

Étienne-Louis Boullée: Utopia & the Enlightenment *Metropolis*

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"What is architecture? Shall I join Vitruvius in defining it as the art of building? Indeed, no, for there is a flagrant error in this definition. Vitruvius mistakes the effect for the cause." Étienne-Louis Boullée, Essai sur l'Art, Architecture

The opening lines of Étienne-Louis Boullée's Essai sur l'art, Architecture frame an excursus on architecture that is predicated on a rejection of long-held Vitruvian notions of architecture's mode and method. Boullée posits a definition of Architecture that places its art within the realm of a building's conception, as opposed to its construction. While Boullée's rejection of a Vitruvian definition of Architecture is perhaps based upon a misreading of the ancient's distinction between architecture's theoretical and material realms, as has been observed by Massimo Scolari, it is clear that Boullée's Essai advances a modern definition of architecture that prioritizes the conception of the idea, over its concretization. The Essai was completed shortly after the events of the French Revolution, and its ethic certainly belongs to the Revolutionary politics of the time.² The dematerialization of architecture as implicit within Boullée's definition marked a radical shift in the effective domain of architectural production. The construction of architectural *concepts* as opposed to *objects* would place new emphasis on the art's representation, or otherwise immaterial activities. In the context of the Revolution, in which the brick and mortar edifices of the State were conceived of, and interpreted as reifying devices of the Sovereign, the space of progressive architectural discourse could no longer be material. The presentation of architectural *concepts* in the form of a text thus became an imperative borne both of necessity and convenience.

Etienne-Louis Boullée's architecture has often been discussed in terms of its visionary, revolutionary, or otherwise *utopian* aesthetics. While much scholarship has been devoted to understanding the French architect's work as it relates to Revolutionary-era discourses on public space and urban politics, this essay attempts to understand the *Essai sur l'art, Architecture* as a specifically *utopian fiction*. An analysis of the *Essai* in the terms of the utopian genre will serve to recast the discussion of Boullée's architecture from Revolution-tinged analyses of enigmatic form, to an analysis of the *Essai* as a *utopian*, and thereby *critical* project.

Étienne-Louis Boullée was born in Paris 1728 in the parish of Saint-Roch, where he would spend the greater part of his life, before passing away at the close of the events of the

¹ Massimo Scolari. "Crossing Architecture." Log 9 (Winter/Spring 2007) p. 14.

² Boullée, a bourgeois Architect in service to the King, and suspected of Royalism, narrowly avoided execution during the *Terror*. See Jean-Marie Pérouse de Montclos, *Etienne-Louis Boullée: Theoretician of Revolutionary Architecture* for a comprehensive biography.

French Revolution, in 1799. Born the son of an architect in the employ of King Louis XV, Boullée was encouraged to study law. Boullée instead chose to be trained as a painter, entering the workshops of Lancret, Collins, and Pierre, painters associated with French Classicism, in his adolescence. Unable to find satisfaction as a painter, Boullée studied architecture under Jacques-François Blondel, and Jean-Laurent Legeay. Under Blondel, Boullée learned the lessons of Classicism outlined in the *Cours d'Architecture*, written by Nicolas-François Blondel half a century prior. Boullée was more inspired by Legeay, however, whose teaching would be far more influential than any of his built architecture.

Within the domain of the architectural treatise, *Essai sur l'art, Architecture* could be considered radical in terms of both its content and form. A novel form, the *Essai* is a prescriptive theoretical text, didactic in nature, and structured as an episodic presentation of pseudospeculative projects. A dramatic contrast to the rigorously structured *system* of principles organized according to a taxonomy based in practice and theory, such as that which characterizes Marc-Antoine Laugier's *Essai sur l'Architecture* (1753). Boullée's *Essai* relates principles according to commentaries on each monument, representative of a different building type. Boullée's illustrative projects for the *Essai* take the form of public buildings for a metropolis. Whereas most architectural treatises largely concerned the realm of residential architecture, one thinks of Andrea Palladio's *Four Books of Architecture*, or of Alberti's *De Re Aedificatoria*, Boullée's *Essai* dealt exclusively with programs and sites that had been the subject of academic competititons organized by the state *Academie*. The fact of the drawn projects correspondence with historical competitions and academic prompts belies the fact that the projects weren't drawn to bolster the *intents* of the *Essai*, but rather that the *Essai* was merely a retroactively applied theory, a textual unpacking of Boullée's demonstrated design principles.

