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Viollet-Le-Duc's Restoration of the Cité of Carcassonne: A Nineteenth-Century Architectural Monument

Francesc Xavier Costa Guix
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VIOLLET-LE-DUC'S RESTORATION OF THE CITÉ OF CARCASSONNE:
A NINETEENTH-CENTURY ARCHITECTURAL MONUMENT

Francesc Xavier Costa Guix

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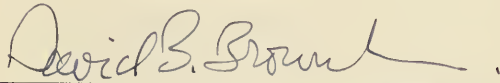
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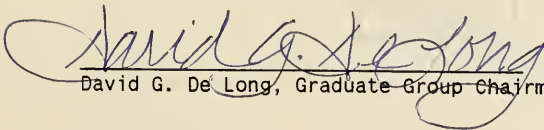
Presented to the faculties of the University of Pennsylvania in
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MASTER OF SCIENCE

1988



David Brownlee, Associate Professor, Reader



David G. De Long, Graduate Group Chairman and Advisor

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Introduction

In 1959 Louis I. Kahn visited the Cité of Carcassonne, as part of a general tour through Europe. Besides the several sketches he made of the fortress during the visit, he was later to use the image of Carcassonne for one of his "aphorisms" (fig. 1) on his concept of the city: "The City, from a single settlement, became the place of the assembled institutions. Before the Institution was natural agreement --the sense of commonality." For Kahn, therefore, Carcassonne provided the powerful image of a city as an enclosed organism that had grown from a mere occupation on the territory (or settlement) to a full city in which stability and permanence would be expressed by its institutions. The Cité showed an inward growth fermented in this sense of commonality that the architecture --the enclosure of walls-- made possible.

One century earlier, Viollet-le-Duc was engaged in his initial restoration project for the Cité. When towards the middle of the nineteenth century the ruinous remains of the fortress awakened the first attention, the leading interest was that of the archeologist. Carcassonne was never understood as the physical document of a city of the past, but rather as a monument --an example of military architecture to be preserved according to the growing science of medieval scholarship.

The urban dimension that captured Kahn's interest was absent in the nineteenth-century mind, only attentive to the notion of "monument," the necessary instrument in the scientific study of the past. This also was,

necessarily, Viollet-le-Duc's approach, for whom the restoration of the fortress was desirable as an instrument of learning: it would be a complete course of medieval military architecture, a historical lesson. Such an intention accounts for the anti-urban activities that accompanied the restoration, otherwise known as dégagement: all the habitations attached to the walls, or within the perimeter of servitude, were destroyed. The Cité was transformed from a densely inhabited neighborhood to an isolated monument. Today, it is a very successful touristic and cultural center, enclosing a museum of medieval sculpture, an open-air theatre, several hotels, and innumerable restaurants, cafés and shops --a town, however, that is only active during the tourist season. In fact, the restoration is still in progress, and archeological excavations are being executed while Viollet-le-Duc's intervention is in the process of being "de-restored" or partially erased.

This study attempts to examine the nineteenth-century restoration by considering the history of the Cité according to both the information available to Viollet-le-Duc and the subsequent rectifications by historians and archeologists. The restoration is here considered in relation to the institutional framework that made possible and financed the operation, to contemporary doctrines and theories of restoration, and to the critical reactions that the project aroused in its own time and afterwards. Finally, Viollet-le-Duc's work is evaluated according to the reports he published, his contemporary writings, and the drawings he prepared. For this last section, a large number of drawings have been examined in Paris (Archives de la Commission des Monuments historiques) and Carcassonne (Archives de l'Aude).

The principal argument that this thesis intends to present and develop is that the restoration of the Cité was aimed beyond the mere accuracy of an archeological reconstruction. Its ultimate purpose was rather to convey to the French nation its first monument of military architecture as a representation of the permanence of territorial occupation, as well as its inseparable relation with its change over time. This synthesis of spatial permanence and chronological transformation through the architecture of the Cité would, as might be interpreted from Viollet-le-Duc's writings and the project of restoration itself, act as an analogical representation of the history of France interpreted in the key of the Saint-Simonist understanding of history. Using the terminology of rhetoric, the Cité of Carcassonne was perceived as a synecdoche, that is, as a trope of discourse in which the developments of military art in a specific piece of architecture would be able to speak for the history of France, as well as what for Viollet-le-Duc was its element of continuity and definition --its national spirit.

1. Louis I. Kahn, drawing of Carcassonne. From Alexandra Latour, ed., Louis I. Kahn, l'uomo, il maestro, p. 416. Rome: Kappa, 1986.

I. History of the Cité of Carcassonne

1. Carcassonne, Its Historiography, and Viollet-le-Duc

The earliest references to Carcassonne are in Pliny the Elder's ¹ Historia Naturalis, that mentions a Carcaso Volcarum Tectosagum. Julius Caesar made an obscure (and much debated) reference to a stronghold that could be the Carcassonne oppidum in the year 56, ² and the hyerosolomitan itinerary of 333 mentions a Castellum Carcassone. ³ More detailed and explicit documents for the history of the town and its fortress start with the histories of the Duc de Joyeuse (1592), Guillaume Besse (1645), Gérard de Vic (1667), and Thomas Bouges's Histoire of 1741. ⁴ These authors became the sources for numerous historians of Carcassonne in the nineteenth century, one of whom is Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, who relied heavily on Besse's text for his chronology and subsequent ⁵ restoration. In our century, the archivist of the Aude department, Joseph Poux, wrote the monumental three-volume La Cité de Carcassonne, ⁶ the most extensive and comprehensive historical study of the fortress, and still the main reference work. All scholars from Viollet-le-Duc to Poux (including Jean-Pierre Cros-Mayrevieille, Jules Lahondés and Louis Serbat) attributed the pre-thirteenth-century remains of the fortress to the period of Visigothic domination. However, an unpublished study by ⁷ Guy Berruol and Paul-Marie Duval presented for the first time the thesis of a complete fortress built during the Roman empire, acknowledging the castellum as the source of the pre-medieval remains of walls and towers still visible today at Carcassonne. The most recent ⁸ scholarly inquiries have been made by Yves Bruand, who agrees with this

suggestion and, moreover, establishes a fortress-plan for the Roman period different from that of Poux for the Visigothic period. Bruand also disagrees with Poux about the late medieval campaigns, providing a different chronology together with a detailed description of the works of each campaign.⁹

Despite his chronological imprecisions, Viollet-le-Duc is an exceptional historian of Carcassonne because of his incorporation of an extensive knowledge of military history, technology, and architecture into his historical interpretation of the fortress. As he was only later involved in projects of restoration of military architecture (Avignon, Pierrefonds) we may assume that Carcassonne was the stimulus for his dedication to the study of military history, an interest reflected in his numerous articles and publications. This is also evident in the catalogue of his library as it was auctioned after his death.¹⁰ Viollet-le-Duc owned four different copies of Vegetius' treatise on military art and two exemplars of Frontinus. According to the auction catalogue, Viollet-le-Duc owned thirty-two treatises on military architecture, published before his Carcassonne commission, and seven volumes on military art in addition to Vegetius and Frontinus.¹¹ Moreover, he owned several books on military description, arms, artillery, and military machines. He was therefore well-informed about military strategies and from then he derived the notion of the fortress as a war machine, where each element is precisely designed and built to fulfill a specific function in warfare. This is an architectural concept different (although of similar nature) to the "structural rationalism"¹² that he applied to religious architecture. The earliest and best document of

this notion is the report he prepared for the restoration of the Cité in
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1853.

2. The Origins of the Fortress

The plateau on which the Cité of Carcassonne stands overlooking the valley of the Aude, at the northern feet of the Pyrenees, is the crossing point of two important trade routes located at the northern feet of the Pyrenees (fig. 4). One route is the only direct connection between the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, a corridor running parallel to the mountains, partly following the Aude valley, north of the Corbières mountains and south of the Montagne Noire. The only natural pass through the Pyrenees in this region is that which connects the Aude corridor with the town of Puigcerdá and the Cerdanya valley through the route of Font-Romeu and Bourg-Madame. Carcassonne, therefore, strategically dominates the central part of the Pyrenees and the communications that link Spain to France and the Mediterranean to the Atlantic.

Although there are traces of human presence dating as far back as to one-million years B.C., the first signs of a stabilized settlement at Carcassonne belong to the period of the eighth to the sixth centuries B.C., when there was a market-place at the foot of the plateau, next to the Aude river. This site was abandoned during the sixth century, when a first Roman oppidum was established at the top of the plateau. At the end of the second century B.C., the Romans founded the colony of Narbonne, which extended as far as Toulouse, therefore including Carcassonne. This became an independent colony, named Julia Carcaso, one

century later. Pliny the Elder refers to it as one of the latina oppida.

The first reference to a masonry construction encircling the plateau is dated from the early fourth century A.D. (333), when the "hyerosolimitan itinerary" (a description of a pilgrimage from Bordeaux to Jerusalem) mentions the castellum of Carcassonne. This first castellum is today acknowledged to be not only the majority of the foundations of the walls, but also the body of a few towers and curtains.

The fifth century saw the alternate occupation of the fortress by Roman and Visigothic forces that arrived from Hispania. In 585, the Franks took possession of the stronghold, which they held until 725, when the Arabs made the first incursions into Septimany. Ambasa Ibn Suhaym al Kalbi, Wali of Andalusia, took the fortress until 759 --the year in which the Arabs were pushed back across the Pyrenees by Pippin the Short. In the course of these attacks, the former castellum was partially destroyed and rebuilt. As Visigothic construction closely followed the Roman system of masonry --especially in large military and civil architecture, only with a lower quality of execution-- it is difficult to distinguish the works belonging to one period from the other. This similarity led Viollet-le-Duc and also the archeologist Prosper Mèrimée to suppose in the nineteenth century that the whole construction was the product of the Visigothic period --that is, from the sixth to the eighth centuries (fig. 7).

According to recent scholarship, the older remains of wall belong to the first campaign of defense against the Germanic invasions of the fourth century. Its foundations are not very deep, ranging from one to two meters in depth and consisting of two or three layers of large

blocks of stones, with thick layers of hard mortar. The walls were raised at six to eight meters high, depending on the terrain, with a thickness of 2.20 to 3.80 meters. There were some thirty-four or thirty-eight towers, U-shaped in plan and thirteen to fourteen meters high. Their cubic and massive bases were intended as a protection against the destructive power of the battering rams. Although very little is known about the tower roofs, they probably were covered with ceramic tiles and, therefore, with soft-sloped roofs. As it was usual in Roman construction, the wall is composed of two facing walls of small stones (cubes of 0.10 m. per side) with alternating layers of brick to provide levelling and cohesion to the masonry. The stones were applied onto a nucleus or intermediate wall of concrete (made with pebbles, gravel, and crushed brick) while fresh, in a manner similar to the execution of a mosaic.

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As Vegetius recommended in his treatise on military art, the towers were semicircular on the outer side, but flat and open on the inner side (figs. 13-17). The distance between them was variable, but the medium range is of about 20 meters. The defense, therefore, was based on the passive inertia of the walls and the projection of missiles of all kind from the top of the walls and towers, both with crenelated battlements. Similar fortresses were built at this time at Le Mans, Senlis and other French towns.

The Gallo-Roman wall of Carcassonne is well preserved on the north front, from the Moulin du Connétable tower to the Moulin d'Avar tower. On the east front, it extends from the Prisons tower to the Narbonnaise gate.

3. The Medieval Building Campaigns

In the ninth century, Charlemagne formed the Marca Hispanica, an elongated territory that had the Pyrenees as the nucleus and which was destined to serve as a defensive barrier against any further military intent by the Arabs. Charlemagne himself appointed the first Counts of Carcassonne, who, after a few generations, chose their own successors, so forming the aristocracy that was to rule over the town and the fortress during the Middle Ages. Moreover, in 1067 Ermengarda, sister of count Roger III, who had died without descendents, married Raimon Bernat Trencavel (or Trincavel), already Count of Albi and Nîmes. This was the beginning of a dynasty of Viscounts, the Trencavels, who after the possession of Carcassonne by the house of Barcelona,¹⁵ ruled from 1082 to 1209, the date of the siege by the Crusade against the Cathars.¹⁶

Catharism (or Albigeism) spread through Carcassonne after the completion of the cathedral Saint-Nazaire. This important medieval heresy, the name deriving from the Greek katharos ("pure"), is believed to have originated in ancient Manichean doctrines that appeared in Southeastern Europe and were brought to the West by merchants, pilgrims and crusaders. Catharism was based on a radical dualism that distinguished all immaterial things as the work of God from mundane materiality, the product of the evil forces. The rituals of the Cathars also differed from those established by the Roman Church, especially in the exclusion of sacraments. Although spread all over the continent, the Cathars only attained a firm success in Southern France, especially in Languedoc.

In the middle of the twelfth century, Carcassonne elected a Cathar

bishop, Guiraud Mercier. The local clergy lived in a state of corruption and indifference, and the feudal lords were happy to see an increasing instability within the Church. However, when in 1208 the Papal legate Pierre de Castelnau was murdered in Toulouse, the Pope called for a Crusade against the heresy. Toulouse surrendered before the arrival of the crusaders, fearing the brutal reppraisals that were instead directed to other towns: Béziers was completely destroyed the following year, Carcassonne was sieged for fifteen days and, knowing of the recent and terrible massacre of Beziers, Raimon Roger Trencavel surrendered personally to the Crusaders. Simon de Montfort, a distinguished officer during the siege, became the new Viscount.

In 1240, Raimon Trencavel II unsuccessfully tried to regain the power for his family in Carcassonne. After a long siege that lasted an entire month, the royal forces, returning providentially from the Crusade and led by the Sir of Beaumont, secured the stronghold for the king of France. As a result of the siege, the four faubourgs that surrounded the fortress had been burned and destroyed, and in 1248 the king orderd the foundation of the new ville basse across the river, that is, on the actual site of the town of Carcassonne, to relocate the former inhabitants of the faubourgs.

Saint Louis (1240-70) decided to rebuild the fortress. Viollet-le-Duc, following Guillaume Besse's history of Carcassonne, referred to this building campaign as the one that shaped the fortress for the last time. Recent studies, however, have provided a more precise chronology for the medieval fortress,¹⁷ distinguishing three different campaigns. In the course of the 1228-39 period, the outer wall was built as it stands today, and the course of the inner curtains was modified. After

the 1240 siege, the tilt-yards were levelled, towers and battlements added to the outer wall, and the three barbicans built. During this period several towers (Benazet, Grand Burlas, Vade, Peyre) were also erected, and the perimeter of the outer wall on the west front from the east bartizan and the barbican of Saint Louis (in front of the Narbonnaise gate) was changed. From 1280 to 1287, the most important building campaign was executed under Philip III, the Bold. More than half of the inner wall was remodelled with a new rusticated masonry. Even a part of the wall (from the Inquisition tower to the Prisons tower) was entirely rebuilt, perhaps in a different place. The Balthazar tower and the Narbonnaise gate were also reconstructed, as well as the two square towers (Carrée de l'Evêque and Saint-Nazaire). The new towers were four stories high, the two lower ones usually covered with rib vaults.

As preserved, the medieval construction of the walls is composed of a nucleus of rubble between two facings of stone, of larger dimensions than Roman masonry. The foundation is, unlike in the Roman wall, very deep --usually down to the rocky infrastructure of the plateau,-- thicker, and much stronger. The masonry of the thirteenth-century is larger than that of the twelfth century, and only under Philip the Bold blocks of stone with chiselled edges and rustication were used. The most problematic part of the construction, however, is that of the tower coverings. As no conclusive proofs exist, it still remains a matter of interpretation based on two main arguments. One is dictated by common sense and by habitual practice, saying that as it is habitual in southern France, roofs have gentle slopes and are sheathed in ceramic

tiles. Viollet-le-Duc's argument was that in the medieval campaigns, kings sent their own military engineers to Carcassonne. Therefore, the northern engineers opted for their own methods and decided to apply septentrional roofs (of steep conical shape and covered with black slate). Viollet-le-Duc brought two arguments to defend his final decision: the close slate quarries at the Montaigne Noire, and the roof profile given by the gable of the back wall of the Trésau tower. In fact, in the first restoration project for the Narbonnaise gate, of 1849, Viollet-le-Duc was proposing the use of glazed colored tiles as a covering, but he changed his mind for the final report of 1853, choosing slate and a more pointed profile for the roofs (see II.4. for the recent debate on the roofs of the Cité).

4. Decline and Destruction

After the profound transformations of the end of the thirteenth century, the fortress became a prison, an arsenal, and a storage place of weapons and food for the army. Carcassonne was still strategically important as a stronghold close to the Catalan (later Spanish) border. However, the introduction of artillery into warfare soon made the medieval fortress obsolete. The 1659 Peace of the Pyrenees between France and Spain annexed the Roussillon to the kingdom of France, and displaced the Franco-Spanish frontier south to the ridge of the Pyrenees. Spain lost its political and military power in Europe, and consequently there was no need to adapt the fortress so as to withstand the new weaponry. The Cité became a warehouse, keeping a small garrison until the nineteenth century. In 1804, it lost its category of "war

site" and practically became a quarry for the town. In a few years, the walls were dismantled and the towers shortened to the level of the sentry-walk. The fortress thus became the poorest suburb of the now flourishing town of Carcassonne (fig. 5), a place of abject poverty, filthy houses and pervading misery. As its former inhabitants had left for the new town, the tilt-yard between the inner and outer wall became densely built with poor habitations backing onto the walls and built with the available stones of the decrepit walls and towers.

5. The Nineteenth-Century Restoration

The former cathedral of Saint-Nazaire (fig. 30) was the building that first re-awakened interest in Carcassonne. The church presents two well-differentiated styles, and this might have been the reason for its inclusion among the first restorations administered and supervised by the Commission des Monuments historiques. The sole document referring to its early construction is the reference to Pope Urban II's visit to Carcassonne and the blessing of the well-advanced construction of the cathedral on 11 June 1096. In 1259, the bishop of Carcassonne, Guillaume Radulphe, decided to adjoin a small chapel to the edifice, where he would be buried. Eight years later, after Radulphe's death in 1266, the new bishop requested the authorization of the king, Saint-Louis, to enlarge the choir of the cathedral. Consequently, the Romanesque apse was demolished and the cathedral enlarged in the Gothic style. The construction, however, was not completed until the first third of the fourteenth century.

