideas developed in the natural sciences to the theory of architecture. If Linnaeus was able to establish a classification of the zoological universe in Classes, Orders, and Genera (with their attendant species and varieties), why should not the architect similarly regard the range of his own production, in a practice that had ever attempted to relate to (imitate) natural order? Buffon, proposing in 1753 the existence of "a general prototype for each species on which each individual is modeled" seems to have provided an exact parallel for Blondel.[8]

At this stage, in the theories of naturalists and of architects, the idea of character was still founded on outward signs: the "language" of animals like that of buildings was read through their "physiognomies" (fig. 12). The study of such signs was engaged in with fervor by adepts of facial expression like Lavater (fig. 9), while at the same time architects like Delafosse explored the combinations of iconography, symbolism, allegories, and attributes of architecture to express feelings on facades.[9] Prisons were a favorite subject. Their iconography included the scales of Justice, their attributes were chains, they had heavy threatening rustication, and their allegorical content made use of the story of Orpheus in the Underworld. Piranesi had outlined all the possible themes in his *Carceri,* Burke had entered the Sublime into the repertory of feelings and demonstrated its techniques, and architects like Neufforge, Cuvilliés *fils*, and Houssin (fig. 10) exploited the entire gamut.



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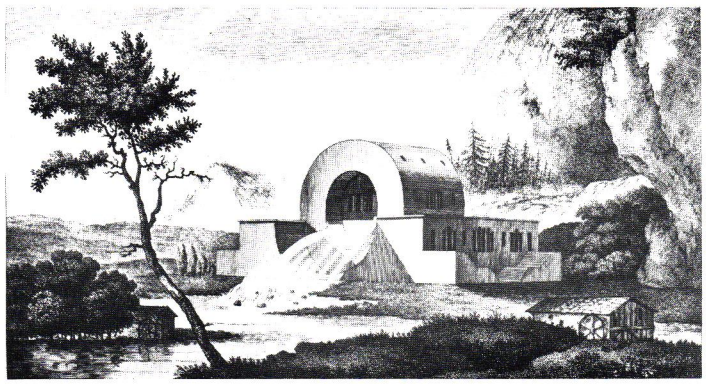
The method of this expression was, in this era of linguistic research, that of language; in the same way as the first words were expressed in signs (hieroglyphs) that were seen

13 Drain house for the river surveyor. C.-N. Ledoux, c.1785.

14 "Keyhole" Temple of Divination. J.-J. Lequeu, c.1795.



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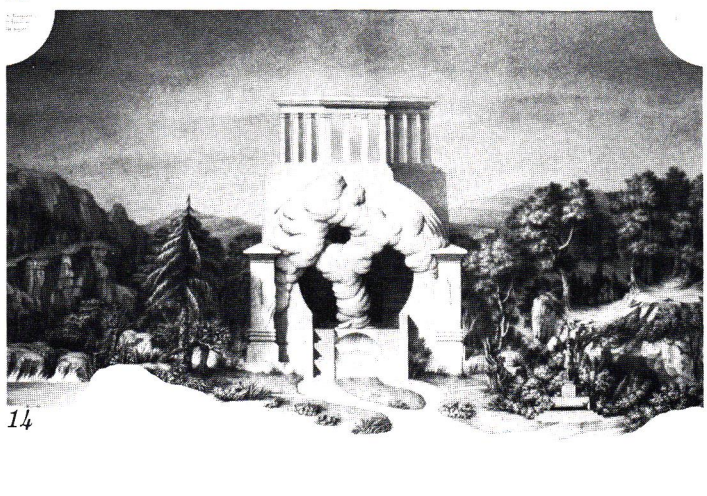

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to present the image of physical objects, a language which, in Court de Gebelin's words "speaks to the eyes," so the first forms of buildings—symbolic as the first gestures of mankind—presented a universe of known messages.[10] Court de Gebelin's friend and fellow freemason Viel de Saint Maux explored this world, proposing yet again a symbolic origin for the elements of architecture. Thus, the first altar was a rounded stone—the base of the first column. In this first world, all was unified through the immediacy of the speaking stones: "their language being symbolic, their records, temples, and images participate in this language, expressing the causes of nature and the attributes of the Creator . . . the sight of ancient monuments, their sublime harmony, the immensity of the types which cover them, announce that the ancients sought to transmit objects worthy of reflection and analysis" (see fig. 7).[11]

In the circle of Viel de Saint Maux, which included Boullée, Charles de Wailly, and the young Antoine Vaudoyer, we note at the very end of the eighteenth century an attempt to restore the symbolic mode of expression, and thereby the ancient, received type of architecture—the Temple of Solomon; columns were far from finding their origin in trees—they were the original altars; pediments were triangular expressions of the Trinity, or at least masonic trowels. A monument like the altar of Good Fortune, erected by Goethe in his garden in Weimar (1774); and explained by Herder as the *type* of Hercules, was paradigmatic.

Thus, while the idea of architecture as language was on the surface equally reducible to the cool structures of Port Royal and the rational theory of tropes, metaphors, and allegories, a vain but powerful movement to reconstitute a symbolic universe reminiscent of the Golden Age found its protagonists in the pupils of Blondel: Boullée, Ledoux, and Vaudoyer. In their work, the amalgam of type as origins type as characteristic form of a classified species, and type as symbolic mark was held together, however tenuously perhaps for the last time.

Boullée, the painter-architect, was the character artist par excellence. It was his mission to introduce the themes o high poetry into architecture to reduce the fine arts to th

single poetic principle enunciated by the Abbé Batteux, who translated Horace's *Ars Poetica*. To the painter's didactic aphorism, "ut pictura poesis," Boullée the architect added, "ed io anche son pittore." He searched in the designs of his grand public compositions to give to each monument "the character which is suitable to it." This formulation was developed with regard to his Palace of Justice: "I have presumed that in order to introduce the Poetry of architecture into this production it would be good to dispose the entry to the prisons beneath the Palace. It seemed to me that in presenting this august palace raised on the shadowy cave of Crime, I could not only give value to the nobility of architecture by the resulting oppositions, but further, present in a metaphoric way the imposing picture of Vice crushed under the feet of Justice" (fig. 11).[12]

Here, Boullée stated the theory of typical character in a way that stressed not so much the symbolic nature of the form, but the metaphoric, or allegorical mode, in the service of making the buildings speak to the society. For Boullée and many of his peers, "speaking monuments" were an essential component of a well ordered republican society; the economist Jean Baptiste Say, one of the earliest ideologists of the Napoleonic Empire, wrote a utopia called *Olbie* in 1800 that lauded the fact that the "language of the monuments was clear to everyone."

Ledoux tried even harder to develop a symbolic mode that responded to the emergent forms of social and industrial production: as is well known, he designed giant drains for housing river surveyors (fig. 13), giant barrels for housing the work and recreation of barrel makers, and cosmic spheres for the humble shepherds of human flocks. Such expressions—"you are what you work at and express this (or are expressed) by the form of what you live in"—were only saved from the cartoonist's genre by virtue of the hermetic and purist geometry of Ledoux; when, twenty years later, *architecture parlante* was half satirized by Lequeu, and the cow-shed had literally turned into the form of a cow, the ultimate futility of this symbolic project was revealed (fig. 14). In an age of consumption, no symbol could achieve more than momentary, personal significance. Gradually allegory, which demanded a written text for the elucidation of any designed form, was to supplant the last remnants of a symbolic, rhetorical culture already undermined by the didactic programs of the Counter Reformation.

In the work of Boullée and Ledoux, however, there was an inherent conflict between the idea of type (or general model) and the idea of character, a conflict which was centered on the problem of *individuality*. Taken to its extreme, as the overriding quality of expression and effect, character could serve to isolate every building from every other, distinguish so firmly, even between buildings of the same kind, that any general typology was destroyed. Even as Buffon had recognized that each individual of the species, while following its "primitive general design," was nevertheless "altered or perfected by circumstances," the generation of Blondel's students, caught up in the relativistic excitement of romantic-classicism, were more inclined to accentuate these alterations and modifications according to "circumstances" than to posit a strict typology. Boullée and Ledoux in elevating character to a primary formative role and in postulating the endless play of abstract geometrical permutation as its instrument were undermining a truly rational system of types. To each individual in the social order belonged a dwelling expressive of his state and his *metier;* to every public monument there belonged a "symbolic system" that would engender a specific impression in the observer. "I call character," wrote Boullée, "the effect which results from an object and causes in us an impression of any kind," thus plainly defining the idea as a result more than a cause of design.[13] Such an urge toward individuation, as Colin Rowe has recently shown,[14] was closer to the emerging currents of the picturesque than to any positive science of classification, or to any classic ideal typology.

Type and Model

Under the heading *abuse*, the young theorist Quatremère de Quincy sternly warned against such individualist excesses: "as with languages there are many ways [in architecture] to speak against the rules of grammar." A firm neo-classicist in the face of a rampant, pre-Romantic symbolism, he brought to task those who, like Boullée, Ledoux, and Viel de Saint Maux, had abused their art: "No longer do

they see in a pediment the representation of a roof, but because of the fortuitous relation of the form of necessity with a geometrical figure, the roof is to their eyes only a mysterious triangle, emblem of the divinity."[15] Writing in 1788, Quatremère had, in Paris, immediate examples of the abuse he castigated—the toll-gates of Ledoux.

In the place of those bizarre forms, the product of an architect who was about to "*decompose* architecture entirely," Quatremère suggested a more coherent and conservative theory of character. True to his neo-classical standpoint he distinguished and classified different kinds and different levels of character.[16] He first proposed the existence of a "general" character: that force of expression that was independent of the maker and exhibited by the great national genres under the influence of climate, mores and levels of civilization; then he described that *essential* character expressive of moral or physical greatness common to all great epochs and countries. Finally, in relation to each kind of building he acknowledged the necessity for a specific or "relative" character. In his pedantic and academic way he summarized the theory of the entire eighteenth century: "the art of characterizing, that is to say, of rendering sensible by material forms the intellectual qualities and moral ideas which can be expressed in buildings; or of making known by means of the accord and suitability of all the constituent parts of a building, its nature, propriety, use, destination; this art, I say, is perhaps, of all the secrets of architecture, the finest and most difficult to develop and to understand; this happy talent of feeling and making felt the physiognomy proper to each monument, this sure and delicate refinement which makes perceptible the different nuances of buildings that seem at first unsusceptible to any characteristic distinctions; this wise and discreet use of different manners of expression, which are like the "tones" of architecture; the adroit mixture of the signs that this art is able to employ to speak to the eyes and the mind; this precise and fine touch. . . ."

Quatremère listed the ways in which this relative—or what he called "imitative character"—might be evoked in a building of one type or another. Imitative character was evidently the "expression of use," and turning from the overtly symbolic or picturesque solutions of Ledoux, he described what, for the next century at least, would remain the means for characterization: first the gradation of richness and size, according to the nature of the building and its station in society; then the indication of the moral qualities inherent to each building, by the employment of analogical forms; the use of the general and elemental forms of architecture (presumably geometrically defined) to express the nature of the use; the type of construction employed according to propriety; the type of decoration applied to the building; and finally, of course, the choice of attributes.

Quatremère de Quincy finally wrote his article "Type" for the third volume of his *Dictionary*, published in 1825, but he was evidently simply restating a position already firmly developed by the time of the Revolution.[17] A fervent admirer of the Greek and its highest form of expression, the temple, he attempted to re-establish the original and pure meaning of type: "the root of." The architectural "type" was at once "pre-existent germ," origin, and primitive cause. Thus the type of the temple, and thereby of all architecture, was the primitive hut, and he quoted Laugier freely in his analysis of this type.[18] The adherence of architecture to its types, however, did not imply the slavish imitation of huts or cabins, as evinced by the plethora of romantic "rustic" *fabriques* now scattered through the fashionable landscape gardens of Europe. Rather, the idea of type, in a severe and classical sense, was truly *metaphorical*. Quatremère attacked those who would mechanistically imitate the type, thereby turning it into a literal "model"—those who "by confounding the idea of type as imaginative model, with the material idea of a positive model (which deprives it of all its value) are united in denaturing the whole of architecture." In constraining themselves to the "servile imitation" of what they considered true principles of construction (exemplified in the hut) they ruled out "the sentiment and the spirit of imitation."

Other architects, he argued, were guilty of the reverse fault and, accepting neither types nor models, denied every rule and any constraint, reducing design to "a play, where each individual is the master and rule—hence the most complete anarchy in the whole and in the details of every composi

tion." Quatremère was, of course, referring to those who, like Ledoux in the *barrières*, had broken all rules of composition in the search for new "characters."

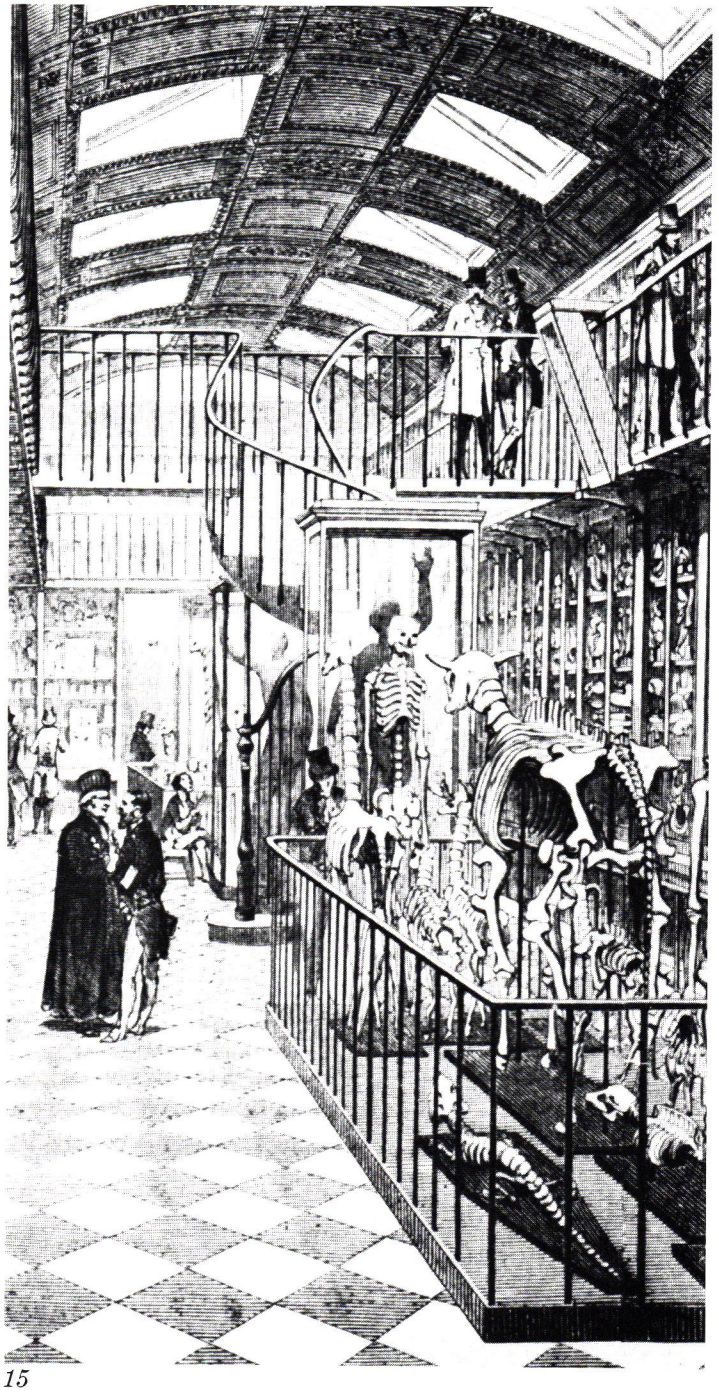
Between these two extremes, therefore, Quatremère posited the notion of the *ideal* type, never realized, never tangibly visible, and never to be slavishly copied, but nevertheless the representative form of the principle or idea of the building: "this elementary principle, which is like a sort of nucleus about which are gathered, and to which are co-ordinated, in time, the developments and forms to which the object is susceptible."

Such an ideal was, however persuasive in the aesthetic canons of the neo-classicists, hardly a working principle of design for those faced with the task of building for modern society. Quatremère understood the difficulties of his abstraction, and tried to bring it in line with the already dominant use of the word type as applying to types of building, or designed objects. Here he returned to the idea of character: "each of the principal [kinds of] buildings should find its fundamental purpose in the uses to which it is attached, a *type* which is its own; to which the architect should try to conform as closely as possible if he wishes to give to each building an individual physiognomy."

This was *type* based on need, on use and custom. Quatremère would have called it "relative" as opposed to essential; he compared it, presciently enough in the light of later developments, to the design of furniture, seats, clothes, and so on, which have "their necessary types in the uses to which they are put and the natural customs for which they are intended." In this way an idealist typological theory, erected to serve a purist neo-classical revival, was posited in terms that the functionalists of the later nineteenth century and the modern "purists" of Le Corbusier's generation would find extraordinarily evocative.

Type and Organization

"Classification, as a fundamental and constituent problem of natural history, took up its position historically, and in a necessary fashion, between a theory of the *mark* and a theory of the *organism*."[19]



15 Museum of comparative anatomy, Paris, founded by Georges Cuvier.

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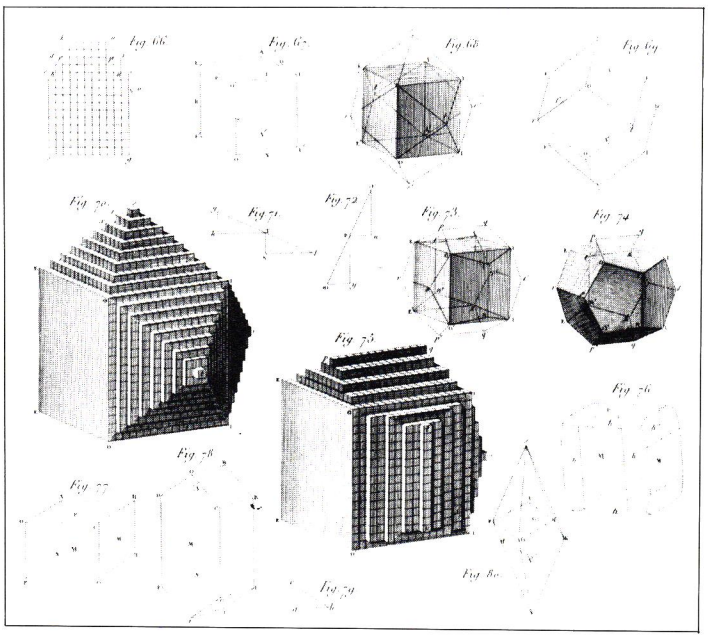
16 The forms of crystals built up out of geometrical units. R. J. Haüy, 1784.



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The late publication of Quatremère's theory between 1825 and 1832 gives a superficial illusion of continuity and homogeneity from the neo-classicism of the late eighteenth century to the developed academicism of the 1830's.[20] Yet this was an appearance only. In reality a distinct shift, not only in the theory of type form but also in its methods of practice, had occurred in the early years of the nineteenth century, which threw the Greek idealism of Quatremère and his generation into question, if not into immediate crisis.

This shift was, like the first emergence of the concept in the 1750's, paralleled by, and owed its impetus to, developments in the sciences. The shift was first one of technique and representation: the development of the free schools of drawing from the 1760's, the invention of descriptive geometry by Gaspard Monge, professor of mathematics and physics and founder member of the Ecole Polytechnique; and the crystallographic studies of Romé de l'Isle and René Just Haüy (fig. 16).[21] Three dimensional geometry emerged as instrumental for the calculation of military trajectories or for the research into the composition of minerals. It was thus revealed to be the constitutional (formal and structural) basis of inanimate matter, paralleling in its order the physical principles of the universe.

The second aspect of this shift took place within the natural sciences and was epitomized in the taxonomic work of Baron Georges Cuvier. For the first time a system of classification was developed that in the words of Patrick Geddes, was "no longer a matter of superficial description and nomenclature but a complete expression of structural resemblances and differences."[22] In place of Linneaus' artificial taxonomy of classes, Cuvier recognized four distinct "branches" in the animal kingdom, each characterized by a different *type* of anatomical structure. He began to develop this concept in his lessons on Comparative Anatomy at the Museum of Natural History in 1795; these lessons were published in 1800 (fig. 15).[23]

The techniques of descriptive geometry, already anticipated in the work of Ledoux and Boullée were the first to be engaged in the service of architectural production. Monge,

professor at the newly established Ecole Polytechnique from 1794, engaged J. N. L. Durand, student of Boullée, to teach architecture *within* the department of applied geometry. Durand's utilization of graph paper, his easy and quick methods for teaching students who only had two years to prepare for the professional schools the rudiments of architectural composition are well known.

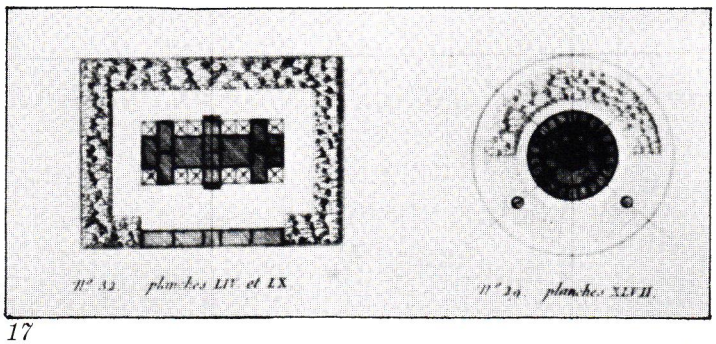
In one sense the division of architecture into its fundamental constructive elements, each reduced to its essential geometrical form, and the combinatory system for these elements—horizontally in plan, vertically in elevation—used to make up the rooms, circulation systems and ensembles of buildings, was a direct and logical outcome of the rational classification of the Enlightenment. But in his aspiration to develop *rules* for these combinations that went beyond the merely formal patterns of neo-Palladianism, to establish characteristic forms for each type of building, Durand was decisively breaking, perhaps more than he at first realized, with the eighteenth century theory of character.

Forced by the abstraction of his geometry to disregard, in the first instance at least, the external attributes or outward effect of the building, Durand, much in the same way as Cuvier analyzed the animal world, began to characterize the nature of each type in relation to its *constitution.*

The preliminary step was the assembly of a comparative taxonomy, a *Collection and parallel of buildings of every genre, ancient and modern.* In this he was aided by the architect-historian, J. G. Legrand, who wrote the final text to Durand's illustrations.[24] The architect, thought Legrand, should first of all look to nature; "the formation of shells, the development of plants, the development of minerals, the work of insects" formed "so many workshops for instruction." To this study the architect should add a knowledge of the mechanism of the human body. Only then would it be possible to discover the true principle of architecture. Then by bringing together the plans of buildings according to "species," a kind of "natural history of architecture might be created."[25]

Thus, operating in the manner of the new taxonomists, Durand assembled a series of plans that illustrated the known building types, "classified according to their kinds, arranged in order of degree of likeness and drawn to the same scale." This "general panorama" of architecture, produced in the first age of the great Parisian panoramas themselves, was in one sense the pictorial version of Quatremère's *Dictionary*, which had been issued without plates, but its aim was more fundamental than that of simple collection. The comparative method allowed Durand to arrange his specimens on the page as if in natural progression from the most primitive type to the refined versions of the present. The plans "perfected themselves," as it were, graphically on each page, crystallizing in ever higher forms. Of course, the theory of evolution was in no way hinted at—the idea of progress enunciated by Turgot, then by Condorcet, was sufficient to trace the successive march of architecture. History was not taught in the Polytechnique (since there was no acknowledged break in the classical tradition, all classical architecture was seen as modern), but progress certainly was. And Saint-Simon, apostle of industrial progress, was already holding impromptu seminars with Durand's students across the street. Durand's book immediately became a primary reference work for the nineteenth century academic architect—even Julien Guadet at the end of the century referred his students to it as an illustration of general typology.

Between 1802 and 1805 Durand published his *Lessons at the Ecole.*[26] And here he was forced into the recognition of the constitutional character of his types as a result of the pressing question: how to develop the forms of new types, of still unresolved species? Durand's answer was rational and eminently teachable. Treating it like the skeletons undergoing examination in Cuvier's anatomy classes, Durand subdivided architecture, or rather, built it up, out of combinations of basic irreducible elements. These elements—walls, columns, openings—were to be combined to form intermediate units—porches, stairs, halls and so on—and these again built up into complete ensembles, which in their turn formed towns. The whole operation was controlled by means of three dimensional geometry on the surface of a graph paper grid drawn to the dimensions of the smallest



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unit: "In literature, for example, one begins with the elements of discourse. If students accept our proposed method, they will familiarize themselves with the forms and proportions which best suit the subject; finally, with the least effort and work they will create projects the more capable of satisfying taste and reason."[27] In this way, the student would become adept at manipulating through the technique of geometry the *means* of architecture, the equipment of the professional brought to the solution of any task. It remained to set the terms for judging this solution, and Durand, in describing the *ends* of architectural activity—the social needs—began the nineteenth century project of typological construction on the basis of the inner structure or programmatic functioning of things. The final book of his *Lessons* described the varieties of building that comprised the repertory of the early nineteenth century architect; Durand outlined their programs and demonstrated their characteristic composition. That is, he combined his elements according to the deduced rules for each type to produce a veritable primer of abstract typological diagrams. This art of combination or disposition of each type was guided by a program derived from a study of all previous programs of the same kind, and subjected to the overriding law of economy. In a stroke, Durand substituted for the Vitruvian trinity of commodity, firmness, and delight, an entirely modern criterion—means and ends judged by their economic coming together. A former student of Durand recalled in 1810 that his master incessantly repeated the axiom that "the source of beauty in Architecture is Economy joined to Convenience" (figs. 18, 19).[28]

The theory of character was by this entirely reconstituted: "Without doubt the grandeur, magnificence, variety, effect, and character that are perceived in buildings are so many beauties, so many causes of pleasure. . . . But what is the need to strive for all this if one disposes a building according to the demands of its functions? Will it not differ appreciably from another building intended for another function? Will it not naturally possess a character, and furthermore its own character?"[29] Character was thus made a logical attribute of function.

The final effect of Durand's system was in a very real way to introduce, however unwittingly, the concept of *historicity* into architecture. For while a simple notion of progress might aspire to the "perfectibility" of each type, only an internal understanding of the constructive laws of types, and the dynamic transformations of these laws under the threat of external change or internal demands, could open the way to a comprehension of a kind of evolution in architecture.

While it remained for Herbert Spencer, following Darwin, to describe the evolutionary theory in all its positivistic ramifications, Durand nevertheless permitted architecture for the first time to think of its autonomous, technical existence in the full consciousness of the absolute relativity of that existence to social development. Thus it became possible for architecture to predict its own death.

It is easy to see, as they reproduced the ideal forms of the late eighteenth century with all the "scientific" patina of the nineteenth, how neo-classicist, gothicist, and new materialist architects alike could have derived their planning method from Durand's book. The grid also allowed for the abstraction and standardization critical for the development (and assimilation) of cast iron construction in architecture. Out of Durand were born the forms of the arcades, exhibition halls, and railway stations of the mid-century as well as the public monuments of a hegemonic bourgeoisie. Léonce Reynaud, Saint-Simonian engineer, theorist, and pioneer of the railroad station type, was Durand's most characteristic product.[30]

Type and Style

"This will kill that. The book will kill the building. That is to say, Printing will kill architecture."
Victor Hugo, *Notre Dame de Paris*, 1832.

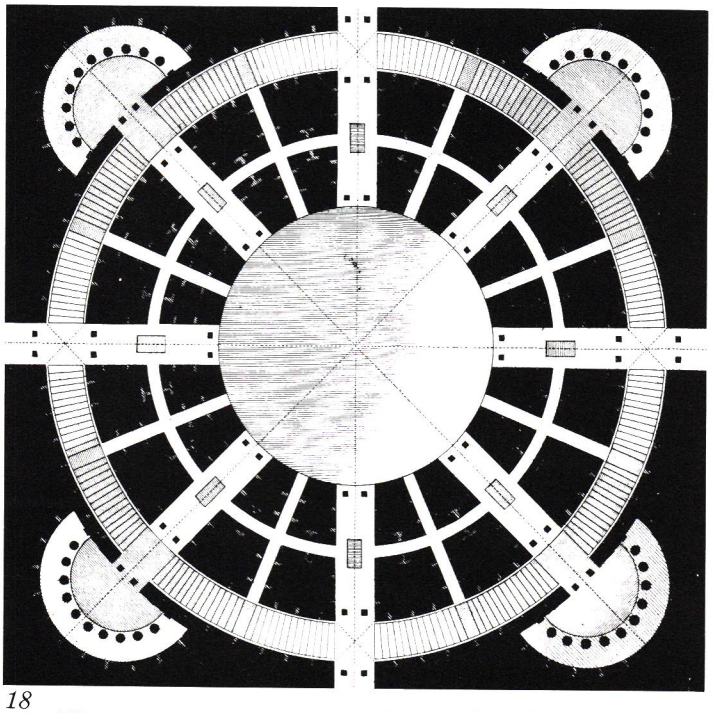
The early discussions of *type* had generally been developed apart from any consideration of *style;* for Durand, and certainly for Quatremère, there was no real question as to the true style of architecture. Despite the increasing fashion for the bizarre and the "romanesque," and the *chinoiserie* and gothicism displayed in the play houses of the wealthy, the serious, dominant mode was classical. Even Ledoux, with

17 Types of private houses. Dubut, 1804.

18 Cemetery of Chaux. C.-N. Ledoux, c.1785.

19 Fair. J. N. L. Durand, 1805.

20 Prison La Roguette, Paris: character as internal organization.



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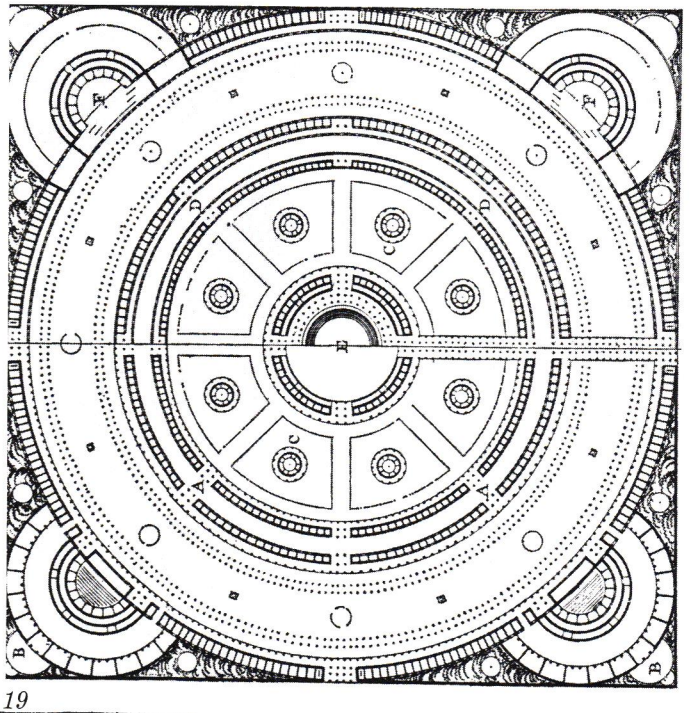

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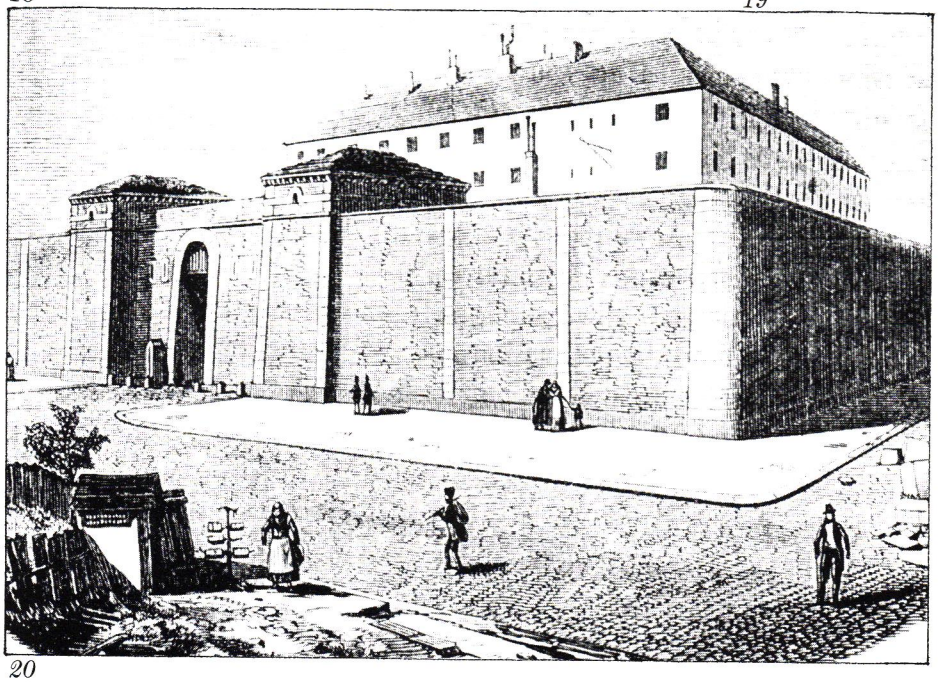

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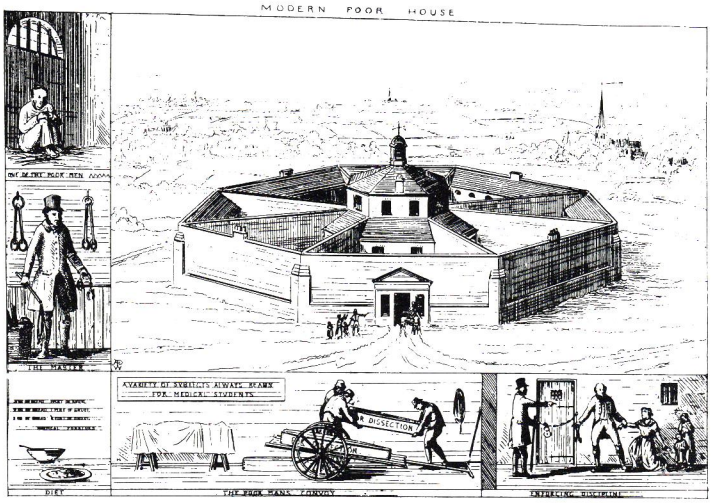

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all his emphasis on the new symbolic *language* of architecture, remained strictly within the received forms of the Roman and Greek and their Renaissance interpretations, utilizing the classical language of architecture as the basis for his most original abstractions.