Monuments

³ Jean-Marie Pérouse de Montclos, Étienne-Louis Boullée (1728-1799): Theoretician of Revolutionary Architecture (New York: George Braziller, 1974.) p. 11.

⁴ Svend Eriksen. *Early Neo-Classicism in France*. (London: Faber & Faber, 1974.)

⁵ The case studies of Boullée's *Essai* might be described as pseudo-speculative as they are a mix of competition entries and illustrative projects created solely for the publication. Additionally, most if not all of the case studies were projects based upon programs drafted by the state.

⁶ Aldo Rossi has termed this mode of thinking "exalted rationalism," in reference to Boullée's definition of principles according to the subjective decisions that produce the architectural project. See Aldo Rossi, "Introduzione a Boullée." (Padova: Marsilio Editori, 1967), or Pier Vittorio Aureli, "Architecture as a State of Exception: Étienne-Louis Boullée's Project for a Metropolis," in *The Possibility of an Absolute Architecture*. (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2011) pp. 175.

⁷ Aureli, 143.

⁸ Emil Kaufmann, "Three Revolutionary Architects: Boullée, Ledoux, and Lequeu," Transactions of the American Philosophical Society Vol 42. No. 3 (1952)

The function of architecture in the public realm was drastically transformed after the French Revolution. The formation of the Academie Royal d'Architecture in 1671 formally instrumentalized architecture as an agent of political mediation. The Academie became a formalized arbiter of taste, enforcing and reproducing the domination of French Classicism as the one and only approved style of the consolidated state. The Academie's formation at once absorbed architectural production as an activity of the state, while further widening the gap between architecture as art and building.

Boullée joined the Academie in 1762, taking over a vacancy created on the occasion of Soufflot's death. The Academie had expanded the Enlightenment project of the architectes philosophes, as the theorization of architecture had transformed the architect into political commentator and artist. Tafuri has understood the institutionalization of French Classicism to mark a transformation of the discipline of architecture, in which it became "the task of continual invention of advanced solutions, at the most generally applicable level." As the projects, competitions, and theories of the Academie make clear, the object of architectural production in the late Ancien regime was not the production of buildings, but rather an architecture to reify an ideology.11

The codification of French Classicism in the seventeenth century, and its development and abstraction in the eighteenth as a project of the State has been interpreted as collinear with the emergence of the bourgeois city. 12 The expansion of a national architecture as a system of principles and rules governing practice and proportion effectively governed the production of architecture in the Enlightenment period. Both systemic tastemaker and gatekeeper to architectural commissions, the architectural regime of the Academie was total. However, the emergence of Ledoux, Lequeu, and Boullée's so-called Revolutionary projects on the eve of the French Revolution marked the first notes of dissent within and against the systeme of the Academie.

Boullee's employment of heterogeneous architectural elements was an anomaly within the esprit de systeme of late French Classicism. What Emil Kaufmann has described as the

¹¹ Tafuri 14. Tafuri has noted the disjunction between French Classicist architecture in the *Academie's* development of revolutionary formal languages, and the lack of a defined 'social utopia.' For this reason, it is troublesome to describe the period 1760-1780, the first half of Boullée's tenure in the Academie, as 'Revolutionary.' Aureli, 149.

⁹ Aureli, 146. The Academie Royal d'Architecture was formed as a project of Louis XIV's infamous finance minister, Jean-Baptiste Colbert. Colbert used the Academie to encourage major public works projects. See also, Manfredo Tafuri, Architecture and Utopia. Tafuri has argued that the formation of the Academie transformed the architect's role into that of an "idealist."