The nineteenth-century restoration started with the classification

of Saint-Nazaire as a historic monument in 1840 by the recently created Commission des Monuments historiques. The classement was designed to list the buildings that deserved the most urgent attention, and the case of Saint-Nazaire seemed justified. Prosper Mérimée noted during his travels that the building was about to collapse, and the town-architect of Carcassonne sent a report in 1838 referring to the important damage the lack of maintenance had caused in the cathedral. The Ministère de l'Intérieur allocated 1,000 FF the same year for the preparation of a first estimate for the restoration of the Radulphe chapel, a commission assigned to the local architect Champagne. The Carcassonne Inspecteur des Monuments historiques Jean-Pierre Cros-Mayrevieille, however, presented a report two years later on the degradations caused by Champagne's restoration. As a consequence, the Commission immediately commissioned Viollet-le-Duc, who had been attached to the Commission since his 1840 project of restoration for La Madeleine of Vezelay, to write a report on the cathedral and its ongoing restoration. This report, presented the following year, denounced important irregularities in the works, as well as an abusive restoration of the Radulphe chapel by Champagne.¹⁸

As his opinion was supported by a letter to the Ministre by Cros-Mayrevieille, Viollet-le-Duc obtained the commission for the restoration of Saint-Nazaire. He was appointed on 19 April 1844 and presented a report at the end of the same year,¹⁹ wherein he noted that "La réparation de saint-Nazaire équivaut à la reconstruction de tous les couronnements et de presque tous les meneaux des fenêtres et roses."²⁰ Besides the reconstruction, however, Viollet-le-Duc proposed also to "finish" the belfry of the west facade and to "(sans détruire aucune des

traces des constructions primitives) rétablir cette façade dans son état
ancien probable."²¹

In 1845, MÉRIMÉE commented on Viollet-le-Duc's report, mentioning that the Commission, with its small economic resources, could not finance restorations, but only "consolidations". However, MÉRIMÉE noted that Saint-Nazaire was a special case, because "A Saint Nazaire on ne peut consolider qu'à condition de restaurer ... Dans cette église l'ornementation est si intimement liée à la construction qu'ainsi qu'on l'a dit en commençant, on ne peut consolider sans restaurer."²²

Viollet-le-Duc asked the Ministère that he be allowed to employ Cals Père, a conducteur of the Ponts et Chaussées, as inspector of the works. Cals died in 1848 and was replaced by his son Giraud Cals, who later became inspector for the restoration of the Cité. Construction started at Saint-Nazaire in 1846 but was only completed in 1867. The final cost of the restoration seems to have amounted to 757,000 FF --an expensive work compared to other contemporary projects.²³ The Baron de Guilhermy visited the site of Saint-Nazaire four times between 1848 and 1861²⁴ and was not critical of Viollet-le-Duc's restoration --he only lamented that some of the original sculptures, replaced by the sculptor Perrin, could have been kept in place due to their acceptable state of conservation.

The most active individual in promoting the conservation of the Cité was Cros-Mayrevieille²⁵ who, after commissioning a set of six drawings of the fortress from the engineer Reynal, traveled in 1843 to Paris to request official support and appropriations for the restoration. Viollet-le-Duc himself, while preparing his report on the cathedral,

published an article in Didron's Annales archéologiques, where he not only acknowledged Cros-Mayrevieille efforts in salvaging Saint-Nazaire, but also outlined the history of the Cité and regretted the poor state of the fortress, to which the works of the Génie (corps of military engineers) only added to its decay. From the very beginning of his description, however, Viollet-le-Duc evoked the full splendor of the stronghold now become a ruin:²⁶

Cette ancienne place forte ... qui aujourd'hui semble une immense ruine de quelque palais de géants, était autrefois une ville riche et peuplée, fière de ses fortes murailles, enveloppée de quatre faubourgs, dont deux étaient entourés de murs et de fossés.

In his first article, Viollet-le-Duc established the chronology of the Cité that he was to rewrite and extend in his report, and later in his monograph on Carcassonne.²⁷

Work started at Saint-Nazaire in 1845, when Prosper Mérimée, Inspecteur général des Monuments historiques, visited Carcassonne to inspect the site. The next year, pressed by Cros-Mayrevieille, Mérimée commissioned Viollet-le-Duc to prepare a report on the Narbonnaise gate, the principal entrance to the fortress. This resulted in a first project of restoration for the gate and its towers that was sent to the Ministre de l'Intérieur in 1849. Afterwards, the Ministre commissioned a more extensive report on the whole Cité. In this first report, Viollet-le-Duc mentioned the need to remove all the parasitic constructions that obstructed the tilt-yard and the walls. The answer of Paris, however, was disconcerting, for next year the prince president Louis-Napoléon decided to exclude the fortress from second-class war-sites. The local reaction was stronger than ever: Cros-Mayrevieille traveled again to Paris, where he published Les Monuments civils et militaires de la cité

de Carcassonne, distributing copies through the Ministères and the Commission des Monuments historiques. Viollet-le-Duc sent a letter to the Ministere de l'Intérieur, ²⁸ and in Carcassonne the local Société des arts et sciences met in a special session to draft a protest against the exclusion of the fortress from the list. The town council also addressed a protest to the Ministere and, as a consequence, the Cité was reclassified two months after its déclassement. The result was clearly a prise de conscience in Carcassonne that even reached Paris. The following year, the Ministère de la Guerre and the Ministère de l'Intérieur decided to start a joint program of restoration --although it was never to be executed-- dividing their responsibilities and their budgets, the former becoming responsible for the outer walls and the castle, the latter for the inner walls.

On Sunday, 3 October 1852, Louis-Napoléon stopped at Carcassonne. Viollet-le-Duc not only decorated the salle of the town hall, but also invited the president to leave the lower town to visit the fortress. The future emperor, however, declined the offer and remained in the modern lower town, whence he departed the next morning toward Toulouse. At that date, Viollet-le-Duc must have been working strenuously on the final report and its magnificent album of drawings for the restoration project, as he was to present it a few months later. Mérimée, as usual, supported Viollet-le-Duc's proposal, and the result was Louis-Napoléon's (now become Napoléon III) enthusiastic approval of his project. The former accord between the two Ministères was dissolved, and work started the same year with the first purchase and destruction of the the tilt-yards habitations --baraques, as Hyppolite Taine described them: "tout

le long des murailles rampent et s'accrochent des baraques informes, borgues ou boiteuses, impregnées de poussière et de boue." ²⁹ The process of freeing the surroundings of the Cité from any "parasitic" construction (as the materials of the fortress had been used for building these habitations) was to last fifty-seven years, until 1909.

In Viollet-le-Duc's project and report of 1853, the restoration that was to be executed in the following decades was already defined in its entirety. The first budget estimated by Viollet-le-Duc amounted to a total cost of 217,500 FF that was to be paid by the Ministre de la Maison de l'Empereur. In the same period, Viollet-le-Duc was given the commission for the small church of Saint-Gimer, to be located at the foot of the plateau where the Cité stands. He submitted a project in 1852 and supervised the first works on the foundations in 1853. ³⁰

Viollet-le-Duc's other projects for Carcassonne were, besides the decoration of the grande salle of the town hall, a project for a public fountain in front of the Narbonnaise gate, as well as the requested advice on the rebuilding of the rostrum for the church Saint-Vincent in the lower town. Moreover, Viollet-le-Duc was simultaneously the restoration architect of such important buildings as Amiens cathedral (1850-75), Notre-Dame of Paris (1845-64, with Jean-Baptiste Lassus), the small church at Poissy (1846-65) and the abbatial church of Saint-Denis (1851-79), both in the outskirts of Paris, the Notre-Dame church at Semur-en-Auxois (1844-54), La Madeleine at Vezelay (1840-59), and the church of Simorre (1845-58). This tireless worker was also about to start publishing his principal work, the ten-volume Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française du XIe au XVIe siècle ³¹ and was simultaneously writing articles for César Daly's Revue générale de

l'Architecture et des Travaux publics and Calliat's Encyclopédie d'architecture.

Although Viollet-le-Duc's proposal for Carcassonne was completed in 1853, the ceremonial act that marked the beginning of the works was the delimitation in situ of the area of military property around the Cité on 24 June 1854. Sérè de Rivières, captain of the Génie, André, engineer of Ponts et Chaussées, and Cazaben, a municipal officer, planted twenty-three boundary stones according to the new official regulations about military sites (fig. 8).

Besides the first demolitions of the habitations attached to the walls, the vast program established by Viollet-le-Duc was left unexecuted until 1855. The first step was the covering of the Tour Pinte with a flat roof and the repair of several breaches of the inner wall. This first building campaign lasted until 1862, when economic problems halted the construction for two years. Another interruption took place between 1869 and 1872, due to further financial difficulties and the Franco-Prussian war. Viollet-le-Duc's last visit to the site was in September 1878.³² One year later, he died in his own châlet, La Vedette, at Lausanne. That same year, Paul-Louis Boeswillwald, son of the architect Emile Boeswillwald and a former pupil of Henri Labrouste, replaced Viollet-le-Duc as architect of the Cité.³³ Giraud Cals, inspector of works, died the following year and was replaced by Auguste Malecamp. Paul Boeswillwald was appointed Inspecteur général des Monuments historiques, so in 1913 he decided to leave Carcassonne.³⁴

Notes

1. Pliny the Elder, Historia Naturalis, III, 5.

2. Caesar, De Bello Gallia, III, 20.

3. According to Joseph Poux, La Cité de Carcassonne. Histoire et description, 3 vols (Toulouse: Privat, 1927-38) 1:60, two manuscripts are preserved, one in Verona (ninth century) and the other in Paris (tenth century).

4. Duc de Joyeuse, Bref recueil des choses principales qui se sont passées au pays de Languedoc pour le fait de la guerre, et particulièrement de la prise de la ville de Carcassonne (Lyons, 1592); Guillaume Besse, Histoire des antiquitez et comtes de Carcassonne (Béziers, 1645; reprint ed., Paris, 1928); Gérard de Vic, Chronicon episcoporum ac rerum memorabilium ecclesiae Carcassonis (Carcassonne, 1667); Thomas Bouges, Histoire ecclésiastique et civile de la ville et du diocèse de Carcassonne, avec les pièces justificatives et une notice ancienne et moderne de ce diocèse (Paris: P. Gandoui, 1741). Other eighteenth-century historical studies are: Jean Astruc, Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire naturelle de la province de Languedoc (Paris, 1737); and De Basville, Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire du Languedoc (Amsterdam, 1734).

5. Besides the numerous general histories of France, Carcassonne appeared in regional studies or descriptions such as in Baron Trouvè, Description générale et statistique de département de l'Aude (Paris, 1818); Millin, Voyage dans les départements du Midi de la France (Paris, 1807-11); and Baron Taylor, Charles Nodier, and Alphonse Cailleux, Voyages pittoresques et romantiques dans l'ancienne France, 21 vols. (Paris: Gide fils, 1820-78), that included seven lithographs of the Cité before its restoration.

6. Joseph Poux, op. cit.

7. This study seems to be the first serious proof for a new chronology of the oldest remains of the fortress walls. However, the only reference to the unpublished study appears in Yves Bruand, "La Cité de Carcassonne. Les enceintes fortifiées," CAF 131 (1973):497, where a future publication is promised. Unfortunately, I have not found any further reference.

8. Bruand, op. cit.

9. See J. Sablayrolles, "Fortifications romaines et wisigothiques à la Cité?," Bulletin de la Société d'études scientifiques de l'Aude (1961).

10. Catalogue des livres composant la librairie de feu M. E. Viollet-le-Duc (Paris: A. Labitte, 1880).

11. Vegetius: Paris, 1536, 1759, 1762, and Lyons, 1592; Frontinus: Lipsiae, 1772, and Paris, 1664. Other authors on military art in Viollet-le-Duc's library are Malatesta (Paris, 1553), Cap. Flaminio (Anvers, 1617), Macchiavello (Argentorati, 1610), Jean-Jacques de Walhausen (Leeuward, 1630), Sr. du Praissac (Paris, 1612), Allain Manesson Mallet (Amsterdam, 1684), J.B.L. Carré de Clermont-la-Meuse

(Chalons-sur-Marne, 1795), Le Rouge (Paris, 1760). On military architecture, the Catalogue des livres... lists Durer (Basel, 1535), G.B. della Valle di Venafro (Venice, 1531), G.B. de' Zanchi da Pesaro (Venice, 1556), Girolamo Cataneo (Brescia, 1564), Carlo Theti (Venice, 1569; Rome, 1689), Aurelio de Pasino (Anvers, 1579), Antonio Lupicini (Florence, 1582), Girolamo Maggie (Venice, 1583), Gabriello Busca (Turin, 1585), Daniel Speckle (Strasbourg, 1589), G.B. Belici (Venice, 1598), Jacques Perret (Paris, 1601), G.F. Frammelli (Rome, 1604), Buonaiuto Lorini (Venice, 1609), Symon Stevin (Rotterdam, 1617), J. Errard de Bar-le-Duc (Paris, 1602), Albert Girard and Samuel Marolais (Amsterdam, 1627), Adam Pritach (Paris, 1640), Antoine de Ville (Lyons, 1640), Wilhelm Dilichius (Frankfort, 1641), Comte de Pagan (Paris, 1645, 1689), Matthias Dogen (Amsterdam, 1648), Fr. Tensini (Venice, 1655), Jean Briouys (Metz, 1666), Wilhelm Dilichius (Frankfort, 1689), Giovanni Scala (n.d.), L.C. Sturm (Hague, 1708), N.D. Fer (Paris, 1723), M. Trincano (Paris, 1768), A. de Zastrou (Paris, 1856), and Gènéal Tripier (Paris, 1866).

12. The term was coined by John Summerson in his article "Viollet-le-Duc and the Rational Point of View" in Heavenly Mansions and Other Essays (New York, 1948): 135-158.

13. E.-E. Viollet-le-Duc, Rapport adressé à S.E.M. la Ministre d'Etat sur les restes de l'ancienne cité de Carcassonne (Paris: Gide, 1858).

14. Vegetius, De Re Militari 4.

15. The house of Barcelona bought Carcassonne, so the town became its possession from 1067 until 1082. The Catalans recuperated Carcassonne again in 1107, and from 1118 to 1124. Meanwhile, the dynasty of the Trencavels was composed of Bernat Atò (1074-1129), Roger I (1129-50), Raimon II (1150-67), Roger II (1167-94), and Raimon Roger (1194-1209), the father of Raimon III, who sieged unsuccessfully the fortress in 1240. See Ramon d'Abadal, "A propos de la "domination" de la Maison comtale de Barcelone sur le Midi français," Annales du Midi (1964).

16. See Joseph Astruc, "L'Albigèisme et la prise de Carcassonne par les Croisés," Bulletin de l'Association des anciens élèves du petit séminaire de Carcassonne series 2, 7 (1911); and C. Douais, "Un épisode des croisades contre les Albigeois, le siège de Carcassonne, 1er-15 août 1209," Revue des questions historiques 31 (1882).

17. See Joseph Poux, La Cité de Carcassonne, and especially Yves Bruand, op. cit.

18. Viollet-le-Duc wrote in this occasion that "Tous les faisceaux de colonnettes et arêtes ont été retaillés à vif, ce qui n'est nullement conforme aux instructions de la Commission [des Monuments historiques], le couronnement du tombeau de l'évêque refait à neuf, n'appartient à aucun style, à aucune époque; s'il en existait quelques fragments, il eût été mieux et plus économique de les laisser tels quels." Quoted in Marcel Durliat, "L'ancienne cathédrale Saint-Nazaire de Carcassonne," CAF 131 (1973): 552.

19. E.-E. Viollet-le-Duc, "Rapport sur l'église Saint-Nazaire de Carcassonne," Revue de l'Aude 1 (1845-46):394-98; also published in Mémoires de la Société des arts et sciences de Carcassonne, series 2, 8 (1912): 56-60.
20. Durliat, op. cit., p. 553.
21. Ibid., p. 554.
22. Mèrimée's comments were made at the session of 25 March. Quoted in Durliat, op. cit., 554.
23. The amount is calculated from Durliat's account of partial expenses. The cost of the small church of Saint-Gimer in Carcassonne, designed by Viollet-le-Duc and built contemporarily to the restoration of Saint-Nazaire, amounted to 93,441 FF. A large restoration such as that of the cathedral of Amiens had a cost of 1,894,000 FF --the most expensive restoration directed by Viollet-le-Duc, the castle of Pierrefonds, had a final cost of 5,800,000 FF.
24. Guilhermy visited Carcassonne in 1848, 1855, 1857, and 1861. Although his descriptions are not published, Durliat (op. cit.) gives the reference of the manuscript: "Descriptions des localités de la France" IV, fol. 268-287 verso, Bibliothèque nationale, manuscrits, nouvelles acquisitions françaises, 6097.
25. Jean-Pierre Cros-Mayrevieille (1810-76), born in Carcassonne, studied law at Toulouse and after returning to his natal town founded L'Aude, journal du progrès. In 1839 was appointed correspondant of the Comité des Arts et Monuments. The following year he became inspecteur of the Commission of Monuments historiques in Carcassonne, and began publishing his studies on the history of the town and its fortress (see bibliography). For more on Cros-Mayrevieille, see Prosper Mèrimée, Correspondance générale, 3:349, note 3.
26. Viollet-le-Duc, "La Cité de Carcassonne," Annales archéologiques 1 (1844): 448-458.
27. See Viollet-le-Duc, Rapport and La Cité de Carcassonne (Aude) (Paris: Gide, 1858).
28. In his letter, Viollet-le-Duc mentioned his own formation of a splendid body of workmen and craftsmen at Carcassonne that would be an important element for the eventual works at the Cité: "J'ai formé à Saint-Nazaire, comme à Vezelay, comme à Semur, comme à Narbonne, un chantier d'ouvriers qui se suffit à lui-même. J'ai là maçons, tailleurs de pierre, forgerons, charpentiers, sculpteurs, tous hommes façonnés à des ouvrages difficiles, tous travaillant sur place, sous ma direction. Ce sont des ouvriers habiles, pleins d'émulation et du désir de bien faire, au milieu desquels on vient recruter, quand on a besoin, des gens capables et soigneux." Quoted in Poux, op. cit., 3:461.

29. Hyppolite Taine, Carnets de voyage: notes sur la province, 1863-1865 (Paris, 1897): 289. Quoted in Poux, op. cit., 3:468.

30. See Lucy McClintock, "Monumentality versus Suitability: Viollet-le-Duc's Saint Gimer at Carcassonne," Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 40 (October 1981): 218-35.

31. E.-E. Viollet-le-Duc, Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française du XI^e au XVI^e siècle, 10 vols., (Paris: B. Bance, A. Morel, 1854-68). The first volume ("Abaque" - "Aronde") was published in 1854 by B. Bance. It is almost exclusively dedicated to the article "Architecture" and one its sections is "Architecture militaire", with an extensive study of medieval fortresses and frequent references to Carcassonne and its Cité. Also published that year was Viollet-le-Duc's Essai sur l'architecture militaire au Moyen Age (Paris: Bance, 1854), an extract of the Dictionnaire's article "Architecture militaire".

32. Viollet-le-Duc's number of visits to Carcassonne was impressive. His first visit must have been during his travel to Spain and the Pyrenees, when he was nineteen years old. Afterwards, we know that his first official visit as an architect was in 1842. He travelled to Carcassonne (as part of his tour to supervise his numerous sites in southern France) every year until 1848. Then he returned in 1850, 1853, 1855 (two times), 1858 (two times), 1859, 1861, 1862, 1865, 1866 (two times), 1873, 1874, 1875, 1876, 1877, and 1878. These dates are recorded in Geneviève Viollet le Duc, "Chronologie de Viollet-le-Duc," in Viollet-le-Duc: [exposition], Galeries nationales du Grand Palais, 19 février - 5 mai 1980 (Paris: Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1980): 381-87.

33. Paul-Louis Boeswillwald (1844-1931) also worked in other important restorations such as that of the fortress of Guérande, Saint-Père sous Vezelay, the castle of Foix --not far from Carcassonne,-- the cathedrals of Toul and Laon, and the Hôtel de Cluny. In 1885 he joined the Commission des Monuments historiques, and ten years later replaced his father as Inspecteur général, retiring in 1929. See P. Verdier, "Le Service des Monuments historiques," CAF (1934): 53-246. There is also a recent monograph on his father Emile: Rudolf Echt, Emile Boeswillwald als Denkmalpfleger: Untersuchungen zu Problemen und Methoden der französischen Denkmalpflege im 19. Jahrhundert (Bonn: Dr. Rudolf Habelt, 1984).

34. After Boeswillwald, the new architect was a local professional, M. H. Nodet, whose work in Carcassonne primarily focused on the restoration of the castle or château comtal. In 1955, A. J. Donzet became the new architect of the Cité working on the installation of a new museum that is still located in several rooms of the castle. Eleven years later, M. Hermite was the architect who designed and built the open-air theatre that is located between the church Saint-Nazaire and the south-west extreme of the walls.

