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## Introduction

“There are many Parises in Paris,” wrote the architect César Daly in 1862.<sup>1</sup> An important authority on urban issues, Daly was referring to city’s archaeological remains, but his observation can be applied more broadly. A layering of buildings of different ages, erected by different peoples, nineteenth-century Paris was never a clear, graspable entity, not even to its own inhabitants. Its population was a bracing mélange of locally born citizens and a large influx of provincials and foreigners whose divergent incomes, cultural backgrounds, and views of the city changed constantly over the years as they adjusted to an ever-shifting urban kaleidoscope. Their relationship to Paris was not the same in 1848 or 1868, nor before or after the Commune.

In Paris as elsewhere, the Industrial Revolution shattered the form of the classic Western city, placing great stress on the urban environment. Mass production, reliant on consumption, required a network of broad streets and boulevards that allowed crowds and merchandise to circulate. At the same time, rapid demographic growth called for improved water supply, sewerage, systems of transportation, and public greenery. In their search for new models of urban space, cities around the globe opted for a variety of solutions, depending on the economic and social price they were prepared to pay. In the case of Paris, there have been excellent studies documenting the radical reconfiguration of the city during the second half of the nineteenth century under Napoleon III and his strong-willed prefect of the Seine, Georges-Eugène Haussmann.<sup>2</sup> Together with a team of first-rate engineers and thousands of workers, they overhauled the capital, endowing it with all the amenities of a modern metropolis.

For the financial elites, urban renewal became a matter of urgency. Industrialization enriched and empowered the nation’s powerful bankers and mercantile classes. Representatives of an aggressive industrial capitalism eager to promote its products, they helped fund the agenda pursued by the municipality and spared no effort to make their institutions visible throughout Paris, with their own grand displays of architectural self-representation. Banks, department stores, theaters, and railway stations, designed with an eye to monumentality and aimed at facilitating circulation and consumption, were the perfect complement to Haussmann’s networks of broad streets and public squares. Paris had to be remade into a showcase for the regime that also served the dictates of new hegemonic groups.

At the same time, a rising middle class, flush with money from industry and commerce, clamored for elegant housing in attractive neighborhoods in keeping with their

new social station. It became increasingly clear that urban space would have to be manufactured like other industrialized goods, and this called for bold and unprecedented measures. Speculation—one of the chief motors of urban change and the great machinery of revenue—ruled. There was a great deal of money to be made. Parcels were bought; equipped with sidewalks, water mains, sewers, gaslight; and sold again at great profit. If Second Empire Paris differed from other cities in the throes of modernization, it was largely in the scale of its ambitious project of urban renovation, the systematic way with which it was carried out by Haussmann and his large circle of experts, and, not least, the burden that this transformation placed on the laboring classes.

Such momentous urban changes relied on a massive influx of workers whose arrival overwhelmed the existing housing stock just when the modernization of Paris, as envisaged by the moneyed classes, called for upgrading vast parts of the city. This brought about a conflict between the goals of the municipality and its supporters, and the needs of those who actually built and maintained the new infrastructure. In a city racked by revolutions since 1789, the ruling elites saw the old labyrinthine warrens in the center, inhabited mainly by the poor, as a threat to political stability. In their eyes, urban governance was rooted in a clear, intelligible fabric, shorn of slums and dilapidated tenements. Thousands lost their homes when Haussmann razed huge swaths of the center to make way for buildings of higher quality. Redevelopment, to call the process by its present name, brought about a widening gap between the affluent sectors and the urban poor, the social group most adversely affected by the radical makeover of Paris. And it entailed a spatial division of labor that consigned workers to interstitial spaces throughout the city or banished them to the amorphous sprawl of the periphery, which lacked the services so lavishly doled out to richer parts of Paris.

Since the mid-nineteenth century, architects, urbanists, and scholars have followed the rebuilding of the French capital passionately, siding either with the Second Empire or with its republican critics, some praising, some excoriating the prefect, others conceding the value of his undertakings while emphasizing his innumerable debts to previous administrators. Critiques of the empire's spatial politics have been directed chiefly at widespread demolitions in the historic center, the consequent eviction of workers, and the ensuing polarization of the urban fabric. Attacked by opponents of the regime in his own day, Haussmann went on to receive a stream of exuberant accolades in the first half of the twentieth century. From Daniel Burnham to Robert Moses, city planners and administrators held him in the highest esteem as the epitome of visionary boldness.<sup>3</sup> Looking at Paris through the reductive lens of high modernism, Le Corbusier and Sigfried Giedion wrote enthusiastically of Haussmann's sweeping plans for slum clearance that made large stretches of land available for circulation.<sup>4</sup> Adopting a top-down approach, they had little to say about how the new capital's new urban spaces were used and perceived by a diverse and deeply divided population. Preferring to study the city *in vitro*, Haussmann's admirers painted the picture of a disembodied world of streets and squares, monuments and buildings as complete entities, basing themselves exclusively on plans, photographs, and documentary sources.