¹⁰ Tafuri, 12.

Revolutionary Architects' 'autonomy of form,' refers to the disjunctive composition of disparate elements that, while appended, are distinctly singular, and static. This paradigm of composition was anothema to the synthetic compositional paradigm of French Classicism, which subsumed the elemental form within a larger, singularly discernible metaform. Boullée's architectural production after 1780 (from which come most of the projects depicted in the *Essai*) destabilized the systemically codified Classicism of the *Academie* that had been established by the dynasty of Blondel, and the formidable work of Claude Perrault a century prior.

As has been noted by Pier Vittorio Aureli, the notion of the "monument" was redefined in Boullée's time, from a 'commemorative building' to a public building with a public function, as defined in Quatremère de Quincy's contributions to the *Encyclopédie Méthodique* (1753-1820).¹⁴ Boullée's employment of the term referred explicitly to any building housing a public service, whose architecture was *monumental*, in the sense that it presupposed the ordering of its environs.¹⁵ Thus, the projects of Boullée's *Essai* are largely *public monuments*, whose presence as the dominant form in the *Essai* suggests a repositioning of the projective city as ordered by its *publics*, as opposed to the devices of the State's urban engineering: *boulevard*, *place*, *hôtel*.¹⁶

Essai sur l'art, Architecture

Boullée's *Essai* is essential to understanding the swing towards an architecture of *publics* in post-Revolutionary France. As has been discussed of Boullée in relation to the formation of the *Academie* and the separation of architecture's cerebral and material functions, the *Essai* proposes the *idea* of an architecture whose art lies purely in the formulation of the *image*. Boullée's obsessive attention to the perception of form is an essential characteristic of his architecture. Boullée and his historians alike, have understood the architect's forms as part of an ethic that understood form as being a vehicle to impart moral lessons in its user. *L'architecture parlante* is the term, often used by Anthony Vidler among others, to describe the Revolutionary architects' program of architecture as a moral communicator. Looking to Boullée's *Essai* specifically,

¹³ Kaufmann, 215.

¹⁴ Aureli, 142. For Quatremére de Quincy's definition of the monument from the *Encyclopedie Methodique*, see Sylvia Lavin, *Quatremére de Quincy and the Invention of a Modern Language of Architecture* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1992).

¹⁵ Kaufmann, 216.

¹⁶ Aureli analyzes the operative role of these devices in Chapter 4 of the *Possibility of an Absolute Architecture*, "Architecture as a State of Exception: Étienne-Louis Boullée's Project for a Metropolis." ¹⁷ "... we must conceive before executing. Our forefathers built their huts only after conceiving an image of them: it is this production of the mind that constitutes architecture." Boullée, *Essai sur l'art, Architecture*, *folio 70*.

¹⁸ Anthony Vidler, "The Ledoux Effect: Emil Kaufmann and the Claims of Kantian Autonomy," *Perspecta* 33 (2002), 16-29

certain aspects of formal logic, and architectural program are evocative of revolutionary ideals: *egalité*, *liberté*, *fraternité*:

"Imagine there are three hundred thousand people gathered in an amphitheatre where none could escape the eyes of the crowd. The effect produced by this combination of circumstances would be unique. The spectators would be the elements of this surprising spectacle, and they alone would be responsible for its beauty."

Boullée, Essai sur l'art, Architecture, Folio 101.

Here, Boullée's description of the scene casts architecture as a facilitating "frame" for the spectacle of equalitarian brotherhood. Boullée's hypothetical scene suggests an alternative society, which by proxy suggests a social *program* for the metropolis that is utopian, or imaginary in nature.

Taken together, Étienne-Louis Boullée's monuments constitute an urban formation. Boullée even explicitly titles the series a "project for a metropolis." While the *Essai* only begins to trace the outlines of a *metropolis* by way of a series of paradigmatic monuments, the collection of fragments may be considered models—with their encoded logics and principles (the *concepts* of Boullée's theory, after all), which taken together serve as models for an alternative paradigm of space and its production.