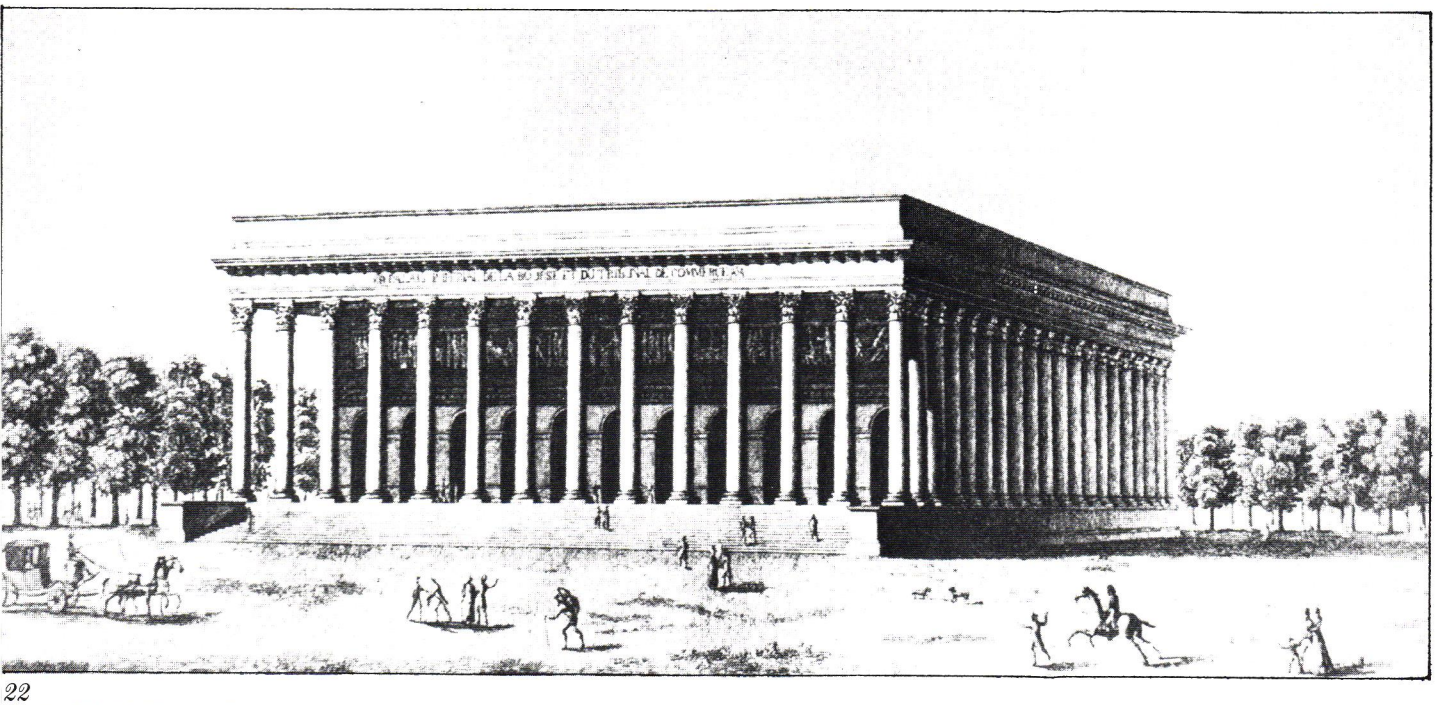
Durand himself, though unconsciously, opened his method up to what in any event was becoming an irresistible movement toward an eclecticism of not one style, but the *styles*. The "disinterested" researches of historians were providing too many intriguing models for fashion and taste to ignore. Dubut, a student of Ledoux, published in 1803 a book of house plan-types—a kind of copy book for those who wished to dispense with the services of an architect (fig. 17). The forms of his houses were regular, geometrical, and cubic, to all intents and purposes the same as his master's. But Dubut introduced a set of transformational rules for the consumer, pointing out that the plans "were so conceived as to bear many changes without losing their symmetry," changes that were necessitated by either taste or economy.[31] Further, over the regular geometries of the volumetric schemes, the decoration itself, separated out as a stylistic skin, might be changed at will. With the freeing of geometry from classical form to become pure technique, and the acknowledgment of "style" as a coherent system of decoration, style was now seen as clothing for an otherwise "naked" object. As for *type*, the notion of constitutional form thereby became the more significant, as something completely separable from the outer surface and only recognizable in the inner workings of plan and distribution. Thus, while prisons, in their radial, panoptical plans worked for all intents and purposes like highly refined organisms or machines, because they needed no style or outward display, they presented to the outer world a blank and high wall: the silent operations of architecture had become oblivious to the exterior world (fig. 20).

The notion of character was now absorbed on two fronts: firstly, in the idea that a *society* itself was typified in a unique and consistent manner—its style, the forms of which were its veritable mirror; secondly, in the equally far reaching precepts of the *picturesque*. As in a picture, composition, emphasizing local accommodation—to site, program,

21 Comparison of poor houses. A. W. Pugin, 1846.

22 Stock Exchange, Paris. A. T. Brongniart, 1808.

23 The Book of Stone: Notre Dame de Paris.



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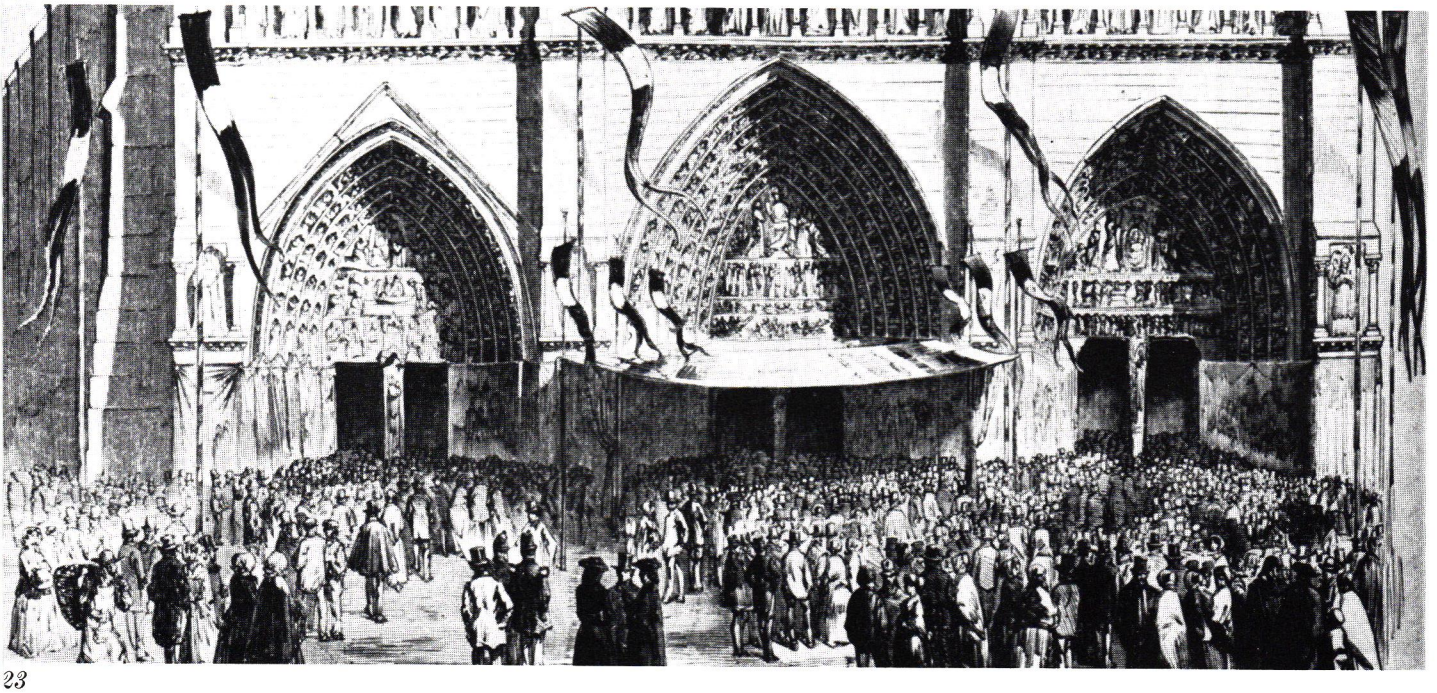

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24 The crystallization of the historical styles, engraving by J. J. Grandville.

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client, and romantic illusionism—took hold over the principles of classic order. Architects became practiced in the many manners, and employed them according to the vagaries of taste and the now relativistic canons of propriety.

In the face of such eclecticism, which rapidly devalued the sacred motifs of the traditionalists and served an extraordinarily atavistic consumer market, the conservatives and the avant-garde found themselves similarly ranged against contemporary taste. Taste, which for the eighteenth century had seemed such a self-evident way of resolving individual predilection within general rules, was revealed as the fundamental servant of consumerism; as Walter Benjamin was to remark, "taste develops with the definite preponderance of commodity production over any other kind of production. In the same measure as the expertness of the consumer declines, the importance of his taste increases, both for him and the manufacturer."

Attempting to remove architecture from such uncertain bases, Pugin and after him Ruskin withdrew the gothic from the novels of Sir Walter Scott and firmly placed it on the side of social and moral reform. The typical style of the last religiously based society, its resurrection, they believed, might perhaps turn a social state destroyed and driven by industry toward harmony and hierarchical order once again. Pugin, the son of a French émigré, in this way turned the ideals of the Enlightenment classicists against themselves.

Nevertheless, despite their overt opposition to classicism, the plates of Pugin's *Contrasts,* criticizing the *types* of modern mechanistic utilitarianism by means of the organic units of a harmonious past, represented a way of looking at history that owed much to the typological classifications of the generation of Durand. Pugin called not so much for a rejection of type form but rather for its intensification according to criteria of the *true* expression of structure, materials, and use. The ethical value of the gothic was that it seemed to combine a purist structural rationalism with a compositional mode that allowed for both the articulation of each functional element within the type and the simultaneous unity of the whole through its stylistic and topological

order. Thus the panopticon was contrasted with the monastery: the one a machine, all parts (including, by implication, its inhabitants) totally subservient to its singular form, the other a series of courtyard spaces enclosed by a variety of charitable and religious functions, each recognizable and characteristic, each bound to the whole by its reference to a communal space (fig. 21).[32]

When in 1830 Victor Hugo had looked out with medieval nostalgia over the roofs of contemporary Paris and saw instead the square, neo-classical stock-exchange, he summarized a similar ethical vision, similarly based on a quasi-rationalist version of functionalism: "If it is the rule that the architecture of a building should be adapted to its purpose in such a way that this purpose is proclaimed by the very aspect of the building, one has to marvel at a monument which can be indistinguishably a royal palace, a chamber of deputies, a town hall, a college, a riding school, an academy, a warehouse, a judiciary, a museum, a barrack, a sepulcher, a temple, or a theater. In the event, it is an Exchange" (fig. 22).[33]

Thus Hugo, criticizing the neo-classical "type" of the exchange, which was first delineated by Ledoux and built by Broigniart, held up the theory of type against its results—and on behalf of a new nostalgic dream. That he understood from his critical historical view the futility of such nostalgia is also clear. The death of the "book of stone" (fig. 23) at the hands of the new mass-distributed media not only confirmed for him, as for Balzac, the primacy of the novel as the hegemonic cultural form, but intimately reflected architecture's own internal rupture. The story of the increasing "geometricization" of architecture from the Renaissance to the eighteenth century—"as the architectural form of the building is more and more lost sight of . . . the geometrical form becomes prominent like the bony structure of an emaciated invalid"—was in fact the history of the liberation of style from structure (fig. 24). Hugo, the Freemason, recounting the demise of architecture, significantly adopted the manner and form of the ancient Masonic histories, this time, however, not with optimism for the restoration of the temple and its symbolic forms, but with pessimism as he watched the building of that second tower of Babel, the printing industry, and the final demise of any public, symbolic role for architecture.

When the idea of type was again resurrected, some forty years later, it was in the service of the second Industrial Revolution; the ontology then proposed for it was that of the *new* nature of mass-production. Then it was that Zola, naturalistic novelist of the Second Empire, could re-phrase Hugo in the words of the young Claude Lantier sitting on the roof of Les Halles: "This will kill that: iron will kill stone."

1. Ribard de Chamoust, *L'Ordre François trouvé dans la Nature* (Paris, 1783), p. 5. Ribard, who claimed to have written the text of this work as early as 1776, developed Laugier's idea of type into a foundation for his "discovery" of a new, French Order based on tripled columns set in triangular clusters. The temple he claimed to have found naturally composed by the trees in his woods bore a close resemblance to contemporary Freemasonic *fabriques*.
2. See Marc-Antoine Laugier, *Essai sur l'architecture* (Paris, 1753). The frontispiece to the second edition of 1755 (published in *Oppositions*, 1, p. 85) illustrated the "natural model" of all architecture: "man wishes to make himself a dwelling which covers him without burying him. A few fallen branches in the forest are the suitable material for his design. He chooses four of the strongest that he raises up vertically and disposes in a square. Above them, he places four others horizontally; and on these he raises others which slope and come together at a point on two sides." The frontispiece showed an even more "natural" origin—the four posts have become trees, miraculously growing in a perfect square.
3. Abel Boyer, *Dictionnaire Royal Anglois-françois*. . . (Amsterdam, 1727).
4. *Le grand vocabulaire françois*, vol. 29 (Paris, 1773).
5. See, in particular, Martin Couret de Villeneuve, *L'Ecole des Francs-Maçons* ("à Jerusalem," 1748). In the search for the correct form for the restored temple "freemasonic speculation had merged indissolubly with serious architectural reconstruction from the early "archeological" drawings of Kircher, Perrault, and Calmet.
6. Ribard de Chamoust, *L'Ordre François*, p. 5.
7. Jacques François Blondel (1705–1774), *Cours d'architecture* (Paris, 1771–1777), vol. 2, p. 229.
8. Carl Linnaeus (1707–1777), *Systema naturae* (1735) and Georges, Comte de Buffon (1707–1788), *Histoire Naturelle générale et particulière* (Paris, 1749–1767), vol. 4. Michel Foucault in *Les Mots et les Choses* (Paris, 1966) discusses the various modes of classifying in the natural sciences and points out that although Buffon and Linnaeus were adversaries in life their systems were ultimately based on the same structure of observation and arrangement: "the method of examination," he quotes Buffon, "will be directed towards form, magnitude, the different parts, their number, their position, and the very substance of the thing."
9. Johann Kaspar Lavater (1741–1801) published his extraordinarily popular *Physiognomische*. . . in 1775, the last treatise on *descriptive*—as opposed to the later *anatomical*—physiognomy.
10. Antoine Court de Gebelin (1719–1784) *Monde Primitif*. . . (Paris, 1774–1776), vol. 5, 1775, p. 374: "this art which speaks to the eyes, which depicts for sight what the word depicts for the ear."
11. Jean Louis Viel de Saint-Maux, *Lettres sur l'architecture*. . . (Paris, 1779–1784), introduction, p. v.
12. Etienne Louis Boullée (1728–1799), *Architecture: essai sur l'art*, ed. Perouse de Montclos (Paris, 1968), p. 113.
13. Ibid., p. 73.
14. Colin Rowe, "Character and Composition," *Oppositions*, 2 January 1974.
15. Antoine Quatremère de Quincy (1755–1848), *Encyclopédie Méthodique d'Architecture*, vol. I (Paris, 1788), articles "abuse

and "allegorie."
16. Ibid., article "caractère," pp. 477–521.
17. Ibid., vol. III, 1825, pp. 543–545 (see the "Documents" section of this journal for a complete translation of this article).
18. Ibid., article "cabane," vol. I., pp. 382–386.
19. Michel Foucault, *Les Mots. . .*, trans. *The Order of Things* (London, 1970), p. 145.
20. Quatremère revised and condensed the three volume dictionary, completed in 1825, for his two volume *Dictionnaire historique d'architecture* (Paris, 1832).
21. The career of Gaspard Monge is described in detail in A. Fourcy, *Histoire de l'Ecole Polytechnique* (Paris, 1828). The contributions of de l'Isle and Haüy are reviewed in John G. Burke, *Origins of the Science of Crystals* (Los Angeles, 1966); See. J. B. L. de Romé de l'Isle, *Essai de cristallographie* (Paris, 1772) and René Just Haüy, *Essai d'une theorie sur la structure des crystaux* (Paris, 1784). For the methodological comparison between Durand and the crystallographers see J. Guillerme, "Notes pour l'histoire de la régularité," *Revue d'Esthétique*, no. 3–4, 1970.
22. Patrick Geddes, "Morphology," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. 28 (New York, 1911, eleventh edition).
23. Georges, baron Cuvier (1769–1832), *Tableau élémentaire de l'histoire naturelle des animaux* (1798) and *Leçons d'anatomie comparée* (1800). The relationship between Cuvier's theory and the later classificatory theories of Gottfried Semper has been discussed by Joseph Rykwert in his article "Semper and the Conception of Style"; Cuvier's work however had an immediate impact on the small circle of scientists and ideologues in the new Parisian schools. His most important contribution was to go beyond previous classifications by external appearance and establish four types on the basis of anatomical structure and function: "If one considered the animal kingdom after the principles that we have posed . . . having regard only for the *organization* and nature of animals, and not for their size, use, etc." (Cuvier, lecture of 1812 to Académie des Sciences).
24. J. N. L. Durand (1760–1834), *Recueil et parallèle des édifices en tout genre* (Paris, 1801). Durand was approached by J. G. Legrand (1743–1807) in 1799 with an offer to contribute a historical text to Durand's plates. Legrand, a student of Blondel and of the engineer Perronnet had projected a thirty volume *Histoire générale de l'architecture ou comparison des monumens de tous les âges chez les differens peuples* which remained incomplete until his death. It was a précis of this work that was incorporated into Durand's *Receuil*.
25. J. G. Legrand, in Durand, *Receuil*, "Essai sur l'Histoire générale de l'architecture," new edition (Paris, 1809), pp. 21–47.
26. J. N. L. Durand, *Précis des Leçons d'architecture données à l'Ecole Polytechnique* (Paris, 1802–05).
27. Ibid., vol. I, part ii, "Of Composition in General."
28. H. Rohault, *Projet d'hôpital pour 1,500 malades* (Paris, 1810).
29. Durand, *Précis des Leçons*, introduction.
30. F. Léonce Reynaud (1803–1880), Polytechnician and Saint-Simonian, a student of Durand, published his *Traité d'architecture* in 1850. In 1836 he had written, in the article "Architecture" for his brother's *Encyclopédie Nouvelle*, a sophisticated critique of too mechanistic a functionalism, recognizing that "the positive conditions of construction, size, materials, and program could not completely determine the silhouette or whole form of the building; rather they should provide approximations and pose limits for the selection of the final, regular form according to the respective idea of the monument. The architect's task was, he concluded, "to develop for each system of givens the ideal type of perfection."
31. Louis Ambrose Dubut (1769–1846), *Architecture civile* (Paris, 1803), introduction.
32. Augustus Welby Pugin (1812–1852), *Contrasts; or a Parallel Between the Noble Edifices of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries, and Similar Buildings of the Present Day; shewing the Present Decay of Taste* (Second revised edition, 1841).
33. Victor Hugo, *Notre Dame de Paris* (Paris: Garnier-Flammarion, 1967), p. 157.

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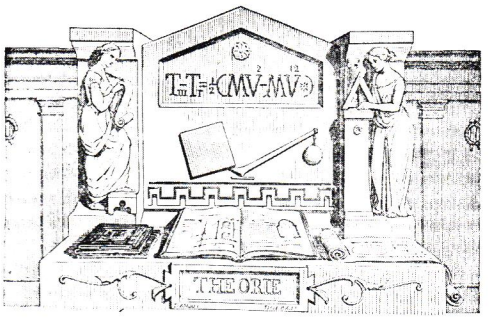
1, 3–5, 7–18, 12, 14–21, 23, 24. Courtesy of the author.
2 Reprinted from Le Corbusier, *Towards a New Architecture* (London: The Architectural Press, 1963).
6 Reprinted from Alexandre de Laborde, *Description des Nouveaux Jardins de France* (Paris, 1808).
11 Reprinted from *Visionary Architects: Boullée, Ledoux, Lequeu* (Houston, Texas: University of St. Thomas, 1968).
13 Reprinted from Claude-Nicolas Ledoux, *L'architecture considerée. . .* (Paris: the author, 1804).
22 Reprinted from Robert Rosenblum, *Transformations in Late Eighteenth Century Art* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1967), pl. 148.



"Architecture," wrote d'Alembert in the introduction to the Encyclopedia, *"is* simply *the* embellished mask, *so to speak, of one of our greatest needs." Thus defined, architecture was reduced to a supernumerary of building—an activity born of necessity. The perfection of architecture, while it may have been embodied for a brief moment in the perfection of geometry, exposed in the harmonious spheres of Ledoux and Boullée, thereby was likened to a detachable mask, or, in the metaphors of the early nineteenth century, to a more or less appropriate suit of clothes.*

The need of the revolutionary period to search for legitimation in the clothes of the past, and of the consuming classes to search for status in the bought masks of history and eclecticism, immediately destroyed the rigorism of the visionaries, at the same time using their primary forms as the perfect mannequins for stylistic draperies.

Successive attempts were made, on behalf of one style or another—from the neo-Classic to the Gothic—to posit a restored stylistic unity; the appeal was made on ethical and political grounds (Quatremère and Pugin) or on rational and structural grounds (Labrouste and Viollet-le-Duc). Those who sensed the futility of retreat into a supposedly organic past even developed, like César Daly, a theory of eclecticism—the melting pot theory of styles—in the hope that some new fusion might emerge.

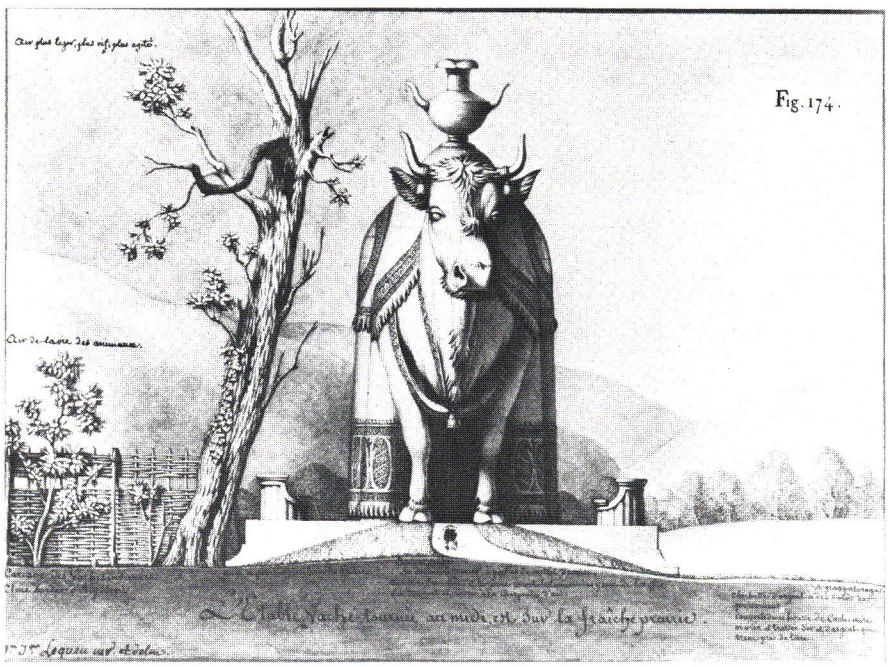
Beneath the surface of this "battle of the styles," another source of unity was tentatively emerging as a contender—that of the program, the functional distribution of the building, which might, some thought, if allied to a truly organic theory of types, dispense with the need for styles altogether; economy as the prime mover in social affairs should rightly claim primacy in architecture. The solution to the proliferation of embellished masks was perhaps to make of need itself the principle of beauty. Adam Smith had, after all, enunciated the principle as early as 1776.

But whether the defenders of elite culture maintained the line that d'Alembert had implied, and Ruskin had unequivocally drawn, between building and architecture, or whether the progressive materialists saw the fallacy of all historicisms and called for a true modern architecture of iron, glass, and programmatic constitution/organization—an architecture dissolved into building—the question of expressive form remained. Pragmatists simply accepted the "neutrality" of the standard grid; stylistic revivalists tried to emulate the organic compositions of the past; symbolists tried to renew the vocabulary of architecture through linguistic, geometric, and iconographic experimentation. And as long as the question of form remained self-conscious, the dilemmas of style were still hauntingly present.

Even the Modern Movement, confident that its reason—its understanding of the spirit of the age—had succeeded in triumphing over history, was, after a mere thirty years, presented with itself as an "international style." And if there could be one such style, evidently there might be others not far behind. In the aftermath of the collapse of the will to a modernist "style," we, pluralists and rationalists, alike, might well examine the origins of our condition and reflect on the arbitrary nature of any one source of unity for architecture and building. Separated by the very needs of production themselves, they have gained autonomous identities, each itself fragmented, that render the search for unity seemingly willful.

Indeed, many might argue that the willing acceptance of taste, *identifiable within sub-cultures and classes, makes such a term entirely anachronistic; others would hold, with Peter Eisenman, that a true modernist sensibility proposes new forms of unity hitherto unexplored in architecture. The argument still remains between "styles" and "style" and will continue to remain so as long as consumer society exists.*
AV

1 Southern view of cow's stable. Jean-Jacques Lequeu, architect, c.1780. The building is given its character by its "expressive physiognomy" that is achieved through a direct verisimilitude.



1

The 'End' of Styles

Demetrius Porphyrios

The derivation of the idea of character, from its mid-eighteenth century roots and through its nineteenth century transformations, reveals the origin of certain obsessions that characterize our already aging modernity; a modernity which only a decade ago was still alive, but which, unfortunately or fortunately, is now slowly disintegrating before our eyes. In this legacy we are beginning to recognize a stubborn obstacle that stands, ideologically and practically, directly in the way of any renewed linguistic and historicist thought.

This essay studies the peculiar logic within which late eighteenth and nineteenth century architectural thought developed its criteria for the establishment of character; first through the play of styles, then on the basis of an organizational typology, and finally around the idea of an organic unity between rational construction and social morality. The logic of these successive permutations ends with our own period, in the dissolution of historical models and paradoxically enough after so many attempts to evolve as scientific a classification of architectural production as that applied to nature, in the impossibility of a renewed and active typology.

Charles-François Viel, in his *Décadence de l'architecture à la fin du XVIIIième siècle*, published in 1800, decried the emergence of an architecture that, by means of a "deranged and wayward imagination has operated a true revolution in the ordering of buildings."[1] For Viel, this "deranged and wayward imagination" referred to the mind of the late Enlightenment, which, having lost its faith in the universal and a priori principles of the Renaissance, set itself the task of measuring architecture with the yardstick of individual, sensuous perception.

The idea that the material world, when registered by the senses, excites analogous expressive sentiments in the mind, was proposed by many theorists in the late Enlightenment. The architect Le Camus de Mézières acknowledged, in his *Le génie de l'architecture, ou l'analogie de cet art avec nos sensations*, that the more he investigated, the more he realized that "every object possesses a character that is proper to it, and that often a single line, a simple contour suffices to express it." "The face of the lion," he continued, "those of the tiger and the leopard are composed of an assemblage of traits which render them terrible. . . ."[2] In this way, physiognomy became the means by which the eighteenth century mind sorted out and classified so many different things, assigning to each its own unmistakable "character."[3] It was through sensuous perception that man measured and evaluated his material world. In turn, the material world, marked by the expressive physiognomy that man projected onto it, could be classified on the basis of character. Every building could be distinguished on the basis of its own expressive physiognomy; every building had a character (figs. 1, 3). Inversely, the task of the architect was to assign to a building its proper character by matching a certain sensuous physiognomy with its proper social signification, its proper symbolic value.

The adjectival specification "proper" does not, however, mean that character was to be an a priori constituent of a building. It was, in fact, a plea for a full understanding of the social signification that derived from the concrete social realm. Le Camus de Mézières insisted that "character is determined . . . less by the study of rules than by the perfect knowledge of the mores, usages, and customs of one's own country."[4] The audacious title of Ledoux's treatise, *L'architecture considérée sous le rapport de l'art, des moeurs et de la législation*, expresses this problem exactly. Architecture was no longer to be ordered in accordance with the sovereign status of divine *principia*—as was the case in the Renaissance—but defined and given legitimacy by its external relation to art, mores,[5] and legislation. Henceforth, architecture was to be ordered by means of a transaction that enabled buildings to be endowed with social significance by reference to things—for example, social status, use, political ideas—outside themselves (fig. 2).

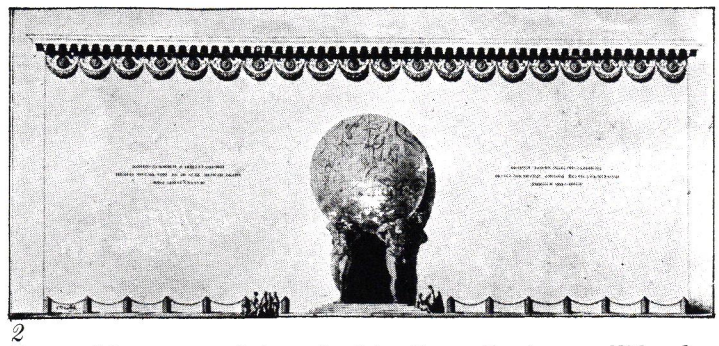
While Blondel, earlier in the century, had spoken extensively of a symbolic architecture that indissolutely bound form and content, by 1800 the symbols were set in motion and detached from any singularity of meaning. Once the arbitrary nature of the symbols was grasped—the fact that

they rested on convention and were not innate properties of buildings—they were allowed to spin, twist, and irremediably mutilate those frozen lists and recipes that the classical mind had struggled to keep alive for centuries (figs. 4, 5). Charles-François Viel was indeed frightened by the enlightened and libertine mind that he characterized as "deranged and wayward."

