The Parisian Parish Churches of the Second Empire: Social Forces and Church Construction in France, 1852-1870

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Abstract

This article examines some key issues in nineteenth-century church architecture. Of particular interest are the parish churches constructed in Paris during the Second Empire: a period during which the construction of churches and urban expansion reached unprecedented levels. The identity crisis associated with the church architecture of that era may well be reflected in the architectural style debate between Desiré Raoul-Rochette and E. E. Viollet-le-Duc. However, given the great sociopolitical and economic changes occurring during this period, a different analytical approach to discuss stylistic evolution of the churches is warranted. This paper attempts to broaden the discussion of the Parisian parish churches of the Second Empire in order to show that they should be recognized as architectural projects giving precision to the descriptive social forces, such as the economizing on outlays, the formulation of two idealized new types of church architecture, a mise en scene of a theatrical effect in city fabric, liturgical requirements, and the emergence of îlot parisien in the Second Empire, that exist beyond the scope of the traditional doctrinal analyses of architectural style.

Keywords: social force; Parisian parish church; Second Empire; cathedral; basilica

1. Introduction

French church architecture of the Second Empire, an era apparently deemed to have lacked a unique style, troubled many nineteenth-century and early modernist architects. The question of style during this era has provoked many debates over the past decade. Much contemporary writing on this topic has focused on comparing Classical to Gothic church architecture. Particular advances in science and technology that affected the stylistic development of nineteenth-century church architecture have been acknowledged, but church architecture has often been grouped into the categories of nationalism, historicism, and other doctrines, on the basis of the assumption that architectural history consists of a succession of clearly identifiable styles. This notion is relevant to church architecture, since its architectural disposition has been subject to normative aesthetics and principles. It is important to recognize that the influence of the nineteenth-century social forces on French church architecture may have been downplayed. This is especially problematic in the Second Empire, when both urban expansion and the construction of churches in an eclectic style reached unprecedented levels, and when the rise of social sciences served as a mediation between science and religion.

Architecture related to social forces was not necessarily one of the principal nineteenth-century themes in architectural history. The social quality of church architecture, as suggested by Viollet-le-Duc, for example, is evidenced by its rational construction in relation to new materials and techniques from which specific buildings were designed to fulfill new social needs in new social settings. During the nineteenth century, the number and variety of parish churches built in Paris were much greater than those of all the previous periods combined. In this exceptional context, some were not modelled on prefigured architectural styles, nor were they committed to the revivals of various historical styles. Instead, these churches evolved as amalgams of art and as utilitarian and social objects derived from new political, economic, and social settings.

Like that of many public buildings such as hospitals, prisons, and city halls, which were the result of the intervention of the technical, legal, and political forces into the realm of social life, church architecture, by virtue of its particularities which have historically been the observable characteristics of an architectural mode or a change in the mentality of an era, has also been sensitive to social movements at the city level or even those of the entire nation. In the new extraordinary conjuncture of political contexts between the state and the rehabilitation of the Catholic religion, the inspiration for church architecture was constantly subject to change and reformulation.

During this period, church architecture emerged
as a particular social institution in which the primary religious function was interpreted in such a way that the plans for new churches should be subject to scientific, technological and rational approaches in order to satisfy new practical necessities and liturgical requirements. A study on nineteenth-century church architecture in 1993 by the renowned French historian Jean-Michel Leniaud summarized these views. Leniaud described the Second Empire as a period when church design shifted toward urban-integrated architecture and away from independent symbolic works. He suggested that this period of dreams and passions was manifested by the new construction and restoration of parish churches, cathedrals, and urban expansion; the new relationship between the state and Catholicism; and the fusion of two cultures – science and religion.

