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The Architecture of Paris

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The City of Light has long been an architectural innovator and showcase for France and her rulers. A site of strategic importance since the 3rd century BC, Paris flourished under the Romans, but subsequent Barbarian invasions meant that comparatively little remains of her Antique splendour. In the 6th century AD the Merovingian kings made Paris the seat of the realm, a status the city has retained bar the odd interruption throughout the centuries. By the 12th century, Paris was established as a political, economic, religious and cultural capital.

Each epoch has left its mark on Paris: the churches of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, the aristocratic *hôtels particuliers* of the 17th and 18th centuries, and the apartment, railway, industrial and office buildings of the 19th and 20th. A centralization of power in the capital long ensured that Paris received more than its fair share of attention from princely »architectes manqués«, from the Bourbons through the Napoléons to Président Mitterrand. Baron Haussmann's recasting of the city in the image of Napoléon III became the model of its age for urban development, and the phenomenon of the presidential »grands projets« in the 1980s and early 1990s provoked comment the world over. When not directly shaping the fabric of Paris themselves, its rulers have always kept tight control over the activities of others, with the result that Paris has developed under some of the strictest building regulations of any major city. Despite Paris's much vaunted reputation as the cultural salon of Europe, a certain suspicion towards foreign architectural imports has characterized its development, and outside influences have always been adapted to local needs and indigenous modes of expression, a tradition which carried on until the post-war era and arguably continues today. The last decades of the 20th century have witnessed a rush to modernize and adapt a crumbling fabric to the exigencies of the electronic age.

Andrew Ayers studied at the Bartlett School of Architecture and Planning, University College London, and now lives in Paris.

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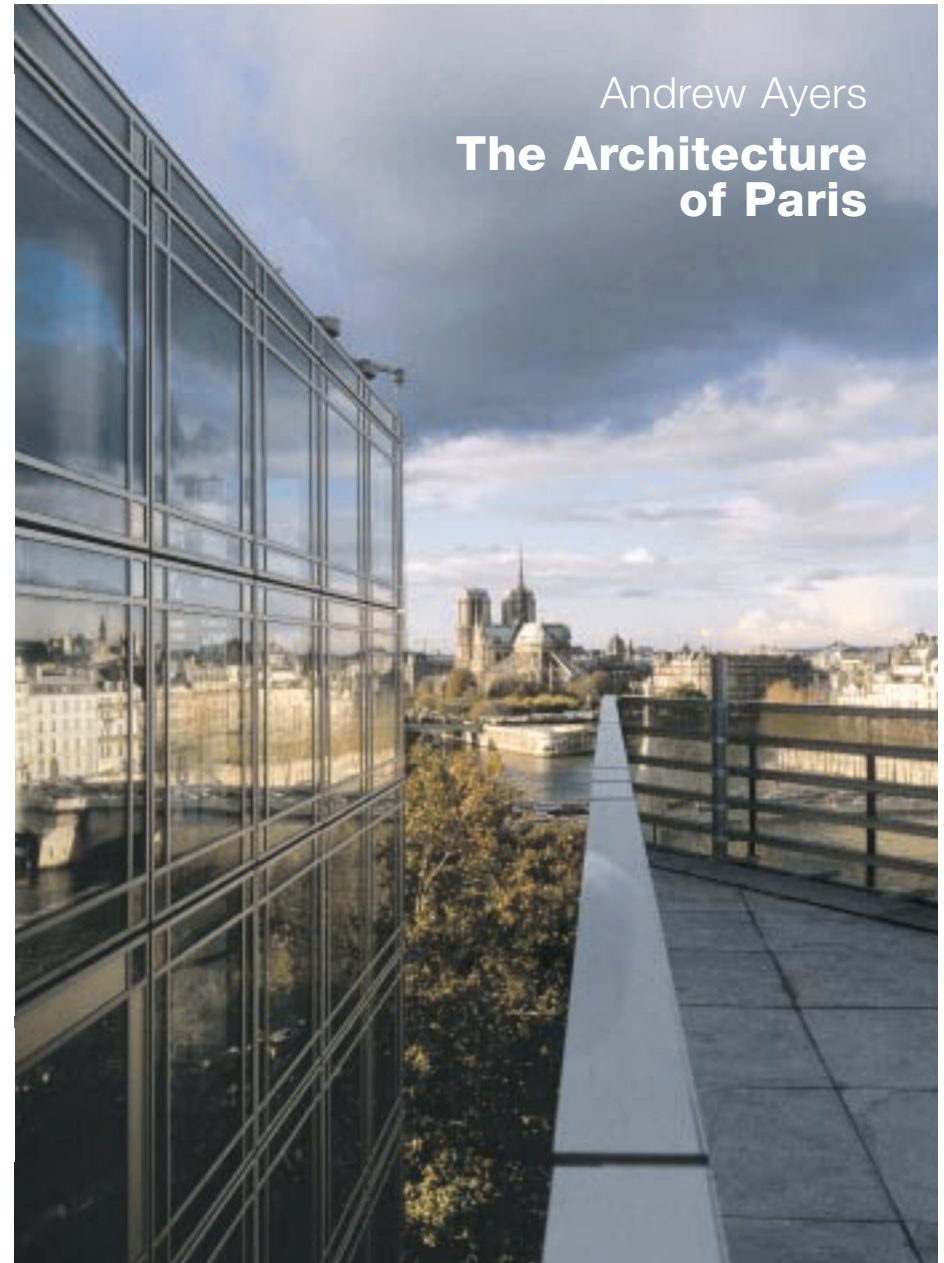
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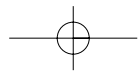
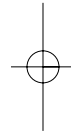
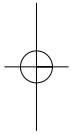
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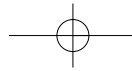
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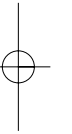
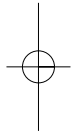
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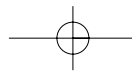


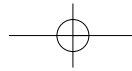
Andrew Ayers

The Architecture of Paris
An Architectural Guide



Edition Axel Menges





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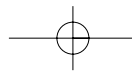
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Foreword

The Architecture of Paris does not set out to be a comprehensive survey of the city's buildings, but is rather a careful selection of some of the more interesting architectural sights to be found in Paris and its hinterland. Where wide coverage often results in frustratingly brief entries, the aim here was to provide more detailed – and thus with any luck more satisfying – analysis of a limited number of sites and buildings. Selection criteria included: works internationally recognized for their excellence, whether anonymous – e.g., Notre-Dame (4.2), Saint-Denis (21.2) – or by »greats« such as Pierre Lescot, François Mansart, Ange-Jacques Gabriel, Auguste Perret, Le Corbusier, etc.; some early or lesser works by such masters; lesser buildings that illustrate particular Parisian or French architectural trends and tendencies; »monuments« that through their great size or impact indelibly modify the cityscape; buildings whose great antiquity makes them interesting in the Parisian context; sites and buildings that illustrate particular type-forms, such as industrial structures, department stores, apartment buildings, etc.; and, last but not least, a handful of curiosities and eccentricities. Furthermore, since this is a guide to a *city*, the definition of »architecture« was widened to include urban infrastructure such as parks, cemeteries, street furniture, and so on.

Although writing is generally a very solitary activity, still it would not be possible without others' help. The author would like to thank Michael Robinson for setting the whole thing up, the staff of the Centre de Documentation du Pavillon de l'Arsenal, Axel Menges and Dorothea Duwe, the publishers, for their patience, and all the friends who have offered advice, support and practical aid (especially David Bundy for his I. T. input). Warm thanks are also due to the following architects and institutions who supplied images for reproduction in the book: Tadao Ando, Paul Andreu, Architecture Studio, Pierre Du Besset and Dominique Lyon, Ricardo Bofill, Michel Bordeau, Frédéric Borel, Centre Culturel d'Art Georges Pompidou, C+H+ (Paul Chemetov, Borja Huidobro), Philippe Chaix and Jean-Paul Morel, Jean-Paul Deschamps, François Deslaugiers, Adrien Fainsilber, Massimiliano Fuksas, Franck Hammoutène, Christian Hauvette, Michel Kagan, Pablo Katz, Michel Macary, Richard Meier, Xavier Menu, Marc Mimram, Jean Nouvel, Office for Metropolitan Architecture, Renzo Piano Building Workshop, Christian de Portzamparc, Richard Rogers Partnership, Patrick Rubin, Francis Soler, Bernard Tschumi, Charles Vandenhove, Manuel Nuñez Yanowsky, and Aymeric Zublena.

How to use this guide

The Architecture of Paris is intended for use in the field as well as the armchair, and is hence organized geographically for practical convenience. Arbitrary though they are, the current French administrative divisions have been used: the 20 *arrondissements* of the Ville de Paris, and the different *villes* and *communes* surrounding Paris proper (whose names are generally those of the villages they once were). The entries are divided into four sections: the first covers Paris *intra muros* by *arrondissement*; the second is devoted to the city's near suburbs (within a 25 km radius), starting to the north of Paris and working round anticlockwise; the third section proposes a couple of excursions further afield; while the final part of the guide is devoted to »themed« entries covering subjects that do not fall into particular geographical divisions: the bridges of the Seine, the Métro, street furniture, and so on. Within each *arrondissement* or *commune*, entries are arranged according to approximate geographical sequence; public-transport details (Métro, bus, train or tram) appear at the head of each entry. To find your way around the region, buy one of the pocket street maps of Paris and its suburbs (*banlieue*), which are readily available from kiosks, newsagents and bookshops.

A glossary is provided at the end of the guide, giving definitions of French words and expressions not usually used in English and therefore not to be found in an English dictionary. Also included are definitions of some of the more obscure architectural terminology employed. American and Canadian readers should note that the European system of counting floors has been used, i.e., ground floor, first floor, second floor, etc. »First floor« should thus be read as »second floor« in North-American usage, »second floor« as »third floor«, and so on.

If you are planning to visit Paris in September, look out for the Journées du Patrimoine (Open House Days), which usually take place one weekend towards the middle of the month. Many buildings not normally open to the public take part. The Ministry of Culture publishes a list of participating sites a couple of weeks in advance – try their website, www.culture.fr.

Introduction

With nearly 11 million inhabitants (10,925,000 according to the 1999 census) and a gross domestic product higher than those of Australia, the Netherlands and India, the Paris region is continental Europe's biggest metropolis, ranking somewhere around 18th world-wide in terms of population and fifth in the EU's league table of GDP per capita. At the centre of this vast conurbation, known as the Ile-de-France, is the Ville de Paris itself, which today counts around 2.1 million inhabitants. A few more vital statistics will help to get the measure of the place: nearly 19% of France's population lives in the Paris region, 22% of its jobs are to be found there, 28% of the country's riches are produced there and a quarter of its students study there. As for the role of the Ville de Paris within the conurbation, it is home to 40% of the region's jobs, ensuring that every day over 1 million commuters descend on the city centre, and is the principal tourist attraction of a country that proudly claims the title of «World's No. 1 Tourist Destination». For as well as a modern megalopolis, Paris is also a historical treasure trove, few other cities of its size having managed to conserve so much of their pre-20C fabric. Over 1,500 years' worth of rich and frequently world-class architectural history is to be found there.

View from the Eiffel Tower



8 Introduction

One of the fundamental factors to influence the character of a town or city is of course the materials used to build it, and Paris has its own unique set of particularities. Until well into the 17C, much of the city was constructed from wood, which was by far the cheapest available material given the abundant forests of the Ile-de-France. There were also copious stone deposits, Paris being blessed with beds of warm, honey-coloured limestone whose cheery hues are one of the most striking characteristics of today's city. Until the 14C, all Paris's stone needs were supplied locally (many quarry tunnels can still be found underneath the 14th *arrondissement*), but as of the 15C other types of stone began to be brought in from elsewhere. Until the 17C, the principal edifices built entirely of stone were churches, fortifications, palaces and aristocratic *hôtels particuliers*, although the wealthier of the merchant classes could also afford all-stone houses. By Louis XIV's time, prosperity had grown to the extent that streets of entirely stone-fronted buildings began to appear. Those who could not afford ashlar built wood or rubblestone structures, perhaps with stone bases, quoins and window surrounds. Since the Paris region was rich in gypsum deposits, which were exploited from Antique times onwards to produce plaster (see 19.2), non-ashlar structures were traditionally protected with a layer of render. Much of today's city outside of the «beaux quartiers» remains stucco-fronted, and modern constructions are often given a plaster coating so as to blend in with the

existing fabric. The Ile-de-France also contained clay deposits, but apart from a brief period of favour in the first half of the 17C, brick was little used in Paris, essentially because stone, which came to be considered the more noble material, was as readily and cheaply available. Clay was for a long time used to make roof tiles, but during the 17C, again as a consequence of taste, slate became the preferred roofing material, even though it had to be imported from outside the region. The spectacular technological developments of the 19C and 20C entirely overturned the traditional palette of materials, with iron, steel, zinc (for roofing), brick and, from the early-20C on, concrete becoming ever more present. Until the mid-20C, however, limestone remained the favoured facing material within Paris's richer *quartiers*, although it was no longer regional but national production that supplied the demand. Today glass seems to have become the pet cladding material of contemporary architects working in Paris.

Paris before the second millennium

The cradle of modern-day Paris was the Ile de la Cité (4.1), a then 9 ha island in the middle of the Seine that was colonized in the 2C BC by the Parisii, a Celtic tribe that probably migrated there from the Rhinelands. Although today's city bears their name, the settlement was originally known as Lutetia. Control of the Ile de la Cité meant control of the river and all the traffic and merchandise that passed along it; this, in tandem with the natural resources available in the region, made the Parisii extremely prosperous. It was not, however, for Lutetia's wealth that the Romans conquered the settlement in 52 BC, but rather for its strategic importance as a gateway to the north. The Roman occupation lasted four centuries, during which time the Celtic village was entirely transformed into a Roman town. The forum, baths, theatres and main areas of housing were situated on the Left Bank, while the Ile de la Cité was home to the principal administrative edifices (including the governor's palace (see 1.1)). Roman Lutetia still makes itself felt in modern-day Paris through the two major monuments it left behind (the Arènes (5.11) and the Thermes (5.3)) and in certain aspects of the city's street plan. Thus the north-south-running Rue Saint-Jacques (5th) corresponds to the old Roman *cardo* (principal street) on the Left Bank, the Petit Pont and the Pont Notre-Dame (see feature on Seine bridges) still cross where the two Roman bridges crossed, and the Rues Saint-Martin and du Faubourg Saint-Martin (4th, 3rd and 10th) follow the old Roman road that connected Paris to the north.

By the second half of the 3C, the decline of the Roman Empire began to be felt in Lutetia through the increasing number of Barbarian attacks, and the population retreated to a certain extent to the Ile de la Cité, which was fortified by the building of an enormous wall around its perimeter. The empire's hold on Paris finally collapsed in the late-4C. Relatively little is known of Paris's history during the 5C, although in 451 Saint Ge-

nevève is supposed to have saved the town from Attila the Hun. She is also credited with building the shrine that would later grow into the powerful Abbaye de Saint-Denis (21.2). By the turn of the 6C, Paris had become part of the Merovingian kingdom of the Franks, and in 508 King Clovis made the city the seat of his realm. Christianity had come to Paris in the mid-3C and firmly established itself during the 4C, but under the Merovingians it truly flourished with the building of numerous religious edifices. Many of today's ecclesiastical buildings owe their origins to the Merovingians, for example Notre-Dame (4.2), which stands on the site of the old Merovingian cathedral of Saint-Etienne, the Panthéon (5.8), which was built to serve the Abbaye Sainte-Geneviève founded by Clovis, and Saint-Germain-des-Prés (6.4), which was founded by Clovis's son Childebert I. The Merovingians were succeeded by the Carolingians in the 7C, and Paris lost its pre-eminence to Aachen, where Charlemagne fixed his court. The city entered a period of relative decline, exacerbated in the 9C by devastating Norman raids, which again caused the population to retreat to the Ile de la Cité. It was not until the end of the 10C that stability returned, and henceforth the town would expand principally onto the Right Bank rather than the Left.

Medieval to Renaissance Paris

In 987, Hugues Capet, Comte de Paris, was elected king of the tiny realm that then constituted «France», making the city central to the kingdom's affairs. Throughout the 11C, Paris gradually picked itself up from the ruins and expanded in territory and importance. A measure of its success can be got from the fact that this period saw the construction of the city's first defensive wall on the Right Bank. Today almost nothing survives of 11C Paris, although many of the city's churches owe their origins to 11C architects and a good number of its outlying abbeys were rebuilt or extended at this time. Among them was Saint-Germain-des-Prés, which is one of the few to conserve anything of its 11C structure today. Although Norman architecture was very influential on the Paris region (Normandy being the great church- and abbey-building power of the time), Saint-Germain exhibits certain characteristically Francilien features that depart from the Norman model – most notably its thin walls – whose use would pave the way for the development of Gothic architecture in the following century. Saint-Martin-des-Champs (3.10), another abbey rebuilt in roughly the same period, marks a further step towards the development of early Gothic.

While the 11C had been a time of economic growth and physical expansion for Paris, the 12C proved to be the most glorious period in the city's history to date. Architecturally it was marked by the flowering of early Gothic, the debut of a building revolution that began in Paris and the Ile-de-France and later spread across most of Europe. The most important early-Gothic edifices in the Paris region were Abbot Suger's choir at

Saint-Denis, which continued the line of experimentation begun at Saint-Martin-des-Champs, and, of course, the cathedral of Notre-Dame, which was begun in the 1160s to replace the old and inadequate Saint-Etienne. The power and expansion of the church in Paris made the city a centre of scholarship and learning, leading to the development of the Latin Quarter with its many colleges, which, by the turn of the 13C, had joined forces to become Europe's principal university, ahead of Bologna and Oxford. It was during the reign of Philippe II Augustus (1180–1223) that Paris reached the apogee of its power, for two principal reasons. Firstly, the king fixed administration of his kingdom in the city, making it a capital in the modern sense of the word, with all the economic and urbanistic benefits this status implies. Secondly, Philippe vastly extended his realm, making it, and by default his capital, extremely wealthy. As a result, by the end of his reign, Paris had expanded to become the Occident's biggest city, growing from approximately 25,000 inhabitants in 1180 to over double that figure by 1220. Tangible expression of this growth was provided by Philippe's new city fortifications, built much further out than the 11C walls, whose battery of defences included the impregnable donjon that was the original Louvre (1.8). But despite its riches almost nothing now remains of Philippe's city, apart from certain portions of the original medieval street plan that survive in the central *arrondissements*. Likewise, the Paris of his illustrious successor, Louis IX (reigned 1226–70) is no more, bar edifices such as the refectory of Saint-Martin-des-Champs and the palace chapel of Saint-Germain-en-Laye (see 28.1), and the major monuments that are Notre-Dame's splendid filigree transept fronts, Saint-Denis's luminous nave and the extraordinary, glass-walled Sainte-Chapelle (1.2). These latter three realizations mark the development of the Rayonnant style, the Paris region's answer to »High-Gothic« architecture, with their perfection and paring down of the Gothic structural system to a vaulted stone skeleton defining glass-filled voids. Philippe IV the Fair's reign (1285–1314) left us with a secular Gothic monument in the form of the Salle des Gens d'Armes in the Palais de la Cité (1.1).

Paris continued to grow exponentially throughout the 13C and early-14C, and by 1328 its population may well have been over 200,000 souls, four times its level just a hundred years before. To put this figure into a wider context, Venice, Genoa and Florence hovered just below 100,000 inhabitants at the time, while other big French towns only counted between 20,000 and 50,000 people. The peace and burgeoning trade that had led to Paris's supremacy would be shattered over the next century by the interminable Hundred Years' War (c. 1338–1453), fought between the English and French monarchies for control of France. As a result, many of the surviving monuments from this period are military, such as Jean the Good's additions to the Palais de la Cité and Charles V's Châteaux de Saint-Germain-en-Laye (28.1) and de Vincennes (34.2). Charles was

also responsible for construction of a new city wall on the Right Bank, further out than Philippe Augustus's, which still makes itself felt today in the course of the *grands boulevards* (see below), and of which the infamous Bastille was a part. The few remaining aristocratic *hôtels particuliers* of the period, such as the Hôtel de Clisson (see 3.5) and the Tour Jean-sans-Peur (2.1), reflect the troubled times in which they were built through their heavily fortified exteriors, a characteristic that persisted as late as the 1490s in buildings like the Hôtel de Sens (4.6).

By the end of the Hundred Years' War, due to both the conflict and the plague epidemics that swept across Europe during this period, Paris's population had fallen to between 80,000 and 100,000, half its early-14C level. Many simply quit the city, including the court, which migrated to the Loire valley. With the peace that followed defeat of the English, however, growth and prosperity returned, and by 1500 Paris had regained a population level of around 200,000, which rocketed to nearly 350,000 by the mid-16C. The years 1450–1550 were a period of rebuilding and expansion, and many of the city's churches were either partly or entirely reconstructed at this time. Under English influence, Rayonnant High Gothic had mutated into the even more pared-down but also much more decoration-orientated Flamboyant style, good examples of which can be seen at the Tour Saint-Jacques (4.12), Saint-Merri (4.13), Saint-Gervais-Saint-Protais (4.10), Saint-Nicolas-des-Champs (3.9) and Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois (1.6). That the Flamboyant style was not just a question of churches is demonstrated by the splendid Hôtel de Cluny (5.4). Where the mass of the people was concerned, however, the French capital remained a medieval, half-timbered city, of which next to nothing now survives.

François I's reign (1515–47) would prove decisive for Paris's future, since the king brought the court back to the city. As a result, he began a whole spate of château building in the Paris region, concentrating his efforts to the west of the capital around the area's many hunting forests, which included the Bois de Boulogne (29.1). This was to have lasting repercussions on the city's development, since instead of building their homes in the capital's east, as they had done in the later medieval period when the court was fixed at Vincennes, Paris's ruling classes began to move westwards. Today the city still preserves a noticeable divide between the rich, *haut-bourgeois* west and the more working-class east, although the municipality has done much to blur the distinction over the last 30 years through post-industrial gentrification schemes. The reigns of François I and his son, Henri II, saw the beginnings of a tentative French Renaissance, which, where architecture was concerned, was mostly a question of applying Classicizing decoration to medieval building types. Good Paris-region examples of early French Renaissance buildings include hybrid efforts such as Saint-Eustache (1.21), Saint-Etienne-du-Mont (5.7), the Hôtel Carnavalet (see

3.1), the rebuilt Château de Saint-Germain-en-Laye and the Château d'Ecouen (23.1), and the much more accomplished Fontaine des Innocents (1.23) and Lescot wing of the Louvre. The Château de Fontainebleau (38.1) was important for its Italianizing innovations in interior décor. 16C Paris also saw a change in the way the city was perceived, again under the influence of Italian ideas, with urban aesthetics becoming a matter for royal and municipal concern. Prior to the Renaissance period, »urbanism« in the French capital had been a question simply of practicalities such as the improvement of river crossings and traffic circulation, the avoidance of fires, the amelioration of hygiene, and so on. As of 1500, however, urban embellishment projects began to be implemented, such as the widening and regularization of façades in the Rue de la Juiverie (1508, since demolished), the straightening out of the Rue d'Autriche in front of the Louvre (c. 1528), and Charles IX's 1564 decree that redevelopment of the Hôtel de Tournelles as housing be effected using standardized, repeating façades (as indeed it was, but under Henri IV and as the Place des Vosges (see below)). This interest in Paris's general physical appearance would gather ever greater momentum over the centuries that followed, reaching its apogee in the Second Empire under Baron Haussmann (see below).

During the latter half of the 16C, Paris was once again beset by armed conflict, this time the Wars of Religion that opposed France's Catholic majority against its Protestant minority. Economically the city went into steep decline, and its population dropped significantly.

The age of absolutism – from Henri IV to the Revolution

Once Henri IV (reigned 1589–1610) had finally brought peace to France and taken possession of his capital, Paris's population levels picked up again, and at Henri's death stood at around 300,000. Enlightened despot that he was, Henri set about improving and embellishing the medieval city he had inherited, although his reign was too short for the realization of all his plans. Nonetheless he left us with the splendid Place des Vosges (4.19) – probably Europe's first entirely regular square, a new urban type-form that would go on to have a long history –, the imposing ensemble formed by the completed Pont Neuf (see feature on Seine bridges) and the Place Dauphine (1.3), and the model sanatorium that was the Hôpital Saint-Louis (10.4). Henri's reign also marked a further step towards the centralization of France's administration that would culminate in the absolutism of Louis XIV, a development of direct benefit to the capital since it was there that the necessary state machinery was concentrated. Consequently, the 17C saw the emergence of a new »middle-class in the form of the *noblesse de robe*, who built fine *hôtels particuliers* in the Marais, Paris's traditional aristocratic *quartier* (situated in today's 3rd and 4th *arrondissements*). Over the course of the 16C, the *hôtel particulier* had begun to take on standardized form,

models such as the Hôtel Carnavalet and Philibert de l'Orme's house (see the Hôtel de Donon, 3.2) setting the trend. But it was in the 17C, in tandem with the flowering of French Classicism, that the *hôtel particulier* took on its definitive form, which would be reproduced *ad infinitum* until the end of the *ancien régime*. Paris has been lucky to conserve many fine examples, and the evolution of the type-form can be traced through buildings such as the Hôtel Lamoignon (4.18), the Hôtel de Sully (4.20), the Hôtel Tubeuf (2.3), the Hôtel d'Avaux (3.7) and the Hôtel de Guénégaud (3.6).

A study of the *hôtel particulier* would also provide a good introduction to the development of French Classicism during the 17C, although to complete the picture one must look to aristocratic and royal châteaux and to the rash of new Parisian convents and monasteries built under Louis XIII (reigned 1610–43) and Louis XIV (reigned 1643–1715) in response to the Catholic Counter Reformation. Where châteaux were concerned, the century saw the emergence of a specifically French type that combined certain aspects of traditional medieval fortified manors with a national interpretation of Italian Classicism. Given the capital's importance, the Paris region is of course especially rich in good examples. The trend had begun in the previous century with buildings such as Ecouen, and can be traced through edifices such as the Palais du Luxembourg (6.8), the original Château de Versailles (32.1), the Château de Maisons (24.1), the Château de Vaux-le-Vicomte (37.1) and the Château de Champs-sur-Marne (36.5). Another important 17C development, again initiated in the 16C, was the advent of the professional architect, which gave rise to a sort of »star system« of greats such as Salomon de Brosse, François Mansart, Louis Le Vau and Jules Hardouin-Mansart. It was of course these men who were responsible for many of the principal developments in the Classicization of ecclesiastical architecture over the 17C. During the 16C, the French church had rather lagged behind the civil sector where the lessons of the Renaissance were concerned, but with the advent of the Counter Reformation in France, directed from Rome itself, Italian influence became ever more palpable. One of the earliest examples was the west front of Saint-Gervais-Saint-Protais, which set the standard for all that followed. It was picked up in the Jesuits' Saint-Paul-Saint-Louis (4.7), which successfully combined local Gothic tradition with the Roman II Gesù model. This was to be the pattern for most of Paris's 17C churches, developed in buildings such as the chapel of the Sorbonne (5.5) and the Abbaye du Val-de-Grâce (5.9) and standardized by the end of the century in edifices such as Saint-Louis-en-l'Île (4.4), Saint-Roch (1.15) and Saint-Sulpice (6.5).