Architecture could not, however, have questioned the sterility of the traditional rules of propriety had it not first grasped the ephemeral and purely conventional nature of the pact between form and meaning. Boullée, Ledoux, and Lequeu did not revolutionize architecture by the abstract nudity of their surface, nor by the geometrical purity of their stereometric forms. Rather, they revolutionized architectural thinking at a more fundamental level, by being able to grasp the arbitrary link between form and meaning; that is, by being able to identify the conventional social pact that binds the signified to the signifier, or by being able to demystify the silent agreement that makes symbolic form out of the character of buildings. It is in this sense that one can refer to the late eighteenth century French architecture as an *architecture parlante*.[6]

This ideological legacy weighed heavily on the early nineteenth century. So firmly was it devoted to this invention of the Enlightenment, that it simply modified the criteria for establishing character without fundamentally changing the terms of reference.

In the middle of the eighteenth century, Blondel had devoted the first volume of his *Cours d'Architecture* to an exhaustive catalogue of architectural genres, such as, "light, elegant, delicate, rustic, naive, feminine, mysterious, grandiose, audacious, terrible, dwarfish, frivolous, licentious, unpretentious, uncertain, vague, barbaric, cold, poor, sterile or futile. . . ."[7] He went on to list the architectural programs to be included in the repertoire of new professionals, and indicated their appropriate genres. Each building type was thereby invested with an affective character, a character to be evoked by the manner of architecture adopted.



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Some fifty years later, in his *Recueil et parallèle des Édifices de tout genre, anciens et modernes* of 1801, J. N. L. Durand presented his readers with an alphabetical table of the various kinds of buildings. This alphabetical table took the place of a table of contents, in the manner of the encyclopedists, and it certainly reveals the classificatory obsession of the period, a period that also gave birth to the science of natural history and the genius of Buffon.[8] What is of interest here, however, is the actual nomenclature that Durand assigned to his types. His alphabetical table reads in part: "Amphitheaters, Aqueducts, Triumphal Arches, . . . Baths, Bazaars, Belltowers, Libraries, . . . Colleges, . . . Granaries, Grottoes, . . . Villas, Markets, Menageries, Mosques, . . . Pagodas, Palaces, Palestras, Light Houses . . ."[9] and so on. The peculiarity of this classification lies in its determination to sort out architectural works on the basis of a new parameter—that of *utility* (*convenance*).[10]

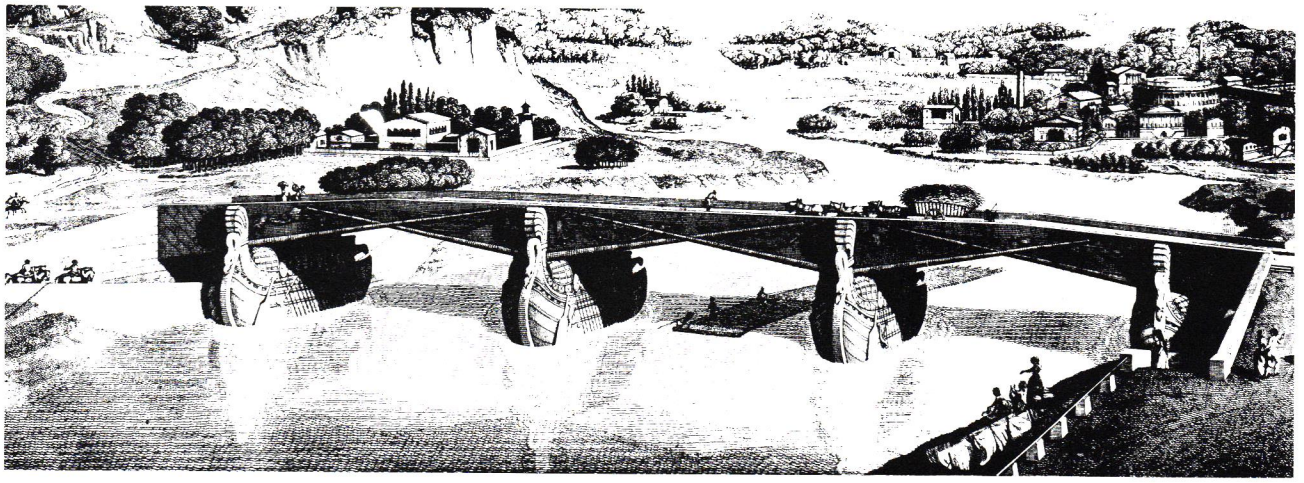
Between Blondel and Durand, then, the field of designation within which it was possible to describe and name a building had changed. To the Enlightenment, the sensuous physiognomy of a building had been a spectacle: its features were portrayed in adjectival descriptions that were moody, dense, and almost tangible. To Durand, however, a building owed its character to its purposive destiny: "If one disposes a building in a manner convenient to its intended use, will it not naturally possess a character and, further, its own proper character?"[11] From this time on, architectural thought no longer characterized a building as morbid, frivolous, or gay, but instead it distinguished between a theater, a library, a market, or a train station, and in so doing it accomplished its fundamental task in the nineteenth century: that of naming on the basis of use.

Thirty years later, in 1832, Quatremère de Quincy, the intellectual guardian of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, published his *Dictionnaire historique d'architecture*, in which the reader was to confront the connotational wealth of an assembled architectural terminology. "The theory of character," wrote Quatremère, "should rest on . . . three principal tools, by means of which the purpose of buildings can be manifested: first, the form of the plan and the eleva-

2 National Library, Paris. Etienne Boullée, architect, 1788. The building is given its "proper character" by alluding to the universality of knowledge it houses through the metaphorical use of the globe.

3 Bridge on the Loüe, Chaux. Claude-Nicolas Ledoux, architect, 1773–79. The bridge's pylons are in the form of boats, for they alone possess the expressive power that can evoke the sense of buoyancy.

4,5 Country house near Marly, France. François Barbier, architect, c.1780. In an effort to evoke rusticity, this house makes an immense jump in scale and becomes a broken ruin of antiquity.



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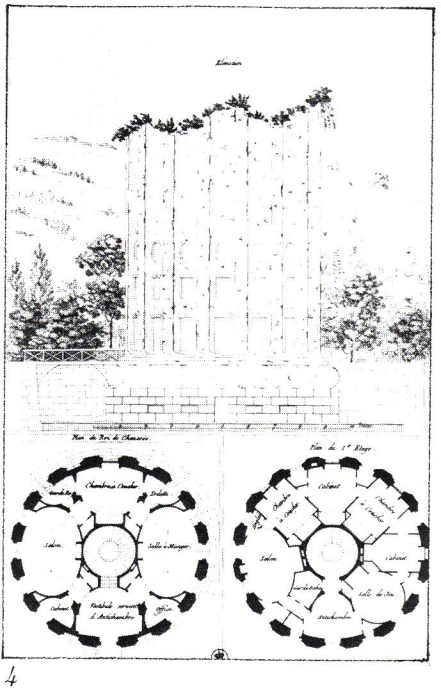

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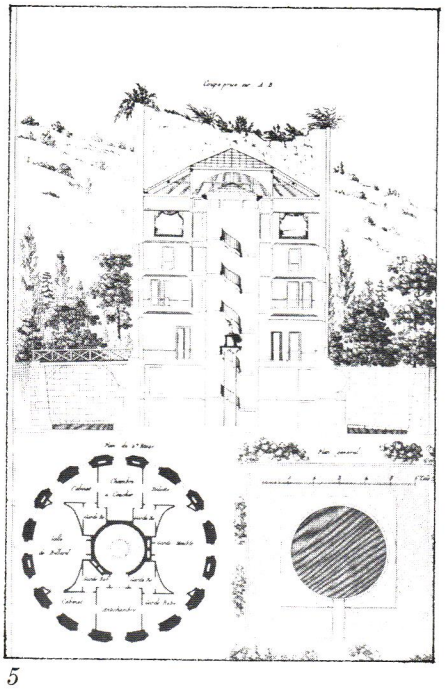

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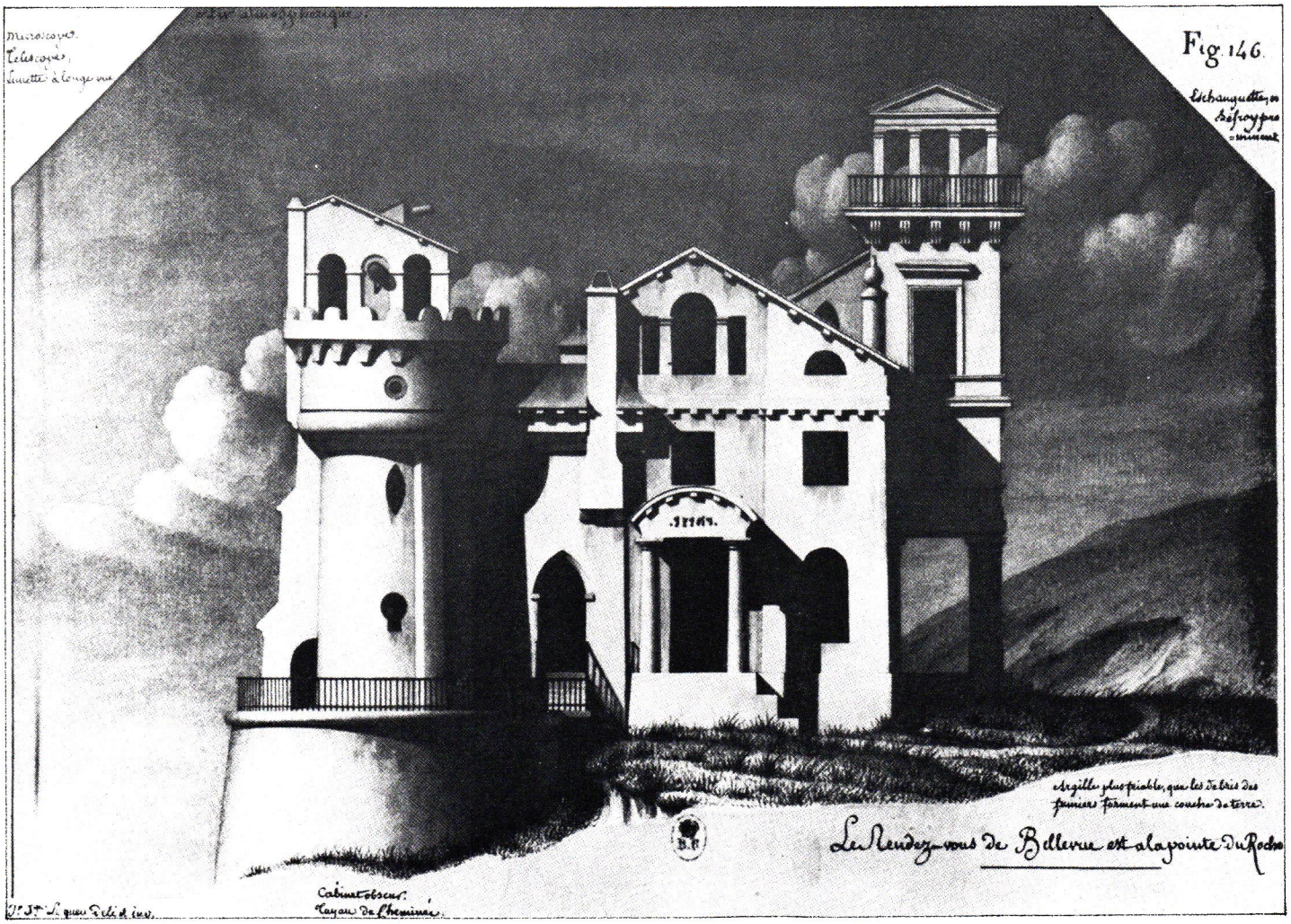
6 Rendezvous, Bellevue, France. Jean-Jacques Lequeu, architect, c.1780. Antique, Gothic, and Renaissance ornamental features juxtaposed next to each other and severed from their stylistic contexts, evoke a sense of mystery, non-place, and fantasy.



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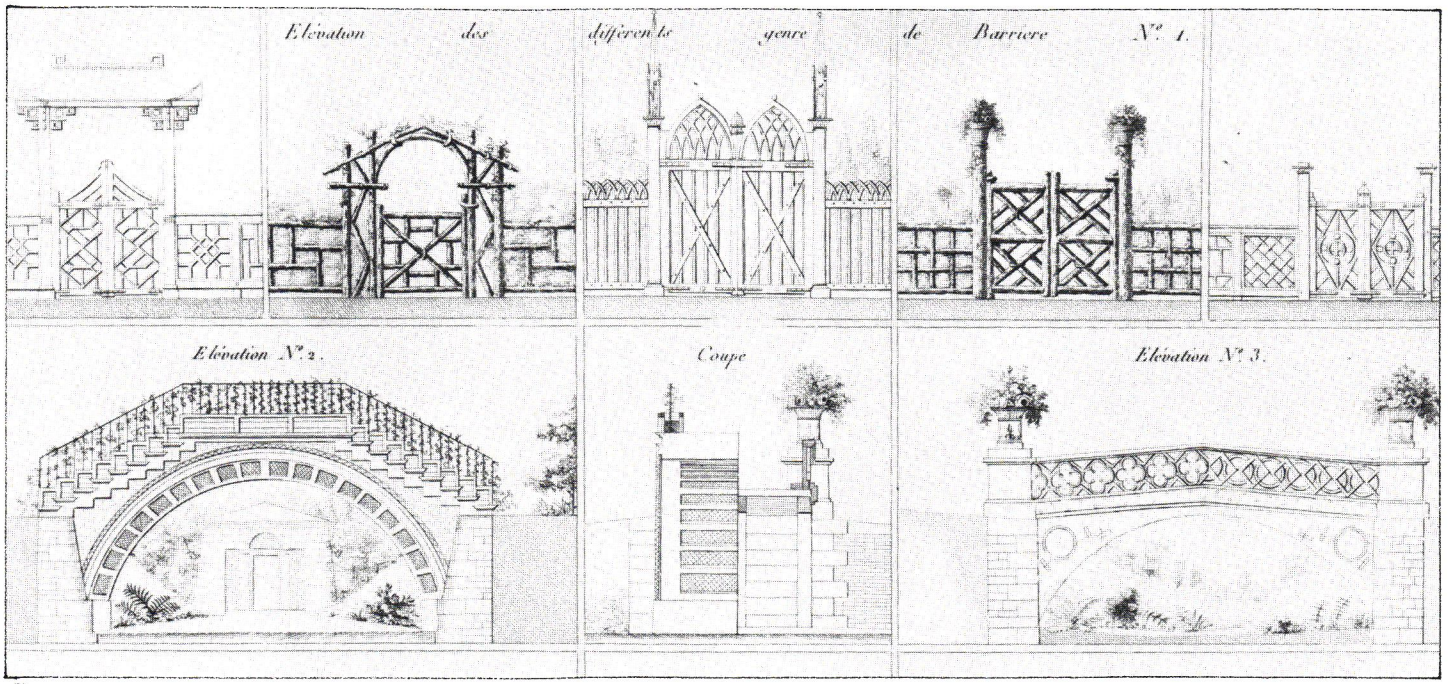
tion; second, the choice, measure or manner of ornaments and decoration; and third, the massing and the genre of construction and materials."[12] By defining the laws of a general theory of character, Quatremère de Quincy simultaneously linked utility with form (shape, configuration), ornament, and construction.

Throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and, even in the case of certain belated survivals that extend well into our own postwar era, this silent pact came to haunt all architectural sensibility. Indeed, it can be said today that our modernity is rooted not in the attempt to apply objective methods in the analysis, study, and construction of buildings, nor in some superficial idea of "progress" founded on rationality, nor on some "objective" assessment of the building task, but instead, the threshold of our modernity is more precisely to be situated in the ideological region where utility and representation intersect. This region, which served as a common meeting ground for representation and utility, for architectural imagery and essential use, and which united the resemblances of imagination and the necessities of usage, is the region which, in its peculiar obsession for transcribing use and need into form, marks the advent of our own consciousness of architecture.

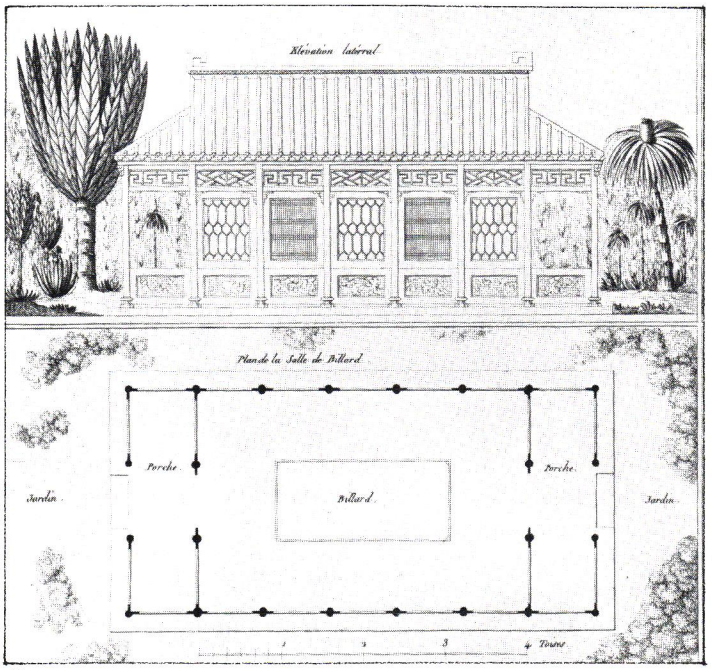
This consciousness first emerged at the point when the essential unity of physiognomy and mores, that had been established by the Enlightenment, dissolved. It is possible, now, from a distance, to "bracket" architectural history during the last two centuries on the basis of the preference shown by architectural thought for allying utility either with form, or with ornament, or with construction. The first alliance—utility and form—questions the relations between usage and syntax. It assumes composition to be the primary tool of design in the service of satisfying programmatic needs and arrives eventually at its formalized contribution: that of planimetric and elevational type. Within such an attitude may be placed Durand, Ecole des Beaux-Arts composition, and elementarist interests of the 1920's. The second alliance—that established between utility and ornament—questions the relations between usage and signification. It assumes the symbolic power of representation and, honoring the arbitrariness of the sign (its conventional nature),[13] it brings into prominence the theme of architecture as language and interpretation. It is exemplified by such movements as stylistic eclecticism, historicism, pop art, and technological symbolism. The third alliance—utility and construction—questions the relations between usage and the essential nature of the building. It reverses the assumptions of the former two alliances, and, grounding its belief in the long-forgotten ontology of Renaissance classicism, it reintroduces the old myth of a building's innate attributes. It is exemplified by the structural moralism of Viollet-le-Duc, the disalienated production of William Morris, the notion of honesty of materials, and the various functionalisms of the 1920's.

It is necessary to examine these three alliances of utility with form, ornament, and construction in a more systemic manner. The early nineteenth century capitalized on the second of these relations, that between utility and ornament. Quatremère de Quincy clearly established decoration as the tool par excellence for establishing the character of a building. One can hardly fail to recognize the resemblance of his words to our own understanding. "Decoration," he wrote, "is truly a sort of language, the signs of which should have a necessary relation with a certain number of ideas. If decoration ceases to be this, one witnesses a dead language, a hieroglyphic writing, the sense of which is lost . . . and which eventually becomes a sterile amusement for the eyes . . . what a host of sphinxes, lions, eagles, vases, trophies, candelabras, tripods, altars, wands, crowns, wreaths, boughs, laurels, etc. have become nothing but fastidious padding, enjoying no other role but of the embroidery on a cloth."[14]

Paradoxically enough, what was here intended as an ironic criticism of eclecticism shares with the latter the very same categories of thought. For if, in fact, ornament is a language in the service of expressing the purposiveness of a building; if ornament, by its own attributive license, can assign meanings and thereby character; if ornament, in its ephemeral yet sovereign life-span, can undo and then reconstruct systems of expression; then ornament has finally become mere clothing—an aspect of pure designation (fig.


Elevation des différentes genre de Barriere N.° 1.
Elevation N.° 2.
Coupe
Elevation N.° 3.

7

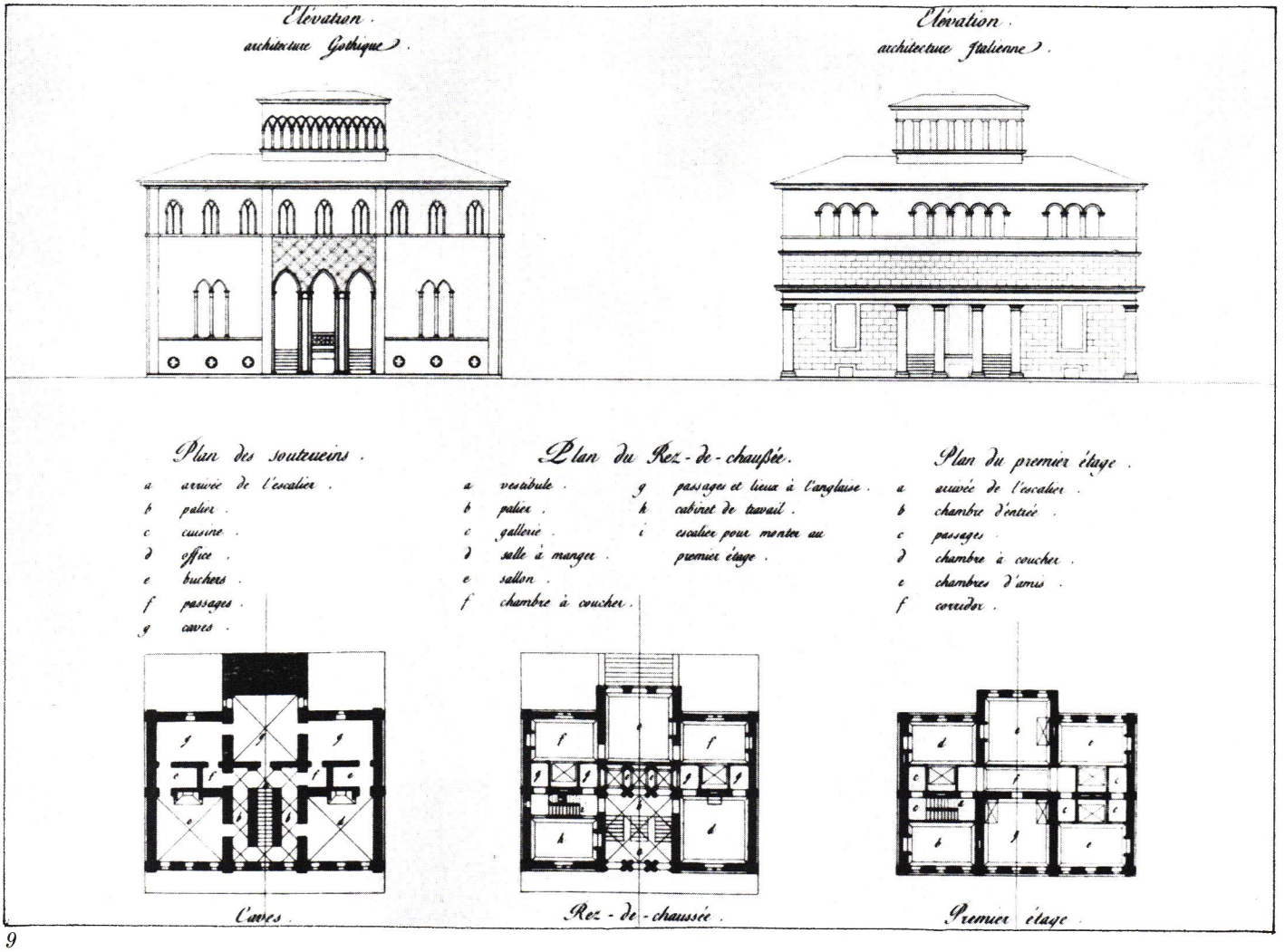

Elevation latéral
Plan de la Salle de Billard
Porche
Porche
Billard
Jardin
Jardin
1
2
3
4 Toises

8

7 Alternative designs for gates. Jean-Charles Krafft, architect, 1789.

8 House in the Chinese style. Jean-Charles Krafft, architect, 1801. By borrowing a stylistic morphology in toto, *this house has "operated a complete change in the outward features of architecture" in an effort to evoke "the taste of Novelty."*

9 Designs for a house. L. A. Dubut, architect, 1803. Two stylistically different elevations are given as possible alternatives to the same plan. 'Character' is given through style, while the various styles are conceived here as interchangeable clothing.



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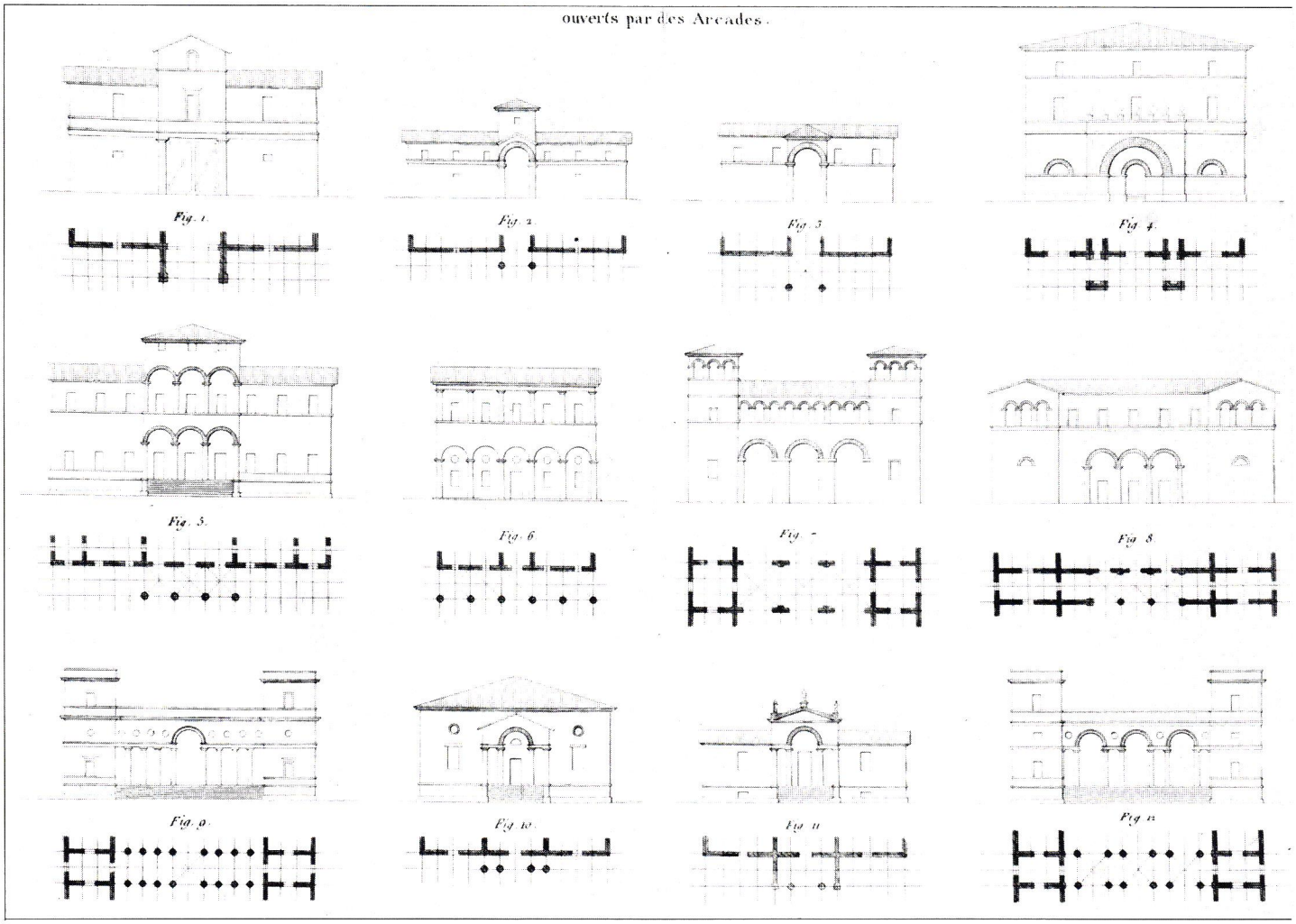
10 Various types of porches. J. N. L. Durand, architect, 1809. This plate refers to the second stage of composition (the first being that of choosing the elements of composition—walls, columns, etc.), whereby the 'principal parts' of a building are born.

11 Assembly of the various 'principal parts' of buildings. J. N. L. Durand, architect, 1809. This plate refers to the third stage of composition whereby the building's plan is born.



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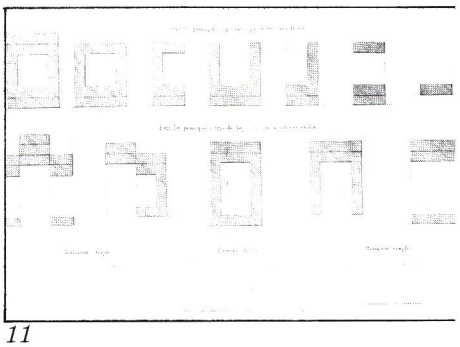


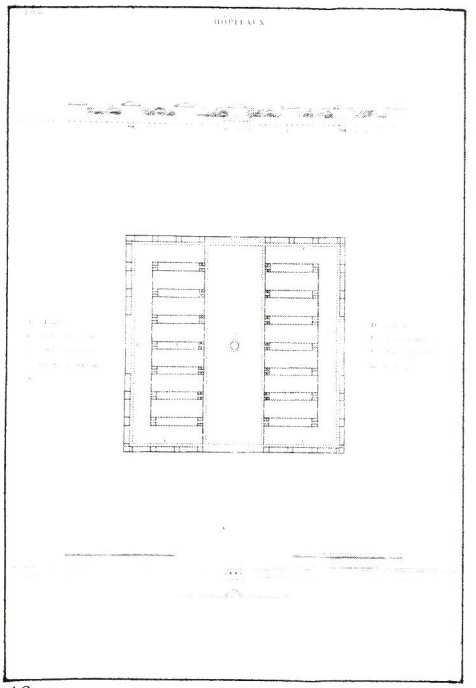
11

12,13 Hospital and Library prototypes. J. N. L. Durand, architect, 1809. It is intended here that all hospitals or libraries should be, to a lesser or greater extent, the combinative syntax of the respective prototype.

6). Devoid of all its emblematic force, ornament becomes a simple arbitrator of meaning—in the same way, for example, that the royal seal functions as the arbitrator of legality and power. Just as the seal is purely an arbitrary convention in the service of designation, and power and legality do not reside within it; in a similar manner, ornament, stripped of all intrinsic attributes, now becomes an unmisted mirror that owes its existence to its very power of reflection, and by such reflection, achieves its capacity to designate.

Once character can be established or ascribed through the meaning of ornament, nothing prevents the families or species of ornament—the styles—from being endowed with a similar designatory power (fig. 7); hence stylistic eclecticism. L. A. Dubut, qualified the title of his *Architecture civile* with the subtitle *Maisons de ville et de campagne de toutes formes et de tous genres*,[15] while J. C. Huet, in his *Parallèle des temples anciens, gothiques et modernes*, was able to choose whether "the ordering of a Temple will be Greek, Gothic, Roman, or Modern, or entirely new" (figs. 8, 9).[16] A church, or a penitentiary, for example, was to be distinguished as much by the surface quality of its skin as by the activity it housed. Style was the manner in which utility was presented—hence its uniquely privileged position. Utility itself was never to be revealed openly to the senses but only revealed through the power of style. Style, as the manner of sensuous representation, in this way became transcription; its value resided not in its own substantiality but in its power to designate, to translate, to stand for, to refer to, to conjure, to associate with, or to remind of the distant and immaterial domain of utility. Hence, the linguistic potential of style.

