

Alfred Agache, French Sociology, and Modern Urbanism in France and Brazil

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The 1930 master plan for Rio de Janeiro, drawn up by the French architect-urbanist Alfred Agache, had an important impact on Rio and on the development of modern planning in Brazil. Reflecting the socioscientific methods of Edmond Demolins and the Musée Social in Paris as well as the sociological ideas of Gabriel Tarde and Emile Durkheim, the plan exemplifies the ambitions and techniques of the urbanism of the Société Française d'Urbanistes (SFU). Agache, a leading theorist, teacher, and practitioner of SFU urbanism, developed a sociological urbanisme parlant that evolved out of his Beaux-Arts training and his background in French sociology. Agache's ideas on the fine arts and urban planning were synthesized and refined in the courses on social art history and urbanism, the first of their kind in France, that he taught at the Collège Libre des Sciences Sociales in Paris. In defining theoretically and expressing artistically the Brazilian capital's urban program in terms of the fine art of applied sociology, Agache provided the Brazilians with a blueprint for socioeconomic and moral reform on the levels of both urban and national development. Situated chronologically between the international expositions of 1925 and 1937 in Paris, Agache's project reflects as well the larger purposes and methods of the two expos and, in so doing, clarifies the historical evolution of SFU urbanism.

THE FRENCH ARCHITECT-URBANIST Donat-Alfred Agache (1875–1959) is best known for his Beaux-Arts master plan for Rio de Janeiro. The Agache plan, with its lengthy text of over three hundred pages, its impressive illustrations, and its authoritative statistical documentation based on the first comprehensive study of the city's history and topography, was drawn

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up between 1927 and 1930 for Rio's reforming mayor Antonio Prado Junior.¹ A prominent feature of the plan, Agache's project for a monumental Gateway to Brazil complex (Fig. 1), has been compared to the visionary projects of Ledoux and Boullée and the architecture of fascist Italy and Nazi Germany.² Though useful, these formal comparisons tell us little about the specific ideas and social intentions underlying Agache's designs. For Agache, urbanism was "above all, a social philosophy," one that could be universally applied to urban design and read from it. A deeper connection with Ledoux and his *architecture parlante* is suggested by Agache's definition of the goal of the urbanist: to express plastically the social program of the city while clarifying the ideas that are "scattered and unformulated" in his social milieu. The purpose of this article is to explain the significance of Agache, to clarify the origins of his urbanism, and to show how his social philosophy was applied in some of the compelling images of the Rio plan. This analysis will prepare the way for a broader appreciation of his contribution to the development of modern planning in France and Brazil.

The Agache plan and the development of Rio de Janeiro

Capital of Brazil from 1763 to 1960, Rio de Janeiro had long been the focus of a series of modernization programs promoted by the city's European elite in their efforts to make Rio a "cultured" metropolis worthy of receiving international attention and European capital for development.

The major phases of Rio's modernization after 1763 were marked by an increasing dependence on French cultural influences. In the first phase, the Portuguese viceroys of the late eighteenth century sought to transform the sleepy colonial port into an efficient mercantile entrepôt through a series of largely infrastructural "metropolitan improvements" inspired by those of mid-eighteenth-century Paris, London, and Lisbon. This phase

1. The plan was published in Portuguese as *Cidade do Rio de Janeiro: Extensão, remodelação, embelezamento*, Paris, 1930, and subsequently in French as *La remodelation d'une capitale*, 2 vols., Paris, 1932.

2. See N. Evenson, *Two Brazilian Capitals: Architecture and Urbanism in Rio de Janeiro and Brasília*, New Haven, 1973, 46 n. 21. The Agache plan is also discussed in J.-C. Tougeron, "Donat-Alfred Agache, un architecte urbaniste," *Cahiers de la recherche architecturale*, VIII, 1981, 31–48.

recognition of it "as an aesthetic, technical and engineering masterpiece." In the words of the nominators, "This remarkable building stands today as a reminder that creative and thoughtful design can be at the cutting edge of both technology and aesthetics and yet mature gracefully with the passage of time; that elegance, refinement and beauty need not be fleeting characteristics, but can be fundamental and lasting." The statement of the jury was equally revealing, praising the Equitable for "its richness of detail within a very narrow formal aesthetic" and for its technical innovations. "This building," the jury said, "shows the style (International) at its best, particularly in the elegance of the elevation."⁷³ That the building was heralded as a classic when first built, then (when they were reminded of its existence twenty-five years later) recognized by a body of peers for its exceptional quality, is a telling measure of its inherent merit.⁷⁴ The Equitable was again acknowledged in a subsequent issue of the *AIA Journal* in a substantive article by Jeffrey Cook, AIA, professor of architecture, specialist in energy-efficient buildings, and penetrating critic, who saw it as "a kind of apogee: . . . a classically refined and completely resolved masterwork."⁷⁵ The building, with its lobby restored and a new Belluschi mural added in 1988, still impresses, as fresh and modern as when it first appeared (Fig. 24).⁷⁶

73. AIA News Release, 10 Apr. 1982; *AIA Journal*, LXXI, Apr. 1982, 40, 46. Members of the jury besides Gehry were Bruce Abrahamson, Dora Crouch, Mark Lowe Fisher, Pamela Jenkins, Nory Miller, and Peter Papademetriou.

74. On measuring quality in architecture, see J. Blau, *Architects and Firms: A Sociological Perspective on Architectural Practice*, Cambridge, Mass., 1984, 93ff.

75. Cook, "Postwar Prototype," 84.

76. The 1988 restoration was carried out by the Soderstrom Architects of Portland, in consultation with Belluschi. My thanks especially to Doug Walton and Ron Preston of Soderstrom Architects for their help in supplying information. See also "Repairing Progress," *Progressive Architecture*, LXX, Apr. 1989, 90-93, on their work.

At the moment it appeared, the Equitable was the best the architectural profession had to offer anywhere in the world. It met the client's needs efficiently and economically, while establishing a level of aesthetic refinement rarely met in commercial architecture. The building still functions, and it is still one of the most energy-efficient in the city.⁷⁷ Bringing the Chicago frame to its logical, elegant conclusion, it marked both the culmination of that significant development and the point of departure for a new era of crystalline, shimmering, metal-and-glass towers. It thus synthesized the legacy of the past and the aspirations of the future.

And finally, it symbolized the Miesian ideal, posed in the early 1920s with his glass skyscraper projects, of a tall skeletal structure sheathed in a lightweight membranous skin of glass, transparent rather than solid, space not mass, a play of reflections on its smooth flush surfaces rather than the manipulation of light and shadow, reticulated façades, point supports below, spare but elegant, the whole conveying the impression of being produced by a highly technological society, yet handled with the care and meticulous detailing of a handcrafted building.

The Equitable, with its utter rationality, exposed structure, exacting visual order, classical balance, and elegant proportions, was the brainchild of a highly intelligent, remarkably talented man who reasoned as an engineer but saw with the eye of an artist. It marked a high moment in Modernism.

77. According to figures supplied by Edward Knipe, the Equitable's energy use has remained far below the values established by the Department of Energy. While the DOE targets a total annual energy use of 108,000 Btu per sq. ft. for new office buildings in Portland, the Equitable uses only 62,800 Btu per sq. ft. per year (Letter, Knipe to MLC, Nov. 1988).

On the building's heating and ventilating system, see also E. Sterling, T. Sterling, and D. McIntyre, "New Health Hazards in Sealed Buildings," *AIA Journal*, LXXII, Apr. 1983, 64-65, in which the Equitable is acknowledged as a "model for a generation of American high performance, sealed office buildings."

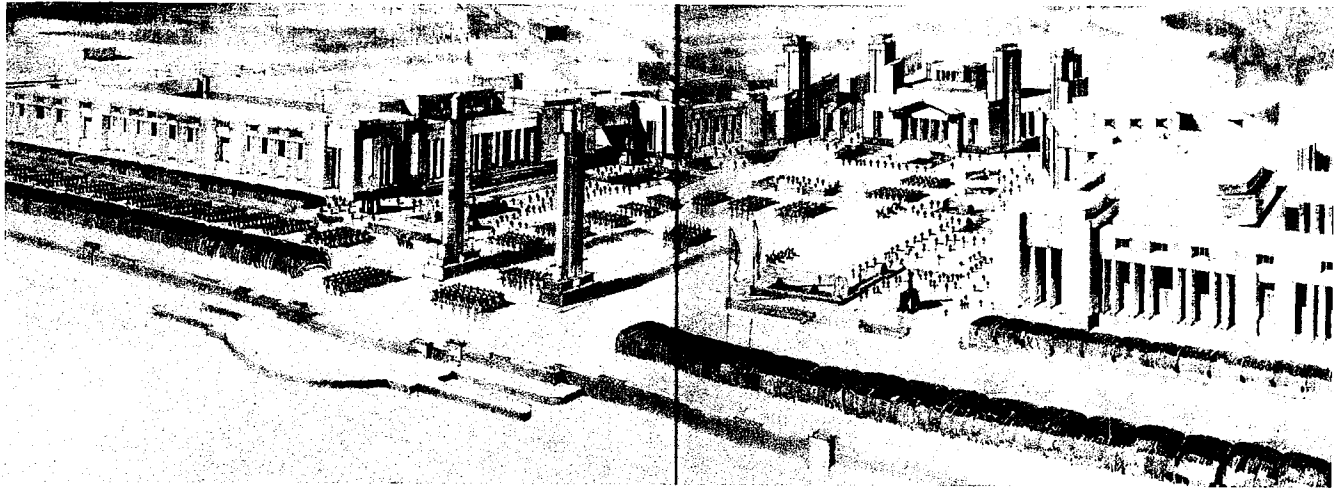


Fig. 1. Alfred Agache, Design for monumental waterfront "Porta do Brasil" (Gateway to Brazil) complex for Rio de Janeiro, 1930 (Agache, *Cidade do Rio de Janeiro*, Paris, 1930, pp. 214–215, fig. 38).

saw an increased reliance on French military engineering and the artistic models of international neoclassicism.³ In the second phase, the Portuguese royal family, abandoning Lisbon in the wake of the Napoleonic invasions, established its new court in Rio in 1808 and made the city the capital of the Portuguese empire in 1815. The following year, a "French artistic mission," composed largely of exiled Bonapartists and led by the *style empire* architect Grandjean de Montigny, was called in to refashion the imperial capital in the image of monumental Paris and to continue the program of technical and cultural modernization. This mission initiated a century of artistic domination by the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in the public art and architecture of Rio, which became the capital of an independent Brazil in 1822.⁴ The Beaux-Arts "improvement" of Rio continued into the twentieth century with the "Haussmannization" program of the Paris-trained mayor Francisco de Pereira Passos (1902–1906), who undertook a campaign of public health reforms, slum clearance, massive demolitions, and boulevard building inspired by the Parisian works of Napoleon III and Baron Haussmann. By Agache's arrival in Rio in 1927, the equation "modern and cultured equals Parisian" had become accepted by the city's administrators and business leaders as the only formula for the architectural and urban development of the capital.⁵

3. See my Ph.D. dissertation, "The Pombaline Style and International Neoclassicism in Lisbon and Rio de Janeiro," University of Pennsylvania, 1988.

4. On the French artistic mission, see I. Arestizabal, ed., *Uma cidade em questão I: Grandjean de Montigny e o Rio de Janeiro*, Rio de Janeiro, 1979. Grandjean founded Rio's Academia Imperial de Belas Artes in 1826.

5. See J. Needell, "Rio de Janeiro at the Turn of the Century: Modernization and the Parisian Ideal," *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs*, XXV, 1983, 83–103; idem, "Making the Carioca Belle Époque Concrete: The Urban Reforms of Rio de Janeiro under Pereira Passos," *Journal of Urban History*, IV, 1984, 383–422; and idem, *A Tropical Belle Époque: Elite Culture and Society in Turn-of-the-Century Rio*

de Janeiro, Cambridge, 1987. A good historical overview of urban developments in Rio is found in G. Rosso del Brenna, "Rio: Uma capital nos trópicos e seu modelo europeu," *Revista do patrimônio histórico e artístico nacional*, XIX, 1984, 149–156. On Paris see D. Pinkney, *Napoleon III and the Rebuilding of Paris*, Princeton, 1958.

6. Widespread opposition to Pereira Passos's "hygienic reforms" and especially their inoculation and slum clearance requirements brought about a series of week-long urban riots in 1904. See T. Meade "Civilizing Rio de Janeiro: The Public Health Campaign and the Riot of 1904," *Journal of Social History*, XX, 1986, 301–322. Meade argues that the riots were motivated less by the smallpox inoculations themselves than by what the campaign symbolized to the working classes: the effort of Rio's elite to "civilize" the city into a "showplace of cultural refinement and business enterprise," which, "in keeping with the interests of an expanding export-oriented economy and the demands of foreign investors," would make Rio "compatible with the needs of merchants, planters, and British traders, at the expense of the city's laboring poor." On the level of urban aesthetics, Pereira Passos's campaign was even less successful. The international competition initiated by the mayor and his architect Paulo Frontin for the design of the façades on the new Avenida Central failed to produce the desired architectural unity. As Yves Bruand has pointed out, the idea that the urbanistic harmony of the conception could have been assured by entrusting the project to a single designer never occurred to the organizers. The result was a focus on isolated buildings, such as the new Teatro Nacional, and an eclectic hodgepodge of structures rather than a unified urban ensemble. See Y. Bruand, *Arquitetura Contemporânea no Brasil*, São Paulo, 1981, 334.



Fig. 2. André Vaz Figueira, Plan of Rio de Janeiro in 1750 (Mapoteca do Itamaraty, Rio de Janeiro). Key: 1, Castello Hill; 2, Santo Antonio Hill; 3, São Bento Hill; 4, Conceição Hill; 5, Calhabouço Promontory.

natural landscape, Rio had a serious image problem. In the eyes of Brazil's elite, the city still lacked the architectural and urbanistic attributes of a world-class capital. It also lacked an orderly technical framework in which the city's capitalist development could take place smoothly and efficiently. Perhaps most important, Rio lacked a body of clearly stated social doctrine that could serve as the basis for greater consensus on how the capital's (and nation's) architectural (and economic) development should proceed. It was against this background of modernizing aspirations, half-successes, and perceived needs that the expert assistance of a French urbanistic professional was sought out. Agache identified the problems and placed his own proposals for Rio's aesthetic and technical improvement in the broader, more global framework of socioeconomic development.

The Agache plan was introduced at a pivotal moment in the history of Rio and Brazil. In the late 1920s, the basis of the political economy of the Republic was moving from a rural coffee oligarchy to an urban society of industrialists and consumers. Although Brazil remained primarily a traditional producer and exporter of agricultural products, the state and its

growing bureaucracy, supported by a politically active military, began to seek greater control over the processes of capital accumulation and industrial development. These tendencies would culminate in the political revolution of October 1930 and the rise of the authoritarian *Estado Novo* (New State) of Getúlio Vargas in 1937. The Vargas regime favored increased state intervention in economic (and urban) planning and the stimulation of the Brazilian market as a consumer of European exports.⁷

As the capital of the republic, Rio was naturally the focus of these important political and economic changes. The city's mayor, appointed directly by Brazil's president, traditionally had privileged access to resources, especially whenever the central government saw fit to support a program of urban improvements.⁸ When Agache arrived in 1927, Rio was undergoing phenomenal growth in population and was on the verge of becoming an international metropolis of considerable economic

7. P. Evans, *Dependent Development: The Alliance of Multinational, State, and Local Capital in Brazil*, Princeton, 1979, 85–91.

8. Bruand, *Arquitetura*, 334.

importance for both Europe and Brazil.⁹ Rodrigues Alves, president of the republic (1902–1906), had expressed his hopes for the city in 1904: “Its restoration in the eyes of the world will be the start of a new life, the incitement of work in the far reaches of a country that has land for all cultures, climates for all peoples, and money-making opportunities for all sorts of capital.”¹⁰ But the role envisioned for Rio by its modernizing elite in spearheading the new capitalist order in Brazil had not yet come to pass.

Agache too was concerned with giving Rio a new image, one that would be seen increasingly through *les yeux du monde*. His plan included extensive proposals for “beautifying” the city in the monumental fashion appropriate to a national capital and cosmopolitan metropolis. But he also included proposals for controlling the city’s staggering growth, for accommodating its increasingly important economic function as a port and commercial center, and for bringing new order to the chaotic complexity of its spaces and functions. The Agache plan broadly considered Rio’s needs in terms of aesthetics, technical problems, and ideology—or, as he termed them, art, science, and social philosophy. But in his emphasis on the latter, he placed the city’s fortunes squarely within the developmental frameworks of Brazilian regional planning, on the one hand, and international capitalist expansion, on the other. In underpinning his development program with a forceful and explicit corpus of diffusionist social doctrine, Agache provided a blueprint not just for Rio’s architectural and urban evolution but for the national socioeconomic development of Brazil as well. It is in the context of the social philosophy underlying Agache’s urbanism that the development of the Rio plan must be seen.

Agache, the Musée Social, and SFU urbanism

Alfred Agache was deeply involved in the birth of modern urbanism in France and played an important role in its dissemination abroad. His career is associated with a number of important “firsts.” He is credited with coining the word *urbanisme* in 1912, around the same time that he participated with a group of his colleagues in founding the first modern organization of professional urbanists in France, the Société Française d’Urbanistes (SFU).

In 1914, Agache offered the first formal course on urbanism in France. In the following year, he published a complete theoretical statement of SFU urbanism.¹²

The SFU had grown out of the Urban and Rural Hygiene Section of the Musée Social, a social research center founded in Paris in 1894.¹³ From its inception, SFU urbanism differed from

11. *Dictionnaire national des contemporains*, Paris, 1936, I, 20. According to this source, Agache was the “parrain de l’urbanisme—le mot, aujourd’hui universellement admis, fut créé par lui.” But in 1958, the SFU urbanist Henri Prost claimed that the word *urbanisme* “fut créé par quatre architectes et un ingénieur, au cours de l’année 1912. J’étais un de ces architectes.” See F. Choay, “Pensées sur la ville, arts de la ville,” in G. Duby, ed., *Histoire de la France urbaine*, 5 vols., Paris, 1983, IV, 253 n. 2. Choay suggests that Léon Jaussely, who knew the work of Cerdà and his term *urbanización*, was among the five. On the origin and meaning of the term, Agache wrote in 1930: “Este vocábulo: urbanismo, do qual foi o padrinho, em 1912 . . . é agora universalmente empregado, sendo mais expressivo do que o vocábulo alemão *Stadtebau* e o inglês *town planning*, por serem estes últimos mais aplicáveis as construções.” See Agache, *Cidade do Rio*, 6.

The early history of the SFU is discussed in P. Wolf, *Eugène Hénard and the Beginning of Urbanism in Paris, 1900–1914*, The Hague, 1968; F. Choay, *L’urbanisme: Utopies et réalité, une anthologie*, Paris, 1965; and idem, “Pensées sur la ville.” See also “Elus et urbanistes, un siècle d’urbanisme en France 1900–2000,” *L’urbanisme*, CCXVII, 1987, 121–123, 146–149; J.-P. Gaudin, *L’avenir en plan: Technique et politique dans la prévision urbaine, 1900–1930*, Seyssel, 1985; and idem, ed., *Les premiers urbanistes français et l’art urbain, 1900–1930*, Paris-Villemin, 1987. For a Foucault-inspired consideration of *urbanisme* as an example of modern French “techno-cosmopolitanism,” see P. Rabinow, *French Modern, Norms and Forms of the Social Environment*, Cambridge, Mass., 1989, 211–258. Maréchal Lyautey, Henri Prost, Eugène Hénard, Léon Jaussely, and Agache were among the best-known early members of the SFU. The publication of *L’urbanisme*, the house journal of the SFU, was begun in 1932. According to its program statement, the purpose of the movement was to “diffuser en France les idées d’urbanisme: aménagement rationnel des villes, sauvegarde des paysages urbains, amélioration des conditions de vie et d’habitabilité dans les agglomérations urbaines ou rurales, la Métropole comme dans les colonies.”

12. The course was taught at the Collège Libre des Sciences Sociales in Paris; see below, n. 21. The theoretical statement was found in Agache’s *Comment reconstruire nos cités détruites*, Paris, 1915; see below, n. 15.

13. Agache, who had been architect of the Musée Social since 1902, was the SFU’s Secretary General. The SFU’s notion of public art and a socially based architecture had roots in the Section d’hygiène urbaine et rurale, presided over by Georges Risler. The founding of the Musée Social is associated with the work of the protestant Anglophile reformers Jules and André Siegfried. As Minister of Commerce in 1893, André Siegfried proposed a permanent “social museum” to demonstrate working-class living arrangements and social statistics. The Comte de Chamburn, a wealthy dilettante, privately funded the program and donated in 1895 a splendid *maison de ville* on the Left Bank for the Musée Social. It housed a library on the working class, held lectures, and sponsored monographic research on workers in France and abroad. The steel-lobby industrialist Robert Pinot was its first director. The Musée Social resembled the contemporaneous social charity organizations in London and the Russell Sage Foundation in New York. See T. N. Clark, *Prophets and Patrons: The French University and the Emergence of the Social Sciences*, Cambridge, Mass., 1973, 114; H. Deroy, “Du Musée Social au CEDIAS,” *CEDIAS*, Paris, Musée Social-OCOB, 1964; A. Siegfried, “Discours: Cinquantenaire du Musée Social,” *Les cahiers du Musée Social*, III, 1945, 157–174; the *Annales du Musée Social*, Paris, especially for the years 1896–1914; and E. Cheysson, *Le Musée Social*, Paris, 1906.

9. In 1906, Rio had a population of around 812,000. The 1920 census registered about 1,158,000. By 1928, the official figure had risen to 1,900,000, nearly double that of eight years earlier. Agache’s survey of Rio proper (164 square km.) showed it to be larger in area than Washington and Rome and twice the size of Paris and Tokyo. It was the seventh-largest city in area after New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, London, Vienna, and Buenos Aires, and its metropolitan area was comparable in size to that of Mexico City and New York. See Agache, *Cidade do Rio*, 77 and 47.