Louis XIV's bellicose reign made France Europe's most powerful nation, and its capital expanded to over 400,000 inhabitants. Where urbanism was concerned, the Sun King's two most important contributions to Paris's topography were the demolition of the city's medieval fortifications (see the Porte Saint-Denis, 10.1)

and the creation of a suburban centre of power at Versailles (32.1). The 1640s and 1650s had been marred by armed conflict between France's different ruling factions, but by the 1660s all opposition to central royal authority had been crushed. As a result, defence of the realm was pushed out to its frontiers, and Paris's fortifications became theoretically redundant. That the Sun King so actively pursued their demolition did not just reflect his desire to embellish the city, for depriving Paris of the ability to defend itself meant that the troublesome capital could less easily rise up against its sovereign. In 1676 Charles V's wall on the Right Bank was dismantled and replaced by what became known as the *grands boulevards*, a series of wide, tree-lined avenues. Their unprecedented breadth and regularity caused a sensation, and inspired Baron Haussmann's avenues and boulevards in the 19C. In 1704 it was the Left Bank's turn, Philippe Augustus's old walls making way for today's Boulevards de l'Hôpital, Auguste-Blanqui, Saint-Jacques, Raspail and des Invalides. In the absence of constraining fortifications, Paris was able to expand organically out across the surrounding plains. One of the factors that encouraged it to develop ever further westwards was the establishment of Louis XIV's power base at Versailles, a move largely motivated by the king's deep mistrust of the Paris mob. As of 1682, the entire court was confined to the suburbs, a tactic designed to keep the aristocracy in gilded subservience. Versailles also provided a showcase for the fruits of the state-administered artistic machine set up by Louis's chief minister, Jean-Baptiste Colbert, which was controlled through the newly founded academies and nourished by the Ecole des Beaux-Arts (see 6.1), whose importance in the development of French architecture over the next two centuries cannot be overestimated.

Despite the move of the court and government to Versailles, Paris still remained France's effective capital, in part because of its size and economic and manufacturing importance (then, as now, the city was a centre of luxury-goods production), and in part because the kingdom's administrative structures remained centred there. The capital's development under Louis XIV included both the renewal of old *quartiers* – the rebuilt Marais being one of the most striking examples – and the urbanization of entirely virgin areas, such as the Ile Saint-Louis (see 4.4 and 4.5). Greater wealth and new urban regulations meant that by the turn of the 18C the majority of Paris's medieval, half-timbered, jettied, gable-fronted houses had disappeared, new structures being in rubblestone or ashlar and presenting eaves to the street (see feature on Parisian housing 1400–1900). But the medieval system of narrow plots remained, and many of the new buildings were simply variations on an old theme, while others that appeared new were in fact medieval structures dressed up in modern garb. For despite the ever increasing awareness of the city as a reflection of the nation's prestige, and for all Louis XIV's centralized power, the crown could not intervene in

Paris to the extent it might perhaps have liked. At Versailles, at least initially, the Sun King managed to keep very tight control of the town's development (see 32.6), but state urbanism in Paris was limited essentially to a handful of isolated projects and monuments such as the Collège des Quatre-Nations (6.2), the Places des Victoires (2.2) and Vendôme (1.13), the east front of the Louvre (see 1.8), the remodelled Jardin des Tuileries (1.10), the Invalides (7.12), and the Hôpital de la Salpêtrière (13.1). Nonetheless, the combined forces of the crown, the church and the aristocracy managed to build an entirely new, Classical Paris in the 17C, whose splendour rivalled Rome's and prompted Germain Brice to publish the first ever architectural guide to the French capital in 1684 (which stayed in print until 1752). Although the era has subsequently been given the label »Baroque«, even the Paris region's grandest architectural realizations, such as Versailles or the Invalides, retained a Classical coolness and majesty that had nothing to do with the formal convolutions of Rome, France having evolved a grand manner all of its own. This was also the great age of French gardens, of which Vaux-le-Vicomte, the Tuileries and of course Versailles provide some of the most splendid examples.

Paris's population remained stable in the first half of the 18C, but climbed sharply in the second half to somewhere around 600,000 by the Revolution. The city continued to expand westwards towards Versailles, the new aristocratic *quartier* being the Faubourg Saint-Germain (today part of the 6th and 7th *arrondissements*), which superseded the Marais. On the Right Bank, financiers and the *noblesse de robe* developed the Faubourg Saint-Honoré. Despite Baron Haussmann's having knocked the Boulevard Saint-Germain bang through its middle in the 19C, the Faubourg Saint-Germain still conserves an extraordinary collection of 18C *hôtels particuliers*, many of which, due to the proximity of the Assemblée Nationale (7.4), are now home to government ministries. Again, one could trace the continuing evolution of French Classicism largely through an examination of these aristocratic residences. The early-18C saw the development of the Rococo, which was essentially a question of interior decoration (see the extraordinary Hôtel de Soubise (3.5)), although it was accompanied by greater sophistication in internal planning and a simplification of external massing and detailing, tendencies that are well illustrated in buildings such as the Château de Champs-sur-Marne, the Hôtel Matignon (7.14), the Hôtel Peyrenc de Moras (Musée Rodin, 7.13) and the Petit Luxembourg (6.9). This trend towards simplification arguably culminated in the mid century with pared-down creations such as Ange-Jacques Gabriel's Petit Trianon (32.4). The final years of the *ancien régime* were marked by a move towards ever greater neo-Classicism, most spectacularly in ecclesiastical architecture with Soufflot's extraordinary Sainte-Geneviève (now Panthéon, 5.8) and lesser, but nonetheless notable, buildings such as Saint-Philippe-du-Roule (8.7) and Saint-Louis-d'Antin (9.8). In secular

architecture men such as Gondoin (the Ecole de Chirurgie, 6.6), Brongniart, and Peyre and De Wailly (Théâtre de l'Odéon, 6.7) pushed the neo-Classical idiom ever further, although none went in quite the fantastic direction of Claude-Nicolas Ledoux (see 3.8, 8.9, 11.7 and 19.13). Likewise, the awesome neo-Classical fantasies of Ledoux's teacher, Etienne-Louis Boullée, remained unbuilt (see, nonetheless, 8.3). Where the ordinary inhabitant was concerned, the later 18C saw the emergence of the apartment building, a phenomenon linked to the ever growing tendency towards land speculation.

The spiralling indebtedness of the French crown in the 18C meant that Louis XV and XVI were largely unable to implement the kind of prestige urban projects that Louis XIV had gone in for, the century's only big state-driven schemes in Paris being Sainte-Geneviève, the Place de la Concorde (8.1), the Hôtel des Monnaies (6.3) and the Ecole Militaire (7.9). On a more minor but nonetheless significant note, the medieval houses that crowded onto Paris's bridges were demolished in the 1780s to open up views of the river. Another significant development came with the new building regulations of 1783, which established maximum building heights in relation to street width (see 1.17). One state-implemented scheme that had a profound effect on the lives of Paris's inhabitants was the tax wall, or *barrière*, built by the Fermiers Généraux around the capital in the 1780s, which defined the city's then limits (see 19.13) and was a good measure of the extent to which it had expanded (today its course can be traced in the ring of avenues known as the *boulevards extérieurs*).

Expansion and reorganization in the 19C city – Napoleon, Rambuteau and Haussmann

The turmoil of the French Revolution and its aftermath resulted in economic stagnation and a drop in Paris's population, which stood at approximately 550,000 at the turn of the 19C. Under Napoleon numbers rose dramatically and had reached 700,000 by 1817. This exponential growth continued under subsequent regimes, reaching 800,000 by 1831 and probably hitting the million mark in the mid 1840s. The capital's hinterland was still relatively sparsely populated at this time, though, with only Versailles, Saint-Germain-en-Laye and Saint-Denis counting over 10,000 inhabitants. When considering the enormous upheavals in Paris's fabric effected from the 1840s onwards, we should bear in mind that this population explosion had occurred with relatively little extension of the city's territory beyond its late-18C limits, with the result that population density approached 1,000 souls per hectare in some central *quartiers*. The cramming of this multitude into a narrow, congested street network that was still essentially medieval engendered all the appalling sanitary and traffic headaches one might imagine, including devastating cholera outbreaks in the 1830s and 1840s.

Great modernizer and reformer that he was, Napoleon (First Consul 1799–1804, Emperor 1804–14) was

well aware of the need to overhaul Paris's topography to make the city fit for modern living. He also wanted a capital that would reflect in built form the imperial glory he claimed for France and her dominions. Grandiose plans were drawn up during his reign, which included a new, monumental east–west road axis, a vast imperial palace on the Chaillot hill (see 16.7) and a new university centre on the Ile aux Cygnes (in today's 15th) grouping together the Université de Paris, the Ecole Normale, the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, the national library and the national archives. Romanizing neo-Classicism and the sophistication of the Empire style became the expression of official taste, as exemplified by the work of his preferred architects Charles Percier and Pierre-François-Léonard Fontaine (see 1.8 and 1.9). But the economic crisis of 1812 and the emperor's subsequent fall meant that few of Napoleon's urbanistic ambitions were actually realized. His principal achievements were the initial section of the Rue de Rivoli (1.11), creation of the Place du Châtelet (1.4), and a handful of new public buildings and monuments that included the Bourse (2.8), the Madeleine (8.2), the remodelled Palais Bourbon (7.4) and of course the Arc de Triomphe (16.1, which was not completed until much later in the century). Much of Napoleon's efforts concerned sanitization of what was at best a maldorous and at worst a pestilential city, and it is thanks to him that Paris's current sewer network was begun and that its putrid inner-city graveyards were replaced by modern, hygienic cemeteries outside the then city walls (see the Cimetière du Père-Lachaise, 20.2). The unrealized plans drawn up at the emperor's behest would not go to waste, since it was they that inspired his nephew, Napoleon III, and Baron Haussmann in their thorough reconfiguration of Paris in the 1850s and 1860s.

The Napoleonic era was also a time of technological change, with new stone-cutting techniques, improved cements and greater use of iron changing the way buildings were constructed. Unlike in England, iron was scarce and expensive in early-19C France, which is why all-metal structures were uncommon before the 1840s; the Pont des Arts (see feature on Seine bridges) and the Bourse du Commerce (1.20) were precocious Parisian examples. It was also under Napoleon that Paris's canals were planned, notably the Canal Saint-Martin (which runs through today's 19th and 11th *arrondissements*), although, as with so many of the emperor's schemes, it was not until after his fall that they were actually realized.

Napoleon's defeats in 1814 and 1815 meant that, for the first time since the 16C, Paris was invaded. Deprived of any kind of fortification since the 17C, the city could offer no resistance. As a result, in the aftermath of the empire and in a continent that was becoming ever more politically unstable, calls began to be heard for the building of a new city wall around Paris. This project would not become reality until 1840–44, under Louis Philippe. Known as the Thiers fortifications after the minister who pushed them through parliament, the

walls encircled the capital and its outlying villages with 94 bastions and a 250 m-wide glacis. Their presence profoundly affected the city's future development, since not only did they encourage urbanization of the villages just inside their limits (which were formally made part of Paris in 1860), but they also rendered impossible any »organic« continuity with the hinterland beyond. Today the *boulevard périphérique* (see below) has taken their place, and consequently Paris still preserves a strange separateness and discontinuity in relation to its suburbs.

During the 30 odd years between the first and third Napoleons, the character of Paris's fabric, inherited almost intact from the *ancien régime*, began to change. Many of the city's former religious houses, which had been seized by the state and sold off during the Revolution, were demolished and redeveloped speculatively. A new building-type that flourished as a result was the covered arcade (see feature on arcades and passages), initially a phenomenon of spectacular success but superseded later in the century by the department store (see, e.g., 7.15, 9.9 and 9.10). Fashionable new districts such as the »Nouvelle Athènes« and the Quartier d'Europe went up in the city's northwestern sector around the Chaussée d'Antin (8th and 9th), while the east fell ever further from grace, the *hôtels particuliers* of the Marais being divided up into tenements and work-shops. In the 1840s railways began to appear, thereby revolutionizing Paris's hinterland as new settlements and industrial installations grew up along the tracks, while the city *intra muros* added a new building type to its collection in the form of the railway terminus (see 8.5, 10.5, 10.7, 7.1 and 12.4). Indeed as the century wore on a whole host of other new public-building types began to appear in Paris: *mairies d'arrondissement* (see 10.3), libraries, post offices (see 1.19), bank headquarters (see 9.2 and 9.11) and, at the turn of the 20C, telephone exchanges (see 9.1). Factories also became a major component of the 19C townscape, but the post-industrial period of the late-20C has seen to it that very few Parisian examples now survive (see 13.4).

Architecture in the period between the two Napoleons was marked by the generalization of the apartment building, whose façades remained Classical but became ever more richly ornamented. Where churches were concerned, the neo-Classical tendencies initiated in the 18C were explored further in buildings such as Notre-Dame-de-Lorette (9.5) and Saint-Vincent-de-Paul (10.6), while at the same time a very hesitant Gothic revival began to make itself felt in France (e.g. Sainte-Clothilde, 7.3). France's medieval heritage, disdained throughout the 18C, suddenly found itself back in favour, and enormous restoration programmes were begun on edifices such as the Sainte-Chapelle, Notre-Dame and Saint-Denis. It was in this context that the French Historic Monuments Commission was founded and that modern notions of heritage and conservation were developed. The period was also noteworthy in

matters of urbanism, thanks to the interventions of Claude-Philibert Barthelot, Comte de Rambuteau. Appointed Prefect of the Seine (head of the *département* that at the time included Paris in its territory) in 1833, he began implementing a series of improvements intended to decongest the capital's outmoded street network. Alignment policies were introduced, whereby projecting façades had to be demolished to ensure that streets were the same width all the way along, and in 1841 a law was passed allowing expropriation of property by the Prefect for the purposes of widening existing streets and knocking through new ones. But Rambuteau was hindered by a modest budget (unlike his successor, Baron Haussmann, he could not get the city into debt) and his actions were thus relatively limited: two new streets were opened up on the Ile de la Cité, while on the Right Bank the Rues Rambuteau and du Pont-Louis-Philippe, the Boulevard Morland and the first section of the Boulevard de Strasbourg were cut through.

In comparison to what followed, Rambuteau's interventions pale into insignificance. During Napoleon III's Second Republic (1848–52) and Second Empire (1852 to 1870), upheavals of a scale never seen before or since changed the old fabric of Paris beyond recognition. Victor Hugo's plaintive cry »Le vieux Paris n'est plus!« (»Old Paris is no more!«) was arguably a gross understatement. It was of course the notorious Baron Haussmann, appointed Prefect of the Seine in 1853, who was the driving force behind these momentous developments. But Haussmann could not have acted without the emperor's backing, nor without the new, pumped-up expropriation laws introduced by Napoleon III in 1852. This revised legal framework also made the operation financially viable, authorizing the municipality to expropriate the land at its pre-development market price and sell it again after development for a much higher sum. Indeed, as ever, finance was at the heart of the matter, since Napoleon III believed that in order for Paris to flourish economically its infrastructure would first have to be thoroughly overhauled. There was also the equally important matter of the remodelled city's representative power, since it was intended to reflect, amplify and legitimize the ascendancy of the regime responsible for its creation. Before becoming emperor, Napoleon III had spent much of his life in exile, including a period in London where he had admired the British capital's wide, paved streets, its gas lighting, its sewer network and its splendid parks and gardens. Surpassing London on all these counts was his goal. He also, at least to start with, aimed to do something about the plight of Paris's poor, initiating France's first social housing schemes (see the Cité Napoléon, 9.4). But ultimately his policy towards the less-privileged tended towards reliance on the trickle-down effect, and many of Haussmann's Parisian improvements were really acts of gentrification, slum neighbourhoods simply being demolished and the problem displaced elsewhere (generally to the outer, industrialized *arrondissements* or to the industrial areas

springing up in the suburbs, such as at Saint-Denis). The most notorious example of slum clearance occurred on the Ile de la Cité – site of some of the worst early-19C cholera outbreaks –, whose network of tiny medieval streets was entirely razed, slashing the island's population from 15,000 to just 5,000 inhabitants overnight. Demolishing the rookeries had the added advantage of wiping traditional centres of crime and civil unrest from the map.

At the basis of Haussmann's transformations was a thorough restructuring of Paris's traffic and sanitary organization. Before he came on the scene, the principal streets crossing the city from top to bottom and side to side where the Rues Saint-Jacques, Saint-Martin and Saint-Denis (north–south) and Saint-Antoine and Saint-Honoré (east–west), which, due to their extreme narrowness, were woefully inadequate for the volume of traffic they bore. Haussmann's first intervention was thus construction of the Grande Croisée (literally »Great Crossing«) which provided new, infinitely wider north–south and east–west axes in the form of the vastly extended Rue de Rivoli and the Boulevards de Strasbourg, Sébastopol, du Palais and Saint-Michel. The cross was boosted in its lateral sense by the quayside roadways, which were connected to the Croisée via the greatly enlarged Place du Châtelet. Through thoroughfares such as the aptly named Boulevard Haussmann, the Boulevard Saint-Germain and the Boulevard Henri IV, the baron aimed to extend the network of historic boulevards out as far as the Place de l'Etoile (see 16.1) in the west and the Place de la Nation in the east on both sides of the Seine, creating, in tandem with the *boulevards extérieurs*, a system of concentric rings running round the capital. He was ultimately thwarted in his aim, however, most notably on the Left Bank where the Avenue Duquesne stops dead at the Rue Eblé, never having managed to link up with the Boulevard des Invalides because of the presence of an aristocratic property that even expropriation could not touch. To link the rings together and provide rapid cross-town access, diagonals such as the Avenue de l'Opéra, the Boulevard Raspail and the Boulevard Voltaire were opened up. It was not just slum neighbourhoods that disappeared in the path of these broad new boulevards, large chunks of aristocratic and bourgeois Paris also falling to the demolition man's hammer (a few of the choice spoils ending up at the Musée Carnavalet, 3.1). On the sanitary front, Haussmann's interventions included the expulsion of Paris's abattoirs and other polluting activities from the city centre to the periphery (see 19.6 and 19.7), and a thorough reconfiguration of its water and drainage systems. Although the first Napoleon had made efforts to expand Paris's sewer network, the city remained woefully under-equipped, and consequently, under Haussmann's direction, the engineer Eugène Belgrand constructed hundreds of new kilometres of drains (by 1878 it was calculated that the city possessed some 600 km of sewers, compared to only 20 km at the turn of the 19C). Haussmann and Belgrand also saw to it

that capacity of the city's water-supply system was greatly expanded to meet the ever-increasing demand.

Much of Haussmann and Napoleon III's œuvre was an attempt to monumentalize Paris into an imperial capital, whence the taste for imposing structures placed at junctions and the end of road axes, such as the Palais Garnier (9.13), Sainte-Trinité (9.7), Saint-Augustin (8.6), and the Tribunal du Commerce (see 4.1). The new boulevards were aggrandized by the extremely strict façade regulations that governed the apartment buildings erected along them (see feature on Parisian housing 1400–1900), measures which, despite the monotony they often produced, were intended to bring dignified imperial consistency to the cityscape rather than mere uniformity. With the boulevards came wide pavements, at the time something of a novelty in the French capital, which added a host of new street furniture to the gas lighting that had begun to appear in the 1840s (see feature on street furniture). Parks and gardens were also a major component of Haussmannian Paris, the most notable examples being the remodelled Bois de Boulogne (29.1) and de Vincennes (34.1), the Parc Monceau (8.9) and the Parc des Buttes-Chaumont (19.2). Where official architecture was concerned, the era produced the »style Napoléon-III«, of which the Palais Garnier was by far the most celebrated example, although the Sénat's Salle des Conférences (see 6.8) and the Louvre-Tuileries super-palace were also noteworthy. Railways, population growth and ever-burgeoning commerce gave rise to the grand, luxury hotel, whose interiors imitated the ostentation of official taste (see 9.12). With the creation of the Boulevard Malesherbes and the Avenue de l'Impératrice (today Avenue Foch), residential development was encouraged along the Avenue des Champs-Élysées and to its north on the Plaine Monceau. These areas attracted the wealthy and the ruling classes, who, aping the imperial taste for opulent display, produced buildings such as the Hôtels de la Paiva (8.13) and Jacquemart-André (8.8). Meanwhile, the outer *arrondissements* (bar the rich 16th and 17th) became ever more industrialized.

Paris as we know it today is the direct product of Haussmann and Napoleon III's vision, all subsequent development having been coloured by their decisions. The model of urbanity they produced, developed from the French Classical tradition, was subsequently exported the world over. Despite Haussmann's reputation for destruction, his interventions caused more to be built than was torn down. Between 1853 and 1870, 27,500 houses and apartment buildings, representing some 117,000 dwellings, were demolished, but in their stead 102,500 new buildings, representing some 215,000 dwellings, went up. Until the automobile explosion of the last 30 years, Haussmann's boulevards managed to absorb all Paris's traffic needs, although the error of leaving the Halles Centrales in the city centre was long regretted for the traffic jams it produced.

The Second Republic and Second Empire also saw the flowering of the age of iron in Paris, a material that

was for a long time viewed with suspicion and considered fit only for »industrial« use. Hence iron's most spectacular incursions in the capital, outside of factories, were limited to utilitarian structures such as Eugène Flachet's record-breaking Gare Saint-Lazare (8.5) or Victor Baltard's celebrated Halles Centrales (see 1.22 and 19.6). Henri Labrousse, however, managed to introduce iron into a more »noble« building in his Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève (5.6), and as a result secured himself the commission for the iron-vaulted Bibliothèque Nationale (2.4). Theatres had long used iron for its fire resistance (see 1.16), and even a seemingly all-lapidary palace such as the Opéra Garnier was in fact constructed using an iron frame. Meanwhile, iron made a surprisingly bold eruption into ecclesiastical architecture in the form of Saint-Eugène (9.3) and was again used by Baltard at Saint-Augustin; Notre-Dame-du-Travail (14.1), however, would turn out only to be a curiosity, in part because reinforced concrete afterwards superseded iron as the preferred technology of the French construction industry. Commerce latched on to the potential of metallic construction with buildings like Au Printemps (9.9) and Société Générale's *agence centrale* (9.11). The apogee of the Parisian iron age was reached at the 1889 Exposition Universelle with two new record breakers: the fabled Galerie des Machines (Dutert and Contamin, destroyed) and, of course, the Eiffel Tower (7.8).

In 1870, at the fall of the Second Empire, Paris and its hinterland counted 1,850,000 souls, a figure that had risen to the 2-million mark by 1877 and rocketed thereafter. The population of Paris *intra muros* reached its height on the eve of WWI, when just under 3 million people were squeezed into the city's boundaries. With its suburbs the figure reached over 9.3 million, making the Paris region the world's third largest city at the time, after London and New York. While the capital *intra muros* was subject to the strict urban regulations of Haussmann and his successors, the suburbs sprang up entirely without any planning or control. Urbanistically the period was marked by the rebuilding of the monuments destroyed during the 1871 Commune (see 1.1, 1.8, 4.11 and 7.1), the continuation of Haussmann's unexecuted plans (some new streets not being completed till the 1920s), the construction of social housing (see 6.10 and 15.4), and the building of the Paris Métro (see feature on the Métro and the RER). Architecturally, besides the overwrought neo-Renaissance and crashing, Garnier-inspired neo-Baroque of many apartment buildings, theatres and official and commercial edifices (see, e.g., 2.5, 2.6, 4.11, 7.1, 8.14 and 8.15), the period saw the advent of Art Nouveau, which, in Paris at any rate, was more question of decoration than of architecture *per se* (an exception being the Samaritaine, 1.5). One of Art Nouveau's greatest French exponents was Hector Guimard, who amongst other Parisian buildings left us the Castel Béranger (16.11), his own *hôtel particulier* (16.14) and, of course, his world-famous Métro entrances. Where ecclesiastical architecture was con-

cerned, the late-19C saw the fashion for Romano-Byzantine historicism, as exemplified by the Sacré-Coeur (18.2; see also 12.12, 16.3 and 17.2). But, with hindsight, the Belle Epoque's most significant development was the invention of reinforced concrete, which, at least initially, was an entirely French affair. Amongst the pioneers of this new building method were the engineer and constructor François Hennebique and the architects Anatole de Baudot (Saint-Jean-de-Montmartre, 18.4), Auguste Perret (Rue-Franklin apartment building, 16.8, Théâtre des Champs-Élysées, 8.12), Paul Guadet (*hôtel particulier*, 16.17), and Stephen Sauvestre (factory building and bridge at the Chocolaterie Menier, 36.6).

Paris since WWI

Where the Paris region's demographics are concerned, the last 90 years have witnessed a phenomenon of population loss in the city *intra muros* – 2.9 million in 1921, 2.7 million in 1965 and 2,152,000 in 1990 – and massive population growth in the city's suburbs and hinterland: the immediate suburbs (known as the *petite couronne*) now count 6.1 million inhabitants, while a further 2.7 million are to be found in the wider hinterland (the *grande couronne*). In the interwar period, while Paris proper stagnated, the suburbs literally exploded: where, in the period 1850–1914, c.3,000 ha of land had been developed, in the ten years from 1920–30 over 15,000 ha of countryside (twice the surface area of Paris *intra muros*) were swallowed up by building, without any masterplan to oversee the process. The depressing sprawl that characterizes much of Paris's hinterland today was the result. Amongst the newly developed areas were industrial suburbs such as Boulogne-Billancourt (see 29.6) and Issy-les-Moulineaux.

