

## “Emancipation” for a Select Few

### Viollet-le-Duc’s Three-Phase Model for the Musée de Sculpture comparée in the Parisian Palais du Trocadéro

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#### ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Das *Musée de Sculpture Comparée* wurde 1882 im Pariser Palais du Trocadéro eröffnet, in einer Zeit, in der das Bewusstsein für die Vielfalt der verschiedenen Kulturen nicht mehr nur auf Gruppen wie die französischen Fernreisenden beschränkt war. Dieses Bewusstsein war auch vor Ort in Paris präsent – zum Beispiel durch die Weltausstellungen. Bei der Weltausstellung 1878 im Palais du Trocadéro wurde diskutiert, ob die Ausstellungsinszenierung als kunsthistorisch oder ethnographisch zu bezeichnen sei. Vor diesem Hintergrund verfasste Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc (1814–1879), Mitglied und Inspektor der *Commission des Monuments Historiques*, 1879 zwei Berichte, die für die posthume Umsetzung seines Museumskonzepts entscheidend waren.

In diesem Beitrag wird das Drei-Phasen-Modell der Klassifizierung des Museums untersucht, das auf einem globalisierten Ansatz beruhte. Viollet-le-Duc verknüpfte die einzelnen Phasen mit Regierungsformen und bezog sich hierbei auf ein Zitat von Victor Hugo aus dem Roman *Notre-Dame de Paris* (1832): „Jede Zivilisation beginnt mit der Theokratie und endet mit der Demokratie“. Gleichzeitig nahm Viollet-le-Duc in jeder Phase Exklusionen vor, so dass zum Schluss nur die griechische Klassik und die Kunstwerke des französischen 13. Jahrhunderts als Meisterwerke erscheinen. Es wird erläutert, wie Viollet-le-Duc unter Rückgriff auf die Überlieferung deutscher Autoren, ein Modell konstruierte, das die Demokratie als höchste Regierungsform verdeutlicht, diese aber nur für Personen und Artefakte aus bestimmten europäischen Regionen vorbehält.

#### ABSTRACT

The *Musée de Sculpture comparée* opened in Paris’s *Palais du Trocadéro* in 1882, during an era when awareness of the diversity of various cultures was no longer limited to groups such as French long-distance travellers. This awareness was present on site in Paris – for instance, as a result of the World’s Fairs. Discussion of the 1878 *Exposition Universelle* (World’s Fair), held at the *Palais du Trocadéro* concerned whether the display of objects should be described as art-historical or ethnographic. In 1879, against this background, Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc (1814–1879), member and inspector of the *Commission des Monuments historiques*, wrote his two *Rapports*, which were crucial for the posthumous implementation of his museum concept by a sub-commission of the *Commission des Monuments historiques*.

This paper explores the museum’s three-phase classification system, which relied on a global approach. Viollet-le-Duc linked the different phases with forms of government, referring to Victor Hugo’s quote from the novel “*Notre-Dame de Paris*” (1832): “Every civilisation begins with theocracy and ends with democracy.” At the same time, Viollet-le-Duc made exclusions at every stage, so that in the end only Greek classical and French 13th-century artworks appear as masterpieces. I will explain how Viollet-le-Duc constructed a model, drawing upon the transmission of German authors, that depicted democracy as the highest form of government, but reserved it solely for individuals and artefacts from certain European regions.