10. “A sua restauração no conceito do mundo será o início de uma vida nova, o incitamento para o trabalho nas áreas extensíssimas de um país que tem terras para todas as culturas, climas para todos os povos, explorações remuneradas para todos os capitais” (quoted in Rosso del Brenna, “Rio: Uma capital nos trópicos,” 152).

that of Baron Haussmann in its greater emphasis on socioeconomic issues and methodologies, and in its attentiveness to the lessons that could be learned from its own experiments in international and colonial urbanism.¹⁴ The economist Georges Risler, director of the Musée Social's Urban and Rural Hygiene Section, tried to instill in his students an understanding of urbanism as emblematic of the complex relationship between the socioeconomic and political aspects of planning. Risler's thinking added a multidisciplinary dimension to the more traditional, Haussmannian approach of the SFU's first president, Eugène Hénard.¹⁵ For the sociologists and economists of the Musée Social and the early urbanists of the SFU, urban hygiene, moral progress, and economic prosperity depended not just on good circulation, but also on good social organization and on the availability of reliable socioeconomic data through which this organization could be studied and distributed urbanistically. One of the major goals of the Musée Social was to demonstrate to the working classes, through elaborate, convincing statistical analyses illustrated in impressive charts, tables, and graphs such

14. SFU architects participated widely in international urbanism competitions. Agache, for instance, submitted a plan in 1913 for the Australian capital, Canberra, for which he won third prize. (The winning project was submitted by Walter Burley Griffin.) Later in his career, Agache drew up improvement plans for Lisbon and several Brazilian cities, including one for Interlagos, a suburb of São Paulo (1945). SFU members who won grand prizes in international competitions included Jaussely in Barcelona (1903) and Hébrard in Guyaquil (1910). Better known are Jacques Gréber's proposals for Philadelphia. See J.-C. Delorme, "Jacques Gréber, urbaniste français," *Metropolis*, III, 1978/1979, 49–52, and the exhibition catalogue by D. Brownlee, *Building the City Beautiful*, Philadelphia, 1989. In 1914, the engineer E. Joyant and Henri Prost were called to Morocco by General Lyautey to participate in the planning of Rabat. Joyant published a technical manual, *Traité d'urbanisme*, in 1923. On Prost, see *L'oeuvre de Henri Prost: Architecture et urbanisme*, Paris, 1961, and J. Royer, "L'oeuvre de l'urbanisme de Henri Prost," *L'urbanisme*, LXXXVIII, 1965, 2–29. On planning in Morocco and its impact in France, see J. Abu-Lughod, *Rabat: Urban Apartheid in Morocco*, Princeton, 1980; B. Taylor, "Planned Discontinuity: Modern Colonial Cities in Morocco," *Lotus International*, XXVI, 1980, 53–66; J. Dethier, "Evolution of Concepts of Housing, Urbanism, and Country Planning in a Developing Country: Morocco, 1900–1972," in C. Brown, ed., *From Medina to Metropolis*, Princeton, 1973; and Rabinow, *French Modern*, 232–242, 277–319.

15. E. Hénard, *Etudes sur les transformations de Paris*, Paris, 1903–1909. In his preface to Agache's *Comment reconstruire nos cités détruites* (Paris, 1915), Risler wrote that Hénard was the "chef éminent de notre nouvelle école d'urbanisme." See Choay, "Pensées sur la ville," 253–254 and n. 2. Wolf acknowledges that the new urbanism added a new concern for social welfare to the Haussmannian and Hénardian concerns for circulation, hygiene, and aesthetics. It is precisely this new interest in the sociology of planning that must be explained if we are to understand the urbanism of the SFU and the Musée Social. Wolf argues that the engineer Hénard, "more than any other individual . . . brought this change to France." But he then proceeds to quote from Agache's *Comment reconstruire nos cités détruites* as the epitome of the new urbanist thinking, stating that Agache's "authoritative" work shows that "by 1915, the formulation of a definition and description of the new city planning was pretty well worked out in France." See Wolf, *Eugène Hénard*, 9; and below, n. 28.

as we find in the Agache plan, the success of a variety of paternalistic planning devices.¹⁶ The paternalistic *distribution* and segregation of the city along socioeconomic as well as ethnic lines was a hallmark of SFU urbanism abroad.¹⁷

Agache's career illustrates the new interdisciplinary orientation and international scope of SFU urbanism. As an architect affiliated since 1902 with the Musée Social, Agache was particularly sensitive to the economic and social aspects of planning. While Hénard was busy proposing improvements to the circulation system of Paris, Agache was investigating the problem of low-cost worker's housing in London.¹⁸ Agache's interest in social questions had been stimulated earlier in his career by his training at the Collège Libre des Sciences Sociales (CLSS) in Paris, where he took a course on sociology applied to architecture while still a student at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts.¹⁹ The CLSS was one of the leading social science teaching institutions in France at that time. Its curriculum was noteworthy for the diversity and eclecticism of its faculty, and for its emphasis on creative syntheses and applications across the disciplines.²⁰ After an international lecture tour, which included a trip to the 1904 St. Louis Exposition to head up the Musée Social mission there, Agache returned to Paris and joined the faculty of the CLSS in 1905. There he taught one of the earliest courses on the "social

16. The stated objective of the Musée Social was to give "free public access to information, consultation, documents, models, plans, statistics, etc., of the social institutions and organizations which have as their goal the improvement of the material and moral situation of the workers" (quoted in Wolf, *Eugène Hénard*, 77).

17. This was especially evident in Morocco. See Abu-Lughod, *Rabat*.

18. A. Agache, "La 'Housing Question' à Londres," *La science sociale*, 1902/1903, 237–256.

19. *Dictionnaire national des contemporains*, I, 20.

20. On the CLSS, see Dick May [Jeanne Weill], "L'enseignement social à Paris," *Revue internationale de l'enseignement (RIE)*, XXXII, 1896, 1–33; idem, "L'enseignement positiviste à Paris," *RIE*, XXXIII–XXXIV, 1897, 28–45; and idem, *L'enseignement social à Paris*, Paris, 1896, 60–108. According to Terry Clark, the Collège Libre was created in 1895 by Weill, the personal secretary of "the most important private philanthropist in the social sciences": the Comte de Chambun, who endowed the Musée Social. The Collège Libre was "the largest social science teaching institution in France." Weill, who was concerned with the fragmentation of efforts in sociology and pedagogy, gathered aspiring social scientists of different orientations and fostered discussion among persons of divergent views in her effort to achieve an instructional program that stressed creative synthesis. The school's first director was Theophile Funck-Brentano, a Le Playist professor from the Ecole Libre des Sciences Politiques. See Clark, *Prophets and Patrons*, 97, 155–156. Among the many courses offered was one entitled "Principles of Colonization" taught by the former governor of Indochina. Part of one of Gabriel Tarde's courses, "La sociologie politique," was published in *RIE*, XXXVII, 1899. Weill claimed that the school attracted some two hundred students from varied institutions, and a "nucleus of some twenty attended almost every course, collecting lecture notes without regard for doctrine, with a remarkably avid, curious, and almost passionate application despite the fact that there were no exams, prizes, degrees, or awaiting careers" (Clark, *Prophets and Patrons*, 157). But by the Tarde-Durkheim debate of 1904 and the accompanying rise of Durkheim and his school, the CLSS had fallen into decline (*ibid.*).

history of art" and, in 1914, the first formal course on urbanism to be offered in France.²¹

Through his involvement with the CLSS and the Musée Social and his active participation in the debates, seminars, and lectures sponsored by the Société de Sociologie de Paris (SSP), Agache was exposed to the ideas and methods of the major schools of French sociology between 1890 and 1915.²² It was during this important formative phase and in this Parisian sociological milieu that his own urbanistic thinking began to take shape. Building upon his foundation in Beaux-Arts design theory, he developed an urbanism that was informed by the three principal currents of French sociology around the turn of the century. The first was the positivist branch of the school of Frédéric Le Play, led by Edmond Demolins (1852–1907), editor of the journal *La science sociale*, in which Agache published several articles. Demolins and his followers developed the monographic method of Le Play and stressed geographic forces in the classification of sociological "facts."²³ The second current was the social psychology of Gabriel Tarde (1843–1904), the foremost sociologist in Paris prior to the arrival in 1902 of the dean of modern French sociology, Emile Durkheim (1858–1917). Tarde's sociology of cultural influences focused on imitation and the diffusion of innovations from center to periphery, and he emphasized the importance of mass communications in the diffusion process.²⁴ The third current was the social ideology

and moral philosophy of Durkheim, as these were articulated in his major writings, in the articles of the Durkheimian journal *L'année sociologique*, and in his celebrated debate with Tarde on the relationship between the individual and society. Durkheim's system stressed the subordination of individual arbitrariness to national "social solidarity" through the moral inculcation of the *conscience collectif* and the universal application of his "sociological method."²⁵

Equipped with the extensive arsenal of knowledge from his broad sociological training, Agache became a serious participant in the French social and moral reform movement of the early twentieth century. For Agache, as for the other members of the SFU, urbanism was to be the major means to this reform.²⁶

Influenced by the writings and Paris improvement projects of Hénard (1903–1908) but increasingly conditioned by Musée Social positivism and the ideology of national solidarity, the urbanism fostered by Risler and developed by Agache and the SFU's founding members responded as well to two new planning impulses. The first was the demand for a professionally

21. *Dictionnaire national des contemporains*, I, 20; Tougeron, "Donat-Alfred Agache," 33. According to Tougeron, Agache's urbanism course was very successful in responding to the new need for socially conscious architects trained in a multidisciplinary way.

22. The SSP was the Parisian version of René Worms's Institut International de Sociologie (IIS), founded in 1893. Gabriel Tarde was the SSP's first president. Worms (1869–1926), an "eclectic" sociologist, founded the *Revue internationale de sociologie (RIS)*, in which Agache published his ideas on talent (below, n. 32). Tarde was on its editorial board.

23. Le Play's major contribution to sociological methodology was the "monographic method" of community study, which emphasized the collection of quantifiable field data and the use of statistical techniques and highly selective principles of interpretation derived from his own family-based theoretical model of social control. See *The International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences*, 19 vols., New York, 1968, IX, 86–89. Demolins's major works were *A quoi tient la supériorité des Anglo-Saxons*, Paris, 1897; *L'éducation nouvelle: L'Ecole des Roches*, Paris, 1898; and *Les grandes routes des peuples: Essai de géographie sociale, Comment la route crée le type sociale*, Paris, 1901–1903. See also his "Classification sociale résultant des observations faites d'après la méthode de la science sociale," *La science sociale*, année XX, per. 2, fas. 10–11, January 1905.

24. On the sociologist and criminologist Gabriel Tarde, see T. N. Clark, ed., *Gabriel Tarde on Communication and Social Influence*, Chicago and London, 1969. According to Clark, Tarde's publication *Etudes de psychologie sociale* (Paris, 1898) was "the first in the world" to have *social psychology* on its cover. See Clark, *Prophets and Patrons*, 152. The lectures Tarde gave at the Collège Libre des Sciences Sociales in 1898 were published as *Les transformations du pouvoir*, Paris, 1899. For a brief summary of Tarde's ideas on diffusion and imitation, see Clark, *Gabriel Tarde*, 19–36, 54–62, and *The International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences*, XV, 509–513.

25. The literature on Durkheim (1858–1917), his school, and his influence is immense. But see especially S. Lukes, *Emile Durkheim: His Life and Work*, Harmondsworth, 1975; Y. Nandan, comp., *The Durkheimian School: A Systematic and Comprehensive Bibliography*, London, 1977; G. Hawthorn, *Enlightenment and Despair: A History of Sociology*, Cambridge, 1976; and I. M. Zeitlin, *Ideology and the Development of Sociological Theory*, Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1968, and revised edition, 1981. Durkheim's major works included *De la division du travail social*, Paris, 1893; *Les règles de la méthode sociologique*, Paris, 1894–1895 (*The Rules of Sociological Method*, New York, 1938); *Le suicide*, Paris, 1897; *Les formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse*, Paris, 1912 (*The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, London, 1964); and *L'éducation morale* (Cours de 1902–1903 à la Sorbonne), Paris, 1925 (*Moral Education*, Glencoe, 1961). Between 1902 and 1904, Tarde and Durkheim confronted one another personally in Paris, carrying on a debate they had maintained for years through their journals. In the debate, Durkheim represented the statist ideology of Cartesianism based on positivism, order, and authority, while Tarde represented the tradition of "spontaneity," the mentality of subjectivism and artistic creation. Whereas Tarde focused on the social psychology of individuals, Durkheim's attitude sought to combine a group-based secular morality and republican ideology with instruction in the "art of forming good citizens" (Clark, *Gabriel Tarde*, 7–18).

26. Tougeron finds the roots of this social reform movement in positivist philosophy, in the birth of the human geography of Vidal de la Blanche, and in the sociology of Lucien Levy-Bruhl (especially his *L'idée de responsabilité*, Paris, 1884, and *La morale et la science des moeurs*, Paris, 1903). He also mentions the general importance of the revolution in public education and collective morals, "chez Durkheim" (*L'éducation morale*, 1902–1903) and its impact on the enlargement of urban spaces to accommodate the expanded, universal concept of the public and the collective (Tougeron, "Donat-Alfred Agache," 35). He explores, however, neither Agache's own sociological background nor its specific impact on his urbanism. In addition to the expanded notion of the public and the establishment of a collective morality through the inculcation of the *conscience collectif*, Durkheim's intellectual imperialism must also be considered. His emphasis on the transferability of sociological "method" to other disciplines is important for understanding how the architect-urbanist could become the main universalist actor spearheading social reform through architecture and leading the campaign to educate the public through his "theory."

trained cadre of technicians and planners capable of responding efficiently to the devastations caused by World War I and restoring the "moral hygiene" of the nation. The second was the perceived need to recuperate French imperial prestige and reestablish a reputation for success. The Third French Republic too had an image problem.

The effort to revitalize France's destroyed cities and towns went hand in hand with a campaign to restore the "moral patrimony" of the Third Republic after the second wave of German aggression.²⁷ Agache's *Comment reconstruire nos cités détruites*, written in 1915 with J. M. Auburtin and E. Redont, contained a complete theoretical formulation of SFU urbanism, along with a detailed program for the reconstruction and urbanization of French cities and towns.²⁸ In the book's preface, Risler emphasized that the "hygienic" improvement of devastated areas would be the major means to assure French moral improvement, material prosperity, and "national solidarity."²⁹

Agache's book was significant for several reasons. First, it called for a program of "moral hygienic" reform that combined an emphasis on universal or "general laws" with a sensitivity to local circumstances and "the particular needs of each case." Second, it presented the harmonization of this "ensemble" of collective and individual needs as the main goal of the new doctrine he called *urbanisme*. Third, it emphasized that the ever-growing necessity to "satisfy with method the large number of collective needs" could be met only through the implementation of laws to govern the urban agglomeration. A logically conceived master plan was the means through which these laws were to be implemented on the urban level.³⁰

While the postwar reconstruction needs of France were an important impetus for SFU planning, Agache's "interventionist" conception of urbanism as a master plan that provided a moral and legal basis for social reform reflected his sensitivity to a second and ultimately more important impulse: the Third French Republic's desire to tighten (and maintain successfully) its control over its neocolonial and cultural empire. The central doctrinal and methodological expression of the new urbanism was the "Loi Cornudet," promulgated in 1919. This legislation, a product of French urban planning experiments in Morocco,

27. The first was the embarrassing Prussian occupation of Paris in 1870.

28. Agache's book resulted from a report of the Musée Social to the Parliamentary commission on postwar reconstruction. The report initiated a series of urbanist writings in the *Cahiers du redressement français*, the methodological convergence of which reflects their common root in Agache's work. (See Choay, "Pensées sur la ville," 254; and above, n. 15). Agache's collaborator E. Redont specialized in parks and gardens; see "L'utilité des plantations et parcs et jardins (espaces libres) dans les plans d'extension, d'alignement et de systematisation pour la regularisation du tracé des voies publiques," compte rendu in *Congrès international et exposition comparée des villes*, I (Ghent, 1913), Brussels, 1914, section 1, 23-26.

29. Agache, *Comment reconstruire nos cités détruites*, ix-xvi.

30. Choay, "Pensées sur la ville," 254.

mandated that all cities with a population over 10,000 have a *plan d'aménagement et d'extension*.³¹ The idea of the master plan as a mechanism of social control was central to Agache's urbanistic program. For the urbanists of the SFU, the war-devastated rural regions of France and "primitive" neocolonial "peripheries" like Morocco provided fields for experimentation in social engineering and urban planning, the lessons from which were subsequently brought back home to the center, fine-tuned into "universal" law, and then reexported in more sophisticated forms elsewhere. *Urbanisme* was born of national recovery and imperial consolidation.

Fresh from his successes as an SFU teacher and theorist, in 1927 Agache would take his urbanism to Brazil, where he would refine his system and considerably elaborate it. The result, published by Agache in 1930 as *Cidade do Rio de Janeiro: Extensão, remodelação, embelezamento*, was a master plan created to address both the special needs of a particular Brazilian case and the broader demands of a program of "universal" moral and social reform. Agache's plan for Rio was a blueprint for national socioeconomic and political development adapted to the centralizing and militaristic tendencies of a neocolonial Latin American regime. Epitomizing the ideologies and methods of SFU urbanism, it was a plan that coincided in large measure with the social program that Durkheim had called for and with the political and developmental program that the authoritarian regime of Getúlio Vargas would bring to Brazil after 1930.

Agache's theory of talent and urbanisme parlant

Agache's ideas on talent and the laws governing artistic production provide the key to understanding the development of his urbanism in France and Brazil. In an important communication published in 1909, Agache explained the theory that formed the basis of the social art history he had been teaching at the CLSS since 1905.³² This theory reflects his understanding of Demolins and Tarde and his evolving position in the Tarde-Durkheim controversy concerning the relative importance of psychological and social forces. It also suggests that, by 1909, a progression in his thinking from the positivistic categories of Demolins toward the imperialistic sociology of Tarde and in-

31. On the development of the Loi Cornudet of 14 March 1919, see Abu-Lughod, *Rabat*, and Dethier, "Evolution of Concepts." The law was rooted in the Moroccan *dahir* (decree) of 16 April 1914, which was intended to control growth through a master plan and zoning. Five years later, after the war had contributed to the perception that such legislation was also needed in France, the law was adopted as the first charter of urbanist legislation in France, which became the last of the major European powers to promulgate such legislation (after Sweden, 1874; Holland, 1901; Prussia, 1904; and England, 1909). The French had gotten back exactly what they had invested. As Royer put it, "Urbanism was introduced into France thanks to colonial urbanism" (quoted by Dethier, "Evolution of Concepts," 201).

32. A. Agache, "Société de Sociologie de Paris, Séance du mercredi 5 juin 1909," *Revue internationale de sociologie*, VII, 1909, 509-522.

creasingly toward the sociological imperialism of Durkheim was taking place. More important, Agache's social art history clarifies the evolution of his urbanism by suggesting how the social ideas to which he was exposed in his training were to be communicated and expressed in his urban design.

Agache was interested in determining "the large lines" of the "cause-to-effect" relations that existed between psychosocial phenomena rooted in geography, on the one hand, and artistic production, on the other.³³ He was particularly concerned with analyzing the extent to which the social attitude of the artist reflected general laws. He believed that the attitude and production of artists depended on two forces: psychological temperament and the influence of the social milieu.³⁴ Reflecting his commitment to the goals and methods of positivistic sociology, he affirmed that a "patient, minute, and methodical study" of these "facts" would lead to an understanding of the "grand laws" that conditioned artistic production.³⁵

Agache's cause-and-effect argument recalls the geographic determinism of his teacher Edmond Demolins. Calling Demolins's book *Les grandes routes des peuples* "very interesting and suggestive," Agache cited three of Demolins's "primitive" categories ("Bochiman" African or American "red-skin" hunters, Tartar mongol nomads, and Polynesian indigenous gatherers) to argue that the major characteristics of these societies consisted in their "immediate and absolute dependence on their physical place."³⁶ Agache followed Demolins in presenting these three

"primitive" types as proof of the law that art form depended on social type, which in turn depended on geography. But in fact there was also a socioeconomic determinism here: art form in these societies, which Agache saw as having "neither complicated organization nor progress in methods," was very different from that created in "more complicated civilizations," in which "leisure and art" were made possible by capital accumulation. "Of a coarse symbolism and awkward execution," art in these "simple" (inferior) societies was a product of basic economic activities and not of individual artistic genius.³⁷ From this, Agache sought to apply the "large lines" of Demolins's model to an analysis of how modern art emerged from the particular social and economic settings associated with artistic genius and capital accumulation on a large scale.

Agache's conceptions of the genius and the modern "milieu social" were narrowly focused on the European metropolis. In this he echoes Tarde's diffusionist theories of imitation and innovation.³⁸ Tarde's was a model of radial-concentric cultural diffusion in which ideas and inventions, the creation of gifted individuals, are disseminated throughout social systems by the process of imitation. These ideas, inventions, and imitations spread "like the ripples on the surface of a pond" from a creative (or developed) European center (like Paris) to a less advanced (or developing) periphery (like Rio).³⁹ The imitations continue to spread outward toward the limits of the system until they come into contact with some obstacle, itself probably the creation of an earlier imitation. The collision of the two "oppositions" is likely to result in the creation of a new invention, which is in turn imitated until it too meets further obstacles, and so on. Tarde saw this process as an infinitely repeatable, universal law that was transferable across the disciplines: he observed its operation not only in personalities and small groups, but also in the economy and international relations.⁴⁰

For Tarde, the law of imitation was both the key to innovation and invention, and the major means to the socialization of individuals and societies. An underdeveloped periphery could thus become socialized by imitating the European center, just as a child imitates an adult. Tarde believed that the center should

33. Agache states his goals: "... Il serait possible de déterminer du moins dans leurs grandes lignes les relations de cause à effet qui existent entre les différentes réalisations d'art et la plupart des phénomènes sociaux." He adds in note 1: "C'est ce que depuis quatre ans, je m'essaye à préciser dans les cours que je professe au Collège libre des sciences sociales" (ibid., 516 and n. 1).

34. "Le don inné ou tempérament d'une part, et d'autre part, l'influence du milieu social, telles sont les deux grandes composantes qui conditionnent l'attitude et la production des artistes suivant les temps et suivant les lieux" (ibid., 509).

35. "Je crois pouvoir affirmer qu'une étude patiente, minutieuse, et méthodique de ces faits amènerait la connaissance des grandes lois qui conditionnent la production artistique" (ibid., 516).

36. Ibid., 513 n. 1. Agache summarizes Demolins's argument: "La caractéristique de ces sociétés primitives consiste en la dépendance immédiate et absolue où elles sont du *Lieu Physique*. La steppe qui fournit l'herbe nécessaire aux troupeaux, ou la vallée qui abonde en fruits, la forêt ou la montagne que recèlent le gibier, permettent à ces peuplades du subsister en prélevant suivant leurs besoins les produits nécessaires à l'existence journalière. Leur travail qui, le plus souvent, équivalait à une simple récolte, n'est guère intensif; il n'exige, en tous cas, ni grande prévoyance, ni organisation compliquée, et n'incite ni au progrès des méthodes, ni à l'épargne, ni, par conséquent, à l'accumulation des capitaux. Les rouages de la vie économique sont donc très peu nombreux et se bornent à satisfaire les besoins immédiats. C'est précisément cette réserve de la nature, fournissant spontanément aux besoins de l'individu, chez ces différents peuples, qui remplace l'accumulation de capitaux dont on reconnaît l'importance dans les civilisations plus compliquées, comme dispensatif de Loisirs et d'Art" (ibid., 514). This last observation introduces a long discussion of the modern problem of artistic remuneration (ibid., 515-518).

37. Agache followed Demolins in concluding that in primitive societies, the "formes d'art sont en raison directe des phénomènes sociaux qui les conditionnent et non dans la dépendance des artistes plus ou moins géniaux qui sont capable de s'affirmer" (ibid., 516). The results were "pour nos sens raffinés, oeuvres d'un symbolisme grossier et d'une exécution maladroite" (ibid., 513).

38. Agache mentions "le mécanisme de l'imitation et de la répétition dont G. Tarde avait fait les bases d'une étude spécialisée" (ibid., 511 n. 1). He is referring here to Gabriel Tarde's *Les lois d'imitation*, Paris, 1890; 3d edition, revised and enlarged, 1900; English translation, *The Laws of Imitation*, tr. E. C. Parsons, New York, 1903 (sections of this translation are reprinted in Clark, *Gabriel Tarde*, 1969).

39. Tarde argued that imitation was channeled by status, from social superior to inferior. Clark, *Gabriel Tarde*, 21-23, 30.