Utopia

As Manfredo Tafuri has argued, Boullée's projects for the *Essai* constitute not 'unrealizable dreams,' but rather are an exercise of an 'experimental model of architectural creation,' in the context of the *Academie*. ²⁰ The projects function simultaneously on a variety of levels. Based upon programs defined by the *Academie*, they can be understood first as exercises in principles of architectural composition and Classicist design. At the same time, the shift of emphasis from *monuments* to the Sovereign, to public buildings on a *monumental* scale, marks an implicit value shift, a critique of the architectural production of the *esprit de systeme*.

The *Essai's* embedded advancement of an alternative paradigm of built space implies the genesis of what may be considered a *utopian* project. While previous historical analyses of Boullée's metropolitan projects have often ascribed the term 'utopian' in relation to the unrealities of scale and feasibility that color the work, the term is here in reference to the *Essai's* function as a piece of *utopian* theory. Françoise Choay's analysis of More's prototypical *utopia*

²⁰ Tafuri, 13.

¹⁹ Boullée, *folio 12*.

²¹ Françoise Choay, "Utopia and the Anthropological Status of Built Space," in *Exit Utopia: Architectural Provocations* 1956-1976 (Munich: Prestel, 2005.)

accords to it three distinct parts: the model space, the model society, and the criticized society. In this way Boullée's *metropolis* may be considered a partial utopia, in that the model society is present only by proxy, encoded in the monuments' programs—the criticized society is implied only *reflexively*, in relation to the implied values of the *society*.

An analysis of the *Essai* in terms of the *utopia* serves not only as a convenient framework for understanding the holistic structure and agenda of the treatise, but also allows us to elucidate the document's relationship to its authors political context. An understanding of Boullée's architectural-formal paradigms is necessary to make the social functions and agendas of his projects discernible.

Oppositions, or l'architecture des ombres

"A mass of objects detached in black against a light of extreme pallor. Nature seemed to offer itself, in mourning, to my sight. Walls stripped of every ornament... [a] light-absorbing material should create a dark architecture of shadows, outlined by even darker shadows." Étienne-Louis Boullée, *Essai sur l'Art, Architecture* (1788)

Emil Kaufmann's early twentieth-century analysis of Boullée in his landmark history *Three Revolutionary Architects*, focused upon the formal devices of Boullée, Ledoux, and Lequeu as presented in their treatises and accompanying projects. Kaufmann evinced an affinity for *autonomous form* in the work of the three, which referred both to the architect's compositional logic, and the hypothetical architecture's dialectical opposition to the continuity of the Enlightenment city. For each of the figures, the instrumentality of form was a key concept. Whether Ledoux's *l'architecture parlante*, Boullée's sublime forms, or Lequeu's absurd 'revolutionary' aesthetic, novel architectural form in each was intentionally juxtaposed against a backdrop of the Enlightenment city.

The architecture of Boullée can be interpreted as a meditation on various oppositions: light and dark, form and shadow, building and idea.²² By framing analysis of the *Essai* in terms of its dialectics, Scolari is able to argue the opinion that the Revolutionary architects emerged as a reaction to the Rococo. At the crux of this opposition was a notion of *formal beauty* that rejected the imitation of nature's complexity that had been played out in the Rococo's elaboration of ornament *ad absurdum*. Instead, Boullée's notions of beauty issued from the elemental perception of form as it relates to ideas of the sublime.²³

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²² Scolari, 20.