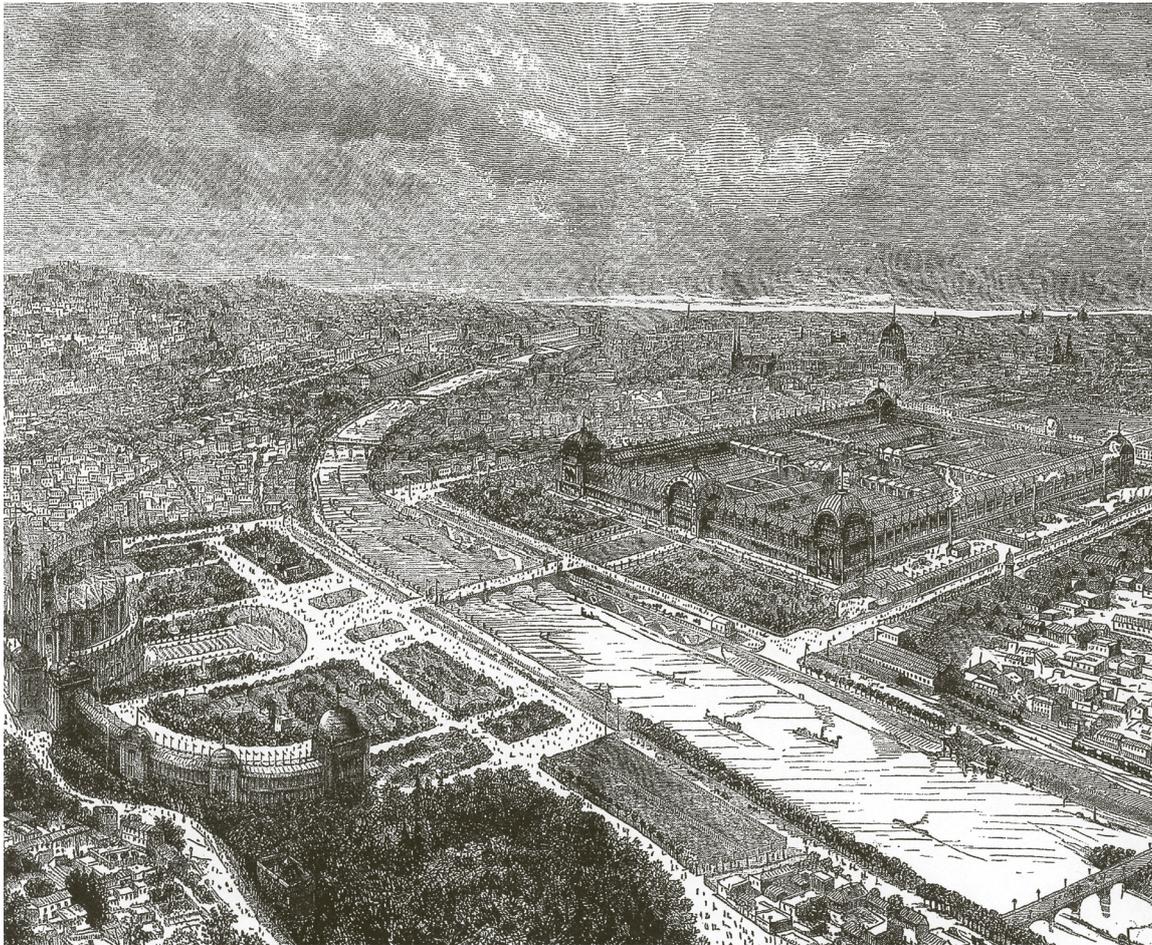


Fig. 1: World's Fair of Paris, Exposition Universelle, 1878, Exhibition surface, print.

### Introduction

In 1878, two years after the *Centennial International Exhibition* in Philadelphia, Paris hosted the third French World's Fair. Unlike the second Paris World's Fair of 1867, the site was no longer limited to the Champ de Mars, but extended across the river Seine onto the hill of the Trocadéro (Fig. 1).

The architect, writer, and restorer of medieval architecture, Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, contributed to selecting the site and supervised construction of the *Palais du Trocadéro*. The floor plan of a series of galleries, in the right wing of the *Palais du Trocadéro* served Viollet-le-Duc as the spatial basis for the concept of the *Musée de Sculpture comparée*. It was in July 1879, the last year of his life, in his *1er* and *2e Rapports*, that he conceived the concept.<sup>1</sup> In 1855, Viollet-le-Duc first attempted to implement a museum in Paris that would display plaster casts of works from the French Middle Ages. In this, he was inspired by London's Crystal Palace (1851) and South Kensington Museum (1852), which already displayed French casts.<sup>2</sup>

In May 1882, three years after Viollet-le-Duc's death, the *Musée de Sculpture comparée* was inaugurated in the right wing of the *Palais du Trocadéro* according to his written instructions. A month earlier, the *Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro*, a second museum in whose planning Viollet-le-Duc was involved,<sup>3</sup> opened in the peristyle and rotunda of the *Palais du Trocadéro*. Both museums were renamed in advance of the 1937 Paris World's Fair – the *Musée de Sculpture comparée* becoming the *Musée des Monuments français*; and the *Musée d'Ethnographie* was renamed the *Musée de l'Homme* (most of its collections are now housed in the *Musée du Quai Branly*). Viollet-le-Duc already did not want to see the collections classified as "ethnographic" in the same building.

As early as 1866, Viollet-le-Duc mentioned, in the article "Sculpture" in his *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française du XI<sup>e</sup> au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, the idea of a comparative museum concept highlighting 13th-century French sculpture.<sup>4</sup> As Viollet-le-Duc spent two months in England in 1850, it is probable that he was familiar with E. A. Freeman's *A Histo-*

ry of Architecture (1849), which is also based on a comparative concept.<sup>5</sup> In the following I will show how, in his first classification principle for the *Musée de Sculpture comparée* (1879), Viollet-le-Duc highlights the French art of the 13th century in a globalised approach as a master achievement. My aim is to explain how he categorises Greek classical art and French 13th-century artworks within a three-phase model as the “Epoque d’émancipation et de recherche du vrai” (“An epoch of emancipation and the search for truth”) (Fig. 2). At the same time, I will demonstrate how Viollet-le-Duc’s highlighting of 13th-century art is connected to the exclusion of large parts of the world’s population from a development in the arts.

Chez les peuples qui ont atteint un haut degré de civilisation, l'art de la sculpture se divise en 3 périodes:  
 Imitation de la nature suivant une interprétation plus ou moins délicate & intelligente.  
 Epoque archaïque pendant laquelle on prétend fixer les types. Epoque d'émancipation et de recherche du vrai dans le détail et perfectionnement des moyens d'observation & d'exécution.

