

LE  
CORBUSIER  
AND  
THE  
OCCULT

J. K. BIRKSTED

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The MIT Press

Cambridge, Massachusetts

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AND THE  
OCCULT

J. K. BIRKSTED

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Its history can no more be separated from the lands surrounding it than the clay can be separated from the hands of the potter who shapes it.

— Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*

In answer to a predecessor at the  
Bartlett, Reyner Banham, who set the  
problem:

Le Corbusier's book on architecture . . .  
was to prove to be one of the most  
influential, widely read and least  
understood of all the architectural  
writings of the twentieth century . . .

—Reyner Banham, *Theory and Design in  
the First Machine Age*



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# Acknowledgments

He was inspired by the possibility of reconstructing forms of life as such, and he delighted in bringing out their individual shape, the fullness of human experience embodied in them; the odder, the more extraordinary a culture or an individual, the better pleased he was. He can hardly condemn anything that displays colour or uniqueness; Indians, Americans and Persians, Greece and Palestine, Arminius and Machiavelli, Shakespeare and Savonarola, seem to him equally fascinating. He deeply hates the forces that make for uniformity, for the assimilation, whether in life or in the books of historians, of one culture or way of life to another. He conscientiously looks for uniformities, but what fascinates him is the exception.

—Isaiah Berlin, *Vico and Herder: Two Studies in the History of Ideas*

There is, however, one point of view deeper yet and more important than the love of tasting of the variety of human modes of life, and this is the desire to turn such knowledge into wisdom.

—Bronislaw Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*

This research raises perhaps more questions than answers, and others will have to excavate further to prove or disprove my hypotheses, in order to plug or to further open the breach. The questions raised are both factual and methodological. The research is as much about the secret sources of Le Corbusier's architecture—that is, of what he threw away and did not want us to know—as it is about modernist relations to history and the historiographical and ethnographic research methods that are needed in such circumstances.

Malinowski wrote that “an Ethnographer has to rely upon the assistance of others to an extent much greater than is the case with other scientific workers. I have therefore to express in this special place my obligations to the many who have helped me.”<sup>1</sup> Innumerable individuals have helped to locate obscure photographs and documents and answered obscure questions. One curator at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France spent several hours in storage basements searching for boxes of twentieth-century photographs whose exact whereabouts had been unknown since World War II (we found them). Several people have delved into old family archives, stirring up aching memories. Because of the sheer quantity of new materials, I have been bedeviled by the problem of gauging how much background knowledge to assume. For materials already published, I have opted for filling in the broadest background details and indicating references and sources. For new materials, I have opted for immensely long citations, which are the equivalents of social anthropological fieldwork and participant observation.

A special indebtedness goes to H. Allen Brooks who answered questions and gave me access to his archives at Yale. If I critique his findings, it is in the spirit of emulation. The tattered condition of my “Brooks” speaks for itself. In addition, Michel Gallet replied with long and informative letters about François-Joseph Belanger, about the social networks and reader experience at the Bibliothèque Nationale in early-twentieth-century Paris, as did Jean-Pierre Bayard on symbolism. Many others in Paris and La Chaux-de-Fonds—Claude Malécot, David Peyceré, Françoise Ducros, Alexandre Ragois, Christian Charlet, Charles Thomann, Jean-Daniel Jeanneret, Michel Didisheim—helped track down information. Sylvie Béguelin and Christine Rodeschini at the Bibliothèque de la Ville de La Chaux-de-Fonds, Catherine Corthésy at the Bibliothèque de l'École d'Art de La Chaux-de-Fonds, and Arnaud Dercelles at the Fondation Le Corbusier in Paris made this research possible, as did Pierre Mollier and Irène Mainguy and Pascal Bajou at Le Grand Orient de France, Jonathan Giné and François Rognon at the Grande Loge de France, Monsieur et Madame Dousset at the Grande Loge Suisse Alpina in Lausanne, Laurent Bastard at the Musée du Compagnonnage in Tours, Madame Verne at the Librairie du Compagnonnage in Paris, Maurice Favre in La Chaux-de-Fonds, Jean Philippon Bordelais la Constance Compagnon Cuisinier des Devoirs Unis in Lyon. Private owners opened for me remarkable buildings by François-Joseph Belanger in Paris. The library of the Grand United Lodge of England has also been an invaluable resource; likewise, as always, the British Library, the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, the Cabinet des Estampes, and the Archives Nationales. Many other people in other places have spent hours

helping me: Michel Cugnet, Marie-Thérèse Lathion, Maryse Schmidt-Surdez, Alexandre Dafflon, Sylviane Musy-Ramseyer, Edmond Charrière, Anouk Hellman. At the library of the United Grand Lodge of England, Martin Cherry and Diane Clements have been immensely helpful.

I have had precious help with collecting data in Slovakia from Milan Palak, who also helped with translations. Further help with translations from Slovak to English was kindly provided by Timothy Beasley-Murray at University College London. I decided to dispense with sometimes unsatisfactory, sometimes insufferable, published French translations. Because of the extent of new primary materials from hitherto unresearched private and public archives, I have opted for including the original language texts in the endnotes only when the original language is most critically important, or is truly untranslatable, or is needed out of respect for forgotten voices. Here historiography fulfills its role as *tombeau*.<sup>2</sup>

Neither research nor publication could have been undertaken without the financial support of the British Academy, the Architecture Research Fund of the UCL Bartlett School of Architecture, and a Stroud Bursary from the Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain. I am very grateful to them all. I thank the *Oxford Art Journal* and the *Journal of Architecture*, which published articles from parts of the research.

At times of doubt, several books buoyed me: Michael Fried's *Menzel's Realism: Art and Embodiment in Nineteenth-Century Berlin* and Timothy J. Clark's *Farewell to an Idea: Episodes from a History of Modernism*, with their attempts to observe, describe, and deduct, and their discussions of the notion of reenchantment; also Rosalind E. Krauss's *The Optical Unconscious* with its insights into Sherlock Holmes's methods of reasoning backward.<sup>3</sup>

During this research, I have had three homes away from home: in Paris, at the Breens under the twinkling lights of the Eiffel Tower; in La Chaux-de-Fonds, in the loft apartment of the eighteenth-century farmhouse of Nelly L'Eplattenier and Pierre Zurcher; and in London, an intellectual home at the Bartlett School of Architecture. I am enormously indebted to my Bartlett colleagues, scholarly friends and intellectual sparring partners. Jacob Burckhardt famously said that "the existence of the University of Basel is a metaphysical necessity." The existence of the Bartlett School of Architecture is an epistemological necessity.

I would like to thank the two anonymous readers of my proposal to the MIT Press, whose comments spurred me on. This research has taken time and so has the writing of the book. Its appearance attests to the legendary support, encouragement, and patience of Roger Conover at the MIT Press.

Last but not least, this research has depended entirely on Dana's tolerance of all-too-present absences and absent-minded presences.

London, Kragerø, Claviers, August 2007

# LE CORBUSIER AND THE OCCULT

PREAMBLE

# GROWING



# UP IN LA CHAUX- DE-FONDS







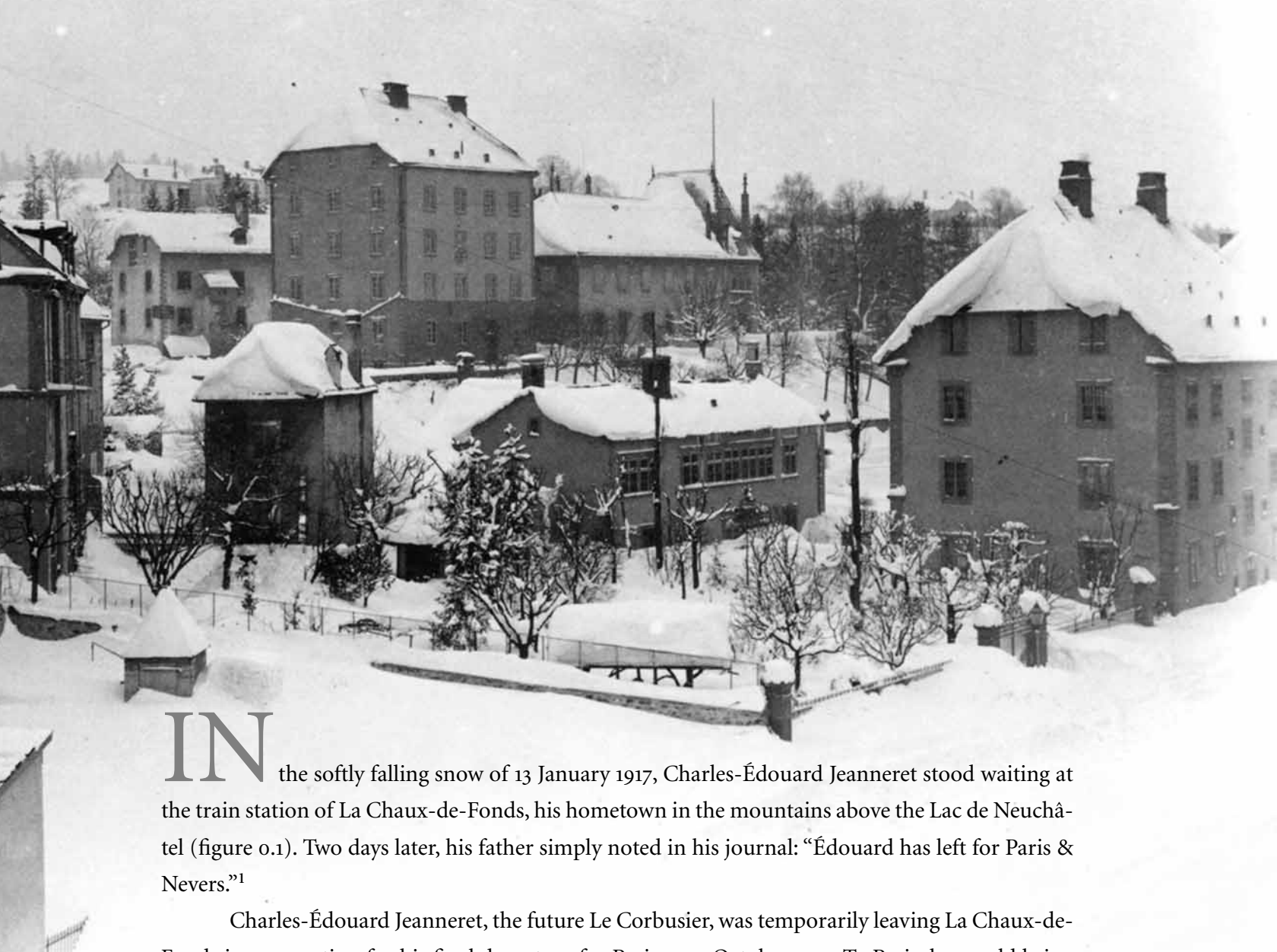


- o.1. Winter view of La Chaux-de-Fonds with the atelier of Le Corbusier's father, Georges-Édouard Jeanneret (background center), which overlooks the Masonic lodge, the Loge L'Amitié (background right, with flagpole on roof). (Henri Perret, ca. 1895, courtesy of Collection Iconographie, DAV, Bibliothèque de la Ville de La Chaux-de-Fonds, HP-P2-84.)



previous pages:

Apartment interior. (Charles Robert-Tissot, 1901, courtesy of Collection Iconographie, DAV, Bibliothèque de la Ville de La Chaux-de-Fonds, CFV ICO RT/P2-94.)



**I**N the softly falling snow of 13 January 1917, Charles-Édouard Jeanneret stood waiting at the train station of La Chaux-de-Fonds, his hometown in the mountains above the Lac de Neuchâtel (figure 0.1). Two days later, his father simply noted in his journal: “Édouard has left for Paris & Nevers.”<sup>1</sup>

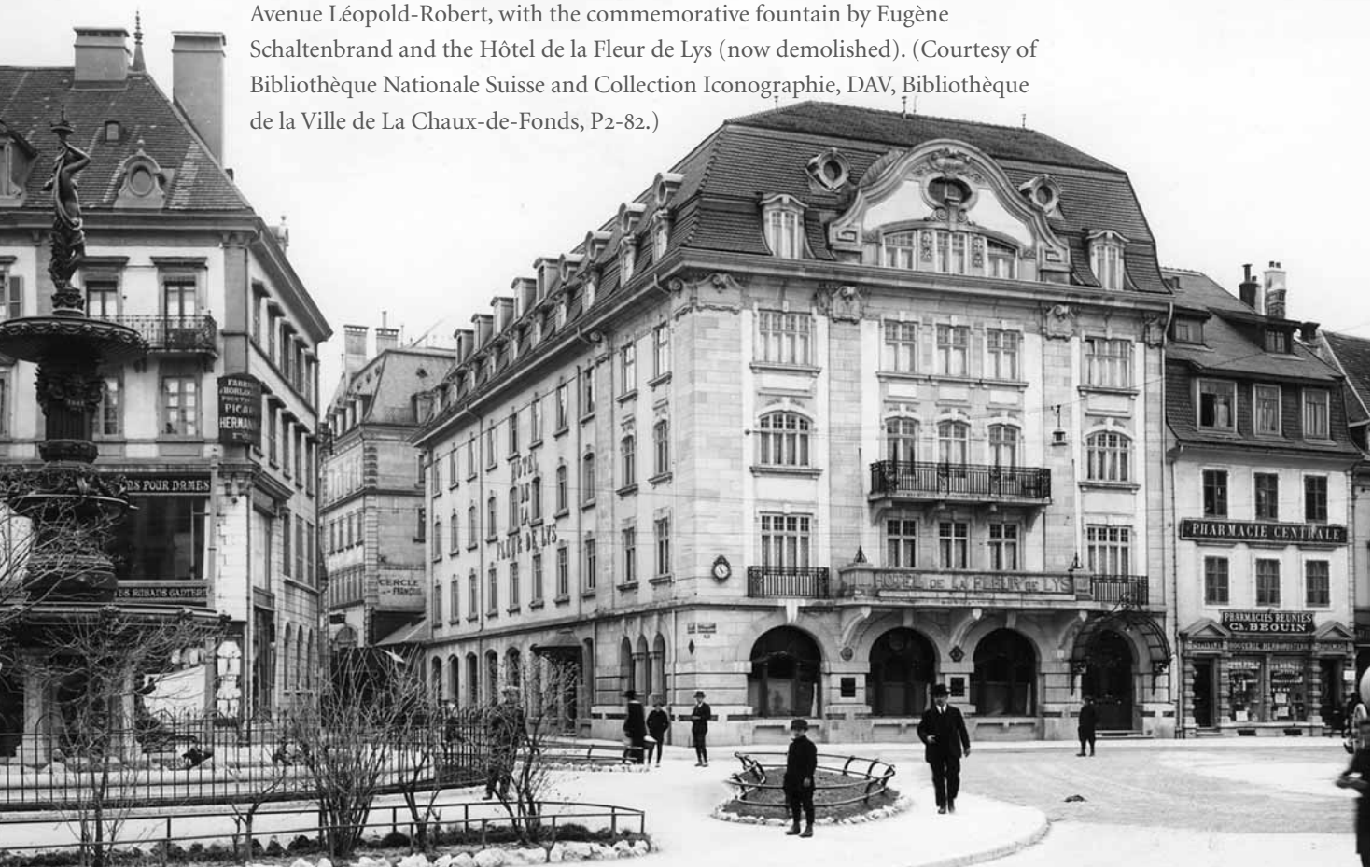
Charles-Édouard Jeanneret, the future Le Corbusier, was temporarily leaving La Chaux-de-Fonds in preparation for his final departure for Paris on 4 October 1917. To Paris, he would bring with him a configuration of understandings—complete with moral, spiritual, social, and personal dimensions, which he would later describe as “signs that recall time-honored ideas, ingrained and deep-rooted in the intellect, like entries from a catechism, triggers of productive series of innate replies”<sup>2</sup>—that would provide him with the resources needed for his art, his publications, his concept of space, his entire future *Œuvre complète*, and, in accordance with his avowed vision that “to be an architect is nothing; being a poet is everything,”<sup>3</sup> the very concept of an *Œuvre complète*.

That 13 January 1917 was an ordinary day in La Chaux-de-Fonds (figure 0.2). The *Feuille d’Avis* reported a preview of an exhibition of military artists in aid of the Swiss army at a dance at the Hôtel de Paris, where “the elite of dancers were assembled, moving to the harmonies of the Moretti Orchestra. Boston, one-step, tango, maxixe and foxtrot competed for their preference” (figure 0.3).<sup>4</sup> Other news items in the *Feuille d’Avis* were the military advances, retreats, and losses of the French, English, and German armies, the inevitable rise of bread prices, and Édouard Schuré’s speech about “the great expectations for a renewed Europe, following the historic response of the

- o.2. View of urban developments in La Chaux-de-Fonds showing watch-making factories and ateliers, cheap rental apartments, luxury houses, churches, and vocational training colleges. (Courtesy of Bibliothèque Nationale Suisse and Collection Iconographie, DAV, Bibliothèque de la Ville de La Chaux-de-Fonds, P2-84.)



- o.3. View of monumental buildings on the central street of La Chaux-de-Fonds, Avenue Léopold-Robert, with the commemorative fountain by Eugène Schaltenbrand and the Hôtel de la Fleur de Lys (now demolished). (Courtesy of Bibliothèque Nationale Suisse and Collection Iconographie, DAV, Bibliothèque de la Ville de La Chaux-de-Fonds, P2-82.)



Allies to Mr. Wilson, whose support for the restitution to France of its lost regions gives hope to all oppressed nations.”<sup>5</sup> And as Charles-Édouard Jeanneret settled into his seat on the train for Paris, slowly La Chaux-de-Fonds faded away in the snow-covered landscape of the Jura mountains (figure 0.4). A last regret seized him and he began to pen a note to his mentor, William Ritter:

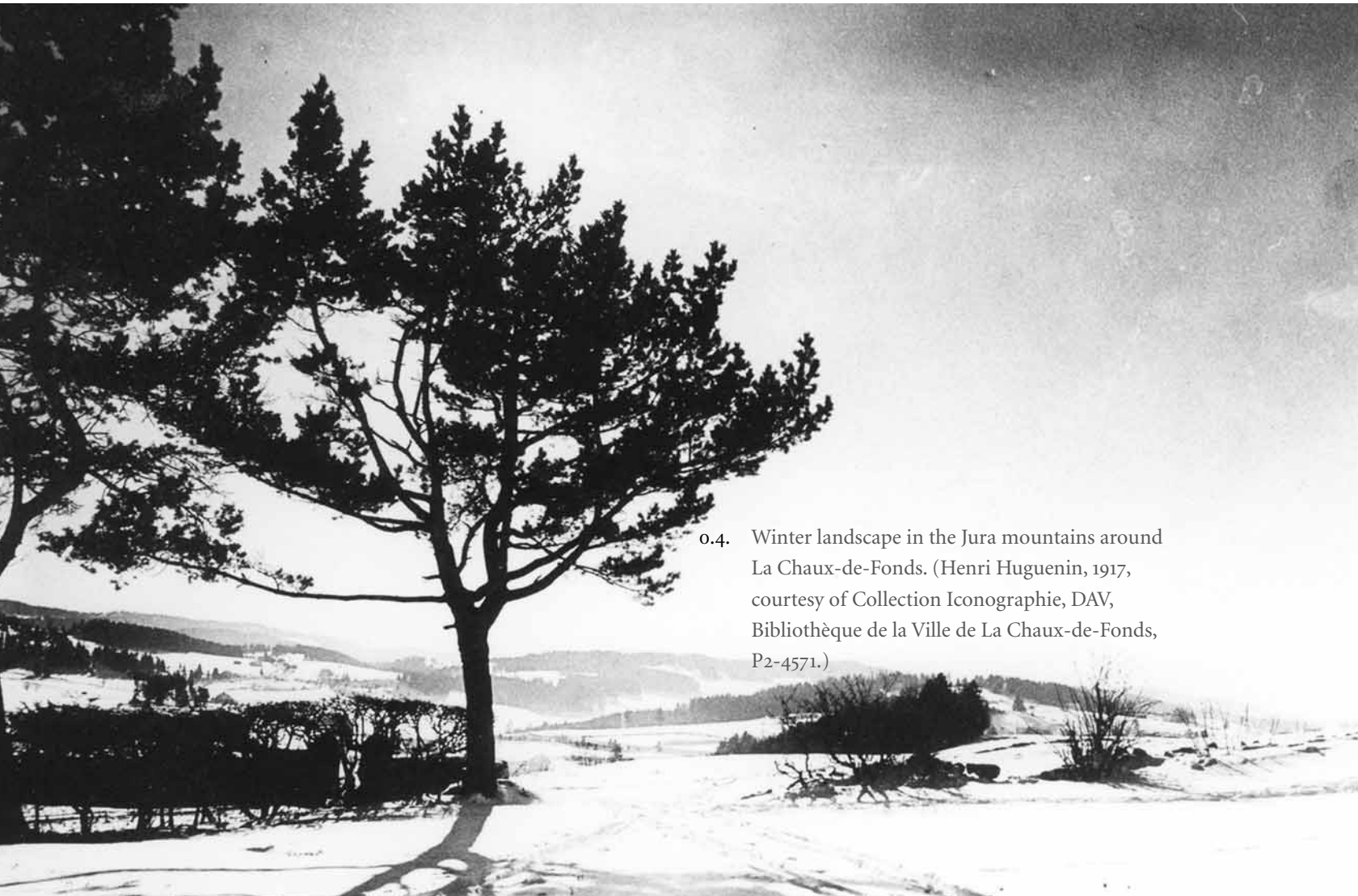
On this 13 January 1917, midday—in the train—

Dear friends,

. . . This letter to apologize for not being able to be of any assistance in your move; indeed, traveling to Paris, leaving behind major concerns here, and heading for other ones there; well, such is my world! Apologies also for not having been able to write and for not having been able to visit you. These last weeks, unending troubles . . .

To all three of you, on my way to Berne, I send my affectionate greetings,

Ch. E. Jeanneret<sup>6</sup>



0.4. Winter landscape in the Jura mountains around La Chaux-de-Fonds. (Henri Huguenin, 1917, courtesy of Collection Iconographie, DAV, Bibliothèque de la Ville de La Chaux-de-Fonds, P2-4571.)

His formative relationship to William Ritter was fading away too. In his historical novel about La Chaux-de-Fonds, *Le concert sans orchestre*, Jean-Paul Zimmermann describes the dissociation of Charles-Édouard Jeanneret (represented in the novel by a musician called Félix Courvoisier) from his past friends: “The musician was very preoccupied, frequently absent from town, and, on his returns, he immersed himself in his work without giving sign of life. . . . One day, in the street, Vitus complained that Courvoisier was dropping his friends. . . . ‘He is unloading ballast. That is how you rise.’”<sup>7</sup> It is precisely this ballast—friendships, networks, collaborations, and family relationships, with their complex cultural, religious, social, and ideological circumstances—that forms the historical context of Le Corbusier’s modern movement. And it is precisely this ballast that has largely been erased from the history of the modern movement. Indeed, the movement’s protagonist, Charles-Édouard Jeanneret (1887–1965), after assuming in Paris the pseudonym of Le Corbusier (ca. 1920), himself carefully applied the eraser to his first thirty formative years in La Chaux-de-Fonds (1887–1917) (figure 0.5). These two personas, Charles-Édouard Jeanneret and Le Corbusier, played a dual role, as he himself explained in 1926 to Josef Tcherv, William Ritter’s partner:

To Josef Cerv

Le Corbusier is a pseudonym. Le Corbusier creates architecture, recklessly. He pursues disinterested ideas; he does not wish to compromise himself in betrayals, in compromises. It is an entity free of the burdens of carnality. He must (but will he succeed?) never disappoint. Charles-Édouard Jeanneret is the embodied person who has endured the innumerable radiant or wretched episodes of an adventurous life. Jeanneret Ch. E. also paints, because, though not a painter, he has always been passionate about painting and always has painted—as amateur.

Ch. E. Jeanneret and Le Corbusier both sign this note together

Warmest regards,

Paris 18 January 1926<sup>8</sup>



But, first, on his quest to reinvent himself, there was an item that Charles-Édouard Jeanneret was very careful *not* to leave behind in La Chaux-de-Fonds, an item of critical importance as the trace that unravels the sources of Le Corbusier’s architecture, with its key concepts of *promenade architecturale* (the architectural promenade) and *espace indicible* (ineffable space). Yet this document remains as unnoticed in his library as the purloined letter in Edgar Allan Poe’s story of that name, and for much the same reason: “the hyper-obtrusive situation of this document, full in the view of every visitor . . . [in a] soiled and torn condition . . . [was] so inconsistent with his true methodical habits and so suggestive of a design to delude the beholder into an idea of the worthlessness of the document.”<sup>9</sup> This document indicates an architectural system in which, as Paul Dermée wrote in 1917 about his own iconographic, symbolic, and ritual belief system, “all components must have their place strictly determined according to their role and their significance.”<sup>10</sup>

- 0.5. Georges-Édouard Jeanneret, family album, “On the summit of the Combin de Corbassière,” a mountain-climbing expedition of the Club Alpin Suisse Section La Chaux-de-Fonds. (Courtesy of Collection Iconographie, DAV, Bibliothèque de la Ville de La Chaux-de-Fonds, EJ1.)



PART I

FROM THE



# EIGHTEENTH CENTURY





DÉFENSE ABSOLUE  
**DE FUMER**  
sans prise d'achats  
moyennant.



BOYENNE ANCIENNE  
**DE FUMER**

sur point d'arrêt  
pour fumeurs

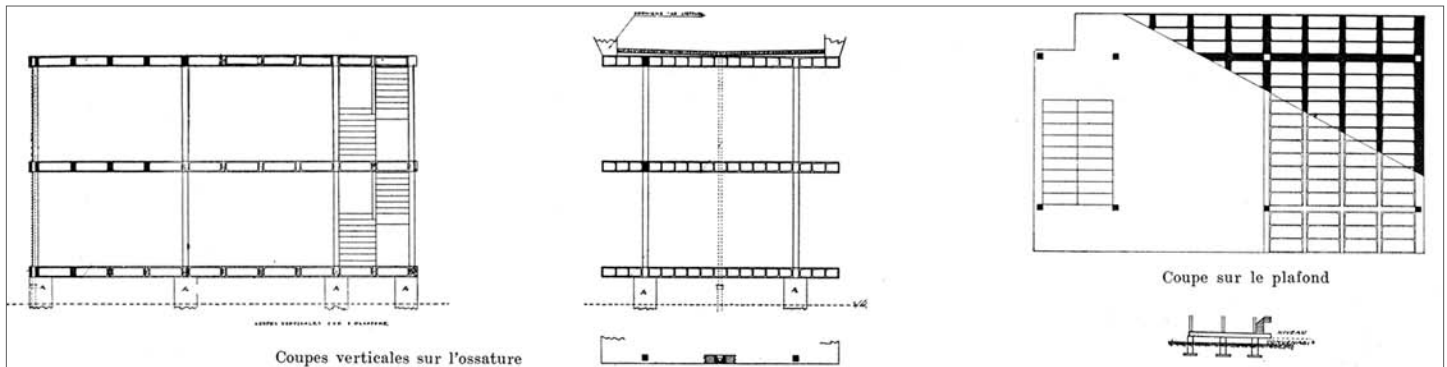


previous pages:

Entrance to the Bibliothèque  
Nationale de France.

(© Bibliothèque Nationale de  
France, early twentieth century,  
Va 237 T II H22900.)

# 1 Intuitive Flashes of Unexpected Insight



Coupes verticales sur l'ossature

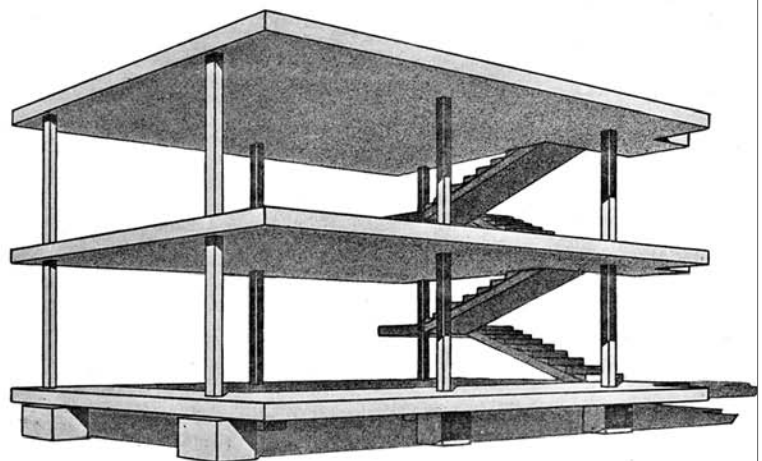
Coupe sur le plafond

Les fondements

**LES MAISONS «DOM-INO»** — L'intuition agit par éclairs inattendus. Voici en 1914 la conception pure et totale de tout un système de construire, envisageant tous les problèmes qui vont naître à la suite de la guerre et que le moment présent a mis à l'actualité. C'est quinze ans après seulement, en 1929 et à l'occasion de la Loi Loucheur que Le Corbusier et Jeanneret peuvent appliquer intégralement les principes de la maison «Dom-ino». Il a fallu quinze années d'expérimentation, de mise au point localisée sur les divers détails du système, pour permettre d'atteindre à la réalisation.

Le problème posé était le suivant: les premières dévastations de la grande guerre dans les Flandres en septembre 1914. «La guerre devait durer trois mois seulement!» «On devait reconstruire les villages détruits en quelques mois aussi!» Le cauchemar serait ainsi vite oublié. (Tel état le bon sens public des gens au pouvoir auquel on aime tant à se référer!)

On a donc conçu un *système de structure* — ossature — *complètement indépendant des fonctions du plan de la maison*: cette ossature porte simplement les planchers et l'escalier. Elle est fabriquée en éléments standard, combinables les uns avec les autres, ce qui permet une grande diversité dans le groupement des maisons. Ce béton armé-là est fait sans coffrage; à vrai dire, il s'agit d'un matériel de chantier spécial qui permet de couler les planchers définitivement lisses dessus et dessous au moyen d'un très simple échafaudage de poutrelles double T accrochées temporairement à des colliers qui sont fixés au sommet de chaque poteau; les poteaux de béton sont coulés à pied d'œuvre et dressés avec le système de coffrage ci-dessus. Une société technique livre en tous endroits du pays, des ossatures orientées et groupées à la demande de l'architecte urbaniste ou, plus simplement du client.



L'ossature standard «Dom-ino», pour exécution en grande série

Il reste ensuite à installer une habitation à l'intérieur de ces ossatures. Le format de l'ossature «Dom-ino», la situation toute particulière des poteaux, permettent d'innombrables combinaisons de dispositions intérieures et toutes prises de lumière imaginables en façade. On avait conçu l'idée d'une Société, sœur de la première qui vendrait, elle, tous les éléments de l'équipement de la maison, c'est-à-dire, tout ce qui peut être fabriqué en usine

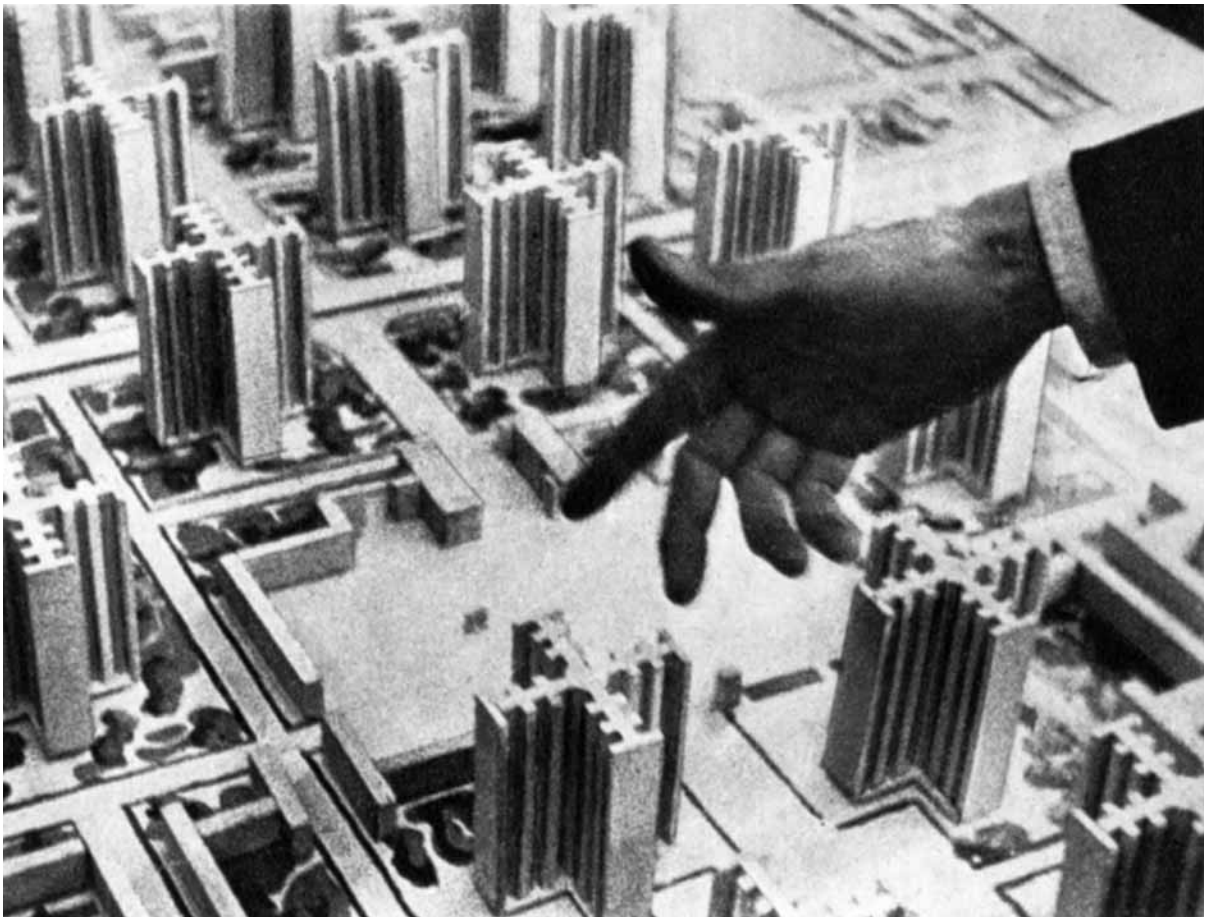
- 1.1. The Dom-ino system, in  
Le Corbusier and Pierre  
Jeanneret, *Œuvre complète*  
1910–1929 (Erlenbach-Zurich:  
Éditions d'Architecture, 1946),  
p. 23. (© 2007 FLC/ADAGP,  
Paris and DACS, London.)

**HAVING** virtually erased the thirty formative years of his life in La Chaux-de-Fonds from his authorized *Œuvre complète 1910–1929*, Le Corbusier appears on the scene in one magisterial sentence (figure 1.1). He announces: “Intuition produces flashes of unexpected insight. Thus in 1914 the perfect and complete conception of an entire system of construction, anticipating all future problems.”<sup>1</sup> Already in 1915, Charles-Édouard Jeanneret had proudly presented this new “entire system of construction,” the Dom-ino system, to his friends William Ritter and Janko Cádra on one of his frequent visits to Le Landeron, where they lived in 1915–1916.<sup>2</sup> In his diary, Cádra recorded his reactions to Jeanneret’s increasing modernism:

Wilko brought a postcard from Ch. E. J: “I will check into [the hotel] Marina and will walk along the Thielle to Landeron, don’t worry about me!” At 7 o’clock Madame Ruedin’s maid brings a telegram: “I will arrive by train at 7.40. Jeanneret.” Dinner at the hotel, where we already had a reservation since Tuesday, and lunch at our house. The next morning he finally explained to us the system for the reconstruction of the houses and villages destroyed in the war, a system of pouring concrete into the main parts of the building, some of which can be built as you like. But houses without roofs.<sup>3</sup>

This first intuitive “flash of unexpected insight” was to be but the first of many such to come. The *Œuvre complète* overflows with such Michelangelesque intuitive “flashes of unexpected insight,” which has raised many suspicions (figure 1.2). For Manfredo Tafuri, “The discovery of the





1.2. Le Corbusier, Plan Voisin for Paris (1925), in François de Pierrefeu, *Le Corbusier and Pierre Jeanneret* (Paris: Éditions Crès, 1932), front cover. (© 2007 FLC/ADAGP, Paris and DACS, London.)

formulation of the house as a machine for living in by Adolphe Lance in an essay of 1853 begins to make one wonder”;<sup>4</sup> for Timothy Benton, Le Corbusier’s relations to his early clients involved “conscious and systematic deception”;<sup>5</sup> H. Allen Brooks—commenting that the Villa Fallet being “Jeanneret’s first endeavor makes it even more remarkable, raising the question of what role others may have played in its design”<sup>6</sup>—also observes, “The pointed (Gothic) arch of the roof [of the Villa Stotzer] is entirely unexpected; it lacks precedence among Jeanneret’s self-proclaimed sources as well as in vernacular design.”<sup>7</sup> Yet such “flashes of unexpected insight” are generally accepted as unproblematic: for Paul Turner, “In the absence of any evidence to the contrary, we must assume that the Dom-ino system, as Corbusier propounded it, was essentially his own creation”;<sup>8</sup> for Brooks, the design of the La Scala cinema “can never be fully comprehended”;<sup>9</sup> for Benton, “the Villa Cook and, in a very special sense, the Villa Savoye are cases in point of ‘Immaculate Conceptions.’”<sup>10</sup>

But we now know the extent of Le Corbusier’s control. After a quarrel with Pierre Francastel, he insisted that all mentions of him be removed from *L’atelier de la recherche patiente*.<sup>11</sup> He also skillfully orchestrated the preservation and monumentalization of his work, such as the Villa Savoye, behind the scenes.<sup>12</sup> In a furious letter to Lucien Hervé, he insisted, “If I have allowed you to photograph my archives, it is so that I can work usefully. This will be of direct benefit to you. Consequently, I must have all your contacts available so that the selection can be made by me in a fully informed way.”<sup>13</sup> In addition to this meticulous control over the contents of his publications, Le Corbusier regulated his readers’ interpretations by channeling their associations through suggestive metaphors. To Hervé, he also wrote: “An interesting exercise would be to photograph tree trunks in the Bois de Boulogne, such as: oak, acacia, willow, sycamore, chestnut and so on. . . . Sometimes you might include a hint of leaves or flowers (apple tree, etc.). . . . The point for you would be to dispose of documentation on the future of ‘rough concrete.’”<sup>14</sup> He also vigilantly screened his archives. Maurice Besset describes how, in the process of reorganizing his archival materials,

the continuous numbering system established by Le Corbusier took no account of considerable gaps in the material. For two periods of about ten years each (1919–1929 and 1936–1945), no sketchbook is preserved; further, it is likely that the series is more or less incomplete for the years 1914–1919, 1932–1936, and 1945–1950. Le Corbusier was well aware of these gaps. According to him, the missing sketchbooks from the period before 1934 “had disappeared” during his move from 20, rue Jacob to 24, rue Nungesser-et-Coli. He had no comment about the sketchbooks from the years 1945 to 1950.<sup>15</sup>

In an interview in 1975, Marcel Montandon, Le Corbusier’s draftsman on the Villa Schwob, is on record as retorting with barely suppressed irritation, “You have no idea of the extent to which he copied!”<sup>16</sup> And it is here that this research began . . .

Although Colin Rowe famously insinuated that Le Corbusier sourced his ideas in the architecture of Palladio<sup>17</sup> and Emil Kaufmann suggested that he did so in the architecture of Ledoux,<sup>18</sup> when we turn to Kaufmann's subsequent book, *Architecture in the Age of Reason*, we find a description of an eighteenth-century villa whose spaces, features, and rural location are uncannily evocative of the very house that Timothy Benton described as an "Immaculate Conception," the Villa Savoye. Kaufmann described how this villa had "a semi-circular court front, along which the driveway ran, so that coaches could enter on one side of the house and leave on the other without turning. A low semicircular structure terminating the court contained the stables and coach houses; its roof was transformed into a terrace garden. . . . With his predilection for geometrical shapes, clear-cut design, and aesthetically independent motifs of decoration [he] was far ahead of conventional architecture."<sup>19</sup> Kaufmann's source for this description was Jean Stern's prize-winning two-volume scholarly biography of an ancien régime architect, François-Joseph Belanger (1744–1818). Stern reproduces an engraving of this white eighteenth-century villa, which lies on the summit of a wooded hill, square in plan and with a flat roof (figures 1.3, 1.4).<sup>20</sup> Insisting on its distinctive whiteness, Stern described the villa as "looking brilliantly white with its walls of light-colored stone."<sup>21</sup> Here, an important, but brief, methodological point needs to be made.

Mary McLeod has quite rightly written about Le Corbusier's sketches that "what is critical . . . is the distillation of an idea, the '*parti*,' whether of a proposed project, an existing vernacular work, or an element of nature. And, as Le Corbusier explains in one of his late books, *Creation Is a Patient Search*, 'the fundamental principle is from the inside out.'"<sup>22</sup> Whether Le Corbusier's plans, sections, and elevations *look* like others is not the point. What counts is their design concept, the *parti*: what is important is whether or not the *parti* is comparable.

Now, the period of design and production of the Villa Savoye coincided with that of Jean Stern's monograph, which, published in Paris in 1930, formed part of a renewed interest in the eighteenth century.<sup>23</sup> Louis Hauteœur, reviewing Stern's book, also emphasized the whiteness of Belanger's architecture as emblematic of his deliberate avant-gardist intention to create a contrast between "architectural austerity and the disorder of the curves of fashionable new park designs."<sup>24</sup> Grappling with Charles-Édouard Jeanneret's mysterious intuitive "flashes of unexpected insight" in La Chaux-de-Fonds before his definitive move to Paris in 1917, Brooks discusses the Villa Favre-Jacot (1912) and notes that

the neoclassicism of the Villa Favre-Jacot has little affinity with the architectural scene in Le Locle or La Chaux-de-Fonds. . . . He may also have seen the recently republished (1909) *Plans, coupes, élévations des plus belles maisons et des hôtels construits à Paris et dans les environs de 1771 à 1802* by Johann Karl Krafft, wherein the demolished (1826) Maison de Beaumarchais, built in 1788, was illustrated. The plan, like that of the Villa Madama, has a circular courtyard embraced by semicircular wings but, in addition, this eighteenth-century



VILLA SAVOYE À POISSY. 1929-31

Le vestibule d'entrée

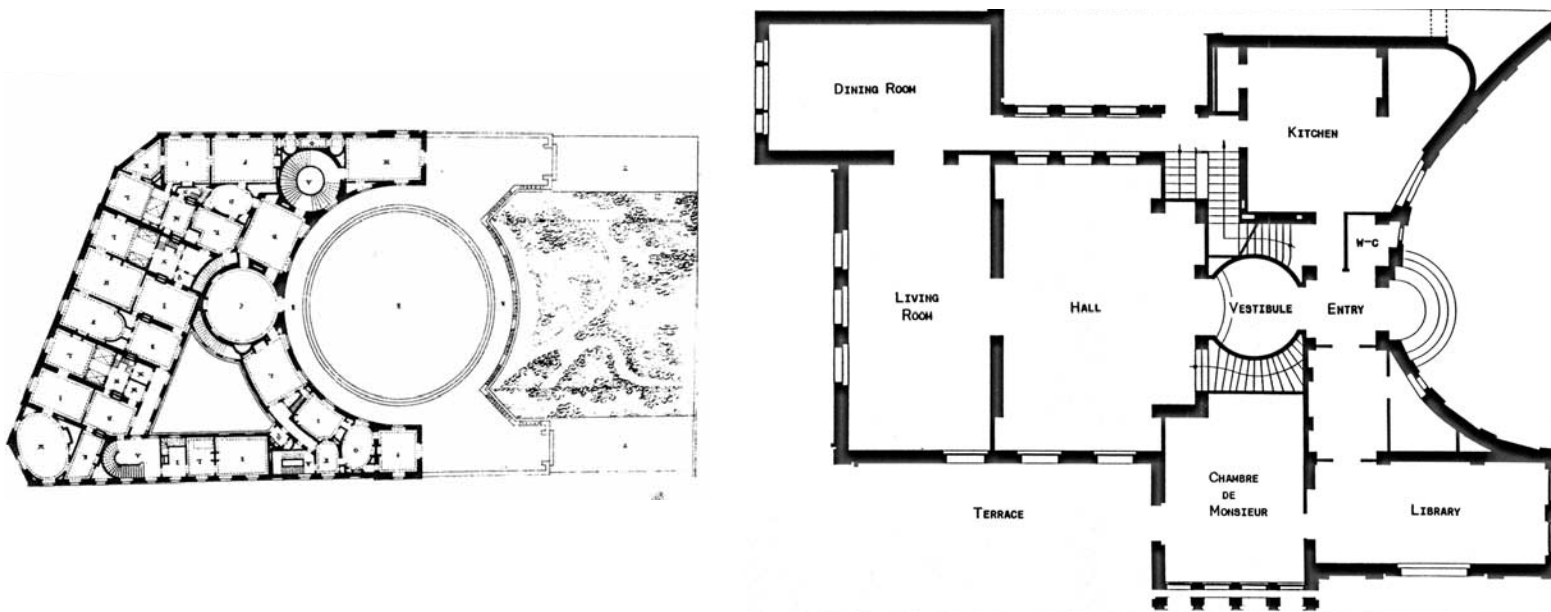
On a construit un ancien chemin rural qui est bien tracé pour être, au bordure des arbres

1.3. Jean Stern, *À l'ombre de Sophie Arnould: François-Joseph Belanger, architecte des menus plaisirs, premier architecte du comte d'Artois*, vol. 1 (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1930), p. 79. (Archives J. K. Birksted.)

1.4. Villa Savoye (1929–1933), in Le Corbusier and Pierre Jeanneret, *Œuvre complète 1929–1934* (Zurich: Éditions Girsberger, 1935), p. 26. (© 2007 FLC/ADAGP, Paris and DACS, London.)

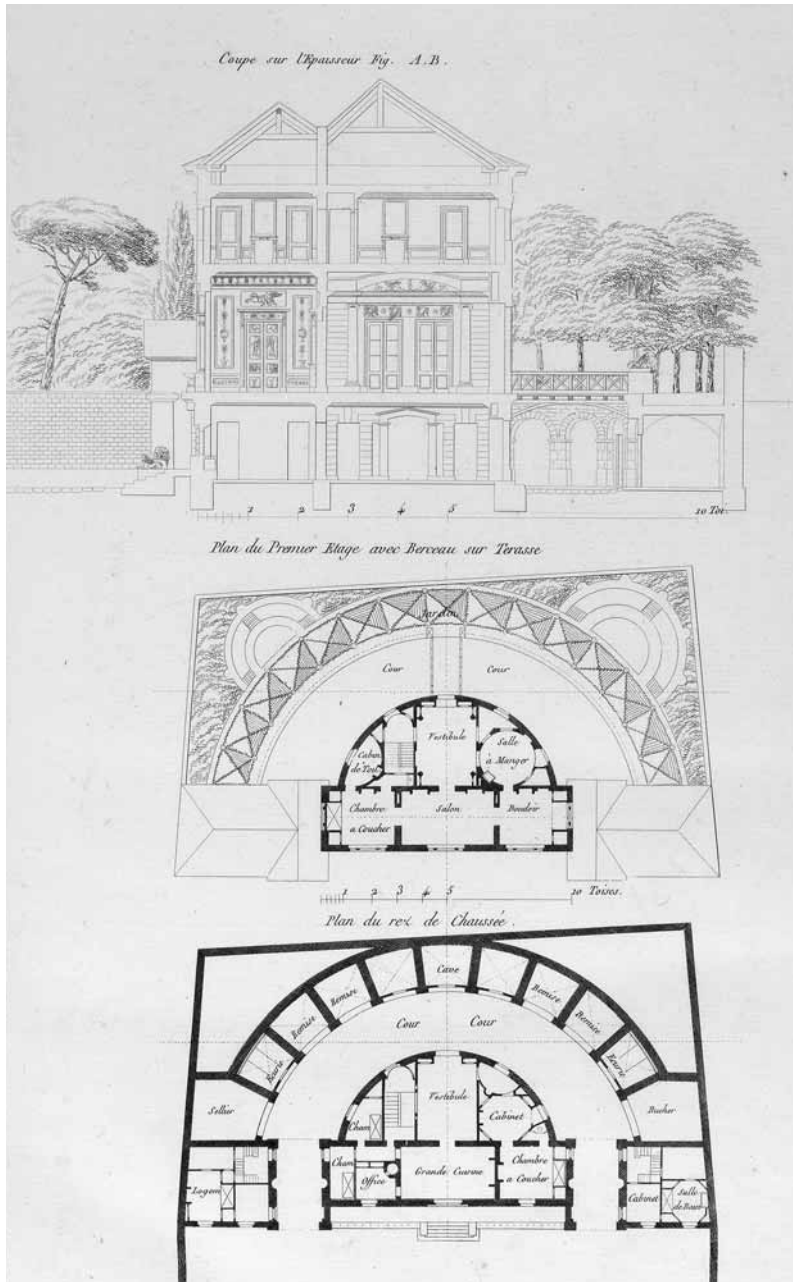
example has a circular vestibule with, around its circumference, a circular stairway. The combination of these three elements — circular courtyard embraced by contiguous wings, circular vestibule, stairs encircling the vestibule — makes this plan, particularly due to its 1909 publication date, among the plausible sources for the Villa Favre-Jacot forecourt and entry.<sup>25</sup>

Brooks then compares the plans of the eighteenth-century Maison de Beaumarchais with the Villa Favre-Jacot—but without asking who the architect of the Maison de Beaumarchais might have been (figure 1.5). This is again the architect who was discussed by Emil Kaufmann, François-Joseph Belanger.<sup>26</sup> Again, historical dates match. As Brooks observes, 1909 was the year when the folio by Jean-Charles Krafft and Nicolas Ransonnette, which documented and illustrated Belanger’s architecture, was republished in Paris.<sup>27</sup> That was also the year of Charles-Édouard Jeanneret’s part-time apprenticeship in Paris to Auguste Perret, allowing him to study in the Cabinet des Estampes, the Bibliothèque Nationale, the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, and (surreptitiously) the École des Beaux-Arts, where Belanger’s sketchbooks and drawings, as well as the folio by Krafft and Ransonnette, were all available.<sup>28</sup> In Krafft and Ransonnette is an illustration of a house, “Country house designed in Pantin by Belanger architect in the year 1785 for Mr. de la Ballue, American,” which has an unusual *parti*.<sup>29</sup> Coaches, entering along the left-hand side of the house, deliver the passengers at



1.5. Plans for Maison de Beaumarchais and for Charles-Édouard Jeanneret’s Villa Favre-Jacot (1912), in H. Allen Brooks, *Le Corbusier’s Formative Years: Charles-Édouard Jeanneret at La Chaux-de-Fonds* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), pp. 342 and 334. (© 2007 University of Chicago Press, FLC/ADAGP, Paris, and DACS, London.)

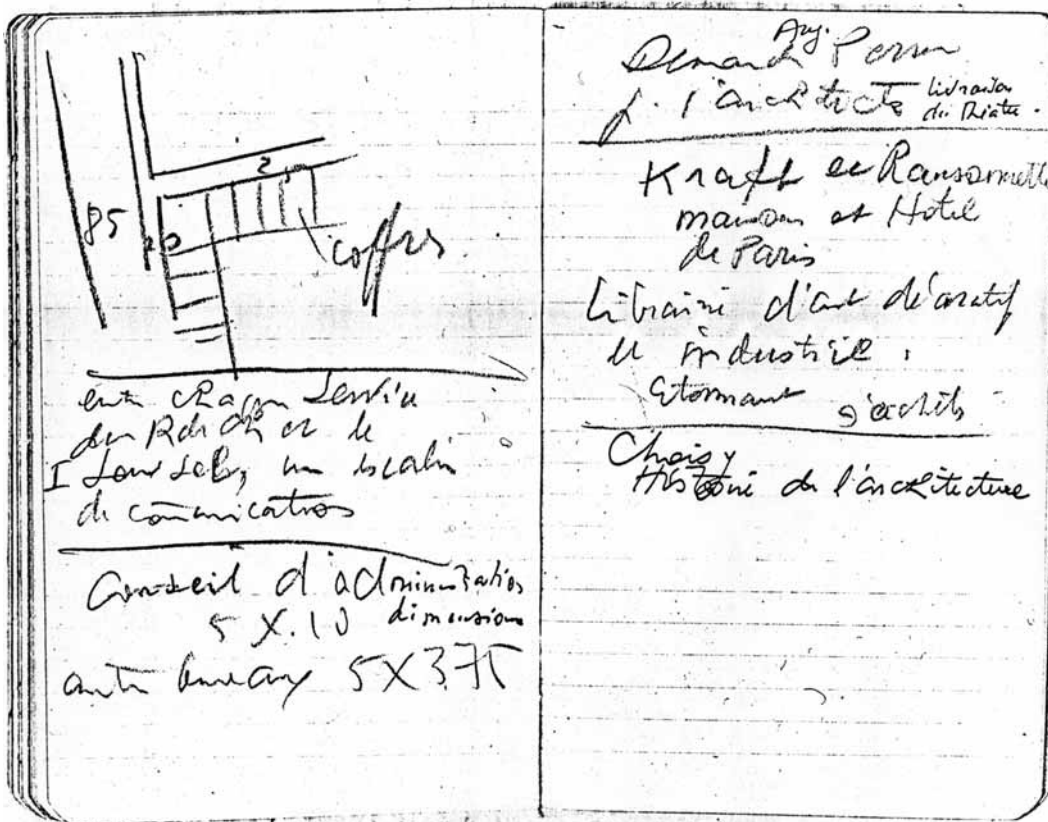
the curved rear where the main entrance is located, before continuing to exit along the right-hand side of the house. Stables and staff quarters are located on the ground floor. From the rear main entrance, the passengers enter a vestibule and, via a monumental dogleg staircase on their right-hand side, ascend to the first floor, where a roof garden is located (figure 1.6).



- 1.6. “Country house designed in Pantin by Belanger architect in the year 1785 for Mr. de la Ballue, American,” in J. Ch. Krafft, *Recueil d’architecture civile, contenant les plans, coupes et élévations des châteaux, maisons de campagne, et habitations rurales, jardins anglais, temples, chaumières, kiosques, ponts, etc., situés aux environs de Paris et dans les départemens voisins* (Paris: Imprimerie de Crapelet, 1812), plates 2–3. (Archives J. K. Birksted.)

During his depression in the late 1950s—after the death of his wife Yvonne Gallis, the departure of key figures from his architectural atelier, and a feeling of failure brought on by his relatively low rate of building production—Le Corbusier reorganized his archival materials.<sup>30</sup> In the process, he numbered and organized his sketchbooks, the *carnets*. Several are known to have disappeared.<sup>31</sup> However, deposited by Brooks in La Chaux-de-Fonds is a photocopy of one of these, the unpublished *Carnet Paris Automne 1913*, which contains a frequently quoted reference to Auguste Choisy's *Histoire de l'architecture* (figure 1.7). Immediately next to this scribbled entry is a reference to another, hitherto overlooked, publication. This entry reads:

Kraft et Ransonnette  
 maisons et Hôtel de Paris  
 Librairie d'art décoratif et industriel  
 Amazing to buy<sup>32</sup>



1.7. Le Corbusier, *Carnet Paris Automne 1913*, p. 49. (Courtesy of Bibliothèque de la Ville de La Chaux-de-Fonds, 10-LC107-1038. © 2007 FLC/ADAGP, Paris and DACS, London.)

“Kraft et Ransonnette” is the folio, reprinted in 1909 in Paris, that was noticed by Brooks in relation to the Maison de Beaumarchais. We know that Charles-Édouard Jeanneret regularly purchased books on his trips to Paris: a single surviving page from a 1915 notebook lists “Books to buy second-hand in Paris.”<sup>33</sup> His growing interest in eighteenth-century architecture developed during his apprenticeship with Auguste Perret, who was extremely knowledgeable about French architectural history.<sup>34</sup> Marie Dormoy described how Perret, when accused by Van Velde of copying his design for the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées, reacted by giving an extended analysis of the history of theater design from the Middle Ages onward.<sup>35</sup> Certainly with his extensive knowledge of French architectural history, Perret would have been familiar with work of the eighteenth century, which was then undergoing a major revival, including that of Belanger, who was being reevaluated as a source of French decorative arts. Indeed, in 1912, Charles-Édouard Jeanneret reported that “according to today’s pioneers, this [the eighteenth century] is the style that is certainly the closest to us. They also say: ‘this is, logically, the style that we must adopt and continue.’”<sup>36</sup> And, in La Chaux-de-Fonds, knowledge about late-eighteenth-century architecture was widespread.<sup>37</sup> Before returning to the possible parallel between the architectures of François-Joseph Belanger and Charles-Édouard Jeanneret, it behooves us to consider the possible contemporary relevance of Belanger, whose architecture was known in La Chaux-de-Fonds.

Several leading architects and engineers in the city administration of La Chaux-de-Fonds had studied in Zurich under Gottfried Semper (1803–1879), a contemporary and, in the controversy over Greek polychromy, an ally of Jacques Ignace Hittorff (1792–1867), Belanger’s favorite apprentice and the inheritor of his architectural practice.<sup>38</sup> Hans Mathys (1846–1920), a student of Semper, graduated in 1868 with a diploma in architecture to become city commissioner and director of gas, water, and electricity of La Chaux-de-Fonds. Such students had close contact with Semper due to the small numbers enrolled.<sup>39</sup> Mathys described in 1882 how he had followed the lessons that were given by “the honorable Prof. Semper on the art of construction. He accompanied us as we walked through the temples of the Egyptians, Assyrians, Greeks and so on, explaining to us how the different parts and elements evolved historically from their earliest to their most highly developed forms. He was also the principal design tutor; highly original, he was often rather unconcerned about his students, but, being well disposed, he made succinct observations that were almost always invaluable.”<sup>40</sup> Comparable was the case of Robert Belli (1877–1923), who studied in Zurich for four academic years from 1896 to 1900, but after Semper’s death.<sup>41</sup> Even then Semper’s influence continued. In his first year, 1896–1897, Belli was taught architectural drawing by Georg Lasius, one of Gottfried Semper’s two “capable assistants.”<sup>42</sup> In the following academic years, 1897 to 1900, he consistently followed Lasius’s courses on Historical Architectural Styles, Domestic Architecture, and The Theory and Practice of Perspective.<sup>43</sup> Typical of the continuing interest in the eighteenth century, the library of the École d’Art in La Chaux-de-Fonds held books such as Seymour de Ricci’s *Der Stil Louis XVI: Mobiliar und Raumkunst*<sup>44</sup> with illustrations of Belanger’s best-known extant



building, Bagatelle in the Bois de Boulogne. Similarly, the library of the Chaux-de-fonnier architect Eugène Schaltenbrand (1861–1912), Charles-Édouard Jeanneret’s first teacher at the École d’Art, included Eugène Rouyer’s *L’art architectural en France depuis François 1<sup>er</sup> jusqu’à Louis XVI*,<sup>45</sup> with descriptions and illustrations of the Louis XVI style and garden *fabriques* designed by Hubert Robert, and Auguste Racinet’s classic historical encyclopedia of ornament, *L’ornement polychrome*,<sup>46</sup> with illustrations of Belanger’s interior architecture. (This library was eventually purchased by the École d’Art with public funds in 1915–1916.) Schaltenbrand himself produced drawings of Louis XVI-style buildings. Even half a century later in the 1950s, interest in this style was stirred when Le Corbusier, on his prepublication order forms for *Les petits appartements des roys Louis XV et Louis XVI au Château de Versailles*, underlined “the more intellectual and scientific rather than manual occupations of these two Kings.”<sup>47</sup>

This interest in La Chaux-de-Fonds in the Louis XVI style and Belanger’s decorative arts and architecture followed the Parisian trend, where a number of historians were motivated by a sense of loss at the destruction wrought upon eighteenth-century landmarks by Haussmann. Pierre de Nolhac (1859–1936), a leading eighteenth-century scholar and the director of Versailles, of which he oversaw a major preservation effort, published extensively about the eighteenth century. His publications—*Versailles: Les grands palais de France*; *Les Trianons: Les grands palais de France*; *Les jardins de Versailles*—are listed in the 1919 *Catalogue de la bibliothèque de l’École d’Art de La Chaux-de-Fonds*, as are books by other historians, such as Jules Guiffrey.<sup>48</sup> Contemporary historians generally—Charles Yriarte, André Chaumeix, Louis Richard, Jean C.-N. Forestier, Jacques Vacquier, Paul Marmottan, Louis Richard, Ernest de Ganay—were specifically preoccupied with Belanger’s architectural heritage.<sup>49</sup> The enthusiasm for the eighteenth century was not just scholarly; it extended to Parisian social life. Janet Flanner, in one of her reports from Paris for the *New Yorker*, noted in 1926:

Anniversaries are natural to an old capital, but Paris at the moment is indulging in a recollective orgy. Two immortals are being revived. Anthelme Brillat-Savarin [1755–1826], who died a hundred years ago, only three weeks after his *Physiology of Taste* was printed, this being the first book ever to make a hero of the palate, and Madame de Sévigné [1626–1696], whose endless polite, intelligent correspondence with her daughter is included in part nowadays in the curriculum of upper-class prep schools, as classics in courtesy and psychology.<sup>50</sup>

And, in his preface to the diaries of René Gimpel, Jean Guéhenno remarked: “What did he revere most of all? I think it was the eighteenth century.”<sup>51</sup> René Gimpel himself noted with some sadness in this diary on 31 October 1929, “Jacques Doucet has died. This *couturier* was the great patron of our age, the Medici of our impoverished times. Over fifteen years ago, he was the first to see that our country was going to revolutionize the world with a new art form and he slammed the door on

the eighteenth century, which, it is true, we had brought back into fashion, but whose mission was over and finished. He sold his Fragonards, his Houdons, bought Manets, Cézannes.”<sup>52</sup> For Doucet, the eighteenth century could be replaced only by modernism, its new equivalent.

Once in Paris, Le Corbusier became part of this social scene, in which the eighteenth century was so admired and its memory so alive. René Gimpel describes in his diary in 1930 a dinner party, given by La Baronne de Rebay, at which Le Corbusier appears:

Le Corbusier, the architect, is knocking an American by telling her that New York must be knocked down, that the Americans do perhaps build big but uselessly so because they fail to build any philosophy. She is bewildered. And shocked when he announces that he has designed a Grand Paris with buildings of two hundred floors, freely spaced in surrounding parks. She says that being an architect is magnificent, to which he replies: “To be an architect is nothing; being a poet is everything . . .” Le Corbusier, who is probably not much under forty-five years of age, looks like a lad in his first suit, hands in pockets, gently swaying. But he deals in farce and paradox, and when he has struck, has carried your thoughts above the clouds or beyond the horizon, he pulls you sharply back. He is like a flash of lightning that returns to its point of departure. He detonates a paradox and then follows it with a precise image such as: “But Louis XIV was a revolutionary.”<sup>53</sup>

Again, on 29 June 1939, Gimpel described a party at the Noailles, noting that “Le Corbusier arrived as I was leaving. It is he who built the glass-clad building where Louis Carré lives, rue Nungesser-et-Coli, where he has designed a magnificently free-form entrance hall.”<sup>54</sup> Jean Stern frequented these same social circles, writing a play, *William, ou la confession d'un enfant d'un demi-siècle*,<sup>55</sup> to be performed for a fiftieth wedding anniversary whose guest list included the Noailles. Stern, a founding member of the Société des Amis du Musée Carnavalet,<sup>56</sup> was married to a Lambert de Rothschild, belonged to the most prestigious Parisian clubs (such as the Automobile Club), and was a merchant banker and racehorse proprietor.<sup>57</sup> He wrote extensively about the eighteenth century from the 1920s onward, with the help of a research assistant working for him in the Cabinet des Estampes.<sup>58</sup> Charles-Édouard Jeanneret worked there too, as evidenced by his many book order forms, according to which he consulted several volumes by Jean-Charles Krafft including *Jardins et fabriques*, H<sup>d</sup> 97, format 8° (as per order form number 34,353) and *Plans des plus beaux Jardins pittoresques de France, d'Angleterre et d'Allemagne*, H<sup>d</sup> 95, format 4° (order form number 34,354).<sup>59</sup>

The reading rooms at the Bibliothèque Nationale were places not just of work but of encounters, conversations, and sociability (figure 10.1). Cross-referencing Charles-Édouard Jeanneret's notes about encounters there indicate overlapping networks of sociability. In Sketchbook A2 (which he reused over an extended period of time, so chronology is difficult to establish), he noted “Mr Courboin, bibliothécaire, Estampes Bibliothèque Nationale.”<sup>60</sup> François Courboin,

author of the three-volume *Histoire illustrée de la gravure en France*<sup>61</sup> and of *Gravures et marchands d'estampes au 18<sup>ème</sup> siècle*,<sup>62</sup> was an expert on the very century that Stern was researching with the help of his research assistant in the Cabinet des Estampes. Jeanneret also scribbled “Saar Péladan Bibliothèque Nationale 1915” in the margins of his copy of Simone Coincy-Saint Palais’s *Esclarmonde de Foix, princesse cathare*, published in 1956.<sup>63</sup>

Jeanneret’s library research and book purchasing were not disinterested. As researcher and bibliophile—his studio was “a lively room full of books, documents”<sup>64</sup>—he was an instrumental reader. To Charles L’Eplattenier, he wrote in 1908:

But my spirit rebelled and I turned to the Ancients for guidance. I chose the most ferocious contender, to whom we, of the twentieth century, are willing to compare ourselves: the Romanesque. And for three years, I studied Romanesque, in the evening after Magne’s Gothic course at the Beaux-Arts . . . and the light dawned on me. Then the Perrets became my goad. These powerful figures chastised me: they made me realize, by their example and sometimes in discussion, that I knew nothing.<sup>65</sup>

And he noted in his copy of Viollet-le-Duc’s *Dictionnaire de l’architecture*: “I bought this work August 1, 1908, with the money from my first payment from Messrs. Perret. I bought it in order to *learn*, because, *knowing* I will then be able to create.”<sup>66</sup> Besides being an instrumental reader and researcher, he was also an instrumental socializer. In exclusive social circles with a passion for the eighteenth century, not just the eighteenth century in general but François-Joseph Belanger’s architecture in particular was being debated. And in preservation battles in and around Paris, it was fought over.

After a widely publicized preservation battle, the Château de Maisons—François Mansart’s architectural masterpiece, with some interiors exquisitely remodeled by Belanger for the comte d’Artois—was purchased by the government to save it from demolition by a speculative house-building company; in 1912 it was opened to the public. Also threatened by redevelopment as a housing estate, Bagatelle was purchased by the City of Paris in 1905 and opened to the public as a gallery for art and horticultural exhibitions.<sup>67</sup> Between 1905 and the early 1930s, books, reviews, and articles appeared in architectural journals such as *L’Architecture* about Belanger’s three main extant buildings: Bagatelle, Maisons, and the Folie Saint-James.<sup>68</sup> In the years before the publication of *Après le cubisme* (1918) by Le Corbusier and Amédée Ozenfant, Belanger was described in the press as belonging to an exemplary French tradition of “order, discipline, hierarchy that attempts to reassert our link with the high point of humanity, that is, classicism.”<sup>69</sup> Léon Deshairs recalled how Jacques-François Blondel considered François Mansart’s Château de Maisons with its Belanger interiors as the perfect example of classicism.<sup>70</sup> And, typically again, it was the pristine whiteness of Belanger’s architecture that attracted the attention of Louis Richard on a guided visit,

who described “the austere whiteness of the main vestibule beneath the sober order of Belanger’s coffered vault, whose other gem, Bagatelle, we admired last year in the same erudite company. . . . Having climbed a few steps, one enters the large Summer Dining Room, also entirely white in the brilliant light from its tall mirrors and two large windows giving on to the park beside the Seine. This spacious white room has preserved its appearance since 1780 or 1786.”<sup>71</sup>

Also at one with contemporary interests and revivals, Charles-Édouard Jeanneret was a keen architectural sightseer. In this, he was encouraged by Auguste Perret, who shared his thorough knowledge of the architecture of Paris with his apprentice.<sup>72</sup> One of Le Corbusier’s often-repeated stories was about Perret’s insistence that he visit Versailles during his apprenticeship of 1908–1909:

“You know Versailles?”—“No”—“Oh, you must go there!”—and later: “Versailles—you went there?”—“No.”—And still later: “You went to Versailles?”—“No, I won’t go there.” “Oh, and why not?”—“Because Versailles and the classical period represent decadence.”—Boom! That was too much! He really twisted my ear!<sup>73</sup>

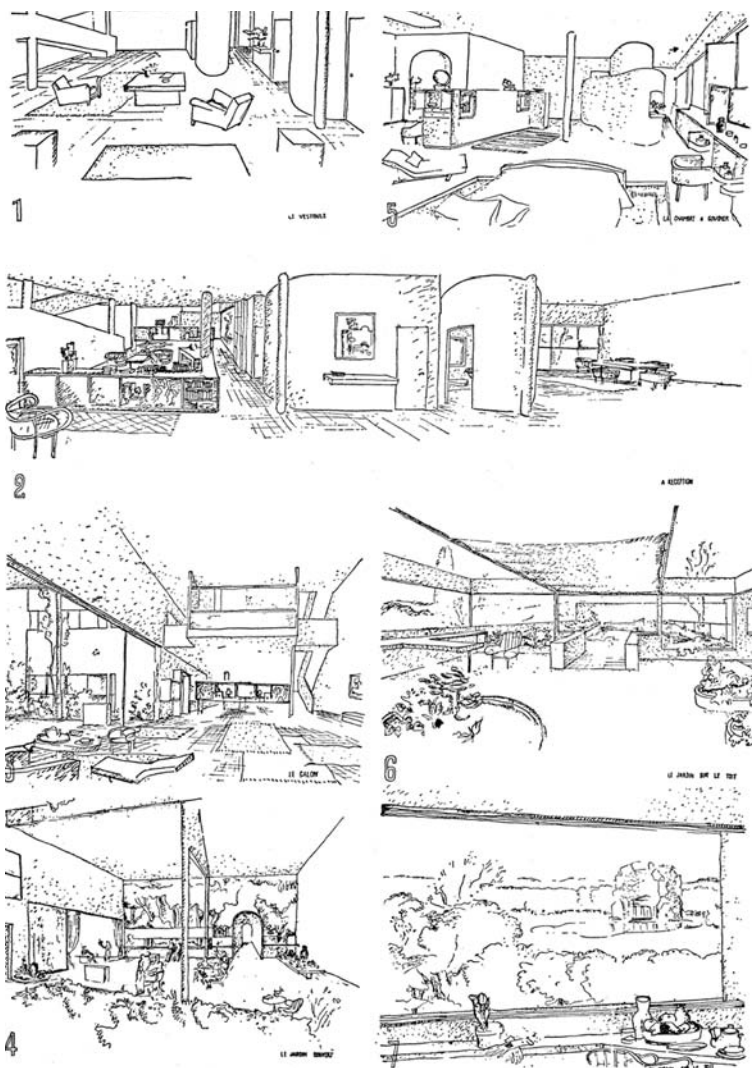
From his father’s diary, describing a visit to his son in Paris of 8–17 May 1909, we know that they spent “an entire day at Versailles, a half day at Saint-Cloud—Bois de Boulogne. Our son knew his city like a native.”<sup>74</sup> There is further evidence that, by late 1910, he knew Versailles well, too. In Carnet III, Munich, 28 September 1910, Charles-Édouard Jeanneret wrote of an exhibition that he visited on 8 October 1910 that the “mirrors [are] made of different segments as in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles.”<sup>75</sup>

In addition to being an attentive reader and sightseer, he crosschecked readings, observations, and his own designs. In his archives are postcards and photographs from the quintessential eighteenth-century districts in Paris, the 9th and 10th arrondissements,<sup>76</sup> and later, when explaining his use of regulating lines, he would refer to the Porte Saint-Denis.<sup>77</sup> He knew the area socially too. In the 9th arrondissement, at the intersection of the rue Bergère and the rue du Faubourg Poissonnière, where are located other surviving Belanger buildings, he dined in a restaurant with alumni from the École des Beaux-Arts.<sup>78</sup> And, subsequently, while working on the Maison Meyer project in 1925, he wrote about the Folie Saint-James, one of Belanger’s extant designs: “This garden is not a French formal garden but a small wilderness where, thanks to the woods of the Parc Saint-James, one can imagine oneself far away from Paris.”<sup>79</sup> While working on the Villa Church in Ville-d’Avray (1927–1929), Le Corbusier wrote to his clients: “Over one hundred years ago, some bourgeois people built decent and simple dwellings in the outskirts of Paris and surrounded them with gardens in which they had a pleasurable life.”<sup>80</sup>

Most significantly, Le Corbusier depicted Belanger’s Folie Saint-James in a small thumbnail sketch in the margins of a drawing for the Villa Meyer project, while he described in a letter to the clients how their house would be located “opposite an extraordinarily classical site” (figures 1.8,

1.9).<sup>81</sup> The sketch of Belanger's design seen from the Villa Meyer is again reproduced in *New World of Space*, in which the foreword, calculatingly written in the third person, declares:

In this book Le Corbusier provides a visible summation of his work in architecture and painting, and the plates are arranged in chronological order. But the book is not intended as a catalogue of his work; to take it as such would be to miss its quintessential quality. It illustrates an underlying concept, or idea, which Le Corbusier, looking back, now believes to be the basis of his creed. For the presentations of this concept Le Corbusier has edited the work of a lifetime . . .<sup>82</sup>

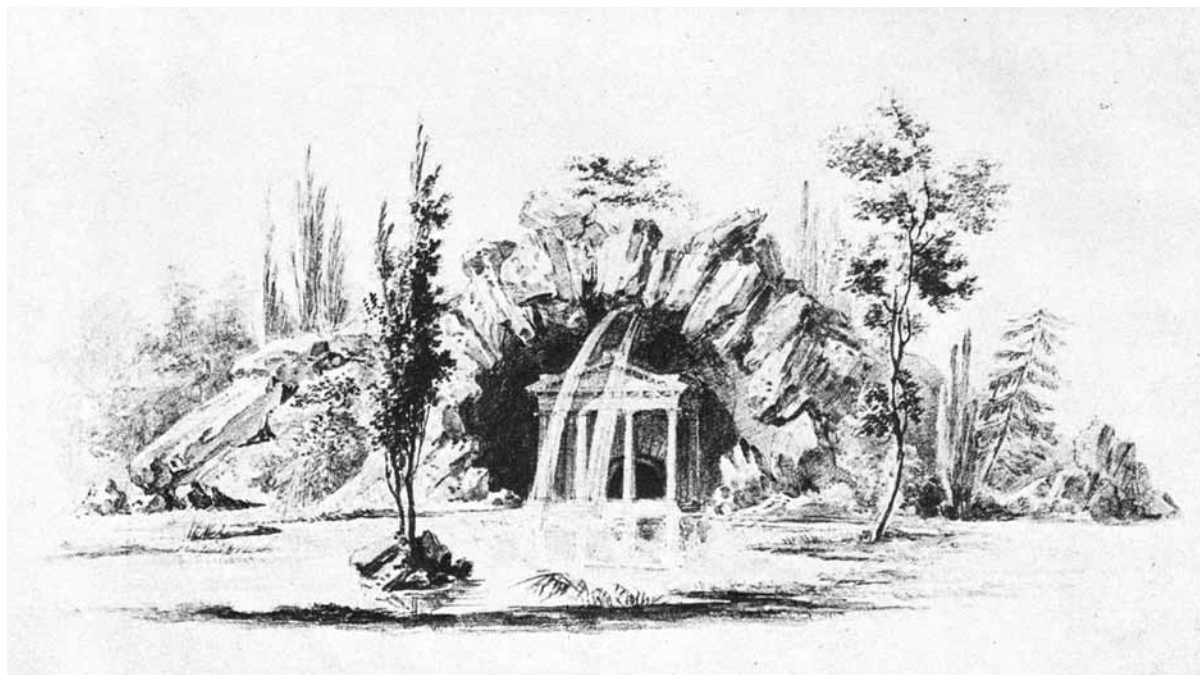


2<sup>me</sup> projet Villa Mme Meyer:

- 1<sup>o</sup> Le vestibule au rez-de-chaussée.
- 2<sup>o</sup> La réception et salon premier étage, à droite la salle à manger.
- 3<sup>o</sup> Living-room et galerie (boudoir).
- 4<sup>o</sup> Le jardin suspendu, couvert.
- 5<sup>o</sup> La chambre à coucher, 2<sup>me</sup> étage.
- 6<sup>o</sup> Le jardin sur le toit.
- 7<sup>o</sup> Le jardin sur le toit.

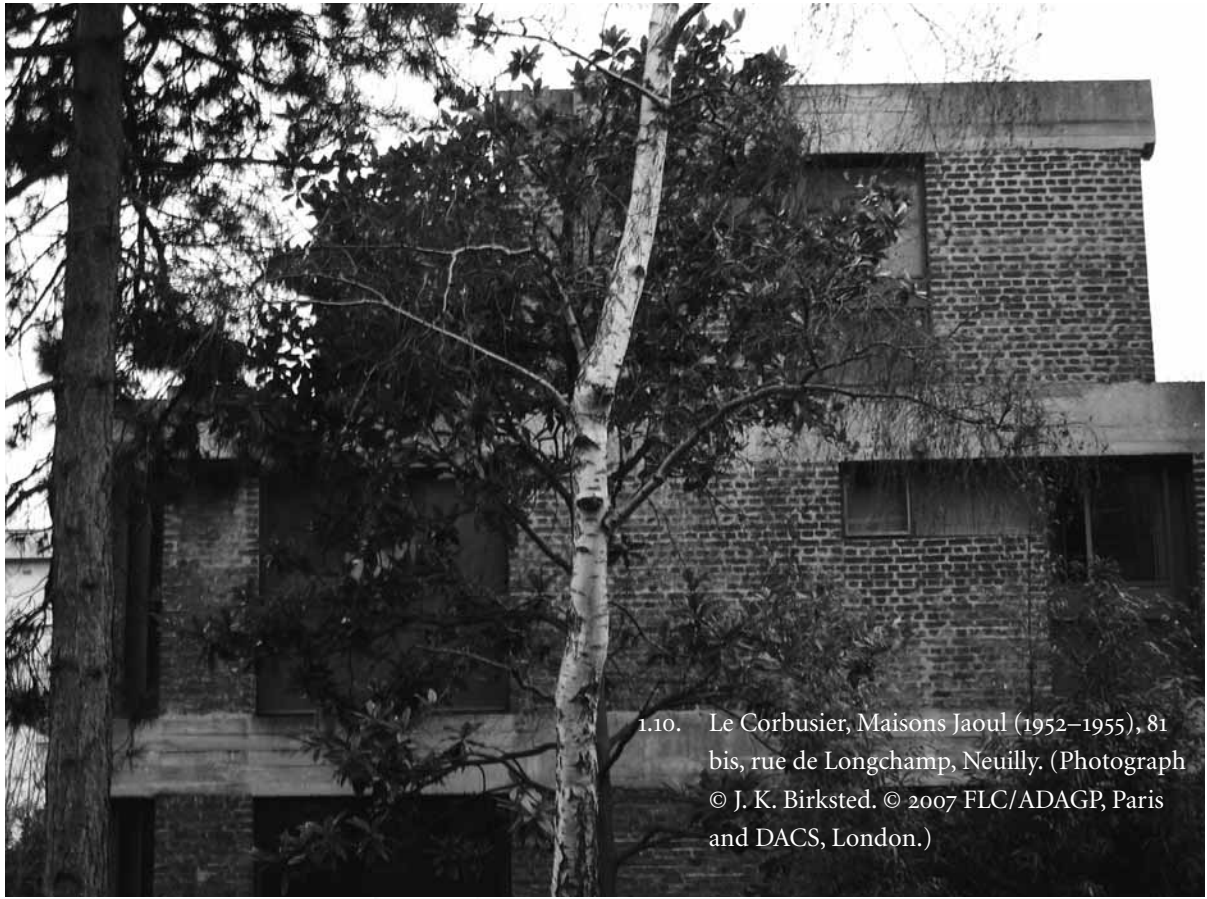
1.8. Le Corbusier's sketch of Belanger's Temple Grotto at the Folie Saint-James (bottom right) as seen from the Villa Meyer project (1925), in Le Corbusier and Pierre Jeanneret, *Œuvre complète 1910–1929* (Zurich: Éditions Girsberger, 1964), p. 90. (© 2007 FLC/ADAGP, Paris and DACS, London.)

- 1.9. Nineteenth-century engraving of Belanger's Temple Grotto at the Folie Saint-James. (Archives J. K. Birksted.)



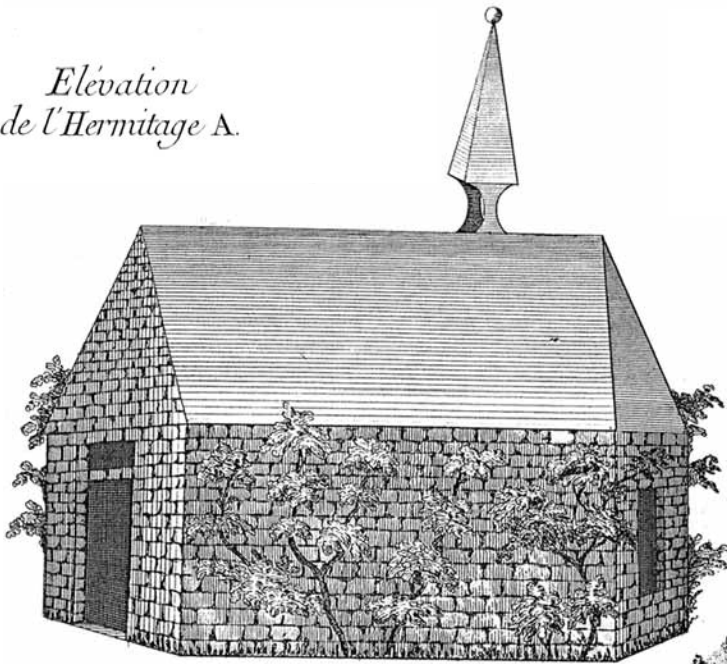
*New World of Space* is indeed a carefully staged public presentation of his desired persona for an American audience, where Le Corbusier suggests favored interpretations and selected references. Here we might question what reasoning underlies his inclusion of the sketch of Belanger's Temple Grotto, since "the clue is structured by this strange caesura that announces its break with the psychological fabric of intention. The clue is precisely what was not meant, what was never considered, what was inadvertent, unconscious, left by mistake."<sup>83</sup> Furthermore, in the fashionable district of Neuilly—which is the location of Belanger's Temple Grotto at the Folie Saint-James and of his rubblework hermitage at Bagatelle (his other hermitages were described and illustrated in several contemporary publications)<sup>84</sup>—is sited that other Corbusian "Immaculate Conception," the rough-bricked Maisons Jaoul (1954–1956) (figures 1.10, 1.11). Having started to investigate Le Corbusier's "flashes of unexpected insight," we seem now to have reached the point at which it is no longer possible to pretend that "the machinery seems to be invisible."<sup>85</sup> Some brief considerations are in order about developing a methodology that is systematic and rigorous, yet receptive to its elusively fragmentary subject matter, as well as historically sensitive.

The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are known for their development of methodologies into hitherto unobserved phenomena. Suffice it to name Sigmund Freud (1856–1939), Bronislaw Malinowski (1884–1942), and Giovanni Morelli (1816–1891). In art history, Morelli developed an empirical method for attributing authorship by observing the elusive evidence of "apparently negligible details [that] can reveal deep and significant phenomena."<sup>86</sup> Its key

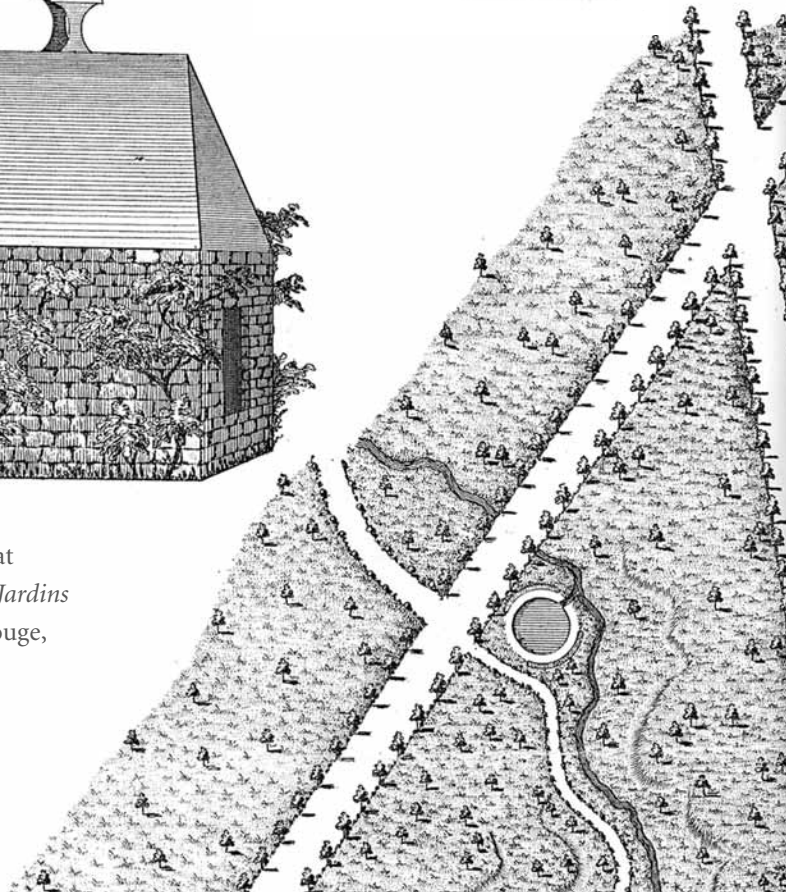


1.10. Le Corbusier, Maisons Jaoul (1952–1955), 81 bis, rue de Longchamp, Neuilly. (Photograph © J. K. Birksted. © 2007 FLC/ADAGP, Paris and DACS, London.)

*Elevation  
de l'Hermitage A.*



ISLE  
*de l'Hermitage  
à Boudour.*



1.11. François-Joseph Belanger, Hermitage at Boudour, in Georges Louis Le Rouge, *Jardins anglo-chinois* (Paris: Imprimerie Le Rouge, 1780), p. 18. (Archives J. K. Birksted.)

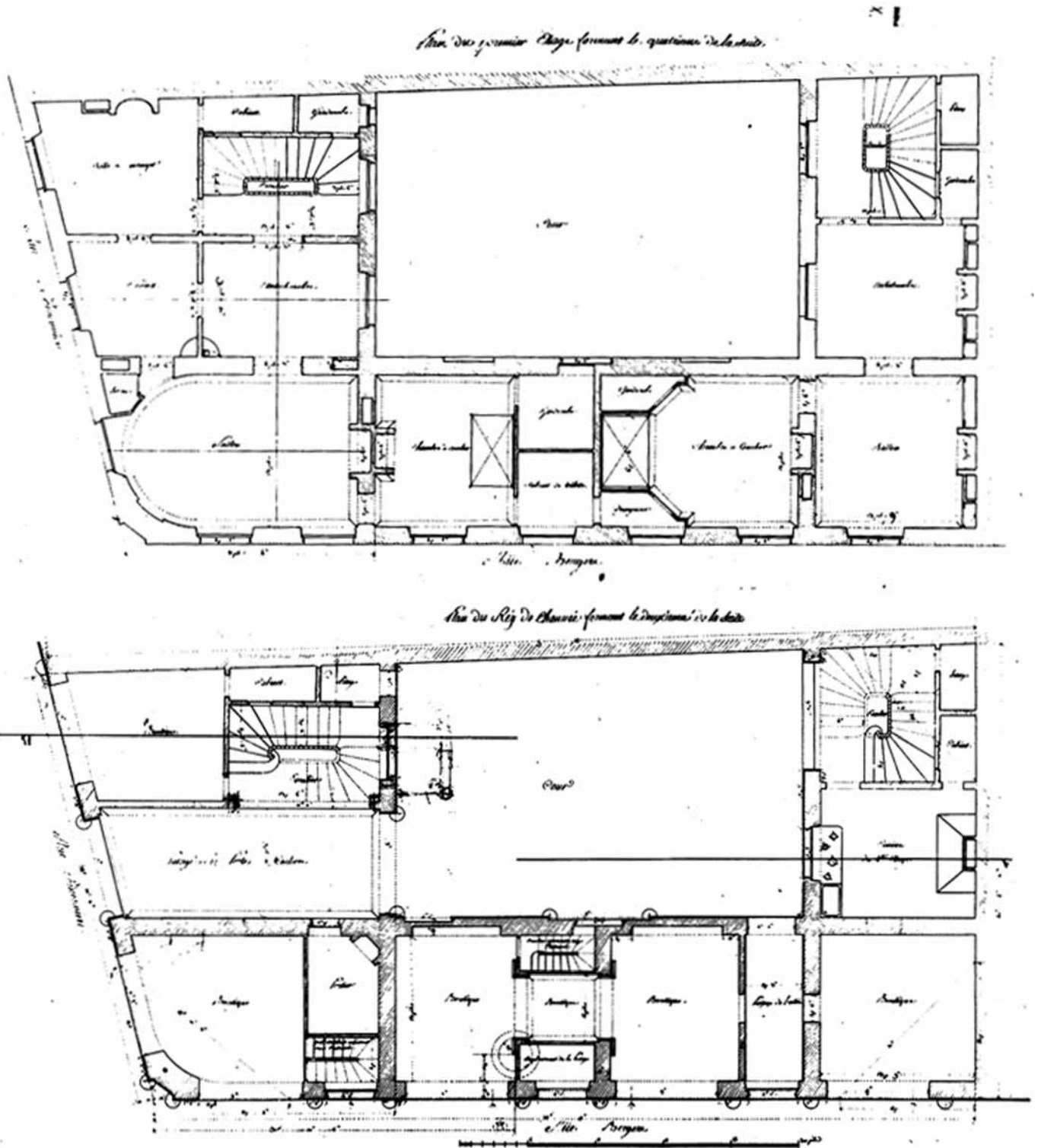
methodological feature was “an interpretative method based on taking marginal and irrelevant details as revealing clues [considered to be indicative of] the innermost core . . . linked with elements beyond conscious control.”<sup>87</sup> Morelli thus developed a test based on the principle that “every true artist is committed to the repetition of certain characteristic forms or shapes.”<sup>88</sup> These shapes are found where cultural traditions exert less force: not in the major narrative features of historical and mythical scenes of paintings, but in their subsidiary material details such as draperies, landscapes, hands, ears, and nails. Morelli advocated close empirical observations of these items to “aid us in distinguishing the works of a master from those of his imitators, and control the judgement which subjective impressions might lead us to pronounce.”<sup>89</sup> This method has been critiqued for neither providing an overall system to guarantee recognition nor taking historical context into account.<sup>90</sup> Here, the methodical theory of signs of Charles S. Peirce—for whom relations between signs and their objects were either “icons,” “indexes,” “symbols,” or “traces”—is relevant. Peirce defines icons (for example, painted portraits) as representations “so completely substituted for their objects as hardly to be distinguished from them.”<sup>91</sup> He defines the index (for example, the smoke from a fire) as relating existentially, causally, or factually to the object: it “asserts nothing; it only says ‘There!’ It takes hold of our eyes, as it were, and forcibly directs them to a particular object, and there it stops.”<sup>92</sup> For Peirce, some indexes (for example, footsteps in the sand) indicate a past presence: these are defined as traces. Finally, there are signs (for example, flags) that recall the object on grounds of habit, custom, or convention: these Peirce calls symbols. A correction, however, is required to these too separate Peircean categories: they in fact overlap. A footprint in the sand is a trace of a passage but also an icon of a foot’s sole. A flag is simultaneously a symbol of a nation, a trace of the wind, and an index of its direction. Such overlapping can have powerful effects. In Roland Barthes’s classic example in *Camera Lucida* of the photograph of his deceased mother, the photograph is simultaneously icon (of her appearance), trace (of her existence), and symbol (of his own loss).<sup>93</sup> In Peirce’s theory, two more important factors come into play. First, in order to provide empirical evidence, “in a perfect system of logical notation signs of these several kinds must all be employed.”<sup>94</sup> Thus, icons, indexes, traces, and symbols must support each other. In effect, historiographical observations must accord both with each other and with their cultural context. Secondly, “without tokens there would be no generality in the statements, for they are the only general signs; and generality is essential to reasoning.”<sup>95</sup> Thus, observations of icons, indexes, traces, and symbols must be generalizable in order to have broader validity. To summarize: icons, indexes, traces, and symbols must consistently support each other, correspond with the historical context, and be generalizable.

But why resort to such tortuous methodological notions? In order to avoid any “pursuit of wild, subjective fantasy”<sup>96</sup> (such as Emil Kaufmann’s and Colin Rowe’s speculative hypotheses), a somewhat clunky methodological apparatus allows both distance from accepted assumptions and restraint from excessive enthusiasm. The underlying presence of this methodological structure

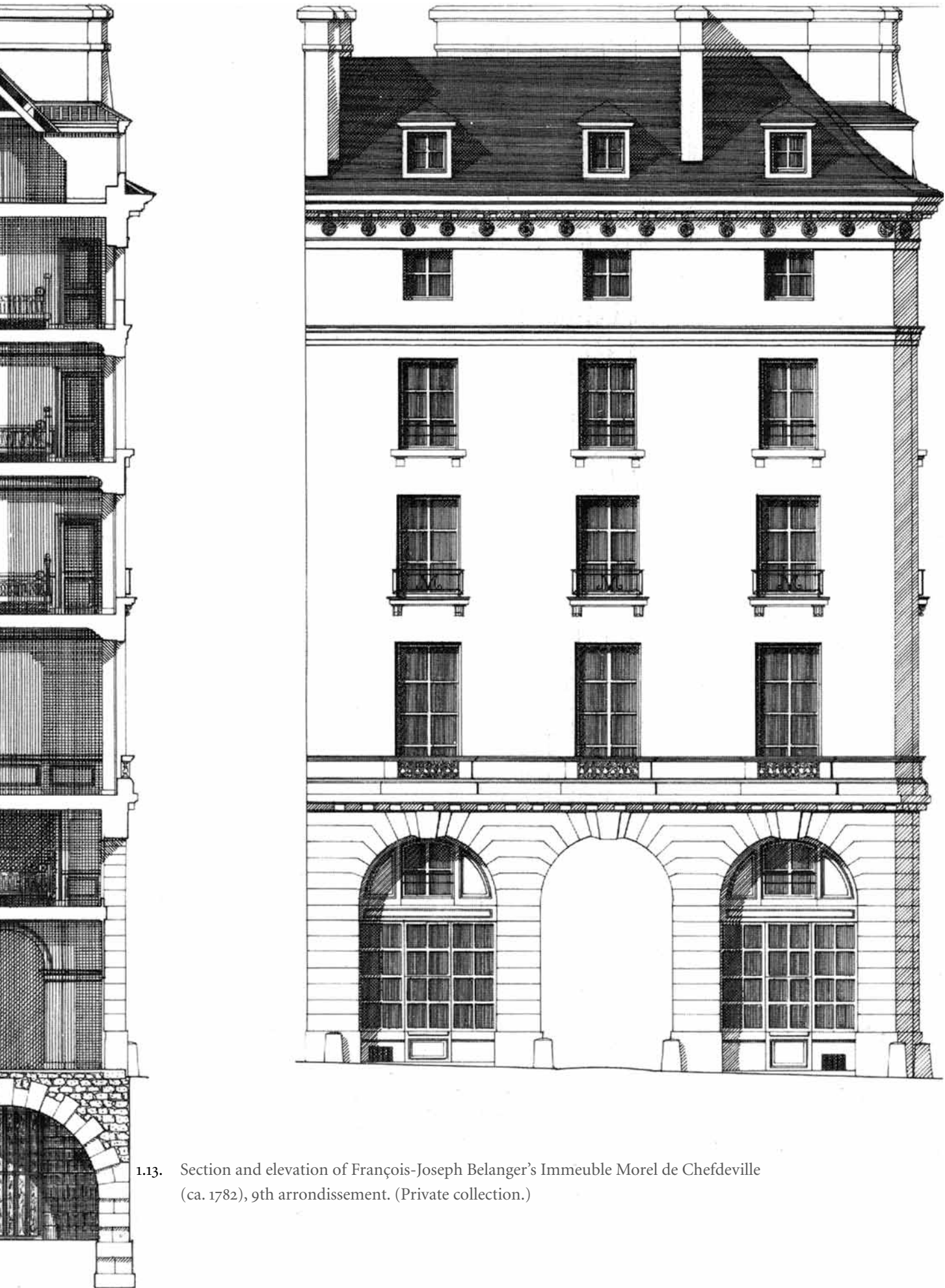


therefore needs to be briefly pointed out, before proceeding further. First, an iconic resemblance (between Le Corbusier's Villa Savoye and Belanger's hilltop villa) paralleled an observation by another researcher of another iconic resemblance (between the Villa Favre-Jacot and Belanger's Maison de Beaumarchais). Then an indexical inscription in the Carnet Paris Automne 1913 was noticed (to a book about Belanger). An icon by Le Corbusier (a sketch of Belanger's Temple Grotto) was mentioned, therefore also an index to Le Corbusier's knowledge about Belanger's architecture. Finally, symbolic aspects (historical revivals of interest in Belanger's architecture) were noted too. Now arising is the unavoidable question of whether other iconic resemblances might exist? Indeed, can a systematic parallel be drawn between the architectures of Belanger and Le Corbusier? In order to investigate this against the grain of accepted wisdom, deliberately decontextualized and formalistic observations as per Morelli's approach need to be made. A return to a Belanger building in the 9th arrondissement of Paris at the intersection of rue Bergère and rue du Faubourg Poissonnière, near to where Charles-Édouard Jeanneret opened his first Paris office in "a beastly little street (Faubourg Poissonnière), seventh floor, over a yard, in a servant's room"<sup>97</sup> and to where he attended Beaux-Arts alumni meetings, is in order.

On the corner of rue du Faubourg Poissonnière and rue Bergère, close to an early Perret building of 1898 at 10, rue du Faubourg Poissonnière, is Belanger's extant innovative apartment block.<sup>98</sup> Belanger's Immeuble Morel de Chefdeville (ca. 1782) was, through its innovative features, a prototype for an *immeuble de rapport* (a lower-middle-class apartment block). It included different types and sizes of apartments: single artists' studios, large and small family apartments, shopkeeper's home-and-business dwellings. Some of these apartments could be reconfigured: "first and third floors were each planned as two apartments designed in such a way that they could either interconnect to form a single residential unit, or be closed off from one another to form two separate, independent units."<sup>99</sup> Other apartments extended over two floors, with internal staircases and a single room on one floor used as a kitchen (figure 1.12).<sup>100</sup> Apartments thus interlocked in the section and—"unlike anything in existence in Paris at the time"<sup>101</sup>—had windows opening onto opposite sides for ventilation, while masonry window balustrades were meant to protect interiors from the heat of the sun. To avoid the traditional disparities between richer tenants on lower floors and poorer tenants on upper floors, ceiling heights were coordinated with a proportional system of 11¼ feet (3.7 m), 9¼ feet (3 m), 8 feet (2.6 m), and 7½ feet (2.5 m) (figure 1.13). Exceptionally tall rusticated pier-arches allowed open-plan space at ground level and gave a monumental quality to the building.<sup>102</sup> All of this—the coordinated geometry, different-sized apartments interlocking in the section, balustrades for sun protection, open-plan ground floor—evokes comparable aspects of the plans, sections, and ideas of Le Corbusier's prototype apartment blocks, the Unité d'habitation or Cité Radieuse (figure 1.14). Now, after observing three apparent correspondences (Villa Favre-Jacot and Maison de Beaumarchais [figure 1.5]; Villa Savoye and the villa featured by Jean Stern [figures 1.3, 1.4, 1.6]; Unité d'habitation and Immeuble Morel de Chefdeville [figures 1.13, 1.14]),



1.12. First-floor changeable apartments and duplex shop-apartments with internal stairs of François-Joseph Belanger's Immeuble Morel de Chefdeville (ca. 1782), 9th arrondissement. (© Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Cabinet des Estampes, Va 286 H 70857 and Va 286 H 70855.)



1.13. Section and elevation of François-Joseph Belanger's Immeuble Morel de Chefdeville (ca. 1782), 9th arrondissement. (Private collection.)



1.14. Coordinated geometry at Le Corbusier's Unité d'habitation, Marseille (1945–1952).  
(Photograph © J. K. Birksted. © 2007 FLC/ADAGP, Paris and DACS, London.)

an immediate comment must be made. In Le Corbusier's *Œuvre complète*, these three cases constitute moments of indisputable innovation, true "Immaculate Conceptions." This would lead one to hypothesize that, if others exist, they might also constitute such intuitive "flashes of unexpected insight." Therefore, to test the hypothesis more acutely, the experimental process will be honed from spotting random resemblances to systematically examining comparisons to key "Immaculate Conceptions." An obvious test case to start is the pilgrimage chapel of Notre-Dame-du-Haut at Ronchamp, whose incomprehensible "irrationalism" was condemned by James Stirling in his classic essay "Le Corbusier's Chapel and the Crisis of Rationalism."<sup>103</sup>

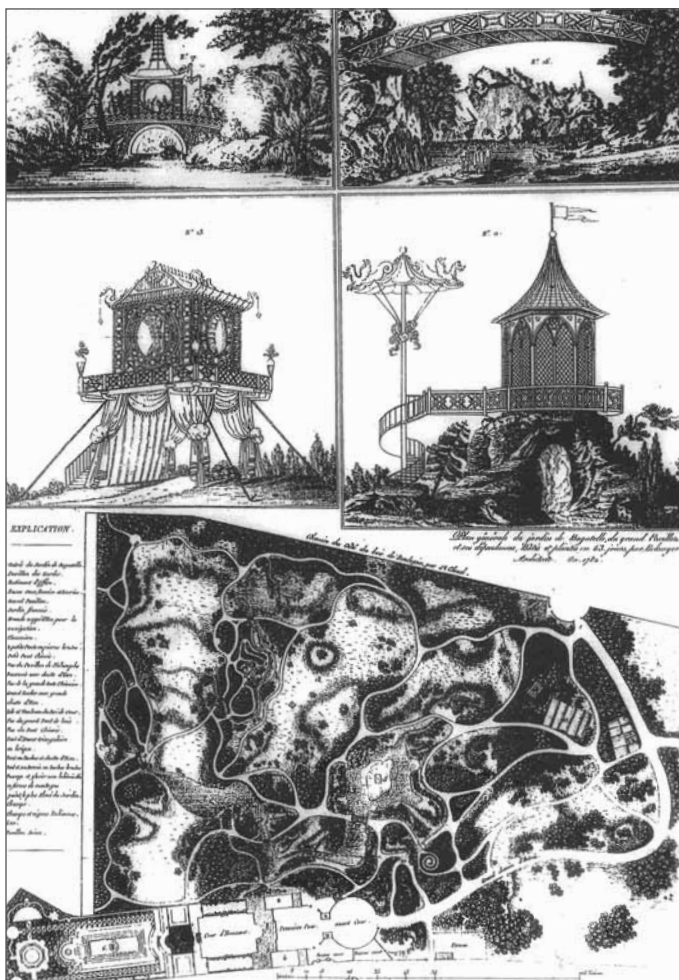
The functionality of Ronchamp's large outside congregational spaces and the fluidity between internal and external spaces and the pilgrims' residences are evident.<sup>104</sup> But its architectural forms are not. Ronchamp is known for its unusual curved roof with single large gargoyle, as well as its stained-glass windows, sculptural external pulpit with spiral staircase, earth-covered pilgrims' residences, and seven-stepped pyramid (figure 1.15). For these, Le Corbusier provided paratextual commentary in *Textes et dessins pour Ronchamp*, documenting and celebrating his contact with the "infinite voices from the most distant centuries that reach today's most intense moments



1.15. Le Corbusier, Chapel of Notre-Dame-du-Haut, Ronchamp (1950–1955). (Photograph © J. K. Birksted. © 2007 FLC/ADAGP, Paris and DACS, London.)

of modernity.”<sup>105</sup> One such voice from distant centuries is that of the illustrations in Krafft and Ransonnette of Belanger’s eighteenth-century Anglo-Chinese gardens, which, being fundamental to his architectural career and reputation, warrant examination in greater detail.

Already in a lecture about French architecture given at the 1889 Universal International Exposition, Lucien Magne, who considered Belanger to have played the historical role of modern innovator, had included “the picturesque monuments of the park at Méréville, designed by Belanger.”<sup>106</sup> Belanger’s landscape architecture was undergoing a significant revival of interest. In a new 1922 edition of the eighteenth-century *Coup d’œil sur Belœil et sur une grande partie des jardins de l’Europe* by the prince de Ligne, Ernest de Ganay described Belanger’s grass-roofed rubble wall hermitage, and a castle with curved walls on a hilltop overlooking a vast panorama with distant hills, pyramid, waterfalls, and philosopher’s hut. The philosopher’s hut was “reached by an external spiral staircase shaded by a Chinese parasol which led over a short footbridge to an annular balcony offering views over the park. The windows were glazed with different shades of stained glass, which made one see the same object in different colours” (figure 1.16).<sup>107</sup> These eighteenth-century features were meant to “speak to the heart and spirit.”<sup>108</sup> In *Textes et dessins pour Ronchamp*, Le



1.16. Belanger’s garden *fabriques* at Bagatelle, in J. Ch. Krafft, *Recueil d’architecture civile, contenant les plans, coupes et élévations des châteaux, maisons de campagne, et habitations rurales, jardins anglais, temples, chaumières, kiosques, ponts, etc, situés aux environs de Paris et dans les départemens voisins* (Paris: Imprimerie de Crapelet, 1812), plates 119–120. (Archives J. K. Birksted.)

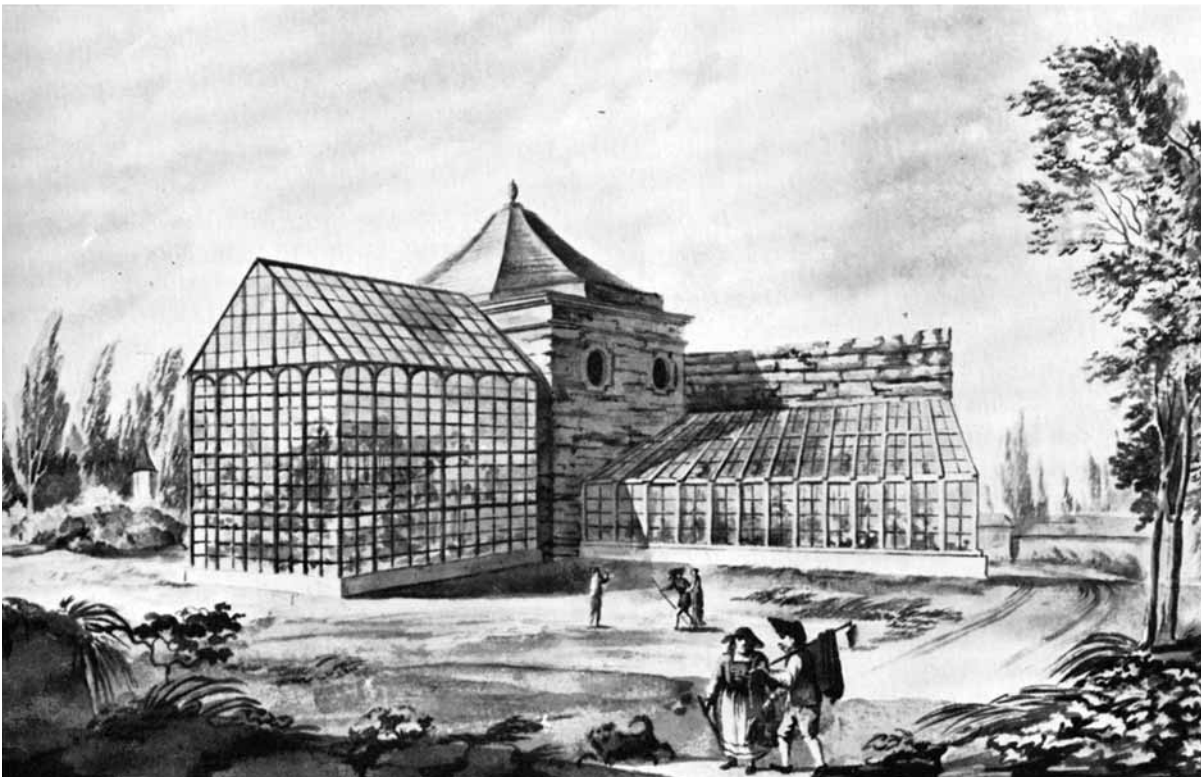
Corbusier wrote of his own design intention: “A desire: yes! For the architecture to reach the emotions here evoked.”<sup>109</sup> And just as Ernest de Ganay had described Belanger’s Anglo-Chinese gardens with “Virgil’s presence reclining under the foliage of a beech”<sup>110</sup> as simultaneously modern and Virgilian, so the inhabitants of the Villa Savoye, according to Le Corbusier, “will contemplate [the rural landscape of Poissy], untouched from their suspended gardens or the four sides of their surrounding ribbon windows. Their domestic life will be inserted into a Virgilian dream.”<sup>111</sup> Thus Belanger’s eighteenth-century gardens are recalled not simply by visual and spatial features—a hilltop building with curved walls, stained-glass windows, a spiral staircase to an external pulpit, a curved roof, a grass-roofed hermitage, a pyramid—but by the design *parti* as well. A parallel between the architecture of Belanger and Le Corbusier again “begins to make one wonder.”<sup>112</sup> To test this parallel even further, more “Immaculate Conceptions” need now to be considered. Such are the unusual Maison de l’Homme and Philips Pavilion.