40. Ibid., 21.

be imitated because of its superior social and intellectual status, and because of its unique capacity for creativity and "genius."⁴¹

While Tarde's ideas derived from Sir Francis Galton's *Hereditary Genius*, Agache followed Gabriel Séailles's *Essai sur le génie dans l'art* in defining genius as the "spontaneous power of creative organization."⁴² Agache synthesized Séailles's definition and Tarde's model of culture diffusion. The result was a theory of talent that focused on the explication of three processes: education, communication, and transposition. According to this theory, genius, which Agache says is innate, is not rare; but "applied" genius and its product, art, are.⁴³ The artist-genius does not have "talent" unless he is a publicist capable of "applying" his genius in the social realm. For Agache this social application had three parts. First, it was assumed that the artist had received "the first emanation of the social milieu": a proper education (preferably in Paris, Berlin, or London). Second, the artist must be able to establish a dialogue, a "mutual current of exchange," between himself and "a certain public." This exchange would have the effect of imperceptibly or gradually (*insensiblement*) adapting the two parties to the social milieu in which both must operate. Third, talent was not revealed unless the artist succeeded "in transposing in a perceptible form the ideas that are scattered and unformulated in the social milieu" so that the public is moved to "emotions in sympathetic correspondence" with his own.⁴⁴

The transformation of genius into talent and the successful transposition of ideas into art required not just a European education but also the artist's continuing participation in a specifically Parisian social milieu. For the American artist especially, Agache believed that close contact with the Tardian center was essential for artistic inspiration and for the achievement of "a true sentiment of high taste which is our lot": "it is absolutely

necessary that the individual who, overseas, possesses the appropriate temperament, be transplanted to Europe to be educated, become conscious of his capacities, and [then] produce, by going through the contagion of a favorable environment."⁴⁵

Furthermore, the artist must maintain his contact with this ambience, lest he lose his creative powers: "The American artist returns to his country to exercise his profession, but he quickly loses the acquired qualities and finds himself obliged, after a certain time, to take up contact with the European milieu again, if he wants to conserve his capacities for artistic production."⁴⁶ He must return to Paris, "to take up again the simple contact with Parisian life; to come, to walk, to have a good time for one or two months and *voilà!* new provisions of inspiration."⁴⁷ *Voilà!* is of course the pivotal notion we need to comprehend if we are to fathom the precise mechanics (or mysteries) of this diffusionist process, whereby "the sentiment of high taste" is absorbed "imperceptibly" through a magical osmosis otherwise unexplained.

Agache's argument that good or "high" art and its artistic inspiration depended on the specific social milieu of Paris illustrates his reformulation of the "large lines" of Demolins's general "geographic" determinism along the much narrower lines of Tarde's imperialistic sociology, with its more directed emphasis on an outward flow of genius and culture from center to periphery.

Agache's formulation of the three-part process of education, communication, and transposition is the key to understanding the creative process he followed in developing the social program of the Rio plan. Given the emphasis in his background and theory on creative applications across disciplines, it seems "socio-logical" that Agache would "transpose" his theory of artistic talent into the realm of urbanism. An urbanist, he argues, is born an urbanist. He cultivates this gift by getting a proper,

41. Ibid., 16, 32; *The International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences*, XV, 509-513.

42. F. Galton, *Hereditary Genius*, New York, 1871; G. Séailles, *Essai sur le génie dans l'art*, Paris, 1987; Clark, *Gabriel Tarde*, 23; Agache, "Séance," 511-512 and n. 1. Agache defines "genius" at greater length as "la puissance d'organiser des idées, des images ou des signes sans employer les procédés lents de la pensée réfléchie ou du raisonnement discursif" (ibid., 511).

43. "Le génie n'est pas une chose exceptionnelle; ce qui est rare, c'est de voir ce génie discipliné par les contingences, se mettre en réelle valeur, s'exprimer en beauté et s'épanouir enfin pour la plus grande gloire de l'humanité" ("Séance," 511).

44. The crucial passage reads: "... en accordant au terme *génie* la puissance spontanée d'organisation creatrice, [on pourrait] donner au mot *talent* cette signification de l'acquis dans l'effort qui provient pour une part de l'éducation reçue, première émanation du milieu social, et pour une autre part, de l'adaptation à ce même milieu qui se fait insensiblement par un mutuel courant d'échange entre le public et l'artiste, le talent ne se révélant en fait que s'il réussait à transposer, sous une forme sensible, les idées qui sont éparpillées et informulées dans le milieu social et s'il arrive par son interprétation personnelle à faire vibrer son prochain, c'est à dire à déterminer auprès d'un certain public, des émotions en correspondance sympathiques avec les siennes" (ibid., 512).

45. Speaking of the education of the American and his effort to attain "un sentiment juste du haut goût qui est nôtre apanage," Agache writes: "Comparons, par exemple, le milieu social actuel, aux Etats Unis et en Europe: il n'est pas excessif d'affirmer (j'en parle pour m'en être rendu compte par l'observation directe) que l'on trouverait dans un pays comme l'autre un nombre sensiblement égal d'individus apportant en naissant les qualités nécessaires à l'artiste; cependant sur le terrain américain, cet artiste en puissance est incapable de se révéler par les seuls moyens empruntés à son milieu; il faut, de toute nécessité, que l'individu qui, outre-mer, possède le don ou le tempérament convenable, soit transplanté en Europe pour faire son éducation, prendre conscience de ses capacités et produire, en subissant la contagion d'une ambience favorable" (ibid., 511-512).

46. "Formé à Paris, à Berlin ou à Londres, l'artiste américain retournera dans son pays pour exercer sa profession, mais il perdra bien vite alors les qualités acquises et il se verra obligé, au bout d'un certain temps, de reprendre contact avec le milieu européen, s'il tient seulement à conserver ses capacités de production artistique" (ibid.).

47. "... Il leur suffit de reprendre le simple contact avec la vie parisienne; qu'ils viennent, qu'ils se promènent, qu'ils s'amusent pendant un ou deux mois et les voilà de nouveau nantis d'inspirations" (ibid., 513).

wide-ranging education.⁴⁸ But the truly talented and successful urbanist must be able to communicate his education to a particular audience, transpose his ideas into the palpable form of urban design, and, in so doing, elicit a sympathetic response from his public. The goal of the urbanist was to convince a "certain public" of the moral imperative of his program and to "externalize plastically" the social ideals of that program in his urbanism, so that his fellow man could see them and be moved by them.⁴⁹ This transposition of social ideas into urban form, and the implied conjugation of "good" urban form into "good" social behavior, was the basis of Agache's sociological *urbanisme parlant*.⁵⁰ Just as "talent" is genius understood and applied in social terms, Agache's urbanism can be understood and *seen* in part as an exercise in applied social philosophy. Well before his departure for Brazil, Agache had set up the urbanist in general and himself in particular as the Beaux-Arts genius of applied sociology.

In formulating his theory of talent and transposing it into urbanism, Agache was not content merely to "imitate" Tarde's and Demolins's conceptual "inventions." He went beyond Tarde's psychological interests in "genius" to define "talent" in more Durkheimian terms, as applied and socially successful genius. While "genius" and inspiration were primarily matters of psychological temperament and the "right" origins and environment, talent and urbanism operated in the broader social milieu of the "public" and were subject to more rigorous sociological analysis. Agache's understanding of Demolins's geographic and economic determinism evolved into a capitalist *économie sociale* that was informed by Tarde's diffusionism and the specifically Parisian social milieu of the Third French Republic. For Agache as for Demolins, Tarde, and Durkheim, this social milieu was largely a matter of socioeconomic class. For

Durkheim and those influenced by him, the prosperity, leisure, and art of this milieu depended ultimately on the state's ability to maintain "social solidarity" and the national "moral patrimony" through the inculcation of the *conscience collectif*.⁵¹ Art depended on wealth, which depended on the good morals of the collectivity.

Agache's growing preoccupation with education, the public, and social applications reflected the rise of the sociological imperialism of Durkheim.⁵² For Durkheim sociology was less a discipline than a method that could be applied to the variety of disciplines within the French university system. It was largely through the Sorbonne and the French Ecoles that the conquest of public morals was to be achieved and the intellectual hegemony of the "sociological method" institutionalized. Urbanism was one of the major disciplines in which its "rules" would be applied and taught. Following upon the success of Agache's course on urbanism offered at the CLSS beginning in 1914, a new school of urbanism was established at the Sorbonne, along-

48. Agache wrote: "O urbanista nasce urbanista; é um dom innato" (*Cidade do Rio*, 13). He emphasized that students of urbanism should travel abroad and work in foreign ateliers in order to learn how to "conjugate theory into practice": "É pois de absoluta necessidade que esses alunos procurem completar esses cursos por meio de viagens, estudos pessoais e frequentam com assiduidade os ateliers de architectos-urbanistas afim de conjugar a prática com a theoria" (ibid., 42).

49. Concerning the special talents of the urbanist, Agache wrote: "É preciso para ser urbanista ter a sensibilidade, sentir como um artista e poder exteriorisar, plasticamente, a quadro onde todos os efeitos sociaes da vida se manifestem em immediata coordenação" (ibid., 8).

50. The use of the term *urbanisme parlant* to describe Agache's work was suggested by Tougeron, who wrote: "Le dessin du plan donne . . . à voir les valeurs institutionnelles, économiques, et politiques dominantes de la Cité. Pour Agache, il y a correspondance entre ces valeurs dominantes et les éléments principaux de la composition du plan urbain. La correspondance passe par le registre emblématique de l'urbanisme de percées et de perspectives composées. Un tel emploi désignerait-il un urbanisme 'parlant'?" (Tougeron, "Donat-Alfred Agache," 41). Tougeron does not, however, go beyond this to demonstrate how Agache's urbanism "speaks" in the specific sociological languages of Tarde, Durkheim, and the Musée Social.

51. See especially Risler's comments in the preface to Agache, *Comment reconstruire nos cités détruites*. On the institutionalization of Durkheimian sociology and its relationship to the ideology of the Third French Republic, see Clark, *Prophets and Patrons*, 162–195; and G. Weisz, "The Republican Ideology and the Social Sciences: The Durkheimians and the History of Social Economy at the Sorbonne," in P. Besnard, ed., *The Sociological Domain: The Durkheimians and the Founding of French Sociology*, Cambridge, 1983, 90–119. The other leading exponents of the doctrine of solidarity or solidarism, the state ideology of the Third Republic, were Léon Bourgeois, Léon Duguit, and Charles Gide. While Durkheim's conception focused on the moral solidarity of the *conscience collectif* and a professional solidarity based on the division of labor, Bourgeois and Duguit emphasized the "scientific fact of interdependence" over the moral element. Charles Gide stressed economic unity and argued that the organizing principle of solidarity was consumption: since all men were consumers, the only true basis for social solidarity in a moral republic was consumerism. See Rabinow, *French Modern*, 184–186, 190–193; L. Bourgeois and A. Croiset, eds., *Essai d'une philosophie de la solidarité: Conférence et discussions*, Paris, 1902; J. E. S. Hayward, "Solidarity: The Social History of an Idea in Nineteenth-Century France," *International Review of Social History*, II, 1959, 272; idem, "Solidarist Syndicalism: Durkheim and Duguit, I," *The Sociological Review*, VIII, no. 1, July 1960, 17; idem, "Solidarist Syndicalism: Durkheim and Duguit, II," *The Sociological Review*, VIII, no. 2, Dec. 1960, 189; and idem, "The Official Social Philosophy of the Third French Republic: Léon Bourgeois and Solidarism," *International Review of Social History*, VI, 1961, 32.

52. Clark, *Prophets and Patrons*, 169–172, 98. Durkheim's proselytizing manifesto was *Les règles de la méthode sociologique*, published in 1895, the year the CLSS was founded. Durkheim sought to define sociology as a method that would be applicable not only to sociologists but to other "scientists," who used "social" as a qualifying adjective. As Clark has noted, the breadth of Durkheim's definition fostered sociological specializations within various disciplines: in this way the "intellectual despotism" of Durkheim and his central "school" could be institutionalized. Durkheim's popularity thus lay in his broad and loose definition of sociology. Such breadth made it possible for specialists of diverse interests to develop a sociological orientation in their particular area of expertise (Clark, *Prophets and Patrons*, 169–172, 98). Agache's urbanism is a perfect example.

side Durkheim's course on morals and sociology.⁵³ As Terry Clark has observed, by 1914 "the Durkheimians were the most completely institutionalized grouping of social scientists in France, and their success in this regard certainly eclipsed all others."⁵⁴ Tarde's son Alfred, writing with Henri Massis under the pseudonym Agathon, characterized the situation in 1910: "M. Durkheim has firmly established his intellectual despotism. He has made of his teaching an instrument of domination."⁵⁵

Pre-Rio applications

The social sciences of Demolins, Tarde, Durkheim, and the Musée Social positivists were an important part of the methodological and ideological baggage Agache took to Brazil in 1927 and unpacked in his urbanism. But they also underlay the ideology of the 1925 Exposition Internationale des Arts Décoratifs in Paris. Agache's participation in the Expo provides the backdrop for his departure for Rio. One of the goals of the exposition was to advertise French national progress and promote the international diffusion of modern French styles, arts, and industries as the basis for a universal program of moral reform and cultural advancement.⁵⁶

Agache's Maison-de-Tous, presented at the Expo, and his earlier Boucherie-Modèle ECO (Economie Cooperative Ouvrière), of 1917, exemplify the ideal of a socially based architecture that could be imitated in any context for the purpose of hygienic and moral improvement.⁵⁷ The Boucherie, which made use of the new technology of reinforced concrete, represented Agache's

universal model for the program "butcher shop." It was a well-ventilated, amply lit, airy building of "perfect freshness" (*fraicheur parfaite*), "faultless cleanliness" (*irreprochable propreté*), and "white harmony" (*harmonie blanche*), in which "the consumer never touches the meat."⁵⁸ The "clean," white style of the architecture and the generally hygienic conditions of the shop, it was believed, would lead to good consumer behavior.

Similarly, the Maison-de-Tous, part of the Expo's Village Français, shows Agache's interest in the diffusion of the idea of a "moral" house for the collectivity, a house that sought to combine the function "shelter" with that of a sort of country club or community center. The house would provide a place where workers could "get together, enjoy themselves, and be instructed," without having to go to others' houses or to the cabaret for companionship or entertainment.⁵⁹ In these proposals, we see a division of spaces and functions along implied socioeconomic lines related to the zoning and urban apartheid that characterized SFU urbanism in Morocco. Workers and consumers were to be spatially separated from the potentially "unhygienic" situations associated with touching meat, visiting neighbors, and going to nightclubs. In this way, the "suppliers" of the new morality, equipped with the Durkheimian notions of increasing specialization and the division of labor, sought to achieve their "white harmony" and ensure the successful marketing and consumption of their products across the broader matrix of a global space. In the Maison-de-Tous, a "moral" social solidarity was to be achieved through the creation of a new kind of collective space that provided morally acceptable forms of entertainment. In the Boucherie Modèle, a "clean" social solidarity was to be achieved through the implementation of Charles Gide's notion of a collective consumerism (above, n. 51).

The purpose and methods of the Expo should thus be seen in the double contexts of Tarde's diffusionist sociology, with its emphasis on the center's cultural (and economic) control over the imitating (consuming) periphery, and of Durkheim's social ideology, with its emphasis on moral improvement through the application of the universal models of sociological "method." In Agache's Expo buildings, the "hygienic" program and "clean" architectural style become the "method" of social clean-

53. On the success of Agache's course at the CLSS, see Risler's preface to Agache, *Comment reconstruire nos cités détruites*. On the teaching of urbanism in France, see Agache, *Cidade do Rio*, 37–42. The Ecole des Hautes Etudes Urbaines, decreed in 1921, was renamed the Institut d'Urbanisme of the University of Paris in 1924. According to Agache, its residence was in the Sorbonne, and its courses were offered in the Faculty of Law.

54. Clark, *Prophets and Patrons*, 98, 157. After Durkheim's arrival in Paris in 1902, his teaching began to eclipse that of other sociologists in the capital. With the death of Demolins's patron De Tourville in 1903 and the rift in the CLSS over the Dreyfus Affair, Demolins's and Tarde's following gradually died out. Meanwhile, Durkheim's followers gathered around the *Année sociologique*, started in 1896, and "work by most persons at the CLSS suffered by comparison" (*ibid.*, 157).

55. Agathon [pseud. of Henri Massis and Alfred de Tarde, joint authors], *L'esprit de la Nouvelle Sorbonne: La crise de la culture classique, la crise du français*, Paris, 1911, 98–100 (quoted in Clark, *Prophets and Patrons*, 193 n. 90).

56. Tougeron argues that the goal of the exposition was "avant tout économique . . . pour le ministère du Commerce et de l'Industrie, il s'agit de freiner les importations de produits étrangers, de stimuler et de protéger les industries d'art français" (Tougeron, "Donat-Alfred Agache," 31–32). See also *Rapport sur une exposition internationale des Arts Décoratifs et Modernes—Paris 1915*, Rapport présenté par René Guillerie, président de la Société des artistes décorateurs, 1 juin 1911, Paris, 1915.

57. Tougeron, "Donat-Alfred Agache," 32–37 and figs. 19–22. The Maison-de-Tous was also published in P. Selmersheim, *Le Village Moderne, les constructions régionalistes et quelques autres pavillons à l'Exposition des Arts Décoratifs*, Paris, 1925, plate 4.

58. See the preface entitled "Evolution des arts décoratifs et industriels au début du XXe siècle" in *Rapport générale de l'exposition internationale des arts décoratifs et industriels—Paris 1925*, Paris, 1927; the article on the Boucherie Modèle in *La construction moderne*, Paris, 19 October 1919; and Tougeron, "Donat-Alfred Agache," 34.

59. The journalist Léandre Vaillat wrote that the origin of the Maison-de-Tous went back to SFU president Marcel Auburtin's "ambition de répandre cette idée d'une maison commune qui ne serait pas un temple de haine mais une manière de club paysan . . . un lieu pour se réunir, s'amuser, s'instruire ailleurs que chez autrui ou au cabaret." See L. Vaillat, "Le Village Français à l'Exposition," *L'Illustration*, no. 4301, Paris, 8 August 1925; and Tougeron, "Donat-Alfred Agache," 34.

up. All is impeccable and beyond question. The structural system supporting the edifice is obscured, the underlying ideology not to be discussed. Individual architectural elements are abstracted and generalized, treated like "social facts," externally constrained and unexpressed. Agache and the reformers of the SFU saw people and architectural elements as so many abstract ideas, which, scattered and unclearly formulated in their goals and applications, could be brought together and unified into an orderly moral ensemble.⁶⁰

Agache's career illustrates the rising importance of the architect-urbanist as a major agent of diffusionist reform and French cultural (and economic) expansion. His contribution to the Expo and his work in Brazil show how the urbanist, equipped with this "method," became a powerful public educator, a salesman of the moral ideology of the Third French Republic both at home and abroad.⁶¹ Agache too was interested in the global marketing of French ideas and arts. He saw the Americas as a vast field for their grand consumption and the possessor of considerable buying power.⁶² As Gabriel Tarde explained, "A nation which is becoming civilized and whose wants are multiplying consumes much more than it is able or than it desires to produce."⁶³ The key to developing or civilizing such a nation lay in part in the effort to create a social solidarity of consumers as prescribed by Gide, and an appropriate moral consensus as prescribed by Durkheim. Agache's problem was to create urban forms that would promote the "civilized" behaviors associated with the large-scale consumption of French "goods."

The Rio seminars and the communication of social ideas

In 1927 Agache was invited to Rio de Janeiro by the city's reform-minded mayor, Antonio Prado Junior, to deliver a series of conferences on urbanism. Given Rio's unprecedented growth and the city's long tradition of dependence on French expertise, the mayor's selection of a serious, professional urbanist like Agache is not surprising. At the time of his appointment, Agache

held the title Architect to the French Government and was secretary general of the SFU. He had distinguished himself through his courses; through his writings and projects, especially the third prize he had won for his entry in the international competition for the Australian capital, Canberra; and through his frequent international lecture tours and travels, which had taken him, among other places, to London, New York, and Chicago. Agache's prominence in the social milieu of Paris *urbanisme*, as well as his familiarity with the major examples and theories of both British and American city planning, particularly the Garden City of Ebenezer Howard and the planning ideas of Daniel Burnham, made him a logical choice for the mayor and Rio's elite, who increasingly thought of their city as a metropolis with world-class ambitions if not yet attributes.⁶⁴ A professional like Agache, with his "universal" vision and an international reputation for success, could be the one to supply Rio with what it lacked.

Agache's conferences outlined the latest techniques of the new European discipline of *urbanisme*, provided a diagnosis of Rio's problems, and suggested how the urbanist might apply his expertise and methods to solve them. To Agache, the city lacked mainly a means to control its growth, and someone or something to supervise and guarantee this control. The intervention of such a controller was justified because this underdeveloped city was a pathological case in need of diagnosis and treatment from an expert (social) physician. Agache described himself and Rio:

I want you to see me as a kind of doctor who has been consulted and who is more than pleased to bring his knowledge to bear and to be able to make use of it in his consideration of this pathological case submitted for his examination. I say pathological case because Mlle Carioca [Rio de Janeiro] is certainly sick. Never fear, however, since her illness is not congenital: it is one that is curable, because it is a problem of a growth crisis.⁶⁵

60. This social-reform approach to architecture, related stylistically to the abstracted classicism of August Perret, represented a transitional phase of modern architectural development between the academic eclecticism of the nineteenth century and the avant-garde modernism of the twentieth.

61. Louis Lafitte, the organizer of the exposition of "La Cité Moderne" in Nancy (1913), where Agache exhibited his 1912 plan for Dunkirk, explained the role of the architect: "Parmi les ouvriers de l'oeuvre future, l'architecte occupe une place éminente . . . , possède les qualités de l'éducateur public. Un enseignement se dégage de ses travaux. . . . Comme l'ingénieur, l'industriel, ou le négociant, il est un agent d'expansion, un propagateur d'influence." Lafitte further emphasized that this was especially true for architects working internationally: "Lorsqu'il édifie hors de son pays, il prépare et facilite l'action ultérieure des techniciens et des fabricants, ses compatriotes" (L. Lafitte, "L'Exposition de Nancy: La cité moderne," in *L'architecture*, XXVI, 1913, 176; quoted in Tougeron, "Donat-Alfred Agache," 33).

62. Agache, "Séance," 513, 519–521.

63. Tarde, *The Laws of Imitation*, in Clark, *Gabriel Tarde*, 187.

64. Agache's other achievements included planning projects for Dunkirk (1912), Paris (1920), Reims (1921), Creil (1925), Poitiers (1926), and Dieppe, Joigny, Tours, and Orléans (1927). For Agache's impressions of urbanism in Chicago and New York, see "L'urbanisme aux Etats-Unis: Comment Chicago est devenu l'une de plus belles cités du monde grâce à la remodelation," *L'intransigeant*, Paris, 15 August 1929, and "New York, splendide monstruosité," *L'intransigeant*, Paris, 17 August 1929. (I would like to thank Mardges Bacon for these two references.) The Agache plan was clearly indebted in its general organization to Burnham and Bennett's plan of Chicago (1909), with its impressive watercolors, legal appendix, and interest in civic monumentality and circulation. Agache quoted Burnham's line "Make no little plans" and presented the Porta do Brasil as the site for a great universal exposition similar to the one built on the reclamation lands along Lake Michigan in 1893. See Agache, *Cidade do Rio*, 214. The impact of North American planning on Agache's urbanism deserves a special study, which cannot be attempted here.

65. "Desejo que vejaes em mim uma especie de médico, que foi consultado e se julga feliz por trazer os seus conhecimentos e poder fazê-los valer no caso pathológico submettido a sua apreciação. Digo caso

To the disciplined positivist, the reasons for Rio's sickness were clear: the city had not taken the "necessary precautions" to ensure social control; it was like a "child growing too quickly." Agache's medical solution to Rio's problems anticipates the modern-day "prescriptions" of the International Monetary Fund: it needed "a severe diet, a norm of progress and discipline, and a regulation plan to set its digestion straight."⁶⁶ The key to Rio's development lay in the proper socialization of this possibly overfed, obviously irresponsible (female) child following the prescriptions of the European medical expert.

Agache's diagnosis was preceded by the first comprehensive study of his patient's history and topography. His definition of Rio's problems and needs was aided by his introduction of a new set of analytical and surgical techniques that, when applied to the urban patient, would enable him to dissect and reconstitute its vital parts. First he had to perform an exploratory procedure, to survey Rio comprehensively to localize the specific "unhealthy tissue." Two of the most powerful new techniques of SFU urbanism, which Agache introduced in Rio for this purpose, were aerial photography and the survey method. Developed by fliers during World War I, aerial photography greatly facilitated the urbanist's control over his "patient" by presenting him with a variety of large and more focused views of the area surveyed. From these "aerial X-rays" it became possible to "target" certain areas for surgical "strikes" and carefully planned "interventions." It was important for the urbanist concerned with the smooth functioning of the system as a whole to have an all-encompassing view from above.⁶⁷

An even more important tool of SFU urbanism, one that was fundamental for supporting the urbanist's intentions and defining the functions and program of the city, was the survey meth-

od. The positivistic teachings of Demolins and the economists of the Musée Social, with their emphasis on the preparation of monographic studies based on the comprehensive collection of detailed social, geographical, and economic statistics, provided the methodological source for Agache's preliminary survey of Rio. Patrick Geddes, Demolins's follower, had called for just such a city and regional survey as the necessary first step in drawing up a master plan.⁶⁸ Agache accordingly prefaced his proposals with a complete topographical, historical, and demographic analysis illustrated in numerous charts, graphs, and tables. Such authoritative data provided convincing evidence of the accuracy of Agache's diagnosis and argued strongly for the need to control his patient's growth along the lines defined by the urbanist. Statistics were an important, forceful element in the marketing of Agache's social ideas.

Agache's frequent use of the doctor-and-patient analogy shows that, as his artistic and social theory was transposed into a system of urbanism in Brazil, his earlier interest in a "mutual current of exchange" between two presumably equivalent parties adapting to a common social environment would be revised to an emphasis on the professional urbanist's rhetorical preparation of the public for the surgical operations he was about to perform. Thus anaesthetized, the patient would more willingly open itself up to an "intervention" deriving from the "learned" (Parisian) social milieu of the genius.

In Agache's overriding concern for the success of the operation, for eliciting a public response that was sympathetic to the urbanist's own, the points of view of a wider public took backseat to the act of convincing a "certain public," defined in more exclusive terms to guarantee the "success" of the fine art of urbanism. In his preoccupation with making the sale, he focused his pitch on those who were most likely to buy his product. He emphasized that the urbanist should communicate above all with the city's business leaders, especially the representatives of the local automobile club, the railroad companies, and the Chamber of Commerce: "It is indispensable for the artist always to feel in close contact with those who will benefit from the city."⁶⁹

patológico, porque Mlle Carioca, que acabo de visitar, está certamente doente; não temas, porém, porquanto a sua molestia não é congénita: é daquellas que são possíveis de cura, pois o seu mal consiste em uma crise de crescimento" (Agache, *Cidade do Rio*, 5).

66. Ibid., 5-6, 20.

67. In his fourth conference lecture, Agache explained the methods of aerial photography and their applications to planning (ibid., 29-33). Although he did not actually use the technique for his own plan, he did introduce it to the Brazilians, who used it as the basis for Rio's "cadastral plan." It was also used in the preliminary planning of the new capital, Brasília. The survey of Rio was made beginning in 1930; the preliminary aerial survey of Brasília, in 1953. The idea of creating a new capital in Brazil's interior goes back to late colonial times, but the legislative groundwork and the search for a specific site came only with the proclamation of the republic in 1889. President Vargas's new constitution of 1934 contained a provision for transferring the capital to a centrally located point in Brazil. During Vargas's second presidential administration, a law was passed providing for the demarcation of the Federal District. In 1953, a Brazilian company, Aerofoto, used aerial photography to survey the proposed site. In 1954, the firm of Donald Belcher and Associates of Ithaca, New York, carried out additional surveys over a ten-month period (Evenson, *Two Brazilian Capitals*, 110-111).

68. Geddes developed the concept of the regional survey, which derived from his thesis that community development is a biological problem whose solution depends upon the diagnosis of complex interactions among people, human activity, and environment. An outline of Geddes's survey method is found in M. Stalley, ed., *Patrick Geddes: Spokesman for Man and the Environment*, New Brunswick, 1972, 264-265. When Geddes was in Paris in 1878-1879, he was strongly impressed by a lecture given by Demolins, in which the French sociologist discussed the analogy between the social and biological sciences. Geddes and Demolins continued to be associated through a series of summer meetings held in Edinburgh between 1887 and 1889 (ibid., 10, 21).

69. "E . . . indispensável que o artista se sinta sempre em estreito contacto com aquelles que vão usufruir da cidade. . . ." He adds that the help of a man "versed in law" is also called for (Agache, *Cidade do Rio*, 16).

Agache's conference lectures, later published as an introduction to the master plan itself, epitomize his social ideology and imperialistic idealism. Beyond providing a plastic expression of the ideas of sociology, the goal of the urbanist was not primarily to ensure that the plan be immediately carried out in all its physical dimensions, but to "conquer" the city ideologically for the "cause" of urbanism as he defined it. Agache describes his role in the terms of a positivist missionary whose proselytizing "conquest" of Rio is officially sanctioned and inevitable: "I came here, as you know, called by your mayor Antonio Prado Junior, principally on a mission of divulgence [*propaganda*]. My mission is to win over [*conquistar*] in this city the maximum number possible of adherents to the cause of urbanism, and I believe that I will carry forth my enterprise successfully."⁷⁰ The success of this "enterprise" was dependent on a forcefully presented program of sociological and moral rhetoric in the guise of urbanist "theory." Agache saw this rhetoric as an essential "public relations" means of validating his proposals to the *cariocas* (the inhabitants of Rio) and winning their support for his transposition. As he put it: "It is necessary that the sick patient be the first to desire her cure."⁷¹

In his emphasis on winning the patient's approval before performing the operation, Agache reflects both the impact of the communications theory of Gabriel Tarde and his own sensitivity to the failures of the earlier urban reforms of Rio's Haussmann, the prefect Francisco de Pereira Passos.⁷²

Agache apparently realized that what had been missing from Rio's "Haussmannization" episode was a comprehensive corpus of social doctrine to underpin the program and guarantee its success. This doctrine would be provided through Agache's urbanism, largely by the sociology of Tarde and the moral ideology of Durkheim.

Tarde's Neoplatonic emphasis on the centrality and primacy of ideas and their outward flow had led him to stress their verbal communication as a means of establishing an identity of interests between the originators and the receivers of an innovation. This communication was seen as an important antecedent to successful imitation in the periphery.⁷³ According to Tarde, knowl-

edge (or capital, or artistic innovation, or social behavior) developed or advanced in small increments and depended for successful implementation on the groundwork provided by the antecedent ideas. If the groundwork was laid, innovation and imitation were more likely to succeed. Furthermore, "the more an invention [met] the predominant cultural emphasis, the more likely it [was] to be imitated."⁷⁴ The less the invention met the predominant values, the stronger the rhetoric had to be to prepare the way for the imitation. It was this Tardian diffusionist analysis that informed Agache's emphasis on the communication of social ideas in his conferences as the prerequisite for their urbanistic transposition in Rio. The role of this rhetoric, moreover, was not only to prepare the way for the transposition, but also to fill the gap between the dream of rapid development based on imitation and the acknowledged fact of advancement in "small increments." To see the project successfully realized would of course take some time.

Agache's highly successful conferences were the means through which he achieved the second component of his "theory of talent" triad: the communication of social ideas. Impressed with the urbanist's presentation and apparently convinced by his diagnosis and proposed treatment, the mayor "bought" the package and commissioned Agache to draw up Rio's first comprehensive master plan, thus providing him with the opportunity to complete the triad through a concrete expression of his ideas.

Rio de Janeiro provided Agache with a major field for the marketing and refinement of his urbanistic system. It was in Rio that he synthesized the lessons of his sociological background, the developments of the early years of SFU urbanism, and his theory of artistic talent into a more unified urbanism that "spoke" French sociology. It was in the master plan for Rio that Agache's ideas took their most provocative, concrete form.

Rio's program and the intentions of urbanism

Agache's urbanistic intentions and methods, rooted in the French social sciences and the design theory of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, follow from his definition of *urbanisme parlant* and his formulation of Rio's specific urban program. Agache believed that urban form expressed the city's very nature; that is, it should follow the function of the city as defined by history and redefined for the future by the urbanist. The city's functions and its future program were determined by the detailed historical and topographical survey and the in-depth statistical analysis he had performed. Agache's research led him to conclude that Rio's urban program derived from its double function as a politico-administrative capital, on the one hand, and an economic hub, a commercial and industrial market and a port, on the other. He further concluded that, to the extent that Brazil continued

70. "Aqui vim, bem o sabeis, chamado pelo vosso Prefeito, Sr. Antonio Prado Junior, principalmente para um fim de propaganda. Tenho por missão conquistar nesta cidade o maior número possível de adeptos a causa do urbanismo, e creio que levarei a bom termo meu empreendimento" (ibid., 6).

71. "É preciso que o enfermo seja o primeiro a desejar a sua cura" (ibid., 5).

72. Agache was no doubt aware of the urban riots that broke out in Rio in 1904 in reaction to the inoculation requirements of the urban hygiene program of Pereira Passos. See note 6 above.

73. See Clark, *Gabriel Tarde*, 29. Tarde's model stressed not only the centrality of the gifted individual or "superior" group as the fountainhead of innovation, but also the centrality of the idea that produces a form or innovation. First a goal, then the means to create it were conceived.

74. Ibid., 25.

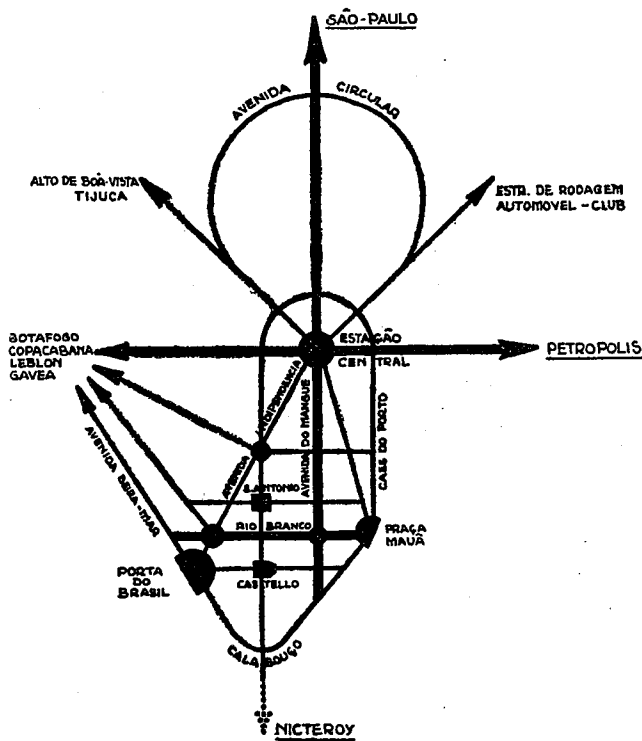


Fig. 3. Alfred Agache, Schematic plan of Rio's circulation patterns, "Os Cinco Dedos," 1930. Petrópolis lies to the north, Copacabana to the south (*Cidade do Rio*, p. 137, fig. 1).

to develop, Rio's economic function would become more and more important.⁷⁵

Once he had conducted the necessary preliminary surveys and had convinced the patient of the need for the operation—once he had "sold" the idea, defined the city's program for the future, and laid the groundwork for its transposition—Agache could begin to put his program into action. While his use of the survey method and statistical analysis reflect the impact of Demolins and the Musée Social, both his definition of the intentions of urbanism and the social and moral ideas transposed in the visual forms of his master plan were more strongly informed by the thinking of Tarde and Durkheim. Like his ideas on talent and communication, Agache's larger goals for Rio's development were heavily influenced by Tarde's notions of diffusion and innovation. Agache's Rio circulation diagram (Fig. 3) expresses a Tardian diffusionist model on two levels. First, it imitates the schematic thinking applied by Eugène Hénard to Paris and other European centers—London, Berlin, and Moscow (Fig. 4).⁷⁶ The urbanist seeks to socialize (metropolitanize) Rio by making it conform to the rational system of the *métropole*. Then, in the

directional emphases provided by Agache's arrows, the diagram also suggests the further diffusion of ideas and capital out of the city, to other centers within a hierarchical urban network, and ultimately into the Brazilian hinterland. As Tarde explained, "Initially inventions tend to be imitated by those parts of man and society that are closest to the source of invention, from which they subsequently radiate outward to more distant parts."⁷⁷ A newly metropolitanized capital sets the example for the backward hinterland just as the adult socializes the developing child. As Rio goes, so (*insensiblement*) would go Brazil.

Agache's theory of urbanism was influenced not only by Tarde's diffusionist model but also by Tarde's debate with Durkheim concerning the relationship between the individual and society.⁷⁸ While Tarde generally emphasized the socialization and psychology of individuals, Durkheim argued that the key to socialization was to subordinate the will of each individual to the cohesive force of the *conscience collective*. He defined this collective conscience in terms of "social facts," the "external constraints" imposed upon individuals by group values and norms such as duty, discipline, nationalism, and fervent patriotism.⁷⁹ These were the same values that had been championed by the early urbanists of the SFU in their effort to revive the "moral patrimony" of France after the war.

Durkheimian sociology advocated the rigid imposition of a set of vaguely defined rules deemed universally applicable, rules that would subordinate the "arbitrariness" of individuals to the "social solidarity" of states. As in the case of the artist's absorption of Parisian inspiration, the precise nature and operations of these "rules" and the way in which the collective conscience was to be inculcated were somewhat ill-defined.⁸⁰ While a "good" education and continued exposure to the "right" social milieu clearly had major roles to play, Agache's definition of urbanism clarifies how architecture might function in visually transposing and socially unifying the "scattered and unformulated" ideas into a distinctly Durkheimian vision of the city. The inculcation of a common morality based on Durkheim's sociology would provide the social cement necessary to make the project "concrete." The new "consensus" derived from this common morality would make it possible for Rio to "develop" along the diffusionist lines proposed by Tarde.

Agache's master plan for Rio as applied sociology

In his introduction to the master plan, Agache defined urbanism in multidisciplinary, sociophilosophical terms:

77. Clark, *Gabriel Tarde*, 29.

78. See above, n. 25.

79. See Zeitlin, *Ideology*, 1981, 290–291; and Durkheim, *Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, 427, 444.

80. As Clark has pointed out, it was the very vagueness of Durkheim's conceptions that made them appealing and broadly applicable for specialists in other disciplines. See Clark, *Prophets and Patrons*, 169–171.

75. Agache, *Cidade do Rio*, 119–120.

76. E. Hénard, *Etudes sur les transformations de Paris*, Fascicle 6, *La circulation dans les villes modernes: L'automobilisme et les voies rayonnantes de Paris*, Paris, 1905.

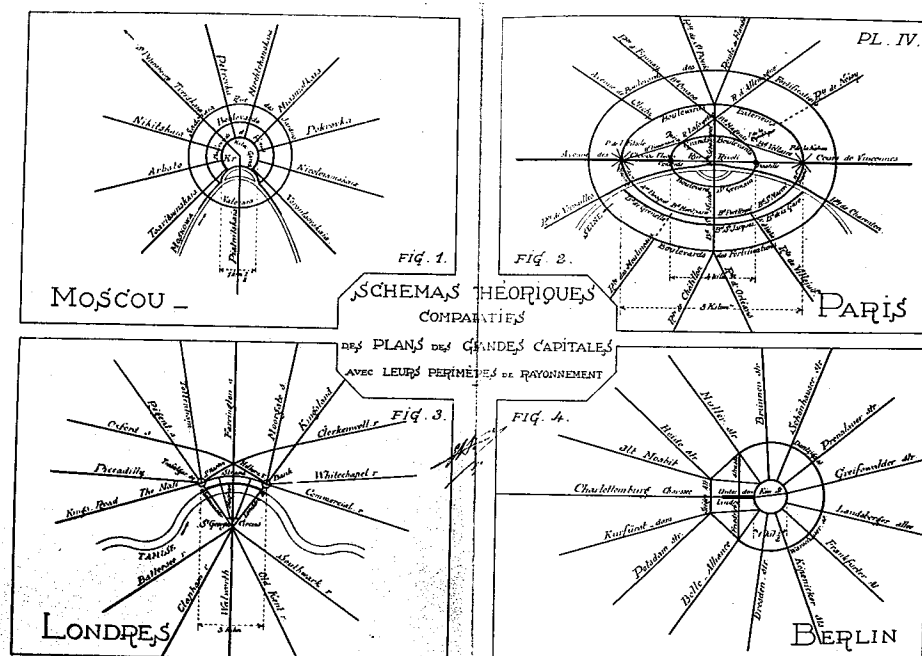


Fig. 4. Eugène Hénard, Schematic plan of circulation patterns in Moscow, Paris, London, and Berlin, 1905 (Hénard, *Études sur les transformations de Paris*, fasc. 6, Paris, 1905).

Urbanism is a Science and an Art and, above all, a Social Philosophy. By urbanism we mean the set of rules applied to the improvement of buildings, street systems, circulation, and decongestion of public arteries. It is the remodeling, extension, and beautification of a city executed by means of a methodical study of the human geography and urban topography, without ignoring financial considerations.⁸¹

Analyzed initially in terms of the statistical data revealed by the “methodical” survey, urbanism is “above all a social philosophy” imposed through the application of a set of “rules” to the improvement of the city. Expressed visually in Agache’s Tardian imitations of Hénard’s Paris *carrefour à giration*, or traffic circle (Figs. 5 and 6), these rules were, as Durkheim saw it, “like so many molds with limiting boundaries into which we must pour our behavior.”⁸² Agache’s carrefours and boulevards can be read as so many urbanistic funnels into which Brazilian behavior was to be channeled and thus moralized and metropolitanized. In Agache’s urbanism, Durkheim’s vaguely defined “social facts” and “rules of sociological method” take concrete form as the “universal laws” of urban planning. The physical translators of

“social facts,” the design elements of the French master plan become powerful agents of “external constraint.”

The major features of Agache’s master plan are set out in general terms in his triads: “science, art, and social philosophy,” and their roughly corresponding equivalents, “extension, beautification, and remodeling.” The proposals related to the science of urbanism were largely concerned with the technical matters associated with creating efficient systems of streets and open spaces, sanitary engineering, and transport and communications. Agache compared these urban systems with the biological functions of the circulatory, respiratory, and nervous systems of the human body. The art of urbanism focused on Beaux-Arts composition and the creation of monumental spaces and buildings appropriate (*convenant*) in size, character, and style to their functions and importance. The science and art (technical and aesthetic sides) of urbanism were to be unified and subsumed by the social philosophy, which entailed the creation of harmonious ensembles of systems, buildings, and citizens.

The essence of Agache’s social philosophy is revealed in his twofold definition of the goal of the master plan: to act as a control mechanism for future growth, and to infuse the target society with a social ideal that could serve as the basis for a common morality.⁸³ Achieving the first objective was largely a matter of fragmenting the city, physically and functionally, through a zoning system, and then reintegrating it through a coherent, hierarchical circulation system that would connect

81. “O urbanismo é uma Ciência e uma Arte, e sobretudo uma Filosofia social. Entende-se por Urbanismo o conjunto de regras applicadas ao melhoramento da edificação, do arruamento, da circulação e do descongestionamento das arterias públicas. E a remodelação, a extensão e o embelezamento de uma cidade levados a effeito mediante um estudo methodico da geografia humana e da topografia urbana sem descurar as soluções financeiras” (Agache, *Cidade do Rio*, 4).

82. Durkheim, *Moral Education*, 26 (quoted in Zeitlin, *Ideology*, 1968, 261).

83. Agache, *Cidade do Rio*, 124–125.

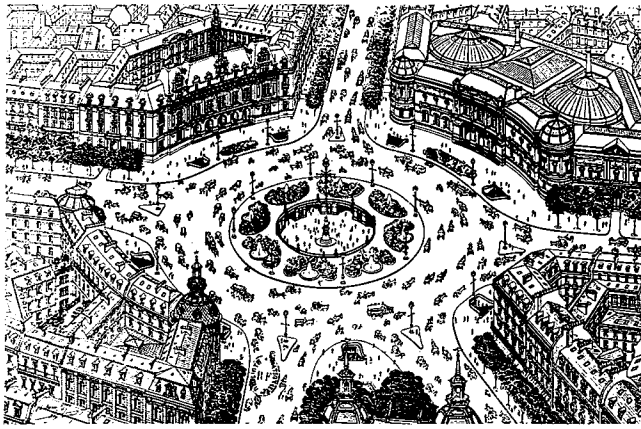


Fig. 5. Eugène Hénard, *Carrefour à giration*, 1900 (Hénard, *Etudes*, fasc. 7, Paris, 1906).

the fragments. Achieving the sociophilosophical objective was a matter of further unifying the city, morally and spiritually, through the implementation of the ideology of social solidarity. Implementing this social ideal was a necessary prerequisite for the smooth operation of the process of controlled growth and circulation.

The crucial feature of the SFU master plan was its reliance on zoning as a mechanism to regulate the growth of the city and provide a legal and spatial framework for social, functional, and architectural differentiation within the newly ordered whole. Agache saw zoning as a system of rational subdivision adapted to the specific needs and functions of urban life, "the only way to organize the progress of a city," and the major means by which the urbanist could "intervene" in the physical and socioeconomic structure of the city.⁸⁴

Agache's zoning intervention (Fig. 7) was conceived within the Durkheimian framework of the division of labor and the Tardian framework of center-periphery relations. Different sections of the city were reserved for specialized functions, the importance of which grew with increasing proximity to the center. This locational hierarchy is accompanied by a social hierarchy and an architectural gradation of scale, according to which the most important social functions are not only at the center but also in the tallest or most monumental buildings. In his residential zoning, Agache established a hierarchy of housing types, according to which a particular house type would prevail in a particular *quartier*. Following the principles of Beaux-Arts *convenance*, the general character of the *quartier* and the design of its typical house would depend upon the "social needs" (socioeconomic level) of its inhabitants.⁸⁵

Agache used zoning to map out the two main components of Rio's urban program as he defined it: the political and ad-

ministrative capital, and the commercial and industrial city of the future. He sought to "improve" Rio as both the monumental City Beautiful and the functional City Efficient. Whereas the first was reflected in such monumental projects as the Gateway to Brazil (Fig. 1), the second was addressed through improving Rio's north-zone industrial complex, upgrading its circulation, transportation, and port infrastructure, and restructuring its central business district into unified building blocks with integrated office, shopping, and banking facilities that would promote Rio's capitalist development.

For Agache, the most important task of the modern city and modern civilization, fundamental for the creation and diffusion of fine art, was the production of wealth through capital accumulation. Agache saw Rio as an important market and entrepôt, both regional and international.⁸⁶ Like Hénard, however, he was concerned mainly with planning for the prosperity of the center. Both men believed that prosperity resulted from the efficient flow and exchange of materials and capital. Agache followed Hénard in believing that this exchange process "imposes itself as a necessity of the first order": "the establishment of a rational system of circulation becomes one of the most powerful factors in the creation of public wealth."⁸⁷ The arrows in his schematic diagram of Rio's circulation pattern (Fig. 3) suggest the outward direction in which Agache intended this "public" wealth to flow. The penetration of Rio by regional roads, one of Agache's principal planning ideas, would facilitate the "trickle down" of this wealth.

Characteristic of the Beaux-Arts designer, Agache thought first in terms of ordering the circulation plan into dominant and secondary elements (Fig. 8). As in his treatment of housing types, Rio's spaces and boulevards were ordered according to the importance of their functions. The functional foci of Agache's zoning and circulation systems were the two large plazas that were to form the hubs of the two main (economic and political) sectors of modern Rio. The first plaza, Praça da Bandeira (Fig. 8, no. 10; Fig. 9), bordered by a new central railroad terminal designed to connect downtown Rio to São Paulo, was the center of the transport network and was linked to the industrial and port facilities of the north zone. The second plaza, the monumental Gateway to Brazil (Fig. 8, no. 7; Figs. 1 and 6), was surrounded by government and public buildings and was adjacent to the commercial and financial districts around Castello and Avenida Rio Branco. Both of these plazas were foci of movement and processing. Like biological organs that collect, absorb, filter, and digest materials that come in so that they may be more efficiently used by the body, Agache's plazas were to function as collectors and disseminators of people, goods, and ideas. The role of the doctor-urbanist is to ensure rapid digestion

84. Idem, *La remodelation d'une capitale*, II, 19.

85. Idem, *Cidade do Rio*, 127-128.

86. Ibid., 120-121.

87. Ibid.

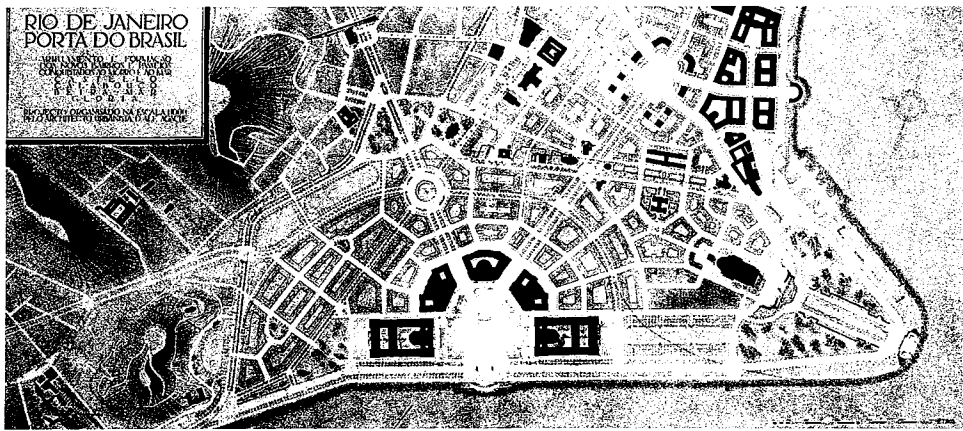


Fig. 6. Alfred Agache, Project for monumental waterfront "Porta do Brasil" complex for Rio de Janeiro, 1930. Plan (*Cidade do Rio*, p. 163, fig. 11).

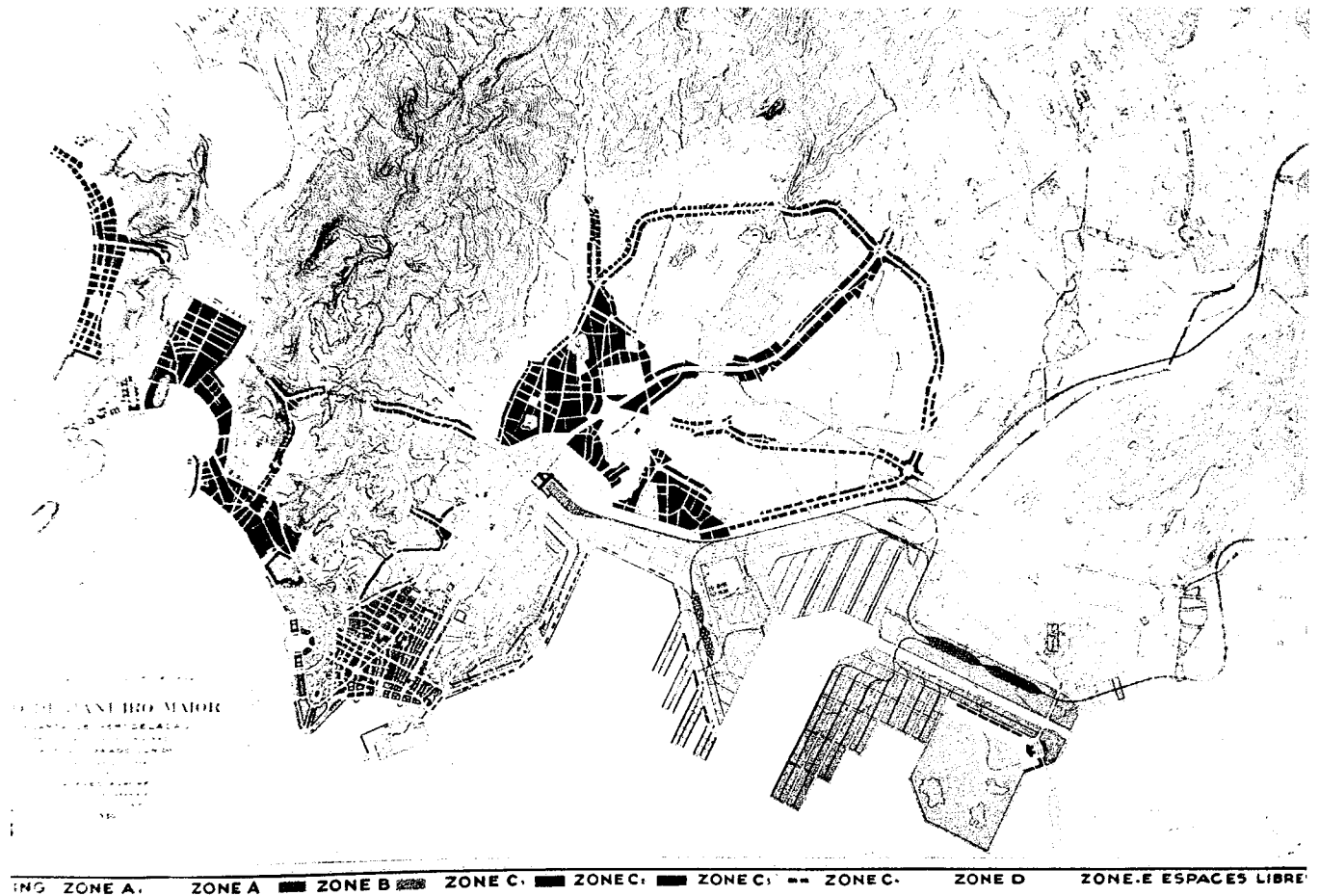


Fig. 7. Alfred Agache, Master plan for Rio de Janeiro, zoning map, 1930 (*Cidade do Rio*, plate between pp. 219 and 220).

in these organs: to ease the flow in, the processing within, and especially the efficient flow out. The shape of these two spaces is suggestive of their dual function: at one end open, like a hungry mouth or the concave arc of a satellite disk, to receive;

at the other end, directional, funneling, and focusing, to process, filter, and send outward. In the north plaza, the processing center of goods and people was the train station. In the Gateway to Brazil, the public auditorium at the center of the composition



Fig. 8. Alfred Agache, Master plan for Rio de Janeiro, circulation plan, 1930 (*Cidade do Rio*, p. 138, fig. 2). Key: 1, Avenida Central (Rio Branco); 2, Avenida Mem de Sá; 3, Avenida Presidente Vargas; 4, Praça Mauá; 5, Candelária; 6, Place de Paris; 7, Porta do Brasil; 8, Calhabouço; 9, Castello; 10, Praça da Bandeira. The Avenida Central runs roughly north to south, from the Praça Mauá (north) to the Place de Paris (south).

was the filtration station and point of dissemination for the ideologies and rhetoric that were to be fed into the port from abroad.

Agache proposed a triaxial, roughly triangular system of boulevards and avenues to link the districts around the two major plazas (Fig. 8, nos. 1–3). Two sides of the triangle, the Avenida Central (today Rio Branco) and the Avenida Mem de Sá, had already been completed as part of the “Haussmannization” program of Pereira Passos. The Avenida Central (Fig. 8, no. 1), the main business axis, runs north (and slightly west) from the waterfront adjacent to Agache’s proposed Gateway, through the central business district, and on to the Praça Mauá (Fig. 8, no. 4). Parallel to this old main axis, Agache proposed a new street to link the gateway directly to the business district in the area of the Castello hill, which had been demolished beginning in 1922. At the center of Castello, Agache designed a new plaza intended to serve as the focus of new government ministries, office tower complexes, and ground-story shopping centers (Fig. 8, no. 9; Fig. 10).



Fig. 9. Alfred Agache, Project for railroad plaza and surrounding area, Rio de Janeiro, 1930. Plan (*Cidade do Rio*, p. 181, fig. 25).

Agache proposed to extend and widen the second axis of the triangular system, Avenida Mem de Sá, as a tree-lined boulevard of Parisian fashion, running west (and slightly north) from the Gateway toward the rail plaza (Fig. 8, no. 2). It would intersect Avenida Rio Branco at a *carrefour à giration* embellished with a fountain and called the “Place de Paris” (Fig. 8, no. 6; Figs. 6 and 11).

The triangle was to be completed by Agache’s third axis,⁸⁸ wider and longer than the other two (Fig. 8, no. 3). It was designed to connect the commercial and financial sectors to the rail plaza and the port and industrial complexes beyond it in the north zone. This megaboulevard was begun in 1940 as Avenida Presidente Vargas. Intersecting Rio Branco at the monumental church of the Candelária (Fig. 8, no. 5), it remains the major link between the north zone and Castello. Thus Agache’s triangular system of intersecting avenues linked the Zona Norte, with its transportation, industrial, and port facilities, to the city center, with its banks, businesses, and government complexes,

88. *Ibid.*, 134.

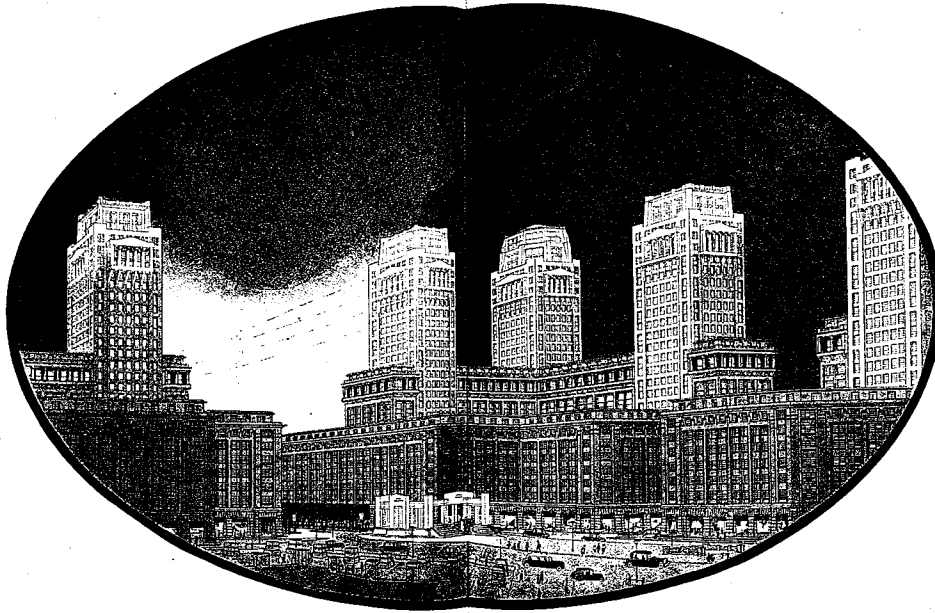


Fig. 10. Alfred Agache, Project for "Castello" business center, Rio de Janeiro, 1930. Perspective drawing. The monument in the middle of the plaza is Agache's proposed memorial to the founder of Rio de Janeiro, Estácio de Sá (*Cidade do Rio*, p. 169, fig. 16).

and to the south zone, with its wealthy residences, embassies, and parks around the Gateway to Brazil complex.

For Agache, Beaux-Arts composition was much more than a means to the physical and functional organization of the city. It was an emblem of the *économie sociale* of the Musée Social and the Durkheimian ideology of social solidarity. Agache stressed that the social condition of the city depended on the economic and that, in the plan of the city as well as in the profiles of its skyscrapers (which he compared to medieval cathedrals in that they embodied the spirit of the age), the urbanist must emphasize the "expressing of economic forces, associated with the social ideals of our epoch."⁸⁹ This "elevation" of economic forces depended on the implementation of a Durkheimian ideal of the social complex. His (architectural) elevation of the skyscrapers complex illustrates his philosophical elevation of economic forces. For Agache as for Durkheim, the central problem of the molder of great cities was the "organization of good complexes."⁹⁰ For Agache this meant the creation of good urbanistic ensembles that subordinated undisciplined individuals and single buildings to a disciplined and uniform total environment that could satisfy modern "social and economic exigencies" in a "logical and regular" fashion.⁹¹

Agache's Durkheimian conception of the urban ensemble as a uniform social complex informed his reorganization (*remodelation*) of Rio's irregular city blocks into volumetric units com-

posed of set-back skyscrapers with ground-level shopping arcades, connecting passageways for pedestrians, and underground parking facilities (Fig. 10). Agache sought to integrate into a single architectural and spatial ensemble both the social and economic functions of the business center, with its office complexes and commerce, and the circulation functions of the large city, with its need for a smooth flow of traffic and pedestrians. Sensitive to the increasing interdependence of urban form, transportation, commerce, and finance, he also devoted considerable attention to the need for parking in the banking and financial district (Fig. 12). For Leblon (in the distant south zone), the fashionable residential *quartier* of the bankers and merchants who worked in these complexes, he similarly proposed to reorganize the block pattern into superblock units deriving from garden city practice (Fig. 13).⁹² Agache believed that such unified architectural complexes would result in the creation of ordered neighborhoods in which social solidarity would prevail.

Agache's attention to Rio's business district and government complex illustrates his focus on the special functions of the monumental center: it was from its open spaces that "the march of ideas" and the "diffusion of the arts" would proceed.⁹³ Following Tarde and Durkheim, Agache assumed that these ideas

89. Ibid., 129–130.

90. Ibid.

91. Ibid.

92. Ibid., 201–203; Evenson, *Two Brazilian Capitals*, 49 n. 24. Another typical example of Agache's passion for creating complexes is his plan for Rio's first *Cité Universitaire*. Agache sought to unify Rio's intellectual plant by regrouping the various offices and classrooms of the university into a single complex or university city along Praia Vermelha, in the distant south zone (Agache, *Cidade do Rio*, 194).

93. Agache, *Cidade do Rio*, 121.

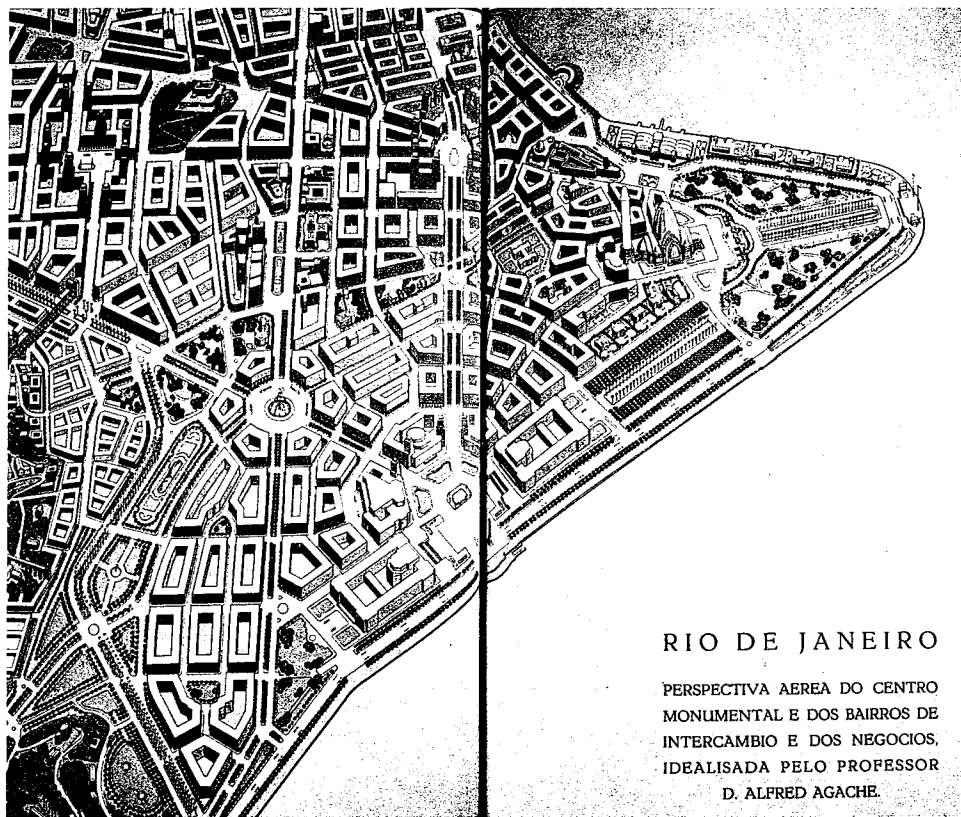


Fig. 11. Alfred Agache, Project for monumental waterfront complex for Rio de Janeiro, 1930. Aerial perspective (*Cidade do Rio*, plate between pp. 158 and 159).

and forms would “march” following the “limiting boundaries” of the urbanistic molds into which he proposed the Brazilians should “pour their behavior.” Following this line of thinking, sooner or later things would “trickle down” from center to periphery. Meanwhile, the key to activating the master plan, making the control mechanism work smoothly (and straightening out Rio’s digestion), was to give the *cariocas* a moral soul, to encourage Rio’s citizens to strive for a social ideal of common morality derived from the ideology of Durkheim’s collective conscience. Agache explained:

The citizen shows that he does not recognize his true interests when he refuses to subject himself to certain small demands on his personal liberty which have as their end the collective well-being; and the municipalities always forget that a program of urbanism is not a project that should be immediately executed, but the creation of a framework within which each individual should move, in order to exercise his constructive activity in such a way as to contribute to the future formation of the complex, which can only be obtained by the uniting of all individual activities.⁹⁴

94. “O cidadão mostra desconhecer o seu verdadeiro interesse quando recusa sujeitar-se a certas pequenas exigências relativas a sua liberdade pessoal, que no entanto tem por fim o bem-estar colectivo; e as municipalidades esquecem-se demasiadamente de que um programma de urbanismo não é um projecto que devem realizar immediatamente, mas a

The social soul of Agache’s master plan was in harmony with Durkheim’s subordination of individual interests to the general interest, or solidarity as defined by the sociologist. Agache’s solid architecture of reinforced concrete would become a sociological “framework” within which each individual would move toward the formation of the complex. It is this Durkheimian ideology of social solidarity that we see so clearly in the Gateway to Brazil (Figs. 1 and 14).

Rio’s command post: The Gateway to Brazil

Agache’s proposals for Rio’s waterfront Gateway to Brazil complex (Figs. 1, 6, 11, and 14), a huge hemicyclical plaza 350 × 250 m. in area, clearly illustrate his Durkheimian emphasis on social control. The general impact of the stripped classicism of the buildings in the complex, with their heavy, reinforced concrete surfaces and massive pillars, their framing elements exposed like externally constraining sociological rules, is one of awesome monumentality, insistent uniformity, and rigorous

criação de um quadro dentro do qual cada indivíduo se deve mover, afim de exercer a sua actividade constructiva, de modo a poder contribuir para a formação futura do conjuncto, que só pode ser obtido pela reunião de todas as actividades individuais” (ibid., 124–125). Agache emphasized that the plan should be a design representing an ideal to strive for in the future.

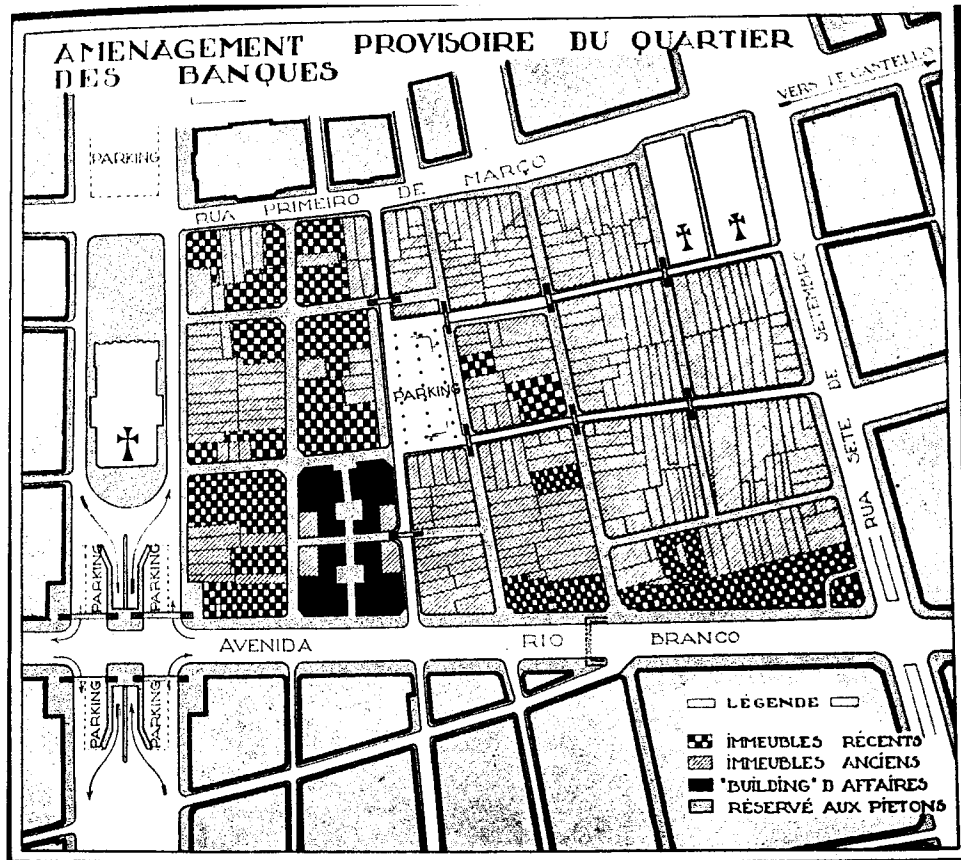


Fig. 12. Alfred Agache, Project for parking in financial district, Rio de Janeiro, 1930. Plan (*Cidade do Brazil*, p. 171, fig. 16).

symmetry. In their broadly generalized treatment, his rigid buildings are like the universal social “fact” of solidarity: any suggestion of individual arbitrariness is denied by the marshaling of single units into the ordered grouping of the whole. Agache’s forms are like those used by Auguste Perret and the practitioners of the European “New Tradition” of the 1930s. His treatment of these forms, however, reveals an even greater tendency to abstract and control the details, almost to the point of eliminating them. Agache’s emphasis on monumental spaces and Beaux-Arts ensembles for an expanded collectivity goes beyond structural rationalism and neoclassical aesthetics to reflect as well the abstraction of the sociologist.