Fig. 2: Viollet-le-Duc, 1er Rapport [1879], p. 3, Text extract. [Emphasis by S.M.]

### Derivations of the Three-Phase Model

Viollet-le-Duc structured his concept for the *Musée de Sculpture comparée* according to a periodisation that placed greater emphasis on collective developments in art rather than individual progress.<sup>6</sup> On one occasion he makes reference to the notion of *local genius*, and on another offers a more concrete interpretation of the term *genius*, linking it to a specific historical period.<sup>7</sup> Two interlocking strands of argumentation constitute the foundation of his three-phase model. Viollet-le-Duc’s approach was primarily informed by a preestablished sequence of state forms delineated by Victor Hugo (1802–1885) in the book chapter “*Ceci tuera cela*” (“This will kill that”) first published in the eighth and definitive edition of the novel “*Notre-Dame de Paris*” in 1831. In the article “*Sculpture*” in the *Dictionnaire raisonné*, Viollet-le-Duc refers directly to Hugo’s chapter, which considers the media upheaval between architecture and the book.<sup>8</sup> As Martin Bressani has claimed, Hugo’s *Ceci tuera cela* was, to a great extent, an attempt at defining the structure and rhythm of a universal history of architecture. Hugo states: “Every civilisation

begins with theocracy and ends with democracy.”<sup>9</sup> This wording can also be found with reference to Hugo in the lexical entry “*Civilisation*” in the 1869 *Grand dictionnaire universel du XIXe siècle*.<sup>10</sup> Hugo originally assumed three chronologies in *Ceci tuera cela*, which he then merged into a dual system of juxtapositions: “[...] you will find in the three elder sisters, Hindu, Egyptian, and Romanesque architecture, the same symbol: namely theocracy, caste, unity, dogma, myth, God; and in the three younger sisters, Phoenician, Greek, and Gothic architecture, whatever diversity of form may be inherent in their nature, there is also the same significance: freedom, the people, man.”<sup>11</sup> Similar comments can be found in an 1831 report by the first *Inspecteur général des monuments historiques*, Ludovic Vitet, who argues concerning Gothic art: “Its principle lies in emancipation, in freedom, in the spirit of association and community, in feelings that are entirely indigenous and entirely national; it is bourgeois and, what’s more, it is French, English, Teutonic, and so on.”<sup>12</sup>

Focusing solely on France, an analogy to this idea can be found in the article “*Architecture*” in the *Dictionnaire raisonné*: “We must not forget that French architecture was created in the midst of the conquered people in the face of their conquerors; it drew its inspiration from the heart of this indigenous faction, the most numerous of the nation; it fell into the hands of the laics as soon as the first attempts at emancipation were made; it was neither theocratic nor feudal.” This is initially about a laicist emancipation in a national context.<sup>13</sup>

Secondly, and this is directed by Viollet-le-Duc towards a globalised framework, he constructed imaginary communities, which he summarised under the term “race”. In France, the term “race” was initially applied within an aristocratic context, referring to the genealogical tree of noble families.<sup>14</sup> Around 1684, François Bernier introduced the term into a discourse of natural sciences.<sup>15</sup> In his construction of imaginary communities, Viollet-le-Duc relied partly on the book *Le Règne Animal* (1817) written by Georges Cuvier, and partly on Arthur de Gobineau, with whom he corresponded between 1861 and 1871,<sup>16</sup> and who must be considered a key exponent of the ideology of racial thought.<sup>17</sup> At the core, as with these two writers, Viollet-le-Duc distinguished three large “human races” (“*racés humaines*”), ascribing immutable traits to them. Unlike François Bernier, Viollet-le-Duc attributed a hierarchical system to his accumulation of “races,” the lowest rank of which

should fill out a Black race (“*race noire*”) and the uppermost rank a White race (“*race blanche*”):

“This, the aryan race [sic!], the white race by excellence, is provided with warrior instincts; it gives birth to heroes; it dominates, it rules; it establishes the first religions, it regulates their worship; it despises manual work and forms societies consisting of shepherds and warriors, with patriarchy as the principle of any government. This other, the yellow race, the largest perhaps on our planet, is industrious, engaged in business, calculating, agriculture, manual work; it is skilled in metalworking; it lends itself easily to any work, provided it catches a glimpse of a purely material well-being; devoid of high aspirations, of philosophical foundation, with little concern for the unknown, it remains calm during the day in hand, thanks to its work and its industry, raised to a fair social order. The third, the black race, is ardent, violent, recognises no other power than physical force, superstitious, guided by its physical needs or by its mobile and disordered imagination.”<sup>18</sup>

