

An aerial photograph of a vineyard with rows of grapevines. A person in dark clothing is visible in the lower-left quadrant, working in the vines. The background shows a circular stone structure, possibly a well or a small building, surrounded by more vines. The overall scene is a mix of green foliage and brown earth.

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Greening the City

Nature in French Towns from
the 17th Century

Sample excerpt from *Greening the City*

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Cover image: *The Boulevard Viewed from Above* (1880) by Gustave Caillebotte. Source: Wikiart.

INTRODUCTION. GREENERY SCENERY: PLANT LIFE IN THE CITY, SEVENTEENTH TO TWENTY-FIRST CENTURIES

Sleep is full of miracles!
Obeying a curious whim,
I had banned from that spectacle
Irregular vegetation,

And, painter proud of his genius,
I savored in my picture
The delightful monotony
Of water, marble and metal.

Such is the ‘Parisian Dream’¹ conjured up by Baudelaire in *Les Fleurs du Mal*, which was dedicated to Constantin Guys whom he had hailed as the painter of modern life: a town without plants, where the trees are replaced by columns, gigantic and eternally silent, sparkling with precious stones. For his contemporaries at the time and for us today this radical modernity of the denatured town would turn towards something of a nightmare. The demands of urban natures are becoming ever more pressing, as is demonstrated by the new defence of biodiversity within cities, garden festivals which are ever more numerous every spring, or even the exhibition held in 2011 at the Cité de l’architecture et du patrimoine (Centre for Architecture and Heritage) in Paris called ‘The Fertile town. Towards urban nature’. A poll carried out in 2013 revealed that seven out of ten French people make it a priority to live near some kind of green space and that ninety per cent of them affirm that they need daily contact with the plant world. The fashion today is moving towards the ‘vegetalisation of towns’ and not towards the elimination of plant life.²

From public actions to urban marketing, this principle is determining the way urban planners think in the twenty-first century, and the background to this is an increase in the questioning of our societies’ demand for nature

1 Charles Baudelaire, trans. by William Aggeler, *The Flowers of Evil* (Fresno (CA): Academy Library Guild, 1954).

2 Survey UNEP-IPSOS 2013: www.hopscotch-presse.fr/unesp/ipsos_2013/dp_unep_ipsos_2013.pdf

and of the construction of a ‘landscaped humanism’.³ The humanities and social sciences have not been immune to these environmental concerns, which have become more widespread and come to the fore in the media over the last few decades.

These days there are more and more scientific publications and organised events examining the relations between ancient societies and their environment.⁴ Urban forms of nature are of prime interest to the historian,⁵ who is unable to forget that the mineralisation of the town, under concrete and asphalt, is a fairly recent phenomenon. In his way, Baudelaire understood this, for if he had ‘banned’ the vegetal it was because greenery had furtively insinuated its way into the city. Gardens, trees, weeds ... if we look closely, nature has not deserted the town, far from it. Until quite late in the twentieth century the urban space remained relatively permeable to rurality: there were animals in yards or even in the streets, crops grown within the city walls and market gardens that marked a halfway space between the town and the country. And, of course, we also think of how the city is embellished by the creation of vegetated spaces and in particular the space taken up in the city by gardens. Hundreds of books and articles have been written about these. Today the fifty largest cities in France spend on average five million euros each year on the creation and upkeep of green spaces, where the average area per inhabitant is 31 square metres (although there are wide disparities: Besançon holds the record with 200 square metres of green space per inhabitant while Paris only manages fourteen!).⁶

The topic of the place of nature in town is therefore not new, but over the centuries its shapes have changed as have its importance and its acceptance. Strictly speaking, the medieval town, the city designed by Haussmann and the city of today are not of the same nature. That is why the period that we

3 See Bernadette Lizet, ‘Introduction’, in Marie Mianowski, Sylvie Nail and Pierre Carboni (eds), *La nature citadine. En France et au Royaume-Uni. Concevoir, Vivre, Représenter* (Rennes: PUR, 2015).

4 Geneviève Massard-Guilbaud, ‘Pour une histoire environnementale de l’urbain’, *Histoire urbaine* 1 (18) (2007): 5–21.

5 Of course, they also arouse the interest of sociologists, geographers and urban planners, as shown by the international symposium organised in 2013 at the Maison de l’architecture in Paris on the theme ‘Urban Nature in Projects. Towards a new alliance between nature and the city’, which in 2015 gave rise to six publications in a series under the responsibility of Catherine Chomarar-Ruiz, entitled *Nature Citadine* and available in digital version only on the Editopics website.