Agache’s ordering of the people in his plaza into geometric units of marching soldiers in densely concentrated formations implies the enforcement of social solidarity and the *conscience collectif* through a unifying military presence (Fig. 15). Durkheim considered discipline, duty, and heightened feelings of nationalism and fervent patriotism to be the most important values for the achievement of the collective conscience.⁹⁵ Maréchal Lyautey, in his earlier SFU planning of Morocco, had put into practice his belief that a new symbiotic exchange be-

tween society and the army could regenerate France. His search for a “positive experience of authority in the name of a larger good” led him to uphold the military as the protector of social peace and the guarantor of a moral education and the *devoir social*.⁹⁶ As we have seen, Georges Risler and the Musée Social reformers of post-World War I France also sought a moral restoration of the national patrimony through institutions that promoted discipline and an *esprit de corps* among professionals and technicians. Similarly, Agache’s Gateway seems to propose that Rio’s modernization and Brazil’s national development could best be achieved through a military-backed planning intervention.

Agache intended the Gateway to Brazil to function as Rio’s administrative and military “command post”—to be the ceremonial and governmental center and the monumental formal entrance that the Brazilian capital heretofore lacked.⁹⁷ But the plaza also functioned as an ideological command post. Intended initially to accommodate a great international exposition, its spacious esplanade would serve parading soldiers and foreign dignitaries arriving from abroad. From this esplanade and its

95. See Zeitlin, *Ideology*, 1981, 291.

96. See Rabinow, *French Modern*, 119–123.

97. Agache, *Cidade do Rio*, 158.

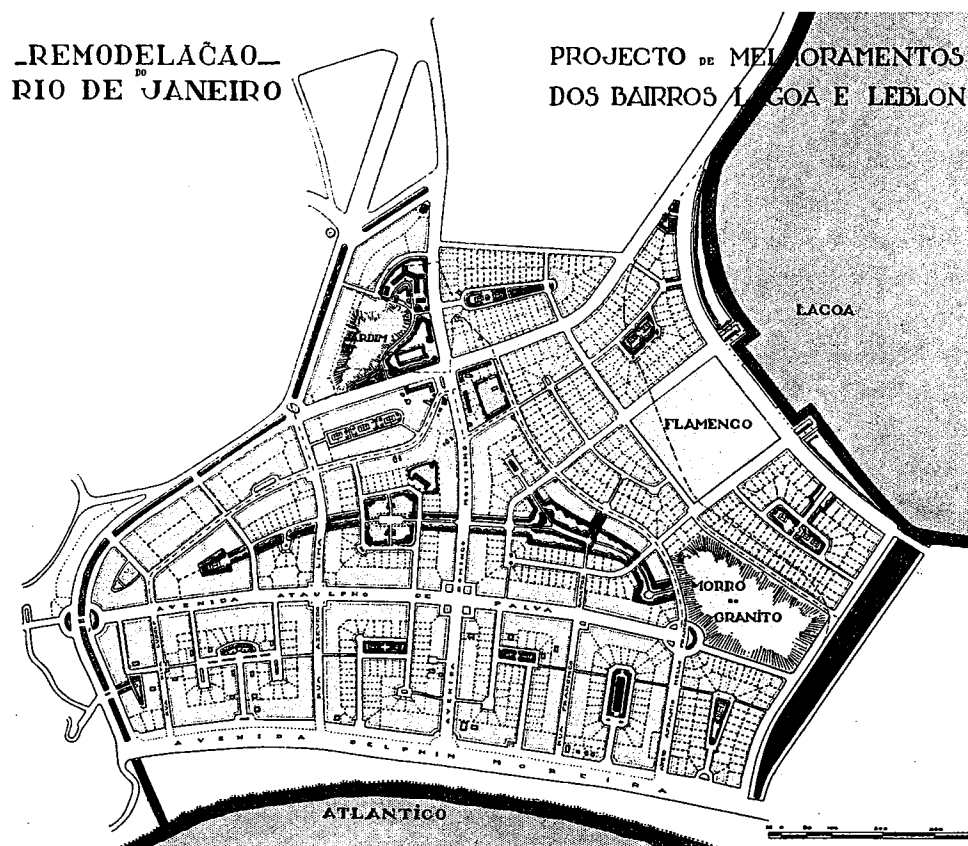


Fig. 13. Alfred Agache, Project for superblock urbanization of Leblon, Rio de Janeiro, 1930 (*Cidade do Rio*, p. 202, fig. 30).

institutions, the “march” of their ideas and arts would proceed into the city following the “limiting molds” of the radiating avenues that begin at the plaza. Agache’s Beaux-Arts composition thus proposed a distinctly Durkheimian *marche-à-suivre*. A pair of ceremonial pillars or rostral columns frames the view of the central building of the complex, a large, twin-towered civic auditorium to be used for official ceremonies and public gatherings, congresses, festivals, and concerts.⁹⁸ As seen from the auditorium, to its right, Agache planned a Fine Arts Palace and, to the left, a Palace of Commerce and Industry. Flanking these were the Senate (on the right) and a Chamber of Deputies (on the left).

Agache’s insistent massing of the geometrically-molded buildings and units of citizen-soldiers suggests that the cathedral-like auditorium at the center would function less as a theater

for Brazilian *carnaval* entertainment than as a forum for the rigorous Durkheimian orientation such a highly disciplined, socially cohesive state would need to control the individual arbitrariness of the fun-loving *carioca* and to impose the collective conscience on Rio. Around the central space, Agache planned elevated tribunes from which he anticipated that on parade days a “mass” of 100,000 people would partake of the spectacle of discipline and order developing below.⁹⁹ This spectacle, seen from above, must be viewed through a specifically French sociological lens. The spatial arrangement of the major buildings of the Gateway complex make visible the relationships between the societal forces at work in the city. The central moral doctrine of social solidarity emanating from the centrally positioned auditorium and esplanade would serve not only to unify the masses (both people and buildings), but also to reconcile ideologically the fine arts, on the one hand, and the capitalist techniques of modern life, on the other, as these were represented, respectively, by the Fine Arts Palace and the Palace of Commerce and Industry.

Agache called his plaza a *planalto*, a geographical term that means literally a plateau. But used in the context of his creation of a sociological fine art, the term takes on a sociopolitical

98. Tougeron argues that the hemicycle of the Porta do Brasil is charged with associations with (Brazilian) national values of history and unity. But there is an important contradiction here: as he also points out, Agache’s plaza with its two rostral columns recalls the Place des Quinconces, in Bordeaux, by Victor Louis (Tougeron, “Donat-Alfred Agache,” 44), as well as Henri IV’s Place de France, planned for Paris. A French solution with a French source imposed by a French architect for the Brazilian capital suggests not Brazil’s national independence but her international dependence and, especially, the force of French cultural imperialism.

99. Agache, *Cidade do Rio*, 161.

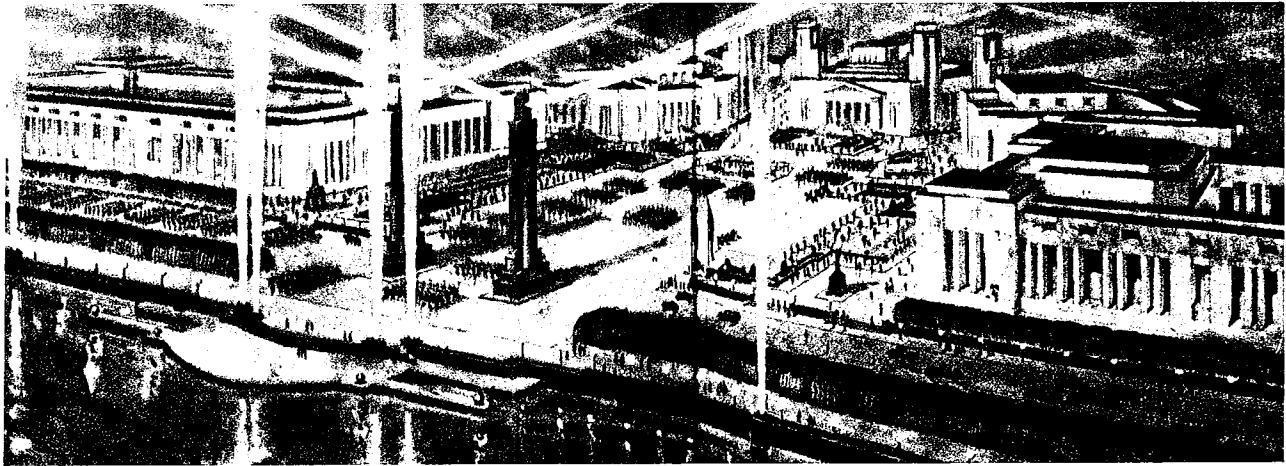


Fig. 14. Alfred Agache, Monumental waterfront "Porta do Brasil" during a nocturnal festival, Rio de Janeiro, 1930 (*Cidade do Rio*, pp. 214–215, fig. 39).

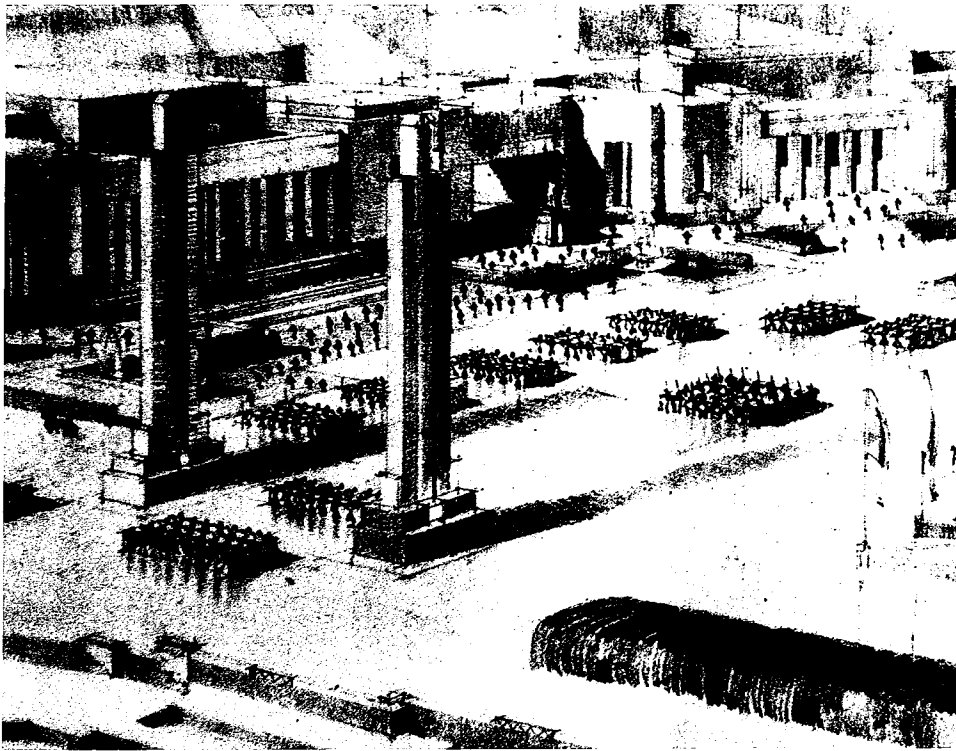


Fig. 15. "Porta do Brasil." Detail of Fig. 1.

connotation as well: the *planalto* becomes an artificial plateau or sacred high ground, an elevated platform from which a specific ideological message is broadcast. This interpretation is strengthened by Agache's pair of rostral columns, whose forms both frame and echo (or "imitate") the towers of his cathedral-like auditorium. As the detail and the night view show (Figs. 14 and 15), these columns serve as both organizing brackets and spiritual beacons: the quadrangular space defined between them in the vertical dimension serves as an emblem, a physical model for the spatial formation of the social complex. The columns

also provide light to attract, orient, and focus the masses. More than this, the rostral columns define the sacred rostrum itself, the orator's platform in the forum: Agache's *planalto* becomes a secular pulpit from which he preaches the Third Republican message of Durkheimian morality, social solidarity, and military order.¹⁰⁰

100. Today the new federal capital of Brazil, Brasília, is commonly referred to as the *planalto*.

Durkheim deified "Society" and stressed the inculcation of the collective conscience because he was afraid of the moral vacuum that might result from the decline of traditional religion. In an earlier time, God had been the supreme guarantor of moral order, but Durkheim believed that God in the moral sense was dead in his day. The growth of science and industry had led to the dissolution of traditional society and religion. If no secular substitute could be found for religion, society faced the dangerous prospect of the total loss of public morality. The task of positivist social science was thus to determine the nature of the new gods, the new moral norms and values. For Durkheim, duty, discipline, and abnegation were the most cherished. He concluded that the new god was Society: the "highest form of psychic life" was this "collective conscience," "the consciousness of the consciousnesses." This "Supreme God" of Society "sees from above" and "sees farther."¹⁰¹

The forms in Agache's plaza suggest the replacement of the traditional unifying power of religion by the secular unity of the modern military state. But there is a powerful sacral quality to this lay morality, one that is in tune with Durkheim's interest in the "sacralization" of certain traditional cultural forms, an interest explored in his 1912 work, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*. In particular, Durkheim was intrigued by ancient rites and group ritual experiences that transformed individuals into "higher" social realities characterized by intense feelings of spiritual belonging. More than this, he and a group of his followers were interested in applying an understanding of the unifying effects of such experiences to the project of reforming modern society, and especially modern societies whose behaviors exhibited signs of excessive individualism.¹⁰² Durkheim's description of the effects of the "total" experience of an aboriginal fire ceremony might describe as well the "totalized" individual in Agache's militarized plaza:

Feeling himself dominated and carried away by some sort of external power which makes him think and act differently than in normal times, he naturally has the impression of being himself no longer. It seems to him that he has become a new being. . . . And at the same time all his companions feel themselves transformed in the same way and express this sentiment by their cries, their gestures, and their general attitude, everything is just as though he really were transported into a special world, entirely different from the one where he ordinarily lives, and into an environment filled with exceptionally intense forces that take hold of him and metamorphose him.¹⁰³

101. Zeitlin, *Ideology*, 1981, 291; Durkheim, *Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, 427, 444.

102. See M. Richman, "Anthropology and Modernism in France: From Durkheim to the Collège de Sociologie," in M. Manganaro, ed., *Modernist Anthropology: From Fieldwork to Text*, Princeton, 1990, 183–214.

103. Durkheim, *Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, 249–250, as quoted in Richman, "Anthropology and Modernism," 196.

In Agache's "sacralization" of Rio's Gateway space, Durkheim's notions of concentrated social energy and spiritual intensity achieved through the application of an external force (in this case, a unifying military presence and New Tradition architecture) are the suggested cures for Rio's social ills. Agache's Gateway representation strives for an all-encompassing kind of "total social fact" similar to that idealized by Durkheim's follower Marcel Mauss.¹⁰⁴ As Michèle Richman has noted, the Durkheimian social reformers were interested in "pushing the intellectual exercise [of social science] to the next stage of development," a stage in which "the sociological imagination must generate its own version of collective representations by providing intimations of what the collective life of the future—its feasts and festivals—could possibly be."¹⁰⁵ In his Gateway to Brazil complex, Agache's sociological imagination generates its own version of a Durkheimian collective representation for Brazil's development. But more than an intimation of Rio's future collective life, he provides an authoritarian moral exemplum of what that life must be if its society is to be saved from the forces of chaos.¹⁰⁶

The authoritarian aspect of the Gateway to Brazil can also be seen through a Tardian lens. Like Agache, Durkheim, and the World War I aviators, Tarde also saw things from above: "the radiation of examples from above to below is the only fact worth consideration because of the general levelling which it tends to produce in the human world."¹⁰⁷ In Agache's megaplaza, the architectural and human masses have been "leveled" by the triumphant intellectual and cultural imperialism of the sociologist. The importation and visual elaboration of Agache's *urbanisme parlant* reflects both the "imperialistic sociology" of Tarde, with its emphasis on the diffusion of culture from center to periphery, and the "sociological imperialism" of Durkheim, with its emphasis on the ideological, methodological, and moral domination of the sociologist over other disciplines. Agache's visual transposition reflects this intellectual dominion: approaching the city from the viewpoint of the sociologist, he would have us "read" the spaces of center city as being "opened up" for an impressive international exposition of the "volumes" (both spaces and books) of modern sociology. Agache empha-

104. Mauss and Durkheim's other followers in the Collège de Sociologie are discussed in Richman, "Anthropology and Modernism," esp. 192.

105. *Ibid.*, 199.

106. Richman suggests that, in their critique of excessive individualism and in their attempt to create a "sacred sociology" and a moral community of scholars, some of Durkheim's followers in the Collège de Sociologie flirted with certain "archaic" or traditional alternatives that were appealing as well to fascism: sacrifice, sacred power relations between leaders and the governed, and the like. All activities leading to unity were deemed sacred. *Ibid.*, 183, 187, 206.

107. Tarde, *The Laws of Imitation*, in Clark, *Gabriel Tarde*, 188.

sized that the "space necessary for collective life" was much more considerable in his day than in previous times: "we can no longer conceive the plastic realization of our ideas between four walls."¹⁰⁸

Agache's conception of the urban design process as a visualization or "plastic externalization" of social ideas also recalls Tarde's definition of imitation as "a quasi-photographic reproduction of a cerebral image."¹⁰⁹ For the urbanist, the key to achieving social progress in the city was to create urbanistic ensembles that mirrored in such quasi-photographic reproductions the cerebral images of the sociologist (Figs. 1 and 14). Agache's Gateway to Brazil complex can thus be seen as a visual reproduction of Tarde's Durkheimian definition of progress as "a kind of collective thinking, which lacks a brain of its own, but which is made possible, thanks to imitation, by the solidarity of the brains of numerous scholars and inventors who interchange their successive discoveries."¹¹⁰ In Agache's cross-disciplinary transposition of this sort of thinking-man's solidarity to the larger social and urban scale of his Rio master plan, the architectural and human implications of Durkheim's *conscience collectif* are made clear: the brain-soul of the individuals and the masses is that provided by the sociologist-urbanist himself. Art depends on capital accumulation, which depends on solidarity, which depends on political submission to the scholarly, military-backed system of the new authorities, the sociologists and urbanists.

For Durkheim, resistance to this system and the failure to acknowledge its moral supremacy were immoral acts.¹¹¹ For Tarde, such resistance was futile. As he summed up in resounding universalist rhetoric: "The supreme law of imitation seems to be its tendency towards indefinite progression. This immanent and immense kind of ambition is the soul of the universe. It expresses itself physically, in the conquest of space by light, vitally, in the claim of even the humblest species to cover the entire globe with its kind."¹¹² Moreover, this tendency must be backed up "by the help of the prestige which belongs to alleged superiorities."¹¹³ The imperial ambition behind the conquest of Rio's space is illuminated clearly enough in the floodlights of Agache's night festival (Fig. 14). Agache saw "good city form" within a framework that presumed the superiority of Paris and an imperialistic understanding of the role of the city in society:

108. "O espaço necessário a vida colectiva é muito mais considerável do que noutros tempos e a cidade moderna precisa de uma extensão maior" (Agache, *Cidade do Rio*, 129, 158).

109. Tarde, *The Laws of Imitation*, xiv; and Clark, *Gabriel Tarde*, 27.

110. Tarde, in Clark, *Gabriel Tarde*, 179.

111. Durkheim wrote that "an inability to feel and recognize such authority . . . is a negation of genuine morality" (quoted in Zeitlin, *Ideology*, 1968, 261).

112. Tarde, in Clark, *Gabriel Tarde*, 189.

113. Ibid.

"The country that possesses large, well-organized cities has every chance of acquiring superiority over others."¹¹⁴

Agache's Gateway to Brazil imagery is a Durkheimian "collective representation" on two levels. On one level, it represents a model of social action that proposes reform through the concerted action of a generalized, newly "moralized" collectivity. In short, it shows how the masses might be mobilized to participate in the process of national development, and thus controlled. On the "higher," intellectual plane, Agache's imagery refers to a set of social ideas, political techniques, and architectural symbols that have been collectively created and developed across the disciplines through the interaction of scholars, technicians, and artists. These two very different levels of social interaction, the popular, on the one hand, and the elite intellectual, on the other, are in line with Durkheim's definition of social solidarity in terms of the division of labor: the specific laws of solidarity to which an individual must submit depend ultimately upon his position in the professional and, thus, social hierarchy. This provision for a professionally based social differentiation within the solidarity formula was an important dimension of Agache's "City Social."

Agache's "City Social" and the "other" solution

The reform agenda sponsored by Agache and his collaborators involved more than embellishing the city's architecture and improving its citizens' morals. Truth and Beauty were only part of the picture. In the process of "opening Rio up," an important part of the city's unique and picturesque urban topography was also leveled. Agache's Gateway was to be built on landfill from the demolition of Santo Antonio Hill (Fig. 2, no. 2; the leveling finally carried out in the 1950s). The completion of Avenida Presidente Vargas involved the destruction of scores of homes and three churches from the colonial period. The crowded, dirty byways of the colonial city were to be replaced with broad, breezy avenues and parks, which would sanitize and thus moralize the lethargic citizenry with fresh air.¹¹⁵ But Agache did not emphasize the moral benefits that this reform program would bring to the *cariocas*. Instead, he stressed that through the hill demolitions and reclamations, "Rio de Janeiro will offer to the visitor arriving by sea a monumental entrance corresponding in importance to the destinies of the capital."¹¹⁶ The improvements were aimed mainly at foreigners and dignitaries, who would be impressed by Agache's "remodelation" of the Calhabouço

114. "Quando um país possui grandes cidades bem organizadas, tem todas as probabilidades de preponderar sobre os outros; é a preponderância do industrial que dispõe de bons utensílios" (Agache, *Cidade do Rio*, 121).

115. Ibid., 160. Although the destruction of Castello predates Agache's plan, he favored the hill demolition program in general and recommended specifically that Santo Antônio hill be razed to make way for his new urbanization.