Contemporary with this alliance established by the Ecole des Beaux-Arts between ornament and utility was the alliance that the Ecole Polytechnique determinedly forged between utility and form, seen as shape and configuration. Rather than anchoring their hopes on the significatory power of style, the polytechnicians set out to dissect the building, to discover its elemental particulars and then to reconstruct it again, fully aware of its syntactic order. To study architecture, wrote Durand, means to study "first, the elements of the buildings; second, the combination of



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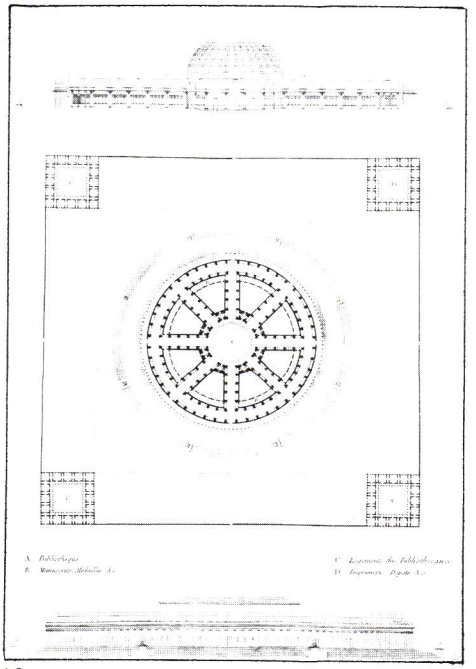

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these elements, or in other words . . . the composition in general; and third, the assembly of these combinations in the composition of this or that building in particular" (figs. 10, 11).[17] That structure selected to be the locus of relevant similarities and differences, and which served at the same time as the classificatory tool of all architectural genres, was termed the 'type.' "The type," wrote Quatremère de Quincy, "is a sort of kernel around which accumulate and on the basis of which are coordinated the stages and the variations of forms to which the object is susceptible."[18] If style had the power to designate by semantic reference, type had an equally effective power to designate by the structure or by the syntax of the building's organization. Its power resided in its ability to define combinatory syntax, from which everything else takes on a derivational identity; all hospitals, for example, are hospitals because they manifest their similar use by sharing—to a greater or lesser extent—the same combinatory syntax (figs. 12, 13). Thus, in its syntactic typologies, form assumes a taxonomic role, and, in classifying the architectural universe, it thereby designates character, not by a system of cultural references assigned by this or that style, but by means of the inner structure—the constitutional organization—of the building type. It can be said, then, that at the deepest level of architectural thinking (not that of its perceptual iconography, but that of its classificatory and designatory activity), early nineteenth-century architectural theory introduced no real discontinuity with the Enlightenment; stylistic eclecticism and syntactic type find their places without difficulty within the epistemology of the eighteenth century and its arbitrary assignment of character. There are, no doubt, differences between character as physiognomy, character as historical style, and character as formal syntax; yet, these differences are of a thematic and not of a categorical nature. For style, syntax, and physiognomy are all simply designatory tools that allow for the passage from the invisible to the visible. Style, syntax, and physiognomy are transcriptional devices whereby the non-sensuous world of ideas is presented in physical form.

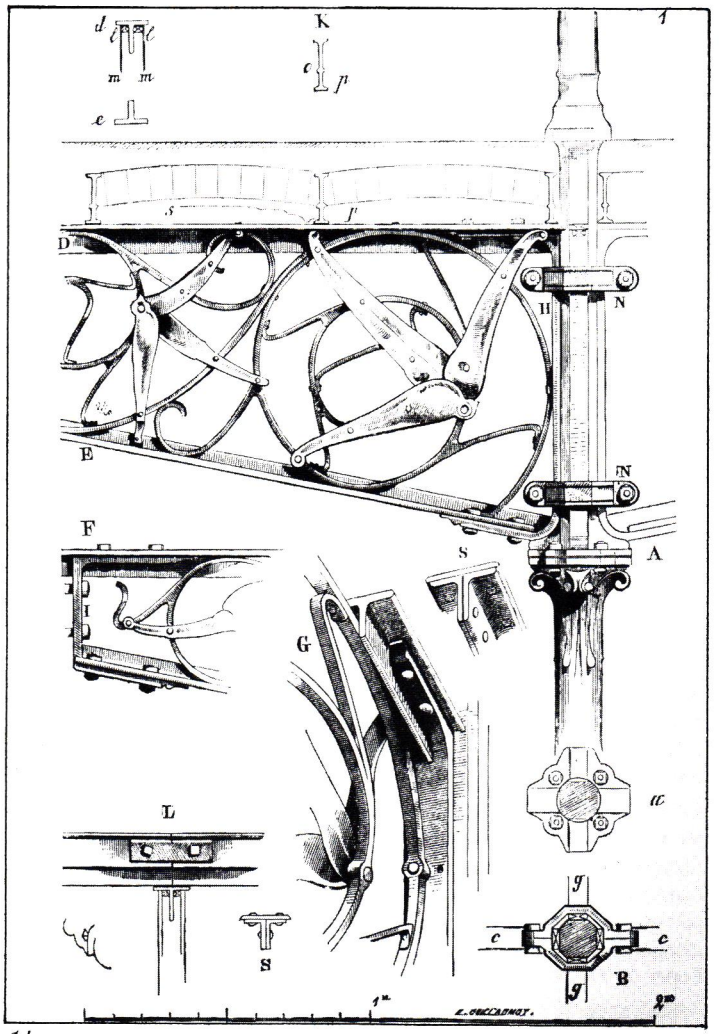
Of course, ideologies or categories of thought do not appear or vanish haphazardly. They are instrumental in promoting, (or not promoting), convictions, beliefs, and attitudes that have a wide social impact. In fact, their degree of ideological instrumentality can be measured by the degree of their institutionalization. Thus, we find that at the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth, the belief in the arbitrariness of the designatory power of style and of form was being, in a very real sense, institutionalized. The categories of style and syntactic type not only formed the respective ideological nuclei of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts and the Ecole Polytechnique, but simultaneously they also became instrumental in promoting the emerging ideologies of consumerism and technological positivism.

The early nineteenth century witnessed the final economic emancipation of the Ricardian bourgeoisie. Advertisement, the showcase, the commercial poster, the diorama, the shopping arcade were all born during this period. Consumption, at least that stage articulated by Ricardo and Adam Smith, developed a need to label its objects of production, for it was by means of the designatory role of labeling that consumption owed its effective functioning; consumption without a designation that assigned value to objects was impossible. A designatory architectural logic was thus welcomed in nineteenth century commercial life at precisely the time when fashion and the applied arts were being mobilized by commercial enterprise. And since sensuous appearance was becoming the designatory vehicle that enhanced the salability of a product, it is by no means surprising to find architectural thought developing a parallel attitude, by which style and form were treated much in the same way as clothing—the marks of character and status continually varying with the dictates of fashion. On the other hand, for the idea of architectural expression as clothing to have become possible, it was necessary to have assumed the separation between the outer appearance of the building and its organization—the distinct identities of style and type. Thus, one line of thought, that of syntax, ignoring the demands of surface appearance, based architectural intelligibility on the concept of the organizational, *syntactic* type. The other line of thought, that of style, at first ignored the existence of the former, and based architectural intelligibility on the stylistic appearance of a building. Yet both style and syntactic type, in their determination to point

14 A page from Viollet-le-Duc's Entretiens sur l'Architecture, *1863. The traditional ornament is broken to its constructional constituents in a manner similar to the actual structural members. Style resides in the very act of making.*

outside themselves toward the realm of utility, are transparent to designation in the very act of designating. On the other hand, paradoxically enough, these two notions, by segregating form from meaning, proved equally instrumental in the early history of engineering positivism. For, in order for the positivist dream of the engineer to come true, it was necessary that the emblematic nature or style be dispensed with, or, better, that the capacity of style to be, quite literally, attached to structure. It was only when architecture was purified of all its stylistic accidents, which seemed to be elements alien to its essential nature, that it could become the revelation of its essential truth—its construction. The concept of the arbitrariness of the sign was, in fact, necessary to the constitution of the opposing theory of "essences," which, in the second half of the century, came to glorify and even endow construction and function with moralistic overtones.

This leads us to the third alliance entered into by nineteenth-century utility, an alliance which was to hold much of the twentieth century under its spell: that of utility with construction. Though Quatremère de Quincy had, in fact, mentioned construction as one of the devices by which the architect might assign character, it was not until the middle of the century that this connection was given any serious theoretical formulation. Assuming the arbitrary nature of ornament by declaring that "ornamentation is an accessory placed on the surface, . . ."[19] Léonce Reynaud, the engineer, emphasized the distinction between historical style and the style of an individual designer, his *maniera.* Reynaud wrote: "There are two things to consider when discussing style in architecture, the style of the epoch and the style of the artist. On one side, that which constitutes a sort of distinct idiom, the words and the rules of a language; on the other side, the choice and the manner of expression."[20] Similarly, Viollet-le-Duc, in his *Entretiens sur l'architecture,* praised Reynaud's axiom—"style is at first the epoch, man only follows . . ."[21]—and added, "there is *style;* there are *the styles.*"[22] In thus distinguishing style from personal manner, Viollet-le-Duc returned to the classical conception of the natural relationship between the physical appearance of an object and its essence. In his *Entretiens* he wrote: "the engineers . . . in constructing a



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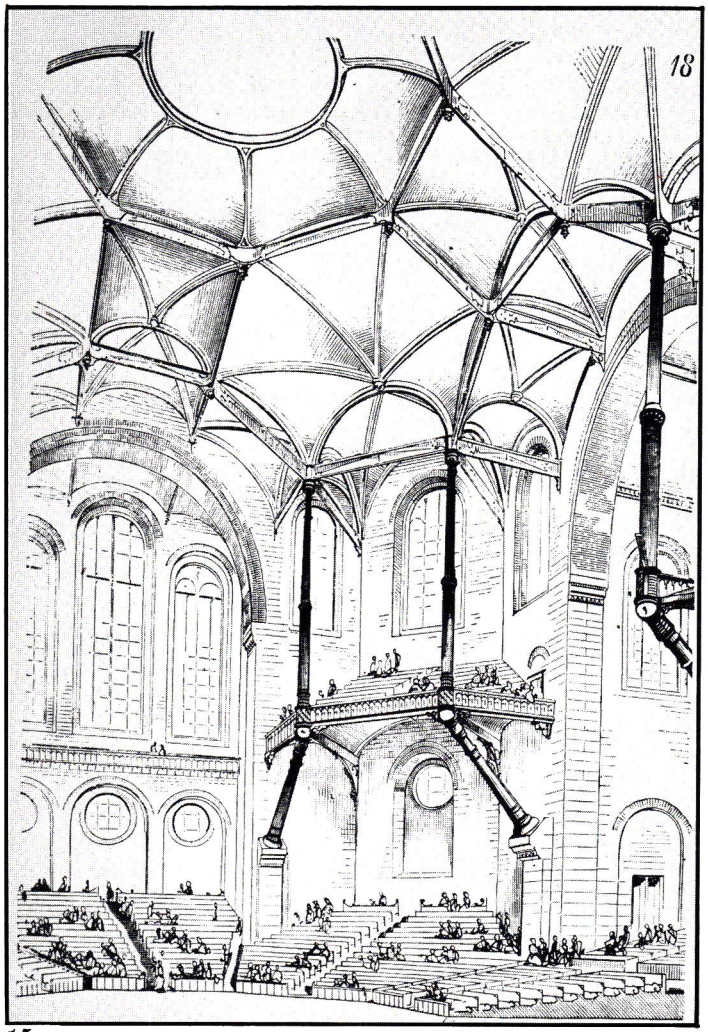
15 A page from Viollet-le-Duc's Entretiens sur l'Architecture, *1863. Gothicism is moralized as the* par excellence *true style for its fidelity in construction as well as its builder's disalienated social nature.*



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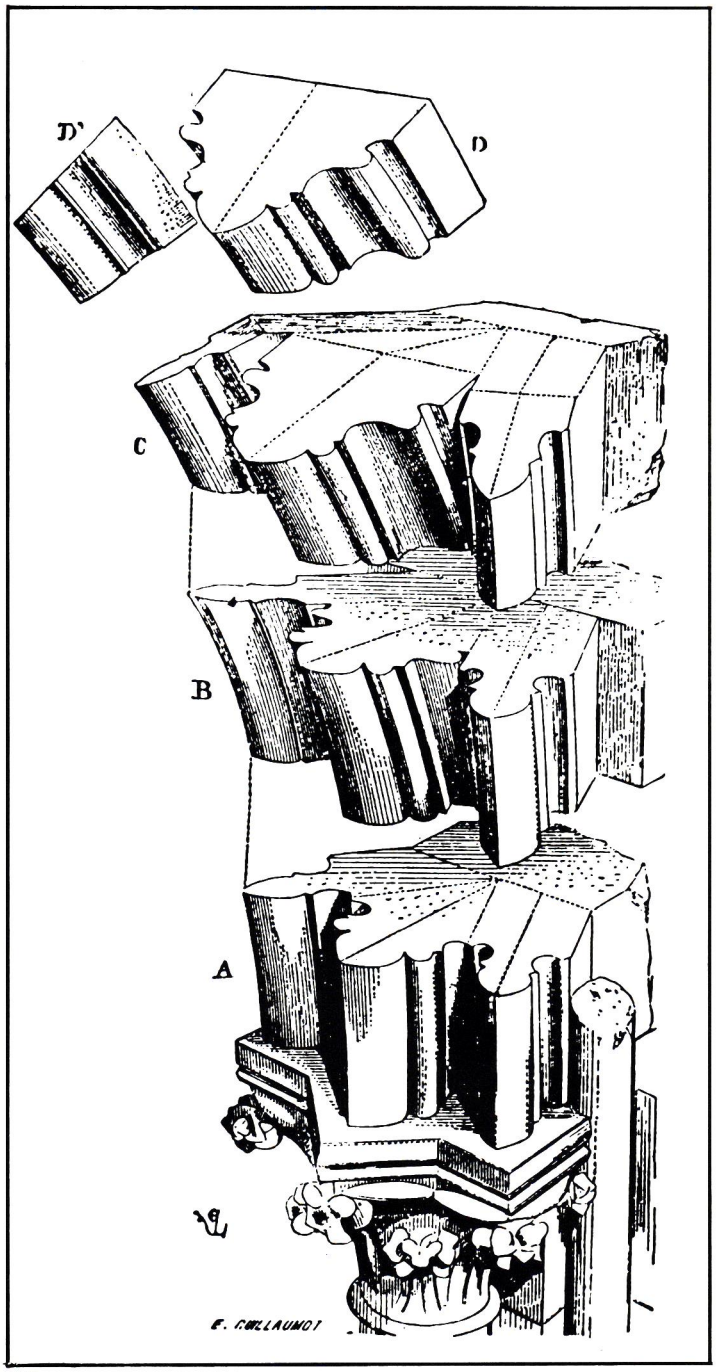
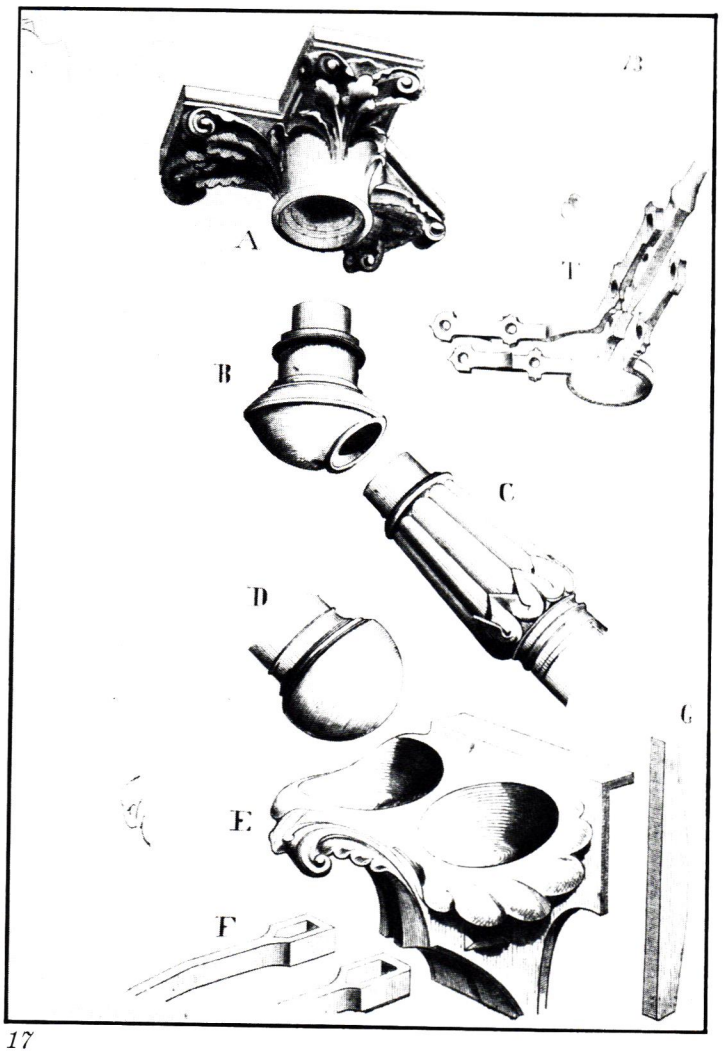


16

16,17 Pages from Viollet-le-Duc's Entretiens sur l'Architecture, *1863. Ornament—whether in Gothic* voussoirs *or ferrous boltings—has become an integral part of the respective structural components. Style resides in the anatomical substantiality of construction.*

ship or a locomotive . . . produce works which have their own proper character, which have their style . . . in the sense that they indicate their destination [purpose]. . . . The locomotive . . . [in its] exterior form is only the expression of its power. Thus, the locomotive has style. . . ."[23] In this way, Viollet-le-Duc restored an ontology of representation that, for a century and a half, architectural thought had been struggling to bury. On the threshold of the objective puritanism of the Modern Movement, style thus lost its designatory, affixative, arbitrary role and instead became once more—as it had been in classical thought—a natural property of things. Yet whereas for classical thought, the "natural" implied an archaic, original, divine visitation, for the late nineteenth century nature referred more immediately to the origin of the building, its essential, generative force. No longer a decipherable secret concealed by the building, nature was now to inform the very act of "making" and, in the process of such a "making," recognize itself. It is in this sense that Viollet-le-Duc asserted that once "the structure . . . the plan . . . and the means of construction [are] established . . . the building is dressed in its own spirit."[24] It is essential to note that the act of making does not simply refer to nature but that it *is* nature itself. The nature of the building is interwoven with the act of making it; and in the act of making resides style (fig. 14). Style is significant not because of its ability to designate but, on the contrary, because of its essential fusion with the building's primary reality, because of its license to merge its identity with the very nature of the building.



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This ontology of style had two broad consequences. The first concerns the relation of style to history, or, more precisely, the disappearance of stylistic eclecticism. For the moment style was conceived as synonymous with nature—that is, residing within the essential nature of a building—its role as a linguistic sign disappeared. The Enlightenment and the early nineteenth century had posited that style did not exist unless there was a known possibility of interaction between two elements: the envisioned character of a building and the known attributes or meaning of a historical style. The late nineteenth century collapsed this distinction between the signifier and the signified, and, in so

doing, it denied the possibility of substitution and thus the designatory power of styles. In this sense, styles were no longer manners of symbolic designation and could therefore never migrate from their historical birthplace. They were tied forever to the very historicity of their emergence, irrevocably bound to the spirit of their birthdate. Viollet-le-Duc writes: "A Greek or a Roman could have attached certain ideas to certain forms which for us are lost. . . . These forms therefore have no reason to exist [amongst us]."[25]

It is now possible to understand how Viollet-le-Duc could have launched Gothicism as the true style par excellence while, at the same time, avoiding the stylistic solipsism of resurrecting historical style in the name of an organic idea—at least in his mind and in the minds of his contemporaries. For Viollet, Gothicism was itself natural and organic in the very alliance it established between its act of construction and the unity of medieval life: in this sense it had *style*. Style was present not as a characterizable set of formal and linguistic elements, but as synonymous with nature: the constructional and integrated social nature of the building (fig. 15). This endowment of one "privileged" historical style with the moral overtones of a social myth inevitably led to a fundamental concept for all other architectural history.

The very same alliance between style and nature that rendered stylistic eclecticism obsolete and endowed Gothicism with morality, also served the architectural orthodoxy of the 1920's. For if one searches to locate the underlying assumptions which were the necessary preconditions for the known themes of the 1920's, one invariably returns to this sameness of style and nature. The Corbusian "Dom-ino," the contempt for veneering, the obsolete *poché*, the criminal status of ornament, and, above all, the hostility toward architectural history could not have entered the architectural discourse of the twenties, even as vague themes, without this first condition: that style and nature are part of the same undifferentiated essence.

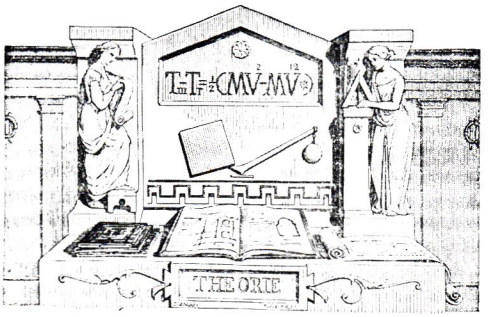
The second consequence of this nineteenth century ontology of style concerns the relation of style to the process of design. It has been said that, in the late nineteenth century, style coincided with nature and, in turn, nature coincided with the very act of making; style, therefore, was grounded in the anatomical substantiality of a building (figs. 16, 17), and the late nineteenth century mind, in defining style in this way, could only situate its domain within the very process of design. Style, then, had no direct or implied connection with the notion of an origin or an archaic beginning. The origin of style was not thought to rest in the dawn of a history from which its later attributes would have been derived. The idea of origin, at least in the late nineteenth century, referred exclusively to the immediacy of the act of making, rather than to some archetypal first moment after which everything is no more than the thick sedimentation of historical evolution. Time—in the sense of historical "time"—was therefore suspended while the understanding of nature and origin, and by definition the understanding of style, depended exclusively upon what thought had yet to think, afresh, in the very act of thinking and making, without recourse to the repository of history. Thus, the nineteenth century produced no theory of origins—unlike Classical or Enlightenment architectural thought. Thus, it produced no theory of archetypes, and by implication no theory of types—unlike, for example, neo-Classicism and Eclecticism. Late nineteenth century architectural thought, as well as early twentieth century orthodoxy, in the very act of renouncing all affiliations between style and a theory of historical origin, denied the possibility of any typology of design and condemned architecture ever to think anew, never to profit from the past and, in the end, never to be able to codify its own achievements.

Figure Credits

1–6 Reprinted from *Visionary Architects: Boullée, Ledoux, Lequeu* (Houston, Texas: University of St. Thomas, 1968).
7, 8 Reprinted from Jean-Charles Krafft, *Recueil d'architecture civile contenant les plans, coupes et élévations des châteaux, maisons de campagne, et habitations rurales, jardins anglais, temples, chaumières, kiosques, ponts, etc.* (Paris, 1812).
9 Reprinted from L. A. Dubut, *Architecture civile: maisons de ville et de campagne, de toutes formes et de tous genres* (Paris, 1803).
10–13 Reprinted from Jean-Nicolas-Louis Durand, *Précis des leçons d'architecture données à l'Ecole Polytechnique* (Paris, 1802–1805).
14–17 Reprinted from Eugène Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, *Entretiens sur l'architecture* (Paris, 1863).

A version of this paper was first read on 3 October 1976 at the Polytechnique of Central London before a symposium on architectural theory organized by Alan Colquhoun under the auspices of the school and with the participation of a number of guest lecturers.

1. Charles-François Viel de Saint-Maux, *Décadence de l'architecture à la fin du XVIIIième siècle* (Paris, An VIII: Perroneu, 1800), p. 8.
2. Nicolas Le Camus de Mézières, *Le génie de l'architecture, ou l'analogie de cet art avec nos sensations* (Paris, 1780), p. 3.
3. The notion of "character" has had a long and windy legacy in the history of architectural thought. Always linked with representation, its fundamental aim was to assign an adjectival qualification to the building and, in so doing, to verbalize its "looks."
4. Le Camus de Mézières, *Le génie de l'architecture*, p. 56.
5. In connection with the translation of the French "*moeurs*," Roger D. Masters, in his "editor's notes" of Rousseau's *The First and Second Discourses* (New York, 1964), p. 66, writes: "Alan Bloom has suggested manners (morals) as a means of conveying the combination of ethical assessment and a description of habits implicit in the term." See *Politics and the Arts*, pp. 149–150.
6. The term *architecture parlante* was first used in an anonymous essay entitled "Etudes d'architecture en France" in *Magasin Pittoresque*, 1852, p. 388, to characterize Ledoux's architecture. The term can be translated as "speaking" or "narrative" architecture and refers to those works in which representation and meaning are inextricably bound by a direct verisimilitude. See also Emil Kaufmann's *Three Revolutionary Architects: Boullée, Ledoux, and Lequeu* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1952), Vol. 42, pp. 417, 447, 514, 520, 535; Emil Kaufmann, *Architecture in the Age of Reason: Baroque and Post-Baroque in England, Italy, and France* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1955).
7. Jacques-François Blondel, *Cours d'Architecture ou Traité de la Décoration, distribution et construction des bâtiments contenant les leçons données en 1750 et les années suivantes* (Paris: Desaint, 1771–77), Vol. I, p. 412.
8. Buffon devoted his life to the classification of the natural kingdom according to each object's characteristic: "Size, color, substance, or . . . whichever other sensible quality, . . ." Comte de Buffon, *Discours sur la manière de traiter l'histoire naturelle, Oeuvres Complètes* (Paris, 1774), p. 31.
9. Jean-Nicolas-Louis Durand, *Recueil et parallèle des édifices de tout genre, anciens et modernes, remarquables par leur beauté* (Paris: Gillé fils, 1800), from the alphabetical table in the beginning of the treatise.
10. Between eighteenth and nineteenth century architectural theory (ideology), there occurred an etymological rupture in the otherwise common design principle of *convenance*. The eighteenth century, operating within the general problematic of social signification, assigned to *convenance* the meaning of "social propriety." The nineteenth century, however, operating within the general problematic of engineering excellence, assigned to *convenance* the meaning of "utility." The status of the notion of "befitting" thus changed from that of "socially befitting" to "operationally or constructionally befitting."
11. J.-N.-L. Durand, *Précis des leçons d'architecture données à l'Ecole Polytechnique* (Paris, 1802–05), Vol. I, p. 18.
12. Antoine-Chrysostôme Quatremère de Quincy, *Dictionnaire historique d'architecture* (Paris, 1832), Vol. I, p. 305.
13. Against the Hegelian tradition of the "natural fusion of form and content," Ferdinand de Saussure proposed that of the "arbitrary" connection between the "signifier" and the "signified," stressing in that way the conventional pact that endows form with significance. In his *Course in General Linguistics*, Charles Bally, ed., Wade Baskin, trans. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966), pp. 68–69, he writes: "arbitrary . . . means that it [the sign] is unmotivated, i.e., arbitrary, in that it actually has no natural connection with the signified."
14. A.-C. Quatremère de Quincy, *Dictionnaire*, Vol. I, pp. 306–307.
15. L. A. Dubut, *Architecture civile: Maisons de ville et de campagne, de toutes formes et de tous genres* (Paris, An. XI, 1803).
16. J. C. Huet, *Parallèle des temples anciens, gothiques et modernes* (Paris, 1809).
17. J.-N.-L. Durand, *Précis des leçons*, Vol. I, p. 4.
18. A.-C. Quatremère de Quincy, *Dictionnaire*, Vol. II, p. 629. Quatremère insists that "the art of building is born out of a preexisting germ. For everything there exists an antecedent; nothing . . . comes from nothing." Later, in distinguishing between "model" and "type," he writes that "the model . . . is an object which is to be repeated exactly as it is, while the type is an object according to which one can conceive of works that might not resemble each other."
19. Léonce Reynaud, *Traité d'architecture* (Paris, 1860), Vol. I, p. 10.
20. Ibid., Vol. II (1863), p. 71.
21. Eugène Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, *Entretiens sur l'architecture* (Paris, 1863), Vol. I, pp. 179–180.
22. Eugène Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française du XIième au XVIième siècle* (Paris, 1875), Tome 8, pp. 477–479. Viollet-le-Duc defines "style [as] . . . the manifestation of an ideal established on a principle," contrasting it to "the styles [which are] the characters that distinguish among themselves schools and periods." Later he writes: "style is the consequence of a principle methodically followed; thus, it [style] is but a sort of an unlooked for emanation of form. Every style that is consciously looked for I call *maniera*. *Maniera* ages, style never 'ages'" (p. 496).
23. E. E. Viollet-le-Duc, *Entretiens sur l'architecture*, Vol. I, p. 186. Elsewhere Viollet-le-Duc categorically declares that "the arts that cease to express the need which takes into account satisfaction, the nature of the materials employed, and the means of construction cease to have style" (p. 183).
24. Ibid., Vol. I, p. 192.
25. Ibid., p. 185.



"The architecture of the future" was a continual pre-occupation of a nineteenth century caught between nostalgia and progressivism. Finally, the arrow of progress, the movement of society, the inner perfectibility of things, the burgeoning of industrial wealth, perhaps the evolution of species would bring about, inevitably, an architecture which might be able to say that it was truly founded in and of the society of its time.

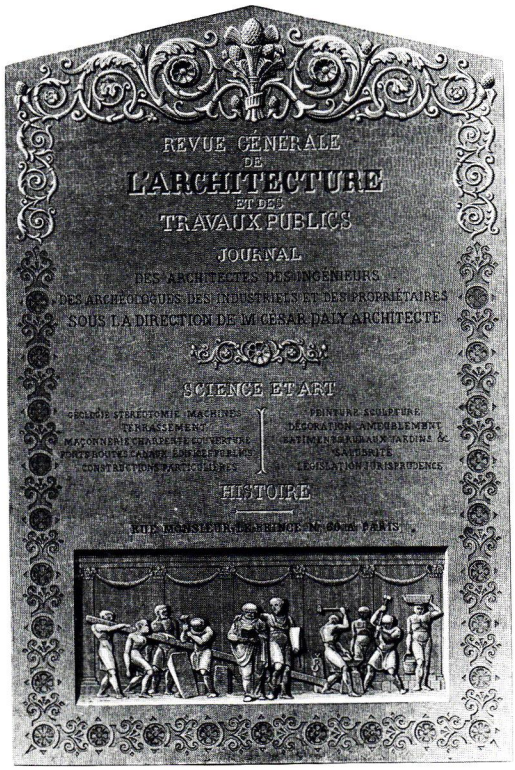
For those with a sense of nostalgia for a mythic past, Gothic or Classic, a future architecture could only be established out of an empathetic imitation of past forms; for those with a sense of mission toward the industrial present—and especially the followers of Saint-Simon—a new architecture could only be born from an authentic utilization of the new materials according to new functional demands. Saint-Simon himself had invented the term "avant-garde," and his followers established the pattern of existence of a self-appointed elite acting on behalf of a prophesied future; their heirs in the twentieth century were, of course, the Futurists.

Rejecting the notion of stylistic revival on the one hand, and the unitary idea of industrial and technical progress on the other, a small group of social theorists, architects, and artists—generally identifying themselves as the followers of Charles Fourier—looked to the forms of society itself to provide the basis for architectural renewal. Out of the patterns of social existence—and specifically out of the ideal communitarian life they envisaged—the Fourierists believed that the structure, the type forms, and the skeletal mise-en-scène for harmony would arise. Turning around the propositions of determinists like Bentham and even Pugin, they were, in theory at least, content to allow a new social order the privilege of finding its own appropriate mode of expression, a truly organic style. In the meantime, however, architects, left without specific manners or styles, should eschew any eclectic revival and concentrate on the diagrammatic type forms of community, which would in turn act to consolidate sociability, which would in turn develop a true architecture for the final state of harmony. Thus Fourier himself could only draw diagrams of his phalanstery, while at the same time looking throughout his life for an architect who might somehow anticipate the future, second guess the march of history, and construct a picture of the new architecture. Flora Tristan, influenced by Fourier and also by Robert Owen, equally understood the difficulty of creating entirely new types of unknown societies; but she at least thought she had found the architect to do it. His name was César Daly. Friend of Considerant, student of the young Romantic Felix Duban, at that time engaged with Labrouste on the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, Daly took Fourier's system seriously, especially the notion of historical progression through periods of transition toward eventual harmony.

Each period was identified by a recognizable and unique style which reflected the inner constitution of contemporary society. Each "style-type" was in turn characterized by a special geometry that was "at the same time its constructive principle and its mode of expression," and a pattern was recognizable in the succession of different geometries, even as in the societies. Daly took his models of classification from the natural sciences, and by the end of his life, still disappointed that the hoped for harmony had not yet arisen out of the transitional eclecticism of his time, the theory of evolution gave him new inspiration.