²³ Boullée, "the horrific beauty of a volcano," *Essai folio 90*

For Scolari, the oppositional separation of building and image was fundamental to opening the space for Boullée's experiments in form.²⁴ The autonomy of form noted by Kaufmann in the projects of the *Essai*, marked by a tendency to abstract Platonism, reflect an attempt to convey an ideal of elemental *equalité*.²⁵ The architectural composition of disparate, abstract forms that is present in Boullée, and even more apparent in Ledoux, is interpreted by Aldo Rossi as one part of an architectural language that evinces notions of *equalité*.²⁶

For both Rossi and Kaufmann, Boullée's other architectural devices build upon an equalitarian framework. Boullée's fascination with blank surfaces, best shown in his project for a Metropolitan Library, might be interpreted through a number of lenses. While Kaufmann has ascribed the function of the blank wall to an extrapolation of French Classicism's abstraction of historical form to its logical conclusion, Tafuri, and Aureli understand the absence of ornament as a function of Enlightenment architecture's place in the bourgeois city. Among and between these two views, it may also be postulated that the ultimate 'disarticulation of form,' in the case of the blank wall, may be a radical opposition to the pedantic elaboration of detail in the *Rococo*, which would be in opposition to Boullée's obsessive attention to the perception of regular, elemental forms.

Boullée's other fundamental device was *repetition*. It is important to note that the Enlightenment era concept of repetition refers not only to a plurality of similar elements collocated in a composition, but rather also refers to the aspects of symmetry that were central to Boullée's design sensibility. Each mode of repetition played a role in Boullée's development of an architecture that conveys an agenda of *equalité*. Many of the metropolitan projects foreground their program symbolically through the repetition of an element, such as the walls of books that line the walls of the project for a metropolitan library. Additionally, the repetition of the column as a columnar wall was an often-repeated motif. In the Project for a Metropolitan Cathedral, the column is repeated with such density and in so great a number that the singular element dissolves into a larger pattern or texture. This effect of defamiliarization has an almost uncanny effect, transforming the column into "something other."

²⁴ Scolari, 20. The distinction of architectural production as producing image, or building, allowed Boullée to jettison the contingencies of structure in favor of an architecture of 'image.' Boullée's discussion of his project for 'City Gates' and the *image*, or *perception* of strength, is especially illustrative of this concept.

²⁵ Allan Braham. *The Architecture of the French Enlightenment*. (London: Thames and Hudson, 1980.) p.

²⁶ Aldo Rossi. *The Architecture of the City* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1984.) p. 114.

²⁷ Tafuri, 41

²⁸ Reflecting upon the Newton Cenotaph. Boullée, *Essai folio 126 verso*.

²⁹ Aureli, 164.

Boullée's Metropolis & Utopia

The dialectical opposition of the city and the architectural form is characteristic of Enlightenment thought on urban architecture in general, as inaugurated by Laugier's *Essai* in 1753, wherein the unit of architecture is considered apart from, and having no relation to the larger metropolitan ordering of the city. While Tafuri accords the dialectical estrangement of architecture from the city to Enlightenment thought's focus on a narrowly-focused discourse of form, Aureli has argued that French urban engineering in eighteenth century Paris (the proliferation of *place, boulevard, and hotel*), limited the territory of architecture's engagement with the city. Boullée's monuments ought to be considered in light of this reading of the Enlightenment city. As such, the *Essai sur l'art, Architecture* is a critical *utopia*, whose projective logic posits an alternative relationship between architecture and the city, as well as describes qualities of the society that the architecture ostensibly serves.

The logic of the monument as a literally *monumental* architecture that presupposes the ordering of its context is the key to formulating Boullée's stance on the systemic city. Just as the monuments of Piranesi's *Campo Marzio* drawing set the stage for the collision and superimposition of oppositional logics, axes, and symmetries, Boullée's monuments serve to disturb an existing order through their imposition on a specific place.³¹ While most of Boullée's monuments in the *Essai* are essentially placeless, the Coliseum is specifically situated. This inconsistency—situated versus siteless—leaves Boullée's critical intentions decidedly ambiguous.³²

Conclusions

Clearly, the *Essai* can be considered a critical text, in so far as its progressive conceptions of architecture and the city in the Enlightenment, are concerned. However, the distinction between *ideological form* and *utopian project* is less decided. Following upon Karl Mannheim's definition of the *utopian* as, a "vehicle for breaking the relationships of existing order," the *Essai* ought to be considered a *project* that exploits the instrumentality of *form* as a means to critique. However, the institutionalization of Boullée's avant-garde project as a product of the *Academie* (or more precisely the *Institut*, its post-Revolutionary incarnation), would suggest the project's departure from the sphere of *utopia*, to a form of ideology.³³

³⁰ Tafuri, 4.

