

Singapore Management University

Institutional Knowledge at Singapore Management University

Research Collection School of Social Sciences

School of Social Sciences

3-2019

Imagining an old city in nineteenth-century France: Urban renovation, civil society, and the making of Vieux Lyon

Patrick Luiz Sullivan DE OLIVEIRA

Singapore Management University, poliveira@smu.edu.sg

Follow this and additional works at: https://ink.library.smu.edu.sg/soss_research



Part of the [Urban Studies Commons](#), and the [Urban Studies and Planning Commons](#)

Citation

1

This Journal Article is brought to you for free and open access by the School of Social Sciences at Institutional Knowledge at Singapore Management University. It has been accepted for inclusion in Research Collection School of Social Sciences by an authorized administrator of Institutional Knowledge at Singapore Management University. For more information, please email cheryl@smu.edu.sg.

Imagining an Old City in Nineteenth-Century France: Urban Renovation, Civil Society, and the Making of Vieux Lyon

Journal of Urban History
2019, Vol. 45(1) 67–98
© The Author(s) 2017
Article reuse guidelines:
sagepub.com/journals-permissions
DOI: 10.1177/0096144216689090
journals.sagepub.com/home/juh



Patrick Luiz Sullivan De Oliveira¹

Abstract

Urban histories of nineteenth-century France have tended to focus on Paris and emphasize state actions. This has obscured movements that were crucial in shaping modern cities, particularly segments of civil society that worked on preserving old neighborhoods. This article focuses on Lyon—a “second city”—and analyzes how state-driven urban renovations under the Second Empire fostered a fin-de-siècle localist reaction that sought to preserve what was seen as Lyonnais urban forms (in particular neighborhoods defined by their narrow and crooked streets). Through an antiquarian discourse, cultural elites argued that these urban forms were an essential part of Lyonnais identity—which they feared was being infringed upon by Paris. The actions of these prideful and anxious Lyonnais show that antiquarian history was, in fact, a modern phenomenon that played a key role in shaping the modern city.

Keywords

Lyon, France, urban renovation, old city, civil society, preservation

In 1887, Auguste Bleton published, under the pseudonym Monsieur Josse, *À Travers Lyon*, a collection of sketches that had previously appeared in the Sunday issues of the *Courrier de Lyon*. In each sketch, Monsieur Josse took readers on a tour of a different area of Lyon, with Bleton writing as if he were strolling through the streets and explaining their history. In the preface to the book, Jules Coste-Labaume justified the value of Bleton’s literary tours, arguing that people could find the city’s history and sacrifices

written on the stones of its buildings, on the nooks and corners of its old neighborhoods, on its narrow and steep streets where the houses, layered over one another, rest on the foundations of Charlemagne’s monuments or on top of Roman tombs.

Bleton’s sketches tried to capture Lyon’s urban identity, which he saw as an extension of the city’s architectural past. He considered himself one of the “wandering walkers” that the Lyonnais

¹Princeton University, Princeton, NJ, USA

Corresponding Author:

Patrick Luiz Sullivan De Oliveira, Department of History, Princeton University, 129 Dickinson Hall, Princeton, NJ 08544, USA.

Email: plso@princeton.edu

would encounter “going off, letting their steps drift and their imagination run free, admiring the old city, even its warts, and living for an hour in a conjured up past just for the sake of it.”¹

The longest sketch in Bleton’s book, “Le Lyon qui s’en va,” traced what was disappearing in the city by the end of the century and ascribed value to urban elements the author considered to be particularly Lyonnais. He referred to the Rue Mercière as one of two streets in Lyon’s center that still gave “the idea of a merchant city, where one walked through the endless streets, like at the bottom of the trenches of a huge ant hill.” According to Bleton, the street was until the mid-nineteenth century the main artery in the Presqu’île, Lyon’s geographical center formed by the confluence of the Rhône with the Saône. He explained that while tourists, carriages, and shoppers used the main streets like the Rue Mercière, the real Lyonnais “took the passages, the courtyards and the traversing alleyways” to get around, for one had to “be very little informed to not go from one end of the city to the other using these concealed paths.”²

Bleton showed affection for Lyon’s narrow and tortuous ways, considering them a source of pride. But in the early nineteenth century, these streets were far from having such elevated status. The Lyonnais elite considered them to be a dangerous nuisance, for they contributed to the city’s insalubriousness and were easily barricaded whenever the *canuts*, Lyon’s (in)famous silk workers, staged a revolt. Throughout the nineteenth century, measures were taken to modernize and secure Lyon. The most noteworthy of these was the construction of the Rue Impériale, the flagship project of a series of urban renovations undertaken by the prefect of the Rhône, Claude-Marius Vaïsse. These vast urban reforms changed how the Lyonnais imagined their city in the last quarter of the century, when cultural elites threatened by Parisian hegemony started articulating Lyon’s narrow streets as an essential part of Lyonnais identity precisely because they contrasted with what they saw as Parisian forms and because they harked back to supposedly simpler and better times. These rumblings in civil society eventually sparked the preservation of untouched parts of the city. As its appropriation by the tourism economy makes evident, this new nostalgic localist discourse, framed by an antiquarian exercise in history, was in itself a modern phenomenon—a vivid example of urban modernity’s Janus face.³ At first limited to a restricted group of men, the idea of Vieux Lyon eventually became central to the city’s commercial brand.⁴

Two features have defined the literature on French urban history: the dominance of Paris and an approach emphasizing the state’s actions.⁵ In fact, the overwhelming focus on the French capital can be said to have encouraged the emphasis on the state, given the scope of Haussmannization, which scholars have interpreted as a forerunner to twentieth-century urban interventions.⁶ More recent studies have reframed the Parisian story, showing just how civil society initiatives, from preservationism to hygienism, fought to shape the city along different lines.⁷ Yet, when it comes to Paris, it is difficult to disentangle what qualifies as “Parisian” and what qualifies as “French,” for in its status as the nation’s capital the two forms of identity often converge (both historical sources and later analyses reflect this feature).⁸ Shifting the perspective away from Paris offers a new vantage point from where the dynamics between local and national identities become more visible.⁹ “Second cities” are fertile grounds for these types of analyses, for both their citizens and outsiders tend to measure them against the “first city.” This comparison game (one could call it a second city complex) is ambivalent and fluctuates through time. As Lyon adopted urban models associated with Paris, the Lyonnais drew on elements from its past to differentiate its identity.

Astrid Swenson and Ruth Fiori’s recent books have been paramount in nuancing our understanding of the rise of heritage in nineteenth-century Europe. Regarding France in particular, the evidence marshaled by them challenges the stereotype of French heritage being a creation of the state.¹⁰ As they show, much of the impetus for urban preservation in Paris stemmed from civil society, which in turn led to the creation of “parapolitical organizations” like the Commission Municipale du Vieux Paris.¹¹ A similar process occurred in Lyon, which created its own commission soon after. Swenson’s argument is also innovative because it shows that there was a transnational dimension to the emergence of heritage practices. This was certainly the case with capital

cities like Paris, London, and Berlin, and Lyonnais preservationists were to some extent connected to these networks of knowledge, as exemplified by their decision to emulate the Vieux Paris commission.¹²

But another crucial element must be taken to consideration when it comes to the rise of heritage in “second cities”—their relation vis-à-vis the capital. In short, because for decades Lyon was under the yoke of Napoléon III in Paris, Lyonnais preservationist discourse articulated a logic of resistance that pit “Lyonnais forms” (narrow streets) against “Parisian forms” (wide boulevards). Even though Parisian preservationists also nostalgically defended their medieval city (one only has to think of the writings of Victor Fournel and Albert Robida’s Vieux Paris pavilion at the 1900 Exposition Universelle), the Lyonnais did not mobilize or join an allied defense of old neighborhoods. That is to say, their attachment to narrow crooked streets was not purely formal but shaped by a particular historical experience grounded on locality.

A final note before we proceed. By no means did a proud localist discourse emerge in Lyon only in the end of the nineteenth century. Its roots trace back to the July Monarchy, which saw the proliferation of *sociétés savantes* and local reviews like the *Revue du Lyonnais* (founded in 1834 with the purpose of “combating literary centralization”).¹³ Pierre-Yves Saunier has traced this longer history, but his study is not without its problems.¹⁴ His main body of sources comes from the last third of the nineteenth century, yet he attempts to construct a diffuse analysis stretching back to the early 1800s. In his attempt to trace a continuous history, he is not sufficiently sensitive to the distinct character of turn-of-the-century writings and their specific relationship to urban changes. As Bernard Poche writes, it is at this point in time that we see “a considerable flourishing of historical or ethnographical illustration” that painstakingly recreated Lyon’s past.¹⁵ What made this later Lyonnais localism unique was its intensely nostalgic character. Yet Poche also does not address what was the key factor in framing late-nineteenth-century Lyonnais identity in this nostalgic mode: the renovations that changed the city’s physiognomy during the Second Empire. These radical changes in the urban fabric were an uprooting experience that fomented the intense localist revival that Lyon experienced beginning in the 1880s.¹⁶ But before we turn to the nostalgic *fin de siècle*, we should first survey the progress-minded first half of the century.

Against the Constricted City: Urban Discourse in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century

In the first half of the nineteenth century, Lyon still retained its medieval urban grid. The city’s center, the Presqu’île, offered limited space due to geographic boundaries—the Rhône to the east and the Saône to the west, while to the north rose a large plateau, the Croix-Rousse (Figure 1). The buildings in this small patch of land were on average five storeys tall, while the streets were crooked and narrow. Such was the constrictive environment in the Presqu’île that when Stendhal visited the city in 1837, he had the following to say:

What drives me to despair in Lyon are these dark and humid alleyways that serve as passages from one street to another. And what streets! The six-story buildings never allow the sun to reach the pavement. Try walking the rue Mercière from one end to another.¹⁷

Later in the 1840s, Charles Dickens described Lyon as a town fallen from the sky, where the legions of little streets “were scorching, blistering, and sweltering,” and the houses were “high and vast, dirty to the excess, rotten as old cheeses, and as thickly peopled.” Dickens, an author accustomed to writing about the dark underbelly of urban life, was so shocked by what he saw in Lyon that he described its residents as not quite living, but “dying till their time should come, in an exhausted receiver,” and advised his readers that he “would go some miles out of [his] way to avoid encountering [Lyon] again.”¹⁸



Figure 1. Detail of J. M. Darmet, plan de la ville de Lyon et de ses environs réduit d'après les meilleurs levés, 1830 (Archives Municipales de Lyon, 2 S 571).

Thus was the state of France's second city in the first half of the nineteenth century—dark, gloomy, and with little aesthetic merit, at least in the eyes of two of its more famous visitors. But Charles Joseph Chambet, author of the *Guide Pittoresque de l'Étranger à Lyon*, certainly thought that there were things worthy of a tourist's visit. He introduced his readers to Lyon with the complimentary verses of Voltaire, who claimed that “[t]here [was] no more beautiful refuge,” and of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, who, in a less than inspired poem, proclaimed Lyon to be “the ornament of France” and the “treasure of the universe, source of abundance.”¹⁹ “The ornament of France”—Lyonnais like Chambet wanted Lyon to project the glory that in the past had impressed the *philosophes*. For his guide, Chambet strategically selected monuments he deemed worthy of Lyon's position in France, such as its squares and churches, highlighting their major moments in history.²⁰ His goal was to “point out succinctly the origin of all the monuments and what one can find of note [in Lyon].”²¹ Most of the illustrations in Chambet's guide are of these noteworthy structures isolated from other urban elements. But if details of Lyon's streets are absent from the images, their traces can be found throughout the text. Chambet prefaced the descriptions of certain neighborhoods with a disclaimer: “As in all older cities, a multitude of small narrow and winding streets detract from the beauty of Lyon's ensemble; but the magnificence of several neighborhoods compensate the traveler well for the unpleasantness of others.”²² While Lyon had worthy sights, its streets prevented it from reaching its full aesthetic potential. In Chambet's writing, we see the idealization of (and the anticipation for) a modern Lyon. The general absence of the city's “medieval” streets from travel guides spoke to their status as an unwanted urban element. Sixteen years later, Chambet published a tract arguing that to attract more tourists, the city needed to build of fountains, statues, and, most important of all, new wider streets.²³

But there was also another reason for administrators to renovate the city: hygiene. In 1845, Jean-Baptiste Monfalcon and A. P. Isidore de Polinière, members of the Conseil de salubrité du département du Rhone, published a treatise on the public health of Lyon. They began by stating how, in the past, “Lyon had within its walls numerous insalubrious elements; no great city had,

in this respect, a more unfortunate reputation.”²⁴ Because of its geographical layout, Lyon had difficulty expanding to accommodate the population that settled there to benefit from the thriving silk industry. Monfalcon and Polinière argued that these geographical conditions “explain how the houses have such tall elevation and the streets such little width; it is a serious disadvantage that very few cities in Europe present to the same degree.”²⁵ The authors explained the problem:

The determination of the proper relations between the height of houses and the width of streets is not just a question for the public roads office, it concerns to a great degree the issue of salubrity. When a street is wide, air and sunlight reach the houses in abundance, an easy ventilation quickly dries the humid streets, people in shops are no longer condemned to live in a dark, sunless, and unhealthy prison that barely offers them a glimpse of heaven.²⁶

The conclusion from these observations was simple. As Monfalcon and Polinière articulated in a more general work, administrators should make it a priority to “clean filthy neighborhoods and rejuvenate the old city; demolish hovels and run-down houses; provide workers with buildings well lit by the sun; and straighten and widen the narrow and angular streets.”²⁷ Alexandre Monmartin, a prefecture councilor, issued a report to Lyon’s mayor concurring with Monfalcon and Polinière’s treatise. He called for a thorough renovation of the city’s center and the building of a wide lane that would cut through the area, arguing that “the streets there are narrow and without any logic in their layout. Air, light, space, and easy circulation are missing to the numerous inhabitants of an appalling slum that brings forth all the physical and moral disorders.”²⁸

Stendhal and Dickens’s harsh criticisms of Lyon, Chambet’s discrete disclaimers, and Monfalcon, Polinière, and Monmartin’s hygienic moralizing were all signs of an urban planning ideal that had taken hold of Western Europe. Urban migration had become a concern to those in cities, who thought that they had to rationally organize spaces to support the population increase. Efficient circulation through the geometrical organization of streets had become the standard of good urban planning. These ideals were in synch with new societal needs. The first industrial revolution had brought with it new modes of production and commerce that depended on a greater mobility of capital, goods, and individuals. That mobility demanded a new infrastructure; the agglomeration of winding streets that characterized the medieval city was not conducive to fast and easy circulation, and obstructed the bourgeoisie’s success. What reformers advocated for modern cities was a geometric grid of streets that were wider than their medieval antecedents.