By positing geometry as the constructive basis of all style, Daly was of course following the late eighteenth century theorists of architecture parlante, *but in a significantly different way, with a more complex geometrical model and without the rejection of all ornament or iconography demanded by the visionaries at their most radical. It was perhaps a result of his understanding of the contradictions of a nostalgic futurism that led to his almost complete withdrawal from practice in the 1840's, to dedicate himself to recording, criticizing, and searching in the work of others for the germ of a new order. AV*

1 Henri Labrouste, frontispiece of the Revue générale de l'architecture, *designed 1839. This gloss on Raphael's* School of Athens *places Plato and Aristotle, representing sentiment and reason—or art and science—before a frieze of workers which suggests the background of building experience to be accumulated in the* Revue.



1

Form and Society: César Daly and the Revue Générale de l'Architecture

Ann Lorenz Van Zanten

As the nineteenth century architect hunted through the history of his art and its contributing technologies for the key to a new style of architecture, the architectural periodical played the not inconsiderable role of fellow-seeker and sometime guide. It offered descriptions and depictions of examples from the past and present, heralded new materials and techniques, proffered advice, attacked or defended schools of thought and practice, and encouraged the growth of professionalism. It generally tended to cover a greater range of subjects and speak to a wider audience than the theoretical text or architectural dictionary born of a particular philosophy; yet, with a consistent editorial policy, it was also a kind of architectural encyclopedia in installments, not altogether unlike the numerous encyclopedias that appeared, volume by volume, during the first forty years of the nineteenth century.

The first true architectural periodicals did not appear until the 1830's, but they accumulated rapidly thereafter, each one seeking to repair the supposed deficiencies of the one that went before.[1] One of the first of any significance was the *Revue générale de l'architecture et des travaux publics*, founded, edited, and initially published by César Daly (fig. 2). Appearing first monthly, then bi-monthly from 1840 to 1889, it outlasted many journals founded within its span of publication, and was equaled by few in quality of production and breadth of content. It was one of the few architectural journals to develop and defend a coherent architectural philosophy which, while influenced by and affiliated with the work of a group of contemporary architects, was independent of any traditional or self-declared school. And it was probably the only architectural journal actively committed to hastening the advent of a new style of architecture and a new society.

As the creator and principle theorist of the *Revue*, César Daly was in his own lifetime widely recognized and honored throughout Europe and abroad; but since his death, his name has rarely appeared in studies of the architecture of the nineteenth century.[2] He and his writings demand reconsideration, not only because he was an extraordinary individual, but because his writings exemplify a constant belief in the immense power of architecture to effect social good, and in the need for and possibility of an architecture uniquely expressive of its age.[3] Daly's thoughts on the social efficacy of architecture ranged from the utopian to the practical in their considerations of housing, railways, hospitals, and many other such subjects; but they always embodied the conviction that true utility and the enrichment of human sensibility must go hand in hand (fig. 1). His ideas of style and form constituted an alternative theory to those familiar to us from the mid-nineteenth century—the writings of Viollet-le-Duc, for example, or the doctrine of the Academy. The medium of the architectural periodical allowed this theory to grow over a period of fifty years, collecting and absorbing current ideas and buildings whenever they served. For this reason, and for its powers of dissemination, Daly chose the *Revue* as his means of expression at a time in his life when he could have turned either to the practice of architecture or to social utopianism—as a Fourierist—to attain his intellectual and social goals.

Born in Verdun in 1811 of an Anglo-Irish prisoner-of-war and a Frenchwoman, Daly spent his childhood in England and, as a result, retained close ties with England and its architecture all his life. At the age of fifteen, he returned to France to study mathematics at the *lycée* in Douai, where he also worked for an architect. In 1831, he walked to Paris, where he joined the atelier of Felix Duban who, with Henri Labrouste, was one of the two radical Romantic Grand Prix winners to have opened an atelier by that time. Daly became a close friend and subsequent eulogist of Duban, and through him met many of the Romantic architects whose writings and projects he later published. Sometime during the first half of the 1830's, Daly formed his life-long friendship with Victor Considerant, a close follower of Charles Fourier, and became involved in the Fourierist movements of Paris and the Eure-et-Loire. He reportedly served as assistant architect for the design of a *phalanstère des enfants* at Conde-sur-Vesgres, a project which was initiated after an unsuccessful attempt (discredited by Fourier) to found a full-fledged *phalanstère* on the same property. This scheme, the remodeling of his own house at Wissous, and the restoration of the cathedral at Albi are the only architectural projects on which he is known to have worked.

2 César Daly, c.1860.

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In 1839, Daly left the group at Conde to found the *Revue* in Paris, but he continued to contribute articles (often reprinted from the *Revue*) to Considerant's journal *La Phalange*, and he served on the board of editors of the *Démocratie Pacifique*, to which he lent substantial sums of money. Thus, like many of his contemporaries, Daly was deeply involved in one of the major Utopian movements of the early part of the century. But rather than pursue an evidently hopeless communal project, he chose to turn his convictions to the production of a written instrument of social good: a journal which would champion professionalism and professional cooperation and which would provide a forum for bringing together the current conceptions of history, science, and art, from which the new architecture of a new age of unity was sure to grow.

The principle problem that Daly set for himself and his *Revue* were similar to those which occupied many of his Utopian forerunners and contemporaries: what is the nature of human progress, how does architecture reflect society in the course of that progress, and what is the future of architectural expression? The idea of progress adopted by Daly was a synthesis of Fourierist and Saint-Simonian conceptions, inflected by the evolutive theories of Lamarck and, later, Charles Darwin; while his discussions of architecture paralleled the writings of the Saint-Simonians Léonce and Jean Reynaud in the *Encyclopédie Nouvelle* (1834–41). Yet Daly pursued these questions more vigorously than any other architectural writer, formulating a theory of his own by the mid-1840's, and becoming entirely engrossed by the issue of education for the architecture of the future, which he called his "Hautes Etudes en Architecture," by the end of his life.

The title of the *Revue générale de l'architecture* lent itself to more than one interpretation of its purpose, an ambiguity often exploited by Daly in his yearly introductions to each of its volumes. Firstly, and more simply, it was to be a "general review" of useful materials for architects and related professionals. According to Daly's editorial in the first issue of 1840, the *Revue* was to be a continually expanding anthology of practical and aesthetic experience committed to the furtherance of a unified professionalism of architects

and engineers, archaeologists and industrialists, and others who might contribute to architectural theory or practice. The range of subjects covered in the journal was extraordinary, encompassing sciences affiliated with architecture, building methods, technological developments, education, archaeology and history, aesthetics, and all manner of building types. Archaeological artifacts, historical architectural examples, new buildings and new apparatus were depicted in beautifully executed steel engravings which grew in number and elaboration from year to year. These were equaled in quality but never bettered by later periodicals in France and scarcely equaled at all in journals outside that country.[4] The writings of a wide variety of architects, engineers, archaeologists, and critics appeared in the *Revue* thanks to Daly's intention—not always scrupulously fulfilled—to make the pages of his journal open to all schools yet beholden to none. It was from the beginning a tour de force, as were his later published books of plates with accompanying essays which made up his "Bibliothèque de l'Architecte," begun in the 1860's.[5]

Secondly, the *Revue* was also to be an instrument for the recapitulation of the history and breadth of architecture in the search for a new art. Daly gradually came to see the *Revue* as a chronicle of, and even a beacon for, the nineteenth century's continual "general review" of the past and present, which picked out the useful and discarded the useless as the century progressed toward a new organicism of society and an appropriate new style of architecture. The immediate consequence of such a review was eclecticism, an approach which Daly initially espoused and later merely tolerated in the belief that it was a logical manifestation of an uncertain, transitional phase of society.[6] Eclecticism for Daly was simultaneously a deathbed and cradle, a process of sloughing off the old and bringing forth the new, while never becoming an appropriate goal in and of itself. Though Daly impatiently regarded eclecticism as only the threshold of a new, organic, nineteenth century style, he nevertheless preferred it as a state—though not a finished philosophy—to Classicism or Gothicism, which he saw as exclusivist and backward-looking doctrines, and to Rationalism, which lacked for him the essential force of human sentiment needed to balance technologically based reason. Daly's aversion to these schools of thought was reflected in both the writers who appeared in the *Revue* and the contemporary buildings considered in its pages. Though the *Revue* was initially open to such Gothicists as Viollet-le-Duc and Didron, their presence was rarely felt after the mid-1850's.[7] The classically oriented articles that appeared in the journal were usually archaeological in nature. And while applauding many technological developments in architecture, Daly disallowed their use strictly for their own sake and attacked the Rationalist school for its lack of artistic and social sensibility—going so far as to declare that a building could just as well be purely motivated by sensibility as by need, and that artistic motivation could come before Rationalism in the choice of a material for a specific form.[8] As for the contemporary architecture published in the *Revue*, probably the best generalization that can be made is that it was Romantic, emanating principally from the architects who had returned from Rome in the 1820's and 1830's to challenge the prevailing classicism: Duban, Labrouste, Vaudoyer, Duc, and Constant-Dufeux. The even more Romantic and often hermetic designs of their students were welcomed by Daly for their poetic nature as eagerly as were the railways for their power and scope, for each offered a potential source of human unification: one through abstract expression, the other through physical connection (fig. 3).

Although Daly could not accept eclecticism as a philosophy, he did believe that its knowledgeable practice could have the positive effect of opening the full and unprejudiced course of the past to the architect, thereby suggesting the possible course of the future. The *Revue* had a guiding role in this respect: "Only reviews have the leisure [not appearing daily] to assemble series of facts, to classify them, to sketch the whole of a movement of ideas, to draw from it its meaning, and to sort out its consequences."[9] Thus, the *Revue* was not only a chronicle or even a commentator but an active interpreter of the past and present.

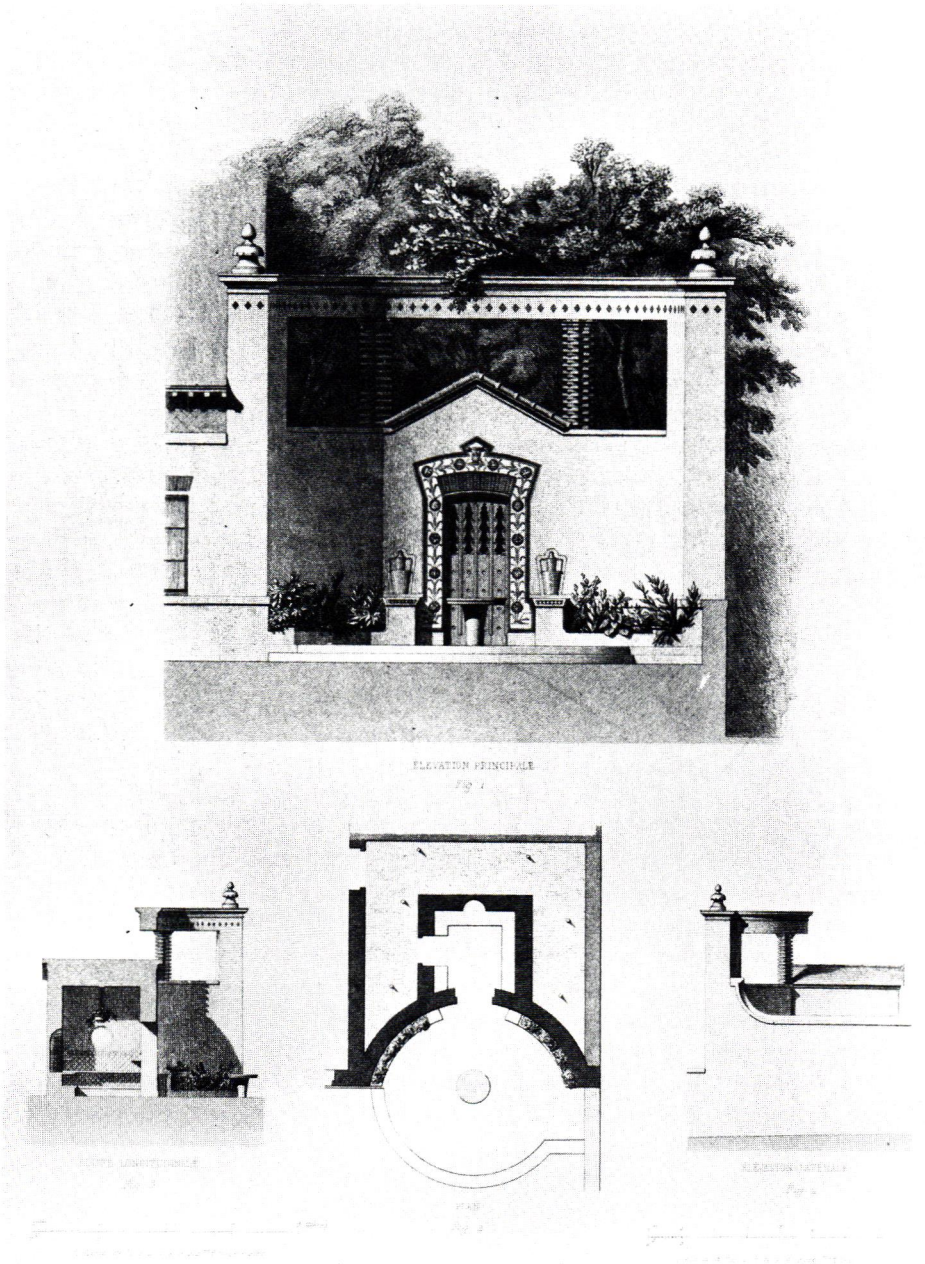
Daly himself aspired to sketch the future. He repeatedly emphasized the importance of knowing and understanding the whole of architectural history in order to be able to project the coming direction of the art. He urged the use of scientific method in this study, believing that it could reveal

natural laws of architectural development, such as those which exist throughout the natural and human sciences. As the astronomer plots the past positions of a star to estimate its future trajectory, so should the architect be able to determine the trajectory of architectural form.[10] Daly believed that society proceeds through history in a gradual course of progress that is marked by organic, evolutive phases in which social ideas and sentiments are consistent among themselves, and periods of transition during which these ideas and sentiments are confused and contradictory. Architecture, as the truest artistic expression of the state of a society, is consistent in form in periods of evolution, and multiple and contradictory in periods of transition; architectural expression manifests itself in geometric forms which bear a direct symbolic relation to the nature of the society that gave them forth, and whose increasing mathematical complexity reflects the increasing complexity of society through history; these forms may be studied in terms of an "aesthetic geometry" through which the observer not only may understand the course of the architectural past, but may attempt to project the course of the architectural future. Like many of his Romantic contemporaries, Daly considered the Middle Ages to have been the last period of organicism and evolution as a logical consequence of the consistent principles embodied in that society, and he saw the nineteenth century as being on the verge of emerging from the long transition of the Renaissance into a new, organic, evolutive period of the future.

Daly found his methodology for plotting the path of the future in the nineteenth century's growing body of sciences of human perception. He called it "aesthetic geometry," imagining it as only part of a body of aesthetic science ("aesthetic acoustics," "aesthetic optics") which would become the seventh positivistic science in addition to mathematics, astronomy, physics, chemistry, biology, and sociology. It was in the continuous play of the artistic, or sentimental, and the scientific, or rational, that Daly saw the development of style and the historical progress of architecture taking place. In 1869, he defined style as "*a special system of CONSTRUCTION and an AESTHETIC which belongs to it; constructive system and conception of Beauty both leading to the adoption of a SINGLE GEOMETRIC FORM as the BASIS OF STYLE*, and showing also the accord which has always existed, in certain periods of history, between the needs of the spirit and the sentiments of the soul, between the rational faculties and the aesthetic sensibility. Such is the analysis of the sense to which one must attach the expression: '*a style of architecture*'." "We have studied," wrote Daly, "the properties of forms from the point of view of their dimensions—this is pure or abstract geometry—and also, but to a lesser degree, from the point of view of their materially useful properties—that is, industrial geometry, one of the aspects of concrete geometry—but why have scholars said nothing of *aesthetic geometry?* That is to say, the relations of forms with the aesthetic sensibility of man, a sensibility at once physical and moral?" More specifically, he declared, "Movement of lines! Equilibrium of masses! Those are metaphors; but what important ideas are veiled beneath these figures of ordinary speech, important by the very fact that they are offered to us by ordinary speech! Is there not, in effect, in the universality of these figures, the proof that at the base of human instinct exists the conscience of a permanent symbolic relation between, on the one hand, certain considerations of lines, and, on the other hand, the static and dynamic condition of bodies?"[11]

To Daly it seemed that there must be a physiological response to forms and their combinations, just as Michel Chevruel (whom he admired) had identified such a response to juxtapositions of colors.[12] Thus, there must also be a universal and eternal symbolic language of form, independent of associationalism, upon which the architect may draw. Of this, Daly wrote: "Plastic art is nothing but a language by which men express their ideas and their sentiments. I will assert that monuments, pictures, and carved images are discourses which are heard with the eyes; that they are symbols which represent the diverse states of the soul. Is there not here a language of mimicry, and is it not more universally understood than any spoken language? Very well, the plastic arts constitute a language analogous to mimicry; both address themselves to the sense of sight, and the only elements which they employ are form and color."[13] By this interpretation, art became an immensely powerful tool speaking across the ages and the civilizations

3 Dairy at Marly-le-Roi. Joseph Nicolle, architect, 1859. "A veritable work of art, a modest work if you will, but one which speaks to all those who have ears to hear and eyes to see."



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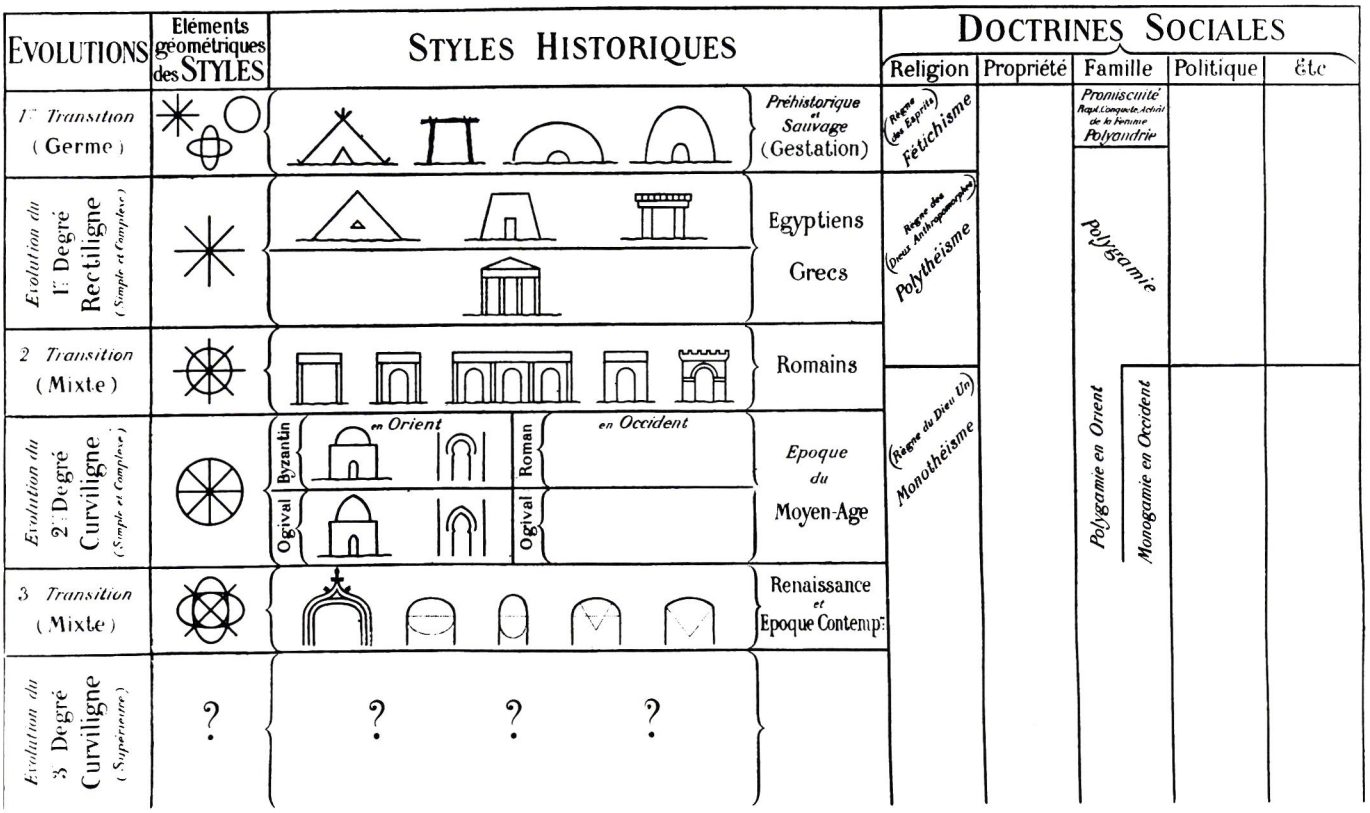
4 Table of the history of form and society, from the article, "De l'architecture de l'avenir, à propos de la renaissance française," 1869.



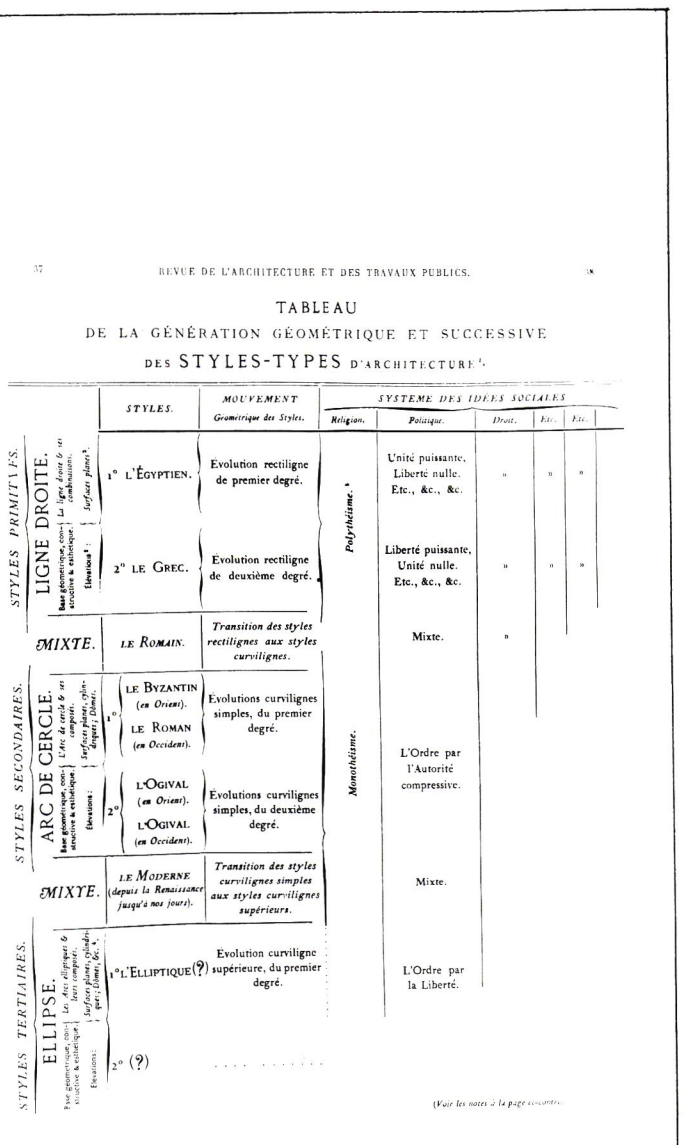
of the world, a potential means to the unification of man. Yet history demonstrated that this universal language had always been modified by cultural and temporal preference. It was this fluctuating history of form that Daly set himself to chart, with the goal of extrapolating from it a universally understandable and appropriate formal system for the future of architecture.

Thus in one of his early articles Daly made the following assertions: "All art is symbolic of the material, moral, and intellectual state of humanity in the diverse epochs of its development" and "Geometry furnishes symbols to Architecture." He continued, in a passage addressed to a classicist friend, "Did not the pagans symbolize all the energies of nature? Did not the Egyptians sometimes place the heads of animals on human bodies, and sometimes the head of one animal on the body of another animal, with a view to specifying a symbolic meaning? *Is art itself anything other than the expression of human sentiment by the means of symbols?* This latter observation perhaps surprises you, for probably, with your ideas, you will not understand, for example, that in the geometric lines of an edifice, of which the combinations are born of the needs of construction and the state of science, there could be a symbolic value. That is nevertheless precisely correct. In effect, when one examines the historic development of architecture, one sees that human sensibility expresses itself in architectonic language, by combinations of lines. It follows that the architectonic ideal of a people must be the expression of its sensibility, and that between the characteristic lines adopted by diverse peoples and their religious and social sensibility, there is a necessary relation which makes the visible expression of the former the sign or symbol of the latter."[14] The identification of these "characteristic lines" and their corresponding states of civilization seemed clear enough to Daly (fig. 4). For the organic, unified societies of Egypt and Greece there was the straight line; for the transitional civilization of Rome, a mixture of the straight line and the arc of the circle; for the organic society of the Middle Ages, the arc of the circle and its pointed variation; and for the Renaissance and after, again a period of transition, there was a mixture of forms.[15] These essentially structural lines, identified with specific phases of a Fourierist cycle of ages and civilizations, worked in concert with the more continuous, universal vocabulary of lines of composition and massing—for example, the curve of the bay, or the projection of the portico or wing—which constituted a significative language of action within the building, distinct from its culturally related symbolic expressions.

Accepting the nineteenth century as a continuation of the Renaissance, both socially and artistically, Daly chose one of its unfulfilled forms, the arc of the ellipse, as the basis for a style of the future. His argument that this was a more complex form than the preceding forms on which it had built is avowedly evolutionary—Daly did not hesitate to support the idea of historical progress in art, albeit a progress marked by the crises and fluctuations of social or even individual progress.[16] He expected the nineteenth century soon to give birth to a new organic age—and probably a better one than ever before, thanks to the progress of science. The assumption that the arc of the ellipse and yet more sophisticated geometrical forms would dominate the future of architecture matched his expectation of a more richly complex society.

Daly's system was fundamentally complete by 1869. Much of the rest of his career was spent accumulating evidence of the system's inevitability. Yet while the past became clearer, the future did not. By pursuing his aesthetic geometry to the point of actually choosing a form for the future, Daly raised the contradiction inherent in all such searches: the impossible reconciliation of a fixed goal with its spontaneous development. Daly's philosophy of the history of society and his eclectic program of publishing were committed to the idea that form and style, being manifestations of social sensibility, must rise of their own accord from that sensibility whenever the society identifies its true organic nature. Clearly the nineteenth century had never determined its own character, and Daly was doing the impossible by offering a finished formal system to society without allowing it a chance to develop integrally. The implication was that architecture could actually bring about a new world, but it was difficult to develop historical proof that such a feat had ever before been accomplished in the advent of an organic society.[17] Furthermore, Daly must

5 Revised table of the history of form and society, presented in a lecture on "Les Hautes Etudes en Architecture," at the International Congress of Architects, 1889.



37 REVUE DE L'ARCHITECTURE ET DES TRAVAUX PUBLICS. 38

TABLEAU

DE LA GÉNÉRATION GÉOMÉTRIQUE ET SUCCESSIVE

DES STYLES-TYPES D'ARCHITECTURE [1].

		STYLES.	MOUVEMENT Géométrique des Styles.	SYSTEME DES IDÉES SOCIALES — Religion.	Politique.	Droit.	Etc.	Etc.
STYLES PRIMITIFS.	LIGNE DROITE. Base géométrique, construction & esthétique: La ligne droite & ses combinaisons. Surfaces planes. Élévations:	1° L'ÉGYPTIEN.	Évolution rectiligne de premier degré.	Polythéisme. [2]	Unité puissante, Liberté nulle. Etc., &c., &c.	»	»	»
		2° LE GREC.	Évolution rectiligne de deuxième degré.		Liberté puissante, Unité nulle. Etc., &c., &c.	»	»	»
	MIXTE.	LE ROMAIN.	*Transition des styles rectilignes aux styles curvilignes.*		Mixte.	»		
STYLES SECONDAIRES.	ARC DE CERCLE. Base géométrique, construction & esthétique: L'Arc de cercle & ses composés. Surfaces planes, courbes. Élévations:	1° LE BYZANTIN (*en Orient*). LE ROMAN (*en Occident*).	Évolutions curvilignes simples, du premier degré.	Monothéisme.	L'Ordre par l'Autorité compressive.			
		2° L'OGIVAL (*en Orient*). L'OGIVAL (*en Occident*).	Évolutions curvilignes simples, du deuxième degré.					
	MIXTE.	LE MODERNE (*depuis la Renaissance jusqu'à nos jours*).	*Transition des styles curvilignes simples aux styles curvilignes supérieurs.*		Mixte.			
STYLES TERTIAIRES.	ELLIPSE. Base géométrique, construction & esthétique: Les Arcs elliptiques & leurs composés. Surfaces planes, courbes, gauches, &c. Élévations:	1° L'ELLIPTIQUE (?)	Évolution curviligne supérieure, du premier degré.		L'Ordre par la Liberté.			
		2° (?)	. . . . .					

(Voir les notes à la page suivante.)

have been constantly reminded of the tenuous nature of his predictions by the fact that architects failed to rally to the elliptical arc.[18] Later issues of the *Revue* are generously stocked with buildings that look to the Renaissance, but not to that particular form. By 1889, when Daly again gave a lengthy exposition of his theories, he seems to have resigned himself to the evidence of the preceding twenty years, for the arc of the ellipse has given way to a question mark (fig. 5).[19]

It was ironic, too, that Daly completed his formulation of the history and future of style just at the moment when his friends among the architects, whose Romanticism had seemed to offer the basis of a new, a-historical style, were nearing the ends of their careers, and few of the new generation were appearing to follow their direction. Daly outlived Duban, Duc, Labrouste, Vaudoyer, and Constant-Dufeux by twenty years or more; many of their students died before him, and still the new style had not appeared. It is probably thus that in his last years Daly turned increasingly to seeking the institutionalization of the preparation for a new style through what he called the "Hautes Etudes en Architecture."[20]

Lacking a current body of architecture to defend, Daly set himself instead to the formulation of a series of basic and eternal questions about the nature of architecture—similar to those he had pursued throughout his writings—which he hoped could be pursued in a program of study to follow the architectural diploma. If there were few heroes left, perhaps education and professionalism could lead the way to a new architecture.

Daly's ambition for the architecture of the nineteenth century was that it be of its own time, which for him meant that it must acknowledge its evolution from past architecture. To be responsive to the present, it seemed, architects must understand how others had been responsive before them. For Daly, no language was unworthy of study if it could serve to enrich the meaning and comprehension of familiar speech.[21] So it was with the language of architectural form, from its origins to the present moment. The richest and most universal expressiveness in architectural form could

not help but serve the unification of society as well.

After a long anti-historical, anti-formal moment, architects in the twentieth century have again turned to the problems of signification that absorbed Daly throughout his career. If Viollet-le-Duc and the Ecole des Beaux-Arts have each enjoyed a reassessment, then perhaps it is time for Daly to claim one as well.