Against the background of these racist stereotypes, which were widespread in Europe during the 19th century, Viollet-le-Duc imposed decisive evaluative attributes on the human combinations he created. Domination and subjugation are hereby argumentations originating from the Enlightenment, as reflected in the characterisation of the “*race blanche*” (“it rules”) and the “*race noire*” (“recognises no other power than physical force”). Contrary to the equality claim of Enlightenment philosophy, such arguments were applied to justify the enslavement of people.<sup>19</sup> Concerning Freeman, Alex Bremner notes that he does not use the word “*Aryan*” once in his “*History...*” but that the construct connected with the word, to which I will refer in the next paragraph, is also part of his thinking.<sup>20</sup> It is also striking that Viollet-le-Duc equates the White race with “patriarchy”. This can very likely be seen as part of the fixed ideological pattern in which the “White race” configures as male, and the “Black race” as female.<sup>21</sup>

Drawing on Cuvier, Viollet-le-Duc assumed that the ascribed personality traits are not to be considered as individual or changeable, but rather as genetically implied factors. Whereas Cuvier created a

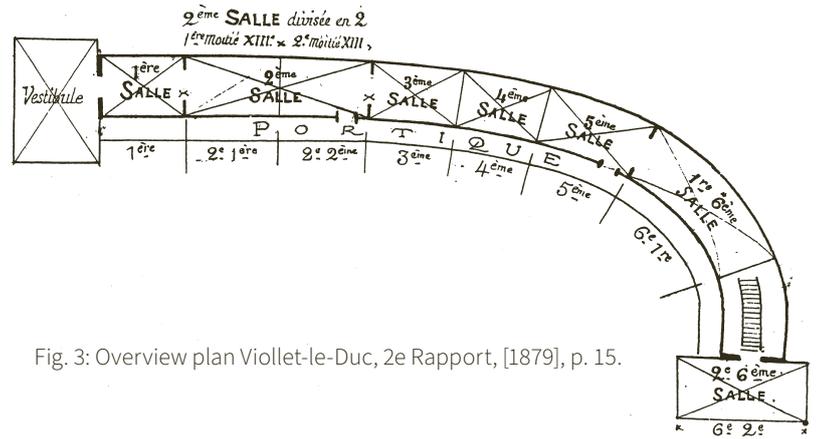


Fig. 3: Overview plan Viollet-le-Duc, 2e Rapport, [1879], p. 15.

background for Viollet-le-Duc’s biologicistic constructions, other sources inspired his orientation towards linguistic – Viollet-le-Duc applied the term “*aryane*” – assumptions. Sir William Jones (1746–1794) had, within the scope of his work for the Asiatic Society of Bengal, established foundations for recognising the relationship between the Indian (mainly Sanskrit) and the European languages. In his writings, we see a linguistic distinction between “Semites” on the one hand and “Persians and Indians” on the other. Jones regarded language as an essential criterion for the assessment of peoples,<sup>22</sup> a view followed particularly by German authors such as the Schlegel brothers and Herder. As Léon Poliakov has indicated, they laid the cornerstone for the myth of a supposedly superior “Aryan race”.<sup>23</sup> In his three-phase model, Viollet-le-Duc resorted to biological as well as linguistic constructions of “race”.

**“Imitation of Nature” – Exclusion**

Viollet-le-Duc’s classification of eras began with a phase of “imitation de la nature,” followed by an “*époque hiératique*,” and an “*époque d’émancipation*” that he described as the point of culmination. He omitted the “imitation de la nature” from the spatial implementation, as he did not assign any artistic status to the objects ascribed to this phase. The spatial design immediately begins in Room 1 with the second phase (Fig. 3). Room 2 was double the size of Room 1 and dedicated to the “*époque d’émancipation*”. In contrast, he described Rooms 3, 4, and 5 as eras of decadence. He planned only for Room 4 an exhibition of works originating from the Italian Renaissance. Finally, in Room 6, the three-phase model initially applied to “statues” was transferred to “ornamental sculptures”.

The fact that Viollet-le-Duc did not intend the phase of “imitation de la nature” for the spatial implementation does not indicate that to him it was

marginal. The basis of his historical narrative is found in the comments on this phase. We read at the start of the relevant paragraph: “In the most ancient monuments of history [...]”.<sup>24</sup> This formulation, however, is not meant to be the beginning of Viollet-le-Duc’s chronology. Instead, he put forward here: “[...] a kind of return to the earliest times,”<sup>25</sup> referring to a prehistoric era.<sup>26</sup> In a lecture at the Sorbonne, Viollet-le-Duc characterised the three “races” he had adopted through the attribution of dwellings that he considered original to them.<sup>27</sup> He described the “race noire” as the one least able to interfere with nature and which chose to inhabit caves. As a template for the dwellings of the “jaunes,” a beaver lodge would have served, hereby referring to the combination of various materials used. The “aryans,” however, would have intensively processed the nature they encountered from the start and built huts using wood.

