

MITOCW | 9. Transformations II: Paris

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JULIAN Let me go through the second set of papers with you, which deal with today's class. On the first page, is a diagram, two diagrams of Paris.

If London-- what are the major features of London that we discussed on Tuesday? The rights of citizens to control their own land. Because they [INAUDIBLE] through the reign of Charles II. Secondly, the decision to make transportation, public transportation, a fundamental aspect of the organization of the city leading to, amongst others, to lower density. Thirdly, the presence of the aristocracy in the center of the city, subdividing to take care of a rising middle-income middle class.

The rest are details. The fire and the plague, just disasters which brought about certain fundamental changes such as the imposition of the new sewage system.

Paris is a very different city. You've all been to Paris, so you know what I'm talking about, I hope. For reasons which are not clear to me, in the 18th century already, in 1750, there was a competition held by Louis XV, who was already safely ensconced in Versailles, 18 miles from the center of Paris.

This is not a place to eat. I'm sorry, Michaela. It's difficult to have classes at lunchtime, but--

STUDENT: Sorry.

JULIAN It's OK. Is it cold or hot?

BEINART:

STUDENT: Cold.

JULIAN Oh, so it'll last.

BEINART:

There was a competition to make the center of Paris resemble Versailles. It was won by a man called Patte, P-A-T-T-E. And I will show the plan. The elements of the plan establish a number of fundamentals.

First of all, there are walls. Look at the number of walls that encompass the city from over the 900 years-- well, even more than the 900 years as a kingdom. The first wall, in 1250-- the first wall in AD 250. That was a Roman wall. The Romans left, more or less, 500 AD. The subsequent walls are the 12th century wall, the 14th century wall, the 17th century wall, the 18th century wall, the 19th century wall, the Périphérique.

You'll notice that whenever an enclosing wall hits a main axis-- in this case, the Champs-Élysées-- there's an important place. The Étoile, the Porte Maillot, the Place de la Concorde. Paris has-- was built out of three fundamentals, streets, walls, and-- there were three. One is escaping for the moment. Let's just continue through this.

The next page is the final step in the transformation of the center of Paris by the work of Haussmann, from about 1850 to 1872. 1872 marks the end of the kingdoms of Paris, which started with in 987 AD.

And the third of the components that I was going to mention were monuments. Prime example of a monument which persists from the beginning in the 12th century, added to and transformed over time by kings and their queens giving it its final shape through the work of Louis Napoleon III. And then, finally, the Arc du Carrousel, the center point being the work of an American architect.

The diagram below is from work and writing by Guy Debord, which argues-- Guy Debord and Asger Jorn and Victor Constant, all participants in the movement called the Situationists. Situationists believed in something they called psychogeography. That was the system in which the experience of cities which was not delimited by simple boundaries. This diagram indicates that the experience of Paris is much to be made, not through the compartments designed, administrative components designed by Haussmann, but as a free system of movement, much like a taxi ride moves through a city, independent of boundaries.

There is a film which they referred to which I can't remember. It's a film of a French prostitute who works freely in the city. I tried. I can't remember.

The next page indicates another use of the streets. 1848-- the two revolutions of 1848 and 1871, the idea of the street as a system of barricades.

The next page is a section through the boulevard house. This is a typical section in a Haussmann elevation, one, two, three, four, five, floors, the fifth floor being the roof. There's a pharmacy on the ground floor, some commercial activity. The first and second and third floors are middle-class apartments, and the top floor is where the artists [INAUDIBLE] *La Boheme* and *La Traviata* and so on happened in the top floor.

This construction is one of the keys to the density of Paris. Paris has always been dense. It's attracted enormous amount-- it was the greatest manufacturing city in the second half of the 19th century and attracted immigrants. Not national, not extranational immigrants, but rural immigrants to the city between the period of 18-- oh. We'll get there. OK, I think that's the last of the pages.

The walls are interesting for a number of reasons. They consume capital. The last 19th century wall created a large space north of the current Haussmann city. Today, two million people live in the center of Paris and six million people live in the Banlieues, which is the suburban sprawl condition. Which the competition, Sarkozy's competition of 19-- what are we? Or 2008, which some example-- and we'll go through some examples from that competition.