The Maison de l’Homme—described as “a new departure, the opening up of a new steel aesthetic”<sup>113</sup>—consists of two separate lightweight steel boxes, articulated centrally by a solid concrete mass (figure 1.17). In effect, a central masonry core joints two lightweight cubic volumes. In



1.17. Le Corbusier, model for the Maison de l’Homme, Zurich (1967). (Courtesy of Bibliothèque de la Ville de La Chaux-de-Fonds, LC 108.774-4. © 2007 FLC/ADAGP, Paris and DACS, London.)

section, sculptural roofs counterpoint orthogonal cubic volumes. Belanger's glass-and-iron conservatory at the Folie Saint-James is illustrated in Krafft and Ransonnette by plans, sections, and elevations.<sup>114</sup> It consists of a central masonry core with centrifugally extending conservatories, which was itself a reference (Belanger too understood about creative plagiarism) to another contemporary sensation, an iron-and-glass building erected at Stuttgart-Hohenheim with a similar central masonry core, extending glass-and-iron wings and large roof volumes (figure 1.18). Belanger's own conservatory at the Folie Saint-James differs structurally in one important, and curious, respect: a separate structure, standing on the ground, holds the roof. Now, Le Corbusier was well read: he remembered that "in 1925, Giedion declared: 'The Pavillon de l'Esprit Nouveau is incomprehensible in France; it is an impossible feat.' I replied: 'Go to the Bibliothèque Nationale and study 19th century French iron and glass architecture and you will find something remarkable.'"<sup>115</sup> Le Corbusier's Philips Pavilion came about when he was approached in 1956 to design a building for the Brussels International and Universal Exposition. He hesitated, then accepted and developed his ideas alone in August 1956 at Roquebrune-Cap-Martin (figure 1.19). The complex construction was of metallic ribs, triangulated to form shells, onto which were fixed a lattice of prefabricated concrete tiles,

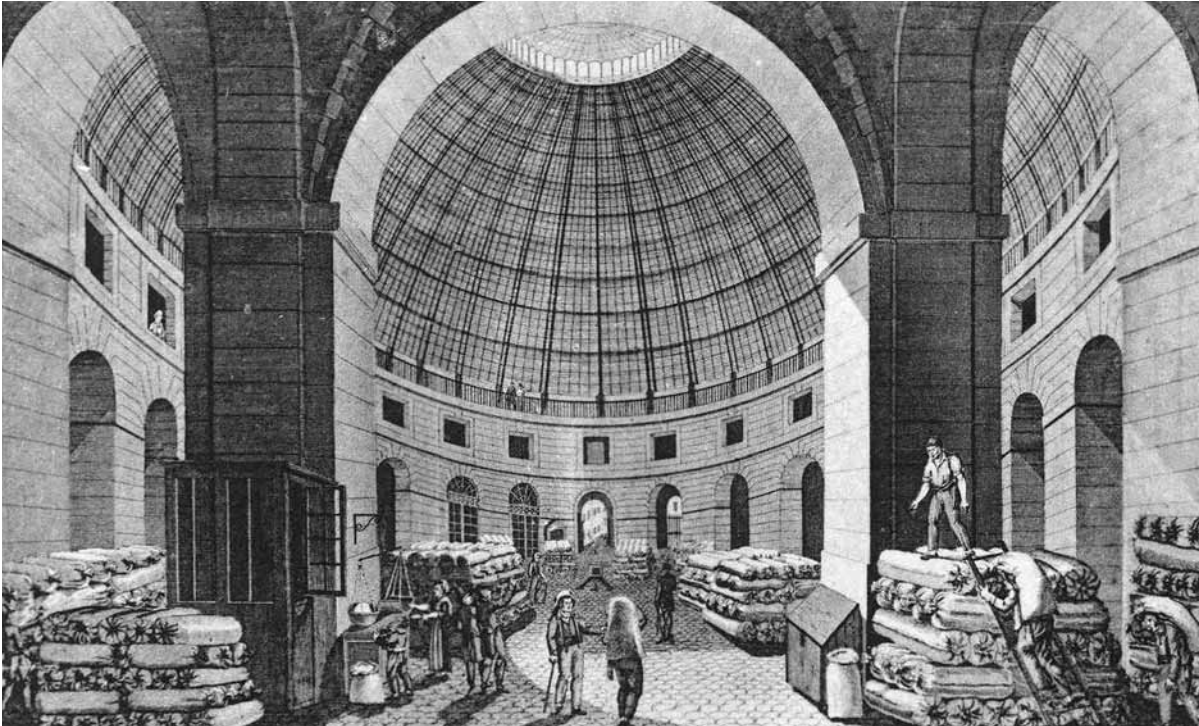


1.18. Glass-and-iron conservatory at Hohenheim (ca. 1789), model for Belanger's glass-and-iron house at the Folie Saint-James, reproduced in Georg Kohlmaier and Barna von Sartory, *Houses of Glass: A Nineteenth-Century Building Type* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1986).



1.19. Le Corbusier, Philips Pavilion, Brussels International and Universal Exposition (1956–1958). (FLC L1-3-22, © 2007 FLC/ADAGP, Paris and DACS, London.)

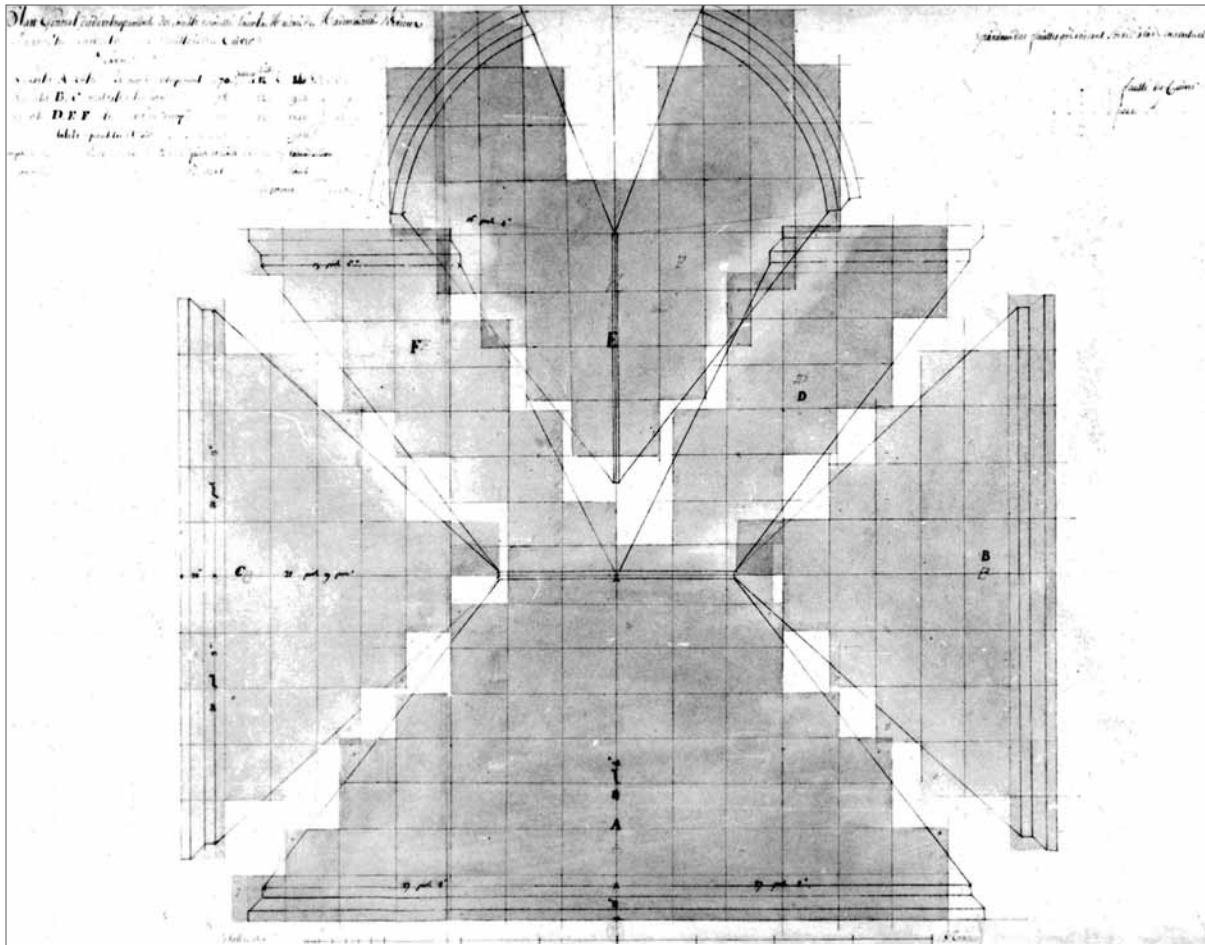




1.20. Le Corbusier's postcard of François-Joseph Belanger's dome over the Halle au Blé.  
(FLC L5-6-307, courtesy of Fondation Le Corbusier.)

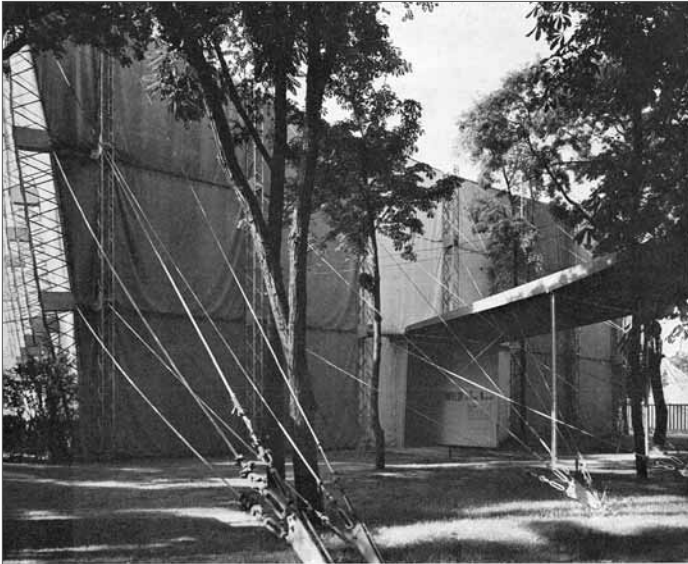
jointed with clamping rings to form the auditorium roofs. This unique structure has been commented on for its “seeming variance from all other of Le Corbusier’s works.”<sup>116</sup> It is interesting to note that Le Corbusier had in his collection a postcard of Belanger’s Halle au Blé (figure 1.20).<sup>117</sup> Working on the Halle au Blé with the engineer Brunet, Belanger had designed an iron-structured roof using new jointing technology with sliding bolts for heat expansion.<sup>118</sup> Over a “flexible iron skeleton Belanger laid a lattice of further light iron bars to lend additional support to a roof covering of copper sheets,”<sup>119</sup> which he himself proudly described as “absolutely new, it has no model whatever” (figure 1.21).<sup>120</sup> Charles-Édouard Jeanneret was particularly interested in metal construction and knew its history. In 1958, he wrote to Ernesto Rogers, “I open *Casabella* Number 222 and I find on pages 54 and 55 the photograph of the iron and glass building that I used to admire in 1908 on Sunday mornings, with some other buildings that already then marked modernism.”<sup>121</sup> In a 1916 letter to him, Perret had listed metal architecture in Paris, including “the large reading room of the Bibliothèque Nationale; the Halles Centrales; the Palais de l’Industrie (demolished), especially its central hall; the Palais des Beaux-Arts and Palais des Arts Libéraux at the Exposition of 1889.”<sup>122</sup> And Le Corbusier himself, in his *Voyage d’Orient* (1910–1911), wrote that “the Galerie des Machines in Paris, the railway stations at the Gare du Nord and in Hamburg, automobiles, aircraft, ocean liners, and locomotives seem to us conclusive arguments.”<sup>123</sup> However, both Belanger and Le Corbusier designed *three* metal structures. The Pavillon des Temps Nouveaux, Le Corbusier’s third

1.21. François-Joseph Belanger, metal dome over the Halle au Blé. (© Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Cabinet des Estampes Va 285 H69874.)



metal structure, must be considered to complete this trilogy of metal-framed “Immaculate Conceptions” (figure 1.22). And, as a temporary exhibition building for John Singleton Copley’s painting *The Siege of Gibraltar* (ca. 1790) in London’s Green Park, Belanger designed a textile structure shored by metal trusses (figure 1.23).

These deliberately formalistic parallels—though supported by historical evidence about the contemporary interest in and knowledge of Belanger—leave unanswered the most interesting question: What could this use of Belanger’s architecture *mean*? While the existence of a clue—“ineradicably connected to its ‘maker,’ its maker’s connection to *it* cannot be said to have the same perspicuousness”<sup>124</sup>—indicates only a presence, it does not suggest a meaning. Which aspect of Belanger’s eighteenth-century architecture (beyond its provision of original intuitive “flashes of unexpected insight”) could have meant something to an ambitious, budding young architect? On what grounds could Charles-Édouard Jeanneret have identified with Belanger? Several hypotheses are available.



Exposition internationale Paris 1937 Projet «D»

Façade d'entrée du Pavillon (toile bleue, au milieu blanche, et dais d'entrée, tôle rouillée)



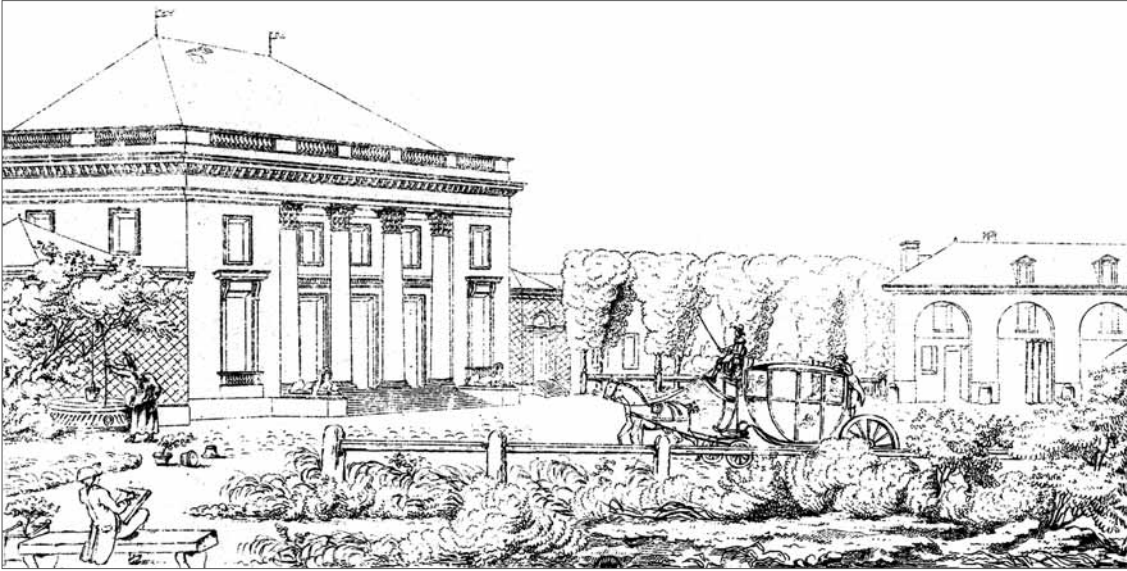
- 1.22. Le Corbusier, Pavillon des Temps Nouveaux, in Le Corbusier and Pierre Jeanneret, *Œuvre complète 1934–1938* (Zurich: Éditions Girsberger, 1945), p. 158. (© 2007 FLC/ADAGP, Paris and DACS, London.)



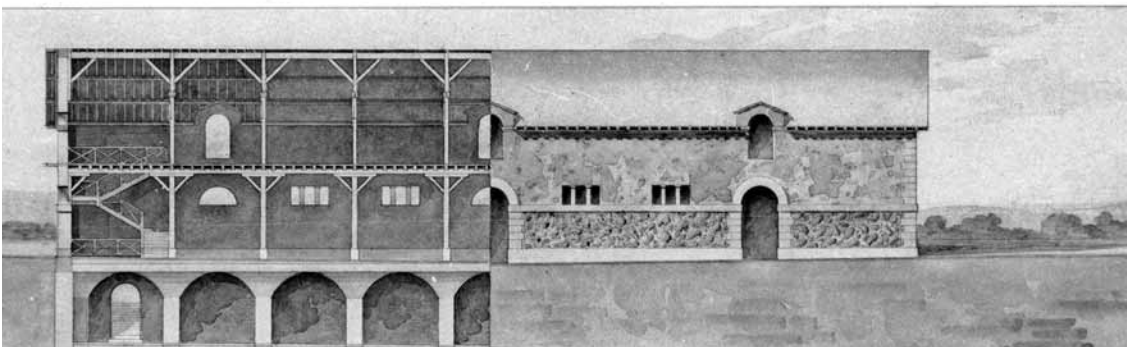
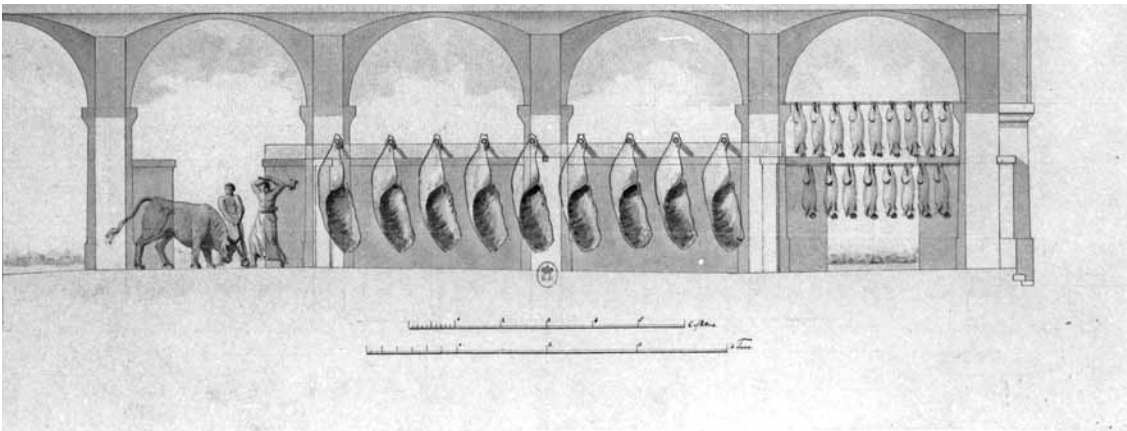
- 1.23. François-Joseph Belanger, view of the pavilion erected in Green Park to exhibit the picture of the *Siege of Gibraltar*, painted by John Singleton Copley (ca. 1790). (Musée Carnavalet D 08526, E.21070, 1991, CAR 0815 A. © Photothèque des Musées de la Ville de Paris.)

First, in the early twentieth century, the Louis XVI style was in fashion. In a letter to L'Éplattenier on 16 January 1911, Jeanneret reported that "Schulze-Naumburg himself has completely capitulated and literally copies the Louis XVI style."<sup>125</sup> Secondly, Swiss connections color the work of Belanger. His first important patron, the prince de Ligne, who introduced him to Anglo-Chinese gardens, was Swiss. In the words of Madame de Staël: "Perhaps the prince de Ligne is the only foreigner who, within the French tradition, has become a model and not an imitator."<sup>126</sup> Belanger included Swiss features in his designs, such as a Swiss chalet that was included at the Folie Saint-James (but so did others). He was also keen on using images of the Swiss Alps, including alpine bridges.<sup>127</sup> Jeanneret's Swiss nationality was inevitably involved in the way in which Parisian society received him, and he was painfully aware of this.<sup>128</sup> But a third aspect of Belanger seems potentially most relevant: his contemporary status as a rebellious, avant-garde and anti-academic architect.

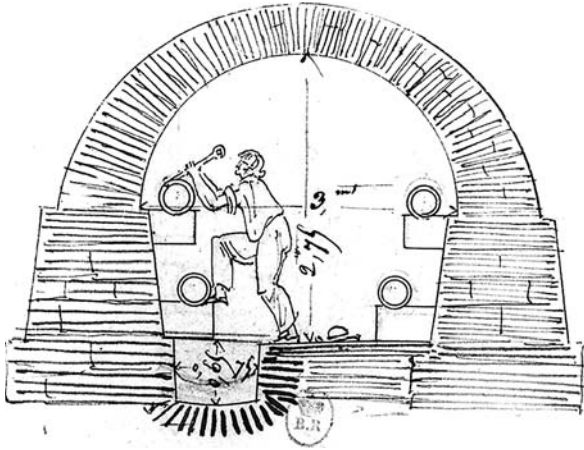
Emil Kaufmann's choice of Ledoux as a parallel with Le Corbusier, and Colin Rowe's choice of Palladio, are telling. Belanger's architectural drawings in the Cabinet des Estampes stand in total contrast to Ledoux's meticulous and didactic engravings of an ideal world.<sup>129</sup> Belanger's drawings are the practical, sometimes comical, sometimes ironic observations of a working architect who includes everyday activities of ordinary people. One drawing shows a coach arriving at a mansion; nearby, a servant is fetching water from a fountain; an artist, sitting on a bench, records the scene (figure 1.24). Another drawing for the rue Rochechouart abattoirs features the full gory details of the production process from cattle to carcass (figure 1.25). Another sketch shows a laborer at the abattoirs working in an enclosed underground space with indications of sizes: Belanger is calculating minimum space requirements (figure 1.26). In yet another drawing is a garden with an unfinished wall and stones strewn around, while masons proceed with construction and servants with their chores (figure 1.27). Here is a vision of a world in construction, in process, in use. The drawing shows a classical *hôtel particulier* in a frenzied world of wet trades, where the neoclassical palaces of the *nouveaux riches* adjoin medieval timber-framed buildings overgrown by vines, weeds sprouting between the stones, their roofs holed. (The fundamental eighteenth-century cultural meaning of this vision of an imperfect world in the process of being constructed by masons, and of its continuation into twentieth-century francophone culture, will be discussed subsequently.) Amidst this chaos, people go about their business. They gossip. They snack. Washing dries on a clothesline, and a somnolent ass waits. Life goes on. As part of this, the design of construction machinery, such as devices for moving stones, fascinated Belanger (figure 1.28).<sup>130</sup> This vision would have been more available as a model to a budding young architect than the visions of a Ledoux or a Palladio, which are more suitable for scholastic historians intent on fabricating pedigreed historiographies.<sup>131</sup> For a young architect in search of inspiration and originality, Belanger's ink-stained, revised and annotated drawings would provide a better model. These considerations bring me back to the



1.24. François-Joseph Belanger, Maison Dervieux. (© Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Cabinet des Estampes, Ha 58 Fol. F 000623.)



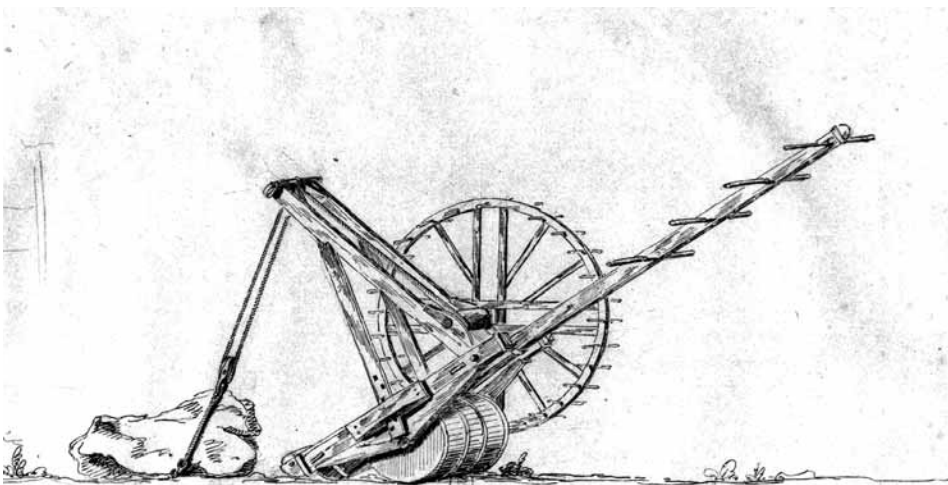
1.25. François-Joseph Belanger, rue Rochechouart abattoirs. (© Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Cabinet des Estampes, Ha 58b Fol. F 000795 and F 000800.)



1.26. François-Joseph Belanger, rue Rochechouart abattoirs. (© Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Cabinet des Estampes, Ha 58b Fol. F 000817.)



1.27. François-Joseph Belanger, drawing. (© Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Cabinet des Estampes, Ha 58 Fol. F 000633.)



1.28. François-Joseph Belanger, machine for lifting stones. (© Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Cabinet des Estampes, Ha 58d Fol. F 000912.)

Carnet Paris Automne 1913 with its often-noticed mention of Auguste Choisy. Choisy too has been straitjacketed into the hallowed establishment of architectural history; Charles-Édouard Jeanneret's reading of his *Histoire de l'architecture* is interpreted accordingly. But this was *not* how Jeanneret read him. He read him as a rumbustious innovator.

The importance of Choisy's *Histoire de l'architecture* is confirmed by Jeanneret's emphatic description of the book in his letter to L'Eplattenier of 16 January 1911 from Berlin, while apprenticed to Behrens:<sup>132</sup> "This was the collapse of my gloomy mythology and from then on classical light reigned. . . . So much to learn and take in. I also have a splendid book of Doric, Ionian, Corinthian, that Roman art composed of colossal vaults and large plain walls. . . . Ah! dear Sir, the observation of my happy aesthetic development is the only thing that still makes this life possible."<sup>133</sup> In Choisy's *Histoire de l'architecture*, the elegiac envoy of the last chapter, "Architecture's Last Transformations," portrays Belanger as *the* key innovator in French architectural history, whose modern work should be the catalyst for the future. Choisy concludes his grand survey of the history of world architecture with the significance of Belanger's pioneering roof structure at the Halle au Blé as a benchmark for the future:

It is but in the first years of our century that success was achieved in using cast-iron tiles for covering large spaces where the span would otherwise have created excessive difficulties. One of the first uses was at the dome of the Halle au Blé of 1809: for the first time, a dome was being erected, at the scale of the dome of Saint Peter's, where the overlapping of the structural members counteracted the centrifugal forces, whose ingenious structure was visibly expressed . . . and it would be easy to show that in these beginnings are to be found more than mere promises, were we not to think that a history of architecture should conclude with the works of our contemporaries.<sup>134</sup>

Unequivocally, it is on the importance of Belanger's architecture that Choisy issued a challenge to future generations. Could it be this final passage in Auguste Choisy's *Histoire de l'architecture* that would point Charles-Édouard Jeanneret toward a model at a time when he was searching for a direction? To Perret he wrote: "Where are your masters? Where were the beginnings of modern concepts seen to emerge? Could you inform me? Once again, I know nothing. . . . Where are the masters, where is the line of force?"<sup>135</sup> Jeanneret also mentioned Auguste Choisy's *Histoire de l'architecture* in tandem with his reference to Krafft and Ransonnette in his Carnet Paris Automne 1913 (figure 1.7). Could this discovery in 1913 have preceded the "flash of unexpected insight" that was to reveal "in 1914 the perfect and complete conception of an entire system of construction, anticipating all future problems,"<sup>136</sup> the Dom-ino system, which, in effect, had been drawn by Belanger in his design for the Rochechouart abattoirs (figures 1.1, 1.25)? This possibility raises yet another question: Could the parallel to Belanger extend beyond the key "Immaculate Conceptions"



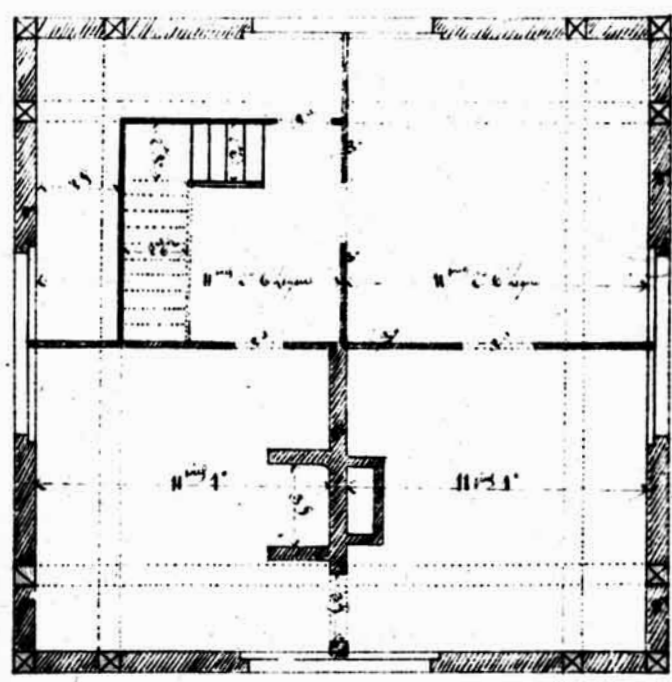
to yet other design domains, such as fittings, furniture, and even urbanism? For example, we might consider the similarity of such minor details as the mirrored shutters of Le Corbusier's Cabanon to those reflecting the outside landscape of Belanger's grass-roofed hermitage at Belœil (described in Ernest de Ganay's 1922 republication of *Coup d'œil sur Belœil*), which also features a *cabanon* (figures 1.29, 1.30).<sup>137</sup> To finish testing this hypothesis, possibly to destruction, we could examine some of Le Corbusier's more eccentric, frankly even bizarre, ideas.



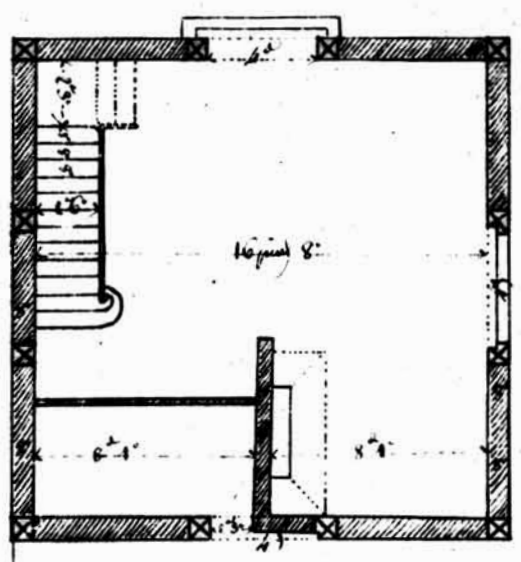
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Plan de la chambre à coucher de la famille  
de la maison de la rue de la Bouteillerie

Plan de la chambre à coucher de la famille  
No. 130



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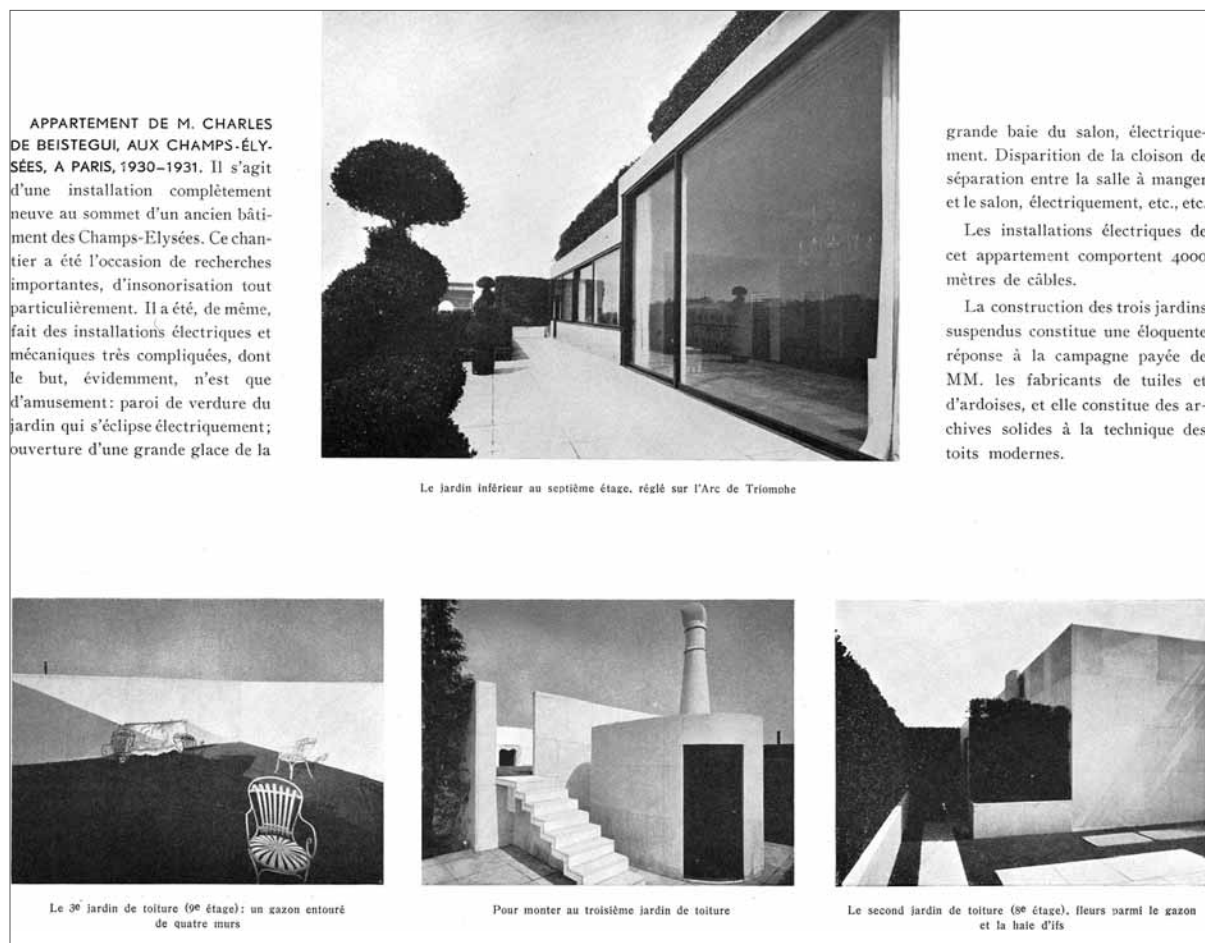


1.29. (facing page) Le Corbusier, mirrored shutters at Cabanon, Roquebrune-Cap-Martin. (Photograph © J. K. Birksted. © 2007 FLC/ADAGP, Paris and DACS, London.)

1.30. François-Joseph Belanger, a cabanon. (© Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Cabinet des Estampes, VA 418 H 184710.)

Such is the electric hedge at the Beistegui penthouse on the Champs-Élysées (1929–1931). Part of the rooftop garden, the hedge could be slid aside electrically to reveal the spectacular panorama over the Arc de Triomphe and toward the Bois de Boulogne (figure 1.31). Now, an eighteenth-century account by Thomas Blaikie, published in 1931, describes Belanger’s design at Bagatelle for a visit by Louis XVI and Marie-Antoinette:

On the further side towards Longchamp there was erected a Pyramide by which was a Marble tomb; this part of the wood being newly taken in to the grounds there remained the wall of the boid de Boulogne and to rendre this scene More agreeable Mr. Belanger had an invention which made a Singulare effect by undermining the wall on the outside and placing people with ropes to pull the wall down at a word; at this pyramide there was an acteur who acted the part of a Majician who asked there Majestys how they like the Gardins and what a beautifull vue there was towards the plaine if that wall did not obstruct it, but that

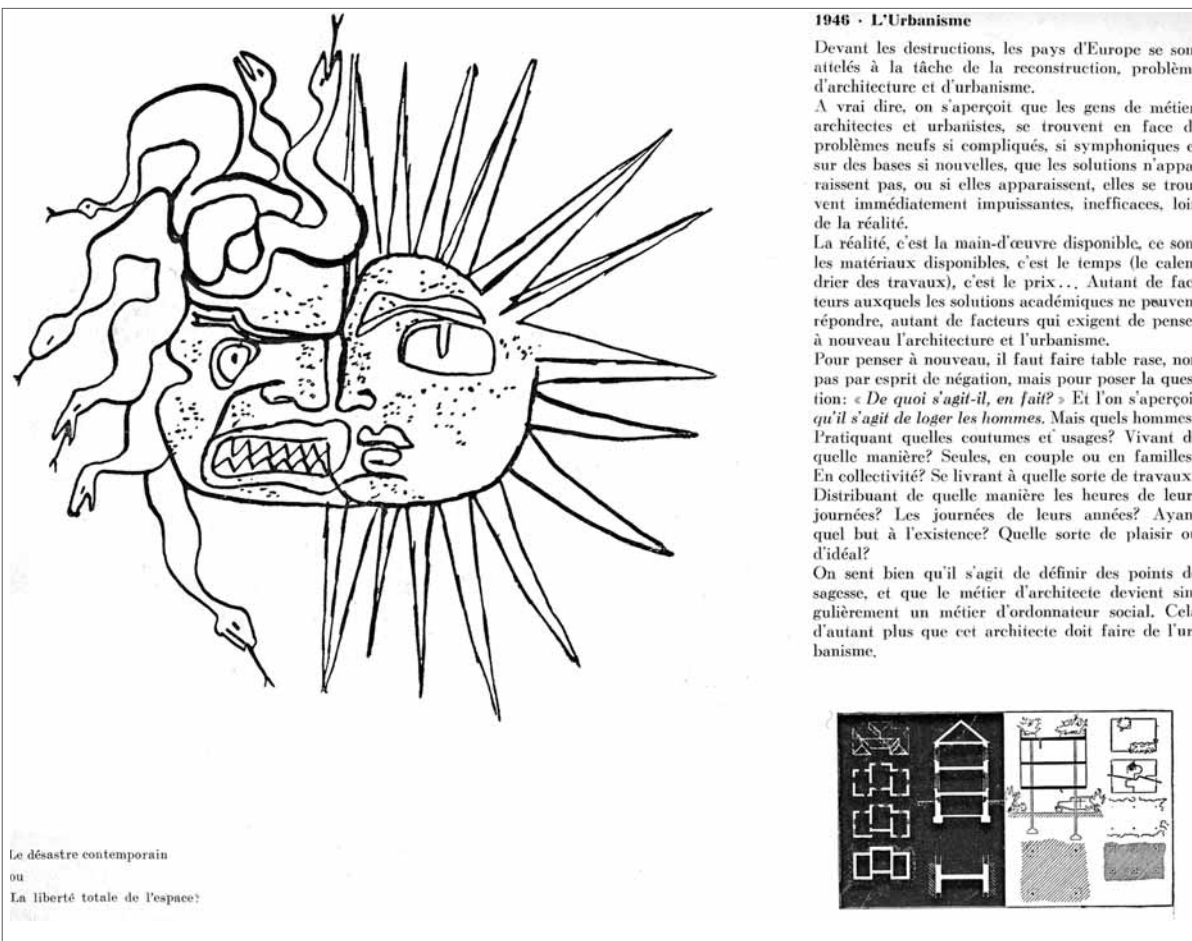


1.31. Le Corbusier, electrically operated hedge on roof garden at de Beistegui apartment (1929–1931), in Le Corbusier and Pierre Jeanneret, *Œuvre complète 1929–1934* (Zurich: Éditions Girsberger, 1935), p. 53. (© 2007 FLC/ADAGP, Paris and DACS, London.)

there Majestys need only give the word that he with his enchanting wand would make that wall disappear; the queen not knowing told him with a Laugh “Very well I should wish to see it disappear” and in the instant the signal was given and above 200 yards opposite where the company stood fell flat to the ground which surprised them all.<sup>138</sup>

Could this parallel explain even Le Corbusier’s Apollo/Medusa emblem (figure 1.32)? Added to Bagatelle’s façade during its nineteenth-century alterations, this motif, following Piranesi, had also been used extensively by Belanger as a decorative element at the Château de Maisons and for his designs of mantelpieces (figure 1.33).<sup>139</sup>

Turning to more significant details, could the parallel be extended to Le Corbusier’s urbanistic ideas, usually attributed to Pierre Patte or Eugène Hénard, whom he carefully read at the Bibliothèque Nationale while working on *La construction des villes*?<sup>140</sup> Belanger’s urban plans are different from those of Patte and Hénard. In his scheme for *la nouvelle Londres*,

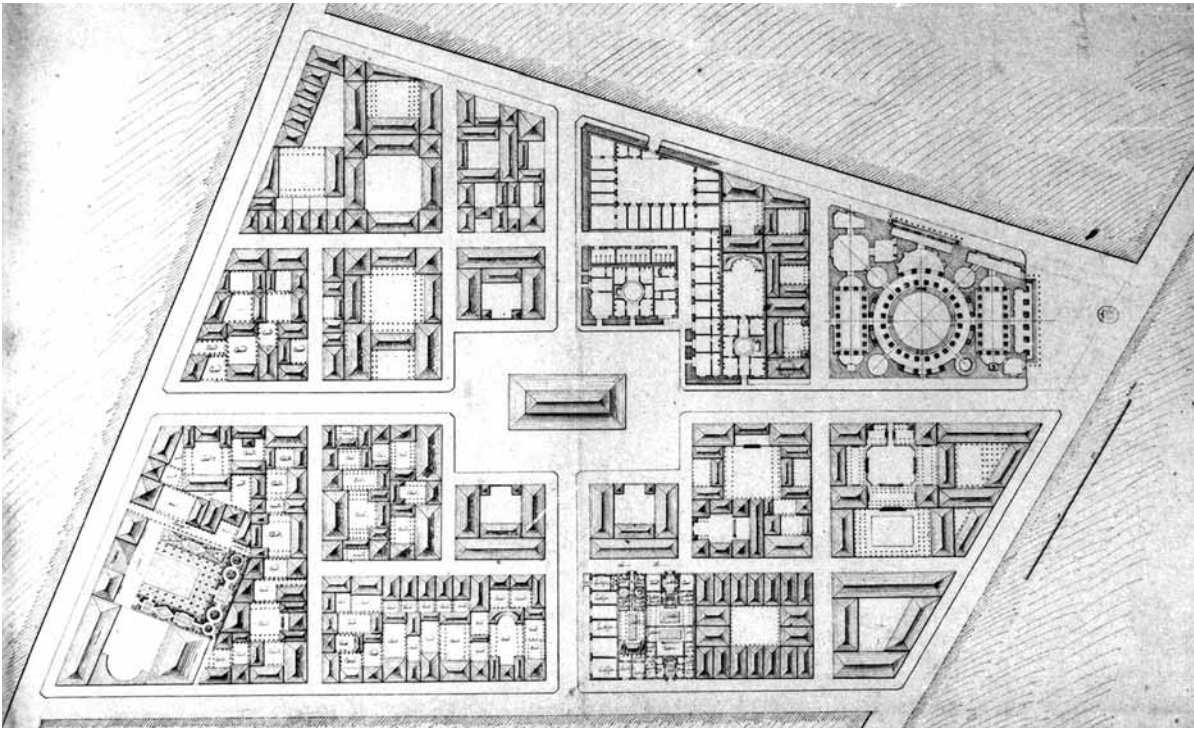


1.32. Le Corbusier’s Apollo/Medusa emblem, in Le Corbusier and Pierre Jeanneret, *Œuvre complète 1938–1946* (Erlenbach-Zurich: Éditions d’Architecture, 1946), p. 146. (© 2007 FLC/ADAGP, Paris and DACS, London.)



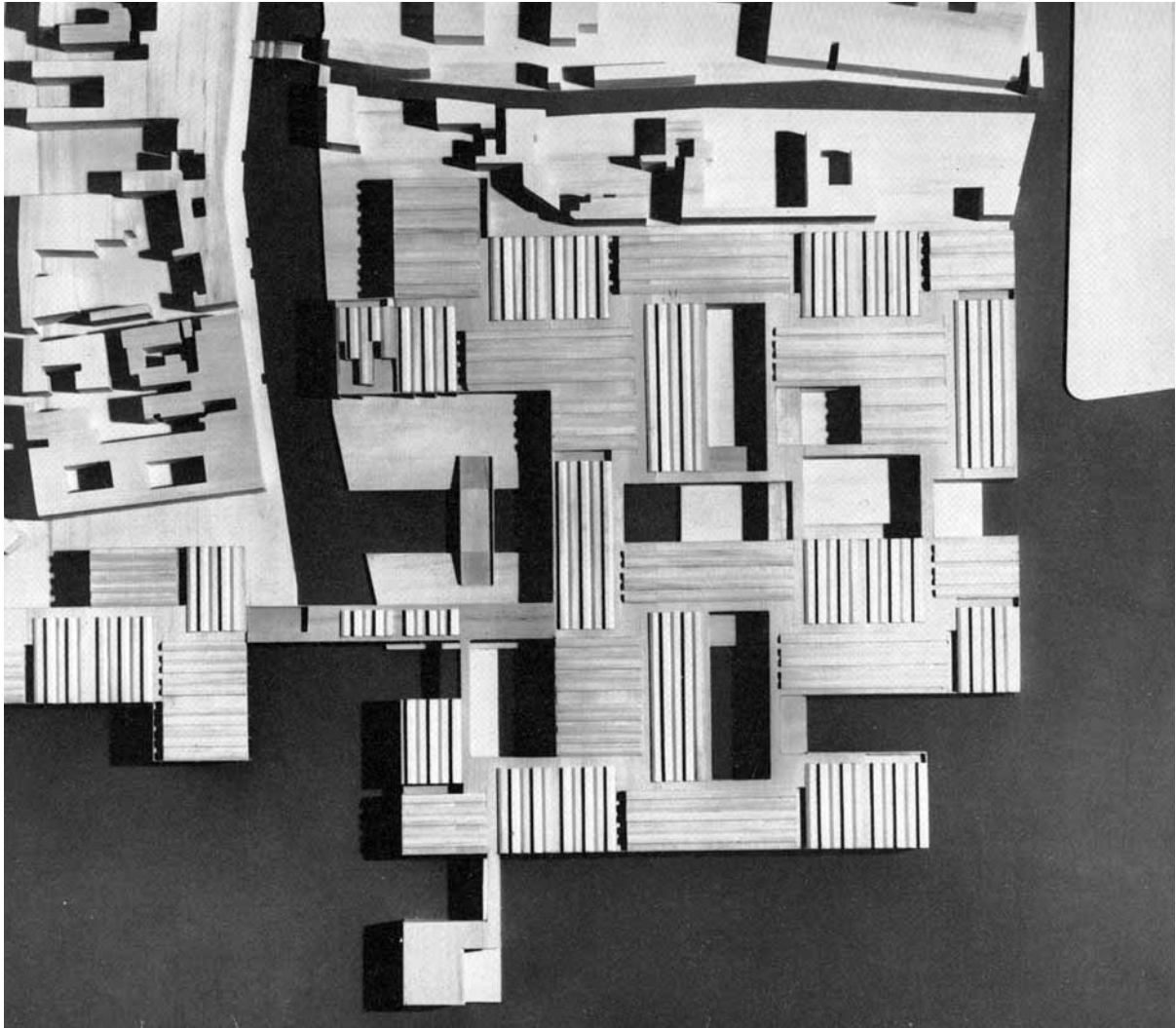
1.33. Figures of Apollo and Medusa on the altered nineteenth-century elevation to François-Joseph Belanger's Bagatelle. (Photograph © J. K. Birksted.)

1.34. François-Joseph Belanger, *La nouvelle Londres*. (© Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Cabinet des Estampes, Ha 58a Fol. F 000661.)



Belanger developed town planning—with houses that were ahead of their time in their simplicity, lack of ornamentation, excellent ventilation, modest appearance, and emphasis on daylight—on a right-angled grid of streets and land plots (while Patte was in favor of nonorthogonal streets), as in the urbanistic concept of “mat buildings” of the 1950s and 1960s (figure 1.34).<sup>141</sup> Le Corbusier’s Venice hospital project (another design concept that evolved with surprising speed) employs units that “unfold like carpets . . . [as] cellular conglomerates displayed as a kind of dense web” (figure 1.35).<sup>142</sup>

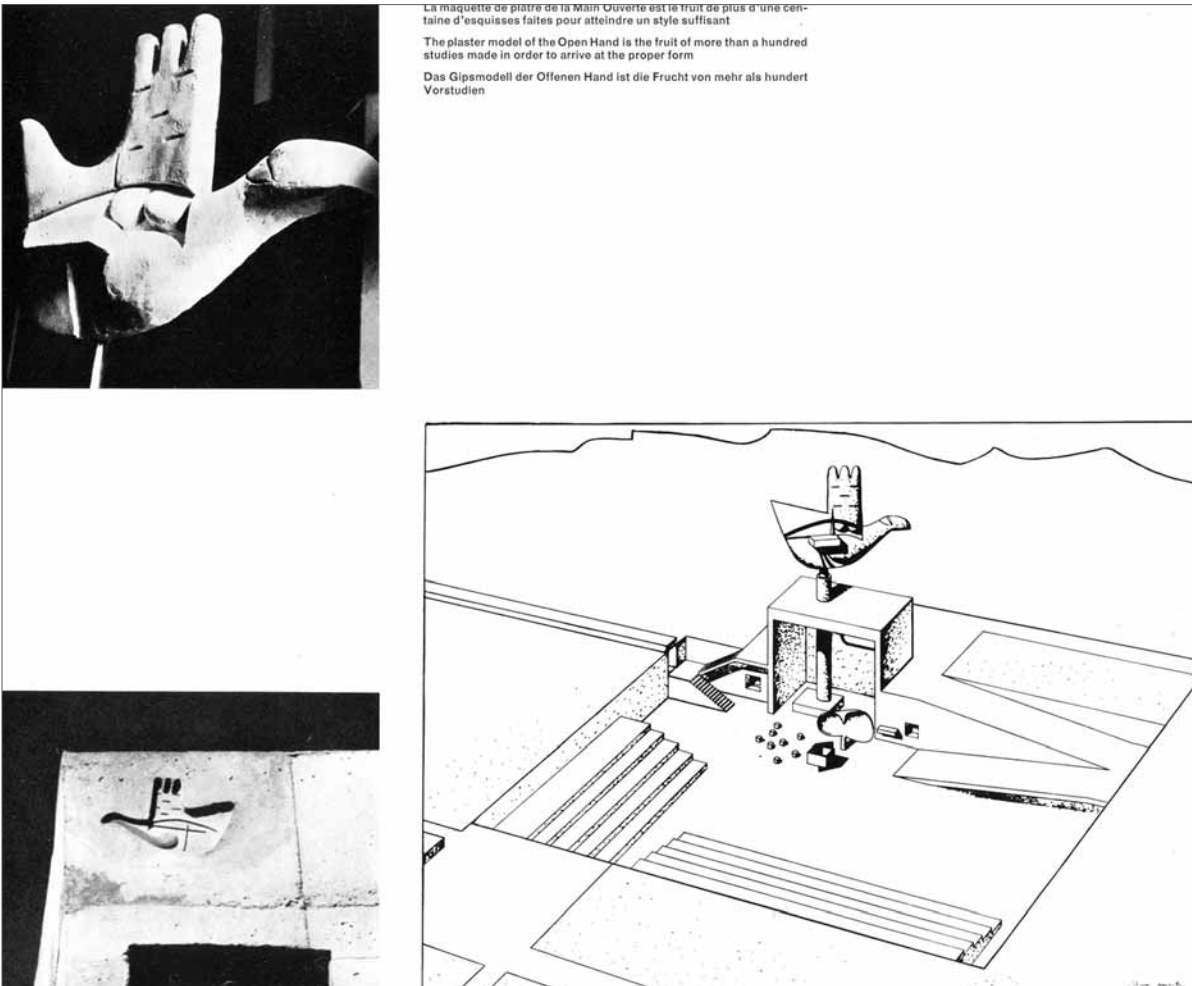
A final parallel—though the reader must by now be veering between awe at Le Corbusier’s sublime capacities for creative appropriation and exasperation at this ridiculous hypothesis, in which case such a reader should avoid this final note)<sup>143</sup>—is Le Corbusier’s emblematic sculpture of *La main ouverte* (The open hand), a signature theme that he deployed from the 1930s onward in sketches, poetry, architectural monuments, paintings, and sculpture, including an urban sculpture in Chandigarh (figure 1.36).<sup>144</sup> Entirely in the spirit of intuitive “flashes of unexpected insight,” Le Corbusier claimed that “the ‘Open Hand’ is an idea which was born in Paris, spontaneously.”<sup>145</sup> For the *Open Hand* sculpture in Chandigarh, Le Corbusier wrote to Nehru that “one sees there above the horizon an open hand; five women grouped on the earth see it surge. From that moment, my design contents itself with the hand all alone.”<sup>146</sup> In *Le poème de l’angle droit*, he invokes how “the waters flow—the sun provides light—Complexities have woven—their fabric—the fluids are



1.35. Venice hospital project (1964–1966), in Le Corbusier, *Œuvre complète 1957–1965* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1965), p. 141. (© 2007 FLC/ADAGP, Paris and DACS, London.)

everywhere. . . . Full hand I received—Full hand I give,”<sup>147</sup> while in an early notebook he mentions “statue Henri IV, Pont Neuf.”<sup>148</sup> Now, Belanger had designed an equestrian statue of Henri IV with hand outstretched, to be located at the Pointe du Vert Galant on the Pont Neuf, which, surrounded on both sides by the Seine such that truly “the waters flow . . . the fluids are everywhere,” sits on a podium that, in accordance with Belanger’s proposal, features a group of women (figure 1.37).<sup>149</sup> And in Le Corbusier’s collection is a postcard of the site of this statue, “Panorama sur la Seine, la Cité, Notre Dame et La Pointe du Vert Galant” (figure 1.38).<sup>150</sup>

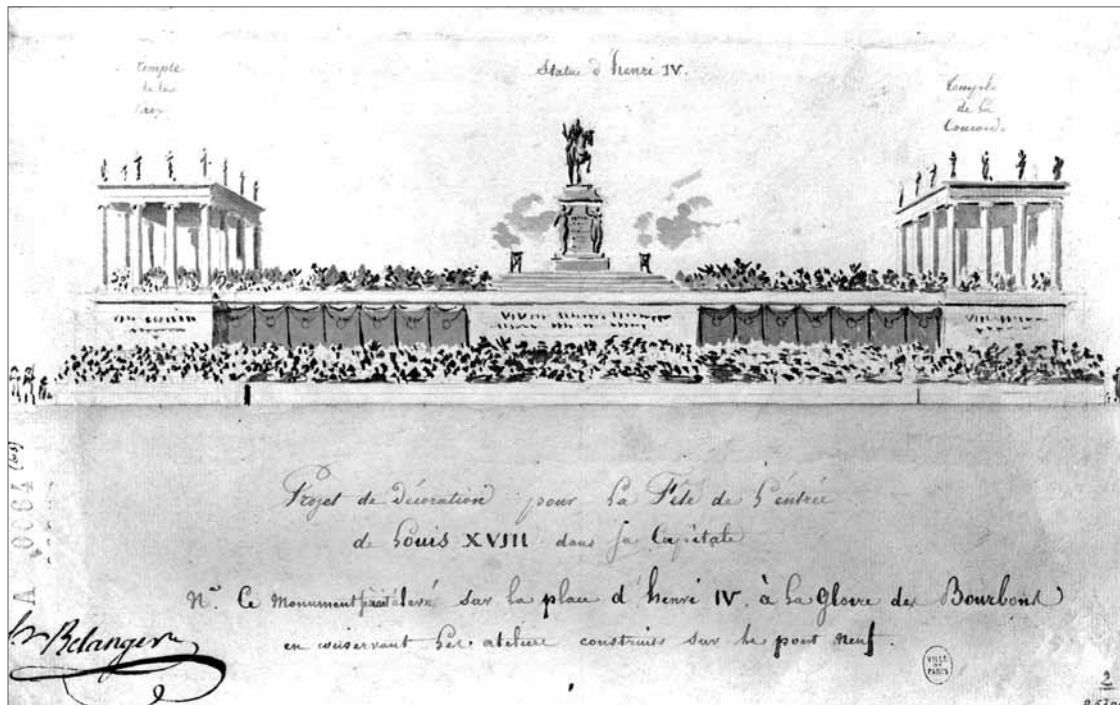
At the conclusion to this parallel between the architectures of Belanger and Le Corbusier, some implications need drawing out. Le Corbusier’s life is forever seen as a sequence of contradictory and incompatible periods, of “dualisms”<sup>151</sup> of, for example, “internationalist rationalism” versus “vitalistic and regionalist ideas,” “the head” versus “the heart,”<sup>152</sup> “classical characteristics



1.36. Le Corbusier, Fosse de la Considération at Chandigarh, in Le Corbusier, *Œuvre complète 1957–1965* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1965), p. 109. (© 2007 FLC/ADAGP, Paris and DACS, London.)

such as symmetry, clarity, order and linearity” versus “unexpected and seemingly irrational happenings.”<sup>153</sup> Kenneth Frampton writes even of “paradigm shifts.”<sup>154</sup> At other times, Le Corbusier is simply seen as haphazardly collaging random items. Colin Rowe famously wrote that “Le Corbusier largely selects a variety of hitherto indiscriminate phenomena. He selects the casual incidents of Paris, or Istanbul, or wherever it may be; aspects of the fortuitously picturesque, of the mechanical, of objects conceived to be typical, of whatever might seem to represent the present and the usable past.”<sup>155</sup> However, with Belanger as a possible model, such contradictions in Le Corbusier’s *Œuvre complète* cease to exist, for as Krafft described Belanger’s work, it has “an extraordinary abundance . . . formal variety is boundless.”<sup>156</sup> Indeed, André Wogensky wrote that Le Corbusier “embraces contraries, refuses dilemmas, reduces oppositions, and builds his thought on an integrated whole, on a totality.”<sup>157</sup> In this case, it would be time to take *à la lettre* Le Corbusier’s own dictum that





1.37. François-Joseph Belanger, *Projet de décoration pour la Fête de l'entrée de Louis XVIII dans sa capitale.* (Musée Carnavalet D 6700 E, 1991 CAR 0814 A. © Photothèque des Musées de la Ville de Paris.)

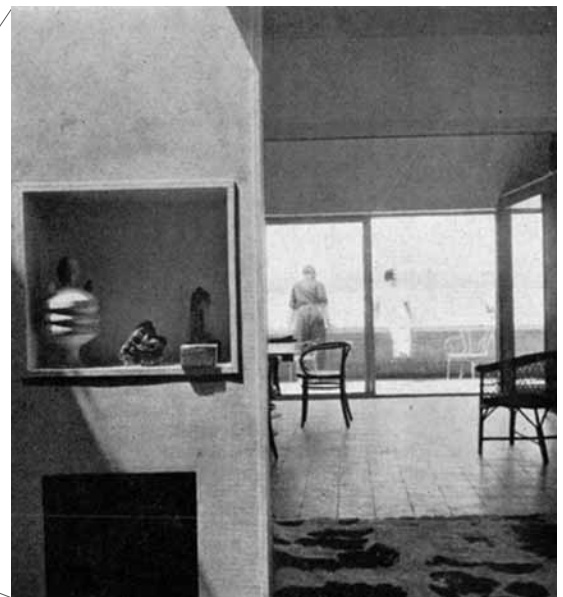


1.38. Postcard from Le Corbusier's collection: "Paris. Panorama sur la Seine, la Cité, Notre Dame et la pointe du Vert Galant. Panorama on the Seine River." (FLC L5-6-372-001, courtesy of Fondation Le Corbusier.)

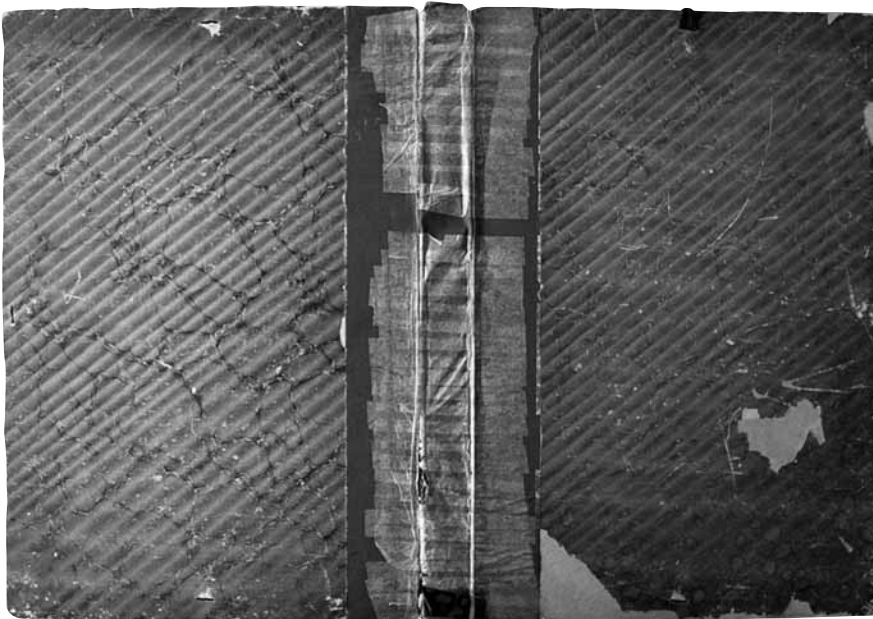
“you need only, without going too far, to poke your nose into some old eighteenth-century books to realize that already then some decent and honest people were regularly protesting against degeneracy in art and design, against the production of trash.”<sup>158</sup> Could it be Belanger’s confrontational and intransigent modernity that made his architecture available to Charles-Édouard Jeanneret as a model, while making it unavailable to generations of architectural historians? Colin Rowe and Emil Kaufmann, with impeccable taste and gentlemanly etiquette, had the historiographical decency to choose such respectable precedents as Palladio and Ledoux. These were unlike Belanger, who ruthlessly advanced his career by unscrupulously changing political sides and cunningly manipulating the media, deceitfully reinvented his biography for posterity, and wrote of himself: “Genius consists in the superiority of one or of several senses and, I must say it, a delirium of the Imagination, adjusted by reason and the skills that one brings with one. . . . I do not like the productions that come from the École.”<sup>159</sup> From all this arise obvious questions. When might Charles-Édouard Jeanneret have realized the strategic potential that Belanger’s “delirium of the Imagination” held for the realization of his own modernist project? Was it in a sudden intuitive “flash of unexpected insight”? Or gradually? Did he return to Belanger sporadically and haphazardly? Or systematically and consciously? Two shreds of evidence survive.

First, Le Corbusier described the importance of the panorama from his apartment at 24, rue Nungesser-et-Coli, illustrated in the *Œuvre complète*, “over gardens that are in the foreground at Boulogne,”<sup>160</sup> thus suggesting Bagatelle and the Folie Saint-James (figure 1.39). Jerzy Soltan also described the importance of the panorama after a visit to Le Corbusier: “The sun was resplendent on the terraces. All sorts of plants were in bloom. Far away, Mont Valerian was vibrating in the summer heat.”<sup>161</sup>

1.39. Le Corbusier and Yvonne Jeanneret (née Gallis) on the terrace at 24, rue Nungesser-et-Coli (top right), in Le Corbusier and Pierre Jeanneret, *Œuvre complète 1929–1934* (Erlenbach-Zurich: Éditions d’Architecture, 1946), p. 150. (© 2007 FLC/ADAGP, Paris and DACS, London.)



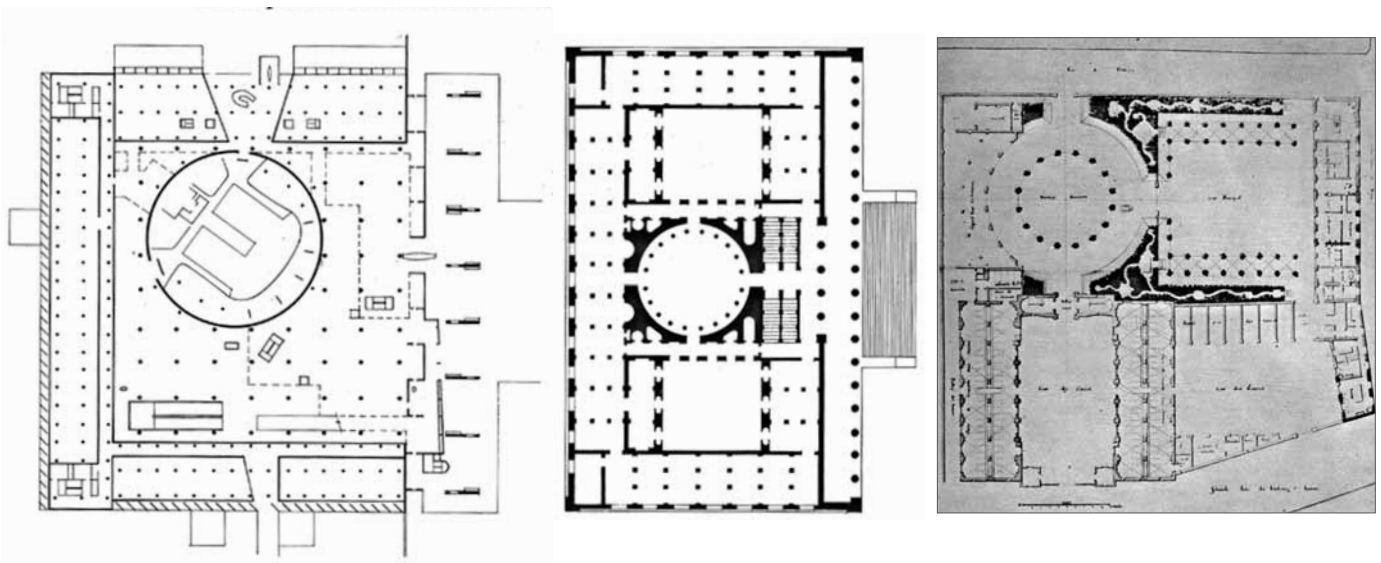
Secondly, in Le Corbusier's library remains a book catalogued as "Mayor, J., Derobert, L., *Maisons et hôtels construits à Paris et dans les environs, de 1771 à 1802*. Paris: Lib. D'Art Décoratif et Industriel, 1909."<sup>162</sup> This is the "Kraft et Ransonnette" that was appraised as "amazing to buy" in the Carnet Paris Automne 1913, but is obscured by being miscatalogued under the names of the editors who reissued it in 1909, so that "Kraft et Ransonnette" is not even mentioned in the library catalogue. It is interesting to see its condition (figure 1.40). Its ribbons are in shreds and its tattered binding is held together by tape. It seems to have been consulted over and over and over again. The tape that binds it together allows forensic examination. Adhesive tape was invented in 1925 at the Minnesota Mining and Manufacturing Company (3M), followed by the formation of a subsidiary company in France, Minnesota de France, which, in September 1951, "besides manufacturing a complete line of industrial and retail cellophane tape . . . also placed upon the market a masking tape that is finding most favorable customer acceptance. . . . J. B. Imbert heads up our retail division with eight retail salesmen under him, covering the entire country . . . [with a] large number of jobbers, who enthusiastically help us distribute and popularize our product."<sup>163</sup> The adhesive tape holding together the covers of Le Corbusier's Kraft and Ransonnette would indicate that he was still actively consulting and mending it after 1951, coinciding with a time of heavy demand for "Immaculate Conceptions": Ronchamp (1951–1953), Chandigarh (1951–1963), the Unité d'habitation in Marseilles (1947–1953), the Philips Pavilion (1958), the Zurich Pavilion (1963–1965), and the Venice hospital project (1963). Thus, so far, Le Corbusier's "Immaculate Conceptions" have been reviewed one by one—except for the Parliament Building in Chandigarh.



1.40. Le Corbusier's copy of Jean-Charles Krafft and Nicolas Ransonnette, *Plans, coupes, élévations des plus belles maisons et des hôtels construits à Paris et dans les environs (1771–1802); reproduction en facsimile avec notices par J. Mayor et L. Derobert; préface de P. Marmottan* (Paris: Librairie d'Art Décoratif et Industriel, 1909). (FLC V 679, courtesy of Fondation Le Corbusier.)

In the gentleman-scholar tradition, this Parliament Building has been compared to Karl Schinkel's Altes Museum, despite the recognized difference that "Le Corbusier rejects Neo-Classical symmetry in favour of a turbulent contrast"<sup>164</sup>—as Belanger precisely did with his design for the Écuries du Comte d'Artois (figure 1.41).

Should we therefore imagine Le Corbusier at critical moments in the privacy of his studio at 24, rue Nungesser-et-Coli flicking through the pages of his Krafft and Ransonnette in search of intuitive "flashes of unexpected insight"? If so, this would correspond to the enthusiasm for the Louis XVI style that was prevalent in La Chaux-de-Fonds, where remains today a volume of engravings by Krafft, in its original white calfskin leather and with a hand-written inscription, in the library of La Loge L'Amitié, the Masonic lodge of La Chaux-de-Fonds.



1.41. Comparison between Le Corbusier's Parliament in Chandigarh (left, © 2007 FLC/ADAGP, Paris and DACS, London); Schinkel's Altes Museum in Berlin (center, from William J. R. Curtis, *Le Corbusier: Ideas and Forms* [London: Phaidon, 1986], p. 197); and Belanger's Écuries du Comte d'Artois (right, from Jean Stern, *À l'ombre de Sophie Arnould: François-Joseph Belanger, architecte des menus plaisirs, premier architecte du comte d'Artois, tome I* [Paris: Librairie Plon, 1930], p. 100; archives J. K. Birksted).

PART II

IN



# LA CHAUX-DE-FONDS











previous pages:  
Picnic in the woods around  
La Chaux-de-Fonds. (Charles  
Robert-Tissot, 1901, courtesy of  
Collection Iconographie, DAV,  
Bibliothèque de la Ville de La  
Chaux-de-Fonds, RT-P2-25.)

# 2 A Delightful Evening at the Masonic Lodge



THE architecture of François-Joseph Belanger was thus well known in La Chaux-de-Fonds. Indeed, not only was Belanger's architecture described in the library of the École d'Art in Paul Planat's *Encyclopédie de l'architecture et de la construction*—"One of Belanger's most significant works is the iron and copper dome over the Halle au Blé in Paris which, in 1810, replaced the wooden dome by Legrand and Molinos that burnt on 16 October 1802"<sup>1</sup>—but there was also in the town an ancient white-calf-leather-bound copy of J.-Ch. Krafft's *Plans, coupes, et élévations de diverses productions de l'art de la charpente exécutées tant en France que dans les pays étrangers*<sup>2</sup> that describes "the huge constructions that nowadays cross the ocean."<sup>3</sup> Charles-Édouard Jeanneret himself enthused about ocean liners to Auguste Perret in 1913: "But when the architect will have applied to the house the honest construction expressed in ocean-liners, then it would seem that all the face paint and grime now disfiguring us will peel off like scales."<sup>4</sup> Now, Krafft's *Plans, coupes, et élévations de diverses productions de l'art de la charpente*, inscribed with "Wilhelm Bech, La Chaux-de-Fonds 1851," was in the library of the Loge L'Amitié. Bech was a member of both the prestigious Club Alpin Suisse Section La Chaux-de-Fonds, of which Charles-Édouard Jeanneret's father, Georges-Édouard Jeanneret, was president, and the local Freemasonic lodge, L'Amitié, which was also enormously prestigious.<sup>5</sup> Like the rest of Europe in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century (indeed, the rest of the Western world from Russia to America), La Chaux-de-Fonds was in the grip of "club mania" and salon fever.<sup>6</sup> Clubs, societies, institutes, associations, charities, circles and salons mapped different social classes, ethnic groups, professional associations, personal hobbies, political ideals, social aspirations, religious affiliations, moral objectives, and charitable activities

(figure 2.1). Over 150 Chaux-de-fonnier clubs and societies gathered people together indoors and outdoors throughout the seasons, around instrumental and choral music, politics (including anarchist, socialist, and pacifist societies), arts and crafts, athletics, winter sports, gymnastics, shooting, languages (including Esperanto), needlecraft, Christian anti-alcoholism (La Croix Bleue), and in patriotic, commercial, religious, and charitable groups (figure 2.2).<sup>7</sup> One leading salon—eventually visited by Dinu Lipatti, Yehudi Menuhin, Arthur Rubinstein, Wilhelm Backhaus, Pablo Casals, Clara Haskil, Wanda Landowska, and André Maurois—was that of Yvonne Schwob, née Weil (1888–1982), who arrived in La Chaux-de-Fonds after her wedding to Raphaël Schwob at the Temple Israélite d’Elbœuf in France on 17 May 1909 (figure 2.3).<sup>8</sup> The magnetic effect produced by her arrival in La Chaux-de-Fonds is described in an unpublished memoir:



2.1. A society in La Chaux-de-Fonds. (Charles Robert-Tissot, 1901–1905, courtesy of Collection Iconographie, DAV, Bibliothèque de la Ville de La Chaux-de-Fonds, RT-P2-100.)



2.2. Groupe de Gymnastique de l'Union Chrétienne de Jeunes Gens. (Charles Robert-Tissot, 1901–1905, courtesy of Collection Iconographie, DAV, Bibliothèque de la Ville de La Chaux-de-Fonds, RT-P2-208.)

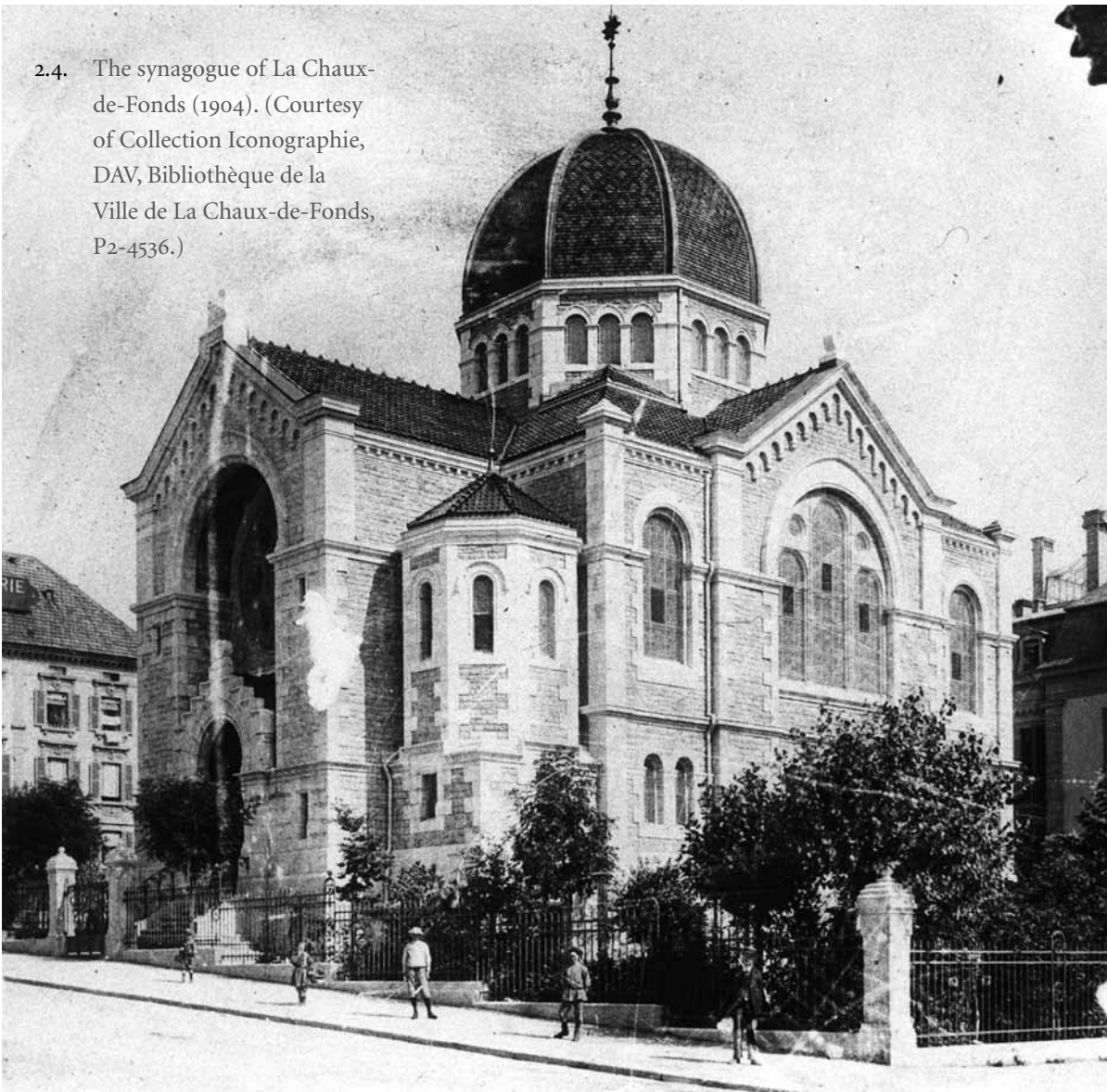
Of French origin, I was told that she had come from a family enriched by textiles, been brought up in the land of the Impressionists on the banks of the Seine downstream from Paris and received the best of classical educations. Extremely beautiful, she had a graceful bearing, an elegant speaking manner and a very assured taste. Her arrival at La Chaux-de-Fonds had caused a sensation in the Israelite community. All the young people were at her feet and everyone was hanging on her every word. It should be known that the Schwobs owned Tavannes Watch Co. S.A., the most highly valued company in the community. Immediately after the Tavannes came the Movados (Ditesheim), the Vulcains (Ditesheim and Didisheim), the Marvins (Ditesheim) and others such as Invicta (Blum) and Rotary (Dreyfuss). When Cécile Ditesheim, a Movado, had married a Tavannes in the person of Georges Schwob, this was social ascension.<sup>9</sup>



2.3. Wedding photograph of Yvonne Schwob, aged 21. (Courtesy of Bibliothèque de la Ville de La Chaux-de-Fonds, Fonds Schwob 108-0021.)

Yvonne Schwob—who would commission Charles-Édouard Jeanneret and Charles Humbert to design her salon’s interior decoration, fittings, furniture and mural paintings—had thus married into the most urbane and wealthiest of the highest echelons of Jewish society in La Chaux-de-Fonds (figure 2.4).<sup>10</sup>

It was into this ethnically complex, politically divided, yet strangely cohesive watchmaking community that Charles-Édouard Jeanneret returned in December 1909 after his apprenticeship to Auguste Perret in Paris, following Yvonne Schwob’s arrival. His father noted in his diary that “Édouard arrived last week from Paris, cheerful and in good health, a big fellow decked out with a wide-crowned top-hat and a huge military coat. We took great pleasure in seeing our son back home.”<sup>11</sup> Between his return in 1909 and his definitive departure in 1917, eight decisive years were



2.4. The synagogue of La Chaux-de-Fonds (1904). (Courtesy of Collection Iconographie, DAV, Bibliothèque de la Ville de La Chaux-de-Fonds, P2-4536.)



to elapse during which Charles-Édouard Jeanneret was to lead a double life, half of which has been meticulously detailed, month by month, day by day, even hour by hour.<sup>12</sup> This half constitutes the authorized story, and revolves around the painter Charles L'Eplattenier at the École d'Art. The other story has yet to be documented; it corresponds to those sketchbooks and diaries that disappeared at two critical moments—first, during Le Corbusier's move into his new, self-designed apartment at 24, rue Nungesser-et-Coli in 1934, when the sketchbook for 1913 disappeared, and again in the late 1950s, when he renumbered and reorganized his sketchbooks and notebooks.<sup>13</sup> From this intense period (1909–1917)—encompassing a second apprenticeship (with Peter Behrens in Berlin, 1910–1911), the *voyage d'Orient* (Istanbul, 1911), three inexplicably innovative villas (Favre-Jacot, 1912; Jeanneret-Perret, 1912; Schwob, 1916), and the Dom-ino concept (1914)—his double life has been virtually erased. The autobiographical *Œuvre complète* compresses those first thirty years in La Chaux-de-Fonds (1887–1917) into twelve pages, leaving the remaining forty-eight years spread over 1,262 pages. Precisely such manipulations of *le temps raconté* (story time) versus *le temps du raconter* (storytelling time) have been analyzed by Paul Ricoeur to describe how their inverse relationship forms a vital configuration in the creation of fictional narratives.<sup>14</sup>

So on Wednesday, 8 December 1909, Charles Humbert noted in his diary that “Edgard Jeanneret came to visit the school,”<sup>15</sup> referring to L'Eplattenier's Cours Supérieur at the École d'Art. On Saturday, 11 December, he entered: “Went to the boss's house with Édouard Jeanneret—Delightful evening in L'Eplattenier's studio in the company of ladies (Perrochet, Goering, Wille) and gentlemen (L'Eplattenier, Ed. Jeanneret, Perrin, Aubert, Perret, Harder, Houriet and Reussner).”<sup>16</sup> Then on Tuesday, 21 December, he noted that he “helped in the company of Aubert, Jeanneret and Ed. Jeanneret to move the latter's luggage,” and, on New Year's Eve, “Mademoiselle Perrochet and Messieurs Ed. Jeanneret, Perrin, Aubert, Houriet and I all exchanged Happy New Year wishes.”<sup>17</sup> It was thus in December 1909 that Charles Humbert first met Charles-Édouard Jeanneret, whom he thought was called Edgard. Humbert noted in his diaries in 1912 that he was part of the small circle who “read C. Ed. Jeanneret's manuscript on the art of building towns” when the latter was living in the old farmhouse, Le Couvent, above La Chaux-de-Fonds (figure 2.5).<sup>18</sup> Humbert also helped





- 2.5. The only photograph of Charles Humbert in Le Corbusier's work: Georges Aubert, Charles Humbert, Albert Jeanneret, and others in a photograph from Jean Petit, *Le Corbusier lui-même* (Geneva: Rousseau, 1970), p. 49. (© 2007 FLC/ADAGP, Paris and DACS, London.)
- 2.6. Postcard sent by Charles Humbert to Charles-Édouard Jeanneret, 2 March 1918: "La Chaux-de-Fonds. Grande Brasserie Restaurant. Ariste Robert." (FLC E-2-11, © 2007 FLC/ADAGP, Paris and DACS, London.)

Charles-Édouard Jeanneret with the site survey for the Villa Favre-Jacot commission on Thursday, 15 January 1912, and on Tuesday, 12 March 1912. And on 21 July 1912, they visited the building site together. When, in August and September 1919, Jeanneret returned from Paris to visit La Chaux-de-Fonds with Amédée Ozenfant, Humbert socialized with them. And in 1925, when Humbert traveled to Paris to find a publisher for his illustrated edition of Rabelais's *Gargantua*, he visited Charles-Édouard Jeanneret, now reinvented as Le Corbusier, on 28 and 29 January, as well as being shown the Villa La Roche-Jeanneret on 30 January and Ozenfant's studio on 31 January.<sup>19</sup>

After his departure for Paris in 1917, Charles-Édouard Jeanneret would write to Humbert: "We understand each other without words; we respect and care for each other."<sup>20</sup> And, in 1918, Charles Humbert would mail a nostalgic and inebriated postcard from one of their old haunts, La Grande Brasserie Restaurant Ariste Robert (figure 2.6). On its reverse side, he wrote:

La Chaux-de-Fonds, 2 March 1918

My dear Édouard

Immersed in the flowing powers of the bottle, Matt and I are replenishing the broken sources of our worldly existence; your place is there, empty . . . waiting and expressing our eager desire to see you again . . . . The world is so diminished that only individuals like you highlight the value of friendship. Ascribe not only to the wine our tender feelings in this setting . . .

Your old friend Humbert<sup>21</sup>

To which Charles-Édouard Jeanneret replied:

You know how much I truly there endured, since I often confided in you. I would be pleased to continue to receive news from you. You have here a good comrade. I have now become friends with Ozenfant, the painter. I talk to him about you; you share values. Old pal, strike out on the strength of your abilities. You already dominate. Drag yourself away from the local sewers.<sup>22</sup>

It was with this clique that Jeanneret had hung out in the evenings upon his return from Paris in 1909. He told the story of how, one night, his mother locked the door: “Just imagine: I go out with friends in the evening, to their pad, to do what? To tell each other the same old stories—Cézanne, Hodler, Titien, Tintoret. I get home after midnight, and find the house locked. And they all think I am out whoring.”<sup>23</sup> It is this other half of the story that has been erased in accordance with his future *Loi de Ripolin* (Principle of Whitewashing) not “to allow anything at all which is not correct, authorised, intended, desired, thought-out: no action before thought. Once you have put Ripolin on your walls you will be *master of yourself*.”<sup>24</sup>

The double game that he played was thus between Charles L'Eplattenier on the one hand and, on the other, the local clique of young intellectuals, artists, writers, and poets around Charles Humbert with their contacts to the cultured, intellectual, and wealthy Jewish circles (figure 2.7). To Auguste Klipstein in 1912 he would declare, “It’s all over between L'Eplattenier and me! . . . The years constructed a friendship built on self-interest. . . . Aesthetic conceptions too different and too conflicting have gradually frozen all sympathy. There is no longer anything between us but *pretence*.”<sup>25</sup> And to William Ritter in 1912 he wrote that “a wall is rising between his style and my preferences, a wall of ice.”<sup>26</sup> So, by the end of that December 1909, he was, with Charles Humbert and friends, celebrating the New Year and the beginning of a new period with new social networks on the cusp between two divergent groups. The first, Christian, traditionalist, and ultranationalist, was embodied by L'Eplattenier’s murals for La Croix Bleue and his design of helmets for the Swiss army.<sup>27</sup> The second was Jewish, modernist, liberal, entrepreneurial and internationalist. The relations and differences between these two societies is illustrated by two typical events. First was the appeal in 1908 by Moïse Schwob, Président administratif de la Communauté Israélite (president of the Israelite Community), to Henri Lehmann, lawyer and member of the Loge L’Amitié, to help Jews to officially register businesses within restrictive anti-Semitic legislation.<sup>28</sup> Secondly was Raphaël Schwob’s medal of the Legion of Honor from the French president Paul Doumer in 1932.

Outside of Charles-Édouard Jeanneret’s networks of young artists and intellectuals were other more select Chaux-de-fonnier circles. These were accessed upon personal recommendation and after a members’ ballot of acceptance. Such was the Club Alpin Suisse Section La Chaux-de-Fonds, presided over by Georges-Édouard Jeanneret. We find occasional indirect traces of another

- 2.7. Charles Humbert (left), Jean-Paul Zimmermann (second from left), Madeleine Woog (front), and others on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Gymnase of La Chaux-de-Fonds, 1925. (Courtesy of Bibliothèque de la Ville de La Chaux-de-Fonds, Fonds Charles Humbert, 300.)



prestigiously select Chaux-de-fonnier society, the Masonic lodge, in Le Corbusier's archives, which can be cross-referenced against other diaries. On 7 June 1910, he wrote to L'Eplattenier: "Father spoke to me about your conference. What effect did it produce? Are you repeating it?"<sup>29</sup> In his diary for Wednesday, 1 June 1910, Charles Humbert had noted: "Delightful evening at the Masonic lodge (conference by L'Eplattenier) in the company of Mesdames Perrochet, Woog, Wille, Borel and Messieurs Perret, H. Jeanneret, Houriet, Herzog."<sup>30</sup> As early as 1890, Georges-Édouard Jeanneret had mentioned in his diary a banquet at the Masonic lodge: "In the evening, banquet at the Masonic lodge that I did not attend."<sup>31</sup> But, on yet another occasion, he himself had made the main speech:

1<sup>st</sup> March . . . In the evening, banquet at the Masonic lodge to which the Club Alpin Suisse Section La Chaux-de-Fonds was invited. 25 members present. Impressive banquet, very cordial reception. I made the following speech:

“It is on behalf of the Club Alpin Suisse Section La Chaux-de-Fonds that I address you, in order to thank you for the friendly welcome that we have received. We appreciated this sign of sympathy and if we accepted it so unreservedly, it is because certain analogies, certain points of contact allow a closer association between the Masonic lodge and the Club Alpin Section La Chaux-de-Fonds.

“Your society opens its arms to all beliefs, to all parties. Ours makes no distinctions between these beliefs, holds no restrictions in relation to citizens of different nationalities.

“You celebrate your faith in your architectural temples, which include temples of charity.

“Our faith is in nature; its temples are in all places where mountains and blue skies are to be found.

“The members of your extended family are distributed all over the globe and are everywhere assured of finding friends. Ours are in all countries where mountain chains are to be found, and membership is a talisman that gives access to many hearts.

“By your precepts, the aim that you pursue is to form individuals with solid principles, individuals of integrity and, above all, individuals who practice solidarity and friendship.

“As for us, our desire is to form individuals who are staunch, calm and composed in the face of danger, avid for Beauty and therefore also for Goodness, receptive to natural devotion, dependable in the beneficial delights of friendship, as the solidarity experienced when, attached by a thin rope, we follow the rim of a snowy crag or crevice.

“In all these ways, we can join forces and it is for this reason that we have come to celebrate with you the anniversary of our regional independence, solidly based on shared republican beliefs.

“I propose this toast also to the solidarity that one can distinguish beyond present clouds, which holds the key to the future; I propose a toast to the Masonic lodge of La Chaux-de-Fonds, which nurtures with such perseverance this vast and noble field. May both prosper!”<sup>32</sup>

Now, before considering this episode—with its reference to “the anniversary of our regional independence, solidly based on shared republican beliefs”—a brief note is in order to highlight a significant cultural and contemporary difference, pithily summarized by Oswald Wirth: “The European Freemason is an intellectual; the Anglo-Saxon is suspicious of ideas.”<sup>33</sup> This era was indeed, internationally, a period of particularly difficult relations between radical republican francophone Freemasons and more traditional anglophone Freemasons.<sup>34</sup>

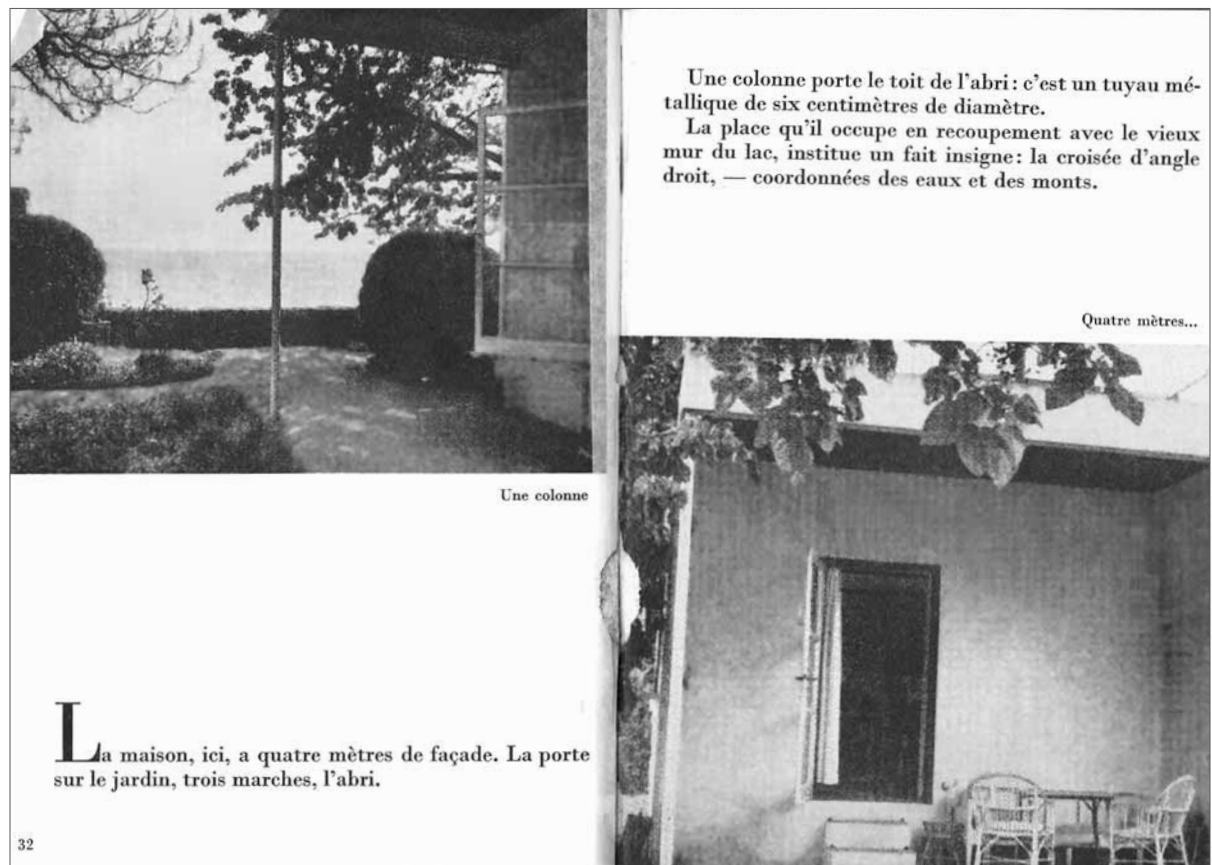
At the end of the nineteenth century and into the early twentieth, francophone Freemasonry was intensely involved in politics. The histories of the Third Republic (1870–1940) and French Freemasonry are intimately intertwined. Other historical factors, relating to World War II, fascism, National Socialism, and the cold war, add to both these historical and historiographical complexities.

Historically, French Freemasonry—with its emblematic motto: “Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité”—was intertwined with republicanism, anticlericalism, socialism, and even, at its extreme, anarchism (Pierre Joseph Proudhon and Mikhail Bakunin). As a result, during World War II, French Masonic lodges were disbanded, their assets looted, and their members deported to concentration camps by the fascist administration of Philippe Pétain in Vichy (1940–1944). A special *Police Secrète* (Secret Police) was established to track down Jews, Freemasons, and socialists. A series of publications, *Les documents maçonniques* (1941–1945), embodied its virulent anti-Freemasonic and anti-Semitic paranoia. To prove America’s participation in an alleged global conspiracy of Jews, Freemasons, Bolsheviks, and capitalists, *Les documents maçonniques* pointed its finger at two American expressions of Freemasonry: the Freemasonic membership of its president, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and of Auguste Bartholdi, sculptor of its national symbol, the Statue of Liberty.<sup>35</sup> Further, it denounced intellectuals and artists such as Paul Vaillant-Couturier (“deceased, ex-Deputy of the Seine, member of the Loge Clarté”), Jean Zay (“Deputy of the Loiret, ex-minister, deserter”), and Amédée Ozenfant (“artist, writer, editor of the earlier *L’Esprit Nouveau*; member of the Loge Art et Science”), and affirmed that “if all Freemasons are not Jews, all Jews, with rare exceptions, are Freemasons.”<sup>36</sup>

From this history arise historiographical consequences. Following the invasion of France in 1940, French Masonic archives were sequestered to Berlin; when the Soviets entered Berlin in 1945, they were removed to Moscow, from where they have only recently been restituted.<sup>37</sup> It is in this context that the revival of European interest in Freemasonry as part of the origins, foundations, and evolutions of civil and republican society must be understood.<sup>38</sup> National histories set the parameters for their historiographies; Merleau-Ponty’s analysis of nature—“Nature is an enigmatic object, an object not entirely in front of us. Nature constitutes our ground, not what is in front of us, but what holds us”<sup>39</sup>—applies equally to deep cultural and historical structures. Typically, awareness of the significance of the Loge L’Amitié in La Chaux-de-Fonds in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is implicit in local historiographies. Charles Thomann discusses it in his anecdotic *L’histoire de La Chaux-de-Fonds inscrite dans ses rues*,<sup>40</sup> as do Jean-Marc Barrelet and Jacques Ramseyer in their comprehensive history, *La Chaux-de-Fonds ou le défi d’une cité horlogère, 1848–1914*.<sup>41</sup> Similar discussions occur in Jacques Gubler’s *Inventaire suisse d’architecture, 1850–1920: La Chaux-de-Fonds*,<sup>42</sup> Claude Garino’s study of the Villa Schwob,<sup>43</sup> and the official documentary history, *La Chaux-de-Fonds 1944: Documents nouveaux publiés à l’occasion du 150<sup>e</sup> anniversaire de l’incendie du 5 Mai 1794 suite au volume paru en 1894*.<sup>44</sup> In contrast, there are no mentions of the Loge L’Amitié

in H. Allen Brooks, Paul V. Turner, Mary Patricia May Sekler, or any recent collections such as *Le Corbusier before Le Corbusier* or *Le Corbusier: The Art of Architecture*.<sup>45</sup>

The cultural fabric of civil society thus crisscrosses and overlaps with the lives of their historiographers, who project their own ethnocentric insights and blindnesses upon others. Thus, in a description of a Le Corbusier photograph from *Une petite maison 1923*, Richard Etlin noted the importance Le Corbusier attributed to a small symbolic detail, the photograph of the right-angled crossing of the horizontal lake with a vertical column, when he “stresses that these modest objects, close at hand and at human scale, cross ‘at a right angle—the co-ordinates of the waters and the mountains.’ To the rationalist mentality, Le Corbusier’s text at this point certainly presents one of the most obscure enigmas of architectural literature” (figure 2.8).<sup>46</sup> Similarly, Brooks comments on his purchase of Auguste Choisy’s *Histoire de l’architecture* to suggest that, because “Auguste Choisy followed the rationalist approach espoused by Viollet-le-Duc, this purchase would have been more appropriate in 1908–1909,”<sup>47</sup> thus ignoring Viollet-le-Duc’s commitment to the extant *compagnonnages*, inheritors of the spiritual, ritualistic French medieval guilds. Again, Anthony Vidler



- 2.8. “. . . at a right angle—the coordinates of the waters and the mountains.” Le Corbusier, *Une petite maison 1923* (Zurich: Éditions Girsberger, 1954), pp. 32–33. (© 2007 FLC/ADAGP, Paris and DACS, London.)

denounces the “contempt”<sup>48</sup> shown by Le Corbusier’s proclamation that “in a complete and successful work there are hidden masses of implications, a veritable world which reveals itself to those it may concern.”<sup>49</sup> A way therefore needs to be found to understand Charles Humbert’s diary entry about the “delightful evening at the Masonic lodge,”<sup>50</sup> while avoiding “the assimilation, whether in life or in the books of historians, of one culture or way of life to another.”<sup>51</sup> Just as Bronislaw Malinowski remarked that often “an article is called ‘ceremonial’ simply because nothing is known about its uses and general nature,”<sup>52</sup> so an architectural form is deemed obscure, irrational, or contemptible when nothing is known about its uses and general nature. I place this research under the aegis of Joseph Rykwert’s analysis of Johannes Itten’s work as representing “the Bauhaus at its darkest. But then I think it was also the Bauhaus at its richest.”<sup>53</sup> Rykwert described how his analysis “provoked the fury of a number of Bauhäusler, who felt that I was trying to denigrate the holy house. In fact my intention—in showing its diversity and richness, and the awareness on the part of some of its masters of the deeper issues touched—had been rather to underline its importance beyond the clichés of the hand-books.”<sup>54</sup>

Now, a central notion in Le Corbusier’s architectural concepts, the notion of the *promenade architecturale* (the architectural promenade), is usually interpreted as picturesque without reference to its formative intellectual configurations and social networks. It is argued that Le Corbusier absorbed his concept of architectural promenade from the description of the Acropolis as *pittoresque* in Auguste Choisy’s *Histoire de l’architecture*.<sup>55</sup> This argument needs looking at in greater detail.

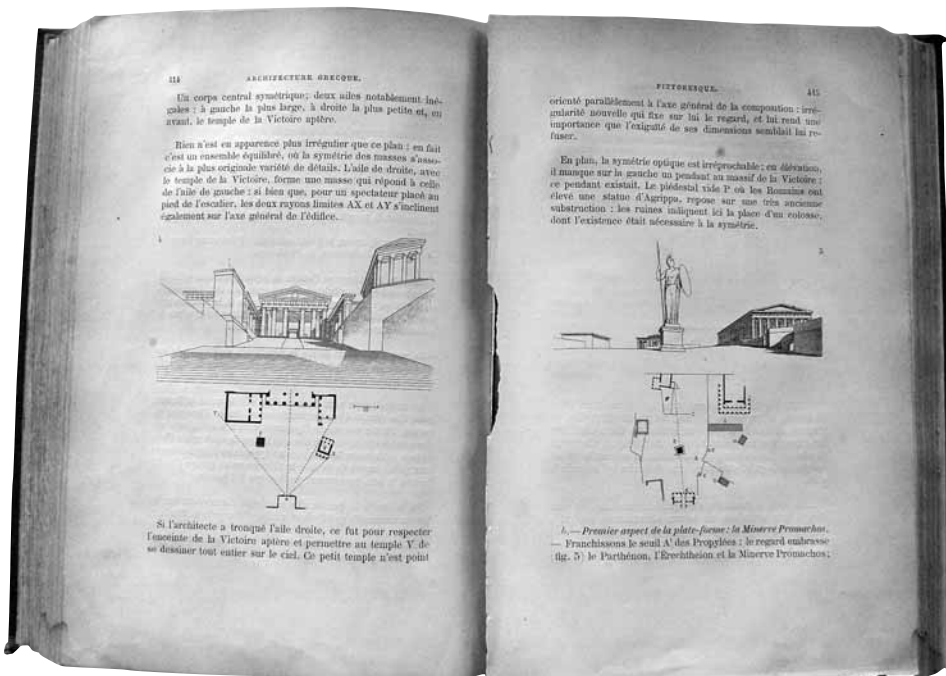
In *Vers une architecture*, Le Corbusier does indeed reproduce the diagrams of the Acropolis from Choisy’s *Histoire de l’architecture* (figure 2.9).<sup>56</sup> His interest in Choisy is indisputable. Writing in defense of *les tracés régulateurs* (regulating lines) in *Mise au point* that were a key element in his system of harmonic proportions, he boldly stated: “regulating lines—(the proof: Choisy).”<sup>57</sup> But we need to scrutinize the logistics of the accepted argument according to which Auguste Choisy, in his revisionist rewriting of the history of the Acropolis, “determined that the entire site had been arranged as a sequence of controlled views, a series of ‘picturesque’ scenes in which buildings and statues of different sizes and at different distances were asymmetrically balanced with respect to the central object, with the frontal view the exception and the oblique the rule.”<sup>58</sup> The assertion of a link between Choisy’s *pittoresque* and the English notion of the picturesque has become an unquestioned truth; as one example, Hanno-Walter Kruft, surveying the history of architectural and landscape theories, maintains that “Choisy proposes a concept of the picturesque derived from landscape gardening.”<sup>59</sup> These studies, however, ignore the fact that the picturesque is a visual language specific to different historical periods, each with its particular logic and rationale “to serve new ideas, attitudes and adventures of the human spirit.”<sup>60</sup> The question is which purpose was served by the notion of the picturesque in Auguste Choisy’s *Histoire de l’architecture*.



Choisy's passage on *le pittoresque* starts with a description of the relations between it and symmetry:

The Ancient Greeks do not envisage a building separately from the site that frames it and from the buildings that surround it. . . . The idea of leveling the ground is entirely alien to them: they accept the site as nature has made it with only minor regularization. . . . When a group of buildings is involved, this respect of the natural configuration of the ground makes symmetry impossible. . . . Another circumstance makes alignment unrealizable: temples are built one after the other on sacred sites that are already crowded by older buildings. . . . The architecture accepts these constraints and puts them to profit: the impossibility of symmetrical plans has given us *pittoresque partis* such as the Acropolis.<sup>61</sup>

The Greek *pittoresque* for Choisy respects and retains irregular ground contours and existing constructions within which buildings are naturally and irregularly sited. Overlaid on these geological and historical determinants, adding more irregularity, are further aesthetic and visual factors. Choisy's *pittoresque*, being volumetric and spatial, is optical, with implications for perspectival sightlines: "Thus located, the Parthenon is seen obliquely: views of corners are generally what the



2.9. Auguste Choisy, *Histoire de l'architecture* (Paris: Édouard Rouveyre, Éditeur, 1899), pp. 414–415.

Ancients tried to achieve. Lateral views are more *pittoresque*, frontal views more majestic: each has its role; lateral views are the rule, frontal views are exceptions that always have a particular motive.”<sup>62</sup>

Oblique sightlines, which counter monumentality, embody the *pittoresque* and are the norm. This is the first plank in Choisy’s manifesto for the *pittoresque*, a manifesto against the “cold alignments”<sup>63</sup> of Beaux-Arts architecture.<sup>64</sup> For Choisy, the *pittoresque* is an optical tableau that involves asymmetrical volumes in an irregular landscape—“Each separate architectural element is internally symmetrical, but each architectural group is handled as scenery in which the masses are counterbalanced”<sup>65</sup>—in which architecture too is “handled as scenery.”<sup>66</sup> Choisy did not in any way reference the *pittoresque* to the picturesque of English eighteenth-century landscape gardens, with their historically specific narrative allusions and their political agendas; and so it is perplexing to understand how the picturesque could have been introduced into interpretations of Choisy’s *pittoresque*. Also, it seems churlish to point out that Choisy used the French *pittoresque*, not the English “picturesque”—the slippage from *pittoresque* to “picturesque” being a classic case of *faux amis* (false friends). Indeed, to demonstrate Choisy’s use of the picturesque, single quotation marks—‘picturesque’—indicate covertly that this conceptual usage is not strictly Choisy’s own, to furtively allow describing Choisy’s theory as “a sequence of controlled views, a series of ‘picturesque’ scenes.”<sup>67</sup> Let it ironically be recalled that Choisy’s agenda was to combat ahistorical and ethnocentric historiography: in his scholarly studies, collected together in *Études épigraphiques sur l’architecture*, Choisy scrutinized surviving Greek legal documents, building contracts, and quantity surveys to reconstruct Greek architecture as it had been, in opposition to how it was fantasized.<sup>68</sup>

Two elements have so far been established: Le Corbusier’s architectural promenade is directly related to Choisy’s *pittoresque*, and there is no relationship between Choisy’s *pittoresque* and the picturesque. There is no evidence of any interest by Choisy in eighteenth-century English landscape gardens; nor is there any evidence that they held any interest for Charles-Édouard Jeanneret. The plans of gardens and landscapes that he copied during his studies at the Bibliothèque Nationale do not include English picturesque landscape gardens.<sup>69</sup> His only interest in English-designed landscapes was focused on English garden cities.<sup>70</sup> Why then was he interested in Choisy’s theories? And how would he have understood the concept of the *pittoresque*, of which he eventually would write, “The apparent lack of order in the plan could only deceive the unlearned. . . . It is determined by the famous landscape that stretches from the Piraeus to Mount Pentelicus. . . . The buildings are massed together in accordance with the incidence of their varying plans”?<sup>71</sup> Given his studies at the Bibliothèque Nationale before 1917, these questions must be contextualized within Chaux-de-fonnier culture. What, in the early twentieth century, was meant by the *pittoresque* in Switzerland, in La Chaux-de-Fonds, and in the immediate circles of Charles-Édouard Jeanneret and his friends?<sup>72</sup>

In an article of 1904, “‘Modern style’ et traditions locales”<sup>73</sup> by Charles Melley, three architectural styles in Switzerland are distinguished: Beaux-Arts, Art Nouveau, and vernacular Swiss *pittoresque*. Melley blamed Beaux-Arts traditions for the impoverishment of contemporary architecture because it offered no historical alternative to modernism, which, by simply removing classical ornamentation as incompatible with industrial building products and procedures, was unable to provide imaginative renewal. Melley then accused Art Nouveau of being alien to Swiss values and traditions. For Melley, only the rural, ancient, and vernacular *pittoresque*, which was oriented to the past, was suitable. La Chaux-de-Fonds, however, differed from other parts of Switzerland in that it was the leading Swiss Art Nouveau town and therefore was alien to Swiss traditionalism. In *Das Kapital*, Karl Marx specifically singled out “La Chaux-de-Fonds, which one can consider as one unified watchmaking industry.”<sup>74</sup> Through this watchmaking industry, La Chaux-de-Fonds was tied into global markets in technology, manufacturing and marketing. La Chaux-de-Fonds and its neighboring villages, valleys, and city—Le Locle, Saint-Imier, Le Val de Ruz, Neuchâtel—had been a world center of watchmaking since its (mythical or historical) foundation by Daniel Jeanrichard in the 1740s.<sup>75</sup> Watchmaking industrialists from La Chaux-de-Fonds proceeded to establish worldwide *comptoirs* (trading posts) from the Americas to Russia to China. Maps drawn in La Chaux-de-Fonds of the location of these trading posts indicate their distance not in kilometers but in time: the hours, days, or weeks needed to transport manufactured merchandise to the trading posts and to bring new orders back to the ateliers, workshops, and factories of La Chaux-de-Fonds (figures 0.2, 2.10). But La Chaux-de-Fonds was an industrial city located in the mountains, thus transgressing the divide of rural-agricultural and urban-industrial. According to the Swiss heritage organization established in 1905 in Berne, Heimatschütz—Ligue pour la Conservation de la Suisse Pittoresque, buildings such as electric factories were inappropriate in the Swiss mountains.<sup>76</sup> Precisely such an electric factory, the Usine d’Électricité de La Chaux-de-Fonds (1908) founded by Louis Reutter, was an important innovation in La Chaux-de-Fonds.<sup>77</sup> An overlap between the notions of modernity and *pittoresque* was specific to La Chaux-de-Fonds, where the Heimatschütz vision, supporting the protection of national identity through the development of an ancient rural alpine image, did not prevail. In La Chaux-de-Fonds, the leading references in art and design were to France and the prestigious École des Beaux-Arts.