This study, which is an enquiry into nineteenth-century architecture in relation to social history, argues that some of the Parisian parish churches of the Second Empire merit an analysis as architecture that was greatly affected by social forces. It will be shown that the social qualities of nineteenth-century church architecture are related to satisfying the period's emerging social needs, which arose from the changing economy, the new urban, liturgical requirements; in particular, these were brought on by a rapid increase of the Christian population and the restoration of the Catholic religion. Further, it will be shown that these social qualities are also related to two idealized types of church architecture which emerged in the nineteenth century: the "cathedral" and "basilica" à la française. Both these "references of idealized new architectural types" are articulated by J.-M. Leniaud. The first addresses the existence of the problematic characteristics of nineteenth-century church architecture in terms of social reality, architectural ideology, and typology, through the perception of the new society and its architects. The second, perhaps the most appropriate for Haussmann's utilitarian urban renewal, addresses the urban-sensitive architectural prototypes integrated into neighborhoods. Accordingly, both types illustrate the ideas for generating ideal edifices in terms of new practical, economical, and social contexts from which the Parisian parish churches of the Second Empire were derived.

2. Rise of the Social Sciences and Liturgy in Nineteenth-Century France

In the nineteenth century, both reason and faith, or, in a broader sense, science and religion, consistently influenced the embodiment of dominant cultures. Science and religion were combined in the restoration of the Catholic religion, and therefore, the questions of scientific progress were preoccupied with religious inspiration. Church architectural style, however, oscillated between reason and sentiment, or scientific progress and religious inspiration. Meanwhile, the social sciences began to play the role of mediator as a kind of "third culture" between science and religion. From the mid-nineteenth century, this third culture would "claim to offer the key orientation for modern civilization and constitute the guide to living appropriate to industrial society." During the rise of socialism, a new form of Christianity was initiated by the Saint-Simonians. It proposed that society should work to improve the moral and physical existence of the poorest classes and that they should be pacified by scientific means.

The Saint-Simonians had a clear purpose for establishing the unity between science and religion, and architecture was to play an important role. Social issues, such as industrial developments, technological inventions, scientific discoveries, urban necessities, poverty, and socialist Christianity, could be approached as architectural problems to be solved by architects. Under the assumption that architects can change broad segments of society's perception of what is a desirable expression of social status, the "diocesan" architects of the nineteenth century established their conceptual frameworks for church architecture in phase with such social issues. Thus, most of the nineteenth-century architects were more interested in socially significant events than in the church's physical appearance. When the liturgical spirit of the nineteenth century was transformed from spiritual individualism to spiritual collectivism, the architects allotted the renewal of the liturgy prime importance. The relationship between the liturgy and church architecture was carefully analyzed to ensure that a church's exterior and interior disposition reflected the essence of the liturgy. In other words, deviations in the liturgy matched those in the church architecture, and the latter came to be known as "the most divine art of the liturgy." Studies on the social dimension of liturgical requirements mostly focussed on how the changes in church architecture were in response to the need to accommodate the participation of increased numbers of worshipers. This increase in the number of worshipers resulted from the rapid increase in the working class population as well as the restoration of the Catholic religion. This demographic change was reflected in a set of architectural strategies designed to solve spatial problems. Accordingly, the design rhetoric and artistic inspiration were subordinated to practical needs. Architectural layout created grand halls for communal assembly and positioned the master-altar so that it would not be obstructed by columns. It also created a space for everyone, including the poorest, to participate actively in the liturgy, which signified that the church was more open than before. The creation of a theatrical effect was another liturgical requirement; the dynamic progression toward the sanctuary was meant to appeal to worshipers' emotions. In this regard, the quality of church architecture was determined by the extent to which the liturgical requirements were reflected in the disposition of the architecture. Church architecture not only housed a society of spirits, but also a society of humans. This notion was translated...
through symbols, exterior signs, rites and ceremonies, which together constituted the entire body of the liturgy.

Perhaps, it may be misleading to insist that this was a nineteenth-century innovation, since French mediaeval Gothic churches functioned as a space for social meetings and provided unobstructed views of the ceremonies around the altar. However, one of the primary roles of the architects of this later era lay in the designing of spatial organization subject to liturgical requirements. In other words, their role was to create architecture that adapted to the new social changes and to give them meaning. The role was also to articulate symbolic and functional solutions in the development of architecture, including the rebirth of religious painting, polychromy, utilization of new materials, urban requirements, and representations of the Immaculate Conception, which were in demand due to the trend in pilgrimages. It seemed, however, that the architects' desires to create new architecture could not be totally free from the demands of stylistic developments. The architect carried out the demands with the presumption that to be legible, architectural forms should remain a product of historical evolution, regardless of the religious, social, technological, and scientific progress in architectural culture.