So, essentially, the other interesting aspect of the wall was that it paid. It brought in a lot of money to Haussmann's capacity to engage in loans from banks to pay for the purchase of land in order to divide-- [INAUDIBLE] his new road systems. The octroi, O-C-T-R-O-I, was a major source of income. Wine and food was taxed at the gate.

This is a device which is still common. Robert Moses used the income because he controlled the taxation system of transportation into New York through the bridges and tunnels. In Boston, we have the same silliness, that we still pay tolls to the authority which runs the Seaport, badly, and the airport. It's an old system, paying at the gate.

So we want to look at 900 years of history, and I'm just going to pick out some aspects of it because, really, one-- this is an enormous topic. And I want to concentrate on the spatial environmental issues and relate them back historically.

So, for instance, Henry IV, one of the great kings of Paris, 1533 to 1610, had a second wife called Marie de' Medici. There were two Medici women who were important in these years in Paris. She introduced another idea into the street system.

In Florence, streets were closed so that people could play games. The games were called, in Italian, *magliare*, to hit, *la palla*, a ball. Right?

STUDENT: Magliare?

JULIAN Magliare. Maglio is a hammer, isn't it?

BEINART:

STUDENT: Yeah. Never heard, that one. But, yeah, maglio is a hammer. Yes.

JULIAN Yeah, *magliare la palla* is the phrase which is used to describe the games they played like croquet, with hitting a ball. There are versions of this game, obviously.

BEINART:

The area around Buckingham Palace, where Regent Street's going through Piccadilly Circus, runs into the Crown near [INAUDIBLE] area, is called Pall Mall. The place where American teenagers meet is a mall. *Magliare la palla*, Pall Mall, mall.

The Cours la Reine in Paris became as Marie de' Medici built it, who was responsible for its construction, became a place where French could meet in their carriages and have flirtations with other members of either the same sex or the opposite sex. Essentially, it was a-- it took an idea of a street as an environment for play and transformed it into another version of the same idea. So the streets of Paris played almost every role you can imagine.

This is, linguistically, an interesting reach, from closing a street in Florence to play a game to use the same word etymologically, now being used for-- to describe an American shopping center. Any connection? I don't know. Nor I've seen this explained. Perhaps the mall became a general term, and the Americans picked it up and applied it indiscriminantly of its origin. Absolutely.

Well, the Romans crossed the river, as they did in London, but found an island about 20 acres large in the center of the river which became the foundation of the city of Paris. The Romans stayed until about the fifth century. One of the governors of the Romans was-- had my name. He was a cousin-- he was a nephew of the Emperor Constantine.

He then became the last of the Roman emperors. He was killed by his own troops because he was unlike his uncle or a Christian. He believed in stemming the Christian epidemic and wanted Rome to remain in touch with the Mithrian rights and multigods and systems of religion, which was being sabotaged by Christianity.

I'm just going to go through some of the aspects of this spatial system is put into place. Philippe August, 1180 to 1223, built on the Ile de Cité, the island. He built a palace, the beginning of the Louvre, the law courts, the bishop's palace, Ile de Cite, all on the 20 acres. He built the second wall. He already agitated for the rebuilding of Les Halles.

Les Halles, the land of Les Halles was developed and occupied by Jews. In the 12th century, it was common to be - for kings to be anti-Semitic. The Jews were expelled from their property, and Les Halles was built. So when you go to Les Halles today, which are now an underground shopping center, you'll have to think back to understand that it was land from which Jews were expelled.

In England, at the same time, Jews had to wear a badge to show themselves as different from ordinary people. They had to pay tax when they entered or left London. And Henry II, I think it was. So the behavior of the French King was in sync, synchronized with the behavior of his colleagues out in Europe.

Notre Dame was built in the 12th century. So centered is Paris in the geography of France that, even today, all measurements in France measured from Notre Dame. There isn't that sense of centrality in the London. There were crowds gathered to watch a hanging, but nothing like the crowds which gathered to watch the guillotine and to watch people be headed, to watch cats being fried.

The great King Henry IV, a 16th century king whose second wife Marie de' Medici I've mentioned already in relation to Cours la Reine, he built a large section of the central part of Paris, bridges, palaces, churches, gardens. He built the Pont Neuf. He also built the Place Royale, which is the largest residential square in Europe and the predictor of the Covent Garden model. The Cours la Reine, at least the Place Royale, which is now the Place des Vosges, is 140 meters, if I remember correctly, 140 meters by 140 meters. It's the largest residential public space in Europe, built as the residence for the royalty and the aristocracy.

A number of attributes of the street system were reinforced-- oh, let me just-- just want the correct quotation. "On April the 10th, 1783, the first royal declaration of an urban policy was promulgated. It was worth noting that it followed an accurate map." Turgot, he made the first correct map of Paris. It was correct in the sense that it was more accurate than the typical perspective view of cities up to that time. The Great Map of Rome by Nolli was 1748. And Turgot did as best he could.

The great first orthographic map of Paris was the work of a Burgundian architect called Verniquet. Verniquet took accurate measurements during the day in the crowded Paris streets. His grand observations were corrected by triangulation to determine the elevations of the city. In 1783, there's an interesting connection between the availability of an accurate map and the capacity to make a pronouncement of urban policy.

The streets are important for the public welfare. They ought to be sufficiently wide and free of any barriers to the free and easy passage of vehicles and pedestrians. They further asserted that overly tall buildings were prejudicial to clean air in a city as populous as Paris as well as contrary to public safety and prone to fire. Already, in 1793, there was not only the ability to demarcate space accurately because of an accurate map, but the capacity to put into place regulations which decided what the dimensions of a street were and also of the ruling, which has lasted in central Paris ever since, and that is not to allow tall buildings.

Whilst the spatial idea of having as direct a distance between two monumental points was an idea which had been around in French landscape for a long time, there was nobody, really, who could articulate that idea in practice. The street system was not only for play. It was for rapid movement. Denied by the building of barricades, the street system was also a sequence of connectivity between various aspects of the city.

Already, early on, the French King decided that the university would be on the Left Bank and commerce would be on the Right Bank. But instead of developing these as the sole elements of the space, a system of avenues which connected the important points, often monuments, reticulated and made a multidimensional space, in this case, a box base of limited height but a compressed space, now of two million people, all articulated by the rulings about streets.

Hausmann, who became prefect in 1851, was really responsible for being the first urban manager in any city in relatively recent times. What he did was take an idea which was in the DNA of the French Parisian system of streets and make it possible. Paris was an unruly medieval city. It was-- you read Stendhal, he talks about the mud in the streets and the filth in the streets. It was no different from most cities at that time.

And it also was the site of cholera. There were great cholera epidemics in 1839 and in 1842. There were workers riots regularly in 1830s, the 1840s, this following that Great Revolution of 1789.

Hausmann arrived after the failure of the last-- second-last king to maintain his position, and he was replaced by Louis Napoleon. Louis Napoleon had been in exile. And there are stories of him being in Durgin-Park, in the restaurant in Boston, talking about this great new city that he was going to build when he went back to Paris.

He had watched Regent Street in London and, with great admiration for the-- what built Regent Street in London. The compact included permission by the Parliament, a million pounds of money from the bank, and the right to purchase property in order that the property may be transformed according to a street system.

Louis Napoleon was obsessed with this idea that he could rebuild Paris. He happens to be the last king in the history of Paris. He made a bad decision to start a war with the Prussians, and Paris was bombarded and the court moved to Versailles and a republic was established after the war.

So Hausmann's 20 years are 20 years at the end of 900 years of royal regime in Paris. You cannot account for a similar set of circumstances in London or in Vienna or in Berlin or any of the great European cities. Hausmann was a maniac for a number of things. Spatially, I don't know about his personal life here. That's another story altogether.

He wanted absolute control. He says to the Emperor-- when they have the first meeting of the town planning commission and there are lots of speeches and everybody's sitting around-- he talks to the Emperor after the meeting and says, "What a waste of time. All these people like big speeches, and nothing happened. We don't get any work done."

The Emperor says, "Well, how big does the commission have to be?" He says, "Well, the Emperor, you would have to be there and I have to be there, and I can't think of anybody else." The Emperor says, "Sounds like a good plan to me." So the commission becomes one man, the Prefect of the Seine.

Rambuteau, the Prefect of the Seine before him-- there were a number of others, Berger and Persigny and so on-- but Rambuteau tried to extend the East-West access to the Bastille, as Napoleon tried to do, but failed. He proposed the street which has his name, the Rue Rambuteau, but could only afford to build it out of the budget of the city. He could build one mile, and he was allowed to make it. He only asked for 13 meters width. He was allowed 20 meters.

But the story of Rambuteau is the story of the fact that you cannot do a major reconstruction of a city out of the capital budget of the city. What the greatest invention of Haussmann, it was not easy arrangement, but economists like Saint-Simon constructed the idea that if you improved an asset, its worth, no matter how much you invest in the improvement, its worth in the end is going to pay it back many times. It's called deficit spending, today.

And Haussmann understood that in order to rebuild Paris from being a medieval slum to a modern city, you needed to develop more capital than the ordinary taxation system in the city can do. So he took the money from the octroi system, borrowed money. He expropriated land. In 1783-- no. Slowly, in the 18th century, the control of Paris by the kings diminished. And when the rule-- after the Revolution, of course, there were no kings until Louis Philippe and Louis Napoleon.

The notion that you could move people out of their domains, rebuild the premises in which they lived, and not care for them through replacement accommodation and so on, took hold under Haussmann. Haussmann, in 20 years, rebuilt Paris in ways which were part of the DNA street system of Paris and made possible, in modern times, by deficit spending. The loans which Haussmann accumulated in the 20 years were only repaid in 1929, but Paris was an immensely more valuable city in 1929 than it was in 1850. So we have the introduction into the urban system of a business model, of a management model.

Haussmann had his own predilections. He did not believe that individual buildings were important. He believed that the systems of building were important. He hated the idiosyncrasy. All the buildings had to be the same height. There's an image in what I gave you. There's a photograph of a street in Paris where he forces the property on the left to shift its turret to the street in order that it balance a building on the opposite side of the street.

What else? This is an enormously long story, but I'm giving you the bounds of it. If you're interested, there's good literature on the history of Paris and certainly the period of 1850 to 1870.

What else can I say before we look at some images? This is about as bare a description of Paris as I can imagine. But the extraordinary capacity for the street system to be the major articulator of movement, of war, of play, of distribution, of psychogeography, Haussmann felt that if you look down an avenue, you had to have a closed vista. You had to be led to something which was an important place.

In Washington, which has a kind of Parisian kind of plan, the intersections of the diagonal avenues, where they meet each other, produce nothing. In Paris, there's always an important square or monument. When Haussmann decides that we-- that the city needs an opera, he builds the Rue de Opera and then the opera itself. The opera, it has an extraordinary interior. Adding to the complexity of the spatial relationship of access to the opera-- the facade of the opera is a monument standing freely in space-- and then the entrance and interior, a fantastic interior, as well.

What you have in this Haussmannian system is this state set of multifunctional connectors tying decentralized aspects of it. There's no center to Paris. There are many centers.

You have, as you'll see in some of the slides, passages connecting with covered roofs in between the boulevards. You have an articulate and very elementary system based, as I say, on of DNA of Paris since the 15th century. Why the French articulated their space around the idea of minimizing distance between points and being articulate about that distance and the experience of that distance is still, to me, unclear. But it's absolutely different from the case of London, where we have one street, Regent Street, artifacted in a similar pathway. As Haussmann did it, the scale of a city.

I need to see if there's anything else I should say. Any questions?

STUDENT: If I understood what you said earlier, it was that the idea of a street or a path connecting monuments is like an older idea than Haussmann. If I understood you correctly, like, where did that originate from, like in Paris or in French culture?

JULIAN BEINART: Well, I don't know. As you'll see, in the second slide I will show you of an image of streets in the 15th century-- oh, it's later. It's probably 17th century Paris. You will see diagonal road systems in these rural areas around Paris as well as in some in Paris itself.

When I talk about the DNA of a city, I don't know exactly what I'm saying. It's a biological explanation, assuming that there are repetitive elements, significant elements in a culture, which repeat. Often, we don't quite know why.

I often think that the French are probably more direct than anybody else philosophically and probably decided, like Bismarck did, that the way to fight a war is to go in a straight line because you'll find nobody else on the straight line. Everybody else is fussing around all over the place. It's the direct avenue to accomplish the friction of distance.

I can't-- I wish I could answer it. I'm sure a French, if we had a French scholar here or a French historian, there may be a-- I've often looked for an answer, but I haven't found it. It's interesting to raise that question because, now, two million people are living in this precious construction, and six million people are living in bungalows, in public housing, because public housing was not asserted as an element to be incorporated into the Haussmannian puzzle.

The city now has this empty sprawl, which everybody dislikes. And Sarkozy says, I need to do something about it. I don't know if you followed this competition. Did you? Did you see the results?

STUDENT: I remember seeing some of these renderings, but I don't know. I don't know what's going to--

JULIAN BEINART: Oh, it was, I'm-- I don't know if there's a book of the entrants now available, but it was subject to a lot of publicity at the time. And the images I've just gathered here are taken from some of the publicity at the time.

A number of things that one wants to say about this. Everybody acknowledges that the way to enlarge-- not to enlarge, to fill the space, empty space around the concentrated city, is not to expand the city itself. None of the 10 entries in the competition which use streets, avenues, diagonalized systems as an extension of the Haussmannian grid.

There are many attempts to do strong constructions, strong constructions meaning constructions which have a strong physical spatial dimension. For instance, Grumbach proposes that Paris will extend itself westward along with the Seine to accommodate something like 16 million people, arguing that every great city in the world is a port city and Paris should become a port city.

A linear city of 16 miles-- or 16 million people would take about an hour by public transit or fast train from Paris to Rouen. And it's a strong idea. You can imagine a city like this, following this pattern and developing interesting relationships between public transportation along the water and many aspects of it. What will stop it from developing the same condition of sprawl as now exists, I don't know. He doesn't detail very much about anything other than the concept itself.

There are some crazy propositions. The one is to take, just close the Gare du Nord and shift the Gare do Nord into the Banlieues and have it as the premier railway station in Europe.

Richard Rogers, the British architect, has a modest proposal. He's really interested in the the politics of all of the groups in the Banlieues and how they could be brought together. He extends some of the radial system, but covers them with green-- remember that the computation was called for post-Kyoto Resolution. Post-Kyoto means that the ecological consequences of the plan were important.

Jean Nouvel, for instance-- many of the competitors proposed to cover all the buildings with sun collectors, energy collectors from the sun. Jean Nouvel says, all of the housing, public housing built in the Banlieues are just bad buildings. They just can't keep them and convert them in as interesting and dramatic and up-to-date fashion as possible. He says silly things like, "Paris must become the great art center of the world again." He proposes something on the Ile de Cité which I can't understand. There's almost a sense of tiredness about the scheme, as if there isn't really a formula anymore for making urban space.

Hausmann has really terminated 900 years of French royal effort to build walls, to build monuments. Imagine having a monument in the center of a city which was built by the first king and then torn down and rebuilt by the second king and then rebuilt and rebuilt and rebuilt and rebuilt as the Paris-- as a palace, ending up with I.M. Pei doing a kind of central focal point for it after it becomes a museum after a thousand years of palace. It's the largest museum in the world, I think, and certainly probably the most significant.

Yet it's on the River Seine. It blocks access to the river. It's a big block of something or other. It's as permanent as the city, and there's no moving it as many have. And there's, in a class later on, we look at temporary environments in cities. I will go through the various French five French exhibitions in the center of Paris. 1855, four years after the Crystal Palace; 1868; 1879, I think; 1889; and 1900. 1889, of course, the Eiffel Tower.

Jean Giraudoux, the French playwright, talks about the center of Paris as being a stone site, a permanent, fixed, [INAUDIBLE] set of operations, and these temporary exhibitions are the sort of way of animating them. It's like a circus coming to small town once a year. It's an extraordinary idea, that a city could be fossilized in some sort of way, gaining in prestige, becoming the greatest tourist city of the world.

Why is Paris the greatest tourist city of the world? What is there about its spatial strategy that I've tried to spend an hour talking about that makes it so attractive? Is it everybody's last opportunity somehow? It's the last construction of cities that made sense to people, that you knew where you were, that it had an enormous degree of relatability, much like Manhattan. Manhattan's plan is as naive, perhaps, as linking a bunch of nodal points with streets. Any thought about that?

Finn Geipel's plan in the computation is an MIT kind of plan. He was, three years, a visiting professor before the competition. It's a kind of eco-friendly city with no particular form, high degrees of-- there's low visibility, but high degrees of communication through telephones, through all kinds of modern electronic conveniences.

What am I saying? Am I arguing that we have lost a formula for doing things which have impact? All we do is build taller buildings with funnier shapes.

STUDENT: This doesn't answer your question, but it's something that I'm needing to go back to. When Haussmann, and you were talking about that being in the DNA of Paris, the idea, on things I've always thought about Haussmann that never seems to get talked about as much is the relationship of those streets to the medieval streets and how it's-- I mean that's like the big difference or one of the differences between how the city works and how Haussmann's intervention in Cairo's works is Haussmann's streets work in a context of the preexisting streets, versus just laying those down and that being your whole strategy for having a city.

JULIAN BEINART: Yeah. You'll see, on some of the slides, some plans of the Haussmann roads impacting the existing medieval texture. It's pretty ruthless. I mean, you know, there's no--

STUDENT: But the--

JULIAN BEINART: --notion that the people who live under the system, there's no replacement. They pay a marginal penalty for acquiring the land, but there's no-- urban renewal, in this country, produced no great evocative features either. My point-- it's rather a nasty point-- is that if you're going to be brutal, at least produce something worthwhile.

[LAUGHTER]

If you're going to be nasty, do it to some effect. It's a horrible principle in modern life where we are inclined to not give power. I mean, Haussmann construed the rules so that it was possible for the Prefect of the Seine, the chief management officer of the city, to decide which property could be confiscated. There was no such ruling ever in England, and certainly not in the United States, under urban renewal.

But I'm trying to make the argument that we are in a different time. We have different commodities to work with. But there's a sense that-- I know. I mean, the critique of Haussmann's plan by architects has been fairly general and quite right in many respects. Richard [INAUDIBLE] argument against the subdivision of the Arrondissement by Haussmann in the political units and the Banlieues being left alone, yeah. I mean, perhaps I'm talking about a lost nostalgia for a lost unity which we've now dispatched in favor of a greater sense of well-being about all people.

I don't know if you saw a movie called *La Haine*, The Hate, by an American director, I think Arthur Moskowitz.

STUDENT: Mathieu Kassovitz.

JULIAN BEINART: Mathieu Kassovitz. Do you remember the movie?

STUDENT: Yeah, I'm a fan.

**JULIAN
BEINART:** It's an extraordinary movie. It follows a group of young men from the Banlieues, where they are surrounded by sculpture in public place in this rather dismal new town. They venture into Paris, into the heart of the Old City, and start destroying environments. They go into cocktail parties and drink all the wine. They become just an intolerable nuisance.

And one of them is killed. I don't remember how he dies, but-- do you remember?

STUDENT: That's the very end. He gets shot by a cop, but that's actually back in the Banlieues.

**JULIAN
BEINART:** Yeah. For those of you who know Henri Lefebvre's work, the right to the town is exemplified by that. If you have two distinct towns, if you grow up on the wrong side of the railroad, you are disestablished in your right to the town. In Paris, which becomes more and more expensive, more and more, the great tourist center of the world building more and more museums, artifacts along the quay of the river, the curious quays of the river, the competition is not going to work.

The competition for cities is a waste of time. The variables are too mentally complicated, too. City planning is not a unique-- a one sort of a time exercise. The only plan I know of a city that was any good as a competition, although it was never built, was the Green City competition in Russia, La Ville Verte. Which we'll-- when we deal with Russia, we will spend some time talking, looking at that competition.

But competitions are poor models for working through some of the issues we've talked about. No wonder none of these plans ever get to pass. Sarkozy's not president any longer. I don't know what's going to happen, if anything.

Let's look at some of these images because they tell more of the story than my words. I hope somebody-- none of French history because I've been very irresponsible in plundering French history.