116. Ibid., 161.

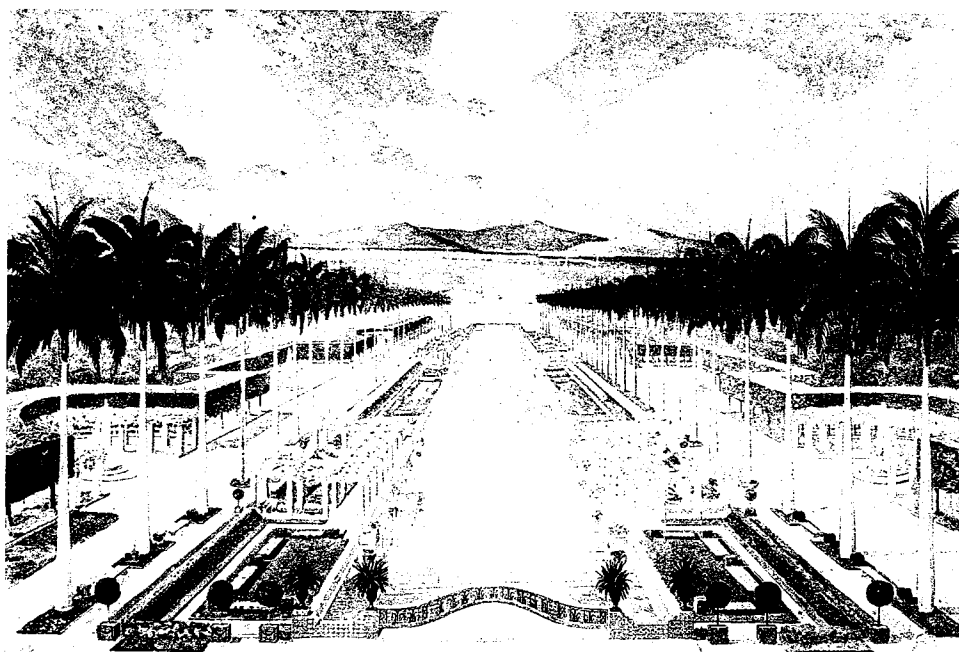


Fig. 16. Alfred Agache, Project for formal gardens on Calhabouço Promontory, Rio de Janeiro, 1930. Perspective (*Cidade do Rio*, plate between pp. 208 and 209).

promontory into an elegant image of a tropical Versailles, a spacious, palm-lined, French formal garden with a reflecting pool (Fig. 16; cf. Fig. 2, no. 5, and Fig. 8, no. 8).

Agache's formal garden was to introduce a pantheon for national "heros," men who had contributed to Rio's prosperity (Fig. 11). In keeping with the anticlerical orientation and lay morality of the Durkheimians and the Hénardian preoccupation with wealth, the only building of a "religious" character in Agache's plan, aside from the cathedral-like auditorium, was this secular temple to the god of prosperity. That this prosperity, this "national" glory, was dependent in an important way on the foreign elite in Rio was accentuated by the siting of the pantheon adjacent to the foreign embassies and the homes of their cultural attachés.¹¹⁷

Agache's interest in developing parks and facilities for sports and recreation, and in particular the formal gardens and promenades around the high-rent embassy district near the Place de Paris and on the Calhabouço promontory (Figs. 11 and 16), epitomized his vision of Rio as the leisured and sophisticated "City Social." Agache and the mayor also perceived that Rio's economic growth could be stimulated by developing the city as a playground for European tourists. Like Le Corbusier, Agache was rhapsodic about Rio's natural beauty.¹¹⁸ He felt that, because

of this beauty and the new urbanism he had proposed, Rio would become "among all the tropical regions, the one in which the white man can most easily adapt, and where he is welcomed by a friendly and hospitable people, and comes to understand that this adorable garden which is the capital of Brazil, the splendid scene of dreams, is becoming more and more a great center of international tourism, the best winter vacation spot for those who wish to escape the banality of the baths or the fashionable beaches and abandon oneself, at the same time, to this unique resting place."¹¹⁹

The clearing out and opening up of Rio's urban fabric for the creation of this playground and for the international exhibition of the volumes of the sociologist required more, however, than mountain demolitions and landfill. It meant clearing the "others," the urban poor, out of the new center. The methodologies Agache proposed to implement his program and re-

mountains, with a horizontal statement made by man in opposition to it. See Tougeron, "Donat-Alfred Agache," 46-47, and Evenson, *Two Brazilian Capitals*, 52-56.

119. "Depois do embelezamento e do saneamento das ruas, a cidade ficou sendo, entre todas as regiões tropicais, aquela em que o homem branco pode mais facilmente acclimar-se, e onde é acolhido por um povo amável e hospitaleiro entre todos, compreende-se que esse adorável jardim, que é a capital do Brasil, o Rio, esplêndido cenário de sonho, se torna cada vez mais um grande centro de turismo mundial, a melhor estação de inverno para os que desejam escapar a banalidade das termas ou das praias em voga e abandonar-se, ao mesmo tempo, a esse repouso único que oferecem os dias de travessia sobre as calmas ondas do Oceano" (Agache, *Cidade do Rio*, 84).

117. Ibid., 162-167.

118. Le Corbusier came to Rio twice, in 1929 and again in 1936. His plan for the city was a poetic response to the landscape of Rio, using two elements: highways, and tall office buildings to carry them. Corb thus responded to the vertical statement made by nature in the

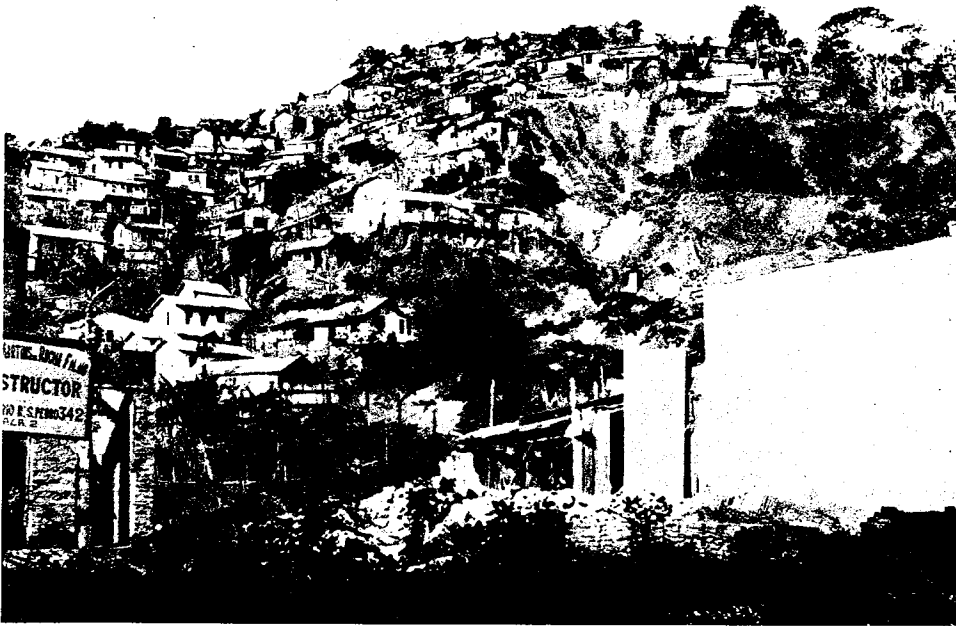


Fig. 17. View of a *favela*, Rio de Janeiro, 1930 (*Cidade do Rio*, p. 70).

organize Rio's urban space were typical of the SFU's original wartime tactics and the colonial techniques of apartheid mastered in Morocco. Underlying the program was a theoretical justification of social and urban segregation in terms of the "organismic analogy." Agache's constant comparison of the city to the human body reflects both his classicist training at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts and the attempts of such writers as Le Play, Demolins, Geddes, and others to relate the study of human society to that of biology. As Durkheim clarifies the analogy, "We may well believe that the inductions . . . made by sociology are applicable to biology and that, in organisms as well as in societies, only differences in degree exist between these two orders of facts."¹²⁰ The implications of this for urbanism seem clear enough for Durkheim: "Colonization can be compared to reproduction by germination; and in order that the type may persist, the colonial society must not mix with any other society of a different species or variety."¹²¹

Agache's approach to the problem of the *favelas* (shantytowns) (Fig. 17) betrays a similar distaste for the mixing of the species. In cases where the persistence of the "moral" type seems endangered by such mixing, the response of the urbanist is to use aerial photography to "target" the "unhealthy" areas for surgical "strikes" and to intervene clinically to dissociate the "healthy" tissue from the sick. The resulting fragments (or what was left of them after the intervention) could then be reasso-

ciated into nucleated satellites in which, it was believed, better hygiene, good morals, and social solidarity would prevail. Following Agache's application of Ebenezer Howard's theory of garden and satellite cities, these reassociated satellite *quartiers* would become the new urban unit and basis for the collective life of the city. Through the repetition of this process of fragmenting and reassociating, a process to be controlled by the master plan, the city was to be recrystallized into newly atomized districts or zones.¹²² Just as the Durkheimian individual was to be (morally) reconstituted to become the basis for the collective conscience, the *quartier* was remade into a unit that would be hygienically and morally equipped to serve the collectivity. Agache emphasized that, in garden cities created in this fashion, "social life is morally comfortable, art and intellectual distractions have their cult, and solidarity is naturally understood and applied."¹²³ Within the narrow confines of these cozy garden settlements, one might expect to find the same sort of safe entertainment that was to prevail in the *Maison-de-Tous*. The "moral comfort" of satellite life might even make *carnaval* obsolete.

122. See Tougeron, "Donat-Alfred Agache," 38–39. Agache's zoning system followed the English Town Planning Act of 1925, which prohibited construction outside the land units of the plan, as determined by the construction density of each zone.

123. "A vida social em taes cidades é moralmente confortável. A arte e as distrações intellectuaes tem ahi o seu culto, e a solidariedade é naturalmente comprehendida e applicada" (Agache, *Cidade do Rio*, 20, 25).

120. Durkheim, *The Rules of Sociological Method*, 13 n. 4.

121. *Ibid.*, 87.

Agache proposed to rehouse the hill squatters into permanently peripheralized workers' satellites. This solution, similar to that of Le Corbusier's 1925 Plan Voisin for Paris, would allow the *favelados* to be gradually socialized, in this first stage of their moral education, into acceptance of the notion of capitalist landownership. This solution would also make possible the "reconquest" of the hills as residential districts for government bureaucrats and merchants who could enjoy the hygienic advantages conferred by their height and their greater proximity to the commercial and administrative center in which they worked.¹²⁴ The dispersal of the newly atomized workers' nuclei and the proposed relocation of their residential districts into the far peripheries of the Tardian urban system were justified by way of the concept of *distance pratique*, according to which the miracle of modern transport replaces neighborhood proximity as a new means of urban spatial (and social) integration.¹²⁵

Impact of the Agache plan on Rio

The completion and publication of the Agache plan coincided with the political revolution of October 1930 and a change in Rio's municipal administration. The revolution replaced President Washington Luis and the old coffee oligarchy with a new coalition of landowners and military technocrats who, led by Getúlio Vargas, were in favor of greater state intervention in support of Brazil's agricultural export economy.¹²⁶ Vargas appointed Adolfo Bergamini to succeed Antonio Prado Junior as Rio's mayor. During his one-year administration, Bergamini began a process of political housecleaning and municipal reorganization that would give the city a larger role in the implementation of Vargas's new interventionist policies.¹²⁷

Although the authoritarian regime Vargas set up would subsequently find much to favor or even "imitate" in Agache's plan, Bergamini's successor, Pedro Ernesto (1931–1936), simply did not want to ratify a project that had been initiated by a prerevolution predecessor. Even though general opinion was "flatteringly favorable" to the plan, it was officially suspended

in 1934.¹²⁸ The rising tide of Brazilian nationalism and the republic's financial difficulties stemming from the international economic crisis of the 1930s probably also mitigated against the wholesale implementation of Agache's ambitious proposals, and especially against such monumental projects as the Gateway to Brazil, with their obvious French and neocolonial overtones.¹²⁹ The plan was also criticized for the inapplicability of a French model of formal planning for a tropical city with mountains and beaches.¹³⁰

On the whole, however, Agache's recommendations have been not only well received, but generally more influential than has been recognized. Even before its suspension in 1934, the supporters of the Agache plan made its influence felt. During the Prado Junior administration (November 1926–October 1930), Agache's suggestion that Rio become the white man's tourist paradise became an official priority, and the French formal gardens around the Place de Paris were carried out (Fig. 18). The mayor significantly reformed Rio's public school system and erected a large building for a new *Ecole Normale* (today the Instituto de Educação). He also commissioned a topographic map of Rio using aerial photography and acted upon Agache's proposals for stimulating Rio's economic growth.¹³¹ Agache had emphasized that in planning Rio for prosperity, it was especially important to open the city up to the outside.¹³² Following his recommendations, the Prado Junior administration improved the Rio-Petrópolis and Rio-São Paulo highways. The developmental significance of the highway improvement policy was advertised in President Washington Luis's slogan: "To govern is to open up roads."¹³³ Were he alive today, Agache would no doubt claim some credit for encouraging Brazilians to govern along these lines.

128. Bruand, *Arquitetura*, 335; Evenson, *Two Brazilian Capitals*, 50. The Agache plan was the subject of much discussion among the participants in the Pan American Architectural Congress, which met in Rio in 1930.

129. The administration of Arthur da Silva Bernardes (1922–1926) had already been plagued with problems. There was an economic crisis brought on in part by excessive expenditures in the celebration of the Brazilian centenary exposition (1922). The internal and foreign debts increased immensely, so the president pursued a strict austerity program, a cutback in federal spending, and a postponement of public works projects. This program was accompanied by an increase in militarism, which led to the July 1924 revolt in São Paulo and culminated in the revolution of 1930.

130. See for instance "Rio and Its Skyscrapers," *The Brazilian American*, 12 July 1930, 5 (cited in Evenson, *Two Brazilian Capitals*, 50).

131. Oliveira Reis, "Administrações," 145–146. Prado Junior commissioned an English firm, the Aircraft Corporation, to carry out the aerial survey. It was completed in 1930, too late to benefit the Agache plan, but it resulted in Rio's cadastral plan. The leveling of the Castello Hill area, begun by Carlos Sampaio in 1922, was also completed and the urbanization of the Castello area begun.

132. Agache, *Cidade do Rio*, 135–136.

133. Oliveira Reis, "Administrações," 146.

124. *Ibid.*, 188–190.

125. *Ibid.*, 130–131. Agache considered the hillside *favelas* as spontaneous settlements that could not be rehabilitated. Peripheral to the ordered workings of the Durkheimian city and undisciplined by the moral order of the State, the ignorant squatters were best left alone to pursue their own, presumably amoral, varieties of personal freedom. Eventually, Agache believed, the physical and moral transformation of peripheral workers' districts could be completed; until this unspecified time, however, they were regarded as socially (and morally) distinct, but economically interdependent satellites.

126. The demise of Washington Luis was related to the refusal of his government to intervene in support of falling coffee prices. See Evans, *Dependent Development*, 85–91.

127. J. Oliveira Reis, "As Administrações Municipais e o Desenvolvimento Urbano," in F. Nascimento Silva, ed., *Rio de Janeiro em seus quatrocentos anos*, Rio de Janeiro, 1965, 125–161, esp. 146–147.



Fig. 18. Gardens around the Place de Paris, Rio de Janeiro, 1930 (*Cidade do Rio*, p. 204, fig. 31).

It is perhaps not surprising that Agache's plan was looked upon very favorably and quickly reactivated by the dictatorial regime of Getúlio Vargas. With the rise of his *Estado Novo*, or "New State," in 1937, many of its main ideas were put into force. The principal features of the *Estado Novo* government—its corporatism, its emphasis on social control from above, its state regulatory interventionism, and its stimulation of the Brazilian market as a consumer of European exports—all these were in harmony with the broad outlines of Agache's developmental master plan as it had been evolving since the 1925 Paris Expo. Like Tarde, Durkheim, and Agache, Getúlio Vargas also saw things from above. In 1934 he promulgated a new constitution, which gave the central government greater powers, and in 1937 yet another, which gave him practically absolute authority as head of the *Estado Novo*. Although Brazil had never been a true democracy, Vargas so concentrated power in his own hands, so completely suppressed disorders and expressions of popular will, that he considerably set back any hope of democratization. Press and mail censorship was imposed, and Brazil was on the threshold of totalitarianism.¹³⁴

134. Vargas was chief executive twice, from 1930 to 1945 and from 1951 to 1954. As Evans has noted, Vargas's corporatism was "primarily an ideology of social control, designed to integrate Brazilian society from the top down." But as Rezende and others have shown, it also had implications for the state's role in the process of capital accumulation. From Vargas's initial ascent to power in 1930, and especially after the imposition of the *Estado Novo* in 1937, the state sought to control the economy through "conscious interventionism" and regulation. The stimulation of Brazil as a market for European imports was

Agache's *urbanisme parlant* of social control and stripped-down ensembles spoke appropriately enough for a state that would strip individuals of their rights in this way. The political underpinnings of the developmental master plan were clear to Agache when he wrote in 1930, "When the directives of a firm will are not imposed on the development of a city, no practical conception can achieve concrete form; only chaos will exist, a confusion of dead elements."¹³⁵ He nostalgically lamented the passing of an age in which this firm will was more easily imposed following a Cartesian model: "There was a time when the directive will of one man, envisioning a single end, was more easily accommodated than today, an age in which life is becoming more and more democratic, in which private initiative plays a preponderant role and administration is astonishingly more complicated. Nonetheless there exists an imperious necessity to

an important part of a master plan for economic development, one that went hand in hand with the effort to improve the treatment afforded Brazilian agricultural products in the face of the customs schedules and protectionist measures of the European center. See Evans, *Dependent Development*, 86; P. Schmitter, *Interest Conflict and Political Change in Brazil*, Stanford, 1971; F. J. V. Monteiro Rezende, W. Suzigan, D. Carneiro, and F. P. Castelo Branco, *Aspectos da Participação do Governo na Economia*, Rio de Janeiro, 1976, 85; R. Rowland, "Classe Operária e Estado de Compromisso," *Estudos Cebrap*, VIII, 1974, 1-40, esp. 21.

135. "Quando não se impõem, ao desenvolvimento de uma cidade, as directivas de uma vontade firme, nenhuma concepção prática chega a adquirir uma forma concreta; só existe, então, o caos, uma confusão de elementos mortos" (Agache, *Cidade do Rio*, 123).



Fig. 19. Avenida Presidente Vargas, Rio de Janeiro, from the Church of the Candelária (author).

adapt these interests to an ensemble of a social and artistic nature."¹³⁶

In 1938, during the municipal administration of Henrique Dodsworth (1937–1945), a new planning commission (Comissão do Plano) was charged with “adapting” the Agache plan to the changing physical and political conditions of the city. The commission accepted, “with minor modifications in details,” Agache’s major recommendations for circulation improvements and the laying out of streets in the Castello district. More important, the commission used Agache’s plan as the basis for its own “pilot plan” (1938–1948), the major lines of which remain roughly valid to the present.¹³⁷

136. “Houve um tempo em que a vontade directiva de um só homén, visando um fim único, encontrava maiores facilidades do que hoje, época em que a vida se torna cada vez mais democrática, em que a iniciativa particular representa uma papel preponderante e a administração se complica de maneira espantosa. No entanto, existe uma necessidade imperiosa de adaptar os interesses que acabamos de citar, a um conjunto de natureza social e artística” (ibid., 124).

137. See “Commission du Plan de Remodelation,” in the preface to Agache, *La remodelation d’une capitale*, I; and Bruand, *Arquitetura*, 336–338. Although the plaza Agache had proposed for the center of Castello

The most important urbanistic project undertaken during the Dodsworth administration was the opening of Agache’s proposed superboulevard linking center city to the north-zone port facilities along the old Canal do Mangue route that connected with the São Paulo and Petropolis highways (Fig. 19). Agache had stressed the idea of intersecting “avenues of penetration” as vital for linking the capital to international commerce and the Brazilian hinterland.¹³⁸ The construction of Avenida Presidente Vargas (1940–1943) required the personal support of the president and the financial backing of the state through the Banco do Brasil. To make way for the 4-km.-long, 90-m.-wide megaboulevard, 525 buildings (among them, three colonial churches) had to be leveled.¹³⁹

Agache’s concern for guaranteeing a “moral” architecture as part of the state patrimony led him to anticipate the preservation of the late eighteenth-century Church of the Candelária, which stood on axis with the proposed new boulevard. In his project for parking improvements in Rio’s banking quarter (Fig. 12), he carefully directed the flow of traffic around the old church. For Agache, moral or “good” architecture meant classicizing, neoclassical, or the abstracted classical of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts tradition. The style of the façade of the Candelária, with its rectilinear composition of straight lintels and paired pilasters, was classicizing in a pleasingly French way; the colonial Portuguese baroque churches that were destroyed were not. The Candelária fit in nicely with Agache’s, and apparently Vargas’s, aesthetic and moral program for Rio’s modernization. The church was spared demolition and projected as the scenographic centerpiece of the new tropical Champs-Élysées (Fig. 20).

Agache’s interest in the preservation of historic monuments was typical of the urbanism of the SFU. In the legal appendix of his master plan for Rio, he reproduced the preservationist laws and bylaws of the French Commission des Monuments Historiques.¹⁴⁰ In 1937, the year of the *Estado Novo*, the Brazilian version of this commission, Rio’s new Serviço do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional, published its first journal. Nonetheless, as the case of the Avenida Presidente Vargas illustrated, the modernization of circulation systems and infrastructure took first priority in a developmentalist regime. As in colonial North

and the formal gardens on the Calhabouço promontory were not carried out, the layout of Avenidas Almirante Barroso and Nilo Peçanha and the adjacent streets follow the main lines of Agache’s plan. On the reclamation area would later be constructed the Santos Dumont Airport, the Glória-Flamengo Park, a monument to World War II soldiers, and a museum of modern art.

138. Agache, *Cidade do Rio*, 135–136.

139. Oliveira Reis, “Administrações,” 149. The three colonial churches were Bom Jesus do Calvário, S. Domingos, and S. Pedro dos Clérigos.

140. See the legal appendix D in Agache, *Cidade do Rio*, and in the French translation of the master plan, *La Remodelation d’une capitale*, II, 125–138.

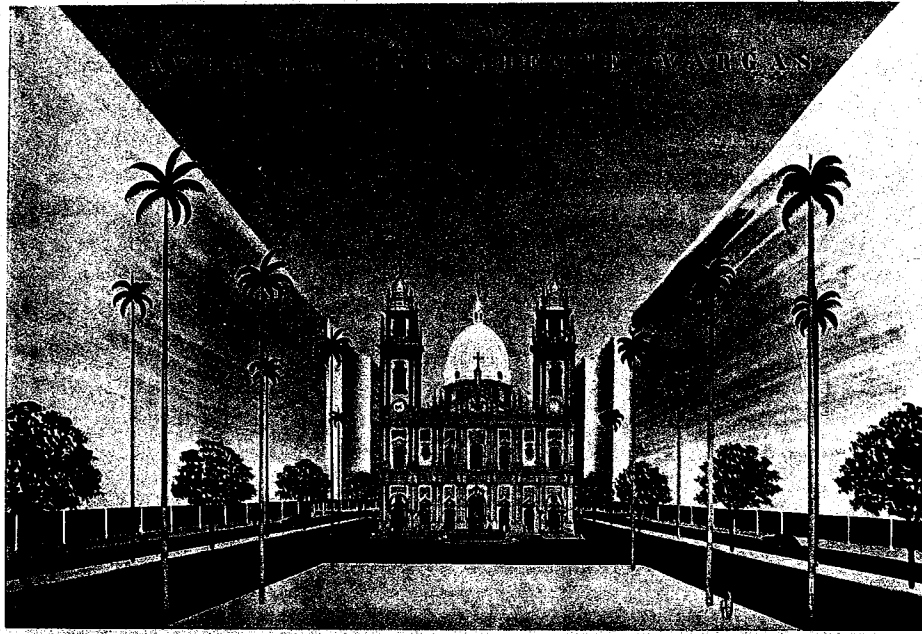


Fig. 20. The Candelária Church and Avenida Presidente Vargas "visto do mar," c. 1940 (courtesy Arnaldo Machado).