In Paris, the major urbanistic development was the demolition of the 19C fortifications, which were replaced with a ring of social housing, parks and sports facilities (see the Cité Universitaire, 14.8). Where architecture was concerned, the period was of course marked by the emergence of the Modern Movement and the development of the International Style. Concrete was the miracle material that inspired much of the era's architectural invention, as well as becoming one of the staple building materials of the industrial sector. Where the architectural *avant garde* was concerned, the two key players on the Parisian scene were Perret, who built what was probably the world's first raw-concrete church (Notre-Dame du Raincy, 35.1) and also developed a highly original »concrete Classicism« (see, e.g., 13.12, 16.6 and 16.9), and, of course, Le Corbusier. As the city where he was based, Paris is particularly rich in Corbusian buildings and possesses some of the most famous, including the Villa Savoye (25.2), the Villa Stein-de Monzie (31.1), the Pavillon Suisse (14.10) and the Maisons Jaoul (26.2). Other Parisian Modernists of the inter-war period included Robert Mallet-Stevens (16.2 and 16.12), Pierre Chareau (7.17) and Jean Ginsberg (16.15 and 16.16). But the mass of build-

ing in the French capital remained essentially conservative, either reproducing the heavy Classicism of the Belle Epoque or dressing up 19C building types in jazz-age streamlining (1.5, 2.10, 8.11) or Classically inspired, moderne garb (7.6, 12.13, 16.4, 16.7 and 29.5).

Thanks to General von Choltitz, who could not bring himself to carry out Hitler's order to destroy Paris, the city emerged from WWII more or less intact. Much of the rest of France had not been so lucky, however, and a general reconstruction plan was drawn up, which also took into account the Paris region's future development. The 1950s were the era of zoning projects in the capital's hinterland that included the *grands ensembles* (vast Modernist housing estates) and the business district of La Défense (27.1). Then, in 1965, a proper masterplan was at last drawn up for the Ile-de-France: the Schéma Directeur d'Aménagement et d'Urbanisme. One of its most significant recommendations was the creation of five new towns encircling the capital (see Marne-la-Vallée, 36.1), which have gone on to absorb 55% of the region's population growth in the last quarter century. The 1960s and 1970s were also a time of huge transport developments programmed by General de Gaulle's government to make the agglomeration work logistically. They included the suburban train network, the RER (see feature on the Métro and the RER), the urban ring motorway known as the *boulevard périphérique*, the *voies express* running along the banks of the Seine in central Paris, several motorways radiating out of the capital to link it to the provinces, and of course the city's two major airports, of which the first was Orly in the south (Henri Vicariot, 1957–61) and the second Roissy Charles-de-Gaulle in the north (22.1). Today transport has become a major headache for the region, with saturated airports (there is talk of building a third one but nobody can agree on where to put it), congested roads (17 million car journeys are made per day in Paris and the Ile-de-France, compared with 3.5 million in 1960), and equally congested public transport: during rush hours in the capital, 80% of journeys are assured by the RATP and the SNCF. As a result of the exponentially growing traffic, pollution has become a significant issue in the region.

As far as Paris *intra muros* is concerned, the central part of the city remains today essentially as it was in the 19C, apart from the redevelopments of Beaubourg (see 4.15) and Les Halles (see 1.22). Half of Paris's current housing stock dates from the period 1850–1914, against a third built since 1945. It is the city's peripheral *arrondissements* that have changed the most, their redevelopment having been the result either of the renewal of sub-standard 19C housing or of post-industrial clean-up and land reclamation. Large swathes of the 13th, 15th, 19th and 20th *arrondissements* were comprehensively redeveloped in the 1970s and 1980s, while the last two decades have witnessed redevelopment of the former Citroën factories in the 15th (see, e.g., the Parc André-Citroën, 15.8), creation of the Parc de La Villette (19.7) and related projects on the site of former

abattoirs in the city's north, and the enormous ZACs Bercy (12.7) and Paris-Rive-Gauche (13.2) in the east. In tandem with this rebuilding programme came the renovation of Paris's historic *quartiers*, the most spectacular transformation taking place in the Marais, whose restoration was begun in the 1960s when the then culture minister, André Malraux, declared the area a conservation zone. Unlike London, Paris has remained subject to firm building-height restrictions, at least where the city centre is concerned; towards the periphery the rules were frequently bent in the 1960s and 1970s for projects such as La Défense and the redevelopment of the outer *arrondissements*. The most notorious waiver concerned the Tour Montparnasse (15.1), whose central positioning provoked a public outcry. Since the presidency of the resolutely anti-tower Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, however, there have been no more waivers (the case of the Institut du Monde Arabe, 5.13, is particularly revealing). Devolution of power in 1977, which gave Paris an elected mayor and greater control of its own destiny, has helped produce an ever-increasing complication of building regulations in the city (see, e.g., 20.3).

Architecture throughout this period has been characterized by its internationalism; buildings are much less region- and city-specific than ever before, although the weight of the past in Paris is so strong that the city has been able to absorb this development without losing anything of its very specific character. The last 50 years in France have of course been dominated by Modernism and all its variations and fall-out effects. One of the more minor strands in Paris was Brutalism, which, although it arguably originated in the French capital with buildings like Le Corbusier's Maisons Jaoul and Maison du Brésil (14.9), had much more impact elsewhere. The brave new »High«-Modernist era of the 1950s and 1960s produced such politically or technically utopian Parisian schemes as the UNESCO building (7.10), the C.N.I.T. (27.3), Jussieu (5.12), the Parc des Princes (16.18), the C.A.F. building (15.11), and Oscar Niemeyer's French Communist Party Headquarters (19.1), as well as spawning the towers of La Défense and Montparnasse and countless boring, banal, horizontally accented, balconied apartment buildings. Since the late 1970s, the reaction against High Modernism (whose excesses were both celebrated and deliciously sent up in Jacques Tati's 1967 film *Playtime*, set in an *après-Plan-Voisin* Paris) has taken the form of increased respect for the 19C Haussmannian city. This change of heart was in large part triggered by the much-lamented destruction of Baltard's iron pavilions at Les Halles. Where housing was concerned, one of the most talked-about products of this shift in sensibility was Christian de Portzamparc's Rue-des-Hautes-Formes social-housing scheme (13.10), which proposed an alternative to the slab blocks and towers with which the 13th *arrondissement* had up till then been redeveloped. In the decade that followed a certain school of municipality-commissioned, vaguely Purist-inspired architecture began to

emerge, characterized by its orthogonal, formal complexity and ubiquitous white tiling. Postmodernism in its kitsch, revivalist forms had relatively little impact in France, apart from the phenomenon that was Ricardo Bofill and his gigantic neo-Classical housing schemes (see 14.2 and 36.2). The search for an alternative to the High-Modernist slab block that would work in the Haussmannian context, coupled with the ever-increasing complexity of Parisian building regulations, has produced some very inventive, context-conscious apartment buildings over the last 20 years: examples include Architecture Studio's Rue-du-Château-des-Pentiers social housing (13.9) and Rue-de-l'Orillon sheltered housing (11.2), Renzo Piano's Rue-de-Meaux social housing (19.14), Massimiliano Fuksas's Candie-Saint-Bernard redevelopment (11.6), a trio of apartment buildings from Frédéric Borel (11.3, 20.1 and 20.5), Herzog & de Meuron's Rue-des-Suissees social-housing scheme (14.13) and Michel Bourdeau's »Couple-Plus« building (20.3).

Perhaps, as some would have it, in substitution for the West's declining religions, and certainly in response to the increased leisure time that much of society now enjoys, the late-20C has seen the inexorable rise of the museum and related cultural institutions, with maybe nowhere embracing this vogue quite as much as Paris. The first big project was of course the Centre Georges Pompidou (4.15) in the 1970s, which was followed in the next decade by the Musée d'Orsay (7.1), the gargantuan Grand Louvre (1.8), the Institut du Monde Arabe, the Fondation Cartier (14.4), the Cité des Sciences (19.10), and the American Center (12.9). After this frenzy of museum-building, the 1990s were inevitably a bit quieter, but still produced the revamped Musée Guimet (16.5) and the as-yet-uncompleted Musée du Quai-Branly (7.7). This rash of cultural construction of course reflected the tourist industry's significance for Paris, whose importance was both boosted and underlined by the siting of EuroDisney (36.7) in the region. The latest addition to the museum club will be the Musée Pinault (29.7) in Boulogne-Billancourt. Many of the aforementioned museums were part of the state-driven programme of »grands projets« launched by President Mitterrand's socialist government in 1981, which also included the Grande Arche de La Défense (27.4), the Opéra Bastille (12.1), the Ministère des Finances (12.5), the Cité de la Musique (19.5) and the highly controversial Bibliothèque Nationale de France (13.3). Although the architectural impact of these »grands projets« was limited, their potency as symbols of urban renewal was undeniable. In this same vein, and as a city with world-class pretensions, Paris could not remain indifferent to the late-20C phenomenon of the international architectural star system, and consequently now displays its own collection of signature projects by architects such as Tadao Ando (7.11), Frank Gehry (the American Center), Richard Meier (15.10), Bernard Tschumi (19.7 and 36.4) and, although one might not at first realize it, Norman Foster, who designed the city's bus shelters (see

feature on street furniture). Regular star contributors have included Renzo Piano and the home-grown talents of Jean Nouvel and Christian de Portzamparc. Another late-20C cultural phenomenon has been the transformation of professional sport into a global entertainment industry, which in Paris produced the giant stadia that are the Parc des Princes and the Stade de France (21.1).

One of the strands of Modernism that has caught the attention of both France's architects and its public alike is Hi-tech. In Paris, it is the Hi-tech preference for glass as an essential building material that seems to have most attracted designers. This interest can be traced back to the 1950s, in projects like the C.N.I.T. and the C.A.F. with their translucent curtain walls, and was of course boosted by the experimentation in all-glass façades in the skyscrapers of La Défense. The 1980s saw the development of bravura cable-tensed glass structures, pioneered in the greenhouses of the Cité des Sciences and in the Louvre pyramid. The dream of minimum structure and maximum glazing (famously codified in Mies van der Rohe's 1921 proposal for a skyscraper in Friedrichstraße, Berlin) has been actively pursued in late-20C Paris with buildings like the Institut du Monde Arabe, the Fondation Cartier, and the extremes of Dominique Perrault's Hôtel Industriel Berliet (13.5) and Bibliothèque-Nationale-de-France towers, and Francis Soler's colour-transfer-adorned apartment building in the ZAC Rive-Gauche (see 13.2). Even the king of PoMo himself, Ricardo Bofill, has gone in this direction with his Marché-Saint-Honoré office block (1.14). The eastern part of the city, either side of the Seine, is now being redeveloped along all-glass lines, giving rise to a crystal citadel that contrasts strangely with the plaster and stone metropolis of the centre and west. Perhaps this vogue for lean structure and maximum glazing is only a product of the region's history: this is, after all, where the skeletal stone-and-glass marvel of Gothic architecture was developed, 800 years before.

1st arrondissement

1.1 Palais de la Cité, today Palais de Justice

Boulevard du Palais

Earliest extant buildings begun c. 1240

(Métro: Cité, Pont Neuf; RER: Saint-Michel Notre-Dame)

What better place to begin a guide to Paris than here, a site continuously occupied since the Parisii tribe of Celts first settled on the Ile de la Cité (4.1), around 250 BC, and which has been of the foremost historical importance to both Paris and France for over 1,000 years? Geographically and politically, the Ile de la Cité was the heart of Paris, and the Palais, as the seat of government, was the city's secular nerve centre. Recurrently added to and rebuilt from the 11C AD right up until the early-20C, today's Palais de la Cité is an extraordinary palimpsest, a fascinating *mélange* of medieval, Louis-Seize, Second-Empire and Third-Republic buildings.

Origins of the Palais

Information on this site prior to the 11C AD is scant, but we know that during the period of Roman occupation the governor's residence was established here. Flavius Claudius Julianus, governor of Gaul from 355 until 360 AD (when he was proclaimed Roman Emperor by his troops on the Ile de la Cité), mentions the Palais in the very brief description he left of the island, and a painted room and fragments of capitals from the Roman period were uncovered during building work at the Palais in 1845. After the fall of the Roman Empire and throughout the Dark Ages, the governor's residence was occupied by the local rulers. Clovis (reigned 481 to 511), founder of the Frankish kingdom and father of the Merovingian dynasty, made the Palais the seat of his realm. After his death, it lost its pre-eminence, a result of the division of the kingdom between his sons, although it retained its royal status. The incestuous infighting of the Merovingians eventually led to their fall and the rise of the Carolingian Empire, in the second half of the 8C, when the power base moved to Aachen. It was not until 987, when the Comte de Paris, Hugues Capet, was elected king of France, that Paris and the Palais once more became of central political importance. Capet established his advisory body, the Curia Regis, in the Palais, as well as various departments of his administration.

The medieval Palais

Capet was succeeded by his son, Robert II the Pious (reigned 996–1031), who carried out extensive building work at the Palais in the early 11C. At this time the edifice consisted essentially of a quadrilateral castle defended by round towers. Robert's successors each added elements to the Palais, none of which survives today; Louis VI the Fat (reigned 1108–37) built the Chapelle Saint-Nicolas and rebuilt the keep, Louis VII (reigned 1137–80) added an oratory and built a church just outside the palace walls, while Philippe II Augustus



1.1 Palais de la Cité, today Palais de Justice. Engraving by Boisseau, 17C

(reigned 1180–1223) carried out considerable restoration and embellishment work. Philippe also made the Palais his more or less permanent home, fixing the court there and breaking with the itinerancy that had characterized his ancestors' reigns. It was Louis IX (reigned 1226–70, later canonized as Saint Louis) who built the earliest of today's surviving structures, the Sainte-Chapelle (which replaced the Chapelle Saint-Nicolas), and who was probably also responsible for the Tour Bonbec. Extraordinary when built and still astonishing today, the Sainte-Chapelle is one of France's most important surviving medieval edifices, and thus has its own separate entry in this guide (see 1.2). The Tour Bonbec is the westernmost of the four medieval towers that punctuate the Palais's northern façade, and for centuries was infamous because of the torture chamber it contained (»bon bec« means »good beak« – torture would make you open your beak, i.e. confess). Heavily restored and raised by one storey in the 19C, today's tower has little in common with the 13C original. Of Louis IX's other extensive additions to the Palais, nothing now remains.

Philippe IV the Fair (reigned 1285–1314) was as prolific in his modifications to the Palais as Saint Louis, and substantial parts of his buildings survive today. Work was carried out under the direction of his chamberlain, Enguerrand de Marigny, who was charged with rebuilding the main *logis* containing the king's quarters. The centrepiece of Marigny's interventions was the impressive Grand-Salle (c. 1302–15), which was the Palais's principle banqueting hall, a huge chamber covered by two parallel pointed wooden barrel vaults and decorated with wooden statues of the kings of France. Destroyed by fire in 1618, the Grand-Salle, which was situated at first-floor level, was rebuilt as today's Salle des Pas Perdus (see below). The original ground-floor level buildings that supported the Grand-Salle still stand, however. They are guarded on the Palais's northern façade by the twin Tours d'Argent and de César, which together form an ensemble of distinctly forbidding aspect. Immediately behind the towers is what is known

as the Salle des Gardes, a vaulted chamber heavily, and heavy-handedly, restored in the 19C. The capitals of its central pillar are thought to represent the mythic lovers Héloïse and Abélard. Leading off the Salle des Gardes is the famous Salle des Gens d'Armes, which sits immediately under the Salle des Pas Perdus. 64 m long by 27.5 m wide and rising 9 m to the apex of its stone vaults, this is Europe's largest surviving medieval-period chamber, built as a refectory for the 2,000 members of the palace staff. It is much darker today than when first completed, the windows on its southern side having been blocked by the addition of later buildings, while those on its northern and western walls are partially obscured because of the rise in ground level engendered by construction of the Quai de l'Horloge in 1580–1610. The Salle's quadripartite vaults are divided into nine bays longitudinally and four bays laterally and are supported on solid round piers decorated with foliage capitals, except the central row, which was heavily reinforced in the 19C (and consequently lost its original capitals) after one of the vaults collapsed in 1812. (The old Grand-Salle was vaulted in wood, but its replacement following the 1618 fire was vaulted in stone, the weight of which eventually proved too much for the medieval structure underneath.) Despite the clumsiness of the reinforced piers, the Salle des Gens d'Armes appears remarkably airy, and the ensemble effect of its forest of piers and soaring ribs is impressive. The rather unfortunate row of supports running in front of the eastern section of the Salle's northern wall was installed in the 19C to hold up the monumental staircase in the Salle des Pas Perdus. Set into the Salle's massive walls, the four huge fireplaces that originally heated it can be seen.

The Conciergerie

The part of the Palais comprising the Salle des Gardes and the Salle des Gens d'Armes is known as the Conciergerie, after the *concierge* (literally »warden«), whose original role as palace intendant increased over the centuries to include administration of justice over those living within the Palais's walls. The Conciergerie consequently came to be used as a prison, and later proved especially useful for holding detainees prior to their judgement by the Paris Parlement, which sat in the Grand-Chambre upstairs (the Parisian and provincial *parlements* constituted the chief judicial authority in France under the *ancien régime*). By the time of the 1776 fire, which destroyed a significant section of the Palais (see below), the Conciergerie's cells were old and dilapidated. As part of the rebuilding programme following the fire, they were entirely remodelled by Jacques-Denis Antoine and Pierre Desmaisons, and can still be seen immediately to the south of the Salle des Gens d'Armes. During the Revolution, the Conciergerie became especially infamous, serving as a detention area for the Revolutionary Tribunal. The Salle des Gens d'Armes was used as a communal jail for those who could not afford to pay for incarceration in the cells,



1.1 Palais de la Cité, today Palais de Justice

while the latter welcomed, amongst others, Charlotte Corday, Marie-Antoinette and Robespierre. Most prisoners did not stay long; the carts that took the condemned to the guillotine left from the Palais's Cour du Mai (see below), from which entry to the Conciergerie was originally gained.

The Palais under Jean the Good

Immediately north of the Salle des Gens d'Armes is the one remaining storey of the enormous medieval kitchens installed by Jean II the Good sometime around 1350. Located directly on the river, thereby facilitating the arrival of produce, the kitchens originally rose two floors, the upper level serving the Grand-Salle and the lower level the Salle des Gens d'Armes. Square in plan, the lower-level kitchen is covered by quadripartite vaulting and contains four giant hooded fireplaces, one in each corner, an arrangement common in the kitchens of medieval castles. What is unusual here is that the chimney hoods are each supported by a sort of flying buttress linking them to the nearest pier. Jean II was also responsible for the Tour de l'Horloge, the rectangular tower that defends the corner of the Palais at the intersection of the Boulevard du Palais and the Quai de l'Horloge. It is a good deal taller than its elder sisters, suggesting that it was intended as a watchtower. The original *horloge* (clock) after which it was named was installed by Jean's son, Charles V, in 1370, and was Paris's first public timepiece. It was replaced in 1585 by the current clock (which retains its 16C mechanism), the work of Germain Pilon.

Jean the Good's reign, which was dominated by the Hundred Years' War, would prove decisive for the Palais's destiny. In 1356, Jean was captured by the English at the battle of Poitiers; his son Charles was left to assume control in his stead and to raise the enormous ransom. The Parisian middle classes, who had been paying for the war through ever-increasing taxes levied by the crown, rose in revolt against a regime that itself paid nothing and, to boot, had been defeated. Events took a bloody turn in 1358 when an armed crowd, led by Etienne Marcel, leader of the city's mer-

chants, invaded the Palais, killed the Dauphin's two unpopular advisers in front of him, and forced him to wear the red-and-blue Parisian cap, while Marcel himself donned the Dauphin's own hat. Although circumstances subsequently turned against Marcel, who was killed by the mob later that year, Charles never forgot his humiliation and, on becoming king, forsook the Palais for the Louvre (1.8) and the Hôtel Saint-Pol (destroyed). Jean the Good was thus the last sovereign to reside in the Palais.

The Palais from the late-14C to the mid-18C

No longer the seat of the monarchy, the Palais nonetheless remained home to the judiciary, and it was this role that shaped its subsequent development. The Palais at this time was also home to the Chambre des Comptes (treasury) and the chancery, as well as to various other departments of the royal administration. Successive monarchs added to and embellished the Palais between the 14C and 17C, generally to supply much-needed space to the ever-growing official bureaucracy. Nothing survives from this period, swept away either by fires or by the 19C rebuilding (see below), but it is worth mentioning Louis XII's redecoration of the Grand-Chambre, in 1502, whose elaborate, pendants ceiling was so thoroughly gilded that the room became known as the *Chambre Dorée* (golden chamber). In the 19C, the memory of this room would inspire the current *Première Chambre Civile* (see below). We should also mention Henri IV's sacrifice of the Palais's garden – which formerly occupied the western tip of the island beyond the Palais's walls and which, in medieval times, had supplied the king's table – for the creation of the Place Dauphine (1.3), in 1607. Finally, it is worth giving a brief description of the Palais's external aspect during this period so that subsequent developments can be put into context. The diverse buildings that made up the Palais occupied only a part of its current site, the southern flank of the island still containing streets and houses. The thoroughfare that would become the Boulevard du Palais did not follow today's straight path, but wiggled irregularly and was fronted on its Palais side by houses, amongst which nestled two fortified medieval gatehouses accessing the palace complex. Behind this sheltering wall of dwellings was a large open space, the Palais's courtyard, which was partially divided in two by the protruding bulk of the Sainte-Chapelle. The southern section of this space, today closed off and known as the Cour de la Sainte-Chapelle, was flanked to the west by the Chambre des Comptes and to the south by further houses, while the northern part of the courtyard, known as the Cour du Mai after the May-Day ceremonies performed there every year, was delimited by the Sainte-Chapelle and the Trésor des Chartes (the crown archives) to the south, the Grand-Salle to the north, and the Galerie Mercière to the west. The Galerie Mercière, originally built to link the king's apartments to the Sainte-Chapelle, had become the principal entrance to the Palais,

accessed via a grand staircase leading off the Cour du Mai. Behind the Galerie stood Louis VI's keep, as well as various structures disposed around courtyards and stretching as far as the Rue de Harlay. The river frontage was cadenced by the medieval towers already described, between which nestled diverse buildings of mostly undistinguished aspect.

Following the 1618 fire that destroyed the Grand-Salle, Queen Marie de Médicis charged her preferred architect, Salomon de Brosse, to rebuild the chamber (now the Salle des Pas Perdus). Completed in 1626, Brosse's *salle* was itself badly damaged in the fire of 1871 (see below), and what we see today is a reconstruction of the original. Built above the Salle des Gens d'Armes and therefore of the same enormous dimensions, Brosse's *salle* remained faithful to the spirit of its Gothic predecessor, and is divided longitudinally into two barrel-vaulted halves by a row of columns, just as Philippe the Fair's chamber had been. Where the original vaults had been in wood, those of the new *salle* were in stone, pierced by oculi and enclosing sizeable fanlights in their tympana. The walls and piers supporting them are dressed up as a Doric arcade, and the impressively august result appears very Roman, both in its size and in its cold and rather severe grandeur.

The 18C rebuilding of the Palais

In 1776, another fire broke out, this time destroying the old Galerie Mercière and its surrounding structures. The disaster was used as a pretext to speed up a general rebuilding plan, and large sections of the old fabric, including the ravaged Galerie and Louis VI's keep, were demolished. Reconstruction was carried out by three architects – Jacques-Denis Antoine, Guillaume-Martin Couture and Pierre Desmaisons – in 1782–86. As well as the remodelled Conciergerie, mentioned above, the Cour du Mai was entirely rethought and regularized, and took on the form we see today. The buildings fronting the courtyard were demolished so that it was now open on its boulevard side and separated from the street only by a magnificent wrought-iron gateway, designed by Desmaisons and the ironsmith Bigonnet. The Galerie Mercière was rebuilt on its old site with a new grand staircase but, in place of its former, rather picturesque façade, it now wore an august Doric portico, which bore no pediment but was surmounted by a sizeable attic, the latter coiffed with a bulbous *toit à l'impériale*. Furthermore, lower, lateral wings, dressed on their boulevard façades with the same Doric order as the portico, closed the courtyard on both its northern and southern sides, thereby rudely obscuring the Sainte-Chapelle's northern elevation. Construction of this southern wing had also necessitated demolition of the Trésor des Chartes, which had mirrored the Sainte-Chapelle in miniature to its north. Its destruction was carried out despite the fact that it had escaped the fire untouched, and despite protests from the Sainte-Chapelle's canons, who cited the building's antiquity and historical interest in its defence.

The Revolution and the 19C rebuilding of the Palais
If the *ancien régime* was capable of such indifference to its Gothic heritage, the Revolution proved even worse. To the revolutionaries' Enlightenment-educated eyes, a building such as the Sainte-Chapelle was to be thoroughly despised, representative only of the hated Catholic church which for centuries had tyrannized the country with its lurid superstition. The Sainte-Chapelle consequently suffered badly during this period, while the rest of the Palais slowly deteriorated from lack of upkeep. By the time of Napoleon's empire, the buildings were in very poor shape. It was not until the July Monarchy, however, that a renovation and enlargement programme was finally drawn up, by Jean-Nicolas Huyot. His death, in 1840, retarded its implementation, and Louis-Joseph Duc and Honoré Daumet (sometimes spelled »Domme») were subsequently commissioned to revise and execute the rebuilding plans. It was at this point that the Chambre des Comptes and other non-judicial state institutions still housed in the Palais were moved elsewhere, leaving the way clear for the development of the Palais de Justice as we know it today. Duc and Daumet's comprehensive reconstruction programme involved the demolition and replacement of the vast majority of the Palais's existing structures as well as extension of the complex to the south, for which the houses fronting the Quai des Orfèvres were to be destroyed. Another decade would go by before work actually started, due to interminable wrangles between the newly created Commission des Monuments Historiques, which advocated respect for the context of the Sainte-Chapelle, and the architects, who intended to obtain as much extra surface area as possible by reducing the size of the Palais's courtyards. Duc thought the contemporary »craze« for the Middle Ages »outmoded and ridiculous«, a view shared by the Conseil Général de la Seine, which was financing the project, whose members considered the exterior of the Sainte-Chapelle entirely »without interest«. After the *coup d'état* of 1852, the new regime lost no time imposing its view, which was on the side of the architects and, as of 1853, the latter gained a powerful ally in Baron Haussmann, for whom the rebuilding of the Palais was a major element in his reconfiguration of the Ile de la Cité as a whole.

Duc and Daumet's Palais de Justice was to be a rationally organized judicial machine, laid out on a rectilinear basis around internal courtyards. Too bad if older, less orderly elements got in the way. Already squashed up on one side against the southern Antoine-Couture-Desmaisons wing, the Sainte-Chapelle now found itself on its other side rather incongruously adrift in a courtyard of severe and utilitarian aspect, whose alignment took no account of the older building's orientation. The Grand-Salle was more easily incorporated into the masterplan, but required the installation of a massive staircase to link it to the Tribunal de Grande Instance (district court) to the north, which, as we have seen, necessitated the introduction of a rather unfortunate

row of supports in the Salle des Gens d'Armes below.

The Tribunal de Grande Instance (TGI), which occupies the area above the Conciergerie between the Salle des Pas Perdus, the Tour de l'Horloge and the Tour César, was the first part of the new Palais to be completed, in 1859. In deference to the 13C elements framing its façades, and despite their hostility towards medievalist nostalgia, Duc and Daumet dressed up the TGI's regularly ordonnanced and rather banal elevations with various medievalizing elements: Gothic arches, heavy buttressing, stone mullions, pinnacled dormers and a tall, steep-pitched roof. The result is nonetheless rather dry. A similar formula was used for the short section of the Cour de Cassation (appeal court) that sits between the Tours d'Argent and Bonbec, although here with slightly more success. For the greater stretch of the Cour de Cassation that runs from the Tour Bonbec to the Rue de Harlay, Duc borrowed from French 17C and 18C sources, including the Louvre's Pavillon de l'Horloge which served as the model for the Cour's frontispiece. Where Duc and Daumet's work may sometimes have lacked sensitivity and inspiration, it was certainly not wanting in confidence, and nowhere is this more evident than in the Palais's Rue-de-Harlay façade, designed by Duc and inaugurated in 1869. The basic river elevations are carried round and repeated, but interrupted at their centre by a vast, nine-bay-wide *avant-corps*, whose general disposition Duc is said to have borrowed from the Temple of Dendera, in Egypt. His use of compressed arcades with engaged columns renders the composition flat, solid and rather stodgy in its monumentality. The detailing is eclectic, Italian-Renaissance motifs rubbing shoulders with Macedonian quotations, but the ensemble impresses more in its size than in its architectural qualities, as does the huge, full-height vestibule it encloses. Access to the vestibule is gained by a rather elephantine staircase that dominates the immediate foreground. If the presence of this imposing composition on such a narrow street seems surprising (and we should remember that, when the Rue-de-Harlay façade was completed, the eastern side of the Place Dauphine was still standing), it should be noted that Duc and Haussmann originally hoped to demolish the Place Dauphine and replace it with an open piazza. Had this plan been realized, Duc's composition would have dominated the riverscape for miles around.

Work on the Palais was in full swing when the Franco-Prussian War erupted, in 1870. Following the French defeat came the Paris Commune, one of the city's bloodiest periods. In addition to the thousands of human casualties, a good number of the capital's major public buildings were burned to the ground, including the Palais de Justice. Started in the Salle des Pas Perdus, the Commune fire quickly spread, destroying large sections of the Palais, including the newly finished Cour de Cassation. The vaults in the Salle des Pas Perdus collapsed along half their length, and the Salle des Gens d'Armes was only saved because a water tank



1.2 Sainte-Chapelle. After Decloux, *La Sainte Chapelle*, 1865

burst in the inferno, flooding the Palais's lower levels. Miraculously, the Sainte-Chapelle remained untouched.

Following the return to order, Duc and Daumet began the long rebuilding process, as well as continuing their expansion plans. As a result of the fire, most of the interiors we see today date from the Third Republic. One's impression moving round the Palais's circulatory spaces is of endless stone vaulted and colonnaded corridors disappearing off into infinity. The courtrooms were decorated in a heavy, rather overcharged French-Renaissance style, as was then fashionable for official commissions. Amongst them was the Première Chambre Civile, which replaced the old Grand-Chambre destroyed in the fire, for which Duc drew inspiration from the original 16C décor. Duc died in 1879, and Daumet carried on their work alone, although it was Daumet's successor, Albert Tournaire, who built the final phase of the new Palais – the Tribunal Correctionnel on the Quai des Orfèvres, erected in 1911–14. Tournaire's eclectic,

belle-époque façade is remarkable only for the oversized medievalizing tower marking its western extremity. With the completion of this wing ended the enormous rebuilding programme, after 50 years' work and expenditure of over 60 million francs, an astronomical figure in the currency of the day.

The Palais today

Covering a total of 5 ha and containing over 24 km of galleries and corridors, the Palais de Justice is currently frequented by around 15,000 people daily. Despite its immense dimensions, it is too small, and no less than four annexes have already been opened at sites all over Paris. Working conditions in the Palais are difficult, it no longer conforms to fire and building regulations, and a great deal of time is wasted travelling to and from the different annexes. At the end of 1999, the government announced its remedy: Paris's Tribunal de Grande Instance (TGI) is to be transferred from the Palais to a new *cité judiciaire*, scheduled for inauguration in 2006, which is to be built either at the ZAC Paris-Rive-Gauche (13.2) or in the 15th *arrondissement*. The departure of the TGI will allow the institutions remaining in the Palais room to breathe and expand and, once the transfer is complete, the old buildings will be entirely renovated and modernized. The Palais will remain home to the Cour de Cassation, France's highest appeal court, and will thus continue as the country's seat of justice, a role it has fulfilled for over one millennium.

1.2 Sainte-Chapelle

4, boulevard du Palais

Architect unknown, 1241(?)–48

(Métro: Cité; RER: Saint-Michel Notre-Dame)

Even amongst the other extraordinary achievements of the medieval period, the Sainte-Chapelle stands out, and its capacity to amaze remains undiminished after over seven-and-a-half centuries. It was an exceptional project commissioned by an exceptional man – the revered and popular Louis IX (reigned 1226–70), whose piety and Christian fervour ultimately resulted in his canonization, in 1297. Leader of the Seventh and Eighth Crusades, Louis attempted to establish the Capets as the foremost dynasty in Christendom, an ambition which prompted the purchase, in 1239, of what was believed to be the Crown of Thorns and other supposed relics of the Passion from the Byzantine emperor Baldwin II. Possession of the crown of the king of kings was intended to demonstrate the legitimacy of the Capetian line and its pre-eminence over other royal houses. Such a precious relic evidently required a suitable home, and to this end Louis ordered the demolition and rebuilding of the old Chapel of Saint Nicolas in the Palais de la Cité (today the Palais de Justice (see 1.1)). Begun sometime between 1241 and 1244, the Sainte-Chapelle was put up at astonishing speed and consecrated in 1248, the haste being due to Louis's impatience to embark on the Seventh Crusade. Besides its principal function of reliquary for the Crown

of Thorns, the Sainte-Chapelle was also conceived as the palace chapel of the king and the royal household.

To acquire the Crown of Thorns, Louis had paid the then-astronomical sum of 135,000 *livres*. The Sainte-Chapelle, by comparison, came cheap at only 40,000 *livres*. The name of its architect is not known with any certainty due to the total absence of documentation relating to its construction, and the craftsmen responsible for its adornment remain entirely anonymous. It was for a long time attributed to Pierre de Montreuil (designer, amongst others, of the southern-transept façade of Notre-Dame (see 4.2)), but alternative authors have since been proposed, namely Robert de Luzarches and Thomas de Cormont, whose work on Amiens Cathedral (1220s onwards) strongly resembles some aspects of the Sainte-Chapelle. We must also credit three further names for the building as we see it today: Félix Duban, Jean-Baptiste Lassus and Emile Boeswillwald, who successively conducted the massive restoration programme of 1836–63, the latter two seconded by Eugène Viollet-le-Duc. Indeed the Sainte-Chapelle is almost as much a 19C monument as it is a medieval one, so extensive was the damage it sustained over the centuries and hence so all-encompassing its renovation. Victim of several fires and also of flooding, the chapel suffered most during the Revolution when its sculptures were deliberately destroyed, its furnishings dispersed and the fabric neglected. Between the 1790s and the 1830s it served as a club room, a flour warehouse and as home to the *archives judiciaires*. By the time of the July Monarchy, the Sainte-Chapelle was in a pitiful state. Following the upheavals of France's recent past, Louis-Philippe's government attempted to reconcile the country with the legacy of the *ancien régime* and with the church. A whole campaign of restorations of châteaux and religious edifices was ultimately programmed, but, as an initial, pilot scheme, it was the Sainte-Chapelle that was undertaken. The first operation of its kind on this scale, work on the building was carried out with meticulous attention to detail, superb craftsmanship and, wherever possible, according to scrupulous archaeological principles. The lessons learnt along the way – and the craftsmen trained for the job – were put to good use in later renovation projects, including that of Notre-Dame.

Programmatic form and exterior design

In its essential programmatic form, the Sainte-Chapelle is derived from a palace-chapel type-standard that developed in the Middle Ages and which consisted of a two-storey structure containing an upper-level chapel for the nobles and a second, ground-floor chapel for the personnel. What made the Sainte-Chapelle distinctive was its added – and primary – role as a reliquary. Reliquaries were generally housed in crypts, but at the Sainte-Chapelle the shrine was placed in the king's chapel, on the upper storey. This choice was no doubt partly inspired by Louis's reluctance to hide his grade-1 relics in a dingy crypt, and also by a desire to establish



1.2 Sainte-Chapelle. Apse

a clear symbolic link between the king and Christ; indeed Louis's very personal association with the Sainte-Chapelle is illustrated by the fact that the upper chapel was originally accessed via a passageway connecting it directly to his private apartments. It was the Sainte-Chapelle's role as a shrine, moreover, that dictated both its physical form and decorative treatment: it was conceived to evoke on a monumental scale the work of goldsmiths and jewellers, whose gem-encrusted reliquary boxes were considered the highest form of church art by virtue of their association with saints and altars. These reliquary boxes were in turn inspired by religious architecture, and often resembled mini-chapels, complete with gabled arcades, pinnacles and roofs.

In its external aspect, the Sainte-Chapelle resembles just such a box, both in its proportions – the building is very compact, and, in relation to its length (36 m), is very tall (42.5 m to the roof ridgeline) – and in its ornamentation: the four bays of its nave are surmounted by richly decorated gables, like those found on Mosan shrines, as are the seven bays of its curved, east-end apse. The massive buttressing that characterizes the majority of vaulted buildings of the period (e.g., Notre-Dame) is absent from the Sainte-Chapelle; its regular

buttresses, which set the rhythm of the exterior and give it a strong vertical emphasis, appear far too slender to impede the enormous lateral thrusts of the upper chapel's high vault. The secret of the Sainte-Chapelle's sturdiness and compactness and, as we shall see, of its extraordinary fenestration, is iron. A veritable system of »reinforced stone« was employed to hold the blocks in place, each course being clamped together with iron hooks. Furthermore, two courses of iron tie rods run round the upper chapel, bracing the entire structure, with further such rods located in the roof space above the vault.

Like most religious edifices of the period, the Sainte-Chapelle was intended both to reach up towards heaven and to evoke the heavenly Jerusalem, the paradise home of the saved following the Last Judgement. Thus the vertical thrust of its buttresses is continued by richly carved pinnacles, which form a sort of celestial city of towers, while its high, steep-pitched roof is surmounted by an elaborate spire rising 34 m above the ridgeline. Put up in 1853–55, this spire is the Sainte-Chapelle's fifth: the first two were rebuilt, the third was destroyed by fire while the fourth was dismantled during the Revolution. The current structure was designed by Lassus who, in the absence of detailed documentation on the Sainte-Chapelle's original *flèches*, produced a new design in the style of the 15C. Erection of his spire, which is constructed from cedar wood, was a considerable technical feat. The result is a great artistic success and magnificently captures the spiky spirit of Gothic forms. Encrusted with crockets, finials, gargoyles and angels, it is decorated at its base with sculptures of the twelve apostles, of which the face of Saint Thomas, the patron saint of architects, was modelled on Lassus.

As in most church buildings, the west end contains the principal entrance to the edifice. A two-storey, vaulted porch fronts the doorways to the upper and lower chapels, forming a transitional space between the secular world and the holy realm of the chapel. Both entrances are richly carved – the lower chapel's doorway is dedicated to the Virgin, while the upper-chapel portal depicts the Last Judgement – and date from the 19C, replacing originals destroyed in the Revolution. The upper portion of the west façade, rebuilt by Charles VIII in the decade 1485–95, is dominated by a 9 m-diameter rose window whose sinuous Flamboyant tracery replaced an earlier rose. It is surmounted by a balustrade whose supports take the form of fleurs-de-lis and which carries Charles VIII's monogram, flanked by kneeling angels. Either side of the west façade rise narrow staircase towers disguised, for most of their height, as buttresses. Only at their summits do they flower into monumental pinnacles, punctuating the composition, each one encircled by carvings of the royal crown of France and the Crown of Thorns. In comparison to the remainder of the elevation, the gable end is rather plain, pierced by a small rose, which lights the attic, surrounded by three blind quatrefoils. The

balustrades, pinnacles and gargoyles adorning the summits of the Sainte-Chapelle date mostly from the 19C and replaced lost or badly worn originals.

Brief mention should also be made of the royal oratory, known anachronistically as the »Oratoire de Saint-Louis«, which occupies the space between the buttresses of the last bay of the nave's southern façade. Probably dating initially from the 14C, it is accessed from the upper chapel and is supported by a vaulted arch. In the early 16C its façade was remodelled in the form of a monumental gateway, with an imposing tracery-filled gable rising above the arch and a fleur-de-lis balustrade, which carries the crowned initial »L« (probably the monogram of Louis XII), coiffing the ensemble. The statue of the Virgin and Child between the gable and the balustrade, and the statues of Saint Louis and an anonymous bishop standing in elaborately carved niches either side of the arch, all date from the 19C.

The lower chapel

As with many Gothic buildings, the Sainte-Chapelle's exterior is to a large extent the logical product of its interior, which came foremost in the design process. More specifically, it was the interior of the upper chapel which took precedence over everything else, including, inevitably, the lower chapel. Indeed, structurally speaking, the lower chapel is nothing more than a vaulted support for the upper chapel, and is consequently rather incommodious. With its very low vault – only 6.6 m at the apex – and mean fenestration, which lets in little light, it strongly resembles a crypt. Given the proximity of the river, it must also have been extremely damp (indeed in the winter of 1689–90, the Seine burst its banks, flooding the lower chapel and causing considerable damage). Although only 10.7 m wide, the lower chapel is not spanned by a single vault but, presumably to provide a more solid base for the upper chapel and also to avoid dangerously shallow vaulting, is instead divided into a central nave with two very narrow side aisles. The vaults are supported by slender columns that carry not only the main-vault arcades but also the aisle-vault arches running along the exterior envelope. This envelope is in turn animated by a series of blind arcades, and the resulting forest of supports dazzles the eye, obfuscating the limits of the space and alleviating the sense of constriction. The columns' intricate crocket capitals constitute the principal sculptural decoration, although there are also elaborate braces that reinforce the aisle vaults against the thrust of the nave vault, helped in their task by exposed iron tie rods. Despite its tiny windows, the lower chapel is saved from oppressive gloominess by its sumptuous polychromy. The original paint scheme was almost entirely obliterated in the 1689–90 flood, and today's décor is the work of Boeswillwald and his team, who followed what little remained of the original but had for the most part to invent afresh. Rendered primarily in red, blue and gold, the ensemble effect is magnificent. The principal motifs are the royal fleur-de-lis and the castle-

tower emblem of Blanche de Castille, Louis IX's formidable mother. On the side-aisle walls are enamel-and-plaster medallions of the twelve apostles, each one adorned with paste jewels to simulate the decorative treatment of reliquary boxes.

The upper chapel

In contrast to the dinginess of the lower chapel, the upper chapel is breathtakingly luminous. The trend in Gothic church buildings to minimize structure and maximize fenestration here reached its apogee; the upper chapel features almost no walls and is constructed instead as a series of giant glazed arcades. Its vast windows, rising to 15.4 m in the nave, cover a surface area of over 650 m² (not including the rose), and, as the chapel is built as a single vessel, nothing obstructs their brilliance. Here we have the most accomplished and most extravagant expression in medieval architecture of the idea that »God is light«. No clumsy iron tie rods divulge the mystery of how the building stands up since they are dissimulated amongst the glazing bars of the windows, and simultaneously serve to strengthen the glazing against the wind. Like most Gothic church buildings, the upper chapel is very narrow (10.7 m) in relation to its height (20.5 m to the apex of the vault), producing an impression of soaring verticality which is all the more forceful thanks to the uninterrupted fenestration. In comparison to the complexity of cathedrals and churches, with their often multiple aisles, ambulatories and projecting chapels, the Sainte-Chapelle seems impressively simple and coherent, and must certainly rank as one of the formally purest of medieval Gothic structures. However, all is not as regular as it at first appears. Because narrower, the apse windows are almost 2 m shorter than those in the nave, a phenomenon both aggravated and in part dissimulated by the vault design. By maintaining the springing points of the radiating vault at the same level as those of the nave vaults, the chapel's architect achieved overall unity, but had to accept shorter apse windows. So forceful is the regulating effect of the vaulting, however, that one does not immediately perceive this height difference, especially as from many viewing angles the window summits are obscured by the vault arches. Furthermore, the apse-window springing points are artificially maintained at the same height as those of the nave windows, thus assuring additional coherence. The chapel's designer further demonstrated his skill in manipulating optical perception in the configuration of the nave bays: the westernmost bay is a good 35 cm narrower than the others and, when viewed from the apse, the perspective thus appears elongated and the rose consequently seems all the more enormous.

In contrast to the apparent simplicity of its structure, the upper chapel's decoration is remarkable in its richness. Even more than the lower chapel, the upper chapel is intended to resemble a reliquary box, and its jewel-casket décor, unique among major medieval Gothic buildings, dazzles in its gliding and colour. In

comparison to the lower chapel, the upper chapel's polychromy was reasonably well preserved at the time of its restoration, and Lassus and his team fixed what remained with a coating of wax, which also served to revivify the colours. Where the paint had been lost, it was replaced according to the original design, and the entirety of the chapel's gliding was renewed. As in the lower chapel, a low wall decorated with blind arcades runs round the chapel's base. Here, most of the polychromy was gone, and the restorers devised the paint scheme we see today, as well as composing the décor underneath the rose, which had disappeared following the installation of an organ (removed in the 18C). Red, blue and gold predominate – especially gold, which is the base colour for the structure of the arcades and of the vaults – although green is also prominent. The royal fleur-de-lis is once more omnipresent, although the ceiling, *fleurdelisé* in the lower chapel, is here bespangled with a galaxy of golden stars to render the high vault yet more celestial. The sculptural elements include statues of the twelve apostles, mounted on the chapel's piers in reference to the apostles' metaphorical significance as pillars of the church. Removed and disfigured during the Revolution, some statues were nonetheless restorable and were remounted by Lassus, who also repainted them according to the remaining traces of polychromy. (Those too badly damaged for restoration were replaced by copies; the originals are in the Musée de Cluny (see 5.4).) Outside of the apostles, sculpture is limited to the crocket capitals of the blind arcades and vault responds – masterpieces of »naturalist« Gothic art, carved with recognizable leaf species – and to the arcade spandrels, across which a host of angels and vegetal motifs run riot. The sole survivor of the chapel's furnishings is the reliquary tribune, where the precious relics themselves were kept, which dominates the east end. Mostly rebuilt in the 19C, it almost constitutes a work of architecture in itself, and features two particularly fine 13C angel figures.

Over and above its fantastic gilt and carvings, it is the chapel's stained glass, the *raison d'être* of its daring structure, that astounds. Miraculously, two-thirds of the glazing we see today is original. Although many of the panels show signs of having been executed in haste, the ensemble effect is transcendent. The intense reds, blues and purples of the 13C nave and apse windows contrast with the subtler and more varied colours of the 15C rose. Restoration of the glass, which included copying panels that were too delicate to remain *in situ* (the originals are in the Musée de Cluny) and creating new ones to replace those that were lost, was so accomplished that it is difficult to distinguish between the medieval originals and the 19C additions. Rendered as small-scale scenes of a type usually reserved for low aisle windows, the iconographic content of much of the Sainte-Chapelle's glass is consequently undecipherable to the naked eye because too high up. The essential themes are the story of the Hebrews and the childhood and Passion of Christ, cleverly interwoven with refer-

ences to Louis IX in a way that celebrates the crusades and glorifies Louis as a descendant of the Old-Testament kings, vicar of Christ and spiritual leader of his people.

Contemporary commentators on the Sainte-Chapelle were unstinting in their praise, comparing it to the heavenly Jerusalem and to Solomon's temple, where harmony and beauty reign in glory. Perhaps because of its unique function, the Sainte-Chapelle contributed little to the stylistic development of French Gothic and, as far as its decorative treatment was concerned, remained a glorious one-off. It did, however, become a model for French palace chapels, and an example of its lineage can be seen at the Château de Vincennes (34.2).

1.3 Place Dauphine

Architect unknown, 1607–10
(Métro: Pont Neuf, Cité; RER: Saint-Michel Notre-Dame)
The second of Henri IV's projects for public piazzas in Paris (see the Place des Vosges, 4.19), the Place Dauphine formed part of a general scheme of urban improvement that included the completion of the Pont Neuf (see feature on Seine bridges) and the creation of the Rue Dauphine on the Left Bank to open up the Faubourg Saint-Germain. Situated at the westerly tip of the Ile de la Cité (4.1), where it meets the Pont Neuf, the new *place* was guaranteed commercial success: the Palais de la Cité (1.1) was just next door, and direct access to the rest of Paris could be gained via the bridge.

The *place* was built following a masterplan possibly by Louis Métezeau, Architecte du Roi. Plots were sold

1.3 Place Dauphine



off and 32 identical houses erected around a piazza which, due to its promontory site, forms an isosceles triangle in plan. Entry to the piazza was gained at the triangle's apex and the centre of its base. The houses were more modest than at the Place des Vosges, each comprising two arcaded shops on the ground floor, between which a passage led to an interior courtyard accessing the two upper floors and attic. As at the Place des Vosges, the façades were in brick with stone dressings. The *place* has been much modified, only the two apex houses now preserving their original appearance. Set alight during the Commune, the base of the triangle was demolished in 1872, opening up views onto the Palais de Justice.

1.4 Place du Châtelet

Begun 1808
(Métro: Châtelet; RER: Châtelet-les-Halles)
Given its situation on the river opposite the Ile de la Cité (4.1) – home of the medieval royal palace (1.1) – and at the head of the Pont au Change (see feature on Seine bridges), the earliest bridge linking the Right Bank to the island, this spot could not but have been of strategic significance. In the 9C, it was the site of a wooden tower defending the bridge, afterwards replaced, in 1130, by a stone structure known as the Grand Châtelet (*châtelet* means »little castle«). With the building of Philippe II Augustus's defensive circuit of 1190, the fortress lost its initial *raison d'être* and became home to Paris's military police, until, in the 17C, it was turned into a formidable prison by Louis XIV. By the 19C, the site's strategic importance as a traffic thoroughfare had become paramount, and Napoleon consequently ordered the demolition of the Grand Châtelet to improve access to the Ile. In place of the fortress, a small piazza was created, in 1808–10, decorated at its centre with an imposing fountain, one of 17 commissioned by the emperor who desired that his capital splash with water in the manner of imperial Rome.

Designed and built by the engineer François-Joseph Bralle, with sculptures by Simon Boizot, the fountain, which is dedicated to Victory, fully reflects Napoleon's colonial ambitions. In keeping with the Egyptomania then sweeping France, it features a Nubian-temple style column, inscribed with the names of Napoleon's principal conquests, at whose summit stands a winged, gilded Victory holding out laurel wreaths towards the Palais de la Cité opposite. Female personifications of Vigilance, Justice, Strength and Prudence ring the column's base, while its pedestal is adorned with the imperial eagle and also with four cornucopia spouting water into the basin below. Despite its monumental aspirations, the ensemble is not without charm.

Inevitably, the Place du Châtelet was a prime target for Baron Haussmann who, in 1855–58, enlarged it by several times its original size so as to incorporate it into the »Grande Croisée« (»great crossing«), the principal north–south and east–west traffic axes so fundamental to his plans for Paris. Bralle's fountain was preserved,

but moved to the centre of the new square and aggrandized by the addition of a supplementary pedestal adorned with sphinxes disgorging water into an enlarged basin. Work was carried out by Gabriel Davioud, who was also responsible for the two imposing theatres of 1860–62 that sit either side of the square, both commissioned by Haussmann to replace auditoria destroyed for the creation of the Place de la République. To the west is the huge Théâtre du Châtelet – at the time Paris's biggest auditorium, with a capacity of 2,500 – and to the east the smaller Théâtre de la Ville. Davioud dressed up both buildings in a matching garb of Italian-Renaissance inspiration which, virulently criticized by contemporaries, is notable only for its rather hollow grandiosity. In 1967–68, the Théâtre de la Ville was gutted, and its 19C interior replaced with a functional, modern auditorium by Jean Perrotet, which takes the form of a single, enormous tier of seats, entirely free of sight obstructions. The Théâtre du Châtelet, on the other hand, has kept its splendid Second-Empire interior, of which the impressive, horseshoe-shaped auditorium is particularly noteworthy. Held up by admirably slender supports, its four balconies are topped off by the inevitable domed arcade, and the ensemble glitters with gilt and blushes with crimson plush just as a 19C theatre should. At the time of its inauguration, the auditorium was endowed with state-of-the-art lighting and backstage machinery that allowed spectacular simulations of earthquakes, shipwrecks and other disasters.

On the northern side of the Place du Châtelet, the memory of the Grand Châtelet lives on in the form of the Chambre des Notaires (J. A. Pellechet and Charles Rohault de Fleury, 1855–57), whose distinctly uninspired, Classical façades were constructed from stone recovered from the demolished fortress.

1.5 Samaritaine

19, rue de la Monnaie
Frantz Jourdain, 1904–10, 1912; Frantz Jourdain and Henri Sauvage 1925–28, 1930
(Métro: Pont-Neuf)

Like all the big Parisian department stores, Samaritaine, founded in 1870 by Ernest Cognacq, started out small but quickly grew to occupy several prime parcels of real estate. In 1883, Cognacq met the architect Frantz Jourdain, and so began a life-long collaboration. At first Cognacq merely required Jourdain to knock together the pre-existing buildings that he had progressively acquired (Magasin no. 1 is still of this type) but, by 1904, he was able to offer the architect something more challenging: a total rebuild of Magasin no. 2, which occupied a large chunk of land between the river and the Rue de Rivoli (1.11). Jourdain, whose avant-garde tendencies had first manifested themselves in his youthful admiration for Viollet-le-Duc, produced an extraordinary building for Cognacq in which he compellingly demonstrated his conceptions of Art Nouveau. These consisted chiefly of aiming for a synthesis of architecture, painting and



1.5 Samaritaine

the decorative arts, using industrial materials, with a view to popularizing art and bringing it into the street.

Entirely in iron, which allowed the maximum floor-space to be squeezed out of the site (especially as all piping was carried inside the hollow supports), with no facing or cladding, Jourdain's building was essentially a utilitarian, orthogonal warehouse, but one to which a fantastical decoration of enamel painting, ceramic tiles and, especially, elaborate iron and copperwork (by Edouard Schenck) was applied. Colour was paramount, the structural ironwork being painted a bright shade of blue both inside and out, while the paintings – like the metalwork, in the form of floral and vegetal motifs – introduced splashes of brilliant orange and yellow. The intention was to grab the attention of passers-by with a modern evocation of an oriental bazaar, which also served as publicity (a form of expression dear to Art Nouveau), the store's name and the goods it sold featuring prominently amongst the décor. To extend the fantasy element and further attract attention, Jourdain added round towers coiffed with florid metalwork domes to either extremity of the southern façade (demolished when the shop was extended in the 1920s (see below)). Today, only the Rue-de-la-Monnaie frontage testifies to Jourdain's original concept, and this but partially as the decorative metalwork and most of the ceramic tiling were removed in the 1930s. (Jourdain also remodelled the Rue-de-Rivoli façade of Magasin no. 1 in similar style, in 1912, and this conserves certain decorative elements as well.) Inside the store, to bring daylight to the retail spaces, Jourdain hollowed out a vast, central atrium, rising the full height of the building, at whose centre he placed a monumental, balconied staircase. The atrium survives intact, conserving both its paintings and decorative metalwork, although one

half has been disfigured by the installation of extraordinarily clumsy escalators, while the other is seemingly treated by the display designers as an old-fashioned embarrassment that must be hidden, rather than as an exploitable asset.

Reaction in official circles against Jourdain's rainbow-coloured iron extravaganza was so strong that, when Cognacq acquired the plot of land between his store and the river in the 1920s, Jourdain called in his long-time friend and associate Henri Sauvage to help design the new wing, fearing that his own name alone on the plans would only garner instant planning refusal. Dreading the worst, the authorities kept a close eye on the design, prohibiting all colour or structural metalwork (perceived as vulgar and commercial) on the river frontage and insisting that stone cladding be used to harmonize with the Louvre (1.8) and the other historic buildings that make up the riverscape. The result, despite its fine Art-Deco detailing, is rather ponderous. Jourdain and Sauvage were also responsible for Magasin n°3 (today no longer part of Samaritaine), built a few years later to the east of Magasin n°1 on the Rue de Rivoli. In similar style to the river building, it was put up in only eight months – a record at the time – thanks to Sauvage's well-tried system of prefabrication.

1.6 Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois

2, place du Louvre

Architects unknown, current building begun early-12C
(Métro: Louvre-Rivoli)

Built on a site occupied by a Christian edifice since the late-6C, Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois is, like so many of Paris's ancient religious buildings, a complex agglomeration of parts from different periods, in this instance spanning the 12C to the 16C. The earliest surviving element is the 12C tower, whose round-arched openings and simple detailing are unmistakably Romanesque. Originally external, the tower was swallowed up by successive enlargements. Having become too small for its growing congregation, Saint-Germain was entirely rebuilt in the 13C, when it took on the Notre-Dame-inspired

1.6 Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois with Mairie du 1^{er} (1.7) centre and left



plan we see today: semicircular apse-ambulatory heading a choir slightly longer than the nave, non-protruding transepts, double aisles with side-chapels. Of this 13C church survive the west entrance, the outer of the two southern nave aisles (Chapelle de la Vierge), and the main vessel of the choir and its inner aisle. Construction seems to have begun at the west end, sometime in the first half of the 13C, and proceeded eastwards: the choir was begun around 1250 and the Chapelle de la Vierge and the apse were erected in 1285–1300. Subsequent modifications, including the »Classicization« of its lower levels in the 18C, have robbed the choir of its original High-Gothic character. The west-entrance carvings are perhaps the most interesting remnants of the 13C church, all the more so in that very few examples survive in Paris, most having been destroyed during the Revolution. Saint-Germain's west-end doorways retain their 30 archivolt figures, which include angels, wise and foolish virgins and the twelve apostles, as well as the six statues adorning the jambs of the central opening, amongst which are King Childebert and Queen Ultrigothe, the church's supposed founders. The central doorway's tympanum carving and original centre jamb, which featured a statue of Saint Germain himself, were removed in the 17C to facilitate processions; the tympanum is lost but Saint Germain survives and can be seen inside the church.

In 1420–25 the nave and the two northern aisles were rebuilt. The 15C nave elevations are extremely sober, with only two storeys and Flamboyant-period, fused mouldings without capitals or other detailing. A splendid Flamboyant rose window fills the west end. Saint-Germain's five-arched porch, unique amongst Parisian churches and inspired by Burgundian examples, was added in 1431–39. The final building campaign, c. 1500–70, involved construction of the choir and apse chapels, which latter, because of the presence of the Rue de l'Arbre-Sec behind, flattened out at the east end and eat into the outer aisle.

Restored by Jean-Baptiste Lassus in 1839–55, Saint-Germain is famous for having pealed out the signal for the Saint-Bartholomew's-Day massacre in 1572, a notoriety that was to help save it from demolition by Baron Haussmann – see 1.7.

1.7 Mairie du 1^{er}

4, place du Louvre

Jakob Ignaz Hittorff, 1855–60; Théodore Ballu, 1858–62
(Métro: Louvre-Rivoli)

Between Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois (1.6) and the nearby Louvre (1.8), there was once a jumble of streets and houses. In the 18C, calls began to be heard for the creation of a public square in front of the palace's east façade, Perrault's colonnade having by then earned its reputation as the masterpiece of French Classicism. Steps towards this end were made in the early-19C when small clearings were established in front of both the Louvre and Saint-Germain, but it is to the indefatigable Baron Haussmann that we owe today's Place du

Louvre. Begun in 1853, the square is framed by buildings of Rue-de-Rivoli type façades (see 1.11), with Saint-Germain sitting to one side of it on a slight diagonal. This asymmetry was considered distinctly vexing, and was put forward as an argument in favour of the church's demolition, grandiloquent plans having been made to drive a straight avenue in the axis of the Louvre as far as the Hôtel de Ville (4.11). Haussmann considered Saint-Germain of little artistic value, and had no qualms about sacrificing it on these grounds, an opinion shared by most contemporaries, including Napoleon III's chief minister, Achille Fould, who was in favour of the avenue scheme.

Two factors saved the church: its recent restoration – public money should not be seen to be wasted – and the fact that its bells had rung the signal for the 1572 Saint-Bartholomew's-Day massacre, during which 70,000 Huguenots were murdered. Haussmann feared that, because of his and Fould's Protestantism, the church's demolition would be perceived as latter-day Huguenot revenge, and therefore refused to condemn the building. Instead, to get round the problem of its misalignment, he commissioned Hittorff to build the Mairie du 1^{er} to its north, directing that the new building's general dispositions mimic those of the church but without reproducing its style. Hittorff complied, and his edifice, in hybrid Gothico-Renaissance dress, does indeed mirror Saint-Germain's general form (porch, gable and rose window) and skewness in relation to the *place*. As a result, it is not one of the architect's better compositions. Moreover, because a thoroughfare ran between the church and the Mairie, Saint-Germain's misalignment was still patently visible; the street was thus sacrificed for the erection of a structure that would unite the two buildings and hide Saint-Germain's northern flank. A bell tower seemed like a good idea, and Haussmann commissioned Ballu to design one: the 40 m-high Gothicizing result is so floridly silly that contemporary Parisians nicknamed it the *huilier-vinaigrier* (oil-and-vinegar bottle). Together, church, *mairie* and bell tower form a composition that, though quite preposterous, is delicious in its symmetrical absurdity. While Saint-Germain comes out worse off for the association, the Louvre colonnade is rendered all the more serious in comparison.

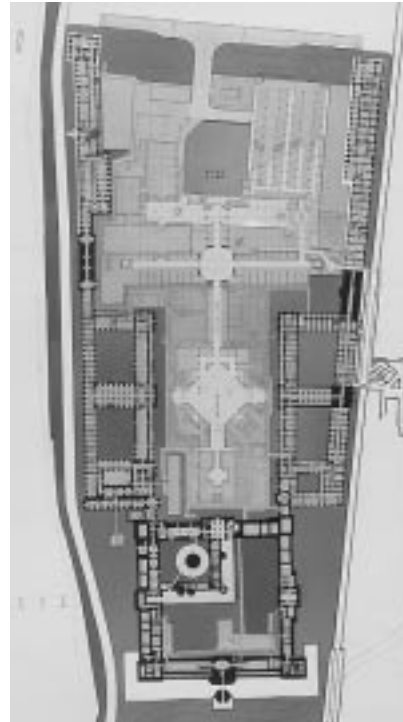
1.8 Palais du Louvre

The Louvre's principal entrance is via the pyramid in the Cour Napoléon; there is another entrance at the Porte des Lions on the Quai des Tuileries
Begun 1190

(Métro: Palais-Royal Musée du Louvre)

First fortress, then palace, and now museum, symbol of French monarchy, nation and culture, centre-stage in much of French history, the Louvre is, on top of it all, an extraordinary palimpsest of Gallic official architecture from the Middle Ages to the 21C. Major building campaigns have been carried out at the palace in four of the last five centuries, producing the vast edifice we see

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1.8 Palais du Louvre. Site plan

today. Initially part of Philippe II Augustus's Parisian defensive circuit, the Louvre was transformed into a royal residence by Charles V. Too small and medieval for the humanist tastes of François I, the old fortress was scheduled for demolition during his reign and a new château begun under his successor, Henri II, in 1549. The initial section of the new palace – the southwestern corner of today's Cour Carrée («square court») – was designed by Pierre Lescot and completed under Henri IV in the 1590s. Its western section, known as the Aile Lescot, marked an important point in French architectural history, showing both an advanced understanding of the new Classical idiom coming in from Italy, but also demonstrating a uniquely French interpretation of Classicism that would greatly influence subsequent national output. As the Aile Lescot was being finished, Henri IV was drawing up ambitious plans for the Louvre, known as the «Grand Dessein» (literally «great design»), that would determine the palace's future development. His

proposals consisted in duplicating Lescot's wings to form the Cour Carrée, establishing a riverside wing to link the Louvre to the nearby Palais des Tuileries (see the Jardin des Tuileries, 1.10), and demolishing the streets and houses that separated the two palaces. It would be another two-and-a-half centuries before Henri's vision came to completion, during the reign of Napoleon III.

Henri began realization of his plans with the riverside wing, known in French as the Aile de la Grande Galerie, which was built in 1595–1610 and which was the only part of the Grand Dessein he saw completed. Work continued under Louis XIII, who charged Jacques Le Mercier, his Premier Architecte, with construction of the remaining parts of the Cour Carrée; by the time of his death, in 1654, Le Mercier had completed the north-western corner of the courtyard, including the famous Pavillon de l'Horloge. He was succeeded under Louis XIV by Louis Le Vau, who initially built the eastern halves of the southern and northern wings of the Cour Carrée, but who was foiled by Colbert, Louis's chief minister, when it came to building the courtyard's eastern wing, and especially its city-side façade. For some reason that history has not recorded – personal animosity perhaps, or a feeling he was not up to the job – Colbert did not want Le Vau to work on the east front, which, as the façade facing the city centre, would have the greatest symbolic weight. After soliciting, and then rejecting, several designs from Italian architects (including the great Bernini), Colbert appointed the three-member «Petit Conseil» in 1667 to supply a scheme. Comprising Le Vau (despite Colbert's hostility still the king's Premier Architecte), the painter Charles Le Brun and the amateur architect Claude Perrault, the Petit Conseil proposed a grandiose design based around a giant colonnade. Although the exact attribution of input will never be known, the east front is generally «given» to Perrault, in large part because its great originality seems unlikely to have come from Le Vau or Le Brun. With its typically Gallic mix of gravity, grandeur and graciousness, this imposing composition soon came to be viewed by many as the summit of French monumental Classicism, a reputation that remains unchallenged to-day.

Louis XIV had little affection for the Louvre and turned all his energies and attention to Versailles (32.1), abandoning the Grand Dessein for good in 1678. The carcass of the Cour Carrée was now more or less complete, but parts of it were not yet roofed and would remain in this state for over a century, until the advent of Napoleon. In 1757/58, Jacques-Germain Soufflot completed the second floor of the Cour Carrée's eastern wing, and attempts were made to create a square in front of the colonnade. But apart from these relatively minor attentions, the Louvre was essentially abandoned, no royal personages residing there and its apartments being farmed out to the royal academies. The only 18C development of any real importance came with the turmoil of revolution: the opening of the Musée

Central des Arts in the palace, in 1793, to display to the French nation works from the royal collections or that had been confiscated from the church or émigré aristocrats. As we now know, it was this institution that would one day become synonymous with the Louvre.

Unsurprisingly, Napoleon's imperial ambitions found their measure in the Grand Dessein, and the emperor duly commissioned his favourite architects, Pierre-François-Léonard Fontaine and Charles Percier, to see to its continuation in 1804. The illustrious pair would work on the project for no less than 44 years, until 1848. As well as roofing the Cour Carrée and completing its décor, both inside and out, they were responsible for the Arc du Carrousel (1.9) and for the first part of a new wing on the Rue de Rivoli (1.11) intended to link the Palais des Tuileries to the Louvre on its northern flank, mirroring the Aile de Grande Galerie to the south. Percier and Fontaine were succeeded by Félix Duban, who carried out an important series of restorations at the Louvre. Then, in 1852, a *coup d'état* gave France another emperor, nephew of the first, who ruled under the name of Napoleon III. His architectural ambitions were no less vainglorious than his uncle's, but with the difference that he succeeded where his uncle had failed, both in the transformation of Paris and in the completion of the Grand Dessein. In 1848, on becoming president of France, the future Napoleon III had commissioned Ludovico Visconti to draw up plans for the Louvre, whose execution could finally be begun in 1852. Visconti died in 1853 and was succeeded on the project by Hector-Martin Lefuel, who would devote 27 years of his life to the Louvre, until his demise in 1880. Lefuel followed the essential outlines of Visconti's masterplan: demolition of the sizeable *quartier* of streets and houses that still stood between the Louvre and the Tuileries, construction of a significant chunk of new accommodation to the north of the Aile de la Grande Galerie, and continuation of Percier and Fontaine's Rue-de-Rivoli wing all the way from the Tuileries to the Louvre so as to join the two châteaux together into one enormous super-palace. Although in plan this megalomaniacal double-château could never be symmetrical – both because of the Louvre's off-axis positioning in relation to the Palais des Tuileries, and because of the divergence towards the west of the courses of the Seine and the Rue de Rivoli – Visconti's scheme attempted to iron out all irregularities and fool the observer into believing the ensemble to be Classically symmetrical, with the Rivoli wing closely mirroring the plan and volume of the southern. As a result, the Louvre-Tuileries's centre consisted of a vast, empty courtyard, the narrower part of which (the Cour Napoléon) was planted with central, railing-surrounded gardens like a London square, while its wider, western portion (the Place du Carrousel) served as a parade ground (today transformed into the Jardin du Carrousel). Lefuel's interventions on the Louvre's old fabric included the complete remodelling of its outer, western façades and the demolition and rebuilding of the west-

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ern end of the Aile de la Grande Galerie, a liberty for which posterity has not forgiven him.

By 1857, although the *travaux* were not yet over, the Grand Dessain could finally be considered complete, 263 years after it had first been proposed. But it was not destined to last long. In 1870, the Franco-Prussian war resulted in the downfall of the Second Empire and was followed in Paris by the bloody Commune. The violence of this sombre page in French history brought about the destruction of many of Paris's public buildings, and both the Louvre and the Tuileries palaces were set alight by the Communards in 1871. While the fire in the Louvre was prevented from spreading, the Tuileries conflagration raged unchecked and the palace was reduced to a shell overnight. Its ruins crumbled forlornly for over a decade while the authorities decided what to do with them, until finally, in 1882, the government of the Third Republic demolished them as an anti-royalist gesture. Whence the rather peculiar »pincer« formation exhibited by the Louvre and its long wings today. It was following the fire that France's finance ministry moved into the Louvre's Rivoli wing, where it would remain for over a century. Lefuel continued to work on the palace following the empire's fall, rebuilding the fire-damaged Pavillons de Richelieu and de Marsan and doubling in width Percier and Fontaine's section of the Rivoli wing, a task that was never completed due to lack of funds.

Very little of significance changed at the Louvre during the century following Lefuel's death until, in 1981, President François Mitterrand and his socialist government launched the enormous Grand-Louvre project. After years of neglect, the Musée du Louvre had fallen into a pitiful mess, and, gallant man of culture that he was, Mitterrand determined to deliver this damsel in distress from her fate. Over 7 billion francs were spent converting the entire palace into museum space: the finance ministry was expelled from the Rivoli wing into new premises (see 12.5), the old fabric was overhauled and where necessary converted to its new function, vast underground spaces were dug in the palace's courtyards to provide supplementary accommodation, and the Louvre was given a brand-new, monumental entrance – leoh Ming Pei's notorious pyramid. The result of this Herculean effort (still not quite finished at the time of writing) is, we are proudly told, the world's largest museum in terms of surface area. It is also, despite the many criticisms that can be levelled at it, a quite extraordinary achievement, a museum of indubitably world-class stature, both for its collections and the galleries that house them.

It is worth pointing out at this stage that the architectural history of the Louvre as recounted by historians both ancient and modern has been almost exclusively a question of façades. The palace does not consciously concern itself with the effects of volume and massing, its form having arisen from the practical and chronologically sequential needs of the plan (the primacy of the plan in the design process being a French bias that

reached its apotheosis in the 19C *beaux-arts* design system). Conceived as a series of long and narrow rectilinear wings, the Louvre consequently presents acres of flat-fronted elevation (11 ha in fact!), whose relationship to what lay behind seems to have been of little concern to anyone. This is as true for the Aile Lescot as it is for the east front, and the 19C structures are no exception either. Instead, functioning according to their own autonomous and internal logic, these elevations' role was essentially to convey to the onlooker a variety of political messages, such as the cultured humanism and modernity of François I and Henri II (the Aile Lescot), the mightiness of France's king and her new found dominance in the arts (the east front), or the legitimacy of France's emperor (demonstrated in Napoleon III's Louvre through the use of a variety of historical, royally associated styles). Even the Grand Louvre is often reduced simply to its pyramid, which many commentators read as François Mitterrand's personal bid for immortality.

Philippe II Augustus's fortress and Charles V's palace

Although the original Louvre was swept away in the 16C and 17C for the building of the current palace, it is worth describing its aspect because its foundations survive, and, as part of the Grand-Louvre project, have been excavated and incorporated into today's museological circuit. Surmounted by a ponderous ceiling of raw, plank-shuttered concrete and dramatically lit by spotlights, they constitute one of the highlights of the new museum.

When Philippe II Augustus came to the throne, in 1180, sizeable chunks of what is today France were still in the hands of the English crown, which was a source of constant friction between the two countries. This was also the time of the crusades, and during one of their periods of peace Philippe and the English king, Richard the Lion-Heart, organized the 1191 Third Crusade together. Ever mistrustful of his Plantagenet neighbours, however, Philippe decided that before leaving he should protect his capital, and in 1190 ordered construction of a defensive circuit all around Paris. Were the English to attack they would arrive from the north-west, and to defend the most vulnerable point, where the defensive circuit met the river on the Right Bank, Philippe built a particularly solid fortress just outside the walls – the original Louvre. Completed by 1202, the castle occupied the southwestern corner of today's Cour Carrée. It too was square in plan and comprised an outer crenellated and machicolated curtain wall, 2.6 m thick and defended by ten round towers, and a massive round keep, 15 m in diameter, 30 m high and with walls 4 m thick, that was set towards the north-eastern corner of the castle's courtyard. The curtain wall was surrounded by a water-filled moat, while the keep was defended by a deep, dry ditch, with stone counterscarps at the castle's base to hinder any attempts at scaling it with ladders. Accommodation was

provided by the vaulted chambers of the keep and by *corps de logis* built against the inside of the curtain wall. The use of round towers and especially of round keeps was characteristic of French castles of Philippe's reign, the circular plan having been adopted because it had the advantage over square or rectangular ones of avoiding »dead angles« (i. e. the diagonals radiating from each corner along which attackers could approach out of firing range). Round keeps proliferated all over France during this period, but few matched the size of the Louvre's. Known as the Grosse Tour, it became the symbol of the French monarch's power, and was referred to in the allegiance oath sworn to the king right up to the end of the *ancien régime* (even though it was demolished in 1528).

As we have said, the original Louvre was intended as a fortress and not a royal residence, the monarch's Parisian home being the Palais de la Cité (1.1). Charles V's transformation of the castle into a palace, in the 1370s–80s, came after he abandoned the Palais de la Cité because of a humiliation suffered there, and also followed the building of a new defensive circuit around Paris that negated the Louvre's original military value by bringing it within the city limits (part of this new defensive wall can now be seen in the Galerie du Carrousel see the Grand Louvre, below). To make the fortress suitable for royal occupation, Charles opened up windows in its walls, built new *corps de logis* in the courtyard and coiffed the ensemble with elaborate chimneys, turrets and pinnacles. A good idea of what the finished result was like can be got from the famous painting of The Month of October in the Duc de Berry's *Très Riches Heures* (1413–16). The reconfigured Louvre was especially celebrated for its spiral *escalier d'honneur*, known as the Grand Vis, which today survives only in the lively accounts of it left to us by enthusiastic contemporaries.

Visiting the remains of Philippe and Charles's Louvre today, one walks down the moat past the middle tower of the northern curtain wall and up to the northeastern-corner tower (known as the Tour de la Taille), and then down alongside the eastern curtain wall to the double towers of the castle's city-side entrance (note the drawbridge pier), after which one passes through into the ditch encircling the keep. From there one is taken to a room in one of the courtyard's *corps de logis*, which is known as the Salle Saint-Louis because of the vaults added to it c. 1240–50 during the reign of Louis IX.

The Renaissance château of François I and Henri II in the decades following Charles V's reign the Louvre fell from grace, as later did Paris, subsequent French sovereigns preferring the Loire valley over the troublesome capital. It was François I (reigned 1515–47) who brought the monarchy back to Paris, and as a result began a spate of château building in and around the capital. He decided to rebuild the Louvre as a modern residence, and as a first step towards this demolished

the Grosse Tour in 1528. More interested in the Châteaux de Madrid (destroyed), de Saint-Germain-en-Laye (28.1) and de Fontainebleau (38.1), however, he did not actually get round to doing anything about the Louvre until the end of his reign. A year before his death, in 1546, François gave the go-ahead for construction of a new *corps de logis* designed by the »amateur« architect Pierre Lescot. The west wing of the old Louvre was demolished, and the building of Lescot's scheme in its stead begun in 1549 under Henri II.

Lescot's initial project had consisted of a two-storey-high, one-room-wide *corps de logis* interrupted at its centre by a sizeable, three-storey *avant-corps* containing the *escalier d'honneur*, whose presence divided the building's apartments into two distinct halves. At Henri II's request, the staircase was moved to the northern end of the *corps de logis* to allow for one huge assembly room on each floor. Presumably to maintain central emphasis, Lescot conserved the central *avant-corps* (even though, devoid of the *escalier d'honneur*, it no longer served any practical purpose) and designed a new end pavilion to contain the displaced staircase. In the interests of symmetry this pavilion was duplicated at the building's other extremity. Through this accidental process emerged a façade articulation that would become a staple of French Classical architecture from the 17C to the 19C: the symmetrical division of elevations into five parts comprising two identical end pavilions, two identical *arrière-corps* and a central *avant-corps*. Although at first glance circumstance was largely responsible for this, there may well also have been a good deal of conscious or subconscious influence from the articulation of French castles, with their corner and central towers. Another change to Lescot's initial scheme came in the early 1550s with the raising of the *corps de logis* to three storeys, the final, attic storey replacing the high, inter-pavilion roofs originally planned. Instead the Aile Lescot was uniformly coiffed at fourth-floor level with a precocious example of what would become another staple of French building: the double-slope roofing today known as a mansard (after the 17C architect François Mansart). The elaborate lead decoration adorning the summit of the Aile Lescot's roof, which reads as a ridgeline, in fact conceals the roof's hip. It was presumably to achieve a more Italianizing effect of horizontality that Lescot chose this roofing form over the traditional French lofty attics of the era.

Today the original northern façade of the Aile Lescot is no more, having been replaced in subsequent building campaigns, but the 16C Cour-Carrée façade survives and is considered a masterpiece of the French Renaissance. Lescot was not an architect overly concerned with the articulation of volumes, his talent instead lying in the design of surface decoration, a bias borne out by his several collaborations with the sculptor Jean Goujon. It is essentially on the Louvre's extraordinarily rich and accomplished applied *décor*, carved by Goujon and his atelier, that Lescot's reputation rests today. Lescot, it seems, did not go to Rome until very late

in his career, and his knowledge of ancient-Roman and contemporary Italian architecture must therefore have been limited to engravings. This may well explain the hybrid nature of his work, which at the Louvre is convincingly Roman and Antique in its detailing but thoroughly un-Italian in its overall deployment. First and foremost the Aile Lescot displays a use of the orders that was astonishingly »correct« for French architecture of the day, but the subordinate, decorative effect they serve is thoroughly un-Italian. It is the windows and not the orders that seem to have defined the façade articulation, in reversal of Italian practice. Italian buildings of the period tended towards exaggerated monumentality, comprising powerful volumes with massive walls containing sparse fenestration; the Aile Lescot, on the other hand, is all ornamental beauty, its Cour-Carrée elevation consisting of a flat, decorative screen featuring almost as much window as wall. Where contemporaneous Italian buildings generally relied on multiple repetition of standardized elements for their overall effect, the Aile Lescot flaunts its wealth of diverse detailing. And where horizontals were usually strongly emphasized in early-16C Italian edifices, Lescot did all he could to break the ascendancy of the orders' entablatures and introduce dominant verticals, perhaps in subconscious recollection of native Gothic architecture. The Aile Lescot displays a sophisticated use of Mannerist devices, including open-bed pediments, broken entablatures and projecting column bases, that all contribute to this vertical thrust. Other knowing games include the variation of intercolumniation on the pavilions – thereby creating pairs of columns that again contribute to a dominant vertical –, the alternation of pediment types, and countless subtle variations in detail to make each floor very different from the next. The façade's richest decoration is reserved for the pavilions and the central *avant-corps*, where instead of the pilasters of the *arrière-corps* we find engaged columns, statue-filled niches and a garlanded-medallion motif whose future in France would be long. There is also a notable Gallicism in the way the décor becomes more exuberant the further up the façade one goes, as if the French medieval taste for elaborate ornamentation only at eaves level had here been transposed into Classical language. And then there was the explicit political message encapsulated in this décor: bas-reliefs exalting France's military might, prosperity, and artistic and scientific know-how, and the clear aspiration to Antique imperial culture.

Inside the Aile Lescot was just as innovative as outside. Its principal room, known today as the Salle des Cariatides, was on the ground floor, and is famous for the musicians' gallery supported by four caryatids that gives it its name. These huge and highly accomplished statues, of a form hitherto unknown in France and little used even in Italy, were sculpted by Goujon from casts supplied by Lescot (history has not recorded where Lescot got the casts from, however). At the other end of the room was the king's tribune, whose rather imperial vaults were supported by a set of 16 beautifully



1.8 Palais du Louvre. From left to right: Aile Lescot, Pavillon de l'Horloge, Aile Le Mercier

carved and richly ornamented Doric columns. The *escalier d'honneur*, with its elaborately sculpted stone barrel vaults, led up to the Salle des Gardes on the first floor, through which the king's *appartements d'apparat* were reached. Although the king's bedchamber no longer survives, its remarkable ceiling was remounted in the east wing by Percier and Fontaine and still testifies to Lescot's originality. Carved by the Italian sculptor Francisque Scibec de Carpi to Lescot's directions, the ceiling's elaborate décor marked an epoch in French interior design, contrasting totally as it did with traditional native beamed and painted ceilings.

Lescot's interventions at the Louvre did not end with the Aile Lescot. During the reigns of Henri II's successors, François II and Charles IX (c. 1559–67), the architect demolished the southern wing of the old château and replaced it with a duplication of the Aile Lescot. His intention was presumably to create a four-sided château of the same dimensions as the medieval Louvre articulated in the manner of Ecouen (23. 1), that is to say with a third, identical wing to the north and a lower, entrance wing on the eastern side. Today the Lescot half of the southern wing no longer follows exactly the disposition of the Aile Lescot, Percier and Fontaine having modified its attic storey to match those of the 17C wings to the east and north. Lescot was also responsible for beginning the Aile de la Petite Galerie jutting out from the Louvre towards the Seine, which today is famous for the Galerie d'Apollon begun under Louis XIV.

Work on the Louvre stopped in the late 1580s, interrupted by the Wars of Religion, but in the meantime another building began to go up that would have a profound influence on its future development: the Palais des Tuileries. Commissioned by Catherine de Médicis in 1564, the Palais was situated well to the west of the Louvre outside of Charles V's defensive circuit. It was almost certainly Catherine herself who first put forward the idea of connecting the two châteaux via a gallery running along the river, an arrangement that would not only be convenient shelter-wise but would also allow the monarch to flee any troubles in the capital and escape over the city walls out of sight of the mob.

The Grand Dessein: the Louvre of Henri IV

In 1594, Henri IV effectively put an end to the Wars of Religion by converting to Catholicism, and was at last able to take possession of his capital, Paris. During the remainder of his reign he instigated an ambitious building programme in the city that inevitably included grandiose plans for the Louvre. The Grand Dessein was first put forward in October 1594: as well as Catherine de Médicis' idea of linking the Louvre to the Tuileries, it also proposed the quadrupling in size of the Cour Carrée by replicating Lescot's wings fourfold. Where Lescot's plans for the Louvre would have produced a relatively modest château no bigger than the Iik of Ecouen, the Grand Dessein postulated a truly megalomaniacal palace at least five times as large. As we have seen, Henri got no further than the river wing, but this was already a significant achievement when one considers that the Aile de la Grande Galerie is nearly 1/2 km long! Firstly, in 1595, the one-storey-high Aile de la Petite Galerie was given an upper floor in which was created the Galerie des Rois, to display the portraits of France's kings and queens. That same year, the first part of the Aile de la Grande Galerie was begun, running from the Aile de la Petite Galerie as far as today's Pont du Carrousel. Its architect is thought to have been Louis Métezeau, who covered the wing's long, flat, sparsely fenestrated Seine-side elevation with a riot of Mannerist carving: a pilastered base whose station was indicated by intricate vermiculated rustication, a narrow mezzanine floor of small rectangular windows and cassettes, and finally the *piano nobile* containing the Grande Galerie itself, where we find a reprise of the column-pairing of Lescot's Cour-Carrée pavilions as well as the alternation of round and triangular pediments of his *arrière-corps*, here used to coff the ensemble at eaves level. Elaborate sculptures fill every available spare space, but this still does not hide the fact that the basic bay disposition has been repeated 14 times over, and that all this lapidary activity, however virtuosic, is no more than surface decoration.

The second half of the Aile de la Grande Galerie, running from the Pont du Carrousel to the Pavillon de

1.8 Palais du Louvre. East front



Flore, was probably the work of Jacques II Androuet Du Cerceau. Its façades repeated the double-column, alternating pediment disposition of the first half of the wing, but adapted it better to the building's scale by using a colossal order rising the entire height of the elevation. The result was, however, a little on the clumsy and monotonous side. Today Du Cerceau's creation is no more, having been entirely rebuilt in the 19C by Lefuel, who chose to reproduce the general disposition of Métezeau's façades, presumably in the interest of greater coherence and uniformity. For an idea of what the original was like, however, one can look to the courtyard elevations of Fontaine and Percier's section of the Rue-de-Rivoli wing, since, in the interests of symmetry, Napoleon's architects faithfully copied Du Cerceau's façades. It was also probably Du Cerceau who built the monumental Pavillon de Flore terminating the ensemble, the original of which was yet another victim of Lefuel's demolition-lust. The rebuilt Pavillon de Flore follows the general dispositions of its predecessor, but along considerably more grandiose lines. Inside the Aile de la Grande Galerie nothing now survives of the original décor, and Lefuel even amputated a sizeable chunk off the gallery's western end to build today's Pavillon des Etats.

Under Louis XIII, Henri IV's successor, building of the Grand Dessein progressed slowly. In the space of 30 years, Jacques Le Mercier, the new king's Premier Architecte, managed to complete only the second half of the Cour Carrée's western wing and to begin construction of the first half of its northern, each time faithfully duplicating Lescot's elevations. At the centre of the western wing, to the north of the Aile Lescot, he erected a monumental pavilion, known today as the Pavillon de l'Horloge because of the clock added to it in the 19C. Its first three storeys respected the style and dimensions of the Aile Lescot, but on top of them Le Mercier tacked a giant upper floor on whose Cour-Carrée façade he disposed four pairs of enormous caryatids – no doubt inspired by Goujon's – surmounted by a very Mannerist superimposition of three pediments. The caryatids were a clever way of getting round a thorny question of Classical correctness engendered by Lescot's use of the Corinthian order at ground-floor level and the Composite on the first floor. If one stuck to the rules, no order could be used on any of the floors above since the Composite was always supposed to be the last in the hierarchy; whence Le Mercier's cunning substitution of caryatids for columns. As if his upper-storey extravaganza were not enough, he then coiffed the ensemble with the Louvre's first *toit à l'impériale*, which imitated the bulbous roofing of the Palais des Tuileries' central pavilion (the Pavillon de l'Horloge's current *toit à l'impériale* is by Lefuel, and is, of course, considerably more elaborate than the original). Le Mercier was also responsible for fitting out the ground floor of the Aile de la Petite Galerie as a summer apartment for Anne of Austria, Louis XIV's mother. Today all that survive of this intervention are the vault

paintings (1655–58) by Giovanni-Francesco Romanelli and their elaborate stuccowork frames, which were created by the sculptor Michel Anguier.

Reluctant grandeur: Louis XIV and the Louvre

Louis XIV was never very fond of Paris, his mistrust and dislike of the capital stemming from a childhood trauma when, at the age of five, he was forced to flee the city's bloodthirsty mob and take refuge at Saint-Germain-en-Laye (28.1). On reaching manhood he spent as little time in Paris as possible, and eventually forsook it entirely for Versailles. Nonetheless, the city remained the seat of the realm, and, at least initially, Louis did not question the policy adopted by his forefathers whereby royal power was best expressed through grandiose Parisian building projects. He was aided and encouraged in this by the man who acted as his chief minister from 1661, Jean-Baptiste Colbert, who set out to perfect the system of absolutist government begun under Henri IV and Louis XIII. As well as building up the enormous administrative machinery this required, Colbert began to institutionalize the arts in the service of the king, a process that included the founding of the royal academies with a view to creating state-defined artistic orthodoxies. This policy was two-pronged: not only would it allow for better expression of the sovereign's power at home, it would also provide an efficient artistic machine that would allow France at last to challenge Italy's dominance of cultural and luxury production (stimulating French foreign exports) and proclaim France's glory as the most powerful nation in Europe. *Reine des arts* as it was, architecture would play a major part in this campaign, a role explained by Colbert in a letter he wrote to his sovereign: »Your majesty knows that, next to glorious military feats, nothing speaks so eloquently of princely intellect and grandeur than the affluence of buildings; posterity will always appraise a ruler with reference to the buildings erected in his lifetime.« Colbert consequently implemented a whole programme of Parisian building that included the Portes Saint-Denis and Saint-Martin (10.1 and 10.2) and the Invalides (7.12); still officially the principal royal residence, the Louvre was the key element in this campaign.

Civil unrest and political instability had halted further building at the Louvre in the early part of Louis XIV's reign, but as of 1661 his Premier Architecte, Louis Le Vau, was able to continue work on the Cour Carrée. By 1668, when he quit the palace to concentrate entirely on Versailles, Le Vau had completed the carcasses of both the courtyard's northern and southern wings, and rebuilt and enlarged the Aile de la Petite Galerie following its partial destruction by fire. The Galerie des Rois had been lost in the blaze, and in its stead Le Vau and the painter Charles Le Brun created the famous Galerie d'Apollon, their first collaboration in the service of the king following their requisition from Vaux-le-Vicomte (37.1). Le Brun repeated the formula that had so impressed Louis XIV at Vaux, namely elaborate, Italian-style gilded-stucco ceilings framing virtuosic allegorical

paintings, only on a bigger and even more ostentatious scale. With the Galerie d'Apollon we have one of the first instances of Louis XIV's personal identification with the sun god, which would become the dominant symbolism at the Château de Versailles. Indeed with hindsight Le Brun's work on the gallery can be regarded as a try-out for Versailles, since it prefigured his work there and because he too was taken off the Louvre project to work on the suburban centre of power. Unfinished in Louis XIV's time, the Galerie d'Apollon was not finally completed until the 19C under Duban, when it received its famous central painting by Delacroix.

Whatever the Galerie d'Apollon's splendour, it was without doubt the Louvre's east front that was Louis XIV's principal legacy at the palace. Several of the manifold projects put forward for this elevation (including one of Bernini's) had proposed the creation of a monumental colonnade, and this idea was retained by the Petit Conseil. The initial plan was to transfer the king's apartments to brand-new accommodation in the east wing, whose giant, *piano-nobile*-level columns would thus regally signal the presence of the royal person. But things did not turn out quite as intended. At the time, the city's dense fabric extended right up to the Louvre's walls on all sides bar the river, and in order to create the monumental square the east façade clearly demanded as a setting, time-consuming and expensive expropriations and demolitions were needed. Already more interested in Versailles than the Louvre, Louis XIV lost heart, and abandoned all attempts at acquiring the necessary land (today's Place du Louvre dates from the 19C (see 1.7)). As a result, security of the royal person could not be guaranteed if the king's apartments were in the east wing, and it was thus decided to leave them where they were in the southern wing but to double this part of the building in width so as to provide new accommodation. Le Vau's time being entirely taken up with Versailles, it fell to Perrault to see to these modifications, which also involved reconfiguring the Petit Conseil's design for the east front, since with the widening of the southern wing the east front's total length increased significantly. The east front's definitive design can thus be given to Perrault, who was also responsible for the new southern elevation as well as for rebuilding the north wing's outside, city-side façade.

Although the colonnade was completed in Louis XIV's reign, the wing it fronted was not, remaining unroofed until Napoleon's time. Moreover, because the royal apartments were no longer to be situated there, Perrault replaced the fenestration originally planned for the *piano nobile* with statue-filled niches (it was Percier and Fontaine who completed the east wing and opened up the windows we see today). Thus, at the time of its construction this gigantic creation was in reality no more than a blind, cardboard-thin backdrop whose chief and only purpose was the representation of royal power. But what a backdrop! Never before had an attempt been made to transpose Roman temple ar-

chitecture to a palace façade of this measure. Like the Aile Lescot, the east front is divided into five parts, but at this scale the majesty of the five-part arrangement takes on its full significance, proving its ability to cadence a very long elevation. At ground-floor level we find an extremely plain basement on which sits the giant colonnade, whose columns rise the full height of the next two storeys up to the roof line. But, for the first time in a French Classical château, there is no roof, the high attics up till then characteristic of French architecture having here been replaced by a continuous balustrade (an innovation possibly inspired by Bernini's unexecuted east-front projects). This highly Romanizing balustrade is the most obvious example of a general move towards stricter Classicism throughout the east front's design. Another is the famous colonnade, whose subtle handling encapsulates all the genius of the east front's composition. Both Italian and French architects up to this point had generally always used pilasters, or at the most engaged columns, to decorate a façade, never a free-standing colonnade of this nature. Beautifully carved with typically French crispness, the colossal Corinthian columns are organized rather un-Classically in pairs along the main body of the façade's *arrière-corps*, which was a good way of ensuring the wide intercolumniation needed for fenestration (and which was presumably maintained by Perrault, despite the disappearance of the windows, because of its powerful visual effect). To mark the dominance of the pedimented central *avant-corps*, the rear wall breaks forward almost as far as the columns, and the order's intercolumniation subtly widens in the central bay to take on the tall arch of the palace's main entrance. Likewise, on reaching the pavilions the order metamorphoses into corner-defining pilasters decorating solid wall, while at the pavilions' centres we find a wider, arch-filled bay recalling the central bay of the *avant-corps*, which recedes in the manner of the *arrière-corps* and thereby allows for free-standing flanking columns. The plasticity of the principal run of the colonnade is thus reproduced in the pavilions and a unifying sense of depth is maintained across the entire façade. Cadencing the solid-wall parts of the elevation are pilasters that echo the colonnade in front, while in between them are pedimented openings surmounted by a string course at first-floor level, and, at second-floor level, garlanded medallions that are a direct quote from the Aile Lescot, inflated in size and containing Louis XIV's monogram. Altogether the east front presents a uniquely French combination of the Baroque (the dramatic scale of the colonnade's height and depth, the coupling of its columns, the order's varying rhythm and expression) and the Classical (the clearly expressed, simple massing, the free-standing columns, the straight severity of the roofline and unbroken entablatures, the precision and tautness of the carving) that seems perfectly to express the unbending majesty of absolutism. One might also argue that, gigantic, impersonal and rather cold as it is, the east front also well expressed the anonymous state bureaucracy

that was absolutism's chief apparatus. Whatever one's take, there is no doubt that the colonnade's influence was enormous; to cite just two examples in Paris one could mention Gabriel's Place-de-la-Concorde buildings (see 8.1) and Garnier's Opéra (9.13).

Perrault's plans for the east front were never completed in their entirety, the high attic storeys he had proposed for each of the end pavilions not being realized. This may have been due to lack of funds, although it is also possible that the omission was deliberate: by the late-17C the tall pavilions and lofty roofs that had up till then characterized French architecture, and which were an inheritance from the towers of medieval castles, were fast going out of fashion. The same can be said for the east front's dry moat, which was built according to plan but then immediately filled in again; another staple of French château architecture inherited from castles, moats went out of fashion in the same period. In 1964, as part of a restoration campaign at the Louvre, the east front's moat was opened up again. Of the moats originally surrounding the other three sides of the Cour Carrée's external perimeter, nothing now survives bar part of the counterscarp built by Le Vau in front of the Pavillon de l'Horloge, which was rediscovered during the Grand-Louvre excavations and today serves as a rather splendid gateway to the museum's subterranean galleries.

Perrault's interventions were not limited to the Louvre's outside elevations, for it is thought to have been him who made an important modification to the façades of the Cour Carrée. Colbert and his officials decided that in place of Lescot's attic storey there should be a fully fledged, pilastered third floor terminating in a flat balustrade like the east front. To get round the problem of Classical correctness, this rebuilt floor would sport a brand new »French order«, for which Perrault is thought to have won a competition in 1671. In the end, however, the third storey as built rather incorrectly sported a Corinthian order, and, as far as the central pavilions were concerned, coiffed itself with a simple triangular pediment in place of the elaborate upper levels of the Pavillon de l'Horloge. The presence of this new second floor, especially where the central pavilions are concerned, produces a much greater feeling of unity in comparison to the somewhat additive look of the Lescot/Le Mercier western wing, and also appears more conventionally Classical. Only the Cour Carrée's western wing now sports the old, Lescot-designed upper floor, all the others having been modified to match Perrault's design.

The two Napoleons – completion of the Grand Dessein

Napoleon's reasons for resurrecting the Grand Dessein were clear. Like Louis XIV and Colbert, he believed that princely intellect and grandeur were best expressed through an affluence of building, and went even further than them by deliberately seeking to emulate imperial Rome. The Louvre was perhaps the one exception in

this, since the decision to respect the palace's existing architecture set its symbolic weight within the Bourbon dynasty's lineage, directly recalling the grandeur of the 17C. But revival of the Grand Dessein was not only about architectural representation. As an emperor, Napoleon needed a court, in the sense of both a hierarchy of people of which he was head and of a physical backdrop against which his august person would be set. Moreover, as chief of the executive, he needed ministries and other administrative organizations near at hand. The obvious example of exactly this kind of absolutist power base was of course Versailles. But the sun had set for good on Louis XIV's suburban palace, and, again essentially for politico-symbolic reasons, Napoleon chose the Tuileries as his principal residence. Reviving the Grand Dessein was thus the perfect way of creating a Versailles-style administrative centre in the heart of the city.

The first task the emperor set Fontaine and Percier was completion of the Cour Carrée, which they achieved by 1810. The northern, eastern and southern wings were roofed, the missing carving on the palace's façades supplied, and a start made on the interior, including the vaulting of the Salle des Cariatides. Napoleon actively championed the Musée du Louvre and ordered the reconfiguring of the Grande Galerie, which was where the paintings were exhibited. During the 18C the painter Hubert Robert had suggested blocking the gallery's windows and instead installing roof lights to provide better viewing conditions, an idea taken up by Percier and Fontaine, who also supplied the Corinthian order and transverse arcades cadencing the gallery's length today. In 1810, the emperor ordered construction of new accommodation in the form of the Louvre's Rivoli wing; work continued on and off until 1824, at which point it stretched from the Tuileries as far as the roadway running through the Place du Carrousel.

The fall of the First Empire essentially put a stop to furtherance of the Grand Dessein, but Fontaine and Percier continued working on the Louvre's interiors, producing much of the décor we see today. In 1818, under Louis XVIII, they built monumental staircases in each of the east wing's pavilions; during the reign of Charles X (1824–30), they decorated the first floor of the Le-Mercier wing to house the Conseil d'Etat, and also created a first-floor suite of rooms on the courtyard side of the southern wing to display the Egyptian antiquities recently acquired by the museum; and in the early 1830s, under Louis Philippe, they fitted out the Galerie Campana on the southern wing's Seine side, again to provide exhibition space for the museum. Inventors of the »Empire style« under Napoleon, Fontaine and Percier were arguably more accomplished as interior designers than as architects *per se*, and their Louvre rooms, especially the Egyptian galleries (which today house ancient-Greek artefacts), amply demonstrate the exquisite neo-Classical décor for which they were famed. Delicate mouldings and an inspired use of colour characterized their work, which also relied heav-

ily on painted scenes: those realized by Ingres in the Egyptian galleries are especially celebrated.

Despite the four decades they devoted to the Louvre, Fontaine and Percier's interventions pale into insignificance beside the enormous *travaux* realized by Lefuel, who transformed the palace beyond recognition. On seizing absolute power, Napoleon III revived his uncle's ambitions, organizing his court in exactly the manner of the First Empire's and transferring his official residence from the Elysée (8.16) to the Tuileries. Completion of the Grand Dessein was thus a question of building the Versailles-style power base his uncle had planned. The Louvre-Tuileries super-palace inaugurated by Napoleon III in 1857 provided, amongst others, private imperial apartments and state *salons d'apparat* in the Tuileries, accommodation for the interior ministry and the ministry of police and telegraphs in the Louvre's Richelieu wing (the new chunk of the palace built by Lefuel to link Percier and Fontaine's Rivoli wing to the Cour Carrée), an imperial riding school and attendant stables disposed around the Cour Lefuel (part of the new buildings erected between the western, external façade of the Cour Carrée and the northern, internal façade of the Aile de la Grande Galerie), as well as barracks for the imperial guard and countless other royal and governmental facilities. And then of course there was the museum, which not only retained its previously won territory but gained extra space. It fell to Lefuel to provide a suitable *visage* for the newly completed parts of this imperial city, whose principal component was the Cour Napoléon. With the notable exception of Perrault, the Louvre's architects up to this point had respected absolutely, even to the point of slavishly copying, the palace's 16C architecture, and many contemporaries expected Lefuel to do the same. It is to his credit that he did not, instead choosing to take the palace's historic elevations as a reference point from which to create a style all of his own. In the Cour Napoléon, for example, Lefuel reproduced the basic disposition of the Pavillon de l'Horloge's Cour-Carrée façade on all the pavilions, but inflated it with countless minor aggrandizements (a twinned instead of a single order, free-standing columns rather than pilasters, a superabundance of sculpture filling every available space) to produce an effect of sumptuous ostentation that was quite different from the original. Lefuel's Louvre may be pompously overblown, it may have eschewed 19C technological developments, it is certainly historicizing, but it is undeniably unique to its era. References to France's history and especially to royal architecture everywhere abounded, from the staircase in the Cour Lefuel (via which horses entered the riding school), directly recalling Fontainebleau, to the statues of illustrious Frenchmen standing in rather comic watch atop the Cour Napoléon's ground-floor arcades.

The reconstructed Louvre came in for virulent attack from many contemporary critics, whose tenor is perhaps best summed up by Louis Veullot's comments: »Our new Louvre is grandly ostentatious and frivolous;

colossal, but not grand [grand in French meaning both »big« and »great«]. The colossal is as far from the grand as the pretty is from the beautiful ... [The palace] appears like a vulgar self-made man, all laden with trinkets and very pimpily ...« The inherent snobbery of Veullot's remarks perhaps hits at a certain truth, namely that, for the first time in French history, the members of the nation's court were almost exclusively drawn from the commercial bourgeoisie, both the French and Industrial Revolutions having put power in their hands. But their taste still aspired to the *ancien régime*, especially where the representation of a new, and somewhat parvenu monarchy was concerned. Simply aping the old regime was not enough however, the new one felt obliged, out of pride in its riches and probably also a snobbish feeling of inferiority and illegitimacy, to go one better in lading on the magnificence. This tendency was especially marked in Second-Empire interiors, of which the Louvre of course has many. By far its most celebrated are the Appartements Napoléon-III in the Richelieu wing, which were created as the official residence of the interior minister: gargantuan chandeliers, swathes of red velvet, acres of ceiling paintings, an explosion of mouldings and several kilos of gilt make for an environment of truly overwhelming opulence.

The Grand Louvre – 1981–20??

At the dawn of the third millennium, museums occupy an unprecedented position in world culture, having become perhaps the only globally recognized institution, whose buildings are the temples of a new, secular, non-doctrinaire religion. It was in this context that the enormous Grand-Louvre project was launched. At the time, the sorry state of the Musée du Louvre was a national scandal. Due to understaffing, many of its galleries were permanently closed and the entire museum was forced to shut on certain days. The provision of visitor facilities was pitiful, with only two lavatories and no parking, cars and coaches fighting for space in the neighbouring streets. Much of the collection was in storage due to lack of gallery space, and there was an acute shortage of »backstage« areas (conservation workshops, administrative accommodation, etc.). Visitor levels had fallen and were well below the numbers attracted by the Centre Pompidou (4.15) and a perceived lack of popular accessibility led to charges of elitism. There was not even a clearly marked entrance!

The idea of allowing the museum to expand into the entire palace was not new, but had previously been stymied by the finance ministry's stubborn refusal to leave. From the museum's point of view, however, the advantages of such a scheme were obvious: instead of being a kind of tenant in the palace, it would become the Louvre, the identity of the two concepts – museum and palace – thus fusing as one to form France's most prestigious cultural institution. President Mitterrand liked to put it another way: as well as providing the museum with the extra space it needed, the Grand-Louvre project would continue the work of the Revolutionaries and

open up the whole palace to the people. On the one hand this was an attack by France's socialist president on the country's *énarque*-led establishment (expelling the arrogant finance ministry from its prestigious home), but on the other, as we shall see, the Grand Louvre represented the president's own personal ambitions as a statesman and was as much about proclaiming France's greatness to the world as it was about providing her people with access to what was theirs anyway.

On the practical, architectural front, the extension of the museum into the finance ministry's premises engendered a logistical conundrum: because of the palace's U-shape, the inclusion of the Richelieu wing in the museological circuit would result in the farthest galleries being 1.5 km apart, a distance considered unacceptably great. As the palace consisted of symmetrical, stage-set architecture, it would be extremely difficult to make any surface additions to the building, besides which its listed status and the weight of public opinion against external modifications would make such an intervention impossible. Therefore the only viable way of linking the museum's farthest galleries was to go underground and excavate the Cour Napoléon (again, not a new idea), an option that also had the advantage of providing supplementary space where backstage activities could be housed, thus leaving the surface buildings entirely free for galleries. As well as new galleries in the Richelieu wing and new underground accommodation, the parts of the palace already occupied by the museum would be overhauled and the building's fabric cleaned and restored.

For this, the most cherished of his »grands projets« (at least until the launch of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (13.3)), Mitterrand eschewed the usual design competition, instead personally appointing his chosen architect, the Sino-American Ieoh Ming Pei, whose extension to the National Gallery in Washington the French president had greatly admired. The project's essential outlines were already determined, but there remained the tricky question of the museum's entrance. The building's various, unmarked points of entry were considered unsatisfactory, and for the sake of symbolic and monumental *convenance* a single, easily perceptible entrance was called for. Pei's response to this aspect of the brief has become legendary: a huge glass pyramid filling the centre of the Cour Napoléon and lighting a subterranean hall linked by radiating passages to the surrounding wings. The pyramid was intended as a »beacon« to visitors, as well as providing a suitably grandiose portal for the Louvre in thoroughly modern shopping-mall/atrium/airport mode. Public reaction to Pei's proposal took the form of unbridled uproar. Many were incensed at what they perceived as a ploy by Mitterrand to create a personal mausoleum out of one of France's most important historic monuments, the pyramid's obvious pharaonic associations earning him the sobriquets Mitterramsés I and Ton Ton Khamon (»ton ton«, meaning »uncle«, already being one of his nicknames). For others, the pyramid, or any intervention of



1.8 Palais du Louvre. Cour Napoléon

its kind, would be a nasty modern excrement on a cherished national symbol. And then there was a more pragmatic school of criticism that questioned the wisdom and necessity of having a single main entrance of this sort: given the Louvre's great size, and given that its collections cover fields which in London, for example, are split between three museums (the British Museum, the National Gallery and the Victoria & Albert Museum), was it not far more sensible to provide the building with multiple smaller entrances allowing quick access to specific collections? The enormous queues that today build up outside the pyramid, and the opening of the Porte-des-Lions entrance (Yves Lion and Alan Lewitt, 1999) in an attempt to alleviate the problem, bear witness to the sagacity of those who originally proposed multiple entrances. But the Grand Louvre was not simply about providing a working museum, it was about grand gestures of state power and national greatness, and Pei's scheme was pushed through against all objections.

As one French critic pointed out, in a modern republic only museums can aspire to royal majesty, and the Cour Napoléon as remodelled by Pei is a truly magisterial urban space. Gone are the miserable gardens and finance-ministry cars of 20 years ago, replaced by a vast mineral expanse of diamond-patterned paving, whose blankness and austerity emphasize the palace's immensity. In the centre of the void sits the pyramid, an immaculate, »Platonic« object of the type that so appealed to Mitterrand, surrounded by triangular pools which in summer sport impressively powerful fountains. Because of the Louvre's famous skewness in relation to the *grand axe* (the triumphal way departing from the Jardin des Tuileries), Pei placed a reproduction of

Bernini's equestrian statue of Louis XIV in front of the pyramid, in the line of the axis, in the hope that it would, as he put it, »ameliorate an incoherent composition«. The pyramid itself, like that at Giza, is proportioned according to the golden section, 35 m wide by 21 m high, it supports 86 tonnes of lozenge-shaped glass panels on a stainless-steel welded frame that stands up thanks to a secondary network of tensed cables connected by hand-crafted nodes, whose manufacture was entrusted to a Massachusetts firm specialized in high-tech yacht riggings. The pyramid's specially made laminated glass has none of the greenish iron-oxide tinge present in commercially available glass, and thus ensures minimum colour distortion when the Louvre's façades are seen through the pyramid. Great care was also taken to avoid physical distortion when fitting the glass, the structure being pre-stressed with a set of weights, each of which was lifted off as its corresponding pane was installed. Whether or not one approves of the pyramid (and, despite the initial negative hype, most people do), one cannot but admire its splendid engineering and the way it manages to be both solid and immaterial all at once, providing a focal point for a previously banal space and somehow ennobling Lefuel's overwrought façades.

On entering the pyramid's bottleneck entrance (much criticized because it ruins the perfect geometric form), one arrives on a little platform with plunging views down to the Hall Napoléon, the museum's basement entrance concourse. One can either descend via the escalators to the right, or take the bravura spring-form stainless-steel spiral staircase to the left, which also contains at its centre a space-age piston lift for disabled visitors. If the pyramid's entry and descent are clearly inadequate for the 6 million annual visitors, the concourse itself is made to their measure, a vast cubic space floored and

clad in honey-coloured limestone, except for its coffered concrete ceilings, which at first glance one might not recognize as concrete at all. Enormous effort was made to ensure the concrete would be as »noble« as the stone it coiffs: specially dredged Nièvre-Valley sand was used to achieve the same golden hue as the limestone, the shuttering was assembled with cabinet-maker's precision from hand-selected, knot-less strips of Oregon pine, and the set concrete was twice sanded and then waxed to achieve a flawless finish.

Building of the Hall Napoléon was but phase 1 of the Grand-Louvre operation. Phases 2, 3 and 4 involved the gutting of the Richelieu wing to install brand-new galleries in place of the finance ministry's vacated offices, the excavation of all the land under the Place du Carrousel to provide car parks, multi-purpose exhibition spaces, auditoria and a major shopping mall (the Galerie du Carrousel, whose revenues were intended to recoup some of the Grand Louvre's cost), and, last but not least, the refurbishing and extension of the galleries in the old part of the museum. All the Richelieu-wing galleries are extremely slick and chic, their lighting and *mise en scène* often brilliantly thought through. High-lights include the courtyards, which were glassed over with an extremely elegant Peter-Rice-designed metallic structure to display large-scale sculpture, the top-floor painting galleries, whose ingenious cross-shaped roof-

lights let the sky in but keep harmful sunshine out, and the full-height set of monumental central escalators. The Galerie du Carrousel, built by Michel Macary in association with Pei, was realized along the same lines as the Hall Napoléon, with just as much care, to produce an equally slick and overwhelmingly beige environment. Here the parallels between museum-going and shopping are made abundantly clear. Where the Galerie's main axes meet, daylight is introduced via the »pyramide inversée«, a humorous reference to its bigger, right-side-up sister upstairs. Another Peter-Rice-designed structure, it has all the technological bravura of its surface confrère as well as the added property of bevelled edges that refract light and create magical rainbow effects across the Galerie's floor. Further drama is provided at the Galerie's western entrance by the remains of Charles V's defensive circuit, which was rediscovered during excavation work and incorporated into the circulatory route. As for the museum's original galleries, the last decade has seen refurbishment of more than 15,000 m², much of which is beautifully realized, and another 8,000 m² are to be reconditioned by 2005. But this will almost certainly not be the end of it, for the Musée du Louvre is now so huge that, like the Forth Bridge, it will be forever *en travaux*.

1.9 Arc du Carrousel

Place du Carrousel

Pierre-François-Léonard Fontaine and Charles Percier, 1806–08

(Métro: Palais-Royal Musée du Louvre)

The construction of a triumphal arch in the Place du Carrousel was decreed in 1806 by Napoleon to commemorate his victories in Europe and to honour the soldiers of the Grande Armée. The arch was also intended as a monumental gateway to the Palais des Tuileries (see 1.10), and was just one of a number of edifices planned by the emperor in his desire to endow Paris with monuments in the manner of imperial Rome. Fontaine and Percier, his chosen architects, were called upon to realize the scheme.

Modelled on the Arch of Constantine (perhaps an unfortunate choice given the latter's distinction as the last victory monument completed before the disintegration of the Roman Empire), the Arc du Carrousel is of classic three-bay design, decorated with pink-marble Corinthian columns and relief sculptures by Joseph Chinard depicting Napoleon's campaigns overseas. Crowning the edifice is a chariot drawn by replicas of the famous antique horses of St. Mark's in Venice; the originals, carried off as booty after Napoleon's conquest of the city, adorned the arch until their return to Venice in 1815. The detailing and craftsmanship of the work are superb.

The arch's dimensions were deliberately restricted so as not to overwhelm the Palais des Tuileries, and as a result it lacks presence. Napoleon was disappointed, and considered the Porte Saint-Denis (10.1) more suitably imposing. Since the enlargement of the Louvre

1.8 Palais du Louvre. Cour Puget





1.9 Arc du Carrousel

(1.8) and the destruction of the Tuileries, the Arc du Carrousel seems more than ever out of scale with its context.

1.10 Jardin des Tuileries

Begun 1566
(Métro: Palais Royal Musée du Louvre, Tuileries, Concorde)

The setting for some of the most turbulent events of French history, the Jardin des Tuileries is today one of the biggest and loveliest parks of Paris *intra muros*. It was created for Queen Catherine de Médicis who, in 1564, began construction of a palace just outside the western walls of the capital, which took the name of the tile factories (*tuileries*) it displaced. Her chosen architect was Philibert De l'Orme, who was succeeded by Jean Bullant in 1570. Completed in its initial state in the 1580s, the palace consisted of a symmetrical row of five classical pavilions, the central one sporting a bulbous *toit à l'impériale*. After construction of the Grande Galerie du Louvre (see 1.8), another pavilion was built onto the Palais des Tuileries, in 1608–10, linking it to the Louvre's Pavillon de Flore. This arrangement was duplicated to the north by Louis Le Vau in 1659–66, bringing the palace's façade to its maximum width of 300 m. In the 19C, the two Napoleons joined the Tuileries to the Louvre to create one, huge super-palace; this megalomaniacal project was barely completed when, during the bloody weeks of the 1871 Commune, the Palais des Tuileries was burned to the ground. Its ruins lingered on until 1882, the year of their demolition as an anti-royalist gesture by the government of the Third Republic.

In front of Catherine de Médicis' new palace, the Florentine gardener Bernard de Carnessechi had created a garden of formal parterres covering a total of 28 ha. Six of these parterres were tended by a certain Pierre Le Nôtre, whose son, Jean, became head gardener in the early 17C, a position he passed on to his own son, André, in the 1630s. The great André Le Nôtre was thus brought up and educated at the Tuileries, although his reputation as a landscape gardener was made elsewhere (see Vaux-le-Vicomte, 37.1). In 1664, his brilliance

now recognized, Le Nôtre was asked to remodel the Jardin des Tuileries in preparation for Louis XIV's return to Paris following a period of withdrawal to Versailles (32.1). The new gardens, realized in tandem with Le Vau's extensions to the palace, were thus conceived with the express purpose of glorifying the monarch.

Work lasted over a decade, during which time Le Nôtre totally changed the aspect of the Tuileries, putting the majesty of perspective at the service of the king. The wall separating the palace from the gardens was removed and replaced with a flight of steps uniting the two. The central walkway bisecting the terrain was widened to prioritize the principal axis, and was endowed with two large pools, one near the château and one at the gardens' western extremity. The latter pool was made bigger than the former to counteract the diminishing effect of distance. Moreover, the pathways encircling each pool were contrived so as to correct the effects of foreshortening – when viewed from the château, the pools looked as though at the apparent centre of the circular paths. Le Nôtre was here applying the rules of Descartes's *Dioptrique*, and Descartes himself subsequently asked for plans of the Tuileries to help him when teaching pupils. The part of the gardens nearest the château was laid out with geometric parterres around two further pools, while the central area was planted in a less formal manner with trees.

At the gardens' western end, Le Nôtre cut a central opening in the rampart separating them from their environs to open up the perspective onto the surrounding countryside. Handsome, curved ramps were built, framing the opening and providing access to the ramparts, from where one could look back over the gardens or out towards the Chaillot hill. At Le Nôtre's suggestion, the king bought up the land beyond the gardens, which Le Nôtre then landscaped, creating a 2.3 km-long, straight avenue of trees which continued

1.10 Jardin des Tuileries



the gardens' axis all the way up to the horizon. The royal prerogative was thus symbolically extended into infinity while, conversely, visitors approaching Paris were presented with a magnificent perspective converging onto His Majesty's palace. The axis became today's Avenue des Champs-Élysées; Le Nôtre also laid out the Rond-Point and the basis of the Etoile (now Place Charles-de-Gaulle (see 16.1)). In his day, the land nearest the gardens between the axis and the Cours-la-Reine was filled with staggered rows of trees.

Although replanted in the 19C to suit the tastes of the era, the Jardin des Tuileries still retains the general outline of Le Nôtre's masterplan. In 1991–95, as part of the Grand Louvre project, the gardens were renewed by the landscape architects Pascal Cribier and Louis Bénêch. At the same time, the Jardin du Carrousel – created within the Louvre's Place du Carrousel after demolition of the Palais des Tuileries – was redesigned by Jacques Wirtz, with rows of yew hedges radiating out from the Arc du Carrousel (1.9) towards the Jardin des Tuileries. In addition, the Avenue du Général-Monnier, which formerly separated the Tuileries from the Carrousel, was sunk into an underpass, allowing the two gardens to be physically joined.

The Tuileries are home to both the Musée de l'Orangerie and the Galerie Nationale du Jeu de Paume. The neo-Renaissance-style Orangerie was built in 1853, and now houses the Walter-Guillaume collection, as well as Monet's waterlilies. In 1861–64, the Jeu de Paume (real-tennis court) was built as a pendant to the Orangerie by the architect Viraut. For many years the repository of the nation's Impressionist collections, it was transformed into a gallery of contemporary art in 1987–91 after the Impressionists' move to the Musée d'Orsay (7.1) in 1986. Antoine Stinco, the architect responsible for the conversion, gutted the interior and installed a suite of cool, white galleries, top-lit on the first floor. A generous, full-height entrance hall, entirely glazed within the fabric of the existing building, leads to an *escalier d'honneur* situated in a sort of «canyon» on the building's southern flank, with fine views out onto some of the most famous monuments of the Parisian skyline.

1.11 Rue de Rivoli

Pierre-François Léonard Fontaine and Charles Percier, begun 1804

(Métro: Concorde–Louvre Rivoli)

One of Paris's major traffic axes and famed the world over, the Rue de Rivoli has a long and complex history. After completion of the Place de la Concorde (8.1) in the 1770s, many projects were put forward for a uniform street running from the *place* to the Louvre alongside the Jardin des Tuileries (1.10), usually in conjunction with schemes to unite the Louvre and Tuileries palaces. It was Napoleon who finally authorized construction of such a street, and who took the first steps towards creating a Tuileries-Louvre super-palace (see 1.8). The emperor turned to his official architects, Fontaine and



1.11 Rue de Rivoli

Percier, for the realization of this major urban development.

As well as constituting a Louvre–Concorde link, the street was also intended to provide a suitably august backdrop to the Jardin des Tuileries and to unite the majestic *grand axe* of which the gardens were a part. This was a speculative scheme, in the tradition of Henri IV's Place des Vosges (4.19): owners of plots could build upon them as they pleased provided their façades conformed to Fontaine and Percier's master-design. The architects' elevations featured prominent ground-floor arcades, probably inspired by the Rue des Colonnes (2.7) and also by Italian arcaded streets, above which rose three restrained floors coiffed by a curved zinc attic. Almost entirely free of ornament and animated only by window surrounds and first and third-floor balconies, the façades are sober but nonetheless charming. As well as the Rue de Rivoli itself, the scheme involved the cutting through of the Rue de Castiglione (to link up with the Place Vendôme (1.13)) and also of the Rue and Place des Pyramides. Very slow off the ground, due to the building slump of the 1800s and 1810s, the project was not completed until the mid-1830s.

Napoleon I's Rue de Rivoli ended at the Place du Palais-Royal; it was Napoleon III who had Baron Haussmann extend the street to its current 3 km length in the 1850s. This was one of Haussmann's first and most cherished projects which, in tandem with the north-south run of the Boulevards de Sébastopol and Saint-Michel, formed the east-west axis of the Grande Croisée («great crossing») so fundamental to his plans for Paris. Large hotels were amongst the new buildings lining the extended street, and the project was rushed through to be ready in time for the Exposition Universelle of 1855. Fontaine and Percier's by then old-fashioned façades were repeated for the sections running parallel to the Louvre (parts of which were also under construction). In this way, Napoleon III presumably hoped to identify his regime with the glory of his uncle's, but repetition on this scale resulted only in extreme monotony.



1.12 Notre-Dame-de-l'Assomption

1.12 Notre-Dame-de-l'Assomption

263 bis, rue Saint-Honoré
Charles Errard, 1670–76
(Métro: Concorde, Madeleine)

In 1622, at the bidding of Cardinal de La Rochefoucauld, the Ladies of the Assumption installed themselves in the Rue Saint-Honoré. Nothing now remains of their convent buildings bar the chapel, designed by the first director of the Académie de France in Rome. Both painter and architect, Errard was the great rival of Charles Le Brun, who conspired to get Errard sent to Rome in order to distance him from prestigious commissions back home. Errard was not present for the construction of the chapel, but sent plans which were executed by a M. Cheret, and the latter may be accountable for some of the peculiarities of the finished building.

Originally framed by the convent courtyard, the chapel now stands alone on a small square. One is immediately struck by the huge domed drum surmounting the edifice, which is so disproportionate to the domestic-scale buildings below that waspish contemporaries nicknamed it the »sot dome« (»sot« means »stupid«, and when pronounced quickly with »dôme« sounds like »Sodom«). The combination of portico and dome was clearly inspired by the Roman Pantheon, and the portico itself was probably directly influenced by the Sorbonne (5.5). The drum is pierced by eight, large, rectan-

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gular windows, alternated with framed niches, and a garland motif fills the blank space at its base. Considerably more successful than the exterior, the interior is regulated by twinned, colossal Corinthian pilasters, while the coffered dome is adorned at its apex with a fresco by Charles de La Fosse depicting the Assumption of the Virgin.

1.13 Place Vendôme

Jules Hardouin-Mansart, begun 1698
(Métro: Opéra, Tuileries)

The Place Vendôme was one in a succession of royally-inspired speculative developments, which began with Henri IV's Place des Vosges (4.19). In 1685, Louis XIV bought up the Hôtel de Vendôme from the near-bankrupt duke of the same name with the intention of using the site to build an arcaded square to house the royal library and academies. The façades of this project were built, but financial difficulties necessitated a change of plan and, in 1698, the king sold the land to the municipality. Under Louis's supervision, a new scheme was devised: after demolition of the extant building work, new façades of a square to a design by Hardouin-Mansart would be erected and the plots behind sold off for the construction of *hôtels particuliers*. The project thus constituted a regularized urban stage set, boasting royal assent, behind which the wealthy could build as they chose.

1.13 Place Vendôme



The open arcades of the original scheme were abandoned and the size of the enclosure reduced in order to render the project commercially viable. All four sides of the square were built where before there had only been three – the fourth had been left open to frame the Couvent des Capucines (now demolished) – and attic storeys were added where previously there were none. The inclusion of diagonal elevations at the intersections of the square avoided dingy corners and maximized the surface area to be sold.

The *place* is entered at only two points, where it is bisected by a north–south thoroughfare. Hardouin-Mansart's handsome façades show Baroque influence but are restrained by Italian standards of the day, in keeping with French notions of *bon goût*. A rusticated podium of false arcades supports upper storeys decorated with colossal Corinthian pilasters, which become engaged columns on the pedimented *avant-corps* at the centre of each of the two longest façades and in the corners of the square. The whole is surmounted by a sturdy entablature, and the mansard roof is lit by alternating dormer and *œil-de-boeuf* windows (many of the latter were later enlarged into dormers to provide more light). Despite the prestige the square has always enjoyed, it spawned no successors in Paris (a comparable project is the slightly earlier, circular Place des Victoires (2.2), also by Hardouin-Mansart).

Of the mansions behind the façades, the most interesting are the Hôtel de Crozat (1703) and the Hôtel d'Evreux (1706) at nos. 17 and 19 respectively, both by Pierre Bullet. The plan of the Hôtel d'Evreux, whose frontage extends only partially across one of Hardouin-Mansart's corner pedimented façades, ingeniously solves the problem of creating a symmetrical building behind an awkward exterior. The latitude of Bullet's room layouts in both *hôtels* anticipated Rococo developments. No. 15, built in 1705, was converted into a hotel in 1896 by Charles Mewès for the hotelier César Ritz, whose name it now bears. Mewès' luxurious Louis-Seize interiors set the trend for Edwardian hotel design and established modern standards of hotel comfort.

The Place Vendôme originally provided the setting for an equestrian statue of Louis XIV dressed à l'*antique*, destroyed during the Revolution. In 1806, Jacques Gondoin and Jean-Baptiste Lepère erected the Colonne Vendôme in honour of Napoleon's victory at Austerlitz. It was cast from metal obtained by melting down the 1,250 Austrian and Russian cannons captured during the battle. Its form is borrowed from Trajan's Column in Rome, and Napoleon's military campaigns are depicted upon it in spiralling bas-reliefs, in imitation of its Antique predecessor. A statue of the emperor by Antoine-Denis Chaudet crowns the column which, toppled during the Commune, was rebuilt in 1873.

In 1991–92, the square was given a 54-million-franc facelift under the direction of Pierre Prunet, Architecte en Chef des Monuments Historiques. Its entire surface was repaved in light-grey granite, parking of cars was



1.14 Annexe to Banque Paribas headquarters

prohibited, and a riot of reproduction Second-Empire candelabra planted across it in straight lines. Not a leaf now disturbs the severe chic of this hard and very French urban environment.

1.14 Annexe to Banque Paribas headquarters

Place du Marché Saint-Honoré
Taller de Arquitectura Ricardo Bofill, 1989–97
(Métro: Pyramides, Tuileries)

Once the focal point of its neighbourhood, this little market square was built on the site of the confiscated Couvent des Jacobins in the 1800s. Later in the 19C, the centre of the square was covered with four iron-and-glass market pavilions, which survived until the 1950s when they were swept away to be replaced by an ugly multi-storey car park. This decision was soon bitterly regretted, and when the lease on the car park finally expired, in 1985, the Ville de Paris seized the chance to make amends. Before any potential clients had even been found, the municipality approached Ricardo Bofill and asked him to draw up plans for a mixed-use complex of shops and offices to replace the car park. Banque Paribas came in at a later stage, and worked closely with Bofill and his team to ensure they got the kind of building that would suit the firm's sober image.

In both its form and external materials – the façade is entirely in steel and glass – Bofill's building pays

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homage to the market halls of 19C Paris. What we have here is 90s Bofill: no more elephantine PoMo Classical borrowings (e.g. »Les Echelles du Baroque«, 14.2), but instead a slick, elegant structure inspired by Hi-tech and early-Modernist neoclassicism. Based on the form of a Greek temple, the building's otherwise smooth, sheer façades feature projecting fins signalling the phantom presence of base, columns, entablature and pediment. Prior to the advent of the car park, the Place du Marché Saint-Honoré was bisected by a thoroughfare, a layout which has been restituted by Bofill, thus dividing his building in two. The resulting covered street is reminiscent of the arcades which proliferated in Paris in the first half of the 19C (see feature on arcades and passages), and indeed was designed to be lined with shops (in the eventuality, the majority of the boutiques were let to only a limited number of retailers, producing a very different ambience). The covered arcade, which is closed at night, is traversed above by steel footbridges, linking the divided halves of the Paribas offices. The latter (15,000 m²), fitted out by Bofill, are sleek and coolly minimal.

One of the most immediately striking features of this building is the pristine finish of its materials, from the polished white concrete of its slender pillars to the ubiquitous glass which envelops the offices in a double skin, 75 cm apart for better thermal and acoustic insulation. This is not profound architecture, but the building is nonetheless highly effective, an immaculate crystal cathedral, all glittering transparency and light, in the midst of a huddle of narrow old streets. Moreover, its basement storeys provide parking for 1,000 cars, thus filling the gap left by its unadorned predecessor.

1.15 Saint-Roch

296, rue Saint-Honoré

Various architects, principally Jacques Le Mercier, 1653–1740

(Métro: Pyramides, Palais-Royal Musée du Louvre)

The church of Saint-Roch as we see it today owes its existence to the proximity of the Louvre (1.8) and the Palais des Tuileries (see 1.10). As the court became increasingly present at these two neighbouring palaces, so the surrounding *quartier* attracted the rich and influential, who made known their desire to rebuild the modest, original Saint-Roch in a style more befitting their illustriousness. Begun in 1653 to designs by the then Premier Architecte du Roi, Jacques Le Mercier, the new church is typical of its era in that it is a Classical adaptation of the traditional, local, Gothic type-form. Thus in plan Saint-Roch is modelled directly on Notre-Dame (4.2), with the same apse-ambulatory and non-projecting-transsept layout. Just as in a Gothic church, low, chapel-lined side-aisles flank the tall main vessel, whose two-storey internal elevations comprise a Doric arcade coiffed by a clerestory rising into the high barrel vault above. At the crossing, standing in for a Gothic rib vault, we find a shallow saucer dome floating on pendentives. Indeed, so much is Saint-Roch a product of

the Gothic tradition that externally, on its functional lateral elevations, it even displays flying buttresses, albeit Classically remodelled ones.

Work on Saint-Roch progressed slowly but steadily, and by the turn of the 18C the church was complete bar its high vault and main entrance façade. The Premier Architecte du Roi of the day, Jules Hardouin-Mansart, was called in to complete the edifice, but instead of seeing to the missing elements he decided to enlarge the church by adding the Chapelle de la Vierge and its pendant Chapelle de la Communion at the rear of the building. Begun in 1706, two years before Hardouin-Mansart's death, the chapels were completed by Pierre Bullet and inaugurated in 1710. Theatrically Baroque, the two-storey, domed, oval Chapelle de la Vierge is enveloped by a circular, one-storey ambulatory (which runs directly off the apse ambulatory) leading to the Chapelle de la Communion. Bullet modified Hardouin-Mansart's plans so that the rear of the Chapelle de la Vierge opens onto the ambulatory behind, thereby creating an extraordinary perspective when viewed from the choir. In the 1750s, the then vicar, Jean-Baptiste Marduel, undertook an ambitious programme of decoration at Saint-Roch that included the Chapelle de la Vierge's elaborate *gloire*, modelled on that at St. Peter's in Rome, and its dome painting, by Jean-Baptiste Pierre, which represents the Assumption.

1.15 Saint-Roch



Saint-Roch was only finally vaulted in the 1720s (the choir-vault and crossing paintings are later, dating from the 19C), and had to wait until the 1730s for the construction of its principal façade. Designed by Robert de Cotte (Hardouin-Mansart's brother-in-law and former assistant), it breaks with the twin-tower composition originally planned by Le Mercier and instead returns to the Roman, Jesuit model that had inspired Parisian churches of the first half of the 17C, for example the Sorbonne (5.5) and the Val-de-Grâce (5.9). A grand, two-storey affair in the Gesù tradition, Saint-Roch's entrance façade broke with the relative delicacy of its predecessors in its heavily projecting, central *avant-corps* and in its exclusive use of ponderous engaged columns instead of the more usual pilasters. De Cotte's design was criticized in its day for its abundant carvings, most of which have since been lost.

The final major addition to Saint-Roch came in 1754 as part of Marduel's programme of improvements. Onto the rear of the church Etienne-Louis Boullée tacked a Chapelle de la Calvaire, which featured at its centre a sort of rocky grotto with a sculpture of the crucifixion dramatically illuminated from a hidden light source above. Sadly, Boullée's work was essentially destroyed in the 19C when the chapel was rebuilt and enlarged to serve as a Chapelle des Catéchismes, although the central niche was preserved *in situ* and, on the rare occasions when the Chapelle de la Communion's shutters are open, still terminates the extraordinary *enfilade* of spaces of which Saint-Roch is composed.