II. Viollet-le-Duc's Project for Carcassonne

1. The Institutional Framework

The 1789 Revolution supposed a violent end to the ancien régime in France, an uprising against former structures of power such as the clergy and the remains of the feudal system, as well as the attack to the architecture that represented those spheres of authority. Abbeys, churches, castles, prisons, and other religious and civil buildings were burned, destroyed and vandalized. The first efforts to palliate the widespread destruction appeared during the years of the Revolution: in 1795 Alexandre Lenoir opened his collection of historical fragments, the Musée des monuments français, in the Parisian convent of the Petits-Augustins --the site of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts.¹ Seven years later, Chateaubriand's Génie du Christianisme praised the significance of medieval culture and its architecture, an early expression of the medievalist taste that was to result in the influential "manifesto" of Victor Hugo's second edition of Notre-Dame de Paris, published in 1832.

The first decades of the nineteenth century saw initial efforts toward the study and cataloguing of medieval monuments. In 1810 the Ministre de l'Intérieur, Montalivet, unsuccessfully attempted to start a catalogue of the French built patrimony, but nine years later a first annual budget of 80,000 FF was established for the conservation of historic monuments. The earliest archeological societies for the study of Medieval art flourished during the 1820s, led by the Arcisse de Caumont, who organized the Société archéologique de Normandie. Throughout France there developed a complex network of learned societies

(sociétés savantes). These became powerful instruments in the vast nineteenth-century restoration of historical structures. After the liberal revolution of 1830, the care for historic monuments was institutionalized. The work of great contemporary historians, such as François Guizot, Jules Michelet, and Augustin Thierry, as well as of other former collaborators of the journal Le Globe --especially Ludovic Vitet and Prosper Mérimée-- shaped the ideology of the later Commission des Monuments historiques.

François Guizot, having become Ministre de l'Intérieur under the revolution, immediately appointed his friend Vitet first Inspecteur général des Monuments historiques. Vitet's task was to produce a comprehensive inventory of monuments and to care for their conservation. In his first report, the new Inspecteur defined the concept of "monument" as a piece of architecture whose importance depended on its age, its architectural merit, or its quality as the scene of memorable events. Vitet defined his mission as the prevention or slowing of the process of degradation in a monument.² The term "restoration," however, did not appear at this time.

The inventory became an important problem in the following years. An impossible task for Vitet alone, several committees were created to accomplish the inventory, while the notion of "monument" was expanded to include all sorts of historical documents. Some of these institutions were the Comité des documents inédits de l'histoire de France (1834), the Comité des arts et monuments (1835), the Comité des documents inédits de la littérature, de la philosophie, des sciences et des arts (1835), and the Commission des édifices religieux (1848). Alongside these

worked the archaeological societies, which in 1834 founded a national organism, the Société française d'archéologie.

In 1834, however, Vitet resigned from his post to start a political career as Député de la Seine-inferieure. Mérimée replaced him and served until 1852, proving to be an enthusiastic and restless Inspecteur général, constantly touring the country on inspection trips, writing innumerable reports and articles, and especially "lobbying" through his close acquaintance with high politicians, ministres, and even with Napoléon III himself.

The Commission des Monuments historiques was founded in 1837 by Montalivet, the successor of Guizot as Ministre de l'Intérieur, to extend and complement the individual work of the Inspecteur général. The initial task of the Commission was to distribute governmental subventions for the care of historic monuments. This necessitated the classement, a methodic list of monuments ordered according to the priorities established by the members of the Commission. Its membership was composed of a president (Jean Vatout), a secretary (Mérimée), two administrators (Vitet and the Comte de Montesquiou), two archeologists (Auguste Leprévost and the Baron Taylor) and two architects (Augustin-³ Nicolas Caristie and Félix-Jacques Duban). The Commission relied on a network of local correspondants throughout the French territory --such as Cros-Mayrevieille at Carcassonne. At the beginning there were about seventy correspondants, all being members, secretaries, or presidents of archeological societies. The members did not receive any payment for the two requested annual reports, and they even were forced to fight with the Commission (as did Cros-Mayrevieille for Carcassonne) to obtain a ⁴ portion of the budget, which in the year 1837 amounted to 200.000 FF.

The complexity of French public administration in this period did not help the Commission. Other ministères and departments also had some authority over architectural conservation. Their policy and methods, however, often proved to be contrary to those of the Commission. The Génie militaire (the corps of military engineers) often did more to damage than to preserve the architecture under their care, as indeed is witnessed in Carcassonne. The Conseil des bâtiments civils was also responsible for destructive restorations, such as that of the abbatial church of Saint-Denis, where one of the tower spires collapsed under the careless design and execution of François Debret. Only Mérimée's powerful friendship with the high spheres of public administration seems to have been the means to obtain relatively rapid and large credits to execute the projects --again, Carcassonne is the result of Mérimée's skillful management.

Within the Commission, however, differences of opinion between architects and non-architects --often the archeologists-- in matters of restoration appeared very soon. Although each member maintained a clear and personal opinion on restoration and its guidelines of execution, the architect, working in the remote province, often followed his own method. Although Parisian architects were seldom well received in small towns and villages, local architects soon proved to be unreliable because of their lack of knowledge on medieval archaeology as well as on conservation technology. "Il devient tous les jours plus évident que nous n'avons que trois ou quatre architectes sur lesquels nous pouvons
5
compter," Mérimée confessed in 1846.

The ideology of the Commission coincided in great part with that

espoused by the archeological societies and publications --such as the Bulletin Monumental, started by Arcisse de Caumont in 1834, and the Annales archéologiques of 1844-- and was based on the work of the Romantic generation of historians. Differing from the aestheticism of the goût troubadour, the new look at medieval history intended to be scientific and, especially, national. The complexity of this point of view resided in the problem of relating present-day France to its past. The relevant past, however, was not the centuries preceding the Revolution, but rather the distant and, at that time, obscure Middle Ages. The interest of the historian, the archeologist, and the architect in that past could not rely on an argument of continuity, but rather of analogy. An important element in this process of analogy was the "unity of style", a product of rationalism applied to the study of architectural history. Moreover, stylistic unity was an important concept in architectural debates, as it was the "magic" notion that would lead towards the production of a new architecture in the nineteenth century. A passionate defender of this notion was Jean-Baptiste Lassus, the architect who worked with Viollet-le-Duc in the restoration of the Paris cathedral of Notre-Dame. Through the concept of "unity of style" an analogical link with the remote past could be established and its "principles" (in Viollet-le-Duc's terminology) be brought to the present. Medieval architecture, in its thirteenth-century state of perfection was thought to be the paradigm from which to learn. What needed to be applied to contemporary architecture, however, was not a style --imitable through the reproduction of forms, details, or motifs-- but rather the unity of style. In fact, once the concept was presented by Lassus, we may consider that the comprehension and

explanation of stylistic unity is the notion underlying Viollet-le-Duc's great theoretical corpus of writings. In this aspect, the dual notion of "principle" and "form" is the nucleus of Viollet-le-Duc's interpretation.⁶ This concept was a key element in his restorations of religious architecture, where the structure became the principal element in determining a state of the building consistent with its architectural "principle". The case of the Cité of Carcassonne, however, falls into a different category. In this fortress, the disposition and composition of elements no longer follows an order explicable through the delicate equilibrium of small parts (rib vaults, flying buttresses, lateral naves, etc.), but its logic obviously follows a different character. What is, therefore, the "principle" of the Cité? When Viollet-le-Duc must have asked himself this question, the whole institutional framework --so necessary in the administrative and financial process-- must have been useless. The architect alone, although with the valuable help of his friend Mérimée, had to answer this substantial question before undertaking the project of restoration. This is what we will try to discern in the next chapters.

2. The 1853 Report and the Influence of Prosper Mérimée

Although limited to the state of the Narbonnaise gate, Viollet-le-Duc's delivered his first report on the Cité of Carcassonne on 15 January 1849, as commissioned by Mérimée in 1846. We do not know with precision when he started to work on the monumental report of 1853, although it seems to have been completed by the end of 1852 when Mérimée made a

reference in a letter to the satisfaction of the people of Carcassonne in relation to the report. It is likely that Mèrimée was the man behind the scenes, as it was he who proposed in 1844 to give Viollet-le-Duc the sole responsibility for the work at the cathedral Saint-Nazaire. Again, in 1852, Mèrimée introduced Viollet-le-Duc to Achille Fould, the Ministre d'Etat, requesting an interview with the emperor on the subject of the Carcassonne project. Undoubtedly, Mèrimée was familiar with the shortcuts through the imperial bureaucracy --his letter to Fould was dated 29 March 1853 and only three days later Napoléon III spent one hour examining Viollet-le-Duc's album of twenty-nine drawings for the restoration of the Cité. Mèrimée praised the report in the highest terms, "Cette étude est la plus complete et la plus remarquable qui ait été encore faite sur l'architecture militaire du Moyen âge."⁷ Mèrimée also transmitted to the Ministre Napoléon's desire to publish the drawings, taking care of finding the publisher and a first estimate.⁸

Moreover, Mèrimée was a decisive influence on Viollet-le-Duc's preparation of the report. In fact, some of the fundamental concepts of the report may be found in Mèrimée's Notes d'un voyage dans le midi de la France of 1835. Writing on Carcassonne, he anticipated that "sa double enceinte fortifiée peut fournir matière à des études importantes sur l'architecture militaire du moyen-âge."⁹ Mèrimée proceeded to outline the chronology of the fortress: although five towers of the inner walls appeared to be Roman work, he believed that they were built during the late Visigothic period because the layers of mortar were thicker than in Roman construction. The remaining walls and towers were attributed to the mid-thirteenth century, except for the outer walls, which were the product of a later campaign executed by the end of the

same century. Moreover, Mérimée referred briefly to the military art of the period to explain the elements of construction: the shape of the towers, the span of wall between them, the openings, the west barbican, and even the major destructions (where he explains in detail the military operation of mining). Mérimée liked to include traditional stories or legends, such as the famous episode of Madame Carcas.¹⁰ The rest of the description was dedicated to the cathedral Saint-Nazaire.

Another essay by Mérimée, devoted to the military architecture of the Middle Ages and published in 1843,¹¹ anticipates many notions and methods of study that can be found in Viollet-le-Duc's 1853 report and even in the contemporary parts of the Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française.¹² Mérimée and Albert Lenoir interpreted medieval military art as principally based on passive defense, where the solidity and durability of the construction was to be the chief component. The study is clearly structured on four sections: the site, the elements (moats, bridges, gates, towers, walls, windows, donjons, and so forth), typological ensembles, and sieges (including strategy, military art and machines).

Viollet-le-Duc's report is dated 15 March 1853 and was published the same year. It is composed of a text complemented by twenty-nine large drawings, measuring 0.63 x 0.96 m. The album of drawings contains two plans of the Cité, two general elevations showing both the current and restored states, five studies of the Narbonnaise gate, studies of ten different towers, and eight studies of the castle (figs. 11, 12, 15, 20, 26).¹³ Viollet-le-Duc presented his study not only as a description of the Cité, but also as "un cours presque complet de l'art des

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fortifications du VI^e au XI^e siècle." That is, from the Visigothic period until the introduction of artillery.

He began by cataloguing the remains of Roman construction, only sparse foundations for the more visible Visigothic walls and towers. The text proceeded to describe the sixth-century construction. The next building campaign was executed at the end of the eleventh century, when the Romanesque nave of Saint-Nazaire was built and when Bernard Aton erected the castle. Viollet-le-Duc refers to the siege of the crusaders (1099) and of the last of the Trencavels (1240). Saint Louis decided at that time to rebuild the fortress, creating the outer curtain of walls, so that it would become one of the most effective strongholds of the period. Philip the Bold continued the work until his death (1285), building the Trésau tower, the Narbonnaise gate, the whole front between the Evêché and the Saint-Martin towers, and all the towers of the outer defense.

Viollet-le-Duc's report continues to describe in detail the fortress, paraphrasing Mèrimée: "ces curieuses ruines qui ouvrent un champ si vaste à l'étude des fortifications au moyen âge."¹⁵

Quand on se présente devant la cité de Carcassonne, on est tout d'abord frappé de l'aspect grandiose et sévère de ses tours brunes si diverses de dimensions, de hauteur, de forme, et qui suivent les mouvements du terrain pour profiter autant que possible des avantages naturels du plateau sur le bord duquel on les a élevées.

The description itself is a reconstruction of the fortress through its different elements. It is a description formulated in the past tense, an explanation of how the walls and towers were and why they were so from the actual remains. At the same time, however, Viollet-le-Duc distinguishes clearly between the fortress in time of peace and its

transformation in preparation for an attack or siege. Before the enemy arrived in front of the Cité, a vast effort of construction started, placing the hoardings, elements built of timber, on top of the walls and towers.

The Narbonnaise gate was a precise and implacable war machine, designed with precision so as to make the main entrance inviolable. Viollet-le-Duc described, explained, and illustrated in detail all its diverse mechanisms, the sophisticated systems of pulleys, portculis, and machicolations (fig. 25).¹⁶

On est frappé, lorsqu'on étudie ces fortifications, de voir avec quel soin on s'est mis en garde contre des surprises; on a pris toutes sortes de précautions pour arrêter l'ennemi et l'embarasser à chaque pas par des dispositions compliquées, par des détours impossibles à prévoir."

Occasionally, Viollet-le-Duc referred to the method of restoration he followed in the drawings, or even that would be applied in practice. Referring to the Carrée de l'Evêque tower, he explained: "Son parapet seul est détruit, mais il est facile de le restaurer à l'aide des fragments encore en place."¹⁷ When the text arrives at the Saint-Nazaire tower, Viollet-le-Duc laments "Malheureusement, la partie supérieure de cette construction est complètement démantelée, et j'ai dû la restaurer, en me basant sur des constructions analogues."¹⁸

Some towers present three different "strata": on a Roman foundation was raised the Visigothic body of the tower and terminated by the thirteenth-century construction (figs. 28, 33). A medieval fortress was designed for the defense on foot. The moment when the fortress would surrender was uncertain. Viollet-le-Duc's conclusion was that:¹⁹

De là, souvent, cette audace et cette insolence du faible contre le fort et le puissant, cette habitude de la résistance individuelle qui faisait le fond du caractère de

la feodalité, cette énergie qui a produit de si grandes choses au milieu de tant d'abus.

To the contrary, modern artillery introduced a cold, implacable calculation in warfare -- "Aujourd'hui, grâce à l'artillerie, un général qui investit une place non secourue par une armée du dehors, dira le jour et l'heure où cette place tombera." Modern war is anonymous, but the middle ages, on the other hand, had an appealing intensity.

Ce sont des temps de barbarie si l'on veut, mais d'une barbarie pleine de sève, d'énergie et de ressources. L'étude de ces grandes monuments militaires n'est donc pas seulement curieuse, elle fait connaître des mœurs dans lesquelles l'esprit national ne pourrait que gagner à se retremper.

This is, in the last instance, the principal justification for the enormous enterprise of restoring a whole fortified city. The west front of the castle is considered as the most interesting part, and although Viollet-le-Duc admitted that in 1853 its condition was no more than a ruin, he did not feel overwhelmed:

C'est en examinant avec soin les moindres traces des constructions encore existantes, que l'on peut arriver par la pensée à compléter ce bel ensemble. Je vais dire toutefois que bien peu de points restent vagues, et que si j'ai pu me tromper dans quelques détails, le système général de la défense ne présente pas de doutes; il s'accorde parfaitement avec les dispositions naturelles du terrain, et ces ruines sont encore pleines de fragments qui donnent non-seulement la forme des constructions de pierre, mais encore les attaches et scelllements des constructions en bois de couverture, de planchers, ou de défense.

Viollet-le-Duc ended his description by requesting the destruction of parasitic constructions, occupied by poor people whose conditions dismayed the architect: "Il est déplorable de voir, dans une localité où le terrain n'a pas de valeur, des hommes s'entasser ainsi pêle-mêle avec des porcs, des lapins et des oiseaux de basse-cour, quand ils pourraient, si facilement, avoir des habitations, aérées et construites

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dans les conditions de salubrité les plus ordinaires."

Summarizing the arguments of Viollet-le-Duc for the restoration of the cité, we may distinguish the following points:

- The value of the fortress is that of a monument, of a didactic object that may let us understand the art of fortification through the middle ages. By extension, it permits us to understand how a certain gènie national was shaped in this time, the fortress and its history thus becoming a synecdochical representation of the history of the French nation.

- The restoration is made possible by the historic discourse that allows the architect to understand the fortress in a state of war or attack, when each element worked or functioned within a precise machine operated by warriors.

- Analogous constructions and remains in situ provide the marks that within an organic understanding of architecture will be used toward the comprehension of the whole.

- The somewhat marginal operation of clearing the walls of poor habitations is in itself an act of urban renewal and sanitation.

3. The Execution of the Project

Unfortunately, very little is known about the execution of Viollet-²⁴le-Duc's design. A further study on this subject would require the consultation of the documents and proceedings preserved in the Archives de l'Aude, in Carcassonne, as well as in Paris. As noted above, Viollet-le-Duc had been working on the restoration of the cathedral of Saint-

Nazaire for eleven years when the works on the fortress effectively started in 1855. As Viollet-le-Duc himself expressed, he had formed a valuable team of workmen directed by the efficient Giraud Cals as long ago as 1848. This was a clear advantage for the realization of his project, as Viollet-le-Duc noted toward the end of his life, referring to the model work-site of Carcassonne,²⁵

Ce chantier de Carcassonne est le mieux organisé qu'il y ait en France et tout va sur des roulettes; économiquement nous faisons beaucoup avec peu d'argent et la chose prend chaque année une tournure plus surprenante sans coûter gros.

In 1855, work started on the west front of the inner wall. Viollet-le-Duc chose to start in this part probably because this was the most visible section of the fortress from the lower town of Carcassonne (see fig. 6 for a general plan of the Cité). From the Pinte tower, which is the southern limit of the castle, he advanced southwards toward the Mipadre tower. Such an advance, however, was not methodical. Considering the severe budget limitations that Viollet-le-Duc faced, he undertook the parts that could be completed with each financial installment. By the end of the 1850s, construction moved to the other side of the walls, focusing on the Narbonnaise gate, the principal entrance to the Cité. By the 1860s, Viollet-le-Duc decided to concentrate on the south front and one decade later, before the completion of this sector, he moved to the northeast or Visigothic front.

The periods of most intense activity were those of 1857-1861, 1864-1868, and 1872-1879. Two important disruptions affected the continuity of work. The first one was due to the shortage of funds, and the second coincided with the Franco-Prussian war of 1871-72.

It seems, however, that this strange method of execution, jumping

from one sector to another before attaining a complete restoration, might have resulted from Viollet-le-Duc's realization --probably by the end of the 1850s-- that he would not be able to bring the restoration to its absolute completion. Therefore he decided to execute the most exemplary parts. What had begun as a more or less continuous advance along the walls changed by 1860 to a series of interventions at different sectors of the walls without any apparent method lying behind this agenda. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that the parts of the fortress Viollet-le-Duc chose to restore coincided, for the inner wall, with the elements he had previously selected to illustrate his articles on military architecture in the Dictionnaire. The progress of the execution, consequently, was dictated by the relevance of the elements to his study of French military architecture in the Middle Ages. The restoration was to become a "didactic" exercise for the next generation (or generations) in charge of the execution, as they learned from select examples how to continue the work. In this sense, it is significant that Viollet-le-Duc spent the last years of his life on the Visigothic front, thus assuring that this section would be restored in its own "unity of style."