Africa, the issue of historic preservation emerged in the context of the surgical operations undertaken by an authoritarian regime intent on controlling and developing certain aspects of the city at the expense of others.¹⁴¹

The most influential aspects of the Agache plan for Rio's physical development were the utilitarian proposals for improvements in transportation, circulation, and sanitation for central Rio. The development of Rio's road and sewage infrastructure and its modern railway and subway systems reflect a careful study of Agache's proposals. These systems are important today for linking downtown Rio to distant workers' quarters like Vila Kennedy.¹⁴² Such planned workers' settlements and their trans-

port linkages to central Rio are rooted in Agache's satellite city proposals and his notion of *distance pratique*.

If Agache's aesthetic project seems to have been less influential than the technical program, it should be borne in mind that Agache did not expect such projects as the Gateway complex to be carried out right away, if at all. For him, the published master plan was in itself a transposition in "une forme sensible," a work of art that projected an ideal social vision for the future, one that could only be realized gradually. He would no doubt have agreed with Tarde's observation that "the fixation of discoveries through writing, which makes possible their transmission over long stretches of time and space, is equivalent to the fixation of images which takes place in the individual brain and which constitutes the cellular stereotype-plate of memory."¹⁴³ The success of Agache's "fixation" is attested by the fact that in the minds of many Brazilians today, he is remembered as the bringer of urbanism, and that his "transmission" continues to be consulted by planners and government officials.¹⁴⁴ But Agache not only introduced Brazilians to a new discipline, a new set of techniques, and a new philosophy to explain them; he also paved the way for the more progressive urbanistic thinking of Modernism. Affonso Reidy, one of Rio's most important

141. See Abu-Lughod, *Rabat*; and Rabinow, *French Modern*, 279–319. The critics of Lyautey see his "preservation" of Moroccan monuments as part of his program of colonial control, as an effort to manipulate the Moroccan elite by showing "respect" for their artistic traditions, and a means of developing Moroccan artifacts into "museumified" artifacts for consumption by tourists. See Rabinow, 285–286, 300. Though Agache's approach to the Candelária seems similar to Lyautey's, his total disregard for the colonial churches destroyed in making way for the new boulevard has more in common with the attitude that was typical during the first (pre-1865) phase of colonial urbanism in North Africa, which was characterized by the destruction of the existing urban structures of Algeria and the creation of new spaces based on French principles. *Ibid.*, 311.

142. Vila Kennedy was an American-backed workers' housing project of the 1960s. The expensive commute from the Vila to center-city Rio took two hours each way. Because of the expense and time involved in the commute, women residents who worked as maids in central Rio often saw their families only on weekends. See Evenson, *Two Brazilian Capitals*, 28–31.

143. Tarde, in Clark, *Gabriel Tarde*, 179.

144. Evenson, *Two Brazilian Capitals*, 49 and 40–41 n. 14; C. Bardy, "O século XIX," in *Rio de Janeiro em seus quatrocentos anos*, 121. According to Bertrand Lemoine, an urbanist in Brazil today is referred to as "an Agache" (personal communication, September 1990).

Modernist architects, began his career as Agache's assistant.¹⁴⁵ More important, as Yves Bruand has noted, the Brazilians' rapid assimilation of the principles of Le Corbusier is hardly imaginable without the introductory course provided by his predecessor.¹⁴⁶

The Agache plan and Brasília

Agache expected to achieve more than a respectful following of good students of the new discipline. He expected that his plan should provide a social, moral, and urbanistic ideal that the Brazilians would respond to sympathetically over time and space. This response is not easy to measure in physical terms, perhaps because most influential of all were Agache's ideas, and the influence of ideas on things is often harder to illustrate than the influence of forms. But Agache's lessons were not overlooked by the generation of planners who would design the new Brazilian capital, Brasília.

Lúcio Costa was one of the members of the commission charged with adapting the Agache plan to changing conditions in the 1930s. He later contributed the main ideas of the design for Brasília: a city plan based on a *grande croissée* of two highway axes on which is superimposed a triangle to define the central area of the city, and the notion of an urbanistically conceived architecture that would be both the symbol of Brazil's aspirations of national development and a means to that development. Like Agache's Rio plan, Costa's plan for Brasília focused on the ideology of the design.¹⁴⁷ In both cases, the ideology of diffusionist development was ultimately more important than political affiliations or even matters of class conflict. The designers saw the transposition of their architecture and urbanism into social utopias as the only alternative to such conflict. Brasília's intention of creating a classless society notwithstanding, the Rio and Brasília plans shared a basic commitment to social change from above.

In both cases, the inspired interventions of the urbanist as artist-genius acting on behalf of a Cartesian prince could be the only significant means of affecting history and solving social problems. Costa used the myth of the genius and invoked the Muse to explain that the "idea" of the plan for the national capital "sprang" suddenly to his mind "as a complete picture."¹⁴⁸

But whereas Agache had exposed the details of his system in the Rio plan, Costa preferred to let his plan for Brasília "speak for itself." He provided no lengthy explanations or statistical data to support his initial proposal, just the sketch of an idea.¹⁴⁹ If Costa's plan seemed to say very little, it was perhaps because the genius-architect perceived the dangers (and difficulties) of being too specific about precisely how the new Brazilian utopia was to be achieved. What was important was the statement, the symbol, the long-term goal itself. Moreover, Agache's plan had in effect already laid out for Costa and his colleagues both the main lines of a long-term development model, one that corresponded in large measure to their aspirations for Brazil, and a set of sociopolitical methods and planning techniques through which the model could be implemented on both an urban and a national level.

Brasília's rhetoric of developmentalism stressed the idea of the city as a pole of regional and national development, as "a stone cast to create waves of progress."¹⁵⁰ This idea clearly "imitates" the Tardian image of genius and innovation moving outward "like the ripples in a pond." Both the Rio and the Brasília projects originate in the questionable assumptions of Agache's double transitive, according to which a model of aesthetic theory concerned with large-scale capital accumulation as the basis for the production of "superior" fine art becomes the formula for civilizing the world and producing "good" people. As we have seen, in the first transitive process of the model, the hereditary genius of the artist begets talent, which, in the hands of the architect-urbanist, in turn begets "good" architecture and urban design. In the second transitive, the "good" architecture and design thus created are sympathetically received by the public and beget "good" social order in the city, which in turn begets the "good" socioeconomic order of the nation. Thus is completed the imperialistic process by which one "discipline," or set of values, practices, and constraints, colonizes and controls that which is next to or around it.¹⁵¹

The problem with such "good" breeding of course is that it implies an exclusive pedigree into which not everyone can fit. As Durkheim had emphasized, successful colonization and the persistence of the (good) "type" depended on the rigorous separation of societies. As in Agache's Rio, the ultimate "success" of the project of Brasília involved the socioeconomic segregation

145. Reidy designed the Gávea and Pedregulho housing projects and the Museum of Modern Art in the Glória-Flamengo Park in Rio. See Evenson, *Two Brazilian Capitals*, figs. 45 and 120, and Bruand, *Arquitetura*, 223–243.

146. Bruand, *Arquitetura*, 336.

147. On Brasília and Costa's design, see Evenson, *Two Brazilian Capitals*, and J. Holston, *The Modernist City: An Anthropological Critique of Brasília*, Chicago, 1989, esp. 60–65.

148. L. Costa, Preamble to "O relatório do plano piloto de Brasília," *Módulo*, III, no. 18, 1960, 3 (quoted in Holston, *The Modernist City*, 64–65).

149. Holston, *The Modernist City*, 62–65.

150. Ibid., 18 and 320 n. 10. Holston's interviews have led him to conclude that the diffusionist rhetoric of Brasília has been remarkably well assimilated by all classes of people in Brazil, from impoverished squatters to bank executives.

151. As Holston has noted, despite its critiques of modernism, post-modern urbanism also adheres to this colonizing notion of social transposition in its emphasis on the transcendence of architectural and urban context. In its "enclave theory of social transformation," focused architectural projects or small pockets of urban redevelopment are believed to improve the lives of those in adjacent neighborhoods (ibid., 316).

of the city's inhabitants. In Brasília the application of zoning and the subdivision of the city's space in correspondence with the four main urban functions of the modern city (housing, work, recreation, and traffic), as defined by the Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne (CIAM) and the Athens Charter, became even more rigorous than in Agache's Rio plan. The Brasília plan also contained another element, a monumental "public core," a feature absent in other early CIAM cities but strongly present in Agache's plan for Rio. Actually there are two public cores on Brasília's "Monumental Axis." The first is an axially planned ensemble with a raised platform and terraced embankments, a politico-administrative complex operated by a relatively small corps of technocrats who lived comfortably nearby on the intersecting domestic axis of Costa's cross plan. Conjuring up images of an absolutist court, Costa wrote that the space and intention of this core, Brasília's Plaza of the Three Powers, corresponded to those of Versailles, but he recast the plaza as "the Versailles of the People."¹⁵² Through this conflation of popular and absolutist references, Costa presented the plaza as a symbolic *planalto* that projected an image that the Brazilian state was developing according to democratic, or at least populist, principles. But the real "public core" of Brasília, the true center of popular participation in the city's power structure, is not the government plaza but the central Interurban Bus Terminal on the main highway platform and the Entertainment sectors adjacent to it. The Entertainment sectors are composed of two shopping malls. In these, democracy means the freedom to entertain oneself by making a purchase; for those who can afford such freedom, social solidarity is based on consumption. In the bus terminal, the capital's working classes gather daily to enact the modern ritual specified in Agache's law of *distance pratique*. For them, the social solidarity of Brasília is based on the common experience of the long and expensive commute home to their dormitory satellites.

In both Agache's Rio and Costa's Brasília, the architecture of the *génie* was to colonize the social order around it in the name of some vaguely defined consensus, the people or the *conscience collectif*. In the end, the working classes were permanently peripheralized, their poverty and exclusion thus reinforced and normalized, if not made morally comfortable. Both the Agache plan and Brasília accentuated the void between the gifted and the poor.

Assisted by aerial photography, the urbanistic conquest of the vast open space that became Brasília, with its open volumes at center, its monumental Beaux-Arts axes and crossing, its terraced embankments and platform, its uniform ensembles of super-blocks and peripheral satellite cities, all were part of the same imperial spirit celebrated by Tarde, Durkheim, and their ur-

banistic interpreter. Brasília too was the vision of a small group of talented men who were firmly committed to a metropolitan model of diffusionist progress and highly skilled in using public relations to achieve the semblance of a consensus. This group saw the new capital not only as the emblem of and means to national modernization, but also as proof positive of national artistic genius.

Conclusions

Perhaps Agache's greatest achievement was to give visual and written expression to some of the "scattered and unformulated" social ideals of his day. In so doing, he leaves us and his Brazilian followers with a somewhat frightening vision of the modern city à la Tarde and Durkheim. Great ideas are most powerful and influential when they can be both clearly read and clearly seen.

But a wider appreciation of the success of such projects as theirs must be qualified by our reading of their visions, by our awareness of the limitations of a perspective "from above" that saw the periphery primarily as a realm for experimentation and imitation, as an opportunity to prove what the SFU urbanist Jacques Gréber called "the force of expansion of French genius."¹⁵³ The ultimate triumph of the project would seem compromised by the modern urbanist's inability to recognize or accommodate what the "others" might ultimately contribute to the project of their own development. One feels that in his emphasis on Tardian imitation, Agache underestimated the importance of Tarde's "other" category, "oppositions." These would lead to new inventions, often very different from those Agache and his colleagues had intended. Some of the richest cultural inventions resulting from these "oppositions" would seem to confirm their deepest fears: to the half-naked practitioners of the Afro-Brazilian religious rites down on Rio's beaches, Durkheim's high "society" god had little to offer.

Agache was increasingly concerned with fitting Rio and her people into an internationalist mold. When he reissued the Rio plan in French in 1932, he dropped the name of the city from the title and presented it as a universal case study in the planning of a capital.¹⁵⁴ Rio had been an opportunity to test and improve a system, an experimental means to an end. But it was only one of many such SFU experiments, the results of which were brought back home, exhibited and discussed by the experts, and then published in volumes about colonial and tropical urbanism.¹⁵⁵

153. J. Gréber, *L'Architecture aux Etats-Unis, preuve de la force d'expansion du génie français*, 2 vols., Paris, 1920.

154. This observation was first made by Tougeron, "Donat-Alfred Agache," 37.

155. The proceedings of the congress that accompanied the 1931 Colonial Exposition at Vincennes were brought together by Jean Royer in *L'Urbanisme aux colonies et dans les pays tropicaux*, 2 vols., La Charité-sur-Loire, 1932-1935, I. The honorary president of the congress was

152. L. Costa, *Sobre arquitetura*, Porto Alegre, 1962, 344 (quoted in Holston, *The Modernist City*, 73).

In these conferences and volumes, an important intellectual consensus was achieved: the colonial experiments of *urbanisme* were codified, and its heroes, most notably Maréchal Lyautey, were celebrated. But in 1932, the final SFU product had yet to be perfectly realized.

It is perhaps fitting that a project that took off with an international exposition should have found its most characteristic, even culminating, expression in another. But whereas the 1925 Expo was primarily intended to market French products for export, the 1937 Exposition Internationale des Arts et des Techniques dans la Vie Moderne was more concerned with their grand consumption. As Bertrand Lemoine has noted, one of the goals of the 1937 Expo was to support the production of art métiers and protect professional artists, whose work had been adversely affected by the decline of private commissions that resulted from the world economic crisis. The Expo provided a means for the state to become both patron and consumer of the luxury arts that had been the traditional source of French cultural pride. In this context, the Expo became a sort of public works project designed to stimulate economic activity and absorb the large number of unemployed artists.¹⁵⁶

French luxury commerce in particular was in crisis. One fine art or luxury product that had met with only limited sales success abroad was *urbanisme*. Buyers like the Brazilians had absorbed the techniques and underlying philosophy more readily than the expensive fine art itself. Architecture and urbanism were particularly important for the 1937 Expo, not only because the SFU urbanist Gréber was one of the architects-in-chief, but also because it was only through the actual physical layout and permanent display of the "goods" in their perfected form that the producers and patrons of the product could hope to achieve its large-scale consumption by the public eye. The physical realization of a complete (if limited) program of SFU urbanism was the only means through which the product could be perfected and consumed.¹⁵⁷ But architecture was of key importance to the Expo for yet another reason. The chosen theme of the Expo was the connection between the arts and the techniques of modern life. Of all the fine arts, architecture was perhaps best equipped to deal with this theme because it could clarify the ambiguity of the alliance by giving impressive and permanent

visual expression to it. It could "make concrete" and monumental the relationship between form and technique; and in so doing, it could demonstrate, as Agache had done in Rio, the sociophilosophical basis of the alliance between modern art and science. As Lemoine summarizes, "The expressions of ideas or the ideals which the Expo was supposed to manifest in spectacular fashion corresponded . . . to the materialization of a program, to the dream, finally realized, of a planning project controlled by the urgency of its own accomplishment."¹⁵⁸

If the arts and techniques of modern life could be expressed in the architecture of the Expo, the social philosophy would be clarified both through its urbanistic arrangement and through the context of ideological solidarity in which the accomplishment was cast. As Agache's Rio project had also made clear, the legitimation of artistic and technical progress had to be not only material but also intellectual. Another goal of the 1937 Expo was to contribute to "human intellectual cooperation." There was a thematic exposition dedicated to philosophy, another focusing on "intellectual exchanges around the world," a celebration of the tricentenary of Descartes's *Discourse*, a special congress on Descartes, and six hundred other congresses to go with it. The exhibits were accompanied by lengthy textual explanations, charts, and statistical data. Finally, the Expo also addressed the lives of workers in a model village and pavilions that focused on hygiene and solidarity.¹⁵⁹

The architectural focus of the urbanistic ensemble and the incarnation of the Expo's ambitious program was the Chaillot Palace, designed by Jacques Carlu, L.-H. Boileau, and Léon Azéma (Figs. 21 and 22).¹⁶⁰ The monumental, abstracted, stripped classical style, the reinforced concrete construction, the formal layout with its terraced embankments, platform, and reflecting pool, the open volumes at center, illuminated by floodlights and framed from across the Seine by giant pairs of rostral columns—all "speak" in a manner that is reminiscent of Agache's proposed international exposition for Rio's Gateway to Brazil designed seven years before. Whereas Agache had placed an auditorium at the center of his composition, an auditorium in which the opposing forces of art and technique could be ideologically reconciled for the public by the new authorities (the sociologists and urbanists of the state), the designers of the Chaillot Palace, with its two independent wings, left a large space at the center of their ensemble. This too is a void that speaks for itself, and it speaks loud and clear. The two wings of the Chaillot Palace and the space between them give expression to the unification of the forces of French art and tech-

Maréchal Lyautey. Henri Prost, Lyautey's colleague from the early days of SFU planning in Morocco, was president of the organizing committee and wrote the general report for the congress. Also involved were Georges Risler, Ernst Hébrard, Jacques Lambert, and Agache's journalist friend Léandre Vaillat. In the section on American urbanism, there were articles on Martinique, Cuba, and Mexico, and one on Brazil by the architect M. de Groer, who, along with the architect W. Palanchon and the sanitary engineer A. Duffieux, had accompanied Agache to Rio in 1927.

156. B. Lemoine, Preface to *Paris 1937: Cinquantenaire de l'Exposition Internationale des Arts et des Techniques dans la Vie Moderne*, Paris, 1987, 13–14.

157. Ibid., 14–15.

158. "L'expression des idées ou des idéaux qu'elle était censée manifester de façon spectaculaire correspondait . . . à la matérialisation d'un programme, au rêve enfin réalisé d'une planification contrôlée sous l'urgence du fait à accomplir" (ibid.).

159. Ibid., 14.

160. Idem, "Le Palais de Chaillot," in *Paris 1937*, 86–99.

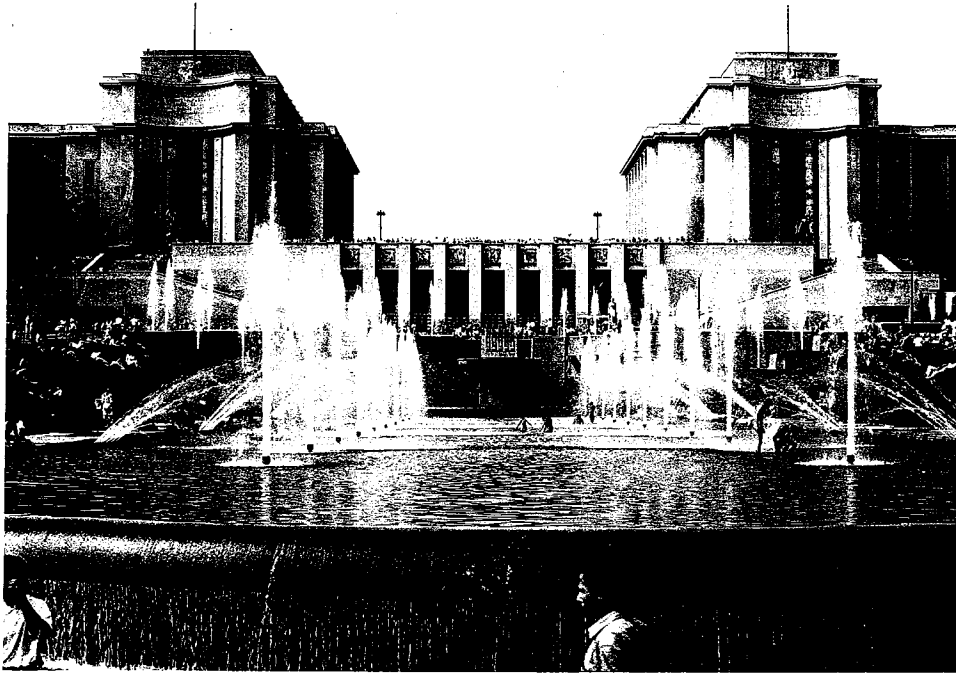


Fig. 21. J. Carlu, L. Boileau, and L. Azéma, Chaillot Palace, Paris, 1937 (author).



Fig. 22. Chaillot Palace, north pavilion (author).

nique: the wings, of reinforced concrete construction, have been finely finished, with Burgundy stone revetments, into permanent façades of high art.

But this is a fine art that was reinforced by more than the industrial techniques of concrete construction. Underlying it as well is the new appreciation of the place of the public in the

state philosophy of solidarity. The two wings of the palace are linked and unified by a monumental space, a sociological “volume,” a public core. Although the centrality and prominence of this space might be seen to symbolize the triumph of the public and the rise of democratic values in design, this interpretation is compromised by a consideration of the politics and

critical reception of the palace's architecture, and by an analysis of the types of public behavior this architecture ultimately fostered. If the aesthetic goal of creating a permanent monument to the fine art of urbanism seemed noble and glorious enough, the means by which this glory was achieved became the focus of much contention from the liberal press, the public, and progressive artistic circles. With the cancellation of the original design competition and the seemingly arbitrary selection of the three winners, who were, as one critic wrote, handpicked "by the wave of a magic wand," democratic procedure had clearly been betrayed.¹⁶¹ Amid charges of artistic plagiarism and administrative corruption, the press condemned the appointment of the architects and the construction of their project for lacking legal sanction. The defenders of the project promptly responded by creating a "propaganda commission" to attempt to quell the public outcry. In the end, despite the violent polemic, financial scandals, and prolonged strikes at the construction site, a unified "popular front" was achieved. In a great surge of patriotic fervor, the press, led by *Le Figaro*, urged the public to forget its griefs and support the palace's completion in the name of the national patrimony and the *gloire* of the state.¹⁶² As Lemoine has pointed out, the solidarity of the state, the social cement of the exposition, required a forced consensus to guarantee the public's perception of the Expo's cultural and political triumph.¹⁶³

The success of the Chaillot Palace required not only the public's passive submission to the *conscience collectif* of state solidarity but also its active consumption of the positivistic ideology of the modern social sciences. The palace was to be the centerpiece of a new "City of Museums" in which not only the fine

arts but also the ends and means of French imperial conquest would be displayed (in the Musée de l'Homme and Colbert's Musée de la Marine). In the ethnographic museum, throngs of curious tourists would visually (and photographically) consume the permanent display of definitively interpreted specimens collected in the colonial peripheries of *la France d'Outre-mer*.

The ultimate SFU product had been brought back home to the social milieu of Paris, to what Bruno Foucart called the inspired hillock (*la colline inspirée*) of the Trocadéro.¹⁶⁴ There it would be firmly and permanently rooted in the genius of its Parisian place. The hill provided the public with a Cartesian perspective of the capital from above, a Parisian *planalto* from which it could "see all and see farther." In retrospect, it seems the palace was the success the SFU had been striving for all along. It provided the perfect programmed set piece for the Expo and offset the Russian and (more importantly) the German contributions brilliantly, providing yet another example of a revindicated French national genius.¹⁶⁵ "A science and an art and, above all, a social philosophy," the universal system of *urbanisme* had finally been perfected in a concrete work of fine art for the admiration of those who would participate in the Expo's "intellectual cooperation" and the "solidarity of minds" of the social scientists, the public, and the state. In 1937, as Vargas tightened his grip over the Brazilians, not only the art and the techniques of modern life but also the philosophy underlying them were put on glorious exhibition on the banks of the Seine, alongside Speer's Nazi Pavilion. After years of experimentation and "improvement" in the periphery, the center had consumed its own luxury product.

161. I. Gournay, *Le nouveau Trocadéro*, Brussels, 1985, 91-94.

162. Ibid., 94-97.

163. Lemoine, Preface to *Paris 1937*, 15.

164. B. Foucart, "Une colline inspirée," Preface to I. Gournay, *Le nouveau Trocadéro* (quoted in Lemoine, "Chaillot," 89 n. 4).

165. Lemoine, "Chaillot," 89, 98.