Here's the Roman crossing and the Ile de la Cité and some images of the Bishop's palace. This is prior to Notre Dame, the law courts centering in the 20 acres, in the center, almost all the components of the earlier city. Next.

Here are the diagrams that interest me. This is a 1750 plan of Paris and its surroundings. What are these things? These are hunting grounds. These, somebody once said to me that these are, if you designed a hunting environment, you would diagonalize the road and have many points of contact. This is Patte's-- Louis XIV, having emancipated himself from Paris, many of these kings, yeah, were alienated from their home city and left. Peter, the great tsar of Russia did as well.

Here, you can see a plan which has as its principle a set of points, diagonals spreading, connecting to other points. The beginnings of a plan which suggest my argument of a DNA. Le Corbusier's Voisin plan for Paris has none of that spirit at all. It's a ruthless repositioning of modernism as against the canonical street system. Next.

Well, these are just fairly obvious. It's interesting to contrast the plan of London. It's about the same scale as the plan of Paris. Paris circumvented by walls, one stretching further out than the other. London and being a free set of connected, loosely connected, villages, all encompassed much more spread-out system without the strong definitions given by these are the walls or the streets or the monuments in that city. This is not a monumental city at all. It's a sprawling, elegant microtuned environment. Next.

Here are two images of streets in Florence being employed for games and Marie de' Medici's influence on the Cours la Reine. Next.

The Cours la Reine on the left, a place for the wealthy to have sex in a broad sense of the word.

[LAUGHTER]

Next.

The great adventure of perspective. The capacity for the middle class. This is Caillebotte's great painting. It's in, I think, in the Art Institute in Chicago. The use of this street with umbrellas. Next.

The Place Royale, the great aristocratic center. The Place the Vosges on the right, today. Next. The Rue Rambuteau. Rambuteau's attempt to build a street without deficit financing help. Next.

Hausmann and the dark black being the elements that he inserted into the revised system. Next.

Here, you get the details of a-- this the Boulevard Sebastopol. That space is taken up at will. This connector, it doesn't matter that there are houses underneath here. The houses are just separated away from the others in order to make a new imposition.

This is about as ruthless as-- and it's probably the last time in history that this is being able to be done in a democratic society. Next.

Napoleon didn't pay much attention to Paris. He wanted to make Paris into a royal city. And the East-West access through the Champs-Élysées became his primary focus, the Arc de Triomphe being the connector-- not the connector-- being his great monument. He also attempted to stretch the Champs-Élysées eastward to the Bastille. It's an extraordinary Haussmannian device.

This is the Avenue Fourche, which has the wealthiest real estate in Europe on the sides. This street is about 450 feet wide. That's about twice as wide as Commonwealth Avenue. And the Bois-- leading to the Bois de Boulogne, another one of Haussmann's creations.

Here's the river. Here's the intersection of the Champs-Élysées into the Bois du Boulogne and the Avenue Fourche. Next.

The Académie Nationale de Musique and the access to it, the monument at the end of the wide road, Avenue de l'Opera. Next.

The interior of the opera by Garnier, an extraordinary-- Walter Benjamin writes about Paris and talks about the invention of the interior, the first time that the interior seen as significant. And this study is done by the students of Foucault, showing the subdivision of the French house over time, introducing what Benjamin calls the adventure of the interior. Next.

Here is the ultimate. There's the Boulevard Richard-Lenoir, the ultimate expression of destination and movement and the interior connections. Next.

The underground services in the mid '90s, the cross-section of a Paris street. And during one of the exhibitions in Paris, a trip through the sewage system was a great pleasure. Next.

The Banlieues, here is the taking down of the dues, tax houses on the-- where the octroi was collected and the conditions in the Banelieues. Next.

In the street is war. 1848, the barricaded streets in the center of-- on the east of-- on the east of Paris, here are the barricade lines. The use of this street is war. Next.

1872, and the two-month-long occupation of the Western of the Eastern part of Paris, again, with the use of barricades. Barricades slow down troops, and people in the adjacent buildings can fire down on the troops when they slow down. Next.

1968, and again the use of this street in protest. Next. OK.