This was notably observed by Viollet-le-Duc. The architectural style debate between Raoul-Rochette and Viollet-le-Duc revealed the latter's struggle to find a way to invent an organism that could reflect both scientific progress and the new social phenomena resulting from the restoration of religion. Viollet-le-Duc's Cathédrale idéale would have been the most complete architectural expression during the "organic" or "religious" age. It symbolized a movement in French society in a new era that was approaching greater social, political, and economic autonomy. The Saint-Simonian-inspired ideal of an organic society was manifested in the conception of the Cathédrale idéale as a modern response to the cathedral. It was not the architect's translation of Catholic dogma, but rather a space designed with a distinct character for communal assembly. Its Gothic structure could accommodate a huge hall for mass gatherings in response to the increase in the population of believers. The Cathédrale idéale represented, therefore, an important metaphor for organic society and a symbol of the architect's response to the needs for new social, and political contexts. Viollet-le-Duc made it clear that the union of religious sentiment and Catholic dogma was translated into an architectural discourse that precisely coincided with the emergence of modern scientific inquiry and modern social theories. Accordingly, with the reconciliation of natural science with faith, church architectural design was presented with the challenge of adapting new social intentions.

Is it then reasonable to say that, as new social intentions arose in the nineteenth century, new architectural types appeared with them? Louis Hautecoeur affirmatively responded to the proposition that had concerned the first generation of modern historians, although he remained uncertain about nineteenth-century French church architecture. However, it was not until the 1990s that J.-M. Leniaud formulated "two references of idealized new types" of church architecture associated with new social intentions: the cathedral and basilica à la française.

3. The Cathedral and Basilica à la française

The Concordat of 1801, due to an extraordinary conjunction of political events between the state and the church, conferred upon cathedrals, a dominant symbolic position with regard to the rehabilitation of Catholicism. In the nineteenth century, cathedrals were closely involved in the affairs of both the state and church: it was a place where the nation was united by religion, and was thus an important symbol of the new French society. No other nation in the world spent as much as France on the new construction and maintenance of cathedrals. Within this context, Viollet-le-Duc's Cathédrale idéale was the manifestation of an idealized cathedral à la française. It stimulated arguments on the identity of the cathedral, which were influenced by the romantic sensibility embedded in religious life during the 1820s. A metaphor for organic society, the cathedral à la française should be understood as a new type of social architecture linked to paradoxical social and political intentions.

Apart from the Neo-Gothic archeological proposition of Viollet-le-Duc, another idealized type of cathedral à la française emerged around 1840, owing to the Neo-Gothic formula's lack of vitality. This new type represented architecture in an original, synthetic, and eclectic style, together in a purposive amalgam of styles in which a combination of all the references of the past were utilized. This synthetic architecture was characterized by an eclectic combination of visual signs such as grand domes, campaniles, and tall spires. These dominant visible elements would symbolize the new regime's pact with the rehabilitation of the Catholic Church, and the prosperity of the city as well as the nation. Often, they were designed to reflect the liturgical rites rather than conform to architectural appropriateness which, however, was effectively reflected with regard to place, use and climate—a formula known as "the Labroustian trilogy" in addition to the politico-religious relations of the era. As B. Bergdoll declared, it is certain that from the Restoration to the Second Empire, no other church architecture in France so clearly reflected the Labroustian trilogy or the vicissitudes of state-church relations than the Cathedral of Marseille, the church in which L. Vaudoyer's Saint-Simonian-inspired dreams and the social objectives of the era were realized.

Faced with "the famous problem of the Catholic type," his work took on some of the typical characteristics of a historical type of basilica. His
interpretation of Catholic architecture as a form of historical knowledge is perhaps derived from his belief that the basilica, with its arcades consisting of rows of columns, would be applicable to any style of architecture from any period.