Viollet-le-Duc described the sketched preliminaries of his lecture as: “presentation preceding historical times”.<sup>28</sup> The “imitation of nature” can be located during this epoch with regard to the allocation of different developmental abilities to different “races”. In his lecture, Viollet-le-Duc transferred a topos of historiography onto the “race noire” he had constructed. Here, he comments: “The first [meaning “the White race”] has a regular history, a series of more or less advanced civilisations, moments of surprising splendour.”<sup>29</sup> About the constructed “race noire,” Viollet-le-Duc stated: “[...] others are now what they were twenty centuries ago, and their contact with the civilisation of the European peoples has had no other result than communicating to them the needs and vices they were unaware of, without bringing them on the path of true progress.”<sup>30</sup> Viollet-le-Duc’s presentation comprises structures of the topos of ahistoricity as mainly transferred onto Africa.<sup>31</sup> Despite claiming to be writing the history of the world, an extra-historical existence was simultaneously attributed to a large part of the Earth’s population. The German philosopher Hegel commented with emphasis that: “[Africa] is no historical part of the world; it has no movement or development to exhibit. [...] What we properly understand by Africa is the unhistorical, undeveloped spirit, still involved in the conditions of mere nature, and which had to be presented here only as on the threshold of the World’s History. Having eliminated this introductory element, we find ourselves for the first time on the real theatre of History.”<sup>32</sup>

In his lecture at the *École des Beaux-arts* (1864) and presentation at the Sorbonne (1866), Viollet-le-Duc connected the outset of the history of art with the occurrence of a first form of government. He opined that only the “race blanche” was able to govern, in contrast to the “race nègre,” which was deprived – in his view – of being able to establish regulations.<sup>33</sup> Already at this point, Viollet-le-Duc excluded, among others, the largest part of Africa from the history of art.

### “Époque Hiératique” – Dialectical

In the comments on the first room, the limits of the northern space, he envisaged displaying: Egyptian, Assyrian, and subsequently early Greek sculpture.<sup>34</sup> The entire southern space was reserved for presenting works from the French Romanesque era. Due to their exhibition at the Louvre in 1827, ancient Egyptian objects (and, from 1847 onwards, Assyrian culture) had already been incorporated into the Western artistic canon.

Viollet-le-Duc linked the concept of the beginning of art history, which he situated geographically in Asia and explicitly in India, to the “époque hiératique.”<sup>35</sup> We are speaking of the myth of “a superior Aryan race,” as represented by the French linguist Ernest Renan in his writings.<sup>36</sup> Viollet-le-Duc described “la race aryane” as legitimising the hierarchical caste system of the Hindu religion. In his arthistorical considerations, he included views from *Du génie des Religions* by Edgar Quinet.<sup>37</sup> In the chapter “De la Renaissance orientale,” Quinet treated the discovery of Hindu manuscripts as equal to the discovery of the Iliad and the Odyssey. In many parts of Viollet-le-Duc’s lecture at the *École des Beaux-arts*, the Hindu religion shapes the narrative.

Viollet-le-Duc’s consideration of Indian art is, however, dialectical: As the alleged beginning of art history, it is given a special place. On the other hand, he did not admit to any artistic progression of such works. Under the term “peuples orientaux,” Viollet-le-Duc categorised the entire subcontinent as a conglomerate of divergent peoples at the stage of “époque hiératique”. The determinations for the “époque hiératique” are based on a model of history that rests on two factors: the properties attributed to the constructed “races” on the one hand, and their encounter on the other hand. Together, they form the argumentation framework of the “époque hiératique” as well as of the “époque d’émancipation”.

In his lecture at the Sorbonne, Viollet-le-Duc stated: "From the standpoint of art, two social conditions produce opposite results: the regime of upper caste art develops very quickly but takes a hieratic form; as to the regime struggles, which in the long run lead to mergers, art develops slowly, step by step, seeking its ways, but grows every day, reaching a point of culmination at which even it does not know how to stop, and rather than stay calm, loses the great and beautiful ways to fall in research."<sup>38</sup>

Viollet-le-Duc's descriptions link racial constructions to Victor Hugo's proposed succession of political systems. Theocracy acquires validity in the "époque hiératique". Viollet-le-Duc connects this in direct compliance with Hugo to the Hindu caste system. Different from his contemporaries Ludovic Vitet and Albert Lenoir, Viollet-le-Duc excluded any "oriental" influence on French art of the 13th century.<sup>39</sup> He marginalised, mainly through his scheme, all those peoples of a higher development in their artistic productions within the "époque d'émancipation", which he combined with an image of the "orient". The extent to which the idea of the "orient" could be stretched from a scientifically ambitious perspective in France at the time was explained by Victor Hugo's introductory sentences in the cycle of poems, *Les Orientales*: "We now have a scholar in every Oriental idiom, from China to Egypt."<sup>40</sup>

### For a Few – "Era of Emancipation"

Viollet-le-Duc planned Room 2 (Fig. 3) to be twice as large as Room 1, indicating that the second room marked the culmination of his three-phase model. Greek sculpture dating from the Classical Era was to be placed on an axis in the middle of the room,<sup>41</sup> whereas French art dating from the 13th century would be placed along the walls. On this occasion, Viollet-le-Duc differentiated between the French art of the first and the second halves of the 13th century, subdividing each into the regional manifestations of Ile-de-France, Champagne, Picardy, and Burgundy.