6 See the ranking of the 50 largest cities in France given by the association UNEP – Les entreprises du paysage en 2014. http://www.entreprisesdupaysage.org/document/telechargerDocument.php?id=26829_56862

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have chosen to study stretches from the seventeenth century to the present day, in order to take into account all that is permanent but also to reflect how cities change.⁷

When related to the urban fabric, the history of the vegetal is primarily a history of transmission and of heritage, one of transformation rather than upheaval. Comparing maps and plans over the long term shows that a garden generally succeeds a garden, unless buildings became predominant during a period of population growth. The brutalisation of towns is a new phenomenon that arose during industrialisation and that radically changed the town as it was under the *Ancien Régime*.⁸ The relations that urban societies had with nature then developed and their environmental sensitivity became keener as the factory chimneys rose. Moreover, as early as the eighteenth century, a Western conception of nature began to evolve and we have partially inherited this. In the great nature / culture divide (which today is widely qualified by anthropologists)⁹ the vegetal played a major role insofar as it is doubtlessly the easiest natural element to raise, to arrange according to fashions and to integrate into the planning of the city.

This book traces these developments in France from the seventeenth to the twenty-first centuries.

What is a town?

Defining a town,¹⁰ particularly over a period of several centuries is a challenge to which geographers and historians struggle to provide a unanimous answer. The town evolved between the seventeenth and twentieth centuries and at the very least its definition became more precise with the introduction of statistical thresholds. Under the *Ancien Régime* the town was first defined by its fortifications, its institutions for governance and its privileges. Even though royal power laid hands on the towns in the seventeenth century, the

7 We will only deal with cities once they are fully integrated into French territory. The city of Nice, for example, will not be mentioned before 1860.

8 Jean-Luc Pinol (ed.), *Histoire de l'Europe urbaine*, vol. 1, *De l'antiquité au XVIII^e siècle*, vol. 2, *De l'ancien Régime à nos jours. Expansion et limites d'un modèle* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 2003).

9 Philippe Descola, *Par-delà nature et culture* (Paris: Gallimard, 2005).

10 We will limit this study to the cities of the French metropolis, without taking into account colonial cities: the history and diversity of the French colonies give rise to very different problems that would deserve a work in their own right. See Odile Goerg and Xavier Huetz de Lempis, *La ville coloniale XVI^e – XX^e siècles* (Paris: Seuil, 2012).

extent of municipal powers still remained considerable to the point of being able to compare towns to 'little patrician republics' which the intendants only partly controlled,¹¹ despite the monarchy's legislative efforts in the second half of the eighteenth century. (An intendant was the King's agent, sent to a region to administer it in his name.) So, we see demographic criteria giving way to the legal and morphological definition of the town. In any case, how many inhabitants are required to constitute a town? The issue was widely discussed in the historiography of the 1970s when questions were being asked about the drift to urbanisation and the move from the *Ancien Régime* to the industrial age. Statistical scales and thresholds only have meaning when placed in a given context. Since 1846 in France, the definition of 'urban' for public statistics is any *commune* (town or village) that has at least 2,000 inhabitants gathered together in a *chef lieu* (chief town). This demographic criterion has the advantage of apparently quantifiable objectivity but remains inadequate. This is partly due to its arbitrariness, as much geographical – in Denmark, a town begins with 200 residents, while in China the threshold is 50,000 – as historical: a conurbation of 10,000 people does not have the same significance today as it did during the Enlightenment! In the eighteenth century, depending on the region studied, some sparsely populated clusters were recognised as towns (1,000 inhabitants in Dauphiné, 1,800 inhabitants in Bourgogne (Burgundy)). If an agglomeration, even with only 1,000 inhabitants, can count as a town it is because it is defined by its functions: a town is not just a structure or a built-up area, it is also a place which gathers within itself some particular functions: political, of course, when it concentrates national decision-making bodies (Paris), regional ones (parliamentary towns like Bordeaux), or local ones (chief towns after the reorganisations of the Revolution and the Empire); judicial, with the presence of different kinds of courts; economic, naturally, with the head offices of large industrial or commercial firms, etc. But while this functional specialisation of towns marks them out, it does not determine their limits: where does a town start and where does it finish? Of course, there are administrative boundaries which might be the beginning of an answer; but it is well known that urban reality and the density of building that often goes on well beyond abstract borders very often ignore these constraints. So? What is a town?