Razing a City for Security and Salubrity: The Rue Impériale

Conditions for a thorough program of urban renovations had emerged in France by the mid-nineteenth century. On December 2, 1851, Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte staged a coup d’état and began the transition to the Second French Empire. Fashioning himself in his uncle’s image, Louis-Napoléon portrayed himself as a promoter of modernization and of social reform. The modernization of French cities was at the heart of his vision of an imperial France, and thanks to the writings of Saint-Simonians and Fourierists, by the time he came to power, a “*progressive urban planning model*” that “accept[ed] the new industrial city as a starting point for any program of urban transformation” had become the dominant way of thinking about cities.²⁹ To achieve these reforms, Louis-Napoléon advocated a powerful and centralized bureaucracy.

As Louis-Napoléon consolidated power, authority in the Lyonnais region centralized. A series of laws progressively incorporated the surrounding communes into Lyon’s jurisdiction, culminating in their full annexation. The centralization went beyond expanding Lyon’s legal boundaries; by 1852, the full administrative powers of the Lyon commune had been transferred to the prefect of the Rhône and the elected city council had been dissolved. In its place was installed a

neutered commission composed of thirty nominated members that could only convene at the bequest of the prefect and deliberate over questions he submitted.³⁰ The Second Empire was established on December 2, 1852, with Louis-Napoléon taking the title of Emperor Napoléon III. On March 4, 1853, he made Claude-Marius Vaïsse prefect of the Rhône. The centralization of power in Vaïsse's hands dismantled any autonomy that Lyon still had from the capital.

Vaïsse's main responsibility was to be the Rhône's Haussmann and reorganize the urban fabric of that region's main city. The public works undertaken by the Second Empire were not the first of their kind in Lyon. The local government had done surveys and effected smaller reforms throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, but nothing on the scale that would be seen in the 1850s and 1860s.³¹ Vaïsse started working as soon as he arrived in the city, and on December 27, 1853, he presented a report to the municipal commission concerning the construction of the Rue Impériale, a new twenty-two-meter wide street. In the report, Vaïsse referred to the neighborhoods at the center of the Presqu'île as "the old Lyon, the real Lyon," and commented that it was a "perfectly central space, bringing together the main public establishments." But he also highlighted that this natural center had a significant problem: its streets and houses prevented light and air from penetrating, and made circulation "difficult, cluttered, often impossible in certain areas."³²

Vaïsse made his case through two paradoxical moves. First, he fabricated a history to claim that area as the "real Lyon." But the Presqu'île was not made up of the city's "oldest built, oldest occupied neighborhoods." In fact, Romans had established Lugdunum, the city that became Lyon, on top of the Fourvière hill, west of the Saône, and the neighborhoods beneath Fourvière were just as old, if not older, than those in the Presqu'île. But these areas were not of strategic interest, so he abandoned historical accuracy. The prefect's second move was to justify the urban renovations, once again using history to sustain his argument. But this time Clio shifted from a legitimizing tool to being antithetical to the urban ideal. Vaïsse argued that the Presqu'île's layout was literally obstructing progress. Its narrow streets stood between the two train stations that were to crown the northern and southern ends of Lyon, and he argued that unless renovations took place, "this old Lyon" would become a barrier preventing communication between the city's extremes.³³ The Presqu'île had to be exorcized of the very history that supposedly made it the "real Lyon." Vaïsse's discourse of progress rejected the past even as it called upon it to legitimize his project.

Internal correspondence sheds light on the intentions behind the renovations. A report René Dardel, the city's chief architect, sent Vaïsse early in 1854 made it clear that the Rue Impériale would cut through several neighborhoods to "clean and revitalize [*vivifier*] them, satisfying the needs of circulation, of commerce, and the general hygienic conditions of the city." He specifically referenced the Massif St. Charles, calling it the "most dreadful and dirtiest neighborhood of Lyon." According to Dardel, this area harbored stables, cabarets, and small inns, all of which would disappear once the street was pierced. Destroying the massif would not only improve the city's cleanliness, it would also make the police's job easier, "chasing away from the center a population of nomads and disgraceful workers."³⁴

Another major motive behind the construction of the Rue Impériale was the securing of the city. The *canuts* were politicized workers who had staged revolts in the 1830s, and as such they were a point of concern for authorities (Figure 2).³⁵ Even before Vaïsse, Louis-Napoléon had sent to Lyon a strong-arm military man, Boniface de Castellane, who had taken part in subduing the 1831 *canut* revolt.³⁶ De Castellane took up the post of military governor upon his arrival in 1850. In letters to his daughter, he mentioned how Lyon needed constant policing, since workers were always involved in some kind of conspiracy, and from his arrival in the city until the 1851 coup, his diary featured unremitting talk of secret societies that congregated in cabarets.³⁷ When Louis-Napoléon staged his coup, de Castellane spared no efforts in securing the city, mobilizing the garrison, ordering the dissolution of all *sociétés fraternelles*, and arresting nearly one thousand



Figure 2. Belfort, *Horrible massacre à Lyon*, Imprimerie de J.-P. Clerc, 1834 (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département des Estampes et Photographie, Collection de Vinck: Un siècle d'histoire de France par l'estampe, Vol. 93, 11891).

individuals.³⁸ Concern with maintaining order continued throughout the following years, and the Archives Nationales abound with reports about attempts to stifle secret societies.³⁹

On October 6, 1853, de Castellane wrote to Vaïsse adamantly stating that the Rue Impériale was “even more important for strategic reasons than for sanitary and beautification reasons.” He explained how in April 1834 the area in question housed the headquarters of the *canut* insurrection. According to de Castellane, during that revolt Lyon was on the verge of falling into the hands of the *canuts*, who “had an exceptional knowledge” of the tortuous streets and covered passages. He argued that the Rue Impériale offered a strategic response to the insurgents’ tactics. “The Place Bellecour should be considered Lyon’s *place d’armes*; it is from there that the columns should emerge. With the Rue Impériale built, the troops will be able to easily spread through the city’s center,” he wrote.⁴⁰ Later that year, Vaïsse requested the Minister of Interior funds for the construction of the Rue Impériale. He made a similar argument to de Castellane’s, referring to the area to be demolished as “the battlefield usually chosen by the insurrection,” and explaining how it was “essential to open a way that [gave] the army the means to directly reach the heart of such a dangerous center.”⁴¹ Vaïsse attached a map to the letter showing insurgent and army positions during the 1834 *canut* insurrection (Figure 3). His project would fundamentally transform areas that were the hotspots of insurgence activity, like the Place des Cordeliers and St. Nizier neighborhoods, and get rid of insalubrious hotspots, like the Massif St. Charles (Figure 4).

The map attached to Vaïsse’s letter shows that French authorities were keenly aware of the relationship between spatial and social control, and they sought to maximize the efficiency of policing cities by reorganizing space.⁴² It can be read through Michel de Certeau’s theorization of strategies and tactics: the urban projects of the Second Empire were a strategic reshaping of social space to undermine tactics that were used by a working class increasingly perceived as

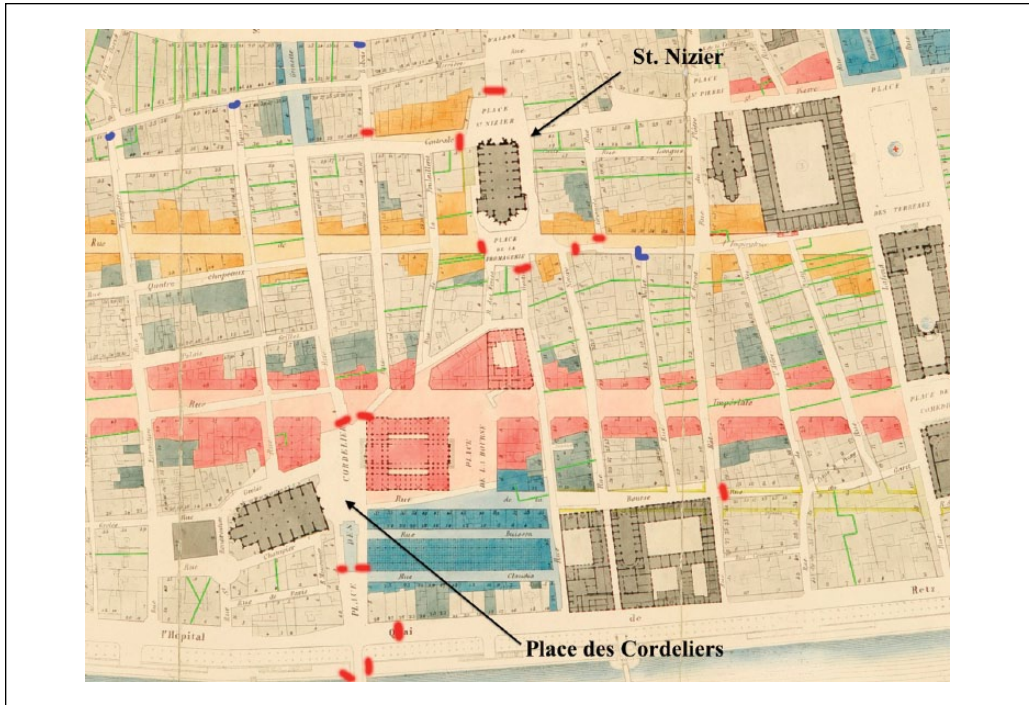


Figure 4. Detail of Gustave Bonnet, *Plan des travaux d'amélioration générale exécutés à Lyon de 1854 à 1861, 1863* (Archives Municipales de Lyon, 2 S 581).

Note: Based on Figure 3, the red markings indicate barricades built by insurgents, while the blue lines indicate those built by the army. The thinner green lines indicate the covered passageways, which were very prevalent in the area.

The Slow Reaction against New Forms: The Quartier Grôlée

The municipal commission approved Vaïsse's report on January 17, 1854, and demolitions began in December (Figure 5). Officially, 2,500 tenants were subject to expropriation, but Vaïsse himself estimated that at least twelve thousand were evicted.⁴⁵ This discrepancy was due to the fact that tenants had dependents. Furthermore, those without leases were not entitled to compensation and are not in the records.⁴⁶ The population expressed little criticism of the works as they were being undertaken, at least explicitly. Those who complained directly to the administration did so for economic reasons. A restaurant owner protested that he did not receive enough indemnity for his expropriation.⁴⁷ A *chansonnette comique* about the enterprise was published, and it told the story about a fictional widow who was going through all kinds of tribulations to find a new place to live (Figure 6).⁴⁸ In general, though, there was an eerie silence from the broader population regarding these public works. Still, these men and women were probably nervous about the demolitions and constructions, and it is doubtful that a project of this scale would have been possible without Louis-Napoléon's centralized and authoritarian power structure.⁴⁹

But something was brewing within that silence, for if narrow streets were disappearing from the physical city they started to occupy another sphere, one just as important in the shaping of urban identity: the urban imaginary. In the 1880s, writers started articulating an idea of Lyonnais identity intrinsically associated to an idyllic period before Vaïsse's intervention had transformed the city. In opposition to that representative of Parisian modernization, the Rue Impériale (by then renamed Rue de la République), writers exalted Vieux Lyon, especially the quartiers west of the Saône, which, for the most part, had not been targeted by Vaïsse.



Figure 5. Louis Froissard, “Ouverture de la rue Impériale (actuellement rue de la République), à Lyon: vue d’enfilade du chantier prise depuis la place Impériale en direction du nord; à gauche, rue de l’Hôpital (actuellement rue M. Rivière) et rue Palais-Grillet,” July 30, 1856 (Archives Municipales de Lyon, 3 PH 606).

Why did this localist reaction take so long to crystallize? Major urban works began in 1853, and continued up to the fall of the Second Empire in 1870. Developing a causal explanation for the delayed onset of Lyonnais nostalgic localism is a complicated endeavor. As Philip Nord has shown in his study of the reactionary politics of Parisian shopkeepers and Haussmannization, changes produced by urban renovations can take time to take form and often require other ingredients to instigate reactions from the population.⁵⁰ Yet we can build up a conjectural hypothesis that takes into consideration four factors that contributed to the delayed reaction in Lyon.