Viollet-le-Duc mentions the figure of the prophet on the left doorjamb of the west-central portal of the Reims Cathedral as an example from Champagne.<sup>42</sup> He saw a tangible resemblance between this figure and that of Mausolus from the ancient Greek city of Halicarnassus. In both the prophet from Reims and Mausolus from Halicarnassus, he presumed to

recognise individual portraits. Viollet-le-Duc thus dated the emergence of the personal portrait, usually linked to the Italian Renaissance, back to ancient Greece and 13th-century French art. He let it appear that the works of these two eras represented the culmination of art history.

As mentioned, the term "emancipation" can also be found in the writings of Vitet and in the article on "Architecture" in the *Dictionnaire raisonné*. The full term, "époque d'émancipation," also in relation to Gothic architecture, was previously used by Viollet-le-Duc in the 1859 article "Construction" from the *Dictionnaire raisonné*. In the manner of a recurring binational competition with England, Viollet-le-Duc writes: "Anglo-Norman buildings are generally executed with much greater care than our own; but to know one is to know them all: there is no evidence of the new, bold inspirations that tormented our architects in the early days of Gothic art, a veritable period of intellectual emancipation for the working classes of northern France."<sup>43</sup>

### Conclusion

Charles L. Davis II, who has also researched Viollet-le-Duc, has noted with regard to the USA that: "The romantic mythologies of the American frontier that underwrote the most popular definitions of American character in the nineteenth century almost exclusively focused upon clarifying the shifting boundaries of whiteness that were being pluralized by the democratic experiment."<sup>44</sup> At the same time, he also made it clear that this "pluralization" also goes hand in hand with a national demarcation to the world. Viollet-le-Duc locates himself within a bourgeois emancipation, which in part sets itself apart from the nobility.<sup>45</sup> In the *Histoire de l'habitation humaine* (1875), he omitted the female sex from the historiography of architecture – just as he had previously done through applying the term "patriarchy". The portraits in the various chapters can be read as male due to the growth of the beard. With regard to Hugo, Claude Millet noted that until 1850 his concept of democracy was close to the term "civilisation,"<sup>46</sup> which Hugo used to refer foremost to public instruction. Compared to Hugo, Viollet-le-Duc's concept of "civilisation" is located closer to that of "race," which leads him to the exclusions evident in his concept for the *Musée de Sculpture comparée*.<sup>47</sup>

## Figures

- 1 Marc Gaillard, Paris. Les Expositions universelles de 1855 à 1937, Paris 2003, p. 29.
- 2 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale des chartes. 4DEL008(5)
- 3 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale des chartes. 4DEL008(5)