It is definitely an interweaving of these different criteria but, for a period

11 Jean-Claude Perrot, 'Rapports sociaux et villes au XVIII^e siècle', in Marcel Roncayolo and Thierry Pacquot (eds), *Villes et civilisation urbaine, XVIII^e – XX^e siècles* (Paris: Larousse, 1992).

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as long as that which we propose to examine, the definition of a town also depends on different contemporaneous perceptions. What is meant by a town and how it is viewed alters according to the era. In any case, before 1789, different words were used which referred to certain qualitative differences linked to the privileges that these conurbations possessed: a *bourg* (little town), a *commune* ('commune'), a *ville* (town), a *village* (village). The night of 4 August 1789 not only abolished social privileges, but also put an end to these distinctions. A municipal law of 1789 brought uniformity to these namings. From then on, after some hesitations, one would refer to a *commune*, rural or urban.

While the gaze that inhabitants have cast on their towns over the years should be taken into account, it must be remembered that the appearance of towns has changed considerably over the centuries and has become less clear. This can basically be explained by demographic changes. From the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, the general framework of urbanisation in France remained stable. With a few exceptions, there were very few new urban creations and the hierarchy of these was generally only marginally modified. The population of *communes* of over 2,000 inhabitants however never stopped expanding, going from about 2.7 million around the year 1600 (which represented about fourteen per cent of the population), to 3.9 million in 1700 (17.4 per cent) and over five million around 1800 (twenty per cent).¹²

This demographic growth obviously changed the appearance of towns but, apart from a few exceptions such as Paris, this was in no way alarming and integration was progressive, with few upheavals within existing structures. Right up to the end of this modern period, the town thus retained its fairly clear boundaries which were those of mediaeval fortifications, as the *Encyclopédie* testifies: 'an enclosure surrounded by walls, enclosing several neighbourhoods, streets, public squares and other buildings'.

But these walls fell into disrepair and on the whole lost their defensive role. They were covered with plants and people went there for strolls. If, as Marcel Roncayolo says, 'the classic town in western Europe, enclosed within its walls, well defined in contrast to the flat land around it, offers the certainty of landscape',¹³ the town at the end of the eighteenth century changed orientation: no longer turned in on itself for protection but outwards to its surroundings. From that point onwards, in order to define the town, should

12 Jean-Luc Pinol, *Le Monde des Villes au XIX^e siècle* (Paris : Hachette, 1991).

13 Marcel Roncayolo, in Pinol, *Le Monde des Villes*, p. 3.

one take into account the *banlieue* (the suburbs), the territory under the town's *ban* or jurisdiction, which extended for about *une lieue* (a league) and particularly included all the foodstuffs grown for citizens? This is doubtless the case, for the town cannot be understood in isolation. Defining in terms of fortifications then makes less sense than thinking of the functions, the privileges and the specialisations of the town.

This trend towards the dissolving of urban boundaries became more marked at the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The rise in population and the beginning of the industrial revolution in fact helped to blur the definition of the town and especially its outline and its limits. Industrialisation played its part in this, of course, in those towns that were concerned: factories were set up in the hearts of some towns or, increasingly, on their outskirts, thereby drawing in large, often wretched, populations. But it was all of urban France that found itself overwhelmed by an unprecedented influx of people. If we only take into account towns with over 2,000 inhabitants, the 1846 census counted nine million urban dwellers, which suggests an average annual increase of 1.3 per cent since the beginning of the century! The nineteenth century town was also changing its appearance: its morphology was being transformed at different speeds, with the destruction of ramparts and the spread of the suburbs which gnawed at the peri-urban space, absorbing older village centres so that no-one was quite sure where the town ended and the countryside began. Industrial cities and suburbs were that century's great novelty, one that profoundly changed the towns, whose ways of life were totally subverted as was their social make-up. Prevailing views about urban centres were modified everywhere in Europe.¹⁴ From the second half of the eighteenth century onwards, there were two opposing discourses. For some, the town remained the incarnation of the Enlightenment, of Civilisation and of Progress. For others, there were only vice and temptation and towns corrupted the virtuous country folk who were drawn towards these sites of damnation! Moreover, the fetid nature of the soil and the air in an urban environment represented everything for which the town was criticised, and did it not contrast with the ideal of nature, pure and healing? This change in how the town was viewed accompanied the accelerating urban transformations of the nineteenth century, to which Baudelaire testified perfectly lucidly: 'the shape of a city, as we all know, changes more quickly, than the