First, the Second Empire stifled more vocal expressions of opposition to the renovations. For example, in 1861 *Le Correspondant*, a Catholic review that positioned itself against the Second Empire, abstained from publishing “Aux Démolisseurs,” a satirical poem by Victor de Laprade that attacked the Second Empire’s fever for urban renovations, on the grounds that it would not pass the censors.⁵¹ De Laprade, a member of the Académie Française, proceeded to publish “Les Muses d’État,” a poem attacking the Second Empire for trying to control writers by censoring critical works. In response, the government revoked his professorship at the Faculté des Lettres de Lyon, and, while “Aux Démolisseurs” was eventually published in Geneva, the work was banned in France.⁵² In Lyon, Vaïsse’s squad of investigators and spies, with the backing of de Castellane military forces (twelve thousand to fifteen thousand strong), kept the press in line.⁵³

Second, we have to consider the dynamic between the centralized state in Paris and the municipality of Lyon. Regionalist movements grew in force in the late nineteenth century, and they were not just the province of reactionaries. In fact, regionalism was an important feature of segments of republican political culture that drew their inspiration from the French Revolution’s moderate Girondins as opposed to the radical Jacobins.⁵⁴ In the late 1860s, there was an increased output of provincial reviews as a reaction to Paris’ increased cultural hegemony.⁵⁵ The fall of the Second Empire and the Commune experience gave the citizens of Lyon, a city known for its independence, a refreshing whiff of municipal autonomy.⁵⁶ This process gained traction with the rise of municipalism, which by the closing years of the Second Empire was the dominant strain of republican doctrine at the local level, and by the early 1880s exerted significant influence at

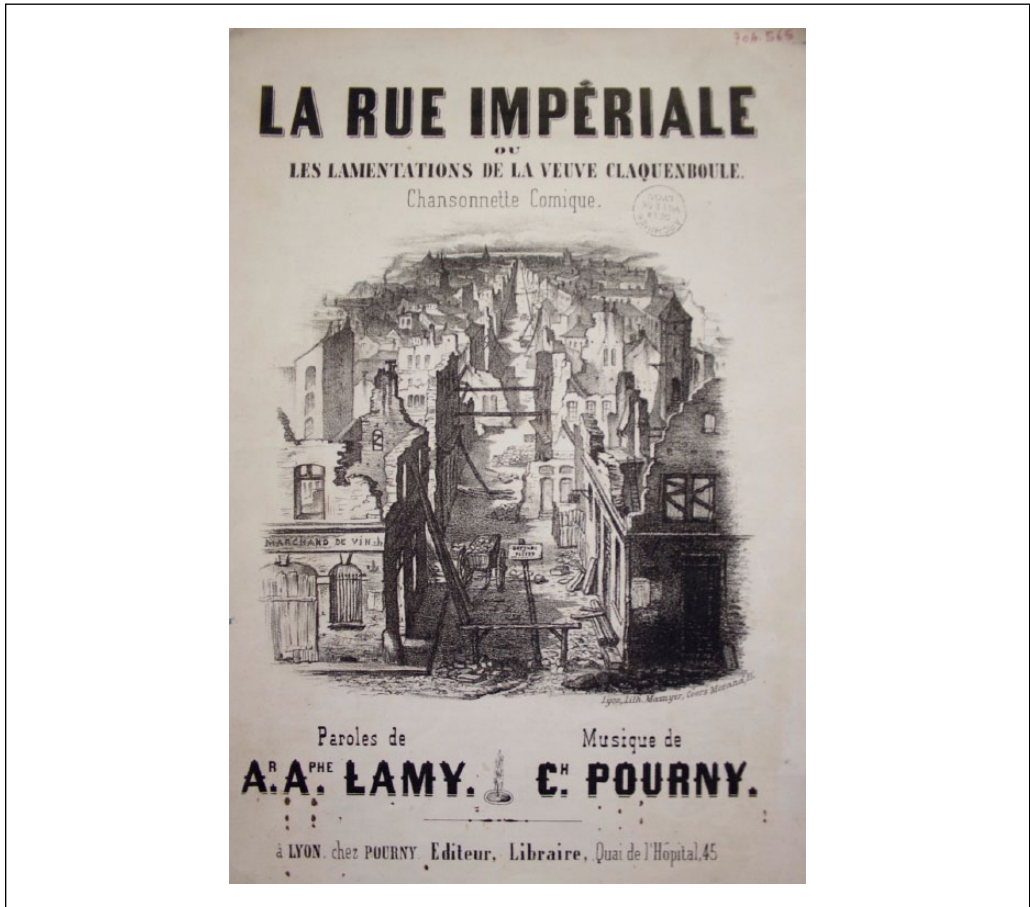


Figure 6. Cover of A. A. Lamy and C. Pourny, *La rue Impériale ou les lamentations de la veuve Claquenboule* (Archives Municipales de Lyon).

the national level.⁵⁷ Cultural figures felt more emboldened to express their local pride, just as local politicians felt emboldened to make claims for greater municipal rights. As we shall see, the overture to municipalism created spaces for local institutions to fight for their vision of the city.⁵⁸

Third, we should keep in mind the larger economic crisis that hit France following the Franco-Prussian War, the Panic of 1873, and the Paris Bourse crash of 1882.⁵⁹ Lyon, in particular, suffered from foreign competition and the resulting deceleration of the French economy. The city's fame and wealth came mainly from its silk manufacture, which, thanks to silkworm disease and the advent of artificial silk, went into severe decline in the second half of the century and migrated to the countryside, where it became more industrialized.⁶⁰ Preservationists were nostalgic for better days, and it is no accident that their object of adoration (the quarters on the Saône's west bank) was the city's commercial and financial center in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when Lyon prospered with its silk industry and as a bustling trading center.⁶¹ Moreover, the crisis was the final blow to the *canuts*, who had not staged a revolt since 1848 (in part thanks to the measures taken by Vaïsse and de Castellane). With industrialization, the *canuts* lost their distinct class identity and disappeared from the city. By 1903, no young silk weavers could be found in Lyon.⁶² As we shall see, this allowed cultural elites to gloss over the tumultuous aspects of the *canuts'* recent history and idealize them as traditional Lyonnais figures. In this reinterpretation, the *canuts* were

not dangerous workers who took advantage of the city's narrow streets to fight for their political goals, but romanticized patriarchal workers who were symbols of simpler times.⁶³

Finally, there was the return of urban renovations. The turbulent transition from the Second Empire to the Third Republic made it difficult to undertake large-scale enterprises, and “[f]or ten years after the fall of the Second Empire, scarcely a paving stone was touched in Lyon.”⁶⁴ But in the 1880s, urban renovation returned. In fact, much that we associate with the Haussmannization of Paris was actually the product of Third Republic works.⁶⁵ In Lyon it was no different. The proposal to renovate the Quartier Grôlée was to effect the greatest change in the urban fabric since the construction of the Rue Impériale. The neighborhood, composed of both narrow streets and a modest population, was the only major area in the Presqu’île that still retained a strong pre-Vaïsse character. The project lingered for years and was the source of considerate debate in the press.⁶⁶

The transformation of the Quartier Grôlée can be taken as a marker for when ambivalent feelings regarding how urban renovations affected Lyon’s identity fully crystallized. *Le Vieux Lyon qui s’en va* (1890), a book whose title echoed Bleton’s own writings, came out with the purpose of capturing the neighborhood’s character “before the wreckers invade[d].” The author and illustrator, Forest-Fleury, labeled it as “a kind of goodbye to this corner of Vieux Lyon that fades away and that soon will be nothing but a souvenir.”⁶⁷ The tone is regretful, and the images depict residents in quaint narrow streets. Forest-Fleury wrote that by transforming the neighborhood, “its spirit, the feelings it inspires, the thoughts that it births, [would] no longer be, the inhabitants themselves [would] be completely different; the masons, the cobblers and other humble people [would] no longer find cheap housing,” all because those in power decided that it should “no longer form an antithesis with the Rue de la République, and that in the place of the shacks in which the people live they [would] build palaces in which the people [would] not live.”⁶⁸ The old streets and houses were becoming places full of meaning—places that housed a nostalgic spirit that opposed itself to modernization but that was only brought to life through that very process.

The *Revue du Lyonnais* also published a piece in reaction to the renovations of the Quartier Grôlée. Written by Félix Desvernay, a member of the Société littéraire, historique et archéologique de Lyon, it described the Quartier de l’Hôpital, whose features were to change even more with the transformation of the Quartier Grôlée. Desvernay’s notes and the accompanying illustrations by Gustave Girrane had as their goal the “renewal of memory, to record the images of places that every day [were] eaten away by the wreckers’ pickaxes.”⁶⁹ As we will see, these two played a significant role in the invention of Vieux Lyon. But before that we should get to know the one individual who, above them all, came to represent the “anti-modern” Lyonnais spirit: Clair Tisseur, or, as he refashioned himself, Nizier du Puitspelu. From there, we will move to the cohort of Lyonnais aficionados who made up his intellectual circle.

Vieux Lyon’s Paterfamilias: Nizier du Puitspelu

Clair Tisseur was born on January 27, 1827, in a house that was eventually demolished by Vaïsse’s renovations. He was trained as an architect and was hired for his services in 1852 by Lyon’s municipal administration. Thus, just as Vaïsse’s project to create the Rue Impériale started to take form, Tisseur was charged with designing some of the new houses. In 1877, after he had retired from architecture, Tisseur moved to Nyons, about 120 miles south of Lyon. Paradoxically, it was then that he immersed in the mission of self-fashioning himself into Nizier du Puitspelu. He fully committed himself to become the utmost authority on all things Lyonnais. Through his writings, he would preserve what he perceived to be the Lyonnais spirit—whether it was expressed through local architecture, traditions, or patois.⁷⁰

Les Vieilleries lyonnaises (1879) was his first major publication, and the first one he published under the name Nizier du Puitspelu. The book is precisely what the title makes it to be: a collection of essays addressing Lyon’s past. From boules (“that most Lyonnais of things”) to the

particular characteristics of Lyonnais fiction, Puitspelu wrote about everyday life and the local patois, constructing an idealized image of Lyonnais identity rooted in the past.⁷¹ The most forceful articulation of this vision emanated from “Pourquoi l’on aime le Vieux Lyon?,” a nostalgic essay that praised old buildings and streets as generative of the true Lyonnais identity. Puitspelu began it by observing how every once in a while he ran into someone who could not understand how he loved, and even regretted, “vieux Lyon.” He explained that these

good souls ignore that often one comes to love things and people independently of what they are; because one saw them at their youth, because their presence bring to life a dead past, because, in short, they bring out the best in you.⁷²

The essay is exemplary of a phenomenon that ran parallel to the grand national story of Third Republic modernization efforts: the construction of local identities.⁷³

The primary referent against which Puitspelu constructed his idea of Lyonnais identity was the Rue Impériale, which had “the vices of industrial enterprises” where quality was sacrificed for profit.⁷⁴ That, however, was not its main fault. What Puitspelu found particularly troubling was the street’s lack of uniqueness. Let us observe his argument:

There is also something particularly hateful to the artist in these embellishments, however necessary they were: their banality. Wherever I go, in Paris, Marseille, Toulouse, Rouen, Avignon, I find the same construction, the same rue Impériale, the same houses, the same boutiques with the same windows, and the same shop fronts. . . . Nothing is worse than that which is found everywhere. But if I see the rue Juiverie with its curious halls from the Renaissance, the rue Saint-Jean with its residences from the fifteenth century, such noble houses from the rue Tramassac, rue du Plat, rue Peyrat, none of that can be found everywhere, that is truly ours. This is the physiognomy of a city. That is its “personality,” as we say today.⁷⁵

For Puitspelu, there was an intrinsic connection between the city’s physical appearance and its population’s morals—a city could also be studied under physiognomic principles. Puitspelu, who wrote learned essays on Lyonnais folklore, literature, and patois, conceived spatial forms as being important elements in the constitution of Lyonnais identity—essentially an urban interpretation of the German concept of *Heimat* that opened up the vistas of urban preservation to go beyond monuments and encompass more marginal elements of the built environment.⁷⁶ According to Puitspelu, a hierarchy of loyalties was fundamental for a durable social order. He was a republican, but of the municipalist bent. As he elaborated his argument,

It is truly unfortunate that the love of the *petite patrie* within the *grande* is progressively disappearing. Love of the home town [*clocher*] is an essential part for a sustainable and firmly established social order, and so to speak an element of more general patriotism. . . . I prefer my city to your city, I prefer my province to your province, and above all I like France better than your country.⁷⁷

But for local patriotism to exist, cities had to be distinguishable from one another. If they all looked the same, there would be no distinct elements that one could be loyal to. Puitspelu approached his mission to preserve Lyon seriously, engaging in painstakingly detailed research in all his writings. He also published dictionaries of the local patois and positioned himself strongly against the Académie Française’s drive to homogenize the French language.⁷⁸ He nevertheless acted with a healthy dose of irony, both cast against those he saw as uncritically embracing progress and projected against himself, as if painfully self-aware of his marginal position in stopping these developments. Nothing is more representative of Puitspelu’s ironical stance than his creation of the Académie du Gourguillon.⁷⁹ Here is how he narrated the Académie’s founding myth, which appeared in a posthumous collection of his essays:

At four o'clock in the afternoon on the twenty-fourth day of June in the year of Our Lord 1879, day of SAINT-JEAN, Nizier du Puitspelu, tired of work and enjoying the warmth of the sun, declared to himself the founding of the Académie du Gourguillon. He immediately became the president, vice-president, secretary, treasurer, the members, and the public. (Note that all discussion in the Académie were always of the utmost courtesy).