The resulting architecture was thus a rigorous application of historical knowledge. The introduction of two new elements in the exterior served no religious function. The grand arch at the façade and the black and white stone covering the entire surface of the exterior, imposed by the force on the locality, served purely architectonic purposes. It is this aspect of his work that makes evident the subordination of religious interests to artistic ones. It becomes apparent that a series of "eminent political acts" influenced the formation of architecture. Thus, his architecture signaled an epistemological evolution in which architecture, place, use, southern Mediterranean-type climate and religion became the measure of social intentions in politico-religious relations. Vaudoyer's Cathedral of Marseille, which has been labeled as "historicism," represents another face of the cathedral à la française subject to the Labroustian trilogy.

Another metaphor for organic French society, the basilica à la française should be referred to as a new type evolved from a social and religious phenomenon, the "pilgrimage". The basilica was similar to the cathedral à la française in terms of the evolution of architectural signs in different functions. It was, however, not solely charged with the function of a parish church's activities relating to pilgrimages and the ritual celebration of the Immaculate Conception. Some basiliças represented explicit interpretations of the function of pilgrimages, while others represented the inherent meaning of pilgrimage activity and conveyed the idea of dramatic, theatrical action. This was represented by both the urban effect induced from the monumental exterior and the significance of liturgical activity in the interior. The pilgrim activity in basiliças was conditioned by predominant signs; in cathedrals, the signs were symbols representing the political and tutelary presence of the Catholic religion over the nation and society. Therefore, the cathedral à la française corresponded to the rediscovery of the rather ambiguous nature of church architecture, whereas with the basilica à la française, this ambiguity was less evident. The basilica suggested its specific function and role in the city through the interpretation of a pilgrimage and the visual effect one observed upon approaching the church. Thus evolved the idea of an urban-sensitive architectural prototype for church architecture, integrated into neighborhoods. Surely the most appropriate model for Haussmann's utilitarian urban renewal, it served as a prototype for several parish churches in the Second Empire. The emergence of two idealized types, the cathedral and basilica à la française, was affected by both the religious restructuring of the era provoked by new liturgical and practical necessities, and pure interest in stylistic expression.

4. Parisian Parish Churches in the Second Empire

The social qualities of nineteenth-century church architecture are related to satisfying the period's emerging social needs, to which some of the Parisian parish churches of the Second Empire are particularly relevant. This chapter will explore a series of understandings and articulations of some Parisian parish churches in terms of three descriptive social forces. First, with respect to the changing economy, two churches built in newly developed areas during the Second Empire in Paris will be examined. Second, the two new idealized types of church architecture, clearly embodied by two churches, Church of Sainte-Clotilde and Saint-Augustin, will be discussed. Third, the Church of Sainte-Trinité and Notre-Dame de la Croix, notably manifesting the new urban intentions of the Second Empire will be examined.

4.1 The Parisian parish churches subject to the economizing of construction costs

At the dawn of the Second Empire, the emergence of the Bourgeois and the Industrialists as contesting social groupings obligated the artist to respond to the demands of a new public who held new political and economic power. While the Bourgeois projected the identity of liberated partisans with new ideas, the Industrialists primarily believed in the construction of architecture as the supreme act of investment. They prioritized construction concerns over demographic ones and proposed the economizing of construction costs. Many churches shared the Industrialists' preoccupation with economizing, even though most Parisian parish churches were eligible to receive significant funds from the Ministère des Cultes.

Over the course of the development of new arrondissements, considered to be the poorest areas of Paris, where demographic change was clearly evident, new churches such as the Notre-Dame de la Gare (1855–1864) and Notre-Dame de Clignancourt (1859–1863), tended to economize on outlays as an important element of social changes. These two parish churches appeared to show off their monumental presence despite their architects' desire to economize (Fig.2.).
Some of the reports presented in the Municipal Conseil\textsuperscript{2} indicated that the architects were obliged to find ways to save on construction costs, while at the same time developing an architecture that would confer monumental features on the Catholic religion. It was therefore evident that the architects were being placed in a difficult and contradictory position.