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mortal heart'.¹⁵ These changes varied considerably from one town to another. There was nothing in common between the rise of Second Empire seaside resorts like Biarritz and Deauville and industrial centres like Le Creusot or Roubaix, and the decline of those towns like Montauban which refused modernity or let it pass by. But overall, despite a few notable exceptions, the deep-lying structures of the *Ancien Régime* stood firm: the Seine area, the Mediterranean south, the Rhône valley and the North had a strong urban structure which endured. The hierarchy of great cities, which in the long run changed relatively little between 1800 and 1945, bears witness to the weight of this inheritance. Up until the Second World War, French urbanisation carried on at very different paces depending on the place (on average 1.1 per cent per year from 1806 to 1931) with a generalised slowdown from the end of the nineteenth century, in particular because of demographic stagnation. While the population of the United Kingdom was largely urban by about 1851, it was not until 1931 that France reached this stage.¹⁶

It was therefore not until the post-war period that the urban landscape we know today began to emerge and this was the result of several factors. Firstly, there were the soaring demographic figures of the 'baby boom' years and of high immigration: urban populations rose from 21 million inhabitants in 1931 (a little over fifty per cent of the population) to 48 million in 2010 (over 75 per cent of the population). This massive influx was accompanied by urban sprawl and a lessening of urban population density (600 inhabitants per square kilometre on average in 1962, as opposed to 400 today), facilitated by increased car ownership which itself radically changed the physiognomy of towns. Little by little, large urban centres, shopping malls on the outskirts and individual houses in housing estates absorbed surrounding rural areas: the town became tentacular, occupying up to twenty per cent of the national land mass.¹⁷ It is estimated that between 1970 and 2000 the average area of towns increased by fifty per cent.¹⁸ The term 'urbanisation' precisely evokes this growing interpenetration of the rural and the urban. It is estimated that

15 Charles Baudelaire, trans. Julien Gracq and Ingeborg M. Kohn, *The Shape of a City* (New York: New Turtle Press, 2005).

16 For more details, see Georges Duby, *Histoire de la France urbaine*, vol. IV : *La Ville de l'âge industriel*, ed. by Maurice Agulhon (Paris : Seuil, 1998), from which the information in this paragraph is taken.

17 See Dominique Borne, *Histoire de la société française depuis 1945* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1992), pp. 5–8, 47–49; INSEE statistics (insee.fr).

18 Emmanuel Boutefeu, *Composer avec la nature en ville* (Paris: CERTU, 2001), p. 339.

today 95 per cent of the French population lives in the sphere of influence of a town.¹⁹ The very hearts of towns are changing too and this was particularly the case in the 1960s when densification was at its height. The singer-songwriter Jacques Dutronc may well regret, in his song, ‘the little garden which smells of the Metro’ and criticise real estate promoters and their ‘concrete flowers’.²⁰

Major real estate developments were modernising town centres, sometimes by razing old buildings: Montparnasse in Paris, Part-Dieu in Lyon and Mériadeck in Bordeaux are a few examples of this. The consequences of this were as much social as aesthetic, and over the last twenty years at least there has been a backlash with a movement to restore old buildings and with less brutal interventions within the urban fabric.

What nature?

It is paradoxical that, while the definition of the town raises so many difficulties, defining nature is easier for us. In effect, this book will only be looking at what is vegetal or vegetable in nature, excluding the elements – earth, air and water – and animals, on which topics there would nevertheless be plenty to say. Historically, reflections on nature and the town are based above all on an opposition – or a complementarity – between the mineral and the vegetal: the fixity of stone as contrasted with the vitality of plants, the orderliness of stone as opposed to the profusion of flowers, leaves and branches (the ‘irregular’ vegetal of Baudelaire).