By reading Paris exclusively from the point of view of its administrators, architects, and politicians, in keeping with the scholarly traditions of their time, these latter-day enthusiasts contented themselves with "seeing like a state," according to James Scott's brilliant

formulation, producing works premised on essentialist conceptions of architecture and urban space that left untouched the interested nature of representations.<sup>5</sup> Such positive appraisals overlooked both the enormous contribution of the working class, which laid the infrastructure, opened roads, and erected hundreds of buildings, and the deliberate neglect with which it was treated. In subsequent years, as a more tolerant age sought other models, the pendulum swung in the opposite direction, and the prefect's stock declined. "Haussmann's Paris is a city built by an idiot, full of sound and fury, signifying nothing," exclaimed Guy Debord scornfully in 1967.<sup>6</sup>

It was largely in the 1970s that scholarship began to reassess Haussmann's role as author of the largest project of urban renewal in Western Europe.<sup>7</sup> Anthony Sutcliffe wrote a tightly argued analysis of city planning under Haussmann, followed by David Pinkney and Pierre Lavedan, who gave much of the credit for the renovation of the capital to Napoleon III.<sup>8</sup> Since then, others have stressed the continuity between the Second Empire's urban practices and those of previous regimes. David Van Zanten and Nicholas Papayanis, among others, have shifted the focus from Haussmann to the July Monarchy, rightly credited with some of the innovative initiatives put into practice by the Second Empire.<sup>9</sup> François Loyer carefully studied the architecture of the period, broadening the scope of the debate to include typology, ordinances, and equipment. Pierre Pinon conducted research in several Parisian archives, demystifying many assumptions concerning the prefect.<sup>10</sup> David Jordan, meanwhile, produced an exemplary and much-needed monograph on Haussmann, drawing principled conclusions from a prodigious amount of research.<sup>11</sup>

In 1997, the discovery of the Siméon papers by Pierre Casselle led to a far-reaching reevaluation of the part played by Haussmann, the emperor, and several advisers in overhauling Paris. Nominated by Napoleon III as chair of a committee tasked with producing general outlines that would help renovate the capital, Count Henri Siméon and his colleagues produced exhaustive documentation outlining a multifaceted agenda for the renewal of the city.<sup>12</sup> Their impressive dossier shows unequivocally that the essential features of the Second Empire's reconfiguration of Paris, long associated with Haussmann, had already been advanced by the Siméon committee, even though their original conception went through many iterations in its implementation.

Casselle's articles led several specialists to attribute all progressive changes to the July Monarchy or Napoleon III, exonerating the emperor from all blame in the destruction of the historical center and the callous treatment of the working class.<sup>13</sup> Emphasizing Haussmann's coercive urban politics, they passed over in silence his achievements as well as the complicity of the emperor, his ministers, and the ruling classes who sustained and bankrolled the regime. Haussmann is the easiest of targets: "heavy of eye and tread, stiff, coarse, demanding, humourless, and vain," in the words of John Russell.<sup>14</sup> Of the prefect's dismissive attitude toward the poor there can be no doubt. After stepping down as prefect he declared that the overthrow of the empire in 1871 drove home the "impressionable and turbulent nature of Paris's popular masses" that had to be contained by every possible means.<sup>15</sup> Yet one cannot disregard the responsibility of the emperor in the final product. Haussmann's unliberal city could not have been built without the assent and assistance of his more liberal master, who ratified all the latter's decisions with imperial decrees. And the emperor's plan could hardly have been executed without Haussmann, who did so with considerable skill, determination, and utter ruthlessness.