Notes

1. The first three periodicals of any substance and duration to deal exclusively with architecture and closely related subjects were John Claudius Loudon's *Architectural Magazine* (London), 1834–1859, in five volumes; Ludwig Förster's *Allgemeine Bauzeitung* (Vienna), 1836–1918, in eighty-three volumes; and *The Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal* (London), 1837–1868, in thirty-one volumes.
2. Only Donald Drew Egbert in his *Social Radicalism and the Arts* (New York, 1970) has written about Daly the man and the journalist. He appears fleetingly in Chapter XX of Nikolaus Pevsner's *Some Architectural Writers of the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, 1972), with little more than the sentence: "Daly was a friend of Donaldson; that places him." And in Peter Collins' *Changing Ideals in Modern Architecture*, Daly and the *Revue* are used as a catch-all reference for a variety of "new" ideas.
3. Biographical information on Daly remains of a general nature, mostly to be found in necrologies, in a few archival sources, and in his own writings.
4. Some later German periodicals produced high-quality steel engravings, but the English journals continued to use the less precise and elegant woodblocks. One mystery of Daly's publication is how he financed a publication of such superior appearance at its commencement.
5. In keeping with his desire to make of the *Revue* a multi-volumed reference work, Daly began in the 1850's to produce large folios of plates, with introductions, on a variety of subjects. These were bought by subscription over a period of time and were intended to form a complete unit of an architectural library. They include *Architecture privée au XIXième siècle* (three series, 1864, 1872, and 1877, totalling seven volumes), *Les Théâtres de la place du Châtelet* (1865), *Motifs historiques d'architecture et de sculpture d'ornement* (two series, 1869 and 1880, totalling four volumes), and *L'Architecture funéraire contemporaine* (1871). Beginning in 1875, he also published a weekly architectural journal, devoted more to news than to criticism and theory, called *La Semaine des constructeurs*. In the hands of his son Marcel, it continued until about one year after Daly's death.
6. Some of Daly's earliest articles, such as those of 1840 on Louis Duc's Colonne de Juillet, actively defend eclecticism. By the close of the decade, however, Daly asserted that eclecticism was but a temporary unavoidable state of affairs. He attacked several times the aesthetic philosopher Victor Cousin for attempting to make of it a finished philosophy.
7. Viollet-le-Duc wrote frequently for the *Revue* in the early years, and there is no reason to believe that Daly ever came to dislike him as an individual or to disrespect his abilities. He claimed to have nominated Viollet-le-Duc the Gold Medal of the R.I.B.A. The *Revue* did, however, criticize Viollet-le-Duc's role in the 1863 reorganization of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, his lectures in particular. As for Didron, within a few years of the first appearance of his *Annales archéologiques*, editorial conflict erupted between the journal and the *Revue*.
8. See particularly the article of 1862, "Ferronnerie de la Renaissance," which is a direct refutation of the Rationalist argument of an appropriate form for every material.
9. "Introduction," *Revue*, vol. 8, 1849.
10. Ibid. Over the years Daly also made many comparisons to geology, paleontology, linguistics, and a variety of other sciences.
11. "Causerie sur l'esthétique," *Revue*, vol. 25, 1867.
12. In his "*De la loi du contraste simultané des couleurs et de l'assortiment des objets colorés considerés d'après cette loi* (Paris, 1839), which was reviewed favorably in the first volume of the *Revue*.
13. "Du Symbolisme dans l'architecture," *Revue*, vol. 7, 1847. It is interesting to note that this passage, as well as several others, was practically paraphrased by Henry Van Brunt in his 1861 essay "Greek lines" with no reference made to Daly.
14. Ibid.
15. This system is exposed in the article, "De l'architecture de l'avenir, à propos de la renaissance française," of 1869, which also served as the introduction to the first series of Daly's *Motifs historiques*. This article was noted in the *Revue* to be "the philosophical resumé of a whole life consecrated to the study of architecture in its rapport with general history and contemporary society."
16. For example, he compared the transitional phases of society to teething, puberty, and pregnancy in humans.
17. One is reminded here of Dolores Hayden's recent comments on the difficulties of Fourierist foundations in America which believed that getting a "proper" phalanstery built would somehow make their new society come about spontaneously and wholly. See Dolores Hayden, *Seven American Utopias* (Cambridge, 1976).
18. Of Daly's friends, only the engineer Yvon-Villarceau would use a suppressed elliptical arc in bridge design, and Ruprich-Robert would use parabolic arches in two churches. There was also the parabolic *stele* of Constant-Dufeux's tomb for Dumont-d'Urville. Whether Daly ever knew of the early work of Gaudi is not apparent.
19. In his lecture on "Les Hautes Etudes en Architecture" at the Congrès International des Architectes held in Paris in June, 1889.
20. A concept first taken up by Daly in 1872, when Louis Duc gave two-fifths of his prize of 100,000F (given by Napoléon III to the Palais de Justice as the best work of art of the Second Empire) to the Ecole des Beaux-Arts for a competition devoted to the "hautes études en architecture" (thereafter known as the Prix Duc).
21. For example, Daly liked to use the comparison of the Frenchman who better understands his language by a knowledge of Latin with the architect who better understands his own architecture by a knowledge of its historical precedent.

The types of architectural progress.
From J. A. Coussin, Du Génie de
l'Architecture, *1822.*

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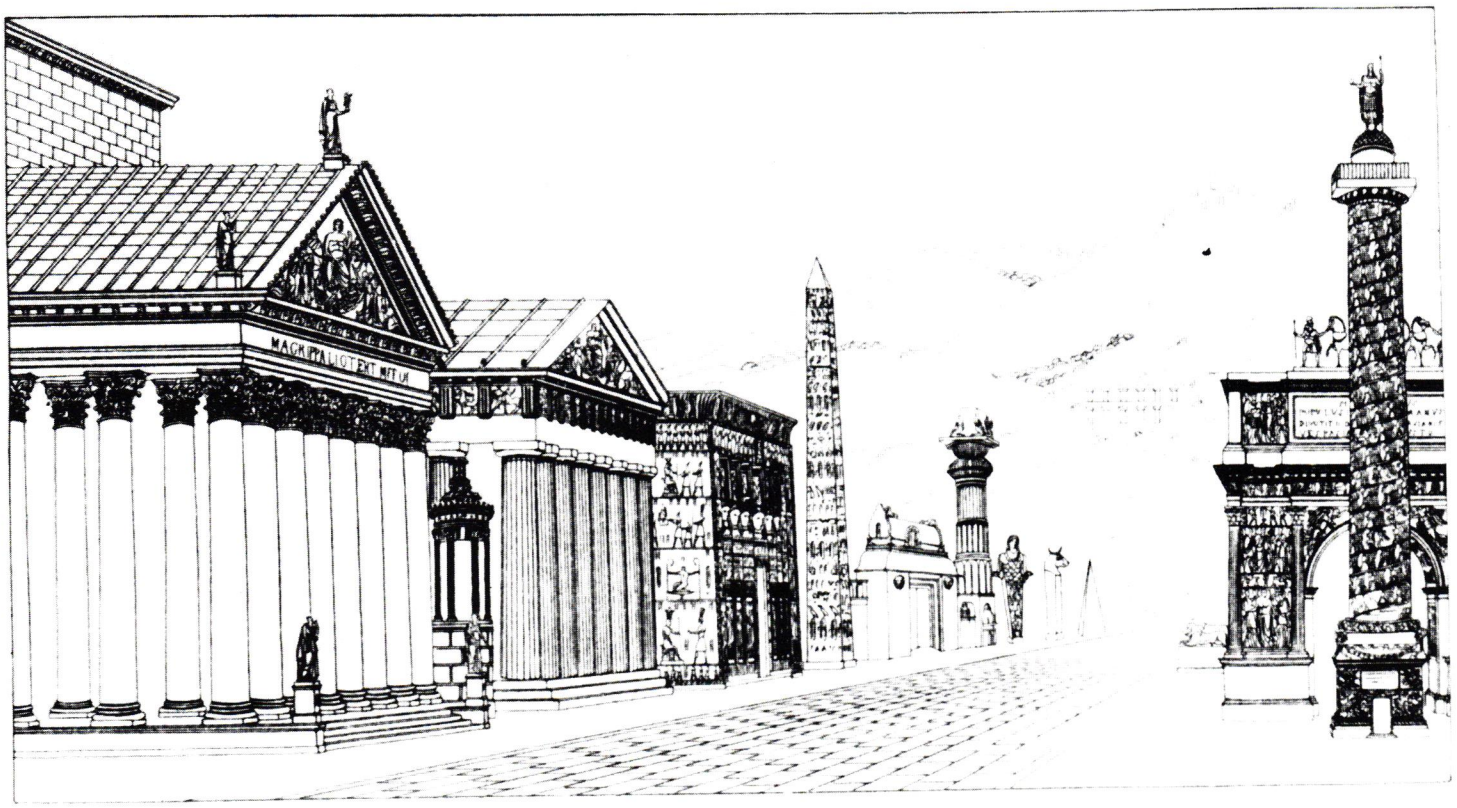
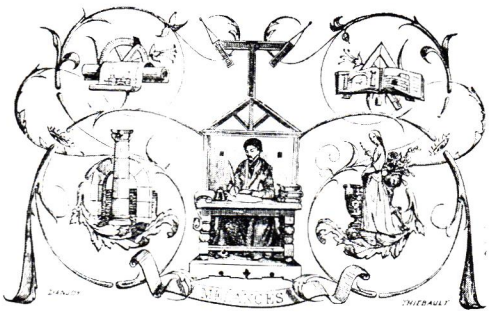


Type[1]

Quatremère de Quincy



Introduction by Anthony Vidler

It is a significant but little commented upon fact that the two most influential, complete, and homogeneous theoretical statements on architecture in the first half of the nineteenth century in France were issued not in the form of the philosophical essays or treatises common since the Renaissance, but in dictionary format: the great dictionaries of Quatremère de Quincy and Viollet-le-Duc. The potential for comprehensiveness, first recognized by Diderot and d'Alembert in their great *Encyclopedia* of the 1750's, and continuously projected by successive encyclopedic projects throughout the nineteenth century; the rational classification of the material universe, as accomplished in the natural and physical sciences; the need to clarify, define, and draw careful distinctions between meanings of words that had, over time, accrued multiple and ambiguous meanings and connotations—these reasons and others doubtless recommended the dictionary form to architectural theoreticians. But perhaps most persuasive was the ability, in the words of Quatremère de Quincy in the introduction to his first volume, to "satisfy all classes of readers by embracing the universality of knowledge comprised by the subject." That is, the dictionary, as opposed to the singly argued treatise, offered a didactic instrument for students, professionals, and the lay public that had all the semblance of completeness and all the apparent eclecticism of their needs. History, philosophy, and techniques could all be embraced; the dictionary might be issued in consecutive parts over time and easily added to in supplementary volumes: in other words, in an age of expanding readership and scholarly/academic professionalism, the dictionary was an easily produced and equally readily consumed object.

Although the dictionaries of Quatremère de Quincy and of Viollet-le-Duc were written to advance coherent and entirely opposite theories of architecture: Quatremère's three volume "Architecture," in the *Encyclopédie Méthodique*, appearing between 1788 and 1823, and Viollet's *Dictionnaire Raisonné*, published in 1875, were dedicated to the neo-Classic and the Gothic respectively: both were adamantly against the eclecticism of the 'styles', and both erected a vision of an ideal past in order to serve as a critical and positive instrument in the present. The one, it might be said, posited the Parthenon, the other the Gothic cathedral as the ideal type of its respective architecture; the one embodied a vision of classic order based on typological "imitation," the other a vision of social and cultural renewal based on a structural rationalism and a stylistic unity; the one was a product of the merging of the forms of classical antiquity and the republican Revolution, the other a product of the new nationalism of the Restoration and July Monarchy.

Both writers, then, are representative of that stage of modernity when the weight of tradition is invoked to ratify an uncertain present; neither, while appealing to the new professionals, had had any professional training in architecture themselves. In their youth, both were the representatives of radical and critical positions.

Quatremère de Quincy, while generally seen by historians as a theoretician of advanced, even reactionary, neo-Classicism in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, was in every respect an intellectual product of the pre-revolutionary period: trained as a sculptor, he spent most of the years between 1776 and 1784 travelling in Italy with his friends the sculptor, Canova, and the painter, Jacques Louis David. In 1785 he wrote his first memoir, on the origin and characteristics of Egyptian architecture, published in 1803, in which he demonstrated the superiority of Greek architecture, and two years later, after a brief stay in London to study Wren, he received the commission for the dictionnary from his friend Panckouke, the editor of the *Encyclopédie Méthodique*. The first volume, published in 1788, embraced A to COL and included an extraordinary forty-page dissertation on character, extended critiques of contemporary abuses (especially directed toward the *barrières* of Ledoux) and a long analysis of the genesis and form of the *cabane* or hut, type of the temple.

In this latter article he introduced all the themes later found in the article on type reproduced here. The ideas of type and model—"it [the wooden hut] was indisputably the type of the Greeks, whence art found a model both solid and varied"—are already present, as is the concept of type as a more or less metaphysical entity. "This precious type," he wrote of the *cabane*, "is in some way an enchanted mirror in

Type[1]

148 which a corrupted and perverted art cannot bear its aspect and which in itself recalls its origin, restoring it to its first virtue." Thus, the idea of type, as in Laugier, is adduced as a purifying agent—"an inflexible rule which will redress all vicious usages and errors." Architecture finds its certainty, after baroque, rococo, and "visionary" excesses, in the twin principles of the "positive imitation of types and the ideal imitation of nature," principles which, as we have seen (Anthony Vidler, "The Idea of Type," this issue) are almost synonymous for the late eighteenth century architect. Perhaps the only slight difference between the idea of type evinced in 1788 and that formally propounded twenty-seven years later resides in the lack of clear distinction made at first between model and type, later to become a pivotal aspect of the theory.

The underlying neo-platonism of Quatremère's theory was reflected in the initial categorization he developed for the material of the dictionary: words were selected on the criteria of their *historical*, *metaphysical*, *theoretical*, *elementary or didactic*, and *practical* reference. Of these five divisions Quatremère himself was principally interested in the metaphysical—the essence of architecture—and the theoretical—the principles of architecture. Didactic rules, practical prescriptions, and the historical developments of architecture were all in some way already embodied in traditional treatises; but essences and principles—the entire philosophy of the art, based on the highest philosophical model, the Greeks themselves—were yet to be established. In this lay the novelty of the dictionary for Quatremère. Certainly the large number of *concepts* discussed, and *qualities* defined, made this the first truly systematic work of theory and criticism, one which even Viollet-le-Duc had to acknowledge as a superb precedent for his own.

"Type" comes from the Greek word "typos," a word which expresses by general acceptance (and thus is applicable to many nuances or varieties of the same idea) what one means by model, matrix, imprint, mold, figure in relief or in bas-relief. . . .

The use of the word *type* in French is less often technical and more often metaphorical. This is not to say that it is not applied to certain mechanical arts as, for example, in the word "typography." It is also used synonymously with "model," although there is between the two a difference that is easy enough to understand. The word "type" presents less the image of a thing to copy or imitate completely than the idea of an element which ought itself to serve as a rule for the model. Thus, one should not say (or at least one would be wrong to say) that a statue, or the composition of a finished and rendered picture, has served as the type for the copy that one made. But when a fragment, a sketch, the thought of a master, a more or less vague description has given birth to a work of art in the imagination of an artist, one will say that the type has been furnished for him by such and such an idea, motif, or intention. The model, as understood in the practical execution of the art, is an object that should be repeated as it is; the type, on the contrary, is an object after which each [artist] can conceive works of art that may have no resemblance. All is precise and given in the model; all is more or less vague in the *type*. At the same time, we see that the imitation of types is nothing that feeling and intellect cannot recognize, and nothing that can not be opposed by prejudice and ignorance.

This is what has occurred, for example, in architecture. In every country, the art of regular building is born of a pre-existing source. Everything must have an antecedent. Nothing, in any genre, comes from nothing, and this must apply to all of the inventions of man. Also we see that all things, in spite of subsequent changes, have conserved always visibly, always in a way that is evident to feeling and reason, this elementary principle, which is like a sort of nucleus about which are collected, and to which are coordinated in time, the developments and variations of forms to which the object is susceptible. Thus we have achieved a thousand things in each genre, and one of the principa

occupations of science and philosophy, in order to understand the reasons for them, is to discover their origin and primitive cause. This is what must be called "type" in architecture, as in every other field of inventions and human institutions.

There is more than one route which leads to the original principle and to the type of the formation of architecture in different countries. The most important are rooted in the nature of each region, in historical notions, and in the monuments of the developed art themselves. Thus, when one goes back to the origins of societies, to the beginning of civilization, one sees that the art of building is born of causes and by means that are uniform enough everywhere. Cut stone never formed a part of any first buildings, and we see everywhere, except in Egypt and India, wood lending itself with much more appropriateness to the inexpensive needs of men or of families brought together under the same roof. The least knowledge of the narratives of travelers in countries peopled by savages makes this fact incontestable. Thus, that kind of combination to which the use of wood is susceptible, once adopted in each country, becomes, according to the need of constructions, a type, which, perpetuated by custom, perfected by taste, and accredited by immemorial usage, must inevitably pass into undertakings in stone. This is the antecedent that, in many articles of this *Dictionary*, we have given as the type of more than one genre of architecture, as the principle on which is modeled, over time, an art which is perfected in its rules and practices.

Nevertheless, this theory, which is based on the nature of things, on historical notions, on the most ancient opinions, on the most constant facts, and on the evident testimony of each architecture has often had two kinds of adversaries pitted against it.

There are those who, because architecture does not know how to be, nor to provide the image of, any of the creations of physical or material nature, conceive only of another kind of imitation than that which is related to sensible objects, and pretend that, in this art, everything is, and ought to be, submitted to caprice and chance. Imagining no other imitation than that which can exhibit its model to the eyes, they overlook all the degrees of moral imitation, imitation by analogy, by intellectual relationships, by application of principles, by appropriation of manners (styles), combinations, reasons, systems, etc. From thence they deny, in architecture, everything that is based on metaphorical imitation; they deny it because this imitation is not materially necessary. They confound the idea of *type* (the original reason of the thing), which can neither command nor furnish the motif or the means of an exact likeness, with the idea of the *model* (the complete thing), which is bound to a formal resemblance. Because the type is not susceptible to that precision demonstrable by measure, they reject it as a chimerical speculation. Thus, abandoning architecture, without a standard, to the vagueness of all the fantasies by which forms and lines can be influenced, they reduce it to a game where each is the master of regulating the conditions. From this follows the most complete anarchy in both the totality and the details of every composition.

There are other opponents whose short sight and narrow mind can only understand, in the realm of imitation, that which is positive. They admit, if you wish, the idea of *type*, but only understand it under the form and with the obligatory condition of the imperative *model*. Columns have to continue to look like trees, and capitals like the branches of the tree. The tympanum of the facade has to be suppressed. All the parts of the roof have to be servilely copied in detail. No convention can be admitted between wood construction and its translation into stone.

They recognize that a system of construction in wood, in a tradition of constantly modified and ameliorated assimilations, finally has to be transposed to construction in stone. But because this last only conserves the principle motifs—that is to say, those which in causing the mind to return to the origin of things in order to give it the pleasure of a semblance of imitation will have saved the art from the scope of chance and fantasy—they conclude that no deviation from any of the details of the model is allowed, and thus they wish to give an inflexible reality to the world after it has been made. According to them columns must continue to look like trees, and no convention should be admitted between wood construction and its translation into stone.

150 Thus, in confounding the idea of type—the imaginative model—with the more material idea of the positive model, which deprives the type of all its value, both adversants are agreed, by two opposing routes, in denaturing the whole of architecture; the former, by leaving it absolutely void of every imitative system and freeing it from every rule and all constraints; the latter, by fettering the art and constraining it in the shackles of an imitative servility, which would destroy the feeling and the spirit of imitation.

We have opened this discussion in order to understand better the value of the word "type" as used metaphorically in a number of works, and the error of those who either ignore it because it is not a model or misinterpret it by imposing on it the rigor of a model which seeks to be an identical copy.

One further applies the word "type" in architecture to certain general and characteristic forms of the building which receives them. This application fits perfectly with the intentions and spirit of the preceding theory. For the rest, one can also, if one wishes, authorize many usages proper for certain mechanical arts, which can serve as examples. No one ignores the fact that a great number of pieces of furniture, utensils, seats, and clothes have their necessary type in the uses one makes of them, and the natural habits for which one intends them. Each of these things has truly not its model, but its type in needs and in nature. In spite of what the bizarrely industrial mind tries to change in these objects, contrary to the simplest instinct, who does not prefer in a vase the circular form to the polygonal? Who does not believe that the form of man's back ought to be the type of a chair back? That the rounded form should not be the sole reasonable type of hair style?

The same is true of a large number of buildings in architecture. One cannot deny that many have owed their constantly characteristic form to the primitive type which gave birth to them. We have superabundantly proved this of tombs and sepulchers, under the words "PYRAMID" and "TUMULUS." We also refer the reader to the article "CHARACTER," where we have demonstrated extensively enough that each of the principal buildings should find, in its fundamental purpose in the uses to which it is given over, a type which is suitable for it; that the architect should try to conform to this as closely as possible if he wishes to give to each building a particular physiognomy; and that from the confusion of these types is born an all too common disorder, which consists in using indistinguishably the same orders, dispositions, and exterior forms in monuments applied to the most contrary uses (see CHARACTER).

Note

1. Essay from the *Encyclopédie Méthodique*, Architecture, vol. 3, pt. II (Paris, 1825).

Chronology: The Ecole des Beaux-Arts, 1671–1900

Compiled by Annie Jacques and Anthony Vidler

1635 Foundation of the Académie Française.

1648 Académie Royale de Peinture et Sculpture.

1661 Académie Royale de Danse.

1663 Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres.

1666 Académie Royale des Sciences.
Académie Royale de France à Rome.

1669 Académie Royale de Musique: François Blondel appointed Geometer to Académie des Sciences.

1671 Académie Royale d'Architecture.
Under its first Director, François Blondel (1617–1686), the members met once a week to debate the principles and practice of architecture, coming together "to publicly expound [in the Academy] the rules of this art [of architecture] drawn from the doctrine of the greatest masters and from those examples of the most beautiful buildings remaining from antiquity. It is in this Academy that the most able architects of the realm come together to confer, and to communicate their knowledge to one another and where are resolved those difficulties found every day in the construction of buildings. These architects should seriously apply themselves to study, meeting one day a week to confer and communicate their knowledge to each other. His Majesty believes strongly in this, as the unique means of ridding architecture of its vicious ornaments, of suppressing the abuses that the ignorance and presumption of its practitioners have introduced, and of the enrichment of those natural beauties and of those graces that have been found so commendable among the ancients. He has also desired that a register be kept of the proceedings in each of these conferences where the principle difficulties which are found in buildings should be discussed and resolved. Within this Academy his Majesty has also wished that the truest and most correct rules of architecture should be publicly taught two days a week in order to form a college, so to speak, of young architects. And to give them more courage and passion for this art he has ordered that from time to time a prize should be proposed for those who are the most successful, from which he will choose a good number to send afterwards at his own expense to Rome; so that nothing is lacking, for his part, in appointing them perfectly and rendering them capable of serving in the conduct of his building works. Nevertheless it is true that knowledge of the precepts of architecture does not suffice of itself to make an architect, this quality presupposing many other talents. His Majesty has wished that in the second hour of the lessons of the Academy the other sciences which are absolutely necessary to architects should be taught publicly; as those of geometry, arithmetic, mechanics (that is to say, moving forces), hydraulics (which treats of the movement of waters), the art of the sundial, the military art of fortifications, perspective, the cutting of stones and diverse other parts of mathematical science whose principles are already developed by the treatises composed for this purpose."
In this way, as outlined by Blondel in his *Cours d'Architecture* (1675–1678), the Ecole of the Academy incorporated theory and scientific courses as well as competitions that anticipate the eventual Prix de Rome.
At its inception the Academy itself comprised only six members; with Blondel as its president and a secretary.

1686 Philippe de La Hire, another mathematician, became the Professor of the Academy succeeding Blondel.

1699 Jules Hardouin Mansart, Superintendent of Buildings, moved to enlarge and define the organization of the Ecole by endowing it with official statutes.

1700–1702 An annual competition was established with two medals (one gold, one silver); gradually the custom of giving to the winner of the first medal a pension for a stay of two or three years in Rome became established in the first half of the eighteenth century, although this still remained an instrument of ministerial favor.

1717 Letters Patent issued for the Ecole of the Academy: these confirmed the existing state; the Professor of Architecture had the right to select six students, and each of the other Academicians a single student. This brought the total number of students to twenty-eight. These had the right to entitle themselves "students of the Royal Academy" and compete for the annual medal.

1720 The first of the regular annual competitions.

1740 Jacques François Blondel (1705–1774) founded his own school of architecture (rue de la Harpe) in direct competition of that of the Academy. Although the Academicians opposed this new school at first, authorization was given in 1743 and the King endowed six scholarships for intending entrants to the Royal Corps of Engineers in 1750. Blondel's classes were held from eight in the morning till two each day, with theory taught in the morning. Physical education was taught three times a week except in November and December; in the summer, visits to building sites were organized twice a week. Three levels of courses were offered; "Elementary" for future patrons of architecture, public and private; "theory" for architects, painters and sculptors; and "technical" courses for constructors and contractors "who have need of a less transcendent theory."

1751 Blondel, chosen by D'Alembert and Diderot, publishes the article "Architecture" for the first volume of the great *Encyclopédie*, thus establishing himself as architect-philosopher.

1755 Blondel appointed to the Academy.

1762 Blondel named Professor of Architecture at the Ecole, and closes his own school. First systematic regulations for the Ecole.

1763 Creation of the *prix d'émulation*, a monthly competition for students at the Ecole.

1771–1777 Jacques François Blondel, *Cours d'Architecture;* completed by Pierre Patte after Blondel's death in 1774; this work of the *grand* Blondel remained the primary theoretical treatise of academic teaching for much of the nineteenth century.

1776 Second set of regulations for the Ecole.

1777 Decision by the Academy to examine the entries for the Prix de Rome systematically.

1790 (April) Students demand to be present at meetings of the Academy and juries as well as changes in the rules for the Grand Prix.

(June) Academy begins to revise its own statutes in anticipation of reform moves.
(September) The Commune des Arts, headed by Jacques Louis David, demanded the suppression of the Academies of Painting and Sculpture.

1791 Academy of Architecture completes review of its statutes; project for creation of a National Academy of Arts.

1792 Decree forbidding Academies from holding elections for new members.

1793 (July) Convention establishes second Commune des Arts.
(August) The Committee of Public Instruction passes law against Academies; but almost immediately the School of Architecture reopened under the Professorship of Julien David Leroy (Adjunct Professor from 1762, Professor from 1774 on death of Blondel), and A. L. T. Vaudoyer (1756–1846).
Grand Prix submissions for 1793 judged by jury of the Convention headed by David with Leroy.
(December) The Commune des Arts, judged too academic replaced by a Société Populaire et Republicaine des Arts.
(November) Establishment of National Jury of Arts.

1794 (April) Subjects of the competition opened by the Decree of the Convention judged by jury, November; jury composed of Leroy, Boullée, Ledoux, Peyre the younger, and Rondelet.
Placard affixed to wall of house of Committee of Public Instruction (copied by Jean Jacques Lequeu): "To Citizens of the Competition. Artists who demand that justice should be done to you, awaken! A party is formed among the members of the Jury of Arts [named] after the decree of the National Convention; founded apparently on some esteem in the world this party has prevailed over the whole assembly. A species of fool in Architecture, the septuagenerian Boullée is at the heart of it; this man has everything going for him there . . . Defy Dardel, however he dissimulates, he hates artists, and watch out for the wheedler Ledoux, watch over the phlegmatic charletan Leroy. . . ."
(December) Foundation of Ecole Centrale des Travaux Publics.
Louis Pierre Baltard (1764–1846) Professor of Architecture.

1795 (September) Ecole des Travaux Publics becomes Ecole Polytechnique, a two-year school preparing students for entry into professional schools of Artillery, Military Talents, Bridges and Roads, Mines, Maritime Talents, Telegraph, etc. The Department of Architecture, within the section of descriptive geometry, is supervised by J. N. L. Durand, a former pupil of Boullée and Perronnet.
(October) Convention issues decree on Public Instruction, creating the Institut Nationale des Sciences et des Arts, and merges the old academies into three classes: Mathematical and Physical Sciences; Moral and Political Sciences; Literature and Fine Arts. The third class was endowed with six chairs of architecture, all of which were occupied by old academicians.
Leroy's School given autonomy from the Institute and named the Ecole Spéciale de l'Architecture.
The Institute was given responsibility for designating the winners of the Prix de Rome. The first Institute jury was held in 1797.

1803 Ecole moved from the Louvre to Le Vau's Collège des Quatre Nations, renovated by Vaudoyer.

Leroy died, succeeded by Léon Dufourny (1754–1818). At this time, the Ecole had six students.
Reorganization of the Institut Nationale into four classes, separating Literature from Beaux-Arts. Beaux-Arts thus becomes a fourth class, divided into five sections: Painting (ten chairs); Sculpture (six chairs); Music and Declamation (three chairs); Engraving (three chairs); and Architecture (six chairs).

1806 (4 October) The architect Heurtier presides over the first session of the Institute newly ensconced in the Collège des Quatre Nations.
G. Rondelet opens course in stereotomy.

1807 A. L. T. Vaudoyer appointed Secretary-Archivist to the Ecole.

1816 (26 April) School of Architecture endowed with a site for new buildings on the site of the ancient convent of the Petits Augustins, which had under the Directory been occupied by the Musée des Monuments Français of Alexandre Lenoir.
The architect Debret (1777–1850) charged with the construction works. The first building, the Batiment des Loges, not completed until March 1829.
(9 July) Royal Ordinance reconstituting the Fourth class of the Academy into an Académie des Beaux-Arts with forty-one members in Painting, Sculpture, Engraving, Composition, and Architecture.
The duties and rights of the Secretary Perpetual are fixed; Quatremère de Quincy the *de facto* incumbent establishes control through this office of the membership of all commissions and the preparation of elections for new members. Part of his duties include the reading of historical notices and the proclamation of Grand Prizes.

1818 Dufourny dies.
L. P. Baltard appointed Professor of Theory in his place. At this time, the Ecole has thirty-eight students.

1819 (4 August) The Ecole reorganized and officially granted statutes.
The Ecole was divided into two sections: one of architecture and the other of painting and sculpture. The administration was ensured by a body of professors regulating all the internal problems as well as filling vacant posts by elections. The section of architecture was enlarged to four professors of Theory, History of the Art, Construction, Mathematics and divided into two classes: a first class limited to fifty, comprising the medallists and *logistes;* and a second class of unlimited numbers, acceding by competition to the first class. From 1821 these were reversed: a competition was instituted for entry into the second class and the number of students in the first class was no longer limited, entry being granted on a certain number of credits. The monthly competitions (*émulation*) permitted these credits to be gained in the different areas of the curriculum.
The Rome competition remained directly managed by the Academy of Fine Arts; it was reserved for French students of the Ecole less than thirty years old.
The ateliers were outside the official organization of the Ecole. To open an atelier it was enough to be asked for by some twenty students: the principal ateliers of this period were those of Vaudoyer (father and son), Delepine, Blouet, Gilbert, Huyot, Lebas, Ginain, Labrouste, Andre, among others. Many patrons of ateliers were also members of the Institute and professors at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts.
This system functioned during the entire first half of the nineteenth century. Despite this apparent autonomy, the Academy exercised great power over the Ecole through the agency of Quatremère de Quincy.

1822 Huyot (1780–1840) appointed to the vacant chair of History (created by ordinance of 1819).
Huyot together with Rondelet had collaborated with Quatremère de Quincy on his *Dictionnaire Historique d'Architecture.*

1826 Students riot during a lecture of Quatremère de Quincy (a eulogy to the architect Bonnard); the lecture hall cleared by police.

1829 Henri Labrouste, in Rome, sends back a report criticizing the jury system; becomes a hero figure to the younger students who ask him to open an atelier on his return to Paris the next year.

1830 Félix Duban appointed architect of the buildings on the site of the Petits Augustins.

1831 (23 January) A study commission set up to examine rules of the Ecole and the Academy in Rome, composed of adversaries of Quatremère de Quincy (including Duban, Labrouste, and Delacroix who had written against Quatremère in the *Revue de Paris* of 1829). This commission was not renewed by the Minister on the protest of the Academy.

1832 Labrouste named adjunct architect to Duban for the Ecole des Beaux-Arts.

1835 Students again riot in lecture of Quatremère (eulogy of Delabarre).

1836 Raoul-Rochette (1790–1854) succeeds Quatremère as Perpetual Secretary to the Academy.

1840 Chair of History vacant; Lebas appointed but fails to lecture in first year.

1841 (13 June) M. Lebas announces opening of course in History, but fails to announce that he was not giving the course that year. The students waited in the lecture room for over an hour.

1842 Victor Baltard named Adjunct Professor in Theory to help his aging father.

1844 The Commission on Historical Monuments demands that a course in medieval architecture be instituted at the Ecole.

1846 Constant-Dufeux opens his course in Perspective, Lebas his course in History. Daly reports that sleep overcomes the audience, for Lebas whose monotonous tone of voice caused Morpheus to vanquish Clio.
Abel Blouet (1795–1853) succeeds Baltard the elder as Professor of Theory.

1848 (December) Commission composed by Labrouste and Adolphe Lance proposed reforming teaching in name of Central Society of Architects and add teaching in:
1) Drawing and modeling of figure and ornament;
2) Elements of statics and applied mechanics;
3) Physics and chemistry applied to building;
4) Practical construction;
5) Administration, jurisprudence, and accounting of buildings;
6) History of architecture from antiquity to present; and
7) Practical application of theory with obligation to follow execution of public buildings.