Such an interest in keeping the maximum control on the working site is also reflected in Viollet-le-Duc's numerous visits to Carcassonne. It was important for the architect to make periodic personal inspections, despite the number of projects that kept him busy in Paris. This also explains the simplicity of the working drawings, as Viollet-le-Duc seemingly preferred to provide the necessary instructions in situ to Cals and other collaborators.

This method of execution reflected a particular understanding of

military architecture, based not on the notion of "organic whole" that Viollet-le-Duc attributed to religious buildings, but instead inspired by the idea of articulated system advanced in Prosper Mérimée's writings, and expressed in Viollet-le-Duc's contemporary conception of the Dictionnaire. The choice of modellic or paradigmatic elements would speak for the system as a whole.

This relative autonomy of parts would account for Viollet-le-Duc's decision to provide stylistic unity "vertically." For instance, if the remains of a tower belonged to the Visigothic period, the tower would be completed with a Visigothic covering. There is, therefore, a single logic pervading the understanding or interpretation of the architectural monument, its restoration project, and the vicissitudes of its execution.

4. The Critical Fortune of the Restoration

In 1866, the RIBA Transactions, journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects, published a lecture by George R. Burnell entitled "On Some of the Ecclesiastical Monuments of Paris Erected During the Middle Ages." ²⁶ A debate following the lecture delved into the subject of contemporary restorations, starting with a praise for the work of French architects, although not without the observation that "the French idea of restoration and the English idea of restoration were two different things." Although the French did not have a "catechism" of restoration similar to the document published by the RIBA one year earlier, Digby Wyatt praised the French tradition of recording the

building before the restoration started. No such practice was established in England. Robert Kerr,²⁷ following the discussion on the difference of national characters, pointed out that the French seemed to give preponderance to "utility," while the English would be inclined toward "identity."²⁸ Kerr explained:

The typical Englishman was satisfied with the present; and satisfied with the past as a part of the present: the Frenchman was not satisfied with the present, --he was aspiring after a future, --he turned his back upon the past as a thing overthrown.

After Spencer Bell's dissent (French restorations were valueless as historical monuments, and "as trustees for future generations they should endeavour to preserve the original characteristics of their ancient monuments"),²⁹ C. F. Hayward, the honorary secretary, offered a more extreme condemnation, based on the work-in-progress at Carcassonne. In its isolated position, the fortress became no more than "a paltry plaything." Hayward's reaction to his visit to the site was one of "extreme disgust." He concluded that "there was, perhaps, no better example of the useless restorations going on in France than was afforded in the old town of Carcassonne." William Burges, on the other hand, praised Viollet-le-Duc's restoration. Digby Wyatt thought that the best that could be done was to build a model to be kept in a museum, and C.F. Hayward complained again about the excessive restoration of Saint-Nazaire --only from the records could they "gather what a beautiful building it was before it was touched."³⁰ Although the debate concluded with an unanimous condemnation of the works at the Cité, it seems that at that time Carcassonne was becoming extremely popular among British travelers in the continent.

In France the first reactions were not so drastically negative,

although not entirely favorable either. Hyppolite Taine, who replaced Viollet-le-Duc at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts after the famous incidents of 1863,³¹ regretted after his visit to Carcassonne in the mid-1860s that "malheureusement, on répare l'enceinte." He also lamented that the vestiges of time, still visible in "les parties intactes, bronzées par le ruissellement du soleil, écorchées et rongées par le temps, incrustées par l'ocre des lichens, trouées par le vent et la pluie,"³² were being lost.

At the Congrès archéologique of 1868, Cattois strongly criticized Viollet-le-Duc, but curiously enough, Arcisse de Caumont, father of the medievalist archaeological movement in France, defended the architect. In fact, seven years earlier Caumont had written favorably on the "bien raisonnées" restoration works in progress at Carcassonne, adding that Viollet-le-Duc had "décrit ces murailles avec beaucoup de soin" and had "publié d'excellents dessins." Of the cathedral Saint-Nazaire, Caumont also expressed his approval, as "les restaurations de M. Viollet-Leduc [sic] et ses additions dans la partie occidentale m'ont satisfait."³³ Another prestigious archeologist, Félix de Verneilh, added:³⁴

Nous admettons sinon comme absolument vrais, du moins comme fort vraisemblables les restaurations des chemins de ronde, des créneaux, des meurtrières, de leurs volets en bois, des mâchicoulis, des toitures et de leurs ardoises et même des défenses avancées, des défenses de l'Aude, que quelques uns d'entre nous n'acceptaient que sous bénéfice d'inventaire.

The Baron de Guilhermy, a regular contributor to Didron's Annales archéologiques in the 1840s (like Verneilh and Viollet-le-Duc himself),³⁵ visited Carcassonne during the first years of its restoration work.³⁶ He noted, more critically, that

Des travaux de restauration, à notre avis dans des

proportions exagérées, sont depuis plusieurs années en cours d'exécution. C'est pour le côté occidental qu'on a commencé, et d'abord on s'est contenté de rétablir l'ancienne disposition présumée de la porte de l'Aude. Quelque habile que soit l'architecte, il n'est pas plus infallible que ses confrères.

In the second decade of our century, Jean Astruc published an article defending Viollet-le-Duc. As it is contemporary with the publication of Paul Goût's enthusiastic biography of the architect,³⁷ it seems that there was an admiring re-evaluation of Viollet-le-Duc and his restorations. In fact, in his only criticism, Astruc goes further than the architect himself, arguing that for the sake of stylistic unity, the restoration should have been more uniform. If the thirteenth-century was to be chosen, it should have been applied everywhere, even in the Visigothic towers and the battlements of the north front. Unfortunately, Joseph Poux's vast study of the Cité is principally descriptive and avoids any decided evaluation of the restoration. His attitude is ambivalent. Sometimes he is critical of Viollet-le-Duc's work, but he is also grateful that Viollet-le-Duc saved the fortress from absolute decay, agreeing with the architect's decisions concerning the roofing of the towers. Some of Poux's few comments on the restoration are of interest. At the very beginning of the first volume³⁸ he writes:

Viollet-le-Duc procède analytiquement; il dépouille la Cité membre à membre, pour en définir les plus menus organes et transporter le produit de ses observations dans le cadre lexicographique de sa doctrine."

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Concluding very much in Viollet-le-Duc's line of interpretation:

La Cité se présente comme un organisme compliqué, où chaque partie constitue un membre, ayant sa forme réglée non plus sur des modèles traditionnels, mais sur sa fonction et seulement sa fonction.

And this is precisely what confers a specific aesthetic to the
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fortress:

Une aussi parfaite accommodation des formes aux buts de la
défense imprime une esthétique particulière à ces longues
étendues fortifiées.

Perhaps François de Neufchâteau was the most radical of the contemporary
French critics and opponents to the restoration of the fortress, which
41
he accused to be an act of vandalism:

J'estime coupables d'abus de confiance les hommes qui, sous
prétexte de restaurer la Cité, l'ont complètement dénaturée
et défigurée ... Ce que l'on a fait de ses débris antiques
est odieux ... Sans ces modernes Vandales, la Ville de
Carcassonne possédait encore un joyau unique au monde. Avant
leur venue, il y avait d'admirables ruines; après leur
passage, il n'y a plus que de la maçonnerie style Viollet-le-
Duc.

Even some popular novelists, who liked to situate their Romantic stories
in rural Southern France, referred to Carcassonne as a profanation of
both ruins and couleur locale. Marcelle Tinayre and Emil Pouillon are
examples of this genre. At the beginning of our century, the former
42
wrote:

Je crains beaucoup les architectes et les maçons. Quand ces
gens-là se mettent dans une ruine, c'est pour l'habiller de
neuf et la maquiller ... Voyez ce qu'ils ont fait de
Carcassonne en la coiffant d'ardoises gothiques, dans ce sec
Languedoc, où les châteaux, les villes, les villages, les
moindres masures cuissent au soleil leurs toits de tuiles
oranges.

Tinayre's reference to the roofing of the towers was not, of
course, her own finding. It had been a passionate subject of debate for
a long time --and it still is. In his report of 6 January 1849, Viollet-
le-Duc had noted his finding of colored tiles among the rubble of the
Narbonnaise gate. This led him to use colored tile in his first project
for the gate and its towers (figs. 9, 10), but he opted for covering all

the towers with slate in the definitive project. Viollet-le-Duc
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justified this decision in his 1853 report:

Autrefois, toutes les tours étaient couvertes par des
carpentes aigües et de l'ardoise provenant de la montagne
Noire. Les pentes de ces combles m'ont été données par le
pignon de la tour du Trésau [figs. 18,19], et des traces encore
très-visibles; quant aux ardoises, on en retrouve en grand nombre
dans les décombres.

The debate on the roofs and their covering started when Desmarest and
44
Bouffet delivered the first reports on the roofs of the Cité in 1899.
Ten years later, the local Société des arts et des sciences met to
discuss this question, resulting in a patent condemnation of Viollet-le-
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Duc's choice of black slate over ceramic tile:

La Société ... regrette que dans ces conditions la Commission
des Monuments historiques ait cru pouvoir autoriser un
travail de restauration manquant de base historique certaine,
et dont l'effet esthétique est certainement fâcheux.

Astruc also entered the debate, presenting two arguments in favor
of Viollet-le-Duc's choice of steep and slate covered roofs. First, a
recently discovered drawing of 1462 showed towers with steep roofs. As
tiles were not suitable for such an inclination of the roof, slate was
the likely covering. Secondly, twenty kilometers north of Carcassonne
slate was still being used for roofs. The Montaigne Noire region
contained this material in abundance. Therefore, Astruc ratifies
46
Viollet-le-Duc's argument:

Si les architectes de St.-Louis, et de Philippe le Hardi ont
apporté dans le Midi les méthodes et le style de l'Île de
France ... il est à croire qu'ils n'ont pas cessé, au moment
de poser la toiture, d'être hommes de leur temps et de leur
pays, partisans de leur style ... Ils ont donc fait des toits
aigus et ont employé de l'ardoise.

The subject was taken in 1954 by Thérèse Bloch, in her article "Les
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couvertures de la Cité de Carcassonne," where she presented her

findings that in the second half of the sixteenth century the towers of the Cité must have been covered with tiles that were brought from Conques. Therefore, the method of construction relied either on flat tiles with dry assembling for inclined roofs, or tiles à gouttière disposed with a mortar of lime and sand for less inclined roofs.

Later, in his important 1973 article, Yves Bruand provided a new chronology for the construction campaigns of the Cité, which remains as the recognized chronology. Bruand, however, pointed out the problems of the restoration at the end of his historical description: the reconstruction of false Roman masonry, the western facade of the castle, and ("le problème le plus délicat") the crowning of the towers. Bruand considers this a bold decision, "parti osé, uniquement fondé sur l'hypothèse que les constructeurs du XIII^e siècle, venus du nord de la France, avaient l'habitude d'utiliser le type en question" ⁴⁸ although the document of the 1462 drawing of Carcassonne (fig. 2) certainly ⁴⁹ avails Viollet-le-Duc's decision.

Besides the question of the covering material, Bruand admits that in the thirteenth-century building campaign the corps of royal engineers created by Philippe Auguste introduced their northern architecture in Carcassonne. According to Bruand, however, the new construction provided a synthesis of northern style adapted to the meridional region by integrating the old walls, by adopting local materials, and by using certain southern techniques in construction. Bruand's final judgement is positive -- "On peut déduire ... que, si l'oeuvre de Viollet-le-Duc n'est pas irréprochable, elle mérite de la considération et figure parmi ses ⁵⁰ meilleures créations."

The debate on the roofing material, however, did not only result in

a discussion among archeologists and scholars. In the 1970s, the architect of the Cité decided to start a partial process of de-restoration, by removing the black slate and replacing it with orange-colored tiles on the roofs of the Narbonnaise gate and the Trésau tower, therefore resolving that "most delicate problem." No significant reaction followed these changes, although nowadays a similar project of de-restoration for Saint-Sernin at Toulouse, directed by Yves Boiret, has become the subject of an important debate on the legitimacy of de-restoring an intervention that, from our contemporary perspective, is in itself a contribution to the transformation in time of the building.⁵¹

Françoise Bercé, currently head of the Commission des Monuments historiques, also offers a quite positive evaluation of the restoration of Carcassonne. Although she laments Viollet-le-Duc's excess of scrupulousness ("Ce scrupule mis au service d'une chronologie sujette à caution a entraîné des confusions inevitables"), Bercé concludes that "Viollet-le-Duc a pris soin de respecter parfois même de favoriser l'échantillonnage des types de fortifications successives et nulle part n'a été d'uniformiser."⁵² This a questionable judgement, not only because of the reference to "nulle part" is too strong a statement, but also because it is pronounced from an archeological point of view (in which the careful respect to different stylistic contributions seems to be the measuring rule) which does not coincide with Viollet-le-Duc's intentions, as we will see in the next chapter.

Notes

1. The Musée des Monuments français has been studied by Bruno Foucart,

"La fortune critique d'Alexandre Lenoir et du premier Musée des Monuments français," L'information de l'Histoire de l'Art 5 (1969): 223-32; and Alain Erlande-Brandenburg, "Alexandre Lenoir et le Musée des Monuments français," in Le "Gothique" retrouvé avant Viollet-le-Duc: [exposition] Hôtel de Sully, 31 octobre 1979 - 17 février 1980 (Paris: Caisse nationale des Monuments historiques et des sites, 1979): 75-84.

2. In his Rapport a M. le Ministre de l'Intérieur of 1831, Vitet defined his mission as Inspecteur général, quoted in Paul Léon, La vie des monuments français (Paris: Picard, 1951),

Constater l'existence et faire la description critique de tous les édifices du royaume qui, soit par leur date, soit par le caractère de leur architecture, soit par les événements dont ils furent les témoins, méritent l'attention de l'archéologue, de l'artiste, de l'historien ...; en second lieu, je dois veiller à la conservation de ces édifices en indiquant au Gouvernement et aux autorités locales les moyens soit de prévenir, soit d'arrêter leur dégradation.

3. For the transcript of the sessions and the changes among the commissionaires in the following years, see Françoise Bercé, Les premiers travaux de la Commission des Monuments historiques 1837-1848. Procès-verbaux et relevés d'architectes (Paris: Picard, 1979).

4. Paul Léon provides the following figures in his La vie des monuments, chap. II, 6, "Le budget":

1836 - 120,000 FF	1859 - 1,100,000 FF
1837 - 200,000 FF	1882 - 1,630,000 FF
1840 - 400,000 FF	1883 - 5,000 FF
1842 - 600,000 FF	1885 - 75,000 FF
1848 - 800,000 FF	

5. Quoted in Paul Léon, op. cit., p. 219. Mérimée was probably thinking of Viollet-le-Duc, Emile Boeswillwald, and Questel.

6. It is from the tension between both concepts that architecture reaches the synthesis: form is consequence of the principle, but this principle can only be discerned in the unity of form. The abstract notion of "principle" refers to the timeless and placeless components of architecture, immaterial but at the same time only expressible and perceptible through their materialization. In Gothic architecture, the principle closely coincided with the structural disposition of balanced, dynamic forces. The transversal section of a thirteenth-century cathedral, therefore, is the best graphic depiction of the architectural principles as embodied in Gothic architecture.

7. Prosper Mérimée, Correspondance générale, ed. Maurice Parturier, 17 vols. (Paris: Le Divan; Toulouse: Privat, 1941-64), 16:330.

8. Vid. Mérimée, Correspondance générale, 6:46. Viollet-le-Duc's plates were reproduced in the Archives de la Commission des Monuments

historiques (1855-71). Moyen âge: Architecture militaire (Paris: Gide et Baudry), pp. 1-41.

9. Prosper Mérimée, Notes d'un voyage, p. 225.

10. Madame Carcas is said to be an Arab woman who organised the defense of the fortress during Charlemagne's siege. The forces of Charlemagne, unable to enter the fortress, could only wait for their surrender due to hunger. As Madame Carcas quickly understood the strategy of the Franks, she decided to feed the last hog and throw it over the siegers, who could only conclude that food was so abundant within the fortress that they could afford to let escape a well-fed animal, therefore deciding to leave the siege. Only the miracle of a tower bending itself in front of Charlemagne prevented the army from leaving Carcassonne. Mérimée, however, ends the story with his usual fine sense of humor --"le cochon dans une ville sarrasine est mal inventé; mais on ne connaissait pas encore la couleur locale."

11. Prosper Mérimée and Albert Lenoir, Instructions du Comité historique des arts et monuments. Architecture militaire du moyen âge (Paris: Imprimerie royale, 1843), republished in Prosper Mérimée, Etudes sur les arts du moyen âge (Paris: Flammarion, 1967), pp. 151-203. It is significant that Viollet-le-Duc dedicated to Mérimée his essay Sur l'architecture militaire du moyen âge, (Paris: Bance, 1854), an extract of the article "Architecture militaire" of his Dictionnaire raisonné

12. Albert Lenoir was the son Alexandre Lenoir, founder of the Musée des Monuments français. See Robin Middleton, "The Rationalist Interpretations of Classicism of Léonce Reynaud and Viollet-le-Duc," AA Files 11 (Spring 1986): 29-48.

13. For the description of the drawings, see Viollet-le-Duc, Rapport..., pp. 4-6.

14. Ibid., p. 6.

15. Ibid., p. 14.

16. Ibid., p. 23.

17. Ibid., p. 32.

18. Ibid., p. 40.

19. Ibid., p. 45.

20. Ibid., p. 44.

21. Ibid., p. 46.

22. Ibid., p. 58.

23. Ibid., p. 63.

24. The only studies that provide some information are Poux, La Cité de Carcassonne, vol. 3, and Robert Debant, "L'oeuvre de Viollet-le-Duc à Carcassonne," Monuments Historiques de la France 1-2 (1965): 65-76, although the latter seems to rely completely on Poux's research.
25. Extract from a letter by Viollet-le-Duc to his son, 21 September 1878. Quoted in Pierre-Marie Auzas, Catalogue de l'exposition: Eugène Viollet-le-Duc, 1814-1879, Hôtel de Sully (Paris: Caisse nationale des Monuments historiques, 1965), p. 196.
26. George R. Burnell, "On Some of the Ecclesiastical Monuments of Paris Erected During the Middle Ages, and on the Principles Observed in Their Restoration," RIBA Transactions (1865-66):140-148.
27. Robert Kerr (1824-1904) was an important architectural writer in England, and became director of the Architectural Association. Matthew Digby Wyatt (1820-77), a RIBA Gold Medallist, was involved in some great projects of his time, such as the London Crystal Palace (1851) and its subsequent reerection at Sydenham. He also collaborated with Brunel and Owen Jones in the project for Paddington Station (1850-55) and with George Gilbert Scott for the India Office at London (1868).
28. "On Some of the Ecclesiastical Monuments of Paris," p. 146.
29. Ibid., p. 147.
30. Ibid., p. 148.
31. See Robin Middleton, "The Rationalist Interpretations of Classicism of Léonce Reynaud and Viollet-le-Duc." AA Files 11 (Spring 1986): 29-48.
32. Taine, Carnets, p. 291, quoted in Poux La Cité de Carcassonne, 3:486-87.
33. Poux, La Cité de Carcassonne, 3:484.
34. Ibid, 3:485.
35. The Annales archéologiques were published between 1844 and 1849 by Adolphe-Napoléon Didron.
36. Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Nouv. acq. fr. 6097, fol. 265 vo. Quoted in Yves Bruand, "Les enceintes fortifiées," p. 515.
37. J. Astruc, "La restauration de la Cité," Mémoires de la Société des arts et sciences de Carcassonne, series 2, 5 (1914-19), pp. 1-32.
38. Poux, op. cit., 1:iv.
39. Ibid., 1:589.