Surprisingly, after Casselle's pathbreaking research, three biographies appeared in print, only one of which, by Nicolas Chaudun, took the new discoveries into consideration. Those of Michel Carmona and Georges Valance mentioned it but did not dwell on the conclusions drawn from Casselle's discoveries, contenting themselves with conservative accounts that left deeper issues unexplored.<sup>16</sup> The same year, Haussmann's memoirs were republished with a long introduction by Françoise Choay, whose apologia of the prefect glosses over his shameful cruelty toward the laboring poor and heedless destruction of countless landmarks of historical and art-historical importance. Such glowing narratives of Haussmann's work reveal the tenacity of traditional historiographic models at the expense of historic context and critical thinking.

A purely voluntarist approach can hardly explain the enormous pressures brought to bear on city planning, an ongoing process contingent on national and transnational trends, political and economic concerns, and municipal practices and discourses that were not always in agreement. Nor can it account for the heterogeneity of actors and the complex concatenation of causes that produce the urban. In an attempt to address these lacunae, historians such as Jeanne Gaillard dwelt at length on economic and political factors, without demonizing the prefect as some scholars continue to do.<sup>17</sup> Art historian T. J. Clark and urban sociologist David Harvey had already underscored the ideological dimensions of the Second Empire's urban plans with penetrating insight, stressing the centrality of capitalism in the reconfiguration of Paris.<sup>18</sup> *Urbanism*, a word that did not yet exist in Haussmann's day, is the expression of vested interests, finely calibrated to preserve and consolidate the status quo. Nevertheless, urbanism is also shaped by a slow, gradualist undertow made up of conflicting and overlapping agendas, mostly planned, but often the result of contingency.<sup>19</sup> In their zeal to modernize the city, the forms of renewal favored by the Second Empire brought with them the expulsion and ghettoization of the urban poor, which followed on the heels of what we now call gentrification. Haussmann's draconian measures expressed not only his own authoritarian goals, but also the strategy of an entire class that stood to benefit the most from this kind of imperially mandated form of urban renovation. The capital's new geopolitical configuration as a historic core encircled by distant working-class faubourgs, and the partitioning of the city into areas that were increasingly (though never entirely) class specific, expressed clearly and unapologetically the prevailing attitude of the privileged toward the disenfranchised. A surrounding belt of villages inhabited by workers horrified the upper and middle classes, who, both desiring and fearing insulation, no longer wanted to coexist with the poor in the city's residential areas. Urban space was part of the Second Empire's apparatus of power.

The importance of the most theoretically sophisticated of these scholarly works can hardly be overestimated: together, they have mapped out the sequence of crucial events; analyzed works and writings by architects, engineers, and administrators; established chronologies; unearthed crucial precedents; and examined the political foundations that gave shape to Second Empire Paris. Taken as a whole, these publications allow a far more nuanced view of Haussmann, Napoleon III, and their sociopolitical context. But these two approaches, broadly speaking, of apprehending Paris—the biographical and the socioeconomic—are no longer sufficient.

## UNHEARD VOICES

It is time to trouble the focus on major monuments that has so far dogged architectural histories of nineteenth-century Paris. Insofar as extant documentation allows, we must seek out the divergent ways in which the empire's networked infrastructure was received by a heterogeneous population to grasp what urban philosopher Henri Lefebvre called *l'espace vécu*—not the abstract space of planners and architects but the affect-charged space experienced by a plurality of subjects.<sup>20</sup> To fully understand how different social groups accepted, rejected, transgressed, and interpreted the new Paris involves taking into account both the production and the perception of urban space—this last, a highly volatile construct, inflected by class, age, gender, occupation, and province or country of origin, as well as language or patois. Whatever the motivations of the imperial and municipal governments, the infrastructure they put in place could not in and of itself “determine social practices.”<sup>21</sup> Transportation systems, water supply and sewage disposal, public parks, gas lighting, and modern institutions of commerce and culture had many and often contradictory social implications. Workers who built new boulevards, laid sewers and water mains, erected buildings, and installed urban technologies subjected such forms of urban modernity to their own interpretations. Women, who crisscrossed the city for either work or leisure, were also profoundly affected by urban change. Rather than taking networks for granted, it is crucial to understand how they were socialized. Far from seeing citizens as autonomous and transcendental beings, wrote Michel Foucault, we must try to achieve “an analysis which can account for the constitution of the subject within a historical framework.”<sup>22</sup>