1851–1852 The Ecole has 281 students. There were seventy-three in the first class of which fifty followed courses, the rest fell out. There were 208 in the second class, of which twenty-eight to eighty followed courses assiduously, with sixty falling out. The larges ateliers (out of thirty-seven) were: Blouet with sixty-three students; Labrouste with fifty-nine students; Lebas with fifty-four students; and Constant-Dufeux with twenty-nine students.

1851 Laborde suggests the reorganization of the Ecole by means of courses in aesthetics, general history, the history of architecture, literature, and archeology.

1852 Viollet-le-Duc begins his campaign against the Ecole in the *Revue Générale.*

1856 Labrouste retires from his atelier; Viollet-le-Duc takes over some fifteen of his student and opens a public atelier with announced six part course to be published.
Albert Lenoir takes over medieval history for Lebas (historian since death of Huyot).

1862 Students protest over outcome of Grand Prix. In competition for **a** Palace for the Governor of Algeria, Emmanuel Brune and A. F. V. Dutert submitted design in Arabian style; prize given to F. W. Chabrol whose design was classical.

1862–1863 Viollet-le-Duc petitions for reform of the Ecole to Napoleon III.
(13 November) Decree of reorganization, signed by Marshal Vailant, Minister of the House of the Emperor. The Ecole, he stated, "had ceased to be in harmony with the march of ideas and the needs of the present."
The decree of 13 November 1863 motivated by a report by the Superintendent of Fine Arts, the Count de Nieuwerkerke, contained among other clauses the following measures: the direction of the Ecole was taken out of the hands of the Assembly of Professors and given to a Director named by the Minister, assisted by a Higher Council of Teaching, presided over by the Superintendent of Fine Arts; the judgement of the Prix de Rome was confined to a special jury, drawn by lot, partly from inside the Academy and partly from outside. The age limit of the competition was lowered to twenty-five years, the second prize was suppressed, and the scholarship reduced to one year; official ateliers were set up in the Ecole (the three architectural ateliers were under Paccard, Laisne, and Constant-Dufeux), open to all those who satisfied conditions of admission set by the professor in charge of the atelier. Obligatory courses were provided common to both sections in history, aesthetics, archeology, and perspective.
Several new professors were appointed (Constant-Dufeux, A. Paccard, Ch. J. Laisne, Heuzey (history and archeology), Viollet-le-Duc (history of art and aesthetics) and Millet (administration and construction).
The Academy, as well as the students, reacted very strongly against this decree without, however, much result; the essentials of the reform were sustained. Viollet-le-Duc, imposed as Professor of Aesthetics, was violently contested.

1864 (16 January) The new regulations of the Ecole published.
(29 January) Viollet-le-Duc opens his course on the History of Art and Aesthetics. César Daly reports, "his discourse responded mediocrely to the needs of the situation." His lecture drowned by the calls of students protesting age limit for the Grand Prix.

1865 Emile Trelat establishes a new school, the Ecole Centrale d'Architecture, in support of Viollet-le-Duc.

1867 (27 November) A new set of rules published for the Ecole creating a diploma for architectural students.

1871 (13 November) Thiers restores to the Academy the judgement of the Rome prize and the privilege of presenting three of its own candidates for the Director of the Académie de France.

1883 The last official texts concerning the organization of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts date from 1883. Their object was to establish a closer link between the Ecole and its ateliers by reserving access to the latter to students only. They instituted courses of figure drawing and ornamental modeling for the students of the second and first class in order to relate more closely to the teaching of the three arts.
Between 1887 and 1888 twenty-two architectural diplomas were awarded. Numerous foundations of prizes by individuals had led to the Blouet Prize (1854), the Rougevin (1857), the Jay (1873), and Godeboeuf (1881) Prizes, together with collective prizes—the prize of recognition of American architects, 1889. In 1883, the locale, now too small, was extended by the purchase of the Hôtel de Chinay. In 1890 the total number of students was approximately a thousand, with many American and Swiss in the section of architecture.
There were no new texts before 1968, the date of the creation of the pedagogical units of architecture.

1886 The international congress of architects protests against the ignorance of the students of the Ecole in historical styles; demanded a chair in French archeology.

1889 Charles Garnier reports to the Academy that a chair in medieval architecture would be not only useless but dangerous.

1894 (28 November) Julien Guadet (1834–1908) opens his theory course in the Ecole.

1902 Julien Guadet, *Eléments et Thèorie de l'Architecture.*

Forum: The Beaux-Arts Exhibition

Edited by William Ellis

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The following commentaries were presented at the "Beaux-Arts Exhibition" forum held at the Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies on 22 January 1976. The exhibition under discussion was "The Architecture of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts," held at the Museum of Modern Art, 25 October 1975 to 6 January 1976. Exhibition Director: Arthur Drexler.

George Baird

The Beaux-Arts Exhibition was mounted with the intent to shock, and it has succeeded. Arthur Drexler sees it as a frontal challenge to the current practice of mainstream modern architecture. And Ada Louise Huxtable thinks the exhibition focusses a "crisis" of modern architecture.

Given this, it was with some surprise that I discovered my own first impression of the exhibition was one of an evidently continuous tradition linking the Beaux-Arts to the Modern Movement I thought I was familiar with.

The exhibition shows the Beaux-Arts to be no less "object-fixated" than the Modern Movement. The entire exhibition includes only two projects whose designs disclose any real response to the constraints of actual urban situations.

Then too, there is evident in the drawings that familiar, still impressive, and even poignant evolution, running from the followers of Boullée and Ledoux through to Labrouste, Guadet, and Tony Garnier.

So I don't think the exhibition *itself* offers any very explicit new lessons for a redirected approach to architecture.

On the one hand, the impact of the show may be beneficial. It may contribute to the growing movement toward the new and more sensitive relationship of building typologies and urban morphologies. (This despite the fact that the exhibition does not illustrate this particular aspect of Beaux-Arts practice.) It may strengthen various tendencies which take a more supple stance vis-à-vis architectural history and the historical artifacts amongst which almost all our new buildings are erected. It may contribute to a greater formal facility amongst designers, as compared with the club-footed moral earnestness which has too often passed for facility during the past decade.

Yet, given its lack of explicit directives, I don't think we have much *assurance* that these beneficial outcomes will follow. I have fears of possible—and perhaps equally likely—*unfortunate* impacts of the exhibition. I fear that we may well hear a Yamasaki of the 1980's speak of a new "architecture of delight"; I fear the architects of major public buildings will find in the Beaux-Arts a new justification for designing buildings like Edward Stone's Embassy in India, or Kennedy Center. Then too, we may face a resurgent vulgar historicism.

So it remains for me unclear what will be the import of the exhibition for the apparent discontinuity in modern architecture today.

Let me conclude by indicating a parallel of this discontinuity with one in the exhibition itself. Garnier's work is programmatically inventive, formally incredibly supple and technically highly ingenious. Yet it lacks propriety, it is ultimately unserious. In both its strengths and its weaknesses it reminds me of the contemporary work of John Portman. In short, to use Colin Rowe's elegant distinction, "we are here, once more, in the area where the *physique* and the *morale* of modern architecture, its flesh and its word, are again not coincident."

Now it has been a major accomplishment of Rowe's career to radically debunk the relations which were presumed to hold between *physique* and *morale* in modern architecture generally. And I don't think it is too much to say that one of the historical effects of the Beaux-Arts show is to bring to a close this demolition job begun by Rowe thirty years ago. Yet now that the job is complete, there is still a question which has to be asked: what is one to make of the fact that, before the mythology of the Modern Movement was finally conventionalized, the diverse and heterogeneous intuitions of Le Corbusier

and Mies and Duiker and Chareau in respect to *presumed* relations of *physique* and *morale* released an incredible creative force? Could it be that the psychological power of those intuitive convictions was at least as significant a historical influence as the disillusionment which has followed? And if that is so, how far, creatively speaking, should we expect to be able to go, in our new, mature, and disillusioned enlightenment?

William J. Conklin

MOMA's retrospective of last century's architecture was presented with astonishing seriousness, and, for a moment at least, caused every viewing architect some heady doubts about his own position. Such, presumably, was the purpose of the show. Scholarly research in the history of architecture is fascinating and certainly entirely self justifying, but interpretative perception demands a viewpoint, and requires us, as latter day modernists, looking from our own moment, to see the show over the shoulder, backwards, back through the decades of revolution.

Why did the heroes of modern architecture ridicule and despise this reigning School of the Beautiful Arts? Surely not simply because of its romantic imagery and its grand illusions. The modernists evolved a far more extensive panorama of dream sets. And the revolution surely wasn't really simply a protest against those French frills, those supposedly leaky cornices which Wright, of all people, complained so much about. No, the violence of the revolution speaks of something which the modernists saw in the Beaux-Arts as incredibly antagonistic, alien, morally wrong, and personally hateful. Like the twelfth century architects' violent destruction of the pagan Roman temples, Gropius, Corbu, and Mies saw banishment of historical imagery as a prerequisite for the new free world they were fighting for. Such emotion tells us much more about perception, architects' values, and architecture.

In normative, non style-bound terms, if such is possible at all, we can define architecture as the physical setting which we as self-conscious designers produce to accompany human activity. The relationship between the two, that is—the setting and the activity, is dialectical and interactive. Thus when an architect designs, he begins with a *set* of human activities, inevitably a selective act, and proceeds to create a responsive surround. The design of the surround then enhances and elevates the activity. On the other hand, when we perceive architecture or architectural intentions, as in the Beaux-Arts drawings, we immediately understand the set of human activities which were selected by the architect as of first importance. This selection process on the part of the architect is the raw statement of his own values.

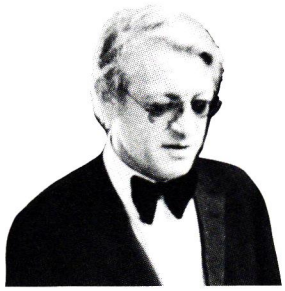
The radical schism between the modernists and those drafty Frenchmen can thus be seen to lie not really in the surface forms of their architectural solutions, but in the kinds of human activities which each of the two groups of architects designated as centrally important.

One clue to Beaux-Arts intentions lies in their concept of *mauche*, the sequential set of spaces and forms which surround the process of entering a building. This particular human activity, that is the process of entering, is given centrality over all other human activities in Beaux-Arts beliefs. Mountainous steps lead to grand halls which then prove to have been only foyers for the climactic spaces which follow. The symphonic spatial surround glorifies the human activity converting it into a fantastic ceremony.

The modernists on the other hand saw this set of values as the mythology of kings and priests and as degrading and devaluing to the wide range of human activities which they chose to see as the real fabric of human life. In fact they attempted to actually be unselective in their choice of activity concerns. Thus Gropius' Total Architecture, which meant, as a goal statement at least, concern for each physical and mental human activity which could be identified. Consequently, the modernists' concern with *working* in factories, with *seeing* in schools, with *living* and meeting in housing, with

bathrooms and surgical suites. All the human activities that were repulsive and beneath the dignity of the Beaux-Arts architect became the central concern of the modernists. The inner heart of the modernists' revolution was this reversal in the rank order of human activities, totally upsetting what they saw as the topsy-turvy values of the Beaux-Arts. All of the machines and the steel which were hidden beneath the Beaux-Arts *poché* were brought out into the open and extolled.

Should we then, as we join the party and march up those great steps, see MOMA's Beaux-Arts Ball as a kind of memorial for a fallen foe? The minister of architecture sounds terribly serious, but who could really criticize him for that? The important thing to remember, after we have forgotten the party, is to be really serious about the range of human activities which we chose to designate as of concern and, just possibly, the modernists in their concentration on the work station may have indeed underplayed the importance of the act of getting there.



Ulrich Franzen

It is worthwhile to look at the exhibition in terms of what is communicated to the viewer.

The absence of a considered and generous text establishing a theoretical framework creates a sense of inarticulateness. This and the narrowness of the work shown (mostly student work) deny to the viewer the complex and rich fields of architectural thought of the nineteenth century. The presence of the arbitrary tastemaker seems to lurk beneath the surface, foreclosing access to history.

For the Museum of Modern Art's Department of Architecture to announce in 1975 that modern architecture is dead, as if there had been a sudden and divine revelation, is at best an amusing public relations device in the face of the very general questioning of the Modern Movement even among trade journals.

If the intention was to re-open the nineteenth century's extraordinary dialogues which lie at the heart of modern architecture—why then did the Museum not turn for guidance to those who have for twenty years struggled to build bridges to the nineteenth century?

The major figure to lead this movement is Vincent Scully. I think this exhibition should have been his to direct.

The exhibition ignores both the cultural and formal context of the Beaux-Arts and, as a result, gives us an arbitrarily selected and incomplete fragment of the Ecole's work. Why was an effort not made to reveal in both formal and theoretical terms the extraordinary dialogues within the broad framework of the Ecole—Garnier, Labrouste, and Viollet-le-Duc? The exhibition creates the impression of a hermetic style which, of course, the Beaux-Arts was not.

This narrowness of focus also precludes a discussion of the questionable tendencies of the Ecole to flirt with the architecture of tyranny. The Napoleonic scale of some proposals clearly intrigued Hitler sufficiently to make him the foremost twentieth century patron of the Beaux-Arts, followed closely by Stalin, who decreed the Beaux-Arts style as the appropriate symbol for his dictatorship while throwing the Constructivists into jail.

At a time when responsible studies of nineteenth century ideas are so urgently needed, one is confronted with student work. Clearly the curator believed that these drawings were of unusual quality. Unfortunately we cannot accept even this decision as sound, for Jean Paul Carlhian, a Beaux-Arts trained architect, wrote in a recent article about the Ecole that after the conceptual design was completed, "all that remained was to present the design in the best possible light to the jury. . . . Such tasks were often entrusted to a fresh crew of specialists in the atelier who went from project to project practicing their skills at the expense of the author (if they were inexperienced) or showing off their talents (if they were experts)."

It appears, in fact, that the Beaux-Arts student drawings were produced under conditions many architectural students of today would find familiar.

We are at an important juncture, where meaningful connections with the origins of modernism in the nineteenth century would, indeed, create a varied theoretical base for our work today. This historic opportunity was not well served by the exhibit. Perhaps to the historical scholar any progress in the right direction is better than none. However, for those who are searching as active designers through the debris of leftover modernist polemics, the show at the Museum is cast in the same Messianic mold of its past positions.

The exhibition was a game and costly try by the wrong team at the right time.

James S. Rossant

I missed the gala opening for I was out west and I was not prepared for the frantic architectural scene I found on my return. New York architects were not only reduced to selling apples, but they were blinded by the glitter of the progeny of the *Roi Soleil:* The exhibition of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts. There were even voices who said of modern architecture that it was finally dead. The show's timing makes it appear that it is another manifestation of nostalgia mania of the seventies—and perhaps it is. Coming along after oldies revivals like "Irene," movie revivals from *The Thin Man* to *King Kong,* all kinds of funny shoes, pants with pleats, Bette Midler, Ruby Keeler, Art Deco, and bankrupt banks; antique stores specializing in horrors from my aunt's apartment, artists like Lichtenstein duplicating them . . . and finally direct from Paris, the Beaux-Arts!

The Museum of Modern Art has an unquestioned influence of architectural taste and fashion, but in golden oldies revivals? What was really behind this exquisite and elegant exhibit of dusted-off drawings at the Modern? True enough, the Ecole des Beaux-Arts was the dominant influence in architectural education on this side of the Atlantic well into the thirties and well beyond the years of its pre-eminence in Europe.

Could it be that the real thrust behind the show, the message might well be that we should emulate this great Academy and even . . . perhaps create a new one here? The Modern, having apparently failed to establish for all an international style or a Miesian style, might be out to form a new academy. If this is the intent, the new academy is stillborn.

The nature of the drawings themselves of course, put to shame, in sheer brilliance, modern architectural rendition, leaving us breathless. But the drawings add little to a fresh understanding of the work. The drawings were not an especially creative way of looking at buildings, the elevations and perspectives were simply feats of endurance and incredibly long arms. As Corbusier learned, there was much more to be found in the simple, almost crude diagrams of Auguste Choisy, in his *Histoire de l'Architecture,* than in all the Chinese ink and color washes of Prix de Rome. And then the Beaux-Arts student had more time to draw; if he wished to know more about how buildings were made after four years at the Ecole, he had to go to the Polytechnique for engineering and take four more years, but if he was of a good family, no matter.

But if the drawings were the thing, why MOMA? Simply to shock? The regulation place for a drawing show is the Astor or the new Cooper-Hewitt. Perhaps the Modern means to give a lesson in pre-modern art history. The show's catalogue makes some references to the superfluousness of the Beaux-Arts in terms of its socio-economic relevance. It is a gloss job however, and not serious history. These reasons for the value of the exhibit are not quite convincing. What the message the Beaux-Arts show really brings us I think is this: that architecture can be programless and abstract, and the more abstract the better; and as the catalogue indicates we need strong, formal medicine to put our buildings and cities in order. There is great appeal and a kernel of truth in this. There are also dangers.

Even to Sullivan (a member of the Ecole), "the discipline of the Beaux-Arts settled down to a theory of plan, yielding results of extraordinary brilliancy," but he added that "it was but an abstraction that was intellectual and aesthetic" and in the end lacked, and I quote, "primal inspiration," it had what is more, "fatal residiuum of artificiality."

And after all Le Corbusier saluted the *plan generateur,* despite his spoken distaste, even hatred, for the Academy. In fact, with some exceptions, Le Corbusier's work is compositional and closed ended.

But Le Corbusier, Sullivan, and their comrades believed that form must flow out of function, program, and content. The teaching of the Beaux-Arts was swollen with style but starved of content. This brought its downfall. Beyond this, it was a very pretty exhibition that offered welcome relief from more pictures of the Chrysler Building.

Paul Rudolph

I will confine my remarks to two subjects: urbanism and drawing. The catalogue informs us that: "It was a kind of planning that could clarify equally well the nature of individual buildings and their urban relationship to one another." This statement is difficult to reconcile with the known practice at the Ecole of giving imaginary, often flat sites for student projects, with not even the points of the compass indicated. In practice, Beaux-Arts notions of urban design usually meant placing freestanding buildings in axial relationships to each other—regardless of climate, site, approach, typography, or use.

It was ironical that the twentieth century architectural revolution was weakest in its theories regarding urban design. Le Corbusier wanted to tear down everything in sight and build his freestanding skyscrapers in parks, thereby removing them from the noisy diversity of the true city.

Those concerned with urban design today cannot look to the Ecole for guides, in spite of the effectiveness of the 1893 Chicago Fair and other great Beaux-Arts planning efforts in this country. Their ideas of urban design and planning were applicable when starting afresh, but unworkable in terms of adding to, or revising existing conditions. Exterior space, apart from courtyards formed by the buildings themselves, was almost never defined in the Ecole des Beaux-Arts system. Ironically, the Modern Movement that followed promulgated the clear, freestanding building unrelated to its surroundings despite the fact that it was supposedly anti-everything at the Ecole. It was the unrelatedness to reality, the specific, the casting out of all that was regarded as being ugly or not ideal, the solving of problems not connected with society that finally led to the Ecole's lack of vitality.

Gropius was content to make diagrams of the path of the sun to determine the placement of his buildings, unrelated to human psychology. It is noteworthy that Marie-Antoine Delannoy's project for the restoration of Tiber Island in Rome is regarded by the authors of the Museum's catalogue as presenting, and I quote, "A cluttered . . . image of Roman urbanism, with monumental public buildings crammed against ordinary houses." One can argue that the history of urban design is exactly this—the monumental public building crammed against the ordinary. One depends on the other, to a large extent. St. Peter's Plaza is effective only as a result of the diverse, small scale, winding complex streets, intersections, and small piazzas beyond its great space. Mussolini almost ruined it by opening the large gathering space to the river beyond. It's the same with almost every other Italian design worth discussing. Every medieval cathedral town depends on the juxtaposition of its cathedral to the cluttered housing beyond. Even in New York, Times Square, with its clutter, complements Bryant Park's sense of great repose. Outdoor rooms of a city need different characters for different purposes, just as interior spaces do. As Camillo Sitté has pointed out, the urbanism of Rome involves placing all but twenty-four of its 350 odd churches tangentially next to other buildings, in order to provide open spaces in front of them, so that they might be given emphasis and their presence be clearly visible. In fact, the art of urban design is based on appropriate and varying psychological environments.

The great difficulty with the Ecole, in terms of urban design, was that it almost always thought in terms of freestanding, isolated buildings, complete with symmetrically arranged major and minor axes of planting leading from the buildings. This cannot possibly be a model for urbanism in the twentieth century because of the demands of mass transportation coupled with sheer size unknown before the twentieth century, not to mention any number of other important factors.

The catalogue further informs us that: "The anti-historical bias of twentieth century architects is to be anti-urban." Every revolutionary must of necessity overstate his case in order to be clear, and so it was with the revolutionary architects of the twentieth century. The rhetoric of the twentieth century revolutionary architect attacked the immediate past, but Sigfried Giedion "partner in charge of the history of the Modern Movement," clearly indicated the necessity of understanding the history of architecture as a guide to the here and now.

The highly seductive and finally nostalgic, prettified drawings shown in the exhibition, are the grand-daddies of the ubiquitous, overly commercialized, gouache renderings so much valued by U.S. commercial architects and real estate interests. I wish there had been an additional section to show what finally comes out in the actual production of buildings. The show sees the Ecole as notions of presentation only. We wonder if the Museum is planning such an exhibition for us. Drawing for any architect is merely a tool to be utilized.

Much was made at the Ecole of the ability to "read" the plan volumetrically by widening the highest volumes of space and making them darker. This, of course, could be related only to masonry construction, since the height in masonry construction is directly related to the thickness of the bearing walls or piers. However, in steel or concrete construction it would be almost impossible to imagine the Ecole des Beaux-Arts plan renderings of a cage type building.

Much has been made of the ability of the Ecole to produce great draftsmen and the superior architectural education derived

from such a system. Equally, much has been made of twentieth century architectural schools' ability to produce beautiful models, and no drawings whatsoever. The fact is that both are necessary. Volumetric relationships, masses, relationship of solids to voids in three dimensions, especially large scale relationships to land forms, and the clarification of systems and their relationship to each other can often be best studied in model form. The implications of interior architectural space—sequences of space and light, reductions of scale, attitudes to the relationship of interior to exterior space, the psychology of space, the effects of the near and the far, color, are all best studied by drawings. Needless to say, the way an architect studies anything is up to him. What works for one does not work for another.

But it is really ridiculous to say that schools only make models, or schools only make drawings. Of course, many schools don't make either. Drawings and models are no substitute for the imagination.

I believe that the best lessons of the exhibition deal with the understanding of architectural scale. The Ecole understood the uses of massing, light and solids, progressions of space and clearly thought out relationships to sky and ground, to heighten the readability of the buildings. Furthermore, they used classical elements, painting, sculpture, mosaics, moldings, and other architectural accoutrements of incredible variety to reduce the scale of their compositions and to give a sense of humanity to the whole. The great lessons of the Ecole are most clear there. We do not have a twentieth century equivalent of much of that.

I believe that we are very much indebted to the Museum of Modern Art for putting on this show of the Beaux-Arts and giving us a focus for the discussion of architecture.

Denise Scott-Brown
© 1977 (submitted in writing)
The bizarre union of MOMA and the Beaux-Arts is spawning misinterpretations of architectural history as individual protagonists realign themselves to meet the new alliance. In the reshuffle, the Beaux-Arts itself is being reinterpreted to teach, I fear, the wrong lessons.

The Modern architectural establishment is picking up the Beaux-Arts for several wrong reasons: for its elitist programs ("history," "urbanism," and "*pro bono publico*," in the catalogue preface sound like code words for upper class architecture), for its good drawings, and to find some way of accepting, at last, the fifteen-year-old critique of the Modern movement, without appearing to cave in; particularly without having to accept the call of Modern architecture's critics for social relevance, openness to the pluralist aesthetic and understanding of the everyday environment. Beaux-Arts will enable Arthur Drexler, for instance, to "reexamine our architectural pieties," as he puts it, without having to heed Herbert Gans or learn from Las Vegas.

There are better reasons for learning from the Beaux-Arts:

Professionalism. Beaux-Arts practitioners had enormous professional skill. This was partly owing to the rigorous training they received. Partly, it was engendered and supported by the confident and masterful world's view inherited by the nineteenth century rich men's sons who became architects. But mostly, Beaux-Arts expertise and skills were a heritage built up in classical architecture over two hundred years of evolutionary rather than revolutionary change.

Programs. Despite the elitism of their school projects, Beaux-Arts architects evolved and handled new programs for new building types that resulted during the nineteenth century from the industrial revolution. Available classical formulas and accepted planning processes were made to accommodate railroad stations, public libraries, art galleries, power stations, and even skyscrapers.

Techniques. Beaux-Arts architects unashamedly stressed the "Art of design." They were technically competent owing to their long and rigorous training, but they regarded knowledge of construction and detailing as unremarkable, because they relied upon traditional and accepted ways of doing things. These ways were abandoned with the revolutionary changes of the Modern movement. Modern architects are much given to talking and thinking about technology, and the movement's early innovators, in that their training was traditional, were able to back their talk with technical and craft skills. Later generations who faced the new materials and methods of the twentieth century without this training, tended, for ideological reasons, to overestimate the "imperatives of technology" in the construction industry. Particularly in America, where skills training was reduced when architectural education was elevated to graduate level, architects lost their technical skills and are still having trouble regaining them. Of course, Beaux-Arts architects drew very well too. This was part of their technical and professional competence as well as part of their art. But we should not see drawing as their only technical competence nor the only one we can learn from. We have yet to evolve tried and true techniques for using the conventional building methods of our time as suavely as the Beaux-Arts architects used theirs.

Aesthetics. Part of Beaux-Arts technical competence lay in design. Beaux-Arts architects accepted well-defined aesthetic criteria for the composition of the formal elements of buildings. These criteria guided the design process and provided

explicit standards for architectural criticism. No such shared standards exist now, or, at least, none have been explicated. The average school jury today flounders on undefined territory when it touches on aesthetics and, where aesthetic certainty exists in the profession, for example on design review boards, it supports a deadening architectural mediocrity. Our Modern means of aesthetic control, "total design," aesthetic zoning and design review, are arguably more coercive than were the orders, massing, or axial planning. If we are looking for aesthetic unity perhaps we should try to discover our own shared aesthetic values; but there is probably no possibility of broad-based aesthetic consensus for us today. Perhaps we should not seek it, but rather, try to enjoy our diversity.

Relation to the city, relation to history. These often are, but need not be, code words for ruling class architecture set in plazas. We can learn other lessons from Beaux-Arts urbanism and historicism. For example, Burnham conceived of Chicago as a set of urban systems long before today's urban systems analysts. Beaux-Arts urbanists and architects dealt in multiple scales. Their urbanism suggests a view of the city as a plurality and an ordered complexity. Their familiarity and ease with history enabled them to accept the concept of multiplicity and to take a richer, more inclusive view of architecture and its possibilities than did the Moderns. Because they considered themselves part of a continuous historical tradition, Beaux-Arts architects did not feel the need to return to first principles for every problem and could build on the experience of others.

Symbolism. Beaux-Arts architects and urban designers, who used the architectural symbolism of the classical tradition, knew that its meaning would be shared by their clients and a large public. Modern architects deny the existence of symbolism in their work and hope that "the people" will eventually understand the new architecture. In the 1920's, faced with Modern art and the International Style, some Beaux-Arts architects adapted their decorative systems to Cubism. The resultant Art Deco architecture was the Beaux-Arts' reply to the Modern movement. Art Deco was the last gasp of the craft of architecture.

Education. Beaux-Arts education influenced world architectural education and still does. It gave us the studio system and juries, learning-by-doing and, through the *charrette* and the atmosphere around the Ecole, learning by camaraderie and high endeavor. Unfortunately, later versions of the system, particularly in America, seemed to pick up the Ecole's authoritarianism and miss its countervailing high spirits as well as its skills training. But Modern education revisionists who decry the faults in the system, risk chucking out the baby with the bath water. Studio education is a major contribution of the Beaux-Arts to us.

In sum, we should not yearn for Beaux-Arts programs or for the society that commissioned those programs, but should rather learn from what Beaux-Arts architects did very well. We should learn from their ability to work freely within an accepted formula or set of formulas, lessons about breadth and openness, order, suavity, skill and symbolism, that will be useful for a new, evolutionary architectural era.

MOMA is a Johnny-come-lately to the Beaux-Arts scene and is there for the wrong reasons. Even in the recent past MOMA was a *pompier*[1] of the Modern movement and an arch enemy of the Beaux-Arts. Those who continued or tried to recreate an interest in the Beaux-Arts had to contend with the architectural establishment that MOMA represents. A turn around in thinking is assumed by Drexler when he states in the catalogue preface that Modern architecture's "Messianic fervor seems naive when it is not actually destructive," and that "Italian design in the sixties replaced moral imperatives with irony and humor." This change of heart was ardently fought by MOMA when it was first suggested by some social planners and a few architects; yet such a change had to come about before MOMA could accept the Beaux-Arts. MOMA still cannot accept the pluralism of the everyday landscape, or the message of Gans, or the question, "Who decides what is *pro bono publico*?" Therefore, I fear that current establishment interest in the Beaux-Arts will be a fad and an evasion—a continuation of Modern purism in a new guise. This would be unfortunate. A thoughtful reassessment of Beaux-Arts architecture could be a stimulus to new architectural sensibilities for our time, and an important contribution to a nondoctrinaire, humanist, late twentieth century architecture.

Note

1. *Pompier* was a term used by Beaux-Arts architects to describe the most rigid of their members. What we call Beaux-Arts, they called *pompier*.

Vincent Scully, extemporaneous remarks

I must really avoid the hot seat that Rick Franzen would like to place me on. I don't think I should have organized the show, but I do think there is a point involved here. Like everyone so far I am surprised by the polemical nature of the remarks that have been published *about* the show, both for and against it. Since I was never imbued with the Gropius spirit I never really felt that the Beaux-Arts was the scarlet woman, or the whore of Babylon, or any of the terrible things that the Purists held it to be. So I don't find the show offensive or treasonable or anything like that. On the other hand, I don't find it startling or new either. It is simply one more item in something that has been going on for a long time, and that is the *proper writing* of nineteenth century architectural history.

I don't think that proper history has yet been written for France. On the other hand, the show is lucky to have the services of the young scholars who are now writing that history. Unfortunately their text is not yet available. And that might have answered some of the questions about the rather polemical tone of the blurb which was given out with the show and, perhaps, the rather thoughtless character of some of the captions. And there is no doubt in my mind that when the text is published it will demonstrate what Corbusier said a long time ago, which was that modern architecture began in the 1830's and *in France*. I think the show helps document that.

Now, previously, those of us who worked on England and America—and I think of course of Hitchcock, Summerson, Pevsner, and others—found some decades ago that things really did seem to begin to happen afresh in the 1830's and 1840's. The movement that can be called Romantic-Realist or more generally Materialist, begins at that time and develops a whole new theoretical and physical approach to architecture. The exhibition shows that, in France as well. It starts with the earliest drawings, those of the Ecole, shortly after Napoleon, or even earlier. We find in them the Romantic-Classic sensibility that some of us at times have seen as the beginning of modern architecture. I would look at them now as a kind of false dawn, those purely geometric drawings. They still have fundamentally Renaissance and Mannerist characteristics of form; and still, for all the clarity of their geometry, they have some of the casual detailing and the gentleness of line which can be traced back to Palladio's drawings and to Renaissance drawings in general. And that connection with the Renaissance coincides with the theory of Ledoux and Boullée and the other people of the late eighteenth century, who were still talking about the *Idea* in architecture in what were still largely neo-Platonic, Renaissance terms. When we get, however, to the generation of Labrouste, it seems to me that is where things change: that is, when they begin to be pre-occupied, exactly as they were in England and America at the same time, with the material fabric of the building, and they begin to try to reconstruct the theory of architecture and the practice of architecture according to *that*. Not according to a theory of ideal harmonic proportions which is fundamentally Renaissance and still in Ledoux and Boullée, but instead with a reassessment of the physical operation of the *building fabric*. In England with the Ecclesiologist, then with Ruskin, and in a variety of forms, we get that, largely in terms of brick construction and of the "reality" of materials and so on. In America, deriving in part from England, especially from Loudon, we begin to get the same thing with Downing in the forties: a preoccupation with the structure of the wood-framed wall and the expression of that as a skeleton on the outside of the building. It is the same material principle with both. Now, in Labrouste, we find exactly that, especially at the Bibliothèque Sainte Geneviève. And it seems to me that there is a change in the drawing at that moment. It becomes infinitely more intense: much harder, much heavier, much sharper on the paper. We can feel a new kind of focus, a new kind of probity of the physical mass, if I may use that word, of the drawing itself. It is the working out of a deeply structural, material sense in the character of the drawing. Then, when we move on to Charles Garnier, we find, in the drawing as in the buildings, a kind of neo-baroque. The form takes on a kind of impressionist richness of color and illusionism and a softening away from that preoccupation with the fabric toward more concern with voluminous spaces. Much the same happens in the United States during that period. That is the difference between Richardson, say, concerned as he is with the continuity of the surface and the interior volume, as against Furness earlier, whose work in fact also derives from the Beaux-Arts through Hunt and who is preoccupied with the impressive physical action of the fabric.