4.2 The Church of Sainte-Clotilde, a cathedral à la française

By the time the Cathedral of Marseille was about to be recognized as a new stylistic church architecture project, the decisions made by F.-C. Gau on the Neo-gothic style of the Church of Sainte-Clotilde (1846–1857) constituted the first incident to provoke a polemic on the pastiche of the past with respect to the appropriateness of its style\textsuperscript{33} between the bureaucratic control of the administration and the Industrialists. Among the contributions to the controversial debate, the argument made by Raoul-Rochette was the one that most compellingly addressed the problem of the pastiche of the past. He demonstrated his appreciation of Gothic style in a nuanced manner, and declared that Gothic churches captivated the highest degree of religious sentiment and generated a sublime effect which, despite their "detached and severe reason,"\textsuperscript{34} aspired to taste and sentiment. On the other hand, he criticised Antique architecture based on the idea that art should be closely related to the formal language of its time. By focusing on the lack of suitability, this statement highlighted the discordance between changing social conditions and the resuscitation of an art that did not belong to the present. Subsequently, the general condemnation of the Gothic style made it difficult to retain the coherence of academic doctrine and the supremacy of Antiquity. Meanwhile, Montalembert's viewpoint\textsuperscript{35} on church style summarized all the problems of the Church of Ste-Clotilde. According to Montalembert, it lacked a unity between art and religion: the idea of pastiche when conceptualizing a church design could only become legitimized and natural if such a unity was achieved. The decision of the Commission des Monuments Historiques in 1846\textsuperscript{36} to approve the style of the Church appeared to distort Montalembert's argument. It gave priority to the idea of pastiche which was more sensitive to the adaptation of symbols and signs\textsuperscript{37} of the languages of Gothic architecture. Therefore, the decision was appropriate with regard to the political implication and presence of the Catholic religion, while less so for religious style in church architecture.

The Church of Ste-Clotilde may be interpreted in two ways. First, it can be described as showcasing archeological features from medieval art. At the same time, it revealed an eclecticism stimulated by the desire to exhibit its own style and the refusal of the servile pastiche of the past. Second, the conceptualization of the church should be understood as a gesture, or a symbolic event which reflects the social and political change of the era, while celebrating the progress of scientific research on the resuscitated supremacy of Gothic art. The Church of Ste-Clotilde, therefore, flaunted its architectural type as the perfect embodiment of the cathedral à la française. Slightly straying from the debate over style and suitableness, its style was derived from the remarkable social changes and predominant political objectives acknowledged at the beginning of the Second Empire.

Social and political objectives affected not only its style but also the development of the site and its surroundings. Through the recommendation of the Commission, a new urban square, as a symbolic, political heart in the newly developed arrondissement, was created; this square established a hierarchical spatial relationship with the church. This resulted in the redevelopment of the existing urban fabric and the cleaning up of the surrounding area adjacent to the church. The main façade, with its two towers flanking the entrance, was built facing the parcel reserved for the Square Ste-Clotilde, where the contrast between the verticality of the façade and the horizontality of the greenery space could be shown (Fig.3). However, despite this urban, political gesture observed during its construction, the building itself was criticised for not having been successfully integrated into the existing neighborhoods. Such integration would become one of the essential characteristics of a number of Parisian parish churches built during the Second Empire.

4.3 The Church of Saint-Augustin, a basilica à la française

In the construction of the Church of Saint-Augustin (1860–1871) not only to address the drive to economise, but also to meet the structural, aesthetic and social needs of the building, Victor Baltard\textsuperscript{38} utilized cast-iron: a material with which he was familiar, having used it in the design of Les Halles. He had to respond to the need to accommodate the participation of increased numbers of worshipers which resulted from the restoration of the Catholic religion. However, it was not a purposive interest in new material that made the church so special and created the sense of glorification that Baltard sought. It was the trapezoidal shape of the site that forced him to find a workable way to create huge vaults without buttresses which would overwhelm and inspire worshipers. The form of the
site did not suit the inclusion of three naves; the church had to be built around one big nave (Fig.4.).