When Charles-Édouard Jeanneret started his studies at the École d’Art (1902)—progressing to the Cours Supérieur, participating in Charles L’Eplattenier’s Ateliers d’Art Réunis and finally teaching on the Nouveau Cours until its closure in 1914—publications on the *pittoresque* were included in its library, as listed in the 1885 and 1919 catalogues.<sup>78</sup> Most of these books were from and about France.<sup>79</sup> Characteristically, Charles-Édouard Jeanneret’s two most prestigious teachers had studied in Paris at the École des Beaux-Arts.

Much has been written about Charles L’Eplattenier, whose importance Le Corbusier himself effectively exaggerated and historians have gullibly repeated. And for good reason: there is

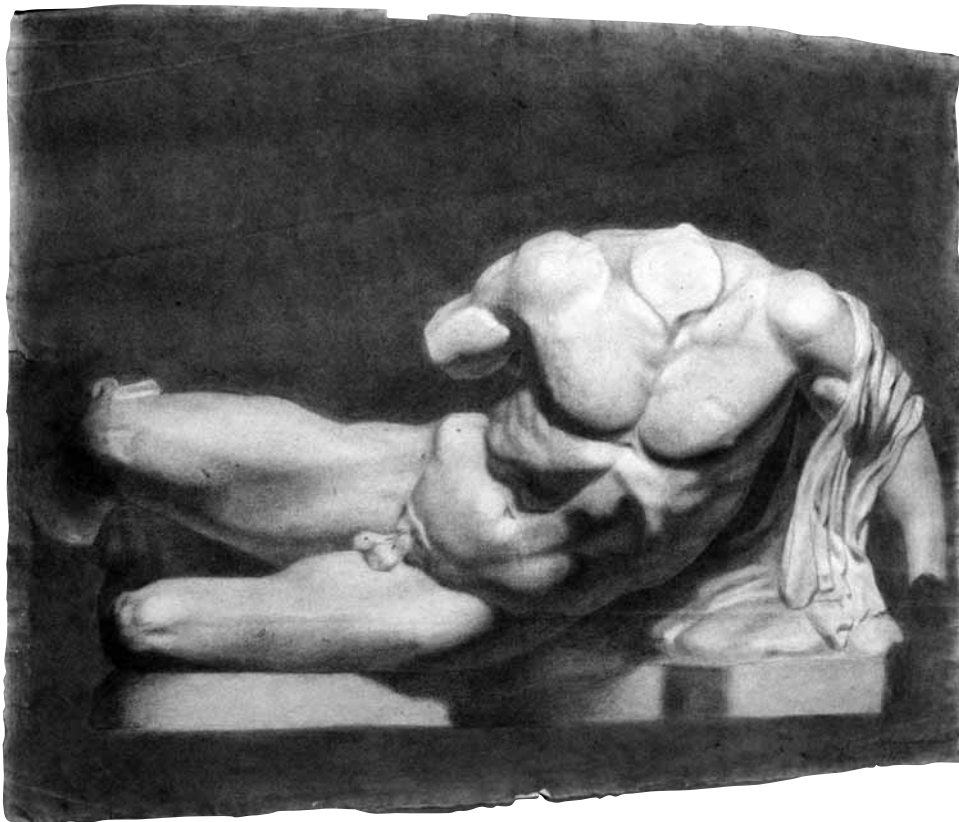
no similarity between the art of L'Eplattenier and Charles-Édouard Jeanneret; L'Eplattenier's influence does not sully the myth of Le Corbusier's "Immaculate Conceptions." Nothing has been written about his second important teacher, Eugène Schaltenbrand, who does threaten this myth and to whom Charles-Édouard Jeanneret owes everything. In his last years in the 1960s, especially in the authorized biographies and testimonials by submissive advocates, Le Corbusier is quoted as recalling: "So my teacher [L'Eplattenier] told me, 'You'll do architecture.' And I said, 'But I hate architecture. . . . What are architects? . . . All that isn't droll and neither is architecture: so how can you expect me to go into architecture?'"<sup>80</sup> This retrospective and intense reaction—Jean Petit would posthumously quote Le Corbusier's statement, "I abhorred architecture and architects"<sup>81</sup>—points to someone of untoward psychological, social and cultural significance behind the decoy of L'Eplattenier. As Malinowski wrote, "the totality of all social, cultural and psychological aspects of the community . . . are so interwoven that not one can be understood without taking into consideration all the others."<sup>82</sup> Now, at the École d'Art, the only *architect* who directly taught Charles-Édouard Jeanneret was Eugène Schaltenbrand. And Schaltenbrand, a neoclassicist issued from the finest atelier at the École des Beaux-Arts, was at loggerheads with L'Eplattenier, an artist who studied at a derided *pompier* atelier. In 1912, Charles-Édouard Jeanneret sarcastically referred to L'Eplattenier's art in his *Étude sur le mouvement d'art décoratif en Allemagne*: "where the Parisians



2.10. Postcard of "Tavannes—La Grande Fabrique Tavannes Watch Co." The sender has marked his office windows with X. (Archives J. K. Birksted.)

include a sinuous leaf and the Germans a glimmering cube, well, we will include a triangle with pine cones and our taste will be safe and sound.”<sup>83</sup> Already in his letter of 22 November 1908 to L’Eplattenier from Paris, Jeanneret had curtly written, “All these minor successes are premature; the end is near. One does not build on sand. The advance is already lost. Your soldiers are ghosts. When the battle starts, you will be left alone.”<sup>84</sup>

While L’Eplattenier had been a student of Luc-Olivier Merson, a flourishing *pompier* painter and graphic designer, Schaltenbrand had been a prize-winning pupil in the modernist architectural Atelier Guadet before then enrolling in a prestigious life-drawing class, the Cours Yvon, and studying for a degree in painting (figure 2.11).<sup>85</sup> In support of his application to the École des Beaux-Arts, Schaltenbrand had benefited from a letter by the Ministre de la Confédération Suisse, Légation de Suisse en France, dated 5 December 1878, addressed to Monsieur le Directeur de l’École des Beaux-Arts.<sup>86</sup> Schaltenbrand, when applying to the Section Architecture in March 1879, was admitted directly into the second year of the program on 4 April 1879. Subsequently he applied twice to the Section Peinture in February and July 1885 before being admitted on 4 August 1885; here, as



2.11. Eugène Schaltenbrand, drawing of plaster cast of a Greek Parthenon statue from the École des Beaux-Arts (ca. 1884). This drawing is inscribed “élève de M Yvon,” with the École des Beaux-Arts stamp. (Courtesy of École d’Art de La Chaux-de-Fonds.)

in architecture, he won numerous prizes, distinctions, and medals. In architecture, these included special mentions (two in 1879) and a medal for ornamental drawing (1879), first-class (1879) and second-class prizes in architectural composition (two in 1879), a second-class prize in *Éléments analytiques* (1880), a medal in *Géométrie descriptive* (1880), a mention in *Mathématiques* (1880), a second-class prize in composition (1880), a third-class medal for ornamental drawing (1880), a mention for drawing (1880), a third-class medal for ornamental drawing (1880) and a first-class mention for architectural composition (1880). Schaltenbrand then entered the Première Classe on 4 August 1881, winning about ten medals before receiving the Diplôme d'architecture on 26 December 1883 for his project *Une grande villa de province*. Before his diploma, his prize-winning projects included *Une porte cochère pour l'entrée principale d'un hôtel d'ambassade* (1882), *Un portique musée dans un grand parc* (1882), *Une bibliothèque pour un chef-lieu de département* (1882), and *Un cabinet de lecture dans une promenade publique* (1882). After obtaining his Certificat de Capacité in August 1882, he produced *La tribune dans le bureau d'une salle de la chambre d'un député* (1882), *Une fontaine publique* (1883), *Un entrepôt de douane* (1883), *Un pavillon pour l'étude du dessin de la botanique* (1883). He then won about a dozen further medals for figure drawings, still lifes, and architectural ornamentation drawings—including *Figure dessinée d'après l'antique* (1884 and 1887), *Figure dessinée d'après nature* (1884 and 1885), *Étude modelée d'après un ornement antique* (1884), *Un panorama* (1884), etc.—before winning the Prix Albert Blancs in August 1887, which is the last mention on his student records at the École des Beaux-Arts. Several drawing prizes and medals are specifically for drawings of architecture, such as *Le tombeau d'un Cardinal-Archevêque dans une église cathédrale* (1886), *Le plafond d'une galerie* (1887), *Un château d'eau* (1887), and *Une maison de garde chasse* (1887). These periods—the first architectural atelier period of 1879–1883, the interim period in 1884, and the fine art atelier period of 1885–1887—were thus intense years with an abundance of prizes, awards, and medals. Schaltenbrand was a gifted student, appreciated and rewarded. Yet other prizes before he obtained his diploma in 1883 included a “Prix Jay 1881, Prix Muller Soehnée 1880, 1<sup>re</sup> Classe 1881, Prix Abel Blouet 1881, 1<sup>re</sup> Médaille Godeboeuf 1882.”<sup>87</sup> Also typical is the speed of his student success, since he completed his architectural diploma in only four years, while another Swiss architectural student, Schüle, needed seven.<sup>88</sup> Schaltenbrand then stayed on, extending his studies to seven years. From this period, Schaltenbrand brought with him to La Chaux-de-Fonds his extensive architectural library, which the 1915–1916 annual report of the École d'Art reported buying with funding from the City Council. And, of critical importance, Schaltenbrand and L'Eplattenier stood opposed as enemies at the École d'Art.

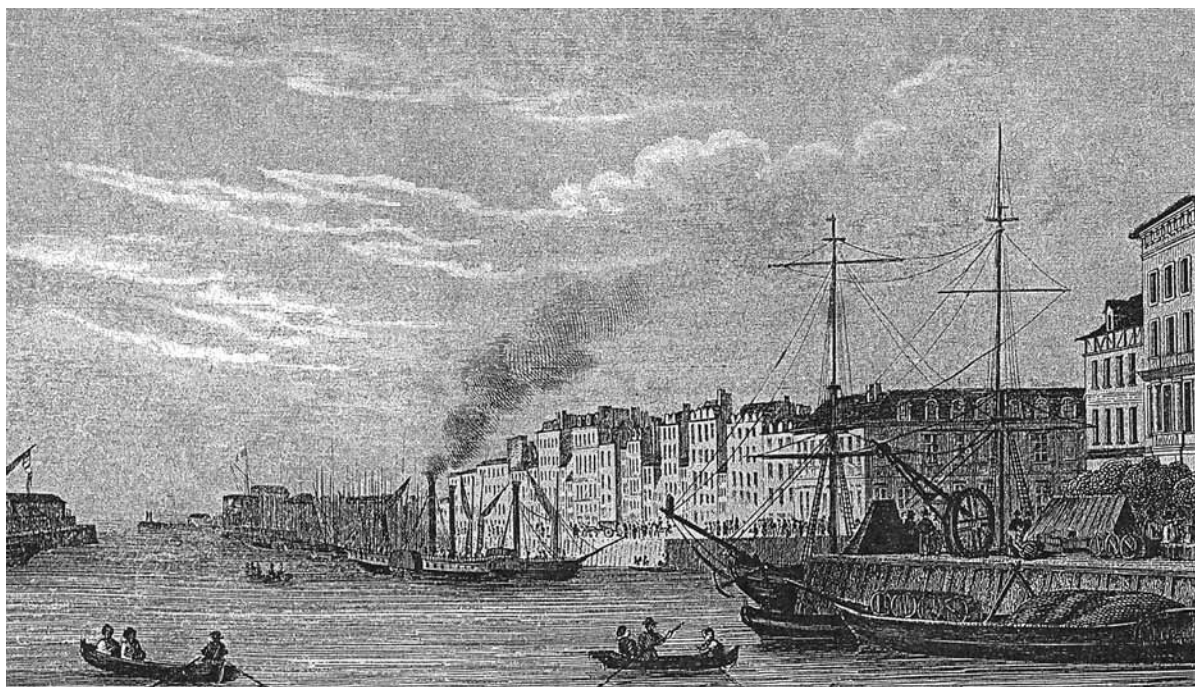
Schaltenbrand's grades at the École des Beaux-Arts had made him eligible to apply for the prestigious Prix de Rome, but his Swiss nationality barred him from doing so; attached to his homeland and birthplace, he decided to return to Switzerland and to La Chaux-de-Fonds. In 1886, he was proposed by William Hirschy as director of a new class at the École d'Art in La Chaux-de-Fonds. By 1886–1887, the school records give him a glowing report:

The theoretical classes and the general management of the École have been entrusted to M. Eugène Schaltenbrand, a former student of the École d'Art, who achieved outstanding success in his further studies at the École Nationale des Beaux-Arts in Paris, several awards, prizes, and medals in competitions, and the Diploma in Architecture, a title that is only awarded in France after rigorous examinations. His artistic abilities, his talent as a draftsman, and his in-depth study of decorative styles very naturally recommended him to the choice of the Educational Commission. He will undoubtedly measure up to its standards and give a productive impetus to our École.<sup>89</sup>

Thus, the École des Beaux-Arts was not only of general cultural significance in La Chaux-de-Fonds, but was of specific significance to Charles-Édouard Jeanneret via his teachers. It was within this Chaux-de-fonnier historical context—watchmaking industrialism in a rural setting, with French culture imported via the École des Beaux-Arts—that the *pittoresque* was understood in the circles around Charles-Édouard Jeanneret and Charles Humbert.

Books about the *pittoresque* in the library of the École d'Art of La Chaux-de-Fonds—including *Guide pittoresque de l'étranger dans Paris et ses environs*,<sup>90</sup> *Voyage historique et pittoresque du Havre à Rouen sur la Seine*,<sup>91</sup> *La Loire historique, pittoresque et biographique de la source de ce fleuve à son embouchure dans l'océan*<sup>92</sup>—feature contemporary life. In the *pittoresque* harbor of Le Havre, for example, we see the three ages of maritime travel juxtaposed—the rowboat, the sailboat, and the steamship—as a display of historical progress and the achievements of modern mercantilism. Modern life is featured without loss or nostalgia (figure 2.12). Unlike the tradition of the English landscape garden, there are neither allegorical absurdities nor ironic comparisons to antiquity: without any references to the lost classical worlds of the Piraeus or Ostia, Le Havre is shown as a symbol of progress and modernity. Neither poetic texts nor architectural ruins are appended to make us aware of mythical allusions. In the *Guide pittoresque de l'étranger dans Paris et ses environs* (c. 1850), Paris is described as a city in full expansion with radical political, social, architectural, and urbanistic transformations. The author, setting the historical scene through a brief evocation of the republican Revolution of February 1848, lists the names of the streets that no longer exist because of the new constructions and demolitions brought about by Haussmann, such as the disappearance of the rue Jean-Hubert to allow construction of the new Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, the removal of the rue de la Triperie to allow the extension of the place du Châtelet, and of the rue de Florence to make way for the railroad. The author describes how the Hôtel de Ville has been decorated with new commemorative statues to honor its new role as Hôtel de la Préfecture (new district administration) and how new constructions are rising, such as extensions to the Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers and many churches. Hospitals were being built with all the necessary conditions of hygiene in the poorer parts of Paris; avenues were being renewed with modern tarmac;

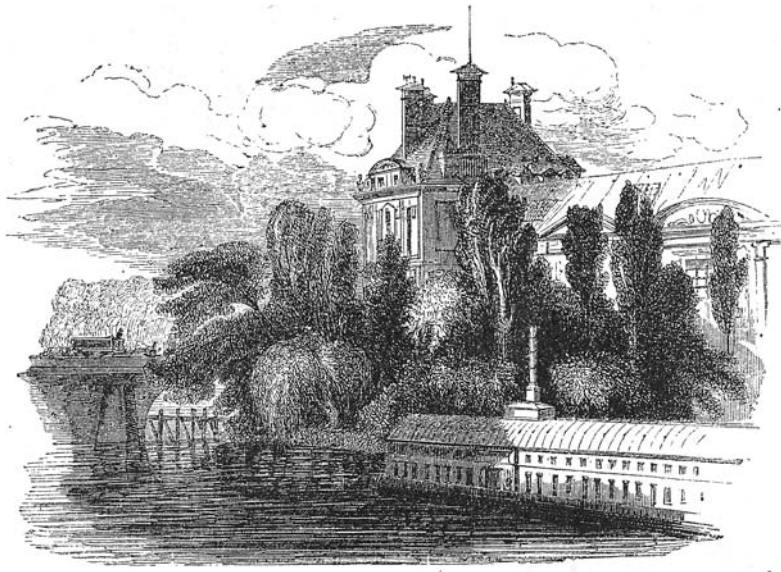
- 2.12. M. J. Morlent, *Voyage historique et pittoresque du Havre à Rouen sur la Seine avec une carte des rives de la Seine et six gravures* (Rouen: A. Le Brument, Éditeur, 1844). (Courtesy of École d'Art de La Chaux-de-Fonds.)



the Louvre collections were being redeployed in new exhibition rooms with daylight; day nurseries and schools (in which new methods of instruction were being applied to the teaching of French national history) were being created; the Halles were being finished and the rue de Rivoli was being extended, while new landscaping and sewerage were being completed. All these are included in the *Guide pittoresque* for the foreign visitor to Paris. In addition, new buildings such as the Jardin d'Hiver provided popular concerts and balls. On holidays, the new railways allowed Parisians to enjoy seaside resorts, while “people from the seaside resorts replace the Parisians in Paris.”<sup>93</sup> And all of these developments will benefit “the working classes by giving new stimulation to industry.”<sup>94</sup> Thus the *pittoresque* aspects of Paris are specifically related to the radical change, innovation, and progress resulting from the drastic demolition and reconstruction in the city. The frontispiece to this *Guide pittoresque* shows the Tuileries Palace: clouds scurry across the sky, the poplar trees along the Seine sway in the wind, a modern barge floats on the river Seine, and a nearby bridge is busy with traffic (figure 2.13). (To this barge we will return below.) Paris is a site of modernity, and this modernity is *pittoresque*.

There is a similar description of Rouen in the *Voyage historique et pittoresque du Havre à Rouen sur la Seine*:





Palais des Tuileries, vu de la rivière.

- 2.13. Ch. V. D. S. J., *Guide pittoresque de l'étranger dans Paris et ses environs, avec 72 vignettes sur bois dans le texte, les cartes du parcours des chemins de fer et un plan de Paris et ses environs orné de 18 vignettes en taille-douce, nouvelle édition, entièrement revue et complétée* (Paris: Jules Renouard et Cie, Aubert et Cie, n.d. [ca. 1850]). (Courtesy of École d'Art de La Chaux-de-Fonds.)

The approach to Rouen is *pittoresque* and entrancing; seen from afar, it is a charming city; its interior, despite successive annual improvements, still exhibits the old timber-framed and corbelled houses with their overhanging upper floors, and the narrow windy streets of medieval towns. Yet the quays of this large, populous, and quintessentially commercial city are being completed and embellished; older constructions make way for modern and attractive buildings; thus, arising from this process, the valley of the Seine and the harbor of Rouen present a vision as majestic as anyone could imagine.<sup>95</sup>

In Rouen, as in Paris, the juxtaposition of old medieval buildings with new modern ones constitutes the *pittoresque* (figure 2.12). The frontispiece represents the port of Le Havre with all three ages of maritime navigation—rowboats, sailboats, and steamships—along the harbor quays on which people jostle alongside merchandise and mechanical cranes. A steamship with black smoke pouring out of its chimney adorns the title page to this *Guide historique et pittoresque*. Again, the juxtaposition of past with throbbing technological change driven by mercantilism constitutes the nature of the *pittoresque*. Rouen, like Le Havre, is a place of history and progressive commerce.

In another publication, *La Loire historique, pittoresque et biographique de la source de ce fleuve à son embouchure dans l'océan* of 1851, modernity is represented yet again as inherently *pittoresque*.<sup>96</sup> The emphasis is on progress as the source of “glorious France, progressive France.”<sup>97</sup> In the *Guide pittoresque de l'étranger dans Paris et ses environs*, the architectural and artistic consequences of the revolution of February 1848 are listed:

THE TOWN HALL, interim seat of the provisional government and of the mayor of Paris, has returned to its function as County Hall, and has been decorated with new statues that complete its ornate façade. THE JARDIN DU LUXEMBOURG, with expert guidance of M. de Gisors, architect and M. Hardy, head gardener, has received superb embellishments in the form of architectural decorations, statues and English gardens. THE BIBLIOTHÈQUE SAINTE-GENEVIÈVE, whose old premises were going to wrack and ruin, has been replaced with an elegant construction, enhancing the Place du Panthéon. This abundant library is much used by the studious youth of our Écoles, who benefit from the most welcome of receptions from its librarians. THE BOULEVARDS on the right bank, following a project prior to the February revolution, have been asphalted.<sup>98</sup>

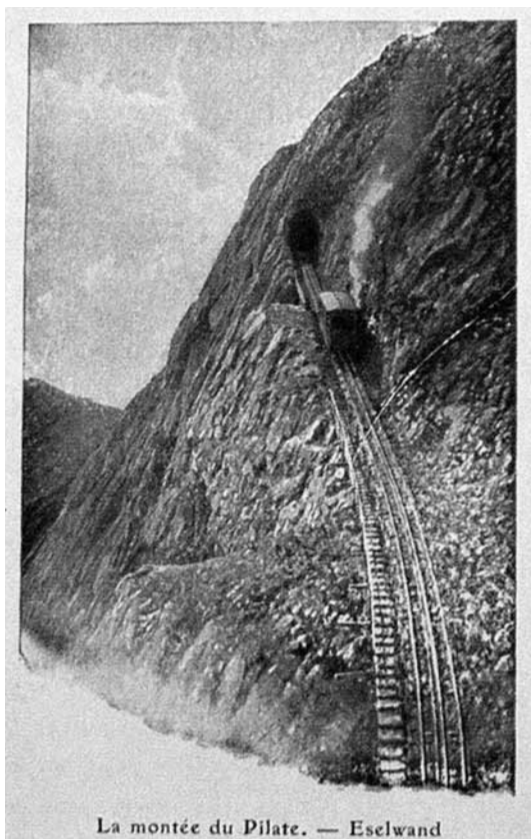
Thus, all of these books from the library of the École d'Art depict history not as a process of loss but as cumulative and positive progress. On the frontispiece of *Voyage historique et pittoresque du Havre à Rouen sur la Seine*,<sup>99</sup> the black smoke belching from the steam-driven paddle ship's chimney, complete with nineteenth-century ornamental lacelike ironwork, symbolizes modern progress. And these differences between *pittoresque* and picturesque are to be found also in the composition of the books' visual imagery.

There is no picturesque English eighteenth-century decorum in these *pittoresque* engravings: boats, merchants, and equipment are scattered across the surface of the image as in real life. Unlike picturesque images that give prominence to “humans who seek to understand what they contemplate,”<sup>100</sup> here action, not contemplation, is the rule. And whereas in the English allegorical picturesque “the action rests with the temples, statues, inscriptions, and other such devices, for the human has no permanent place in the design,”<sup>101</sup> here the life of harbor and city is driven by its republican and merchant *citoyens* and *citoyennes*. Everything is a symbol of republican progress, rather than an allegory of loss. This harbor scene is not a setting *for* human action but a scene *of* human action. If we now turn again to the frontispiece of the *Guide pittoresque de l'étranger dans Paris et ses environs*, a particular detail stands out significantly. A modern-looking barge, moored next to a bridge and with traffic passing over it, floats on the river Seine (figure 2.13). Now, this same barge by this very same bridge is depicted by Joris-Karl Huysmans—several of whose books Charles-Édouard Jeanneret read between 1909 and 1915<sup>102</sup>—in his notorious novel of 1884, *À rebours*. Huysmans describes

the Bain Vigier, an establishment to be found on a pontoon moored in the middle of the Seine. There, by salting your bath-water and adding sulphate of soda with hydrochlorate of magnesium and lime in the proportions recommended by the Pharmacopoeia; by opening

a box with a tight-fitting screw-top and taking out a ball of twine or a twist of rope, bought for the occasion from one of those enormous roperies whose warehouses and cellars reek with the smell of the sea and sea-ports; by breathing in the odours which the twine or the twist of rope is sure to have retained; by consulting a life-like photograph of the casino and zealously reading the Guide Joanne describing the beauties of the seaside resort where you would like to be; by letting yourself be lulled by the waves created in your bath by the back-wash of the paddle-steamers passing close to the pontoon; by listening to the moaning of the wind as it blows under the arches of the Pont Royal and the dull rumble of the buses crossing the bridge just a few feet over your head; by employing these simple devices, you can produce an illusion of sea-bathing which will be undeniable, convincing and complete. The main thing is to know how to set about it, to be able to concentrate your attention on a single detail, to forget yourself sufficiently to bring about the desired hallucination and so substitute the vision of a reality for the reality itself.<sup>103</sup>

Huysmans's description matches exactly the engraving in the *Guide pittoresque de l'étranger dans Paris et ses environs*. The wind buffets the poplar trees by the Tuileries and therefore also “blusters through the arches of the bridges,” while an omnibus rumbles over the Pont Royal. Indeed, this pontoon boat was one of the highlights of modernity in Paris at that time. The frontispiece to this *Guide pittoresque de l'étranger dans Paris et ses environs* again indicates modernity as central to



2.14. La Montée du Pilate, Eselwand (1914), from Isabelle Kaiser, “La Suisse pittoresque,” in *Les étrennes helvétiques, almanach illustré* (Paris: Fischbacher & Cie; Dijon: Félix Rey; La Chaux-de-Fonds: Imprimerie Georges Dubois, 1914), pp. 45–47. (Courtesy of École d’Art de La Chaux-de-Fonds.)

the *pittoresque*. And we find these overlapping notions of modernity and *pittoresque* in a publication in which Charles-Édouard Jeanneret himself participated, *Les étrennes helvétiques* (1914).<sup>104</sup> In this collection, an article on “La Suisse pittoresque”<sup>105</sup> shows the latest modern transport developments to reach the top of Le Pilate in Eselwand (figure 2.14). This overlap between modernity and the *pittoresque* was in accord with the watchmaking culture of La Chaux-de-Fonds, which, as has been seen, transgressed the usual divide of rural-agricultural and urban-industrial.

Chaux-de-fonnier modernism was itself in accord with a progressive trend in late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century Switzerland, whereby engineers occupied a prestigious role as agents of national unity by creating infrastructural roads, bridges, communications, and hydrological works. Equally important was the mission of architecture to define Swiss national characteristics;<sup>106</sup> thus, architectural *style* was of critical import. The creation of the polytechnic in Zurich with its department of architecture directed by its esteemed first professor, Gottfried Semper, was indicative of this national matrix.<sup>107</sup> The creation of industrial design schools, such as the École d’Art in La Chaux-de-Fonds, with their earnest discussions about the role of drawing was also typical. The *pittoresque* with its progressive modernity brings us back to the main theme and purpose of this chapter.

To explore those cultural trends in La Chaux-de-Fonds that constitute the cultural matrix for *la promenade architecturale* (the architectural promenade) and *l’espace indicible* (ineffable space), it has been necessary to disprove a number of recurring legends and ethnocentric assumptions.<sup>108</sup> A final tenacious legend has to be disassembled. John Ruskin is regularly discussed as a formative influence on Charles-Édouard Jeanneret because of Ruskin’s notion of the picturesque and his importance to L’Eplattenier. But what did Ruskin mean to L’Eplattenier? And how was Ruskin read by Charles-Édouard Jeanneret, Charles Humbert, and their clique of intellectuals and artists?

For L’Eplattenier, Ruskin was undoubtedly a reference. On 19 March 1906 after his move to La Chaux-de-Fonds, the architect René Chapallaz wrote to a locksmith, asking him to proceed quickly with the production of locks and door handles following L’Eplattenier’s design.<sup>109</sup> Two days later, on 21 March 1906, Chapallaz wrote to Payot & Cie in Lausanne to order several books by John Ruskin: *La Bible d’Amiens*, *Les pierres de Venise*, and *Les sept lampes de l’architecture*.<sup>110</sup> René Chapallaz’s sudden interest in Ruskin followed immediately upon his new acquaintance with L’Eplattenier—but this says nothing about *how* L’Eplattenier read and understood Ruskin.

It is often implied that Charles-Édouard Jeanneret too absorbed Ruskin’s thought<sup>111</sup> since he declared his admiration for “Ruskin [who] spoke of spiritual values.”<sup>112</sup> Yet at the same time, he critiqued Ruskin as “an impenetrable, complex, contradictory and paradoxical apostle.”<sup>113</sup> Brooks describes another important aspect of Ruskin to Jeanneret, in that Ruskin “exalted the skill of the artisan and craftsman against the impersonality of the machine.”<sup>114</sup> Ruskin’s drawings of rugged

mountains and nostalgic tombstones around the château de Neuchâtel show how a picturesque “attraction to decay and incompleteness becomes the foundation of his whole work” (figure 2.15).<sup>115</sup> This is precisely *not* how Ruskin was read in La Chaux-de-Fonds. The Chaux-de-fonnier Ruskin circa 1900 is not the English Ruskin. How, then, was Ruskin read by the clique of aspiring young artists, architects, writers, and intellectuals around Charles-Édouard Jeanneret and Charles Humbert? Indeed, in 1909, Charles Humbert recorded in his diaries that he was reading a book called *L'esthétique anglaise: Étude sur M John Ruskin* by Joseph Milsand.<sup>116</sup>



2.15. John Ruskin, *Neuchâtel Lake and Cemetery with Lady Trevelyan's Grave* (1866). (© Ruskin Foundation, Ruskin Library, Lancaster University.)

# 3 Which Reveals Itself to Those It May Concern



# JOSEPH

Milsand's book *L'esthétique anglaise: Étude sur M John Ruskin*, which is in the library of the École d'Art, includes an introduction about Joseph Milsand by Maurice Millious. Milsand critiques Ruskin, arguing, "he claims to be reviving architecture but forces it to become unarchitectural . . . he reduces to nil and totally discounts the particular effects that architecture can produce through the arrangement of its masses and by its principal outlines; he assesses monuments like a man of letters, so much so that he requires them too, with their windows, their roofs and their clusters of silent stones, to somehow become some sort of vast page of ideas printed in relief."<sup>1</sup> Millious explains that knowledge about Ruskin in France is indebted to Milsand's book (first published in 1864), whose republication in 1906 is described as "an act of faith; it is also a gesture of vindication."<sup>2</sup> Millious describes Milsand as an occult and hermetic mystic who viewed humanity in terms of eternal, universal, and spiritual values, hence Milsand's fascination with Ruskin:

Until the fifteenth century, the artist as individual could be poet or philosopher, but, as professional, the artist lived in a sort of sanctuary, belonging to a brotherhood with its own secrets and constituting a separate world. Through initiation, they received the traditions of their predecessors, and, when painting, the only judges they recognized were their teachers and their peers. Secluded in their world of inspiration, they could even tell a pope: *procul esto*, the uninitiated do not enter here.<sup>3</sup>



Like Milsand, Charles-Édouard Jeanneret also described Ruskin as writing “of spiritual values.”<sup>4</sup> But, like Milsand, he took Ruskin to task as “an impenetrable, complex, contradictory and paradoxical apostle.”<sup>5</sup> Yet the spiritual values that were praised in Milsand’s book were projected by Jeanneret and his friends onto L’Eplattenier, who treasured Ruskin: L’Eplattenier too was seen as a medieval master craftsman. In 1915, in an article in *Pages d’Art*, William Matthey-Claudet compared L’Eplattenier to “a medieval master craftsman.”<sup>6</sup> A quarter of a century later, Le Corbusier echoed these very ideas in *Quand les cathédrales étaient blanches* (1937) in a passage on the Middle Ages, when

human beings observed the Hermetic rules of Pythagoras; everywhere you could see the eager search for the laws of harmony. They had deliberately turned their backs on “the antique,” on the stereotyped models of Byzantium; but they threw themselves passionately into the reconquest of the inevitable axis of human destiny: harmony. The law of numbers was transmitted from mouth to mouth among initiates, after the exchange of secret signs.<sup>7</sup>

Thus, the reading in La Chaux-de-Fonds of Milsand’s own reading of Ruskin echoed these notions of “sanctuary,” “brotherhood,” “secrets,” “initiation,” “traditions,” and “the profane.” In order to clarify the importance of this nomenclature and its implications for the notion of the *pittoresque*, as well as its eventual applicability to Le Corbusier’s notions of architectural promenade and ineffable space, these ideas need to be contextualized within the culture and society of La Chaux-de-Fonds.

Despite Karl Marx’s description of La Chaux-de-Fonds as “one unified watchmaking industry,”<sup>8</sup> the situation was actually more complex and conflictual. La Chaux-de-Fonds is the birthplace of the Swiss pacifist movement,<sup>9</sup> but it is also the birthplace of the militant Swiss communist movement, founded by Jules Humbert-Droz (1891–1971), Protestant pastor, editor of the local socialist newspaper, *La Sentinelle*, and cofounder of the Swiss Communist Party in 1921.<sup>10</sup> Typically, nineteenth-century anarchists such as Peter Kropotkin and Mikhail Bakunin—the latter a visitor to the Loge Les Vrais Frères Unis in Le Locle and author of *Catéchisme de la Franc-Maçonnerie moderne*<sup>11</sup>—and twentieth-century communists such as Vladimir Ilich Ulyanov (the future Lenin) were involved in labor movements in La Chaux-de-Fonds. Christian associations too were critically important in socialist movements. Through the weekly newspaper *La Feuille du Dimanche* and through the Union Chrétienne de Jeunes Gens (the Christian Union for Young People), Paul Pettavel, Protestant pastor and socialist, had a significant impact on La Chaux-de-Fonds. Simultaneously, Charles Naine and Paul Graber led the opposing atheist and social-democratic labor movement. Syndicalism developed with the creation of the Union Générale des Ouvriers Horlogers in 1905. Yet, despite the deep social, ethnic, religious, and ideological divisions, a collective concern bound this watchmaking community together. Watchmaking—with its factory magnates, traveling

sales representatives, production line laborers, self-employed artisans (such as Georges-Édouard Jeanneret), socialist syndicalists, and politicians—was related to global market conditions, as is evident in the local newspaper, *L'Impartial*. On Thursday, 11 May 1899, along with a local story on the death of Léon Gallet—a wealthy watch industrialist who was also an active politician, past Vénérable (Grand Master) of the Loge L'Amitié, and prominent benefactor to Chaux-de-fonnier charities and art institutions such as the Société des Amis des Arts, to which Charles-Édouard Jeanneret belonged<sup>12</sup>—*L'Impartial* also announced a possible strike of railway workers in Winterthur; two critical phases in the Dreyfus affair (the deposition by Maître Ballot-Beaupré on 20 May 1899 and the pleading of Maître Mornard on 31 May 1899); news relayed from the *Times* about new economic conditions in Sudan (new minimal importation taxes, the permission for Europeans to own real estate, good credit ratings, the opening of the Khartoum railway); a serious military mutiny in Guernsey; political and electoral developments in South Africa (President Krueger's speech according voting rights to *Uitlanders* as long as the votes of *Burghers* were respected); and changes in the Italian cabinet.<sup>13</sup> La Chaux-de-Fonds, with 35,000 inhabitants, nine banks, and nine newspapers, of which three were dailies, commanded watch trading posts throughout the world. Yet, even after the success of the Swiss watchmaking industry at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, in an apparently ever-expanding market with constant technical innovations, two dramatic economic depressions hit La Chaux-de-Fonds in 1902–1903 and 1908–1909.<sup>14</sup> And, all along, while innovations created markets for new branches of watchmaking, other markets were wiped out by the same innovations and volatile market conditions. Changing fashions, new technologies, and industrial production methods developed abroad by foreign competitors regularly threatened survival in the global watch markets. The effects of such innovations are reflected in the often pitiful diaries of Georges-Édouard Jeanneret, whose alternating periods of unemployment and overwork exhausted, depressed, and prematurely aged him. His particular craft, watchface enameling, was eventually wiped out. At the same time, these changing fashions, new technologies and production methods were developed locally or poached from abroad for use by local entrepreneurs. And, decisively for Charles-Édouard Jeanneret's architectural schemes, these entrepreneurs included a significant part of La Chaux-de-Fonds's Jewish community—into which Yvonne Schwob (née Weil) married—that comprised the Schwobs of Tavannes, the Ditesheims of Movado, the Ditisheims and Didisheims of Vulcain, the Ditisheims of Marvin, the Blums of Invicta, and the Dreyfusses of Rotary.<sup>15</sup> The story of the Jewish immigrants and residents of La Chaux-de-Fonds is also complex and conflictual, with an anti-Semitic riot occurring on 31 May 1861.<sup>16</sup> Thus, La Chaux-de-Fonds was a society intensely divided along ethnic, social, political, and cultural lines even as it continued to function as “one unified watchmaking industry.”<sup>17</sup>

Against the grain of these divisions flourished the innumerable clubs, societies, and voluntary associations of the town's civil society, including the Club Alpin Suisse Section La Chaux-de-Fonds and the Loge L'Amitié. Among the members of the Masonic lodge of the Loge L'Amitié

and of Les Vrais Frères Unis in Le Locle were patrons of the new architecture of Charles-Édouard Jeanneret after 1912. Paul Ditisheim, for whom Jeanneret did several major interior designs and a factory project (1913), belonged to the Loge L'Amitié in La Chaux-de-Fonds. Although Anatole Schwob, who commissioned the Villa Schwob, belonged to neither lodge, other members of his family did.<sup>18</sup> Georges Favre-Jacot, for whom Jeanneret produced the Villa Favre-Jacot, belonged to Les Vrais Frères Unis in Le Locle. Georges Favre-Jacot (1843–1917), founder of the Zenith watch factory, was the wealthiest watch industrialist in Le Locle by 1900, employing up to 800 workers. His influence extended to many spheres of life, as he built houses for his workers and built a hotel to develop tourism in Le Locle. His wealth was built on the creation of watchmaking production lines, supported by new communications technology (an internal factory telephone system) and comfortable working conditions, including central heating and large windows for maximum lighting. Favre-Jacot retired in 1911 and then devoted himself to the real estate that he had built up over the years.<sup>19</sup>

But, before designing the Villa Favre-Jacot, Charles-Édouard Jeanneret had already worked with members of the Loge L'Amitié. In 1910, he had remodeled a room in the apartment at 30 bis, rue Grenier for Émile Moser, who a year earlier had been made Compagnon (the second Masonic level of Fellow Craft) at the Loge L'Amitié.<sup>20</sup> The room was decorated with “vertical unpainted pine paneling topped by a carved wood frieze”<sup>21</sup> that is symbolically related to the vertical supporting columns and horizontal encircling painted frieze of the Loge L'Amitié (figure 3.1). Masonic members also were key figures in Georges-Édouard Jeanneret's watchmaking. His most important and demanding customer from 1900 to 1915 was Longines,<sup>22</sup> a company founded in 1866 by Ernest Francillon (1834–1900), member of the Loge Bienfaisance et Fraternité in Saint-Imier, where he



became Maître (the third level of Master Mason) in 1866. From 1881, the chair of the board of directors of Longines was Baptiste Savoye (1851–1927), also a member of the Loge Bienfaisance et Fraternité, becoming Apprenti (the first level of Entered Apprentice) in 1882, and eventually Secrétaire (Honorary Secretary) of the lodge. By the end of the nineteenth century, the increase in popularity and membership of the Loge L’Amitié in La Chaux-de-Fonds was such that its members themselves were surprised:

These figures might seem to suggest that we are actively marketing our institution, or that we are not very exacting in our choice of members or, alternatively, that our association has assumed a political dimension. This is far from the case, and this outcome is due solely to the huge favor enjoyed by our society in the profane world. We have abandoned none of our scrupulous caution in the selection of candidates.<sup>23</sup>

The Loge L’Amitié was associated with a particular politics, *les radicaux*, the republican center-right, which was closely associated with *les notables*, the civil servants of La Chaux-de-Fonds.<sup>24</sup> As an interdenominational “indulgent space in which to conceive alternative social, political, and spiritual systems,”<sup>25</sup> L’Amitié allowed its members to cross social and ideological divisions. An exception proves the rule since, in 1877, a fervently ideological politician, Jules Soguel, was with some hesitation elected Vénérable, but he continued the more nonideological and charitable traditions of L’Amitié, such as founding a day nursery for needy children, a project proposed by the wives of several lodge members.<sup>26</sup> Lodge membership was thus a significant factor in the family lives of its members, who included other civil servants such as the town architect, Louis Reutter, who realized prestigious public projects,<sup>27</sup> and Hans Mathys, director of industrial services, who project-managed the bringing of both electricity and water (on the plans of the engineer Guillaume Ritter) to La Chaux-de-Fonds.<sup>28</sup> Symptomatic of these civic commitments, lodge membership included significant individuals from the media, transport, and communication systems (figure 3.2). At L’Amitié, membership included Finkboner (director of trams) and Ernest Péclard (director of telephone service). Les Vrais Frères Unis in Le Locle included Arnold Bäkler (head of the railway station of La Chaux-de-Fonds), Émile Bourquin (director of telephone service) and Hans Erni (assistant director of telephone service in the 2nd arrondissement of Neuchâtel). Louis Bardet (railway director) and Henri Fauquez (municipal telephone operator) belonged to La Constance in Aubonne. At L’Égalité in Fleurier, members included Paul Biétry (railway station director in Auvernier), Hermann Chopard (telephone operator), Gustave Latour (railway station director in Nyon), Émile Leuba (railway station director in Buttes), Alfred Norerraz (railway station director in Oron-la-Ville), and Edmond Rosselet (railway station director in Verrières). La Bonne Harmonie in Neuchâtel included Alfred-Louis Jacot (director of the *Journal National*), Louis Jacot (director of the Imprimerie Attinger) and Émile Tobler (telephone technician). La Tolérance in Porrentruy included Paul Boillot

- 3.2. Members of the Loge L'Amitié, ca. 1895: 1 Fritz Ducommun Lassueur, 2 Louis Rozat, 3 Wilhelm Labbardt, 4 Isler, 5 Rodolphe Frank, 6 Jacques Eigeldinger, 7 William Beck, 8 Charles Demagistri, 9 Eugène Étienne, 10 J.-Jacques Kreutter, 11 Hass, de Bienne, 12 [no name], 13 Walther Büttiker, 14 Albert Michaud, 15 Oscar Nicolet, 16 Numa-Bourquin, 17 Huguenin Tissot, 18 Hans Mathys, 19 Charles Wuilleumier-Robert, 20 Édouard Enay, 21 David Braunschweig, 22 [no name], 23 [no name], 24 Fritz Robert-Ducommun, 25 [no name], 26 Alfred Guyot, 27 Joseph Wyss, 28 Paul Jacquet, 29 [no name], 30 Fritz Brandt-Ducommun, 31 Jean Ubersax, 32 Paul Perret, 33 Charles Couleri, 34 [no name], 35 Arnold Grosjean. (Courtesy of Loge L'Amitié.)



(telephone operator in Delémont), Hans Güdel (federal train director in Berne), Franz Schwitzer (federal train director in Basel), Fritz Sterki (railway station director in Sonceboz) and Alcide Ruedin (postal assistant). La Bienfaisance et Fraternité in Saint-Imier included Émile Balmer (railway station director in Courtelary), Lucien Bulloz (railway station director in Grandvaux), Ernest Held (telephone manger) and W. Schöneberger (publicity agent in Basel). Perhaps as part of this communicational role, La Tolérance in Porrentruy included the train station hoteliers Frédéric Hochuli and Achille Maître, while La Bienfaisance et Fraternité in Saint-Imier included Albert Frêne, restaurateur at the Hôtel Terminus in Montreux, and La Vraie Union in Nyon included Julien Berlie,

railway station barman. Members also included the professions: an honorary member at Les Vrais Frères Unis, L'Amitié, and La Bonne Harmonie in Neuchâtel was Louis-Constant Guillaume, head of the statistical bureau in Berne and member of Zur Hoffnung. L'Amitié also included bankers (Hermann Bertholet, Banque Cantonale, and Camille Gindrat) and law officers (Camille-P. Jambé, law courts clerk in Delémont; Auguste Jeanneret, solicitor and deputy; Henri Lehmann, solicitor; Georges Leuba, judge at the Tribunal Cantonal; Abraham Soguel, president of the Tribunal and solicitor in Cernier; Virgile Tripet, justice of the peace in Cernier). In the archives of L'Amitié is an application for membership by Louis Reutter Jr. (son of the architect Louis Reutter), dated 21 March 1901, praising L'Amitié as “a neutral, nonpolitical society . . . [in which] everyone is free—to believe or not to believe and to renounce whatever it may be, free to be Protestant, Catholic, Jewish . . . and providing charitable activities.”<sup>29</sup>

L'Amitié was thus a tolerant space in which watchmaking industrialists and artisans, financiers, civil servants, and professionals could meet and converse across otherwise intense social, ethnic, religious, and ideological boundaries.<sup>30</sup> Édouard Quartier-la-Tente *père* (whose importance will subsequently be seen) emphasized this tolerance by writing that Freemasonry “developed into a society whose members came from all social classes, all political parties, and who represented the full range of ideas and of trades and professions.”<sup>31</sup> As in the eighteenth century, sociability and reading were linked,<sup>32</sup> and L'Amitié had an extensive library. After the death in 1886 of Jules Montandon, who had been Orateur (Speaker) of the Loge L'Amitié and Grand Orateur (Principal Speaker) of the Grande Loge Suisse Alpina, his library of two thousand books was acquired by L'Amitié. This collection ranged from theology and the history of religions (Christianity, Islam, *Libre-Pensée* [freethinking]) to mythology, philosophy (ethics, educational issues), social and political issues (social insurance, mutualism, philanthropy, pauperism), science (mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, zoology, electricity, telegraphy), arts and crafts, literature (rhetoric, linguistics, fiction), geography and travel, archaeology, history, biography, and music (including musical scores).<sup>33</sup> In the sociability of reflection, respite, and fraternity offered by L'Amitié, friendship and trust could be forged. Attached to this were trusted international networks for travelers in foreign countries; hence the advertisements in the *Bulletin of the International Bureau for Masonic Affairs* at Neuchâtel, edited by Édouard Quartier-la-Tente *père*, for “Numerous connections in the commercial world. Advertising and Agency Work done for the whole of Italy,” “Relations with all the banks, manufactories and wholesale houses in Budapest and Hungary,” “Collection of debts in all countries without any charge even in case of failure.”<sup>34</sup> But another dimension existed too.

Of this other dimension, Édouard Quartier-la-Tente *père*, as an abandoned orphan, was typical. Several members of L'Amitié came from traumatic childhood experiences, family bankruptcies, and orphanages, which gave rise to fervent social consciences, charitable ideals, and humanitarian projects. Biographies of members of L'Amitié around 1900 make sobering reading. On

20 June 1910, Robert Belli, town architect of La Chaux-de-Fonds, presented his biography, as required when applying for membership to L'Amitié, describing his father's ruin and his lonely childhood.<sup>35</sup> Upon Belli's death in 1923, a *planche funèbre* (funeral oration) summarized his life:

Robert Belli passed through life like a fragile vessel on a storm-tossed sea. At the age when others grow up carefree and happy, swathed in affection, in a peaceful home atmosphere, our brother was painfully contemplating the effects of bankruptcy with its black trail of consequences. He senses the bitter struggles, the malevolence and ferocious selfishness of humans, and this picture impresses upon his child's soul a deep mark of skepticism. . . . His father struggled and provided all the members of the family with the model of the individual whom nothing can beat; he urged his sons who would no longer have the benefit of affluence to compensate this lack through education. Robert Belli isolates himself, works strenuously, enters the École Polytechnique Fédérale at the age of 19 and, in only four years, completes his architectural studies with distinction. Death felled his beloved father and shortly afterward his elder brother. At the age of 23, barely more than a child, Robert Belli assumes the immense task of rebuilding his family. . . . Robert Belli applies himself to this task, without signs of discontent and putting aside enjoyment and leisure, anticipating all the beauty and nobility of the task to be accomplished, to which he brought dignity, discretion, and utterly unsurpassable devotion. This grueling life, nights largely spent working, cuts him off further from society. . . . In these circumstances, and because of the need to prevail, he arrives in La Chaux-de-Fonds. . . . Office hours are not enough, and at his wish we often spend evenings at work with him. . . . Appointed town architect a few years later, Robert Belli works with the same unwavering sense of duty, and it is to his labors that we owe the construction of the crematorium; he, who had suffered so much, could conceive this building better than anyone to impart to it the quality of austere dignity that it now reflects; his success is absolute. . . . His family duty nearing completion, Robert Belli finally considers his own life; he desires to create a home; he craves happiness; he aspires to the comforts of human friendship, he presents himself to our Loge L'Amitié. If, however, he did not become intimate with us, it is because his passage was too brief and he needed many months to express unreservedly all his benevolent feelings of goodwill and friendship, and I have no doubt that on some occasions all the full trust that we showed him might have been countered by stinging recollections from his deprived youth. . . . Next, it is to Berne that Life calls him and, having won the respect and liking of his superiors, he fulfills with integrity, conscience, and skill his functions as a first-ranking architect at the Swiss Bureau of Federal Constructions. It is there that we sometimes saw him again, and at the first contact in these all too rare encounters, Robert Belli, with his trembling voice and anxious expression, questioned us, enquired about our endeavors, fearing for us what he had experienced too

well, and, as our reassuring words eased his anxieties, he would relax. In moving phrases, he expressed his joy and pride at having contributed to create conditions for happiness. Thus was the intimate life of our very dear brother Robert Belli. I have presented him to you conscientiously, my brothers, with all the affection, intense memories, and gratitude that I owe him.<sup>36</sup>

Belli also had attended the École Polytechnique in Zurich for four academic years (1896–1900). In his first year, 1896–1897, he was taught architectural drawing by Georg Lasius, one of Gottfried Semper’s two “capable assistants.”<sup>37</sup> In the following academic year (1897–1898), Belli followed Lasius’s courses in the Construction of Private Houses and in Perspectival Exercises, as well as following other optional courses on Reading Victor Hugo and on Swiss Monuments of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries. In his third year (1898–1899), Lasius taught him courses in Internal Developments: Heating, Ventilation, Water Supply, and the Construction of Public Buildings, and Preliminary Cost Estimates. Belli also followed an optional art history course on the Swiss Renaissance.<sup>38</sup> Yet another, earlier biography by another town architect, Louis Reutter, for his reception into L’Amitié on 23 January 1876, describes his difficult and lonely upbringing, having to leave home very young to study architecture, first in Germany and then in Paris.<sup>39</sup> Hans Mathys, director of industrial services, in an autobiographical *planche* (oral presentation) of 15 February 1882, describes his hardships from an early age. After his father, a modest farmer, died when Mathys was six years old, his mother sold their farm to an uncle. Mathys was placed in 1853 with his unmarried godfather, with whom he led a miserable life. When his mother succumbed to illness in 1855, his childless uncle and aunt took him from his godfather and brought him up in a family atmosphere. He then benefited from a solid education both at school and at home such that “at the age of 12, I found myself in the front row in the midst of my 16-year-old schoolfellows.” He managed to be one of the pupils selected for secondary school, from which he graduated with the highest grades four years later. A strong student in mathematics, he benefited from individual lessons from the mathematics teacher. His aunt was keen for him to study theology, but two of his schoolteachers unexpectedly came to visit him: “They questioned me about my intentions and having obtained the desired information, asked me if I would not prefer a technical career. My answer was affirmative on condition that consent was given by my uncle and my tutor, who had been appointed by the Commune de Blenenbach to administer our inheritance.” With their consent, from 1863 to 1865 Mathys attended the École Communale in Berne, renting an unheated room in which, in the evenings, “after 10 o’clock, I often continued my studies in bed, by the light of a candle attached to a string that stretched from one wall to the other.” From there, he progressed to the École Polytechnique in Zurich, from which he graduated in 1868 with a diploma in architecture. During his years at the École Polytechnique, Hans Mathys was taught by Gottfried Semper himself—two courses each academic year—and by Semper’s assistant, Georg Lasius.<sup>40</sup> Having completed his professional



qualifications, Mathys entered working life. He finishes his autobiographical account by explaining how, at school,

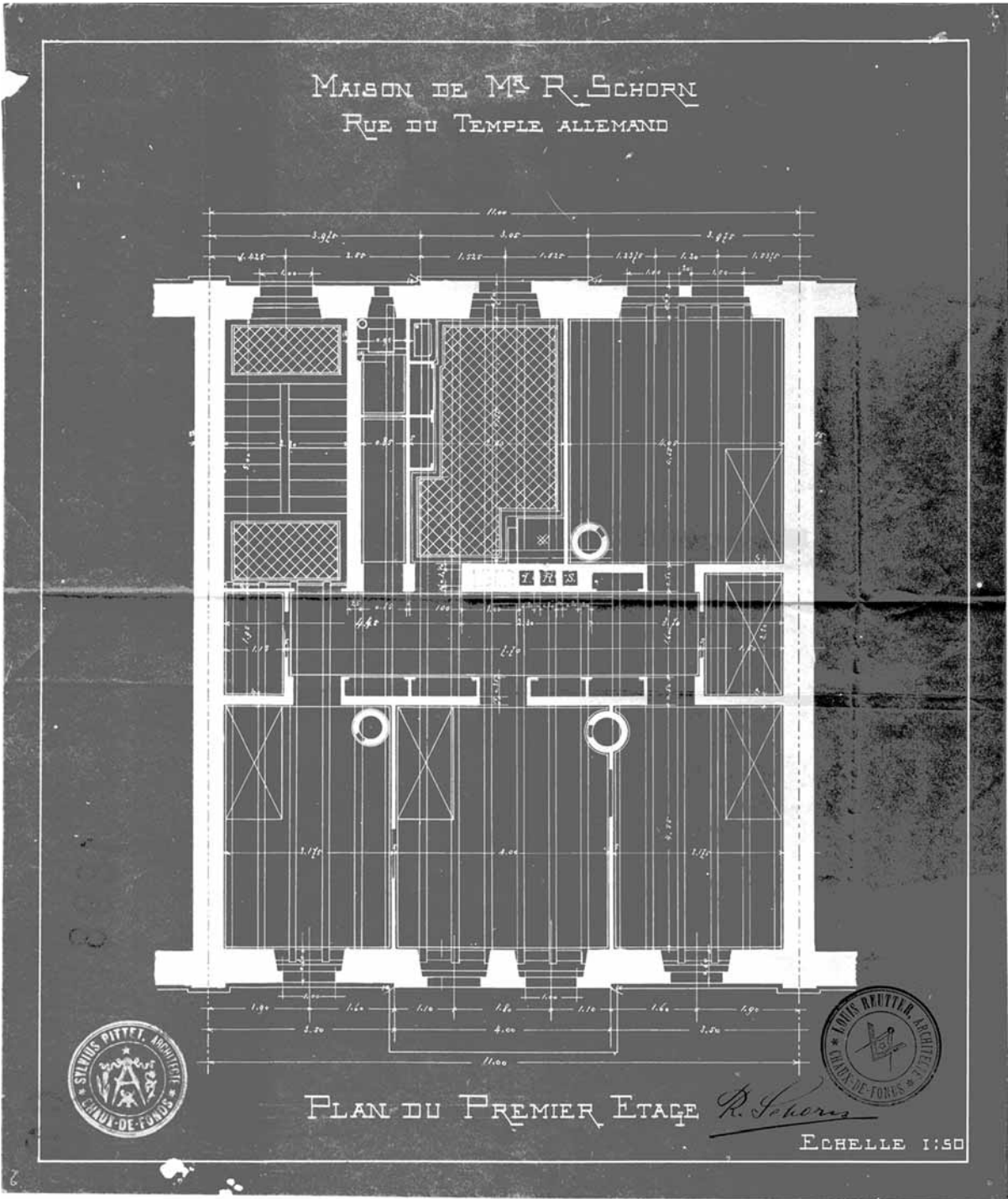
the pupils in the final two years were allowed to form a society, “L’Industria,” the purpose of which was learning and friendship. We had one or two meetings a week. We discussed one subject or another, presented *exposés* that everyone was required to critique. In this way, we educated ourselves mutually; there was emulation, which bore fruit; for just as it is more difficult for the pine tree to flourish when it is planted alone in the middle of the countryside than in a forest, sheltered by its neighbors and contributing to the protection of all, so the individual, whatever the aim, when working to accomplish an idea or a task, always reaches his objectives more easily within a society of colleagues who are stirred by the same feelings and working with the same purposes than in isolation and left to his own devices.<sup>41</sup>

In line with this experience, Mathys concludes that he wishes to join “a society of sincere and close friends, with whom I can exchange ideas and feelings. . . . I also know that this society has high ideals, that it works for the progress and the perfection of humanity, that it supports and fosters everything that is true, everything that is beautiful and good, that charitable and other works constitute its program.”<sup>42</sup>

L’Amitié was thus the model of a late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century civic-minded middle-class sociability aspiring to a sense of community, fraternity, and trust in an international dimension, like eighteenth-century Masonic networks.<sup>43</sup> Membership of L’Amitié conferred status and esteem, and represented the member’s benevolence and generosity. Louis Reutter’s office stamp was Masonic, while Sylvius Pittet, not a member of L’Amitié, used a stamp of a Masonic kind (figure 3.3). Typical of this status, esteem, benevolence, and generosity was the foundation in 1902 of the Bureau International de Relations Maçonniques with Édouard Quartier-la-Tente *père* as its director, with the active support of Élie Ducommun, winner of the 1902 Nobel Peace Prize and former Grand Master of the Grande Loge Suisse Alpina (1890–1895) (figure 3.4).<sup>44</sup>

Having outlined the position of L’Amitié in both the social fabric of La Chaux-de-Fonds and in the sociopsychological life of its members, time is to return to clarify the notions of architectural promenade and ineffable space via the notion of *pittoresque*. And for this we need to return to the year 1902—when Élie Ducommun was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize and Quartier-la-Tente *père* was entrusted with the Bureau International de Relations Maçonniques—when the fifteen-year-old Charles-Édouard Jeanneret enrolled in the Section Gravure (Engraving Division) of the École d’Art, where he attended evening classes from 1900 to 1902 before entering the École d’Art as a full-time student in the academic year 1902–1903.<sup>45</sup>

The lessons followed by the “young students from the engraving class” at the École d’Art were taught by Eugène Schaltenbrand (1861–1912), then the director of the Section Gravure and



3.3. Louis Reutter's Freemasonic stamp on a drawing for the Maison de Mr. R. Schorn. (Courtesy of Archives de La Ville de La Chaux-de-Fonds.)

- 3.4. The Administrative Council of the Grande Loge Suisse Alpina with Édouard Quartier-la-Tente père (director), Élie Ducommun, Henri Lehmann (Vénérable of the Loge L'Amitié), 1903. In *La Grande Loge Suisse Alpina: Rapport sur son activité 1900–1905 avec un avant-propos historique* (Berne: Imprimerie Buehler & Co, 1905). (Archives J. K. Birksted.)



an increasingly successful practicing architect.<sup>46</sup> It was in Charles-Édouard Jeanneret's first full-time year at the École d'Art (1902–1903) that Eugène Schaltenbrand, the most impressive and prestigious teacher and the designer of the commemorative fountain, resigned his full-time position because of his increasing architectural commissions (figures 3.5, 7.7). Schaltenbrand was a demanding teacher with exacting standards. At the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris, he had studied from 1879 to 1883 under the eminent Julien Guadet, himself a former pupil of Charles Garnier. (Auguste Perret would also study under Guadet from 1891 to 1901.)<sup>47</sup> After winning his numerous prizes and medals, he had, in 1884, enrolled in the still-life and plaster-cast drawing classes of the prestigious

- 3.5. Eugène Schaltenbrand, commemorative fountain, Avenue Léopold-Robert, La Chaux-de-Fonds. (Léon-Joseph Wyss, 1913, courtesy of Collection Iconographie, DAV, Bibliothèque de la Ville de La Chaux-de-Fonds, LW-P2-10.)



Cours Yvon (Matisse was to follow there in 1892)<sup>48</sup> and then in a painting atelier in 1885. His obituary in 1912 describes how he was able to “captivate the attention of his students by the clarity of his expositions, by his knowledge of different historical styles and of ornamental composition.”<sup>49</sup> Schaltenbrand’s classes had a strong classical bias, described in an official school document:

Continuing the program of studies instituted in 1885, he discussed Greek style; he instilled great interest in his audience by his informal account of the inherently artistic Greek civilization. The geography of Greece, its history, its mythology and its arts provided the material

for several expositions, accompanied by sketches, photographs and slide projections. Then the design exercises began.<sup>50</sup>

However, Schaltenbrand, working as town architect, obtained increasing numbers of prestigious public architectural commissions, including the new hospital (1898), several colleges, the commemorative fountain (designed with Parisian sculptor Maximilien Bourgeois with elements from the Durenne foundry), a watch factory for the Ditesheim family (1904), and a commercial and residential building for Robert Gonin (1891). There was also the extension to the Loge L'Amitié (1895) and more apartment blocks (1898). In 1895–1897, he completed the transformation of the Bureau Fédéral de Contrôle des Ouvrages d'Or et d'Argent (the Federal Office of Gold and Silver Standards), which regulated the precious metals used in watchcase production, into the new city offices of La Chaux-de-Fonds, the Hôtel Communal (figures 3.6, 3.7).<sup>51</sup> He was clearly in a strong financial position, able to build an architectural atelier (1900) and a rental apartment block (1900) for himself.

- 3.6. The Federal Office of Gold and Silver Standards, before its conversion by Eugène Schaltenbrand (1884). (Courtesy of Collection Iconographie, DAV, Bibliothèque de la Ville de La Chaux-de-Fonds.)
- 3.7. Eugène Schaltenbrand, city offices conversion (1895–1897). (Courtesy of Archives of La Ville de La Chaux-de-Fonds.)



In all ways, Schaltenbrand stood opposed to L'Eplattenier. His curriculum vitae, with its numerous prizes from the classes of Guadet and Yvon, represented the progressive pinnacle of the École des Beaux-Arts. On the other hand, to L'Eplattenier was attached the taint of retrograde Beaux-Arts establishment *pompiérisme*.<sup>52</sup> L'Eplattenier had studied in the atelier of the painter Luc-Olivier Merson (1846–1920). Merson, listed in the 1914 *Bottin Mondain* (Who's Who) as Grand Prix de Rome (1869) and Chevalier de la Légion d'honneur, also received a medal at the Salon des Artistes Français (1875), the gold medal at the Paris Exposition Universelle (1889), and was elected to the Institut de France (1892). A professor at the École des Beaux-Arts since 1906, Merson resigned his position in 1911 in reaction against the school's increasing involvement in modernism and its abandonment of established teaching traditions. Merson was known for his new design of postal stamps (called Merson stamps) with biblical and historical themes.<sup>53</sup> For these and for his art, the critics crucified him. In his review of the Salon of 1879, republished in *L'Art Moderne* by Crès (1929), J.-K. Huysmans commented that "at the very most, I would draw attention to Mr. Merson's Virgin with sphinxes and his Christ with mayonnaise, yet another tedious fabrication by the same painter,"<sup>54</sup> while *L'Écho de la Timbrologie* described Merson's design for postal stamps as "an unfortunate muddle from which no idea emerges and whose details are difficult to grasp within the overall incoherence of the subject."<sup>55</sup>

Returning to the École d'Art in La Chaux-de-Fonds, on 21 June 1900 it was reported to the board that three candidates were proposed as assistant director: L'Eplattenier, Schaltenbrand, and Péquegnat. Thirteen votes were cast. Schaltenbrand and L'Eplattenier received six each. A second vote took place. The result was identical. At the third vote Schaltenbrand obtained seven votes, L'Eplattenier five, and the third candidate was ruled out. They were thus set up as antagonistic rivals from the very start.<sup>56</sup> This rivalry continued until Schaltenbrand's resignation in 1903 when, in the committee meeting on 5 February 1903 in Room no. 43 that discussed possible replacements for Schaltenbrand, heated exchanges took place about L'Eplattenier's abilities.<sup>57</sup> Over the years, Schaltenbrand had gradually reduced his teaching commitments because of his architectural commissions. In 1886–1887, he had been director of the school.<sup>58</sup> In 1896, he had resigned some classes because of the hospital commission.<sup>59</sup> He was still teaching *Cours de style et classe de composition décorative* (Theoretical Classes in Style and Practical Lessons in Decorative Composition) when Charles-Édouard Jeanneret, still at secondary school, started attending evening classes (1900–1902).<sup>60</sup> L'Eplattenier dealt with *dessin décoratif* (decorative drawing). Two more different classes would be difficult to imagine: Schaltenbrand's abstract neoclassical compositions versus L'Eplattenier's figurative, organic freestyles. Schaltenbrand taught evening classes, two hours on Tuesday evenings, while L'Eplattenier taught six hours per week: "The two hours on Tuesday evenings continue to deal with the study of styles: Mr. Schaltenbrand lectures on the history of art; he summarizes the main features of works of art from different historical periods. Then the students copy decorative elements from Owen Jones or Racinet."<sup>61</sup> Le Corbusier's statement that "I abhorred

architecture and architects”<sup>62</sup> refers to this period precisely. Jeanneret was admitted as a full-time student to the École d’Art on 15 April 1902,<sup>63</sup> a year before Schaltenbrand resigned. The 1903 École d’Art annual report describes in glowing language Schaltenbrand’s history and resignation:

It was in 1886, that Mr. William Hirschy proposed to the Commission that Mr. Schaltenbrand be made director of the new classes; Mr. Schaltenbrand then showed a most honorable devotion by putting his eminent skills at the service of his city of birth; holder of a Diploma in Architecture delivered by the French government, he sacrificed his profession, in which he had already obtained successes, to the provision of education; the many awards, which he obtained in competitions at the École des Beaux-Arts, nominated him as a potential competitor in the Prix de Rome; but he did not compete for this prize in order not to have to forgo his Swiss nationality. His artistic abilities, his drawing talents, his in-depth studies of decorative styles allowed him naturally to endow his teaching with enormous value; thanks to him, the École was able to present much-appreciated compositional studies and applications of various styles to the decoration of watches and other objects at the Basel exhibition in 1892 and the Geneva exhibition in 1896. In his lectures, Mr. Schaltenbrand has always delighted his audience by the clarity with which he summarizes the different phases of the history of art, indicating with assurance the main monuments and other objects that characterize their style. Yet Mr. Schaltenbrand could not remain totally indifferent to architecture; he participated in several open competitions for the construction of our colleges, hospital, synagogue, town administration building, railway station, for which he won first prize. To him we owe the commemorative fountain; he was able to transform the old building of the Office of Standards into an elegant new town administration building. The desire to practice the skills that he had acquired in Paris pushed him to ask for a reduction in his teaching hours in 1895; now he has decided to devote all his energies to architecture, and we wish him new successes. His colleagues will retain excellent memories of him. The departure of Mr. Schaltenbrand has necessitated several changes in the schedule of the professional classes; Mr. L’Eplattenier has been called upon by the Commission to replace Mr. Schaltenbrand. . . .<sup>64</sup>

Schaltenbrand, a successful and admired teacher leaving because of his professional successes, was thus replaced during the 1902–1903 academic year by L’Eplattenier—not an enviable position for the latter. At a monthly board meeting in April 1903, held in the offices of the City Council, its president Paul Mosimann criticized the École d’Art because its “Commission, following the resignation of Schaltenbrand, did not feel obliged to follow the usual procedure of advertising the vacant post.”<sup>65</sup> Thus L’Eplattenier’s growing importance was already the subject of disapproval in 1903. In the annual report of 1902–1903, L’Eplattenier’s decorative art nouveau style

was criticized too in contrast to Schaltenbrand's style: "Ornamentation that is composed with elements of vegetation is very attractive; effortless contours and charming colors promptly seduce young artists. And it is the new tendency. However, let us not overlook drawing; we cannot recommend drawing too highly to our pupils; decorative proficiency must be backed by solid drawing skills; so let us study with care the models that the ancient Greeks have left us."<sup>66</sup>

Following the departure of Schaltenbrand, things worsened rapidly. L'Eplattenier's lessons were not inspirational and the teaching deteriorated. The following annual report for 1903–1904 describes the students' weariness, boredom, and laziness. Their behavior deteriorated to such an extent that the annual inspectors commented on it, and their harsh remarks were included in the annual report: "In addition to the inconvenience of these young people arriving already tired to their evening classes is added that of total lack of understanding of the most elementary notions about drawing and the handling of the required professional tools. In this respect, we would like to ask the tutor [L'Eplattenier] to devote great care to the manner in which the pupils manually hold and use rulers, compasses, and right angles. Most display faulty manual skills."<sup>67</sup> Then, in 1904–1905, the inspectors noted the importance of restarting Schaltenbrand's courses in the history of art and styles. The report also noted that, because of L'Eplattenier's teaching in the classes of *composition décorative* (decorative composition),<sup>68</sup> "it is no longer possible to leave our pupils in total ignorance of historical and artistic facts; they must become cognizant of the different historical styles."<sup>69</sup>

In June 1905, Charles-Édouard Jeanneret moved into the architectural section of the École d'Art. In October 1905, he progressed into the Cours Supérieur. It was then, notes Brooks, that "a geometric style based on straight lines and right angles, which likewise had a basis in the observation of nature (rock strata, tree shapes, etc.), first appears in Jeanneret's projects . . . , initially co-existing with, but later superseding, the curvilinear Art Nouveau. . . . This tendency in Jeanneret's work was also fostered by the exigencies of architecture as well as his reading of Henry Provensal's *L'art de demain* wherein an architectural style based on cubic shapes was advocated."<sup>70</sup> Now, Henry Provensal had been examined and accepted by Guadet to enter architecture at the École des Beaux-Arts on 21 July 1887 and admitted on 6 August 1887,<sup>71</sup> thus overlapping at the École des Beaux-Arts with Schaltenbrand.

Feeding into the rivalrous differences between Schaltenbrand and L'Eplattenier were fundamental ideological and aesthetic differences. As part of *la Suisse profonde*—archtraditionalist Switzerland, profoundly ensconced in nationalism, conservatism, Protestantism, and the regionalist *style sapin*—L'Eplattenier was commissioned to design posters and new helmets for the Swiss army. Schaltenbrand, on the other hand, belonged to the progressive, liberal, tolerant, freethinking, and interdenominational Loge L'Amitié.

Schaltenbrand had been initiated in 1886 into the eminently prestigious and intellectual Loge La Clémentine Amitié in Paris—composed of "academicians, senators, deputies, journalists,

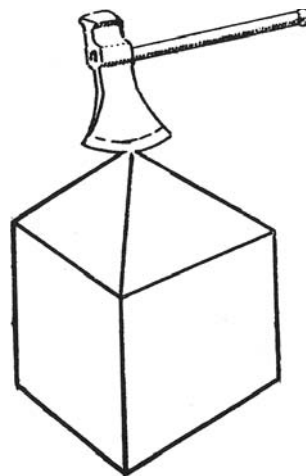
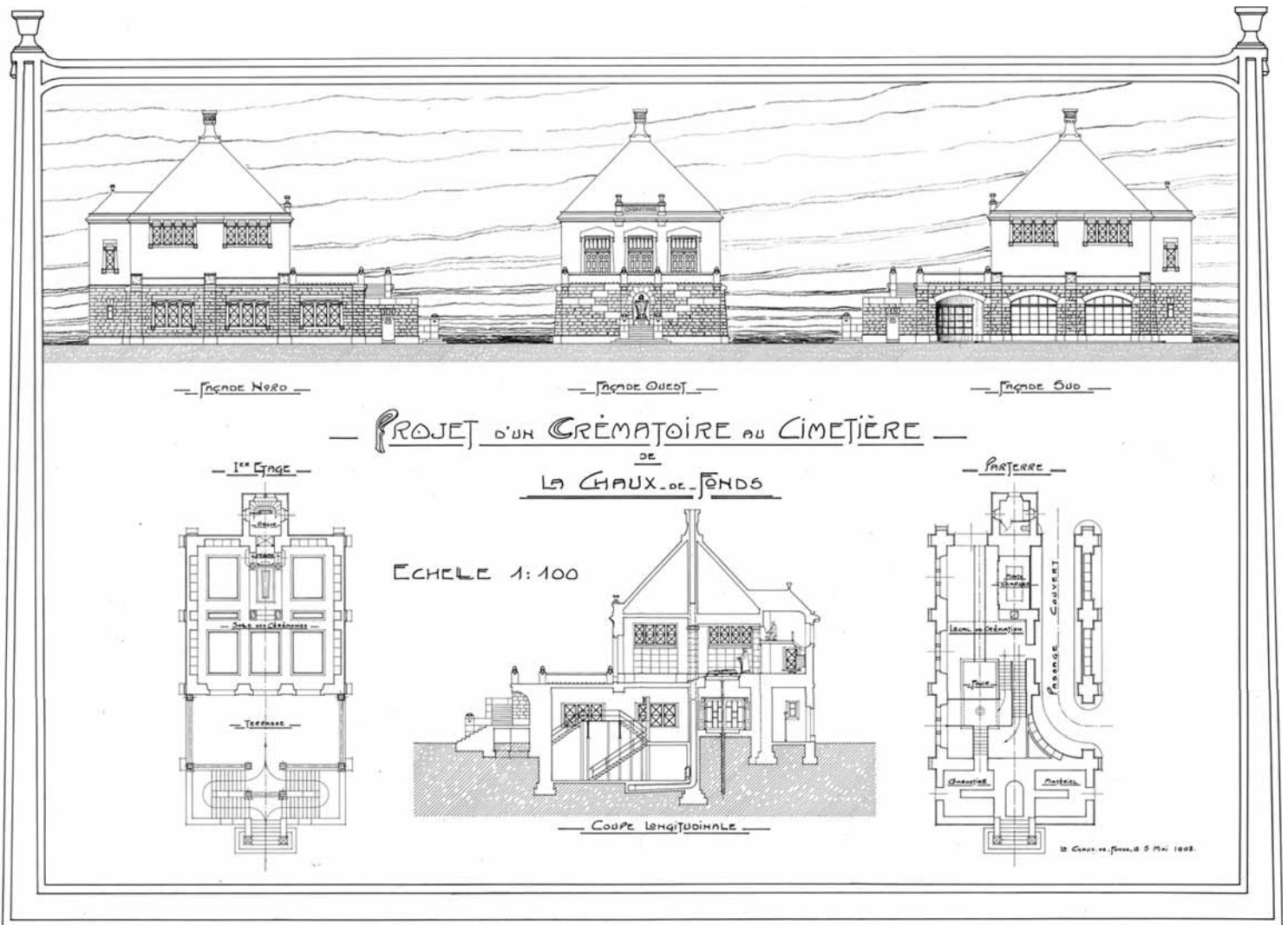


lawyers, painters, architects, musicians, industrialists, businessmen, employees, and artisans”<sup>72</sup>—whose high point was the initiation of Jules Ferry and Émile Littré (1875). Schaltenbrand is recorded as presenting a *planche* in 1886 and is registered as “Schaltenbrand, Eugène, architect, 47, rue Montparnasse” in its membership list for 1888.<sup>73</sup> Specific to La Clémentine Amitié was a passionate concern for public education as part of its participation in philosophical positivism. Émile Littré spoke about the importance of education on 9 July 1876: “Our primary responsibility to ourselves is to learn; our primary duty toward others is to educate them. I would gladly add . . . if this dual precept is accomplished, we have the integrated modern individual.”<sup>74</sup> Schaltenbrand was thus initiated into a lodge that held education as an ideal and a moral rule in its search for progress. Then a letter addressed from La Clémentine Amitié to L’Amitié on 5 June 1890 confirmed that Eugène Schaltenbrand had left their lodge in Paris.<sup>75</sup> He was affiliated to L’Amitié on 26 June 1890 as Apprenti, raised to Compagnon in 1895 (when he also designed the extension to L’Amitié), and to Maître in 1898. But the relevance of Schaltenbrand’s membership of La Clémentine Amitié and L’Amitié resides in the architectural language that he employed. To understand this, we need to turn to his renovation of the Federal Office of Gold and Silver Standards into the city offices of La Chaux-de-Fonds (figures 3.6, 3.7).

Schaltenbrand’s renovation is described in the 1984 official Swiss architectural register of historical buildings: “Flamboyant palazzo, originally the prominent roofline of a Town Hall. Given to the town in 1895. Conversion into Town Administration in 1895–1897. Mutilation of the flamboyant roofline and impoverishment of the elevations by obliteration of their ornamental features.”<sup>76</sup> The Federal Office of Gold and Silver Standards was thus a Gothicizing composition with lavish ornamentation, which Schaltenbrand removed in favor of a stripped neoclassical style. Robert Belli, fellow member of L’Amitié, exhibited a similarly purified classical style in buildings such as the crematorium of La Chaux-de-Fonds, designed with the participation of L’Eplattenier and his students from the École d’Art, who provided its abundant ornamentation of sculptures, mosaics, metalwork, and murals.

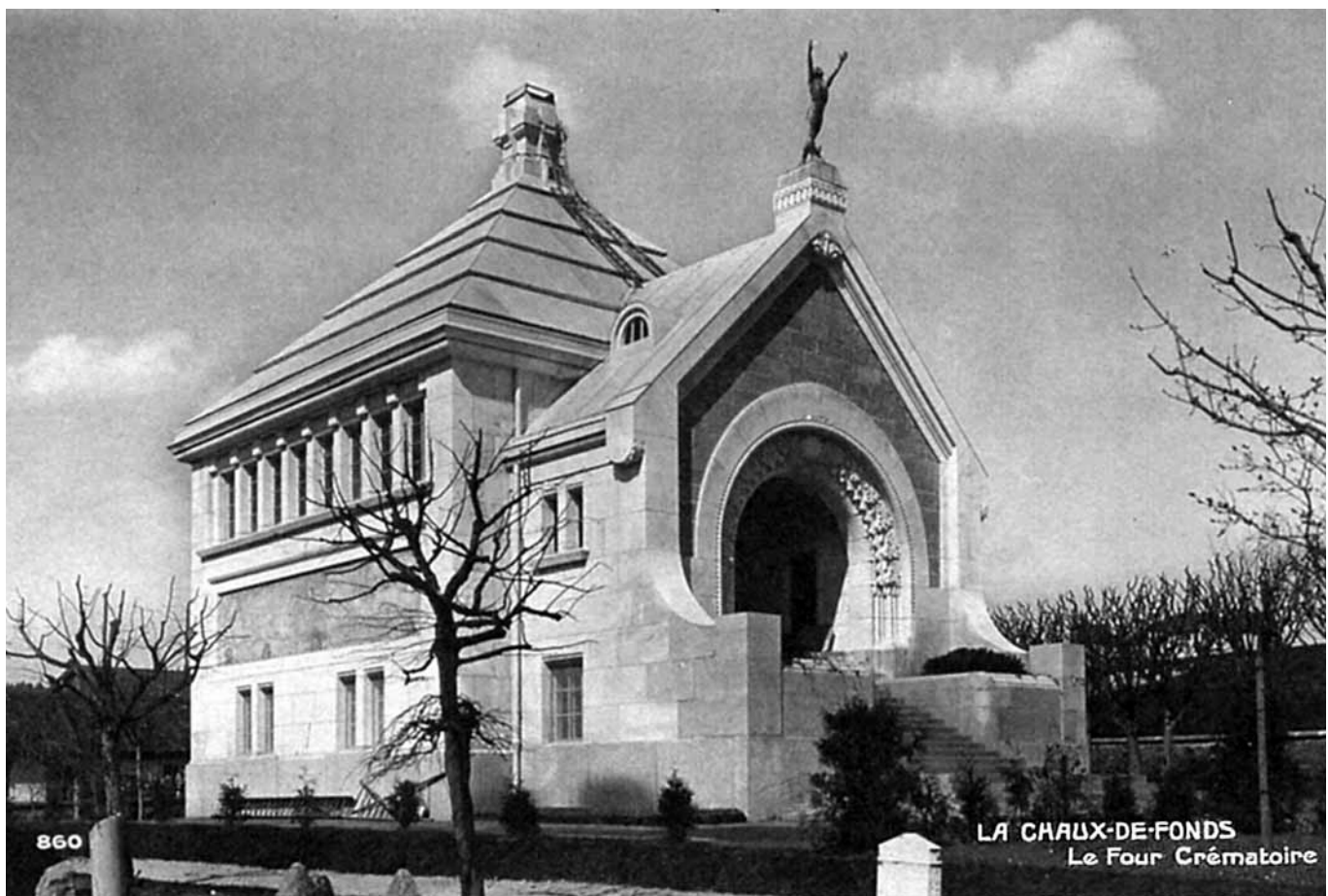
A wealthy watch factory owner, Ali Jeanrenaud (1860–1942), donated funds to build a crematorium, specifying that the iconography should be non-Christian.<sup>77</sup> The crematorium of La Chaux-de-Fonds shows the antagonism between the stripped neoclassicism of Belli, with its emphasis on volume, massing, and whiteness, versus the elaborate art nouveau style of L’Eplattenier, with its focus on carved and colored surface decoration.<sup>78</sup> Belli’s design is the basic Masonic symbolism of the white cube, here consisting of polished stone on a base of rough stone, surmounted by a pyramid (a white pyramidal roof of white asbestos tiles), surmounted by a metallic device (the crematorium chimney), reminiscent of Oswald Wirth’s diagram of the axe chiseling a stone into a cube, symbol of the continuous process of self-improvement that humans must painstakingly and endlessly undertake to achieve greater perfection (figures 3.8, 3.9).<sup>79</sup> Belli’s design also included two symmetrical staircases with left and right turns, symbolic of the decisions and reversals in life’s

3.8. Robert Belli, plans, section, and elevations for the Crématoire de La Chaux-de-Fonds (1908). (Courtesy of Archives of La Ville de La Chaux-de-Fonds.)



3.9. Oswald Wirth, drawing of Freemasonic symbolism of axe on pyramid on cube. (Archives J. K. Birksted.)

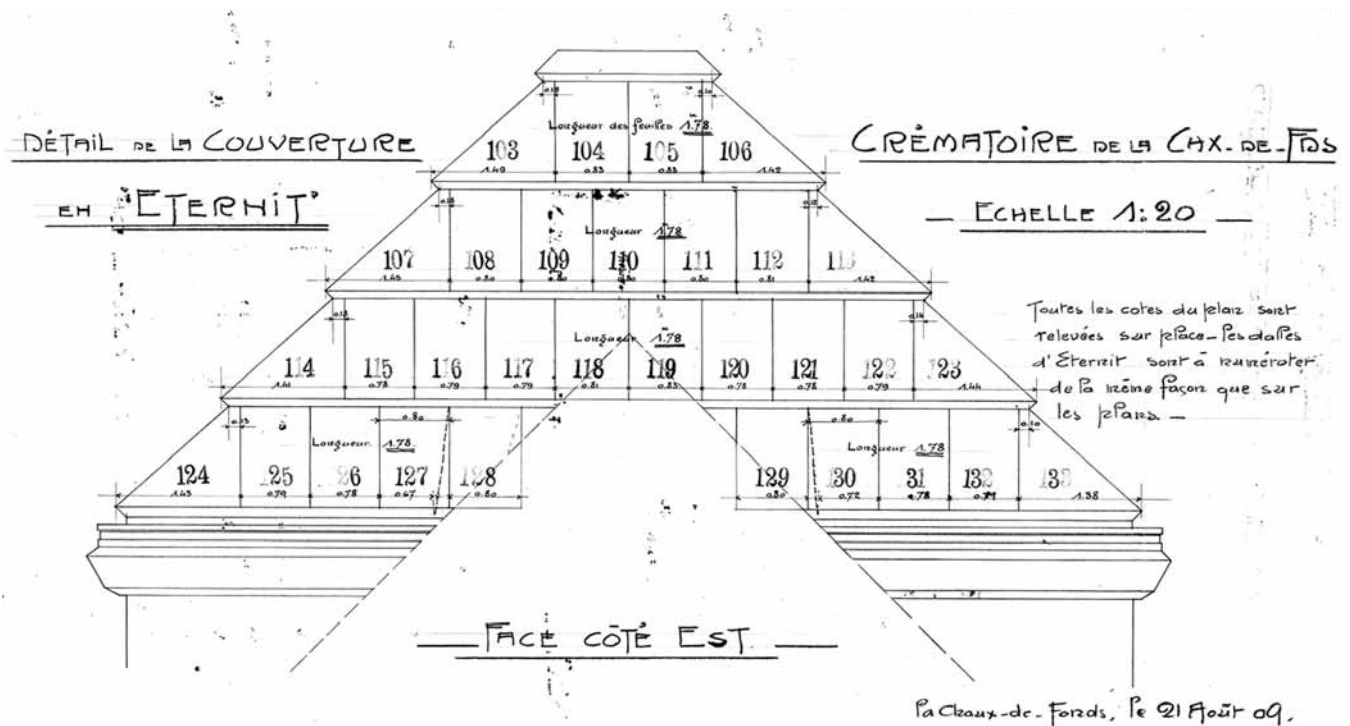
journey. L'Eplattenier's interference in the design destroyed this basic Freemasonic *parti* by adding a protruding churchlike porch, a rigidly formal staircase, decorative pinecone bas-reliefs, and *pompier* allegorical gilt statuary (figure 3.10). Thus, the crematorium, popularly presented as the *Gesamtkunstwerk* of L'Eplattenier and his students at the Cours Supérieur of the École d'Art, is in fact the outcome of a fundamental aesthetic conflict between its architect, Belli, and its decorator, L'Eplattenier, who was foisted upon Belli against his architectural *parti*. Viewing L'Eplattenier as not only interfering but as suppressing his architectural language, Belli complained about "the lack of harmony between the arched porch of the Chapel and the rectangular doorway at the back. Here again, they [the architects] had to take into account the desires of the artists themselves."<sup>80</sup> Despite Belli's objections to L'Eplattenier's disfigurement of his purist design concept, he could not prevent it. Originally, in 1909, the crematorium was dazzlingly white with bare elevations surmounted by an equally white, and symbolically pyramidal, Eternit roof that was designed to continue the whiteness of the denuded walls (figure 3.11).



3.10. Crématoire by Robert Belli with Charles L'Eplattenier's sculptural and decorative additions. (Contemporary postcard, archives J. K. Birksted.)

During this same period, Charles-Édouard Jeanneret was also pulled in two directions between L'Eplattenier and his Cours Supérieur with its public decorative commissions and, on the other hand, the clique of the Groupe des Quatre of young artists.<sup>81</sup> In a letter of March 1908, he had pointed out unequivocally to L'Eplattenier—"My dear Sir, I hope that you are not annoyed with us, and that you have realized that we were doing everything possible to achieve the goal as fast as possible and to follow your idea"<sup>82</sup>—that these were L'Eplattenier's ideas, which he did not share. Indeed, Charles Humbert, who worked for about fifty days on the decorations of the crematorium, repaired with his friends in the evenings to bars and cafés, where they derided the repetitive simplism of L'Eplattenier's decorative motifs, which Paul Seylaz, the experienced curator of the Musée des Beaux-Arts, would later mischievously describe as "style pive" (pinecone style).<sup>83</sup> And it was during this period that Charles Humbert met Charles-Édouard Jeanneret for the first time, on the latter's return from his Perret apprenticeship.<sup>84</sup>

Thus, Belli's architecture, like that of Schaltenbrand, was classicizing, unadorned, intensely symbolic in its iconography, and ceremonial in its system of circulation. This system of circulation was even noticed much later, in a report of 1936 by the administration of the crematorium, despite the alterations to Belli's plans:



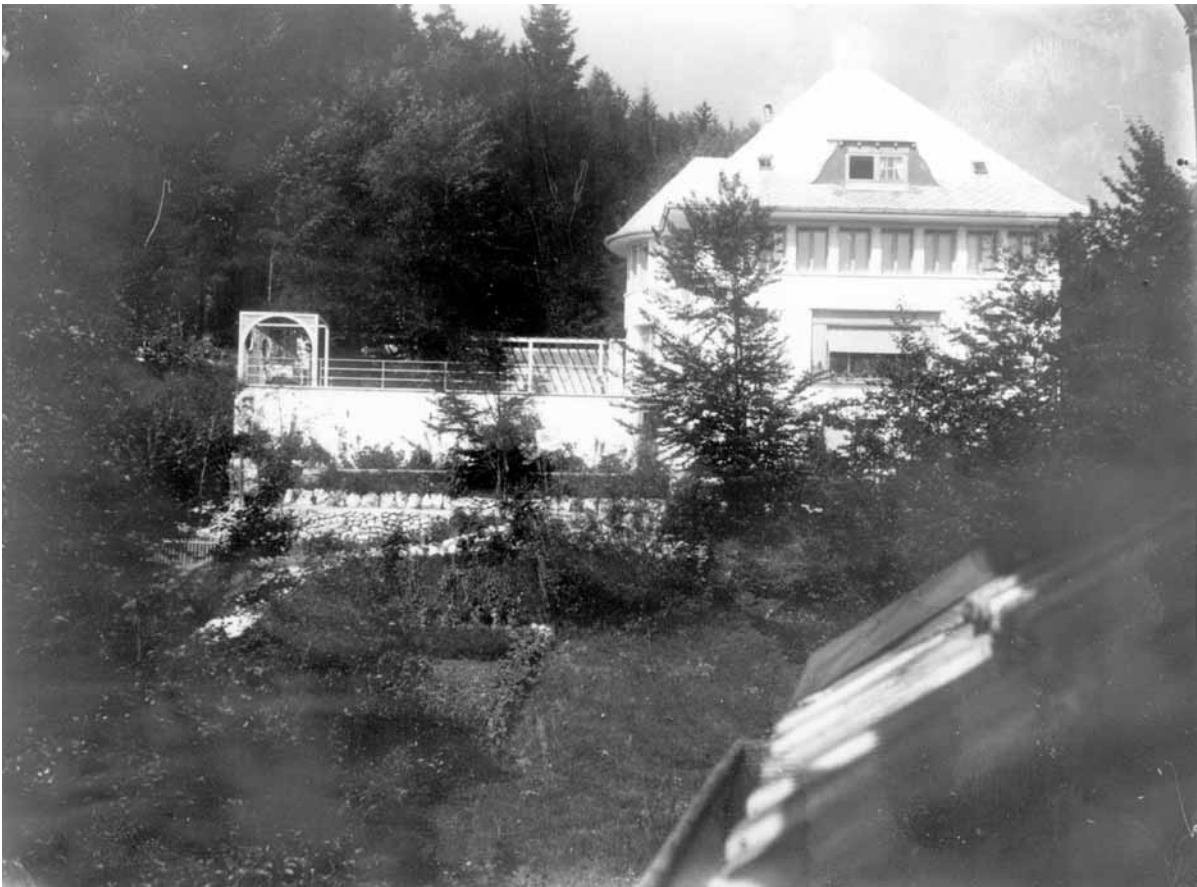
3.11. Robert Belli, drawing for the roof of the Crématoire de La Chaux-de-Fonds (1909). (Courtesy of Archives of La Ville de La Chaux-de-Fonds.)

On entering the northern gate of the cemetery, the mourner's gaze first follows the funeral procession that is depicted on the walls of the white crematorium in blue, ochre, and crimson mosaics with its mortals on their way to the world beyond and parting company, forcibly or willingly, with the illusions of this world in order to gain entrance to the kingdom of eternal light. Having reached the end of the path, at the moment of turning toward the entrance of the edifice, the mourner is made to contemplate the elevated sculpture on the fountain, which represents Peace receiving and protecting people as they bow to inevitable destiny. Now the mourner proceeds toward the staircase that penetrates in under the arched porch. A glance toward the heavens reveals above the sculpture of the youth, with its gilt arms glittering, soaring toward the ideal. Then, about to ascend the staircase, the two statues on either side reveal the sorrow of the parents and of the spouse in front of the funeral urn, and the orphaned child huddling up to them. . . . The mourner has now reached the summit of the staircase and has entered. The doors close behind. As the mysterious music from the invisible harmonium soars, in the ethereal light falling from the quadrangular dome, the mourner slowly distinguishes the walls, the urns, the catafalque, richly incised and embossed in copper-clad ornamentation, and the painted mural frieze: a long panel above in blue tones, depicting Pity and Death; facing on the opposite side is a frieze in gold and crimson representing Purification by Fire. Later, once the urn is laid to rest in the ground, the mourner will wander around the beautifully designed cemetery. . . . He will walk slowly from the stairs with sculpted torches on the railings to the masterpiece of stone: the monument to the dead. . . . May the mourner now look up at the southern elevation of the crematorium: the great mosaic of the Triumph of Life, in radiant pastels, with its young couples and its apposite central family tableau eulogizing childhood, will restore hope and faith.<sup>85</sup>

This ceremonial circulation and its volumetric simplicity constituted the moral architecture of Freemasonry, which aspired to be a universal, classically stripped architecture for “a society whose members came from all social classes, all political parties, representing all ideas and trades and professions.”<sup>86</sup> And this architecture saw itself as having a moral mission, which was to “work together for human progress by first seeking one's own personal moral improvement. Based on the view that it is not possible to build a solid construction from poor materials, Freemasonry teaches its followers that they must first and foremost improve themselves before they can consider contributing to the improvement of humanity.”<sup>87</sup> The Loge L'Amitié circa 1900 was imbued with notions of social and political progress through humanitarian and charitable activities (the creation of nursery schools, food programs for the poor, the development of education) and the ideals of cooperation and fraternity. It is this Chaux-de-fonnier cultural context that, in the early twentieth century, shaped the reception to Ruskin. It was in this context that Joseph Milsand's *L'esthétique*

*anglaise: Étude sur M John Ruskin*—with its notions of “sanctuary,” “brotherhood,” “secrets,” “initiation,” “traditions,” and the “profane”—was read in the École d’Art of La Chaux-de-Fonds.

Charles-Édouard Jeanneret and Charles Humbert identified with the Ruskin of *The Stones of Venice* and *Val d’Arno*<sup>88</sup> (both of which were in the library of the École d’Art), in which Ruskin had mentioned “the traditions, the wealth, and the skill of the monks and freemasons.”<sup>89</sup> Upon finishing the Villa Fallet and departing for his first extended journey in 1907, Jeanneret gave a copy of Ruskin’s *Sesame and Lilies* to André Evard, who had worked with him on the Villa Fallet, and to whom he inscribed the book: “To my excellent study companion and friend, A. Evard—a modest thanks for precious help. Ch. E. Jeanneret, August 1907.”<sup>90</sup> Like Belli’s crematorium, Charles-Édouard Jeanneret’s buildings of this period—the stripped white walls and Eternit roof tiles of the dazzlingly white Villa Jeanneret-Perret, cubic and with a pyramidal roof as if modeled on Belli’s crematorium—parallel the moral architecture of Freemasonry (figure 3.12). William Ritter referred to this aspect of Charles-Édouard Jeanneret’s work in *Mes relations avec les artistes suisses* when he wondered if Charles-Édouard Jeanneret had become a member of a lodge:



3.12. Charles-Édouard Jeanneret, Villa Jeanneret-Perret (1912). (Courtesy of Bibliothèque de la Ville de La Chaux-de-Fonds, Fonds Le Corbusier LC 108.208, © 2007 FLC/ADAGP, Paris and DACS, London.)

I have on several occasions been convinced that, in the Masonic and watchmaking world of La Chaux-de-Fonds, people are born into their father's shoes. Besides, Charles L'Eplattenier was beginning to indoctrinate him on behalf of the lodge: "Later on! Later on! I will give you a signal when the time is ripe." I don't like asking indiscreet questions and I never enquired as to whether that time ever had come. But the rapid rise of the Corbusiers could well have some occult underpinning. . . . Anyway, what would be the use of asking? The reply would always be to swear "No" to the high heavens.<sup>91</sup>

Many years later, in January 1953, however, a letter addressed to "Monsieur Édouard Jeanneret dit 'Le Corbusier'" was unexpectedly delivered to his home address in Paris at 24, rue Nungesser-et-Coli:

You will undoubtedly be surprised after half a century to receive a friendly greeting and wishes for every success in 1953 from an old compatriot and a contemporary Chaux-de-fonnier who has been living in France for the last 40 years. Our two families had close ties in the period when you were living at 6, rue de la Loge and we were in the Place de l'Hôtel de Ville, and we must have met countless times outside our classes, especially at the old pastor Courvoisier's house, where we prepared the church sales. Your aunt Pauline, intimate friend of my mother, was our "Honorary Cousin."<sup>92</sup>

Indeed, the directory *Annuaire des adresses pour La Chaux-de-Fonds et Le Locle* indicates a concierge named Achille du Bois living at 1 Place de l'Hôtel-de-Ville. The directory also indicates that, in 1894, Charles-Édouard Jeanneret's grandfather, Édouard Jeanneret-Rauss (1820–1902), worked at 6, rue de la Loge as *fabricant de cadrans* (watchface manufacturer).<sup>93</sup> Then, from 1902 onward, the directory lists Édouard Jeanneret-Perret—sometimes as *fabricant de cadrans* and sometimes as *émailleur* (watchface enameler)—at the same address, 6, rue de la Loge.<sup>94</sup> Charles-Édouard Jeanneret's grandfather had died on 12 April 1902.<sup>95</sup> In 1904, for the first time, a home address at 46, avenue Léopold-Robert indicated as *ménage* (residence) is distinguished from the new atelier at 6, rue de la Loge. The last mention of Édouard Jeanneret-Perret, *fabricant de cadrans*, at 6, rue de la Loge is in 1911, the year before he moved into the ostentatious new Villa Jeanneret-Perret designed by his son. Thus, the atelier passed from Charles-Édouard Jeanneret's grandfather to his father. Again as per Édouard du Bois's letter, Charles-Édouard Jeanneret's aunt, Tante Pauline, also appears, from 1903 to 1911, in the directory at 6, rue de la Loge under "Jeanneret, Miss, German language teacher."<sup>96</sup> Jeanneret's father was also officially listed in the register of the *Bulletin du Club Alpin Suisse Section La Chaux-de-Fonds* at this same address, to which members sent him greeting cards from their travels abroad (figure 3.13).<sup>97</sup> The watchmaking atelier of the Jeanneret family and Tante Pauline's apartment were next to the Loge L'Amitié and, during the family's many home moves, the address of the atelier remained constant (figure 3.14).<sup>98</sup> Of the twenty-six years of his working



3.13. Postcard from members of the Club Alpin Suisse Section La Chaux-de-Fonds to Georges-Édouard Jeanneret, 1895. (Courtesy of Bibliothèque de la Ville de La Chaux-de-Fonds, Fonds Le Corbusier.)



3.14. 8, rue de la Loge (Loge L'Amitié, at left) and 6, rue de la Loge (Georges-Édouard Jeanneret's atelier and Tante Pauline's apartment, at right). (Haefeli & Co, 1935, courtesy of Collection Iconographie, DAV, Bibliothèque de la Ville de La Chaux-de-Fonds, MF-A1-31.)



life (1893–1919), Jeanneret’s father worked opposite L’Amitié for nineteen years (1893–1912). In addition, in 1910, Jeanneret’s father, unable to walk due to a broken ankle from a collision with a sled, spent most of the month of March living in his sister Pauline’s apartment: “Each Monday he had to be carried to his atelier, and returned home each Saturday evening. Fortunately his sister Pauline’s flat was in the same building as the atelier so he stayed with her throughout the week.”<sup>99</sup> And, in 1911, a dramatic event happened. While working late during the night of 4 October, a fire, described by Georges-Édouard Jeanneret in his diary, gutted the atelier at 6, rue de la Loge: “It was awful: my sister had to escape hardly dressed and I was thrown on the street. I am now working at 169, rue du Doubs, with a twelve-minute journey from home—the space too big, too expensive; but there was no time to be choosy.”<sup>100</sup> Thus, between the years 1902 and 1911, Georges-Édouard Jeanneret-Perret permanently worked next to L’Amitié until moving into their new Villa Blanche designed by his son in 1912.

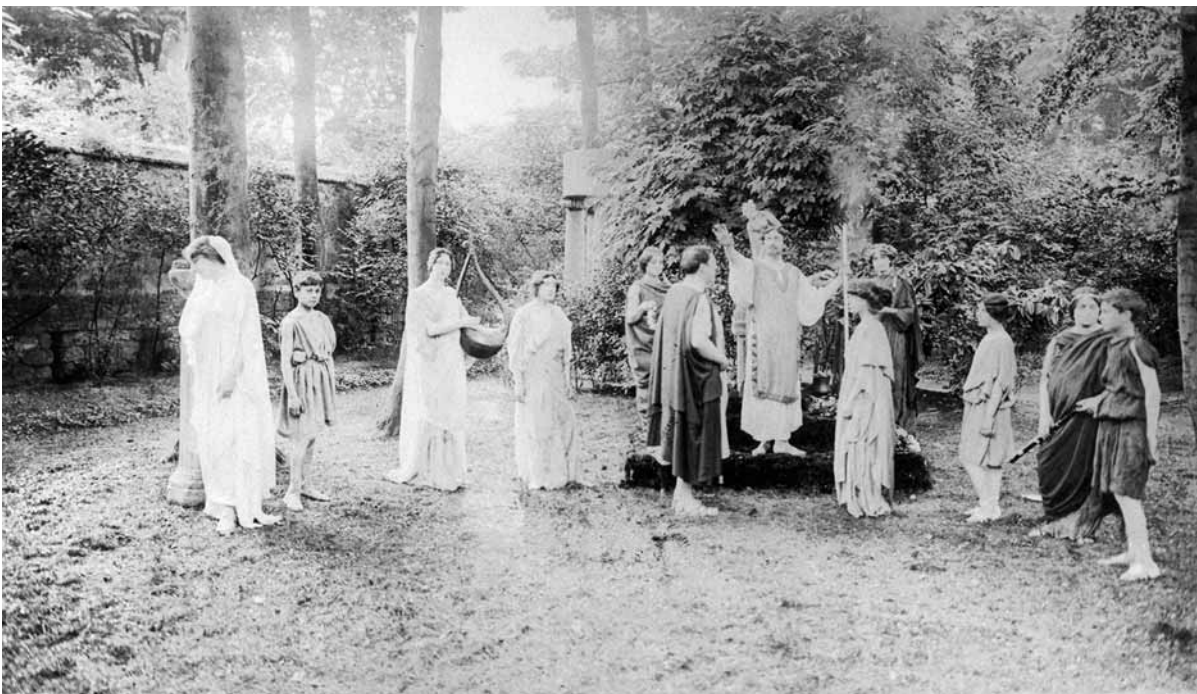
Now, in 1917, Jeanneret moved into an apartment at 20, rue Jacob in Paris, where he lived until 1934 (figure 3.15). On the ground floor of 20, rue Jacob lived Natalie Clifford Barney, an American expatriate writer who held lavish parties for up to one hundred people. From October 1909 onward, she developed a literary salon every Friday evening, attended by writers, publishers, editors, booksellers, critics, and intellectuals such as Jean Cocteau, Colette, Anatole France, André Gide, Remy de Gourmont, Max Jacob, Gertrude Stein, Rilke, Paul Valéry, Bernard Berenson, Isadora Duncan, and



3.15. Charles-Édouard Jeanneret in the courtyard of 20, rue Jacob, Paris, ca. 1923. (Georges-Édouard Jeanneret’s family album, courtesy of Collection Iconographie, DAV, Bibliothèque de la Ville de La Chaux-de-Fonds, EJ 2a, © 2007 FLC/ADAGP, Paris and DACS, London.)

Bernard Grasset.<sup>101</sup> Natalie Barney did not just entertain on a lavish scale but also arranged events such as outdoor theatrical performances in the garden next to the entrance courtyard, beneath Charles-Édouard Jeanneret's windows (figure 3.16). This had been the eighteenth-century garden of Adrienne Lecouvreur that Charles-Édouard Jeanneret described in a letter to William Ritter: "A young Italian woman in the dormer window of the building next to mine pours over Adrienne's gardens the outburst of a solitary soul in a *prima donna* voice. Just like that. On a day of violent storms, in the evening, her absolutely desperate song combined in joyous relief with the sounds of nature, thunder and the spatter of rain on leaves, like those nightingales, those blackbirds in spring, those larks in summer, filling the sky with their calls."<sup>102</sup> About his address, Jeanneret wrote that he especially enjoyed the association between 20, rue Jacob and Adrienne Lecouvreur. In another letter to Ritter, he commented,

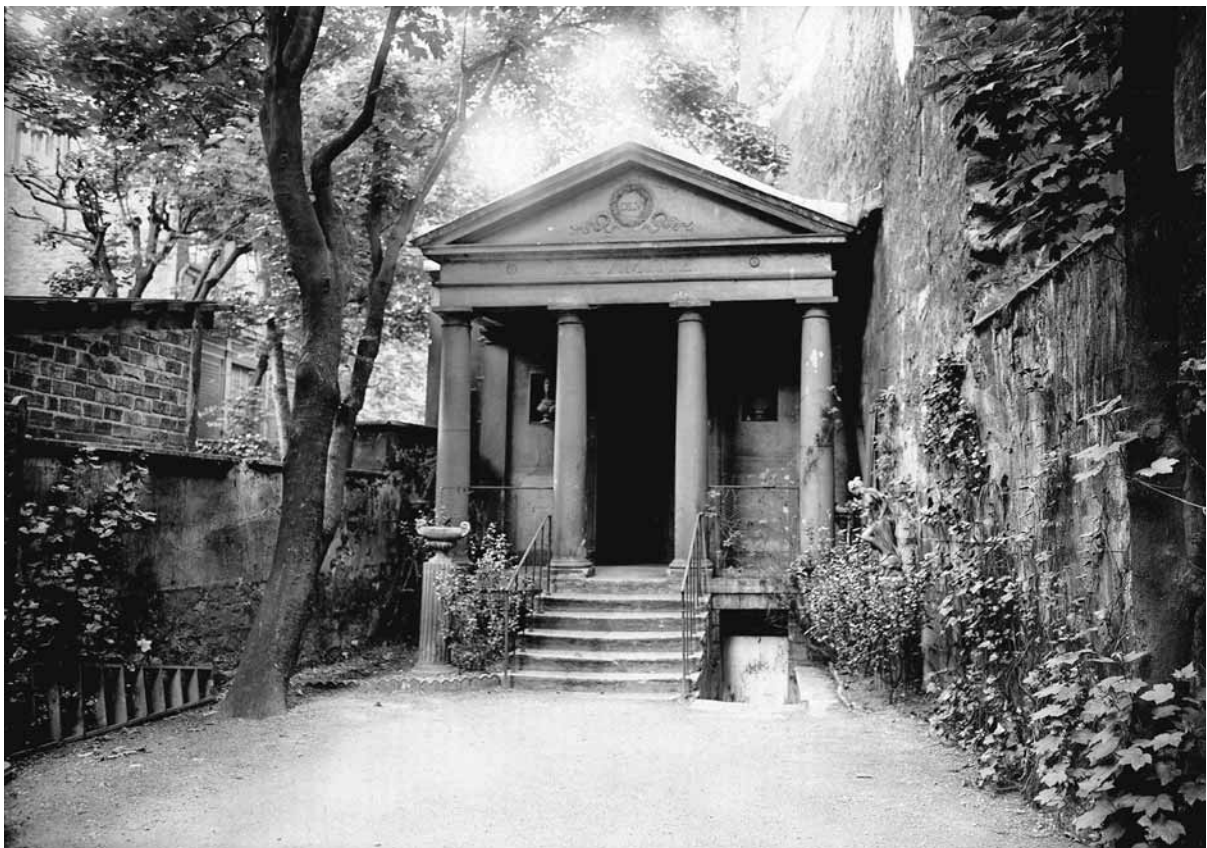
my splendid apartment is at 20, rue Jacob (my address for private mail); in other words, in Adrienne Lecouvreur's former residence; in the garden is the small temple built for her by Maurice de Saxe. . . . I am probably living in the lodgings of her chambermaid or valet. The alcove is historical (see the prints of the period). There are some very respectable bedrooms and also a most useful corridor that allows things and people to vanish. What luck! What a happy coincidence! As you can see, I am blowing my trumpet!<sup>103</sup>



3.16. A theatrical production arranged by Natalie Barney in the gardens of 20, rue Jacob, ca. 1925–1930. (© Bibliothèque Littéraire Jacques Doucet, Fonds Barney.)