This has nothing to do with polemic in any way, it is just a historical thing that is there. I think maybe if the show had gone on to the other Garnier, later, we would have gotten into that neo-classic —that neo-neo-classic—reaction, which was to coincide with a new interest in the machine and so on and which would have led on there, as elsewhere with Wagner, Behrens, and everybody else, to Corbusier and the Modern Movement itself, and to the entire demonstration of the correctness of Corbusier's statement.

So I think that the show does fill in history and can serve us well, though it is not a pioneer in conception. Still, it is a pioneer in bringing all these drawings together and in enabling us to read that development in directly graphic terms. It is a terrific graphic presentation. I'd like

to make one more point in terms of what we can maybe learn from it now. For example, consider the interest in semiology at the present time. Here again, Beaux-Arts practice, as worked out by Labrouste and as Neil Levine's brilliant book on the Bibliothèque Sainte Geneviève will eventually show, was consciously concerned with semiotic values. It began of course with the expression, in the wall, of the space, and of the structure that makes it. Such expression has been familiar to modern architecture recently in the work of Kahn, which derives in part from that Beaux-Arts idea. But Labrouste also had something else in mind. He wanted to wrap that structure and that space in an envelope which was readable (legible, is, I believe, his word) in terms of what the building was for, of what it meant. He does that in the Bibliothèque Sainte Geneviève very directly. In fact, he writes all over the non-bearing wall panels between the piers. They are like leaves of a book, and they bear the names of the authors whose works are preserved behind them. All that is pretty obvious, but Labrouste goes much further in another drawing in the exhibition. It is the one he sent back from Rome, after he had been there for five years, of a strange surrealist bridge between Italy and France. It was intended to celebrate his return to France after the completion of his studies. As you know, that final drawing which the Prix de Rome winners were required to send back to the Ecole after their years in Italy was the only one in their whole career of which *they* chose the program. And the first thing we feel in Labrouste's is that he has lost his mind, that all that work, all that preoccupation with the past, all that reconstruction of Greek monuments, has somehow destroyed his brain. Then we see that what he is doing is ruthlessly jettisoning it all. As much as Corbusier was ever to do later, he is throwing it all away. And he can throw it away I suppose because he has already had it. He does not need it anymore. He shows us the view toward France and each of those attenuated memories of triumphal arches at the ends of the bridge have been turned into pure signs resembling the signs of Las Vegas, or the facade of the fire station in Columbus, Indiana, by Venturi—with, it would appear, the name of the country it opens toward on each side. And when we look at this strange signboard bridge with those two phalli standing up, on both sides of it, this weird little bridge going over this no-water river on this no-place land, we think, as I say, that he has lost his mind. Then it makes us laugh like mad, this crazy tight little thing. Then all of a sudden it almost makes us burst into tears. Because, after all those years, after all that work, after all that Italy, he doesn't show us the other side at all; he just says "France."

Peter Smithson

It is an unenviable task to follow St. Vincent and St. Paul. . . . My little paper will probably sound like a pale apocryphal shadow.

At the exhibition I felt profoundly that by 1900 the Beaux-Arts really had had its last *charrette*. One experienced again what I believe those who were young in the twenties felt about it being at a dead end.

Now the interval between 1900 and 1976 is extraordinarily long; in that long period of detachment from the classical tradition, we have I think acquired a sense of its strength; recovered a picture which within the Beaux-Arts had become fuzzed. The death of the Beaux-Arts has enabled us to see with fantastic clarity the space modes that were taken from Rome. I feel that through scholarship, and the *repeated* visits to antique remains by many of my generation, the space modes of Greece and Rome and the high Renaissance become to us extremely tangible. The death of the Beaux-Arts has given us back the classical tradition.

I feel ambivalent about having the show at the Museum of Modern Art. I share with Ulrich Franzen the feeling that really there have been at least three major shifts of space sensibility within Modern architecture since the twenties, none of which have been demonstrated at the Museum. It is a museum of *modern art*, and that is the place where those sensibilities should have been demonstrated. It is the only place where it is likely to be demonstrated; simply because there is not the energy, the cash, in any other institution.

But of course I liked seeing the original drawings. And, inevitably, I liked the same ones that Vincent Scully liked. Slightly different ones by the same gentlemen because I, too, like built architecture, and it seems to me that the Beaux-Arts in its late period had become

unbuilt architecture.

Now, I have had two extraordinary experiences in the last six weeks. I had a stop-over at the Union Station in Washington—which is an extraordinary 'unbuilt' building—and I had to go and get my sailing permit from Gropius' federal thing called the John F. Kennedy Administration Building in Boston—which is another extraordinary 'unbuilt' building. If you are stranded as I was in the Exit-Visa room of the Gropius building it is neither worse nor better than being in the left luggage office of Milan railway station or Union Station in Washington. All are very ordinary works, two at the end of the line of one tradition, one at the beginning of another.

The drawing in the exhibition I liked best fitted two of my obsessions—the Doric order, and the notion of initiators and successors which I now pick up with St. Paul. There is this fabulous drawing, I think by Labrouste—the man that did the library—of his speculative reconstruction of the temple of Paestum in which there is this incredible business of giving a place for renewal within the permanent fabric. It has a place within itself, as it were, for successive generations. The drawing by Labrouste of the cross section of the temple has this extraordinarily exquisitely drawn armor, chain, etc., fixed onto the fabric; that is, you feel the building is designed with those in the head of the designer. And that is the way I am trying to design. I wish it to be built and I wish it to have the feeling that things are going to come to it. Therefore, I got a lot out of the exhibition. But I would have preferred to see it in another gallery, for personal, almost political reasons—to do with the public front of the developing language of our present architecture. I would submit that we actually are in a very, very early phase of the new language and that boringly enough, if you simply put together the dates of the Pazzi Chapel of 1420 and Oud's Café de Cluny of 1920, our present period does not bring you as far as Bramante. I feel that's a highly appropriate moment to find myself in.

Robert Stern

With regard to *context*, there has been a notable absence of serious speculation about whether the Beaux-Arts exhibition and in a larger sense the nineteenth century academic tradition of western architecture, offer useful messages to us today; and more importantly whether or not present day sensibilities correspond more to the late nineteenth century than to the so-called Heroic period of modernism.

Most of the commentary inspired by the exhibition has ignored the relationship between the Museum's decision to organize the exhibit at this time, rather than ten years ago when the historical investigations of Reyner Banham, William Jordy, and even my own began to call attention to the influence of the Ecole's program on the early history of the Modern Movement, and when through the examples of Kahn's work, its influence was being felt in contemporary practice. The interest of a decade or so ago focussed on the ordering principals of Beaux-Arts design rather than on its semantic implications. It was largely concerned with classicizing ideas of spacemaking rather than those lessons of image and decoration which seem more important today. Thus the question of timing seems critical. Had the Museum presented a Beaux-Arts exhibition in 1965, its intentions might have been directed toward further buttressing its long established advocacy of orthodox modernism. But its appearance in 1975 suggests that MOMA is attempting to re-establish its credentials in the rapidly changing post-modernist architectural scene.

Now it seems to me the Museum's timing is right. Because as I hope to make clear, architects seem ready to receive a diversity of images and messages from the nineteenth century. We are entering a period once again when architecture will become involved with symbolism and allusion as well as issues of abstract

formal composition. And for the first time in many years architects seem capable of holding more than one idea of architecture in their heads at once, without feeling guilty or schizoid. They are able to develop different solutions for different situations. Universal order is no longer a goal or even much talked about. Cultural pluralism and post-modernism go hand in hand. And this, more than any other single factor, it seems to me, explains why post-modernist architects as they emerge as a group and *not* orthodox modernists can learn from and allude to historical precedent and in particular to that of the nineteenth century. Arthur Drexler seems to recognize this when he states in his very cautious preface to the catalogue that we would be well advised to examine our architectural priorities in light of an increased awareness and appreciation of the nature of architecture as it was understood in the nineteenth century.

So we are confronted by a provocative exhibition presented with virtually no reference to the cultural situation which a) presumably called it into being: b) caused it to be regarded as important: and c) caused it to be received so enthusiastically if so uncritically. How very different one might observe from the then newly-founded MOMA's first and to date most effective intervention in architecture—the Modern Architecture exhibit of 1932. The catalogue and the separately but simultaneously published book, *The International Style*, gave the new architecture an instant pedigree and provided the would-be modernist with what amounted to a hand book of how to think and design.

Thus far the only substantive criticism in the press has been focussed on the drawings rather than on the buildings they represent. But even these comments have not gone very far and it seems appropriate to make some observations at this time. The drawings are a mixed blessing. Some are beautiful. Many more, at least for me, are lugubrious and lifeless, especially when one compares them to real buildings. Even the best of them are not really beautiful enough to be in the Museum of Modern Art unless they are viewed in the context of executed work. They do however seem to offer the following lessons. First, the lesson of size. Without great size, a) the development of ornamental detail is impossible; b) it is difficult to include in the initial architectural conception those elements of design which give architecture its semantic character; the size, the plaques, the painted sculpture, and the carved symbols which mediate between the grandeur and abstraction of the overall design and the particularities of programmatic, urbanistic, and cultural content.

The second lesson is that of graphic appropriateness. The drawings in the exhibition are renderings rather than sketches and if *charrettes* in the studio system of the nineteenth century are anything like what they were in the waning days of the Beaux-Arts in America, not to mention today, the drawings are probably by no means the exclusive work of the architects whose projects are depicted. Nonetheless, they are full dress examples of the kinds of drawings which are inextricably involved with the design values that the students and teachers of the Ecole held dear. They are large in size and they are also to a remarkable extent perceptual rather than conceptual in intention. Though the Beaux-Arts knew about axonometric projection to my knowledge it was used by Auguste Choisy—from whose book Le Corbusier picked it up—only as an analytical tool. For the purpose of design, as opposed to analysis, the plan was the focus of energy and concern. Drawn large with much attention lavished on the floor surface, the typical Beaux-Arts plan drawing was as decorated and embellished as the elevations and sections—at least one of which was cut along the axis perpendicular to the principle facade. The elevations and sections show the character of the building on its exterior and reveal the extent to which that character infused the bounding walls of the principal interior spaces.

The third lesson is that of color. One of the most obvious charms of the Beaux-Arts drawings we see in the Museum is the use of delicate washes of color. And the use of color is not a device to tart up the drawing, as in so much of our current rendering but rather as an element in the design process; one which we have lost and one which we should probably seek to recapture.

A number of myths which have been evolved about twentieth century architecture have gained such unquestioned currency that the nineteenth century has all too easily been weighed in the balance and found wanting; a conclusion which is unfair and uninformed.

The first myth is that of typological primacy; I won't but remind you of the pitfalls that this particular notion has led architecture through. For example, the fifty year old search of the Modern Movement for typological perfection in the area of housing. As a result, we have watched the extinction of a noble tradition of housing design in Paris, Amsterdam, London, and New York whose built examples now fifty to a hundred years old continue, despite the polemic of the Modern Movement and its CIAM to function, and to be admired; from theBeaux-Arts Parisian apartment house to the low rise Beaux-Arts solutions of Clarence Stein, rich and humanistically responsible housing design was produced for all classes while the Modern Movement's polemicists who have preached reform, mass-production, and the like have succeeded in producing very

Robert Venturi (submitted in writing)

little in the way of housing that is admired outside the circle of the Modern Movement itself. Ironically, the myth of typological primacy has recently been confounded by the architectural passion of the 1970's—the recycling of old building. Everybody is doing it, and it is an amusing about-face in light of the modernist search for the typological grail.

The second modernist myth, that of constructional honesty and technological responsiveness seems as obvious as the sins which have been committed in its name. The exhibition put to rest the, for me, unsubstantiated conviction that raw concrete and exposed brick or cinder block are beautiful, carry special values or even some special morality. Certainly the general public has always preferred expressive camouflage to the "let it all hang out bare bones aesthetic."

The final myth is the criminality of ornament. First of all, Adolf Loos never really believed in it in his work and I'd rather put my money on the Kärntner Bar and the Josephine Baker house than on his rather contrary, narrow-minded essay on ornament which few architects in the Anglo-Saxon world ever read before Banham's translation in the late 1950's. But more importantly, orthodox modernism never really believed in architecture without embellishment; only it surrendered that search for a semantically charged ornamental system which every prior architecture had undertaken in favor of an obsession with "integral" ornament: the ⅝ inch shadow joint, the veneered plane, the ubiquitous abstract easel painting, and small scale constructivist sculpture.

The Beaux-Arts exhibition reminds us of the poverty of our orthodox modernist architecture. Trapped in hermetic abstraction, the Modern Movement fails us because it seals us off from the very cultural and visual connections that were the stock and trade not only of the Beaux-Arts but of nineteenth century architectural pluralism—or eclecticism—if you prefer the word.

The nineteenth century believed in an architecture which did not concern itself merely with a functional, constructional, spatial fit. It struggled toward semantic articulateness. To the Vitruvium triad it added a fourth goal—appropriateness —and it is the continuous struggle to make forms which are meaningful in a broad cultural context that the architecture of the nineteenth century offers great lessons for today. Venturi and Moore began to redefine for us a modern position in architecture that draws on historic issues—modernism and nineteenth century eclecticism—to establish a new working strategy which I will call post-modernism for want of a better term. I believe that to succeed, the post-modernist attitude must be re-established or re-affirmed in word and deed, the beliefs which were implicit in the vast amount of architecture of the nineteenth century, especially the belief in the power of architecture to achieve symbolic meaning through not only allusion to other moments in architectural history but to historical and contemporary events of the social, political, and cultural nature, are central to the emerging post-Modern position. And a post-modernist attitude must also carry with it an affirmation of belief that architecture is for the eye as well as the mind. Such seems to be our best hope for capturing the affection of our very disaffected constituency: the public. Architecture after all is not built sociology or even built theory. It is art and I thank the Museum of Modern Art for giving us cause for the first time in a very long time to think about architecture as art again.

Despite the established power of the Modern movement, interest in the Beaux-Arts and some Beaux-Arts influence survived into the 1970's. Critics of the exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art have mentioned the influence of his early training on Louis I. Kahn, but they ignore an equally significant survival at Princeton in the work of Jean Labatut and Donald Drew Egbert.

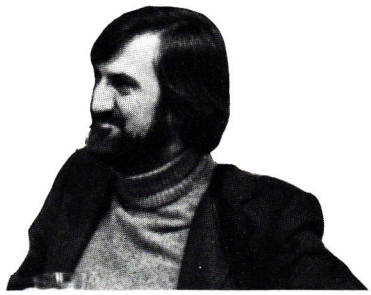
To an architect trained at Princeton in the 1940's, the recent exhibition does not appear to be an innovative step nor does acceptance of the possibility of learning from history mark a significant departure. The Beaux-Arts tradition continued at Princeton in the teaching of Jean Labatut, the chief critic there, and the study of architectural history was a basic element in the architecture department's curriculum. Indeed, the Department of Architecture was part of the Department of Art and Archeology, as the History of Art department at Princeton was then called. In that department, Donald Drew Egbert's course in the history of Modern architecture influenced several generations of architecture students.

Labatut was an extraordinary teacher, partly because he was not a *pompier*, but a critic with a rich and broad base in philosophy, aesthetics, and history that supported the principles of architecture he espoused. Although a Modern architect, Labatut kept alive traditional architectural techniques of detailing and profiling and the broad organizational principles of Beaux-Arts design that were being forgotten elsewhere in the scramble for technological effects and functionalist composition. Labatut's students used historical analogy as a tool for architectural design when history was "bunk" in the Gropius-Bauhaus-Harvard educational environment that dominated America for three decades.

Egbert, equally influential upon Princeton architecture students, also took a stand

that was unpopular in his field which was dominated by Sigfried Giedion. For example, for Egbert, the influence of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts was an important part of the complex architectural history of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, whereas for Giedion its influence was merely a "transitory fact." For Giedion, although history was not exactly bunk, it was subject to simplistic and personal interpretation that allowed, as "constituent facts," some of the historical antecedents of Modern architecture (for example, some Baroque architecture and certain industrial forms) but excluded, as "transitory facts," other important antecedents, the main one being the architecture of the Beaux-Arts. Egbert's history of Modern architecture was inclusive; a complex evolution rather than a dramatic revolution, made up of social and symbolic as well as formal and technological imperatives. His manuscript for a book on the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, started over thirty years ago, included original ideas on a symbolic functionalism in that movement. Unfortunately this work was laid aside while he completed his monumental *Social Radicalism and the Arts.* Egbert's article on the changes at the Ecole during the Paris uprisings of the late 1960's were published at the time; it is fortunate that the larger work will now be posthumously published (edited and completed by David van Zanten, Princeton University Press). Egbert's interpretation of Modern architecture in *Social Radicalism and the Arts* countered that of Henry Russell Hitchcock, whose influential work on the International Style earlier deemphasized the radical social content of the Modern movement and set the stage of the dominance of formalism in Modern architecture at MOMA and in American architecture as a whole since then.

Although Labatut and Egbert were isolated phenomena in mid-century architectural education, and although their influence waned at Princeton in the mid-sixties when the Department of Architecture was reorganized, they were far from insignificant. Louis Kahn's reapplication of his Beaux-Arts training and his use of historical analogy in design can be traced directly and indirectly to his contacts with Princeton in the 1950's. Our work, particularly *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture* but our subsequent work as well, owes a considerable debt to these two teachers, as has the work of other Princeton graduate architects and educators. It is significant too, that two of the three historians who worked as Arthur Drexler's collaborators in the MOMA exhibition, David van Zanten and Neil Levine, were Egbert's students at Princeton. Ironically, the unpopular stance of Labatut and Egbert has now been adopted by the very group that decried them, and in the take over, these original protagonists have been ignored. We think all their students would want to see due credit given these teachers and to insure that their work is remembered and recognized.



Anthony Vidler
"I admire the dazzling manual skill acquired by the students through the instruction of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts. I could wish that the head might command the hand. I recognize the elegance which guides the solutions of plan, facade and section. But I should like to see intelligence dominating elegance and not being disregarded."

Between 1923, when in *Vers Une Architecture* Le Corbusier referred to the students of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts as "blue hortensias and green chrysanthemums . . . unclean orchids" that "enter into the town in the spirit of a milkman who should, as it were, sell his milk mixed with vitriol or poison," and 1933, when he published his direct attack on the Academies—*Croisade, or the twilight of the Academies*—Le Corbusier was consistently on guard against the academic mind, the academic plan, the academic establishment. Against the *styles,* against the *programs,* against the pernicious *hierarchy of privilege,* against the patronage and clientele system, and most of all against the stultifying formulae of academic education. The rejection of the League of Nations entry reinforced his crusade; the monumental reaction of the early thirties confirmed his worst fears: "Russia in this year, 1933, is under the influence of the Academy. Germany the same. France . . . we will see!"

Yet five years later, visiting the United States, in a long and often ambiguous text, *When the Cathedrals were White,* Corbusier is forced to come to terms with the Beaux-Arts as another reality; American academicism *is* the architecture of the great cities—the school of McKim, Mead, and White, Russell Sturgis, while filtered through the lenses of Letarouilly and Rome, is still academic at its base: the teaching of the schools of architecture —he visited Princeton and made a rude joke there which was not apparently appreciated—was still Beaux-Arts in its

essence. The great German visitation had not yet taken root. "In New York then, I learn to appreciate the Italian Renaissance. It is so well done that you could believe it to be genuine. It even has a strange new firmness which is not Italian but American." He hesitates to like the Beaux-Arts customs house, but later, the schools are discussed, and it is the elegance, the draughtsmanship, the facility of the Beaux-Arts student that he admires, and admits to be a product of the French Beaux-Arts—against the practical spirit of the Americans, he yearns for "the virtue of the plan, the elegance of the solution, eminently French values."

In assessing the present exhibition, we are not fighting the same battles as the Europeans—our defenses, in America, are not aroused for the new spirit, nor for the carefully worked aesthetics of neo-plasticism or purism; nor, and this is more significant are we fighting any form of rearguard action for a lost social ethic. In the U.S. modern architecture was, and is, not the same as in Europe; its ends, its aspirations, its forms, and its roles have not been the same from the very beginning. In Europe modern architecture forged itself not only as an aesthetic but as a social movement; its was the expression (however misplaced in retrospect) of social democracy, sometimes even socialism in action—it was avant-garde, and progressive, when the idea of progress was not a cheap dream of cars and suburbs; it was the restoration of the conditions of life, on the premises of a new technology, a new equality, a new vision of world order. The merging of Saint-Simon the technocrat, and Fourier the social harmonist, was premised by the Radiant City.

But, in America this was never the case. As with the first adoption of the Beaux-Arts in the nineteenth century, the only recognizable export from Europe was the style; its forms may have been meticulously correct—even as Le Corbusier now shelters the beach house elite of Long Island—but its ends were different. The Beaux-Arts monument in the U.S. was the elegant shelter of a society in full development—the confirmation of the expanding world of industry and capital.

Similarly, when finally the Modern Movement was imported into the U.S. (by the mechanism, it is interesting to note, of an exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art), it was as International *Style*, not movement. And this style rapidly became the everyday dress of the new monuments of commercial progress—Mies, with his simple and easily reproduced wrapping for banks, caught on more swiftly than Corbusier. Americans, always uncomfortable with the brief, and temporary, identification of modern style with the social premises of the new deal, were relieved to see the divorce between art and society ratified by the art exhibition.

So now, when the Beaux-Arts is again imported, a great deal of talk is heard about the end of social engagement—as if there ever had been any; the death of modern architecture—as if it had ever been more than an imported style, readily discarded when the packaging of space demanded a different economy, a different image.

Secondly—the paradox of the schools: Corbusier waged his polemic against the academies in favor of his training as a craftsman; Gropius likewise, erecting the arts and crafts movement as the stick with which to beat classical academic formulae. Gropius was to some extent successful in breaking the academic system in the U.S. too, the workshop, the first year Bauhaus course, the tabula rasa.

Ironically, the schools that now produce recognizable modern styles—Yale, Princeton, the Institute, and its affiliates, have essentially reverted to a real Beaux-Arts (in the very best sense of course) attitude to design; most students of Eisenman, Graves, and the like can easily assimilate the lessons, if not the styles, of the student work on display at the Museum, into their own work. They have, after all been working with Colin Rowe's edition of Letarouilly for some time.

Thus the event is not an event; merely a confirmation of a situation, a symptom of a mode of conceiving architecture that was always academic in essence, and perhaps, until some critique or progress finally takes hold in the U.S. to allow movements to emerge as fully fledged criticisms of the existing order, it always will be.

Henry Cobb (in response)

Peter Eisenman said to me a few days ago that, in his judgment, the show must be considered seminal. Since I am inclined to be suspicious of hyperbole I think that statement is worthy of examination. One way of looking at it is to ask whether or not the show has opened our eyes to something hitherto unperceived, moved us in some way, awakened sensitivities which we had not known were there. I think on that score my answer would have to be negative. With respect to our perceptions of the world, the show is more a symptom than a cause. I agree with what Bob Stern said, that we were ready for the show, more than ready. It is interesting that he did not refer once in his discussion to anything contained in the show while he referred many times to real buildings. It seems to me that there is a very good reason for that, it is simply that the show is an exhibition of student work—some of it brilliant student work, but as many of the speakers have suggested, work that can only be viewed as immature, not notable as architecture. And perhaps that is the reason why several speakers seemed to focus their remarks on those parts of the exhibit which reveal the development of a real architect making real buildings. For my own part, I was moved by and found fascinating that part of the exhibit that dealt with Labrouste's work, showing his development from a talented student to a mature artist. But, with that exception, I didn't find the show to be seminal, and I think most of the remarks here tonight confirm that. Nonetheless, in light of the content of the show, it would be appropriate to ask whether this show might be seminal in what it says about architectural education.

While recognizing all the negative aspects of the training of the Beaux-Arts that Franzen pointed out—the latent totalitarianism, the social inequality, the whole paraphernalia of power implicit in it—it seems to me that what is exciting about the show is that it is probably the largest display of student work ever exhibited anywhere. And the didactic methodology that lies behind that work deserves particularly close examination today because, really while whatever we might say about the tradition of our profession and our art, I think the problems of education in architecture are really not only not solved but hardly properly defined. It seems to me that the show asserts in a very positive way that the training of an architect should be about the shaping of space, about learning how to construct a concept of space through graphic means without actually having to build a space. There is a concern, an excitement, and a drama of that experience in the show. In a certain sense I felt a little depressed that so much of the work is so terribly immature and even uninteresting. But when I looked at it as a record of a pedagogical method—a way of learning how to make architecture—I found it to be very exciting.

Arthur Drexler (in response)

Whatever you may think about Beaux-Arts architecture, the exhibition had a special interest because the original drawings had not been seen before. Students at the Ecole during the nineteenth century never saw all the projects you saw at the Museum. The most they could have seen, apart from published reproductions, were the drawings done by their contemporaries —but the 240 drawings in the show covered more than 100 years. It seemed desirable to give everyone a chance to see what we—I mean the heirs to the Modern Movement—have always condemned as utterly worthless, if only because what we think are problems new to us were anticipated and discussed endlessly in the nineteenth century.

Some architects and journalists have assumed that there were ulterior motives attached to their exhibition, especially because it was presented by the Museum of Modern Art. Some observers thought the show was meant to bring on a Beaux-Arts revival. That was not the case. But insofar as such fears are prompted by the show being an implied criticism of the Modern Movement, the fears are understandable.

It is not just architects who are aware of serious problems with the philosophy of modern architecture. There is a vast audience out there that is not pleased with what pleases us—with what we talk about when we meet among ourselves. Several people have touched on this tonight. I am reminded of a conversation I had in London with a well-known architect-educator-critic, who urged me to consider very carefully the dangers I was bringing down on us all by having an exhibit about the dreaded Beaux-Arts. He thought that modern architecture has become a rather dismal affair, and that its effect on the cities has been disastrous, but he saw any criticism as a betrayal of the class struggle. In his mind, modern architecture is ultimately justified as an

instrument of proletarian revolution. Despite all evidence to the contrary, he sees the modern architect as having removed or lessened class distinctions. Therefore we ought not remind people of the sinful splendors of the Beaux-Arts.

Anthony Vidler commented, I thought quite appropriately, on this mythic perception of the architect as an agent of social reform. If architecture has any social meaning, it must be that its forms validate rather than undermine the institutions of society. But replacing one set of architectural forms with another will hardly correct disorders that are primarily social, not architectural. And a preference for certain kinds of form may itself be part of the social disorder. Brutality in architecture, for example, remains brutality for its own sake whether paid for by capitalists or communists.

In any case there is an educated public that does not see the forms we now associate with modern architecture as either beautiful or suitable. No purpose is served by pretending that modern architecture is universally admired. It isn't. To recognize this does not mean that we must have a revival of historicism, although coping with history is still one of modernism's chief problems.

Student reaction to the exhibition was even better than had been hoped. No previous architectural exhibition brought the letters, group visits, and intense discussion with students that this one did. The students liked the drawings and recognized that there was something to be said for an architecture whose substance made one want to draw it. All the students and many young architects seemed to sense a kind of freedom, a wider range of possibilities—their feelings were very different from the sense of betrayal expressed by many people here tonight. I wish we had been able to have the book ready in time for the exhibition. Unfortunately that was impossible, but it will be out in June of 1977, and I think that when you have had a chance to read it the subject will seem a little less alarming.

Peter Brooks:
Peter Brooks was born in New York City in 1938. He received his Ph.D. in Comparative Literature from Harvard University. His publications include: The Novel of Worldliness *(Princeton University Press, 1969); and* The Melodramatic Imagination *(Yale University Press, 1976). He is presently a contributing editor to* Partisan Review *and is Professor of French and Comparative Literature at Yale University.*

Richard Etlin
*Richard Etlin was born in New York City in 1947. He received his B.A. (*cum laude, *1969), M.Arch. (1972), and M.A. (1973) from Princeton University. In 1973 he studied in Paris on a Fulbright Grant. His published articles include: "Architecture and the Festival of Federation,"* Architectural History, *18 (1975); "L'air dans l'urbanisme des lumières,"* Dix-huitième siècle, *9 (1977); "Paris: the Image of the City" and "Jacques François Blondel and the System of the Home" (to be published). He is currently writing his doctoral dissertation on "The Cemetery and the City: Paris 1744–1804" and is Assistant Professor in the College of Architecture at the University of Kentucky.*

Antoine Grumbach
Antoine Grumbach was born in 1942 in Oran, Algeria. He received his Diploma in Architecture in 1967 from the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris. He has taught in Toronto, is co-director of the summer seminar of Columbia University in Paris, and is a professor at the Unité Pédagogique no. 6 where he teaches history and theory. His architectural projects include: the exhibit "La ville, ses signes et son mobilier," Baltard Pavilion, Paris (1969); designs for the public spaces of Marne La Vallée; housing in Nancy; and design contributions to the project for Les Halles; and work on a study of housing and public spaces in France for the Ministère de l'Equipement. His written works include "L'Architecture et l'évidente nécessité de la mémoire," Art Vivant, *1975, and he is currently working on an essay on architectural theory entitled "La figure et les ruines."*

Annie Jacques
Annie Jacques was born in Paris in 1945. She received the following degrees: Licence et maîtrise d'histoire, Sorbonne (1965–1969); Diplôme de l'Ecole du Louvre (1965–1967); Diplôme Supérieure de Bibliothècaire (1971). Since 1972 she has been Librarian of the Library and the Collections of the Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts. She is presently studying for a Doctorate on the subject of architectural education in France in the nineteenth century (1819–1914).

Hélène Lipstadt
Hélène Lipstadt studied at Columbia University School of Architecture, the London School of Economics, and the University of Paris. She is presently working on her Ph.D. in historical sociology at the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, Paris. She is co-director of a research project for the Commité de recherches et développement en architecture (CORDA) of the Ministère de la Culture et de l'Environnement on "Architectural reviews as a documentary source for the study of the architect, his social status and his relations with the engineering profession." Her published works include the following: Interview with Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown, AMC, *39 (June, 1976); "De la monotonie chez Fourier,"* Werk-Archithèse, *I (January, 1977); "Darmstadt, 1901–1976,"* AMC, *41 (May, 1977).*

Demetrius Porphyrios
Demetrius Porphyrios was born in Athens, Greece, in 1949. He received his M.Arch from Princeton University in 1974 and continued toward his Ph.D in the history and theory of architecture. During the years 1975 to 1976 he was a Graham Foundation Fellow researching in Finland the work of Alvar Aalto. He has published in the Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians, Controspazio, *and* Architektonika Themata. *He is at present a practicing architect in Athens and a lecturer at the Polytechnic of Central London and the Architectural Assocation, London, where he has been teaching since 1975.*

Debora L. Silverman
Debora Leah Silverman was born in New York City in 1954. She has an A.B. in History from Princeton University (1975) and has since worked on a research grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities, Youthgrant Program. She is currently a Danforth Foundation Graduate Fellow in the Department of History at the University of California, Berkeley.

Ann Lorenz Van Zanten
Ann Lorenz Van Zanten was born in St. Louis, Missouri, and received her B.A., History of Art at Brandeis University in 1972. She is presently working on a doctoral dissertation on the architectural theory of César Daly at the Fogg Museum, Harvard University. She wrote the text of the catalogue for the exhibit "The Architecture of the Ecoles des Beaux-Arts," held at The Museum of Modern Art in 1975, and contributed to the forthcoming book The Architecture of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts *(MIT Press).*

Anthony Vidler
Anthony Vidler was born in England in 1941. He was educated at the University of Cambridge where he received a degree in architecture. Since 1965 he has taught at Princeton University, where he now holds the position of Associate Professor. He is also a Fellow of the Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies.