

CONCLUSION

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

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

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

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

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

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

NOTES

ABBREVIATIONS

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

INTRODUCTION

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