Indeed, a biography of Natalie Clifford Barney notes that the “most distinctive feature of the property she rented is a small Doric temple tucked away in a corner of the garden. There are all sorts of legends about this temple, chiefly centred on the great actress Adrienne Lecouvreur. . . . The inscription on its pediment dedicates the temple *À L’Amitié*.”<sup>104</sup> Another surviving legend about this temple is that it was the Loge Les Amis Réunis, to which belonged Marat, Mirabeau, Robespierre, and Talleyrand (figure 3.17).<sup>105</sup>

With this view from his apartment at 20, rue Jacob of a small temple with “*À L’Amitié*” inscribed on its pediment—in remembrance of the view from his family’s watchmaking atelier—La Chaux-de-Fonds with its symbolic and cultural understandings remained ever-present to Charles-Édouard Jeanneret in a way “which reveals itself to those it may concern.”<sup>106</sup>



3.17. Temple à l’Amitié in the gardens of 20, rue Jacob. (Photograph Albert Harlingue, 1925–1930, © Albert Harlingue/Agence Robert-Viollet, HRL 1065-1, HRL 622651.)

4 A Totally  
Different  
Feeling  
Confronted My  
Intellect

13 Jui 1890, Porteur  
L. Männeville

Participants

- A. Steinhilber
- G. Rossi
- E. Courvoisier Gallet
- E. Couleze
- Albert Vialle
- E. Segat
- Chas Courvoisier
- Julien Gallet
- H. Broz-Vialle
- H. Guisan
- C. Flebot
- Leon L. Gallet
- F. de Ruffe (Heubühler)
- † H. Kreisler-Calame
- M. Bühler
- J. St. Louis
- A. Spichtig
- Louis Gallet
- F. Jordan (Heubühler)
- C. H. Brand
- A. Durat
- Des. Viget
- † A. Zuberbühler
- Georges Jeanneret
- A. Krauss
- Kastner (L. S. Brand)
- A. Spatz
- F. Humbert
- † C. Humbert Brand
- M. Jeanneret
- † Leop. Bernhart
- H. W. Bergmann
- H. Kieckhefer
- Stangoni (L. S. Brand)
- and Fortin



13 Juillet

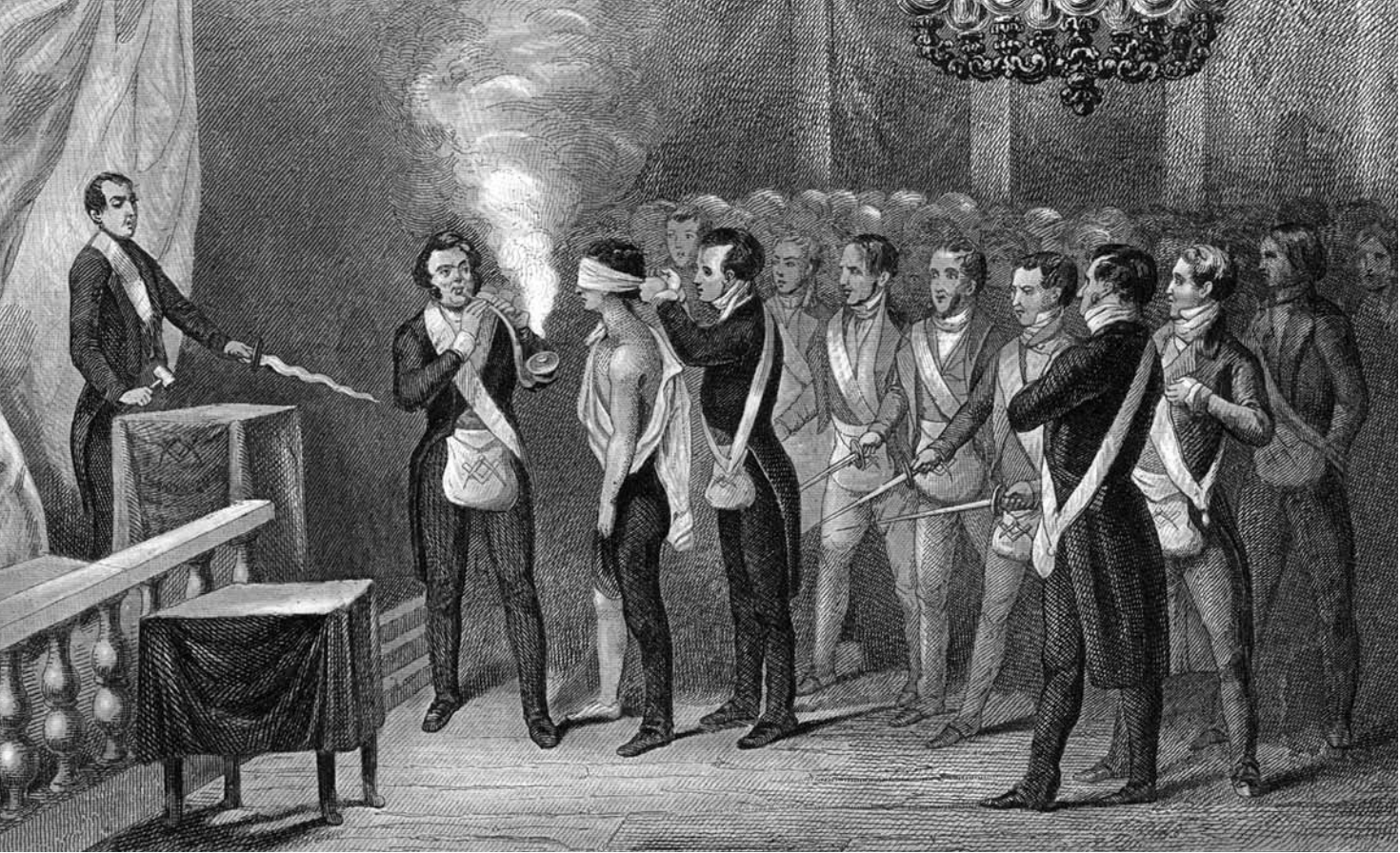
L'inauguration de la cabane Oberaletsch

1890 -

4.1. Inauguration of the Cabane Oberaletsch (Oberaletsch Refuge) on 3 July 1890 by the Club Alpin Suisse Section La Chaux-de-Fonds, with a list of participating members, many of whom were also members of the Loge L'Amitié. (Georges-Édouard Jeanneret's family album, courtesy of Collection Iconographie, DAV, Bibliothèque de la Ville de La Chaux-de-Fonds.)

# GEORGES

-Édouard Jeanneret's fellow members at the Club Alpin Suisse Section La Chaux-de-Fonds included numerous prominent members of Chaux-de-fonnier society who also attended the weekly Wednesday meetings at the Loge L'Amitié. They included Louis-Henry Brandt, Fritz Brandt-Ducommun (treasurer and *Vénérable d'honneur* of L'Amitié), Walter Büttiker, Henri Blaser, William Bech, Charles Couleru-Meuri, Jacques Eigeldinger, Léon Gallet (*Vénérable* of L'Amitié to 1891), Camille Gindrat, Jules-Paul Jeanneret, Alwin Krauss, David Kenel, Wilhelm Labardt, Henri Lehmann, Georges Leuba, Guillaume Nusslé, Henri Rieckel (treasurer of the Club Alpin Suisse in 1892), Louis Reutter, Louis Rozat (*Secrétaire-adjoint* of L'Amitié), Albert Vuille, Henri Wægeli, and Théobald Zumkehr (figure 4.1).<sup>1</sup> Of these, some would occupy administrative positions at L'Amitié in 1910, such as George Leuba, *Maître-Député* (Deputy Master), Henri Lehmann, *Vénérable d'honneur* (Past Grand Master), Henri Wægeli, *Vénérable en chaire* (Grand Master), and Louis Rozat, *Archiviste* (Archivist).<sup>2</sup> Another member of L'Amitié was Hans Wille, born in 1881, an engineer from Lausanne. In a "Planche d'Apprenti d'avancement au II Grade" (an oral presentation to progress from the symbolic grades of Entered Apprentice to Fellow Craft) dated 20 March 1909, Wille described his experience of initiation into membership of the lodge, including the ritual of the *Trois Voyages* (Three Journeys), during which the initiate, symbolically blindfolded in search of enlightenment, is conducted three times around the lodge in the darkness before a bright light, representing enlightenment, is revealed to him (figure 4.2). Carefully handwritten on ruled paper, Hans Wille's account merits quoting at length:



4.2. Illustration of the initiation of an Apprenti, with light (symbolic of enlightenment), the sound of swords (symbolic of the conflicts of the passions), and the initiate *ni nu ni dévêtu* (“neither naked nor clothed”: shirt half-removed and trouser leg rolled up, symbolic of innocence and candidness). In François Timoléon Bègue-Clavel, *Histoire pittoresque de la Franc-Maçonnerie et des sociétés secrètes anciennes et modernes, illustrée avec 25 belles gravures sur acier* (Paris: Pagnerre, Éditeur, 1844). (Archives J. K. Birksted.)

Those who have learned about how these receptions take place, either through written accounts or by other means, will not experience very deeply, and will consequently not feel the powerful emotions that overcome the layman, and will thus not be able to understand and be aware of what is happening in front of him, even though he knew nothing of it previously. . . . At that point a totally different feeling confronted my intellect, and I constantly asked myself: “Will you find what you are looking for, an association of men with open and lofty ideas, with whose principles your loyalty can agree?” My firm intention to withdraw at the slightest misgiving, as soon as my conscience was to advise me to do so, dominated all my thoughts, and consequently the manner in which the reception would take place always remained a secondary issue for me. It is easy to see how these dominating thoughts necessarily pushed me to analyze in depth the meaning of the different stages to which I was led during my voyage through the obscurity, when meditation can be fertile for those

who make the effort. The custom of being blindfolded allows for the concentration of ideas to reach its maximum and is thus most laudable. It was thus in this frame of mind that I climbed the steps leading to a door that a Masonic brother indicated as he invited me to enter. . . . He then blindfolded me. I was at first rather astonished by this behavior, but let myself be led by him through underground rooms and corridors as I imagined that my mind's eye made me witness a voyage through the basements of the lodge. Meanwhile, I was racking my brains to discover the reason for this blindfolded voyage. . . . There is a most curious thing, which is however to be found in many instances through life; it is the experience of a first impression, an impression which is generally hard to dispel; some people never really succeed in disengaging themselves from such first impressions. From this detail, insignificant at first sight, an important impression grew in me and as a result I found myself ever more wary, my senses became ever more alert, and the question as to how this evening would end, whether or not I would be forced to withdraw my application, weighed ever more heavily on me. An inner struggle was set in motion in my conscience. The idea that I had been mistaken was becoming ever more insistent and filled me with sorrow. I could not accept that earnest men could amuse themselves with such games and, despite all my willingness, at that moment, I could grasp no symbolic meaning whatsoever. This impression overpowered me just long enough to reach the Preparation Room and we shall see how this impression changed progressively but still mingled with the expectations of the reception. The evolution which will take place is of a particular kind, considering that the candidate is oblivious to everything that will happen; thus new sense impressions only will make an impact on his senses; logic and reason, which will help him to evaluate those initial impressions which were first unconsciously and inconsequentially formed, will only follow afterward. We have seen the unfortunate effect produced by the little detour, but this effect will eventually be seen to be positive in that it will force the candidate to think productively and to struggle mentally to find solid reasons in order to erase from his mind the initial thought, namely that he had been invited to a somewhat ridiculous ceremony. . . . The moment before, I was hesitant, disillusioned, and now I was full of hope about fulfilling my desire to meet others able to understand and share the ideas I had of humanity, with whom exchanging opinions would be possible without prejudice or other preconceptions, typical of intolerant people. It was thus no longer with that feeling of revolt that I let the blindfold be put back on. The rest of the voyage was less dire, and the friendly words of the Masonic brother who accompanied me, reassuring me that friendship was my guide, reminded me of other voyages through obscurity, in which one had sought in vain for a friendly guide during the inner conflicts of early life, when the soul is still fresh and sensitive to all impressions,

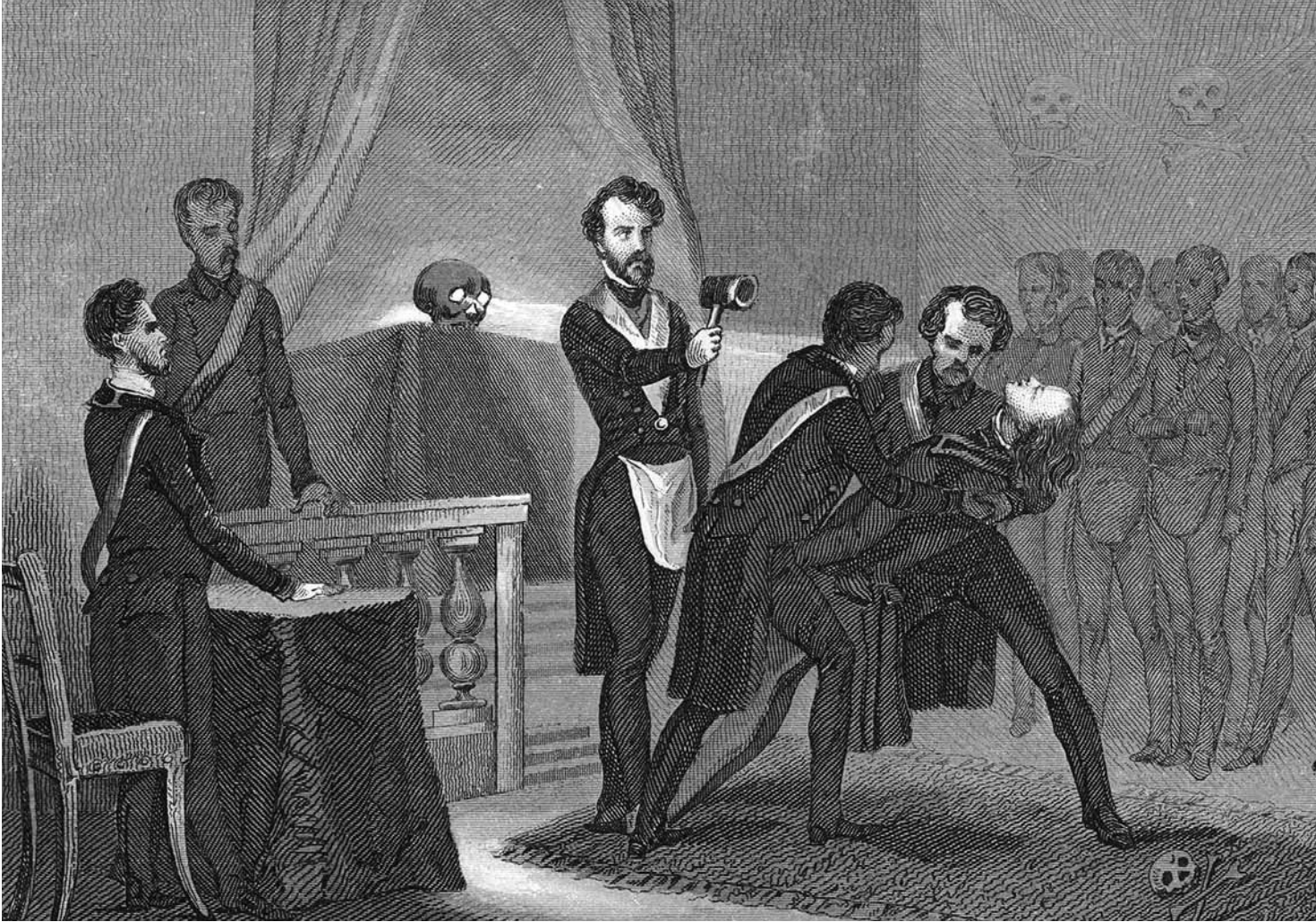


when life reveals itself directly in its totality; at the moment when one has to part with one's prejudices, one's superstitions perhaps, and when for years one advances with insecurity, with uncertainty, in the obscurity, when one would need friendship to be guided toward the light that one desires so fervently. At that moment one rarely finds the much needed guide and one often succumbs morally. It was while reflecting on these past moments, when one becomes aware of one's weakness, which appears in its entire enormity, and when its meanness becomes visible, that my companion led me into that small black room where the symbols of death emerged one by one from the darkness as the eyes became accustomed to the darkness. I felt no surprise at the sight of these objects, it seemed to me that it was a logical thing that had to happen, and being there to indicate that despite our efforts to reach moral and intellectual perfection, this goal will never be reached. In the midst of the slow and painful labor to achieve it, which is not as unrewarding as might first seem, death will seize us mercilessly when our hour has come and stop the wheels of our human machinery with the visible effects of its power, the existence of which we must admit but cannot identify. . . . I was overcome by a feeling of peace and by the music and singing during the three voyages around the rectangular floor of the lodge; my senses aroused and my apprehensive spirit miraculously appeased, it seemed like a genuine moment of calm! It is a pity that we are unable to represent in writing the true feelings of our heart, once on paper being but a feeble copy of the original, hence this small composition, despite all the effort put into it, will seem quite dull to the reader, but as they themselves will have experienced these unforgettable moments, they may relive them with me, or so I eagerly wish. May these few lines rekindle their memories of the days when they too longed for light.

Written in La Chaux-de-Fonds, 20 March 1909, Hans Wille<sup>3</sup>

In recounting his initiatory experience, first of the Cabinet de Réflexion (the Cabinet of Self-Examination) in which the candidate symbolically writes a statement of philosophical beliefs, and then of the Three Voyages, with their progression from darkness to light, Hans Wille describes the physical experience and conflicting emotions of his initiation. The trial-like physical experience of these initiations, like the initiation into the degree of Maître, is symbolic of the trials, tribulations, hardships, and sufferings of real life (figure 4.3). Wille reflects on the conflict between emotion and intellect—"a totally different feeling confronted my intellect"—during which, in self-conscious bewilderment, he switched between experiencing solemnity, absurdity, and revulsion at the alternately ludicrous and wise ceremonial to which he was voluntarily subjecting himself. He veers between incredulity and wonder.

Yet another significant feature of the Trois Voyages has to be considered. In his own "Planche d'Apprenti d'avancement au II Grade," dated 1894, Schaltenbrand highlights a feature of the Trois Voyages that appears to contradict Hans Wille's account.<sup>4</sup> Schaltenbrand writes,



- 4.3. Illustration of the initiation of a Maître, with backward fall (symbolic of trust) and skull (symbolic of the brevity of life and its inherent duties). In François Timoléon Bègue-Clavel, *Histoire pittoresque de la Franc-Maçonnerie et des sociétés secrètes anciennes et modernes, illustrée avec 25 belles gravures sur acier* (Paris: Pagnerre, Éditeur, 1844). (Archives J. K. Birksted.)

I have received from our Dear Brother Orator a subject to address as a *planche d'Apprenti*. I ask you for your lenience as I can only give an imperfect reply to the question that has been addressed to me: What is your understanding of Masonic Solidarity?

If I have waited too long in requesting the lodge for my advancement in grade, I ask my dear brothers not to hold it against me and to trust that I hold masonry in general and our atelier in particular in the most genuine respect and that I cherish fine memories of the exceptional meetings that I have had the pleasure of attending. In those the high Morality of the principles of our Lodge are evident, and I have had the pleasure of observing that all Masonic aspirations are directed solely to the purpose that was long ago formulated in Christ's words, "Love one another."

What is Solidarity but the application of these beautiful words that Masonry has completed by saying "Help one another."

Let us therefore strive to put in practice this noble Solidarity! By extending our hand to the poor in distress, workers who suffer a fall, children without families, we can extinguish the fatal class warfare that threatens us!

No more anarchism, no more murderous battles between capital and Labor, but the union of all walking hand in hand as brothers toward the conquest of Progress.

The dream you have had, my brothers, is certainly a fine one, but alas how much more dismal is the sober reality.

If we widen the scope of our horizon, what do we see! The peoples of all nations broadening the rifts that divide them, exhausted by taxes, downtrodden by constant armaments, waiting for the slightest pretext to throw themselves at each other and tear each other apart like wild animals!

That is the reality, and yet, if two individuals in conflict over a disagreement take the step of resolving their quarrel with knife stabs, they are separated and punished, whereas a soldier who kills many enemies is decorated! This is the stage we have reached at the end of the nineteenth century, precisely when it seems so easy to practice human Solidarity by submitting all the international questions and disagreements to the Wisdom of a Supreme Arbitration.

This is why Masonry today has a magnificent program to fulfill; the task is difficult but the grandeur of the goal inspires the heart of every good Mason and will always attract those who seek the Good.

Let us therefore unite by the ties of the sincerest friendship that all of us may seek this Ideal of moral perfection through the practice of Virtue, Justice and Solidarity!

It is in closing that I ask you, my beloved brothers, to grant me my advancement in grade, anxious that I am to make myself useful as a good mason by bringing my stone to the edifice that we are constructing in the world.

From the pediment of our temple will always resound that beautiful maxim: Liberty! Equality! Solidarity!

My Brothers, I salute you,

Nov. 1894 E. Schaltenbrand<sup>5</sup>

Schaltenbrand reveals in his *planche* a quality that is very different from that expressed by Hans Wille. Where Wille voiced doubts, Schaltenbrand voiced certainties. While Wille finished with an evocation of “memories of the days when they too longed for light,” Schaltenbrand—initiated in 1886 in Paris in the Loge La Clémentine Amitié—concluded with the more political “Liberté! Égalité! Solidarité!” that echoes the French “Liberté! Égalité! Fraternité!” To clarify this fundamental difference, a brief methodological explanation is in order. To eventually draw a parallel between the architectural promenade and the Trois Voyages, it is necessary to pinpoint which ritual is relevant

because the Trois Voyages take on different ritual forms in different lodges at different historical times. Pinpointing which ritual might be the reference for the architectural promenade will therefore occupy subsequent chapters.

Gian Mario Cazzaniga has pointed out that “it is precisely through analyzes of rituals that it is possible to ascertain the cultural foundations of the Obédiences, different philosophical and religious roots, connections and influences . . . with the literary, artistic, philosophical, and religious trends of the period.”<sup>6</sup> Le Corbusier was indeed interested in ritual; as he wrote in his *Sketchbook 1954–1957*, “Receiving instructions [about the design for Ronchamp] from Canon Ledeur and deciding about the interior and exterior altars, I discover in Catholicism the continuation of the most ancient, human, rites.”<sup>7</sup> Since one “should never underestimate the emotional pull of masonic rituals, the intensity of the loyalty they could inspire,”<sup>8</sup> we need to try to specify the relevant rituals associated with significant individuals in Charles-Édouard Jeanneret’s social networks. There seem to have been three different rituals undertaken by those closest to him. Take Schaltenbrand first, initiated at La Clémentine Amitié in 1886: which ritual was in use there? In the spirit of French republicanism, the Obédience Grand Orient de France (the administrative association of Masonic lodges, the Grand Orient de France), to which La Clémentine Amitié belonged, generally made use of the Rite Français (French Rite), which differed from the one evoked in Hans Wille’s account of the Trois Voyages.<sup>9</sup> Secondly, which ritual was in use at the Loge L’Amitié in La Chaux-de-Fonds? A third ritual influence during Charles-Édouard Jeanneret’s formative years, both in La Chaux-de-Fonds and in Paris, was the writing of Oswald Wirth (1860–1943), whose two influential publications were widely available: *Le livre de l’Apprenti* (1894; second edition, 1908) and *Le livre du Compagnon* (1912), eventually to be followed in 1922 by *Le livre du Maître*.<sup>10</sup>

A benchmark in Masonic circles, Oswald Wirth was a Swiss émigré to Paris who lectured widely, eventually being invited to L’Amitié during a tour in Switzerland in 1930.<sup>11</sup> In his writing, Wirth reinvested Masonic rituals and symbolism with personal interpretations of their original esoteric meanings, rejecting those not based on historical traditions or grounded in historically transmitted meanings.<sup>12</sup> At the Loge L’Amitié, his books were considered fundamental. Though it was L’Eplattenier who offered Édouard Schuré’s *Les grands initiés* to Jeanneret, the same book was recommended reading by Oswald Wirth.<sup>13</sup> An advertisement appeared in the *Bulletin of the International Bureau for Masonic Affairs*, published in Neuchâtel in 1913, for Wirth’s journal: “*Le Symbolisme*, journal of the universal movement for the renewal of initiatory Freemasonry, published monthly, under the editorship of Brother Oswald Wirth, 16, rue Ernest-Renan, Paris XV<sup>e</sup>.”<sup>14</sup> During this time—after Élie Ducommun, originally of Neuchâtel, Grand Maître of the Grande Loge Suisse Alpina (1890–1895), and honorary member of the Loge L’Amitié (1890s), obtained the Nobel Peace Prize in 1902—the Grande Loge Suisse Alpina was very prestigious. Wirth was Vénérable of the Loge Travail et Vrais Amis Fidèles no. 139 of the Obédience La Grande Loge de France (this administrative association of Masonic lodges was separate and different from Le Grand Orient de

France). Wirth occupied a unique place in francophone Freemasonry as the advocate for the renewal of spiritual values in Freemasonry. In his novel *Recherche d'une église* (1934), Jules Romains based a character named Lengnau on Wirth, describing him as "one of the highest spiritual authorities; perhaps the highest."<sup>15</sup> As late as 1962, Marius Lepage, in his preface to the republication of Wirth's books, recalls his "nostalgia for Wirth's spiritual thinking."<sup>16</sup>

To continue the attempt to pinpoint which ritual of the Trois Voyages might be the relevant model for the architectural promenade, the question now arising is which ritual was advocated by Oswald Wirth. As will be seen, he virulently condemned the ritual in use at La Clémentine Amitié, Schaltenbrand's Parisian lodge. Indeed, La Clémentine Amitié in Paris, L'Amitié in La Chaux-de-Fonds, and Oswald Wirth each belonged to divergent traditions of ritual and belief, the detailed clarification of which might help in identifying the possible sources of Charles-Édouard Jeanneret's knowledge of Masonic notions and symbolism. This clarification could also eventually help in excavating the nature of the architectural promenade. Who initiated Jeanneret into the details of Freemasonic rituals, beliefs, and symbolism? This question too will occupy subsequent chapters, which study specific individuals around him and analyze the very particular ritual references found throughout the *Œuvre complète*, not least in *Le poème de l'angle droit*. In the first instance, given the importance of Schaltenbrand at the École d'Art, might the architectural promenade be referenced to the rituals of La Clémentine Amitié of the Obédience Grand Orient de France?<sup>17</sup>

La Clémentine Amitié, founded in 1805, had an effervescent history as an independently minded, defiant and rebellious lodge. It was legendary for its public stances: its conspicuous presence with flying Masonic banners at Lafayette's funeral (1834) in the face of attempts by the July Monarchy to stifle the event because of fears of empathic republican outbursts; its welcoming of foreign militants, revolutionaries and eccentrics as members; its proletarian sympathies and radical political proclamations; even its disputes with the Grand Orient de France. When François Timoléon Bègue-Clavel (1798–1852) became Vénérable in 1844, La Clémentine Amitié was embroiled in a conflict with the Grand Orient de France, openly denouncing its conservatism. Radicals were initiated, such as the *fouriériste* Léon Gozlan (1806–1866) and the abolitionist Victor Schoelcher (1804–1893), architect of the legal abolition of slavery in France in 1848.<sup>18</sup> Subsequently cowed into a long period of submission during the Second Republic (1848–1851) and the Second Empire (1852–1870), the lodge revived a new period of radicalism during the Third Republic in the 1880s under a new Vénérable, Charles Cousin, when it reached a membership record of 285 in 1881.<sup>19</sup> On 8 July 1875, a decade before Schaltenbrand became a member, La Clémentine Amitié was the scene of the initiation of two outstanding public figures, the politician Jules Ferry and the scientist, linguist, and philosopher Émile Littré. The initiation of Littré, creator of the unique French dictionary *Le Littré*, was compared at the time to Voltaire's eighteenth-century initiation at the Loge Les Neuf Sœurs and imparted enormous prestige to La Clémentine Amitié.<sup>20</sup> In 1887, a member of the

Chambre des Députés and ex-minister joined the lodge. In 1889, the lodge celebrated the anniversary of Giordano Bruno, victim of religious intolerance. In 1889–1890, a series of conferences and debates took place on the subject of socialism and the merits of state education versus religious education. When Schaltenbrand was initiated in 1886, the Grand Orient de France was adopting a new ritual, formalized in *Les rituels pour les loges du Grand Orient de France, 1887, Cahiers des grades symboliques, 1887*.<sup>21</sup> This calls for a brief historical explanation.

The Rite Français underwent two rewritings, by Lucien Murat in 1858 during the Second Empire and by Louis Amiabile in 1887 during the Third Republic. In the reworking by Murat, some preliminary secularization was introduced. References to cosmological or mystical elements were replaced with more geographical or realistic ones. For example, in the catechism, the question “Why is your lodge oriented from Orient to Occident?” was originally answered “Because enlightenment arises in the Orient”; the symbolic and cosmological reference of this reply was replaced with the more down-to-earth reply, “Because the sun rises in the Orient.”<sup>22</sup> The traditional *malédiction*s (symbolic threats of physical punishment in case of misbehavior) were removed.<sup>23</sup> But, in the years following the Third Republic, the fiercest debates about ritual concerned the *épreuves physiques* (symbolic physical trials) (figure 4.3). Some considered them obsolete, while others considered their symbolism momentous and irreplaceable. From 1880 to 1885, continual debates took place on these issues, and traditionalists such as Eugène-Esprit Hubert were removed from the relevant decision-making committees of the Grand Orient de France. Louis Amiabile organized a consultation of all the lodges of the Grand Orient de France, who, with rare exceptions such as La Bienfaisance Châlonnaise, to which Oswald Wirth belonged, were favorable to the reforms, culminating in the new ritual of the Version Amiabile (1887), which was presented as a return to the “simplicity of former times.”<sup>24</sup>

This was also the precise wording of La Clémentine Amitié, who specified their intention “on the subject of initiations, to return to its initial ritual, which is of a much higher philosophical level.”<sup>25</sup> It was thus the Version Amiabile that deliberately and consistently removed traditional symbolic and ritual elements such as the *épreuves physiques*:

We have eliminated the two concepts of intimidation and purification, the former of which seemed to turn Freemasonry into a secret society while the latter seemed to confer on it a religious quality. . . . When practiced rigorously, intimidation and purification made the trials painful, unpleasant, and even sometimes dangerous. Reduced to an approximate etiquette, as they generally have been for some time, they were lacking in seriousness and sometimes even introduced an element of levity.<sup>26</sup>

Louis Amiable also removed all references to the four elements, whose ancient alchemical references he saw, in the spirit of positivism, as antiscientific: “these practices [are] in contradiction with the facts of science, which has so long done justice to the four elements.”<sup>27</sup> Ancient symbolic terms such as *serments* (oaths) were replaced with new terms such as *promesses d’un honnête homme* (gentleman’s promises).<sup>28</sup> Other eighteenth-century ritual elements were eliminated, such as kneeling when making promises, or the holding of a compass and set square against the candidate’s chest (symbolically applying morality, justice, and righteousness to the heart). Other elements like the removal of metals (wristwatches, belt buckles, money, and, in the eighteenth century, swords, as symbolic removal of wealth and defiance) or the *ni nu, ni vêtu* (“neither naked nor clothed,” shirt half-removed and trouser leg rolled up, symbolic of innocent candidness) were also ended, as outdated practices (figure 4.2). Amiable explained,

Initiation was a very simple process in French lodges in the eighteenth century. It was made much more complicated at the beginning of the nineteenth century, with the introduction of some elements that were believed to have been borrowed from Ancient Egyptian initiations. The attempt was made to test the member elect’s courage by terrifying methods. The fourfold purification was simulated by the four elements of the Ancients, that is to say by earth, air, water, and fire. The member elect was semi-undressed. Sometimes he was taken into the temple lying in a coffin, sometimes he was made to go through a paper membrane to symbolize his transition to a new life. In the temple, he heard muffled shouts, violent shocks, noises like hail and thunder, clashing of swords. He encountered obstacles under his feet. He was thrown down from a high place but saved by helping hands. His hands were soaked in water, sometimes his arms right up to his elbows. He was made to drink a chalice of bitterness. He was made to go through the middle of flames. He was asked to submit to the application of a red iron. He was required to give a written obligation signed in his own blood. Sometimes he was subjected to even more painful and more frightening trials. You should therefore not be surprised if you find yourself faced with some of these kinds of practices. Neither will you be surprised by them, knowing that progress is slow and human evolution is complex.<sup>29</sup>

As for the *Trois Voyages*, they were retained but reframed in educational terms as symbolic of the relationships between parent, teacher, and child, and of moral improvement and social progress. The revamped *Trois Voyages* were preceded and followed by moral commentaries and suggestive questions on philosophical, moral, and sociological issues. Questions mentioned by Amiable included: “Do you think that learning involves liberating consciousness? How do you define fanaticism and superstition? How do you define Freedom of Thought? What is Progress?”<sup>30</sup> As he explained the *Trois Voyages*:

This journey symbolizes childhood. The child enters the world naked, weak, and incapable of providing for its own needs, but brings along a threefold right: the right to protection, education, and learning. The man and woman who have given life have the duty to fulfill these rights. This duty, which brings obligations toward the child, also gives them obligations to one another: it is the primordial application of the principle of solidarity; it is the juridical foundation of the family. Deprived of light, incapable of taking your first steps alone in the desired direction, you represented the child on this first journey. The two Freemasons who supported you and led you forward represented the father and mother whose help is equally necessary to the child. Together you represented the unit of the human group, that is to say, the family.<sup>31</sup>

The candidate's final promises included those to "exercise assistance to the poor, justice to all, devotion to Nation and family, dignity to myself."<sup>32</sup> In the *Rituels pour les Loges du Grand Orient de France, 1887, Cahiers des grades symboliques, 1887*, the Cabinet de Réflexion that precedes the Premier Voyage "must not show a terrifying appearance. Simplicity and austerity are required."<sup>33</sup>

Thus, the overall ritual was reduced to a minimal level of symbolism with a few elements retained, such as the Cabinet de Réflexion where the symbols displayed were a skeleton or skull, a sand clock, and inscriptions on the walls (figure 4.4), such as the following:

Know yourself.

To make good use of your life, reflect on death.

If curiosity has brought you here, go away.

If you are afraid of being enlightened as to your faults, you will not be comfortable among us.

If you accept social differences, leave: none are known here.

If you dissimulate, you will be fathomed.

If you are feeling dread, proceed no further.

Leaving the Cabinet de Réflexion and entering the lodge temple, the initiate began the Premier Voyage, which was titled "1st Voyage—Childhood—The Family."<sup>34</sup> Few and simple words were spoken: "My son, come with us." The initiate, accompanied by two members who guided him, was walked slowly around the lodge in silence, the entire assembly remaining hushed. The initiate was then addressed—"The first voyage is finished. This voyage symbolizes childhood"—and it was explained to him that the two accompanying members symbolized parents, thus representing the family in the form of two parents and a child: "The child depends on them but has rights to be educated and looked after." Then began the Deuxième Voyage, titled "2nd Voyage—Youth—The Master": "My pupil, follow me." This time, the group walked a little faster, "at a slower pace than



- 4.4. Two nineteenth-century Cabinets de Réflexion at the Grand Orient de France.  
(Courtesy of Musée du Grand Orient de France.)



in the first voyage. . . . Absolute silence, no sound. The second voyage is finished.”<sup>35</sup> Then followed the explanation: “The Second Voyage is finished. This voyage symbolizes youth when the parents are replaced by the teacher, who succeeds the parents in the child’s development.” Next followed the Troisième Voyage: “3rd Voyage—Maturity—The Friend.” Firmly holding his arm, the guides addressed the initiate: “My friend, lean on me.” The pace was normal and determined. Again, total

silence was the rule. Then followed the explanation: “The third voyage is over. This voyage symbolizes adulthood. You completed it like an individual who has reached the peak of his development. . . . Even at this stage of life, the individual still needs help and support. Alone, no important endeavor can be productively accomplished.”<sup>36</sup> Now, in contrast to this moral simplicity of the Version Amiable, the previous early-nineteenth-century version of *Le régulateur du Maçon* (1801) had described the Trois Voyages as follows:

After a few minutes of the deepest silence, the Vénérable says: “Brother Expert, make this gentleman undertake the first journey.”

The Supervisors take their places.

The Brother Expert takes the Candidate by both hands, makes him travel by leaving the West where he is standing; moving through the column of the North, from the North to the East, from the East to the South, and from there to the West, between the two Supervisors, where the journeys end.

The Brother Expert, during this journey, walks backward.

The first journey must be the most difficult; it must be taken with small *steps*, very slowly, and with a highly irregular walk.

The layout of the premises will be used to make this journey painful with skillfully arranged obstacles, without actually using any methods that might injure or disturb the candidate. He will be made to walk sometimes slowly, sometimes a little faster. He will be made to stoop down from time to time, as if to go into a tunnel: he will be made to step over things, as if to cross a ditch; finally he will be made to walk zigzag, so that he cannot tell what kind of ground he is crossing.

During this journey, the sounds of hail and thunder will be made, to impress some feeling of fear on his soul. When the candidate returns to the West, the second Supervisor knocks and says:

“Vénérable, the first journey has been made.”

The Vénérable says to him:

“Sir, what have you observed in the first journey that you have just made?”

After his reply, the Vénérable says:

“This first journey is the emblem of human life: the tumult of passions, the shock of various interests and difficulties; undertakings and obstacles that multiply on your path from competitors rushing to repel you, all that is symbolized by the noise and the din that struck your ears and the unevenness of the path that you have taken.”

The Vénérable says:

“Get him to make the second journey.”

This second journey must be made with quicker and slightly bigger steps; it must be remarkable only by the faint clashing of swords, skillfully done, in the candidate's ears, and only a few. On returning to the West, the candidate's arm will be immersed in a tank full of water that will have been carefully placed there, then the Supervisor will say:

“Most Vénérable, the second journey has been made.”

The Vénérable says:

“What thoughts has this journey generated in your mind?”

Regardless of the answer given, the Vénérable says:

“You must have encountered fewer difficulties and problems in this journey than in the first: we wanted to make you realize the effect of constancy in following the path of virtue; the further we proceed, the pleasanter it becomes.

“This clashing of weapons that you have heard on the way represents the struggles that the virtuous man is constantly obliged to sustain to triumph over the onslaughts of vice. You have been purified by the water; there are still some more trials for you to undergo; summon your courage to endure them till the very end.”

“Supervisor, get him to make the third journey.”

This third journey must be made in large steps at a free but unhurried pace, rather like a promenade. The member elect will be followed with a torch that will be shaken some way away from him to produce a large flame. Care will be taken that this flame cannot do him any harm.

When the member elect returns from the West, the second Supervisor knocks and says: “Vénérable, the third journey has now been made.”

The Vénérable says:

“Sir, you must have noticed that this journey has been less painful still than the previous one; the flames through which you have passed are the supplement to your purification: may the material fire by which you have been surrounded light the love of your fellows for ever in your heart; may charity prevail in your words and your actions, and never forget this precept of a sublime morality that is shared by all nations: *Do not do unto others that which you would not have others do unto you . . .*”<sup>37</sup>

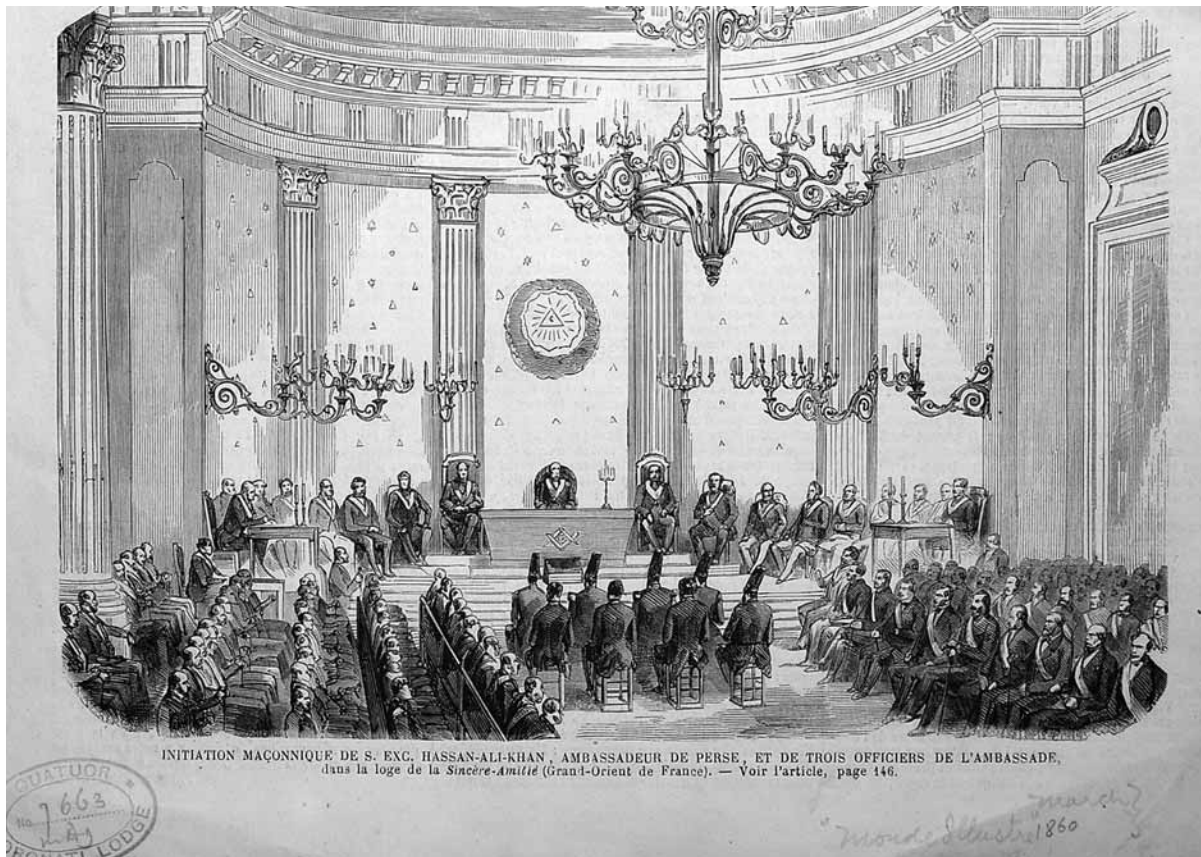
This account of the *Trois Voyages*—which, by the way, highlights the other significant feature of ritual rhythm and pace<sup>38</sup>—contrasts with the “virtually desacralized”<sup>39</sup> Version Amiable with its minimal staging. In a late-eighteenth-century version, the Version André Berté (1788), the four elements already played a substantial role in that the Apprenti was made to “voyage in the highest places, the deepest most tenebrous tunnels” (figure 4.5).<sup>40</sup> These earlier versions correspond to the seven degrees that constitute the Rite Français, codified in 1801 in *Le régulateur du*

- 4.5. Nineteenth-century painting of the symbolic initiatory *épreuves physiques* (physical trials) of the four elements (air, earth, water, and fire). (Courtesy of Musée du Grand Orient de France.)



*Maçon* and *Le régulateur des chevaliers maçons ou les quatre ordres supérieurs suivant le régime du Grand-Orient*<sup>41</sup> that was used by the Grand Orient de France in the early nineteenth century. They were derived from the famous English Masonic exposure of 1730, Samuel Prichard's *Masonry Dissected*<sup>42</sup> but with extensive additions of theatrically staged symbolism.<sup>43</sup> In *Le régulateur des chevaliers maçons* of 1801, the four elements are present symbolically from the start: "I know of a cavern; a lamp has lit my path; a spring has quenched my thirst."<sup>44</sup> These early rituals were purged by La Clémentine Amitié in its adoption of the Version Amiable, which it believed was more suggestive of progressive education, social progress, human rights, and intellectual values—all values for which La Clémentine Amitié was the most renowned lodge during the era of its most prestigious initiates, Jules Ferry and Émile Littré.<sup>45</sup> The return to a ritual "of a more elevated philosophical level"<sup>46</sup> was a move away from theatrical and spiritual symbolism in favor of "moral and allegorical lectures on good and evil"<sup>47</sup> in line with late-nineteenth-century positivism. Schaltenbrand's *planche* of 1894 at L'Amitié in La Chaux-de-Fonds—with his rousing conclusion about "a magnificent program to fulfill; the task is difficult but the grandeur of the goal inspires the heart of every good Mason and will always attract those who seek the Good"<sup>48</sup>—typifies the secularized nineteenth-century

version toward which La Clémente Amitié was progressing at the time of his initiation (1886). The desacralized Version Murat (1858), precursor to the Version Amiable (1887), is illustrated by the civic ceremony of initiation of the Persian ambassador to Paris, His Excellency Hassan-Ali-Kahn, with three of his senior staff at the Loge La Sincère-Amitié of the Grand Orient de France in 1860



- 4.6. Initiation of His Excellency Hassan-Ali-Kahn, Persian ambassador to Paris, and of three of his senior staff at the Loge La Sincère-Amitié at the premises of the Grand Orient de France (1860). (Courtesy of Library and Museum of the United Grand Lodge of England.)

(figure 4.6). The Version Amiable was also accompanied by a positivist codicil to underline religious neutrality as well as the significance of scientific progress and its applicability.<sup>49</sup>

Yet, in the same historical period, a contrary tendency was surfacing in Paris, embodied by Oswald Wirth. In defiance of this progressive trend, Wirth eventually left the Grand Orient de France and its ritual, the Rite Français, for the Grande Loge de France (founded in 1895), which used the Rite Écossais Ancien et Accepté, a tradition (called Écossisme) that Wirth felt was more adapted to spiritual symbolism.<sup>50</sup> Wirth transferred because he believed that the Version Amiable of the Rite Français had lost its key justification, that of deference to existing traditions, however ridiculous they might seem. He criticized the Version Amiable, writing: “The essential modification is the

elimination of the physical trials that represent the fourfold purification by the elements. However, the Cabinet de Réflexion has been kept, as well as the Trois Voyages, in an attempt to make them represent the three stages of human life: childhood, youth and maturity. As ceremonial, it is just as ridiculous as that which existed before; but, in addition, this innovation does not have the excuse of any required allegiance to tradition.”<sup>51</sup> Now, Oswald Wirth is a complex and contradictory thinker, virulently opposed to both dogma and therefore to religion as inherently dogmatic, and simultaneously deeply committed to republicanism, initiatory experience, and visual symbolism as instrumental in the initiation ritual.<sup>52</sup> Wirth belonged to a very particular spiritual occult tradition, whose roots are to be found in a book by Jean Marie Ragon de Bettignies (1781–1866), *Cours philosophique et interprétatif des initiations anciennes et modernes* (1841),<sup>53</sup> which Wirth analyzed in his own *Le symbolisme occulte de la Franc-Maçonnerie: Analyse interprétative du frontispice de la “Maçonnerie occulte” de J.-M. Ragon*.<sup>54</sup> Here he wrote:

The mysteries of Freemasonry are real and cannot be revealed artificially. The ceremonial is only the image of a profound reality that we must experience in ourselves in order to attain true initiation, rather than being satisfied with the fallacious symbol of what is promised to us. The symbolism is only worth something insofar as it acts on us. If it does nothing more than impress superficially, it has no more value in Masonry than in the secular religions that aspire to move the masses. Initiation is addressed to potential Initiates, that is, to minds that are capable of reflection.<sup>55</sup>

(In passing, it is worth briefly recalling Le Corbusier’s statement, “In a complete and successful work there are hidden masses of implications, a veritable world which reveals itself to those it may concern.”)<sup>56</sup> Wirth’s legendary role in early-twentieth-century francophone Freemasonry consisted in reasserting the truly initiatory aspects of Freemasonry as the individual’s inner search for truth via visual symbols, free from dogma:

Every Freemason is required to construct his own temple of truth entirely independently, that is, the spiritual edifice of his own convictions. Nothing is dictated to him in this respect, as absolute freedom of thought and belief is what characterizes the “free constructor” known as the Freemason.

If this free spirit has a good understanding of the art of construction, he will build his religion on the firm foundation of deep sentiments shared by all humanitarians. He will not turn it into a doctrine to be preached, but a set of moral certainties on which agreement is established sensibly among all friends of morality, without any necessity to resort to questionable verbal formulas. What is felt naturally gains nothing from being artificially explained, hence the silence prescribed to the initiates in the domain of the mystery. They

are called to understand each other not through dogmas or words but through symbols, which are mirrors that reflect their own thinking.

The initiatory method is thus addressed to the intellectual elite rather than the mass of simple believers. The latter recognize that they are incapable of discerning for themselves what is true or false; they therefore rely on an instructional authority that dictates to them what they must believe. Those who aspire to true initiation must on the contrary rely only on themselves. No one will present them with a ready-constructed philosophical system to which they merely have to adapt. What they will be taught is the art of construction, which applies first and foremost to the construction of the spiritual abode of the apprentice in construction. That construction does not usually occur without the preliminary demolition of the building that is no longer proving adequate, the clearing of the land is therefore anticipated in the art of construction; but the constructor demolishes only insofar as reconstruction is required. He respects what remains solid, useful, and beautiful, without persisting in making everything accord with the taste of the day and the style of the era.

The artist in construction appreciates the works of his precursors. He works as they do in the interest of human beings in search of a temporary shelter. For everything passes and no construction claims to be eternal. It is anticipated that the temple will be destroyed and that it will have to be reconstructed. It is therefore wrong to portray Freemasons as the sworn enemies of all religion. The historical successors of the cathedral builders, we have on the contrary remained, despite superficial appearances, the faithful servants of religious universalism. Since “catholic” means “universal,” we dream of a true Catholicism based on respect for every sincere conviction and on the practice of morality. All those who apply themselves to good actions are our brothers, and we love them without worrying about their metaphysical conceptions.<sup>57</sup>

As part of this inner quest for truth free from dogmatic thinking, Wirth overlaid the existing rituals with personal interpretations, as in his exegesis of the *Trois Voyages*:

The first journey is the emblem of human life. The tumult of passions, the shock of differing interests, the difficulties in endeavors, the obstacles that multiply on your path from competitors hastening to harm us and always ready to repel us, all these are symbolized by the unevenness of the path that the Candidate has followed and the clamor that are made around him. . . . The deafening noise of the first journey is followed by a rattling of weapons, emblem of the battles that humans are constantly forced to continue in order to repel the corrupting influences that assail them and aspire to overcome them. They must battle incessantly to escape the tyranny of the most vicious inclinations.<sup>58</sup>

But Wirth overlaid this interpretation of the *Trois Voyages* with several personal elements. His interpretation was based on his belief in the existence of universal symbols from archaic civilizations, ancient traditions, and classical myths, including alchemy, the kabala, and Vedism, and in their revelatory possibilities and initiatory potential. Wirth saw symbols as the suggestive initiators of a process of education and perfecting: “In Masonry, as in Initiation in general, everything is yet symbol, hence an object of comprehensive meditation rather than of compulsory faith.”<sup>59</sup> In his appraisal of the Grand Orient de France’s proclamation in 1849 that religious belief and liberty of conscience are simultaneously important, he commented with scorn, “Proclaiming the existence of God and the immortality of the soul, while not excluding anyone for their beliefs, is not logically satisfying for our Latin mentalities.”<sup>60</sup> Having been the private secretary to Stanislas de Guaita, occultist and cofounder with Joséphin Péladan of the *Ordre Kabbalistique de la Rose-Croix*, Wirth would later sarcastically remark, “In the view of occultists, erudition is the path to everything. Referring to esteemed authors, they accumulate a baggage of nonacademic knowledge to, *presto*, become ‘DPhil (Occultism),’ not to mention ‘Magi’ and ‘Grand Initiates.’”<sup>61</sup> In Wirth’s thinking—and this is the important point—there is an aversion to all forms of deceptive doctrine and authoritarian dogma as well as a mixture of intense logical rationalism and intense occult spiritualism.

Wirth’s late-nineteenth-century advocacy of the value of initiatory symbolism was in line with early-nineteenth-century practices as documented by Bègue-Clavel. As previously discussed, Bègue-Clavel became Vénérable of the Loge La Clémentine Amitié in 1844, and became embroiled in a conflict against the interfering and controlling conservatism of the Grand Orient de France, which he dared to virulently criticize in his widely read *Histoire pittoresque de la Franc-Maçonnerie et des sociétés secrètes anciennes et modernes*.<sup>62</sup> This publication is an expression of a freethinking, intellectual, republican, and deeply spiritual Freemasonry, comparable to that advocated by Oswald Wirth. To explicate this spiritual and symbolic mode, a small digression is useful to another example of this freethinking, intellectual, republican, and deeply spiritual form of francophone Freemasonry. This is a visual image from Esprit-Eugène Hubert (1819–1897).

In 1869, Esprit-Eugène Hubert became director of the independently minded journal *La Chaîne d’Union*, created in London in 1864 by *les proscrits* (the political exiles from Napoleon III’s Second Empire of 1852–1870), which has been, “from 1872 to 1889, the best and the most independent of Masonic journals and a very fertile source of documentation concerning Masonic life in France and worldwide.”<sup>63</sup> The cover of the journal encapsulates this ideology: a symbolically pure nude is elevated above three steps labeled “*J’EMANCIPE, JE PACIFIE, J’ECLAIRE*” (I emancipate, I pacify, I enlighten) and brandishes moral symbols (the mirror of self-examination and the plumb line of uprightness) (figure 4.7). The same ideology infused Bègue-Clavel’s *Histoire pittoresque de la Franc-Maçonnerie et des sociétés secrètes anciennes et modernes*, discovered in an antiquarian shop

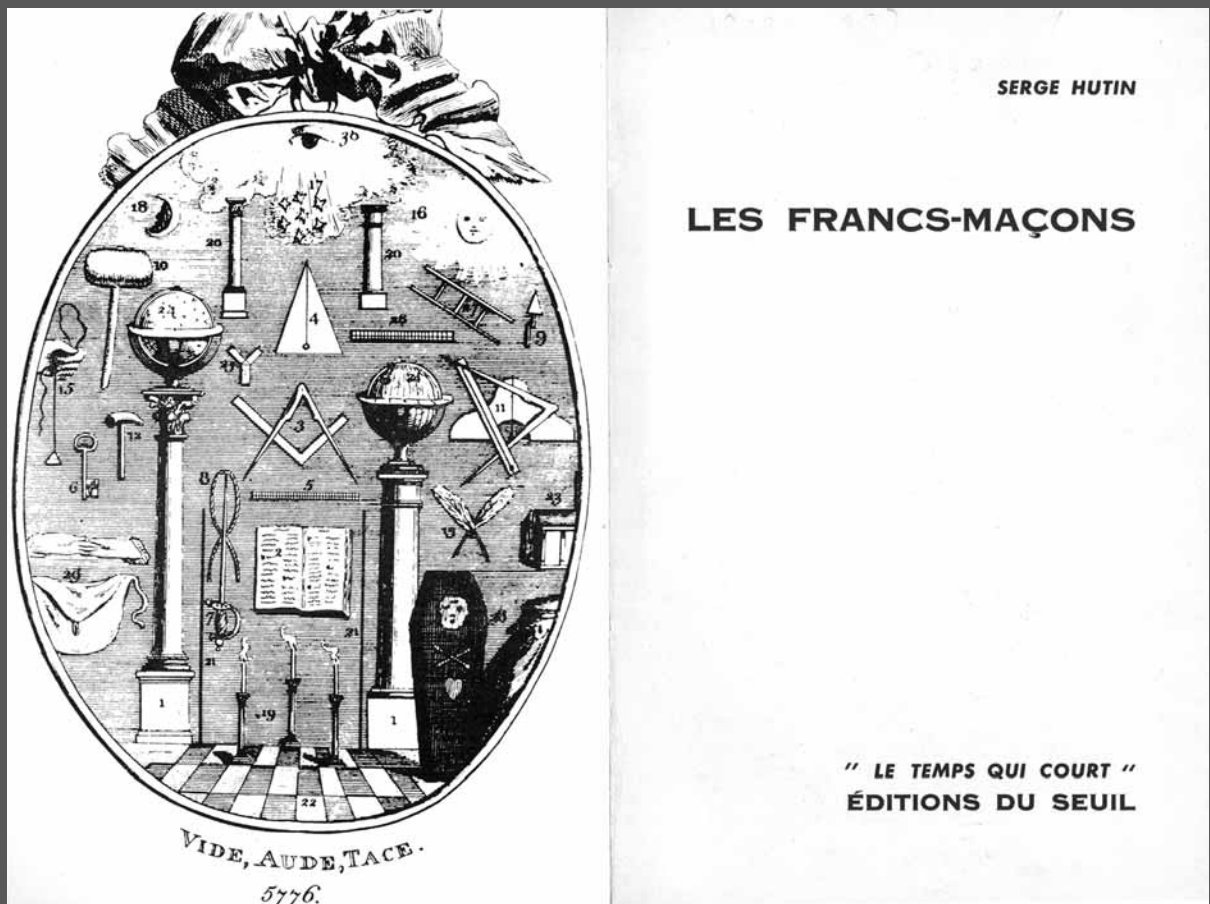


in La Chaux-de-Fonds (figures 4.2, 4.3). Bègue-Clavel was thus in circulation in Chaux-de-fonnier Freemasonic circles. Bègue-Clavel is also widely referred to and directly quoted in another, later book on Freemasonry, Serge Hutin's *Les Francs-Maçons* (1960), of which an annotated copy is to be found in Le Corbusier's library.<sup>64</sup>



4.7. Cover of *La Chaîne d'Union de Paris* (ca. 1870). (Courtesy of Library and Museum of the United Grand Lodge of England.)

# 5 The Little Vestibule that Frees Your Mind from the Street



5.1. Le Corbusier's copy of Serge Hutin, *Les Francs-Maçons* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1960), title page. (Le Corbusier's library, FLC J 131.)

**THE** date of publication (1960) of Serge Hutin's *Les Francs-Maçons* in Le Corbusier's library suggests the architect's lifelong interest in the subject of Freemasonry (figure 5.1). Le Corbusier's annotations follow page 29, where Hutin forcefully describes Freemasonry in terms of its rational, ethical, and humanitarian aspects, and of its mystical and spiritual aspects. Hutin cites René Guénon, Marius Lepage, Albert Lantoiné, and Oswald Wirth in order to demonstrate that Freemasonry's higher purpose is "to give the individual the means of ensuring his spiritual development by collective work."<sup>1</sup> It is thus necessary to look at this brief but annotated section inside Le Corbusier's copy of Hutin's book:

A whole series of similar attempts, more or less felicitous, have been made to form a synthesis between Masonic doctrines and modern theories of astronomy or physics by scientifically reformulating ancient concepts of eternal recurrence (the periodic destruction and reconstruction of the world); the idea of primitive nothingness, a form of supreme energy from which everything proceeds and to which everything returns. . . . Modernist masons even tend to eliminate all specific theological content from the symbol of the "Great Architect of the Universe": "The Great Architect of the Universe is primarily a symbol and, like all Masonic symbols, it can be explained in several ways. . . . The Great Architect of the Universe is also the individual who gradually discovers the laws of the Cosmos, tames the forces of nature, and subjugates them to our needs (Jacques Maréchal)."

However, there is another way of interpreting the symbols of the Order. An eminent French Mason, Marius Lepage, writes: “Freemasonry, a secret initiatory society, aims to provide the individual with the means of ensuring his spiritual development through the action of collective work.” From this viewpoint, what is involved is something entirely different from simply giving a kind of concrete formulation to philosophical ideals that are widespread throughout the contemporary world. Masonic lodges must not be considered as kinds of secular, humanitarian “Sunday schools,” even if some in the Latin countries tend to become so.

Admittedly the Order has seriously deteriorated; many of its members do not even know what it is about: “you become a Christian,” commented another Brother, Oswald Wirth in 1938, “by means of a sacrament, without knowing what Christianity is. The procedure for ‘creating’ Masons is similar. They receive the light symbolically, but in reality what are they taught? Some work alone, it is true, effectively to polish their rough stone and cease to be profane. But how many of those are there . . . ?”

Among the Masons concerned with the spiritual dimension of the Order, there are various trends to be discerned: there are the thinkers who, like Ragon in the last century, strive to demonstrate a real continuity of inspiration between Freemasonry and the mysteries of Antiquity. Then there are the “symbolists” like Oswald Wirth who seek to bring out the deep occult teaching that is conveyed by the symbols and rituals of Freemasonry; there are also those who, like Albert Lantoin, turn Masonry into “the religion of tolerance” . . . and yet recognize the *initiatory* quality that is required for the Order to remain what it needs be. With this last trend, we are already fast approaching the ideal of “modernist” Masons. But the “traditionalists” in the strict sense of the term claim to follow a great contemporary French thinker whose ability in esoteric matters is being increasingly recognized. This reviver of “traditional” researches is René Guénon. . . .

What makes Guénon so remarkable is that he, who very seldom frequented Lodges, is perhaps the thinker with the best understanding of the underlying meaning of Masonic rituals and symbols. His central thesis is the existence of a primordial and timeless “Tradition,” whose various spiritual forms are like multiple facets, each being adapted to specific historical conditions. The metaphysical principles that form the basis of the different traditions (Guénon prefers this word to “religion,” which only strictly applies to certain traditions such as Judaism, Christianity, and Islam) are only apparently opposed: “in reality, only what is limited can be defined, while metaphysics on the contrary is absolutely unlimited by its very nature. . . . Tradition . . . accepts all the aspects of the truth; it does not oppose any legitimate adaptation; it gives, to those who understand, access to theories that are infinitely more vast than all the dreams of the boldest of philosophers.” Nevertheless, this is not a matter of justifying a sort of principled indifference to the specific forms of the

primordial Tradition. Guénon explains: “the traditional forms can be likened to paths that all lead to the same destination but which, as paths, are nonetheless distinct. It is obvious that it is impossible to follow more than one at any given time and that, having embarked on one of them, it is best to follow it to the end without swerving . . . it is only those who have reached the end who, by that very process, dominate all the paths and that is because they no longer have to follow them. They will therefore be able, if necessary, to practice all the forms without distinction, but precisely because they have gone beyond them, and because they are henceforth unified in their common principle.”

But what form will initiation take in this perspective? Guénon points out that etymologically the word “tradition” expresses no other idea than that of “transmission.” And the aim of initiation is precisely to transmit something.<sup>2</sup>

In his select bibliography, Hutin lists Bègue-Clavel, Oswald Wirth and Édouard Quartier-la-Tente, and he writes that “some Masons, almost all members of the Grande Loge de France, tried to revive the traditional spirit, to rediscover the meaning of the symbols and rituals, in a word, to restore initiation in the fullness of its powers. . . . Revered are the names of Masons such as Oswald Wirth, Albert Lantoine, Michel Dumesnil de Grammont, former Grand Master of the Scottish Rite.”<sup>3</sup> Through the same names and references, Bègue-Clavel’s *Histoire pittoresque de la Franc-Maçonnerie* advocates the same mix of rational republicanism and radicalism and of mystical and spiritual deist symbolism as Oswald Wirth. Bègue-Clavel documents parts of the *Trois Voyages*:

The candidate is led into the foyer. There, to disorient him, he is made to turn round a few times; then he is led to the entrance of the temple. The superintendent has opened both sides of the door; slightly in front has been placed a large frame over which are stretched several layers of strong paper, which is held by brothers on every side.

—What should be done with this profane? asks the superintendent.

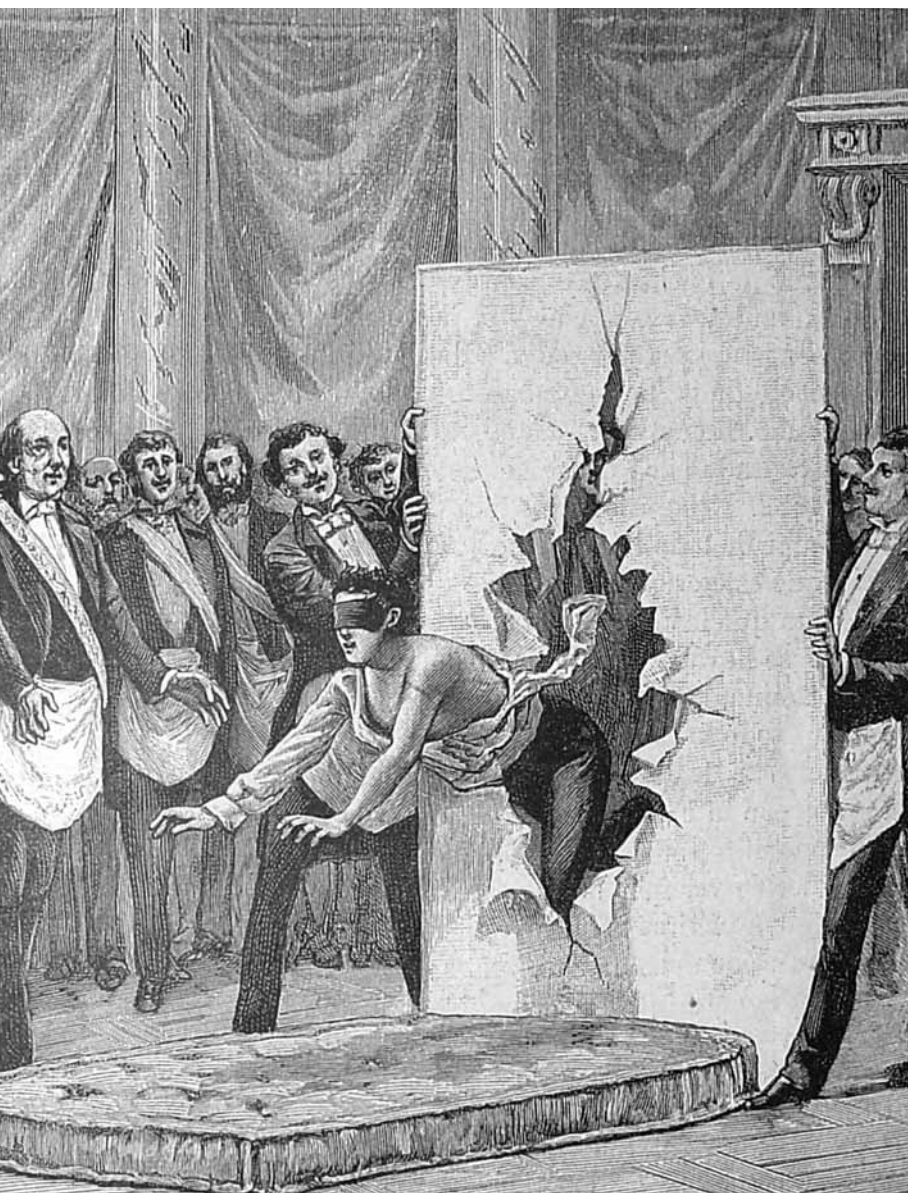
—Take him into the cavern, answers the Vénérable.

Then two brothers violently throw the candidate onto the frame, whose paper breaks and allows him through. Two other brothers receive him on the other side on their interlinked arms. Both sides of the door are vigorously closed. A ring of iron, grated several times against an indented iron rod, simulates the noise of a lock being closed with several turns. For a few moments, the deepest silence is observed. Finally, the Vénérable strikes his mallet loudly and says:

—Lead the candidate toward the second supervisor, and make him kneel. Profane, he adds, when this command is carried out, join in the prayer that we are going to address on your behalf to the author of all things. My brothers, the Vénérable continues, let us bow down before the Great Architect of the Universe; let us recognize his power and our frailty.

Let us keep our spirits and our hearts within the confines of justice and let us strive through our works to elevate ourselves toward him. He is One; he exists by himself, and it is from him that all beings gain their existence. He is revealed in everything and by everything; he sees and judges all things. Deign, oh Great Architect of the universe, to protect the peace-makers who are gathered in your temple: inspire their zeal, strengthen their souls in the battle against passions; inflame their hearts with the love of virtue and give them the necessary eloquence and perseverance to make them cherish your name, observe your laws and extend their realm. Offer assistance to this profane and support him with your protective arm amid the trials that he is about to undergo.<sup>4</sup>

This ritual of the candidate thrown onto a paper frame whose paper breaks, allowing him to penetrate from a visible world into a visionary world, is illustrated in another contemporary publication (figure 5.2).<sup>5</sup> A similarly intense focus on the spiritual and symbolic animates the writings of Bègue-Clavel, Serge Hutin, and Oswald Wirth, all three being passionately committed to spiritualism, deism, a notion of authentic initiatory values, and the dissemination of Masonic rituals and



5.2. Léo Taxil, *Les mystères de la Franc-Maçonnerie* (Paris: Letouzey & Ané, 1888), p. 17. (Courtesy of Library and Museum of the United Grand Lodge of England.)

ideology, which they saw as the contemporary continuation of an ancient tradition embodying these values. However, before finally attending to the comparison with the architectural promenade, one last ritual of possible significance remains to be considered: the ritual in use in La Chaux-de-Fonds at L'Amitié itself, the Rite Schroeder (Schroeder Rite),<sup>6</sup> which was different from the two main francophone ritual traditions of the Rite Écossais Ancien et Accepté (advocated by the Obédience La Grande Loge de France, which Wirth joined) and the Rite Français (used at La Clémentine Amitié of the Obédience Grand Orient de France, to which belonged Schaltenbrand).

The Rite Schroeder is characterized by an anomaly. Ludwig Friedrich Schroeder (1744–1816) was looking for an authentic, simplified ritual to use as model.<sup>7</sup> Schroeder erroneously believed that two early English Freemasonic exposures, *Three Distinct Knocks* and *Masonry Dissected*, were authentic rituals.<sup>8</sup> He also believed that *Three Distinct Knocks* (1760) was written earlier than *Masonry Dissected* (1730), though in fact *Three Distinct Knocks*, related to an Irish Catholic context, came later and is more theatrically symbolic than *Masonry Dissected*, related to an English Protestant context. Schroeder used these texts as the basis for his new ritual, which emphasized ritual simplicity and moral education<sup>9</sup> rather than the “mysticism, alchemy and Rosicrucianism, by *Illuminati* who dabbled with forms of chivalry and by the ‘higher degrees’ imported from France”<sup>10</sup> that dominated contemporary early-nineteenth-century lodges in Hamburg. Wanting to extirpate rituals that he felt were “mystic and pompous,”<sup>11</sup> Schroeder sought simplicity and morality through a return to primitive sources and a critical role for symbolism. As he explained: “To do away with symbols means to do away with Masonry. . . . Even if old customs have no more value than the guild practices of the stone masons, even if the interpretations of them is entirely useless—enough, they are the basic material from which the great chain of brotherhood was formed and as long as we do not admit major changes, as long as we remain with the English system, so long will our meetings be absolutely safe from intrusion by mystics, *illuminati* and other dreamers.”<sup>12</sup> Indeed, the one extant copy of Schroeder’s ritual of 1816 has, according to Solf, “nothing mystic or occult about it but it retains the simplicity of the English original. . . . Together with the German accompanying parts it dramatically expresses a combination of high moral earnestness with the gentle and forgiving spirit of true humanitarian principles.”<sup>13</sup> However, Schroeder was a leading theater director. To this simplicity, he added “his talents as a dramatic author and he created an entirely new ritual with his own idealist conception of this decree. . . . The moral principles are expounded in beautiful language and the whole ceremony is meant to fill the candidate with hope and joy. The perambulations are accompanied by encouraging commentaries and flowers and music are important additions to this degree.”<sup>14</sup> In accordance with the Schroeder ritual, the temple of the Loge L'Amitié is decorated with mural paintings that include images of stage curtains and such moral figures as a Greek philosopher with a book called *Sapientia* (Wisdom) (figures 3.1, 5.3).

The Schroeder ritual thus combines theatricality (comparable to the Rite Écossais Ancien et Accepté) and desacralized moral earnestness (comparable to the 1887 Version Amiable of the Rite





5.3. Mural paintings in the temple of the Loge L'Amitié, La Chaux-de-Fonds. (Photograph © J. K. Birksted.)

Français). For the *Trois Voyages*, flowers were scattered to the accompanying statement (in the original German language version) of “*Erkenne dich selbst*” (Know thyself).<sup>15</sup> A description of the Schroeder ritual recounts:

The prayers at the opening, and indeed all the prayers, are in beautiful verse. . . . The candidate approaches the Altar, walking across the carpet, without any particular steps in the first degree and with three Masonic steps in the second and third degrees. . . . During the first and second degrees there is “clapping” to the rhythm of each particular degree, and appropriate music is played, usually Mozart, and mainly excerpts from “*The Magic Flute*”; but in the third nothing is heard, except the voices of those who carry out the ceremony. . . . One also notices that the large old books . . . [of the lodge] lie open before the Master and Wardens. . . .

#### INITIATION.

The candidate is prepared . . . [by being] taken into a small room adjoining the Lodge. . . . The preparation room is quite bare, except for a table with writing materials, and these words are displayed in a notice on the wall:—“Turn back if mere curiosity leads you to us. You will not feel at home amongst us if you are afraid to learn your own faults and shortcomings. You will not find appreciation if you value money and external advantages only. Do not proceed if you do not trust us but you will certainly be welcome if your heart and mind are pure.” . . . Once more, he is left alone with a pen and a sheet of paper containing three questions:—

What is the duty of man?

What do you hope to gain from the fraternity for your mental, spiritual and worldly happiness?

What can the fraternity hope to gain from you?

He is asked to ring a bell as soon as he has finished writing the answers. . . . When the candidate has answered the three questions, [he is] brought to the Master. . . . The Master then orders that the candidate be prepared and brought into the Lodge. . . . All perambulations are anti-clockwise, and at the end of the first tour the Master gavel and says:—“We are ignorant and weak when we enter this world because reason and power develop but slowly.”

After the second tour the Master says:—

“You will be led more safely to the truth by the aim and power that are within you than by outside assistance, and your ultimate victory over error and prejudice will then be the more honourable.”

After the third tour:—

“You must develop your own virtues and promote the true welfare of your Brethren, if you want to be contented on your journey through life.”

Finally, having been warned that this is his last chance to withdraw, the candidate is led across the “carpet” to the altar. . . . The Worshipful Master then raises the candidate’s hand, saying: “I take and shake the hand of an honest man, who will never lose the respect of his Brethren,” and the hand is replaced. . . .

The candidate is led backwards to the West. All the Brethren step quietly on to the floor of the Lodge and form a “chain,” the Initiate being part of it, and he is “restored.” . . .

The Orator . . . gives a full explanation of the ceremony, the symbolical meaning of the carpet . . . , the significance of the three pillars and of the Working Tools which are illustrated on the carpet. From this brief and rather sketchy description we may see how much more is expected of the candidate, but, once admitted, he is accepted in every sense of the world.

#### PASSING

. . . in the preparation room . . . the words displayed on the wall are now as follows:—

“You must cultivate both heart and spirit, so that the seeds of wisdom and true friendship implanted therein may flower in great beauty. To know your fellows, you must first, with conscientious dedication, know yourself. It is not enough to develop the power of perception; his faculties of sensation and volition must also be cultivated and disciplined. Only the man whose spirit has evolved and been trained in every aspect will arrive at the goal of our earthly destiny, and discover the true and lofty joys of this earthly life.”

After their admission . . . the Master emphasizes, among other things, that the pursuit of knowledge is the highest aim in life, and that the most important knowledge in this life is the knowledge of one’s self. . . . He then turns each candidate, separately, to face a pedestal, on top of which is a frame, covered by a blue curtain. The curtain is drawn quickly, and the surprised candidate stares into a mirror, on which are the words: “Know Thyself.” . . .

The Master elaborates the theme, explaining that the mirror shows both the beauties and imperfections of our bodies, just as a rigorous self-examination reveals both that which is valuable in us and that which is faulty. Thus the knowledge of the true motives of our actions should make us just towards ourselves and tolerant of others. . . .

[Then the candidates are led] three times, anti-clockwise, round the Lodge. During each of these tours the Master gives a symbolical explanation of the proper working tools of the degree . . . facing the candidates all the way, strewing their path with cut flowers, of which he carries a large basketful. Later, the meanings of the Fellow Craft’s journeys are explained, and it is said while the Entered Apprentice has to grope his way in darkness, the

Fellow Craft walks with his eyes open, a fully developed man, who can and should appreciate the beauties and joys this earthly life can provide. . . . Finally, the Orator delivers a long explanation of the symbolical meaning of the procedural details of the ceremony.<sup>16</sup>

Thus, the symbolic mirror and dispersal of flowers are unique features of the Schroeder ritual. The ritual combines deep moral earnestness with humanitarian concerns, which it expresses through the theatrical use of natural objects such as mirror and flowers, which can best be understood with reference to Schroeder's specific style of acting and directing. Schroeder's theatrical productions were characterized by their detailed realism. He was acclaimed as an innovator in his "ideal of acting, the convincingly natural representation of character, particularly on the ordinary human level."<sup>17</sup> This was not a simplified, abstracted, or stylized realism, but realism aiming to represent the world by a minute attention to concrete details, thus "seeking a direct imitation of life . . . naked reality on stage with the use of every possible detail."<sup>18</sup>

In 1771, Schroeder took over the management of the subsidized Hamburg National Theater after its initial failure. First opened in 1767, the theater had been established to serve as "a moral force in society,"<sup>19</sup> thanks in large part to its resident critic and theoretician, Gotthold Ephraim Lessing. The author of *Hamburgische Dramaturgie*, Lessing stressed in his writing the importance of "restoring visual clarity to the symbolic nature of morality."<sup>20</sup> As theater manager, Schroeder attempted to introduce plays such as Shakespeare's *Othello* without making concessions to the public such as the artificial happy endings that were then the norm. Such choices shocked contemporary audiences: "One after another [audience members] fainted away during the scenes of horror, at this first performance. The box doors were heard opening and shutting, people left or were carried out of the theater, and according to well-authenticated reports, more than one Hamburgerin was so affected by seeing and hearing this over-tragic tragedy that premature labour was the result."<sup>21</sup> On another occasion, after the first performance of Shakespeare's *Henry IV*, Schroeder, disappointed by the cool audience reception, boldly announced: "In the hope that this masterpiece of Shakespeare, which presents different manners from our own, will be better understood on further acquaintance, it will be repeated tomorrow."<sup>22</sup> This insistence on realism, even during an era steeped in melodrama, provides the character by which the Schroeder ritual, used at L'Amitié, must be understood.

It is, now, these different versions of the *Trois Voyages*—first, the desacralized *Version Amiable* (1887) of the *Rite Français* embodied in Schaltenbrand's *planche* (figure 4.6); secondly, the dramatic and scenographic theatricality illustrated in Bègue-Clavel's *Histoire pittoresque de la Franc-Maçonnerie*, in accord with the spiritualism of Wirth, Hubert and Hutin's book, *Les Francs-Maçons* (that is in Le Corbusier's library) (figures 4.2, 4.3, 4.5, 4.7, 5.1); thirdly, the earnest and moral theatricality of Schroeder's ritual, which is used at L'Amitié (figures 3.1, 5.3)—that might allow a comparison with the architectural promenade. What, then, are the principal features of the architectural

promenade? Are Le Corbusier's own descriptions of the architectural promenade analogous to any specific version of the *Trois Voyages*?

The task is rendered problematic because nowhere in the intensely programmatic *Œuvre complète* does Le Corbusier present a clear programmatic statement about the nature of the architectural promenade. Only fragmentary descriptions, textual and visual, exist. There is one image that is labeled "Promenade architecturale" but without any corresponding text attached to it (figure 5.4), and there is a short filmic sequence by Pierre Chenal of an architectural promenade in the Villa Savoye, made in collaboration with Le Corbusier (figure 5.5). Various other fragmentary texts exist. In a number of different accounts, Le Corbusier described partial aspects of the experience of movement through space, which can be used (assuming that these form a coherent concept that remained unchanged over time) to patch together a description of the architectural promenade. For example, in the *Œuvre complète*, Le Corbusier begins a reference to the Villa Savoye:

Arab architecture has much to teach us. It is appreciated while on the move, with one's feet; it is while walking, moving from one place to another, that one sees how the arrangements of the architecture develop. This is a principle contrary to Baroque architecture. . . . In this house [the Villa Savoye], we are dealing with a true architectural promenade, offering constantly varied, unexpected, sometimes astonishing aspects. It is interesting to obtain so much diversity when one has, for example, allowed from the standpoint of construction an absolutely rigorous pattern of posts and beams.<sup>23</sup>

Another example is his account of his visit to the Casa del Noce in Pompeii:

Casa del Noce, at Pompeii. Again the little vestibule which frees your mind from the street. And then you are in the Atrium; four columns in the middle (four *cylinders*) shoot up towards the shade of the roof, giving a feeling of force and a witness of potent methods; but at the far end is the brilliance of the garden seen through the peristyle which spreads out this light with a large gesture, distributes it and accentuates it, stretching widely from left to right, making a great space.<sup>24</sup>

This descriptive sequence therefore comprises three moments (figure 5.6). An initial, small and brief space allows a moment of pause, reflection, and preparation. This transitional space accomplishes a particular function in the sequence: it achieves a "freeing of your mind" to construct a particular mental state, a state of receptivity. A second, larger space of arrival follows. While the initial vestibule was a space of "doing," this second space, the atrium, is a space of "being": "you are in the Atrium." While the initial vestibule did not warrant any description beyond its function as passage, the atrium does warrant a detailed description of its columns and roof. Yet these two



- 5.4. “Promenade architecturale,” in Le Corbusier and Pierre Jeanneret, *Œuvre complète 1929–1934*, 3rd ed. (Erlenbach-Zurich: Éditions d’Architecture, 1946), p. 30. (© 2007 FLC/ADAGP, Paris and DACS, London.)
- 5.5. Villa Savoye in Pierre Chenal’s film *Architecture d’aujourd’hui*. (© 2007 FLC/ADAGP, Paris and DACS, London.)

captured, you have lost the sense of the common scale. You are enthralled by a sensorial rhythm (light and volume) and by an able use of scale and measure, into a world of its own which tells you what it set out to tell you. What emotion, what faith! There you have motive and intention. The cluster of ideas, this is the means that has been used. In con-



THE CASA DEL NOCE. THE ATRIUM, POMPEII

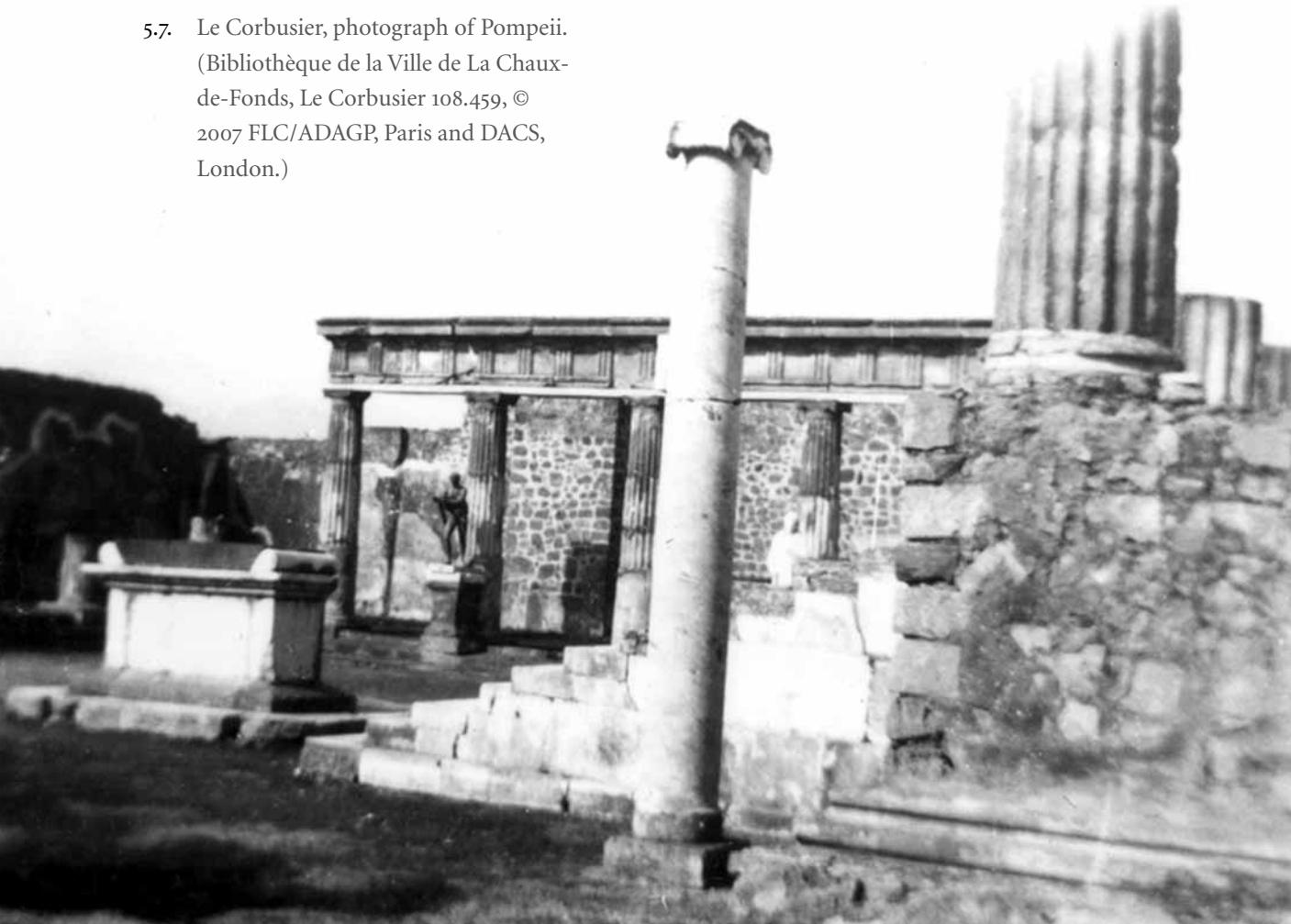
sequence, at Broussa as at Santa Sophia, as at the Suleiman Mosque of Stamboul, the exterior results from the interior.

CASA DEL NOCE, at Pompeii. Again the little vestibule which frees your mind from the street. And then you are in the Atrium; four columns in the middle (four *cylinders*) shoot up towards the shade of the roof, giving a feeling of force and a witness of potent methods; but at the far end is the brilliance of the garden seen through the peristyle which spreads out this light with a large gesture, distributes it and accentuates it, stretching widely from left to right, making a great space.

- 5.6. Casa del Noce, in Le Corbusier, *Towards a New Architecture* (London: Architectural Press, 1946), p. 183. (© 2007 FLC/ADAGP, Paris and DACS, London.)

spaces remain intermediaries toward something beyond. While the initial vestibule was a threshold space of physical transition, the atrium is a space of mental transition, a spiritual threshold. The third and final space is that of “the brilliance of the garden,” emphasized by a peristyle to accentuate its width. This space of illumination, the climax of Le Corbusier’s descriptive sequence, remains a space of imaginative desire, since the reader of *Vers une architecture* does not enter it. Le Corbusier’s sketch confirms his text. The atrium, from which the image is sketched, is the center of the image, while the “brilliance of the garden” at the far end remains a distant vision. So, the architectural promenade comprises a tripartite spatial composition from small vestibule through large atrium with symbolic “witnesses of potent methods” to a space of illumination, which is punctuated by powerful contrasts between darkness and light. If one considers Le Corbusier’s photograph of Pompeii as a further analysis of this spatial sequence, one again sees a spatial field of succeeding layers, structured by the three classical elements of column, colonnade, and wall (figure 5.7). These correspond to both the sketch and the description of the Casa del Noce, where the columns in the atrium are discrete against the surrounding walls and an opening in the wall reveals a colonnade

5.7. Le Corbusier, photograph of Pompeii.  
(Bibliothèque de la Ville de La Chaux-de-Fonds, Le Corbusier 108.459, © 2007 FLC/ADAGP, Paris and DACS, London.)



beyond. Column, colonnade, and wall counterpoint each other to articulate the spatial field into spatial layers, some of which are near, visible, and tactile while others are distant, indiscernible, and imaginary. Similarly, the photograph of the Villa Savoye with the title of “Promenade architecturale” is taken from a moment in the promenade that highlights a 360-degree turn to show where the *promeneur* has been, is, and will be (figure 5.4). Yet another representative element of the architectural promenade is featured here, too: its representational quality.

This photograph of the Villa Savoye shows elements that *represent* columns, colonnades, and walls but are not actual columns, colonnades, and walls. A freestanding chimney evokes a load-bearing column. Strips of curtains evoke a colonnade-like screen. A freestanding element on the rooftop, a partition, evokes a wall. The architectural elements along the architectural promenade consist of scenographic *props*, which represent building elements and, as such, can be thought of either as gimmicks or as symbols. The architectural promenade is not simply a promenade through architecture, but a promenade through elements that are *representative* of architecture (Baudelaire’s phrase “the forest of symbols” comes to mind). The architectural promenade thus has two



constituent features: first, it weaves through a collection of components representative of architectural elements, and thus the architectural promenade is an architectural anthology; secondly, it uses these components as symbolic elements to transform visual space into visionary space, and thus the architectural promenade is didactic. In the film by Pierre Chenal about the Villa Savoye—which, gauged by Chenal’s statement “I understood *Quand les cathédrales étaient blanches*,”<sup>25</sup> can be taken as receptive to Le Corbusier’s ideas—the architectural promenade is a filmic *representation*. Again, the architectural promenade is a process of representation.

In another key text that can be related to the architectural promenade, “Three Reminders to Architects,” Le Corbusier again depicts the visual experience of movement through space:

The plan is the generator. The eye of the spectator finds itself looking at a site composed of streets and houses. It receives the impact of the masses that rise up around it. If these masses are of a formal kind and have not been spoiled by unseemly variations, if the dispositions of their grouping expresses a clean rhythm and not an incoherent agglomeration, if the relationship of mass to space is in just proportion, the eye transmits to the brain co-ordinated sensations and the mind derives from these satisfactions of a high order: this is architecture. The eye observes, in a large interior, the multiple surfaces of walls and vaults; the cupolas determine the large spaces; the vaults display their own surfaces; the pillars and the walls adjust themselves in accordance with comprehensible reasons. The whole structure rises from its base and is developed in accordance with a rule which is written on the ground in the plan: noble forms, variety of form, unity of the geometric principle. A profound projection of harmony: this is architecture. The plan is at its basis. Without plan there can be neither grandeur of aim and expression, nor rhythm, nor mass, nor coherence. Without plan we have the sensation, so insupportable to man, of shapelessness, of poverty, of disorder, of wilfulness. The plan calls for the most active imagination. It calls for the most severe discipline also. The plan is what determines everything; it is the decisive moment. . . . Rhythm is a state of equilibrium which proceeds either from symmetries, simple or complex, or from delicate balancings. Rhythm is an equation.<sup>26</sup>

In this account, the same dual aspects of experience are found as at the Casa del Noce: vision (“the eye of the spectator”) and the visionary (“the mind derives from these satisfactions of a high order”). In these same pages, the text is underlined by a subliminal message conveyed by the images, which are illustrations of temples. Besides emphasizing different elements than at the Casa del Noce, Le Corbusier now also creates a forceful tension between geometry (transcendental) and experience (sensual). He embodies these in a series of dualisms: variety/unity, rhythm/coherence, imagination/discipline, equilibrium/balancings, plan/disorder, nobility/poverty, willfulness/determination. The architectural promenade is now a process of *resolution of conflicts*. To the

first elements that created visual layers of space at the Casa del Noce (wall, colonnade, column) are now added new elements: vaults, cupolas, pillars, mass, space, and plan. To the previous plane layers of parallel space are added three-dimensional weight, mass, and gravity. The architectural promenade now also involves enclosure, which is represented in the architectural promenade at the Villa Savoye by a play on explicit deceptions (figure 5.4). The rooftop “window” is outside; it is therefore not a window. The enclosing rooftop wall does not separate outside from inside; it has no load-bearing mass but only surface, so it is not a wall at all but only a partition. The architectural promenade—like the relationship of landscape painting to landscape—is so intensely *representative* that “to enter is to step into the fantastic world beyond the picture plane.”<sup>27</sup> But how does the architectural promenade relate to the Masonic rituals previously discussed? (At a very basic level, it strongly recalls Bègue-Clavel’s description of the symbolic entry into another world when “two brothers violently throw the candidate onto the frame, whose paper breaks and allows him through”; see figure 5.2.)<sup>28</sup>

At the Unité d’habitation in Marseille, the architectural promenade puts into play moral, political, and social ideas dealing with notions of childhood, education, family, community, and ideal society. To this “agnostic-moralizing”<sup>29</sup> spatial field are added symbolic architectural elements of visionary spaces. As in Wirth’s writing, Hutin’s *Les Francs-Maçons*, and Bègue-Clavel’s *Histoire pittoresque*, the architectural promenade combines radical social values with esoteric, visionary, and initiatory symbolism (figure 5.8). Now, before concluding which particular form of ritual parallels the architectural promenade, a problematic factor must be mentioned. Very simply: the concept of architectural promenade was developed *after* Charles-Édouard Jeanneret’s departure from La Chaux-de-Fonds (1917) and could therefore be related to a ritual with which he would have become acquainted later in Paris. Perhaps other forms of the Trois Voyages, developed either during the transitional period (1915–1917) or in Parisian contexts, are relevant? Indeed, there were many contacts between La Chaux-de-Fonds and lodges in Paris.

Several Chaux-de-fonniers were initiated at or became affiliated to the Loge Guillaume Tell in Paris, which had a significant Swiss membership and belonged to the Grande Loge de France, using the Rite Écossais Ancien et Accepté. The Grande Loge de France is the Masonic Obédience already mentioned in relation to Wirth, who transferred to it from the Grand Orient de France. The Grande Loge de France was founded in 1894 especially to uphold eighteenth-century traditions and concepts of symbolism in reaction against the fierce sociopolitical engagements of the Grand Orient during the Third Republic (the significance of which for Le Corbusier’s career in Paris will be addressed in later chapters). At the Grande Loge de France, a typical early-twentieth-century *planche* on *Les quatre substances primordiales* (The Four Primordial Substances), develops the idea of their importance and of their continuous metamorphosis: “Although appearing separate, they form only one entity: water comes from air, air from fire and fire from water, for the water of the philosophers is a fire. . . . But I have just uttered the words ‘Kabala’ and ‘alchemy’ and you may be



5.8. Inauguration celebrations at Le Corbusier's Unité d'habitation, Marseille (1952). (© 2007 FLC/ADAGP, Paris and DACS, London, L1-16-85.)

wondering, my brothers, which mysteries I want to lead you to.”<sup>30</sup> The author, whose name is unrecorded, explains his intention to analyze the symbolism of the four primary elements with the help of “the ancient gnosis of the Kabala and its derivative the tarot—the spiritual knowledge of letters and numbers” in order to understand why the four elements play a fundamental role in initiations. He explains that the air involves dematerialization and thus symbolizes the desire to attain higher goals. By contrast, water, which involves ablutions and cleansing, is “a form of liquid for cleansing matter and bringing aura to it.” Fire warms and contributes to spiritual and intellectual growth: “This kernel, this growth will be cozily warmed, hatched as it were, during the trial of fire.”<sup>31</sup> To follow this path of enlightenment, it is necessary to avoid evil, symbolized by the chaotic concoction of opposing elements, which is represented by the fictional creature of the satanic Baphomet. The *planche* continues:

This is indicated by Oswald Wirth when he states that the painters of the Middle Ages wanted in their 15th Arcana to convey the principle of individualizing rebellion, which is symbolized by the ancient serpent that inspires the drive for autonomy and sets the microcosm at odds with the macrocosm. They draw the devil with the torso and arms of a woman, the head and feet of a goat, without forgetting the wings of a bat. They wanted their Baphomet to combine both sexes and all four elements, which are indicated by the blue of the wings (air), the red of the head (fire), the green of the thighs covered in fish scales (water), and the black of the legs (earth).<sup>32</sup>

(It is curious to note that Wirth’s figure of Baphomet as symbol of chaos and evil is paralleled in an image by Le Corbusier; figures 5.9, 5.10.) The author then analyzes the symbolism of numbers: “If we apply the letters indicated in the Sefer Yessirah as symbols of the elements, we find: Air YOD, with a nominal value of 10; Earth THAU, 400; Fire RESH, 200; Water HE, 5; Total: 615. Equals 12, or 3, the trinity One.”<sup>33</sup>

Several Chaux-de-fonniers affiliated themselves to the Grande Loge de France when moving to Paris. Such was the case when, in 1919, Virgile Humbert-Droz (born 1881), Marcel Gentil (born 1883), Gustave Gentil (born 1883), and George Moïse Hirsch (born 1885), all from La Chaux-de-Fonds, became affiliated to the Loge Guillaume Tell.<sup>34</sup> Le Corbusier’s publications match several interests pursued at the Grande Loge de France, where symbolic references to the builders of the Gothic cathedrals were often considered important to the rituals as an expression of the interconnection between the spiritual and the material, which the Grande Loge de France saw as lacking in the contemporary world.<sup>35</sup> Several *planches* about the French *compagnonnages* (medieval guilds surviving into contemporary France) are also in their archives, of which a typical one is “Causerie historique du compagnonnage d’antan à nos jours: Ses rites, ses symboles, son mysticisme,”<sup>36</sup> the author of which, André Ouvrard dit Tourangeau le bien aimé, was a member of both a Masonic



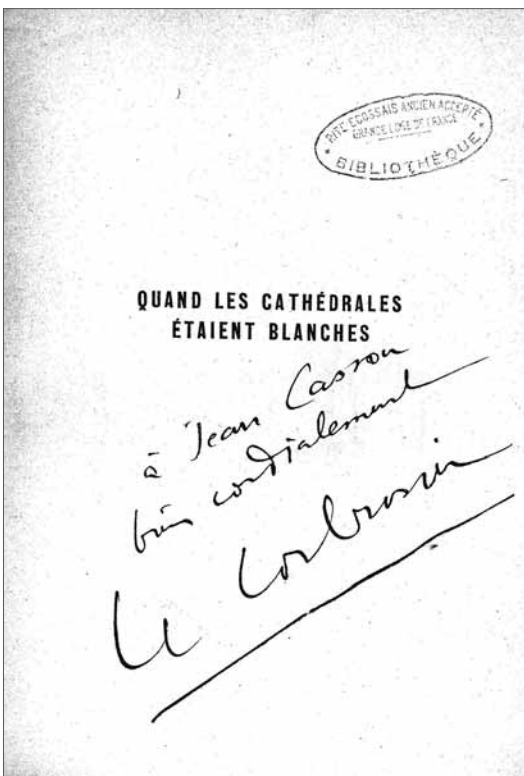
5.9. Oswald Wirth, *Le tarot des imagiers du Moyen Âge* (Paris: Éditions le Symbole et Émile Nourry, 1927). (Archives J. K. Birksted.)



5.10. Le Corbusier, *Le poème de l'angle droit*, C5 and A4. (© 2007 FLC/ADAGP, Paris and DACS, London.)

lodge and a *compagnonnage* (hence his dual name, the second being his name of initiation into a guild). To this ideology, Le Corbusier's *Quand les cathédrales étaient blanches* corresponded perfectly.<sup>37</sup>

Since at least 1925, Le Corbusier knew Jean Cassou, who belonged to the Loge Le Portique of the Grande Loge de France, as did many other significant scholars, writers, and intellectuals.<sup>38</sup> From 1936 to 1939, Cassou worked for Jean Zay, minister of national education in the Popular Front government of Léon Blum. Zay, assisted by Cassou, introduced changes in government policies on education and popular involvement in the fine arts, such as opening the École des Beaux-Arts to modernists, and in particular to architects.<sup>39</sup> Cassou was then writing a novel, *Le centre du monde*, inscribed “Finished in November 1939,”<sup>40</sup> which features a salon attended by a young architect “who was exceptionally authoritative and wanted to revolutionize human life”<sup>41</sup> and whose houses in North Africa are in a modern style remarkable for being “simple and pure.”<sup>42</sup> On 16 December 1937, Cassou had written to Le Corbusier on the letterhead from his office at the office of the minister of national education, “Dear friend, Come and see me here one evening next week, at around 7 o'clock; I will be delighted to talk with you. Please accept, dear friend, all my best wishes, Jean Cassou.”<sup>43</sup> Cassou's personal copy of *Quand les cathédrales étaient blanches*—inscribed “À Jean Cassou, Bien cordialement, Le Corbusier”—is now in the library of the Grande Loge de France (figure 5.11).<sup>44</sup> In 1965, Cassou, thinking back about his novel *Le centre du monde*, remarked, “I believe the architect, in any case, really is symbolic. . . . He is the individual who is useful to others. He is



5.11. Jean Cassou's copy of Le Corbusier, *Quand les cathédrales étaient blanches* (Paris: Plon, 1937). (Courtesy of Library and Archives of the Grande Loge de France.)

a constructor. As far as I remember, he is never given a name in the novel, he remains the Architect.”<sup>45</sup> Just as Le Corbusier’s architectural promenade employs architectural symbols to conjure visionary space, so too Jean Cassou’s fictional architect is a symbol to evoke a visionary world. The novel includes an episode reminiscent of the Cabinet de Réflexion of initiation (figure 4.4) in which the fictional hero is told, “I will shut you in my office with some paper and ink and you will write me your philosophical convictions.”<sup>46</sup> Cassou’s hero, reflecting upon the fictional quality of this world of symbols, asks himself “Is this only a symbol? How disappointing. Anyone can invent symbols. And then what? Once you discover that it was a symbol, you have made little progress!”<sup>47</sup> Similarly, the architectural promenade, like the Trois Voyages, attempts to make a visionary world visible through symbols. Like the Trois Voyages, it involves more than detachedly standing in front: its representational power lies in its initiatory invitation to step through the frame from the visible into the visionary in order to *personally* experience the visionary (figures 5.2, 5.4).

Now, as late as the 1930s, Le Corbusier maintained contact with relatives in La Chaux-de-Fonds for information about family events that he had missed due to his departure. After considering teachers such as Schaltenbrand, eminent historical figures (Wirth), and books in Le Corbusier’s library (Hutin’s *Les Franc-Maçons*), we now enter the fertile field of kinship in which “the totality of all social, cultural and psychological aspects of the community . . . are so interwoven that not one can be understood without taking into consideration all the others.”<sup>48</sup> Reminiscing about La Chaux-de-Fonds and wanting to remember his aunt Pauline, Le Corbusier wrote to another aunt, Éliisa Guinand, for information about his family and childhood.

6 My  
Ancestors' Old  
Bible to Be  
Given to Éliisa





**IN** reply to Le Corbusier's letter of inquiry, his aunt Élisabeth Guinand, on 13 March 1934, replied from La Chaux-de-Fonds:

La Chaux-de-Fonds, 12.3.34

My dear Édouard,

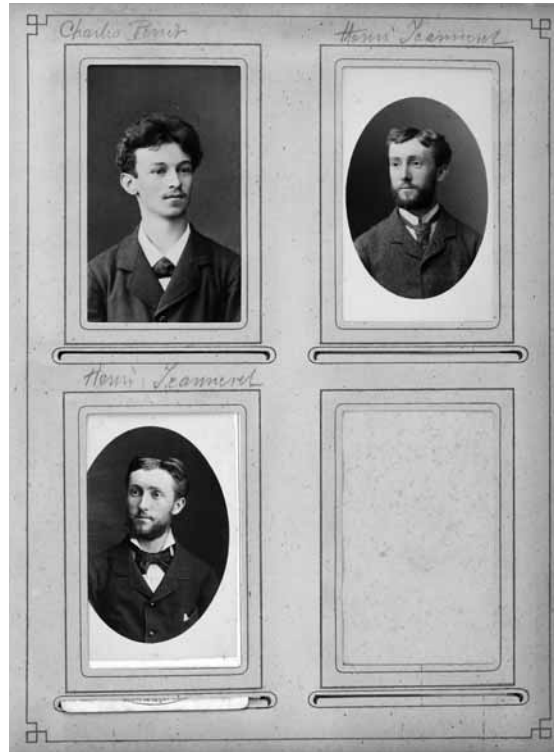
In answer to your request, I am making haste to send you the information that you requested about your dear Aunt Pauline's dates of birth and death. She was born on 24 October 1849 and died on 9 January 1933. I hope this note reaches you in good time and finds you all in good health. . . .

In the hope that these few lines answer your request, I remain your devoted aunt,  
E. Guinand<sup>1</sup>

That it was Élisabeth Guinand to whom he wrote to obtain this information would seem to indicate her centrality in Jeanneret family life. And, indeed, such centrality within the family was also attributed to her by Le Corbusier's maternal grandmother, Amélie Perret, in her testamentary diary, which merits quoting at length. But this first needs to be placed in the context of a brief genealogy, supported by Charles-Édouard Jeanneret's own diagrams and by his father's family photograph album.