40. Ibid., 1:591.
41. Quoted in Astruc, op. cit., pp. 3-4.
42. Ibid., p. 3.
43. Viollet-le-Duc, Rapport..., p. 59.
44. Published in the Memoires de la Société des arts et des sciences de Carcassonne 9 (1899): 315 ff.
45. Quoted in Astruc, op. cit., p. 14.
46. Ibid., p. 18.
47. Thérèse Bloch, "Les couvertures de la Cité de Carcassonne avant les restaurations du XIXe siècle," Monuments historiques de la France 4 (1959), pp. 184-190.
48. Bruand, op. cit., p. 512.
49. See Henri Mullet, "Une vue perspective de la Cité et du bourg de Carcassonne en 1462," Mémoires de la Société des arts et sciences de Carcassonne, series 2, 9 (1913).
50. Bruand, op. cit., p. 513.
51. For the debate on the de-restoration of Saint-Sernin of Toulouse, see Constance de Cars, "Restaurations et dérestauration: la cas de Saint-Sernin de Toulouse," L'Oeil 302 (1980): 44-51; and Marcel Durliat, "Toulouse: la restauration de l'église Saint-Sernin, de l'ancien collège Saint-Raymond et du donjon du Capitole," in Viollet-le-Duc: [exposition] Galeries nationales du Grand Palais, p. 125.
52. Françoise Bercé, "Carcassonne: la restauration de la cité," in Viollet-le-Duc: [exposition] Galeries nationales du Grand Palais, p. 117.

III. Viollet-le-Duc and Architectural Intervention

1. Contemporary Doctrines and Theories

With the expression "Le mot et la chose sont modernes," Viollet-le-Duc started his article "Restauration" in the eighth volume of the Dictionnaire raisonné, published in 1866. The article was the first determined attempt to define the new activity of architectural restoration. However, during the nineteenth century there had been several attempts in France to formulate a directing principle or principles for the intervention in historic buildings. As an early instance, in 1835 Gourlier, Inspecteur général des bâtiments civils, established that in the restoration of a building it was necessary to follow "l'ordonnance primitive aussi fidèlement que le permettraient les fragments qui subsistent encore, ou à leur défaut, les dessins qui peuvent en exister."¹ Gourlier still distinguished decoration from architecture, so when referring to the latter he admitted post-medieval productions (although in restorations "les règles de l'art et du goût" must be observed). Four years later, the enthusiastic apologist of medieval archeology, Alphonse-Napoléon Didron expressed his different doctrine of minimum intervention:²

En fait de monuments anciens, il vaut mieux consolider que réparer, mieux réparer que restaurer, mieux restaurer que refaire, mieux refaire que qu'embellir; en aucun cas, il ne faut rien ajouter, surtout rien retrancher.

Prosper Mérimée also expressed a similar point of view in 1841:³

Lorsqu'il reste quelque chose de certain, rien de mieux que de réparer, voire même de refaire, mais lorsqu'il s'agit de supposer, de suppléer, de recréer, je crois que c'est non seulement du temps perdu, mais qu'on risque de se fourvoyer et de fourvoyer les autres.

However, the archeological position of MÉRIMÉE and, especially, DIDRON seemed to give excessive importance to the figurative elements that permitted a special dating and stylistic classification of the monument, as VIOLLET-LE-DUC's assertion of 1844 seems to imply: "il est aussi important de conserver, dans les restaurations, le mode de construction adopté par chaque époque, que la forme des profils et des ornements."⁴

The following year he added, in a report written with Jean-Baptiste Lassus, that in restoration

Il faut une religieuse discrétion, une abnégation complète de toute opinion personnelle. Il ne s'agit pas de faire de l'art, mais de se soumettre à l'art d'une époque qui n'est plus. L'architecte doit reproduire non seulement ce qui peut lui paraître défectueux au point de vue de l'art, mais aussi, nous ne craignons pas de le dire, au point de vue de la construction.

Lassus, however, was standing closer to the side of the archeologists than VIOLLET-LE-DUC, as his article "De l'art et de l'archéologie" proved in 1845:⁶

Lorsqu'un architecte se trouve chargé de la restauration d'un monument, c'est de la science qu'il doit faire ... Dans une restauration, il faut absolument que l'artiste soit constamment préoccupé de la nécessité de faire oublier son oeuvre et tous ses efforts doivent tendre à ce qu'il soit impossible de retrouver la trace de son passage dans le monument. On le voit, c'est tout simplement de la science, c'est uniquement de l'archéologie.

The archeological point of view was powerful within the Commission des Monuments historiques, as its first Inspecteur général, Ludovic Vitet expressed:⁷

Il faut se dépouiller de toute idée actuelle, oublier le temps où l'on vit pour se faire le contemporain de tout ce qu'on restaure, des artistes qui l'ont construit, des hommes qui l'ont habité. Il faut connaître à fond tous les procédés de l'art, non seulement dans ses principales époques, mais dans telle ou telle période de chaque siècle, afin de

rétablir un édifice sur la vue de simples fragments, non par hypothèse ou caprice, mais par une sè vère induction. Le premier mèrite d'une restauration, c'est de passer inaperçue.

Viollet-le-Duc, however, entered the debate with a quite different position, as his concept of restoration was not only more architectural but also more culturally oriented. For Viollet-le-Duc the historic structure was not only a document but a living entity with the potential of exerting a profound impact on the society of his time. In the preface to the Dictionnaire, he wrote clearly against the position of the archeologists:

Les monuments de pierre ou de bois pèrissent, ce serait folie de vouloir les conserver et de prolonger leur existence en dèpit des conditions de la matièrè; mais ce qui ne peut et ne doit pèrir, c'est l'esprit qui a fait èlever ces monuments, car ce esprit, c'est le nôtre, c'est l'âme du pays.

Restoration, for Viollet-le-Duc, was a phenomenon of his century,
10
as

Notre temps, et notre temps seulement depuis le commencement des siècles historiques, a pris en face du passé une attitude inusitée. Il a voulu l'analyser, le comparer, le classer et former sa véritable histoire, en suivant pas à pas la marche, les progrès, les transformations de l'humanitè.

The nineteenth-century enterprise, therefore, was the study of the past. In this vast undertaking Viollet-le-Duc found a clear harmony or even collaboration between the different sciences or fields of study. Consequently, he pointed out four paradigmatic sciences: natural science (best represented by Georges Cuvier's studies of anatomy and geology), philology (its major attainment residing in the tracing of all indo-european languages to a common root), ethnology (that studied the differences among races and their aptitudes, a subject that Viollet-le-Duc was to take up in his later Histoire de l'habitation humaine in relation to architecture), and archeology (which followed the analytic

method). After mentioning the work of these four sciences, Viollet-le-Duc recognized that "tous ces travaux s'enchaînent et se prêtent un concours mutuel."¹¹ This was Viollet-le-Duc's point of view, being ready to synthesize this vast corpus of knowledge: "C'est la synthèse qui suit l'analyse."¹² Restoration, would be the field where the architect could provide a synthesis to the analytical findings of the scientists.

George Cuvier had established the organic and functional models of natural science in his study of anatomy. All the parts in a biological system were considered to be interrelated through the precise laws of function. The anatomist, for instance, could reconstruct an entire digestive system from a single tooth --and from this digestive system (and by studying the natural environment to which it is adapted) even the animal itself. Viollet-le-Duc expressed a similar point of view:¹³

Aussi, de même qu'en voyant la feuille d'une plante, on en déduit la plante entière; l'os d'un animal, l'animal entier; en voyant un profil, on en déduit les membres d'architecture; le membre d'architecture, le monument.

Organicity, therefore, was a key principle in architecture, where each part implied the whole. The law that let the architect reconstitute the whole was function --not style, as it needed the diacritical component that was absent in the structural-organic model, a notion in abstracto, a reasoning that wanted to be independent from a historical moment. At this point, the philological and ethnographical models provided the necessary diachronicity. From a common original indo-european root, for instance, languages had evolved and had been transformed through the centuries, resulting in the current variety of languages. It was a process of diversification and differentiation through time. There were also categories, as philologists distinguished between language and

dialect, or even between "Romance" and "Anglo-Saxon" groups. However, it was not possible to speak of a process of perfection through time, of progress --only of continuous transformation and differentiation: it was a tree-like structure, that extended from the original and lost primal language to the smallest local dialect.

The notion of perfection, on the other hand, belonged to ethnology. The nineteenth-century study of racial history made very clear the belief in the relative superiority of certain races, but even in such a case this was a relativistic value, relating some racial characteristics to specific places. That is, a race originated in relation to a specific territory, then races migrated (a necessary phenomenon) and mixed with others. Only when the new ethnic groups appeared, did they need to relate the inherited characteristics to the physical elements of the new region. If these two components did happily correspond, then the race would be able to produce a good architecture --as Viollet-le-Duc was to relate directly racial qualities to the production of architecture. Ethnological theories, therefore, introduced the element of continuity, a determined one that included the notion of place or territory.

Finally, Viollet-le-Duc referred to archeology. The father of French archeology, Arcisse de Caumont, had established the major stylistic and chronological classification that we still use today. Caumont, a botanist himself, noted the organic analogy on which the work of the archeologist relied: "on peut analyser les caractères architectoniques d'une église, afin de découvrir à quelle époque elle a été construite, comme on analyse les organes d'un végétal pour trouver à quel genre il appartient."¹⁴ However, as Viollet-le-Duc specified, while

the method of the archeologist was based on analysis, the architect had to be interested in reaching a synthesis --he needed to go beyond the aims of the archeologist:

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Si l'architecte chargé de la restauration d'un édifice doit connaître les formes, les styles appartenant à cet édifice et à l'école dont il est sorti, il doit mieux encore, s'il est possible, connaître sa structure, son anatomie, son tempérament, car avant tout il faut qu'il le fasse vivre.

According to the program and guidelines (not formally publicized) of the Commission des Monuments historiques, the architect in charge of a restoration also had to be an archeologist: he had to determine the date of each part of the building, describe it, and provide a rèlevé. Viollet-le-Duc strictly followed these requirements in all his commissions.

The synthesis aimed at by Viollet-le-Duc seems to reside in the double organicity of the monument. At a first level, the monument is an organic body and the comprehension of its organic entity permits the architect to undertake its restoration:

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Les monuments du moyen âge sont savamment calculés, leur organisme est délicat. Rien de trop dans leurs oeuvres, rien d'inutile; si vous changez l'une des conditions de cet organisme, vous modifiez toutes les autres.

The concepts of type, style, and structure, therefore, are essential at this level, that primordially belongs to the sphere of form --as expressed through materiality. The second level in the organic understanding of the monument is what relates the monument to its environment, its territory, its society, and, finally, to history. It is in this second level where the synthesis can be attained, as well as where the ultimate justification for architectural intervention resides. This level is where Viollet-le-Duc introduced contemporary notions of

philology and ethnology. The analogy between architecture and language provided a sense of continuity with the past that let the architect intervene in a building (or "text") that followed the same "grammar" he was still using. Viollet-le-Duc's adoption of an extra-architectural notion was one of his strategies towards the synthesis he wanted restoration to be, as well as a conscious distantiating from the archeological discourse. The art of the Middle Ages, therefore, could be understood --even re-told-- by the nineteenth-century architect because, as Viollet-le-Duc noted,¹⁷

Il s'appuie sur des principes, et non sur un formulaire; il peut être de tous les temps et satisfaire à tous les besoins, comme une langue bien faite peut exprimer toutes les idées sans faillir à sa grammaire. C'est donc cette grammaire qu'il faut posséder et bien posséder.

There is an intimate relationship between architecture and the national manners, habits, institutions and genius. This second element of continuity, ambiguously expressed as génie national, seems to belong to the realm of ethnological concepts and to the hereditary characters or abilities of a certain ethnic group --in this case what Viollet-le-Duc himself was to call the "French race."

Summarizing the four fields that Viollet-le-Duc mentioned as elements of the synthesis to be attained in a restoration, these are:

1. Ethnic. The modern architect belongs to a certain group that has a strong interrelation with a territory and its resources, with a character or idiosyncrasy that is fundamentally the same as that of the builders of the past.

2. Grammatical. Partly as a result of the preceding reason, the architect can learn the grammar or principles of the historic monument, especially when it is a national monument, because the "grammar" is

abstract enough to last through generations and centuries.

3. Archeological. The architect can study the monument in history and in relation to other monuments or buildings.

4. Organic. The architect can understand the building as a perfect body with an inner logic --a system where form, structure and use are intimately related. The restoration, therefore, could never be partial. Any intervention in a part of the monument will "resound" throughout the system.


To restore a monument meant for Viollet-le-Duc "le rétablir dans un état complet qui peut n'avoir jamais existé à un moment donné."¹⁸ The aim of the archeologist, therefore, was not possible. The architect could not recompose a corpse, but rather needs to produce a new, living entity, "car avant tout il faut qu'il le fasse vivre." That is, he must make a monument meaningful for his own time, for the historical and national concerns of nineteenth-century France. This, Viollet-le-Duc made clear in his 1853 report: "L'étude de ces grands monuments militaires n'est donc pas seulement curieuse, elle fait connaître des mœurs dans lesquelles l'esprit national ne pourrait que gagner à se¹⁹ retremper."

2. Drawings and Texts

For the Cité of Carcassonne and his project of restoration, Viollet-le-Duc produced three major sets of drawings. The earliest in time were the large-scale renderings that were to accompany and complement his two reports of 1849 and 1853. Probably at the same time,

or immediately after the preparation of the 1853 report, he was producing the first collection of plates to illustrate his Dictionnaire raisonné. The third set of drawings were intended for the execution of the project.

The first set is kept in the Parisian archives, but a good number of the twenty-nine plates have been reproduced and published. ²⁰ In these drawings, Viollet-le-Duc accomplished both the required relevé and the restoration project. Most of the renderings show the current state next to the restored one. What is most revealing about these drawings is that, 1) the restoration is fully envisioned as a whole which is even inhabited by a medieval society; and 2) the graphic project is intended to "complement" a text. These characteristics are maintained in the figures of the Dictionnaire, only emphasized as the illustrations always (and this is a general characteristic of its ten volumes) depict the buildings or elements of the structures in a restored state, in their moments of fullest splendor (even if, as in the case of fortresses, it was a moment of partial destruction of the building). The coetaneous inhabitants are shown engaged in their daily activities (fig. 13), according to the specific historical period. It is significant to observe the large-scale renderings, especially the general elevations of the Cité (fig. 11) and the sections of the castle (fig. 12). The former depict the current, ruinous state: a general, colorless rendering of a deserted landscape with no vegetation or signs of human presence, despite the actual, crowded condition of the fortress and its surroundings at that time. In contrast to the Romantic imagery of ruins (fig. 3) that emphasized their picturesque and lively characters (as in the engravings of Taylor's Voyages pittoresques), in Viollet-le-Duc's

rendering the fortress is no more than a landscape of death. On the other hand, in its restored condition, the confusion of lines is replaced by a distinct order (not without the aid of the magnificent use of wash and color) and it seems that the restored Cité, from its elevated position, is the source of the sudden life that has spread throughout its surroundings. Trees, a chapel, and small country houses compose an idyllic environment, having no resemblance to the quite different Saint-Gimer neighborhood that Viollet-le-Duc knew perfectly. The restored monument, therefore, seemed not only to be able to infuse a new life to its surroundings but even, according to its scale, to be powerful enough to pump its vigorous influence throughout the whole French nation. The general section and elevation through the castle offers a different perspective. The order is now reversed. What is being rendered is not an exterior view, but rather the interior court and the dwellings of the Count. The current state of the castle shows a desolated ruin. On the other hand, the restored version presents the castle in full movement, with soldiers, horses, banquets, even cellars well provided with barrels of wine. Moreover, as the reconstruction of the hoardings imply, the stronghold is prepared for war. Once restored, therefore, the Cité does not become the cold and distant monument of a "Beaux-Arts" academic restoration, but rather a living and busy town. 

However, if the restoration is complete, why then does it need to be accompanied by a text? The answer lies in that it is incomplete in two aspects. First, the Cité in itself is not a finished fortress, but rather a permanent scaffolding for the additional constructions that were built during the state of war. Viollet-le-Duc paid much attention

to the construction of the hoardings, an element that may be considered to lie between architecture and war engines (figs. 21, 23, 24). The fortress, in its passive-defense quality, is a mere stage for the great "play" of war, which is its only purpose. It is difficult to distinguish the borderline where architecture ends and military art begins, and this may have been the main problem for Viollet-le-Duc. Where should restoration stop? The fortress could not be shown in its state of war (although unattainable, this was the ideal state that defined the actual project). Secondly, Viollet-le-Duc decided to continue the restoration through the text, through a discourse that is historical as well as military and, of course, ideological. The text is thus a prolongation of the built fortress --or, paraphrasing Clausewitz's famous definition, for Viollet-le-Duc the text is the continuation of the restoration by other means.

The set of working drawings is of a lesser interest. Viollet-le-Duc worked on these from the mid-1850s until the late 1870s (figs. 16, 17, 19, 22, 27). It seems, however, that he was merely using the graphic material he prepared for the 1853 report and the Dictionnaire --adding only a few instructions on dimensions and carpentry structures. In fact, Viollet-le-Duc was very satisfied with his collaborators at Carcassonne, as he noted that if Carcassonne was not an expensive work, it was due to its excellent organisation.²¹ Such confidence, especially in Giraud Cals, the inspector of works at the Citè, in addition to his frequent visits to the work site,²² might have been the reason for Viollet-le-Duc to limit the information of the working drawings to a minimum. The principal interest that the drawings possess lies on their unique documentation of the structural decisions about roofing. In this sense,

Viollet-le-Duc was faithful to his concern for the restoration of the structure. According to his article "Charpentière" in the Dictionnaire, Viollet-le-Duc used the trusses that he believed to be appropriate for each specific period --using Roman trusses for the covering of the Visigothic towers (figs. 16, 17) and Medieval trusses for the rest (figs. 19, 27).

In his Histoire d'une forteresse, published in 1874, Viollet-le-Duc presented the story of an imaginary Cité, where the building is the silent protagonist. The fortress and town name changes subsequently in time (Avon, Abonia, Juliana, Saint-Julien, and La Roche-Pont) as each new name implies a redefinition of the architecture and its meaning. Very much in the line of his previous book, La Cité de Carcassonne, Viollet-le-Duc told the story of how the fortress was successively shaped, built and rebuilt through the centuries. The "life" of the fortress also was that of its inhabitants, their social structure and characteristics, even a representation of the general history and convulsions of France. Through synecdoche, that is, using the part for the whole, Viollet-le-Duc used the fortress to recount the whole history of the nation. First built in timber by the Gauls, its first siege provoked a first class-differentiation (as the warrior class became dominant, an event that would endure and be institutionalized with the establishment of an aristocracy and monarchy in the Middle Ages). The history of the fortress is marked by its different sieges or attacks. The very next siege accounts for the Roman occupation of Gaul, when the stronghold is rebuilt in masonry. The third siege occurs during the Northern invasions, when the Visigoths were fighting against the Franks,

with the latter establishing themselves as the first dynasty to rule the place. With the implantation of feudalism, increasing tensions between the lords and the monarchy appeared, which resulted in a fourth siege and the submission of the fortress to the French crown (as happened at Carcassonne in the thirteenth-century crusade). The fifteenth century introduced the use of artillery and the first pan-European conflicts. An army composed of Swiss and German troops took hold of the fortress (resorting to a repulsive act of treachery instead of noble armed confrontation) and the French had to reconquer the place. This caused the destruction of the medieval stronghold, and the engineer Errard Bar-le-Duc rebuilt the fortress for the early use of artillery. In the seventeenth-century, Spain and France disputed for the domination of the continent and La Roche-Pont reflected this in its sixth siege. The French gave once again valiant proof of their military superiority (which for Viollet-le-Duc resided always in wise and skillful strategy instead of mere force, thus establishing a parallel between the officer who knows how to employ his resources and his men effectively, and the architect or military engineer who works with similar means, materials and men, toward the same purpose). This time the great Vauban was responsible for the new reconstruction of the fortress. The last siege, peacefully resolved, belongs to the internal tensions of the nineteenth-century.