However, in Europe, and even more so in towns, nature is not the opposite of culture, it is not ‘virgin’ but anthropomorphised and always passes between man’s hands or under his feet, being or having been modified in some way by him. These interventions may be involuntary (eutrophication of urban water courses affected by effluents of all sorts, for example); but when they are deliberate, they often bear a social or a political message. To build a garden is to give an image of oneself, of one’s town, of one’s country. It is also, as it was in the Second Empire, to affirm the victory of a bourgeois social order that one wants to impose.

Besides, if the vegetal is, as we have seen, largely present in the towns of the past, it took on various forms according to the scale of observation

19 Chantal Brutel and David Levy, ‘Le nouveau zonage en aires urbaines de 2010’, *Insee Première*, 1374 (October 2011), <http://www.insee.fr/fr/ffc/ipweb/ip1374/ip1374.pdf>

20 Jacques Dutronc/Jacques Lanzmann, ‘Le Petit Jardin’, 1972.

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adopted. Thus, there will be coexistence of plants which have grown spontaneously and those used to play a structuring role in the spatial and social organisation of the town. In order to see more clearly through this profusion, a distinction must be made at the level of the vegetal itself and the way in which it is present in the town.

In work carried out by historians, priority has been given to vegetal forms rooted in the urban space, to those which have left documentary traces and whose history has been reconstituted from the usages which were attributed to them. This has been the case with cultivated species, grown in gardens or raised for consumption by city dwellers. It has also been the case for natural urban places (parks, gardens, planted esplanades and other 'green spaces' designed to enhance, refresh and amuse the town). As for abandoned spaces, very often grassy waste ground, while their use is less formalised, they are nevertheless integrated into city practices (for recreation purposes, for example). The picture would not be complete without those plants that are deemed undesirable or worthless, such as seaweeds, mosses or lichens. They are the dark side of the vegetal kingdom, only glimpsed in times of town dwellers' grievance in the same way as mud or trash.

Alongside these vegetal forms, which are a long-term presence in the urban space, plants that are 'not rooted in the earth' have a more cursory existence. Yet, although these items of mobile nature occupy an important place in the daily life of town residents, they have only left fleeting and even imperceptible traces in the archives, a situation that is inversely proportional to their visibility in the urban landscape (balconies, gardens, cemeteries, urban decoration). A certain number of historians, mainly Anglo-Saxon, have examined this question of ephemeral nature, varying the scales of observation. For example, in a celebrated book on Chicago, the historian William Cronon showed that a town could not be observed as a monad, a self-contained unit closed in on itself: Chicago has profoundly shaped the American Great West and has built itself up thanks to its natural resources, whence the name that Cronon gives it – 'Nature's Metropolis'.²¹ On a lesser scale, every town obviously depends on its hinterland and organises the space around itself. It draws in nature in all its forms and then redistributes it, once it is within. Although light has not been totally cast on the economy of the vegetal in a town, this vast topic cannot be ignored for it risks leaving aside a whole facet of urban life. Therefore, we must attempt to grasp as fully as possible this nature on the move which sometimes

21 William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis. Chicago and the Great West* (New York: Norton, 1991).

belongs to a more spontaneous order than that of parks and their flowerbeds.

To this spatial dimension must be added reflections relating to time: how do nature time and town time match? The often collisional developments of the latter contrast with the regular, seasonal cycles of vegetation and their mortality. Depending on the month and the year, the urban vegetal aspect is not the same: leaves may be lost in a great wind or flowerings may be variable – which landscape designers and town people very often do not take into consideration. Similarly, episodes in urban life modify the natural landscape in the town: market days and civil or religious holidays are often marked by flowers, thus introducing other cycles into the presence of plants.

Nature in town, nature of the town?

So, we understand better the point of reflecting on nature in its vegetal forms in the town between the seventeenth and the early twenty-first centuries, for, over these four centuries, a number of trends have asserted themselves. While nature never left the town during this period, its presence seems to have been reinforced, if only symbolically. Firstly, in fact, the expansion of towns and their growth in population increased their influence over the surrounding area or space; as towns acquired more residents and opened out, they pushed back the countryside and became more rapacious, as plants of all kinds and in increasing quantities were brought into towns and spread throughout them. At the same time, the greening of towns changed in aspect and tended to become more extended, particularly in the second half of the nineteenth century. The reinforcement of absolutism begun by Louis XIV, just like the influx of social elites into towns during his reign, encouraged the multiplication of formal gardens. As demonstrated by the urban transformations during the Second Empire, nature continued to play a role in the extravagant policies of the ruling powers. This greening would, in the end, be encouraged twofold by science: firstly by the development of botanical science, particularly in the eighteenth century, which aroused astonishing enthusiasm and contributed considerably to the diversification of urban plant species; then, by the rise of hygienics and sanitary movements in general, which saw in natural urban forms a remedy for sicknesses – both physical and social or even moral – which afflicted towns. These developments were accompanied by very many theoretical writings which aptly reflected on nature's place in the town. Thus, when in 1931 the census revealed that the French were mainly urban dwellers, in Great Britain garden cities already