Charles-Édouard Jeanneret's maternal grandmother, Amélie (née Pingeon), first married a Jacot, with whom she had a daughter, Élisabeth (née Jacot) (figure 6.1). After the premature death of

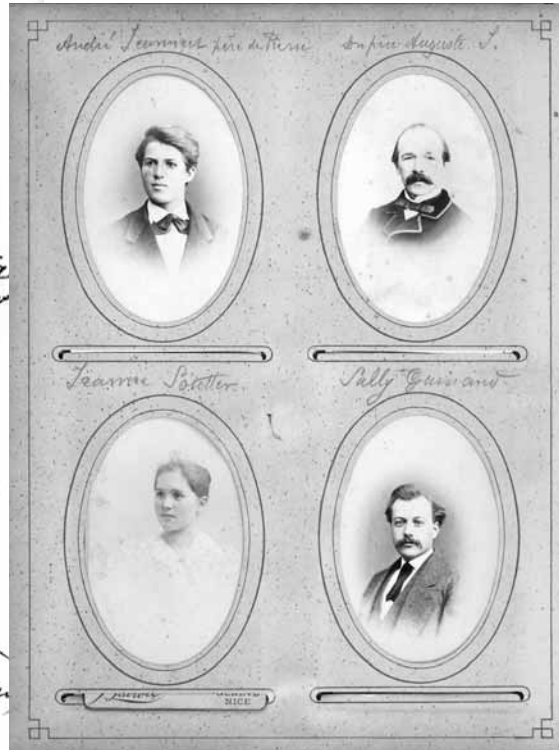
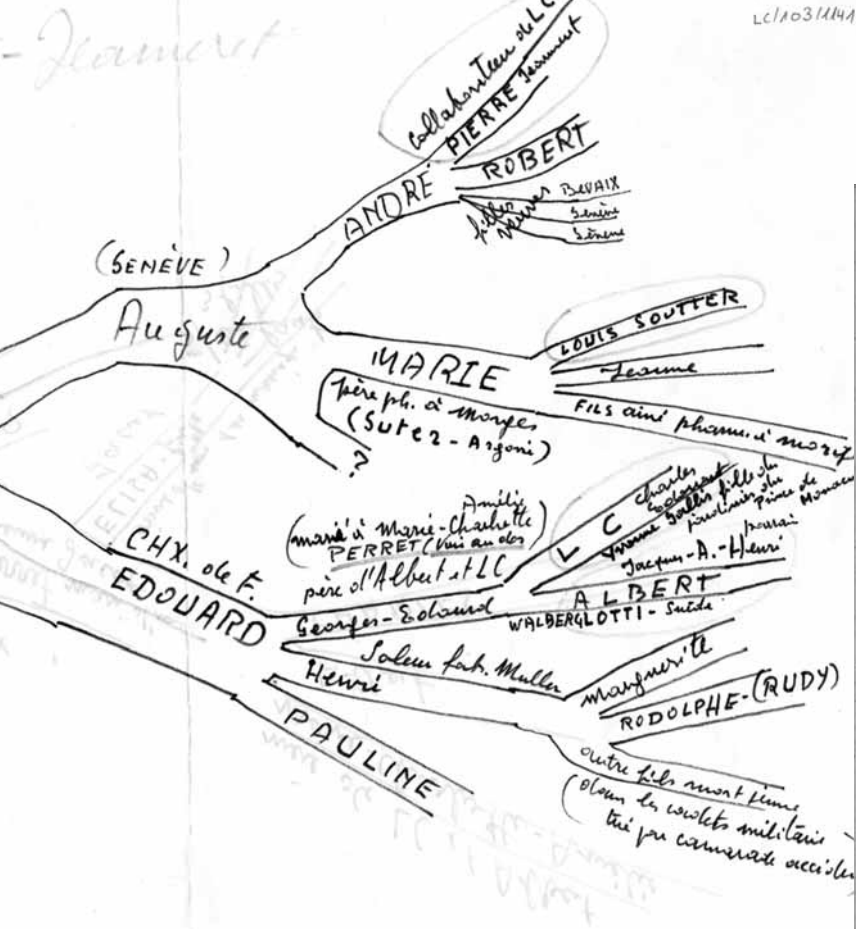
- 6.2. Charles Perret and Henri Jeanneret, from Georges-Édouard Jeanneret's family album. (Courtesy of Collection Iconographie, DAV, Bibliothèque de la Ville de La Chaux-de-Fonds.)
- 6.3. Charles-Édouard Jeanneret's paternal genealogy. (Courtesy of Bibliothèque de la Ville de La Chaux-de-Fonds, Fonds Le Corbusier, © 2007 FLC/ADAGP, Paris and DACS, London.)
- 6.4. André Jeanneret, Gustave Jeanneret, Jeanne Soutter, and Sully Guinand, from Georges-Édouard Jeanneret's family album. (Courtesy of Collection Iconographie, DAV, Bibliothèque de la Ville de La Chaux-de-Fonds.)



Branches Perret  
 Dublin  
 (origine cathare)  
 Jauneré  
 Jeanneret  
 RAUSS

her first husband, Amélie married Frédéric-Louis-Marie Perret. To them were born three children: Marie-Charlotte-Amélie Perret (Charles-Édouard Jeanneret's mother), Albert Perret, and Charles Perret (figure 6.2). Charles Perret emigrated to Latin America, where a first brief marriage—his ailing wife returned to France and died—produced a namesake son, Charles (Charles-Édouard Jeanneret's first cousin), who was sent back to La Chaux-de-Fonds when his father was unable to support him. Marie-Charlotte-Amélie Perret married Georges-Édouard Jeanneret-Gris (Charles-Édouard Jeanneret's father), whose siblings were Henri and Pauline (figure 6.3).

Élisa, from the first marriage, was thus an elder half-sister to Charles-Édouard Jeanneret's mother, and, as such, played a twofold role. Though of the same generation as Charles-Édouard Jeanneret's mother, Élisa was older. Though Élisa was only a half-sister to Marie-Charlotte-Amélie, their mother, Amélie, treated the children from her two marriages with impartial equality. Also, since Amélie's second husband, Frédéric-Louis-Marie Perret, also died, their mother was a widowed mother to both half-sisters. But this equalized situation was not replicated materially. Élisa benefited from an inheritance from her deceased father Jacot and, upon her wedding to Sully Guinand, married into a more prosperous family of watchmakers, merchants, and bankers (figure 6.4). Yet both the wealthier Élisa and the less affluent Marie-Charlotte-Amélie, who was obliged to



give piano lessons to supplement the family income, were equally involved in family emergencies, such as looking after their widowed mother Amélie and the young namesake Charles Perret, who, virtually orphaned, was returned to La Chaux-de-Fonds. Even though his father, Charles Perret, was only a half-brother to Élisabeth and a half-brother-in-law to her husband Sully Guinand, and although Élisabeth and Sully Guinand themselves had five children to raise, they generously assumed duties beyond their immediate kinship confines and interests. It was the psychological and financial aspects of these composite kinship relations that Charles-Édouard Jeanneret's grandmother Amélie addressed in her testamentary diary. Into a cheap, ruled, pale blue school notebook, tellingly entitled "Comptes de famille" (Family accounts), she explained this situation and justified her will:

La Chaux-de-Fonds 1896

Having desired for a long time to put my affairs in order, so that after my death my children can handle my interests equitably among themselves without any disputes on one side or another.

This is why today without further delay, I want to write down everything that might help to explain my intentions and the costs I have incurred, but for that I must go back in time.

First of all, after my husband's death I continued to live in the house on the rue des Arts while paying for my lodgings until the time when the above-mentioned house was sold.

From there I moved to the rue de la Serre with my daughter who had returned from Stuttgart, where she had just completed her music studies. We lived together until the time of her marriage; she gave piano lessons and I worked at the watchmaking bench. The cost of the apartment was 600 francs. . . . When she got married, I left and took a small flat in the house on the rue du Grenier, where my family Sully and Éliisa Guinand were already living, and this flat cost 500 francs. Of course that was much too expensive for me alone given my financial circumstances, but having been encouraged and strongly advised by them, who told me that the price of the rent would in a sense pay for my board, I agreed on that basis.

I accepted this flat for 12 years but in the last few years the price was reduced. . . . And over the course of these 12 years, I had the opportunity to sublet a bedroom and kitchen for 15 francs a month. . . . All these sums from subletting were made over to Sully to reduce my board, the cost of which was never fixed or settled.

In July 1896, following changes in Sully's household, lodgers were taken and my rooms were therefore needed, so I moved into a small bedroom next to the kitchen, the price of which was fixed at 10 francs, with 21 francs extra for heating each winter, which raised the monthly cost of the room to 11.75 francs. For this room, which was furnished and occupied by Charles and myself, I am a few months behind with Charles's board. I am waiting for some money from his father and then I will pay it back; it was paid until the end of April '96, for the board at Georges-Édouard's house. . . .

And now to complete and settle the accounts exactly, I am going to establish the inheritance that was left to the several Jacot children by their father. . . .

La Chaux-de-Fonds, 15 January 1902

To conclude my final accounts and my final arrangements, I also want to write down what remains for me to say. I hereby declare, and to discharge the obligations by my daughter Éliisa, that I am living in her household entirely without paying board as in previous years. I also have a room that I have occupied for 6 to 7 months with my furniture but my daughter thought that services rendered to the household for some years could slightly reduce my board. . . .

I also want to point out young Charles's arrival at La Chaux-de-Fonds.

In accordance with his father's wish to have his son brought up in the family, Sully generously offered to go and fetch him in Lyon, where his uncle was due to bring him from Saint-Gaudent. I paid the uncle's and Sully's return fares, which cost 225 francs in total. He was to live with me in my lodgings and was fed by the Guinand family having fixed the price of his board. . . . I regularly paid for his board with my own money, some money provided

by my son-in-law Georges-Édouard [Jeanneret] and three remittances from his father in Buenos Aires. His father sent 1250 francs in three installments: 20 January 1892, 500 francs; 20 January 1894, 700 francs; 17 January 1898, 50 francs.

After Sully's death in January 1898, Charles was placed in lodgings in Lignières with Monsieur Krieger, where he stayed for 18 months at the cost of 40 francs a month. In July 1899, he moved to lodgings in Emmenthal, where he remains today. During his stay with Sully, 675 francs and his various classes at Lignières and Emmenthal, 840 francs; by the end of December 1901, my son-in-law has paid 1515 francs.

Next, there is the money provided by my son-in-law Édouard Jeanneret indicated here, by him. My son Charles Perret is indebted for these sums from my brother-in-law, and will be able to acknowledge them when times are better for him and pay these in full in gratitude for everything he did for his son, left in our charge.

Now for Charles's life in America and its consequences. Having passed his elementary classes, Charles Perret senior was placed in lodgings with Anna Spédell for a year, where he took his first communion. Afterward, on returning to the house and being of an age to learn a trade, M. Bimer and M. Sully who were then associates took him on in the atelier, where he remained for 6 years. . . . Despite that, he was not content with his lot. Monsieur Émile Villosz, who worked with these gentlemen, had the unfortunate idea of suggesting that they go together to South America, where a married brother of his who had settled there wanted to see them again. Once this idea was in his mind, Charles did not have a minute's peace . . . and the poor boy, like many others, was intoxicated by illusions. Having arrived there, they both made unsuccessful attempts at farming. M. Villosz fell severely ill and had to return home, where he died shortly afterward. For years, Charles led a mad dog's life, employed here and there, in abject wretchedness; it was at that time that I sent him the sum of 300 francs on two occasions. Later he went to Buenos Aires to look for a position, and he stayed there for quite a long time; unfortunately he decided he wanted to get married, and his wife being in poor health, she had to return to France to Saint-Gaudent to her family, where she died leaving a three-year-old child, whom his father wanted to have brought up in his family. We know the rest of the story. . . .<sup>2</sup>

After my death I would like my ancestors' old Bible to be given to Éliisa as the eldest in the family. . . . Charles having left for America, Éliisa will dispose of the furniture as she sees fit.

Amélie Perret.

All the bedding and other furniture is to go to Éliisa after my death without any dispute. The gold watch and chain are given to Hélène.

Amélie Perret.

1901. In October that year, I had a stroke that completely paralyzed the left side of my body and left me unable to move unaided for 5 weeks; my general condition required a lot of care and during this time my daughter Élisabeth and her daughters, with whom I was living, cared for me day and night with a great deal of concerned attention and paid the costs of the doctor and the medicine, for which I give them my very grateful thanks.

My daughter Marie also wanted to provide some help following the accident that had happened to me . . . having spent two nights here, she said that she would not be able to continue given the distance and her piano lessons, and she suggested with her husband's agreement that I go to live with her. I gratefully accepted and also being much better I tried from then on to be less trouble; in fact, having settled in my son-in-law Édouard Jeanneret's house from 18 January, my health improved thanks to God and, although I was unable to be of service, I could at least take care of myself.

I also received lovely presents from my Jeanneret family, such as wine and liqueurs, on several occasions.

My dear family, I thank you all for everything you have done for me and especially for my little Charles and to Édouard for all that remains for him to do and may he never lose heart, and may the Lord bless you all in your children and reward you. I pay tribute to the memory of my son-in-law, Sully Guinand, who always was kind and generous toward me. I also hope that the distribution and sharing that I have done here in the eyes of God will not cause any discussions or dissatisfaction among my family, and that the bonds that unite them will grow ever stronger. That is the wish for which I hope with all my heart, begging God that he will fulfill it.

All this written in my own hand, as your mother.

After my death no flowers or grave.

Amélie Perret

La Chaux-de-Fonds, 15 January 1902.<sup>3</sup>

Thus, in this testament Amélie recounts that after the death of her second husband, Frédéric-Louis-Marie Perret, she eventually sold their house and moved to an apartment, whose rent she shared with their daughter, Marie-Charlotte-Amélie, who had returned from Stuttgart after finishing her musical studies. To help Marie-Charlotte-Amélie to earn her living and prepare her *trousseau* for her forthcoming marriage to Georges-Édouard Jeanneret, Amélie purchased an old piano for 1,000 francs to allow her to give piano lessons. But, even with reconditioning, this piano never worked properly and, to help them, Sully Guinand bought it for 650 francs. Amélie recounts here how Sully Guinand traveled to Saint-Gaudent to collect the virtually orphaned Charles Perret, who was generally considered to be a financial burden on the family. Amélie's diary entry for 6 May 1901 confirms that her grandson Charles resided with the Guinand family, but with

contributions toward his maintenance from Marie-Charlotte-Amélie and Georges-Édouard Jeanneret. Then, suddenly, Sully Guinand died at the age of fifty, and Charles was placed in a boarding school.

Amélie's testamentary diary concludes with two references to Élisabeth and Sully: Élisabeth as "the eldest in the family" is to inherit "my ancestors' old Bible" and to be responsible for all final decisions about inheritance and distribution of her remaining furniture and belongings. By "offer[ing] homage to the memory of my son-in-law Sully Guinand who has always been kind and generous toward me," Amélie recognizes Guinand's status and role in the family. Sully Guinand had the advantage of years (born 1847), being elder to both Le Corbusier's father (born 1855) and mother (born 1860). Both Élisabeth and her two sons-in-law, Sully Guinand and Georges-Édouard Jeanneret, occupy key roles in Amélie's account of her life, much of which revolves around the emigration of her son Charles Perret senior and the subsequent taxing repatriation of her grandson Charles Perret junior. In that family crisis, Sully Guinand, "who always was kind and generous toward me," took the lead in fetching, housing, and paying for the unwanted child, with additional contributions toward his maintenance from Marie-Charlotte-Amélie and Georges-Édouard Jeanneret. Sully Guinand had the advantages of greater affluence—in the directory of La Chaux-de-Fonds for 1894, he seems to be listed as benefiting from two incomes: "Sully Guinand, fabr. de cadr. métal, Grenier 23" (producer of metal watchfaces) and "Sully Guinand, épicerie, Pl. Neuve 4." (grocery store).<sup>4</sup> He also had a larger house as well as more time, energy, and altruism than the Jeannerets. That Sully Guinand occupied a significant position in the family is confirmed by the death notice in *L'Impartial* of Saturday, 13 November 1897, according to which he died at eight a.m. the day before "in his fiftieth year, after a cruel illness." The death notice is headed by a biblical quote: "Blessed are the peacemakers; for they shall be called the children of God.' Matt. V. 9." The signatories to the death notice, in addition to his widow Élisabeth Guinand, are "Mme Amélie Perret-Jacot, widow, Mme and M Jeanneret-Perret and their children, M and Mme Charles Perret in Buenos Aires and their child, Mlle Mathilde Jacot."<sup>5</sup>

These characteristics of generosity, kindness, seniority, and affluence are also affirmed by the entries in Georges-Édouard Jeanneret's journal. For Christmas 1889, he noted, "Christmas tree at Sully Guinand's house, lots of guests."<sup>6</sup> Dinner on New Years' Day, 1 January 1890, was with the Guinand family.<sup>7</sup> On 11 May 1890, "Seventh anniversary of our marriage, we go to the Maison Monsieur restaurant with our brother- and sister-in-law the Guinands and their children."<sup>8</sup> Next Christmas 1890 too: "Christmas Eve, celebrated at Sully Guinand's house."<sup>9</sup> For Christmas 1891, "family party . . . at our brother-in-law Sully Guinand's house,"<sup>10</sup> followed by another party on 2 January 1892.<sup>11</sup> Subsequent Christmases too were spent with the Guinand family, as well as, on 29 July 1894, "Dinner in the woods, with the Guinands" (figure 6.5).<sup>12</sup> On 23 May 1896, Georges-Édouard Jeanneret bought a wedding present for his niece, Jeanne Guinand.<sup>13</sup> Then, suddenly, on 13 November 1897: "A big day in our family, with the death of our dear brother-in-law Sully Guinand at 12 in the



morning, after an illness. . . . It is a great loss for his family and for all of us who loved him and appreciated his kindness.”<sup>14</sup> The entry for Christmas in 1900 records a poignant change resulting from Sully Guinand’s disappearance from family life:

27 December. . . . Christmas day sky brilliant; we had a small reunion at our apartment in the evening—grandparents, aunts, and cousins. Without tree, a peaceful evening that ended with tea and cakes. The boys received many gifts: from us, music for Albert, drawing supplies for Édouard; a magnificent book from Aunt Pauline and 20 francs toward Albert’s musical studies; from grandpapa 5 francs each, and music and paints from my brother at Soleure. Since the death of my brother-in-law Sully Guinand, Christmas celebrations have lost their brio in the family; the children are growing, ideas changing, and the parents are growing quiet.<sup>15</sup>

Sully Guinand was thus clearly a source of cheerfulness and vivacity in the family. He was also a fellow-member with Georges-Édouard Jeanneret of the Club Alpin Suisse Section La Chaux-de-Fonds (figure 4.1), as well as a member of the Loge L’Amitié. Sully Guinand is listed as “fabricant, Chaux-de-Fonds, né 1847, III” in the 1885 register of the Grande Loge Suisse Alpina.<sup>16</sup> And in the register of L’Amitié, Guinand is listed as born 1847 and deceased 1897: Apprenti 12 March 1869, Compagnon 11 December 1869, Maître 3 March 1871, and Honorary Secretary in 1873. He remained a member until his death. Thus, not only was Georges-Édouard Jeanneret friends with prestigious members of the lodge—such as Léon Gallet, its Vénérable, who was invited to speak at annual banquets of the Club Alpin Suisse Section La Chaux-de-Fonds, and with whom he also socialized<sup>17</sup>—but he also had a close relative who was a member. And, as president of the Club Alpin Suisse Section La Chaux-de-Fonds, Georges-Édouard Jeanneret himself was involved in social events at the lodge, located next to his atelier. On 1 March 1890, he mentions in his journal a banquet at the Masonic lodge, of which the unusual feature was that on this occasion he did *not* attend: “The evening banquet at the Masonic lodge, in which I did not take part.”<sup>18</sup>

Now, more information about Sully Guinand is available in archives of L’Amitié, which contain his autobiographical request for membership of 1868:

Mr. President and members of the Masonic Lodge of La Chaux-de-Fonds

Dear Sirs,

In receipt of the favor of being introduced to your honorable society, I come to fulfill my obligations by telling you the story of my life. I will candidly relay here everything that my memories bring to mind.

My family consisted of my father and my mother, a brother and two sisters when I came into the world in Les Brenets on 27 December 1847. From that period between the

ages of ten to twelve, I have only very dim memories; but my life was no different from any child of that age there. Having been sent to school very early, I benefited little from the lessons that were given there, preferring to roam and play; I became so reckless that on several occasions I caused my parents acute anxieties; I went all over the woods, even endangering myself along the banks of the river Doubs; so my father, who did not want to get into serious trouble, placed me, with my mother's agreement, in lodgings in Le Locle with two of my aunts, who were my mother's sisters.

These two aunts were extremely good for me, wanting only to make me happy, they helped me with my schoolwork; they arranged lessons for me with private tutors, gave me good advice, instructed me in religion and in duties toward my parents; it is there that I began to value family life. Nothing untoward happened in the period I spent in Le Locle; that is, for two years, my life consisted of going to classes every day, from morning until evening, and attending catechisms on Sunday.

I omitted to say earlier that my elder sister had married a man from Les Brenets a few years before I left, and about six months before my return my second sister formed an alliance with a gentleman from La Chaux-de-Fonds.

It was only after I returned to Le Locle that I began to realize how very much my parents meant to me; so I made it my duty to please them in all things and to cause them as little sorrow as possible. However, I did not entirely achieve these plans; admittedly sometimes I had good intentions to do anything to make them happy; but also at other times I was so sullen and bad-tempered that I only caused them further heartache.

For some time my brother had been established in the atelier that belonged to my father, who was and still is a watchmaker; after my return from lodgings, he decided to carry out a plan that he had formed very much earlier, which was to give both his sons a good training and teach them his trade; to make them his associates so that later he could produce his watchcases alone and thus send away all the staff who worked for him; unfortunately, everything did not go as he intended.

Once I had returned home, my father set about obtaining for me proper apprenticeships, beginning with the first tasks of watchmaking, and that would have worked perfectly if I had not had as an instructor a gentle and not very energetic man, who much preferred seeing us laugh and enjoy ourselves than at regular work; I made very little progress during this time and I ended more or less as I had started. Having finally reached the age of seventeen, I joined my father's atelier and this time I was given as instructor my brother, who knew his trade perfectly well but again everything did not go as my father intended because we often had violent quarrels; my father had to separate us and give me a new instructor, who was the best worker in his workshop. It would only have been necessary for me to become a good worker, but I was very lazy, and took every first opportunity to abscond and

enjoy myself in any way possible. After absconding, I no longer thought about my work; it is true that I did not really like this trade; but I did not dare say anything for fear of displeasing my parents and destroying the plans that my father had made on our behalf.

During this time, it was decided that I would resume instruction with Pastor Girard, as before my departure, and that I would receive my first communion at Christmas in 1866, but some new factors supervened to prevent this from being carried out.

At Christmas in 1865, the mother of my brother-in-law from La Chaux-de-Fonds died; since he could not do the work in his atelier alone, he suggested that I come to establish myself with him and learn his trade. I did not hesitate long and decided to leave my family, my friends and my village; I felt that another way of life would do me some good, and on 15 January 1866, I bid farewell to Les Brenets and left for my residence.

Three years passed, I learnt my brother-in-law's trade, which I much preferred to watchcase making; I sometimes missed my dear parents whom I had left behind, but I was immediately comforted on seeing the enormous good will with which I was treated by my brother-in-law and my sister, who sought to take the place of those who were far from me as best they could; also, I was not all that far away, and I could go and visit them as often as I wished.

Some time after I settled there, I began religious instruction with the pastor Mr. Jacottet in order to take my first communion at Pentecost; needless to say, I would have preferred to do this with the pastor from my village, who as a great friend of our family looked on me as his child; but man proposes and God disposes, so I had to commit myself and admittedly despite the large number of young people whom Mr. Jacottet had to instruct, I cannot complain because he was always good and affable toward me, and so in that way, while listening to the lessons and his advice, I was able to make a genuine commitment.

From then to now, as I write these lines, nothing truly noteworthy happened to me to change my day-to-day life; all my days were filled by very regular work in our atelier in the company of my brother-in-law, and my leisure time was divided between family life and meeting friends and acquaintances whom I had got to know since settling in La Chaux-de-Fonds.

And so I reached the age when childhood gives way to manhood in order to begin life in earnest, when one needs to become a support to those who have guided one's way during childhood, also the age at which the Homeland can occasionally claim and demand one's assistance. It is having reached that age that one needs carefully choose one's friends and one's circles, for it is at this age that one is subjected to many temptations that might on some occasions, depending on the society one frequents and if one lets oneself be carried along, even compromise one.

These last remarks were made to me a long time before by my brother-in-law in a conversation that we had while returning from a walk, and they had remained in my memory ever since.

These extremely sound words of advice have since made me reflect very seriously and it was as a result of repeated requests to my brother-in-law for a serious discussion, which I then had with him, that my choice fell on your society. . . .

I offer you, Mr. President and Sirs, my respectful greetings,  
Sully Guinand

La Chaux-de-Fonds, 7 April 1868.<sup>19</sup>

Guinand's autobiographical account, which is punctuated by a desire to make reparations for an unruly childhood and a dissipated adolescence, accords with the praises bestowed upon him at his death by family members who recalled him as good, generous, and caring. His request for membership of the Loge L'Amitié formed part of this process too. And his reception and progress at the Loge L'Amitié is recorded in the Members' Register of 1860–1881:

Sully Guinand, born 27 December 1847, born in Les Brenets.

Received into the order at the Respectable Loge of L'Amitié à the Order of La Chaux-de-Fonds

At Grade I, 12 March 1869

Sponsor Very Dear Brother Louis Amer Guinand

At Grade II, 11 December 1869

At Grade III, 3 March 1871

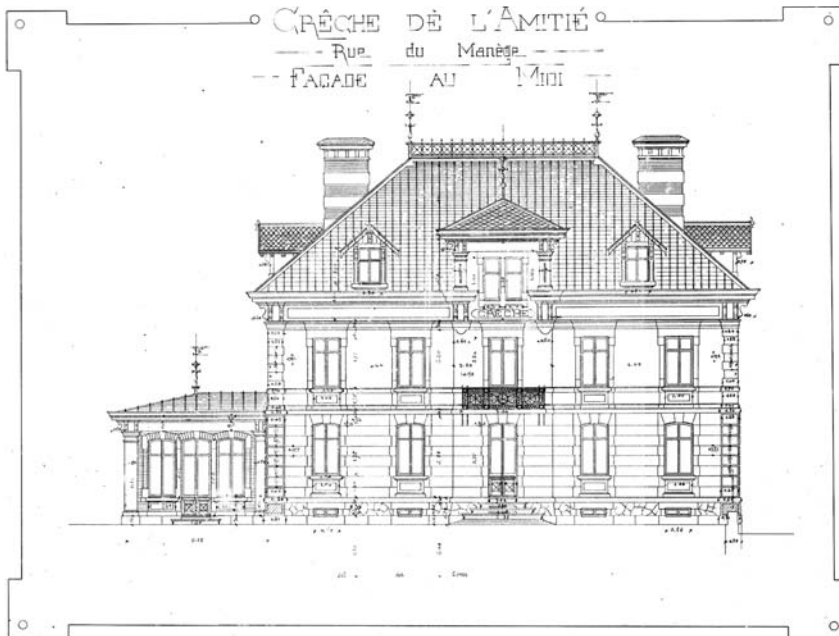
1873: Secretary<sup>20</sup>

Thus, Guinand, a long-standing member of the Loge L'Amitié, was not only a pivotal figure within the family, but—unlike more distant paternal uncles Henri Jeanneret from Soleure and André Jeanneret, a surgeon in Geneva (figures 6.2, 6.4), whose visits were but occasionally noted in Georges-Édouard Jeanneret's journal<sup>21</sup>—he and Élisabeth and their children were part of daily life and events in La Chaux-de-Fonds, including festivities, anniversaries, and picnics (figure 6.5).<sup>22</sup> And so we return to our question: Could Sully Guinand have contributed to Charles-Édouard Jeanneret's acquaintance with the symbolic iconography and philosophical concepts that were operative at the Loge L'Amitié, next to his father's atelier? The facts are as follows. Charles-Édouard Jeanneret was only ten when Guinand died in 1897, and Georges-Édouard Jeanneret inherited the atelier in the rue de la Loge, where lodge meetings took place every Wednesday evening, only in 1902, after Guinand's death.

If anything, Guinand—Charles-Édouard Jeanneret's half-uncle; compassionate guardian of Charles Perret, Charles-Édouard Jeanneret's virtually orphaned first cousin; father of five half-



6.5. Sully and Élixa Guinand, Georges-Édouard and Marie Jeanneret with Charles-Édouard and Albert on a picnic near La Chaux-de-Fonds, from Georges-Édouard Jeanneret's family album. (Courtesy of Collection Iconographie, DAV, Bibliothèque de la Ville de La Chaux-de-Fonds.)

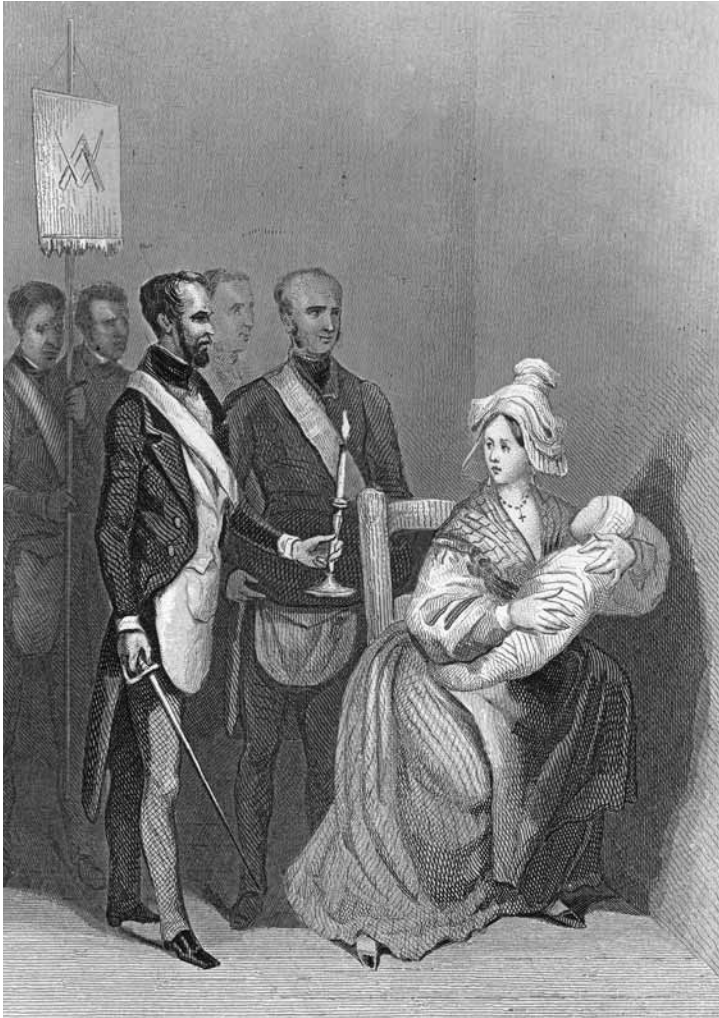


6.6. La Crèche de la Loge L'Amitié, La Chaux-de-Fonds (ca. 1892). (Archives of Loge L'Amitié.)

cousins living in La Chaux-de-Fonds; and provider of family festivities (Christmas Eve, New Year's Eve, family anniversaries)—was admired as someone intimately familial yet affluently distant. Typical of this status was his membership in the prestigious Loge L'Amitié, more select and intellectual than Georges-Édouard Jeanneret's Club Alpin Suisse. The lodge was able to raise sufficient funding from among its members for public-spirited and publicly visible charitable donations such as, in 1892, the design, construction, and maintenance of the substantial nursery for the children of working mothers (figure 6.6). Despite Guinand's death, the Jeannerets continued to celebrate Christmas with Éliisa Guinand as late as 1916.<sup>23</sup> By 1913, Charles-Édouard was well aware of the importance of L'Amitié in La Chaux-de-Fonds. In a letter to William Ritter, he wondered, "And will I like him [L'Eplatténier] become a member of the Cercle du Sapin and of the Lodge?"<sup>24</sup> And already in a letter of 7 June 1910, he had written to L'Eplatténier about his lecture at L'Amitié: "Father spoke to me about your lecture. What effect did it produce? Are you repeating it?"<sup>25</sup> But, ultimately, when it comes to knowing whether Charles-Édouard Jeanneret's knowledge about the lodge could have been derived from Sully Guinand, the effects on history of the affects of childhood draw the historian up against the limits of his craft. It is impossible to know. The psychological question needs to be repositioned in the cultural register. If Guinand did play a role in his knowledge and appreciation of Masonic iconography and philosophy, how could such a role be conceptualized culturally?

In Bègue-Clavel's *Histoire pittoresque de la Franc-Maçonnerie* (in circulation in La Chaux-de-Fonds) is the image of the presentation of a *lowton* or *louveteau*, a Freemason's child, to the members of his lodge (figure 6.7). Such a culturally defined mentoring role for the Masonic lodge accords with Guinand's own autobiographical account, in which he acknowledged, "These last remarks were made to me a long time before by my brother-in-law in a conversation that we had while returning from a walk, and they had remained in my memory ever since."<sup>26</sup> (Such country walks and *ballades* [leisurely strolls] were a common feature of Chaux-de-fonnier life. Charles Humbert's diary is full of them, as is Georges-Édouard Jeanneret's [figure 6.8].) A comparable mentoring role was experienced in La Chaux-de-Fonds by Le Corbusier's contemporary, Frédéric-Louis (Freddy) Sauser dit Blaise Cendrars.

Blaise Cendrars's father was Georges-Frédéric Sauser and his paternal uncle was Georges Sauser. When Blaise Cendrars's parents, in serious financial difficulties, moved from their home in the center of La Chaux-de-Fonds at 27, rue de la Paix to an outlying area overlooking the town at 45, rue du Parc they were in the same neighborhood as several other members of the Sauser family, including Ernest Sauser, who was "the owner of the most up-to-date printing works in the city, using linotype, a brand new typesetting machine. When Marie-Louise from time to time asks her husband to help her by taking care of the taciturn and unpredictable Freddy, Georges often brings his youngest son to visit the printing works. Ernest Sauser is always pleased to see him: Well, well! There's my boy!"<sup>27</sup> At the printing works of Ernest Sauser, the young Freddy Sauser would experience the world of printing (figure 6.9). He was to write, "The printing inks intoxicated me!"<sup>28</sup>



6.7. *Louveteau or lowton*, from François Timoléon Bègue-Clavel, *Histoire pittoresque de la Franc-Maçonnerie et des sociétés secrètes anciennes et modernes, illustrée avec 25 belles gravures sur acier* (Paris: Pagnerre, Éditeur, 1844). (Archives J. K. Birksted.)

Sausser's printing works were a refuge and the source of important Chaux-de-fonnier memories. In her biography of Blaise Cendrars, Miriam Cendrars describes how Ernest Sausser printed Freddy Sausser's name and gave him catalogues to take home. She also describes the experience of the printing works with its rolls of paper, the smell of the inks, the sound of the machinery. Now, Ernest Sausser was a member of L'Amitié and his "Planche d'avancement au 2<sup>ème</sup> grade" (25 January 1902) shows precisely this benevolence toward others and, especially, his fondness for other members of his family, particularly children:

The subject I have been given as a *planche d'avancement* is the following: "Self-sacrifice brings greater happiness than selfishness. Success and happiness are not at all the same thing."

Obtaining relative happiness for himself, for his family and his fellows from the three perspectives of the material, intellectual and moral, is certainly the ideal for which everyone should strive in society.



6.8. Georges-Édouard Jeanneret with members of the Club Alpin Suisse Section La Chaux-de-Fonds at Loèche-les-Bains. (Henri Rieckel, 1887, courtesy of Collection Iconographie, DAV, Bibliothèque de la Ville de La Chaux-de-Fonds, CAS-P2-62.)



6.9. Imprimerie Horlogère E. Sauser, La Chaux-de-Fonds. (Charles Robert-Tissot, ca. 1905, courtesy of Collection Iconographie, DAV, Bibliothèque de la Ville de La Chaux-de-Fonds, RT-P2-147.)



One may attain this if one applies oneself from youth to pursuing one of the many paths placed at one's disposal to attain one's desired goal, but in the course of which there will arise some pitfalls that one will have to surmount, as well as forks in the road and disturbing crossroads that will require one's intelligence to remain constantly alert, will stop one in one's tracks because of uncertainty, and even oblige one to undertake a serious examination of one's conscience and, if one persists in staying on the right path, will sometimes force one back down the path that one has already taken. However, if one has remained deaf to all warnings and to all pleas urging one to quicken one's pace in disdain for all the obstacles encountered on the way, in the sole, albeit still uncertain, aim of quickly arriving at the happiness glimpsed around the corner, the weakening of one's path may well try one with grave remorse, bitter disappointments and end in error and ruin.

Indeed! Happiness! This dream on which every human being focuses his abilities can only be bought at the cost of the most praiseworthy efforts; it is never complete and can only be the lot of those who escape all the vicissitudes of life, on whom nature will have lavished all its good deeds by endowing them with brilliant physical and intellectual capacities and who, during their lives, will have known through exemplary conduct how to make good use of the gifts received by practicing all the virtues, and inwardly striving constantly for perfection in themselves and in their fellows.

But show me the person who can claim to combine all the qualities and all the virtues! The only one to have lived on earth is our Lord Jesus Christ; however, in human eyes, he was unable to experience complete and unmitigated happiness in this world, since he was persecuted, stoned, and then crucified.

Every individual, however, has the capacity to attain some greater or lesser portion of happiness; to attain this by his conduct, his enthusiasm for work and by giving careful consideration to every action.

The happiness that is dearest is incontestably that which one finds in family life. Why? Because it can only be the fruit of a continual and complete self-sacrifice toward those who are dear to one.

How should the father of a family, surrounded by a serene and devoted spouse and beloved rosy-cheeked children, behave if he wants to preserve this happiness in his house? Should he, for example, live completely selfishly, granting no enjoyment or pleasure to his wife and children, enjoying alone the profit of his work and his abilities, giving up none of his tastes, none of his habits?

Should he not on the contrary practice daily self-sacrifice, renunciation of his own wishes, know how to embrace some sacrifices occasionally, even deprivations, to maintain the affection, peace, and state of well-being in his family, good things without which happiness will flee his hearth!

Will the man who also proves able in his private life to reconcile his principles and his interests with those of his neighbor, able to practice the qualities of good-heartedness, modesty, good will, charity, and loyalty, and who also demonstrates that he is prepared to make any sacrifice to support a just cause—all qualities that require a greater or lesser degree of self-sacrifice, renunciation on his part—not end up with a certain esteem in society? Once he has attained this situation, will it not prove to be a portion of happiness for him?

To what, by contrast, can the man completely blinded by egotism in his ideas and his actions aspire;—the proud man imbued with self-conceit;—the worldly man who dreams only of good fortunes;—even the conqueror who builds his throne on the heaving ruins of his fellow men?! As the reward for their crimes, they will elicit nothing but contempt and isolation, if they are not actually reviled by their fellows.

I find much more inspiration in the figure of the modest teacher Pestalozzi, whose existence full of sacrifice and self-abnegation toward poor young children whom he enlightened with his knowledge, than in Napoleon I, the illustrious conqueror who, to assuage his thirst for glory, set the whole of Europe ablaze and bleeding, and eventually failed, being exiled to St. Helena!

Success and happiness are not at all the same thing.

Since supreme happiness can only be the prerogative of an absolutely perfect being, whereas success is very often the result obtained from passions, despicable acts, even hatreds, which are used by many men to achieve their ends, these two things cannot have the same source of identity.

Can anyone claim that a man who has achieved a fortune through his unscrupulousness in his affairs and his undertakings by the path on which others fail before penal justice can enjoy true happiness?

Has the multimillionaire whose massive fortune accumulated following success in more or less honest speculations, the effects of which have plunged an entire class of society into difficulties and destitution, achieved happiness?

Will a debauched and worldly man, at the end of all his frivolous successes, enjoy happiness? No! He will bring nothing back from his depraved life but caustic health and bitter disappointments!

Will the writer who has sown injustice and discord through a venomous pen ever be able to contemplate happily the success that his writings might be able to achieve?

Has the great nineteenth-century diplomat, Bismarck, the iron chancellor, who allowed the sacrilege of Germany's annexation of Alsace and Lorraine, despite all the successes of his convoluted and ambiguous politics, enjoyed true happiness? No, because toward the end of his career he witnessed his own disgrace at the hands of a sovereign who was perhaps as absolute but at the very least more liberal than his predecessors!

Is the English nation, who enjoyed universal renown for its liberalism, not already seeing its aureole fade despite the successes achieved by its soldiers against the courageous Boer population, in agonies today in South Africa?

No! Success could never be the same thing as happiness; it can only be its corollary.

La Chaux-de-Fonds, 25 January 1902

My brothers, I salute you three times,

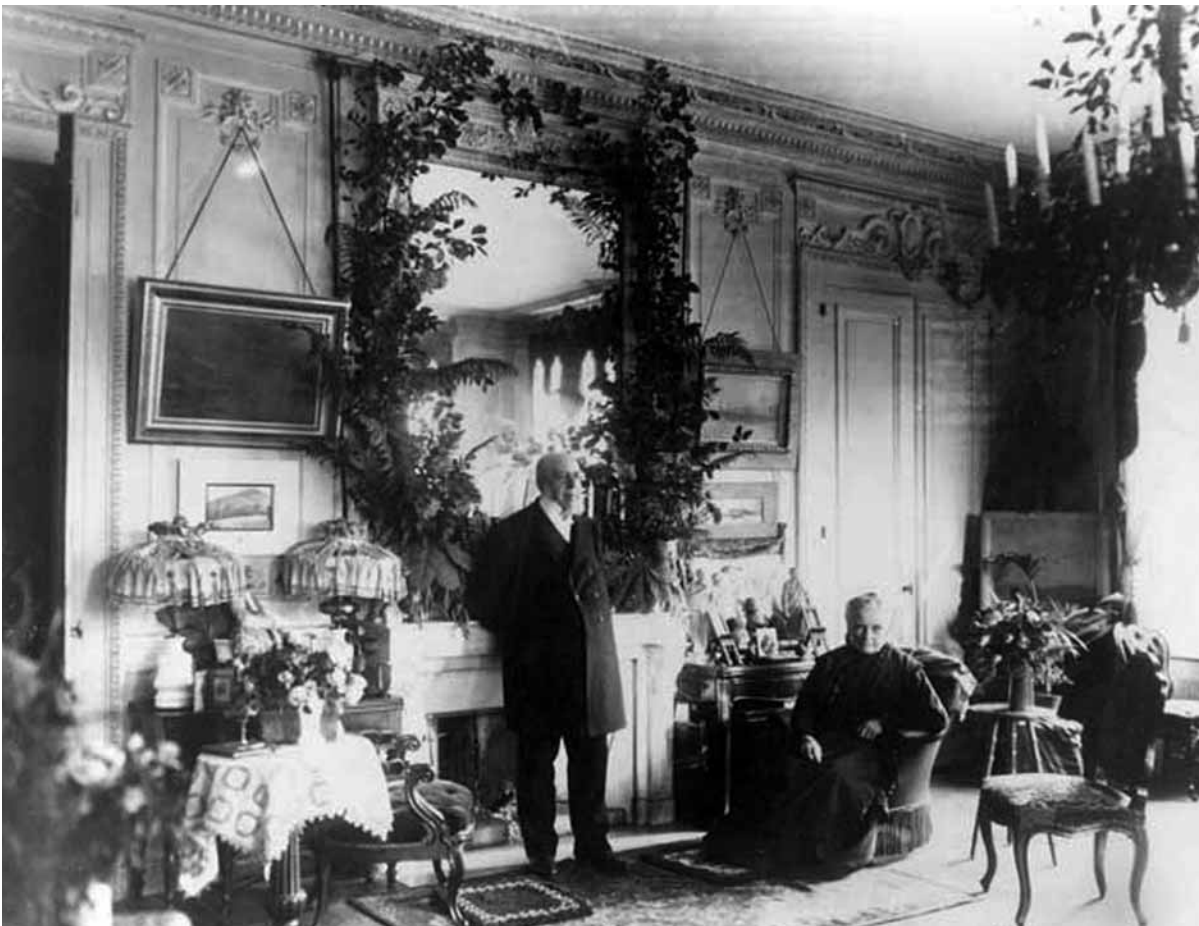
E. Sauser<sup>29</sup>

The traditional and symbolic Masonic relationship of junior *lowton* to senior *parrain* (mentor) is close to that which Charles-Édouard Jeanneret reenacted vis-à-vis first L'Eplattenier, then Perret, then Ritter, and then Ozenfant. But if, on the simple ground of dates, Sully Guinand would not have been for Charles-Édouard Jeanneret a cultural model whose “sound words of advice have since made me reflect very seriously,”<sup>30</sup> might there have been another such mentor?

Returning to Édouard du Bois's unexpected letter of 1953—“we must have met countless times outside our classes, especially at the old pastor Courvoisier's house, where we prepared the church sales”<sup>31</sup>—brings up the third significant address in the rue de la Loge. Next to Georges-Édouard Jeanneret's atelier at 6, rue de la Loge and L'Amitié at 8, rue de la Loge, lies the Villa Sandoz-Robert at 11, rue de la Loge, which was the home of Pastor James Courvoisier-Sandoz (figure 6.10).<sup>32</sup> Now, Courvoisier-Sandoz transferred from the long-established Église Nationale to the new Église Indépendante. A new pastor, Édouard Quartier-la-Tente *fil*s, was appointed to the Église Nationale, before being transferred from La Chaux-de-Fonds to Le Landeron, a village outside Neuchâtel. William Ritter and his partner, Janko Cádra, settled in Le Landeron (late 1914 to early 1917) upon their return from Munich at the outbreak of World War I, where they became Quartier-la-Tente's neighbors and friends. It was usually Édouard Quartier-la-Tente *fil*s who, privileged owner of a telephone, announced Charles-Édouard Jeanneret's arrivals on his frequent visits from La Chaux-de-Fonds. Ritter recorded that Quartier-la-Tente *fil*s was willing to bicycle through the rain to deliver early-morning messages from Charles-Édouard Jeanneret about his arrival times: “Friday 19 March 1915. At eight o'clock this morning, M. Quartier-la-Tente came to tell us that he telephoned. This need to disturb Quartier-la-Tente: it was even raining! . . . An hour later came a telegram: he is arriving by train at 22 minutes past 2.”<sup>33</sup>

Now, Édouard Quartier-la-Tente *père* was listed in Hutin's *Les Francs-Maçons* as an authoritative and classic Masonic author.<sup>34</sup> Both Quartier-la-Tente *fil*s and *père*, members of the Loge La Bonne Harmonie in Neuchâtel,<sup>35</sup> shared with Charles-Édouard Jeanneret an interest in architecture. The father and son were also coauthors of *Les édifices religieux du canton de Neuchâtel*.<sup>36</sup> Quartier-la-Tente *fil*s lectured on the history of architecture, for example at the Cercle du Sapin on 12 February 1911, when he talked about Roman architecture, specifically the Coliseum, the Baths of Caracalla, the Pantheon, and the Catacombs.<sup>37</sup> And, echoing William Ritter's diary, Janko Cádra's

own diary also reported, on that same Friday, 19 March 1915, “The Pastor Q. La Tente has just come by bicycle to announce the telephone message that Jeanneret might come in the afternoon.”<sup>38</sup> To these intellectuals, in the course of their otherwise tranquil lives in this small village—to which Quartier-la-Tente had been reluctantly assigned, and to which Ritter and Cádra were forcefully repatriated—Charles-Édouard Jeanneret’s visits were a refreshing feature, his pert modernist ideas sometimes bracing, his self-congratulatory assurance sometimes intensely irritating.



6.10. Pastor James Courvoisier-Sandoz and his wife in the sitting room of La Villa Sandoz-Robert at 11, rue de la Loge. (Courtesy of Musée Historique de la Ville de La Chaux-de-Fonds.)

PART III

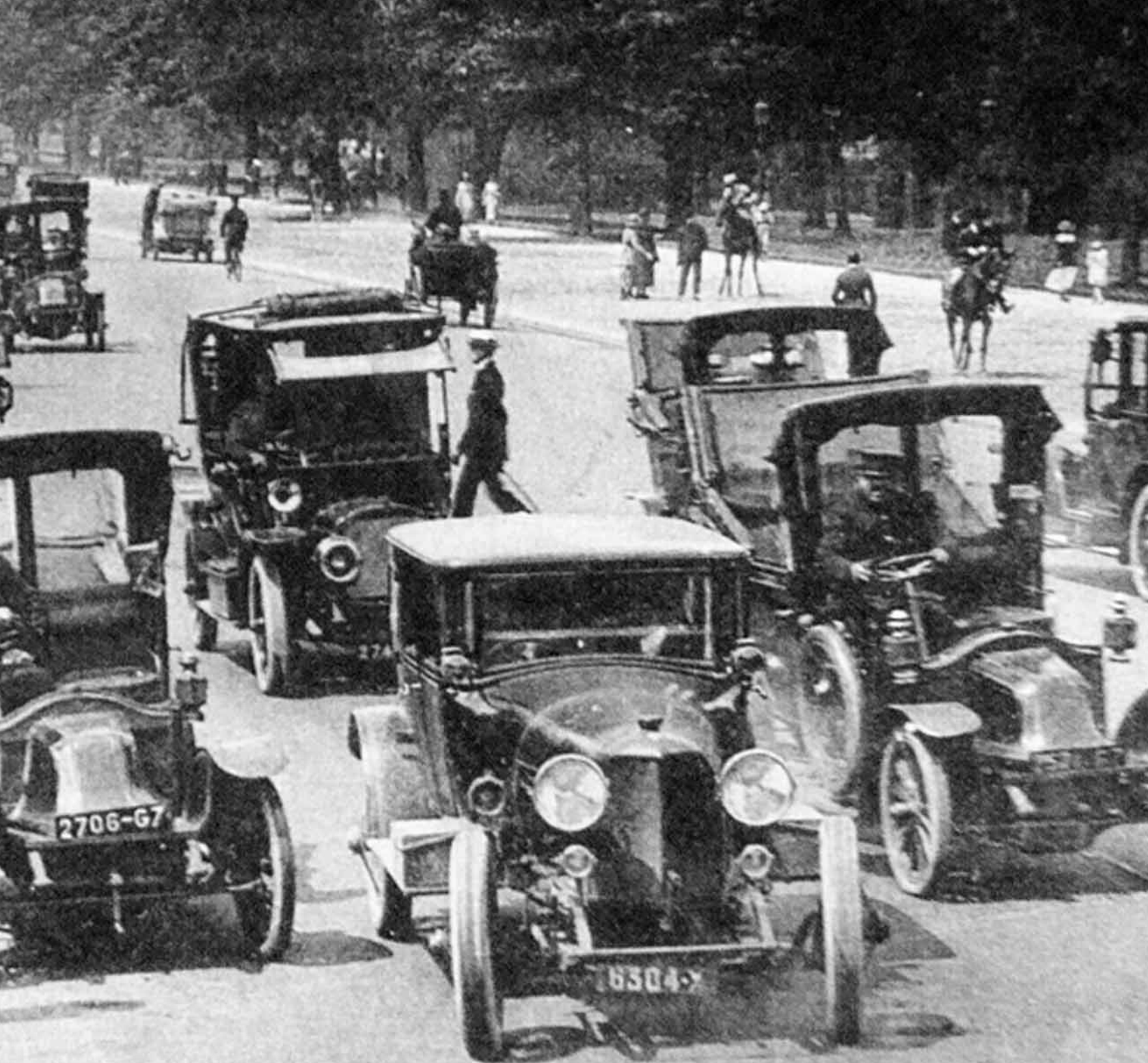


# TO PARIS





37 PARIS. — Avenue du Bois de Boulogne. —



LL.





previous pages:  
Postcard from members of the  
Loge L'Amitié (La Chaux-de-Fonds)  
and Loge Les Vrais Frères Unis  
(Le Locle) on a visit to the Loge  
Guillaume Tell (Paris), addressed  
to Auguste Jeanneret Avocat, La  
Chaux-de-Fonds, 13 April 1920.  
(Archives of Loge L'Amitié, La  
Chaux-de-Fonds.)

7 Delightful  
Evening  
Yesterday at the  
Quartier-la-  
Tentes'



**IN** line with Charles-Édouard Jeanneret's own snippets of village gossip,<sup>1</sup> William Ritter's diary confirms that the foremost feature of daily life in Le Landeron was its tranquil tedium: "Monday, 18 October 1915. The mice thoroughly enjoyed my arsenic croutons. Will serve them the rest of the box this morning."<sup>2</sup> There were frustrations such as a lack of ham on Christmas Eve 1915: "Friday, 24 December 1915. Tribulations at the butchers. We have no ham." These everyday irritations occurred against the background of constant war news—battles lost, battles won, statistics about new recruits—with a particular interest for Serbia: "Saturday, 9 October 1915. Disquieting news: dear heroic Serbia invaded once again." Quartier-la-Tente  *fils*, who received up-to-date news and was privileged to receive otherwise unobtainable publications, played an important role: "Friday, 4 February 1916 . . . Quartier-la-Tente who yesterday had brought us issue 18 of *Nation tchèque* in person. It seems this number is already being prevented from entering Switzerland." Quartier-la-Tente got his news partly from his father, who was a regular visitor and was in direct contact with world events:

Monday, 15 March 1915. Delightful evening yesterday at the Quartier-la-Tentes', although it cost us five francs. There was a collection and Janko had forgotten his change. We had to give a note. M. Quartier-la-Tente, senior, from the Department of Public Education, was there with his wife, Eva, from a domestic household of bygone days. She is an august white-haired lady. . . . The state councillor reassured us slightly, since he is certain that Italy will join the Allies. As he is an eminent Freemason, his opinion may be better founded than

my forebodings. A delegation from Germany recently came to see him: these gentlemen hoped that he would be willing to act as a mediator with Clemenceau to try to divide France from the Allies. They made a fateful choice! “Victory to the Allies and may they do everything necessary to achieve it.”

Against this war background, William Ritter and Janko Cádra led a restrained lifestyle because of their limited budget: “Saturday, 3 July 1915. From Charles-Édouard Jeanneret: // We will lodge him here, delighted that Mme Frochoux has no rooms. That avoids the expensive meals, since Janko has decided to take on the cooking chores.” Yet Ritter and Cádra led a contentedly peaceful life and enjoyed long walks through the spectacular countryside, including, in the summer, swimming in the lake (figure 7.1). Sometimes, in the atmosphere of paranoia created by the war, the local farmers were suspicious when they saw Ritter in the process of drawing:

Saturday, 5 February 1916. The winegrowers have informed the police in Neuville. Within a moment, a detective came to inspect us, to observe our work closely, then left without a word. Once an hour had gone by without any arrest having occurred, the good winegrowers then entered into conversation. And with the first bit of money, we will go and buy some of their Neuville wine, which will be cheaper than the wine from here.

Despite the quietness of their village, Ritter and Cádra led a busy social life with correspondence, visits, and gossip:

Monday, 27 December 1915. On Christmas Day, Marcel, feeling the cold and the damp, stayed in bed until one o’clock. At dinner we laughed and joked at the buffoon Jeanneret. At around five o’clock, a walk to the post office and along the road to Cressier. We went to bed straight after supper. Yesterday to the church service at ten o’clock. . . . Maurice Digier came to have coffee with us. Marcel left at 29 minutes past 5. Before going to the station, he delivered a card to M. Quartier-la-Tente and we went to the cemetery chapel. Met Arthur at the station.

The bush telephone operated quickly and people’s whereabouts were known: “Monday, 11 October. A telegram arrives from Ch. Ed. Jeanneret announcing that he will be arriving by bicycle at around two o’clock. The postman gave me the message at the station where we were waiting for Quartier-la-Tente, not to be found at home.” Social life in Le Landeron revolved around formal invitations and chance visits:



71. William Ritter and Janko Cádra along the lake in Le Landeron, ca. 1915. (Courtesy of Bibliothèque de la Ville de La Chaux-de-Fonds, Fonds William Ritter, William Ritter 108-009-18.)

Friday, 9 July 1915. When we got back, we found pinned to our door this note from Quartier-la-Tente: "Would you give us the pleasure of coming to supper with us on the evening of the 14 July? Best wishes." Shave and will go to post the reply in a moment.

Thursday, 25 February 1915. The mulled wine that we ordered from Mme Frochaux will have helped to incubate my flu. . . . I would happily have stayed in bed all day despite the inviting sun if M. Quartier-la-Tente had not arrived unannounced!! He wants to see my drawings.

Conversations and debates, sometimes heated, sometimes leading to furious disagreements, took place at dinner parties, in which Charles-Édouard Jeanneret was included:

Tuesday, 28 September 1915. Came back in a rage from Gustave Jeanneret's house yesterday after a literary discussion that had been conducted in such bad faith that I have decided never to pursue any conversation in depth with this hothead. He wheels out any argument just to avoid appearing caught off guard and shifts the question with the kind of sectarian impertinence that seeks one thing alone: to silence contradiction and to appear to be right. Which did not escape Janko's notice. As for Charles-Édouard Jeanneret, he was too thrilled by the warm welcome he had received in such a well-appointed home to stand up for truth. Besides, while I approve of original new opinions on all subjects that I know something about, others I do not address.

Saturday, 28 August 1915. An evening of intense and profound discussions at the Quartiers, where we did not arrive until about six o'clock. I think I measured up to the questions that were put to me.

There were places where people tended to meet. One was by the lake, another along the walks in the surrounding countryside: "Holy Saturday, 22 April 1915. Returned slowly with Q.L.T., who was going to Frienisberg via the cemetery and the vineyards"; "Wednesday, 15 August 1915. M. Quartier accompanied us on the way to Cressier, the path among the vineyards below Combes." Another regular meeting place was the train station of Le Landeron: "Monday, 14 June 1915. Jeanneret left at 5.20. As always, or nearly always, Quartier-la-Tente was at the station." The Hôtel de Nemours and the local bakery *cum* tearoom owned by the Ruedin family were other popular meeting places: "Sunday, 13 June 1915. From Jeanneret: // His telegram shortly afterward. 'Arriving station 7.40.' Go to meet him there. Take him to supper at Hôtel de Nemours. Then walk beneath Mount Jolimont, and then try the new wine at the Ruedins." And, in the summer, people were encountered at the beach:

Wednesday, 28 July 1915. Quartier-la-Tente was bathing and his bathing trunks, violet and dripping in the sun, shone like topaz. He pretended not to see us. But we got a friendly wave from Brest, who was undressing further away in a bush.

Thursday, 12 August 1915. Seven o'clock in the evening. Out on the water. Took the boat into the reed marshes of the isthmus. The water is nearly as green as Lake Starnberg. Bathed in the reed marshes of Ländte. Then to the beach at Le Landeron. Greeted by a cheerful "yoo-hoo" from Quartier-la-Tente. So everything is going well with his wife.

Extensive correspondence was a feature of everyday life: "Christmas 1915. Saturday, 25 December 1915. This morning Boissonas: // Reply: // From C. F. Ramuz: // From Mme Berthoud // Reply: // To Ch. Ed. Jeanneret: // (Yesterday Quartier-la-Tente had delivered by hand to the house the little note written to go with his basket. Here it is //)." Yet dramatic events punctuated life. In October 1915, following a serious illness, the first wife of Quartier-la-Tente *fi*ls died:

Saturday, 9 October 1915. M. Quartier-la-Tente leaves, appeased, but with a terrible sense of emptiness, followed from now on by his dog who has understood everything. . . . The ceremony was beautiful and simple. The ashes from yesterday have been confided to the old cemetery in Le Landeron. The final resting. The new cemetery is being inaugurated with a funeral that occurred today. . . . Schneider played some Bach and Franck. . . . In this magnificent azure autumn sky, we had a sense of the poor little body being completely liberated as well as the noble soul.

Friday, 5 November 1915. And here is the pastor Quartier-la-Tente who brings us this note in person: // It will be sad to go back into this house for the first time since its soul has departed from it. At the moment, he is writing the article about Savagnier from the canton of Neuchâtel for his father's book, M. Quartier.

A much-awaited event several times daily was the arrival of the postman, either with mail or telegrams:

Saturday, 9 October 1915. Here is the *Feuille d'Avis* and also the *Semaine Littéraire*. . . . Quarter past two. The fine sun, triumphing over the fog that is rising luminously everywhere; the sun still warm, to which we open wide both our windows. No postman. I go and look for him. Then Janko. He reports only that our pot of jam from Lenzbourg has arrived at Mlle Perroset's house. The postman went by long ago. Cowbells under the windows. . . . This



morning Quartier-la-Tente said his little Marthe “is doing well in the world of spirit.” . . . But how strange this Freemasonic pastor who mentions neither God nor heaven.

At times, Ritter was so busy with his correspondence and painting that visits were a distracting nuisance (figure 7.2):

Wednesday, 8 December 1915. At Quartier-la-Tente’s house yesterday evening; hope he doesn’t come this morning. . . . With his usual tactlessness, he has asked for my watercolor. He will have it eventually. But if he imagines that I am going to part with one of the three or four best ones, he can take a running jump.

Janko Cádra records in his diary: “Monday, 20 January 1915. We have just had a visit from Mr. Q.L.T.—by now I recognize his sharp steps in the corridor—and he is delighted with the pastel drawings. Mine impressed him too. He is amazed by the boldness with which I work with pastels in a way that he would never dare. Apparently Wilko’s framed watercolor has made a great impression and next time we have to go and have a look at it.”<sup>3</sup> Édouard Quartier-la-Tente  *fils* lived in a presbytery in the newly developed district on the other side of the railway line outside the ancient village center, while William Ritter lived in an apartment, in the premises of the old town hall offices in the old village center itself, at the end of a long house with two windows overlooking Cressier and the Jura above Neuchâtel to the west, and a third over the courtyard, on the side of the Ruedin restaurant and bakery (figure 7.3).<sup>4</sup>



7.2. William Ritter, *Le Landeron, jeudi 6 mai 1915* (watercolor). (Courtesy of Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire de Neuchâtel, Fonds William Ritter.)

73. Postcard of Le Landeron, ca. 1915. (Archives J. K. Birksted.)



And this brings us back to the question at hand: the relations between Charles-Édouard Jeanneret, William Ritter, and Édouard Quartier-la-Tente. Many years later, in his unpublished typescript, Ritter was to remember this period:

The vegetative monotony of our wartime existence in Le Landeron, accepted bravely at first, eventually began to seem entirely tolerable. First of all, we were enchanted with the area and all the wonderful possibilities for walking. Well, the people there in general showed us great kindness. And then there was Zbinden, but there was also the pastor Édouard Quartier-la-Tente, son of the *state councillor* and also confirmed Grand Master of the Grande Loge Suisse Alpina. The Protestant pastor of Le Landeron was equally well known to be a Freemason, which we had also clearly established when we were introduced to him—this was at the station in Le Landeron—by the specific way he placed his fingers when he shook our hands that did not lead to any return of the signal of recognition. He had definite artistic and musical tastes; his young wife, who was fading away from an unremitting illness, was one of the most touching little creatures of good faith and goodwill I have ever encountered, and they had a lodger, a young Dutchman, well brought up and interesting, with whom we could talk. The pastor himself had done some drawing in the past and had even decorated some plates with traditional Jura landscapes when he was carrying

out his ministry above the Val de Travers . . . then at La Chaux-de-Fonds, where he would very much have liked to stay. And at his house we found the opportunity for good, intelligent and cheerful conversation—he was very good-tempered and not at all prudish—and even sometimes musical when either M. Schneider, the organist at La Chaux-de-Fonds, or M. Veuve, a pianist from Neuchâtel, were visiting at the same time as us. There were even some interesting art books to read at his house.<sup>5</sup>

It has already been seen that on his visits to Le Landeron, Charles-Édouard Jeanneret was part of this social life. In this small community, people knew each other: “Sunday, 17 October 1915. Nearly midday. Ch. Ed. Jeanneret spent yesterday evening with us. At the moment, he is at Zbinden’s house with a gorgeous watercolor sketch.” After Charles-Édouard Jeanneret’s departure on 27 July 1915, Ritter was asked by Quartier-la-Tente *fil*s to show him the watercolors that they had done. Ritter noted: “Friday, 29 July 1915. Preparing about twenty watercolors that I am having to take to the Quartier-la-Tentes, since the pastor has repeated his request that I show them to his wife. For Charles-Édouard Jeanneret . . . it’s not the joke I would have wished, but my luck was out.” Besides Charles-Édouard Jeanneret’s regular visits to the social circle of Ritter and Quartier-la-Tente



74. Édouard Quartier-la-Tente père. (Courtesy of Rose-Marie Berger-Quartier-la-Tente.)
75. William Ritter’s diary for June 1915. (Courtesy of Fonds William Ritter, Archives Littéraires Suisses, Bibliothèque Nationale Suisse, Berne, Box 77.)

fils, Édouard Quartier-la-Tente père, who lived in Neuchâtel, also came on visits to his son (figure 7.4). Did his visits overlap with those of Charles-Édouard Jeanneret? Visits by Jeanneret took place in 1915 from 19 to 21 March (Ritter scribbled “Charles-Édouard Jeanneret, by the lake”) and again on 30 April; on 12–13 and 18 June; on 3, 5, 26–27 July; on 27–28 September; on 11, 16 October; on 6–7 November; and on 18–19 December. Then in 1916, Charles-Édouard Jeanneret’s first visits seem to have begun on 5–6 February—though there is a sketch of William Ritter by Charles-Édouard Jeanneret dated 23 January 1916—continuing with the same frequency throughout the year until Ritter’s move to Les Brenets in early 1917 (figure 7.5). The Quartier-la-Tente family (recorded as “Quartier-la-Tente” or “Madame” or “Quartier-la-Tente père” or “Quartier-la-Tente fils et père”) are mentioned in Ritter’s diary for 1915 on 21, 23, 25 February; 2, 9, 14 (“Quartier-la-Tente fils et père”); 19 March; 6, 8, 11, 30 April; 1, 4, 21 May; 3, 13, 18, 22, 24, 26, 28 June; 9, 14, 28, 30 July; 7, 10, 12, 24 (“Quartier-la-Tente père et fils”), 26 (“Quartier-la-Tente père”), 27 (“chez les Quartier-la-Tente”) August; 3, 4, 5, 29 September; 5, 9, 25, 30 October; 5 and 10 November; 7, 20, 22, 24, 27, and 29 December. In early 1916, Ritter notes seeing Quartier-la-Tente on 26 January; 2, 3, 4, 7, 18 and 23 February; 2, 12, 16, 20, and 21 April; 1, 2, 5, 23, 24, 26, and 29 May; and so on throughout 1916. In addition to the visits, regular exchanges of notes and messages (well wishes, invitations, congratulations,



announcements, condolences) took place between Quartier-la-Tente and William Ritter, accompanied by small offerings such as signed publications or vintage wines.<sup>6</sup> While Quartier-la-Tente's letters and notes to William Ritter survive in Ritter's archives, Ritter's to Quartier-la-Tente do not (or have not yet been found). Thus, in 1915, William Ritter saw both Charles-Édouard Jeanneret and Édouard Quartier-la-Tente (*fil*s, *père*, or both) on the same day on 19 March, 30 April, 13 June, and 18 June ("Charles-Édouard Jeanneret chez les Quartier-la-Tente"). And, on 17 November 1915, he notes, "La Chaux-de-Fonds, Quartier-la-Tente, les Jeanneret, L'Eplattenier."

But, from the historiographical perspective, do those diary entries that indicate a *chassé-croisé* (in early 1916, for example, William Ritter met Quartier-la-Tente *fil*s on 2, 3, 4, and 7 February and Charles-Édouard on 5–6 February) imply encounters or not? Does the entry for 17 November 1915—when William Ritter notes, "La Chaux-de-Fonds, Quartier-la-Tente, les Jeanneret, L'Eplattenier"—indicate consecutive or simultaneous encounters? There is no way to know. The appointment diary's translucent linearity reveals the opaqueness of historical sequences. Yet, along the old cobbled streets of Le Landeron, in the Ruedin's bakery and tearoom, in the restaurant of the Hôtel de Nemours, at arrivals and departures at the Landeron train station, at church services and in the cemetery, in the lanes along front gardens and vegetable patches ("Friday, 4 February 1916. I met Quartier-la-Tente in his garden"), along the paths of its surrounding countryside with its vineyards and cattle-grazing fields, in winters in their homes, and in summers along the lakeshore and its beaches, these local amateur watercolorists and members of the intelligentsia, William Ritter and Édouard Quartier-la-Tente *fil*s, and their visitors, Charles-Édouard Jeanneret and Édouard Quartier-la-Tente *père*, did such mundane things as partying, gossiping, swapping watercolors, going for walks, dining, engaging in conversations (sometimes arguing), and slipping messages under each other's doors (figure 7.6). In addition to which, they all shared a common history and each came with a personal history that provided them with local celebrity, national notoriety, or international fame.

Such was the case of William Ritter (1867–1955), son of Guillaume Ritter, the entrepreneurial engineer who brought water to La Chaux-de-Fonds, an event memorialized by Schaltenbrand's commemorative fountain (figures 3.5, 7.7). Charles-Édouard Jeanneret first met William Ritter in Munich in 1910. Ritter was born into an artistic and educated family, interested in literature, music, and the visual arts. As a pupil in Catholic schools in Switzerland and France, and then at the Académie de Neuchâtel, Ritter discovered the writings of Jules Barbey d'Aureville, Joséphin Péladan, Pierre Loti, and Karl-Joris Huysmans, and the music of Wagner. In 1886, reading Joséphin Péladan and Gérard Encausse dit Papus, he became interested in esotericism and planned to write a thesis on the kabala. Accompanying his father on a business trip to Paris in 1888, Ritter met and befriended Péladan (figure 7.8). Ritter's autobiography, dictated to Josef Tcherv and written in the third person, describes this encounter:



7.6. Charles-Édouard Jeanneret,  
*Jardin au Landeron*  
(watercolor, 1915). (© 2007  
FLC/ADAGP, Paris and  
DACS, London, FLC 4081.)

For the first time, William can converse with a real writer who treats him as a colleague. They talk a great deal about the kabala, the main reason for the student's journey, while Péladan asks him many questions in turn about music and about Germany. . . . As in fact Péladan's books are always full of printing errors, William offers to correct his proofs of *Istar*, which is agreed. . . . After this first visit, William returned there every morning, as Péladan very amiably concludes their discussion about art every time with:—"Oh well! You will come back tomorrow, will you not?" . . . William had never seen Péladan in evening dress until one day when, leaving the Lecœur restaurant where his father, M. Leuba and he himself had just dined, they suddenly found themselves in front of Péladan in the entrance hall. William introduced him to his father, while their friend, who was already leaving, retraced his steps to observe, as he was curious. In the bright artificial light, Péladan, in a dark, fur-lined great coat, presented a most imposing appearance, in spite of the top hat on his puff of hair.<sup>7</sup>



- 7.7. Postcard: “Crown offered to Mr. G. Ritter from the grateful housewives, souvenir of the inauguration of water at La Chaux-de-Fonds, 27 November 1887.” (Courtesy of Collection Iconographie, DAV, Bibliothèque de la Ville de La Chaux-de-Fonds.)
- 7.8. Joséphin Péladan, letter to William Ritter (ca. 1888). (Courtesy of Fonds William Ritter, Archives Littéraires Suisses, Bibliothèque Nationale Suisse, Berne, Box 348.)

Following this acquaintance, Péladan, on an invitation from Ritter, came to Neuchâtel in 1888 at the start to their trip to Bayreuth to the Wagner opera house, with multiple stops and episodes on the way. In Basel, Ritter showed Péladan the local museums with paintings by Hodler. To Péladan’s hilarity, Ritter ate his first salted cucumber in Heilbronn, where they recalled Goethe’s *Goetz von Berlichingen*. In Munich, they saw paintings by Böcklin that much impressed Péladan. Having finally reached their destination, Wagner’s opera house, Péladan found himself seated next to “a stocky German woman” with whom, following his Parisian reputation, he quietly slipped out.<sup>8</sup> In Péladan’s notebook is a list of the places visited in Germany, with a small map of the itinerary. He also lists the most important events in his life, year by year: indeed, the year 1888 is marked with “Bayreuth.”<sup>9</sup> From 1888 to 1891, Ritter traveled to Prague, Vienna, Hungary, and Bucharest. In 1892, he worked as tutor to the Montandon sons in Besançon, and traveled to Bayreuth in the summer with Marcel Montandon before moving to Paris, where Montandon was preparing his baccalauréat. In 1893, Ritter met Péladan again, and published *Rêves vécus et vies rêvées: Ames blanches*.<sup>10</sup> He then toured the Balkans, before settling in Vienna where Montandon was studying music. There he followed Anton Bruckner’s lectures and met Johann Strauss and Hugo von Hofmannsthal. A final

Procurez moy aussi chez Calmann Lévy  
Les Missions du marquis de Saint-Ves

Monsieur

L'apostrophe n'a pas de chair; il est, sans la parole, l'apanage de  
Ses 6 personnages, à Paris.

Lisez Ha Genèse (le premier livre) L'apocalypse, Saint  
Demp & Kriopaple (traduction Dulac)  
Elphaz Lévy - Histoire de la Maçonnerie  
Doyme & Ribull

M. Renart, Commissionnaire en librairie, Passage Vivienne  
vous les procurera à prix réduit.

Roseworthy & Pistorius sont chers & rares  
Je compte volontiers une photographie sobre de Venise, auquel je ne  
crois pas encore, sinon je célébrerai sans l'artiste.  
A la fin de l'hiver prochain, peut-être avant, je voyagerai;  
& si nous pourrions nous rencontrer & faire un  
concert en Allemagne, vous me rendriez service & serais  
micherais partiellement.

Deux choses retardent mes voyages: les économies préliminaires &  
aussi les présentations qui m'assurent de pénétrer les  
mœurs de la haute société allemande.

Je n'ai point de temps, Monsieur. & mes lettres sont de rares  
télégrammes. L'ouvrage & l'étude le veulent ainsi. A cette  
période je suis à cœur perdu & ne serais existant  
même pour mes amis que d'autrui moi.

Croyez à ma sympathie & à mon espoir  
de vous retrouver un jour

*[Signature]*

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meeting with Péladan took place in 1896, after which Ritter distanced himself from him. Throughout the 1890s, Ritter continued to travel extensively throughout Eastern Europe (Moldavia, Slovakia, Romania, Hungary, Poland, the Slovak and Czech regions, Moravia, Albania). These East European travels continued periodically until 1947. Ritter was thus in contact with artists, writers, and musicians throughout Western and Eastern Europe, such as Pierre Loti, Félicien Rops, Edmond de Goncourt, Robert de Montesquiou, Gustav Mahler, Anton Bruckner, Arnold Böcklin, and Giovanni Segantini. He also published numerous reviews for periodicals including the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* and the *Mercure de France*.<sup>11</sup> In Paris, he reviewed exhibitions of Swiss artists including Eugène Grasset, Ferdinand Hodler, Albert Trachsler, Félix Vallotton, Richard Ranft, Carlos Schwabe, and Auguste de Niederhäusern at galleries such as the Salon Rose+Croix, which opened in 1892 at the Galerie Durand-Ruel. Ritter was known also for his polemical art criticism, in particular his virulent opposition to Ferdinand Hodler's symbolism.<sup>12</sup> (Le Corbusier's scribbled note about a meeting in Paris in 1915 with Joséphin Péladan—"Saar Péladan Bibliothèque Nationale 1915 Marcel Montandon"<sup>13</sup>—might perhaps be related to Ritter's friendship with Péladan.)



The Quartier-la-Tente family was also notorious, especially Édouard Quartier-la-Tente *père* (1855–1925). He was a towering and controversial figure in public life.<sup>14</sup> Described as a “remarkable speaker by his fluent and witty manner, by his distinct and original views,”<sup>15</sup> he was in the public eye for his active and outspoken work in support of peace, internationalism, and charitable work, as described in his obituary in the *Gazette de Lausanne*:

Édouard Quartier-la-Tente’s complex personality was often the subject of great discussion in the canton. He had staunch friends and resolute adversaries. His ideas, like his political attitude, often brought him under fierce attack. Some of the conflicts in which he was embroiled were far from innocuous. Although his intellectual culture was broad and varied, he was above all a man of feeling and, therefore, subject to certain fluctuations and to various impressions that were not always benevolently regarded in our practical-minded circles. He put forward his views with impassioned fervor, and his actions and his words, always clever and often pleasant, inspired great enthusiasm in some, and strong antipathy in others. His generous nature and his altruism led him to look beyond our limits to a future of universal brotherhood.<sup>16</sup>

For his part, Édouard Quartier-la-Tente  *fils* was deacon (1903–1905) and then pastor (1905–1911) at the Église Nationale. This requires a brief ecclesiastical history in relationship to the religious affiliation of the Jeanneret family. The Église Nationale and the Église Indépendante counterpointed each other. In 1873, an extensive ecclesiastical reorganization had taken place when the Église Neuchâtoise became state-subsidized under the new title of Église Nationale. Immediately, a seceding and self-financed church arose, the Église Indépendante. James Courvoisier-Sandoz transferred from the newly state-affiliated Église Nationale to the new, self-governing Église Indépendante.<sup>17</sup> It was the new Église Indépendante that the Jeanneret family attended, where Charles-Édouard Jeanneret, born 6 October 1887, was baptized on 17 June 1888, and where he was confirmed. On 23 July 1904, his father noted in his journal that “Édouard has begun his religious instruction.”<sup>18</sup> He is listed as number fifty-eight for the summer of 1904 in the register of the Église Indépendante, where the other pastors were Gustave Borel, Paul Pettavel, and, as auxiliary pastor, Paul Stammelbach.<sup>19</sup>

Despite the ecclesiastical partition of 1873, relations of “fraternal understanding, friendly and forthright collaboration”<sup>20</sup> developed between the Église Indépendante and the Église Nationale. The latter was popularly referred to as the Temple National or Grand Temple because of its location in an impressive historic structure called Le Temple; this is where Édouard Quartier-la-Tente  *fils* was ordained in 1902, appointed deacon in 1902–1903, and worked as pastor from 1903 to 1911, before being relocated to Le Landeron. Even after 1917, Charles-Édouard Jeanneret took an interest in the Grand Temple, judging from the presence in his library of a publication of 1921 called *Le Grand Temple*.<sup>21</sup> Quartier-la-Tente was a popular preacher in La Chaux-de-Fonds, starting a

new youth movement called Les Liens Nationaux during his time there (1902–1911). The ministry of Quartier-la-Tente in La Chaux-de-Fonds spanned the years from Charles-Édouard's beginning at the École d'Art in 1903, his confirmation in 1904, his homecomings from two apprenticeships abroad in 1908–1909 and 1910–1911, through to his *voyage d'Orient* in 1911, when Quartier-la-Tente *fil*s left La Chaux-de-Fonds for Le Landeron (figure 7.9).

In addition to their shared histories, common interests were also shared by William Ritter, Édouard Quartier-la-Tente *fil*s, and Charles-Édouard Jeanneret, for whom art and architecture were a *raison d'être*. In addition to writing (such as his book *Les édifices religieux du canton de Neuchâtel*),<sup>22</sup> Quartier-la-Tente *fil*s painted and was interested in art and architectural history, for which he traveled and took photographs. Over the years, he built up a series of survey lectures with slide projections about the history of archaeology, art, architecture, and religion. These lectures, whose topics included Prague, ancient Egypt, and the Middle Ages, were sometimes delivered in person, sometimes rented out in the form of printed texts with synchronized slide projections. Quartier-la-Tente had a particular interest in contemporary architecture. In a later educational publication, *Cahiers d'enseignement pratique no. 27: L'architecture religieuse chrétienne* (1939), he wrote:

The history of modern architecture begins in 1900. Alongside the remnants of classicism, new construction procedures, in particular reinforced concrete, have inspired new forms, churches that are more interesting for their novelty than for their beauty. The structures and the interiors have been infinitely modified, so it is at present impossible to say whether an authentic style will result from the endeavors and accomplishments of our era; only the centuries to come will be able to judge. There is a new aesthetics, to which it is difficult for us to adjust visually and intellectually without misgivings and effort, accustomed as we are to certain classical forms.

It will require a major intellectual and religious movement to recreate an era similar to that of the Gothic cathedrals or the Renaissance. Architecture today is taking on an increasingly scientific and mechanical aspect, in which technological understanding and practical concerns are taking the place of emotion. Everything is clearly influenced by prevailing mechanization. But it is because art is alive and always on a quest that one can hope for it to evolve a new style that will express the religious mysticism of our era, whether Catholic or Protestant.<sup>23</sup>

In addition to this common interest in art and architecture, William Ritter and Quartier-la-Tente *fil*s also had religion as a shared concern. Ritter was a fervent Catholic; his father had been a militant Catholic. Quartier-la-Tente *fil*s was a Protestant, interested in what “will express



7.9. Édouard Quartier-la-Tente  
*fi*ls and his family in front of  
the pastor's official residence,  
La Cure, in Le Landeron, July  
1924. (Courtesy of Rose-Marie  
Berger-Quartier-la-Tente.)

the religious mysticism of our era, whether Catholic or Protestant,”<sup>24</sup> while Quartier-la-Tente *père* abhorred doctrinaire religion and in particular dogmatic Catholicism, writing in 1910:

The Freemason who is truly inspired by the Masonic spirit holds no *prejudices*, that is to say no preconceived, unconsidered opinions adopted without examination, or as Voltaire said, “no opinions without critical evaluation.” Also, since prejudices are rooted in ignorance, a Mason is not permitted to be ignorant, for the man who is ignorant cannot judge anything. The Mason accepts nothing that he has not submitted to reflection and judgment. He does this not from fear of either being thought stupid or of wanting to escape tradition, but from deep conviction. This is why a Mason, while he may take a tolerant attitude to certain ideas, may no longer accept them on their own account. There are some facts that are absolutely demonstrated today and that an intelligent being can no longer fail to accept. Masonry is the enemy of fanaticism, preexisting standpoints and prejudices, so that it is not possible for a Mason to be a Roman Catholic, given that he cannot belong to a society that maintains such erroneous ideas as to pronounce anathema on anyone who says every man is free to embrace and profess the religion he believes to be true, anathema on anyone who says that the will of the people is supreme, anathema on anyone who says that parents have the right to bring up their children outside the Catholic faith, anathema on anyone who says that the Church’s authority must be subordinate to the Nation-State. A Mason cannot be a Roman Catholic, because he would be bound by the Church’s discipline and he cannot ignore the excommunications that have been pronounced against Freemasonry by six successive pontiffs. The claims of the Papacy are no longer compatible with our era. There is a necessary divorce between Roman Catholic theories and science. There is no longer any possibility of reconciliation: there is only struggle, relentless struggle that must lead to the triumph of science and conscience. No need to insist any further. The Mason is a free man, while the Roman Catholic is a slave, subjected to compulsory mental discipline; nothing is less compatible with the spirit of Masonry. A true Mason moved by the Masonic spirit is therefore inspired by a serious love of truth and sincerely resolved to harbor no prejudices, and to allow himself to be overcome neither by fanaticism nor by intolerance.<sup>25</sup>

Such, then, were the interests and affiliations of William Ritter and Quartier-la-Tente *filis*, as well as of two regular visitors to Le Landeron, Charles-Édouard Jeanneret and Quartier-la-Tente *père*. But yet another important characteristic overlaid their shared interests and past histories.

While Charles-Édouard Jeanneret was developing novel ideas—he had by then worked for the most progressive architects in Europe (Auguste Perret and Peter Behrens), traveled widely (France, Germany, Italy, Greece, the Balkans), studied in Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale, École des Beaux-Arts [surreptitiously], Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève), designed his first notable buildings

in La Chaux-de-Fonds, and had himself started to write and publish—Ritter was becoming increasingly reactionary, bigoted, anti-Semitic, and anti-Masonic,<sup>26</sup> and his antimodernist sentiments, tinged with a wistfully ambivalent awe for Charles-Édouard Jeanneret's boundlessly inventive self-confidence, surface in his autobiography:

I have said enough about how drawn I was to Charles-Édouard Jeanneret's youth, appetite for activity and confidence in himself and in his success, not to have to make any secret of the few disappointments that I was to be given both by his painting and by his writing, because the success of the famous *Rapport* had inspired him to write. Admittedly, although I understood the errors of perspective that were more than intentional, even systematic, in his perfunctory, synthetic watercolors, I would nevertheless have been just as pleased if he had seen fit to do without them. His *Lettres d'Orient* and some essays that he had given me as manuscripts were handed to me more for me to admire without, rather than with, any reservations. As he did not seem to suspect that such a thing as a literary *profession* existed, I wanted just once to demonstrate to him what a true writer might understand by the problem of style—none of M. Paul Arbelet's treatises, if you please!—and I critiqued for him a piece that he had just “brilliantly” dashed off, emphasizing all the errors, words diverted from their usual meaning, for example using “moraine” to refer to any bare and stony area, a vague plot of land as well as any kind of sandy expanse. . . . And finally I tried to dismantle for his benefit the workings of his sentences by constructing them for him without taking the syntactical mechanisms completely apart or going through them with a toothcomb. . . . In the course of my demonstration, I suddenly noticed an expression of deep *ennui* from this individual who was above everything that I was telling him and who deemed absolutely superfluous respect for the written word, plastic adherence to form, into the profundities of which I was trying to lead him. The principal objection was: I have always been understood and I have always been assured that it was good. I felt so much like a pedantic teacher trying to teach a thing or two to a genius, or worse still like Bougereau trying to convince Cézanne, that I thought it was wise to abandon the attempt. Clearly what mattered to me was of no importance to a future Corbusier. . . . I have never since seen him so pig-headed and so ready to tell me: “What does this extinct dinosaur want of me! Things have moved on!” I had also understood that not tolerating anything that could lead to self-doubt was a principle of his strength. He was unmoved by any objection, even factual. Many times, with evidence in hand, I showed him that such and such a historical assertion was unfounded. He would then smile royally in the manner of someone for whom a factual objection does not prevent the truth of the principle.<sup>27</sup>

And these views are continued in a later document. In the 1950s, Ritter—by then an embittered archconservative and antimodernist has-been—dictated his memoirs to his last partner, Josef Tcherv. Ritter's reminiscences of everyday life, self-justifyingly littered with sardonic admiration for Charles-Édouard Jeanneret and sarcastic appreciation of the Quartier-la-Tente family, describe his personal views of life in Le Landeron and voice underlying and unspoken public themes:

The inn and bakery belonging to the Ruedins at least had the advantage of keeping fresh bread and wine freely available, as well as news from the war fronts, which arrived there as early as 11 o'clock with the *Feuille d'Avis*, which William quickly went down to read. And Madame Ruedin, an extremely civil person, showed herself to be perfectly obliging. . . . Visits that were almost as frequent . . . came from Charles-Édouard Jeanneret, who, evolving to become Le Corbusier, was already establishing the beginnings of fame in La Chaux-de-Fonds through the houses that he was building for his parents, and for a Jewish industrialist. This man in fact behaved rather badly toward him; nevertheless, it is impossible not to give him some thanks, since his bad actions made the young architect decide to leave La Chaux-de-Fonds for Paris. And so Le Corbusier was born. . . . Even in the Munich period, I should have emphasized Charles-Édouard's numerous visits to Schwabing's atelier, where on each occasion he interested his host with his stories, his mental agility and his cheerful and good-humored ways, which combined the local Neuchâtel mountain mannerisms with an incredibly impulsive temperament, with great self-assurance and great vivacity. In Vienna, he had studied under the famous Wagner, the architect of those highly decorative railway stations and viaducts; in Paris, under the Perret brothers, and in this Munich period, he skimmed everything that Peter Behrens, the Berlepschs and the progressive architects could provide for his thoughts and observations. What was also going to emerge from this was his *Rapport* of 1912 on *art nouveau* in Germany, which William did him the service of pointing out to *L'Art et les Artistes*. This led to his being asked for it everywhere. Relentless, but without appearing so, he never admitted encountering any problem that he had not immediately solved. One time, having appeared at William's house one Sunday at the atelier, just as we were going to lay the table for the weekly evening dinner, William operated before him the extraordinarily simple but initially inexplicable mechanism that extends and instantly levels the table at both ends. He wanted no one to explain anything and insisted on being allowed to understand it by himself. He immediately made several sketches of it and went away content. But the supper was half an hour late. . . . Then came the young architect's fine *Voyage d'Orient*. Having left Prague, from where he has left us three drawings of Hradchin Castle, he traveled along the Danube; and went directly to Thessaloniki and Mount Athos, then stayed a long time in Constantinople. He told William about this journey from start to finish in a series of letters full of sallies and sketches. He also brought back

from it some astonishing and very free watercolors, almost stenographic, which later caused scandal in Neuchâtel, and after which William sent him to do one in Munich itself, of the Frauenkirche from the demolitions of the former Augustine monastery. For that watercolor, Ritter was responsible; he then did another of Le Landeron, one of the best, portraying the staircase and the great door of Saint Ours in Soleure. Furthermore, in Le Landeron they often drew together at the lakeside, between two bathing sessions, and William still likes to remember the exclamation of surprise once from a child there, who had probably never yet seen life drawing. There is there a vast old house, which was owned by the monastery in Frienisberg, on the southern slopes of Lake Biel, in the middle of its vines, with a cellar and wine pressing shed. Charles-Édouard made a large sketch of it and the child, watching him, shouted to his friends in the distance: "Come and see! He has put the whole of Frienisberg on a single sheet of paper!" As we will see, William and Janko returned Charles-Édouard's visits to La Chaux-de-Fonds many times over. . . . The days in Le Landeron generally passed in much the same way. William spent time on drawings, watercolors, and pastels. He also had a love, perhaps inherited of old, for this region, which, unusually in a Protestant country, was Catholic, and where his grandfather had worked for so long and his father and his uncles so often rode on horseback to join him; that was long before his father, Guillaume Ritter the engineer, had worked there, as in so many other places in the canton, with water engineering. Everyone in Le Landeron knew his family. At the hotel in Nemours, where he returned M. Zbinden's invitations and where he received everyone who came to visit him, he was therefore the third generation of Ritters to have been received there by the Frochaux. So in the vegetable gardens, vineyards, fields or the reeds on the banks of the Vieille Thielle, everywhere he went, he found good-natured people to converse with, who considered him as an old acquaintance. . . . In the morning, while he was working in the open air, Janko busied himself in the house. In the afternoon, they both came to undress by the edge of Lake Biel, fortunately not yet covered with stones; they sunned themselves in the grass or on the sand, Janko with a book in his hand and William always painting. Now, to this place came the well-known boys' boarding schools from Neuville and Cressier, with their supervisors who were university graduates; so that there were always plenty of opportunities for chatting or even serious conversation, or of finding models. Also opportunities for wild laughter when catching the Capuchin monks spying on the shoreline that was reserved for the girls, which they believed they had to do under the pretext of morality (albeit rather exclusively). . . . In the evening, either we lingered to make a visit, or there was a third drawing session, following which the reading and writing sessions did not continue for too long after days spent in the open air. . . . Beyond the railway, grouped around the Protestant chapel, a new district was just beginning to ascend the slopes, and there a very

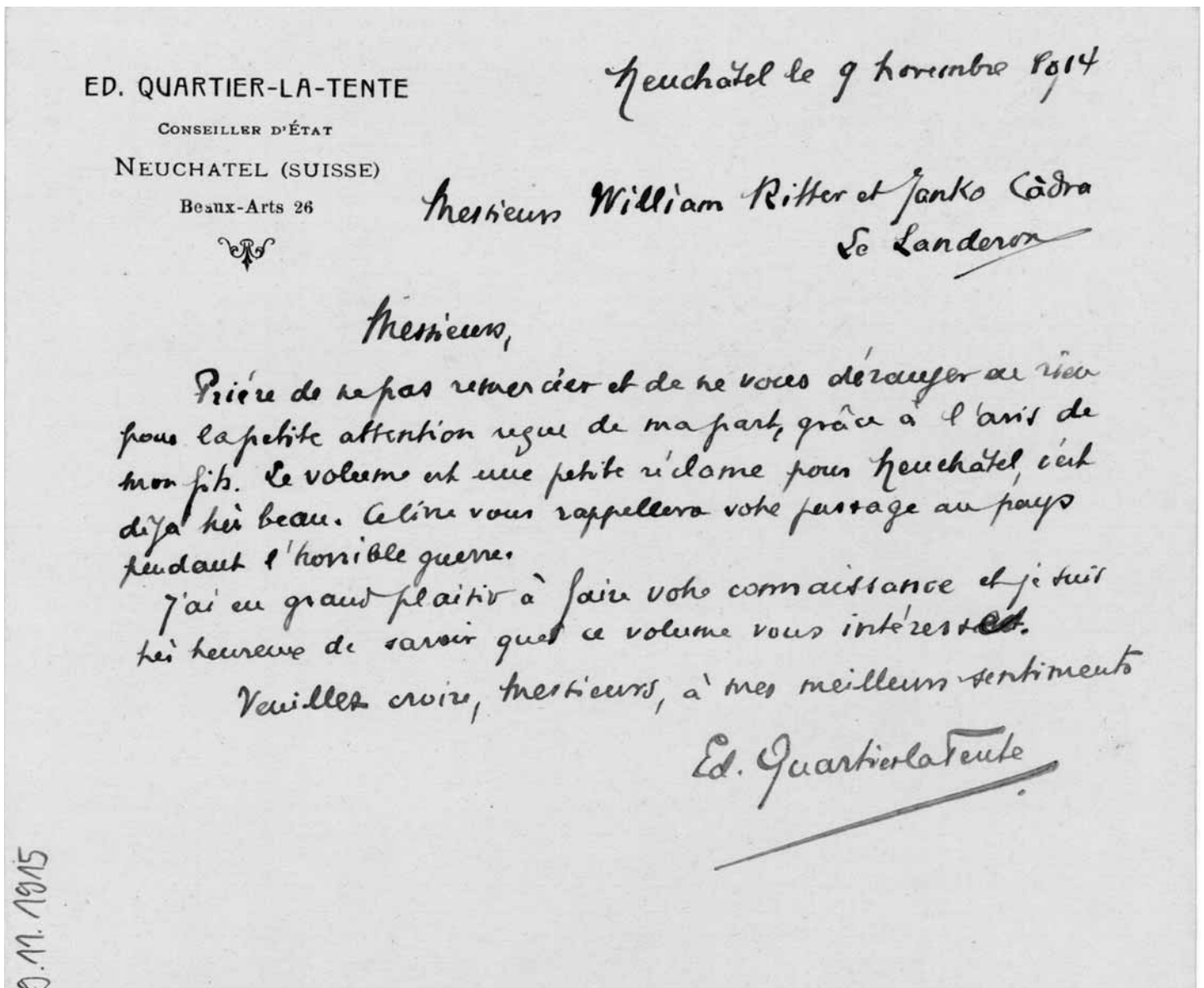
pretty little presbytery that provided a home for a well-read pastor, the son of the state councillor, Mr. Quartier-la-Tente, occultly noteworthy as the president of the Grande Loge Suisse Alpina. . . . The son too, being deeply initiated into these occult activities, kept an eye on everything in Le Landeron, where his influence, even on certain Catholics, was incontestable and, moreover, constructive. Now, the time came to resolve as far as possible Janko's residence permit, since it had become highly irregular. On a literary pretext, William instigated relations with the young pastor, who immediately showed his enthusiasm for his drawings. . . . Of course, from the first handshake, he felt the need to ensure that William, insensitive to his scratching of the palm, was not reacting; so that the situation was clarified. In fact, some very frank conversations had quickly cleared everything up. And Mr. Quartier-la-Tente senior also showed himself to be a very likeable and very effective protector for these true exiles. So was his fellow state councillor, William's old friend, Albert Calame. As for the federal security of a thousand francs for Janko, that had been immediately deposited. . . . The young pastor had a very kind and also extremely delicate wife who was dying. Nevertheless, her husband continued to have some foreign lodgers in the house; at this time because of the war just one, but one whom he considered important, Mr. Brest, the son of the highest Masonic authority in Holland. It should be acknowledged that these circles were the only ones in Le Landeron where conversations took place that were not too ordinary. The state councillor, who in fact lived in Neuchâtel, had a very acute political sense, and knew his canton extremely well, about which he had published a major work, having, as head of the State Education Department, all the regional archives at his disposal. The son even had some artistic gifts and produced some ceramics, about which his flock bickered, being great admirers of his sermons and lectures.<sup>28</sup>

Thus, to summarize, in the midst of World War I into the small, ordered, rural, and quiet village of Le Landeron, where lived the liberal, tolerant, and artistic Protestant pastor and Freemason Quartier-la-Tente *fil*s, were projected, for a briefly intense period from late 1914 to early 1917, the notorious, increasingly arch-conservative, artistic, and fervently Catholic William Ritter with his partner Janko Cádra, and, on visits, the indomitable avant-gardist Charles-Édouard Jeanneret, as well as the radical, militant, virulently anti-Catholic, pacifist, and Freemason Quartier-la-Tente *père*. Quite a mix! And this mix was fueled in the Ritter-Cádra household by the vintage wines bought from the regular sales of Renaissance paintings from the estate of Guillaume Ritter. Yet, while Quartier-la-Tente *fil*s and *père* were ardently opposed to dogmatic Catholicism and intolerance, they were radically libertarian, as per Quartier-la-Tente *père*'s ideal of "tolerance, respect for other people's convictions . . . large ideas and a benevolent, novel perspective on things and people" (figure 7.10).<sup>29</sup> Now, these generous ideals were fundamentally grounded in a particular and forceful



system of Freemasonic ideology, which was quite different from the Rite Français, the Rite Écossais Ancien et Accepté, and the Schroeder Ritual.

This other idealistic, if not utopian, internationalist Freemasonic ideology, with its fastidious symbolism and exacting ideals, was historically inspired by medieval knighthood and chivalry; and to pursue his ideals of internationalism and pacifism, Quartier-la-Tente père established a worldwide network with regular international congresses of modern Freemasonry, the Bureau International de Relations Maçonniques (BIRM).



7.10. Édouard Quartier-la-Tente père, letter to William Ritter and Janko Cádra (9 November 1914). (Courtesy of Fonds William Ritter, Archives Littéraires Suisses, Bibliothèque Nationale Suisse, Berne, Box 232, 246 [1], 1.11–14.11.1915.)

# 8 Knights Beneficent of the Holy City



8.1. Édouard Quartier-la-Tente  
*père*. (Courtesy of Rose-Marie  
Berger-Quartier-la-Tente.)

THE ideals of knighthood and chivalry, which were associated with the Freemasonic ritual used at the Loge La Bonne Harmonie in Neuchâtel, to which Quartier-la-Tente *fils* and *père* both belonged, are embodied in the latter's radical declaration about the nature and purposes of Freemasonry:

Masonry has set itself a task, a mission. It consists in nothing less than rebuilding society on entirely new foundations—which are more in accord with current means of communications, social conditions and means of production—with legal reforms and a complete overhaul of the principle of legitimacy, specifically of societal foundations and human relations.<sup>1</sup>

This radical, if not revolutionary, emphasis on social change by Quartier-la-Tente *père* coincided with a time when Charles-Édouard himself was intensely in search of direction (figure 8.1). On 14 December 1915, he wrote to Auguste Perret to ask him, “Who are your models? Where did the beginnings of modern concepts emerge? Would you please inform me? Once again, I know nothing. Vaudremer is much talked about. . . . Who are the models, where is the line of force?”<sup>2</sup> Based on contemporary changes in communications, production methods, social relations, and technology, Quartier-la-Tente advocated sweeping social and political changes that were also to be encoded in new legal frameworks. And he did not just advocate them in theory; he actively championed them in practice. Quartier-la-Tente *père*—“outstanding speaker, because

of his fluent and fertile language, his rich and original thinking”<sup>3</sup>—was in the public eye for his forceful and outspoken speeches in support of peace, internationalism, charitable work, tolerance, and, as the embodiment of these principles, Freemasonry (figure 8.2). Over the course of his career, he was in turn Protestant minister (1879–1883), professor of theology (1883–1898), director of education in Neuchâtel (1896–1898), state councillor, and director of the Department of Public Education (1898–1922)—advancing educational reform, founding the University of Neuchâtel with new courses with leading scholars (Ethnography with Arnold van Gennep; the Institute of Archaeology with Émile Argand)—initiator and director of the Bureau International de Relations Maçonniques (1903–1925), Grand Master of the Grande Loge Suisse Alpina (1900–1905), president of the Peace Congress in Geneva (1912), delegate to the League of Nations at The Hague (1919), and chancellor of the International Masonic Association (1922–1925), which he idealistically saw as an international humanitarian association. He published studies on public education, the history of Neuchâtel and Freemasonry. His proposed reorganization of public education in the canton of Neuchâtel was so extensive that, subjected to a referendum, it was rejected. His outspoken views made him both admired and reviled. Quartier-la-Tente *père* (like several members of L’Amitié) had suffered a hard childhood, which he recalled in a memoir:

The author of these lines gave all he could of his heart and life to Masonry. He became a member of a Lodge at the age of 28, and that was no easy matter. No one asked him to join the Alliance, and when he knocked at the door of an atelier, everything possible was done to dissuade him from pursuing this plan. The Romans said: “Nascuntur poetae,” poets are born not made, and he might have said the same of Masons! All the circumstances of his youth seemed to set him apart from Masonry, and nevertheless, despite all the obstacles, he was to belong to the Masonic Order.

Born in New York to a watchmaker father who had left Switzerland during the 1848 revolution, he was orphaned at the age of two when his father died of yellow fever in Havana. His mother returned to Europe and entrusted the orphans’ education to an old grandfather who lost no time in putting them in an orphanage, where they were brought up until the end of their apprenticeship. The writer of these lines, having expressed the wish to study theology at around the age of 17, was sent to Geneva to study classics. Resources were very limited, and the student’s room was very sparsely furnished, the walls bare of any pictures. The only family memento that the student owned was a daguerreotype, a gift from his mother, a remarkable daguerreotype that represented his father bearing various decorations of which he did not know the meaning. To add some decoration to his small room, the student had a photographic reproduction made of the daguerreotype. This photograph provoked endless questions among his friends: what does this apron represent? What do



8.2. Édouard Quartier-la-Tente père and members of Masonic lodges from the region of Neuchâtel on a trip to Paris. (Courtesy of Rose-Marie Berger-Quartier-la-Tente.)

its signs mean? Who is this character? . . . One day, however, the student was visited by a much older colleague who, studying the photograph, said to him: “Who is this person then?” “It’s my father,” he replied. Then, taking both his hands, the friend said to him warmly: “I congratulate you!” “But why?” he asked. “Because your father was a Freemason; don’t you know that the insignia he is wearing show that he belonged to Freemasonry?” “What is Freemasonry?” “My dear friend, when you are in working life and your daily bread is assured, it will be easy for you to find out and to know to which Society your father belonged. It is enough for me to say that the Masonic Association is to be recommended from every respect and that you can be pleased that your father should have been a member.”

Some time went by and six years later the author of these lines had become a pastor in a small mountain village at 1,000 meters’ altitude. His father’s portrait still appeared in the place of honor. One day a parishioner who was visiting the pastor and noticed the photograph, asked the same question as the friend from Geneva: “Who is this person then?” “It is my father,” he replied, “and he was a Freemason!”—“So I see,” answered the parishioner. “I am also a Freemason.” “Ah, that’s very good,” replied the pastor, “then tell me how I might be able to become one?” “Freemasonry is not for you; it is prevalent here, and it is an object of such prejudice and so many stupid slanders are spread about it that the title of Freemason might damage your reputation and your ministry; it is better to refrain from entering it.”

And time passed; the pastor changed parish and after six years living in the mountains, he moved down into the valleys. In the pastor’s new parish, his father’s portrait still appeared on his desk. One day, two friends came in and noticed the photograph in the course of conversation. It was easy to observe some signs of understanding between the two friends and so, moving the conversation forward, the pastor said: “That is my father, and he was a Freemason; I am seriously considering becoming one—might you be able to tell me how I could achieve this goal?” “Ah,” they replied, “Masonry is not for you; being a Freemason might damage your pastoral activity. Masonry suffers a great deal from slander and some ridiculous prejudices prevail about it. If it were discovered that you had become a Freemason, we, as your friends who are known to be Freemasons, would be reproached and accused of having dragged you into the Lodge. Anyway, that would also be detrimental to your work and to you personally.”

A few days later, despite these less than encouraging statements, the author of these lines sent an application for admission to someone in charge of the Masonic Lodge in the region whose name and address he had managed to discover. The letter was returned to its author with the accompanying note: “To join the Lodge, the application needs to be supported and countersigned by a sponsoring Brother.”—What was I to do? How should I find a sponsor?

Some days went by before a representative came to announce to him that in response to such an intense desire to become a Freemason, a sponsor had been found for him in the person of a very friendly Brother, of whom he preserves a grateful memory. They added that the Lodge of Neuchâtel would be disposed to receive him. The admission procedure took more than six months, and all hope seemed to be lost. Finally, the reception took place, and the son felt a deep joy when he ascertained that his father had belonged to an association that was entirely worthy of respect and trust and whose aims and principles deserve the approval of all decent people.

Masonry revealed to the newcomer some things that he had not known, which exercised a considerable influence on his whole life. It first taught him some things that he urgently needed as a pastor; it taught him tolerance and respect for other people's convictions, and it conveyed to him broad concepts and a benevolent new perspective on things and people. It greatly expanded his horizons and completely modified his attitude in a whole range of circumstances. So he gave Masonry a testimony of deep gratitude. Furthermore, being a Freemason did not damage his ministry in any way—far from it, since after eight years of pastoral activity in a parish, the authorities who had no Freemasons in their ranks presented him with a chronometer and watch chain with Masonic insignia as a testimony and they said, “we have nothing against the Masonic movement to which you belong.”<sup>4</sup>

Now, Quartier-la-Tente *père* and *fil*s both belonged to La Bonne Harmonie in Neuchâtel, which practiced a particular Masonic ritual, the Rite Écossais Rectifié (Scottish Rectified Rite), whose history and structure are, indeed, unique in two ways. Because the Scottish Rectified Rite was designed over a brief period of about thirty years by Jean-Baptiste Willermoz (1730–1824) in the late eighteenth century, its rituals and iconographic symbolism were clearly and explicitly codified into a system where all elements coherently interlocked into a set of oppositions and similarities.<sup>5</sup> As a result of this brief and ordered design process, and due to the long period in which the Scottish Rectified Rite remained dormant (except in Switzerland where it survived in select lodges such as La Bonne Harmonie in Neuchâtel), it was subjected to few historical changes or developments. As a system of symbolism, ritual, and ideology, the Scottish Rectified Rite therefore remained consistently stable. Also, the rite was conceived as a rescue operation of ancient Masonic rituals at risk of being lost in an attempt to reform Freemasonry, emphasizing morality and charity. Though coherent and stable in its design, it was also an intricate and eclectic amalgam of highly esoteric rites such as those of Martinès de Pasqually and Strict Templar Observance. A first brief flavor of the Scottish Rectified Rite is given by Camille Savoie (1869–1951), who wrote, “I admit that, as the free-thinker that I have always been, I felt no hesitation in joining the Rite Rectifié, nor any misgivings when asked to declare that I professed the spirit of Christianity, especially when the Grand Priory



of Helvetia, in June 1910, added: 'It is a question here of the spirit of primitive Christianity that is summarized in the maxim: Love thy neighbor as thyself.'<sup>6</sup>

What, then, are the features and history of the Scottish Rectified Rite? Four important dates, punctuated by the 1789 revolution, stand out in Willermoz's creation of the new ritual: 1778, 1782, 1802, and, finally, 1809. These dates relate closely to the elaboration of the rituals of its various degrees.

At a first convention in 1778, the Convent des Gaules, the basic structure and rituals were settled, including, in a system of six degrees, the important degree of the Chevaliers Bienfaisants de la Cité Sainte (Knights Beneficent of the Holy City). The first three degrees are the usual Grades Bleus or Grades Symboliques, Apprenti, Compagnon, and Maître. A fourth degree, called Transition or Vert (Green) is that of Maître Écossais de Saint André (Scottish Master of Saint Andrew), which summarizes the first three degrees. Then follows a pair of two higher degrees, or *grades de perfectionnement* (grades of perfecting), called Rouges or Philosophiques (Red or Philosophical), which constitute the Ordre Intérieur (Interior Order), regulated by its own authority, the Grand Prieuré Rectifié (the Grand Rectified Priory). The three symbolic colors are therefore blue, green, and red. The two higher degrees are Écuyer Novice (Novice Knight) and Chevalier Bienfaisant de la Cité Sainte (Knight Beneficent of the Holy City), when the teachings are put into practice through continuous, disinterested, and altruistic charitable work.

These characteristics were directly inspired by the principles and symbolism of knighthood and chivalry. Quartier-la-Tente *père* explained:

The system and chivalric traditions of the Stricte Observance were examined at the Convent de Lyon or the Convent des Gaules in 1778. From this Convention emerged: "the Masonic Code of the Loges Réunies et Rectifiées de France, as approved by the Deputies of the French Directoires at the national Convent de Lyon." The first part of this act covers the three Degrees of St.-Jean and the Grade of Maître Écossais; the second, the Rule of the Chevaliers Bienfaisants de la Cité Sainte. This is the title that the Knights of the Chapter declared they wanted to adopt in future, in preference to that of Templar.<sup>7</sup>

At a second convention in 1782 in Wilhelmsbad, these grades were discussed and approved with modifications, thus giving legitimacy and recognition to the new ritual. Between 1782 and 1788, Willermoz drafted a planned final version of the rituals, before his work was interrupted by the 1789 revolution. As a result of the revolution, Willermoz was entrusted solely with all the archives and paperwork to date of the planned Scottish Rectified Rite; based on these, he completed another draft ritual alone in 1802 in a copy sent to the Loge Triple Union in Marseille, to be followed by a final version of the rituals of the grade of Maître Écossais de Saint André in 1809. The Scottish Rectified Rite is thus very much the work of one author over a period of thirty years.