Then it is clear that the architect wished to construct in Paris a grandiose building that demonstrated a culmination of a synthesis of historical references and current artistic trends. Baltard wanted to create a work of art adapted to the *ilot parisien*, which was generated by Haussmann's urban politics, and isolated from surrounding buildings (Fig.4.). In this context, the dome was constructed as part of the overall reflection of monumental architecture, a construction that respected the logic of communication that exists between the interior and the exterior space. The use of a new material as part of this reinterpretation, as created by the dome, was a fitting response to Haussmann's new Parisian urban works, a "necessary" part of the Second Empire.

Was Baltard's ultimate hope to construct an ideal image for church architecture, one that could match that of the Cathedral of Florence, St-Peter's Basilica of Rome, or Soufflot's basilica of Sainte-Geneviève? Constructed in the conjuncture of political contexts between the state and a rehabilitation of the Catholic religion, Baltard believed that the structure of St-Augustin should function as a prototype for grand religious assemblage. As a prototype adapted to the *ilot parisien* and the meaning of pilgrim activity represented by the monumental exterior and the significance of liturgical activity in the interior, the Church of St-Augustin truly represents a new face of church architecture, a basilica à la française. It is therefore certain that Baltard was keen to emphasize that the architecture of Saint-Augustin responded to the social and functional aspects of the church.

4.4 The rise of new urban intentions implied in Parisian church architecture

The examination of churches conducted thus far has highlighted a number of conflicts that existed between the social reality and the architectural ideology of the Second Empire. During this time, the innovative designs required by the new era complicated matters. Complications arose from the architects' preoccupations, including the use of domes, bell-towers, tall spires as political and urban symbols, and the adaptation of the traditional notion of church architecture to the urban blocks and to the *ilot parisien*. This influenced the development of nineteenth-century Parisian parish churches, with regard to new utilitarian intentions and city modernization.

Most Parisian parish churches, embedded as they were in the urban blocks and in the *ilot parisien*, responded in their own way to various urban questions. First, the creation of new parish churches led to the redevelopment and the cleaning up of the areas surrounding the churches, so that new relationships could be established between the church and the neighboring urban fabric. They also promoted the development of many public squares and green spaces, enthusiastically recommended by Haussmann. Second, the churches that occupied an entire existing urban block or an entire *ilot parisien*, became isolated from...
the surrounding areas. The Church of St-Augustin is one of the clearest examples of this kind. This would be considered by both the bishop and the Commission, an "ideal" image for the monumental type. The final category is the insertion of the churches in the existing urban blocks and the îlot parisien which is regarded as more habitual in the churches of the twentieth century.

In the first two categories of urban questions, a mise en scène of a theatrical effect is the most commonly demonstrated. As discussed earlier in this article, this element results from the renewal of liturgy which was treated as having prime importance in the formation of church architecture. A dynamic progression toward the main façade of the church, aimed to appeal to the emotion of spectators, was followed by theatrical actions in the interior along the principal nave. In this mise en scène, the significance would be attributed to the sanctuary at the height of the liturgical movement. Many scholars published didactic works on liturgy, including the priest Auber's work, thus demonstrating the significance of liturgy in the nineteenth century. Auber insisted that it could be compared with dramatic scenes, since the Mass itself could be characterized as a sacred drama. The establishment of public squares and parks in front of, behind, or adjacent to the parish churches in each arrondissement of Paris may be understood from two perspectives. These public spaces may be perceived as either transitional spaces on the threshold of churches, or as public spaces. The latter create "a sense of place," especially when located alongside the major tree-lined broad thoroughfares flanked by an equal height of Parisian housings or placed within the new street network at the end of street axes or junctions. From both viewpoints, the construction of the Parisian parish churches, along with various forms of public squares and parks, completed the existing urban blocks and the îlot parisien, giving the units new identities. The churches were not totally isolated, but rather integrated into the surrounding city fabric. The creation of "a sense of place" was formed in enclosed public spaces, for which any particular dogmatic rule such as orthogonality or symmetry was not a primary design concern. This urban design approach, oscillating as it did between the picturesque and the pragmatic, would somehow reflect the ambivalent faces of social change in this era.