From that moment on, Nizier du Puitspelu never failed to include in all of his works, below his signature, his membership to the Académie du Gourguillon.⁸⁰

The Académie du Gourguillon began as a private joke, and it would be tempting to see it as a coping mechanism for a jaded old man disillusioned with progress. Indeed, for the next two years, Puitspelu remained the sole member of the imaginary institution. But while in Nyons he corresponded with members of Lyon's cultural elite, developing a loose network of journalists, historians, librarians, and other liberal professionals interested in preserving Lyon's disappearing elements. In 1881, he had an exchange of letters regarding the Lyonnais patois with a G r me Coquard (pseudonym of the publisher Adrien Storck) in *Le Courrier de Lyon*. Puitspelu decided to publicly invite Storck to his academy, while naming a P trus Violette Gu nardes (pseudonym of Claude-Louis Morel de Voleine, another Lyonnais erudite) as the president without any forewarning. The two accepted the invitation, and the joke took a life of its own. Soon enough other members joined the Acad mie du Gourguillon, including some of the major figures that would later be associated with the cult of Vieux Lyon. Among those initiated, we find Mami Duplateau (Bleton) and Glaudius Canard (Coste-Labaume), the two men in the beginning of this article.⁸¹ All members adopted pseudonyms related to Lyonnais local history.

In 1884, the Acad mie du Gourguillon members came up with the patent letters for their "illustrious" institution. The articles stipulated that the Acad mie's "sole objective is to preserve every good old Lyonnais tradition," and that "anyone who has contributed to said preservation, whether by pen, brush, chisel, burin, composing stick or shuttle [a weaving instrument], is suitable to take part in it." Even more revealing is the irony and humor in the text. A subtle attack on more sober academies, the fourth article stipulated that the works created by the Acad mie du Gourguillon's members would have a "strictly popular character and tickle the spleen, for laughter is what costs the least and gives the most pleasure." The whimsical—bordering on absurd—spirit of this new institution came through in articles 6 and 7, which read, respectively, "[t]he Acad mie has no public meetings" and "[t]he Acad mie has no private meetings."⁸² As Mami Duplateau (Bleton) explained in a lighthearted history of the Acad mie, "[i]t had to be that way. The illustrious society, regarded as a purely intellectual entity, was not supposed to have a body."⁸³ And it never did have an official institutional body. What bounded these men together was a common passion with heavy folkloric and antiquarian tendencies toward an idealized Lyon of the past. Their writings set the initial boundaries for a Lyonnais "imagined community" opposed to the trends in urban modernization.⁸⁴

While the Acad mie du Gourguillon did not become a strong and steady institution that would last many years (no one was initiated after Puitspelu's death in 1895, and the organization slowly faded as each of its members passed away), it still was a fulcrum for localist discourse.⁸⁵ Article 12 stated that members of the Acad mie "ha[d] the right, and even the duty, to meet up every once and a while for some reflection with food and wine." It was all very informal and sustained solely by a common love for Lyon.⁸⁶ Nevertheless, the Acad mie managed to print under its name some works dealing with Lyonnais history and culture, such as Puitspelu's *Litr  de la Grand' C te* and a collection of Guignol plays.⁸⁷

Puitspelu's circle of Lyonnais aficionados went beyond the Acad mie du Gourguillon. He contributed to regionalist reviews like the *Lyon-Revue*, founded by Desvernay in 1880. The review's founding editorial teemed with oppositions between Paris and the province. It argued that "Paris is only rich because of the spoils from the province," and that while "centralization

once represented the healthiness of France, it now has become the danger; the province is languishing, the province is dying.” Thus, the province needed “to revive the commerce of ideas, this exchange of *lumière*, of inspiring sentiments.”⁸⁸ The *Lyon-Revue* would serve this function by being apolitical and fostering a congenial environment for intellectual discussions about Lyon. It ambited to be Lyon’s own *Revue des Deux Mondes* and invited all those interested to take part in the challenge. Besides Puitspelu, we find among its contributors Aimé and Emmanuel de Vingtrinier, both of whom were central in the discursive and visual production of Vieux Lyon.⁸⁹

Puitspelu clashed with Louis Veuillot, a champion of Ultramontanism (a political position that favored papal supremacy over French affairs), and a member of the Académie du Gourguillon described him as having a “profoundly liberal spirit.”⁹⁰ Most of the other men passionate about Vieux Lyon were also far from being politically reactionary. They were avowed republicans, just not Jacobins. Instead, Puitspelu and company fit within the strain of republican municipalism that stressed the value of communal sociability. In charge of prominent local institutions, they were part of a cultural elite that anxiously saw its status threatened by Parisian hegemony and the radical changes happening to French urban life.⁹¹ In 1801, Lyon’s population stood at 99,681; by 1901 it had grown to 459,009.⁹² Puitspelu reacted to this rapid growth and changes to the city’s form by regretting the loss of love for the “*petite patrie*,” arguing that “it [was] an essential piece of a durable social order, solidly established, and one might say an element of the more general patriotism.” In his estimates, by the end of the century, more than two-thirds of the Lyonnais population were “strangers to the soil, to the memories; having nothing of Lyonnais, neither the customs, nor the traditions, nor the language, nor the particular moral trait.”⁹³

The idealized Lyonnais sociability that Puitspelu and company cherished was intrinsically connected to their reappraisal of specific urban forms, the narrow streets through which the *canuts* transported silk back in the heyday of Lyon’s commercial power. The fact that the class was disappearing and no longer posed a threat to elites allowed Puitspelu to gloss over the *canut* revolts and focus instead on what he saw as a good-natured, sincere, and patriarchal worker (he opened his *Vieilleseries lyonnaises* with an essay doing just so).⁹⁴ *Le Progrès Illustré* articulated a similar vision (the newspaper also had a moderate republican editorial bent). In 1895, it ran a six-part series on the *canuts* with several illustrations depicting their everyday life. The accompanying text sought to elicit pity from the largely female readership. The fourth part of the series featured an illustration of an old *canut* accompanied by an especially romanticized description (Figure 7). Part of it reads:

Contemplate, present Lyonnais, this faithful drawing, both solemn and friendly, this simple and serious dress: it is the last of the true *canuts* of the old day! And “l’ateyer” [a *canut* pronunciation of atelier], is it not a poem? Is not this spot that of a philosopher that has to find everything within reach of his hands to serve his needs, his work, his everyday life?⁹⁵

No longer threatening to the bourgeois order, by the end of the century the *canut* could be romanticized as a poet, as the true kind of Lyonnais. The *canut* and the city’s narrow streets were avatars of an idealized past that was never as simple as the champions of Vieux Lyon imagined.

Ceci fera naître cela: Nostalgic Texts and the Crystallization of Vieux Lyon

In one of the most famous chapters of *Notre-Dame de Paris* (1831), “Ceci tuera cela,” Victor Hugo articulates a complex theoretical vision of how the printed word would “kill” architecture. One way to interpret Hugo’s statement is through the lens of Romantic anxieties. Hugo feared the toppling of architecture as the preeminent form of human expression, since for Romantics medieval architecture was especially valued for encompassing an entire worldview. But what



Figure 7. Gustave Girrane, “Canuts et Soyeux,” *Le Progrès Illustré*, February 3, 1895 (Bibliothèque Municipale de Lyon).

happened in Lyon in the late nineteenth century defied Hugo’s bleak forecast. In fact, the printed word gave birth to the idea of Vieux Lyon, which in turn served as the basis for the preservation of neighborhoods characterized by their Renaissance and medieval architecture. Starting in the 1880s, articles and books started coming out that heralded the rediscovery of the quarters on the west bank of the Saône—the quarters of Saint-Paul, Saint-Jean, and Saint-Georges. Before Vaïsse’s renovations, “Vieux Lyon” referred to the central neighborhoods of the Presqu’île, however, thanks to these nostalgic texts by the end of the nineteenth century it had become a label primarily associated with these three quarters across the river.⁹⁶

In 1884, Aimé Vingtrinier, chief librarian of the Bibliothèque Municipale de Lyon, published *Zigzags Lyonnais*, a book whose first thirty pages described the quarters west of the Saône.⁹⁷ Aimé argued that the Lyonnais had nothing to be jealous of the Italians or the Swiss, for these quarters had their own historical and picturesque of interest.⁹⁸ Bleton’s aforementioned *À Travers Lyon* followed in 1887. Nine years later, Bleton published a veritable tour de force homage to Vieux Lyon and other picturesque locales in the city. *Lyon pittoresque* (1896) features five etchings, twenty lithographs, and three hundred pen-and-ink drawings by Joannès Drevet, all of which worked to “rehabilitate Lyon’s image and give readers the pleasure of discovering little-known places and monuments” (Figure 8).⁹⁹ Coste-Labaume, who had written the preface to *À Travers Lyon*, also prefaced *Lyon pittoresque* and highlighted the activist spirit that informed the work. According to him, the author and illustrator wanted to draw tourists by “cast[ing] a light on the unknown or deliberately ignored treasures of the heritage of the old city,” a very different project than the one articulated earlier in the century by Chambet. Bleton saw the destruction of the Quartier Grôlée as foreshadowing the destruction of the quarters to the west of the Saône, which would mark the end of Lyon. “These disappearances are of a fatal order,” he argued:



Figure 8. Joannès Drevet, “Maison du XV^e siècle rue Lainerie, no 14,” Auguste Bleton, *Lyon pittoresque*, 295.

Each generation obeys different designs and, especially, different needs. As social life becomes more uniform, so do buildings, and the recent construction in the Quartier Grôlée, based on the Parisian model, may mark the end of local architecture. And what is the big deal? The Lyonnais disappear also; the way things are going, in fifty years there will no longer be any Lyonnais in Lyon, only provincials.¹⁰⁰

One reviewer was particularly taken by Bleton’s methodology. The book, he wrote, was “neither a history of Lyon, nor a technical description of monuments, but a sequence of promenades through which the writer and the artist guide us through the old neighborhoods that escaped entrepreneurs and municipal builders.” Still, there is a structure to the idiosyncratic walks. The first neighborhood addressed is the Quartier Grôlée, and most of the illustrations in this section are of buildings and streets that had already disappeared, while the last third of the book focuses on the neighborhoods on the right bank of the Saône. “The Quartier Grôlée had to be demolished for people to start talking about it,” Bleton wrote, “as it is with people who are only cared about after they die.” His goal, then, was to create talk about this new Vieux Lyon before it disappeared. It was a productive discourse, for it produced a neighborhood to be preserved. And Bleton, aware

of this, advocated its institutionalization into more solid frameworks. He called for the creation of a historical museum in the Hôtel Gadagne, a large Renaissance structure in the middle of Vieux Lyon. It was not just that the sixteenth-century building was large enough to harbor the museum but also that the neighborhood offered the appropriate backdrop.¹⁰¹

Emmanuel Vingtrinier, Aimé's nephew, also contributed to this flourishing industry of picturesque books. He first published *La vie lyonnaise, autrefois-aujourd'hui* (1898) and *Le Lyon de nos pères* (1901), two books that connected Lyon's old neighborhoods to an idealized and glorious past. His own cult of Vieux Lyon culminated with *Vieilles pierres lyonnaises* (1911), composed of six chapters, and richly illustrated with five etchings and 350 drawings by Drevet, who made a name for himself with picturesque illustrations of old buildings and streets. The first five chapters of *Vieilles pierres lyonnaises* provide a panorama of Lyon from its Gallo-Roman origins to the reign of Louis XVI. Tellingly, chap. 6 is titled "Les Ruines et le Vandalisme" and focuses on the urban changes that the city had experienced since the Revolution. In the book's foreword, Emmanuel explained that his goal was to "group in a single field of vision the picturesque appearance [*physionomie pittoresque*] and the moral character [*physiognomie morale*] of the city."¹⁰² He argued that Lyon's old stones truly spoke, and that people should listen to them to understand how their own "hearts were shaped" and to get a better grasp of their "common soul." Emmanuel was particularly critical of the changes that the Quartier Saint-Paul had gone through under the Third Republic, which he characterized as a "massacre." He wrote,

Without the slightest preoccupation with preserving the old physiognomy of this old corner of Lyon, where so many lovely things conjured a brilliant past, the wreckers [*démolisseurs*], just like barbarians, destroyed straight ahead of them the charming gothic and Renaissance houses pell-mell with the shacks. . . . May we introduce a little air and light; may we not touch their physiognomy; may we not try to strip them of their "solemn and antiquated aspect."¹⁰³

In Emmanuel's understanding, even hygienic concerns were to take a backseat to the preservation of Vieux Lyon. He advocated the establishment of a commission that would have to be consulted by the Conseil Municipal whenever proposals for renovations came up.¹⁰⁴ Such a powerful commission was not established, but Emmanuel's bold proposal hints at the direction ideas regarding urban preservation were heading in the early twentieth century.