However, an ultimate pair of degrees, the Classe Secrète (Secret Class), crowns the Scottish Rectified Rite. These are the degrees of Chevalier Profès (Professed Knight) and Chevalier Grand Profès (Grand Professed Knight), which embody the teachings of Martinès de Pasqually. To repeat, while the first set, the Ordre Intérieur, with its degrees of Écuyer Novice and Chevalier Bienfaisant de la Cité Sainte, follows the symbolism of Strict Templar Observance, the final set, Classe Secrète, with its two degrees of Chevaliers Profès and Chevaliers Grand Profès, strictly follows the symbolism of Martinès de Pasqually (ca. 1710–1774), which shows two specific characters. It eclectically extends its symbolic references beyond Freemasonry. Thus, the two degrees of Écuyer Novice and Chevalier Bienfaisant de la Cité Sainte of the Ordre Intérieur of the Scottish Rectified Rite follow Templar symbolism. Secondly, the Scottish Rectified Rite prohibits any overt profession of Christianity and advocates active charity toward all, total respect for all beliefs, and the defense of the oppressed. Pasqually was ordained by his father as priest of a primitive or natural religion based in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, and thus his symbolism was interdenominational (figure 8.3). It is in this sense that Camille Savoie was able to write about “the spirit of primitive Christianity.”<sup>8</sup>

This brief history of the origins of the Scottish Rectified Rite must be completed by relating its subsequent nineteenth-century and twentieth-century fortunes. In 1828, the Scottish Rectified Rite ceased to function in France. Its archives, regulatory authority, and administration passed to the Grand Prieuré Indépendant d’Helvétie (Independent Swiss Grand Priory), its sole remaining administration. It was not until the early twentieth century that the Rite Écossais Rectifié was reintroduced into France via Quartier-la-Tente père. On 11 June 1910, Camille Savoie acceded to the degree of Knight Beneficent of the Holy City via the Independent Swiss Grand Priory based in Geneva, to which Édouard Quartier-la-Tente père had introduced him. Savoie subsequently reintroduced the ritual into France. The Scottish Rectified Rite thus has a particularly strong connection with Switzerland, and, indeed, with Édouard Quartier-la-Tente père.<sup>9</sup> From its basis (set by Willermoz) in Martinès de Pasqually’s *Treatise on the Reintegration of Beings into Their Original Estate, Virtues and Powers Both Spiritual and Divine* (1775), and in the rituals of Strict Templar Observance, arise its forceful emphasis on chivalry, providing refuge for the homeless and help for the ill.<sup>10</sup> Pasqually advocated the notion of a primordial state of being, a subsequent state of loss, and the desire to regain that lost innocence, virtue, and purity. In this respect, for the Scottish Rectified Rite, the medieval cathedrals with their cathedral builders and *compagnonnages* remained the basic reference. The Scottish Rectified Rite was described by Quartier-la-Tente père in two documents, *Les grades et les rites maçonniques: Simple exposé à l’usage des membres des Loges maçonniques* and his *Notice historique sur la Loge La Bonne Harmonie*. In the first, he delineates its introspective and religious element:

Currently the aim of the Scottish Rectified Rite is formulated as follows: to maintain and reinforce—both among those who compose it and within the Masonic Lodges—the



8.3. Le Corbusier with painting  
by André Bauchant in  
the bedroom of 24, rue  
Nungesser-et-Coli, 1959.  
(René Burri, © René Burri /  
Magnum Photos, PAR 182777,  
BUR 1959009, W 00043/22.)

principles that lie at its foundation, namely: the attachment to the spirit of Christianity and the faith in a supreme power expressed under the name of G. A. of the U. [Great Architect of the Universe].

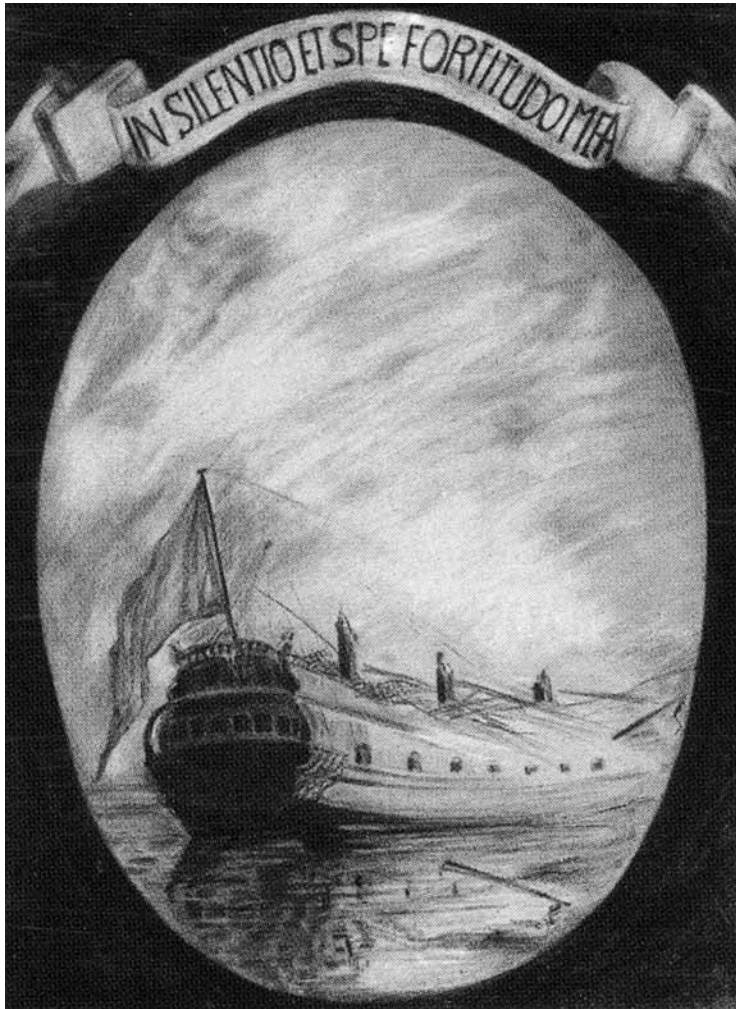
Devotion to the Homeland.

Personal improvement by the work that every individual must perform on himself to overcome his passions, correct his faults and develop his intellectual faculties.<sup>11</sup>

The second text describes the rite's active social and political aspects:

The essential aim of the Lodge from the outset has been to develop among the members the need for truth, love and the good; to establish among the Brothers of the atelier a fraternal and warm understanding, a spirit of family, the attachment to the principles of order and justice, and to exercise through affectionate relations and the practice of Masonic symbols a lasting influence on the heart of all the children of the Loge La Bonne Harmonie. We have proved by what precedes that the Lodge has never failed in this primordial duty. Furthermore, it would be easy to illustrate the effect that it has had in our region by the spirit of tolerance with which it has sought to permeate the Masonic Brothers who are members of the atelier. So well has this succeeded that political storms and religious battles have never disturbed its existence and spoilt the friendly relations that have been manifested for all time by its Brothers whose political and ecclesiastical convictions have varied infinitely. It has united under one and the same aegis, in the same respect, men of differing vocations, birth, rank and social position, and has maintained in our town of Neuchâtel, for a hundred years, a society that is unique of its kind both in its constitution and in its works, and in its regulations and its principles. In addition to that, our Lodge has never ceased to think of the secular world; its influence is incontestable in a wide range of circumstances that we cannot state in this brief summary; it has contributed to preventing trouble stirring, calming battles, encouraging useful works and instigating beneficial initiatives for the good of our people. Finally, it has never ceased to come to the financial aid of those in misfortune.<sup>12</sup>

Now, this active social and political aspect was of a dual nature: it involved symbolic and concrete action, which were inseparable. The Scottish Rectified Rite used the notion of emblematic imagery rather than symbolic imagery in its rituals, thus imbuing them with a different character. The emblematic representation of the degree of Knight Beneficent of the Holy City was the image of a demasted and becalmed boat with the motto *In silentio et spe fortitudo mea* (In quietness and confidence is my strength),<sup>13</sup> symbolic of determination, forbearance, and perseverance (figures 8.4, 8.5). While other rituals described the Trois Voyages as symbolic, the Scottish Rectified Rite called them emblematic: "In your reception at the grade of Apprenti, you made several



- 8.4. Emblem of the Chevaliers Bienfaisants de la Cité Sainte with the motto *In silentio et spe fortitudo mea* (In quietness and confidence is my strength).

emblematic journeys.”<sup>14</sup> Thus, the *Trois Voyages*, in a spirit of active chivalry, are oriented toward concrete action. (This point can perhaps be illustrated by the telling instance of Pierre Joseph Proudhon [1809–1865] who belonged to the Loge Sincérité, Parfaite Union et Constante Amitié in Besançon, using the Scottish Rectified Rite.) At the same time, this notion of chivalrous charity was also illustrated by Quartier-la-Tente’s notion of a Masonic spirit that went beyond institutional Freemasonry:

The Masonic spirit is thus not transmitted by joining Masonry; this spirit is slowly acquired. It is developed and refined by frequenting the lodges and associating with good Masons and by the serious and persevering cultivation of Masonic symbolism, by the careful study of



8.5. Le Corbusier, *Le poème de l'angle droit*, p. 9. (© 2007 FLC/ADAGP, Paris and DACS, London.)

the history of the Association and by the successive transitions through the Grades of Apprenti, Compagnon, and Maître, which, by their teachings, imperceptibly form the true Mason. . . . There is something stranger still. We encounter individuals who have never been Masons but who nevertheless, by their deeds and their language, prove that they possess the Masonic spirit. They have learned from their experience and have allowed their intelligence and their hearts to be guided in contact with a history of which they have turned the teachings to good account.<sup>15</sup>

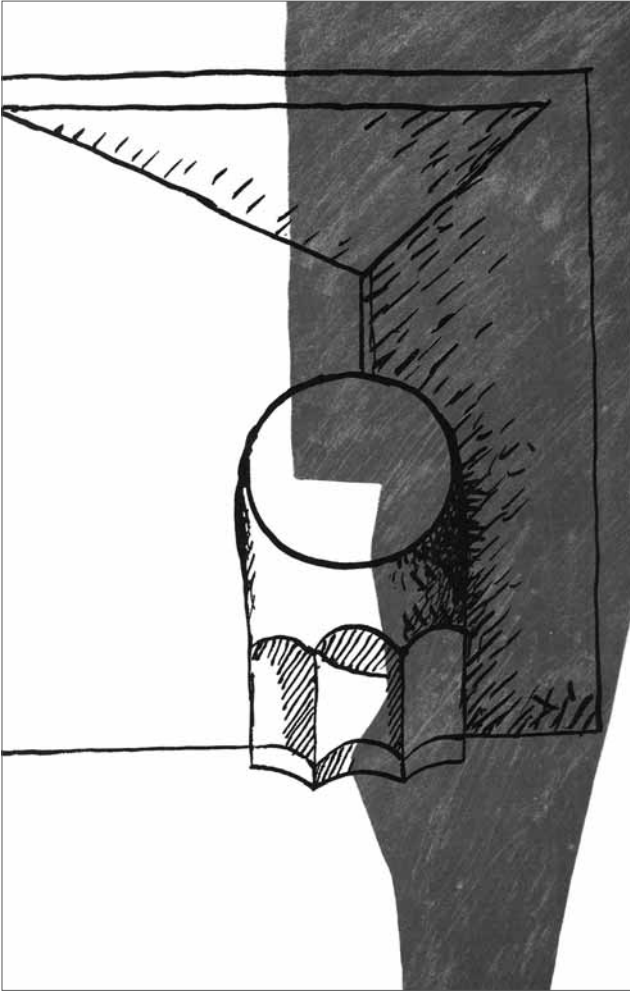
But the most important feature to keep in mind is the emblematic, nearly heraldic quality of the rite that advocated the fusing of the symbolic and the concrete in activities and behavior

that were steeped in charity and tolerance. The Scottish Rectified Rite specified that “the Mason whose heart does not open to the needs and misfortunes of other men is a monster in the society of brothers.”<sup>16</sup>

In addition to the Scottish Rectified Rite’s foundation in Strict Templar Observance and Pasqually’s theories about reintegration, Quartier-la-Tente *père* mentioned several other sources that Willermoz incorporated. One was Martinism, developed by Louis-Claude de Saint-Martin. Quartier-la-Tente also pointed to the genealogical link between the beliefs of Emanuel Swedenborg and the Scottish Rectified Rite via the “Martinist Ritual, created by Louis-Claude de Saint-Martin, which is a modification of the mystical-theosophical Ritual of Swedenborg.”<sup>17</sup> Built into the Scottish Rectified Rite was also an interest in the Cathars as victims of religious intolerance and as representatives of a natural, primitive, and peaceful form of Christianity without rules and regulations and aimed at fraternity through “patient research.”<sup>18</sup> Such arcane associations were messaged by Le Corbusier (whether as genuine or as instrumental manipulation will be discussed later) to individuals with mystical and spiritualist proclivities, who vibrated in response. For example, a copy of *Naissance du monde nouveau annoncé par Emmanuel Swedenborg* was delivered to Le Corbusier’s office at 35, rue de Sèvres by an admirer.<sup>19</sup> On its cover, Le Corbusier wrote, “This book was brought to 35, rue de Sèvres, 17 juillet 58” beneath its dedication “From André Pouphele, 2, allée Jennet, NANTERRE, With best wishes.” In 1916 on a trip to Paris, Charles-Édouard Jeanneret himself, in the spirit of a Knight Beneficent of the Holy City, but in epic, dispirited, and self-deprecating mode, had written to William Ritter:

Architects must be more: architects are prophets and their tables must be the Law: they see further than musicians, because their materials are heavier, and more solid foundations are needed for sustaining the architraves and columns. Thus, architecture becomes the primary art, not for a vain halo but for a noble and arduous task. . . . In La Chaux-de-Fonds, I performed my duty piously. (Actually, in saintly terms, a not much revered saint; in fact, less canonized than canonized.) Here, the role is less clearly defined. This architect seeks a banner. His coat of arms shows ominous fists against faces, framed in gold, on a background of rising sun and mounting sap.<sup>20</sup>

If individuals such as André Pouphele could and did read mystical interpretations into Le Corbusier’s architecture, other emblems of the Scottish Rectified Rite that specifically distinguished it from other Masonic rites would be available in the *Œuvre complète*, such as the broken column juxtaposed to a cubic stone surmounted by a triangular compass form (figures 8.6, 8.7).<sup>21</sup> And, quite unambiguously, *The Poem of the Right Angle* figured the sun and the moon on its cover, while the compass and the right angle, which Le Corbusier said are “my answer / my choice,”<sup>22</sup> figured in the final image (figure 8.8). The Scottish Rectified Rite’s emblematic imagery of the Templar



8.6. Le Corbusier, *Le poème de l'angle droit*, p. 7. (© 2007 FLC/ADAGP, Paris and DACS, London.)

8.7. Tombstones of Le Corbusier and Yvonne Gallis, Roquebrune-Cap-Martin. (FLC L3[5]62, © 2007 FLC/ADAGP, Paris and DACS, London.)





red pattée cross was also to surface in Le Corbusier's *Croisade, ou le crépuscule des académies* in 1933. But this raises another fundamental issue.

Did Le Corbusier find a comparable Freemasonic culture and sociability in Paris that allowed him to see it as meaningful in this new context and thus to reinvest it instrumentally with fresh intentions and purposes, in the pursuit of new goals?



8.8. Le Corbusier, *Le poème de l'angle droit*, G3. (© 2007 FLC/ADAGP, Paris and DACS, London.)

9 We Felt Like  
New Beings  
from Deep  
Inside the  
Woods



**IN** a 1954 letter to Marcel Levaillant, a faithful Chaux-de-fonnier childhood friend, Le Corbusier explained that *The Poem of the Right Angle*—which, in his sketchbooks, he referred to as “my Poème de l’> +”<sup>1</sup>—was “not only the foundation of my being but also the very foundation of my architecture and of my art.”<sup>2</sup> Similarly, André Wogenscky, one of Le Corbusier’s most important *chefs d’atelier*, wrote:

The right angle is the foundation of his architectural thinking. All his completed constructions and all his plans bear witness to it. But what characterizes him is that he considers no form to be devoid of meaning. As soon as he draws an architectural form in space, he imparts to it an element of meaning. The right angle is not only geometry but a symbol. It is charged with mystical value. It is the image of the man standing up to act, and lying down to sleep and to die. And the transition, the swaying between vertical and horizontal, is the image of life. The right angle is a “pact with nature.” So Le Corbusier devotes to it a great poem, the “Poem of the Right Angle,” which is articulated through a union of language and drawing.<sup>3</sup>

*The Poem of the Right Angle* concludes with the image of a hand drawing a right angle, which is also the Masonic symbol of *droiture* (righteousness) about which Le Corbusier wrote, “Categorical right angle with the quality of the heart’s spirit. . . . It is the uprightness of the child’s

pure heart present on earth close to me” (see figure 8.8).<sup>4</sup> The poem accompanying the double image of right angle and compass proclaims that

It is the answer and the guide  
the fact  
an answer  
a choice  
...

It is the answer and the guide  
the fact  
my answer  
my choice.<sup>5</sup>

Again this concern with the symbolism of right angle and compass is found in the closing pages of *Le modulator*:

The curse of architecture are the compasses . . . of the Beaux Arts, indifferent to measures and dimensions. . . . But there are also other compasses, those of Pierre du Craôn. The compasses of the geometrician, able to execute, to determine, to conjure up between their points, at will, an imprisoning circle or a projection towards infinity, skilled in the play of geometry, opening the door to the boundless and perilous joys of symbols and metaphysics, sometimes bringing a solution, sometimes the temptation to escape. A dangerous tool, depending on the nature of the spirit that guides the hand. I would classify the results in this way: The spirit of geometry produces tangible shapes, expressions of architectural realities: upright walls, perceptible surfaces between four walls, the right angle, hallmark of balance and stability. I call it *spirit under the sign of the set-square*. . . . The compasses (not those on the fifty-franc note!) explain all that is limitless, esoteric, Pythagorean, and so forth.<sup>6</sup>

And *The Poem of the Right Angle* includes many other images evocative of Masonic symbolism, specifically that of the Scottish Rectified Rite. Its three opening images recall the basic symbols of the degree of Knight Beneficent of the Holy City (the becalmed boat of *In silentio et spe fortitudo mea*; the compass, right angle, and broken column; the chivalrous sword) (figures 8.5, 8.6, 9.3). Of significance is its knightly character, both in the images and poems: “Depart go return and depart again and fight struggle always soldier” (figure 9.1).<sup>7</sup> The driving force of this Masonic spirit of righteous chivalry in francophone Freemasonry is not to be underestimated.<sup>8</sup> And in line with André Wogensky’s statement about the wide-ranging presence of symbolism—“The right angle is



9.1. Le Corbusier, *Le poème de l'angle droit*, E2. (© 2007 FLC/ADAGP, Paris and DACS, London.)

life, is crossing”<sup>9</sup>—the symbolism of the architectural promenade would seem to be located here: the architectural promenade is the passage and the voyage of life. But, in addition to such iconographic parallels, the very form of *The Poem of the Right Angle* suggests an observation.

In 1958 in *Modulor 2*, Le Corbusier described how his book was displayed in the windows of the Émile Nourry bookshop, whose enthusiastic owner “credited [Le Corbusier] with a thousand intentions he had never entertained, a hundred abilities he certainly does not possess, and contacts with the eternal past which he has never had the good fortune to establish. A misunderstanding of this kind is not displeasing: it shows that ‘there is nothing new under the sun’: all things meet again across time and space, a proof of the oneness of human concerns which set men thinking, everywhere, up and down the scale” (figure 9.2).<sup>10</sup>

Now, the Émile Nourry bookshop was known for publishing esoterica. In 1927, they had published Oswald Wirth’s tarot cards, *Le tarot des imagiers du Moyen Âge*.<sup>11</sup> Tarot cards were popular in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.<sup>12</sup> In his 1910 manual, Eudes Picard commented on their appeal: “The tarot is a card game, but a game that one does not play with.

was credited with a thousand intentions he had never entertained, a hundred abilities he certainly does not possess, and contacts with the eternal past which he has never had the good fortune to establish. A misunderstanding of this kind is not displeasing: it shows that ‘there is nothing new under the sun’: all things

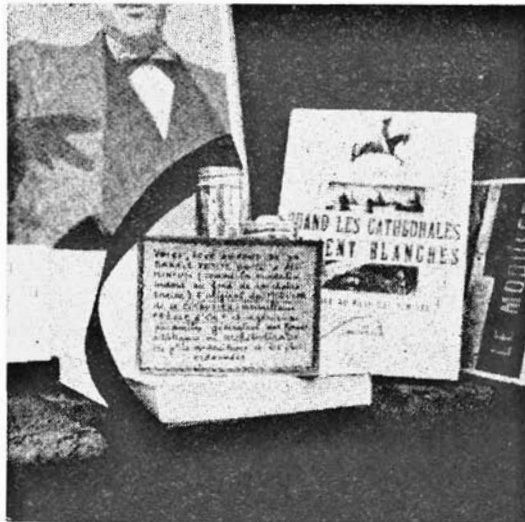


FIG. 5

meet again across time and space, a proof of the oneness of human concerns which set men thinking, everywhere, up and down the scale.

That Modulor strip had been in my pocket, in a small Kodak film box, since 1946. An adventure befell it, such a pretty one that one may tell it under the title ‘Birth of the Legend’:

‘On 28th March, 1951, at Chadigarh, at sunset, we had set off in a jeep across the still empty site of the capital—Varma, Fry, Pierre Jeanneret and myself. Never had the spring been so lovely, the air so pure after a storm on the day

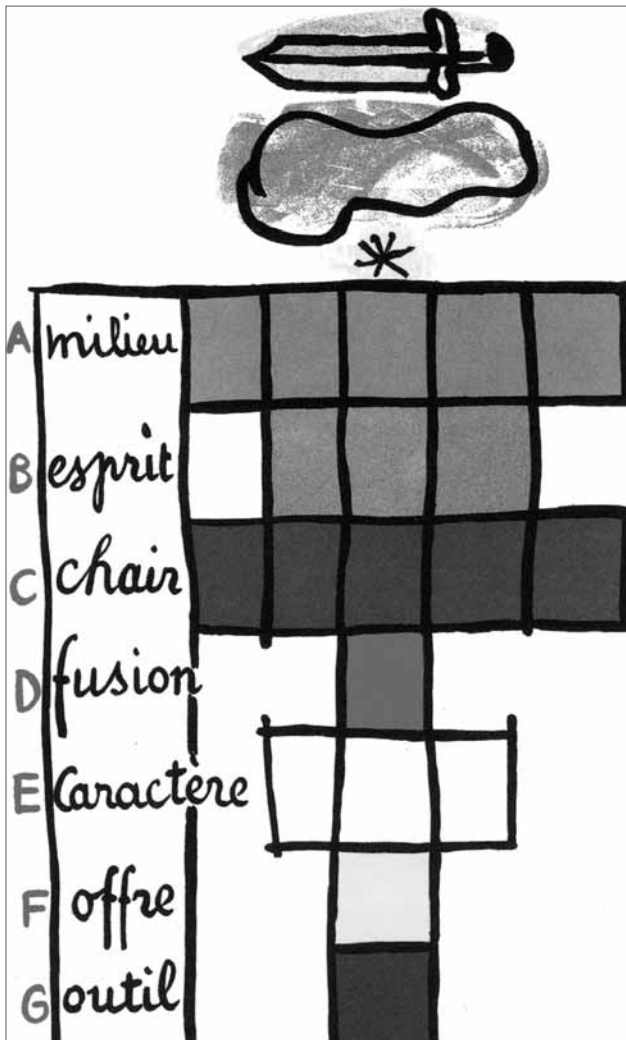
9.2. Le Corbusier, *Modulor 2: Let the User Speak Next, Continuation of “The Modulor”* (London: Faber & Faber, 1958), p. 33. (© 2007 FLC/ADAGP, Paris and DACS, London.)

It is for instruction, rather than diversion. Its practical purpose is to reveal the future. This is not its only characteristic. Considered from a higher viewpoint, it summarizes the system of the Universe and reveals to us the world of Ideas and Principles. It enables us to grasp some of the developmental lines of phenomena. . . . At first sight, the tarot is astonishing. The bizarre quality of its symbols, the naivety of its outlines and the concision of its images are deeply impressive.”<sup>13</sup>

This revival of interest in tarot cards led to many new and revised editions of the cards in the late nineteenth century and the early twentieth century. Tarot decks and interpretations of the tarot published during this era included Alphonse-Louis Constant dit Éliphas Lévi’s *Dogme et rituel de la haute magie*,<sup>14</sup> works by Joséphin Péladan dit Sâr Mérodack, Gérard Encausse dit Papus’s *Le tarot des Bohémiens* and *Le tarot divinatoire*,<sup>15</sup> Stanislas de Guaita’s *Au seuil du mystère*,<sup>16</sup> Oswald Wirth’s two editions of the *Tarot kabbalistique: 22 arcanes du tarot dessinés à l’usage des initiés sur les indications de Stanislas de Guaita*,<sup>17</sup> and the culmination of his work on the tarot, the 1927 edition of *Le tarot des imagiers du Moyen Âge*, with an introduction by Roger Caillois.<sup>18</sup> In 1931, Wirth published his *Introduction à l’étude du tarot*<sup>19</sup> in which he set out a method for disposing the tarot cards in a crosslike formation. In addition to Papus’s *Le tarot divinatoire: Clef du tirage des cartes et des sorts*,<sup>20</sup> the years 1909 and 1910 saw several other instructional tarot editions, including Eudes Picard’s *Manuel synthétique et pratique du tarot*.<sup>21</sup> These years coincide with Charles-Édouard Jeanerret’s apprenticeship in Paris; and in *Le modulator* he recalls a scene strikingly reminiscent of using tarot cards: “One day, under the oil lamp in his little room in Paris, some picture postcards were spread out on his table. His eye lingered on a picture of Michelangelo’s Capitol in Rome. He turned over another card, face downward, and intuitively projected one of its angles (a right angle) on to the façade of the Capitol. Suddenly he was struck afresh by a familiar truth: the right angle governs the composition.”<sup>22</sup> But, of all these tarot decks, the best known was Wirth’s *Le tarot des imagiers du Moyen Âge*, fundamentally based on his research into medieval tarot cards when working for de Guaita, which should therefore be taken to further explore the comparison between tarot decks and *The Poem of the Right Angle* (figures 5.9, 5.10).

Now, tarot cards are divided into major and minor cards, the major and minor arcana. The major arcana are themselves divided into different series that correspond to the worlds of the intellect, the moral, and the material—mind, spirit, and body—while the minor arcana show real people and everyday life as lived. All tarot cards are numbered, and each major arcanum corresponds to a symbolic letter.<sup>23</sup> This structure parallels the structure of *The Poem of the Right Angle*, which is divided into major series—A is *Milieu* (environment), B *Esprit* (mind), C *Chair* (flesh), D *Fusion* (fusion), E *Caractère* (character), F *Offre* (offering), and G *Outil* (instrument)—and their images are then numbered (figure 9.3). There are also two kinds of lithographs in *The Poem of the Right Angle*: major colored ones, which form the overall structure, and minor black-and-white ones. Again like *The Poem of the Right Angle*, tarot cards use a diagrammatic and naïve style with primary colors. In addition, the design of tarot cards is subject to personal interpretation. Classic tarot decks are





9.3. Le Corbusier, *Le poème de l'angle droit*, p. 8. (© 2007 FLC/ADAGP, Paris and DACS, London.)

personal and idiosyncratic, though using comparable basic notions and metaphoric associations such as the difference between straight and meandering lines, as in *The Poem of the Right Angle* (figure 5.10). In addition, these associations and symbols are designed to be multivalent, like those used in Masonic ritual as described in a *planche* from the Grande Loge de France of 1931: “If we understand symbols, they prevent us from becoming dogmatic. It is symbols that ensure that Freemasonry will never be a religious dogma, a church, although fundamentally the Masonic concept is deeply religious.”<sup>24</sup> This intentionally multivalent and open-ended character of the Masonic symbol can most easily be understood by considering the significance of a particular form of associative thinking to be found in Rabelais, whose work was of great significance to Le Corbusier and his family as well as to Chaux-de-fonnier Masonic symbolism.

Rabelais had an ever-present and playful role in the family life of the young Charles-Édouard Jeanneret. Of his childhood, Le Corbusier remembered:

Revealing details: the elder sister of L-C's father, an old lady given to religion of a sensible kind—it was the second half of the 19th century—, chided her nephews with words like these (L-C's parents did much the same): “Beau ténébreux, maritorne, rodomont, médor, matamore, artaban, malandrin, fier-à-bras, fanfaron, sacripant, tire-larigot, godelureau, turlupin, fanfreluche, gringalet, cocquasse (casserole).” Some were from Cervantes, others from Rabelais. . . . Such words were no more than traces, and had disappeared for good in the following generation. They were lost and forgotten, together with the deep reasons which had brought these peasant-craftsmen into contact with the masterpieces of earlier centuries.<sup>25</sup>

Rabelais also played an important part in the life of his closest friends in La Chaux-de-Fonds. In 1925, Charles Humbert traveled to Paris in the hope of finding a publisher for his illustrated edition of *Gargantua* by Rabelais; during this trip he visited Le Corbusier on 28 and 29 January.<sup>26</sup> Humbert included numerous symbols—the acute angle, the right angle, the pendulum—in his illustrations (figure 9.4). Le Corbusier himself read Rabelais at an important moment in his life. When working on the design for Ronchamp, Le Corbusier started a new sketchbook in April 1954, numbered H32, in which he copied parts of Book Five of Rabelais's *Gargantua et Pantagruel*.<sup>27</sup> It would seem that Le Corbusier identified with elements in Rabelais, judging from his annotations in his 1951 edition of the collected works.<sup>28</sup> On page 718, next to Rabelais's words “Who created *pillotizé* . . .,” Le Corbusier wrote, “Pilotis.” On page 55, to Rabelais's sentence “White therefore signifies joy, solace, and jubilation . . .,” Le Corbusier noted, “White signification.” Rabelais's associative logic preferred the values of “paradox, enigma, argument, antithesis, and ambiguity”<sup>29</sup> and of “complexity, contradiction and divergence”<sup>30</sup> over those of symmetry, order, and balance in order to disconcert the reader, resulting in a state of questioning and of reflection. Mikhail Bakhtin described the structure of Rabelais's language as “imbued with the lyricism of alternation and renewal, with the awareness of the joyous relativity of truth and of authority. Carnavalesque language is predominantly marked by the novel logic of things that are ‘reversed,’ ‘contradictory,’ of continuous permutations between above and beneath (the symbolism of ‘the wheel’), between front and back, of the most diverse parodies and disguises, denigrations, profanations, farcical coronations and dethronements . . . as in ‘an upside-down world.’”<sup>31</sup> We are thus within a different logic of linguistic associations, the dynamics of which, to give an example, replace the usual colors with words from slang or standard images with their symbolic content: jaws become red, sea (blue) becomes melancholy, azure becomes assure, etc., like word games in Rabelais.<sup>32</sup>

In addition, it was Rabelais's *cinquième livre* that Le Corbusier quoted in *My Work*.<sup>33</sup> And in this book, Rabelais refers to the different architectural tradition of Colonna's *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* in which “libido, the most abject of all prohibitions, is now elevated to the status of one of the highest imperatives.”<sup>34</sup> Now, through the association with the Middle Ages, Rabelais was also

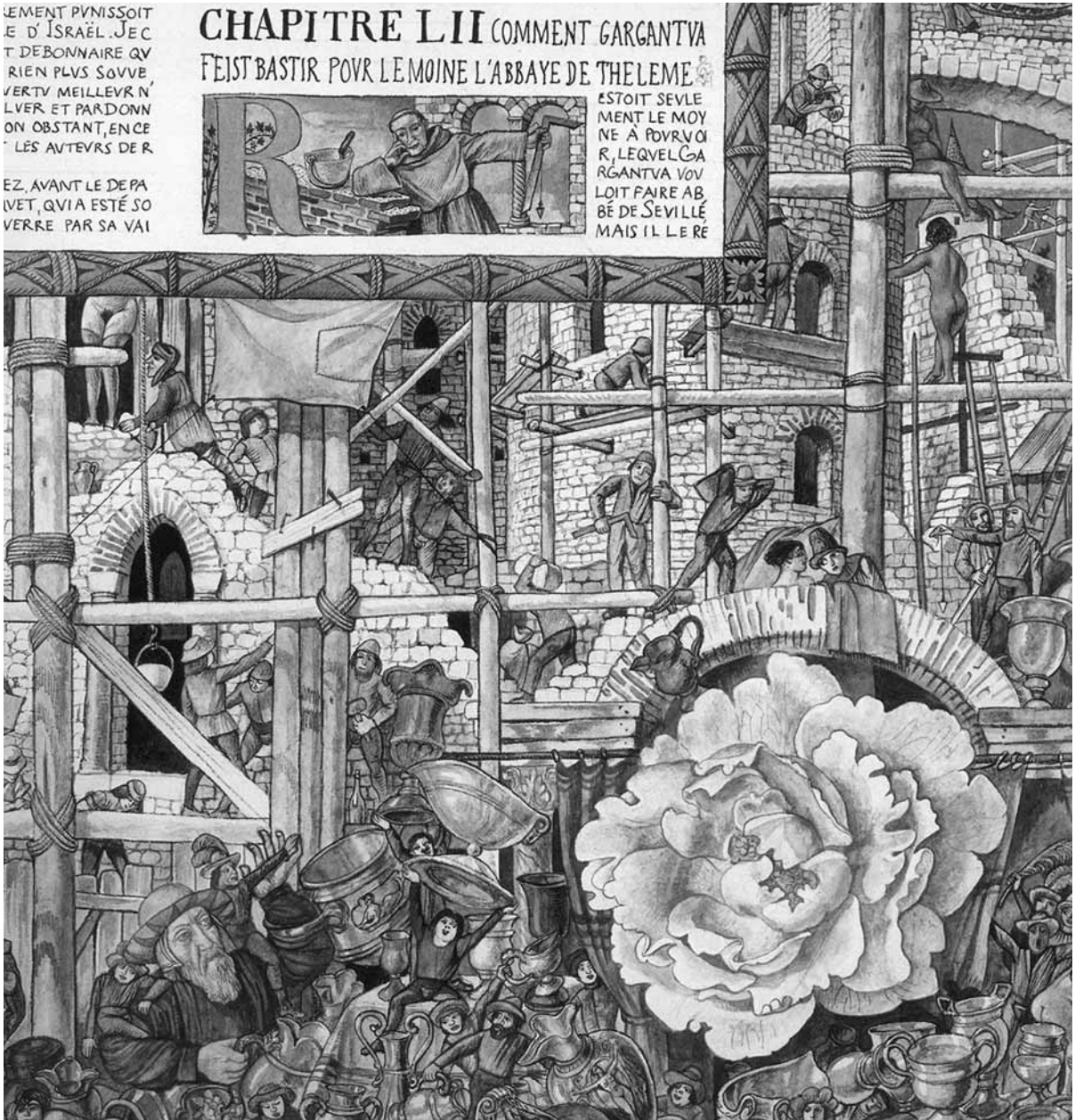
EMENT PUNISSOIT  
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VERRE PAR SA VAI

## CHAPITRE LII COMMENT GARGANTVA FEIST BASTIR POVR LE MOINE L'ABBAYE DE THELEME



ESTOIT SEVLE  
MENT LE MOY  
NE A POVR VOI  
R, LEQVEL GA  
RGANTVA VOV  
LOIT FAIRE AB  
BÉ DE SEVILLÉ  
MAIS IL LE RE



9.4. Charles Humbert, illustration for Rabelais, *Gargantua*, chapter 52 (1922–1925).  
(Courtesy of Bibliothèque de la Ville de La Chaux-de-Fonds, Fonds Charles  
Humbert.)

associated, as in Charles Humbert's illustrations, with the medieval guilds, the *compagnonnages*. Joséphin Péladan, for example, made an explicit connection to Rabelais in his book about the *compagnonnages* in describing how "the *litterati* swear and judge by the printed word only, overlooking that the Middle Ages made use of drawing more than language to boldly and resolutely express its inner thoughts. . . . Architecture and heraldry are necessary in order to understand Rabelais."<sup>35</sup> The *compagnonnages* were a significant aspect of French culture and sociopolitical life in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, when Agricol Perdiguier's *Mémoires d'un compagnon* of 1855 became their classic, indeed mythical, reference.<sup>36</sup> And, the *compagnonnages* reacted strongly to Le Corbusier's work, either positively, negatively, or ambivalently in their official publications.

At times, they identified with his architecture in terms of its spiritual and traditionalist values—especially the rhetoric of harmonic proportions, community, and domesticity—such that Le Corbusier featured regularly in their journal, *Compagnonnage: Organe des Compagnons du Devoir*. The December 1965 issue contains an obituary of Le Corbusier, emphasizing all these values.<sup>37</sup> At other times, they mocked him as a modernist. An article on the Cité Radieuse ridiculed its pretensions and expressed distaste for modern mass society and machine civilization, including mass transport systems, automobiles, metal and glass architecture.<sup>38</sup> Thus, for the *compagnonnages*, the Unité d'habitation in Marseille sat on the cusp between, on the one hand, the cherished values of domesticity and traditionalist craftsmanship and, on the other hand, the detested values of industrialism and mass society. But in Marseille itself, how strong were the *compagnonnages*?

In January 1947, the architectural students of the École des Beaux-Arts in Marseille decided to invite the *compagnon* Jean Bernard to speak to them about the history, traditions, and future of the *compagnonnages*. (Bernard, having to cancel at the last moment, was replaced by Richard Desvallières from Paris, who addressed the students and teachers in the architecture studios of their École.)<sup>39</sup> On 9 November 1947, a celebration by the Cayenne de Tailleurs de Pierre de Marseille (Guild of Stonecutters of Marseille) was attended by the director of the École des Beaux-Arts de Marseille, M. Vézon, and consisted of the offer of a parchment in honor of the foundation of the *cayenne*, a religious ceremony and a banquet, followed by the ceremony of *la chaîne d'Alliance* (the Chain of Alliance), forming a symbolic ring by holding hands.<sup>40</sup>

The ambivalence of the *compagnonnages* toward modern factory production (which they saw as alienating, rootless, and dispiriting) because of their attitude to manual craftsmanship (seen as reverential, humane, patriotic, and uplifting) is further illustrated by a speech by Eugène Claudius-Petit. Reminding the audience of his credentials over fifteen years as a cabinetmaker, Claudius-Petit addressed an assembly of *compagnons*, architects, and civil servants—thus needing to pander to both modernists and traditionalists—as "my dear *compagnons*" and explained the differences between reinforced concrete, used in public housing, and stone, used to play a public monumental role:

Just a few days ago, with my colleague from the Travaux Publics, I was taking part in the celebration of the centenary of reinforced concrete and, on this occasion, I praised the flexibility of this new material of French invention, which has already somewhat amazed the world and which I think has only just embarked on its career despite already having existed for a century. And today I have come to Marseille, to sing you the praises of stone! . . . [With] its respectable position, that of bringing a bit more nobility into our towns, the sign of its quality at a bend in a road, an angle in a square, or in the facades of our public monuments.<sup>41</sup>

As for *La Voix des Compagnons*, it derided *The Poem of the Right Angle* (and modern art in general) because of its cubist deformations of the human body such that “as the people of Marseille say, it ain’t painting, it’s *bouillabaisse!*”<sup>42</sup> Another *compagnon* regretted Le Corbusier’s plans for the basilica at La Sainte-Baume, whose size and scale would destroy the simplicity, bareness, solitude, and beauty of the natural site, “this secluded place where the evening breeze blows so softly and where the nights are so clear.”<sup>43</sup> Le Corbusier’s perception of the situation, however, was totally different. Édouard Trouin reported, “Corbu told me in secret that ‘they have no idea what we are planning to do, no more than the medieval bishops understood the symbols of the builders of cathedrals.’”<sup>44</sup> Nevertheless, Le Corbusier had productive working connections with the *compagnonnages*.

The *compagnons* whom Le Corbusier knew were significant ones, thanks to their newfound status in French society. After World War II, the *compagnonnages* were reevaluated because of their reputation for good work at a time when standardized, mediocre production and poor-quality construction were appearing; because they were seen as representing the eternal human values of fraternity, duty, and family, at a time of trade union wildcat strikes and industrial unrest; and because they were viewed as a preserve of esoteric traditions in the style of the cathedral builders. During this period, French Freemasons were seeking historical origins and formulating a historical link between the *compagnonnages* and the operative origins of Freemasonry.<sup>45</sup> Thus, in reality and imagination, the *compagnonnages* were well established. *Compagnonnages* had been involved in Viollet-le-Duc’s Parisian restoration projects, as well as other new nineteenth-century iron constructions such as the metal structure for the Grand Palais. It was, for example, often believed that Viollet-le-Duc actually was a *compagnon* because he was referred to as a *compagnon d’honneur* (*compagnon* in spirit) by the stonecutters’ guild, with whom he had worked extensively on his restoration projects in Carcassonne, in Paris (at Notre-Dame de Paris and Saint-Denis), and in Vézelay.<sup>46</sup> For Le Corbusier—“Note the Masters of the Renaissance; Villard de Honnecourt Piero Alberti Leonardo [Dürer]”<sup>47</sup>—the *compagnonnages* also represented ancient traditions of craftsmanship and design, on which he based the development of his architectural measuring system, the modulator. Le Corbusier recalled that he devised the modulator while crossing the Atlantic in

1946 in the company of Eugène Claudius-Petit aboard the “cargo ‘Vernon S.-Hood’”: “We slept in dormitories, the cabins being occupied by the crew. I said to Claudius-Petit, who was traveling with me: I am not going to leave this confounded boat before I find the explanation of my golden rule.”<sup>48</sup>

Eugène Claudius-Petit (1907–1989), who later became the minister of reconstruction and urbanism (1948–1953), had trained as a cabinetmaker (1919–1923).<sup>49</sup> Encouraged to continue his studies by a schoolteacher who was a staunch republican Freemason, he opted in 1919 for a career as cabinetmaker with a company called Aux Meubles de l’Anjou. While apprenticed to a worker called Tournebise, he continued to read widely with the encouragement of his ex-schoolteacher. In 1924, he completed his qualifying *chef d’œuvre* (the final trial of initiation into the *compagnonnages*) and was received as a *compagnon*. When speaking at a dinner of the *compagnonnages* on 29 January 1952 at the Palais de Chaillot, Claudius-Petit referred to the historical importance of the guilds, which “are still alive. . . . You form not only good workers, you form authentic human beings, and ones who are capable.” He distinguished between syndicalists, who spoke only of their rights, and *compagnons*, who spoke of their duties, before defining the term “capable” as “the love of work well done . . . a culture of responsibility, which, by subtle degrees, leads to wisdom . . . and which leads to the *chef d’œuvre*, which, after all, is an offering of the self to the community.”<sup>50</sup> On another occasion, the day of St. Joseph in 1950, he addressed the guilds in Lyon, recalling how he had been taught to “initiate myself into the secrets of angle ridges, archivolts, skew curves, and rabbits, more or less mysterious assemblies, dovetails on the four aspects . . . since I am a cabinetmaker and woodworker by profession, for it is true that although I am minister at present, that [was] not at all my initial vocation!”<sup>51</sup> Claudius-Petit then described the carpenter Antoine Moles as a perfect example of a *compagnon* able to adapt ancient traditions to modern requirements, before outlining the enormous need for new housing in France and the role of the guilds in that development.<sup>52</sup>

Le Corbusier also knew Antoine Moles dit Montauban la Fierté du Devoir, author of *Histoire des charpentiers*.<sup>53</sup> Moles, who gave an inscribed copy of his book to Le Corbusier, had expressed interest in the concept of the Unité d’habitation. Moles lived in Marseille and was in contact with André Wogenscky in the 1950s at the time of the construction of the Unité d’habitation in Marseille.<sup>54</sup> His *Histoire des charpentiers* contained a chapter on La Sainte-Baume, one of the most sacred and symbolic sites visited by aspiring *compagnons* during their Tour de France.<sup>55</sup> Auguste Perret provided a poem as preface to Moles’s book:

Arraying yourself in primordial virtue,  
Noble Structures,  
You are Architecture itself  
It is you, Structures, whom Antoine Moles  
Celebrates in the pages that follow.

Auguste Perret,  
*Membre de l'Institut*<sup>56</sup>

In his book, Moles described the origins of Freemasonry and its separation from the ancient professional guilds:

Gradually, the ancient regulations of the operative lodges of apprentices and technicians and master masons that existed in the past, along with their codified practices, were transformed into rituals, into moral rules. These were different initiations that were easier to understand because in reality they had nothing in common with the professional transmissions of the past, simple but indispensable for gaining full possession of the stone-cutting occupations. Modern Freemasonry was about to come into being; nothing more was necessary for the true “masons” to distance themselves from their former professional sanctuaries, transformed in spite of them into philosophical chapels by the self-styled possessors of a philanthropic formula that alarmed them, although it preserved the existence of God and the immortality of the soul as its foundation. Among the disillusioned artisans, some ceased to belong to anything but occupational guilds and others turned toward *compagnonnage*, while in England, the cradle of the first associations from ancient times, the traditions of the *Freemasons* whose motto is “TRUTH, SCIENCE, POWER,” the three pillars of their lodges, have survived and some lodges continue to receive workers; in Germany the members of the Lodges are called *Freie-Mauer*.<sup>57</sup>

To illustrate corbeling techniques, Moles used a drawing of a *compagnon* with his symbolic staff and compass<sup>58</sup> from Viollet-le-Duc's *Histoire de l'architecture*—the very book in which the young Jeanneret had written, “I bought this work August 1, 1908, with the money from my first payment from Messrs. Perret. I bought it in order to *learn*, because, *knowing* I will then be able to create” (figure 9.5).<sup>59</sup>

Le Corbusier evoked the *compagnonnages* and expert craftsmanship in the construction of the Unité d'habitation in Marseille through the themes of “family against collectivism, art against machinery, artisanship against industrial production.”<sup>60</sup> For the project, Le Corbusier had set up an organization, Atelier des Bâisseurs (ATBA), with three divisions—architectural under André Wogenscky, technical under Vladimir Bodiansky, and administrative under Jacques Lefèbvre—to study and resolve the problems of conception, design, and production. He expressed particular concern for the craft qualities of the building production and its material finishes, and, through these, for their quasi-spiritual qualities.<sup>61</sup> (Later, at La Tourette, Le Corbusier was particularly pleased with some building production anomalies that indicated the presence of manual labor, such as the small windows near the stairs, which, though designed to be square, were off-square due to



- 9.5. Illustration from Viollet-le-Duc's *Histoire de l'architecture* (volume III, fig. 188), in Antoine Moles, *L'histoire des charpentiers* (Paris: Gründ, 1949), p. 55.



the deformation of the formwork in the setting of the concrete.)<sup>62</sup> He forged appreciative working relationships with builders and artisans who were master craftsmen—but not necessarily *compagnons*. At the inauguration of the Unité d’habitation on 14 October 1952, Le Corbusier paid homage to a building tradesman named Sarde who was an expert in concrete construction. Other experts in Marseille included Salvatore Bertocchi (introduced to him by Tino Nivola from New York), a master concrete worker who did the constructions and the sculptural mounds on the rooftop; and Jules Alazard, a master glassmaker from Paris, who would write about this experience in *De la fenêtre au pan de verre dans l’œuvre de Le Corbusier*.<sup>63</sup> And Charles Barbéris, master woodworker, was employed at the prefabricated Cabanon at Roquebrune-Cap-Martin. Such associations had already been in place in the 1920s for the International Style purist buildings, where Le Corbusier worked with Georges Summer and his concrete construction company.<sup>64</sup>

As for concrete, this specialty within the *compagnonnages* began only in 1952 (after the completion of the Unité d’habitation in Marseille) at the Fédération Compagnonnique des Métiers du Bâtiment and in 1955 at the Association Ouvrière des Compagnons du Devoir. But, in Marseille, the *compagnonnages* were involved in the construction of a *sapine*, that is, the timber scaffolding to house the elevator for lifting all the interior fittings and fixtures to the 500 apartments. The construction of the scaffolding for the elevator, which was 67 meters high and 6.50 meters square in plan, was entrusted to the guild of the Compagnons Passants Charpentiers du Devoir, who used 32 cubic meters of wood and 924 nuts and bolts. It was built by five carpenters over a period of twenty-eight days. The lift operated for eighteen months to lift two and a half tons at a time (figure 9.6).<sup>65</sup> The construction of the scaffolding was completed by René Despierre dit Lyonnais le Bon Cœur, *compagnon passant charpentier bon drille du devoir*, an innovative contractor in woodwork and joinery from Lyon.<sup>66</sup> Le Corbusier also worked or corresponded with individuals who, though not themselves guild members, advocated the functional, moral, and spiritual role of the *compagnonnages* in contemporary France, such as Raoul Dautry and Hyacinthe Dubreuil.

Dubreuil inscribed his book in Le Corbusier’s library, *Nouveaux standards: Les sources de la productivité et de la joie*, to “M Le Corbusier, Cordial homage of these studies toward another kind of construction, 23 February 1932,” beneath which Le Corbusier wrote “read 1935.”<sup>67</sup> Multiple annotations in the book indicate an ambivalent response. To Dubreuil’s praise of the inclusion of murals by Puvis de Chavannes in a modern building, Le Corbusier deprecatingly notes, “Something better could have been expected”;<sup>68</sup> to the appreciation of how modern radio allows ordinary people to hear the music of César Franck and Chopin, he mockingly scribbles, “Ouch!”<sup>69</sup> But Le Corbusier emphatically underlines Dubreuil’s statement that machines are “one of the most ancient and ordinary creations of human genius,”<sup>70</sup> and—in addition to page 181 with the annotation “the conquest of a certain number of fundamental elements of joy, recognized also by some method of scientific analysis”<sup>71</sup>—the following pages are enthusiastically littered with exclamations of “Right” and “Good”:



- 9.6. Photograph of *sapine pour ascenseur provisoire* at the Unité d'habitation in Marseille, from René Despierre dit Lyonnais le Bon Cœur, "Construction d'une sapine pour ascenseur provisoire dans un grand immeuble moderne," *Compagnonnage: Organe des Compagnons du Tour de France*, no. 131 (April 1952): 5. (Courtesy of Musée du Compagnonnage, Tours.)

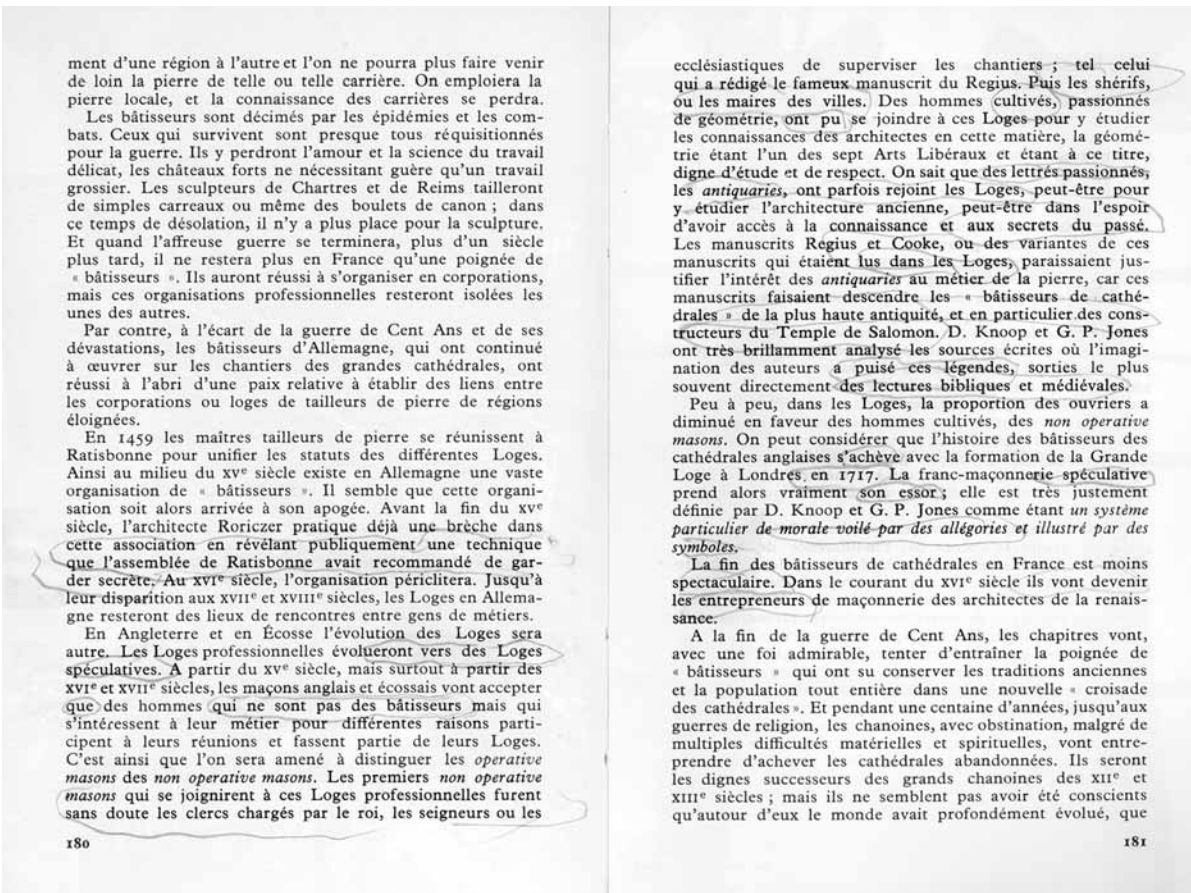
There is nothing more significant in this regard than the beginnings of the apprentice. From the earliest times that he spends in work, he is still accessible to the feelings that enlighten him. He goes there joyfully. He shoulders the effects with pride and pleasure; he approaches his task with enthusiasm. Alas, he is about to encounter some terrible disillusionments. He believed in the joy of effort and all his efforts are soon brutally crushed not by the material monotony of the work, but by the entire absurd setting in which his activity occurs: he naively asked the atelier for a blossoming of his inner tendencies. It is explained to him that on the contrary he must repress as harmful all the forces that he felt inside him. It is thus that from the ages of fifteen to twenty, the working class unlearns joy and love and sees the gates of hell open. But how are joy and love to be relearned? For it would serve no purpose to ruminate and revive angers, without making the decision to finally turn to some form of practical action. But how can practical action be started on such a terrain? . . . It is thus certain that to reintroduce joy into work, it is first necessary to reintroduce there some form of

creation, however minimal, and it is possible to be certain that the result of joy will follow, in proportion to the freedom to create that will have been granted.<sup>72</sup>

Between many of these individuals involved in reality or in sympathy with the *compagnonnages*, bonds of friendship existed. Hyacinthe Dubreuil, in an obituary, described Raoul Dautry (1880–1951) as a sincere friend of the *compagnonnages* with his combined sense of poetry, symbolism, and technical knowledge. Dubreuil described the three symbolic cypresses of hospitality that were planted at the approach to Dautry’s house in Provence—“planted in a triangle, as a millenary symbol of the hospitality of pastoral peoples [so that] . . . the *compagnons* . . . will not neglect to inscribe him among the great names of which their tradition is proud.”<sup>73</sup> Indeed, Dautry, minister of reconstruction and urbanism (1944–1945) and author of the introduction to the official book on *compagnonnage* by the Compagnons du Tour de France, echoed these same beliefs:

What do they need to succeed? To remain free, so that *compagnonnage* is able to expand its domain of activity to new occupations; it needs to possess a portion of this genius that very often, and perhaps uninterruptedly, has saved our humanity, which is able to be reborn in the most diverse and adapted forms: and, in this case, the genius of *compagnonnage* should be to know how to make technology accord with the human being. Finally it will require that the *compagnons* remain the guardians of that inviolable and forgotten part of our humanity: the soul of the worker. Thus, not only will they survive but they will accomplish a work as great as that of the cathedral builders, their ancestors, a cathedral that will no longer be made of stone but of humanity.<sup>74</sup>

Le Corbusier himself had a specific interest in this notion of “cathedral builders” and of their relations to Freemasonry. In his copy of Jean Gimpel’s *Les bâtisseurs de cathédrales* (1958)<sup>75</sup> that Jean Gimpel inscribed to him, Le Corbusier sketched diagrams of geometrical figures and underlined passages throughout the book (figure 9.7). He extensively underlined the sentences on two pages that describe the history and traditions of Freemasonry: “Gradually more and more cultivated men or ‘non-operative masons’ and fewer and fewer workmen joined the lodges. It could be said that the history of English cathedral builders ended with the formation of the Grand Lodge in London in 1717. Then speculative freemasonry really began to flourish.”<sup>76</sup> Here Le Corbusier is making a note of the historical-mythical relations between, on the one hand, medieval masons and their guilds (so-called operative Masons) and, on the other hand, Freemasons (so-called speculative Masons). And, with such empathy for the themes of the *compagnonnages*, Le Corbusier described Viollet-le-Duc’s work at Vézelay:



9.7. Le Corbusier's annotations in Jean Gimpel's *Les bâtisseurs de cathédrales*, pp. 180–181. (FLC J 149, courtesy of Fondation Le Corbusier.)

There are no architects at Vézelay to-day, and this has meant that the town is still intact, undamaged. One is penetrated by an agreeable sensation of harmony, rare in all conscience. And in the olden times, also, there were no architects at Vézelay, only builders. From father to son, or otherwise; but in any event from hand to hand, a continuous chain stretched over the upheavals of styles and fashions, the fundamental reason of what charms us here: shades of feeling. . . . The mason, the carpenter, contemplating some change in his own house, discovers next door a like-minded mason or carpenter accustomed to working with the same stones or woods.<sup>77</sup>

What, then, are the implications of the French renewal of interest in the *compagnonnages* and, *pari passu*, of Le Corbusier's intersections with them? Why did the *compagnonnages* react so strongly, whether negatively or positively, to Le Corbusier's work, in particular to *The Poem of the Right Angle* and the *Unité d'habitation* in Marseille? And, vice versa, he to them? What, in other

words, were the parallels between the *compagnonnages* and Freemasonry in terms of rituals and symbols?

The relations between French Freemasonry and *compagnonnages* were convoluted, being built on differences and disagreements. On the one hand, the *compagnonnages* believed that the Freemasons were stealing their history as the real inheritors of the medieval cathedral builders with their symbols and rituals, while draining these of their elementary basis in physical labor and construction skills. *Compagnons* such as Jean Bernard dit La Fidélité d'Argenteuil, who was virulently anti-Masonic, instinctively felt the Freemasons were intellectual and far removed from the realities and concerns of manual labor and the working classes.<sup>78</sup> Emblematically, French Freemasonry glorified its history with legendary names such as Lafayette, Voltaire, and Benjamin Franklin; the *compagnonnage* glorified themselves with the tradition of medieval cathedral builders, who were usually anonymous. The *compagnonnages* were firmly and unquestionably based in religious belief, unlike, in the early twentieth century, the politically powerful Grand Orient de France with its vehemently anticlerical policy of *laïcisation* (laicization, the removal of religious involvement in state education). Whereas the *compagnonnages* borrowed from the rituals and symbols of Freemasonry, though often grudgingly or surreptitiously, Freemasons tended to romanticize the *compagnonnages*. Those processes and perceptions that art historians would refer to as “primitivism” were at work. Thus, with some exceptions such as the Loge Le Portique of the Grande Loge de France, where Freemasons and *compagnons* mixed—for example Raoul Vergez, president of the Fédération du Bâtiment and Compagnon du Tour de France, and significant members of the literary, intellectual, and Freemasonic elite of Paris, including Jean Cassou, Georges Dumézil, Albert Lantoiné, and Jacques Maréchal<sup>79</sup>—a tension existed between French Freemasonry and the *compagnonnages*. (It is interesting to note that Le Corbusier’s close friend, Amédée Ozenfant, who was involved in spiritualism and parapsychology, was also a close friend of Jean Cassou.)<sup>80</sup> The inconstant politics of friendship, animosity, appropriations, and dismissals between Freemasons and *compagnons* assumed a competing commonality in rituals and symbols. Yet the *compagnonnages* were preoccupied by employment, mutual assistance, salaries, and work conditions, and, in discussions in the *cayennes*, these were the topics under debate (figure 9.8). Unlike the Freemasons, the *compagnonnages* presented no *planches*. The relationship of the *compagnon* to the written word was different from that in Freemasonry. Thus, the rituals and symbols of the *compagnonnages* must be placed within their own history, different from that of the Freemasons.

*Compagnonnage* is a form of professionalism that brings a spiritual vision to its skills and organization, and a spiritual dimension to its sociability:

For the *compagnonnages*, this spiritual dimension—which allows being and doing according to an “other” way—is first of all lived as part of everyday experience within the community of the Compagnons du Devoir, but is also lived as part of the personal quest along

which each individual is led during their initiation. This human dimension is necessarily to be “constructed” and lived in the course of their voyage on the highways and byways around France, and other places during this period, but also later in their professional and domestic lives, as well as in their duties and responsibilities within civic society.<sup>81</sup>

This spiritual dimension is built around the notion of artisanship and craftwork as forms of collaboration and participation in a historical tradition. The *compagnon*, as a manual laborer, read technical books. And the notion of archives is also different. When a *compagnon* died, his personal papers were usually burnt at his funeral, the rising smoke symbolic of his final voyage. *Compagnonnage* thus brings a historical and spiritual vision to everyday activities, imbuing them with transcendental meanings, which spread outward from personal and private life to family life to professional working life to the wider civic society, thereby encompassing all aspects of social and personal life.

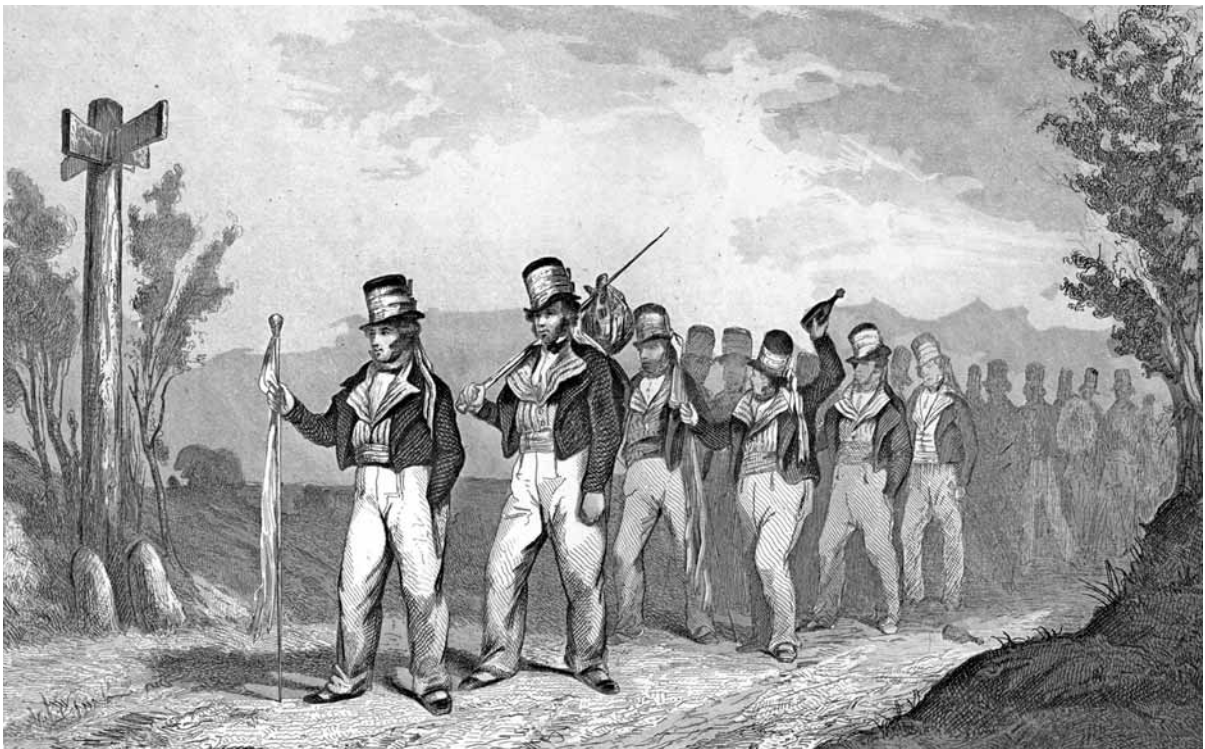
*Compagnonnage* is thus also a personal quest and, in this respect, a never-ending process. Symbolic of the private aspects of this personal quest are initiation ceremonies. The initiation



9.8. Compagnons Charpentiers du Devoir de Liberté in front of their *cayenne* at the Bar des Halles, Tours, 1932. (Courtesy of Musée du Compagnonnage, Tours.)

involves the Tour de France, a physical journey around France to learn skills from other members belonging to the same group of artisans, during which the apprentices also visit symbolic sites (figure 9.9). As the apprentices proceeded along their voyage, emblems were affixed to the scarves they wore to show that they had visited various sites and performed various duties. The color of these scarves indicated the profession to which they belonged: blue for professions dealing with wood, red for professions dealing with metal, green for leather, yellow for bakers, beige for the building trades of stonemasons, masons, roofers, plumbers and plasterers. Of these symbolic sites, La Sainte-Baume is one of the most sacred sites because Mary Magdalene is a symbol of the voyage, exterior and interior. As René Lambert explains:

those [traditions] that are related to the Sainte-Baume and to Mary Magdalene are engaging for several reasons. The *Compagnon du Devoir* who makes his pilgrimage to the Sainte-Baume adds a further dimension to the traditional journey that he has already carried out. The physical movement from one place to another, the encounter with others and opening to them that characterizes the journey of the *compagnon*, is then replaced by a personal movement. The pilgrimage, accomplished as such, is a privileged time for taking



9.9. *Compagnons* on their nineteenth-century Tour de France, from François Timoléon Bègue-Clavel, *Histoire pittoresque de la Franc-Maçonnerie et des sociétés secrètes anciennes et modernes, illustrée avec 25 belles gravures sur acier* (Paris: Pagnerre, Éditeur, 1844). (Archives J. K. Birksted.)

stock of what is behind you and looking at what lies before you. Everything then consists in the way in which you make your path rather than in what is going to be found at the end of it. It is in the path that each person constructs himself and accepts himself and to do it well does not require a goal, an end of the road. . . . Journey, pilgrimage, action, and reflection accompany the *compagnon* as they do any individual, but for the Compagnons du Devoir, it is a requirement in the quest for accomplishment to give a meaning to their occupation, to their work, to their commitment, to life.<sup>82</sup>

Thus the notions and the realities of, first, the initiatory voyage and, then, the ritual of reception as *compagnon* are as central to the *compagnonnage* as to the Freemasons. One *compagnon*, Abel Boyer, is photographed in his forge with the symbols, prominently displayed, of the *compagnonnage*: compass, right angle, and cane, which was traditionally used during the Tour de France in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (figure 9.10). Abel Boyer described his initiation:

Each one of us is summoned in turn; we are led into a room crowded with *compagnons*. Around the room, white curtains are hung to hide from our eyes what only the *compagnons* are allowed to see. Facing us, three *compagnons* preside at a table covered in white. We are asked, surrounded by an awesome silence, if we wish to be received *compagnons*. Upon our corroboration, we are told to deposit the products of our work, which are accepted on a white cloth. . . . By then, it must be at least midnight; we await anxiously the verdicts. At last, a young *compagnon* descends with the list of the selected; of twenty-four, eighteen are accepted. I am on the list. A few moments later, we are wandering through the foggy streets of this December night. We have no idea where we are going. Where we have been led, we will never know. We felt as if we were sinking into the earth: it is the symbol of death. Will we die? Will we be born again? Yes, if we are worthy. And the clocks have struck midnight. For the experience of rebirth, courage is needed. Vices have assailed us, tempted us, seduced us. Bad luck to those who yield; over two weeks, the hide on my scalp reminded me that not playing straight with *compagnons* is not a good idea. At last, we have been purified, the storm has lulled, the rising sun finds us at the foot of a baptistery and my sponsors have agreed to the name that I chose a long time ago, but it will now import to honor this name. . . . And, when the *compagnons* lead us back to the Motherhouse, we felt like new beings from deep inside the woods, chanting with elation the verses of *la Gloire* in such a way that window shutters half-opened as we passed. No longer were we Candidates, we were Accepted *compagnons* though not yet Accomplished *compagnons*. And to achieve Accomplishment, it would be necessary to eventually be recognized as such in one of the five chief *cayennes*.<sup>83</sup>





9.10. Abel Boyer dit Périgord Cœur Loyal, Compagnon Maréchal Ferrant, in his forge.  
 (From the collection of Maurice Bossu, dit Parisien le Bien Aimé, Compagnon  
 Sellier; courtesy of Musée du Compagnonnage, Tours.)

Although the *initiation maçonnique* and the *réception compagnonnique* thus seem to mirror each other, another historical account brings out their differences. The *réception compagnonnique* was a group event as opposed to the more individual *initiation maçonnique*; and it involved harsher ceremonies than the more intellectually symbolic *initiation maçonnique*:

It was Friday evening. All candidates from the province who wanted to undergo their professional tests and solicit the title of *compagnon*, flocked to *la Mère* [the Motherhouse]. Then, inquiring of the candidate if he has fully reflected on what he was about to undergo, and reminding him that there is still time to withdraw in view of the imminent moment at which he is to undergo major trials and be exposed to great dangers . . . [they] will lead him by the hand around *la Chambre* [the Examination Room] while on his knees! Then he will arise and the *compagnons* will perform the trials following the traditional customs, all the while keeping silent under threat of the usual fines. . . . then the *Rôleur* [leader] will guide the newly accepted candidate to another room without light and while still blindfolded.<sup>84</sup>

The nature of the *compagnonnages* can be clarified further by highlighting their differences with the national competition of the Meilleur Ouvrier de France (Most Skilled Artisan of France), begun by the government in 1928.<sup>85</sup> What distinguishes the *chef d'œuvre* of the *compagnon* from the *chef d'œuvre* of the Meilleur Ouvrier de France is the conception of what constitutes a *chef d'œuvre*. For the *compagnon*, the *chef d'œuvre* is personal and is part of the process of initiation, as opposed to that of the Meilleur Ouvrier de France, which is purely a technical feat. The *chef d'œuvre compagnonnique* is part of a psychological initiatory process. As such, it needs be neither beautiful nor innovative (uninitiated outsiders might consider many of them to be clichéd or schmaltzy), but it is deeply personal, idiosyncratic, and even eccentric. In a dozen subsequent issues of the journal *Compagnonnage: Organe des Compagnons du Tour de France* (February 1948–January 1949), Jean Bernard wrote a long essay in eleven sections, “De l’humanisation du travail mécanique.”<sup>86</sup> He described the problem as being how to “put into practice associational and technical modalities that would transform human labor into a source of satisfaction.”<sup>87</sup> For Bernard, manual labor must spring from its own personal and inner spiritual needs and set its own personal and inner spiritual references. Thus, despite their absolute differences, Masonic initiation, which revolves around a symbolic ceremony, and the initiation of the *compagnonnages*, which centers on a physical craft object produced by dexterous manual work, share a focus on notions of the inner, spiritual, and initiatory. Here, however, an important clarification needs be made about the *compagnonnages* in La Chaux-de-Fonds in the early twentieth century: namely, there were none.

There were neither institutional *compagnonnages* nor individual *compagnons* in La Chaux-de-Fonds in the early twentieth century, though the Union Compagnonnique de Genève was founded in 1892. There is also a single mention of a chocolate manufacturer, Jacques Klaus, who worked in the area, noting that “after his period of *compagnonnage* in Switzerland and in France, [he] settled in Le Locle in 1856,”<sup>88</sup> though no evidence is given as to whether this was an institutional membership in the *compagnonnages* or simply a profane, technical, and professional study tour—in any case, it was a generation prior to Charles-Édouard Jeanneret. Even in Geneva as late as 1954, a *compagnon*, Eugène Gaillard dit Genevois la Fraternité who was received in 1933, complained that the initiation rituals and symbolism were skeletal and “unworthy of the cathedrals because of having lost all references to the Temple of Solomon.”<sup>89</sup> Ritual and symbolism were not at the forefront of their concerns. Thus, it was not in La Chaux-de-Fonds that Charles-Édouard Jeanneret could have received knowledge of guild traditions, ritualism, and symbolism. Yet, after his departure from La Chaux-de-Fonds in 1917, his handling of Freemasonic ritualism and symbolism—insofar as there was a commonality of agreements (or, what is equally dialogical, a commonality of disagreements) between Freemasons and *compagnonnages*—transferred effectively to a novel and wider context, that of the French *compagnonnages*, to attract attention and commissions. In Paris there were other groups too, such as the esoteric and scholarly group of Le Corbusier’s friend

René Allendy and the occult group of L'Étoile d'Orient. In Paris, he would find an intelligentsia for whom initiatory ritualism and symbolism were significant, including collaborators such as Amédée Ozenfant and Paul Dermée, friends such as Juan Gris and Jacques Lipchitz, and public and state patrons such as Jean Cassou and Eugène Claudius-Petit.<sup>90</sup> As late as 1979 in the preface to his *Encyclopédie du symbolisme*, Jean Cassou, who remained deeply interested in initiatory symbolism throughout his life, would write, "Symbolism reveals itself in its fundamental truth to those who can see and recognize its humanism."<sup>91</sup> Thus, in October 1917, when Charles-Édouard Jeanneret definitively arrived in Paris, he was ready to call up his understandings from the Chaux-de-fonnier cultural context, which he himself would later describe as "signs that recall time-honored ideas, ingrained and deep-rooted in the intellect, like entries from a catechism, triggers of productive series of innate replies."<sup>92</sup>

During his temporary return to La Chaux-de-Fonds (1909–1917), he had, in a frenzy of creativity and destruction, sacrificed his parents' livelihood through the exorbitant construction costs of the Villa Jeanneret-Perret (1912) (they could no longer afford winter heating and were forced to sell at a severe loss); sacrificed future possibilities of new commissions in the town after the Villa Schwob (1916–1917) law case against him by the powerful clan of the Tavannes Watch Company; and sacrificed his professional reputation and honor after stealing Chapallaz's innovative structural designs for the La Scala Cinema (1916) in order to undercut him by an inclusive discounted bid.<sup>93</sup> As a result of these actions, Le Corbusier was later to be commonly known in La Chaux-de-Fonds as *Courbu* (Bent). But he had also built up what he called "time-honored ideas, ingrained and deep-rooted in the intellect." After the hard knocks of La Chaux-de-Fonds, it was time to knock hard on the doors of Paris; after growing up in La Chaux-de-Fonds, it was time to grow up in Paris. Through the savage socialist politics of the Third Republic, the vicious fascist politics of Vichy, the postwar years of reconstruction and then of Gaullism, such "time-honored ideas, ingrained and deep-rooted in the intellect" would prove to be foundational, though this had already been so during his first apprenticeship to Auguste Perret in Paris (1908–1909).

10 To Be an  
Architect Is  
Nothing, You  
Have to Be a  
Poet



AS for Balzac's Rastignac, who "looked deep down into the entrails of Paris, tortuously meandering along both banks of the Seine . . . and defiantly announced: 'Just you wait!'"<sup>1</sup> so for the *nouveau arrivé* Charles-Édouard Jeanneret, Paris was a place where you could meet such people and design such architecture as were unimaginable in La Chaux-de-Fonds. But, just occasionally, remembrance of times past would briefly seize him. Soon after his definitive move in October 1917, he wrote a momentarily nostalgic letter to Yvonne Schwob:

Paris, Sunday, 16 December 1917,

Dear Mme Paul Ditisheim and Mme Raphy Schwob,

Snow is falling relentlessly on Paris. There is enough of it here to remind me of La Chaux-de-Fonds. I have left not only with bad memories. I agreeably associate you with the few pleasures that I had there. You were two charming women "not from around here" and you appeared more educated . . . those qualities that alone make life pleasant—through money, it is true, but not for money's sake. For that is how everything darkly conspires against an order that ought to be natural but which pales at the brutality of the endless onslaught of the golden calf. You may not have realized how often you were a source of comfort to me. I can tell you this now that an entire landscape lies between us and it will be impossible to consider my gesture as a pure flattery. Thanks to you, in the midst of the intolerable desert of that town with its paradoxical opulence, I was able to produce some work with which I can say I am entirely satisfied. If you knew how detrimental those five years

were there, at the mercy of dispiriting struggles, you would fully understand the reasons for my gratitude. Now that I am here and so wonderfully spoiled at the heart of the action that I needed around me, the ugly image of that difficult period of my life is evaporating. I am turning this page by giving you my thanks. The snows of Paris will not last. Tomorrow the lovely Seine will be back again in its pearly colors. And I will be like the prodigal son . . . who has found his way back home here.

With my kind regards and respectful homage,  
C. E. Jeanneret, 20 rue Jacob.<sup>2</sup>

But, like Balzac's Rastignac, he too looked to exploit the challenges and opportunities of a city that, many years later, he would recall as a harsh place:

Praise be to Paris as the most arid of deserts; happy those who come to burn their fingers in its general indifference and clash swords in the violent skirmishes that rage nightly. Those not strong enough are scalded. Paris is a soil in which you grow roots because you are alone against the world without ever being helped or valued. . . . Those who pass the trials will be all right for the remainder, thanks to Paris, magnificent destroyer of enthusiasm and perfectly indifferent to the rising pile of cadavers, etc.<sup>3</sup>

As it was his intention *not* to become one of those “cadavers piling up,” he needed to extract private commissions from within the fabric of Parisian sociability and to negotiate public patronage from within the viciously internecine politics of the Third Republic, which pitted conservatives, royalists, and Catholics against radical socialists, republicans, and Freemasons.<sup>4</sup> Oswald Wirth and Esprit-Eugène Hubert illustrate this conflict neatly, since both, while deeply occult, were fervently republican and anti-Catholic.

Now, in the beehive that was Paris, “club mania” was widespread, as elsewhere during this era. Jean Stern (author of *À l'ombre de Sophie Arnould: François-Joseph Belanger*)<sup>5</sup> belonged to the most prestigious clubs, the Cercle de la Rue Royale (to which belonged people whom Le Corbusier sometimes visited, such as duc Boniface de Castellane),<sup>6</sup> the Automobile Club, the Golf de Chantilly, the Cercle de Deauville, the Escholiers, the Cercle Hoche, the Polo Club, and the Cercle des Veneurs.<sup>7</sup> When Winnaretta Singer, princesse Edmond de Polignac—member of the Golf de Chantilly, the Société Artistique des Amateurs, and the Saint-Cloud Country-Club<sup>8</sup>—wanted to contact Le Corbusier about the Salvation Army project, she obtained his address from comte Charles de Polignac, who belonged to the Automobile Club, the Aéro-Club, the Cercle de Bois de Boulogne (Tir au Pigeons), the Cercle Hoche, the Jockey-Club, and the Polo Club.<sup>9</sup> Winnaretta Singer, in turn, was close friends with Boniface de Castellane.<sup>10</sup> Le Corbusier wrote to his mother about the aristocratic soirées that he attended, such as a dinner at the home of the princesse de Polignac

(Winnaretta de Polignac-Singer), future patron of Le Corbusier's building for the Armée du Salut, that was also attended by the comtesse de Noailles.<sup>11</sup> He mentioned also to his mother that he had attended a meeting of the Redressement Français, started by Ernest Mercier in 1926, who liked the report that he wrote so much that he was invited to lunch with maréchal Lyautey. Le Corbusier also received a visit from the marquise de Dato from Madrid, who invited him, all expenses paid, to lecture in Madrid, following previous lectures by Paul Valéry and Paul Claudel. Le Corbusier, and others such as Lucien Romier, belonged to the Section Urbanisme, directed by Raoul Dautry, of the Redressement Français. In a letter to his mother on 28 November 1928, he mentioned that he had discussed his nationality problems with Lucien Romier (1885–1944)—militant member and *porte parole* of the Redressement Français, future director of *Le Figaro* in 1934, future councillor to maréchal Pétain in 1941, and minister of state from 1942 to 1944—since Swiss nationality precluded him from participating in major French projects.<sup>12</sup>

But, in addition to the aristocratic and bourgeois social circles of potential patrons and sponsors, Charles-Édouard Jeanneret also frequented the artistic and bohemian circles that revolved around libraries. These libraries were not only bookish places but places of networking, but for which the historian, again, has no archival records. Even available photographs of the reading rooms at the Bibliothèque Nationale offer little evidence, as they are artificially posed for publicity purposes (figure 10.1). The Bibliothèque Nationale featured readers also from “the loony fringe of occultism”<sup>13</sup> as well as readers in its legendary department of “L'Enfer” (Hell) into which was segregated the historic collection of pornography, erotica, and all things sexually suggestive. There, for example, Guillaume Apollinaire

digested a wide variety of occult sources in the pursuit of more potent metaphors and allegories. His gleanings in the Bibliothèque Mazarine and Bibliothèque Nationale—where he was surreptitiously cataloguing the famous “Enfer” with [Fernand] Fleuret and [Louis] Perceau—were complemented by friendships and professional relations he developed with scholars, translators and writers . . . whose literary interests embraced the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. All these contacts furthered his familiarity with hermetic philosophy, alchemy, astrology and the cabbala in the poetical quest for alternative modes of thought and language.<sup>14</sup>

In his study of Lequeu, Philippe Duboy posits eerie activities in the form of “a pataphysical conspiracy directed in the Cabinet des Estampes by Jean Adhémar . . . assisted by Marcel Duchamp, Jacques Lacan and Raymond Queneau.”<sup>15</sup> In a letter to Auguste Perret, Jeanneret mentioned that he had met Péladan at the Bibliothèque Nationale in September 1915: “Péladan told me, last September . . .”<sup>16</sup> As mentioned earlier, William Ritter had been, at one stage, Péladan's disciple. In his diary, Ritter commented about Péladan that “from then on in my relations to him, I was always





10.1. Reading rooms at the Bibliothèque Nationale. (© Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Cabinet des Estampes, Va 237 tome V H23243.)

Parsifal. . . All the inscriptions in his books prove this. Here is the one in *Comment on devient mage*: “To my friend the aesthete Parsifal Ritter, this book which will create more Parsifals, with my intense friendship, Péladan.”<sup>17</sup> (Charles-Édouard Jeanneret had also, of course, worked regularly in other libraries when, for example, he had set out to “swot away at some books in Sainte-Geneviève.”)<sup>18</sup>

In his Sketchbook A2—which was reused over an extended period of time and whose chronology is therefore difficult to establish—Charles-Édouard Jeanneret jotted down, “Mr Courboin, librarian, *Estampes Bibliothèque Nationale*.”<sup>19</sup> In 1915, the main reading room at the Bibliothèque Nationale was the Salle Labrouste, while the Cabinet des Estampes was then where it is now. François Courboin, who was *Conservateur adjoint* of the Cabinet des Estampes when Jeanneret was in Paris in 1908–1909, worked at the Cabinet des Estampes from October 1885 as trainee (1885–1888), assistant librarian (1888–1902), assistant head librarian (1902–1909), and head librarian (1909–1925). When he asked to retire in 1925, aged sixty, because of personal illness and the death of his wife, early retirement was granted considerably but regrettably by the director of the Bibliothèque

Nationale and to the regret of his colleagues. He was offered the title of Honorary Head Librarian. In 1912, his work won him the Chevalier de la Légion d'honneur. Thus, François Courboin not only was recognized as an inspirational and scholarly curator of prints at the Cabinet des Estampes, but was also respected for his definitive work on the history of French printmaking and as a fine artist-engraver in his own right. Courboin was particularly attracted to what he described in a letter as “the delightful works of the eighteenth century”;<sup>20</sup> besides writing the three-volume *Histoire illustrée de la gravure en France* (1923), he is also the author of *Gravures et marchands d'estampes au 18<sup>ème</sup> siècle* (1914).<sup>21</sup>

Yet another trace suggests the social life revolving around these reading rooms: an engraving of Joséphin Péladan by Courboin (figure 10.2).<sup>22</sup> Around Courboin in the Cabinet des Estampes, located in the same small and intimate room as today, revolved a sociability of scholars, artists, and intellectuals; as mentioned earlier, Jean Stern then had a research assistant working for him there on the eighteenth century. Charles-Édouard Jeanneret would thus have met François Courboin, Joséphin Péladan, and others in the Salle Labrouste and, especially, in the Cabinet des Estampes.



10.2. François Courboin, heliogravure of Joséphin Péladan. (© Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Fonds Péladan, L'Arsenal, HS 13390, p. 39.)

There was more to reading in the Bibliothèque Nationale than meets the eye. This was a place of surreptitious sightings, mind-expanding discoveries, and artistic appropriations: who knows what was going on and who met whom at the Bibliothèque Nationale and to what these encounters and acquaintances led? (This question leads inevitably to a brief speculation about another mysterious episode in the life of Charles-Édouard Jeanneret. Péladan applied Éliphas Lévi's ideas to art,<sup>23</sup> to which he added the ingredient of mysticism that so appealed to numbers of contemporary artists, such as the Dutch painter Johan Thorn Prikker, who attended a lecture by Péladan in The Hague.<sup>24</sup> And it was to Prikker's house, designed according to these occult principles, that Charles-Édouard Jeanneret traveled, as fleetingly mentioned in *Le modulator*.)<sup>25</sup>

In 1907 Ferdinand Divoire, another friend of Le Corbusier, explained Péladan's mesmerizing spell:

We want to pay tribute to someone who has had a stronger influence on us than others, and the results that this influence may have had. This person is Péladan. We knew that there was a novelist by this name who had attracted a lot of attention in the past. One day, a book of his, *Vice suprême: Comment on devient Mage* or *Modestie et Vanité* happened to fall into our hands. And, as a result, everything that still lay dormant in us, everything that had not been destroyed either by colleges or other bores, awoke. . . . What we found in Péladan was as follows: we all had worries and doubts, and we did not feel that doubt was the natural human condition; to each of us, to all our questions, he gave an answer. . . . And all of us, however that might be, through pride, science or beauty, were torn away from ourselves and transported toward the Ideal. Never again now, despite all our stumblings and all our doubts, will we forget it. It is to Péladan that we owe what is least bad and vile in ourselves.<sup>26</sup>

Any possible interest in Péladan and the occult on the part of Charles-Édouard Jeanneret would not have come from Masonic culture in La Chaux-de-Fonds, whose members—watch manufacturers, businessmen, civil servants, professionals—were motivated by a robust sense of managerial rationality, administrative responsibility, and financial accountability. But La Chaux-de-Fonds also included neo-Masonic and other alternative societies and circles.

In the 1890s, as part of the active antialcoholism campaign led by socialist and Christian groups, an association called the Loge L'Avenir No. 12 des Bons Templiers, belonging to the Grande Loge Suisse de l'Ordre International des Bons Templiers—comparable to the antialcoholism association of La Croix Bleue that was also active in La Chaux-de-Fonds<sup>27</sup>—was formed (figure 10.3). This was not a Masonic lodge but a charity dedicated to the eradication of alcoholism.<sup>28</sup> Les Bons Templiers was part of an international network, the Independent Order of Good Templars, founded by Leverett Coon in 1852 in New York (figure 10.4). Alcoholism, and in particular addiction to the toxic drinks of absinthe and schnapps, was endemic in La Chaux-de-Fonds, and both La Croix

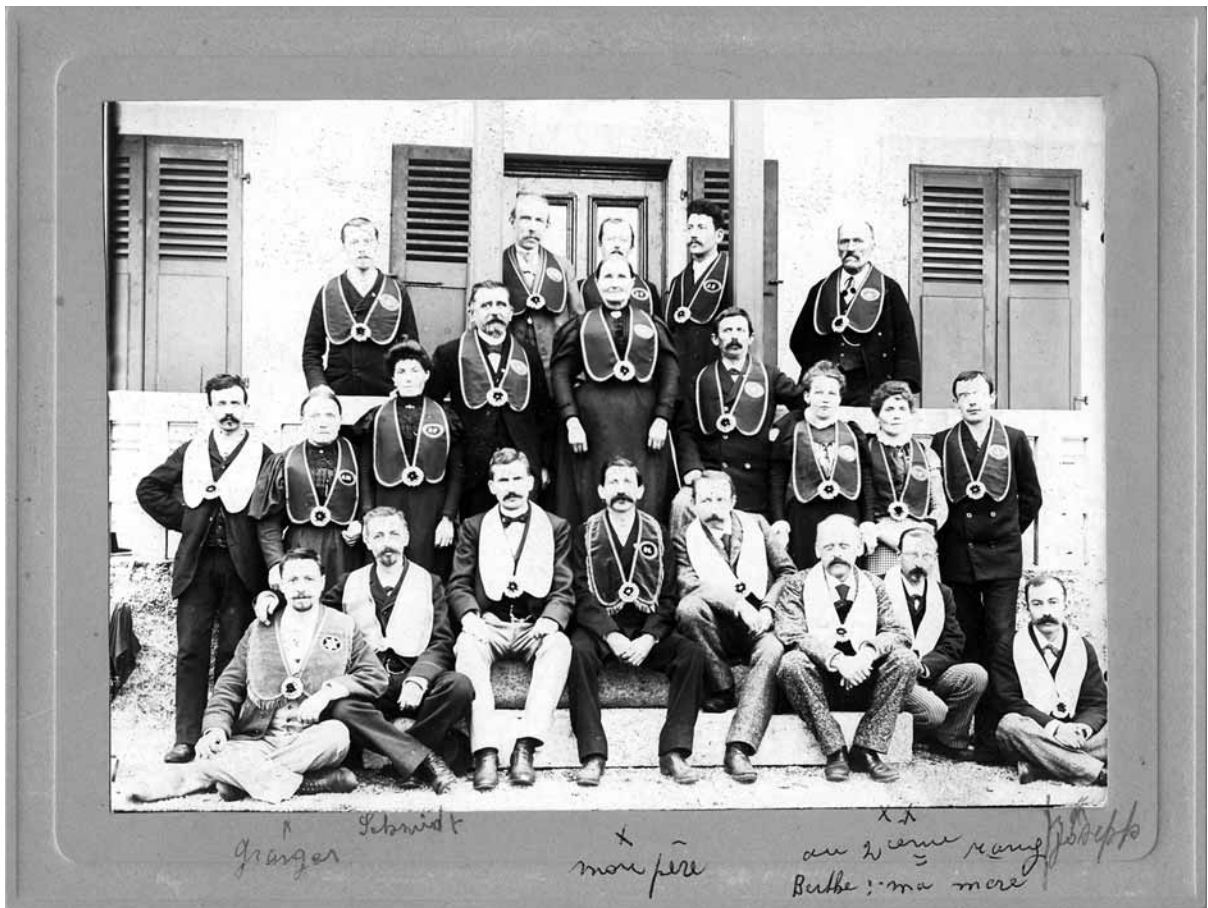


10.3. Neo-Masonic group in La Chaux-de-Fonds: Fondation de l'Ordre Neutre des Bons Templiers, 1890. (Courtesy of Collection Iconographie, DAV, Bibliothèque de la Ville de La Chaux-de-Fonds.)



10.4. Souvenir of the foundation of the International Lodge of the Grande Loge Suisse des Bons Templiers at La Chaux-de-Fonds on 22–25 June 1906. (Courtesy of Collection Iconographie, DAV, Bibliothèque de la Ville de La Chaux-de-Fonds.)

Bleue and the Loge L'Avenir No. 12 played important roles there. Charles-Édouard Jeanneret's brother, Albert, regularly performed in concerts at La Croix Bleue.<sup>29</sup> Jean Fatum, member of the Loge L'Amitié, presented a *planche* about the good work being done by the neo-Masonic Independent Order of Good Templars.<sup>30</sup> And yet other neo-Masonic groups existed, as well as other fraternal societies, including military ones (figures 10.5, 10.6). And in these and many other societies prevailed an *esprit d'équipe* (team spirit), as in the Club Alpin Suisse Section La Chaux-de-Fonds (figures 2.1, 4.1, 6.8). In other words, social and cultural life in La Chaux-de-Fonds was suffused with the characteristics and symbolism of fraternal societies and *esprit d'équipe*, some with international connections (figure 8.2, and frontispiece to part III). And such fraternal *esprit d'équipe* was prevalent also among the various specialist professional groups of watchmaking artists, artisans, and designers, embodied both in Charles Humbert's mosaic at the Musée des Beaux-Arts (1929) and Georges Dessoulavy's later mural at the train station of La Chaux-de-Fonds (1946–1952) with their symbolism of the right angle, compass, plumb line and other building tools (figures 10.7, 10.8).<sup>31</sup>



10.5. Neo-Masonic group in La Chaux-de-Fonds. (Courtesy of Collection Iconographie, DAV, Bibliothèque de la Ville de La Chaux-de-Fonds, P3-762.)

- 10.6. Group with *esprit d'équipe* in La Chaux-de-Fonds. (Charles Robert-Tissot, 1901–1905; courtesy of Collection Iconographie, DAV, Bibliothèque de la Ville de La Chaux-de-Fonds, RT-P2-84.)



Thus, Charles-Édouard Jeanneret's understanding of ritual and symbolism, initially grounded in Masonic symbolism and ideologies, was also more broadly based in the wider culture of neo-Masonic, fraternal, and *esprit d'équipe* societies, circles, and clubs of La Chaux-de-Fonds. It was this broader understanding that he could transfer, renew, and reconfirm within his new Parisian sociability. And, like him, there were other Chaux-de-fonnier expatriates in Paris with similar understandings. Paul Ditisheim became a member of the Loge L'Amitié at the age of twenty-five (1893), acceding to Maître (1894) and acting as librarian (1897–1902) before resigning in 1925 when he left for Paris and became affiliated with the Loge La France Nouvelle.<sup>32</sup> In 1913, Charles-Édouard Jeanneret had drawn for Paul Ditisheim a project for a watchmaking factory, as well as interior decorations for the three Ditisheim brothers who all lived in apartments at 11, rue de la Paix. Ditisheim's departure from his residence at 11, rue de la Paix was the result of illness and financial problems in the watchmaking industry, which led him to sell his company to Solvil in 1918. In any case, he was not a businessman, but a passionate watchmaking designer and technological innovator. In Paris, he undertook research into applications of physics and chemistry to watchmaking.<sup>33</sup>



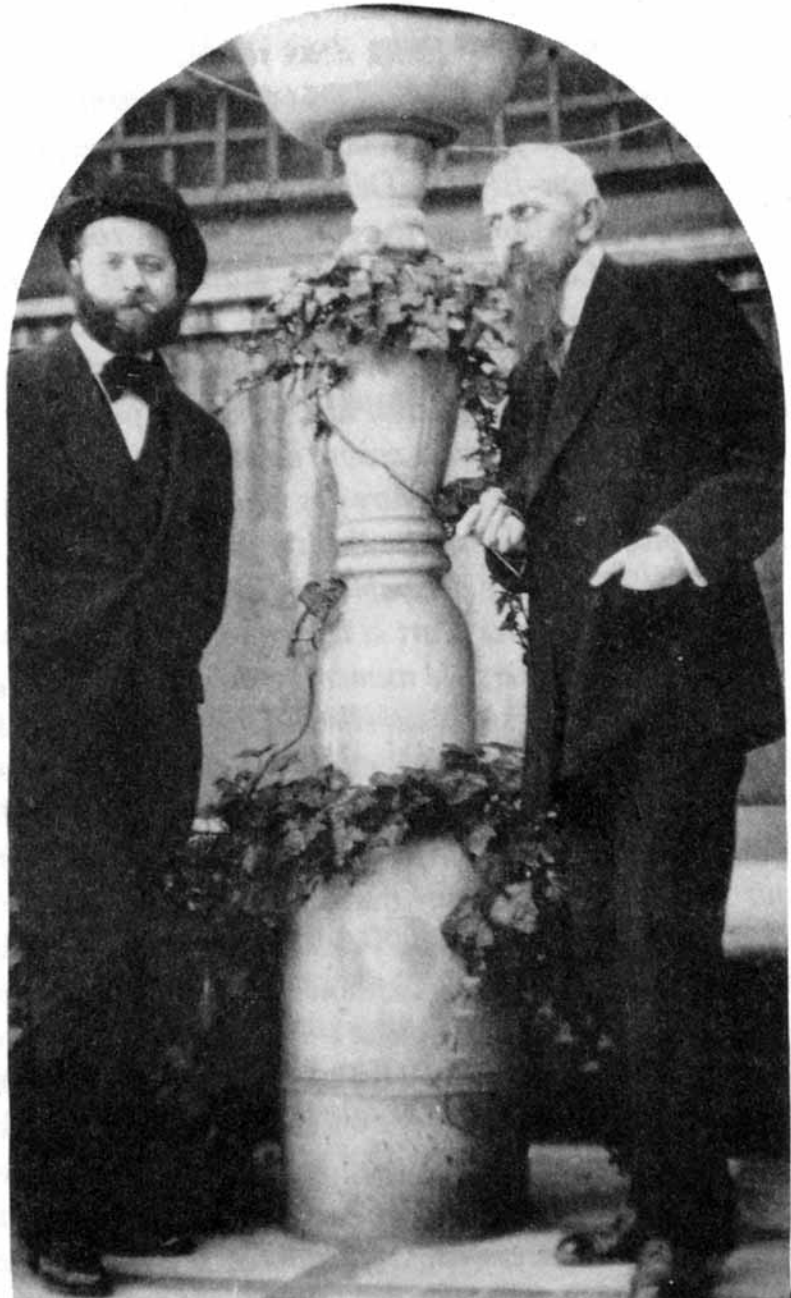
10.7. Charles Humbert, mosaic in the entrance hall of the Musée des Beaux-Arts of La Chaux-de-Fonds (1929). (Courtesy of Collection Iconographie, DAV, Bibliothèque de la Ville de La Chaux-de-Fonds.)



10.8. Georges Dessoulavy, mural at the train station of La Chaux-de-Fonds (1946–1952). (Courtesy of Collection Iconographie, DAV, Bibliothèque de la Ville de La Chaux-de-Fonds.)

Already in 1921 in La Chaux-de-Fonds, Paul Ditisheim was a subscriber to *L'Esprit Nouveau*.<sup>34</sup> But, more significantly, new Parisian collaborators, friends, and reference points shared these understandings too.

While working for Auguste Perret (1908–1909),<sup>35</sup> Jeanneret had become a friend of Perret's brother-in-law, Sébastien Voirol (figure 10.9).<sup>36</sup> Voirol, a writer, poet, and critic, was enmeshed in Parisian literary life, founding the Cercle des Artistes de Passy and, from 1912, was involved in the journal *Les Soirées de Paris*, run from offices in the rue Jacob, which involved Pablo Picasso, Ferdinand Divoire, Guillaume Apollinaire, and Henri Matisse.<sup>37</sup> Also at that time, Amédée



10.9. Auguste Perret and Sébastien Voirol. (Courtesy of Institut d'Architecture Français, Fonds Perret.)



Ozenfant's apartment at 34, rue des Vignes was the official address of the journal *L'Élan*, which he directed from April 1915 to February 1916, in which appeared articles by Sébastien Voirol.<sup>38</sup> In 1910, Charles-Édouard Jeanneret wrote to Perret: "And if . . . Claudel is my consolation, it is again to Monsieur Voirol that I owe this, along with so many other deep literary pleasures of which I might have long remained ignorant."<sup>39</sup> Voirol was a member of the Loge L'Alliance No. 70, Obédience La Grande Loge de France, in whose *Livres d'architecture* his signature appears regularly (figure 10.10).<sup>40</sup> Voirol was, at least until 1914 but no longer by 1921, an active and committed member of his lodge. In 1914, the *Bulletin Hebdomadaire des Travaux de la Maçonnerie en France* noted, "Grande Loge de France, Loge L'Alliance No. 70, Friday 17 Juin 1904, 8.30 precisely: 'Morality in literature': a lecture by Brother Sébastien Voirol, member of the Atelier."<sup>41</sup> In the library of the Grande Loge de France, we find a copy of his book *La philosophie Nestvedienne* (1921),<sup>42</sup> offered and inscribed to Emmanuel Hillel, "With all my gratitude to my very dear Brother Emmanuel Hillel who knows that in my sleep I always dream lucidly of my return to Masonic life when evening professional occupations will allow me the leisure. To you all, my very dear brothers, affectionate greetings. Sébastien Voirol."<sup>43</sup>

10.10. Register of the Loge L'Alliance No. 70, Obédience La Grande Loge de France, with signature of Sébastien Voirol (sixth down in left-hand column), 17 June 1904. (Courtesy of Grande Loge de France.)

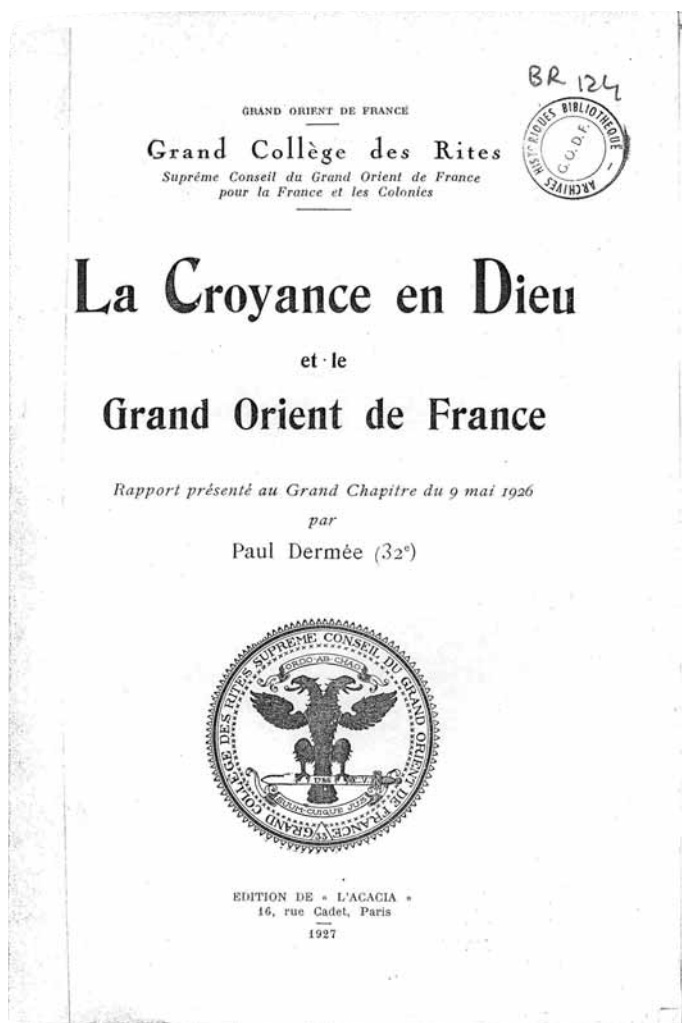


Once again, though we know that Charles-Édouard expressed to Perret appreciation of Sébastien Voirol, we do not know what other topics and affinities he and Voirol might have discussed—if indeed there might have been other discussions on topics “of which I might have long remained ignorant.” Past fragments do not allow the historiographer to reconstruct the inner recesses of friendships; only their existence remains observable. An additional obstacle is the confidential nature of Freemasonic membership: Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler’s description of Juan Gris’s funeral revealed that his membership at the Loge Voltaire was unknown by most of the mourners: “He was buried on May 13, in the morning. Only a few of the wreaths were on the deathbed, the rest were piled against the wall of the house and on the pavement. One large wreath bore the following inscription: ‘To Juan Gris, from his companions in the struggle.’ This inscription puzzled many of those present, as it was not sent by his fellow artists.”<sup>44</sup> All that can be concluded is that Charles-Édouard Jeanneret was in familiar contact with individuals for whom—at some stage, in different respects, for varying durations, for unfathomable reasons—membership of a Masonic atelier was an authentic and valuable part of their lives. Of the other cofounders of *L’Esprit Nouveau*, such also was Paul Dermée and, possibly but doubtfully, Amédée Ozenfant.

Paul Dermée was an active and dedicated Freemason who, by 1927, reached the penultimate thirty-second degree of the Rite Écossais Ancien et Accepté.<sup>45</sup> Dermée wrote *La croyance en Dieu et le Grand Orient de France* (1927), an apology of the decision in 1877 by the Grand Orient de France to officially reject religious affiliations (figure 10.11).<sup>46</sup> And in 1928, Dermée published an article entitled “Esquisse d’une philosophie de la fraternité.”<sup>47</sup> The archives of the Grand Orient de France include an unsubstantiated Masonic membership record for Amédée Ozenfant from the files of the secret police of Vichy from World War II (figure 10.12).<sup>48</sup> This record, however, is problematic: though it correctly describes Ozenfant as “Artiste Peintre” and “Critique d’Art,” born on 15 April 1886 at Saint-Quentin in the department of Aisne, and residing at 26, rue des Plantes in the 14th arrondissement of Paris, what is mentioned is simply a Freemasonic lodge: “Fraternité, Ordre de Paris, Obédience Grand Orient de France,”<sup>49</sup> with no further mention of date of initiation or any supplementary information. Ozenfant, who frequented literary salons in Paris from 1908 onward, met Paul Dermée at the home of Ferdinand Divoire toward the end of October 1919. In 1920, he had a number of theoretical discussions with Juan Gris.<sup>50</sup> Through these discussions, Gris exerted a profound influence on Ozenfant from 1922 onward. Ozenfant reported these discussions in his memoirs, writing,

He nevertheless continued to argue against my theories; in return, I underwent the effect of his works and as they already slightly reflected, without his wanting or knowing this, my own ways of thinking, and as they were beautiful, they served me as a demonstration of my ideas, and his objections led me to refine them. . . . When he was forced to leave Paris on health grounds, we wrote to each other. . . . Our discussions came from different principled

- 10.11. Paul Dermée, *La croyance en Dieu et le Grand Orient de France: Rapport présenté au Grand Chapitre du 9 mai 1926* (Grand Orient de France: Grand Collège des Rites, 1926). (Courtesy of Musée du Grand Orient de France.)



standpoints; he said: “I want to create special individuals from the general type” . . . and: “Cézanne turns a bottle into a cylinder, whereas I turn a cylinder into a bottle,” as he stated in the *Esprit Nouveau* n° 5, 1921.<sup>51</sup>

Le Corbusier was also friends with Jacques Lipchitz—mentioning in a letter to his mother “un ami comme Lipchitz”<sup>52</sup>—whose work he collected. Lipchitz belonged to the Loge Voltaire, to which he was sponsored by Paul Dermée.<sup>53</sup> Le Corbusier, Lipchitz, Dr. René Allendy, Juan Gris, and others used to meet in Boulogne, which was then an artists’ colony.<sup>54</sup> Juan Gris was a close friend and patient of Dr. René Allendy, author of *La symbolique des nombres* of 1921 and a Freemason,<sup>55</sup> and Allendy was the one who suggested Gris to the Loge Voltaire. Allendy had completed a doctorate in the history of medicine, on the relation of alchemy and medicine in hermetic theory,<sup>56</sup>

10.12. Index card for Amédée Ozenfant from the files of the secret police of Vichy, ca. 1940–1944. (Courtesy of Musée du Grand Orient de France.)

<b>M.H.</b>			
Nom : OZENFANT		Prénoms :	
Adresse : 26 Rue des Plantes PARIS 14ème.		Prof. : Artiste Peintre	
Né le : 15 Avril 1886 à ST-JEANTIN(Aisne)		Critique d'Art.	
Né le : 15 Avril 1886		à ST-JEANTIN(Aisne)	
Né le : 15 Avril 1886		à ST-JEANTIN(Aisne)	
Né le : 15 Avril 1886		à ST-JEANTIN(Aisne)	
Loge : "FRATERNITE "		Or. de PARIS	
Grade :		Obéd. : G;O;	
Atel. Sup. {	Fonctions dans la Loge {		
Conseils Maç. :			
Initiation le _____			
Sortie {	le _____ Loge _____		Motif { _____
	le _____ Loge _____		
Réint. le _____			
Affiliations {	Or. de _____		Ob. _____ le _____
	Or. de _____		Ob. _____ le _____
	Or. de _____		Ob. _____ le _____
Références : _____ F.N.A.			

after finishing his medical studies; he inscribed copies of his books to Le Corbusier (who copiously annotated them) and was a frequent contributor of articles and book reviews to *L'Esprit Nouveau*.<sup>57</sup> On 15 May 1924, Gris spoke on “Des possibilités de la peinture” at the research group at the Sorbonne called Groupe d’Études Philosophiques et Scientifiques pour l’Examen des Tendances Nouvelles, founded by Allendy; Le Corbusier spoke to this same group on 12 June 1924 on “L’esprit nouveau en architecture.”<sup>58</sup> After 1919, the home of Yvonne and René Allendy became a meeting place for artists and intellectuals wanting to rethink art and society in the aftermath of World War I. Thus, Le Corbusier actively participated in diverse networks ranging from bourgeois and aristocratic salons and soirées to artistic and bohemian milieus (figure 10.13).<sup>59</sup> Yet other and critically important networks were those of the higher political echelons.