Just as the historian Jules Michelet presented an interpretation of French history wherein the dynamics of change were determined by convulsions (wars, revolutions, violent uprisings or catastrophes that marked the beginning the opening of a new era), for Viollet-le-Duc, the siege represented the meaningful moment at which to understand the

transformation from one period to another. Each siege involved the reconstruction of the fortress, and coincided in time with a significant social change brought about through war. When Viollet-le-Duc decided to rebuild the Cité, he was analogically denoting a "critical" moment of social change --although this time was not for military reasons, but rather in accordance with the new spirit of the time. In this new spirit, scientific conquests had replaced military victories. For the first time in its history, the fortress was not rebuilt to serve the purposes of warfare, but rather to satisfy the need for knowledge. Viollet-le-Duc therefore attempted to create a "synthetic" work, one that would both contain the whole history of the fortress and, through synechdochical substitution, represent the history of France. The task was so ambitious that the architect felt the need to complement, to explain the project with written text.

3. Conclusion

If La Madeleine of Vezelay is considered as Viollet-le-Duc's first commission and successful restoration, that which brought him recognition as an able architect and restorer, if Notre-Dame of Paris is his most famous work, that which gave him international acknowledgement, and if the château of Pierrefonds is that which provoked the foremost criticisms to the architect's excesses, then the Cité of Carcassonne deserves to be evaluated as the largest and longest architectural restoration of the nineteenth century, that to which Viollet-le-Duc dedicated his most fruitful decade, the 1850s.

Carcassonne aroused Viollet-le-Duc's interest in military

architecture, although his notion of the fortress as a system of defense perfectly designed and fit for the military siege and attack, based both on a hierarchic disposition of sections and a relative autonomy of the composing elements, needs to be recognized as dependent on Prosper Mérimée's earlier writings.

For Viollet-le-Duc, the restoration and the historical study of the Cité were inseparable activities. His description of the project --as in his 1853 report-- is basically historical, accounting for the different phases of transformation and reconstruction campaigns of the stronghold. The historical narrative, therefore, is presented to account for the moments when the military buildings were fully used --the moments of assault, when the architecture was used, tested, and partially destroyed, thus providing the documentation for what needed to be rebuilt and how. Viollet-le-Duc was not interested in the system of walls and towers as elements of a town in its long decades of peace, but rather in the few days of war: the siege and assault. The architect, therefore, wanted to restore the Cité not as a town but as a military fortress. Such an undertaking might be considered within a more general framework of historical interpretation, especially within what is known as the Saint-Simonist theory of history --which has been proved to be of substantial influence on nineteenth-century architecture.

According to Saint-Simonist historians, the dynamics of history were based on the cyclical alternation of two phases of social development, the organic period and the critical moment. The former was characterized by general harmony, coherence, and stability; the latter by its disruptive introduction of profound changes that could transform

the existing order into a new one, thus inaugurating a new organic period. The critical moments were especially significant because they were the impulse for development. The interest of the historian, aiming at the understanding of such a developmental process, was logically focused on such moments. Moreover, the recent history of France was indelibly marked by the 1789 Revolution, remembered by most of the Saint-Simonist generation --a revolution they considered as a perfect example of the critical moment. They had themselves seen forces that could transform the entire social order and radically redirect the course of history.

23

In this framework, the Cité of Carcassonne would embody the succession of its critical moments, that is, its moments of revolt, invasion and occupation. The fortress was the result or "sedimentation" of these several periods. Gauls, Romans, Visigoths, Arabs, and Franks, as well as Feudal lords, Catalan counts, and French monarchs had all in turn taken, occupied and altered or rebuilt the Cité. As their military strategy and weaponry were refined and sophisticated, so the architecture "responded" to (and stimulated) this process of development. By the time of the last reconstruction, that of Philip the Bold, the Cité was a most powerful defense that only the subsequent developments in artillery could make obsolete. The stronghold, however, did not go through further evolution after the thirteenth century, the logical transformations that Viollet-le-Duc presented in his fictional account of La Roche-Pont. The development of this real fortress thus stopped at the end of the Middle Ages.

The nineteenth-century, with its "unprecedented relation with the past," decided to restore Carcassonne. The first operation significantly

was that of the dégagement, the erasing of any traces of contemporary urban life from what was to be a monument of military architecture. Viollet-le-Duc did not envision the recreation of a medieval town (as Carcassonne had been), but rather of a fortress in its "critical moment." As seen in his work at Carcassonne, Viollet-le-Duc was absolutely indifferent to the urban phenomenon. Although involved and attentive to the debates about the education, theory, professional practice, and technology of nineteenth-century architecture, he never expressed any special concern for important urban projects such as Baron Haussmann's radical transformation of Paris. In addition, Viollet-le-Duc's Dictionnaire does not contain a single article on urban elements, nor do his Entretiens anywhere suggest that the city was the necessary context for the detailed study of buildings.

Therefore ignoring Carcassonne as a town, Viollet-le-Duc established a direct analogy between the fortress and the spirit of the nation. Just as he perceived the successive sedimentary "strata" of construction, deposited one over the previous one, national character, understood in its historical formation, would also be seen as the sedimentary deposit of the diverse civilizations and peoples who successively composed the French nation. For Viollet-le-Duc, the process of shaping (or building) a national spirit could be considered complete in its fundamentals by the end of the Middle Ages. At that moment, the French language was established and differentiated from vulgar Latin, and the French institutions of monarchy, religion, and territory were in place. Once the nation was so defined, it could produce its paramount art, best represented in the achievement of thirteenth-century

architecture.

Interpreted as an analogy to this historical pattern, Carcassonne was also seen to have reached its state of completion in the late thirteenth-century. The developments in military art from antiquity until the introduction of artillery had their example of perfection in a stronghold like Carcassonne. Post-medieval warfare, based on the use of the canon, would radically change military art --and architecture would thereafter play only a secondary role in the new systems of defense. As Viollet-le-Duc noted, war no longer was a decisive test of the qualities of men, but a matter of mere calculation.

The Cité of Carcassonne, therefore, was considered as a monument that would embody and speak more eloquently than any other of the long process of shaping the national spirit. Moreover, the restoration needed to be synthetic, that is, the architect had to meet the requirements of architectural logic (especially in terms of construction), and archeological accuracy, as well as consider stylistic and military developments. As noted, Viollet-le-Duc's method of restoration proceeded "vertically," completing each part of the walls and towers according to the last "stratum" preserved. Most of the restoration, therefore, attempted to reconstruct the last thirteenth-century state of the Cité, although in a Visigothic sector all medieval remains had been lost --and Viollet-le-Duc decided to restore this part in the fifth-century style. The Cité of today is in a state that never existed. What we see there is a "compressed" state that represents a long process that spanned over nine hundred years.

Viollet-le-Duc's aim in restoring the Cité was to reintroduce meaning into a set of ruins --meaning, of course, for the culture of

nineteenth-century France. For us, therefore, Carcassonne stands as a meaningful architectural monument of the nineteenth century, speaking for its nationalist passion for history. The restored Cité fundamentally expresses the architectural interests and thought of an architect in the 1850s. Carcassonne is an excellent example of an architectural intervention that, in spite of meeting the most rigorous levels of archeological accuracy of its time, is a full expression of its contemporary architectural thought. As architectural intervention is never neutral, as it is always an exercise in interpretation, it deserves as much attention as the original object. From the perspective of our day, Viollet-le-Duc's restoration is as expressive of the architect and his time as were the medieval remains of their era.

As any architectural activity, intervention is dated and immersed in a stylistic moment. This is the lesson to learn from any study on Viollet-le-Duc's restorations. The recent movement of de-restoration, especially as it has happened in France (and at Carcassonne) since the 1970s, is thus at the very least confusing. The argument that in the 1840s appealed to the "invisible hand" of the restorer is still alive in the 1980s, when architects once more pretend to erase the traces of, for instance, Viollet-le-Duc's hand (visible today). Against this impossible argument for neutrality, the Dictionnaire article on restoration is, still one century later, a most exemplary, "synthetic" text.

Notes

1. Quoted in Leniaud, "Debats sur le bon emploi du néogothique," Journal de la Société d'histoire de l'art français (1979): 245-55.

2. A.-N. Didron, Bulletin archéologique 1 (1839): 47.
3. Letter of 18 January 1841, published in Prosper Mèrimée, Correspondance générale 3:9.
4. Viollet-le-Duc, "De la construction des édifices religieux en France," Annales archéologiques 1 (1844): 181.
5. Viollet-le-Duc and Lassus, Rapport présenté sur la restauration de Notre-Dame (1845). Quoted in Paul Léon La vie des monuments français, p. 379.
6. Lassus, "De l'art et de l'archéologie," Annales archéologiques 2 (1845) 334.
7. Ludovic Vitet, Fragments et mélanges. 1846, p. 282.
8. Viollet-le-Duc, "Preface" in Dictionnaire, v. 1, p. 5.
9. Viollet-le-Duc, "De la construction," p. 181.
10. Viollet-le-Duc, "Restauration," in Dictionnaire, v. 8, p. 15.
11. Ibid., p. 16.
12. Idem.
13. Viollet-le-Duc, "Style," in Dictionnaire, v. 9, p. 155.
14. Arcisse de Caumont, Bulletin Monumental (1837):
15. Viollet-le-Duc, "Restauration," p. 27.
16. Ibid., p. 33.
17. Ibid., p. 32.
18. Ibid., p. 15.
19. Viollet-le-Duc, Rapport, p. 46.
20. For these reproductions, see Pierre-Marie Auzas, Catalogue de l'exposition: Eugène Viollet-le-Duc, 1814-1879. Hôtel de Sully (Paris: Caisse nationale des monuments historiques, 1965); Viollet-le-Duc, centenaire de la mort à Lausanne (Lausanne: Musée de l'Ancien-Evêché, 1979); Viollet-le-Duc: [exhibition] Galeries nationales du Grand Palais (Paris: Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1980); Jannie Mayer, ed., Archives de la Commission des Monuments historiques. Plans et dessins. Tome II: Languedoc-Roussillon (Paris: Direction du Patrimoine, 1982); Françoise Berce and Bruno Foucart, Viollet-le-Duc: Architect, Artist, Master of Historic Preservation (Washington D.C.: The

Trust for Museum Exhibitions, 1987).

21. See III.3. (Conclusion).

22. See note 34, chap. I.5.

23. For a more extensive discussion of Saint-Simonist historiography and its relation to nineteenth-century French architecture, see Robin Middleton, "The Rationalist Interpretations of Classicism of Léonce Reynaud and Viollet-le-Duc," AA Files 11 (Spring 1986): 29-48; also Neil Levine, "Architectural Reasoning in the Age of Positivism: The Neo-Grec Idea of Henri Labrouste's Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève" (Doctoral dissertation, Yale University, 1975); and David Van Zanten, Designing Paris: The Architecture of Duban, Labrouste, Duc and Vaudover (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT, 1987).

Appendix I
Chronology of the Restoration

1804. (17 November) The fortress had been removed from the list of military sites. Pillage damages the City.

1820. (1 August) The City is reclassified as second-class war site.

1840. Jean-Pierre Cros Mayrevieille is appointed Inspecteur des Monuments historiques for Carcassonne.

The French government establishes a list of classed buildings that includes the church of Saint Nazaire, thus receiving a subvention of 1,000 FF for a first project of restoration of the Radulphe chapel by the local architect Champagne.

1842. (August) Viollet-le-Duc's visit to Carcassonne is announced, as he had been commissioned with a report on the cathedral Saint-Nazaire and its restoration by Champagne.

1843. (31 August) Viollet-le-Duc presents his first report on Saint-Nazaire.

J.-P. Cros Mayrevieille travels to Paris to request funds for the preservation of the Cité. Earlier, he had commissioned a portfolio of six drawings from the engineer Reynal.

The Maréchal Soult allows a small amount from the budget of the Génie to repair part of the vaults of the Narbonnaise gate, in accordance with the royal order of 1 August 1821, which determined that the Génie was responsible for the maintenance of monumental buildings it was occupying.

1844. (19 April) Viollet-le-Duc is commissioned with the restoration of the cathedral Saint-Nazaire.

(31 December) Viollet-le-Duc presents a report on Saint-Nazaire, and publishes his article on the Cité in the Annales archéologiques.

1845. The Ministère approves the credit. Viollet-le-Duc starts to work on the restoration of Saint Nazaire. Prosper Mérimée travels to Carcassonne to inspect the worksite.

1846. (22 May) Mérimée, Inspecteur général des Monuments historiques, pressed by Cros Mayrevieille, commissions Viollet-le-Duc with a report on the Narbonnaise gate.

1849. (15 January) Viollet-le-Duc delivers a first report to the Ministre de l'Intérieur, accompanied by a drawing of the state of the Narbonnaise gate.

1850. (8 July) The prince-president, Louis-Napoléon, removes the City from the list of second-class fortresses, as part of a program to reduce the budget.
- (28 July) The Commission des arts et sciences meets to protest against the déclassement, followed by the formal protest of the town council.
- (31 August) Reclassing of the City in the list of war sites.
- (20 November) Mèrimée sends a letter about the Cité to the Ministère de la guerre.
- Cros-Mayrevieille publishes Les monuments militaires et religieux de Carcassonne, distributing them through the ministères (Instruction publique, Guerre, Intérieur) and the Commission des Monuments historiques.
1851. The Ministère de la guerre and the Ministère de l'intérieur accord a joint program of restoration for the Cité (interior walls and exterior walls including the castle, respectively).
1852. Viollet-le-Duc addresses to the Commission des Monuments historiques a report on the ensemble of the City and on the necessary restoration works.
1853. (15 March) Viollet-le-Duc's second report to the Ministre d'Etat, accompanied by an atlas with 29 drawings. The text was published the same year.
- (29 March) Mèrimée introduces Viollet-le-Duc and his project to the ministre. Napoléon III approves the project. The 1851 agreement between ministères is revoked. Viollet-le-Duc becomes fully responsible for the restoration of the Cité.
- (10 August) Decree for the classing of war sites.
- (16 August) Destruction of the parasitic habitations begins. It was to last for fifty-seven years, until 24 December, 1909.
1854. (June 24) Three officers establish the military perimeter, in accordance to the 10 August 1853 decree of war sites and the instruction of 10 January 1854.
1855. Work starts. Covering of the Pinte tower. Several breaches of the inner wall are repaired and closed.
1856. Restoration and covering of Mipadre, Cahuzac, and Ronde de l'Evêque towers. Work on walls on both sides of the Visigothic tower. Covering of the towers of the east gate of the castle.

1857. Consolidation of the wall between the Aude gate and the Ronde de l'Evêque tower. Covering of the Visigothic tower.
1858. Construction of the Justice tower roof.
1859. Consolidation and roofing of the interior front, from the castle to the Mipadre tower. Work begins on the Narbonnaise gate.
1860. Work ends at the Narbonnaise gate.
- Work begins around the Aude gate. Reconstruction of the facade of the old passage.
1861. Work ends at the Aude gate. Vast operation of leveling, lowering the level to the original height.
- 1862-64. Period of inactivity due to the lack of funds.
1864. New budget by Viollet-le-Duc, to be paid by the Ministère de la guerre, the Maison de l'Empereur, and the town of Carcassonne.
- Work continues on the Saint-Nazaire tower and its gate.
1866. Work ends at Saint-Nazaire tower. Work begins at Saint-Martin and Prisons towers.
- Work ends at the church Saint Nazaire.
- 1868-71. Period of inactivity due to the lack of funds and the Franco-Prussian war (1870-1871).
1872. New credit from Paris. Viollet-le-Duc proposes to begin work on the Trésau and the visigothic towers of the North front.
- Construction of battlements between the Carrée de l'Evêque and the Petit-Canissou towers.
1875. Work ends at the Trésau and Alphi towers.
1876. Visigothic towers and walls of the North front, between the Moulin du Connétable and Charpentière towers.
1877. Barbican of Saint-Louis.
1878. Wall until Bérard tower.
- Moulin du Connétable tower and wall between Vieulas and Marquiére towers.
1879. (17 September) Viollet-le-Duc dies at Lausanne. He had left instructions for the last Visigothic elements from the North front to the South end of the Castle (at this time, the South front is almost finished).

(6 November) Paul-Louis Boeswillwald is appointed successor to Viollet-le-Duc as architect of the Cité.

1880. Auguste Malecamp, a local architect, substitutes Giraud Cals after his death as inspector of works.

First report by Boeswillwald.

1881. Completion of the North sector of walls up to the Castle.

1882. Completion of Balthazar tower.

1889. Completion of Trauquet tower.

1890. Completion of the castle walls.

1912. Paul Boeswillwald is appointed Inspecteur général des Monuments historiques, leaving Carcassonne.

M. H. Nodet fils becomes the new architect.

Expenses

1851. (November 19) Viollet-le-Duc sends a report and an estimate of 6,278.40 FF. A credit is opened on January 24, 1852.

1853. 197,000 FF are to be spent to roof five towers, the Narbonnaise gate, walls of Aude gate, leveling and reparation of the west front.

1862. Two new estimates of 570,825 FF.

1864. The Conseil municipal de Carcassonne approves 19,525 FF to be paid in four annual installments.

The Ministère de la Guerre pays 10,000 FF in 1862, 10,000 FF in 1864, and 5,000 FF in the future.

The Commission des Monuments historiques pays 30,000 FF.

1868. Work is interrupted. 411,767 FF are still to be previewed.

1871. Viollet-le-Duc indicated that approximately 400,000 FF had been spent for the ramparts, of which 337,500 FF were paid by the Service des Monuments historiques.

1876. The Ministère de l'Instruction publique, des Cultes et des Beaux-Arts pays 40,000 FF, requested by Cros-Mayrevieille.

Appendix II

Viollet-le-Duc's illustrations of the Cité in the Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française.

Marquière tower. Plan. "Architecture," 1:332, pl. 6.

Marquière tower. View from the interior of the Cité. "Architecture," 1:332, pl. 6 bis.

Marquière tower. View from the exterior of the Cité. "Architecture," 1:332, pl. 6 ter.

Roman-Visigothic fortress. Plan. "Architecture" 1:336, pl. 9.

Thirteenth-century fortress. Plan. "Architecture," 1:353, pl. 11.

Castle. Plan. "Architecture," 1:355, pl. 12.

Detail of the defense corner of a tower. Plan. "Architecture" 1:377, pl. 24.

West corner of the double-wall rampart. "Architecture," 1:379, pl. 26.

South barbican and Freinade tower. Exterior view. "Barbacane," 2:114, pl. 2A.

South barbican and T. Freinade. Interior view. "Barbacane," 2:115, pl. 2B.

Door bar. "Barre," 2:124, pl. 5.

Concrete lintel in a castle window. "Béton," 2:206, pl. 1.

Trésau tower. Ground floor plan. "Construction," 4:272, pl. 149.

Trésau tower. First floor plan. "Construction," 4:273, pl. 150.

Trésau tower. Second floor (ground floor on the side of the interior of the City) plan. "Construction," 4:273, pl. 151.