Yet the staggering majority of books and articles written during the nineteenth century, authored by middle- or upper-class men, gives a distorted picture of how the city was perceived by other social groups. Whereas primary sources written by workers are still being discovered, we are far from a comprehensive view of the urban lives of those who constituted the larger part of the population. Even when they did leave a record, these do not necessarily mention the city's new streets and networks. Nor could they speak for their entire constituencies: like other social groups, they did not have unmediated access to truth. As Jacques Rancière has pointed out, workers who left memoirs, often years after the fact, usually adopted the language of the bourgeoisie to make their points understood, thereby opening up a gulf between themselves and their peers.<sup>23</sup> We cannot escape the elusiveness of the *peuple*, “known through the viewpoint of the elites,” in Miriam Simon's incisive words.<sup>24</sup> At present, recovering their voices remains an aspiration, perhaps an impossible one. Where archives are silent, scholars have no alternative to representing—with principled caution—those whom they know only through representations.<sup>25</sup>

The working classes of Paris have received a great deal of attention, primarily from labor historians, social scientists, and literary scholars. French museums have also devoted important exhibitions to the topic.<sup>26</sup> Architectural historians, by contrast, have continued to analyze the city in terms of buildings of aesthetic worth, but only the center, politically coded as “Paris,” has been worthy of attention. Mistaking a part for the whole, they write as if the belt of working-class villages surrounding Paris, incorporated into the city in 1860, did not exist. In consequence, we know very little about the architecture that defined the lives of the laboring poor, which varied greatly in terms of quality, location, and typology. What did urban renewal mean to the hundreds of thousands of workers who resided in



the anomic outskirts, and swept in and out of the historic center every day, on their way to and from work? What measures did they adopt to cope with their needs such as housing and infrastructure? Urban environments are co-constitutive of citizens and of social cleavages by means of space, distance, and services (or lack thereof), as well as the aesthetic quality of buildings, streets, and neighborhoods. Those who were so brutally displaced were active participants in the transformation of the capital; their expertise laying and maintaining pipes and sewers, building roads and bridges, clearly revealed their ability to master difficult technologies on a daily basis. Loss of their homes, followed by forced relocation to the fringes, sparked feelings of anger and revanchism that would explode with greater force during the Commune.

Working-class women constitute another major gap in our knowledge, which can only partly be attributed to the paucity of sources. For several decades, feminist art historians have shed light on the inequality with which women were treated in their day, and on their continued marginalization in scholarship. Architectural history has been slower to react. By leaving issues of gender unexplored, it has unconsciously universalized the experience of men, reproducing the asymmetries of power that shaped the lives of men and women in the city. Without accounts by the protagonists themselves we cannot understand how Haussmannization affected women of different social classes, nor the impact it had on the conquest and constitution of public space by all women. From impressionist painters to writers, photographers, and early film directors, countless images of Parisian women have come down to us, in boulevards and brothels, gardens, and cabarets. Not being authored by women, these representations do not reflect their subjectivities any more than they address issues of difference. Those who did write about the city came mostly from a well-heeled minority, wealthy bluestockings such as George Sand, Delphine Gay, Frances Trollope, or Countess Marie d'Agoult, who could not understand the problems and preoccupations of their working-class counterparts. Redevelopment signified one thing for ladies who frequented banks and department stores, rode through parks in fashionable landaus, and visited museums and exhibitions. Poor women, equally visible in the public realm, were far less likely to leave a record of their struggles. Echoes of their voices can be found in the writings of others, refracted unwittingly by those who did not share their experience.

#### CAPITAL OF THE METROPOLE

All cities see themselves through the prism of myth, but if research on Paris is to yield fresh insights, it must make greater efforts to resist the pervasive myth of Paris, an enduring staple of the humanities, which naturalizes exclusionary views of the capital. This is not to assume a fixed, incontrovertible reality behind the myth but to acknowledge that Paris does not and did not exist outside the social relations that bound its residents to an urban space in the throes of radical reconfiguration.<sup>27</sup> That something dramatically new happened to the city during the Second Empire is beyond dispute: the sheer scale of new construction, modern boulevards, and infrastructure aroused the admiration of contemporaries. That said, shopworn clichés such as “Capital of the Nineteenth Century” or “Capital of Modernity” are unacceptable to a growing number of scholars for whom these two overlapping—indeed, inseparable—terms are characteristic of unquestioned and unconfessed Eurocentric assumptions.<sup>28</sup>