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existed, since Ebenezer Howard had begun the project in 1898. Nature was no longer opposed to the town or exploited to fill in gaps; in theory, and increasingly in practice, it began to structure the city – which ecological concerns, increasingly significant over the past few decades, have only underlined.

This fact underpins our approach here, an approach which cannot just be chronological because of the coherence over these few centuries as regards the progressive recognition of the urban vegetal. In what follows we will proceed by shedding light on a few major themes raised by this movement. The first point is understanding why nature came into the town: what were the motivations, changing as they did over time, behind its growing hold over urban space – or the feeling that nature is missing ... (Chapter 1)? But it is not enough just to want grass or flowers – one has to be able to establish them: whose were the green fingers which set in train this often ambitious greening of cities (Chapter 2)? Moreover, more concretely, how was it possible to vegetalise the mineral and what constraints needed to be overcome (Chapter 3)? Thereafter it will be easier to understand the diverse functions of urban nature, which will be introduced in the rest of the book. Quite paradoxically, urban nature is firstly conceived as being one of the key elements in urbanity, the place where good manners are learnt, where those social classes who do not understand the codes of civility learn to be more refined, the site where a social position or an individual identity are affirmed (Chapter 4). It is also a means towards wellbeing and good-living, a factor in all celebrations where the body, the soul and the mind are improved (Chapter 5). By offering a space for freedom in the heart of the urban structure, nature also offers up the chance to go wild: urban nature is not just a vector of urbanity but also a factor in disorder (Chapter 6). But the town is not just about ostentation; it is also quite simply a place for plant production and consumption: flowers, fruits, vegetables and wood come and go in the urban space, and there they are cultivated, handled, ingested and used on a daily basis (Chapter 7). Finally, parks and gardens are spaces where science has found the ultimate field for special experimentation, whether these places are the subject or simply the setting (Chapter 8).

Finally then, it is nature in many forms and with different usages which has imposed itself on urban spaces over these past few centuries to the point where it has become a constituting element: to ask questions about nature *in* the town is basically asking questions about the nature *of* the town.²² The

22 See also Sabine Barles and Nathalie Blanc (eds), *Écologies urbaines: sur le terrain* (Paris: Economica, 2016).

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modern town wants to be regulated, ordered and strong in its monumental identity; a town shaped by man, who uses vegetal forms worked into the controlled staging of an urban mechanism where gardens, esplanades and other ornamentations serve the common good. From the great classical squares to the parks of the Second Empire, the obsession was definitely with a town that was restrained and of a submissive environment. This urban model has only given way to the 'irregular vegetal', wild weeds, insidious mosses or humble everyday herbs fairly recently and with quite some reluctance! Overshadowed by prestige plants and yet fully vigorous, this nature is confined to urban interstices, from wasteland to the back yard, not forgetting the tradesmen's entrances, and yet it has never been so necessary to urban ecology.²³ Despite the dominance of modern science, the desire for order has been accompanied by an unwavering faith in man's creative power: urban space can and must be adapted for the happiness of ever more numerous citizens. Until very recently nothing opposed this land-based ability, which could move stones and also trees in order to improve the town. The 'terrible' dream of Baudelaire's that was mentioned earlier echoes this inventive optimism wherein man can satisfy his 'whim'. If nature can define the town, it is because the people of France have chosen, over the centuries, to set it at the very heart of the city that they want to arrange and modify to their liking. Even though, since the 1980s, they have seen the limits of their power over nature more clearly they have become 'the architect(s) of (their) fairyland'.

23 Stéphane Van Damme, in *Métropoles de papiers* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2012) has shown how urban archaeology emerged in the seventeenth century to examine the future of large cities: it is necessary to know their past, including their ecological past, in order to ensure their future.