When in danger of being eliminated from architectural projects, Le Corbusier on several occasions wrote to Jean Zay, minister of national education and the fine arts, to ask him to intervene. One such occasion was that of the Pavillon des Temps Nouveaux (1937).<sup>60</sup> Zay, who was nominated minister of education (1936–1939) under Léon Blum of the Front Populaire, had been initiated at the Loge Étienne Dolet à l’Orient d’Orléans (1926).<sup>61</sup> He was assisted in his job by close allies and friends such as Marcel Abraham, Jean Perrin, and Jean Cassou of the Loge Le Portique. His attempted reforms were the creation of an École Nationale d’Administration (National School of Public Administration), a law on intellectual and artistic copyright, and educational reforms in public secondary schools. Cassou, who was inspector of historic monuments (1932), then became



10.13. A dinner at the Huidobros' home in 1921–1922. Seated from left to right: Lucie Kahnweiler, Juan Gris, Zdanevitch, Josette Gris, Fernand Léger, Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler, Jeanne Léger, Vicente Huidobro, Céline Arnauld (Mme Paul Dermée); standing from left to right: two unidentified guests, Paul Dermée, Waldemar George, Louise Godon (later, Mme Michel Leiris). (Source of photograph unknown.)

a member of the Jean Zay cabinet (1936). Yet these affiliations raise unanswerable questions. What, for example, could be the meaning, if any, for Le Corbusier of the membership of André Citroën—who was the reference point for his *Maisons Citrohan*—in the *Loge La Philosophie Positive*?<sup>62</sup> The essential point is that, during the convoluted, brittle, yet enduring Third Republic (1870–1940), through such nadirs as the scandal of the *Affaire des Fiches* (1904)<sup>63</sup> and such acmes as the laicization law of the *Loi de Séparation des Églises et de l'État* (1905), an aura—tarred or gilt, haloed or cloven-hoofed—surrounded allegations and fantasies about real and imagined Masonic networks of sociability, corridors of power, and ranges of influence.<sup>64</sup> The complex crisscrossings and contradictory overlappings between left-wing politics and Masonic lodges during the Third Republic are documented, but they were neither one-way, nor direct, nor automatic.<sup>65</sup> These interconnections are encapsulated in Marcel Sembat's speech at the annual Masonic convention of 1913:

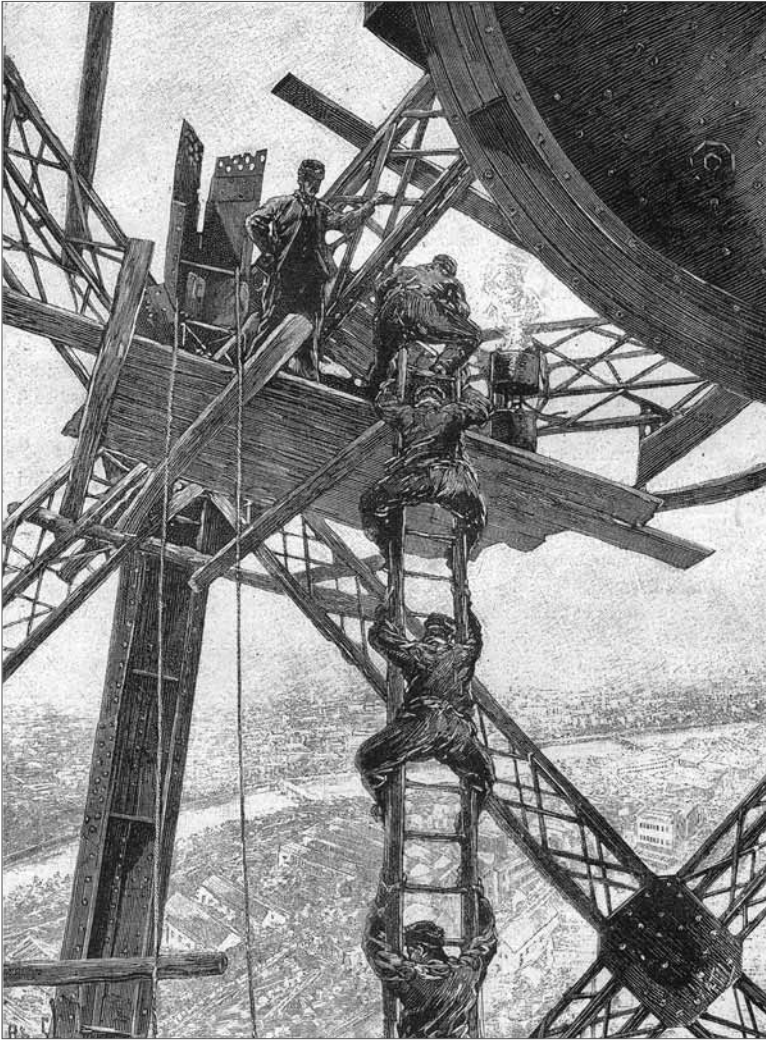
If we are among Masons, we are among Brothers who love each other, who hold each other in high esteem, who seek not to make fun of or scorn each other but to help each other, who seek to give each other assistance for their mutual development. It is we alone who can do all that. I have told you many times that for the salvation of France, for its moral salvation, it is on Masonry that we must depend and I have demonstrated to you in other talks the powerlessness of the political parties in this respect. It is left to us. Why? Is it to flatter you that I tell you that? You are well aware that I am not in the habit of flattery, either in Masonry or elsewhere; but I am saying it because, I repeat, where will you find, other than in our ateliers, an environment in which anyone can speak up in the certainty that he is speaking before Brothers who respect him, who will make every effort to benefit from what he has to say and to help him if possible to better himself in the future? It is only in this atmosphere of sympathy, warm sympathy, brotherly affection, that a revival of intellectual and moral life can grow for France.<sup>66</sup>

This aura—as halo, horns, or crown of thorns—surrounding the Masonic Obédiences and their lodges extended to the *compagnonnages*. No less a paradigmatic example than the Eiffel Tower, surrounded by its *compagnonnique* legends, illustrates this world of realities and phantasms.

Eugène Milon dit Guépin le Soutien de Salomon, head of site operations at the Société Eiffel and a member of the Compagnons Charpentiers du Devoir de Liberté, built the Eiffel Tower between 26 January 1887 and the 31 March 1889 with his team of about forty *compagnons* using no electric lifting equipment but only manual winches and hoisting equipment, and without any workforce fatalities (figure 10.14). The bolts at the bedplates at the four corners of the Eiffel Tower were produced by a blacksmith *compagnon*, Beauceron la Belle Conscience. Two groups of *compagnons* worked on the Eiffel Tower. The *compagnons charpentiers* worked on the temporary timber scaffolding that allowed the hoisting, assembly, and riveting of the metallic structure. The metallic structure itself was constructed with Compagnons Forgerons-Serruriers, whose work was so precise that the rivet holes for the metallic keystones of the four arches under the first floor needed no adjustments, as they matched perfectly.<sup>67</sup> Now, to further illustrate the significance of the *compagnonnage*, the reality of the construction of the Eiffel Tower mixes with its contested imaginary construction. Because of the prestige and the mythical significance of the project, there was an exaggeration and a mythification of the role of the *compagnonnages* in its construction. Different branches of the *compagnonnages* presented alternative affiliations of the workers on the Eiffel Tower.<sup>68</sup> In reality, Milon employed both *compagnons* and builders who were not *compagnons* (figure 10.15). In his fictionalized historical survey, *Les illuminés de l'art royal*, Raoul Vergez typifies the semimythical association of the Eiffel Tower with the *compagnonnage*: “And the woodworkers, the eighty *compagnons* working under Beauceron la Sagesse, provided the site with boys under



10.14. Eugène Milon (middle, top) dit Guépin le Soutien de Salomon, *chef de chantier* at the Société Eiffel and member of the Compagnons Charpentiers du Devoir de Liberté, at the Eiffel Tower, ca. 1887–1889. (Courtesy of Musée du Compagnonnage, Tours.)



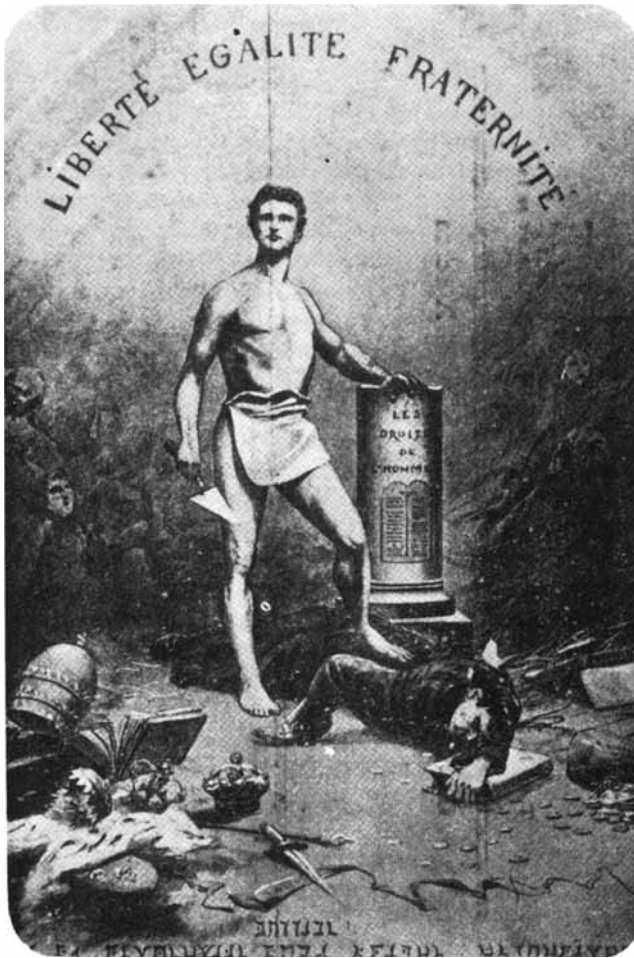
10.15. Nineteenth-century engraving of *compagnons* building the Eiffel Tower, ca. 1887–1889. (Courtesy of Musée du Compagnonnage, Tours.)

twenty-five years of age who did not fear the heights. The tower rose, quickly and firmly on its four feet over the frighteningly empty spaces.”<sup>69</sup> Le Corbusier presented himself as connected to this daring tradition of the Eiffel Tower by providing a much-hailed preface to *La Tour Eiffel, présentée par Le Corbusier* (1955).<sup>70</sup>

Thus Masonic symbolism had a public presence that could be pressed into action, just as, in the eighteenth century, Carmontelle had done in his design for the Parc Monceau.<sup>71</sup> By the twentieth century, however, Freemasonic symbolism shared similarities with the symbolism of the *compagnonnages*.<sup>72</sup>

Now, in francophone culture, as stated earlier, Freemasonry was normally associated with republicanism and socialism, while the *compagnonnages* were normally associated with traditionalism and Catholicism. (The battle lines between Catholics and Freemasons originated in the Second Empire when radical republicans, freethinkers, feminists, socialists, utopian thinkers, Saint-Simonians, and others took intellectual refuge in Masonic lodges.)<sup>73</sup> Each side, the left wing





10.16. Freemasonic anti-Catholic postcard (ca. 1880) illustrated in Serge Hutin, *Les Francs-Maçons* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1960), in Le Corbusier's library. (Le Corbusier library, FLC J 131.)

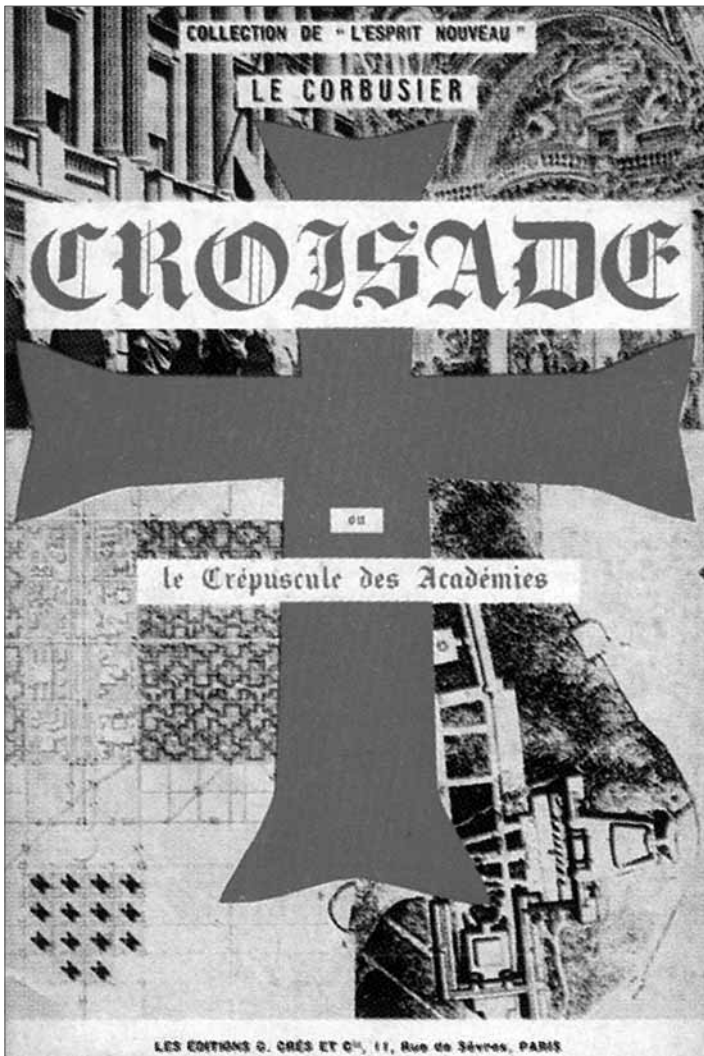
and the Masonic lodges versus the right wing and the Catholics, had their own procedures of favoritism and nepotism in their virulent struggle against each other.<sup>74</sup> On a contemporary Masonic postcard, a primitively innocent Adamite Freemason, leaning on the Declaration of Human Rights and bearing the symbols of trowel and medieval stonemason's apron, crushes an infamous priest *cum* capitalist, while gold coins, ledgers, papal and royalist emblems are scattered on the ground and the wretched of the earth emerge from the shadows into light (figure 10.16). While the Masonic lodges were “nurseries for republican politicians,”<sup>75</sup> the Catholic right, with its backbone of the National Catholic Federation,<sup>76</sup> had “its rival channels of influence, which included the church hierarchy, the army officer corps, sympathetic civil servants, landowners, employers and elected representatives.”<sup>77</sup> After the Third Republic, the fascist Vichy regime outlawed Freemasonry while supporting the *compagnonnages* (though conveniently bowdlerized as the Fédération Ouvrière, a mere manual workers' association) and targeted socialists, radicals, Freemasons, and Jews for deportation or assassination by militias. In the 1930s, indeed, “some presumed Jewish-Freemasonic-Bolshevik conspiracy [was] a favorite mantra of the French Right.”<sup>78</sup> It was then, as previously mentioned, that the *Documents maçonniques* (1941–1944) of the Vichy government denounced past presidents and prime ministers such as Léon Blum and Édouard Herriot as Freemasons (incorrect)

as well as President Franklin D. Roosevelt and Frédéric Bartholdi, sculptor of the Statue of Liberty (correct),<sup>79</sup> feverishly concluding that the United States was part of a global Freemasonic-Jewish-Bolshevik-capitalist plot. In a typical anti-Masonic denunciation—*La Franc-Maçonnerie démasquée: Listes de F.: M.: appartenant au Parlement, à la presse, au barreau et les dirigeants de la secte*—are listed Paul Vaillant-Couturier as “(deceased) ex-deputy of La Seine, member of the Loge ‘Clarté,’” Jean Zay as “deputy of Le Loiret, ex-minister, deserter, minister, *Bulletin Hebdomadaire de la Franc-Maçonnerie*,” and Amédée Ozenfant as “artist, painter, man of letters, editor in chief of the past *L’Esprit Nouveau*; member of the Loge ‘Art et Science.’”<sup>80</sup> Also during that period, a major anti-Masonic exhibition was organized and an anti-Masonic film, *Forces occultes*, was produced.

But for Le Corbusier, whose architectural projects—from the Villa Savoye through to the posthumous Firminy-Vert—consisted of “idealized images endowed with a visionary and didactic character,”<sup>81</sup> the *same* iconographic symbols with their moral overtones of righteousness could be pressed into action across fluctuating political boundaries and through changing political circumstances. Interpretable as either left-wing or right-wing, as either progressively forward-looking or historically restorative, the symbolism of right angle and compass, medieval cathedral builders and initiatory journey, knotted rope and pyramid-on-cube, home and temple, chivalrous crusade and sword, was politically polyvalent and hermeneutically malleable, thus ambiguously and brilliantly *passe-partout*.

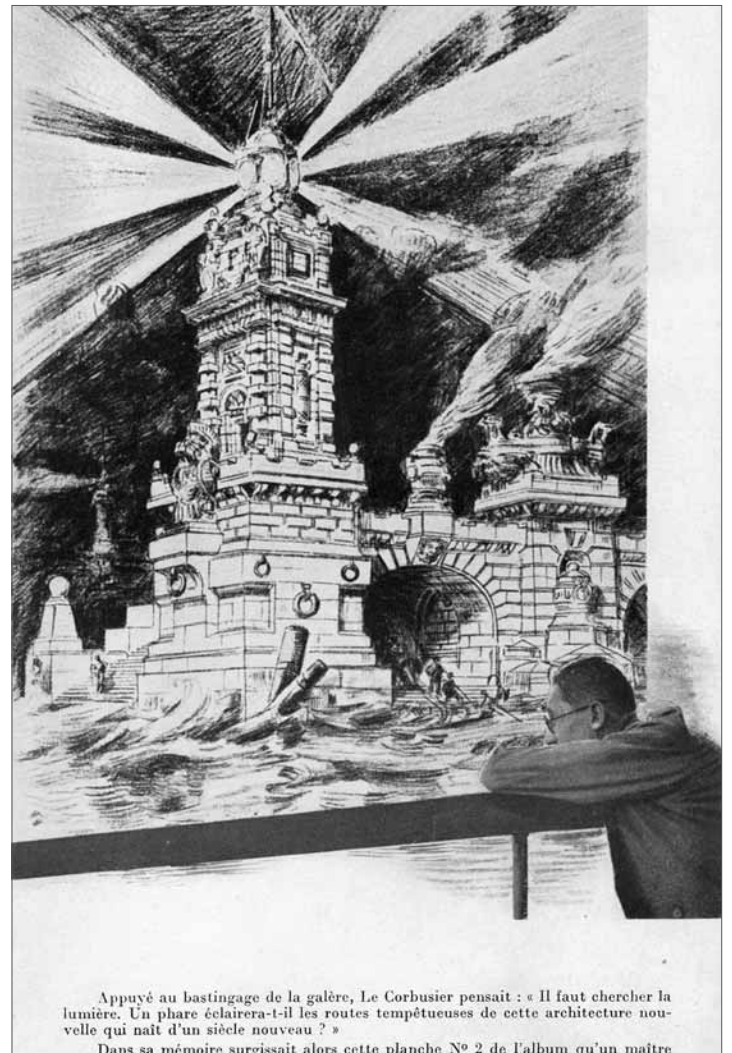
When, on 14 March 1932 at the Salle Wagram, Gustave Umbdenstock viciously attacked Le Corbusier in his lecture “La défense des métiers de main des artistes et artisans français,”<sup>82</sup> Le Corbusier counterattacked just as viciously in *Croisade, ou le crépuscule des académies*. Splayed across the cover of this book was the Templar imagery of the red pattée cross (associated with the sixth degree of Knight Beneficent of the Holy City in the Scottish Rectified Rite), meant to smear his retrograde and reactionary opponent with ridicule, while Le Corbusier quixotically assumed the mantle of progressive Crusader-like modernist bearing genuine traditional, patriotic, and spiritual values (figure 10.17). Threading its way through the book is the main narrative of Le Corbusier, “pressed against the railings of the slave ship,” contemplating the architectural puff pastries of his obsolescent opponents and uttering the emblematic Freemasonic “Il faut chercher la lumière” (We must seek light) (figure 10.18).<sup>83</sup>

Now, this imagery of chivalry and crusades had manifold resonances. On his formal photograph, the *compagnon* Abel Boyer displayed an image of a medieval Templar Knight with cross pattée (figure 9.10). A publication by A. L. Coussy-Henriet (with a preface by Albert Bernet, Freemason, *compagnon*, and architect whose relevance will be discussed in chapter 12) was entitled *La nouvelle croisade: Essay commenté sur une nouvelle déclaration des droits de l’enfant* (1939).<sup>84</sup> This charged political environment, where Freemasonic, *compagnonnique*, and Bolshevik affiliations, associations, allegations, and fantasies abounded, also surrounded Le Corbusier. Alexander de Senger wrote his infamous diatribe against Le Corbusier, *Le cheval de troie du bolchevisme*,<sup>85</sup> and



10.17. Le Corbusier, *Croisade, ou le crépuscule des académies* (Paris: Éditions Crès, 1933). (© 2007 FLC/ADAGP, Paris and DACS, London.)

10.18. Le Corbusier, *Croisade, ou le crépuscule des académies* (Paris: Éditions Crès, 1933), p. 46. (© 2007 FLC/ADAGP, Paris and DACS, London.)



Camille Mauclair compared him to Lenin in *L'architecture va-t-elle mourir? La crise du panbitonisme intégral*.<sup>86</sup> But Le Corbusier also manipulated them by having at his disposal an armory of moral, social, and spiritual symbology that was polyvalent, malleable, and *passe-partout*—as well as magnetically mediagenic. Thus Le Corbusier could write in 1954 to Marcel Levailant that his *Poem of the Right Angle* truly was “not only the foundation of my being but also the very foundation of my architecture and of my art.”<sup>87</sup> Yet two last important questions remain consequent. Was Le Corbusier a member of a lodge—as per the revelatory index card from the files of the Vichy secret police? And how might this information be relevant to a clarification of the *Œuvre complète* and of the spatial qualities of Le Corbusier’s architecture, since, after all, my research objective is not gratuitous voyeurism but an investigation into the architectural and spatial qualities of *la promenade architecturale* and *l’espace indicible*? What exactly does the index card from the files of the Vichy secret police reveal about Charles Jeanneret?



11 An Index  
Card from the  
World War II  
Secret Police



AN index card from the Vichy secret police indicates that Charles Jeanneret was initiated into the Loge L'Amitié on 20 June 1909. The information on the card is referenced to the *Journal Officiel* of Vichy, dated 18 August 1941 (figure 11.1). According to this index card, he was raised to Compagnon on 4 December 1910 and to Maître on 25 February 1912, reached the thirtieth degree in the higher grades at "Chapitre 633 Spes et Fides, V. de Besançon," and then was affiliated to "619 Réelle Fraternité" in Besançon by 19 April 1936. Furthermore, as is traditional, a *planche funèbre* (funeral oration) was pronounced at L'Amitié in La Chaux-de-Fonds after his death in 1965:

On this 24 October 1965, I have been asked to prepare the obituary of our very dear late Brother Charles Jeanneret, teacher, and it is with intense emotion that I am fulfilling this duty.

He was born in Les Ponts-de-Martel on 4 March 1879, the sixth child of a family of eight, and his father was a watchmaker of a very modest condition.

He attended the primary schools in Les Ponts-de-Martel until 1889, and thereafter ones in La Chaux-de-Fonds. He attended the industrial college from 1892 to 1897. From then on, as infant school teacher, he completed five terms of university studies in Neuchâtel in order to qualify to teach Accountancy in 1905, and in 1908 he obtained the certificate for teaching Business Studies. At the age of 18½, he was assistant supervisor at the orphanage in Courtelary. At 19, he was a primary school teacher in Les Bulles, near La Chaux-de-Fonds,



and 3 years later primary school teacher in La Chaux-de-Fonds. He was married when he was 23 years old, and had two sons and a daughter.

He left primary teaching for 18 months to take on the role of accountancy secretary at the Technicum in La Chaux-de-Fonds. He returned to teaching. In 1909 (at the age of 30) he was appointed to run the business school in Saint-Imier. He stayed there ten years. In 1919, he accepted the directorship of a business with capitalization of a half million, where he had a bad experience: a totally profit-oriented board of directors thinks only of amassing large sums of money. He abandoned this commercial activity to return to the business school in La Chaux-de-Fonds, where he taught law and business studies.

Charles Jeanneret had little experience of political life; however, he was president of the Jeune Radical party in Saint-Imier and member of the City Council of that town for three years. The Swiss Society of Commerce, of which he was a member for 25 years, took up a great deal of his time: he was president of the La Chaux-de-Fonds section, president of the French-Speaking Union for two years, auditor of the main association, member of the local committee of business trainees, teacher of accountancy statistics and law in the La Chaux-de-Fonds section for candidates for the exams. He always had a strong interest in singing (Union Chorale) and sports (football, La Chaux-de-Fonds). Also a member of the charitable Committee of Kitchens for the destitute.

M.T.B.

Nom : JEANNERET Prénoms : Charles Prof. : Professeur  
 Adresse : 7 rue des Tourelles CHAUD DE FONDS (Suisse) en 1937  
 Né le 4 Mars 1879 à PONT DE MADEL (Suisse) Nation. : \_\_\_\_\_  
 Loge : \_\_\_\_\_ Or. de \_\_\_\_\_ Obéd. : G.L. Suisse Alpina  
 Grade : 3°  
 Sup. { Chap; 633 SPES ET FIDES  
 V.de BESANCON  
 Atel. { \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_ } Fonctions dans la Loge  
 Conseils Mac. : \_\_\_\_\_  
 Initiation le A. 20.6.1909 C. 4.12.1910 M. 25.2.1912  
 Scrite { le \_\_\_\_\_ Loge : \_\_\_\_\_ Motif { \_\_\_\_\_  
 le \_\_\_\_\_ Loge : \_\_\_\_\_ }  
 Réint. le \_\_\_\_\_  
 Affiliations { "619 REELLE FRATERNITE" Or. de BESANCON Ob. G.L. le 19.4.1937  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Or. de \_\_\_\_\_ Ob. \_\_\_\_\_ le \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Or. de \_\_\_\_\_ Ob. \_\_\_\_\_ le \_\_\_\_\_  
 Références : (Bull.A.S.)(D.I.)(633-Y.1937)(619-Sit/1936)  
 31. 3317. — Imp. administrative • MELUN. — D. 816 - 1943  
 Mle: 71.495 Justice (S. 1.)

J.O. I 6.8.1941

11.1. Index card for Charles Jeanneret from the files of the secret police of Vichy, ca. 1940–1944. (Courtesy of Musée du Grand Orient de France.)

In 1909, on 20 June, his dearest wish was fulfilled. He was received as a Freemasonic member, and from the list of posts that he occupied in our society, it will be clear to you that he applied the same enthusiasm and devotion to this as to all his undertakings.

He was received into the second grade on 4 December 1910, and into the third on 15 December 1911.

He was drawn to the higher grades and gave them all his heart and mind and derived the greatest satisfaction from this. He was received into the higher grades on 24 September 1916 at the eighteenth degree at La Fidélité in La Chaux-de-Fonds. *Maître des dépêches* for eight years. On 5 October 1919 at the thirtieth degree in l'Espérance in La Chaux-de-Fonds, of which he was Grand Master for three years. On 21 June 1924 at the thirty-second degree in Lausanne. On 9 July 1927 at the thirty-third degree, Lausanne and member of the Supreme Council on 23 February 1929, and honorary member on 25 February 1951.

Charles Jeanneret occupied various posts on the College of the first three grades. Living far away from his mother lodge for 12 years, he always remained faithful to it and still answered “present” when the Vénérable needed him either for a banquet or a lecture.

He kept in mind old and recent things that had embellished his life. All the excursions in which he had taken part were engraved in his heart. The card games and the pleasurable trips funded by our kitty helped to keep him young in spirit and his friends can be thanked for the happiness that they gave him.

Charles Jeanneret lived simply and modestly. In the last few months of his life, when he had to undergo the amputation of a leg, it became clear to me during hospital visits that Charles Jeanneret knew great suffering and he died on 27 January 1965.

In him we have lost a true Freemason, a real friend, a model of faithful observance, good humor and honor. His life will remain for us an example of courage and self-sacrifice, a very dear memory, and it is in this spirit that I ask you to grant him funerary rites, last honors that the Lodge he so loved can confer on him.<sup>1</sup>

Thus, Charles Jeanneret, a quasi-homonym of Charles-Édouard Jeanneret, belonged to the Loge L'Amitié, where he was initiated on 20 June 1909 while Charles-Édouard Jeanneret was in Paris.<sup>2</sup> Despite claims to the contrary, Charles Jeanneret (1879–1965) is *not* Charles-Édouard Jeanneret (1887–1965).<sup>3</sup> The index card from the files of the Vichy secret police tells us nothing about Charles-Édouard Jeanneret.

In addition, an early-twentieth-century glass-plate photograph in the archives of the Loge L'Amitié shows Charles Jeanneret in the company of Georges Leuba on an excursion by the Loge L'Amitié to the mountains (figure 11.2). Now, Charles-Édouard Jeanneret did occasionally like to be photographed in disguise, but such photographs were for a purpose: they were intended to set a certain tone. For such posed publicity shots, Jeanneret preferred “props” such as Josephine Baker,

Albert Einstein, Nehru, or Picasso. André Wogenscky recalled that “Picasso came to spend a day at the construction site of the Unité d’habitation at Marseille. Le Corbusier had come down from Paris to welcome him. . . . Picasso was one of the very few contemporaries of Le Corbusier that the latter truly cared about. . . . All day long they vied to outdo each other with a show of modesty. Each one tried to place himself lower than the other.”<sup>4</sup> Picasso was a prop used by Le Corbusier in the presence of journalists and photographers as an *objet type* (a prototype) in the art of “Immaculate Conceptions.” Already in 1913, Le Corbusier had written to William Ritter about his desire not to be sucked into the prevailing clubs, societies, and circles of La Chaux-de-Fonds: “Because, dear Sir, is it counterproductive to live here? Have I more or less talent than L’Eplattenier, who has little? And will I, like him, become a member of the Club du Sapin and of the Loge? After 15 years? Or before? It is what I would describe as letting the flame die out.”<sup>5</sup> So, if Charles-Édouard Jeanneret was not a lodge member, in what ways and how were his adaptable, mediagenic, and *passé-partout* appropriations of Masonic and guild symbols meant to operate instrumentally?



11.2. Slide of Charles Jeanneret and Georges Leuba on mountain trip of the Section de Course de L’Amitié “Au Saentis,” 5–9 August 1922. (Courtesy of Archives of Loge L’Amitié.)

SECTION DE COURSE DE L'AMITIÉ «AU SAENTIS» 5-9 AOUT 1922

N° 46 59. Ch. Jeanneret & G. Leuba



PART IV

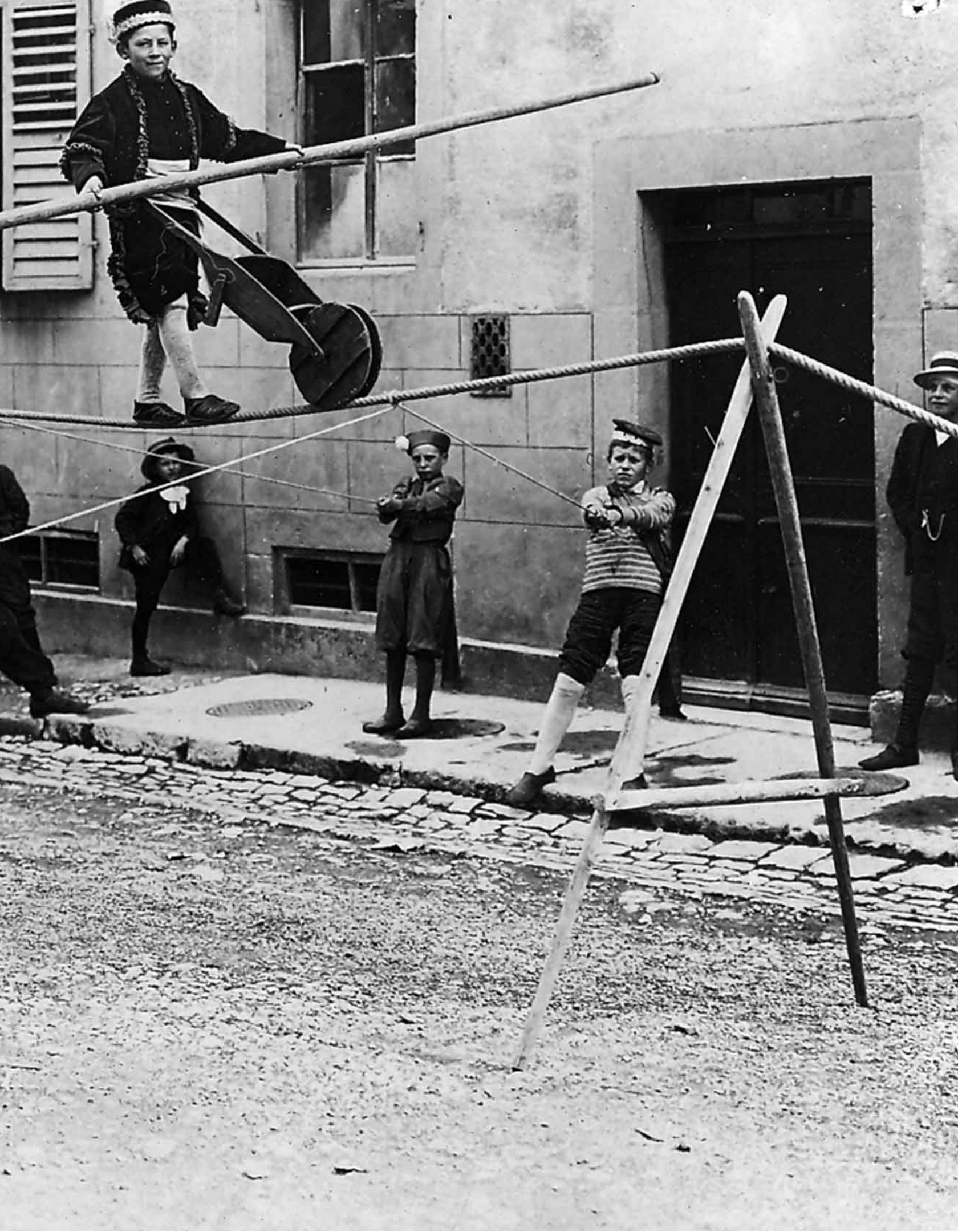
IN THE



# TWENTIETH CENTURY











previous pages:

Children playing at being circus acrobats from the Cirque Knie in La Chaux-de-Fonds. (Courtesy of Collection Iconographie, DAV, Bibliothèque de la Ville de La Chaux-de-Fonds.)

# 12 The Dwelling as the Temple of the Family



THE suggestive symbolism of such elements as right angle, compass, cross pattée, modulator, and *lignes régulatrices* (regulating lines)—described by Le Corbusier as “time-honored ideas, ingrained and deep-rooted in the intellect, like entries from a catechism, triggers of productive series of innate replies”<sup>1</sup>—spoke to diverse spectators and different audiences. Le Corbusier was well aware of this potential in describing how he “was credited with a thousand intentions he had never entertained, a hundred abilities he certainly does not possess, and contacts with the eternal past which he has never had the good fortune to establish. . . . A misunderstanding of this kind is not displeasing.”<sup>2</sup> Now, such receptivity was achieved by specific methods, which have been described in other historical cases.

Carmontelle’s design of the Parc Monceau (1783), including equally explicit Masonic references, was “less inclined to look for inspiration to the secret heart of freemasonry than to its public aspect.”<sup>3</sup> As his formal design strategy, Carmontelle used publicly understandable graphic images that were associated with specific Masonic individuals and institutions (in his time, the duc d’Orléans and the Grand Orient de France). Albert Boime has argued that the communicative power of Masonic symbolism lies in its capacity to configure and create a larger audience.<sup>4</sup>

In the case of Le Corbusier, a symbolism with an associated complex of ideas (moral, social, and spiritual)—that is, a symbology—variously sourced in francophone Freemasonry, the *compagnonnages*, notions of fraternity, and *esprit d’équipe* was received by widely different audiences. Le Corbusier’s instrumental use of this symbology, and others’ reception of it, have been seen in, for example, the ambivalent reactions of the *compagnonnages* and of individual *compagnons*, André

Pouphile's offering of *Naissance du monde nouveau annoncé par Emmanuel Swedenborg*<sup>5</sup> and Jean Cassou's copy of *Quand les cathédrales étaient blanches*. Thus, as in the case of André Pouphile, an aura of spiritualism was sensed by individuals with mystical proclivities. The theosophical and Freemasonic Ordre de L'Étoile d'Orient,<sup>6</sup> which "believe in the imminent arrival of a grand spiritual leader who will guide humanity," recommended to its members such books as Annie Bessant's *L'avenir imminent*, *Le monde de demain*, and *Le sentier des initiés*, and invited lecturers such as René Allendy and Le Corbusier, who on 10 November 1924 lectured on "L'esprit nouveau en architecture."<sup>7</sup> And René Allendy, himself deeply interested in the spiritual, offered signed copies of his books to Le Corbusier.<sup>8</sup> Such was even the case, it would seem, for André Wogenscky, who, as *chef d'atelier* (office manager) from 1942 to 1957, acted as liaison between Le Corbusier and his staff. Wogenscky did not draw; he organized, planned, and dealt with clients and administration, thus being remembered as "very important, but fairly invisible . . . his role was very much hidden, the letters he wrote were never seen: our relations with him were not always good because it was not his opinion that we wanted but that of Le Corbusier."<sup>9</sup> André Wogenscky recalled his days working for Le Corbusier in terms of one of Freemasonry's most emblematic images, that of humans' never-ending construction of themselves in search of greater perfection: "Le Corbusier's greatest influence on me, beyond architecture, was his attitude to life and his view that our main task is to construct ourselves, to build ourselves as we build a house, stone upon stone, to make ourselves worthy of the fine name of human, the only difference being that the human edifice is never finished."<sup>10</sup>

Le Corbusier, working with Lucien Hervé, one of his preferred photographers, also described himself in terms suggestive of emblematic Masonic imagery such as the rough versus polished stone (figure 12.1). Such allusions were detected acutely by the anti-Masonic opposition. René Allendy, Amédée Ozenfant, and Le Corbusier were all listed in the anti-Masonic "catalogue of names of profanes having participated in various activities of the Fédération Française du Droit Humain" in Switkow's *La Franc-Maçonnerie féminine: L'ordre maçonnique mixte international, le Droit Humain, répertoire de 2400 noms de frères et sœurs de l'Obéissance*.<sup>11</sup> But a second feature characterizes the logic of this symbology, which is its intended and deliberate illegibility. Many idiosyncratic attempts have been made at deciphering Le Corbusier's mystical and occult iconography, whose results end up inevitably in "wild, subjective fantasy."<sup>12</sup> (This study too, at certain moments, treads such slippery terrain—but precisely in order to explore the power of the intended illegibility and deliberate obfuscation of this symbology.) The point is that Le Corbusier's iconography is personal, mysterious, and secretive, if not, at times, blank. It is not, and is not meant to be, clearly and distinctly legible: its secretive quasi-Masonic appropriations are a fundamental resource, providing it with obfuscatory energy. Thus, what is usually presented as the *problem*—"Le Corbusier's spiritual agenda for architecture which still remains remarkably obscure"<sup>13</sup>—is in fact the

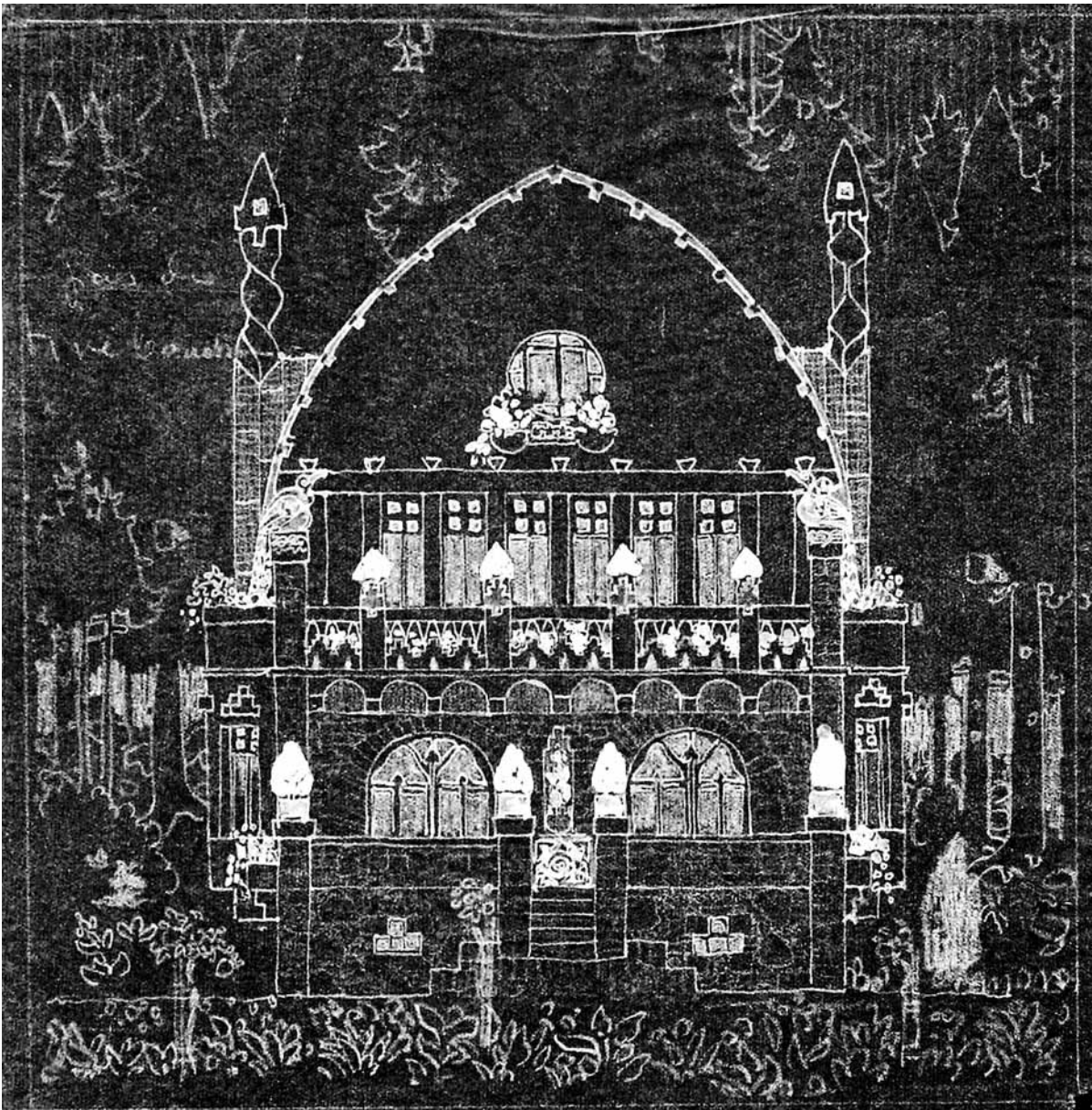


12.1. Lucien Hervé, *Les mains de Le Corbusier, Roquebrune-Cap-Martin* (1951). (Lucien Hervé, © 2007 FLC/ADAGP, Paris and DACS, London.)

*solution*. Enigma is aura, as Le Corbusier suggests in *New World of Space*: “In a complete and successful work there are hidden masses of implications, a veritable world which reveals itself to those whom it may concern, which means: to those who deserve it. Then a boundless depth opens up, effaces the walls, drives away contingent presences, accomplishes the miracle of ineffable space.”<sup>14</sup> And this aura, in that it “reveals itself to those whom it may concern,” parallels exactly the Masonic and *compagnonnique* notion of initiation as described by Oswald Wirth: “True Initiation needs to be lived, and therefore sensed, felt and deeply received, before it can be understood, just as life itself asserts itself in us long before we are capable of reflecting on it and constructing any consistent theory of it.”<sup>15</sup> There is a match between source and instrumentality that overlaps with the demands of modernist originality, itself predicated on enigmatic indecipherability. Reyner Banham captured this precisely in describing “Le Corbusier’s book [*Vers une architecture*], which was to prove to be one of the most influential, widely read and least understood of all the architectural writings of the twentieth century.”<sup>16</sup> Now, the notion of sources, which has overlaid onto it many other aspects such as the modern artist’s quest for originality,<sup>17</sup> is itself a historical phenomenon.

In the early twentieth century—a time of intense innovation and rethinking of the past, hence of profound transformations and adjustments in artists’ and architects’ conceptions about the relations between past and present—there was a revival of interest in the issue of creative sources. In 1908, for example, Manet’s use of Marcantonio Raimondi’s engraving of a lost Raphael as the direct source for *Le déjeuner sur l’herbe*—which had already been noticed by Ernest Chesneau in 1864<sup>18</sup>—was for the first time considered of sufficient importance to be subjected to art historical analysis. Gustav Pauli discussed it with Aby Warburg, who wrote that Manet “could tell the world that it was only those who shared in the spiritual heritage of the past who had the possibility of finding a style creating new expressive values. Such values derive the power of their thrust not from the removal of old forms but from the nuance of their transformation.”<sup>19</sup> And in 1922, even the distant eighteenth-century controversy (originally involving Robert Wood and François Blondel) about the relationship of the Louvre colonnade to the Roman architectural remains at Palmyra and Baalbeck was revived.<sup>20</sup> Similar issues of sourcing and of originality remained important to Le Corbusier throughout his life. Though he wrote, in 1954, to his brother Albert, “Do not hesitate to be original and to shake the dust off any academic ideal,”<sup>21</sup> he had, as we have seen, already written in 1908 into his copy of Viollet-le-Duc’s *Dictionnaire raisonné de l’architecture*, “I bought this work . . . in order to *learn*, because, *knowing* I will then be able to create.”<sup>22</sup> And he recounted his response in 1925 to Sigfried Giedion’s declaration, “The Pavillon de l’Esprit Nouveau is inexplicable in France; it is an impossible act”: “I replied to him: ‘Go to the Bibliothèque Nationale and study the iron and glass architecture of the French nineteenth century and you will see something marvelous.’”<sup>23</sup> And here the two strands that have been investigated in this research—the architecture of François-Joseph Belanger and the symbology of the Masonic Obédiences and the *compagnonnages*—come together.

- 12.2. Charles-Édouard Jeanneret, Villa Stotzer project (November 1907). (Bibliothèque de la Ville de La Chaux-de-Fonds, © 2007 FLC/ADAGP, Paris and DACS, London.)

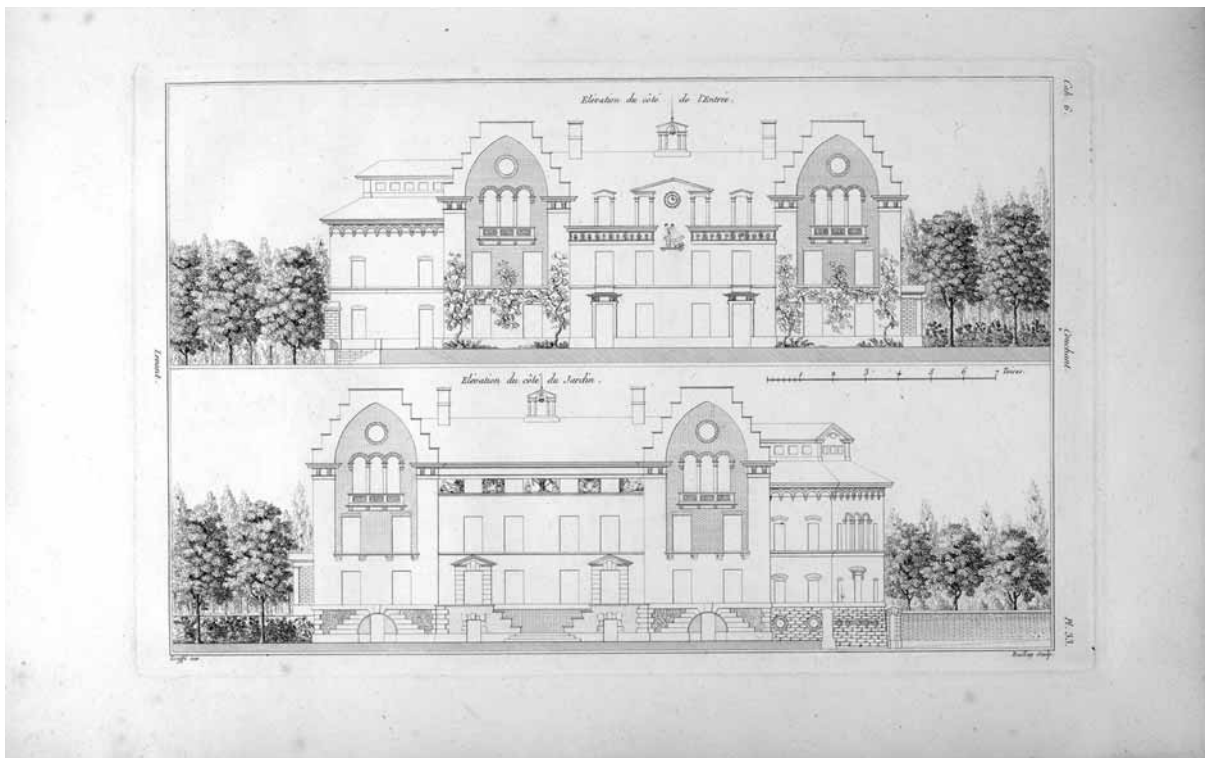


Describing the Villa Stotzer, H. Allen Brooks writes that “the pointed (Gothic) arch of the roof is entirely unexpected; it lacks precedence among Jeanneret’s self-proclaimed sources as well as in vernacular design.”<sup>24</sup> Geoffrey H. Baker believes that Le Corbusier’s main ideas for the Villa Stotzer (1907–1908) and for the Villa Jacquemet (1908) were already conceived by the dates of their respective sketches (figure 12.2).<sup>25</sup> These buildings, rendered in stucco with protruding side wings with overhanging roofs, were *pittoresque* more than regional; inexplicably for a young and inexperienced designer, “the timber structure is complex”<sup>26</sup> to such an extent that “being Jeanneret’s first



endeavor makes it even more remarkable, raising the question of what role others may have played in its design.”<sup>27</sup> Brooks notes: “Conspicuously absent is any real indebtedness to typical Jura buildings.”<sup>28</sup> For the design of the Villas Stotzer and Jacquemet, when his research was turned predominantly toward historical precedents,<sup>29</sup> Jeanneret made plasticine models while in Vienna. Now, in the library of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek are copies of Krafft’s publications (figure 12.3). Both the elevations and the roof structures of Charles-Édouard Jeanneret’s early villas are similar to those found in J. Ch. Krafft, *Plans, coupes et élévations de diverses productions de l’art de la charpente exécutées tant en France que dans les pays étrangers*, in which Krafft also explains that the geometry is set out to use a compass and timber structures specifically “built in pine.”<sup>30</sup> This book, as previously discussed, was also to be found in La Chaux-de-Fonds in the collection of William Bech, member of the Club Alpin Suisse Section La Chaux-de-Fonds and of the Loge L’Amitié, to whose library he offered his Krafft volume, bound in white calfskin leather and inscribed “Wilhelm Bech La Chaux-de-Fonds 1851.”

Allied to the question about the earliest date at which borrowing of plans, elevations, and sections from the architecture of Belanger and of architectural ideas in the symbology of



12.3. Elevations of Belanger’s country residence at Santeny, in J. Ch. Krafft, *Recueil d’architecture civile, contenant les plans, coupes et élévations des châteaux, maisons de campagne, et habitations rurales, jardins anglais, temples, chaumières, kiosques, ponts, etc, situés aux environs de Paris et dans les départemens voisins* (Paris: Imprimerie de Crapet, 1812), plate 33. (Archives J. K. Birksted.)

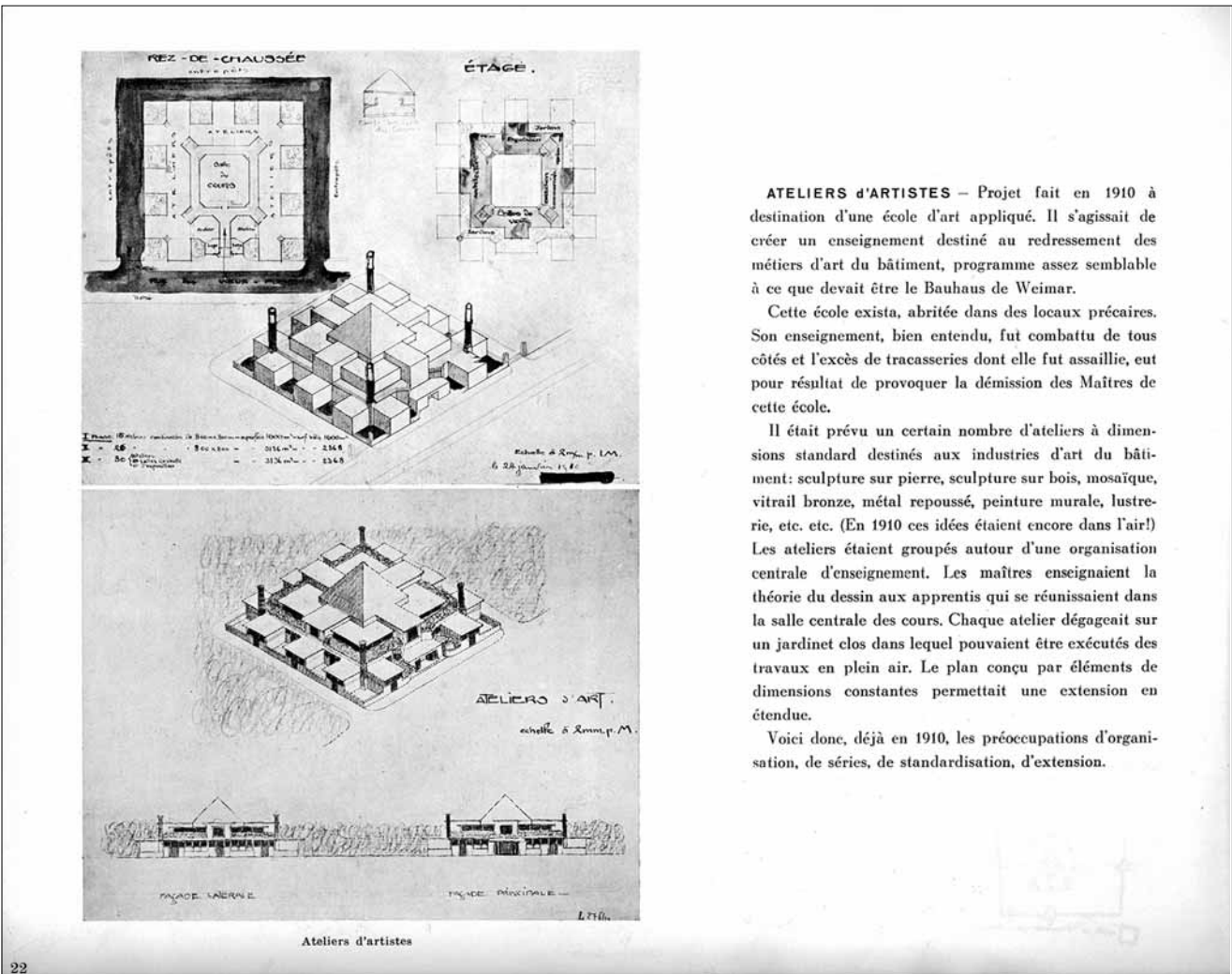
Freemasonry began is that of how long they lasted. To briefly recap. “Kraft et Ransonnette,” republished in 1909, was appraised as “étonnant à acheter” in the Autumn 1913 sketchbook. The tape from the 3M Company that holds together Le Corbusier’s copy of Krafft and Ransonnette was first marketed in France in 1951 (figure 1.40).<sup>31</sup> The *Poem of the Right Angle* is dated 1955. Now, a similar debate about sources has engulfed Pablo Picasso’s *Les demoiselles d’Avignon* (1907): Did the painting predate or postdate Picasso’s viewing of tribal art at the Musée du Trocadéro?<sup>32</sup> To what extent did *Les demoiselles d’Avignon* represent his borrowing from tribal art? Was it the spontaneous expression of the zeitgeist by an inherently intuitive genius or a plagiaristic expedient?<sup>33</sup> Whichever, a shared feature is present. Primitivist artists are not just representing the primitive, but are presenting their inner soul as primitive by “suggesting a more direct, unmediated mode of expression . . . [in order to appear as] a kind of innate savage, for whom the objects and stimulus within an unsophisticated culture enable rather than simply inspire the expression of what is thought to be inherent in the artist.”<sup>34</sup> Now, this is a well-trodden path in architecture, too. Joseph Rykwert has analyzed how, in eighteenth-century architecture, Masonic symbology became “a model of the quest for wisdom, as the rationalized form of the spiritual life in terms which implied that the daily details of the building trade were the proper exemplars of social reform.”<sup>35</sup> Le Corbusier deployed the apparel of the symbolism and ideology of *Franc-Maçonnerie* and the *compagnonnages* precisely to reenact a complex of social, moral, spiritual, and artistic values. But, in early-twentieth-century France, he was not the only architect to do so.

There was in France in the early twentieth century an architectural movement, stemming from Freemasonry and the *compagnonnages*, centered on ideas related to the medieval guilds. This movement included Albert Bernet (1883–1962),<sup>36</sup> author of *Joli cœur de Pouyastruc, tailleur de pierre, maître de l’œuvre, compagnon étranger de devoir de liberté* (1928),<sup>37</sup> *La morale professionnelle* (1920),<sup>38</sup> *Les maisons économiques* (1929);<sup>39</sup> Frédéric Brunet (1868–1932), author of *Les constructeurs de cathédrales* (1928),<sup>40</sup> *Le socialisme expérimental: Étude sociale* (1924),<sup>41</sup> *La solution coopérative: Pour le logement* (1911),<sup>42</sup> *Contre le logement cher* (1912),<sup>43</sup> *Les services publics: Les régies directes coopératives* (1909);<sup>44</sup> and Raoul Brandon (1878–1941), professor at the École Nationale des Beaux-Arts and author of *Théorie et pratique des ombres et des cadrans solaires* (1926),<sup>45</sup> *Nouveaux modèles de tombeaux*,<sup>46</sup> *Géométrie descriptive: Épures d’application*,<sup>47</sup> *L’architecture nouvelle: Constructions diverses et de style “Art Nouveau”* (1906).<sup>48</sup> These three architects were specifically interested in cooperative housing projects, the innovative use of concrete, social reform and low-cost housing, as well as the problematics of architectural symbolism and geometry (figure 12.4). But, despite the themes shared with Le Corbusier’s publications on the need for low-cost social housing, concrete construction, and harmonic geometries, they were working *inside* the symbology of the Masonic Obédiences and the *compagnonnages* to which they belonged. Le Corbusier, on the contrary, was working as outsider, able to instrumentally let his imagination freely roam. To this, he was able to add the ingredient of confrontational advocacy of Édouard Quartier-la-Tente père



12.4. Albert Bernet, house in Le Vésinet (Essone), from *Les maisons économiques* (Dourdan: Éditions H. Vial, 1929). (Courtesy of Musée du Compagnonnage, Tours.)

and of the heraldic quality of the Rite Écossais Rectifié. In October 1917, Charles-Édouard Jeaneret wrote to William Ritter, “This man seeks a banner. His coat-of-arms carries fists punching a field of faces, framed in gold, with rising sun and sap.”<sup>49</sup> Le Corbusier’s symbolism is neither a “vaguely defined spiritual presence”<sup>50</sup> nor “archi-sculpture . . . [and] aesthetic artifice”<sup>51</sup> without historical context and social relevance, as some have called it, but is securely based in particular historical contexts and social networks. Le Corbusier’s symbols instrumentally rework symbolologies from eighteenth-century traditions, by which they may seem “disquietingly prophetic and almost surrealistically antiquarian.”<sup>52</sup> Such are the pyramid-on-cube and entrance double-column motifs, found as early as in the Ateliers d’Art Réunis (1910) (figure 12.5). And these are also to be found in the Crématoire by Robert Belli, as well as the abattoirs by Louis Reutter (figure 12.6). (Reutter’s book *Fragments d’histoire neuchâteloise aux XVI<sup>ème</sup>, XVII<sup>ème</sup> et XVIII<sup>ème</sup> siècles*<sup>53</sup> is in Le



ATELIERS d'ARTISTES – Projet fait en 1910 à destination d'une école d'art appliqué. Il s'agissait de créer un enseignement destiné au redressement des métiers d'art du bâtiment, programme assez semblable à ce que devait être le Bauhaus de Weimar.

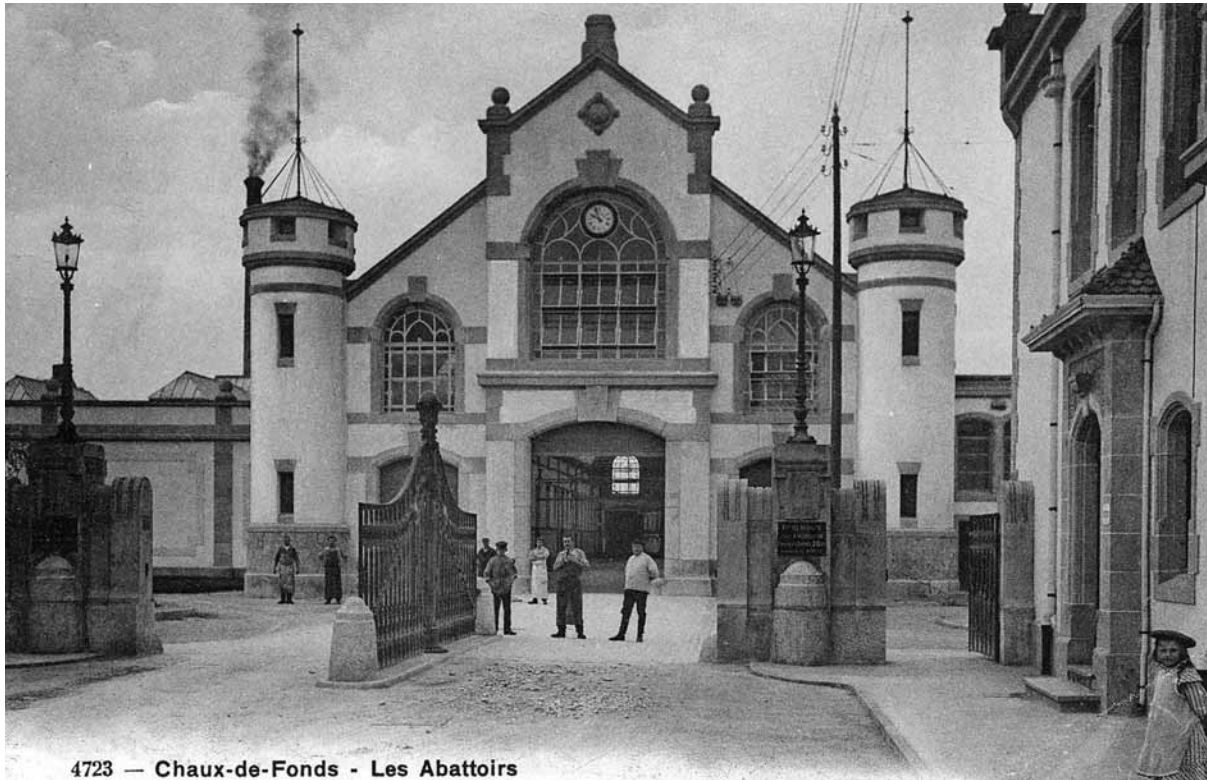
Cette école exista, abritée dans des locaux précaires. Son enseignement, bien entendu, fut combattu de tous côtés et l'excès de tracasseries dont elle fut assaillie, eut pour résultat de provoquer la démission des Maîtres de cette école.

Il était prévu un certain nombre d'ateliers à dimensions standard destinés aux industries d'art du bâtiment: sculpture sur pierre, sculpture sur bois, mosaïque, vitrail bronze, métal repoussé, peinture murale, lustrie, etc. etc. (En 1910 ces idées étaient encore dans l'air!) Les ateliers étaient groupés autour d'une organisation centrale d'enseignement. Les maîtres enseignaient la théorie du dessin aux apprentis qui se réunissaient dans la salle centrale des cours. Chaque atelier dégagait sur un jardinet clos dans lequel pouvaient être exécutés des travaux en plein air. Le plan conçu par éléments de dimensions constantes permettait une extension en étendue.

Voici donc, déjà en 1910, les préoccupations d'organisation, de séries, de standardisation, d'extension.

12.5. Ateliers d'Art Réunis project, in Charles-Édouard Jeanneret and Pierre Jeanneret, *Œuvre complète 1910–1929* (Erlenbach-Zurich: Éditions d'Architecture, 1946), p. 22. (© 2007 FLC/ADAGP, Paris and DACS, London.)

Corbusier's library.) But we also find the labyrinth, the spiral stairs, the sunken courtyard, and so forth through Le Corbusier's final works at Chandigarh and Saint-Pierre in Firminy-Vert, with its pyramid-on-cube and "its astral symbolism (circular holes in the east façade evoke the constellation of Orion),"<sup>54</sup> which recycles the Masonic star-spangled dome of the Loge L'Amitié (figures 3.1, 12.7). Le Corbusier's architectural and artistic symbology is *not* syncretic. Quite the opposite, his symbols are isomorphic to a single cohesive symbology derived from the Masonic Obédiences that *is* syncretic, as per the frontispiece of Bègue-Clavel's *Histoire pittoresque* and Serge Hutin's representation of the same eclectic collection, which encompass references to multiple traditions from ancient Egypt onward (figures 12.8, 12.9). Now, symbology is by definition *visual* and, according to Oswald Wirth, it has a particular mode of functioning:



12.6. Robert Belli, abattoirs of La Chaux-de-Fonds. (Courtesy of Collection Iconographie, DAV, Bibliothèque de la Ville de La Chaux-de-Fonds.)

Symbols do not act on the mind in the same way as texts: they generate thought and, as the field of thought is infinite, they have never suggested everything. If we advocate symbolism, it is because we have recognized it to be the most powerful stimulant of autonomous thought, derived from oneself. The philosophers who wear themselves out with words deafen us with their chatting, and far from making us think freely, they tend only to convert us to their system. Now, the superiority of symbols consists in the muteness that prevents them from preaching anything, while giving rise to reflection. . . . But the person who is brought by symbolism to meditation no longer detaches himself from it, for the image makes the mind work untiringly. A first idea that has arisen spontaneously summons another, which gives rise to a third, and so on, in uninterrupted generation.<sup>55</sup>

This Freemasonic symbology, indeed, is so syncretic that it encompasses a number of disparate elements. Such are references to the notion of the “Orient”<sup>56</sup> and to the Cathar tradition, which represents the purity of a primitive and “natural” religion. Indeed, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, there was a movement in France called *néo-catharisme* intersecting with Freemasonry, which was fascinated by the history of Catharism. *Néo-catharisme* originated with Napoléon Peyrat, author of the *Histoire des Albigeois* of 1880,<sup>57</sup> for whom the Cathars were a symbol



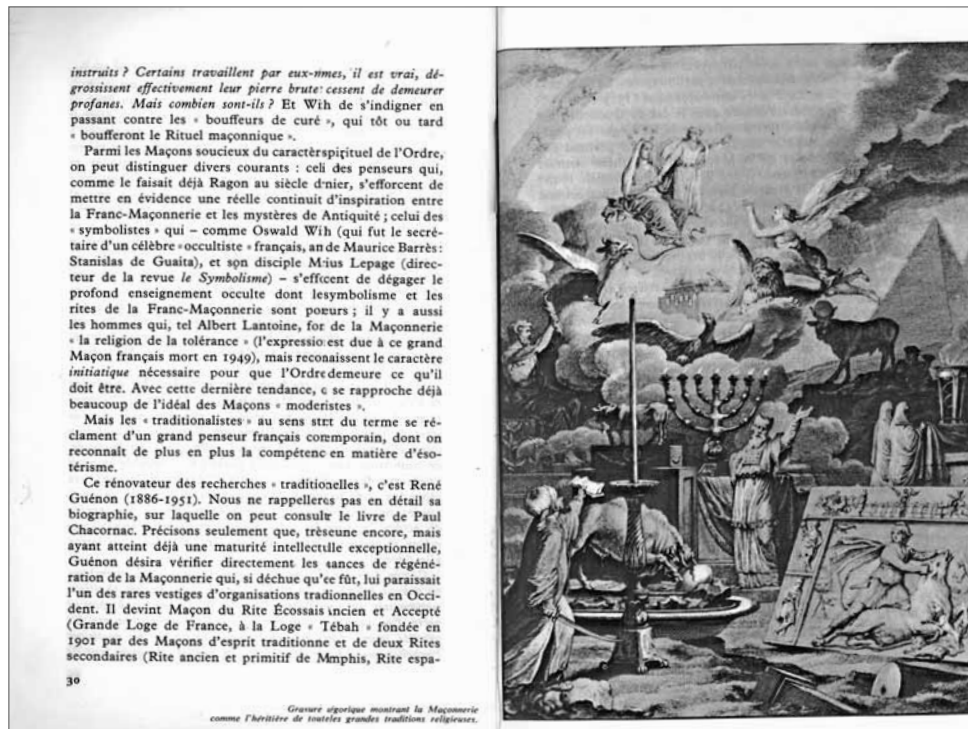
12.7. Le Corbusier, Église de Saint-Pierre, Firminy-Vert. (Photograph © J. K. Birksted. © 2007 FLC/ADAGP, Paris and DACS, London.)

of lost purity and perfection. Peyrat in turn inspired Déodat Roché (1877–1978), an esoteric, radical Freemason and *laïque* who was the second reinventor of the history of the Cathars in *Le catharisme* (1937), following his reading of Édouard Schuré.<sup>58</sup> At the time, aspects of Catharism were seen as built into the Scottish Rectified Rite via Martinès de Pasqually.<sup>59</sup> In his copy of Coigny-Saint Palais's *Esclarmonde de Foix, princesse cathare* (1956), Le Corbusier underlined the passage describing Cathar rituals and their survival in francophone Freemasonry:

These rites, since then unfathomable, these orally transmitted and distorted ceremonies, the legends that abound concerning these characters of the Middle Ages, these researches that are often impassioned but too rare and above all too costly, have generated a certain



12.8. François Timoléon Bègue-Clavel, *Histoire pittoresque de la Franc-Maçonnerie et des sociétés secrètes anciennes et modernes, illustrée avec 25 belles gravures sur acier* (Paris: Pagnerre, Éditeur, 1844), frontispiece. (Archives J. K. Birksted.)



12.9. Illustration of ancient traditions in Serge Hutin, *Les Francs-Maçons* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1960), in Le Corbusier's library. (Le Corbusier library, FLC 131.)

curiosity on every side. This element of mystery, which is still far from explained, is a constant temptation for researchers and scholars. Early religion, orally transmitted, had of necessity to evolve according to the specific places and mentalities; it would be interesting to be able to establish a parallel between those days and the present, recording the changes wrought by time, which destroys everything but preserves the hope in that as in all things. There are also some philosophers who dissect the texts so well that another religion might emerge from them, while preserving a name that is nowadays causing excitement in intellectual circles worldwide. . . . There are more or less occult sects that claim their descendants. . . . All this clearly indicates the extraordinary fascination that this problem, going back seven centuries, still exercises over thoughts. . . . Even outside our border . . . the old Fraternity of Manicheanism in Aquitaine had had to leave Occitania—which it found enslaved—in around 1275. Its members had taken the name of Rosicrucians in memory of the mystical Rose. For them, it was the flower of life, of light and love, beloved of the Middle Ages, and its ordered arrangement of petals represented the Heart of the elect in their harmonious hierarchy. Occultism had made this the symbol of the great work, blooming white and bright red, with a gold center on an azure stem. Now, this association has been admirably preserved in certain parts of the world.<sup>60</sup>

The notion, therefore, of the *Œuvre complète* being isomorphic to a syncretic system needs emphasizing. This unified symbology, which allows eclectic references, operated as a “function of cultural organization.”<sup>61</sup> This symbology—periodically articulated by publications such as *La ville radieuse*; *Quand les cathédrales étaient blanches*; *Le modulator*; *Des canons, des munitions? Merci! Des logis . . . s.v.p.*; *Sur les 4 routes*; *La maison des hommes*; *L’espace indicible*; *Le poème de l’angle droit*; *Croisade, ou le crépuscule des académies*<sup>62</sup>—allowed the *ne plus ultra* of true originality: mystery and indecipherability. In his quest for originality, Le Corbusier used his status as outsider to imaginatively dip into this symbology in order to selectively appropriate and freely invent—in a way profoundly different from that of Juan Gris, for example, for whom institutional Freemasonry was intertwined with a profound moment of crisis (aesthetic, personal, medical, social) at a moment when his art radically evolved. Here, an important difference exists between the symbolism of the *compagnonnages* and of the Masonic Obédiences.

For the *compagnonnages*, symbols point to single meanings, and these are specifically Christian. Thus, the ancient rituals of the seventeenth century, which were revealed during religious persecutions, indicate direct references between, for example, table linen and the shroud of Christ, rolled napkins and the crown of thorns. On the other hand, Masonic symbolism, which considers that there is a plurality of meanings, is analogical and is designed to foster individual investigation of the primary meaning, in contrast to the *compagnonnage* where symbolism is intended to suggest specific religious references. Masonic symbols are multidimensional and semiotic; their purpose is



to initiate a *réveil* (awakening), hence their deliberately ambiguous suggestibility. And such was Le Corbusier's design process, which he described as "a box into which the elements of a problem can be poured in a jumble. This is then allowed to 'float,' 'simmer,' or 'ferment.' Then one day, a spontaneous initiative emerges from your inner being, something clicks into place. You take a pencil, a piece of charcoal, some colored pencils (color is the key of the process) and lean over the paper: the idea emerges, the child emerges, it has come into the world, it is born."<sup>63</sup>

From within similarly associational Masonic structures, Ledoux and Le Camus de Mézières operated systems of "nonlinear narrative structures, anticipating surrealist techniques and cinematographic montage."<sup>64</sup> This associational method, which involves a notion of corporeality such that "the vocabulary and perhaps also the conceptual resources of contemporary art history have yet to come fully to terms with the corporeal imagination,"<sup>65</sup> allowed Le Corbusier to achieve several critical strategies. It allowed him not just to represent the survival and renewal of ancient moral and spiritual values, but also to present *himself* as recovering such ancient moral and spiritual values, to present himself as the link between past, present, and future. As he wrote in 1930: "If you only knew the happiness I experience when I can genuinely say: My revolutionary ideas are in history 'across the centuries and across the continents.'"<sup>66</sup> This attempt to rise to the higher plane of the eternal and the universal, and thus above political and ideological divisions, was indeed received as such in contemporary publications such as Émilie Lefranc's *Des pharaons à Le Corbusier: Esquisse d'une histoire de l'architecture*.<sup>67</sup> To this end, in the spirit of the Masonic *Trois Voyages* and the *compagnonnique* Tour de France, the very concept of an *Œuvre complète* was fundamental as a reenactment of the enduring quest that, in the literary Masonic tradition, is paradigmatically embodied in the notion of the *Bildungsroman*.

These appropriations, however, put Charles-Édouard Jeanneret on a collision course with his closest, and genuine, Masonic collaborators, like Paul Dermée, who upheld the francophone Masonic values of republican *égalité* and *fraternité* against unbridled individualistic artistic *liberté*. In *L'Esprit Nouveau*, Dermée leaned toward *l'esprit* while Charles-Édouard Jeanneret leaned toward the *nouveau*.

And yet dipping into the symbology of this ancient syncretic system provided Le Corbusier not only with iconographic references but also with a sense of a vision of deeper moral values, social ideals, spiritual purposefulness, and phenomenological experience. And, in turn, these affected him (whether authentically, vicariously, or falsely).<sup>68</sup> Just as tribal art provided an appropriative basis for primitivism in art, the values of francophone Freemasonry and the *compagnonnages* provided the basis for a form of architectural primitivism that he continuously sought to be associated with, as in the exhibition "Les arts dits primitifs dans la maison d'aujourd'hui," arranged with Louis Carré in their respective apartments at rue Nungesser-et-Coli (1935). But, whereas tribal artifacts provided modernist artists in the early twentieth century with the perfect materials for primitivism, these were not readily available to the modernist architect, who was dealing with the

altogether different medium of built space and the realities of building production. Le Corbusier sourced his needs in the symbology of francophone Freemasonry; his adaptation of it stood to his *Œuvre complète* as tribal art stood to artistic primitivism. In other words, as primitivism in art stands to the “primitive” via tribal art, so Le Corbusier’s *Œuvre complète* used Freemasonic and guild symbology to develop a conception that can be called “Freemasonism.” And yet it left its mark on its user. Masonicism opened up new visions by allowing the bridging of otherwise unbridgeable categories. Just as primitivism allowed the bridging of art with the decorative arts, Freemasonism allowed the connection of otherwise equally unbridgeable categories, such as social housing with monumentality: ordinary housing could be imbued with the monumentality of the temple (and its architect with that of the temple’s creator). Reconstructing the temple of humanity, in order to recapture the lost state of innocence and responsibility before the destruction of Solomon’s Temple, was the fundamental symbolic task of francophone Freemasonry. Le Corbusier himself repeatedly compared the domestic house to a temple; for example, in *Towards a New Architecture* he wrote: “You may see, in some archaeological work, the representation of this sanctuary: it is the plan of a house, or the plan of a temple,”<sup>69</sup> and “Since 1920, I have considered the dwelling as the temple of the family—the temple of man which once served as a home for the gods,”<sup>70</sup> and again, in the unpublished “Fonds du sac,” we find the statement, “I have devoted forty years of my life to studying the dwelling place. I have brought the Temple back into the family, *into the home*. I have reestablished the conditions of nature in human lives.”<sup>71</sup> In an article about the planned Unité d’habitation in Marseille in *L’homme et l’architecture* (1947), Le Corbusier specifically juxtaposed photographs of Egyptian temples with photographs of his Cité Radieuse, including statues of Egyptian gods standing among the *pilotis* of the model for the building (figure 12.10).<sup>72</sup>

Now, the research problem at the outset of this book was to develop methods that were rigorous yet receptive to the elusive and fragmentary subject matter while taking into account its historical context. As mentioned earlier, Carlo Ginzburg argued that in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the time period studied here, an epistemological paradigm developed typified by the methods of Giovanni Morelli, Sigmund Freud, and Arthur Conan Doyle’s Sherlock Holmes.<sup>73</sup> Morelli developed an empirical method for observing elusive evidence that involved “taking marginal and irrelevant details as revealing clues,”<sup>74</sup> on the principle that “every true artist is committed to the repetition of certain characteristic forms or shapes.”<sup>75</sup> This book has tracked the repetitions throughout the “Immaculate Conceptions” of Le Corbusier’s *Œuvre complète* that follow the plans, sections, and elevations of François-Joseph Belanger, and of the Masonic symbology used by individuals around Charles-Édouard Jeanneret in La Chaux-de-Fonds and Paris. In La Chaux-de-Fonds, the Freemasons included family, architectural competitors, acquaintances, town notables, and patrons; in Paris, they included friends, collaborators, and patrons. In reply to the criticism of Morelli’s method that it places no importance on historical context, the historical context has here been extensively taken into account.<sup>76</sup> This research has complemented Morelli’s

ESTHÉTIQUE

# La maison radiieuse...

PAR

DANIELLE JANIN



*D'aucuns trouveront présomptueux de parler ici d'esthétique puisque l'œuvre n'a pas encore pris corps dans la réalité matérielle.*

*Certes, il sera aisé de juger de ta plastique quand tu te dresseras dans le ciel méditerranéen, unité d'habitation de Le Corbusier. Et peut-être voudra-t-on me faire payer cher mon audace...*

*Qu'importe. Je te vois si bien, éblouissante de vie avec tes loggias colorées comme autant d'yeux ouverts sur le monde.*

*Il y a en toi une sûreté, une plénitude et un calme qui semble protéger toute cette vie humaine et lui faire entrevoir*

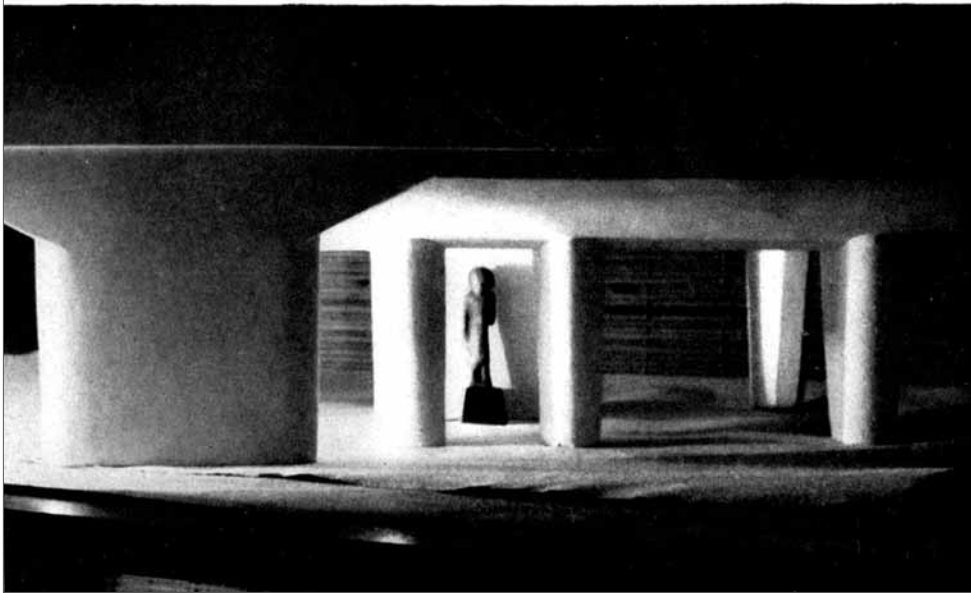


Photo « L'Homme et l'Architecture »

approach with a comprehensive system of evidence, structured on Charles S. Peirce's notions of trace, index, icon, and symbol, discussed in the first chapter.<sup>77</sup> And because, as Peirce wrote, "in a perfect system of logical notation, signs of these several kinds must all be employed,"<sup>78</sup> they have been corroborated against each other. When the research has tracked elusive and fragmentary evidence, an unavoidable detective-like quality has evolved, as in Rosalind Krauss's allusion to Sherlock Holmes: "No longer the tale of the crime's commission, it is now the story of the deed's detection. As Holmes liked to explain to Watson, it becomes a matter of 'reasoning backwards.'"<sup>79</sup> This research has likewise attempted to reason backward from clues discovered in the interstices of Jeanneret/Le Corbusier's erasures. Now, curiously, Arthur Conan Doyle, Sherlock Holmes's inventor, was himself initiated into Freemasonry on 26 January 1887, raised to Companion on 23 February 1887, to Master on 23 March 1887, demitted in 1889, rejoined in 1902, and finally demitted in 1911, being thus associated with the Phoenix Lodge 257, Southsea, Hampshire. Is there a connection between subject matter and research techniques? In accordance with Thomas Kuhn's argument in *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*,<sup>80</sup> whereby the validity of an explanatory theory is its ability to account for a greater range of phenomena than previously, the research findings have been tested against both preceding research and a wider range of phenomena. This research has tried to contribute to the dismantling of simplified modernist historiography, what Anthony Vidler calls the continuing "Enlightenment dream of rational and transparent space, as inherited by modernist utopianism."<sup>81</sup> This research has neither dwelt upon the talent and genius of Le Corbusier, nor reiterated the already documented ways in which Le Corbusier used deceptions to achieve notoriety and commissions.<sup>82</sup> Nor has this research delved into the minutiae of one episode or building, which many studies have already excellently done.<sup>83</sup> Instead, it has tried to map the structure of the cultural and social configurations that underlie Le Corbusier's *Œuvre complète*.

Now, on 20 May 1916, in La Chaux-de-Fonds, a large demonstration gathered outside Grosch & Greiff, a department store, and windows were broken. On 3 September 1916, another unlawful public demonstration led to the temporary military occupation of La Chaux-de-Fonds. On 24 January 1917, a large demonstration marked the release from prison of Jules Humbert-Droz, imprisoned as a conscientious objector. Charles-Édouard Jeanneret attributed to this volatile political situation, and to socialism, the blame for his increasingly intractable problems. Upon moving to Paris, he took with him his personal portable pattern book, the Krafft and Ransonnette, as well as a symbology that provided him with a personal structure in order to appear "the quintessential rationalist in public, yet in private [to] create a strange and personal visual mythology."<sup>84</sup> In his late, unpublished "Fonds du sac," he developed the time-honored Masonic image of the rough versus polished stone, to "harmonize oneself, through simple necessity and polite deference, with the cosmos. Just as the pebble that is polished without losing any of its specific characteristics has become something with which we can coexist, having lost its crude and arbitrary *temporary* roughness."<sup>85</sup>

Thus, through three major formal apprenticeships (with Auguste Perret in Paris, with Peter Behrens in Berlin, and on the *voyage d'Orient* to Istanbul), through multiple companionships (Charles L'Eplattenier, Charles Humbert, William Ritter, Sébastien Voirol, Amédée Ozenfant), Le Corbusier rose to become, in the world of architecture, truly venerable. In the architecture of Belanger, he found the architectural plans, sections, elevations, and ideas that were needed to resource the intuitive “flashes of unexpected insight” for his continuous “Immaculate Conceptions.” He had observed the usefulness of such “outsourcing” while in Behrens’s office, writing to William Ritter, “Here is a tracing of the postcard that was on Behrens’s desk when designing the embassy.”<sup>86</sup>

In the symbology that he first encountered in La Chaux-de-Fonds and Le Landeron, Le Corbusier found a strategy that was adjustable and mediagenic; it also demonstrated empathy with, and therefore provided access to, private patrons in La Chaux-de-Fonds before 1912 (Villas Fallet, Stotzer, and Jacquemet) through its craft guild-like associations. And then again, from 1912 to 1917, it provided empathy with, and therefore access to, private Freemasonic patrons by sending out Freemasonic signals.<sup>87</sup> It failed in La Chaux-de-Fonds in one critical respect, however, in that it did not provide access to civic and public patrons because he was not a member of L’Amitié, nor did he uphold its values of civic honesty and professional decency. (In any case, after 1912, the presence of the Loge L’Amitié in the administration and politics of La Chaux-de-Fonds diminished.) Then, in Paris after 1917, this same symbology again provided access to both intellectual and artistic elites and public patrons in the Third Republic and beyond, with a disastrous hiatus under the Vichy regime. When the Vichy regime abruptly proscribed this symbology, Le Corbusier unsuccessfully rebranded it as patriotic and traditionalist in the spirit of the *compagnonnages*. During the new postwar world of reconstruction and Gaullism, Le Corbusier’s strategy was once again successful when those war survivors who appreciated this symbology came to prominence in the administration and politics of reconstruction, as well as in the world of culture and museums.<sup>88</sup> Such was Jean Cassou—sacked as Conservateur du Musée du Luxembourg (1940), member of the group at the Musée de l’Homme (with Boris Vildé, Anatole Levitsky, Paul Rivet) who distributed the journal *Résistance*, Agent P 2 of the Réseau Bertaux until his arrest, author of *33 sonnets composés au secret*<sup>89</sup>—who became director of the Musée National d’Art Moderne (1946–1965). Masonic symbology was for Le Corbusier not only a matter of “management of social mobility,”<sup>90</sup> as in the tradition of the eighteenth century, but a matter of management of personal motility. It was in this sense that, in scribbled notes toward the unpublished “Fonds du sac,” he recapped his life’s work:

I am credited with occult capacities:  
Mathematics, numbers and so on . . .  
I am ascribed occult powers.  
I am denounced as belonging to secret groups

I have only ever engaged in a collective task, CIAM  
Open, hardworking, and without contributions or money.<sup>91</sup>

In this denial of any symbolic and clandestine associations, the reference to the Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne (CIAM)—with their internecine conflicts, budgetary contributions from national CIAM groups, and financial tribulations<sup>92</sup>—arose spontaneously, the factual denial confirming the imaginative association.



POSTSCRIPT

GROWING

UP IN PARIS



Sattelliücke (Oberaleksch)





ssalmepoz 11



previous pages:

Ascent of Saltellücke  
(Oberaletsch), from Georges-  
Édouard Jeanneret's photograph  
album, ca. 1890s. (Courtesy of  
Collection Iconographie, DAV,  
Bibliothèque de la Ville de La  
Chaux-de-Fonds.)

**IN** 1960 in his autobiographical *Creation Is a Patient Search*, Le Corbusier would refer to the Gallet family from La Chaux-de-Fonds:

And this maxim . . . , “CE QUE TU FAIS, FAIS-LE,” turned up again a few days ago at the foot of the card announcing the death of L-C’s mother, Marie-Charlotte-Amélie Jeanneret-Perret, who died in her hundredth year on 15th January 1960: “Ce que tu fais, fais-le” (Whatever you do, see that you do it), the motto of the Gallet family of La Chaux-de-Fonds, who also came from the South of France.<sup>1</sup>

In 1890 and 1893, Georges-Édouard Jeanneret had reported that Léon Gallet—watch industrialist, politician, promoter of the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Vénérable of the Loge L’Amitié<sup>2</sup>—had addressed the annual banquet of the Club Alpin Suisse Section La Chaux-de-Fonds.<sup>3</sup> Léon Gallet is also featured on a mountaineering photograph of the Club Alpin Suisse Section La Chaux-de-Fonds (figure 4.1). And on 7 February 1893, Georges-Édouard Jeanneret noted a dinner with friends, including the Gallet brothers.<sup>4</sup> The Gallet family had been a most successful and prestigious family and household name in La Chaux-de-Fonds. Along with Jules Ducommun-Robert, Léon Gallet offered the money to purchase the land necessary for the creation of the Crèche de la Promenade. It was also Léon Gallet who, after his period as Vénérable but still as president of the Commission de la Crèche, provided the actual monies necessary for its construction (figure 6.6). Gallet again was responsible for obtaining the monies for the extension to the Loge L’Amitié (1895).<sup>5</sup> In departing

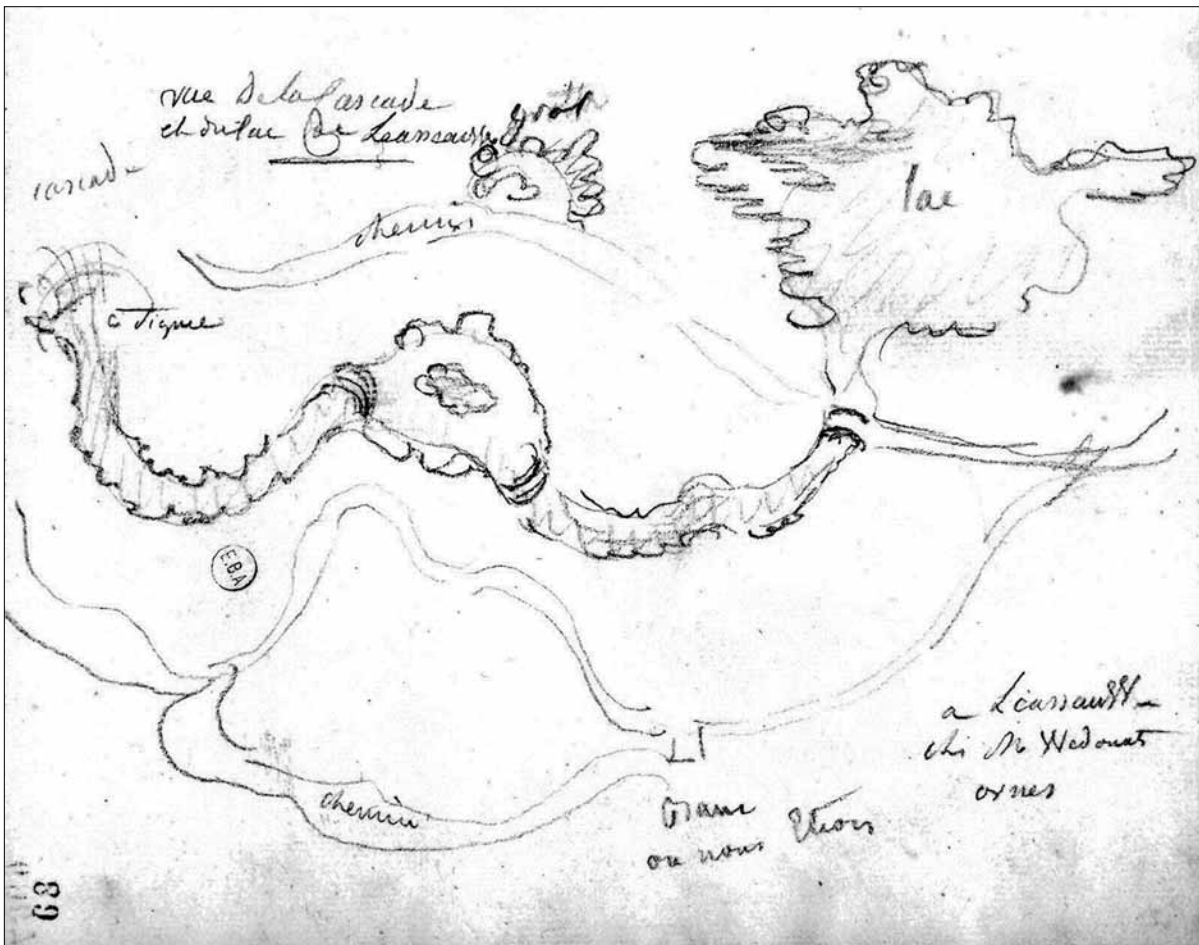
from La Chaux-de-Fonds, Charles-Édouard Jeanneret had taken with him such reference points as the Gallet family. He had also taken with him a configuration of symbolic meanings, which resurfaced at critical moments—those “time-honored ideas, ingrained and deep-rooted in the intellect, like entries from a catechism, triggers of productive series of innate replies,”<sup>6</sup> which have been analyzed in depth throughout this research. Like Joseph Rykwert’s study of Johannes Itten and the Bauhaus, this research has explored a case of “diversity and richness, and the awareness on the part of some of its masters of the deeper issues touched.”<sup>7</sup> And as for Aby Warburg, this research has “had to emancipate himself from this unhistorical view to make us aware of the importance which patrons and artists of the period attached to types of subject matter which can no longer be explained without drawing on forgotten esoteric lore.”<sup>8</sup>

This symbology performed particular functions. At the death of his wife, Yvonne, Le Corbusier paid tribute to her as having had a “caractère magnifique (<+).”<sup>9</sup> In his copy of Jean Gimpe’s *Les bâtisseurs de cathédrales* of 1958, he had circled the sentence about Freemasonry being “a particular system of ethics, concealed by allegories and illustrated by symbols” (figure 9.7).<sup>10</sup> The article on “L’angle droit” in *L’Esprit Nouveau* described the simultaneous emotional experience and symbolic geometry of the right angle, defined as “not only a carrier of meaning, but also as a physiological action upon our senses.”<sup>11</sup> These symbolic meanings connected with those early experiences in La Chaux-de-Fonds when, for example, William Matthey-Claudet in an article in *Pages d’Art* had compared L’Eplattenier to “a medieval master craftsman.”<sup>12</sup> A quarter of a century later, Le Corbusier echoed these ideas in *Quand les cathédrales étaient blanches* (1937) when describing how, in the Middle Ages, “The law of numbers was transmitted from mouth to mouth among initiates, after the exchange of secret signs.”<sup>13</sup> Thus, the endless intuitive “flashes of unexpected insight”—from the initial insight in 1914 into the “perfect and complete conception of an entire system of construction, anticipating all future problems”<sup>14</sup>—were to be built on two separate but interrelated foundations.

First was an eighteenth-century modernist precedent providing continuous new architectural *partis*—complete with plans, sections, and elevations (and sustained by that handy modern invention, adhesive tape). The importance of this precedent—visible from his apartment at 24, rue Nungesser-et-Coli with its views “over gardens that are in the forefront at Boulogne,”<sup>15</sup> that is, Belanger’s extant architecture in the Bois de Boulogne and Neuilly—is recorded in the *Œuvre complète* (figure 1.40). Overlaying this precedent was an initiatory symbology implying a vision of architectural space (the “architectural promenade” and “ineffable space”) and of the architect’s moral role in society. These two foundations would provide the concrete materials and the intellectual resources necessary to become, as he was described by his friend Jean Cassou, “that architect who was so powerful and who wanted to transform human lives.”<sup>16</sup> Le Corbusier had thus managed to find the answer to the questions addressed to Perret: “Who are your ideals? Where did the beginnings of modern concepts emerge? Would you please inform me? Once again, I know nothing. . . .

Who are the ideals, where is the line of force?”<sup>17</sup> Now, these two foundations are interconnected, because Belanger’s architecture was itself configured in a comparable cultural context.

Belanger’s important patrons belonged to Freemasonry in France, which developed in the eighteenth century. These patrons included Étienne Morel de Chefdeville (1747–1814) of the Loge Saint-Jean d’Écosse du Contrat Social (1778); François-Louis-Jean-Joseph de La Borde de Méréville (1761–1802) of the Loge La Fidélité (1782) and La Société Olympique (1786); and Charles-Joseph (prince) de Ligne (1735–1814) of the Loge Saint-Jean de Montmorency-Luxembourg (1773).<sup>18</sup> Belanger’s architecture is itself composed around the notions of the promenade, of deep space, of natural vegetation, and of stark contrasts between darkness and light (figures 13.1, 13.2, 13.3). Like Belanger’s Anglo-Chinese gardens at Bagatelle and the Folie Saint-James, Le Corbusier described his vision of how urban space “shows, still standing among the masses of foliage of the new parks, certain historical monuments, arcades, doorways, carefully preserved, it safeguards the relics of the past



13.1. François-Joseph Belanger, “Carnet de voyages en Angleterre.” (Courtesy of École des Beaux-Arts, ENSBA EBA 1762 pc 12760, p. 68.)

13.2. François-Joseph Belanger,  
"Carnet de voyages en  
Angleterre." (Courtesy  
of École des Beaux-Arts,  
ENSBA EBA 1762 pc12760,  
p. 9.)

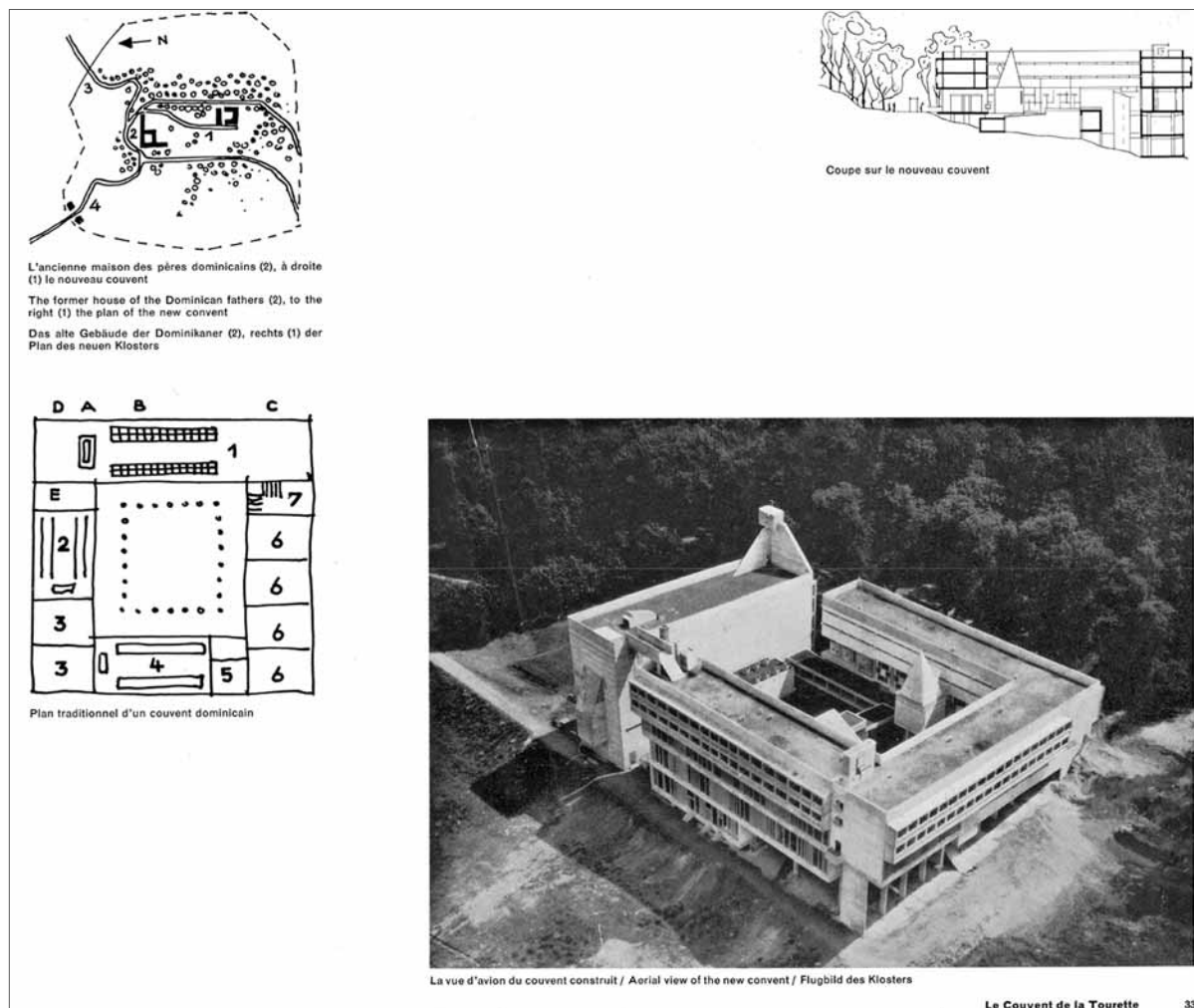


13.3. François-Joseph Belanger's  
house. (© Rheinisches  
Bildarchiv, RBA 67 845.)



and enshrines them harmoniously in a framework of trees and woods . . . carefully tended in which people may breathe, dream and learn.”<sup>19</sup> To show how pervasively these references affected the architectural and spatial qualities of his *Œuvre complète*, La Tourette provides a final critical test case.

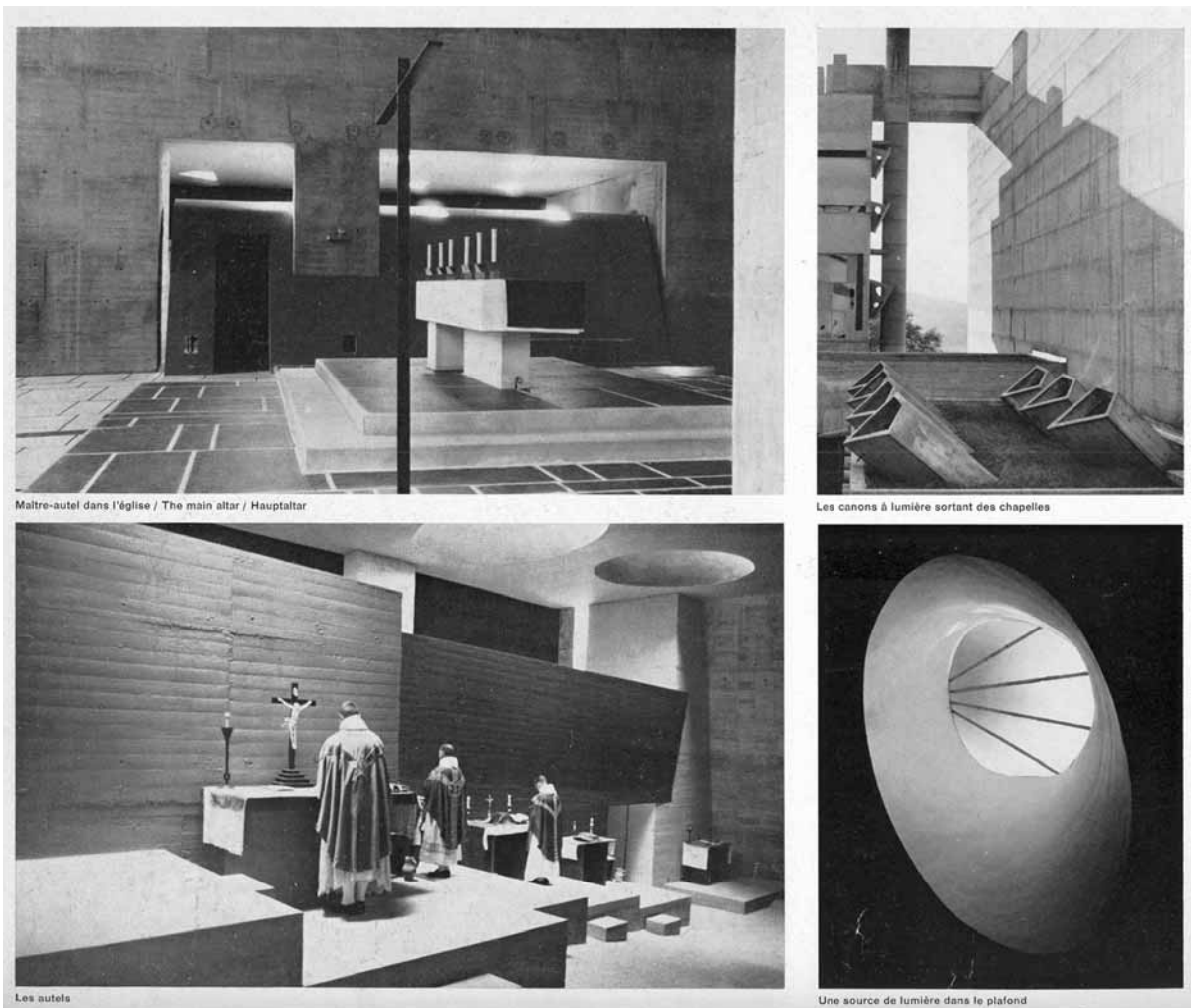
On the stipulation of Le Corbusier’s religious clients, La Tourette was modeled on the twelfth-century Abbey of Le Thoronet.<sup>20</sup> Yet even though this piece of architecture was modeled on an explicit precedent, these same architectural and spatial qualities recur: the basic symbolic forms of pyramid on cube (figure 13.4), the Cabinet de Réflexion (in the form of the side chapels) (figure 13.5), the Trois Voyages (the labyrinthine corridors and stairs, and the subterranean passageway to the side chapels), the indescribably ineffable space of the church itself, and, ubiquitously, the powerful contrasts between symbolic darkness and light.



13.4. La Tourette, in Le Corbusier, *Œuvre complète 1957–1965* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1965), p. 33. (© 2007 FLC/ADAGP, Paris and DACS, London.)



- 13.5. Le Corbusier, *Œuvre complète 1957–1965* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1965), p. 50.  
 (© 2007 FLC/ADAGP, Paris and DACS, London.)