The church that clearly shows this is the Church of Sainte-Trinité by Théodore Ballu. The Rue de Chateaudun, headed toward the church, was closed by the façade that faced the Square de la Trinité (Fig.5). With this construction, a grand view emerged with a building of inspiring monumental dimensions creating a theatrical phenomenon. At the end of the street, two curvilinear pedestrian roads, leading laterally toward the main porch, allowed the public a moment to appreciate the square and the surroundings. The sumptuous decoration of the main façade became an essential part of the general disposition of the square, thus becoming an extension of the square. It should be noted that, while climbing up the pedestrian roads, the public allowed themselves to see and to be seen. The events taking place in the exterior space of the church would affirm both the social aspects associated with pilgrimage and the framework of the mundane nature of the church of the Second Empire in Paris, a city of flânerie and circulation, or as J. Gaillard put it, a city in transition from "introverted" to "extroverted". This aspect is well reflected in the design of the Church of Notre-Dame de la Croix de Ménilmontant. The church consists of a vast perron elevated by more than forty steps and has a close axial relationship with Rue Etienne Dolet, which heads toward the church. As in the Church of Sainte-Trinite, this certainly helped transform the identity of the previously banal street upon which the worshipers would practise their ritual pilgrimage activity by approaching the elevated monumental Roman style bell-tower of the church (Fig.6.).

5. Conclusion

French historian A. Picon indicated in his article that the problematic characteristics of nineteenth-century church architecture appeared to bear a certain resemblance to the image of "the angel of history" that W. Benjamin saw in P. Klee's drawing, Angelus Novus. The momentum of the nineteenth-century church architecture, Picon insisted, carried it into the future before it had a chance to define the past. In this sense, the Parisian parish churches of the Second Empire are sometimes referred to as "a stray hair in the soup"; that is to say, the construction of the era's church

Fig.5. Church of Sainte-Trinite, Rue de Chateaudun, Plan, the Square de la Trinité, Sources: Photo by the Author & Inventaire Général des Oeuvres D'art Appartenant à la Ville Paris & Alphand, A. (1867-1873) Les Promenades de Paris

Fig.6. Church of N-D de la Croix de Ménilmontant, Rue Etienne Dolet, Plan, Perron before Facade, Sources: Photo by the Author & Inventaire Général des Oeuvres d’art Appartenant à la Ville Paris & Paris, Monuments Élevés par la Ville 1850-1880
architecture was poorly timed. In fact, some Parisian parish churches interpreted in terms of social forces could be classified using this French metaphor. Social values for the development of Parisian parish churches evolved as primary generators of a new architectural space and type. Other Parisian churches led to a transparent rendering of signs, complex spaces, social events, and actions in such a way that a visit to these churches would be understood as a journey to a staged experience in Paris. The physical appearance of these churches gave way to the evolution of architectural meaning in close relation to society. The various objectives relating to new social settings lay behind their spatial organizations and planning principles. In this context, the emergent social sciences mediated the two cultures of science and religion and became involved in the architectural debates of the era.

In short, the Parisian parish churches of the Second Empire earned a new identity according to social values, and not because of their abstract form. It is essential, therefore, to understand the development of the era’s church architecture in terms of an evolving human society: the abstract inner principles within political, economic and social change had a greater influence than its specific external forms in terms of doctrines of identifiable styles. This notion recapitulates the nineteenth-century Saint-Simonians’ belief that architecture should be the genuine writing of the people, and that “human civilization could be the most developed with architecture which embodied the highest spiritual aspirations of the society, serving as a focal point of its social and intellectual life”43.