Another essential figure in the construction of Vieux Lyon was the aforementioned Félix Desvernay. Besides founding the *Lyon-Revue*, he worked at the Bibliothèque Municipale, taking over its administration after Aimé died.¹⁰⁵ Desvernay's voice also resonated in other corners of Lyonnais society, corners that might not have had access to the learned articles of literary reviews. More specifically, he wrote for *Le Progrès Illustré*, an illustrated supplement to Lyon's largest newspaper that targeted a female audience. On September 25, 1898, he began writing a new feature in *Le Progrès Illustré* titled "Les rues de Lyon historiques et pittoresques," which was to offer a "very interesting study about the streets, squares, and quays of Lyon." The articles were illustrated by Gिरrane. The streets discussed were the old ones that contrasted with those built by Vaïsse—narrow and tortuous, even steep. Their picturesque quality made them particularly attractive for the illustrated press, since etchings complemented their rustic aesthetic. Desvernay's first article addressed the history of the rue de la Chèvrerie, a street that was soon to disappear due to the construction of a wider one connecting the Gare Saint-Paul to the Pont de Saône.¹⁰⁶

Desvernay was critical of contemporary architects, "who often not thinking about the pleasures of sight, widened and leveled these tortuous and narrow streets."¹⁰⁷ We see in Desvernay's words and Gिरrane's illustrations the adoption of a more skeptical position toward urban renovations and the transformation of Vieux Lyon into something to be preserved. Consider the following passage regarding the Quartier Saint-Paul:

According to the time-honored term, the Quartier Saint-Paul is going to be *improved*. The word would be accurate, if it were a matter of simply cleaning up the old houses, but it becomes false if



Figure 9. Gustave Gिरrane, “Les rues de Lyon historiques et pittoresques: Rue du Boeuf,” *Le Progrès Illustré*, March 11, 1900, 8 (Bibliothèque Municipale de Lyon).

they are thinking about demolishing houses solidly built with superb materials and replacing them with pasteboard houses, built by acrobats. The result of the very expensive transformation of the Quartier Grôlée is there to give us an idea of what will become of this old neighborhood.¹⁰⁸

No longer was there a call to tear down the old houses and widen the narrow streets. Instead, their status had risen and *Le Progrès Illustré* asked simply for their tidying up. Most of the streets depicted in *Le Progrès Illustré* were located in the neighborhoods of Saint-Paul, Saint-Jean, and Saint-Georges (Figure 9). Desvernay claimed that these old “houses remain the most reliable material evidence of the past,” even if they had suffered modifications or deteriorations that “took away from their primitive character.” A sentiment was crystallizing that old physical structures (not just monuments but also smaller private buildings) were home to Lyon’s essence, and that it was regrettable that the “municipality would not take the care to watch over [their] preservation.”¹⁰⁹

The Commission Municipale du Vieux Lyon: Institutionalizing Preservation

While some in Lyon like the influential mayor Édouard Herriot marshaled republican municipalism in the direction of hygienist and modernist urban planning, others like Puitspelu, the Vingtriniers, and their successors found it to be in alignment with urban preservation. These different visions of



Figure 10. Jules Sylvestre, *Place de la Trinité: perspective Sud vers la montée du Gourguillon*, 1902 (Bibliothèque Municipale de Lyon, P0546 S 152).

the city sometimes came into direct confrontation, but by embedding themselves in municipal institutions the preservationists were able to safeguard their idea of a Vieux Lyon to the west of the Saône.¹¹⁰ On March 22, 1898, the Conseil Municipal proposed the creation of the Commission Municipale du Vieux Lyon, which the mayor certified on May 3. This measure effectively institutionalized the preservation movement within the framework of the municipal government. Among the Commission's twenty-two members was Auguste Bleton, who became its secretary. The Commission's mission was

to collect the remains of Vieux Lyon, to take stock, to check their current status, to maintain or improve them, and to finally collect by photograph or other means those [places] that are destined to disappear either because of the forces of time or because of the major works that will soon be undertaken.¹¹¹

In its first year, the mayor allocated the Commission 2,000 francs. Part of the funds were used to finance photographs of places deemed to be of historical interest, making no distinction between public and private buildings. A resolution was passed obliging the Service de la Voirie to inform the Commission of any works that might affect Vieux Lyon so that it could send a photographer, Jules Sylvestre, to record the nearby buildings and streets before they were affected.¹¹² This constructed a visual heritage upon which nostalgic meaning accrued (Figure 10). In 1903,

the Commission published an inventory of Vieux Lyon houses, sculptures, and inscriptions (another edition came out in 1906). It featured more than eighty photographs, numerous drawings, and two maps. The Commission deliberately left out public monuments, churches, and government buildings, deeming them to be safe enough. Instead, it wanted “to ensure the preservation of private buildings that [were] at risk of disappearing or deteriorating.” According to the inventory’s author, the publication would achieve its goal if it enlightened readers about what remained of Vieux Lyon and encouraged its preservation.¹¹³ Thus, the Vieux Lyon commission helped expand the monument-based preservationism that developed in France after the 1789 Revolution into a broader conception of heritage that included previously marginalized structures.¹¹⁴

On the back of the Commission’s mind were tourist revenues that Vieux Lyon could bring. To transform Vieux Lyon into a tourist destination, it advocated the creation of a Musée du Vieux Lyon. Even if the Commission struggled to get funds from the government (the city started purchasing the Hôtel Gadagne in 1902, but the museum was only inaugurated in 1921), as soon as it was established it pursued the idea by collecting objects from demolished buildings that would be placed in the future museum.¹¹⁵ Ultimately, the promotion of Vieux Lyon as a worthwhile tourist destination became the responsibility of the Syndicat d’Initiative de Lyon. Established in 1901, the Syndicat sought to capitalize on tourists who visited the nearby spas and mountains. It received financial support from both the municipality and the Lyon Chamber of Commerce, and was headed by local commercial leaders, but within its administrative council one found names like Bleton, Coste-Labaume, and Desvernay, who exerted influence in championing Vieux Lyon.

As the Syndicat explained in its 1902 illustrated travel guide, most people knew about Lyon’s commercial products like silk, “but picturesque Lyon, artistic Lyon, archeological Lyon [were] still ignored, perhaps even repudiated.” To spread the awareness of this other Lyon to the outside world, the Syndicat distributed travel guides that would “arouse in the mind of foreigners the desire to see reality, after seeing the . . . photograph!” (Sylvestre’s photographs were among those used).¹¹⁶ Its 1902 guide described all the neighborhoods of the city and the surrounding areas, but contrary to Chambet’s earlier guides, it strongly recommended tourists visit the quartiers that made up Vieux Lyon (it was also packed with advertisements of local establishments). By 1907, the Syndicat made an even greater point of orienting tourists to Vieux Lyon, making available a stand-alone guide that visitors could request at any of its offices (it also offered interpretive guides to cater to tourists who spoke English, German, Italian, Russian, or Spanish).¹¹⁷ The Syndicat’s work was complemented by the rise of organizations like the Touring Club de France, which promoted a regionalist understanding of France, wherein the larger nation was made stronger by constituent smaller entities with their own particular distinctions—a fruitful relationship between the *petite* and the *grande patries*.¹¹⁸ Thus, the marketing logics of tourism further reified the vision of Vieux Lyon as a site untainted by modernization, a place where visitors could encounter an “authentic” urban environment that had not been touched by the latest trends in urban policy.¹¹⁹

Consequently, with the project to create a museum came the project to monumentalize Vieux Lyon. The Commission actively lobbied the municipal administration to start classifying certain houses as historical monuments, placing signs on what it deemed to be remarkable buildings.¹²⁰ In 1914, Lyon hosted the Exposition Internationale Urbaine, and although it was dominated by the hygienist urbanism of Tony Garnier,¹²¹ one of its sections was still reserved to Vieux Lyon (Desvernay, by then the Commission’s vice president, was put in charge). Among the items exhibited were photographs by Sylvestre, old shop signs, maps, and commemorative signs for historical monuments.¹²² In the following decades, the Commission and other organizations that inherited its visions (like the Renaissance du Vieux Lyon) managed to exert some influence and prevent the demolition of various buildings while reifying the image of Vieux Lyon as a district that should retain its form. Finally, in 1964, the area west of the Saône became France’s first

protected zone under the 1962 Malraux Law.¹²³ Thus, even though Lyon was the site of many of Garnier's pioneering modernist projects during the interwar and postwar years, the area comprised by the quartiers of Saint-Paul, Saint-Jean, and Saint-Georges remained remarkably unchanged.¹²⁴

Conclusion: The Productive Quality of Antiquarianism

The rediscovery of the quartiers west of the Saône and their crystallization into an official Vieux Lyon was fomented by a localist movement that emerged in the end of the nineteenth century. Vaisse changed the physiognomy of the Presqu'île, but other neighborhoods were largely untouched. This created a rich contrast between the "modernized" Rue Impériale (République) and the ancient quartiers of Saint-Paul, Saint-Jean, and Saint-Georges. Nostalgic books like Puitspelu's *Les Vieilleries lyonnaises* and Bleton's *À Travers Lyon* brought these neighborhoods to the forefront of the urban imaginary. They argued that what made Lyon special was not Vaisse's works, but the picturesque quality of its forgotten neighborhoods. The irony was that the spirit of this enterprise could only be engendered by the renovation projects themselves.

Stéphane Gerson, drawing from Friedrich Nietzsche's *On the Advantage and Disadvantage of History for Life*, refers to this kind of process as a kind of antiquarian history practiced by elites that tried to maintain their "power and influence, rooted in social function, tradition, or allegiance."¹²⁵ Gerson quotes the following passage from Nietzsche:

The history of his city becomes for [the antiquarian] the history of his self; he understands the wall, the turreted gate, the ordinance of the town council, the national festival like an illustrated diary of his youth and finds himself, his strength, his diligence, his pleasure, his judgment, his folly and rudeness, in all of them. Here one could live, he says to himself, for here one can live and will be able to live, for we are tough and not to be uprooted over night. And so, with this "We," he looks beyond the ephemeral, curious, individual life and feels like the spirit of the house, the generation, and the city.¹²⁶

This is a reasonable assessment of what men like Puitspelu were up to. But antiquarian history harbors a stigma. Critics see it as lacking creativity and a critical stance. According to Nietzsche, "it merely understands how to *preserve* life, not how to generate it."¹²⁷ Yet, to understand the impulses behind antiquarianism, we should empathize with its practitioners, taking seriously both their meticulous studies and their stunts. Only then will we see how antiquarian history was an innovative component in the making of modern cities.

Antiquarians like Puitspelu experienced a form of uprootedness caused by vast urban renovations. In an environment in flux, neighborhoods can become allegory and memories can appear to be the most solid of foundations.¹²⁸ Lyon's case is a strong indication of Walter Benjamin's insistence, as recounted by David Harvey, "that we do not merely live in a material world but that our imaginations, our dreams, our conceptions, and our representations mediate that materiality in powerful ways."¹²⁹ Imaginations become particularly active during times of great turbulence and can help produce an "imagined city" that in turn has real effects on the physical one.¹³⁰ In Lyon, the turbulence created by vast urban renovations was the source of the nostalgia that shaped the city later in the century. Understandings of nostalgia have changed with time. While seventeenth-century Europeans interpreted nostalgia as a potentially fatal disease, today we see it as an embarrassing and unsophisticated view of the past. But by the end of the nineteenth century, it was essentially understood as a benign response to disruptive progress.¹³¹ Svetlana Boym defines nostalgia as "a longing for a home that no longer exists or has never existed. Nostalgia is a sentiment of loss and displacement, but it is also a romance with one's own fantasy." Desvernay's lament for disappearing picturesque streets was a nostalgic phenomenon because it rebelled "against the modern idea of time, the time of history and progress" and wanted to "obliterate

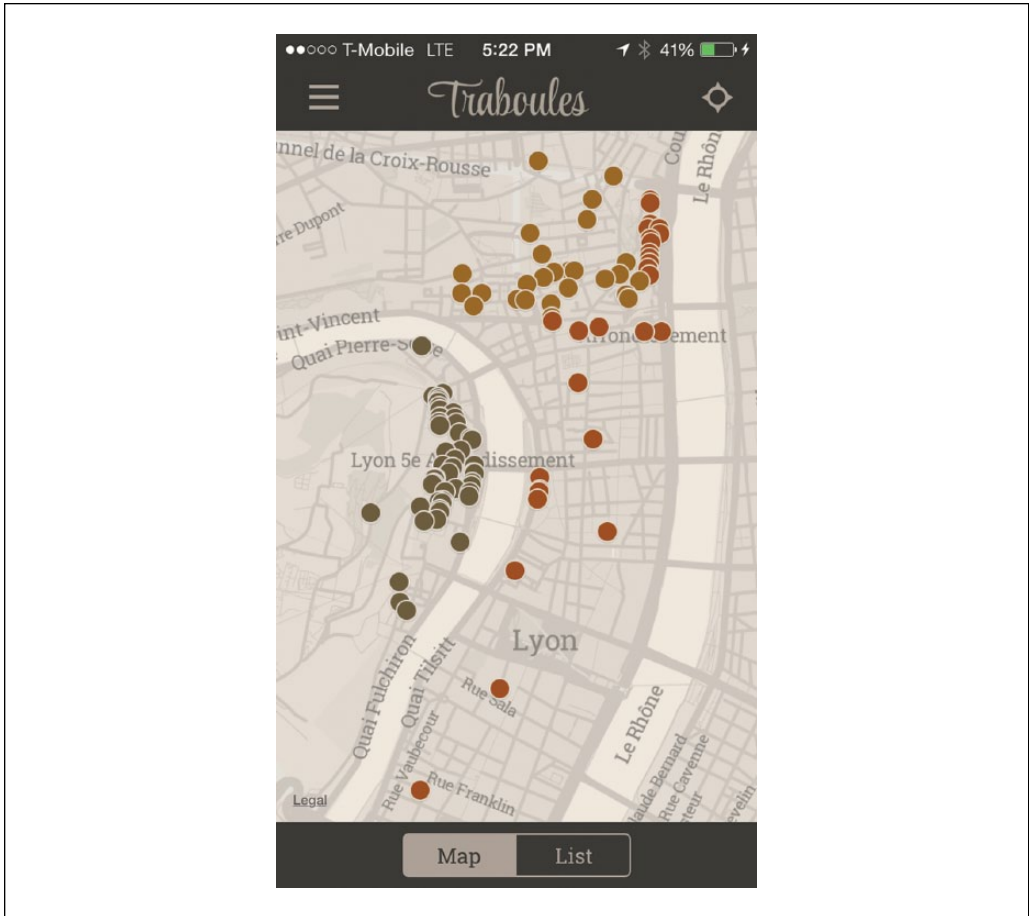


Figure 11. Screenshot of the “Traboules” iPhone app created by the Lyon Convention and Visitor’s Bureau.