³¹ Tafuri 13.

³² Aureli, 171.

³³ Karl Mannheim as paraphrased by Tafuri in *Architecture and Utopia*, p. 51.

Following upon Mannheim's distinction between ideology and utopia, it is arguable that Boullée's *Essai* constitutes a utopian fiction by way of its constitution of a *total* framework standing against the order of French Classicism. Françoise Choay's analysis of Thomas More's *Utopia* (1571) lays out the structure of *utopia* as a genre, its constituent parts being a model society, a model space, and a criticized society.³⁴ It has been demonstrated here that key aspects of Boullée's *Essai sur l'art*, *Architecture* begin to describe each of these functional domains of *utopia*. Namely, a model of architectural production predicated on Revolutionary ethics, in service of a society that fits this paradigm of space, and finally an implicit criticism of the extant example of each: the Enlightenment city.

Boullée's *Essai sur l'art, Architecture* holds a strange legacy. Unpublished until 1953, the treatise codified a radical departure from French Classicism that resisted appropriation by the *Academie*. As Perouse de Montclos concludes at the end of his study on Boullée, "had the expectations of the [Revolutionary architects] been fulfilled, present-day architecture would be substantially different from what it is." While Boullée's projects have become the archetypal image of a so-called *visionary*, or *fantastic* architecture, there is little that distinguishes them as explicitly unrealizable. The metropolitan projects represented, as a utopian vision, the condensed form of unfulfilled tendencies and desires of the age of the French Revolution. ³⁶

The formulation and *realization* of the *Essai* thus marks a key moment in which the function of architecture expanded. From solely the realization of material building, to the projection of their conceptual *image*—the practice of design, Étienne-Louis Boullée's *Essai sur l'art, Architecture* is perhaps the first moment in which architecture's *utopia function* first becomes a conscious object of practice. The systemic formulation of a complete *utopia* in the context of the Enlightenment city capitalized upon, and further expanded the distinction between architecture's roles—conception of the idea as opposed to its concretization as built form. Whether based upon a misreading of a Vitruvian definition of architecture, or a unique definition formulated *ex novo*, Boullée's *Essai* inaugurated a key modern project in architecture, the critical utopia.³⁷

³⁴ Choay, 96.

³⁵ Perouse de Montclos, p. 45

³⁶ Tafuri, 43.

³⁷ Fredric Jameson, "Varieties of the Utopian" in *Atlas of Transformation* (Zurich: JRP-Ringier, 2012.)