Paris was not the capital of modernity—that long-drawn, transnational, diverse, and open-ended process that was never autochthonous.<sup>29</sup> What Michael Geyer and Charles Bright said of the end of the twentieth century was equally true of the second half of the nineteenth: what we are faced with is “not a universalizing and single modernity but an integrated world of multiple and multiplying modernities.”<sup>30</sup> To claim Paris as capital of modernity is to erase the contributions of other nations and cities that, often under the yoke of colonialism, contributed richly to the beauty of the French capital. “Europe’s arrogation of the notion of modernity to itself,” wrote historian Dipesh Chakrabarty, “is an integral part of European imperialism. Colonized nations were equal partners in this modernizing ideology.”<sup>31</sup> Architectural historians have to chart a difficult course, investigating the numerous urban innovations that made this extraordinary city a much-imitated model worldwide, while avoiding unexamined explanations premised on exceptionalism. Furthermore, we must challenge the tendency to see urban modernity in a purely affirmative light—a story of resplendent boulevards, water and sewerage systems, and beautiful parks and gardens. It is time to consider the many ways in which this definition-defying entanglement of practices, technologies, and political ideas embodied enduring strategies that enabled the privatization of public space, the creation of profit-driven partnerships between municipalities and the private sector, and the legal and economic mechanisms that allowed the poor to be dispossessed of their homes and territory.<sup>32</sup> These, too, are part and parcel of modernity.<sup>33</sup>

Nor was Paris the “Capital of the Nineteenth Century,” a long-held article of faith that has only recently begun to be questioned.<sup>34</sup> For scholars from the Global South or those involved with postcolonial theory, the world was too large and too diverse even then to have had a single capital of the nineteenth century or of modernity—except as a persistent ideology suggestive of Europe’s sense of centrality and superiority. Both these tags pass over in silence the fact that Paris was the capital of an imperial and imperialist France whose domains overseas stretched from territories or footholds in China, Cochinchina, India, New Caledonia, North Africa, the Middle East, and the Caribbean. Napoleon III tried aggressively, and at times disastrously, to expand the regime’s geo-imperial reach. After taking part in the Second Opium War in China (1856–60), France gained the right to trade in lucrative treaty ports and began to secure control of southern Vietnam in 1858; created a protectorate in Cambodia in 1863; launched an abortive campaign against Korea in 1866; and sent a military mission to Japan (1867–68) to train the troops of Tokugawa Yoshinobu, the last shogun, in Western-style warfare before they were overthrown by the imperial forces. In Mexico, French intervention ended in disaster, when Napoleon III tried to establish the Hapsburg prince Ferdinand Maximilian as emperor in 1867. Despite these failures, the emperor’s expansionist drive succeeded in doubling the empire’s territories.

Colonialism was not a static backcloth but helped mold French culture and politics in a variety of ways. Empire building exerted a strong influence on discourse, print culture, and the visual arts in the metropole. With its steady stream of imported products and technologies, colonial modernity was responsible for many aspects of the newly refurbished capital, many visible to this day, in buildings, statues, art collections, and street names.<sup>35</sup> Spoils from these campaigns found their way into the city. Museums were filled with works of art plundered from conquered peoples. In 1863, Empress Eugénie created a “Musée Chinois” at Fontainebleau with objects seized by French troops during the sack of



Yuanmingyuan, the Summer Palace in Beijing, during the Second Opium War, and with gifts from the ambassadors of Siam.<sup>36</sup> Before hostilities were even over, French auction houses began selling art looted from China.<sup>37</sup>

The triumphalist iconography deployed in public space during important holidays promoted France's colonial exploits with nocturnal illumination evoking Chinese, Egyptian, and Mexican buildings linked to specific overseas conquests or expeditions. International expositions, particularly that of 1867, foregrounded products and artifacts from the colonies. Landscape architecture likewise flaunted the empire's territorial possessions, disseminating exotic shrubs, flowers, and trees across the city's new parks and gardens. The systems of knowledge involved in different disciplines and practices was not solely French: science, culture, and technology traveled in both directions along trade routes taken by soldiers, officials, commercial entrepreneurs, or missionaries.<sup>38</sup> Although the exchange was rooted in the military, social, and cultural violence inherent in imperialism, colonies and metropole were deeply interconnected, disavowing reductive binaries.