Note: The app uses augmented reality to help visitors discover more than one hundred of the city’s *traboules*.

history, to revisit time like space, refusing to surrender to the irreversibility of time that plagues the human condition.”¹³² Nostalgia could only serve the preservationist cause as a romanticized vision—one that glossed over the insalubrious problems that came with narrow streets and that could afford to ignore the threat of any more rebellion by the *canuts*.

Antiquarian history is sustained by conservative impulses, but it can also result in innovative developments. In Lyon’s case, antiquarians were key in instigating pride for the city’s distinct urban layout. In their eyes, Paris could have its boulevards; Lyon would have its narrow winding streets and large cluster of Renaissance architecture. This was a process with many false starts, but that was fueled by the discourse originated by the men we have looked at. Their invention of a Vieux Lyon culminated in 1998, when 427 hectares of the city’s center (the quarters west of the Saône, the Presqu’île, and the Croix-Rousse) were listed as a UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) World Heritage Site—a distinction that made Lyon an even more attractive tourist destination.¹³³

Thanks to their status as “first cities,” Paris, Berlin, and London lead the contest for the informal title of heritage capital of contemporary Europe.¹³⁴ Even so, the making of a Vieux Lyon and the UNESCO recognition has allowed the city to capitalize on the growth of heritage tourism. To

“sell” Lyon, administrators skillfully juxtapose Vieux Lyon with the city’s modernist and post-modernist examples of architecture (for example, the cloud-like Musée des Confluences, inaugurated in 2014 close to where the Rhône and Saône rivers meet).¹³⁵ Today, Vieux Lyon teems with tourists, and, in a complete reversal from Chambet’s epoch, the city is renowned for its narrow streets and passageways, known as *traboules*, which the local government vigorously promotes through different strategies: from multilingual guides in the tradition of the Syndicat d’Initiative to a cutting-edge smartphone app that allow visitors to navigate them on their own (Figure 11).¹³⁶

Declaration of Conflicting Interests

The author declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

Funding

The author disclosed receipt of the following financial support for the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article: Archival research for this article was supported by grants from the Princeton Institute for International and Regional Studies and the University of Kansas Center for Undergraduate Research.

Notes

1. Monsieur Josse [Auguste Bleton], *À Travers Lyon* [Across Lyon] (Lyon: A. Storck, 1887), ii, 1. Unless otherwise indicated, all translations from French are my own.
2. *Ibid.*, 188, 191-92.
3. The main assumptions that underpin this thesis are drawn from Carl Schorske’s *Fin-de-siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1980), especially his chapter on the Ringstrasse. As Schorske deftly shows, urban renovations have a deep impact on the psyche of city dwellers, and these changes are experienced not only in terms of their utility but also as forms of cultural self-projection. Thus, criticism directed toward the renovations had something more to them than just a concern with architecture. On urban modernity’s multiple temporalities, see Lynda Nead, *Victorian Babylon: People, Streets and Images in Nineteenth-Century London* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000).
4. For an insightful case study of how less prominent cities marketed themselves in relation to Paris, see Alexander Vari, “From ‘Paris of the East’ to ‘Queen of the Danube’: International Models in the Promotion of Budapest Tourism, 1885-1940,” in *Touring beyond the Nation: A Transnational Approach to European Tourism History*, ed. Eric G. E. Zuelow (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011), 103-26.
5. David H. Pinkney’s pioneering, *Napoleon III and the Rebuilding of Paris* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958) has, in that sense, cast a long shadow over the historiography.
6. Marshal Berman, *All That Is Solid Melts into Air: The Experience of Modernity* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1982); James Holston, *The Modernist City: An Anthropological Critique of Brasilia* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1989), 48-50.
7. On the preservationists, see Ruth Fiori, *L’Invention du vieux Paris: Naissance d’une conscience patrimoniale dans la capitale* [The Invention of Old Paris: The Birth of a Heritage Consciousness in the Capital] (Wavre: Mardaga, 2012). On the hygienists, see Janet R. Horne, *A Social Laboratory for Modern France: The Musée Social and the Rise of the Welfare State* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002), 224-68; and Caroline Ford, “The Greening of Paris,” in *Natural Interests: The Contest over Environment in Modern France* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2016), 164-89.
8. Priscilla Parhurst Ferguson, “Is Paris France?,” *The French Review* 73, no. 6 (May 2000): 1052-1064. For an analysis of the tensions between Paris as its own city and Paris as France, particularly in the realm of politics, see Stephen W. Sawyer, “Locating the Centre: Confining and Defining the Power of Paris,” *Nottingham French Studies* 44, no. 1 (Spring 2005), 20-37.
9. For recent approaches to French local history, which has experienced a productive revival in recent years, see Philip Whalen and Patrick Young, eds., *Place and Locality in Modern France* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014).

10. Astrid Swenson, *The Rise of Heritage: Preserving the Past in France, Germany and England, 1789-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); Fiori, *L'Invention du vieux Paris*.
11. As Fiori explains, the Commission Municipale du Vieux Paris was “a semi-administrative commission comprising representatives of the municipal authority and external stakeholders,” thus creating a formal channel between civil society and the state. Fiori, *L'Invention du vieux Paris*, 30-31. This kind of arrangement placed the Commission in the realm of what Horne identifies as a “parapolitical sphere” that did not fall strictly within the formal structures of the French state but still managed to exert influence on public policy. Horne, “The Modernity of Hygiene,” 5-6.
12. Charles Normand proudly informed the Vieux Paris commission that “good examples spread quickly.” *Procès-verbaux, Commission municipale du Vieux Paris* [Official Reports, Old Paris Municipal Commission] (Paris: Imprimerie Municipale, 1898), 2.
13. Pierre-Yves Saunier, *L'Esprit Lyonnais, XIXe-XXe siècle: Genèse d'une représentation sociale* [The Lyonnais Spirit, 19th-20th Century: Genesis of a Social Representation] (Paris: CNRS, 1995), 18; Jean-Pierre Chaline, *Sociabilité et érudition: Les sociétés savantes en France, XIXe-XXe siècles* [Sociability and Erudition: Learned Societies in France, 19th-20th Century] (Paris: CTHS, 1995), 198-220. On the cult of the local in nineteenth-century France, also see Stéphane Gerson, *The Pride of Place: Local Memories and Political Culture in Nineteenth-Century France* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003).
14. Saunier, *L'Esprit Lyonnais, XIXe-XXe siècle*.
15. Bernard Poche, *Lyon tel qu'il s'écrit: Romanciers et essayistes lyonnais, 1860-1940* [Lyon as It Was Written: Lyonnais Novelists and Essayists, 1860-1940] (Lyon: Presses Universitaires de Lyon, 1990), 28.
16. The only monograph in English that deals with the urban transformations that Lyon went through under Vaïsse's rule is Charlene Marie Leonard's *Lyon Transformed: Public Works of the Second Empire, 1853-1864* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1961). Leonard's account is very much a product of its time and is geared toward justifying the renovations and articulating a positive narrative of urban modernization. It discusses the administrative side of the enterprise and the project's financial intricacies, but issues of meaning and identity are not within Leonard's purview. In French, see Catherine Arlaud and Dominique Bertin, eds., *De la rue Impériale à la rue de la République: Archéologie, création et renovation urbaines* [From the Rue Impériale to the Rue de la République: Urban Archeology, Creation and Renovation] (Lyon: Archives Municipales, 1991); and Dominique Bertin's short article, “Lyon 1853-1859: L'ouverture de la rue Impériale,” [Lyon: 1853-1859: The Opening of the Rue Impériale] *Revue de l'Art* 106 (1994): 50-58.
17. Stendhal, *Mémoires d'un Touriste* [Memoirs of a Tourist] (Paris: Michel Lévy Frères, 1854), 123.
18. Charles Dickens, *Pictures from Italy* (New York: William H. Collier, 1846), 4.
19. Charles Joseph Chambet, *Guide Pittoresque de l'Étranger à Lyon: Panorama de la ville, de ses faubourgs et d'une partie de ses environs, suivi d'un tableau de ses places, quais et rues, de ses établissements utiles, industriels, etc.*, [Picturesque Guide of the Stranger in Lyon: Panorama of the City, Its Suburbs et Part of Its Surroundings, Followed by a Table of Its Squares, Quays and Streets, of Its Businesses, Industries, etc.] 6th ed. (Lyon: Imprimerie de François Guyot, 1836), 21-22.
20. Lyon travel guides in the first three-quarters of the nineteenth century tended to highlight “emblematic buildings and places.” See Pierre Guinard, “‘Lyon Pittoresque’: vues de Lyon à travers estampes, dessins et photographies” [‘Picturesque Lyon’: View of Lyon through Prints, Drawings and Photographs], in *L'Esprit d'un siècle: Lyon, 1800-1914* [The Spirit of a Century: Lyon, 1800-1914], ed. Pierre Vaïsse (Lyon: Fage, 2007), 18-23.
21. Chambet, *Guide Pittoresque de l'Étranger à Lyon*, 5.
22. *Ibid.*, 18.
23. Charles Joseph Chambet, *Des Améliorations dont la ville de Lyon est susceptible: Projets d'y retenir les étrangers, etc.* [Improvements that the City of Lyon Can Benefit From: Projects to Retain Foreigners Here, etc.] (Lyon: Chambet, 1852).
24. Jean-Baptiste Monfalcon and A. P. Isidore de Polinière, *Hygiène de la Ville de Lyon, ou opinions et rapports du Conseil de salubrité du Département du Rhône* [Hygiene of the City of Lyon, or opinions and reports from the Rhône Department's Board of Salubrity] (Paris: J. B. Baillière, Libraire de l'Académie Royale de Médecine, 1845, viii. Tellingly, the Conseil de salubrité du département du Rhone was created by the prefect in 1822.

25. *Ibid.*, 42.
26. *Ibid.*, 44.
27. Jean-Baptiste Monfalcon and A. P. Isidore de Polinière, *Traité de la salubrité dans les grandes villes, suivi de l'hygiène de Lyon* [Treaty on the Salubrity in the Big Cities, Followed by the Hygiene of Lyon] (Paris: Baillière, 1846), 38.
28. Alexandre Monmartin, *Les ameliorations à introduire dans la partie central de la ville de Lyon* [The Improvements to Introduce in the Central Part of the City of Lyon] (Lyon: Boitel, 1845), 5.
29. Nicholas Papayanis, *Planning Paris before Haussmann* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 6.
30. Alphonse Grun, *Traité de la police administrative, générale et municipale* [Treaty from the Administrative, General and Municipal Police] (Paris: Berger-Levrault, 1862), 112; and Auguste François Teulet, *Les Codes de l'Empire Français: Contenant la Constitution du 14 janvier-25 décembre 1852, les lois et décrets les plus récents, une nouvelle corrélation des articles des codes, un supplément par ordre alphabétique renfermant toutes les lois usuelles, une table générale des matières, un dictionnaire des termes du droit* [Codes of the French Empire: Containing the Constitutions of 14 January-25 December 1852, the Most Recent Laws and Decrees, a New Correlation of the Codes' Articles, an Alphabetized Supplement Containing All the Common Laws, a Table of Contents, a Dictionary of Legal Terms] 9th ed. (Paris: Marescq Ainé, 1866), 265-66.
31. The Lyonnais example reinforces the case that the Second Empire's urban policy did not represent a radical break, but instead the culmination of longer trends. See Karen Bowie, ed., *La Modernité avant Haussmann: Formes de l'espace urbaine à Paris, 1801-1853* [Modernity Before Haussmann: Forms of Urban Space in Paris, 1801-1853] (Paris: Éditions Recherches, 2001); David Harvey, *Paris, Capital of Modernity* (New York: Routledge, 2003); and Papayanis, *Planning Paris before Haussmann*.
32. Claude-Marius Vaïsse, *Rapport de M. le conseiller d'état chargé de l'administration du Rhône à la commission municipale sur le projet de rue Impériale et divers autres projets de travaux extraordinaires* [Report by the Councilor of State in Charge of the Administration of the Rhône to the Municipal Commission Concerning the Rue Impériale Project and Various Other Extraordinary works] (Lyon, 1853), 2.
33. *Ibid.*, 3.
34. Dardel to Vaïsse, January 3, 1854, 321 WP 173, Archives Municipales de Lyon (hereafter AML). A subsequent report from the chief engineer argued how the new street would "revitalize the central area next to the Rhône, made up of a labyrinth of narrow streets and edged by old buildings." Alexandre Jordan to Vaïsse, January 14, 1854, 321 WP 173, AML.
35. Fernand Rude, *Les Révoltes des Canuts: 1831-1834* [The Canut Revolts: 1831-1834] (Paris: La Découverte, 2001); Robert Bezucha, *The Lyon Uprising of 1834: Social and Political Conflict in the Early July Monarchy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1974).
36. de Castellane recounts this experience in his diary. Esprit Victor Élisabeth Boniface, comte de Castellane, *Journal du Maréchal de Castellane, 1804-1862, Tome Deuxième, 1823-1831* [Maréchal de Castellane's Journal, 1804-1862], 3rd ed. (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1896), 464-78.
37. Dossier 6, 616 AP 2, Archives Nationales de France (hereafter ANF); Esprit Victor Élisabeth Boniface, comte de Castellane, *Journal du Maréchal de Castellane, 1804-1862, Tome Quatrième, 1847-1853*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1896), 290-345.
38. Justin Godart, "Les origines de la coopération lyonnaise" [The Origins of Lyonnais Cooperation], *Revue d'Histoire de Lyon* [Lyon History Review] 3 (1904): 345; de Castellane, *Journal du Maréchal de Castellane, 1804-1862, Tome Quatrième, 1847-1853*, 343-49; Bezucha, *Lyon Uprising of 1834*, 194.
39. F1c III Rhône 10, ANF.
40. de Castellane to Vaïsse, October 6, 1853, 321 WP 173, AML. de Castellane also referred to a smaller event that occurred in 1851, when five hundred insurgents were able to escape the troops by hiding in the passageways. He was deeply concerned with the possibility of other uprisings. On October 21, 1850, he issued a confidential order telling his troops that if a revolt broke out, they should pay attention to the numerous houses in Lyon that had entrances on two different streets, and to avoid fighting in narrow streets. de Castellane, *Journal du Maréchal de Castellane, 1804-1862, Tome Quatrième, 1847-1853*, 288.
41. Vaïsse to Ministre de l'Intérieur, November 1853, 321 WP 173, AML.