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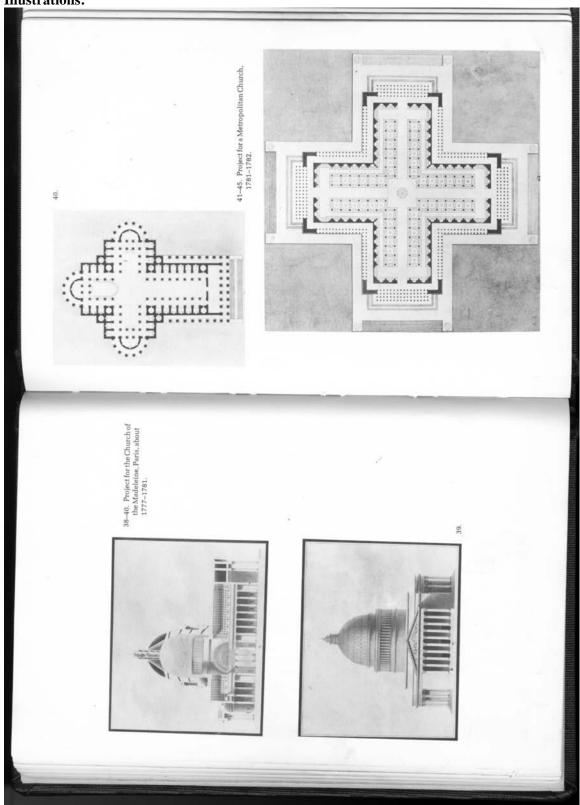
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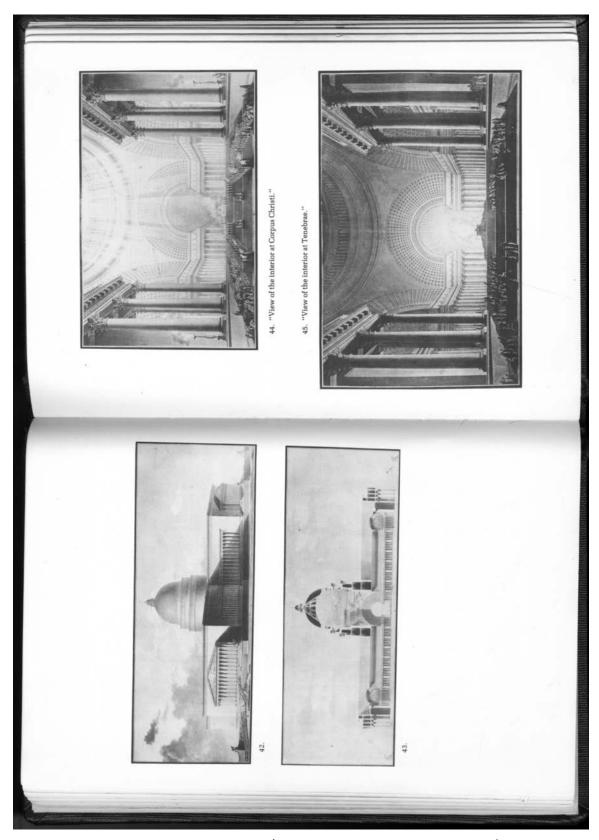
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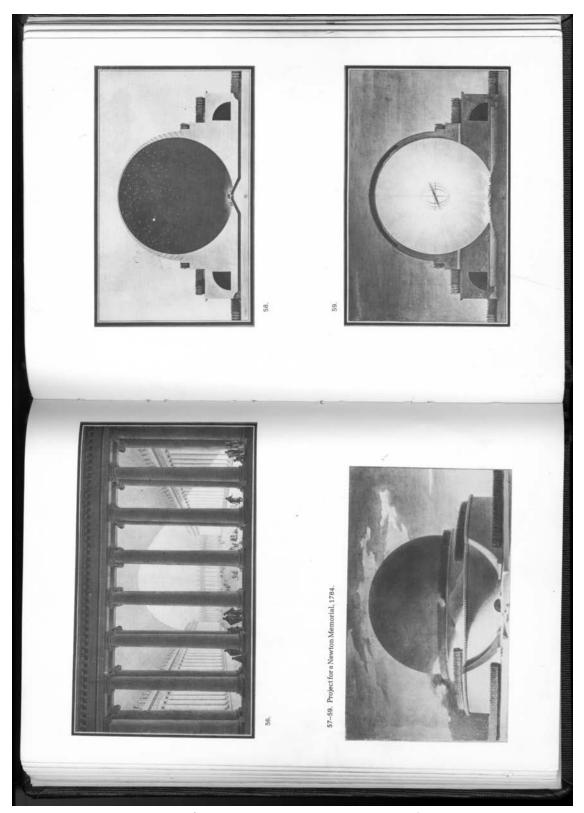
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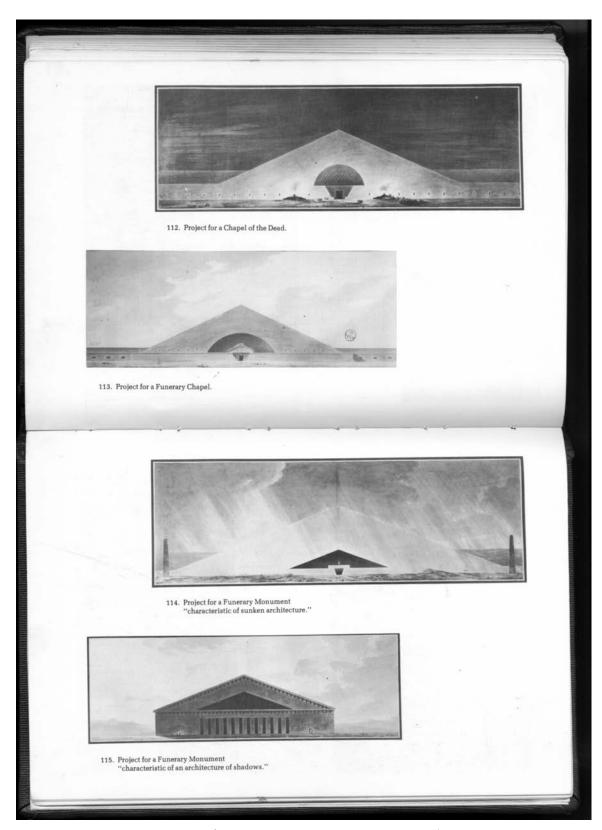
Plan, Project for a Metropolitan Cathedral, Étienne-Louis Boullée. From Perouse de Montclos, Étienne-Louis Boullée: (1728-99), Fig. 41.