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19) Leniaud, J.-M. (2007) La Révolution des signes: L’art à l’église (1830-1930). Paris. (1930) Les Editions du Cerf, 153; Paradoxical as it may sound, France invoked the possibility of destroying one of the greatest French monuments, the Cathedral of Notre-Dame of Paris.
20) Leniaud, J.-M. (1993) Les Cathédrales au XIXe siècle, 11-12: As Victor Hugo described the cathedral Notre-Dame de Paris as "vast symphonies of stone" and depicted it as a visual and social focus of traditional city, the cathedral à la française in the 19th century was a "work of total art", conjugating toward an ultimate unique efforts of architecture filled with paintings, sculptures, decorative arts.
21) Ibid, 15: The Neo-gothic formulas in architecture did not only promote a desire for the unity of the Church for the Pope, but also the aggressive nationalism and the people divided in Europe.
22) Ibid, 508.
23) Bergdoll, B. (1994) Léon Vaudoyer, Historicism in the age of industry. Cambridge: The MIT Press, 211.
24) Leniaud, J.-M. Op. Cit. 494, 507.
25) Zanten, D. V. (1979) Designing Paris. Cambridge: The MIT Press, pp.137-175.
26) Leroux, P. and Reynaud, J. (1836) "Basilique" in Encyclopédie nouvelle. (2) 470.
27) Bergdoll, B. (1994) Léon Vaudoyer, Historicism in the age of industry. Cambridge: The MIT Press, pp.207-230.
28) Viollet-le-Duc indicated that France has two types of climate: the northern England type and the southern, Mediterranean climate. He insisted that the architectural system applied in the Cathedral of Marseille was perfectly suitable for the climate and the materials of Marseille. Archives Nationales, Paris: F/19/7740, Comité des Inspecteurs Généraux des édifices diocésains, meeting May 1855.
29) Leniaud, J.-M. (2007) La Révolution des signes: L’art à l’église (1830-1930). Paris: Les Editions du Cerf, pp.179-190.
30) Ibid., The construction of basilica could be emancipated from the rigid control by the judicial law of the Concordat, which acknowledged no other place of the cult but the cathedral, the parish church, the chapel. The Adm. of the Cults and the service of the Diocesan Buildings did not accord either the architectural control of projects for basilica or the program. This context made possible the divers buildings in terms of style and the installation of new program.
31) Notably, the basilicas of Notre-Dame de la Fourvrière in Lyon (1870-1890), Notre-Dame de la Garde in Marseille (1853-1870), and the Sacré Coeur de Montmartre in Paris (1875-1914).
32) Archives de Paris, V1M31, notes on the church of Cîlignacourt, the report presented in Municipal Conseil by Felix Duban in 1867.
33) The project presented at the Conseil des Bâtiments civils in 1840 failed to be accepted until March 1846 due to its problematic style.
34) Raoul-Rochette, D. and Viollet-le-Duc, E. Op. cit., 327.
35) Montalembert, C. de. (1837) De l’état actuel de l’art religieux avant et depuis le christianisme. Paris: 176; The Church of Ste-Clotilde lacked a unity between art and religion, he said, which should be constituted from "the liberty with the order and the variety within the unity."
36) Archives Nationales, Paris: F*21/2542/10.
37) Blanchot, A. (1857) "Un pastiche de style ogival à Paris, église Sainte-Clotilde" in Revue de l’art chrétien, (1), pp.434-447.
38) Delaborde, P. (1874) "Architecte contemporaine, Victor Baltard" in Gazette des Beaux-Arts, (9).
39) See Ettin, R. (1980) "Grandeur et décadence d'un modèle: l'église Sainte-Geneviève et les changements de valeur esthétique au XVIIe siècle" in Soufflot et l’arch. des lumières. Paris: pp.26-37.
40) Charles-Auguste Aubier (1871) Histoire et théorie du symbolisme religieux avant et depuis le christianisme. Paris: (4), p.196.
41) Guillard, J. (1976) Paris, la ville, 1852-1870. Paris: H. Champion.
42) Picon, A. (2006) L’Architecture religieuse au XIXe siècle, entre éclectisme et rationalisme. Paris: PUPS, pp.187-193.
43) Bergdoll, B. (2000) European Architecture, 1750-1890. Oxford: Oxford U. Press, 179.