1.16 Palais-Royal

Place du Palais-Royal

Various architects, begun c. 1634

(Métro: Palais-Royal Musée du Louvre)

The complex of buildings today known as the Palais-Royal stands on the site of the former Palais-Cardinal, the sumptuous residence Cardinal Richelieu built for himself in the 1630s after becoming Louis XIII's chief minister. Situated not far from the Louvre (1.8), thereby allowing Richelieu quick access to the king and the court, the Palais-Cardinal was famous for its lavish interiors and for its splendid gardens, as well as for its two theatres, the bigger of which later became home to the Paris opera. Long before his death, Richelieu bequeathed the palace to Louis XIII, reserving for himself only the usufruct, probably in a political move to preempt the king's eventual jealousy over the magnificence of his chief minister's residence. Following Richelieu's demise, the Palais-Royal, as it was thereafter known, did not become the seat of government as the cardinal had hoped, but was allocated to royal personages of second importance – firstly Louis XIII's widow, then the exiled Queen Henrietta Maria of England and afterwards, in the 1660s, to the dukes of Orléans, who shaped the building we see today. In the 19C, following the fall of the Second Empire, the palace became home to the Conseil d'Etat and the *sous-secrétariat aux Beaux-Arts*; the Conseil is still housed within its walls,



1.16 Palais-Royal

but the Ministère de la Culture has now taken the place of the *sous-secrétariat*. The palace's thespian tradition continues, two theatres still forming part of the complex: the Théâtre du Palais-Royal and the Comédie-Française, France's prestigious national playhouse. Nothing now remains of the palace as Richelieu knew it, his buildings having been entirely replaced during a series of reconstruction campaigns carried out during the 18C and 19C. Despite this, the cardinal's legacy lives on in the layout and general disposition of the current complex and especially in its beautiful gardens, which are one of Paris's more surprising secrets.

Richelieu's palace was disposed around two courtyards, one giving onto the Rue Saint-Honoré (known today as the Cour de l'Horloge) and the other opening out onto the garden (generally referred to as the Cour d'Honneur), an arrangement which the current building retains. The oldest surviving structure in today's ensemble is the northern section of the Rue-de-Valois wing, opposite the Place de Valois (whose buildings originally housed the servants and services of the Palais-Royal). This part of the palace was built in the 1750s by Pierre Contant d'Ivry for the then Duc d'Orléans, Louis-Philippe the Fat, and completed a partial reconstruction campaign that had been begun earlier in the century. Contant's designs stand midway between the Rococo flamboyance of the early-18C and the more sober Classicism of its latter half, and this hybrid quality is well illustrated at the Palais-Royal. His *avant-corps* on the Rue de Valois, with its giant balcony brackets and rather inventive detailing, combines Rococo-style decorative charm with a certain Classical solidity in its massing. The two surviving interiors by Contant in this part of the building – the Duchesse d'Orléans's dining room (now the Salle du Tribunal des Conflits of the Conseil d'Etat) and another of her former chambers (today the Conseil's Salle des Finances) – also illustrate this duality: the dining room is Classically bedecked with pilasters, while the more delicate adornment of the Salle des Finances recalls French-Regency-period interiors.

The next great wave of reconstruction at the Palais-Royal came in 1763, when a fire destroyed the bigger of Richelieu's theatres, home to the Paris opera. As the municipality was responsible for the opera, the cost of its rebuilding fell partly on the shoulders of the councillors, who consequently imposed their own architect, Pierre-Louis Moreau-Desproux, for the job. Louis-Philippe the Fat used the disaster as a pretext for rebuilding the principal sections of the palace, and commissioned his own architect, Contant d'Ivry, to this end. Moreau and Contant worked together on the rebuilding project, the former designing the opera and the façades of the new Cour de l'Horloge, while the latter was responsible for the interiors of the reconstructed *corps de logis* and for the façades of the Cour d'Honneur. Moreau's opera no longer survives, but the Cour de l'Horloge that we see today is essentially his. Its elevations continue 16C and 17C French traditions of secular building but with a lightness of touch that is characteristic of Louis XV's reign. Their domestic scale and use of rather weedy superimposed orders contrast with the grand manner of the 17C, everything here being designed to give an impression of quiet good taste where nothing sticks out or destroys the harmony of the whole. In the hands of a master like Ange-Jacques Gabriel, Louis XV's Premier Architecte, this approach could produce quite sublime buildings (e.g. the Petit Trianon, 32.4), but at the Palais-Royal the result is rather dull. Contant's garden-side façades pack a little more punch, and his splendid *escalier d'honneur*, with its domed covering and dramatic curved descent, is justly famous.

In 1780, Louis-Philippe the Fat, who had secretly married a commoner, Mme de Montesson, forsook the pomp of the Palais-Royal in order to be able to live more privately with his wife, and consequently left the palace to his son, the then Duc de Chartres (who became Duc d'Orléans on his father's death, in 1785). It was under Chartres's tenure that the Palais-Royal reached the apogee of its fame. Always short of cash, the duke decided to exploit the potential of his precocious inheritance by building six-storey apartment buildings with ground-floor colonnades of shops around three sides of the palace's garden. To this end, three new streets were constructed in front of the 17C houses that originally overlooked the garden, bearing the names of Montpensier, de Beaujolais and de Valois, after the duke's sons. Chartres's chosen architect for the new apartment buildings was Victor Louis, who had won fame with his design for the Théâtre de Bordeaux (1772–80). Begun in 1781, work progressed rapidly, and the buildings were inaugurated in 1784. Louis's principal façades are quite extraordinary in that very narrow bays (whose width was determined by the cadence of the palace itself), adorned with a colossal Composite order, are repeated over 200 times around the periphery of the garden. Without the obscuring filter of the garden's trees the effect would be monotonous in the extreme, despite the almost Bacchanalian rich-

ness of the decoration which, as well as the Composite order – the most elaborate of all – includes trophy medallions above the first-floor windows, swags and brackets adorning the entablature and giant urns topping off the balustrade. At any rate this architectural exuberance proved entirely appropriate to the hedonistic abandon promoted by the Duc de Chartres at the Palais-Royal. The public flocked there in droves, attracted by the winning combination of luxury commerce, gambling, *filles de joie* and absence of policemen (the Duc de Chartres was such an important personage that he could prohibit the police from entering his property).

Just four days before Louis received approval for his Palais-Royal colonnades, Moreau-Desproux's opera was destroyed by fire, much to the chagrin of the Duc de Chartres who had been banking on the opera's serving as a draw for his new development. Moreover, following the conflagration, the municipality decided not to rebuild on the same site. Not to be deterred, the duke decided to construct a new theatre at the palace anyway, and commissioned Louis to provide a design. Instead of having the auditorium rebuilt on its original site to the east of the palace, the duke directed that the new theatre be constructed to the west of the complex (which involved the destruction of the remaining 17C sections of the palace), thereby allowing the Rue de Valois to open directly into the Rue Saint-Honoré and thus better integrating the palace's colonnades into the urban fabric. Work on the new theatre (today's Comédie-Française) began in 1786 and was completed in 1790. The site was so cramped that Louis was forced to adopt the ingenious disposition of placing the entrance foyer under the auditorium. Although in many respects his design was traditional, in one aspect it was revolutionary: iron frames were used for the roof, the floors and the boxes, essentially in the interests of fire-proofing. Externally the building paraded dull, repetitive façades whose only intent was not to stand out from the Palais-Royal proper (the theatre as we see it today was extended in the 19C and rebuilt internally after a fire in 1900). The Théâtre du Palais-Royal (at the northern end of the Rue de Montpensier) was also originally by Louis, but was reconstructed by Louis Regnier de Guerchy in 1830. It is chiefly interesting for its elaborate iron fire escapes, added by Paul Sédille in 1880.

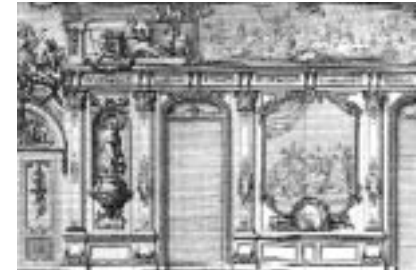
As well as the colonnades and the new theatre, the Duc de Chartres's interventions at the Palais-Royal were to have included the building of new wings onto the palace itself, one to replace the old buildings to the west of the Cour d'Honneur and another, brand-new wing closing this courtyard on its northern side. But funds ran out and the duke was never able to finish the work. The foundations of the northern wing had already been completed, and in a move to protect them from the elements and also to exploit further the commercial potential of the Palais-Royal, the duke granted a certain M. Romain (or Romois) the right to build a temporary, wooden structure on the site to house shops and boutiques. Put up in 1786, Romain's building, which be-

came known as the Galeries de Bois, was an instant hit with the public, and is often cited as one of the precursors to the craze for covered arcades that swept Paris in the early-19C (see feature on arcades and passages). The Galeries de Bois were later replaced by what became perhaps the most famous of Paris's covered arcades, the Galerie d'Orléans, built by Pierre-François-Léonard Fontaine and Charles Percier in 1828–30. The Galerie d'Orléans was demolished in the 1930s, but the parallel colonnades that delimited its lateral extremities still stand between the Cour d'Honneur and the gardens.

Like all other aristocratic property, the Palais-Royal was confiscated during the Revolution, but it was returned to the Orléans clan at the time of the Bourbon Restoration, in 1814. In 1817, the then duke – who later became King Louis Philippe – drew up a plan with Fontaine to complete the building work left unfinished by his father. Fontaine's most significant contribution, apart from the Galerie d'Orléans, was the western wing of the Cour d'Honneur, known as the Aile de Montpensier. Following its completion in 1830, no more major external building work was carried out at the palace until the creation of the highly controversial Colonnades de Buren in 1985–86. Brainchild of the then culture minister, Jack Lang, the Colonnades were the work of the artist Daniel Buren. Although often presented as art for art's sake, they were actually commissioned to dissimulate a change in the Cour d'Honneur's ground level engendered by the construction of a basement extension to the culture ministry's premises. The ventilation and other outlets of these new subterranean spaces were also to be masked by the installation, which replaced the car park that formerly occupied the courtyard. Officially entitled *Les Deux Plateaux*, Buren's work takes the form of a conceptual grid imposed on the courtyard, whose intersections are marked by candy-striped, black-and-white columns of different heights poking up from the courtyard's floor like sticks of seaside rock. Some of the columns continue below ground level in deep, water-filled channels. In one sense the installation can be read as an exploration of the perception and intellectual projection of space. Its construction provoked a national outcry, the project being attached for its cost, its «unsuitability» in the context of a «national monument» and because Lang ignored the directives of the Commission des Monuments Historiques, which was opposed to the scheme. Given the harmlessness of the result (deliberate – Buren wanted a monument that would not dominate), the fuss seems excessive, although on the financial front the columns have proved not only expensive to install but also to maintain.

1.17 Apartment building

33–35, rue Radziwill and 48, rue de Valois
Giraud de Talairac, 1781
(Métro: Palais-Royal Musée du Louvre)
Nicknamed the «tallest house in Paris», this nine-storey monster was a speculative block erected by a master



1.18 Hôtel de La Villière or de Toulouse, now Banque de France

mason. Its excessive height – extraordinary when one considers its date – served not only to maximize rents but also to attract the attention of the rather louche crowd that frequented the fashionable Palais-Royal (1.16) just next door. The building's plain exterior hid a shady dive which was reached by a double spiral staircase (still extant), ideal for those who wished to avoid undesired encounters when arriving or leaving. The building also contained the entrance to the Passage des Bons-Enfants, a glass-covered shortcut linking the Rue de Beaujolais and the then Rue des Bons-Enfants, that prefigured Paris's covered arcades (see feature on arcades and passages).

Two years later, in 1783, possibly in direct reaction to Talairac's giant, legislation was passed limiting for the first time the height of buildings erected in Paris. A royal declaration ordered that henceforth new streets be a minimum 30 feet (roughly 9.6 m) wide and fixed building heights in relation to the width of the street and the materials used for construction. Old streets less than 30 feet wide were to be widened as new buildings were constructed, which explains the discontinuity in the building line observable in many pre-1783 thoroughfares. The effects of these regulations were far-reaching. Not only did they alter the dynamics of the property market, capping maximum profitability, but they also produced an aesthetic effect of greater uniformity. The appearance of Paris is governed by height restrictions to this day.

1.18 Hôtel de La Villière or de Toulouse, now Banque de France

1, rue de La Villière
François Mansart, 1635–40
(Métro: Bourse)
Commissioned by the Marquis de La Villière, this was probably the first private residence built by Mansart in Paris, and in its epoch was considered the epitome of modernity. The simplicity and sobriety of its elevations, and the harmony of its separate volumes, were much admired. Occupation by the Banque de France has al-



1.19 Hôtel des Postes

tered the house to the point of unrecognizability today. Its most celebrated room was the long gallery running the entire length of the garden wing, and this gallery now constitutes the principal interest of the building. Lit by six enormous windows and covered with a shallow barrel vault, the gallery was unostentatiously decorated in Mansart's time, except for the magnificent allegorical ceiling frescoes by François Perrier.

Purchased in 1713 by the Comte de Toulouse, whose name it then took, the house was remodelled by Robert de Cotte and the gallery redecored in 1718–19 by François-André Vassé. His gilded carvings, which gave the room the name «Galerie Dorée», are a masterpiece of Rococo exuberance, and make allegorical reference to the Count's status as both Grand Amiral and Grand Veneur (master of the royal hounds).

Confiscated after the Revolution, the house was assigned to the Banque de France in 1808, and its long decline began. Extensions were added and the original fabric neglected to the extent that, by the 1860s, the Galerie Dorée was in danger of collapse. At the initiative of Empress Eugénie it was entirely rebuilt in 1870–75, including the copying of Perrier's frescoes onto canvas.

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1.19 Hôtel des Postes

48–52, rue du Louvre
Julien Guadet, 1880–86
(Métro: Les Halles, Louvre-Rivoli)

As an academic at Paris's Ecole des Beaux-Arts (6.1) for over 50 years and, from 1894, its Professor of Theory, Julien Guadet was highly influential. His most illustrious pupils were Tony Garnier and Auguste Perret, and through them his ideas were passed on to the emerging architects of the Modern Movement, including Le Corbusier. Often portrayed as the epitome of academicism, Guadet was an advocate of Rational Classicism, with its emphasis on construction, and also championed an «Elementarist» approach to design whereby typified architectural forms were rationally combined according to the precepts of axial composition. His theories were published in 1902 as the voluminous and dense *Éléments et Théories de l'Architecture*, based on his lecture courses.

Guadet's academic activities left little room for actual building, and the Hôtel des Postes is his one major realization. Although conceived long before he became professor, it displays many ideas that would later be integrated into his teachings. Built on a substantial, wedge-shaped site, the Hôtel is organized around large central spaces intended for the sorting of mail (30,000 sacks per day in the 1880s) and storage of over 100 horse-drawn vehicles. To achieve the wide spans necessary for these activities, a metal frame was used. In its construction and planning, the Hôtel is thus rigorously rational, although it is dressed up in a rather sterile stone wrapping, whose heavy Classicism is of diverse inspiration. Guadet's son, Paul, subsequently showed some of the potential of his father's teachings in his house on the Boulevard Murat (16.17).

1.20 Bourse du Commerce

2, rue de Viarmes
François-Joseph Bélanger, 1806–12; Henri Blondel, 1836–89
(Métro: Louvre Rivoli, Les Halles; RER: Châtelet-Les-Halles)

The Bourse du Commerce as we find it today is the product of several epochs. Its oldest element is the curious astronomical tower in the form of a massive Doric column abutting the southeastern elevation, sole vestige of the Hôtel de Soissons built by Jean Bullant for Catherine de Médicis in 1574–84. After demolition of the *hôtel* in 1748, the property was bought by the Prévôt des Marchands who, in 1763–67, had an *halle au blé* (corn exchange) built on the site to a design by Nicolas Le Camus de Mézières. Circular in plan, the building enclosed a large central courtyard more than 120 feet (37 m) in diameter, which, in 1782–83, Jacques-Guillaume Legrand and Jacques Molinos covered with a wooden-framed dome. At the time of the dome's construction François-Joseph Bélanger had put forward an alternative design in iron – an extremely avant-garde proposal for the era – and, in 1802, when the wooden

structure was destroyed by fire, he submitted proposals for a cast-iron replacement. The Conseil des Travaux Publics was not enthusiastic, declaring Bélanger's project unbuildable and opting instead for a replacement in stone. When, however, it transpired that a stone structure would necessitate massive strengthening of the walls, and after pressure from the Minister of the Interior, they gave way and accepted the scheme.

Engineering projects of this kind were not Bélanger's usual territory (see, e.g., the Château de Bagatelle, 29.2) and for this, the first ever iron dome, he engaged F. Brunet to help him with the necessary calculations. Their collaboration was one of the earliest instances of a clear distinction between the roles of architect and construction engineer. The dome's design did not push the technological capabilities of iron, instead imitating timber forms of construction in the new material. Costs proved considerable, as iron was still an exceptional and relatively scarce material in France at that time. Originally clad in copper, the dome was partially glazed in 1838.

Use of the corn exchange diminished as the century wore on and, in 1886, Henri Blondel was engaged to make the old *halle* suitable for use as a financial exchange, to relieve the cramped Palais Brongniart (2.8). Work involved the sinking of a basement floor and demolition of Mézières's building, which was replaced with a new, deeper structure in heavy neo-Baroque style. The *architecture d'accompagnement* surrounding the edifice dates from this time. Bélanger's dome was conserved and its upper section glazed, revealing its fine, elegant structure, while the lower section was tiled in slate and decorated on the interior with an enormous

1.20 Bourse du Commerce



fresco, covering more than 1,500 m², on the theme of commerce around the world. Restored in 1994–95, the dome still serves today nearly two centuries after its construction.

1.21 Saint-Eustache

1, rue du Jour
Possibly attributable to Jean Delamarre and/or Pierre Le Mercier, 1532–1640
(Métro: Les Halles; RER: Châtelet-Les-Halles)

Paris's population grew rapidly in the late middle ages, and many is the church within the city's limits that was rebuilt or extended in the 14C and 15C to accommodate an expanding congregation. Saint-Eustache, which started out life as a modest chapel constructed in 1210, would have been one of these, were it not for the fact that the densely built neighbourhood in which it was situated made its enlargement physically impossible. Seven side-chapels were tacked on to the original structure during the 14C, but apart from these minor additions the church remained essentially as built for over three centuries. Consequently, as the faithful became ever more numerous, so Saint-Eustache became ever more inadequate. By the 16C nothing had changed, and it took the intervention in the late 1520s of the king himself, François I, to rectify the problem. François had announced, in 1528, his desire to make Paris his permanent residence (the capital having been neglected for over a century by French monarchs in favour of the Loire valley), and, «architecte manqué» that he was, set out to express his authority in the city's built environment. But François's real passion was for châteaux, and he had already invested heavily in several homes in the Paris region. By personally taking an interest in Saint-Eustache's plight, and by using the royal prerogative to expropriate surrounding properties and thus allow its reconstruction, he was able to influence the design of a major new edifice without touching the crown exchequer, it being the parish that would pay for the church's rebuilding.

As a result of this conjunction of circumstances – the original impossibility of enlarging Saint-Eustache, and François I's using it to make his mark on the capital – the building has the distinction of being the only major church to have been entirely conceived during the early French Renaissance (the Wars of Religion having put a stop to most building activity in the later part of the 16C). As far as architecture was concerned, the early French Renaissance was essentially a question of applying Classicizing decoration to established medieval building types, and Saint-Eustache, which was designed at a time when no Classical Italian churches of its scale had yet been realized, would follow this trend. Indeed in its plan and massing Saint-Eustache looks back two centuries to Notre-Dame (4.2), with which it set out to compete in importance. Many Parisian churches were loosely modelled on the city's cathedral right up into the Flamboyant period, but at Saint-Eustache the resemblance is especially close, both in lay-

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1.21 Saint-Eustache

out and dimensions: Saint-Eustache is 44 m wide and 34 m high under its main vault (compared to Notre-Dame's 48 m width and 35 m height) and, like the cathedral, is organized on a Latin-cross plan with non-projecting transepts, an apse/ambulatory east end and equal-height double aisles. Only in its length does Saint-Eustache's basic plan differ markedly – 105 m in comparison to Notre-Dame's 130 m –, the important thoroughfares that were the Rue du Jour and the Rue Montmartre preventing its expansion in this direction. François I, it seems, wanted a church in the new style, associated with his name, that would directly and obviously rival with the prestige of the old Notre-Dame.

We do not know with any certainty the name(s) of the architect(s) of the new Saint-Eustache. It seems likely that whoever designed it had been trained in the Paris region and had worked on the extension, begun in 1525, of the church of Saint-Maclou in Pontoise, which presents similar traits. Two possible names fit the bill: Jean Delamarre and Pierre Le Mercier, who worked together on Saint-Maclou. The foundation stone of the new Saint-Eustache was laid in 1532, but it was not finally completed until over a century later, in 1640. Despite this lengthy gestation (which was partly due to a 30-year interruption in building work, c. 1586–1615, occasioned by the Wars of Religion), the original plan was stuck to all the way through. Construction began with the crossing and the chapels of the choir, which were built around the original 13C church (the latter re-

maintaining in use throughout and not being destroyed until the late 1620s). Next came the nave, bar its clerestory and high vault, in the period 1545–86. When building recommenced in the 17C, it was with the west front, until 1624 when the main part of the choir was begun. The transepts and the nave were vaulted in 1633–37, after which the new church was consecrated; work carried on, however, with the building of the lady chapel and the northern transept's façade, which is marked with the date 1640.

Although Saint-Eustache's plan followed the Notre-Dame pattern, in other respects the church differed markedly. On entering Saint-Eustache, one cannot fail to be impressed by the enormous height of its main-vessel arcades, and consequently of its aisles, which are so tall that they have their own clerestory above the openings to the low side-chapels. This was a configuration borrowed from High-Gothic French churches such as Bourges Cathedral (c. 1200–55) and, as a result, Saint-Eustache is extremely light inside. This luminosity is further aided by its Rayonnant-style glazed triforium, which reproduces the type pioneered at Saint-Denis (21.2). Moving on in time, but still thoroughly Gothic, are Saint-Eustache's high vaults, which, with their complicated multitude of liernes and elaborate and daringly long crossing and choir pendants, are characteristically Flamboyant. Where the early French Renaissance makes its mark at Saint-Eustache is in the Classicizing design of the piers, arcades and carved detailing. The piers are still composite in the old Gothic manner, but the elements forming the agglomerate

have been Classicized: some piers feature shafts carved as a weird superimposition of enormously stretched bases, Doric pilasters and engaged Corinthian columns, the piers in the crossing comprise ridiculously elongated Corinthian pilasters, while elsewhere cornices have replaced arcade capitals and string courses. The church's arcades (and its windows) are round-headed, except in the apse, where, in order to maintain the narrower arches' springing points and apex at the same levels as the rest of arcade, pointed, elongated forms had to be used. Almost nothing about Saint-Eustache's detailing is Classically »correct«, and its rather freakish, hybrid quality goes a long way to explaining why it was never copied. Viollet-le-Duc put it more caustically, describing the church as »a Gothic skeleton clad in Roman rags«. Rather than Classical, much of Saint-Eustache's detailing appears almost Romanesque, and it may well be that some of the more Roman-looking of French Romanesque-period churches influenced its design.

Externally, Saint-Eustache fully displays its Gothic origins, with generous glazing, a multitude of flying buttresses and a wealth of carved detail. Because of the church's situation on the Les Halles market (see 1.22), it was the south front, rather than the west, that acted as the building's main entrance, and thus constituted the main façade. In its composition the south front is entirely Gothic, modelled on the famous southern-transept façade of Notre-Dame. But in the execution of the detailing the façade's sculptors tried to Classicize their medieval piling up of ornament, with very bastard results. Gone is the extraordinary filigree and geometric patterning of Notre-Dame, replaced with a much heavier, more solid elevation whose rose window has been straightened out into a rather static wheel, whose carvings attempt to Classicize typically Gothic forms and subjects, and from which Classical detailing (such as Corinthian capitals) pokes in surprising places. Elsewhere the church appears more typical of the early French Renaissance, for example in the narrow towers flanking the north-transept façade, or in the treatment

1.22 Nouveau Forum des Halles



of the lady chapel (especially when viewed from the Rue Montmartre) with its high roof and tall lantern, all of which recalls François I's Château de Chambord (c. 1518–37) in the Loire valley.

The west front we see at Saint-Eustache today is 18C. 15 years after the church's completion, in 1655, Jean-Baptiste Colbert, Louis XIV's chief minister, ordered the addition of two chapels to the base of the original west front's towers. Unfortunately, this intervention weakened the structure to the extent that, in 1688, the western façade had to be demolished. Since the south front served as the main entrance, there was no hurry to rebuild the western elevation, and the current west façade was only begun in 1754. It was designed by Jean Hardouin-Mansart de Joux, whose two-tower composition – which is a Classical adaptation of a typically Gothic configuration – is based on the type devised by Sir Christopher Wren for St. Paul's Cathedral in London (1675–1711), which had already been copied in Paris by Giovanni Niccolò Servandoni in his 1736 design for the west façade of Saint-Sulpice (6.5). At Saint-Eustache, the collision of this blind, rather dry Enlightenment-era mastodon with the busy Renaissance-period church behind does not make for a happy cohabitation. Like Saint-Sulpice's, the west front of Saint-Eustache was never completed, building work stopping for good in 1778 with the south tower barely begun; on its Rue-Rambuteau flank, one can still see stone scaffolding supports (which normally would have been removed once work was over) projecting from the middle of the otherwise smooth ashlar blocks.

1.22 Jardin, Forum and Nouveau Forum des Halles

Rues Pierre-Lescot, Rambuteau and Berger
Various architects, 1977–87

(Métro: Les Halles; RER: Châtelet-Les-Halles)

For over 800 years, until its relocation in 1969, Paris's principal produce market stood on this spot. The site was twice comprehensively redeveloped, first in the mid-19C and then again in the 1970s following the market's move. This second metamorphosis was the catalyst for a radical and lasting change in Paris's planning and urbanism policies. The saga of Les Halles, as the area is now known, began during the reign of Louis Philippe, when the government decided to rebuild the disparate collection of structures that made up the market complex. The architects Victor Baltard and Félix Callet were appointed to the job in 1845 but, due to the 1848 Revolution, construction of their scheme did not begin until 1851. By 1853 the new building, a traditional masonry structure, was nearing completion when work was suddenly stopped by order of Napoleon III. It seems that the inauguration that same year of Eugène Flachat's Gare Saint-Lazare (8.5) – a daring iron shed that spanned 40 m in a single volley, a world record at the time – had reflected unfavourably on Baltard and Callet's massive stone building, making it seem heavy and clumsy by comparison and thus unacceptable to