42. According to Michel Foucault, in the eighteenth century, “one beg[an] to see a form of political literature that addresses what the order of a society should be, what a city should be, given the requirements of the maintenance of order; given that one should avoid epidemics, avoid revolts, permit a decent and moral family life, and so on.” Michel Foucault, “Space, Knowledge, and Power,” in *The Foucault Reader*, ed. Paul Rabinow (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984), 239.
43. Louis Chevalier, *Laboring Classes & Dangerous Classes in Paris during the First Half of the Nineteenth Century*, trans. Frank Jellinek (1958; repr., New York: Howard Fertig, 1973).
44. Harvey, *Paris, Capital of Modernity*. Pinkney posited that those who associated Haussmann’s works with military strategy did so to taint the authoritarian regime (*Napoleon III and the Rebuilding of Paris*, 35-37), while David P. Jordan has argued that “aesthetic considerations were more important to Haussmann and the emperor than military strategy” (*Transforming Paris: The Life and Labors of Baron Haussmann* [New York: Free Press, 1995], 193).
45. Claude-Marius Vaïsse, *Rapport présenté par M. le sénateur chargé de l’administration du Rhône au Conseil Municipal de Lyon sur l’état des travaux et des finances de la ville* [Report Presented by the Senator in Charge of the Administration of the Rhône to the Municipal Council of Lyon Regarding the State of the City’s Public Works and Finances] (Lyon, 1857), 15.
46. Leonard, *Lyon Transformed*, 26.
47. Louis Michel, *Exposé pour Louis Michel, Propriétaire du café du Nord, contre La Compagnie anonyme de la rue Impériale* [Exposé by Louis Michel, Owner of the Café du Nord, Against La Compagnie Anonyme de la Rue Impériale] (Lyon: Mougin-Rusand, n.d.). Other shop owners complained about a measure where the government claimed compensation over the appreciation that properties near the Rue Impériale would experience (correspondence in 321 WP 174, AML).
48. A. A. Lamy and C. Pourny, *La Rue Impériale ou Les Lamentations de la Veuve Claquenboule* [The Rue Impériale, or the Lamentations of the Claquenboule Widow] (Lyon: Pourny, n.d.).
49. One of Monmartin’s main complaints earlier in the century was regarding the difficulty of expropriating houses for the construction of public works. Monmartin, *Les améliorations à introduire dans la partie central de la ville de Lyon*, 7-11.
50. Philip G. Nord, *The Politics of Resentment: Shopkeeper Protest in Nineteenth-Century Paris*, 2nd ed. (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2005), 137-42.
51. Edmond Biré, *Victor de Laprade: Sa vie et ses oeuvres* [Victor de Laprade: His Life and His Works] (Paris: Librairie Académique Didier, 1886), 233-35.
52. Biré, *Victor de Laprade*, 233-43.
53. Sreten Maritch, *Histoire du mouvement social sous le Second Empire à Lyon* [History of the Social Movement in Lyon Under the Second Empire] (Paris: Arthur Rousseau, 1930), 28-29.
54. On late-nineteenth-century regionalism, see Jean-François Chanut, *L’école républicaine et les petites patries* [The Republican School and the Small Homelands] (Paris: Aubier, 1996); Anne-Marie Thiesse, *Ils apprenaient la France: L’exaltation des régions dans le discours patriotique* [They Learned France: The Exalting of Regions in the Patriotic Discourse] (Paris: Editions de la Maison des sciences de l’homme, 1997); Julian Wright, *The Regionalist Movement in France 1890-1914: Jean Charles-Brun and French Political Thought* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); and Philippe Martel, *Les félibres et leur temps: Renaissance d’oc et opinion, 1850-1914* [The Félibres and Their Times: Renaissance of the Occitan Language and Opinion, 1850-1914] (Bordeaux: Presses Universitaires de Bordeaux, 2010).
55. Louis Greenberg, *Sisters of Liberty: Marseille, Lyon, Paris, and the Reaction to a Centralized State, 1868-1871* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971), 28.
56. *Ibid.*, 225-47. This reputation owed much to the city’s revolt against the National Convention in 1793. On the topic of Lyon’s independent character, see Bruno Benoît, *L’identité politique de Lyon: Entre violences collectives et mémoire des élites, 1786-1905* [Lyon’s Political Identity: Between Collective Violences and Elite Memories, 1786-1905] (Paris: L’Harmattan, 1999); and Saunier, *L’Esprit Lyonnais, XIXe-XXe siècle*.
57. Sudhir Hazareesingh, “Defining the Republican Good Life: Second Empire Municipalism and the Emergence of the Third Republic,” *French History* 11, no. 3 (1997): 310-37.
58. The rise of municipalism was complemented by the Third Republic’s championing of the *petite patries* as the building blocks of national renewal following the Franco-Prussian War. See Chanut’s *L’école républicaine et les petites patries* and Thiesse’s *Ils apprenaient la France*.

59. Robert E. Cameron, *France and the Economic Development of Europe, 1800-1914* (1961; repr., New York: Routledge, 2000), 70-71.
60. Françoise Bayard and Pierre Cayez, eds., *Histoire de Lyon: des origines à nos jours. Vol. II, Du XVIIe siècle à nos jours* [History of Lyon: From its Origins to Our Days] (Le Coteau: Horvath, 1990), 321-28.
61. At the end of the eighteenth century, Lyon was responsible for 20 to 25 percent of France's foreign exports; by the end of the nineteenth century, the Rhône had fallen to fifth in terms of departmental industrial production, and even within the Rhône, Lyon's sphere of influence had decreased. Pierre Cayez, *Crises et croissance de l'industrie lyonnaise, 1850-1900* [Crises and Growths of the Lyonnais Industry, 1850-1900] (Paris: CNRS, 1980), 353.
62. Louise A. Tilly, "Three Faces of Capitalism: Women and Work in French Cities," in *French Cities in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. John M. Merriman (London: Hutchinson, 1982), 180.
63. In that sense, Puitspelu's patriarchal *canut* aligned with the mainstream gender politics of republican municipalism. See Sudhir Hazareesingh, *From Subject to Citizen: The Second Empire and the Emergence of Modern French Democracy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), 258-59.
64. Leonard, *Lyon Transformed*, 139.
65. Peter S. Soppelsa offers a helpful overview of the literature on the continuities of Haussmannization in "The Fragility of Modernity: Infrastructure and Everyday Life in Paris, 1870-1914" (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2009), 35-98.
66. For an account of the painstaking birth of the new Quartier Grôlée, see Félix Rivet, *Une réalisation d'urbanisme à Lyon à la fin du XIXe siècle: L'aménagement du Quartier Grôlée (1887-1908)* [An Urbanism Project in Lyon at the End of the Nineteenth Century: The Planning of the Grôlée Neighborhood (1887-1908)] (Lyon: Imprimerie de Trévoux, 1955).
67. Forest-Fleury, *Le Vieux Lyon qui s'en va: Quartier Grôlée* [The Disappearing Old Lyon: Grôlée Neighborhood] (Lyon: Pitrat Ainé, 1890), 7.
68. *Ibid.*, 32.
69. Félix Desvernay, "Un coin du Vieux Lyon" [A Corner of Old Lyon], *Revue du Lyonnais* [The Lyonnais's Review] V, no. 17 (1894): 122.
70. Fernand Robert, Clair Tisseur's only biographer, refers to him as "the most complete personification of the Lyonnais spirit." Nizier du Puitspelu, *Lyonnais: Essai sur la vie et l'oeuvre de Clair Tisseur* [Lyonnais: Essay on the Life and Work of Clair Tisseur] (Lyon: A. Rey, 1911), 64. Poche labels Tisseur an "'amateur' with a cultivated spirit, a conscientious researcher, and a good theoretician in the fields that he found it necessary to be so." Poche, *Lyon tel qu'il s'écrit*, 31.
71. Nizier du Puitspelu, *Les Vieilleries lyonnaises* [The Lyonnais Relics] 2nd ed. (Lyon: Bernoux et Cumin, 1891), 80.
72. *Ibid.*, 357.
73. The classic articulation of the Third Republic's homogenization of diverse forms of identity throughout the French territory is Eugen Weber's *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1976). His thesis has been nuanced by works such as Caroline Ford's *Creating the Nation in Provincial France: Religions and Political Identity in Brittany* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993); Chanet's *L'école républicaine et les petites patries*; and Thiesse's *Ils apprenaient la France*.
74. Puitspelu, *Les Vieilleries lyonnaises*, 361.
75. *Ibid.*, 365.
76. For a critical analysis of the concept of *Heimat*, see Peter Blickle, *Heimat: A Critical Theory of the German Idea of Homeland* (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2002).
77. Puitspelu, *Les Vieilleries lyonnaises*, 365.
78. Nizier du Puitspelu's *Dictionnaire étymologique du patois Lyonnais* [Etymological Dictionary of the Lyonnais Patois] (Lyon: H. Georg, 1890) and his *Le Littré de la Grand'Côte: à l'usage de ceux qui veulent parler et écrire correctement* [The Grand' Côte Dictionary: For Those Who Want to Speak and Write Correctly] (Lyon: Académie du Gourguillon, 1894) are still standard references for the Lyonnais patois.
79. The Académie derived its name from the Montée du Gourguillon, and ancient steep street in the Quartier Saint-Jean.

80. Nizier du Puitspelu, "Comment fut fondée l'Académie du Gourguillon," in Nizier du Puitspelu, *Coupons d'un atelier lyonnais* [Remnants from a Lyonnais Workshop] (Lyon: A. Storck, 1898), 179.
81. *Ibid.*, 181-82.
82. Gladius Canard [Jules Coste-Labaume], Athanase Duroquet [Eugène Noël Frédéric André], and Jérôme Coquard [Adrien Storck], *Mémoires de l'Académie du Gourguillon: Tome premier: Théâtre* [Memoirs of the Gourguillon Academy: First Volume: Theater] (Lyon: Académie du Gourguillon, 1886), iii-iv.
83. Mami Duplateau [Auguste Bleton], *Véridique histoire de l'Académie du Gourguillon* [True History of the Gourguillon Academy] (Lyon: Mougin-Rusand, 1898), 17.
84. The concept of imagined communities is theorized by Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983). It has been applied on a more local scale in urban histories like Vanessa R. Schwartz's *Spectacular Realities: Early Mass Culture in Fin-de-Siècle Paris* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998) and Nathaniel D. Wood's *Becoming Metropolitan: Urban Selfhood and the Making of Modern Cracow* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois Press, 2010). For another analysis of the role of folklorists in fostering regional identity, see David Hopkin, "Identity in a Divided Province: The Folklorists of Lorraine, 1860-1960," *French Historical Studies* 23, no. 4 (Fall 2000): 639-82.
85. Chaon Grattepierre [Louis David], *L'alme et inclyte Académie du Gourguillon et des Pierres Plantées: Un siècle de très véridique histoire lyonnaise* [The Knowledgeable and Illustrious Gourguillon and Planted Stones Academy: A Century of Very True Lyonnais History] (Lyon: Editions Lyonnaises d'Art et d'Histoire, 1996), 21. The academy has had several revivals throughout the twentieth century.
86. Puitspelu told Storck that the idea of forming a more formal society was "too bourgeois," and that "it would be better to create that admirable kind of society that exists without existing." Quoted in Gilbert Richaud, "Antagonismes et connivences artistiques à Lyon au début de la IIIe République: Les cercles culturels autour de l'architecte Gaspard André et d'Édouard Aynard" [Antagonisms and Artistic Connivances in Lyon at the Beginning of the Third Republic: The Cultural Circles Around the Architect Gaspard André and Édouard Aynard], in *Identité et Régionalité: Être Lyonnais, Hommage à Aimé Vingtrinier* [Identity and Regionality: Being Lyonnais, Homage to Aimé Vingtrinier], ed. Bruno Benoit and Gilbert Gardes (Lyon: J. André, 2005), 178.
87. Canard, Duroquet, and Coquard, *Mémoires de l'Académie du Gourguillon*.
88. "A nos lecteurs," *Lyon-Review: Recueil littéraire, historique & archéologique* [Lyon-Review: Journal of Literature, History & Archaeology] I, no. 1 (July 1880): 5-6.
89. As Poche writes, while Puitspelu constructed an idea of Lyonnais mores and customs, Vingtrinier and Bleton constructed the idea of a Lyonnais space. Poche, *Lyon tel qu'il s'écrit*, 27-42.
90. Claudius Prost, "Clair Tisseur," in Puitspelu, *Coupons d'un atelier lyonnais*, xxv.
91. Most of the men who made up the Académie du Gourguillon and who helped construct the idea of a Vieux Lyon to be preserved wrote for the local republican press. Besides their works as journalists, Auguste Bleton was secretary of the École des Beaux-Arts and was a member of the Conseil Supérieur de la Mutualité; Jules Coste-Labaume was a prominent local politician who eventually reached the presidency of the Conseil Général du Rhône; Félix Desvernay was a curator at the Musée d'Art de Lyon before heading the Bibliothèque Municipale; Adrien Storck was the city's main publisher and a prominent member of the city's Jewish elite (he became president of the city's section of the Dreyfusard Ligue des Droits de l'Homme); and Emmanuel de Vingtrinier started off as a lawyer before becoming a full-time historian. See Patrice Béghain, Bruno Benoit, Gérard Corneloup, and Bruno Thévenon, eds., *Dictionnaire historique de Lyon* [Lyon Historical Dictionary] (Lyon: S. Bachès, 2009), 161-62, 342, 388, 1254, 1372.
92. Maurice Garden, Christine Bronnert, and Brigitte Chappé, *Paroisses et Communes de France: Rhône* [Parishes and Communes of France: Rhône] (Paris: Centre National de Recherche Scientifique, 1978), 188.
93. Puitspelu, *Les Vieilleries lyonnaises*, 365-66.
94. Puitspelu, *Les Vieilleries lyonnaises*, 1-21. Puitspelu associated the *canut* with "those prehistoric times when hierarchy existed and when children did not yet say 'Grandma, you bore me!'" In short, a time when "the chef d'atelier had something of a patriarch, but a patriarch in knitwear and a cotton cap." *Ibid.*, 4.