Trésau tower. Third floor plan. "Construction," 152 4:274, pl. 152.

Trésau tower. Interior view from the ground floor. "Construction," 4:275, pl. 153.

Trésau tower. Section AA. "Construction," 4:276, pl. 154.

Masonry detail the projecting angle of a tower. Plan. "Construction," 4:277, pl. 155.

Narbonnaise gate. Timber bracket. "Corbeau," 4:312, pl. 10.

Castle battlements. Exterior and interior elevations, section.
"Créneau," 4:376, pl. 2.

Castle battlements and tower stairs. "Créneau," 4:377, pl. 3.

Tower battlements. "Créneau," 4:382, pl. 8.

Tower battlements. "Créneau," 4:383, pl. 9.

Wall battlements. Interior and exterior elevations and sections.
"Créneau," 4:384, pl. 10.

Bartizan on the Narbonnaise gate barbican. Plan. "Echauguette," 5:119,
pl. 4.

Bartizan on the Narbonnaise gate barbican. Exterior view. "Echauguette,"
5:119, pl. 5.

Bartizan. Plan and elevation. "Echauguette," 5:120, pl. 6.

Castle window. Plan, elevations. "Fenêtre," 5:402, pl. 29.

Castle window. Elevation and section. "Fenêtre," 5:403, pl. 30.

Wall hoardings. Elevation, section, and construction. "Hourds," 6:124,
pl. 1.

Two-floor wall hoarding. Section and elevation. "Hourds," 6:129, pl. 4.

Tower hoarding. Sections showing machicolations. Exterior view with
hanging skins to prevent fire. "Hourds," 6:131, pl. 5.

Castle. Embrasure. Plans, elevations, and sections. "Meurtrière," 6:387,
pl. 1.

Small embrasure. Plans, elevations, sections, and interior view.
"Meurtrière," 6:390, pl. 4.

Trésau tower. Embrasure. "Meurtrière," 6:391, pl. 4.

Castle gate. Ground floor plan. "Porte," 7:318, pl. 3.

Castle gate. First floor plan. "Porte," v 7:318, pl. 4.

Castle gate. Section ABCD. "Porte," 7:320, pl. 5.

Castle gate. View of the gate from the bridge. "Porte," 7:321, pl. 6.

Castle barbican gate. Ground floor plan (A) and top floor plan (B).
"Porte," 7:369, pl. 40.

Castle barbican gate. Exterior elevation. "Porte," 7:370, pl. 41.

Castle barbican gate. Cross section. "Porte," 7:371, pl. 42.

Castle barbican outer gate. View from the castle. "Porte," 7:372, pl. 43.

Narbonnaise gate with barbican and T. du Trésau. Plan. "Porte," 7:337, pl. 18.

Narbonnaise gate. First floor plan. "Porte," 7:338, pl. 19.

Narbonnaise gate. Section AB. "Porte," 7:340, pl. 20.

Narbonnaise gate. "M" third floor plan. "Porte," 7:341, pl. 21.

Narbonnaise gate. Exterior elevation with timber hoardings. "Porte," 7:342, pl. 22.

Narbonnaise gate. Detail of portcullis mechanism. "Porte," 7:343, pl. 23.

Defense plan of 1240 Trencavel siege. "Siège," 8:391, pl. 2.

Late-Roman tower. View from inside the fortress. "Tour," 9:72, pl. 1.

Four Saint-Nazaire tower. Sentry-walk floor plan. "Tour," 9:73, pl. 2.

Four Saint-Nazaire tower. Elevation, corbel details. "Tour," 9:74, pl. 3.

Major tower. Ground floor plan. "Tour," 9:76, pl. 5.

Major tower. First floor plan. "Tour," 9:77, pl. 6.

Major tower. Top floor plan. "Tour," 9:77, pl. 7.

Major tower. Section AB. "Tour," 9:79, pl. 8.

Major tower. Detail showing the mechanism of supply. "Tour," 9:80, pl. 9.

Peyre tower. Ground floor plan. "Tour," 9:86, pl. 13.

Peyre tower. First floor plan. "Tour," 9:87, pl. 14.

Peyre tower. Top floor plan. "Tour," 9:87, pl. 15.

Peyre tower. Section AB. "Tour," 9:88, pl. 16.

Peyre tower. Interior elevation, with partial hoarding. "Tour," 9:89, pl. 17.

Porte Rouge tower. Basement plan (A), sentry-walk floor plan (B), top floor plan (C). "Tour," 9:91, pl. 18.

Porte Rouge tower. Section ED. "Tour," 9:92, pl. 19.

Porte Rouge tower. Cross section. "Tour," 9:93, pl. 20.

Porte Rouge tower. View from the City. "Tour," 9:94, pl. 21.

Carrée de l'Evêque tower. Ground floor plan (A), first floor plan (B), top floor (C). "Tour," 9:96, pl. 22.

Carrée de l'Evêque tower. Section OP. Lateral elevation. "Tour," 9:97, pl. 23.

Carrée de l'Evêque. Exterior view. "Tour," 9:99, pl. 24.

Saint Martin tower. Plan of two lower floors (A) and of two top floors (B). "Tour," 9:100, pl. 25.

Saint Martin tower. Section AB. "Tour," 9:102, pl. 26.

Vade tower. Ground floor plan (A), basement plan (B), first floor plan (C) and second floor plan (D). "Tour," 9:127, pl. 41.

Vade tower. Top floor plan (E) and section BA. "Tour," 9:129, pl. 42.

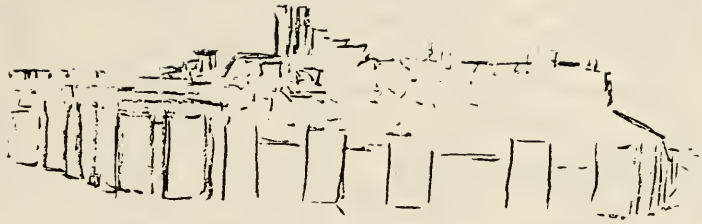
Saint Nazaire tower. Ground floor plan. "Tour," 9:171, pl. 68.

Saint Nazaire tower. First floor plan. "Tour," 9:172, pl. 69.

Saint Nazaire tower. View from inside the fortress. "Tour," 9:173, pl. 70.

Saint Nazaire tower. View from outside. "Tour," 9:174, pl. 71.

Saint Nazaire tower. Section through hoardings. "Tour," 9:174, pl. 71 bis.



The City from a simple settlement
 became the place of the assembled Institutions

Before the Institution was natural agreement - ^{the sense of commonality} - The sense of commonality. The constant play of circumstances, from moment to moment unpredictable distort Inspiring beginnings of natural agreement.

The measure of the greatness of a place to live must come from the character of its Institutions sanctioned thru how sensitive they are to renewal, and Desire for new Agreement

Figure 1

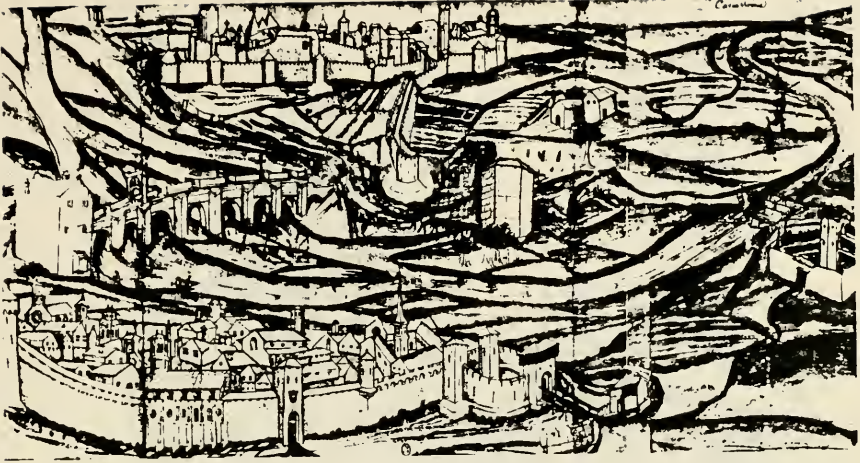


Figure 2

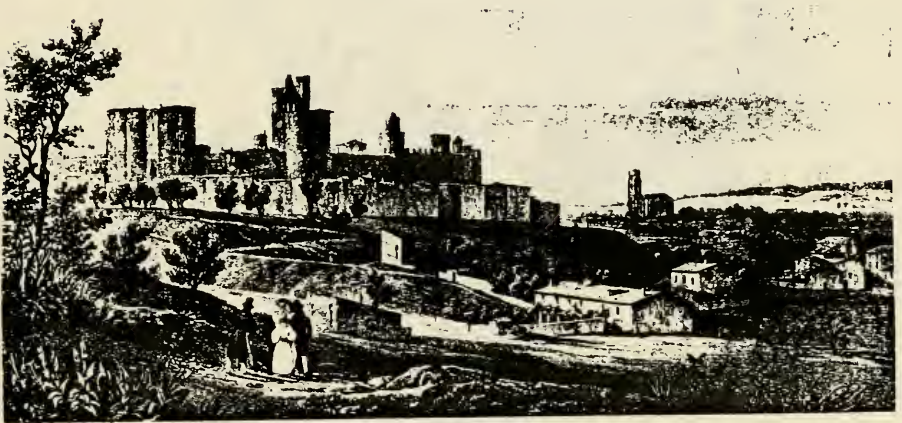


Figure 3

Echelle de 1 à 80 000

NORD

CARTE

DES CANTONS EST ET OUEST

DE

Carcassonne.



Figure 4



Fig. 4. — Périmètre de services militaires autour de la C16.
 - - - - Zone de 1922. ——— Périmètre d'exception de 1946. — · — · Zone de 1954.

Figure 8



Figure 9

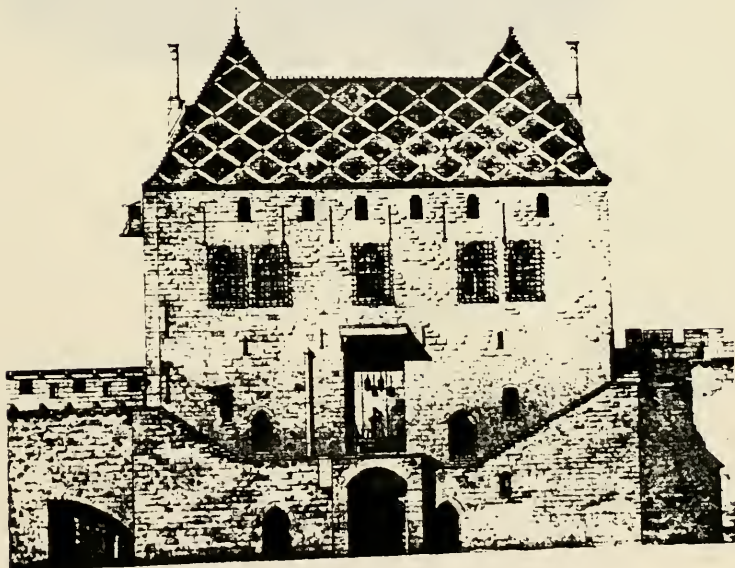


Figure 10



Figure 11



Figure 12

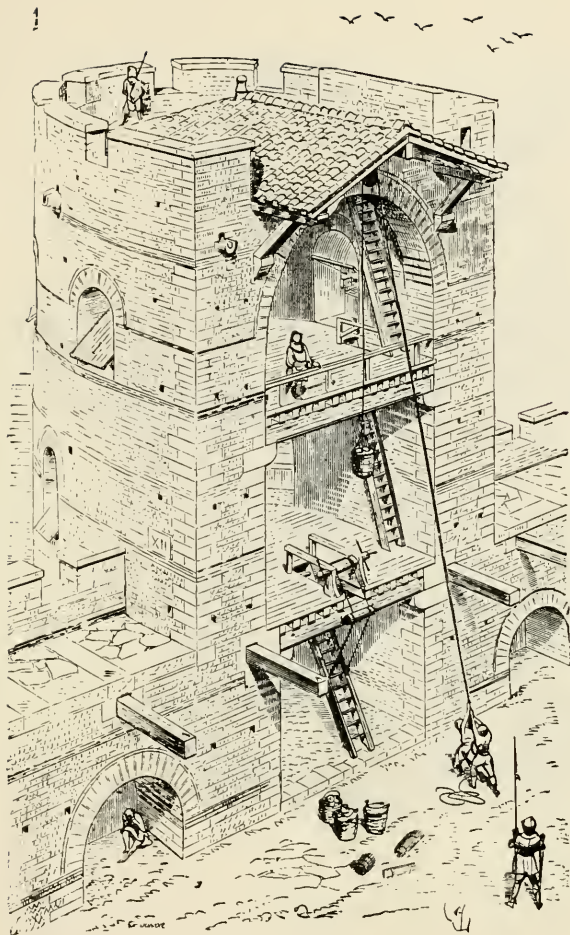


Figure 13

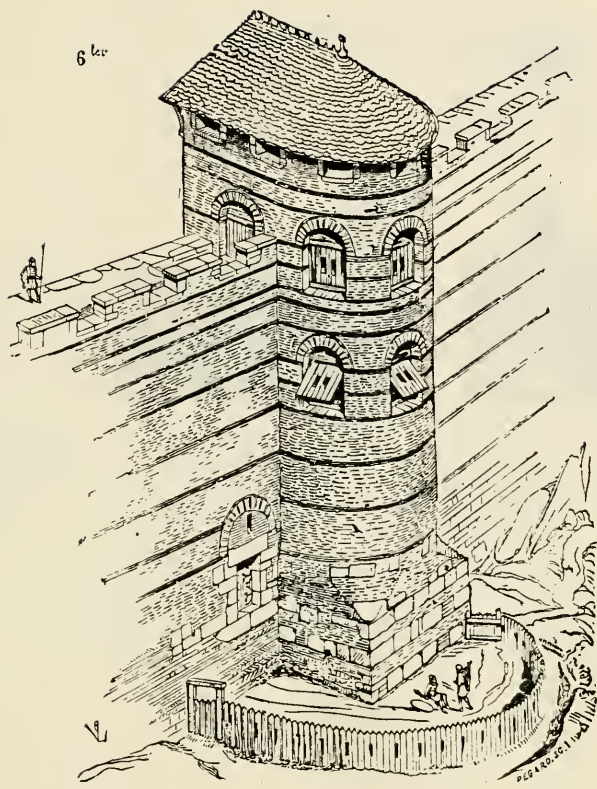


Figure 14



Figure 15

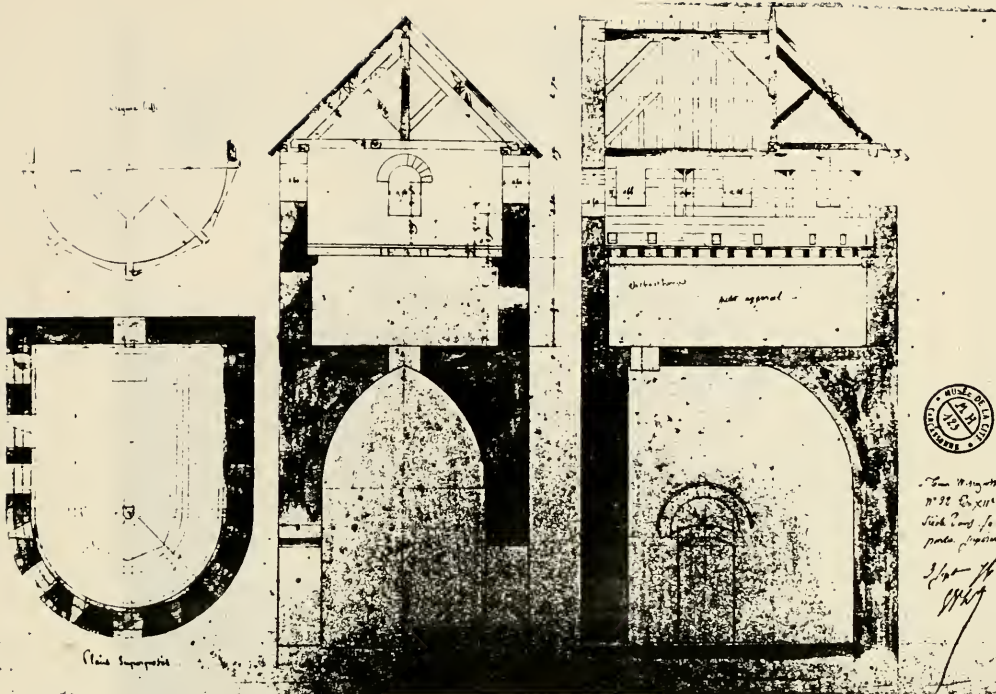


Figure 16

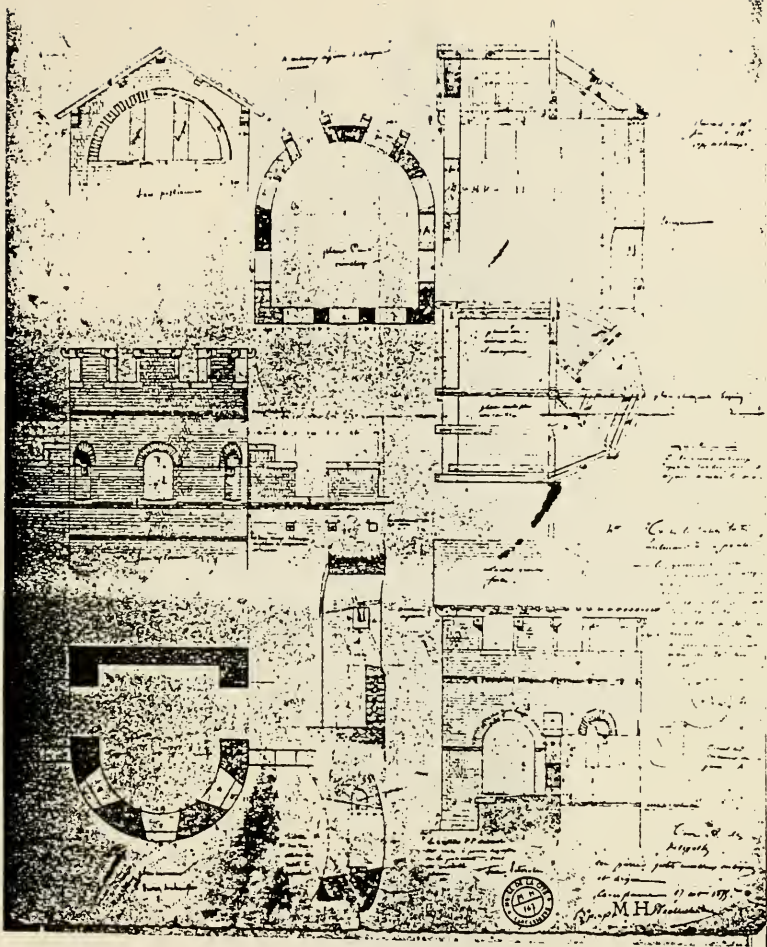


Figure 17

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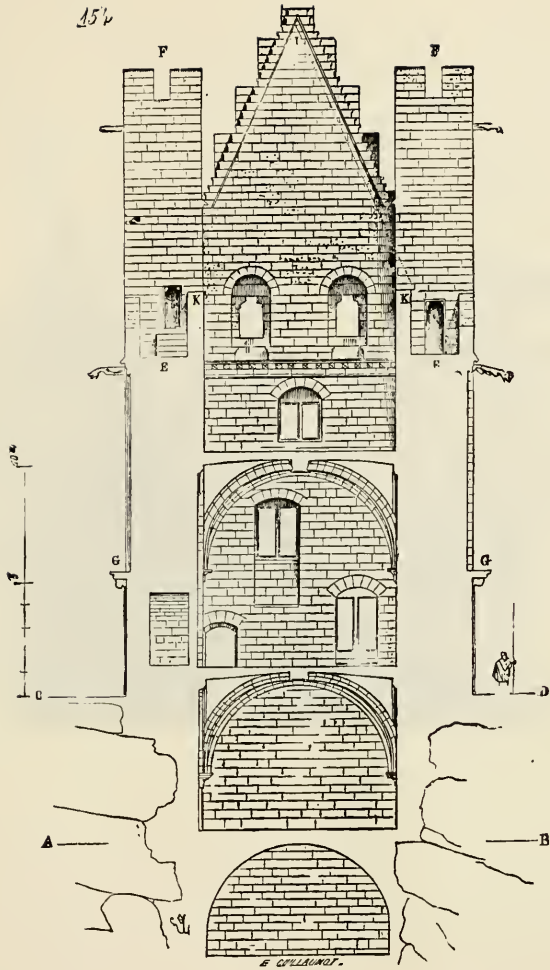