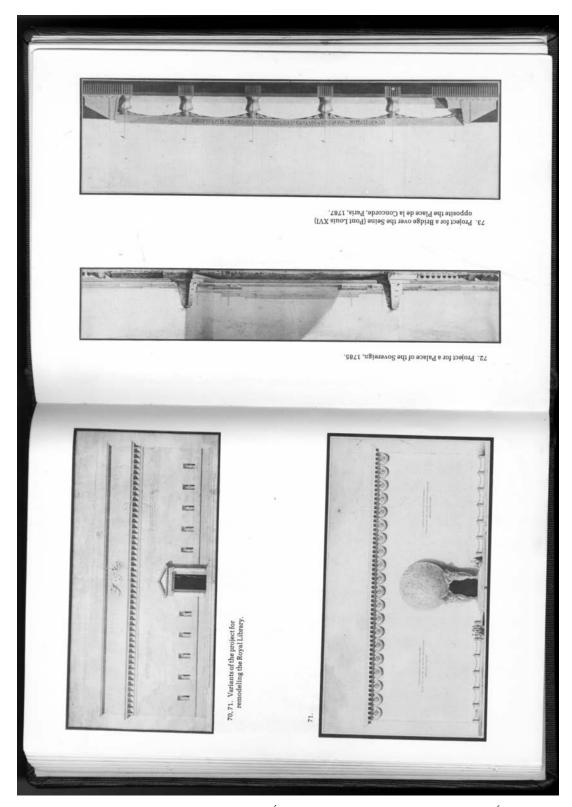
Section, Perspectives. Project for a Metropolitan Cathedral, Étienne-Louis Boullée. From Perouse de Montclos, Étienne-Louis Boullée: (1728-99), Figs. 42-45.



Sections, Perspective. Newton Cenotaph. Étienne-Louis Boullée. From Perouse de Montclos, Étienne-Louis Boullée: (1728-99), Figs. 57-59.



Elevation. Project for a Funerary Monument, Étienne-Louis Boullée. From Perouse de Montclos, Étienne-Louis Boullée: (1728-99), Fig. 115. An example of l'architectures des ombres.



Elevation. Project for the Royal Library with Atlas figures, Étienne-Louis Boullée. From Perouse de Montclos, Étienne-Louis Boullée: (1728-99), Fig. 71.