## Endnotes

- 1 Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, *Musée de la sculpture comparée appartenant aux divers centres d'art et aux diverses époques*, Paris 1879a ; Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, *Musée de la Sculpture comparée*, 2<sup>e</sup> Rapport, Paris 1879b.
- 2 Susanne Mersmann, *Die Museen des Trocadéro. Viollet-le-Duc und der Kanondiskurs im Paris des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin 2012, p. 132–150.
- 3 Viollet-le-Duc wrote a report on the choice of an appropriate architecture for the ethnographic museum: Viollet-le-Duc, Rapport (lu dans la séance du 30 octobre 1878), fait au nom de la sous-commission de l'approbation d'un local pour le Musée ethnographique, in: Ernest-Théodore Hamy, *Les Origines du Musée d'Ethnographie*, Paris 1890. Reprint with preface by Nélia Dias. [= Les cahiers de Gradhiva; 7], Paris 1988, p. 295–302.
- 4 Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, Sculpture, in: *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française du XI<sup>e</sup> au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle. Vol. 8*, Paris 1866a, p. 96–276, here: p. 152–153. See Roland Recht, Le moulage et la naissance de l'histoire de l'art, in: Caecilia Pieri (Ed.), *Le Musée de Sculpture comparée. Naissance de l'histoire de l'art moderne*, Paris 2001, p. 46–53.
- 5 See Geneviève Viollet-le-Duc, Chronologie, in: Bruno Foucart (Ed.), *Viollet-le-Duc*, Exhibition Catalog Grand Palais, Paris 1980, p. 381–387, p. 383; Concerning Freeman, see Irene Cheng, Charles L. Davis II, and Mabel O. Wilson, *Race and Modern Architecture. A Critical History from the Enlightenment to the Present*, Pittsburgh 2020, p. 7.
- 6 During the time of Viollet-le-Duc, Auguste Comte's law of three stages assumes greater significance.
- 7 Viollet-le-Duc 1866a (See note 4), p. 190, p. 176; See the term “genius” with regard to Viollet-le-Duc's contemporary, Daniel Ramée: Martin Bressani and Aniel Guxholli, Quest for a Culprit: Daniel Ramée's ‘Histoire Générale de l'architecture’ (1843, 1860–1862), in: Petra Brouwer, Martin Bressani, and Christopher Drew (Ed.), *Narrating the Globe. The Emergence of World Histories of Architecture*, London 2023, p. 222–223.
- 8 Mersmann 2012 (See note 2), p. 151; Laurent Baridon, *L'imaginaire scientifique de Viollet-le-Duc*, Paris 1996, p. 166 and p. 270.
- 9 Victor Hugo, *Notre-Dame de Paris* (1832), in: Victor Hugo: *Ceuvres complètes, Roman, III*, Paris 1880, p. 195.
- 10 Anon., Civilisation, in: *Grand dictionnaire universel du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle français, historique géographique, mythologique, bibliographique, littéraire, artistique, scientifique*, etc., par Pierre Larousse. 15 vol. + Suppléments, Paris 1866–1890; Vol. 4 1869, p. 366–372, p. 366.
- 11 Victor Hugo, *Notre-Dame de Paris* (a new translation by Alban Kraillsheimer), New York 1993, p. 198.
- 12 See Ludovic Vitet, *Les monuments historiques du Nord-Ouest de la France*, in: Vitet, *Etudes sur l'histoire de l'Art*, Sér. 2. Moyen-Âge, Paris, 1864. p. 327–380, p. 153; With regard to “freedom” and identity politics, with a focus on the US and France, see Tyler Stovall, *White Freedom. The Racial History of an Idea*, Princeton 2021, p. 1.
- 13 See Georg Germann, *Neugotik. Geschichte ihrer Architekturtheorie*, Stuttgart 1972, p. 76 and Sabine Augath, *Jan van Eycks ‘Ars Mystica’*, Paderborn/München 2007, p. 18; Bérénice Gaussuin, The Cathedral of Citizenship. Race and National Identity in Eugène Viollet-le-Duc's Work and Discourse, in: Dragan Damjanović and Aleksander Łupienko (Ed.), *Forging Architectural Tradition. National Narratives, Monument Preservation and Architectural Work in the Nineteenth Century*, New York 2022, p. 21–42, here: p. 23 makes it clear that the article on “city hall” in the *Dictionnaire raisonné* is considerably shorter than the one on “cathedral”, whereby she concludes that the reason is the small number of surviving buildings from the Middle Ages in comparison to Belgium and Germany.
- 14 Claude Blanckaert, Les conditions d'émergence de la science des races au début du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, in: Sarga Moussa (Ed.), *L'idée de «race» dans les sciences humaines et la littérature. (XVIII<sup>e</sup>–XIX<sup>e</sup> siècles)*, Paris 2003, p. 133–149, p. 136.
- 15 Claude Liauzu, *Race et civilisation. L'autre dans la culture occidentale*, Paris 1992, p. 205–210.
- 16 Baridon 1996 (See note 8), p. 43, p. 77.
- 17 See Markus Messling, Von der Adelsranküne zur Rassentheorie: Gobineaus Sprach- und Kulturanthropologie, in: Philipp Krämer, Markus A. Lenz, and Markus Messling (Ed.), *Rassedenken in der Sprach- und Textreflexion. Kommentierte Grundlagentexte des langen 19. Jahrhunderts*, Paderborn 2015, p. 189–209.
- 18 Viollet-le-Duc 1866a (See note 4), p. 99.
- 19 See e.g., Johannes Zerger, *Was ist Rassismus? Eine Einführung*, Göttingen 1997, p. 23–24; Mersmann 2012 (See note 2), p. 156; Gaussuin 2022 (See note 13), p. 25–26.
- 20 According to G. Alex Bremner, An Aryan Descent. Race, Religion, and Universal Civilization in E. A. Freeman's “A History of Architecture” (1849), in: Brouwer, Bressani and Armstrong 2023 (See note 7), p. 277–293, p. 285. The term was not used in England until the late 1850s.
- 21 See, for example, Fotini Assimacopoulou, *Gobineau et la Grèce*, Frankfurt am Main 1999, p. 110.
- 22 See Tony Ballantyne, *Orientalism and Race. Aryanism in the British Empire* [Cambridge Imperial and Post-Colonial Studies Series], Basingstoke/New York 2002, p. 26–30; Pascale Rabault-Ferhahn, Ernest Renans “Laboratorium der Philologie”. Rassebegriff und liberaler Anspruch, in: Krämer, Lenz, and Messling 2015 (See note 17), p. 276 furthermore underlines the importance of Johann Gottfried Eichhorn and Franz Bopp with regard to comparative linguistics in the period.