95. "Canuts et Soyeux (Tisseurs et Fabricants)," *Le Progrès Illustré* [The Illustrated Progress], February 3, 1895.
96. Arlaud and Bertin, *De la rue Impériale à la rue de la République*, 63.
97. Aimé Vingtrinier was also one of Lyon's main printers and editor of the *Revue du Lyonnais*. He was a fundamental figure in the cult of the local. A collection of essays addressing his role in constructing a Lyonnais identity can be found in Benoît and Gardes, *Identité et Régionalité*.
98. Aimé Vingtrinier, *Zigzags Lyonnais: Autour du Mont-d'Or* [Lyonnais Zigzags: Around the Mont-d'Or] (Lyon: H. Georg, 1884), 5.
99. Guinard, "'Lyon Pittoresque': vues de Lyon à travers estampes, dessins et photographies," 18.
100. Auguste Bleton, *Lyon pittoresque* [Picturesque Lyon] (Lyon: Bernoux & Cumin, 1896), vi, 2.
101. Léon Galle, "Une promenade à travers le vieux Lyon" [A Stroll through Old Lyon], *Revue du Lyonnais* V, no. 22 (1896): 229, 288-89.
102. Emmanuel Vingtrinier, *Vieilles pierres lyonnaises* [Old Lyonnais Stones] (Lyon: Cumin et Masson, 1911), i.
103. *Ibid.*, 303.
104. *Ibid.*, 319.
105. "Chronique d'aout" [August Chronicle], *Revue du Lyonnais* V, no. 12 (1891): 144.
106. Félix Desvernay, "Les rues de Lyon historiques et pittoresques: rue de la Chèvreerie" [The Picturesque and Historical Streets of Lyon: Rue de la Chèvreerie], *Le Progrès Illustré*, September 25, 1898.
107. Félix Desvernay, "Les rues de Lyon—Au quartier Saint-Paul" [The Streets of Lyon—At the Saint-Paul Neighborhood], *Le Progrès Illustré*, December 17, 1899.
108. Félix Desvernay, "Les rues de Lyon historiques et pittoresques: La Rue Lainerie" [The Historical and Picturesque Streets of Lyon: The Rue Lainerie], *Le Progrès Illustré*, March 10, 1901.
109. *Ibid.*
110. Thanks to his successful career as Lyon's mayor, Édouard Herriot rose to the top of the ranks of the Parti Radical and served three times as prime minister of France. His progressive notions of urbanism were key in launching the career of Tony Garnier, a precursor to the radical modernism of Le Corbusier. For a brief analysis of Herriot's deft use of municipalism to foster larger transnational networks, see Renaud Payre and Pierre-Yves Saunier, "A City in the World of Cities: Lyon, France; Municipal Associations as Political Resources in the Twentieth Century," in *Another Global City: Historical Explorations into the Transnational Municipal Moment, 1850-2000*, eds. Pierre-Yves Saunier and Shane Ewena (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 69-84. For a political biography of Herriot, see Michel Soulié, *La Vie politique d'Edouard Herriot* [The Political Life of Edouard Herriot] (Paris: Armand Colin, 1962).
111. C. Jamot, *Commission Municipale du Vieux-Lyon, Compte-Rendu de ses Travaux depuis sa création, adressé à M. le Maire de Lyon et à MM. les Conseillers [sic] municipaux, 5 février 1902* [Old Lyon Municipal Commission, Report of its Works since Its Creation, Addressed to the Mayor of Lyon and to the Municipal Councilors, February 5, 1902] (Lyon: Imprimerie nouvelle lyonnaise, 1902), 3-4.
112. *Ibid.*, 5-6. A vast collection of Jules Sylvestre's photographs, including the ones he made of Vieux Lyon, have been digitized in the Bibliothèque Municipale de Lyon. Accessed December 4, 2015, http://numelyo.bm-lyon.fr/f_view/BML:BML_00GOO01001THM0001syl.
113. C. Jamot, *Inventaire general du Vieux Lyon: Maisons, sculptures, inscriptions* [General Inventory of Old Lyon: Houses, Sculptures, Inscriptions], 2nd ed. (Lyon: A. Rey, 1906 [1st ed. 1903]), 2-3.
114. As Fiori explains in her analysis of the parallel Parisian process, this new way of interpreting heritage led to "the inclusion of buildings that were not considered works of arts or monuments" and "the rehabilitation of monuments whose architecture did not meet the criteria of the reigning taste." Fiori, *L'Invention du vieux Paris*, 128-29. The efforts by the Vieux Paris and Vieux Lyon commissions challenge the conventional periodization that the concept of heritage only started developing in the middle decades of the twentieth century, as articulated by G. J. Ashworth, "From History to Heritage—From Heritage to Identity: In Search of Concepts and Models," in *Building a New Heritage: Tourism, Culture and Identity in the New Europe*, eds. G. J. Ashworth and P. J. Larkham (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), 15-18.
115. Jamot, *Commission Municipale du Vieux-Lyon, Compte-Rendu de ses Travaux depuis sa creation*, 8-9; C. Jamot, *Commission Municipale du Vieux-Lyon, Compte-Rendu de ses Travaux, adressé à*

- M. le Maire de Lyon et à MM. les Conseillers municipaux, par C. Jamot, Mai 8, 1909* [Old Lyon Municipal Commission, Report of its Works, Addressed to the Mayor of Lyon and to the Municipal Councilors, by C. Jamot, May 8, 1909] (Lyon: Imprimerie Nouvelle Lyonnaise, 1909), 5-7; Simone Blazy, “Changer la ville, conquérir le monde” [Change the City, Conquer the World], in *L’Esprit d’un siècle: Lyon, 1800-1914*, 41.
116. *Lyon pittoresque, artistique, archéologique, ses environs: Livret-guide illustré publié par le Syndicat d’initiative de Lyon* [Picturesque, Artistic, Archaeological Lyon, its Surrounding Areas: Illustrated Booklet Published by the Lyon Initiative Union] (Lyon: Imprimerie Mougin-Rusand, Waltener & Cie., 1902), 5.
 117. Lyon Pittoresque, *Livret-guide illustré publié par le Syndicat d’initiative de Lyon* [Illustrated Booklet Published by the Lyon Initiative Union] (Lyon: Imprimerie J. Poncet, 1907), 36; “Sydicats d’initiative” [Initiative Unions], *Revue Mensuelle du Touring-club de France* [Monthly Review of the France Touring Club], May 1907, 201.
 118. Patrick Young, *Enacting Brittany: Tourism and Culture in Provincial France, 1871-1939* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012), 49-51, 62-70.
 119. Drawing on Dean MacCannell’s groundbreaking, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York: Schocken Books, 1976), Young explains how tourism is integral “in constituting modern culture, most notably through its reconstituting of the traditional and authentic as objects of longing and pursuit within the very modernity threatening them.” Young, *Enacting Brittany*, 7.
 120. Jamot, *Inventaire general du Vieux Lyon*, 17; Jamot, *Commission Municipale du Vieux-Lyon, Compte-Rendu de ses Travaux* [1909], 4-5.
 121. Tony Garnier is best known for his unrealized design *Une cité industrielle* [An Industrial City] (1904), which pioneered the functionalist division between city neighborhoods that would adopted by the architects and planners associated with the Congrès International d’Architecture Moderne. Édouard Herriot commissioned a number of works from Garnier. Most of these, like the Abattoirs de la Mouche and the Quartier des États-Unis (a neighborhood composed primarily of *Habitations à bon marché*), are still located in the outskirts of Lyon’s center. For an overview of Garnier’s work, see Pierre Gras, *Tony Garnier* (Paris: Monum: Editions du Patrimoine, 2013).
 122. Félix Desvernay, *Le Vieux Lyon à l’Exposition Internationale Urbaine, 1914: Description des oeuvres, objets d’art, et curiosités; notices biographiques et documents historiques inédits* [Old Lyon at the International Urban Fair, 1914: Description of the Works, Art Objects, and Curiosities; Biographical Notices and New Historical Documents] (Lyon: A. Rey, 1915).
 123. A. J. Donzet, “Le Vieux Lyon: Aménagement – Restauration,” *Les Monuments Historiques de la France* [The Historical Monuments of France] 10, no. 4 (October-December 1964): 159-61.
 124. For an overview of the confrontations between modernists and preservationists during this period, see Juliette Davenne, “Du Lyon Pittoresque au Secteur Sauvegarde: La constitution de la valeur patrimoniale du vieux Lyon” [From Picturesque Lyon to the Conservation Area: The Creation of Vieux Lyon’s Heritage Value] (Mémoire de fin d’études Institut des Etudes Politiques de Lyon, Université Lumière Lyon 2, 1997) particularly Part II.B, “Les projets de l’entre-deux-guerres: ambition et tensions politiques,” and forward, accessed July 7, 2016, <http://doc.sciencespo-lyon.fr/Ressources/Documents/Etudiants/Memoires/Cyberdocs/MFE1997/davennej/these.html>. For a broader analysis of intricacies of how the tensions between modernizing necessities and preservationist impulses played out at the administrative level in postwar France, see Isabelle Backouche, *Aménager la ville: Les centres urbains française entre préservation et rénovation, de 1943 à nos jours* [Building the City: French Urban Centers Between Preservation and Renovation, from 1943 to the Present] (Paris: Armand Colin, 2013).
 125. Gerson, *Pride of Place*, 91.
 126. Friedrich Nietzsche, *On the Advantage and Disadvantage of History for Life*, trans. Peter Preuss (1874; repr., Indianapolis: Hackett, 1980), 19.
 127. *Ibid.*, 21.
 128. This is, of course, a reference to Charles Baudelaire’s celebrated poem on Haussmannization, “Le Cygne.” The best English translation is by Richard Howard, *Les Fleurs du Mal* [The Flowers of Evil] (Boston: David R. Godine, 1982), 90-92.
 129. Harvey, *Paris, Capital of Modernity*, 18.

130. One of the more nuanced discussions on the formation of urban identity is a piece of literature. Marco Polo's accounts to Kublai Khan throughout Italo Calvino's *Invisible Cities*, trans., William Weaver (San Diego: Harcourt Brace, 1974), ingeniously show how people can only make sense of urban spaces, with all their layers of complexity, through imaginative practices that offer some sort of coherent narrative.
131. For an in-depth analysis of the changing meanings of nostalgia from when the term was first coined in 1688 to the end of the nineteenth century, especially in relation to France's colonial experience, see Thomas W. Dodman, "Homesick Epoch: Dying of Nostalgia in Post-revolutionary France" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2011). On negative perceptions of nostalgia today, see David Lowenthal, "Nostalgia Tells It Like It Wasn't," in *The Imagined Past: History and Nostalgia*, eds. Christopher Shaw and Malcolm Chase (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989), 18-32.
132. Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia* (New York: Basic Books, 2001), xiii, xv.
133. One of the two criteria used to justify Lyon's listing argued that "[b]y virtue of the special way in which it has developed spatially, Lyon illustrates in an exceptional way the progress and evolution of architectural design and town planning over many centuries." World Heritage Committee, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (1999), 29, accessed July 7, 2016, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/repcom98.pdf>. On the economic benefits and challenges of heritage tourism in the more recent past, see E. A. J. Carr, "Tourism and Heritage: The Pressures and Challenges of the 1990s," in *Building a New Heritage*, 50-68.
134. E. Morris, "Heritage and Culture: A Capital for the New Europe," in *Building a New Heritage*, 229-59.
135. Designed by Coop Himmelb(l)au, an Austrian firm famous for its audacious Deconstructivist buildings, the Musée des Confluences is part of a major effort to revitalize the southern tip of the Presqu'île, a blighted area known as prostitution hotspot. Joseph Giovannini, "Cloud, Crystal and Promenade," *The New York Times*, December 19, 2014, accessed July 10, 2016, http://www.nytimes.com/2014/12/21/arts/design/confluence-museum-opens-in-lyon-france.html?_r=0.
136. "Reveal the Secrets of Lyon's Traboules on Your iPhone," *Only Lyon Tourism and Conventions*, accessed July 10, 2016, <http://www.en.lyon-france.com/Practical-Lyon/Discover-the-Traboules-on-your-iPhone>.

Author Biography

Patrick Luiz Sullivan De Oliveira is a PhD candidate in history at Princeton University. His main area of focus is nineteenth-century France and Western Europe, although he also explores comparative/connective approaches that incorporate Latin America. He is currently working on a dissertation on aeronautical culture in early Third Republic France (1870-1914). His other interests include urban history and visual culture (in particular caricatures).