Figure 18

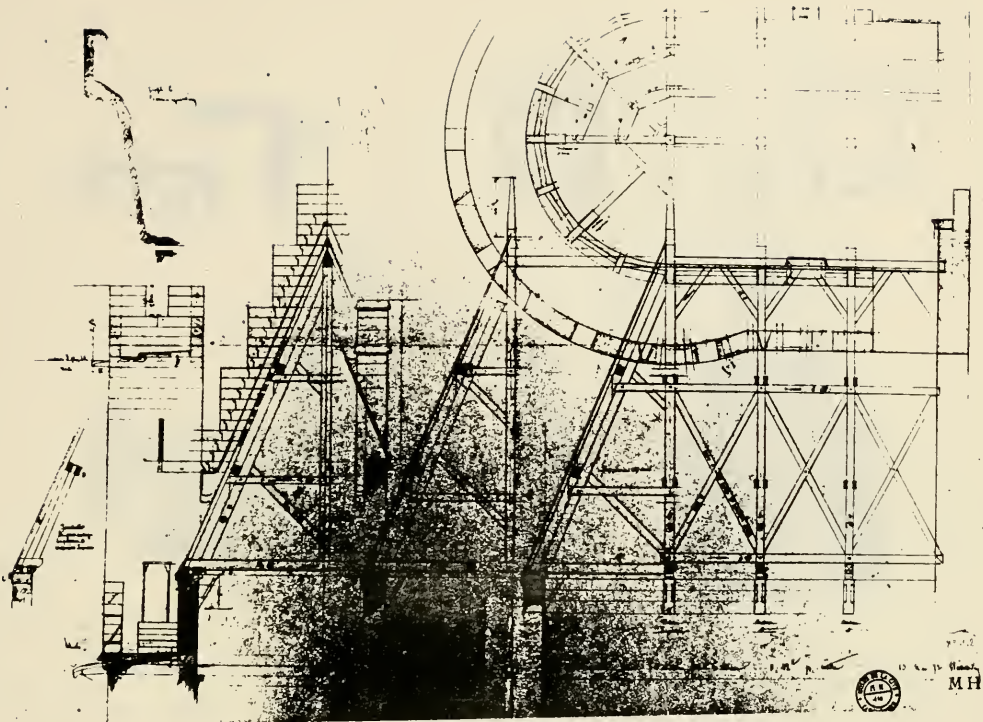


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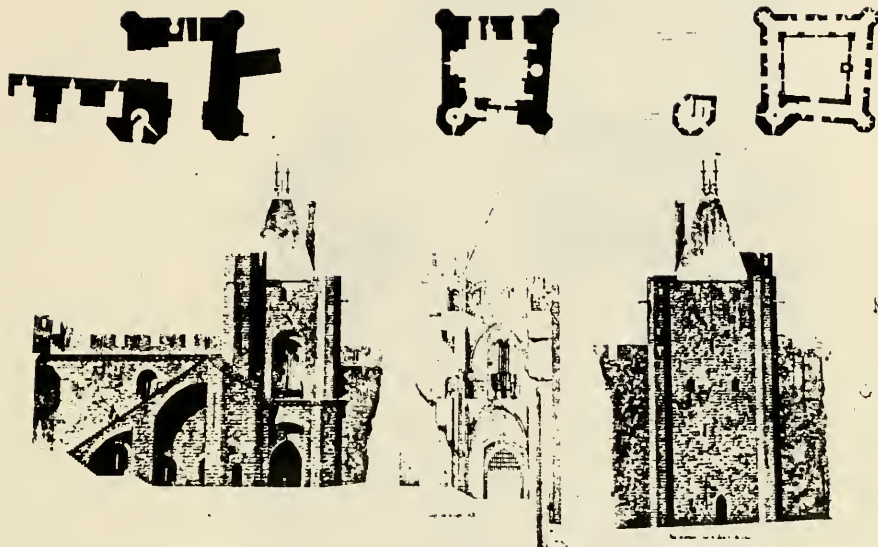


Figure 20

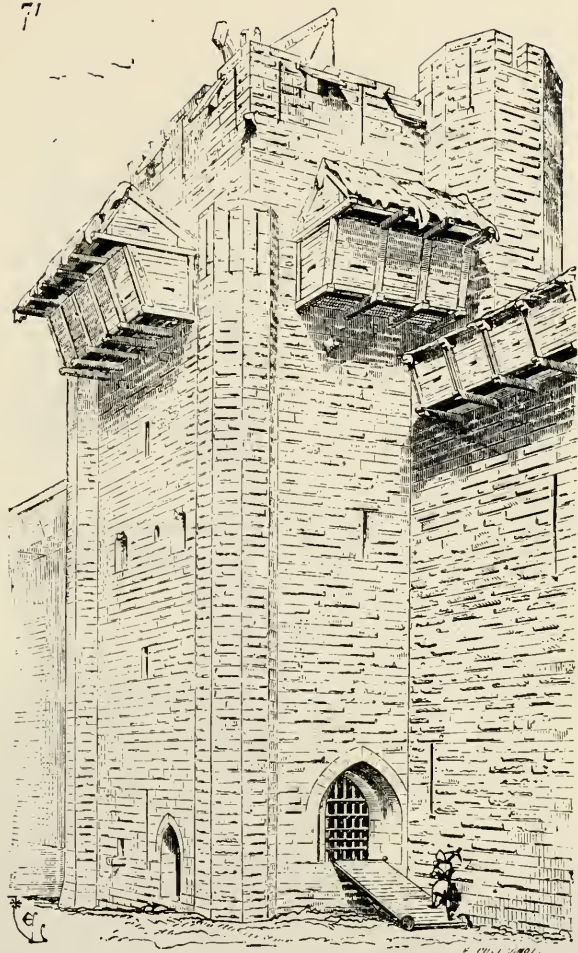


Figure 21

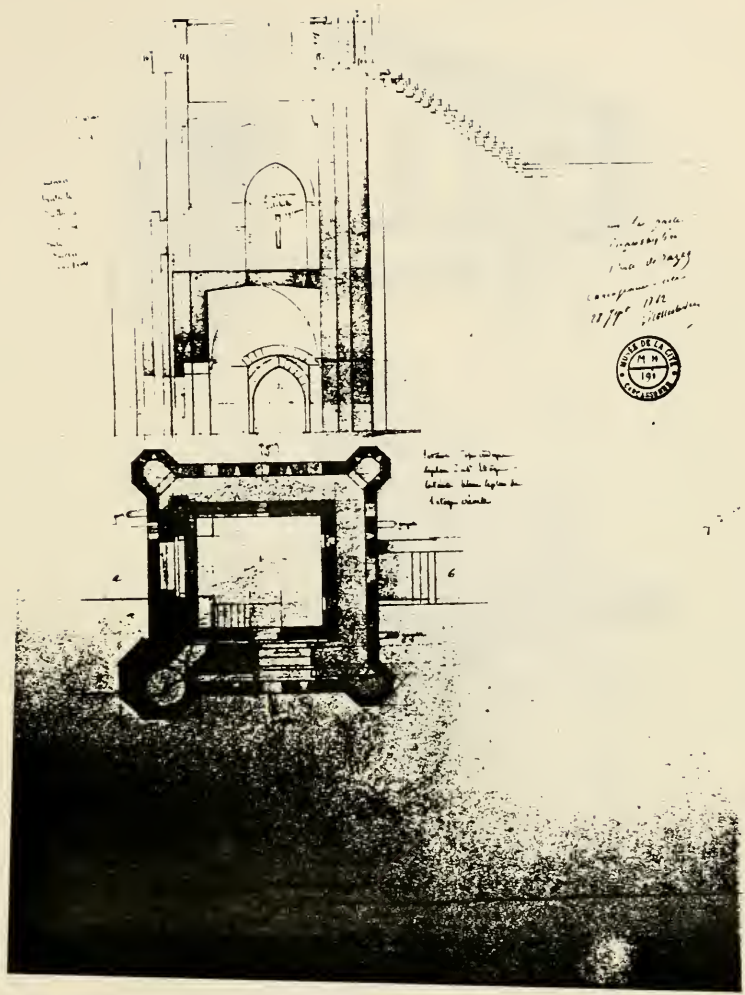


Figure 22

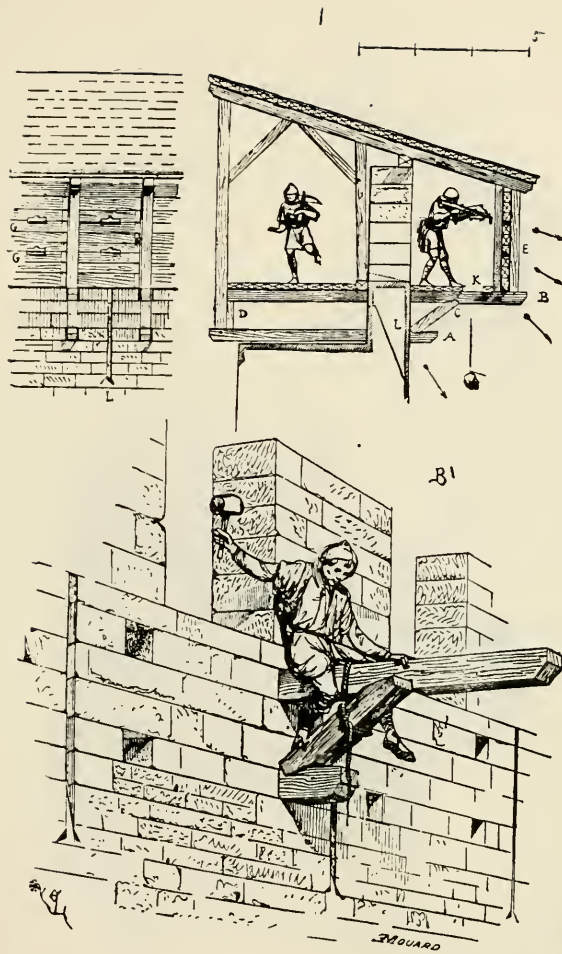


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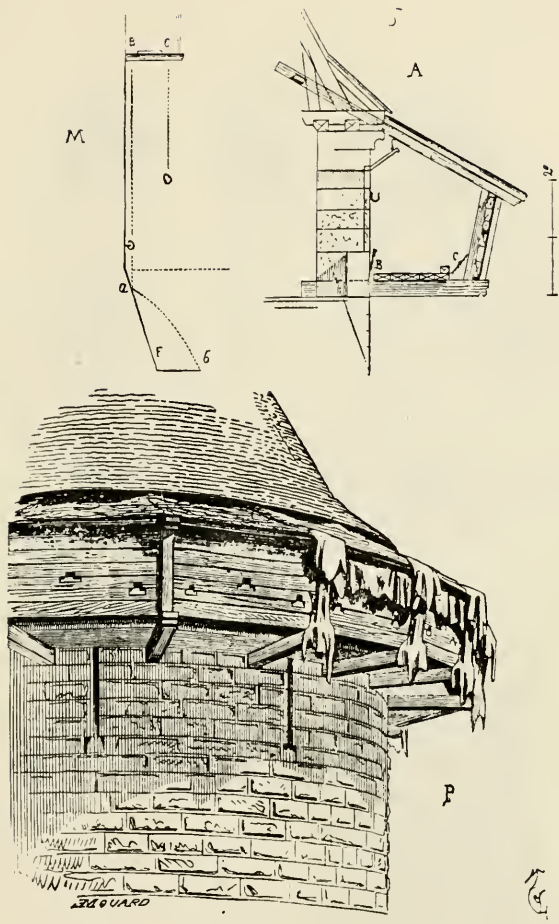


Figure 24

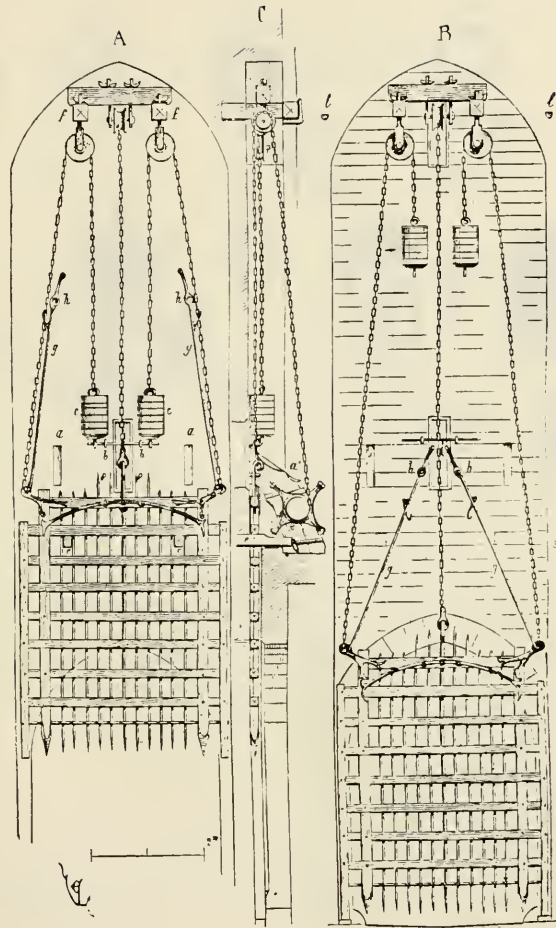


Figure 25



Figure 26

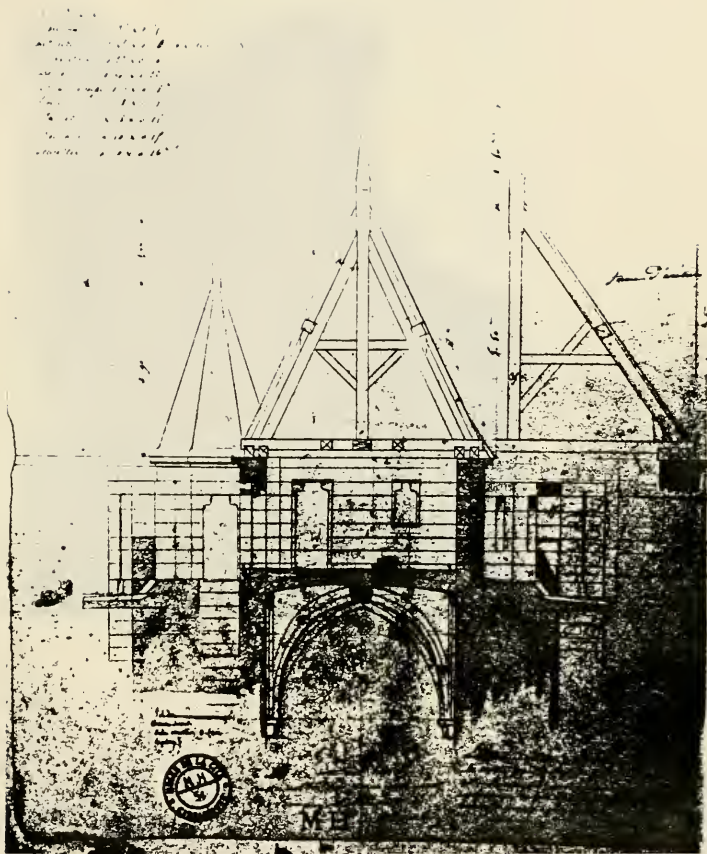


Figure 27



Figure 28



Figure 29

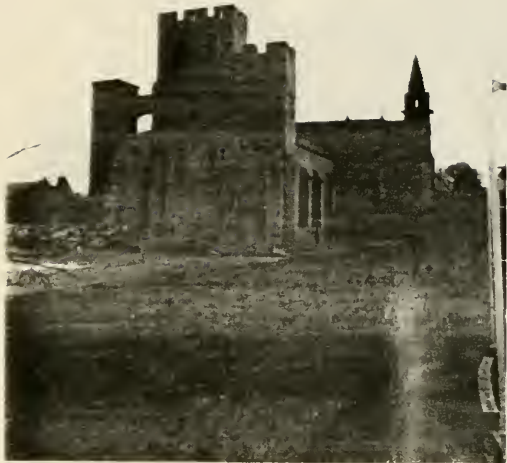


Figure 30



Figure 31



Figure 32

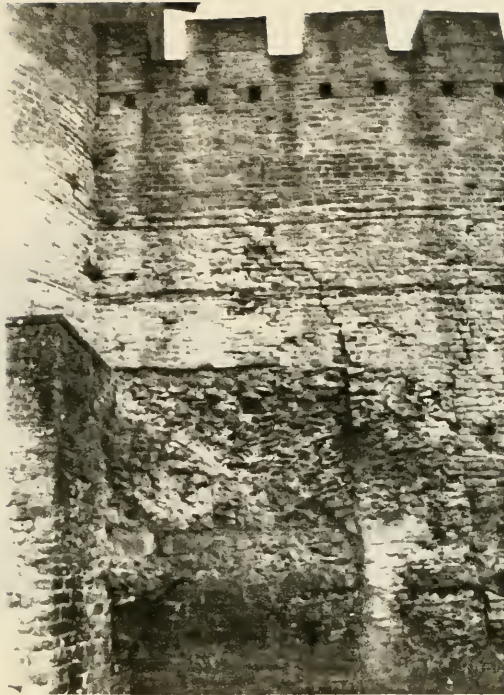


Figure 33



Figure 34



Figure 35

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Abbreviations

1. Archives and Collections

ACMH Archives de la Commission des Monuments historiques. Paris.

ADAC Archives Départementales de l'Aude. Carcassonne.

CRMH Centre de Recherches sur les Monuments Historiques. Palais de Chaillot, Paris.

FVLD Fonds Viollet-le-Duc. Neuilly, Paris.

2. Publications

ACLR Jannie Mayer, ed. Archives de la Commission des Monuments historiques. Plans et dessins. Tome II: Languedoc-Roussillon. Paris: Direction du Patrimoine, 1980.

CAF Congrès archéologique de France.

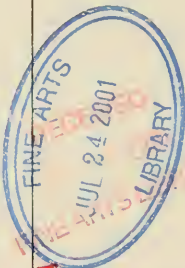
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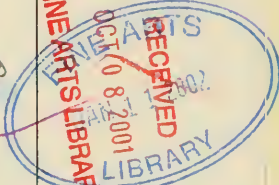
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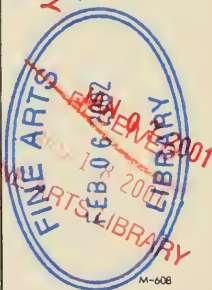
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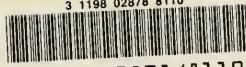
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