- 23 Léon Poliakov, *Der arische Mythos, Zu den Quellen von Rassismus und Nationalismus*, in: (Ed.), Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung [translated from French (1971) by Margarete Venjakob], Hamburg 1993, p. 213, p. 218–219.
- 24 Émile Alglave [transcript writer], in: Esthétique appliquée à l’histoire de l’art. Cours de M. Viollet-le-Duc, Reprint, in: Geneviève Viollet-le-Duc (Ed.), *Esthétique appliquée à l’histoire de l’art*, Paris (1864) 1994, p. 15.
- 25 Ibid., p. 13–14.
- 26 On the concept of prehistory, see Cécile Debry, Rémi Labrusse, and Maria Stavrinaki (Ed.), *Préhistoire. Une énigme moderne* (exhibition catalog Paris, Centre Pompidou 2019), Paris 2019.
- 27 See: Mersmann 2012 (See note 2), p. 160; Gaussuin 2022 (See note 13), p. 26; and Susanne Mersmann, Gothic and Greek Art in a Globalized Scheme by Viollet-le-Duc in His Instructions for the Musées du Trocadéro in Paris, in: Romuald Kaczmarek and Agata Kubala (Ed.), *The Greek and Gothic Revivals in Europe 1750–1850* [Architectural Crossroads, 12], Turnhout 2024, p. 191.
- 28 Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, De l’architecture dans ses rapports avec l’histoire. Conférence à la Sorbonne. Du 4 février 1867 [sic!], in: *Gazette des Architectes et du Bâtiment*, 1866b. No. 23, p. 353–364, p. 354.
- 29 Alglave (1864) 1994 (See note 24), p. 15.
- 30 Ibid.
- 31 See for example Arno Sonderegger, Jenseits der rassistischen Grenze: *Die Wahrnehmung Afrikas bei Johann Gottfried Herder im Spiegel seiner Philosophie der Geschichte (und der „Geschichten“ anderer „Philosophen“)*, Frankfurt 2002, p. 156–163. See also Charles L. Davis II, Campfires in the Salon. Viollet-le-Duc and the Modernization of the Aryan Hut, in: Charles L. Davis, *Building Character. The Racial Politics of Modern Architectural Style*, Pittsburgh 2019, p. 49, who refers to the fact that Viollet-le-Duc omits Black figures from the “*Histoire de l’habitation humaine*” 1876, because he does not attribute any historical advancement to them.
- 32 G. W. F. Hegel, *Lectures on the Philosophy of History*. Transl. from the third German edition by J. Sibree. London 1857, p. 103–104. See an analogous concept by Victor Cousin in Susanne Mersmann, “... les yeux fixés du côté de l’orient” Des prémices de la conception du Musée de Sculpture comparée d’après Viollet-le-Duc, Heidelberg 2024, p. 10, [https://archiv.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/artdok/9362/1/Mersmann\\_les\\_yeux\\_2024.pdf](https://archiv.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/artdok/9362/1/Mersmann_les_yeux_2024.pdf).
- 33 Viollet-le-Duc 1866a (See note 4), p. 99.
- 34 Viollet-le-Duc 1879b (See note 1), p. 4.
- 35 See Alglave (1864) 1994 (See note 24), p. 15–16; Viollet-le-Duc 1866b (See note 28), p. 353–364, p. 353–354.
- 36 See in a balanced argumentation Rabault-Feuerhahn 2015 (See note 22).
- 37 See Mersmann 2012 (See note 2), p. 166–171.
- 38 Viollet-le-Duc 1866b (See note 28), p. 354.
- 39 See Martin Bressani, *Architecture and the Historical Imagination. Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, 1814–1879*, Farnham 2014, p. 180. See in contrast the INHA’s series of events “*Abstractions en période médiévale*,” which in the moment also examines shared developments.
- 40 Victor Hugo, Les Orientales (1829), in: Hugo: *Oeuvres complètes de Victor Hugo. Poésie II*, Paris 1882, p. (3)–247, p. 7.
- 41 Viollet-le-Duc 1879b (See note 1), p. 2.
- 42 Viollet-le-Duc 1866a (See note 4), p. 152; Mersmann 2012 (See note 2), p. 177.
- 43 Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, Construction, in: *Dictionnaire raisonné de l’architecture française du XIe au XVIe siècle*, vol. 4, Paris 1859, p. 1–279, p. 125–126.
- 44 Davis 2019 (See note 31), p. 6
- 45 Bressani 2014 (See note 39), p. 133 and p. 194 notes how Viollet-le-Duc also divides French society into three classes and counts himself among the bourgeoisie.
- 46 Claude Millet, Démocratie, in: Claude Millet and David Charles (Ed.), *Dictionnaire Victor Hugo*, Paris 2023, p. 263–265, p. 263.
- 47 See for example also the entry “Civilisation” in the Bescherelle from 1856: “Civilisation ... Aptitudes of the divers races of mankind to civilisation.” Mersmann 2012 (See note 2), p. 150. It is sometimes expressed that there was no exchange in the 19th century, but there were also contact zones in addition to the World’s Fairs. Gaspard Félix Tournachon, known as Nadar, made a portrait photograph of Viollet-le-Duc in January 1878. See, e.g., Mersmann 2012 (See note 2), p. 101. Denis Murrell, *Posing Modernity. The Black Model from Manet and Matisse to Today* (exhibition catalogue Wallach Art Gallery, New York), New Haven/London 2018, has dealt with Nadar’s photographs among others of Black Parisiens. See Adrienne L. Childs, Exhibition Review of Le Modèle noir de Géricault à Matisse, in: *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide*, 18 (2019), No. 2, <https://www.19thc-art-worldwide.org/autumn19/childs-reviews-le-modele-noir-de-gericault-a-matisse> (23 April 2025).