Nineteenth-century Paris cannot thus be understood in terms of Paris or even France alone but was a porous part of this larger constituency. Nation and empire, of course, had distinctly different contours and powers, and tensions between them played themselves out in the capital, particularly when the army was unleashed against those the regime saw as its enemies. It was the laboring classes who felt the brutal impact of colonial warfare. French generals trained in warfare in North Africa (the *généraux africains*) were repeatedly brought to Paris to quell insurrection, which they did with unrestrained ferocity.<sup>39</sup> Workers, their main targets, and political opponents were shot, imprisoned, or deported to the overseas territories. To understand this broader colonial context requires that architectural history break out of the closed circuit of Western theory within which the discipline has entrapped itself.

Finally, we must learn from our own age how to ask new questions of nineteenth-century Paris, a time of extraordinary political, social, and urban upheaval, although this, too, carries its own dangers. From the perspective of the *longue durée*, the greatly admired city is not irrevocably cut off from our day. Its mistreatment of the laboring classes and the distant banlieues where they were warehoused, throws into relief our own forms of spatial segregation today. Likewise, the slums that now house the majority of the world's urban population shed light on the everyday living conditions of vast agglomerations of people who lack decent housing, running water, or sanitation. Far from accepting their lot passively, today's shantytown residents are always learning how to cope, adapting their know-how and meager resources to produce a fragile and ephemeral infrastructure, fighting to improve their surroundings, both like—and unlike—their nineteenth-century counterparts. Although their motivations for resettling may differ, the innumerable legal and illegal immigrants who undertake the most menial jobs in our societies prompt us to probe Second Empire Paris, where thousands of workers from the provinces or from other countries such as Hesse, Switzerland, and Russia were engaged in jobs that gave them little self-esteem or decent financial compensation.

Globalization itself, with its flows and networks, its layered interactions between powerful international forces and entrenched local communities, can suggest new approaches to a topic—nineteenth-century Paris—that is both highly popular and tenaciously elusive. It can do so, however, only if it does not magically displace colonialism, which was

transnational in a very different way. Furthermore, none of these trends follows automatically from the days of the Second Empire to ours, according to a seamless trajectory from cause to effect. “The question,” wrote Rancière, “is always to subvert the order of time prescribed by domination, to interrupt its continuities and transform the pauses it imposes into regained freedom.”<sup>40</sup> It is important to dwell on ruptures as well as continuities, avoiding the pitfalls of teleology and remembering the historical specificities that undergird urban development around the globe. Contemporary problems can offer insights and suggest heuristic tools that help illuminate aspects of this period that would otherwise be hard to access, provided we remain mindful of the enormous difference that separates us from the past, and acknowledge that our own views are no less disinterested.

Cities are not transparent signifiers but transient entities in constant flux, generating ambiguities and contradictions. Their diverse inhabitant-interpreters—workers and aristocrats, native born and foreigners, in the case of nineteenth-century Paris—never coalesced around identical points of view but offer a flood of changing opinions, insights, and misreadings contingent on their affiliations. Urban space has no intrinsic meaning but is always burdened with an excess of signification. Data itself falls into a slippery, non-objective category: none of the documents with which we study cities is value-free. Photographs, architectural drawings, etchings, paintings, novels, and newspapers do not adhere to facts in a tightly sealed covenant. The unquestioned authority given to urban plans presupposes an epistemological realism that naively accords such documents the validity of “truth.” Whether we are dealing with maps or photographs, we are inevitably looking at Paris through representations and seeing it through several subjectivities at once.<sup>41</sup>

How, then, can one do justice to the terrifying complexity of the urban transformation of Second Empire Paris—a city that, like all others, does not exist outside representations and thus exceeds any single author or methodology? This book hopes to give an idea of the multiplicity of Parises mentioned by Daly, though not according to the terms that he envisaged. Its overview of the overwhelming modernization of Paris during two decades of imperial rule follows the complicated process of Hausmannization, that is, urbanism, rather than architecture. Broadening architectural history’s scope beyond the more traditional, narrowly defined focus on monuments, it seeks to include the counter-histories of diverse groups of actors and the spaces where they lived and toiled, insofar as available sources permit. Our discipline must not limit itself to the visual, that is, to architecture and urbanism that have been severed from social relations. To understand this sprawling, viscous metropolis requires problematizing and pluralizing authorship, and interpellating the varied forms of subject formation within the new urban framework informed by modern networks. Cities can be neither reduced to their material traces, nor sublimated into superstructures that “evict place and materiality.”<sup>42</sup> Any book on such a protean referent must remain provisional. We need a new nineteenth-century Paris for our own day, even if it, too, will go the way of all others, when the evolving present uncovers in the past a different narrative. The past needs changing almost as much as the present.

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