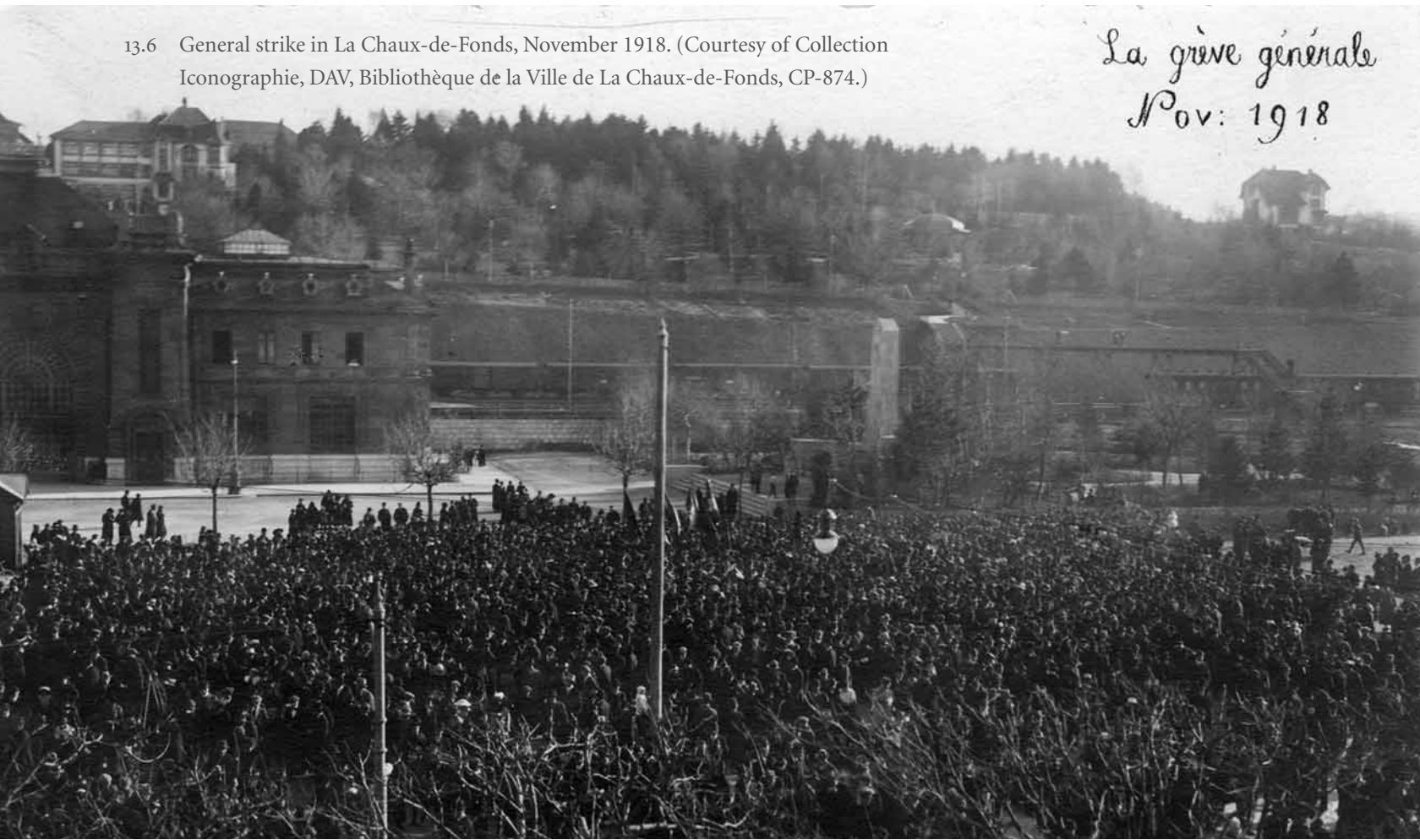


But, revealing a curious double entendre that problematizes how Charles-Édouard Jeanerret might have conceptualized the very basics of his identity and of his entire *Œuvre complète*, Cassou—speaking of his novel based on Le Corbusier, *Le centre du monde*<sup>21</sup>—explained that the concept of “architect” was for him not a professional actuality but a symbolic one: “the architect [in *Le centre du monde*], in any case, is truly symbolic. . . . He is the individual who is useful to others, the constructor. . . . I accept that there are characters whose professional titles are symbolic.”<sup>22</sup> Now, for an architect who is intent on achieving originality and genius, to find a perfect precedent and a perfect symbology shows real originality and genius. And for an architect who avows that “to be an architect is nothing, you have to be a poet,”<sup>23</sup> to pinpoint a perfect precedent and a perfect symbology is true poetry too. But, above all, for someone who is intent on originality and genius, to find, in the first place, the perfect symbolic *profession* truly shows a poetics of originality and genius.

In the meantime, as the storm clouds of professional demeanor and of sweeping post-war societal changes gathered in La Chaux-de-Fonds in 1917, Jeanneret's father noted in his diary, "Édouard has left La Chaux-de-Fonds definitively, has closed his office and is establishing his home in Paris. He left us yesterday and it is with a heavy heart that we separate ourselves from a beloved son who has given us much joy; but his ethos and his ideas do not suit our public here."<sup>24</sup> Indeed, on Sunday, 18 March 1917, Vladimir Ilich Ulyanov (the future Lenin) and Ernest-Paul Graber addressed the Cercle Ouvrier de La Chaux-de-Fonds at their offices at 15, rue du 1<sup>er</sup>-mars at a meeting arranged by the local socialist party and the Internationaler Arbeiterverein to commemorate the anniversary of the Paris Commune of 1871. Ulyanov discussed the strategic mistakes made by the Communards—their failure to take over communications, transport, and financial institutions. A money collection brought in 11,15 Swiss francs for the *fonds Liebknecht*, and a lottery for a watch produced another 11 francs in aid of Russian refugees in La Chaux-de-Fonds.<sup>25</sup> From the train station in La Chaux-de-Fonds, Ulyanov returned to Geneva and thence to St. Petersburg's Finland Station to direct the Russian revolution. On 17 May 1917, Ernest-Paul Graber, editor of the socialist newspaper *La Sentinelle*, was imprisoned after writing libelous articles against the army.<sup>26</sup> On 19 May 1917, a crowd stormed the prison and liberated him. Since La Chaux-de-Fonds was again occupied by the army, Paul Graber voluntarily returned to prison and the troops left on 3 July 1917.<sup>27</sup> More strikes, industrial instability, and the end of La Chaux-de-Fonds's global authority in watchmaking were looming (figure 13.6).

13.6 General strike in La Chaux-de-Fonds, November 1918. (Courtesy of Collection Iconographie, DAV, Bibliothèque de la Ville de La Chaux-de-Fonds, CP-874.)

La grève générale  
Nov: 1918



Once again, Charles-Édouard Jeanneret departed from the train station of La Chaux-de-Fonds, but this time definitively. With him he took those “time-honored ideas, ingrained and deep-rooted in the intellect, like entries from a catechism, triggers of productive series of innate replies”<sup>28</sup> that would serve him so well. As if specially for him, on this 4 October 1917, the early morning mist, as predicted by *La Feuille d’Avis*, lifted to reveal clear blue skies.

# Notes

## Acknowledgments

1. Bronislaw Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific: An Account of Native Enterprise and Adventure in the Archipelagoes of Melanesian New Guinea* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1922), p. xix.
2. For Michel de Certeau, history is similar to the seventeenth-century literary and musical genre of the *tombeau* which gave voice to the past to lay it to rest, thus honoring and banishing it. De Certeau, for whom history was a form of hermeneutics of loss, defined a form of historiography based on the aporia between science and fiction, whose subject was the haunting traces of the past in the present. See “Michel de Certeau,” in *Dictionnaire international de la psychanalyse*, ed. Alain de Mijolla (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 2002), pp. 290–291.
3. Michael Fried, *Menzel’s Realism: Art and Embodiment in Nineteenth-Century Berlin* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002); Timothy J. Clark, *Farewell to an Idea: Episodes from a History of Modernism*

(New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999); Rosalind E. Krauss, *The Optical Unconscious* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1993).

## Preamble: Growing Up in La Chaux-de-Fonds

1. Georges-Édouard Jeanneret-Perret, *Journal 1914–1923*, entry for 15 January 1917 (Bibliothèque de la Ville de La Chaux-de-Fonds, Fonds Le Corbusier/106/1043), p. 448. For the weather conditions, see *Feuille d’Avis de La Chaux-de-Fonds*, Monday, 13 January 1917.
2. “Signes faisant appel à de vieilles notions bien établies et assises dans l’entendement, usées comme une phrase de catéchisme, détecteurs d’une série féconde d’automatismes.” Le Corbusier, quoted in Stanislaus von Moos, “La synthèse invisible,” in Fondation Le Corbusier, *Le Corbusier: L’œuvre plastique* (Paris: Fondation Le Corbusier, 2005), p. 19.

3. “Architecte ce n’est rien, il faut être poète.” Le Corbusier, quoted in René GimpeL, *Journal d’un collectionneur, marchand de tableaux* (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1963), pp. 419–420.
4. *Feuille d’Avis de La Chaux-de-Fonds*, 13 January 1917.
5. *Ibid.*
6. Le Corbusier, letter to William Ritter and Janko Cádra, 13 January 1917 (Fonds Ritter, Archives Littéraires Suisses, Bibliothèque Nationale, Berne, Box 357, file 157); also quoted in *Le Corbusier: Choix de lettres*, ed. Jean Jenger (Basel: Birkhäuser, 2002), p. 127.
7. Jean-Paul Zimmermann, *Le concert sans orchestre* (Neuchâtel: Éditions Victor Attinger, n.d. [ca. 1937]), p. 96.
8. Le Corbusier, letter to Josef Tcherv in William Ritter’s guest book, 18 January 1926 (Fonds William Ritter, Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire de Neuchâtel).
9. Edgar Allan Poe, “The Purloined Letter,” in Poe, *The Purloined Letter and Other Tales* (London: Holerth Press, n.d. [1924]), pp. 26–27.
10. Paul Dermée, “Quand le symbolisme fut mort . . .,” *Nord-Sud*, no. 1 (March 1917): 2–4.
11. *encyclopédie*, ed. Jacques Lucan (Paris: Éditions du Centre Pompidou, 1987), pp. 460–461.
12. Timothy Benton, *The Villas of Le Corbusier 1920–1930* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), p. 201.
13. H. Allen Brooks, *Le Corbusier’s Formative Years: Charles-Edouard Jeanneret at La Chaux-de-Fonds* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), p. 84.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 131.
15. Paul V. Turner, *La formation de Le Corbusier: Idéologie et mouvement moderne* (Paris: Éditions Macula, 1987), p. 135.
16. H. Allen Brooks, “Le Corbusier’s Formative Years at La Chaux-de-Fonds,” in H. Allen Brooks, ed., *Le Corbusier* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Architectural Press, 1987), p. 36.
17. Benton, *The Villas of Le Corbusier*, p. 13.
18. On the episode with Pierre Francastel, see the archives of the Fondation Le Corbusier (hereafter abbreviated as FLC), U3-1-111. This episode is discussed in Catherine de Smet, “Le livre comme synthèse des arts: Édition et design graphique chez Le Corbusier, 1945–1965” (doctoral thesis, École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 29 October 2002), p. 397.
19. See Kevin D. Murphy, “The Villa Savoye and the Modernist Historic Monument,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 61, no. 1 (March 2002): 68–89.
20. Le Corbusier, letter to Lucien Hervé, 22 June 1951 (FLC, Dossiers Nominatifs HAA-HIL, Correspondance Lucien Hervé 1949–1955, E2-4-234).
21. Le Corbusier, letter to Lucien Hervé, 3 June 1952 (FLC E2-4-258).
22. Maurice Besset, introduction to *Le Corbusier Sketchbooks*, vol. 1, 1914–1948 (London: Thames & Hudson; Paris: Fondation Le Corbusier, 1981), p. xi.
23. “Vous ne savez pas à quel point il a copié!” Marcel Montandon, interview with H. Allen Brooks,

## 1 Intuitive Flashes of Unexpected Insight

1. Le Corbusier and Pierre Jeanneret, *Œuvre complète 1910–1929* (1930; repr. Erlenbach-Zurich: Éditions d’Architecture, 1946), p. 23.
2. The Dom-ino system is a monolithic structure of reinforced cast concrete whose three elements are slab, column, and staircase. See *ibid.*
3. Janko Cádra, diary entry, Sunday, 13 June 1915 (Slovak National Library).
4. Manfredo Tafuri, “Machine et mémoire: La ville dans l’œuvre de Le Corbusier,” in *Le Corbusier, une*

November 1975 (H. Allen Brooks Archives, Yale University Library, MS 1784, Box 104).

17. Colin Rowe, "The Mathematics of the Ideal Villa," in Rowe, *The Mathematics of the Ideal Villa and Other Essays* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1976), pp. 2–27.

18. Emil Kaufmann, *Von Ledoux bis Le Corbusier: Ursprung und Entwicklung der autonomen Architektur* (Vienna: Passer, 1933). This essay has recently been republished in French with related essays by Meyer Schapiro, Hubert Damisch, and Daniel Rabreau: Emil Kaufmann, *De Ledoux à Le Corbusier: Origine et développement de l'architecture autonome* (Paris: Éditions de la Villette, 2002).

19. Emil Kaufmann, *Architecture in the Age of Reason: Baroque and Post-Baroque in England, Italy, and France* (New York: Dover Publications, 1955), pp. 170–171.

20. See footnotes 492–501 in Kaufmann, *Architecture in the Age of Reason*. Jean Stern, *À l'ombre de Sophie Arnould: François-Joseph Belanger, architecte des menus plaisirs, premier architecte du comte d'Artois* (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1930), vol. 1, p. 79. Benton writes, "Unusually, there are no drawings conserved among the Villa Savoye set which trace the gradual emergence of the key features of the design" (*The Villas of Le Corbusier*, p. 193).

21. Jean Stern, *À l'ombre de Sophie Arnould*, vol. 1, p. 79.

22. Mary McLeod, "Review of Le Corbusier *Sketchbooks, Volume 1, 1914–1948*," *Art Journal* 41, no. 3 (Autumn 1981): 277. The citation is from Le Corbusier, *Creation Is a Patient Search* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1960), p. 201.

23. "In the last few years historians have begun to take an interest in the architects of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries." Louis Hautecœur, review of Jean Stern, *À l'ombre de Sophie Arnould*, in *L'Architecture*, 15 December 1930, p. 303.

24. Louis Hautecœur, quoted in Ernest de Ganay, "L'architecte Belanger et le 'jardinier' Blaikie," *L'Architecture*, 15 December 1931, p. 445. Subsequent historians have continued this view: see Robert Rosenblum, *Transformations in Late Eighteenth Century Art* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Architectural Press, 1967), p. 119.

25. Brooks, *Le Corbusier's Formative Years*, pp. 340–341.

26. The Villa Favre-Jacot was later reviewed in *L'Esprit Nouveau* by Amédée Ozenfant, using the inexplicable pseudonym of Julien Caron. Does this have anything to do with Beaumarchais's name, comte Caron de Beaumarchais? See Julien Caron [Amédée Ozenfant], "Une villa de Le Corbusier 1916," *L'Esprit Nouveau*, no. 6 (1921): 679–704.

27. Jean-Charles Krafft and Nicolas Ransonnette, *Plans, coupes, élévations des plus belles maisons et des hôtels construits à Paris et dans les environs (1771–1802), reproduction en facsimile avec notices par J. Mayor et L. Derobert, préface de P. Marmottan* (Paris: Librairie d'Art Décoratif et Industriel, 1909).

28. See Rémi Baudouï, "Anthropologie du pouvoir: Les réseaux parisiens dans la promotion de l'action de Le Corbusier," in *Le Corbusier et Paris*, ed. Claude Prelorenzo (Paris: Fondation Le Corbusier, 2001), pp. 13–30.

29. Jean-Charles Krafft, *Recueil d'architecture civile, contenant les plans, coupes et élévations des châteaux, maisons de campagne, et habitations rurales, jardins anglais, temples, chaumières, kiosques, ponts, etc, situés aux environs de Paris et dans les départements voisins* (Paris: Imprimerie de Crapelet, 1812), plates 2–3.

30. See Judi Loach, "Le Corbusier at Firminy-Vert," in *Le Corbusier, Architect of the Century*, ed. Michael Raeburn and Victoria Wilson (London: Arts Council of Great Britain, 1987), pp. 338–343.

31. See Besset, introduction to *Le Corbusier Sketchbooks*, vol. 1, pp. xiii–xv. See also William H. Jordy, “Le Corbusier Sketchbooks by André Wogenscky and Maurice Besset,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 42, no. 1 (March 1983): 83–86.
32. Charles-Édouard Jeanneret, Carnet Paris Automne 1913 (Le Corbusier/107/1038, Bibliothèque de la Ville de La Chaux-de-Fonds). The photocopy, which was deposited by H. Allen Brooks, is accompanied by a typed transcription of the handwritten text. Brooks notes that Jeanneret’s purchase of Choisy’s *Histoire de l’architecture* would have been more likely in 1908–1909 (*Le Corbusier’s Formative Years*, p. 352).
33. Charles-Édouard Jeanneret, 1 December 1928 (FLC L3-4-8-56/59).
34. Karla Britton, *Auguste Perret* (London: Phaidon, 2001), see p. 31.
35. Marie Dormoy, *Souvenirs et portraits d’amis* (Paris: Mercure de France, 1963), p. 114.
36. Charles-Édouard Jeanneret, *Étude sur le mouvement d’art décoratif en Allemagne* (La Chaux-de-Fonds: Haefeli et Cie., 1912), p. 9. See Lucan, ed., *Le Corbusier, une encyclopédie*, p. 228. In this, Jeanneret was also reproducing the thesis of Paul Mebes, *Um 1800: Architektur und Handwerk im letzten Jahrhundert ihrer traditionellen Entwicklung, Band I* (Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1908).
37. Brooks, however, considers that the Louis XVI and Directoire influence on Jeanneret came later as “a result of his exposure, during 1910–11, to the classical revival in Germany” (*Le Corbusier’s Formative Years*, p. 392).
38. See Harry F. Mallgrave, *Gottfried Semper, Architect of the Nineteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996).
39. There were still only eighteen first-year architectural students and a total of forty-one architectural students.
40. Hans Mathys, “Planche d’Apprenti, 15 Février 1882” (Loge L’Amitié, Archives, box Planches d’Apprentis).
41. See Robert Belli, “Planche de biographie, 20 June 1910” (Loge L’Amitié, Archives, box Planches d’Apprentis, no. 605).
42. The two “capable assistants” were Julius Stadler and Georg Lasius: see Mallgrave, *Gottfried Semper*.
43. *Stillehre, Gebäudelehre (Wohnhäuser)*, and *Perspective mit Uebungen* (Student Registers, Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule Archives).
44. Seymour de Ricci, *Der Stil Louis XVI: Mobiliar und Raumkunst* (Stuttgart: Verlag von Julius Hoffmann, 1913).
45. Eugène Rouyer, *L’art architectural en France depuis François 1er jusqu’à Louis XVI* (Paris: Librairie Polytechnique de J. Baudry, 1866).
46. Auguste Racinet, *L’ornement polychrome* (Paris: Librairie de Firmin Didot, n.d. [ca. 1875]).
47. See Le Corbusier’s order forms for Henry Racinais, *Les petits appartements des roys Louis XV et Louis XVI au château de Versailles* (Paris: Henri Lefebvre, Éditeur, ca. 1951), n.p. (FLC D1-9-365/367).
48. See items 241, 243, 248, 409, 413, etc., in the *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque de l’École d’Art de La Chaux-de-Fonds 1919* (Bibliothèque de la Ville de La Chaux-de-Fonds).
49. See, for example, Charles Yriarte, “Bagatelle,” *Revue de Paris*, 1 July 1903, p. 28; André Chaumeix, “Le Château de Maisons,” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1 February 1905; Louis Richard, “Visite de l’Ami des Monuments et des Arts au Château de Maisons-Laffitte,” *Ami des Monuments et des Arts* 17, no. 96 (1903): 168–173; anon., *Le château de Bagatelle, Étude historique et descriptive suivie d’une notice sur la Roseraie* (Paris, n.d. [ca. 1909]); Jean C.-N. Forestier, *Bagatelle et ses jardins* (Paris: Librairie Horticole, 1910); Jacques Vacquier, *Les anciens châteaux de France: L’Isle-de-France, Série 3* (Paris,

- 1920); Paul Marmottan, report in the *Bulletin de la Société Historique d'Auteuil*, no. 68; Jean Stern, *Le Château de Maisons (Maisons-Laffitte)*, 3rd ed. (Paris, 1934); De Ganay, "L'architecte Belanger et le 'jardinier' Blaikie," pp. 445–454.
50. Janet Flanner, *Paris Was Yesterday 1925–1939* (London: Angus and Robertson, 1972), p. 7.
51. Jean Guéhenno, preface to René Gimpel, *Journal d'un collectionneur, marchand de tableaux* (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1963), p. iii.
52. Gimpel, *Journal d'un collectionneur*, p. 399.
53. *Ibid.*, pp. 419–420.
54. *Ibid.*, p. 466.
55. Jean Stern, *William, ou la confession d'un enfant d'un demi-siècle* (typescript 4-YTH-8666, Bibliothèque Nationale).
56. See Jacques Wilhelm, "In Memoriam," *Bulletin du Musée Carnavalet*, November 1962, n.p. (This was kindly sent to me by Michel Gallet.)
57. See *Le Bottin Mondain 1914* (Paris, 1915). Jean Stern's obituary is in Henri Temerson, *Biographies des principales personnalités françaises décédées au cours de l'année 1962* (Paris: L'auteur, 13 bis, rue César-de-Beccaria, 1964).
58. Michel Gallet, personal communication with author (2005). I have not been able to trace this research assistant as no reader registration lists have survived from the period. Perhaps others will have more information?
59. See Philippe Duboy, "Ch.-E. Jeanneret à la Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, 1915," *Architecture-Mouvement-Continuité*, no. 49 (September 1979). See FLC, B2-20-388/445; 433 and 437.
60. *Le Corbusier Sketchbooks*, vol. 1, Carnet A2, p. 133. François Courboin (1861–1926) worked at the Cabinet des Estampes, Bibliothèque Nationale, from October 1885 onward, where he was *Sous-bibliothécaire* (1888–1902), *Conservateur adjoint* (1902–1909), and *Conservateur* (1909–1925), after which ill health forced him to retire and he was offered the title of *Conservateur honoraire* (see Dossier Personnel François Courboin, Bibliothèque Nationale, Dossier 3792). See also his obituary in the *Journal de Rouen*, 31 March 1926.
61. François Courboin, *Histoire illustrée de la gravure en France*; vol. 1, *Des origines à 1660*; vol. 2, *De 1660 à 1800*; vol. 3, *Au 19ème siècle* (Paris: Legarrec, 1923).
62. François Courboin, *Gravures et marchands d'estampes au 18ème siècle* (Brussels-Paris: Van Oest, 1914).
63. Coigny-Saint Palais, *Esclarmonde de Foix, princesse cathare* (Toulouse: Privat Éditeur, 1956), p. 175. (FLC V 82).
64. Viveca Bosson, "Meeting with Le Corbusier," in Nordjyllands Kunstmuseum, *Le Corbusier, Painter and Architect* (Aalborg: Nordjylland Kunstmuseum, 1995), pp. 13–14.
65. Charles-Édouard Jeanneret, letter to Charles L'Eplattenier, Sunday 22 November 1908 (Bibliothèque de la Ville de La Chaux-de-Fonds, Le Corbusier/102/1050, number 15).
66. Charles-Édouard Jeanneret, quoted in Brooks, *Le Corbusier's Formative Years*, p. 171.
67. Exhibitions included "Portraits d'hommes et de femmes célèbres des beaux-arts" (15 May–14 July 1908); "Portraits de femmes sous les trois Républiques" (15 May–15 July 1909); "Les enfants, leurs portraits, leurs jouets" (14 May–15 July 1910); and "Les modes à travers trois siècles, avec, en fin de volume, une chronique historique du domaine de Bagatelle extraite du *Journal des Débats* du 29 janvier 1909" (15 May–15 July 1911).
68. For information on the imminent destruction of Maisons, and on Méréville, the Folie Saint-James, and Bagatelle, see André Hallays, *En flânant à travers la France: Autour de Paris* (Paris: Perrin, 1910).



69. Paul Hérissé, ed., *L'art du jardin; Exposition organisée par la Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts, l'Union Centrale des Arts Décoratifs et la Société des Amateurs de Jardins dans le Palais et le Parc de Bagatelle, du 20 mai au 15 juillet 1913* (Evreux, 1913), n.p.
70. Léon Deshairs, *Le château de Maisons, notice historique et descriptive* (Paris: Librairie des Arts Décoratifs, Éditions Calavas, ca. 1910), p. vii.
71. Richard, "Visite au Château de Maisons-Laffitte," pp. 169–170.
72. See Britton, *Auguste Perret*, p. 31.
73. Le Corbusier, 1932 interview with Pierre Vago, *Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, no. 27 (October 1932): 7–9; reprinted in *Lettres à Auguste Perret*, vol. 1 of *Le Corbusier: Lettres à ses maîtres*, ed. Marie-Jeanne Dumont (Paris: Éditions du Linteau, 2002), pp. 229–230.
74. See Georges-Édouard Jeanneret, *Journal*; quoted in Brooks, *Le Corbusier's Formative Years*, p. 182. This part of Paris may seem remote nowadays, but such was not the case in the early twentieth century, when it was a center of intellectual radicalism and artistic circles. A visit to the new Musée des Années Trente proves the point. The editorial offices of the leading architectural journal of the time, *Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, were located in Boulogne. In the 1920s, Boulogne was known for the Sunday parties arranged by Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler, a neighbor of Juan Gris, attended by architects (including Le Corbusier), painters, sculptors, writers, musicians, dancers, and art critics.
75. Charles-Édouard Jeanneret, *Carnet III*, Munich, 28 Septembre 1910 (Bibliothèque de la Ville de La Chaux-de-Fonds, Le Corbusier/107/1036, p. 41).
76. See Pascal Étienne, ed., *Le Faubourg Poissonnière: Architecture, élégance et décor* (Paris: Délégation à l'Action Artistique de la Ville de Paris, 1986).
77. See Charles-Édouard Jeanneret's postcard of the Porte Saint-Denis (FLC L5-6-172).
78. See Baudouï, "Anthropologie du pouvoir," pp. 13–30.
79. "Ce jardin n'est point un jardin à la française mais est un bocage sauvage où l'on peut grâce aux futaies du Parc St.-James se croire loin de Paris. Le Corbusier." Le Corbusier and Pierre Jeanneret, *Œuvre complète 1910–1929*, pp. 88–89.
80. Le Corbusier, Dossier Church, Docs. 211–214, 19 December 1928, quoted in Benton, *The Villas of Le Corbusier*, p. 106.
81. Le Corbusier and Pierre Jeanneret, *Œuvre complète 1910–1929*, p. 89.
82. Le Corbusier, *New World of Space* (New York: Reynal & Hitchcock; Boston: Institute of Contemporary Art, 1948), p. 5.
83. Rosalind E. Krauss, *The Optical Unconscious* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1993), p. 253.
84. See Ernest de Ganay, ed., *Prince de Ligne, coup d'œil sur Belœil et sur une grande partie des jardins de l'Europe* (1781, 1786; repr. Paris: Éditions Bossard, 1922); Stern, *À l'ombre de Sophie Arnould*. See also Georges Louis Le Rouge, *Jardins anglo-chinois* (Paris: Imprimerie Le Rouge, 1780), p. 18.
85. James Elkins, *Our Beautiful, Dry and Distant Texts* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997), p. 1.
86. *Ibid.*, p. 109.
87. *Ibid.*, pp. 86–87.
88. Richard Wollheim, "Giovanni Morelli and the Origins of Scientific Connoisseurship," in Wollheim, *On Art and the Mind: Essays and Lectures* (London: Allen Lane, 1973), p. 181.
89. *Ibid.*, p. 193.
90. See Eric Fernie, *Art History and Its Methods: A Critical Anthology* (London: Phaidon Press, 1995), pp. 103–115.
91. Charles S. Peirce, *The Essential Peirce: Selected Philosophical Writings*, vol. 1: 1867–1893, ed. Na-

than Houser and Christian Kloesel (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992), p. 226.

92. Ibid.

93. Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1981).

94. Peirce, *The Essential Peirce*, vol. 1, p. 227.

95. Ibid. Peirce developed the notion of the “Other,” which could indicate a moment of potential historical change. Thus, a possible logic of *inconsistency* between a sign, which is discovered to be “Other,” and its prevailing symbolic context must also be considered as a meaningful system.

96. Stephen Bann, “Meaning/Interpretation,” in *Critical Terms for Art History*, ed. Robert S. Nelson and Richard Schiff (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), p. 87.

97. Quoted in Maurice Jardot, *Le Corbusier: My Work* (London: Architectural Press, 1960), p. 19. This must be the office which Jeanneret opened, after entering France on 29 October 1916, according to the stamps in his passport, at 13, rue de Belzunce, which is on the corner of rue du Faubourg Poissonnière and rue de Belzunce: see Russell Walden, “New Light on Le Corbusier’s Early Years in Paris: The La Roche-Jeanneret Houses,” in *The Open Hand: Essays on Le Corbusier*, ed. Russell Walden (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1977), p. 155, notes 1 and 2.

98. Charles-Édouard Jeanneret wrote to Perret about his need to know about another Perret building, the hôtel Rysselberghe, because “for me this is a very important question that goes to the very foundations of our modernism. I must admit to you that I regard what I have done so far as nothing but pompierist nonsense.” Charles-Édouard Jeanneret, letter to Auguste Perret, 11 June 1914, in *Lettres à Auguste Perret*, p. 107.

99. Rachel Alison Perry, “François-Joseph Belanger, Architect (1744–1818), ‘Amant passionné de son art’”

(PhD thesis, Courtauld Institute of Art, 1998, British Library DX205361), p. 196. I am deliberately using such third-party, therefore impartial, descriptions to avoid any “wild, subjective fantasy.”

100. Perry writes that the “single room that could not be used as a shop, in the rear-of-court wing beside the staircase, was arranged as a kitchen for the first floor apartment.” Ibid., p. 196.

101. Ibid., p. 170.

102. See Étienne, *Le Faubourg Poissonnière*, p. 229.

103. James Stirling, “Le Corbusier’s Chapel and the Crisis of Rationalism,” *Architectural Review* (March 1956): 155–161.

104. A comparison with Gottfried Böhm’s urban pilgrimage church at Neviges (1963–1968) confirms these typical features.

105. Jean Petit, *Le Corbusier: Textes et dessins pour Ronchamp* (Geneva: Presses Coop, 1981, n.p.). Gérard Genette defined the concept of “paratext” as “the editorial presentation—the author’s name, titles, dedications, epigraphs, prefaces, notes, interviews, more or less calculated confidences and other information” (*Seuils* [Paris: Seuil, 1987], back cover). On Ronchamp, see Richard Moore, “Alchemical and Mythical Reference Themes in the Poem of the Right Angle, 1945–1965,” *Oppositions* 19–20 (Winter–Spring 1980): 111–139.

106. Lucien Magne, *L’architecture française du siècle, Conférences de l’Exposition Universelle Internationale de 1889, 13 juillet 1889* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1890), pp. 11–15. Belanger’s travel sketches of English landscape gardens, including the Leasowes, Stourhead, and Painshill, are in the archives of the École des Beaux-Arts (François-Joseph Belanger, “Carnet de voyage an Angleterre, Bibliothèque de l’École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, ms. PC 12760), where Charles-Édouard Jeanneret followed Lucien Magne’s course, *Histoire de l’architecture*. For studies of Belanger’s travels in England and of

- these sketchbooks, see Monique Mosser, “La perfection du jardin anglo-chinois,” in *Bagatelle dans ses jardins*, ed. Martine Constans (Paris: Action Artistique de la Ville de Paris, 1997), pp. 135–166; and Janine Barrier, “Bélanger et l’Angleterre,” in *ibid.*, pp. 167–177.
- 107.** Perry, “François-Joseph Belanger,” p. 229. Le Corbusier also developed the notion of the roof as an umbrella when in 1928 “he placed a freestanding roof-umbrella on top of the box at the villa in Carthage” (Stanislaus von Moos, *Le Corbusier: Elements of a Synthesis* [Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1979], p. 97).
- 108.** Contemporary eighteenth-century description quoted in Perry, “François-Joseph Belanger,” p. 232.
- 109.** Petit, *Le Corbusier: Textes et dessins pour Ronchamp*, n.p.
- 110.** De Ganay, *Prince de Ligne, coup d’œil sur Belœil*, p. 67.
- 111.** Le Corbusier, *Précisions sur un état présent de l’architecture et de l’urbanisme* (Paris: Crès, 1930), pp. 136–138.
- 112.** Tafuri, “Machine et mémoire,” pp. 460–461.
- 113.** Charles Jencks, *Le Corbusier and the Tragic View of Architecture* (London: Penguin Books, 1987), p. 166.
- 114.** See Krafft, *Recueil d’architecture civile*, plates 103 and 104.
- 115.** Le Corbusier, letter to Ernesto R. Rogers at Casa-bella, 25 November 1958; reproduced in *Le Corbusier: Choix de lettres*, ed. Jean Jenger (Basel: Birkhäuser, 2002), p. 429.
- 116.** Marc Treib, *Space Calculated in Seconds: The Philips Pavilion, Le Corbusier and Edgard Varèse* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1996), p. ix.
- 117.** Le Corbusier’s postcard of the Halle au Blé (FLC L5-6-307).
- 118.** This building by Le Camus de Mezières with Bélanger’s new roof, which was located on the site of the present Bourse de Commerce near the present Forum des Halles, has been demolished. See Dora Wiebenson, “The Two Domes of the Halle au Blé in Paris,” *Art Bulletin* 55, no. 2 (2007): 262–279.
- 119.** Perry, “François-Joseph Belanger,” p. 307.
- 120.** *Ibid.*
- 121.** Le Corbusier, letter to Ernesto Rogers, 25 November 1958; reproduced in *Le Corbusier: Choix de lettres*, p. 429.
- 122.** Auguste Perret, letter to Charles-Édouard Jeanneret, Monday, 17 January 1916; reproduced in *Lettres à Auguste Perret*, p. 157.
- 123.** Le Corbusier, *Le voyage d’Orient* (1910–1911; repr., Paris: Éditions Forces Vives, 1966), p. 38.
- 124.** Krauss, *The Optical Unconscious*, p. 253.
- 125.** “Schulze-Naumburg, lui, a tout-à-fait capitulé et copie textuellement Louis XVI.” Charles-Édouard Jeanneret, letter to Charles L’Eplattenier, 16 January 1911, Bibliothèque de la Ville de La Chaux-de-Fonds; quoted in Francesco Passanti, “Architecture: Proportion, Classicism and Other Issues,” in *Le Corbusier before Le Corbusier*, ed. Stanislaus von Moos and Arthur Rüegg (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), pp. 69–97, note 40.
- 126.** Madame de Staël, preface to M. F. Barrière, ed., *Bibliothèque des mémoires relatifs à l’histoire de France pendant le 18ème siècle, Tome XX: Pensées et lettres du maréchal prince de Ligne* (Paris: Firmin-Didot frères, 1859), p. 1.
- 127.** See Stern, *À l’ombre de Sophie Arnould*, p. 29; quoted in Dora Wiebenson, *The Picturesque Garden in France* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Architectural Press, 1978), p. 106.
- 128.** On Le Corbusier’s relationship to Switzerland, see Deborah Gans, *The Le Corbusier Guide* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2000); Lucan, ed., *Le Corbusier, une encyclopédie*; Gilles Barbey

et al., ed., *Le Corbusier: La Suisse, les Suisses* (Paris: Fondation Le Corbusier and Éditions de La Villette, 2006).

**129.** See Marcel Raval, *Claude-Nicolas Ledoux, 1736–1806* (Paris: Arts et Métiers Graphiques, 1945); Michel Gallet, *Claude-Nicolas Ledoux, 1736–1806* (Paris: Picard, 1980); Anthony Vidler, *Claude-Nicolas Ledoux: Architecture and Social Reform at the End of the Ancien Régime* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1990).

**130.** Belanger was also involved to design fire-fighting schemes. See “Dispositions pour sauver la Bibliothèque Royale en cas d’incendie” (Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes, Destailleur Paris, t. 1, no. 132 bis, A028541, Ve 53 rés., fol.), and “Dispositions pour sauver la Bibliothèque Nationale en cas d’incendie” (Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes, Destailleur Paris, t. 1, no 132, A28540, Ve 53c rés., fol.).

**131.** The tradition of ahistorical iconographic interpretation, following the previously discussed texts by Rowe and Kaufmann, continues; see the comparison of Le Corbusier to Blaise Pascal in Simon Richards, *Le Corbusier and the Concept of Self* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003); and to Teilhard de Chardin in Flora Samuel, “Le Corbusier, Teilhard de Chardin and the Planetisation of Mankind,” *Journal of Architecture* 4, no. 2 (June 1999): 149–165. This trend stems from confusion between iconography (meanings *in vitro*) and iconology (meanings in use and in context).

**132.** Mogens Krustup has shown this book to be Choisy’s *Histoire de l’architecture*. See Mogens Krustup, “Det undesigelige Rum / Ineffable space,” *Arkitekturtidsskrift B* 50 (1993); mentioned in Giuliano Gresleri, “The German Carnets: *Triomphe de l’ordre* and *heureuse évolution*,” in Charles-Édouard Jeanneret, *Les voyages d’Allemagne, carnets* (Milan: Mondadori Electa, 2002), p. 20 and note 44. Gresleri

argues that Choisy features in Jeanneret’s painting *La cheminée*, of 1918.

**133.** Jeanneret, letter to L’Eplattenier, 16 January 1911, quoted in Gresleri, “The German Carnets,” p. 20.

**134.** “Ce n’est qu’aux premières années de notre siècle qu’on est parvenu à employer la fonte pour couvrir les espaces où la voûte eut entraîné d’excessives difficultés. Une des plus anciennes applications est la Halle au blé, dont le dôme date de 1809: pour la première fois on élevait, à l’échelle du dôme de Saint-Pierre, une coupole où l’entretoisement des formes rayonnantes annulait les poussées, et dont l’ingénieuse structure était laissée tout entière apparente . . . et il serait aisé de montrer qu’il y a dans ces débuts plus que des promesses, si nous ne croyions qu’une histoire de l’architecture doit s’arrêter aux œuvres dont les auteurs sont nos contemporains.” Auguste Choisy, *Histoire de l’architecture* (Paris: Éditions G. Baranger, 1903), pp. 763–764. Could this also answer Paul V. Turner’s question as to why, curiously, Le Corbusier inscribed his own name and a date in the second volume? See Turner, *La formation de Le Corbusier*, p. 218, note 30.

**135.** Charles-Édouard Jeanneret, letter to Perret, 14 December 1915; quoted in *Lettres à Auguste Perret*, p. 152.

**136.** Le Corbusier and Pierre Jeanneret, *Œuvre complète 1910–1929*, p. 23.

**137.** See de Ganay, *Prince de Ligne, coup d’œil sur Belœil*, p. 89.

**138.** Thomas Blaikie, *Diary of a Scotch Gardener at the French Court at the End of the Eighteenth Century* (London: Routledge, 1931), pp. 166–167. In addition, Thomas Blaikie (1758–1838) was acknowledged by the Club Alpin Suisse as *the* founder of Swiss Alpinism. When Blaikie’s journal was eventually discovered in the early 1930s, it was translated and published in Neuchâtel by the Club Alpin Suisse.

See Thomas Blaikie, *Journal de Thomas Blaikie, Excursions d'un botaniste écossais dans les Alpes et le Jura en 1775* (Neuchâtel: Éditions La Baconnière, 1936). About this episode, see the correspondence between Louis Seylaz and Hermann Hauser (Bibliothèque Publique et Universaire de Neuchâtel).

**139.** But the image of Apollo was also in circulation in the 1920s. Willi Baumeister, who lived in Paris and was in contact with Amedée Ozenfant and whose work was published in *L'Esprit Nouveau*, titled a painting *L'image d'Apollon* and another *Apollon et le peintre*. See Jacques Beauffet, "Un projet pour l'homme moderne: Le Corbusier–Baumeister pendant les années 20," in Sylvie Lecoq-Ramond, *Willi Baumeister et la France* (Colmar and Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1999), pp. 106–117. The image of Medusa was not thus in circulation, except for François-Joseph Belanger; see his use of Medusa in his *Croquis divers* (reference 4323g, Bibliothèque de l'École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts). (There is one also at the Soane Museum, London, but Charles-Édouard Jeanneret could not have seen it.) For Belanger's use of Medusa at Maisons, see Belanger and L'Huillier's ceiling of the comte d'Artois's dining room, with Apollo surrounded by laurel branches and snakes, and the bas-reliefs with heads of Medusa in the Salon de Jeux. Belanger also decorated the ceilings of the salons at each end of Lord Shelburne's gallery with Medusa heads; see François-Joseph Belanger, *Gallery for Lord Shelburne in London of 1779* (Musée Carnavalet, D. 8525).

**140.** See Brooks, "Le Corbusier's Formative Years at La Chaux-de-Fonds," pp. 35–36. See also Henri Peruchot, *Le Corbusier* (Paris: Éditions Universitaires, 1958), and Paul Venable Turner, *The Education of Le Corbusier* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1977), pp. 127 ff. He also used the library of the Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers; see Maximilien Gauthier, *Le Corbusier ou l'architecture au service de l'homme* (Paris:

Éditions Denoël, 1944). In terms of borrowings, Le Corbusier writes in *L'Esprit Nouveau* of November 1925: "Homme nouveau sur base de vieil homme de toujours"; see Le Corbusier, *L'Esprit Nouveau, Almanach d'architecture moderne* (Paris: G. Crès, 1925), p. 3. This title is remarkably similar to Henri Brissac's *L'esprit nouveau dans l'humanité* (Paris: Librairie Internationale, 1867) both in its contents and in its writing style. Henri Brissac used a striking mixture of contrasting styles: lyricism and sarcasm, interjections and poetry, questions and dialogues, prophesy and scorn.

**141.** On Belanger's speculative activities, see Pierre Pinon, "Lotissements spéculatifs, formes urbaines et architecture à la fin de l'Ancien Régime," in *Soufflot et l'architecture des lumières: Actes du colloque* (Paris: Ministère de l'Environnement et du Cadre de Vie, 1980), pp. 178–192.

**142.** Von Moos, *Le Corbusier: Elements of a Synthesis*, p. 96. Belanger also had a habit of attaching memorable titles to his architectural creations, such as *La nouvelle Londres* or *La nouvelle Amérique*.

**143.** Is there a curious parallel between the private lives of Belanger and Le Corbusier? See the discussion of the cultural notions of *lowton* and *louveteau* (figure 6.7) in chapter 6. We do know that Le Corbusier was interested in biographies of architects whom he was researching. Belanger is notorious for his relationship with Sophie Arnould (1744–1803), opera actress, singer, courtesan, and legendary wit, who was Gluck's preferred interpreter and is remembered, in particular, for her lead role in *Iphigénie en Aulide*. Several books were written about her in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, such as Edmond and Jules de Goncourt, *Sophie Arnould, d'après sa correspondance et ses mémoires inédits* (Paris: Bibliothèque Charpentier, 1893); Alberic Deville d'Angers, *Arnoldiana, ou Sophie Arnould et ses contemporains* (Paris: Gérard, 1913); André Billy,

*La vie amoureuse de Sophie Arnould* (Paris: Ernest Flammarion, 1929); Béatrix Dussane, *Sophie Arnould, la plus spirituelle des bacchantes* (Paris: Éditions Albin Michel, 1938). Indeed, Stern's book even includes her name in the title, as she was central to Belanger's meteoric career.

Upon Le Corbusier's return journey from Latin America in 1929, he met the notorious Josephine Baker on the ocean liner *Lutétia* (photographs exist of them at a fancy-dress party aboard the boat; and he sketched her asleep in a cabin). Afterward, he tried to make contact with her again. On 3 December 1930, he received a polite letter of rejection from Pepito Abatino, Baker's manager, in reply to his letter accusing them of not wanting to see him any more (see Institut Français d'Architecture, *Corbu vu par* [Liège: Pierre Mardaga Éditeur, 1987], p. 83). On 18 December 1930, Le Corbusier suddenly married Yvonne Gallis, who modeled hats and was known for her comic humor. He had been introduced to her in 1922 by Amédée Ozenfant. Le Corbusier *aficionados* will be interested to learn that Charles-Édouard Jeanneret had told William Ritter (letter of 21 January 1914) that he had been desperately in love for five years with his cousin who was willing to marry him, but her father refused to give his permission, so the relationship was ending and she was marrying someone else (Fonds William Ritter, Archives Littéraires Suisses, Bibliothèque Nationale Suisse, Berne, Box 367, no. 63).

**144.** The Open Hand was already included in 1938 in a first version of the Monument to Paul Vaillant-Couturier. See Jean-Luc Cohen, *Le Corbusier and the Mystique of the USSR: Theories and Projects for Moscow, 1928–1936* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1987).

**145.** “‘La Main Ouverte’ est une idée née à Paris, spontanément.” Le Corbusier, *Œuvre complète 1946–52*, 2nd augmented ed. (Zurich: W. Boesiger

aux Éditions Girsberger, 1955), pp. 158–159. The theme is discussed in Mary Sekler, “Le Corbusier, Ruskin, the Tree and the Open Hand,” in *The Open Hand: Essays on Le Corbusier*, p. 72.

**146.** Le Corbusier, letter to Nehru, 21 July 1955 (FLC G2-19-193/239).

**147.** “Les eaux ruissellent—le soleil illumine—les complexités ont tissé—leur trame—les fluides sont partout. . . . Pleine main j’ai reçu—Pleine main je donne.” Le Corbusier, *Le poème de l’angle droit* (Paris: Fondation Le Corbusier, 1989), F3, p. 144.

**148.** Charles-Édouard Jeanneret, notes taken at the Bibliothèque Nationale toward *La construction des villes* (FLC B2-20-84).

**149.** See Belanger's drawing at the Musée Carnavalet (D. 6717). In fact, François-Frédéric Lemot eventually outmaneuvered Belanger and produced Belanger's design, despite Belanger's furious reaction at losing the project. The statue was eventually inaugurated in 1818.

**150.** With reference to subsequent chapters 8 and 10, the Pointe du Vert Galant is also known in Parisian history as the site of the execution of Jacques de Molay, hero of the *compagnonnages*, and thus of the final destruction of the Templars. The Grande Loge de France, original home of the chivalrous Masonic higher degrees of the Rite Écossais Ancien et Accepté in the early twentieth century, has affixed there a commemorative plaque about this event.

**151.** Jencks, *Le Corbusier and the Tragic View of Architecture*, p. 182.

**152.** Alan Colquhoun, “The Significance of Le Corbusier,” in *Le Corbusier*, ed. H. Allen Brooks (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Architectural Press, 1987), pp. 22–23. Colquhoun, in the same pages, himself recognizes that these oppositions are questionable, admitting “this change was perhaps more one of emphasis than of substance.”

153. Brooks, "Le Corbusier's Formative Years at La Chaux-de-Fonds," p. 27.
154. Kenneth Frampton, *Le Corbusier* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2001), p. 137.
155. Rowe, "The Mathematics of the Ideal Villa," p. 15.
156. Krafft, *Recueil d'architecture civile*, pp. 9–10, relating to plates XXXI–XXXVI.
157. André Wogenscky, foreword to Walden, ed., *The Open Hand*, pp. viii–xii.
158. Le Corbusier, *L'art décoratif d'aujourd'hui* (Paris: Éditions Crès, 1925), p. 19.
159. "Le génie est une prééminence de l'un ou de plusieurs des sens et je dois le dire, le délire de l'Imagination, corrigé par l'esprit et les talents qu'on met en usage. . . . Je n'aime point les productions qui sortent de l'École." François-Joseph Belanger, unpublished manuscript (N.A. ms. 182, fol. 122–123, Bibliothèque historique de la Ville de Paris), quoted in Stern, *À l'ombre de Sophie Arnould*, vol. 2, p. 360.
160. Le Corbusier and Pierre Jeanneret, *Œuvre complète 1929–1934*, 3d ed. (Erlenbach-Zurich: Éditions d'Architecture, 1946), p. 144.
161. Jerzy Soltan, "Working with Le Corbusier," in *Le Corbusier: The Garland Essays*, ed. H. Allen Brooks (New York: Garland Publishing, 1987), p. 16.
162. Jean-Charles Krafft and Nicolas Ransonnette, *Maisons et des hôtels construits à Paris et dans les environs (1771–1802); reproduction en facsimile avec notices par J. Mayor et L. Derobert; préface de P. Marmottan* (Paris: Librairie d'Art Décoratif et Industriel, 1909) (FLC V 679). See the published catalogue of Le Corbusier's library in Fondation Le Corbusier, *Le Corbusier et le livre* (Barcelona: Col·legi d'Arquitectes de Catalunya; Paris: Fondation Le Corbusier, 2005).
163. See 3M Co., *3M Megaphone* (a monthly publication distributed to employees), April 1954.

164. See William J. R. Curtis, *Le Corbusier: Ideas and Form* (London: Phaidon Press, 1986), p. 197.

## 2 A Delightful Evening at the Masonic Lodge

1. Paul Planat, ed., *Encyclopédie de l'architecture et de la construction* (Paris: Dujardin et Cie., 1890), p. 301.
2. Jean-Charles Krafft, *Plans, coupes, et élévations de diverses productions de l'art de la charpente exécutées tant en France que dans les pays étrangers* (Paris: L'Imprimerie de Levrault et Compagnie, 1805).
3. *Ibid.*, "Discours préliminaire."
4. Le Corbusier, letter to Auguste Perret, 27 November 1913, quoted in *Lettres à Auguste Perret*, vol. 1 of *Le Corbusier: Lettres à ses maîtres*, ed. Marie-Jeanne Dumont (Paris: Éditions du Linteau, 2002), p. 87.
5. The membership register of the Loge L'Amitié indicates that he was initiated in 1854.
6. See Stefan-Ludwig Hoffmann, *Civil Society* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006).
7. For a full list, see Jean-Marc Barrelet and Jacques Ramseyer, *La Chaux-de-Fonds ou le défi d'une cité horlogère, 1848–1914* (La Chaux-de-Fonds: Éditions d'En Haut, 1990).
8. See Cathy Gfeller, "L'essor de l'Art nouveau à La Chaux-de-Fonds ou les débuts de l'École d'art (1900–1914)," *Nouvelle Revue Neuchâteloise*, no. 34, 9e année (Summer 1992). Raphaël Schwob was eventually given the Légion d'honneur by French president Paul Doumer in 1932 (see Fonds Schwob, item no. 33, Bibliothèque de la Ville de La Chaux-de-Fonds, letter of 12 January 1932). See also Jules Wolff, *Notice historique sur la communauté israélite de La Chaux-de-Fonds, centenaire 1833–1933* (La Chaux-de-Fonds: Communauté Israélite de La Chaux-de-Fonds, 1933). An example of the divide between the Christian and Jewish communities

is the case of Monique Saint-Héliier and Lucien Schwob: see Musée des Beaux-Arts de La Chaux-de-Fonds, *Monique Saint-Héliier et Lucien Schwob: De la peinture et de l'écriture* (La Chaux-de-Fonds: Musée des Beaux-Arts, 1995).

9. Frédéric Ditisheim, "Mémoire" (unpublished manuscript, private collection, 2000).

10. See article "Juifs," in Victor Attinger et al., eds., *Dictionnaire historique et biographique de la Suisse* (Neuchâtel: Administration du Dictionnaire Historique et Biographique de la Suisse, 1926), vol. 4, pp. 295–297.

11. Georges-Édouard Jeanneret-Perret, *Journal* (Bibliothèque de la Ville de La Chaux-de-Fonds); quoted in H. Allen Brooks, *Le Corbusier's Formative Years: Charles-Edouard Jeanneret at La Chaux-de-Fonds* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), p. 183.

12. See Brooks, *Le Corbusier's Formative Years*.

13. See Judi Loach, "Le Corbusier at Firminy-Vert," in *Le Corbusier, Architect of the Century*, ed. Michael Raeburn and Victoria Wilson (London: Arts Council of Great Britain, 1987), pp. 338–343; and also Maurice Besset, introduction to *Le Corbusier Sketchbooks*, vol. 1, 1914–1948 (London: Thames and Hudson; Paris: Fondation Le Corbusier, 1981), pp. xi–xiii. Another significant sketchbook that apparently disappeared is Le Corbusier's very last one: see Andrew Childs, "The Fearful Mirror of Apollo," *Interstices: Journal of Architecture and Related Arts* (New Zealand), no. 4 (1996): 1–7.

14. See Paul Ricœur, *Temps et récit*, 2. *La configuration dans le récit de fiction* (Paris: Seuil, 1984).

15. Maurice Favre, "Le monde du Cours Supérieur par les carnets de Charles Humbert," *Revue Historique Neuchâteloise*, no. 2 (1998): 100.

16. *Ibid.*

17. *Ibid.*

18. Charles Humbert, *Diary*, Tuesday and Wednesday, 30–31 January, and Saturday, 10 February 1912, quoted in Maurice Favre, "Les voix et leur époque 1919–1920," *Nouvelle Revue Neuchâteloise* 20, no. 78 (Autumn 2003): 51.

19. Charles Humbert, *Carnet* 17, 28–31 January 1925, quoted in Favre, "Les voix et leur époque," p. 53.

20. Le Corbusier, letter to Charles Humbert, no date (Fondation Le Corbusier G-1-6-64/68; 66).

21. Charles Humbert, postcard to Charles-Édouard Jeanneret, 2 March 1918 (Fondation Le Corbusier, E-2-11-331).

22. Le Corbusier, letter to Charles Humbert, Paris, 4 March 1918 (Fondation Le Corbusier, G-1-6-28).

23. Charles-Édouard Jeanneret, letter to William Ritter, 23 December 1913; quoted in Brooks, *Le Corbusier's Formative Years*, pp. 353–354.

24. Le Corbusier, *The Decorative Art of Today* (London: Architectural Press, 1987), p. xxvi. Originally published as *L'art décoratif d'aujourd'hui* (Paris: Éditions Crès, 1925). Ripolin was the leading French brand of paint.

25. Charles-Édouard Jeanneret, letter to Auguste Klipstein, 20 August 1912; reproduced in *Le Corbusier: Choix de lettres*, ed. Jean Jenger (Basel: Birkhäuser, 2002), p. 96 (FLC E2-6-122/167). Charles Humbert has hitherto been overlooked for several reasons. Although he was a particularly influential person in Jeanneret's life, the latter played down his importance and role, as he always did with the most important people. Second, Humbert's archives are still largely in private hands. Finally, because Humbert's work does not fit easily into simple historical periodizations, such as that of Art Nouveau, it does not fit the simplistically neat history that is thought to suit tourism development in La Chaux-de-Fonds.

26. Charles-Édouard Jeanneret, letter to William Ritter, 24 June 1912 (Fonds William Ritter, Archives



Littéraires Suisses, Bibliothèque Nationale Suisse, Berne, box 357, no. 42).

27. See *La Tribune Libre*, 7 June 1902, p. 1.

28. The early twentieth century saw the mechanization of watchmaking, and hence the decrease of domestic ateliers in favor of centralized factories. Before, up to thirty different clock parts had been made by specialized artisans who then brought their work to the clock manufacturer, who then distributed these parts to other artisans specializing in clock assembly. After mechanization, these functions were carried out in the factories. In addition to which, some functions, such as decorative work, ceased with the development of wristwatches since the reverse side of the watch was no longer visible. The owners of the factories made large fortunes. Their work involved international travel to obtain contracts and to sell their watches. They also brought back new ideas about technological developments. Such were the Solvi factory of Paul Ditesheim, the du Parc enterprise of Maurice Blum, the Movado factory of the Ditesheim family, the Election factory of the Braunschweig family, and the Ebel factory of Eugène Blum. These wealthy factory owners commissioned new art and new architecture, unlike the old Chaux-de-fonnière bourgeoisie, who were focused on traditional art and architecture. They also promoted the musical and theatrical life of La Chaux-de-Fonds, starting the Société de Musique and the Société des Amis du Théâtre. At the same time, the Club Alpin Suisse gathered together the Christian intelligentsia in La Chaux-de-Fonds, more traditional in their sympathies and patronage: “L’Eplattenier belonged to the very traditional and militarist circles, *la Suisse primitive* [primitive Switzerland], politically right, hostile to the left. . . . Charles Humbert’s patrons were the Jewish circles.” Marcel Montandon, interview, Novem-

ber 1975 (H. Allen Brooks Archives, Yale University Library, MS 1784, Box 10).

29. Charles-Édouard Jeanneret, letter to Charles L’Eplattenier, 7 June 1910 (Fondation Le Corbusier E2-12-67); quoted in Marc-Albert Emery, “Premières réflexions: Le manuscrit inédit de *La construction des villes*,” in *Le Corbusier, une encyclopédie*, ed. Jacques Lucan (Paris: Éditions du Centre Pompidou, 1987), p. 432.

30. Charles Humbert, Carnet 2, Wednesday, 1 June 1910; quoted in Favre, “Le monde du Cours Supérieur,” p. 104.

31. Georges-Édouard Jeanneret, Journal December 1888–December 1898, entry for 1 March 1890 (Bibliothèque de la Ville de La Chaux-de-Fonds).

32. *Ibid.*

33. Oswald Wirth, *Qui est régulier? Le pur maçonisme sous le régime des grandes loges inaugurées en 1777* (Paris: Éditions du Symbolisme, 1938), p. 100.

34. See Édouard Quartier-la-Tente, *Le Bureau International de Relations Maçonniques: Son histoire, 1889–1905. Rapport présenté à la Grande Loge Suisse Alpina le 25 juin 1905* (Berne: Imprimerie Büchler & Co, 1905).

35. See Bernard Faÿ, Robert Vallery-Radot, and Jean Marquès-Rivière, *Les documents maçonniques* (Vichy: Imprimerie Spéciale des Documents Maçonniques, Siège de l’Administration, 11, rue Hubert-Colombier; Paris: Musée des Sociétés Secrètes, 1941–1944). There were twelve monthly issues from October 1941 to September 1942; another twelve monthly issues from October 1942 to September 1943; and nine last monthly issues from October 1943 to June 1944. See Dominique Rossignol, *Vichy et les Franc-Maçons: La liquidation des sociétés secrètes 1940–1944* (Paris: Éditions Jean-Claude Lattès, 1981); and Lucien Sabah, *Une police politique de Vichy: Le Service des Sociétés Secrètes* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1996).

36. Les Éditions Anti-Maçonniques, *La Franc-Maçonnerie démasquée: Listes de F.: M.: appartenant au Parlement, à la presse, au barreau et les dirigeants de la secte* (Paris: Éditions Anti-Maçonniques, n. d.), p. 4.
37. See Patricia Kennedy Grimsted, “Les prises de guerre de l’Armée rouge: Témoignage de Pierre Mollier,” *L’Histoire*, no. 256 (July–August 2001): 84–85.
38. See Gian Mario Cazzaniga, *Symboles, signes, langages sacrés pour une sémiologie de la Franc-Maçonnerie* (Pisa: Edizioni Ets, 1995), and Stefan-Ludwig Hoffmann, *The Politics of Sociability: Freemasonry and German Civil Society, 1840–1918* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2007).
39. Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *La nature; Notes, cours du Collège de France* (Paris: Seuil, 1994), p. 20.
40. Charles Thomann, *L’histoire de La Chaux-de-Fonds inscrite dans ses rues* (Neuchâtel: Éditions du Griffon, 1965).
41. Barrelet and Ramseyer, *La Chaux-de-Fonds ou le défi d’une cité horlogère*.
42. Jacques Gubler, *Inventaire suisse d’architecture, 1850–1920, La Chaux-de-Fonds* (La Chaux-de-Fonds: Société d’Histoire de l’Art en Suisse, 1984).
43. Claude Garino, *Le Corbusier: De la Villa Turque à l’Esprit Nouveau* (La Chaux-de-Fonds: Idéa Éditions, 1995). But Garino makes a fundamental mistake, suggesting that two Freemasonic lodges existed in La Chaux-de-Fonds, which is incorrect (see chapter 10 in this book). Another example of local knowledge is in my copy of Thomann, *L’histoire de La Chaux-de-Fonds inscrite dans ses rues*, belonging to Jean Emery, a local architect, which I bought in an antiquarian bookshop: Emery, dating his copy 1968 and liberally annotating the book with precise details about local history, has added on page 37 after Louis Challandes: “Vénérable de la loge de 1827 à 1828 et de 1834 à 1848.” Some general recent historical publications are James Stevens Curl, *The Art and Architecture of Freemasonry: An Introductory Study* (London: B. T. Batsford, 2002); Margaret C. Jacob, *Living the Enlightenment: Freemasonry and Politics in Eighteenth-Century Europe* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991); Patrizia Granziera, “The Ideology of the English Landscape Garden 1720–1750” (PhD thesis, Warwick University, 1996); David Hays, “Carmontelle’s Design for the Jardin de Monceau,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 32, no. 4 (1999): 447–462; David Stevenson, *The Origins of Freemasonry: Scotland’s Century, 1590–1710* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); Brian J. Gibbons, *Spirituality and the Occult: From the Renaissance to the Modern Age* (London: Routledge, 2001).
44. Conseil Communal de La Chaux-de-Fonds, *La Chaux-de-Fonds 1944: Documents nouveaux publiés à l’occasion du 150e anniversaire de l’incendie du 5 Mai 1794 suite au volume paru en 1894* (La Chaux-de-Fonds: Éditions A. D. C., 1944).
45. Brooks, *Le Corbusier’s Formative Years*; Paul V. Turner, *La formation de Le Corbusier: Idéalisme et mouvement moderne* (Paris: Macula, 1987); Mary Patricia May Sekler, “Le Corbusier, Ruskin, the Tree, and the Open Hand,” in *The Open Hand: Essays on Le Corbusier*, ed. Russell Walden (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1977), pp. 42–95; Stanislaus von Moos and Arthur Rüegg, eds., *Le Corbusier before Le Corbusier: Applied Arts, Architecture, Painting, Photography, 1907–1922* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002); Alexander von Vegesack, Stanislaus von Moos, Arthur Rüegg, and Mateo Kries, eds., *Le Corbusier: The Art of Architecture* (Basel: Vitra Design Stiftung, 2007).
46. Richard A. Etlin, *Frank Lloyd Wright and Le Corbusier: The Romantic Legacy* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), p. 72. Le Corbusier writes: “un fait insigne: la croisée d’angle droit—coordonnée des eaux et des monts.” *Le Corbusier, Les carnets de la recherche patiente no. 1 Juillet 1954*,

- Une petite maison 1923* (Zurich: Girsberger, 1954), p. 33.
47. Brooks, *Le Corbusier's Formative Years*, p. 352.
48. Anthony Vidler, *Warped Space: Art, Architecture, and Anxiety in Modern Culture* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2000), p. 54.
49. Le Corbusier, "Ineffable Space," in Le Corbusier, *New World of Space* (New York: Reynal & Hitchcock; Boston: Institute of Contemporary Art, 1948), p. 8.
50. Charles Humbert, *Carnet 2*, Wednesday, 1 June 1910; quoted in Favre, "Le monde du Cours Supérieur," p. 104.
51. Isaiah Berlin, *Vico and Herder: Two Studies in the History of Ideas* (London: Hogarth Press, 1976), p. 154.
52. Bronislaw Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific: An Account of Naïve Enterprise and Adventure in the Archipelagoes of Melanesian New Guinea* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1922), pp. 89–99.
53. Joseph Rykwert, "The Dark Side of the Bauhaus," in Rykwert, *The Necessity of Artifice* (London: Academy Editions, 1982), p. 49.
54. *Ibid.*, p. 44. For Rykwert aficionados, Johannes Itten studied in Geneva under Eugène Gilliard (1861–1921) who, after having been initiated into the Loge L'Égalité in Fleurier (1888), became affiliated with the Loge Prudence et Fidélité in Geneva.
55. See Etlin, *Frank Lloyd Wright and Le Corbusier*. Other interpretations exist, but they are brief, undeveloped, and casual. One is Anthony Vidler's interpretation of Le Corbusier's use of Choisy's notion of *pittoresque* as "the final conjunction of architectural and filmic modernism; the rhythmic dance of Le Corbusier's spectator (modeled no doubt on the movements of Jacques Dalcroze) anticipating the movement of Eisenstein's shots and montages" (*Warped Space*, p. 121). Daniel Naegele counterargues that Le Corbusier's ineffable space is not the paranoid or warped space that Vidler associates it with and therefore not Kandinsky's notion of "a terrifying abyss"; see Daniel Naegele, "Object, Image, Aura: Le Corbusier and the Architecture of Photography," *Harvard Design Magazine*, no. 6 (Fall 1998): 1–6.
56. See Auguste Choisy, *Histoire de l'architecture* (Paris: Édouard Rouveyre, Éditeur, 1899), vol. 1, pp. 414–415; Le Corbusier, *Towards a New Architecture* (London: Architectural Press, 1946), originally published as *Vers une architecture* (Paris: Crès, 1923), p. 43. For a further discussion of Jeanneret's use of Choisy, see Judi Loach, "Le Corbusier and the Creative Use of Mathematics," in "Science and the Visual," ed. J. V. Field and F. A. J. L. James, special issue, *British Journal for the History of Science* 31, no. 109 (June 1998): 185–216.
57. "...les tracés régulateurs—(la preuve: Choisy)," from Le Corbusier, *The Final Testament of Père Corbu* (translation of *Mise au point*) (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), p. 145.
58. Etlin, *Frank Lloyd Wright and Le Corbusier*, p. 99.
59. Hanno-Walter Kruft, *A History of Architectural Theory from Vitruvius to the Present* (London: Zwemmer; New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1994), p. 288.
60. John Dixon Hunt, *Gardens and the Picturesque: Studies in the History of Landscape Architecture* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1992), p. 105.
61. Choisy, *Histoire de l'architecture*, vol. 1, pp. 409–410.
62. *Ibid.*, p. 416.
63. *Ibid.*, p. 421.
64. About the historical context of Choisy's interpretation of the Acropolis, see Thierry Mandoul, "Auguste Choisy et le pittoresque rationalisé," in *Le pittoresque aux limites du moderne* (unpublished report of the conference of June 2005 at École

d'architecture Paris-La Villette), ed. Philippe Nys, pp. 157–182.

65. “Chaque motif d'architecture pris à part est symétrique, mais chaque groupe est traité comme un paysage où les masses seules se pondèrent.” Choisy, *Histoire de l'architecture*, vol. 1, p. 419.

66. Ibid. For a discussion, see Wil Munsters, *La poésie du pittoresque en France de 1700 à 1830* (Geneva: Droz, 1991).

67. Etlin, *Frank Lloyd Wright and Le Corbusier*, p. 99.

68. Auguste Choisy, *Études épigraphiques sur l'architecture grecque* (Paris: Librairie de la Société Anonyme de Publications Périodiques, 1884). These are discussed in Etlin, *Frank Lloyd Wright and Le Corbusier*, pp. 173 ff.

69. Jeanneret's meticulous and extended research in the Cabinet des Estampes of the Bibliothèque Nationale and in the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève into the history and theory of gardens and landscape architecture—including Georges Riat, *L'art des jardins* (Paris: Bibliothèque de l'Enseignement des Beaux-Arts, ca. 1900); Henri Stein, *Les jardins en France des origines à la fin du XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: D. A. Longuet, 1913); A.-J. Dézaller d'Argenville, *La théorie et la pratique du jardinage, où l'on traite à fond des beaux jardins appelés communément les jardins de plaisance, et de propreté* (The Hague: Jussion, 1739); Pierre Patte, *Monuments érigés en France à la gloire de Louis XV, et suivis d'un choix des principaux projets qui ont été proposés pour placer la statue du roi dans les différents quartiers de Paris* (Paris: Chez La-combe, 1772); Gabriel Perelle, *Recueil des plus belles vues des maisons royales de France* (Paris: Poilly, ca. 1660)—shows not a single drawing of an English landscape associated with the notion of the picturesque. The emphasis is firmly on the French garden. For a discussion of this, see Claude Malécot, “Les jardins,” in *Le Corbusier: Le passé à réaction poétique*

(Paris: Hôtel de Sully, 1988), pp. 110–118. For Jeanneret/Le Corbusier's drawings, see FLC, File B2-20.

70. See Charles-Édouard Jeanneret's drawing of “Colonie de Hampstead. Arch. Barry Parker et Raymond Unwin” (FLC B2-2-367).

71. Le Corbusier, *Towards a New Architecture*, p. 52.

72. I do not assume that historical periods have single cultural contexts. Each period has many crisscrossing and overlapping contexts that individual human actors manipulate and activate. See J. Birksted, “Talking and Understanding,” in *Uttering, Muttering: Collecting, Using and Reporting Talk for Social and Educational Research*, ed. C. Adelman (Reading, U.K.: Bulmershe College of Higher Education, 1978), pp. 30–46; I. Birksted, “School versus Pop Culture? A Case Study of Adolescent Adaptation,” *Research in Education*, no. 16, pp. 13–23.

73. Charles Melley, “‘Modern style’ et traditions locales,” *Bulletin Technique de la Suisse Romande* 30, no. 2 (1904): 72–75.

74. “La Chaux-de-Fonds, das man als eine einzige Uhrenmanufaktur betrachten kann.” Karl Marx, *Das Kapital*, book 4 (Hamburg: Meissner, 1867–1894), p. 12, note 32; quoted in Gubler, *Inventaire suisse d'architecture, 1850–1920, La Chaux-de-Fonds*, p. 214, note 32.

75. See Maurice Favre, “Daniel Jeanrichard, premier horloger des montagnes neuchâteloises et personnage de légende,” *Musée Neuchâtelois*, no. 2 (1992): 45–56.

76. For a discussion of the *Heimatschutz* movement, see Jacques Gubler, *Nationalisme et internationalisme dans l'architecture moderne de la Suisse* (Lausanne: L'Âge d'Homme, 1975).

77. See Patrice Allanfranchini, “Louis Reutter,” in *Architektlexikon der Schweiz: 19./20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Isabelle Rucki and Dorothee Huber (Basel: Birkhäuser, 1998), p. 441.

78. See *Catalogue de la bibliothèque de La Chaux-de-Fonds* (La Chaux-de-Fonds: Imprimerie du National Suisse, 1885); *Catalogue de la bibliothèque de La Chaux-de-Fonds* (La Chaux-de-Fonds: Imprimerie du National Suisse, 1919).
79. The situation was slightly more complex, since the new polytechnic in Zurich also played a significant, but less visible, role in La Chaux-de-Fonds. And issues of Swiss identity and nationalism, revolving around notions of *Heimatschutz*, were involved too. In any case, the libraries in La Chaux-de-Fonds, being in the Suisse Romande, are in French. La Chaux-de-Fonds was a town characterized by its industrialization, its internationalism, and its cosmopolitanism, therefore operating with a different notion of the value of international cosmopolitan industrialization.
80. Le Corbusier, "The Final Year," in Le Corbusier, *The Final Testament of Père Corbu*, pp. 105–106. Eugène Schaltenbrand's École des Beaux-Arts records are at the Archives Nationales (AJ52 382).
81. Jean Petit, *Le Corbusier lui-même* (Geneva: Rousseau, 1970), p. 25.
82. Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, p. xvi.
83. Charles-Édouard Jeanneret, *Étude sur le mouvement d'art décoratif en Allemagne* (La Chaux-de-Fonds: Haefeli et Cie., 1912), p. 14.
84. Charles-Édouard Jeanneret, letter to L'Eplattenier, 22 November 1908; reproduced in *Le Corbusier: Choix de lettres*, p. 66.
85. For a description of the drawing classes of the Cours Yvon and the architectural classes of Julien Guadet at the École des Beaux-Arts, see Annie Jacques, *Les Beaux-Arts, de l'Académie aux Quat'z'arts; Anthologie historique et littéraire* (Paris: École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, 2001). See also in the Archives Nationales, files AJ 879 about the Cours Yvon. Matisse was later to join the Cours Yvon. Eugène Schaltenbrand's drawings in the archives of the École des Beaux-Arts are *Un gymnase* (1881; CG 240), *Bibliothèque pour un chef lieu de département* (1882; Pj 1063), *Cabinet de lecture dans un jardin public* (1882; Esq 638), *Escalier de palais* (1884; Esq 644), *Plafond d'une galerie* (1887; Esq 661), *Figure dessinée d'après nature* (1884, première classe Concours de Médaille, Cours de M. Yvon; FDN 181), *Petit Apollon, Figure dessinée d'après l'antique* (1884, deuxième médaille; FDA 126).
86. See folder "Eugène Schaltenbrand, Archives Nationales, AJ52 382. École Nationale et Spéciale des Beaux-Arts, no. 1400 du Registre Matricule, Nom: Eugène Schaltenbrand, Naissance 20 Mai 1861, Lieu: Berne (Suisse)" (Archives Nationales, Hôtel de Sully, Paris).
87. David de Penanrun, Roux et Delaire, *Les architectes élèves de l'École des Beaux-Arts 1819–1894* (Paris: Imprimerie Chaix, 1895), p. 241.
88. As a contrasting example, another Swiss student, Charles Schüle, born 14 July 1865 in Geneva, admitted to the Architecture Section in 1884 and in receipt of a solid list of second-class and third-class awards, left the school upon obtaining his diploma in 1891. See folder "Charles Schüle, Archives Nationales, AJ52 382. École Nationale et Spéciale des Beaux-Arts, no. 1410 du Registre Matricule, Nom: Charles Schüle, Naissance 14 juillet 1865, Lieu: Genève."
89. École Municipale d'Arts Appliqués à l'Industrie, *Rapport du comité sur l'exercice de 1886–1887* (La Chaux-de-Fonds: Imprimerie du National Suisse, 1887), p. 5.
90. Ch. V. D. S. J., *Guide pittoresque de l'étranger dans Paris et ses environs, avec 72 vignettes sur bois dans le texte, les cartes du parcours des chemins de fer et un plan de Paris et ses environs orné de 18 vignettes en taille-douce, nouvelle édition, entièrement revue et complétée* (Paris: Jules Renouard et Cie, Aubert et Cie, n.d. [after 1850]).

91. M. J. Morlent, *Voyage historique et pittoresque du Havre à Rouen sur la Seine avec une carte des rives de la Seine et six gravures* (Rouen: A. Le Brument, Éditeur, 1844).
92. G. Touchard-Lafosse, *La Loire historique, pittoresque et biographique de la source de ce fleuve à son embouchure dans l'océan* (Tours: Chez Lecesne, Éditeur, 1851).
93. Ch. V. D. S. J., *Guide pittoresque de l'étranger dans Paris et ses environs*, p. xxv.
94. Ibid.
95. Morlent, *Voyage historique et pittoresque du Havre à Rouen*, p. 160.
96. Touchard-Lafosse, *La Loire historique, pittoresque et biographique*.
97. Ibid.; see p. 1 of introduction. (This strong French cultural trait remains today, as experienced, for example, by anyone driving down the A71/A75 with its wind turbines and bridge at Millau by Norman Foster.)
98. Ch. V. D. S. J., *Guide pittoresque de l'étranger dans Paris et ses environs*, pp. xxi–xxii.
99. Morlent, *Voyage historique et pittoresque du Havre à Rouen*.
100. Hunt, *Gardens and the Picturesque*, p. 117.
101. Ibid.
102. Two books are in Le Corbusier's library: Joris-Karl Huysmans, *La cathédrale* (Paris: Plon, 1908), inscribed "Ch.-E. Jeanneret, Paris 1909" with annotations; and Joris-Karl Huysmans, *Sainte Lydwine de Schiedam* (Paris: Plon, 1915), inscribed "Ch.-E. Jeanneret."
103. Joris-Karl Huysmans, *Against Nature* (London: Penguin Books, 2001), p. 22. Originally published as *À rebours* in 1884.
104. Charles-Édouard Jeanneret, "La maison suisse," in *Les étrennes helvétiques, almanach illustré* (Paris: Fischbacher & Cie. Éditeurs; Dijon: Félix Rey, Librairie Générale; La Chaux-de-Fonds: Imprimerie Georges Dubois, Éditeur, 1914), pp. 33–39.
105. Isabelle Kaiser, "La Suisse pittoresque," in *ibid.*, pp. 45–47.
106. See Gubler, *Nationalisme et internationalisme dans l'architecture moderne de la Suisse*.
107. For histories of the École Polytechnique de Zurich, see Wilhelm Oechsli, *Geschichte des Eid. Polytechnikums mit einer Uebersicht seiner Entwicklung 1855–1905*, vol. 1 (Frauenfeld: Eid. Polytechnikum Festschrift, 1905); Martin Hürlimann, *Die Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule in Zürich* (Zurich: Atlantis, 1945); Martin Fröhlich, "Bauen vor dem ersten Weltkrieg," in *Die Bauschule am Eidgenössischen Polytechnikum Zurich*, vol. 1 (Zurich: ETH, 1971), pp. 6–7; Martin Fröhlich, "Die Hauptetappen der Baugeschichte des ETH-Hauptgebäudes zwischen 1858 und 1930," *Schweizerischer Bau Zeitung* 87, no. 38 (1969), pp. 751–756. These and others are mentioned in Gubler, *Nationalisme et internationalisme dans l'architecture moderne de la Suisse*.
108. For a further study of French travel guides with their emphasis on the *pittoresque* as part of metropolitan and commercial modernity, see Nicholas Green, *The Spectacle of Nature: Landscape and Bourgeois Culture in Nineteenth-Century France* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990).
109. See René Chapallaz, letter 186, 19 March 1906 (Fonds Chapallaz, Bibliothèque de la Ville de La Chaux-de-Fonds).
110. Ibid.
111. See for example: "... Jeanneret, L'Eplattenier's star pupil, soaked in Ruskin, medievalism and the 'folklore du sapin.'" William J. R. Curtis, *Le Corbusier, Ideas and Forms* (London: Phaidon, 1986), p. 32.
112. Le Corbusier, *L'art décoratif d'aujourd'hui*, p. 134.
113. Ibid.
114. Brooks, *Le Corbusier's Formative Years*, p. 69.

115. Hunt, *Gardens and the Picturesque*, p. 197. Another reason for local interest in Ruskin could be his visits to Neuchâtel in the 1830s; see John Hayman, *John Ruskin and Switzerland* (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1990).

116. Charles Humbert, *Carnet* 1, 20 August 1909 (Collection Maurice Favre, La-Chaux-de-Fonds).

### 3 Which Reveals Itself to Those It May Concern

1. Joseph Antoine Milsand, *L'esthétique anglaise: Étude sur M. John Ruskin*, 2nd ed. (Lausanne: Librairie Nouvelle, E. Frankfurter, 1906), p. 95. First published in 1864.

2. Maurice Millious, introduction to Milsand, *L'esthétique anglaise*, p. v (Bibliothèque de l'École d'Art de La Chaux-de-Fonds, Book no. 18; T.O. no. 283). Milsand's book was the first major study of Ruskin in French. See George Allen Cate, *John Ruskin: A Reference Guide; A Selective Guide to Significant and Representative Works about Him* (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1988); Jean Autret, *Ruskin and the French before Marcel Proust* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1965); Matthias Waschek, ed., *Relire Ruskin: Cycle de conférences organisé au Musée du Louvre, March–April 2001* (Paris: École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts and Musée du Louvre, 2003); Kirk H. Beetz, *John Ruskin: A Bibliography, 1900–1974* (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1976); Thomas J. Wise, *A Complete Bibliography of the Writings in Prose and Verse of John Ruskin LL.D with a List of More Important Ruskiniana* (London: Printed for subscribers only, 1893; repr. London: Dawson's of Pall Mall, 1864, 2 vols.). Milsand's book of 1864 is the one that Proust read; see Marcel Proust, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1 April 1900, p. 311.

3. Milsand, preface to *L'esthétique anglaise*, pp. iii–iv.

4. Le Corbusier, *L'art décoratif d'aujourd'hui* (Paris: Éditions Crès, 1925), p. 134.

5. "Apôtre touffu, complexe, contradictoire, paradoxal." (Ibid.)

6. William Matthey-Claudet, "Charles L'Eplattenier," *Pages d'Art*, no. 4 (August 1915): 3–16.

7. Le Corbusier, *When the Cathedrals Were White: A Journey to the Country of Timid People* (London: Routledge, 1947–1948), p. 6.

8. Karl Marx, *Das Kapital*, book 4 (Hamburg: Meissner, 1867–1894), p. 12, note 32.

9. See Christophe Stawartz, *La paix à l'épreuve: La Chaux-de-Fonds, 1880–1914: une cité horlogère au cœur du pacifisme international* (Hauterive: Éditions Attinger, 2002).

10. See the archives of Jules Humbert-Droz (1891–1971) in the Bibliothèque de la Ville de La Chaux-de-Fonds; and Jacques-André Humair et al., *Jules Humbert-Droz 1891–1971: Catalogue de l'exposition* (Bibliothèque de la Ville de La Chaux-de-Fonds, 8 September–31 December 1991).

11. Mikhail Bakunin, *Catéchisme de la Franc-Maçonnerie moderne* (unpublished manuscript, 1865, Archives of the International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam). Bakunin (1814–1876) was initiated in 1845 and then affiliated to the lodge Il Progresso Sociale. He apparently reached the thirty-second degree in the higher grades; see Daniel Ligou, ed., *Dictionnaire de la Franc-Maçonnerie* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1998); Charles Thomann, *Les hauts lieux de l'anarchisme jurassien: Le Locle—Sonvilliers et Saint-Imier—La Chaux-de-Fonds 1866–1880* (La Chaux-de-Fonds: Éditions du Haut, 2002).

12. In 1912, as a member, he designed new plans for the Grande Poste. Neither drawings nor model have been found. See Edmond Charrière, "Restructuration du Musée des Beaux-Arts de La Chaux-de-Fonds," *Nos Monuments d'Art et d'Histoire*, no. 4 (1993): 467–475.

13. *L'Impartial*, Thursday, 11 May 1899.

14. See Pierre du Bois, *Les mythologies de la Belle Époque: La Chaux-de-Fonds, André Evard et l'art nouveau* (La Chaux-de-Fonds: Éditions Willy Sutter, 1975).
15. See Jules Wolff, *Notice historique sur la communauté israélite de La Chaux-de-Fonds, Centenaire 1833–1933* (La Chaux-de-Fonds: Communauté Israélite de La Chaux-de-Fonds, 1933). See also Jean-Marc Barrelet and Jacques Ramseyer, *La Chaux-de-Fonds ou le défi d'une cité horlogère, 1848–1914* (La Chaux-de-Fonds: Éditions d'En Haut, 1990).
16. See Ivan Dalain, *Les parias de La Chaux-de-Fonds* (La Chaux-de-Fonds: Éditions Cabedita, 2003). About the Jewish community in La Chaux-de-Fonds, see Marc Perrenoud, *Un rabbin dans la cité, Jules Wolff: L'antisémitisme et l'intégration des Juifs à La Chaux-de-Fonds 1888–1928* (Neuchâtel: Musées Neuchâtelois, 1989); Véronique Meffre, *De la formation à l'enracinement d'une communauté: Les Juifs de La Chaux-de-Fonds, 1879–1912* (Geneva: Université de Genève, Département d'Histoire Économique et Sociale, 2003).
17. Marx, *Das Kapital*, p. 12, note 32.
18. See Union des Loges Suisses Alpina, *Schweizerische Grossloge, Mitglieder-Verzeichnis des Schweizerischen Logenbundes auf das Jahr 1885: Catalogue des membres de l'Union des Loges Suisses pour l'année 1885* (Winterthur: Buchdruckerei von J. Westferling, 1885).
19. See Francis Kaufmann, *Ils ont aussi fait l'histoire: Portraits de quinze Montagnons originaux* (La Chaux-de-Fonds: Éditions Favre, 2000), pp. 53–58.
20. See William Vogt, *Catalogue des Francs-Maçons suisses 1910–1911: Deuxième partie comprenant toutes les loges sauf celles de Genève* (Geneva: chez l'auteur, 1912).
21. See H. Allen Brooks, *Le Corbusier's Formative Years: Charles-Edouard Jeanneret at La Chaux-de-Fonds* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), p. 195.
22. See Georges-Édouard Jeanneret, *Journal 1899–1914* (Le Corbusier/106/1042, pp. 241–243, 249; Le Corbusier/106/1043, pp. 277, 288, etc., Bibliothèque de la Ville de La Chaux-de-Fonds).
23. Quotation from “Les procès-verbaux de la Loge,” in Michel Cugnet, *Deux siècles et demi de Franc-Maçonnerie en Suisse et dans le Pays de Neuchâtel* (La Chaux-de-Fonds: Éditions du Chevron, 1991), p. 169. See also Barrelet and Ramseyer, *La Chaux-de-Fonds ou le défi d'une cité horlogère*: “It will be observed that with the exception of the ancient *Chambre de charité*, the oldest philanthropic society is the Masonic lodge known as ‘l’Amitié,’ founded in 1819. This was to play an important role in social terms but also in political affairs: after the lawyer Bille, the chief victim of the repression of the second revolution in 1831, several leading figures of the Republic joined it, such as Fritz Courvoisier and Ami Girard, leaders of the 1848 movement, the doctor Gustave Irlet, Ariste Lesquereux, and later Arnold Grosjean and many others. . . . The lodge was also a place of assembly for many businessmen: their connections with the Masonic world helped them to find staging posts for the watch trade—this phenomenon would also operate for businessmen of Jewish origin among their foreign fellow-religionists” (pp. 172–173).
24. The first local Masonic lodge was the Loge Aux Trois Étoiles Flamboyantes in Neuchâtel, established in 1743 by a mayor of La Chaux-de-Fonds, Jacob Perret, at a time when the prince of Neuchâtel was Frederick the Great of Prussia, himself a member of the lodge Zu den Drei Weltkugeln in Berlin. The Masonic lodge at Le Locle, Les Vrais Frères Unis, followed with its first official Masonic meeting in 1774. It was at Les Vrais Frères Unis in Le Locle that the idea of starting the Loge L’Amitié in La Chaux-de-Fonds arose, which project eventually materialized in 1819. The



1848 revolutionaries, who established a republic in Neuchâtel, were led by Freemasons from the Loge L'Amitié, Ami Girard and Fritz Courvoisier. Le Corbusier proudly mentioned his family's ancient involvement in this revolution: "On 1st March 1848, my grandfather Jeanneret Rauss nicknamed the grumbler, along with Fritz Courvoisier descended from La Chaux-de-Fonds to Neuchâtel to capture the castle without loss of blood. He was one of the leaders of the revolution." (Le Corbusier, quoted in Jean Petit, *Le Corbusier lui-même* [Geneva: Rousseau, 1970], p. 24.) Following the draft constitution for L'Amitié in 1819, a first lodge was inaugurated in 1820. L'Amitié and Les Vrais Frères Unis then played a significant role in the national history of Swiss Freemasonry: delegates from eleven Freemasonic lodges met in 1842 at Les Vrais Frères Unis under the chair of Louis Challandes (1788–1848), then mayor of La Chaux-de-Fonds (1832–1844) and Vénérable of L'Amitié, to unanimously adopt a proposal for a new union of all Swiss lodges, which was adopted in 1842 as the Grande Loge Suisse Alpina. From its very inception, L'Amitié played a significant role in the cultural life of La Chaux-de-Fonds. For example, Louis Challandes and Ami Sandoz instigated the construction of a theater, inaugurated in 1837; see Yvonne Tissot, *Le théâtre de La Chaux-de-Fonds: Une bonbonnière révolutionnaire* (Lausanne: Éditions Payot, 2003). From this history stems the nature of local political parties. In 1848, the royalists opposed *les radicaux*. Eventually the *radicaux* incorporated the royalists to become a party of republican patriots of the bourgeoisie and wealthy watchmaking industrialists, thus standing in electoral opposition to the left-wing socialist party; see Michel Cugnet, *Deux siècles et demi de Franc-Maçonnerie en Suisse et dans le Pays de Neuchâtel*.

25. David Hays, "Carmentelle's Design for the Jardin de Monceau," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 32, no. 4 (1999): 452.

26. See Loge L'Amitié, *La Loge L'Amitié, La Chaux-de-Fonds, 1819–1969* (La Chaux-de-Fonds: Loge L'Amitié, 1969), p. 11.

27. Louis Reutter (1848–1921) established himself in La Chaux-de-Fonds in 1874 where he built about eighty projects between 1874 and 1908, including the Blancpain watch factory (1874–1875), the Post Office (1878), the Collège de la Charrière (1896), the Temple de l'Abeille (190), the Stand des Armes-Réunies (1908), and the electricity factory (1908). See Patrice Allanfranchini, "Louis Reutter," in *Architektlexikon der Schweiz: 19./20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Isabelle Rucki and Dorothee Huber (Basel: Birkhäuser, 1998), p. 441.

28. See Josef Tcherv, *William Ritter, Enfance et jeunesse 1867–1889* (Melide, Switzerland: Flèche d'Or, 1958), pp. 279 and 309. (A description of the inauguration of Schaltenbrand's commemorative fountain is on pp. 309–310.)

29. See Louis Reutter, "Planche de biographie," dated 21 March 1901 (Loge L'Amitié, Archives, box Planches d'Apprentis, no. 556).

30. See Cugnet, *Deux siècles et demi de Franc-Maçonnerie en Suisse et dans le Pays de Neuchâtel*, p. 173.

31. Édouard Quartier-la-Tente, *La Franc-Maçonnerie suisse et neuchâteloise: Souvenirs et actualités* (La Chaux-de-Fonds: Imprimerie Georges Dubois, 1902), p. 10.

32. See Stefan-Ludwig Hoffmann, *Civil Society* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), p. 17.

33. Loge L'Amitié, *Catalogue de la bibliothèque établi par ordre des matières* (La Chaux-de-Fonds: Imprimerie E. Sauser, 1907).

34. See *Bulletin of the International Bureau for Masonic Affairs at Neuchâtel in 1913*, vol. 11, no. 2, no. 35 (April–June 1913): inside back cover.

35. See Robert Belli, "Planche de biographie," 20 June 1910 (Loge L'Amitié, Archives, box Planches d'Apprentis, no. 605).

36. “Planches funèbre 605: Frère Mounnier, Nécrologie du frère Robert Belli,” 11 March 1923 (Loge L’Amitié, Archives).
37. See Harry F. Mallgrave, *Gottfried Semper, Architect of the Nineteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996). There were two such “capable assistants”: Julius Stadler and Georg Lasius.
38. See the Student Registers at the ETH Archives.
39. See Louis Reutter, “Planche de biographie,” 23 June 1875 for *Réception* on 23 January 1876 (Loge L’Amitié, Archives, box Planches d’Apprentis, no. 346).
40. See the Student Registers at the Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule Archives. (Semper himself had been a member of a lodge in Hamburg, where he had joined his father’s lodge while still a student.)
41. Hans Mathys, “Planche d’Apprenti du 15 Février 1882” (Loge L’Amitié, Archives, box Planches d’Apprentis).
42. *Ibid.*
43. See Pierre-Yves Beaurepaire, *La plume et la toile: Pouvoirs et réseaux de correspondance dans l’Europe des Lumières* (Arras: Artois Presses Université, 2002); Marc Fumaroli, Gabriel de Broglie, and Jean-Pierre Chaline, eds., *Élites et sociabilité en France* (Paris: Perrin, 2003).
44. See Conseil Administratif de la Grande Loge Suisse Alpina, *La Grande Loge Suisse Alpina: Rapport sur son activité 1900–1905 avec un avant-propos historique* (Berne: Imprimerie Büchler & Co, 1905).
45. Brooks, *Le Corbusier’s Formative Years*, pp. 24–25.
46. La Chaux-de-Fonds, École d’Art Appliqué à l’Industrie, *Rapport de la commission sur l’exercice 1901–1902* (La Chaux-de-Fonds: Imprimerie du National Suisse, 1902), p. 18.
47. Perret’s studies were interrupted by military service (1895–1896) as well as by building jobs. He never completed his architectural diploma. See Jean-Louis Cohen, Joseph Abram, and Guy Lambert, eds., *Encyclopédie Perret* (Paris: Éditions du Patrimoine, 2002).
48. Like Matisse, he failed to get into an atelier of painting on first application, and followed the drawing classes of the Cours Yvon before reapplying and being accepted.
49. “Nécrologie d’Eugène Schaltenbrand,” *L’Impartial*, Tuesday, 30 April 1912, no page number. *L’Impartial* here repeats the obituary of *Le National Suisse*.
50. École Spéciale d’Arts Appliqués à l’Industrie, *Rapport du comité sur l’exercice 1887–1888* (La Chaux-de-Fonds: Imprimerie du National Suisse, 1888), p. 9.
51. For an account of the changes of address and of the activities of the Bureau de Contrôle des Métaux Précieux, see Charles Thomann, *L’histoire de La Chaux-de-Fonds inscrite dans ses rues* (Neuchâtel: Éditions du Griffon, 1965), pp. 92–93.
52. See Marc L’Eplattenier, “Charles L’Eplattenier: Peintre et sculpteur” (typescript, Bibliothèque de la Ville de La Chaux-de-Fonds, Nb 1125, 1996). L’Eplattenier’s École des Beaux-Arts student records are at the Archives Nationales, Paris.
53. Merson’s other designs include book illustrations, stained-glass windows (Sainte-Eugénie in Biarritz, Belmont Chapel in New York), murals (the Hôtel de Ville de Paris, the Opéra Comique), and mosaics (Sacré-Cœur basilica).
54. Joris-Karl Huysmans, *L’art moderne* (Paris: G. Crès, 1929), p. 29, in chapter “Le Salon de 1879.”
55. *Echo de la Timbrologie*, no. 191 (15 December 1900): 545.
56. See “Les procès-verbaux de l’École d’art de La Chaux-de-Fonds: Séances de la commission du 28.2.1893–4.2.1904: Séance du jeudi 21 juin 1900 à

- l'Hôtel Communal sous la présidence de M. Ed. Perrochet, conseiller communal," pp. 176–179.
57. See La Chaux-de-Fonds, "Les procès-verbaux de l'École d'art de La Chaux-de-Fonds, Séances de la Commission du 28.2.1893–4.2.1904: Séance de la Commission du 5 février 1903, Salle No 43," p. 243.
58. La Chaux-de-Fonds, École Municipale d'Arts Appliqués à l'Industrie, *Rapport du comité sur l'exercice de 1886–1887* (La Chaux-de-Fonds: Imprimerie du National Suisse, 1887), p. 5.
59. See La Chaux-de-Fonds, École Spéciale d'Art Appliqué à l'Industrie, *Rapport de la commission sur l'exercice 1895–1896* (La Chaux-de-Fonds: Imprimerie du National Suisse, 1896), p. 4.
60. La Chaux-de-Fonds, École Spéciale d'Art Appliqué à l'Industrie, *Rapport de la commission sur l'exercice 1900–1901* (La Chaux-de-Fonds: Imprimerie du National Suisse, 1901), p. 12.
61. La Chaux-de-Fonds, École d'Art et d'Art Appliqué à l'Industrie, *Rapport de la commission sur l'exercice 1901–1902* (La Chaux-de-Fonds: Imprimerie du National Suisse, 1902), p. 18.
62. Le Corbusier, quoted in Petit, *Le Corbusier lui-même*, p. 25.
63. See Brooks, *Le Corbusier's Formative Years*, p. 24.
64. La Chaux-de-Fonds, École d'Art et d'Art Appliqué à l'Industrie, *Rapport de la commission sur l'exercice 1902–1903* (La Chaux-de-Fonds: Imprimerie du National Suisse, 1903), pp. 5–6. A somewhat similar account of Schaltenbrand's achievements were to appear in an obituary in *Le National Suisse* on 30 April 1912 (Bibliothèque de la Ville de La Chaux-de-Fonds, Ndoc/9.4/1, Notices nécrologiques).
65. Handwritten minutes of the weekly meetings of the Board of the École d'Art, (date illegible: either 3 or 7) April 1903, p. 249 (Bibliothèque de l'École d'Art de La Chaux-de-Fonds).
66. La Chaux-de-Fonds, École d'Art et d'Art Appliqué à l'Industrie, *Rapport de la commission sur l'exercice 1902–1903*, pp. 4–5.
67. La Chaux-de-Fonds, École d'Art, *Rapport de la commission sur l'exercice 1903–1904* (La Chaux-de-Fonds: Imprimerie du National Suisse, 1904), p. 22.
68. See La Chaux-de-Fonds, École d'Art, *Rapport de la commission 1904–1905* (La Chaux-de-Fonds: Imprimerie du National Suisse, 1905), section "Rapport de la Commission."
69. Ibid.
70. Brooks, *Le Corbusier's Formative Years*, p. 27.
71. "...date of the examinations for admission to the Section Architecture on 21 July 1887. . . . Admitted into the École Section Architecture on 6 August 1887" (Archives Nationales).
72. Charles C[onstant], *Voyage dans un grenier* (Paris: Damascène, Morgand et Charles Fatout, 1878), p. 155.
73. Loge La Clémentine Amitié, 20, rue Servandoni, Grand Orient de France, Paris, *Tableau des membres de la Loge La Clémentine Amitié pour l'exercice 1888* (Paris: Imprimerie du Frère J. Naturel, 1888).
74. Émile Littré, "Quels sont les devoirs de l'homme envers lui-même et envers ses semblables?," planche at La Clémentine Amitié on 9 July 1876; reproduced in *La Franc-Maçonnerie d'après ses textes classiques: Anthologie 1599–1967*, ed. Patrick Négrier (Paris: Éditions Detrad, 1996), pp. 294–306.
75. See Loge L'Amitié, Archives, box "Correspondance avec Loges françaises."
76. Jacques Gubler, *Inventaire suisse d'architecture, 1850–1920, La Chaux-de-Fonds* (La Chaux-de-Fonds: Société d'Histoire de l'Art en Suisse, 1984), p. 207.
77. For a history of the crematorium, see Anouk Hellman, "Le Crématoire de La Chaux-de-Fonds: Un monument singulier," *Revue Historique Neuchâteloise*, no. 3–4 (2003): 351–360.

78. The year 1910 in La Chaux-de-Fonds witnessed, on the one hand, a two-pronged increase in the power of the socialists and the successes of Freemasons in public architectural commissions (supported by financial donations from the powerful and wealthy nonprofit organization of the Bureau de Contrôle des Métaux Précieux) and, on the other hand, the reversal of L'Eplattenier's fortunes with his increasing isolation.
79. See Oswald Wirth, *Le livre de l'Apprenti* (1894; repr., Paris: Loge Travail et Vrais Amis Fidèles, 1908); Oswald Wirth, *Le livre du Compagnon* (Paris: Loge Travail et Vrais Amis Fidèles, 1912); Oswald Wirth, *Le livre du Maître* (Paris: Loge Travail et Vrais Amis Fidèles, 1922).
80. Robert Belli, letter in *Feuille d'Avis*, 11 March 1910; quoted in Jean-Daniel Jeanneret, "Le Crématoire de La Chaux-de-Fonds: Une œuvre d'art totale," unpublished manuscript, 2004, p. 8.
81. The Groupe des Quatre consisted of Charles Humbert, Madeleine Woog, Lucien Schwob, and Philippe Zysset; see Cathy Gfeller, "L'essor de l'art nouveau à La Chaux-de-Fonds ou les débuts de l'École d'art (1900–1914)," *Nouvelle Revue Neuchâteloise* 9, no. 34 (Summer 1992).
82. Le Corbusier, letter to L'Eplattenier, 2 March 1908; reproduced in *Le Corbusier: Choix de lettres*, ed. Jean Jenger (Basel: Birkhäuser: 2002), p. 53.
83. See Maurice Favre, "Le monde du Cours Supérieur par les carnets de Charles Humbert," *Revue Historique Neuchâteloise*, no. 2 (1998): 114.
84. "Wednesday 8 December 1909, Edgard Jeanneret comes to visit the *Cours*." Charles Humbert, *Journal* (collection Maurice Favre); quoted in Favre, "Le monde du Cours Supérieur," p. 100.
85. La Société Neuchâteloise de Crémation et du Crématoire S.A., *Rapport de la Société Neuchâteloise de Crémation et du Crématoire S.A. à La Chaux-de-Fonds, 1934–1936*, pp. 31–32 (Bibliothèque de la Ville de La Chaux-de-Fonds).
86. Quartier-la-Tente, *La Franc-Maçonnerie suisse et neuchâteloise*, p. 10.
87. Alfred-Louis Jacot, "Le symbolisme maçonnique," in Bureau International de Relations Maçonniques à Neuchâtel, *Deux siècles de Franc-Maçonnerie, volume de Jubilé, 24 juin 1717–24 juin 1917* (Berne: Imprimerie Bächler & Cie, 1917), pp. 107–111.
88. See École d'Art de La Chaux-de-Fonds, *Catalogue de la bibliothèque, 1919* (La Chaux-de-Fonds: Imprimerie Coopérative, 1919), entries 27 and 28.
89. John Ruskin, *The Stones of Venice*, vol. 2, chapter 4 on St. Mark's.
90. "A mon bon compagnon d'études et ami Monsieur A. Evard—modeste merci d'un fameux coup de main. Ch. E. Jeanneret, Août 1907."
91. "J'ai eu plusieurs occasions de me convaincre que, dans le monde horloger et maçonnique de La Chaux-de-Fonds, on naît papa. Charles L'Eplattenier commençait d'ailleurs à l'endoctriner au profit de la loge: 'Mais plus tard! plus tard! Je te ferai signe quand ce sera le moment.' Je n'aime pas poser de questions indiscretes et ne me suis jamais enquis si ce moment était arrivé. Mais la rapidité des corbusières pourrait bien avoir quelque point d'appui occulte. . . . Du reste à quoi bon demander une telle chose. On jurera toujours ses grands dieux que non." William Ritter, "Mes relations avec les artistes suisses," typescript, vol. 3, chapter 15, p. 15 (Fonds William Ritter, Archives Littéraires Suisses, Bibliothèque Nationale Suisse). L'Eplattenier was of course not a member of L'Amitié but, understandably, of the Club Alpin Suisse Section La Chaux-de-Fonds, given his traditionalist outlook; see Club Alpin Suisse, *Club Alpin Suisse bulletin annuel La Chaux-de-Fonds 1901* (La Chaux-de-Fonds: Imprimerie Haefeli, 1913).
92. Édouard du Bois, letter to Le Corbusier, 23 January 1953 (FLC R1-18-90).

93. Bureau Central de Publications Horlogères et le Bureau d'Annonces, *Annuaire des adresses pour La Chaux-de-Fonds et Le Locle 1894* (La Chaux-de-Fonds: A. Maridor, 1894), p. 82.
94. According to H. Allen Brooks, Édouard Jeanneret-Rauss retired in 1898.
95. See Georges-Édouard Jeanneret, *Journal 1888–1898* (Le Corbusier/106/1041, p. 208, Bibliothèque de la Ville de La Chaux-de-Fonds).
96. *Annuaire des adresses pour La Chaux-de-Fonds et Le Locle 1894*, p. 30.
97. For membership, see Club Alpin Suisse, *Club Alpin Suisse bulletin annuel La Chaux-de-Fonds 1892* (La Chaux-de-Fonds: Imprimerie Sauser et Haefeli, 1893). See also Club Alpin Suisse, *Club Alpin Suisse bulletin annuel La Chaux-de-Fonds 1901* (La Chaux-de-Fonds: Imprimerie Sauser, 1902).
98. See the directories for La Chaux-de-Fonds between 1894 and 1913. In 1894: *Annuaire des adresses pour La Chaux-de-Fonds et Le Locle 1894*. In 1913: Bureau Central de publicité, ed., *Dix-huitième édition: Annuaire des adresses pour La Chaux-de-Fonds et Le Locle 1913* (La Chaux-de-Fonds: A. Gogler [S.A.] Éditeur, 1913). The information in the succeeding editions of the *Annuaire des adresses pour La Chaux-de-Fonds et Le Locle* is as follows: 1894 edition: “Jeanneret-Perret, E., *fab cad.* Léopold-Robert 46; Jeanneret-Rauss, Ed., *fab cadr.* Loge 6”; 1902 edition: “Jeanneret-Perret, Ed., *f cadrans*, Loge 6; and Jeanneret-Perret, E., *émaill.* Léop. Rob. 46”; 1903 edition: ditto. Other people living and/or working at the same address were less permanent. With variations from year to year, they included a builder, a plasterer, a watch engraver, a watch factory owner, a watchcase maker, a *doreur* (goldsmith), a watchcase polisher, a teacher of English (Mlle Whitley), a housewife (*ménagère*), etc.; 1904 edition: “Jeanneret-Perret, Ed., *f cadrans*, Loge 6; and Jeanneret-Perret, E., *émaill.* mén, Léop. Rob. 46”; 1905–1911 editions: same working atelier address at 6, rue de la Loge. However, the residence addresses change in accordance with the list established by Brooks: 1883–1888: rue de la Serre 38; 1888–1893: rue Fritz-Courvoisier 17; 1893–1906: avenue Léopold-Robert 46 (four rooms for the family of four with servant); 1906–1912: rue Jacob-Brandt 8 (three rooms for the family of four with servant); 1912–1919: Villa Jeanneret-Perret. Then Georges-Édouard and Marie Jeanneret-Perret lived in a rented flat in Châbles-sur-Blonay near Vevey during the convoluted sale of the Villa Jeanneret-Perret, from the interim sale in 1919 to the final disposal in 1922.
99. Brooks, *Le Corbusier's Formative Years*, p. 192, note 7.
100. Georges-Édouard Jeanneret-Perret, *Journal 1888–1925*, entry for 15 October 1911 (Bibliothèque de la Ville de La Chaux-de-Fonds). On this episode, see Sylvie Béguelin, “Chronique de La Villa Blanche d’après le Journal de Georges Édouard Jeanneret-Perret,” *Revue Historique Neuchâteloise*, no. 2 (1998): 117–127.
101. See Élisabeth de Gramont, *Souvenirs du monde de 1890 à 1940* (Paris: Éditions Bernard Grasset, 1966); Francesco Rapazzini, *Elisabeth de Gramont, avant-gardiste* (Paris: Fayard, 2001).
102. Charles-Édouard Jeanneret, letter to William Ritter, 1 July 1917 (FLC R-3-19-145/193; 153).
103. Charles-Édouard Jeanneret, letter to William Ritter, 26 January 1917 (FLC R-3-19-113).
104. George Wickes, *The Amazon of Letters: The Life and Loves of Natalie Barney* (London: W. H. Allen, 1977), p. 104.
105. See Raphaël Aurillac, *Guide du Paris maçonnique* (Paris: Éditions Dervy, 2005).
106. Le Corbusier, “Ineffable Space,” in Le Corbusier, *New World of Space* (New York: Reynal & Hitchcock; Boston: Institute of Contemporary Art, 1948), p. 8.

## 4 A Totally Different Feeling Confronted My Intellect

1. See Club Alpin Suisse, *Bulletin Annuel de la Section de La Chaux-de-Fonds 1892* (La Chaux-de-Fonds: Imprimerie Sauser & Haefeli, 1893); Union des Loges Suisses Alpina, *Schweizerische Grossloge, Mitglieder-Verzeichnis des Schweizerischen Logenbundes auf das Jahr 1885: Catalogue des membres de l'Union des Loges Suisses pour l'année 1885* (Winterthur: Buchdruckerei von J. Westferling, 1885).
2. See William Vogt, *Catalogue des Francs-Maçons suisses 1910–1911: Deuxième partie comprenant toutes les loges sauf celles de Genève* (Geneva: chez l'auteur, 1912).
3. Hans Wille, “Planche d'avancement au II Grade, 26 October 1909” (Loge L'Amitié, Archives, box Planches d'Apprentis, no. 590).
4. See Archives of the Loge Clémentine Amitié, File 111 (Le Grand Orient de France); La Clémentine Amitié, *Tableau des membres de la Loge La Clémentine Amitié pour l'exercice 1888* (Paris: Imprimerie du Frère J. Naturel, 1888). Schaltenbrand is also listed as “Schaltenbrand, architecte, 20, rue Servandoni, Clémentine Amitié. (Pl. 1886)” in the anti-Freemasonic publication *Le Tout-Paris maçonnique contenant 10.000 noms de Francs-Maçon de Paris et de la banlieue* (Paris: Hermelin Éditeur, 1896).
5. Eugène Schaltenbrand, “Planche d'Apprenti,” November 1894, Planche no. 485 (Loge L'Amitié, Archives, box Planches d'Apprentis).
6. Gian Mario Cazzaniga, *Symboles, signes, langages sacrés pour une sémiologie de la Franc-Maçonnerie* (Pisa: Edizioni Ets, 1995), preface, p. 13.
7. *Le Corbusier Sketchbooks*, vol. 3, 1954–1957 (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1981), Sketch 549.
8. Margaret C. Jacob, *Living the Enlightenment: Freemasonry and Politics in Eighteenth-Century Europe* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 208.
9. The Rite Français is sometimes also known as the Rite Moderne.
10. Oswald Wirth, *Le livre de l'Apprenti* (Paris: Loge Travail et Vrais Amis Fidèles, 1894), 2d ed. 1908; Oswald Wirth, *Le livre du Compagnon* (Paris: Loge Travail et Vrais Amis Fidèles, 1912); Oswald Wirth, *Le livre du Maître* (Paris: Loge Travail et Vrais Amis Fidèles, 1922). For publication dates of Wirth's books, see Jean Baylot, *Oswald Wirth, 1860–1943: Rénovateur et mainteneur de la véritable Franc-Maçonnerie* (Paris: Dervy-Livres, 1975).
11. See the “Avis aux MM. en Ch. des Loges de l'Alpina,” *Alpina: Organe des Loges Suisses* 56, no. 3 (15 February 1930): front page.
12. See Baylot, *Oswald Wirth*.
13. Oswald Wirth, *La Franc-Maçonnerie rendue intelligible à ses adeptes: sa philosophie, son objet, sa méthode, ses moyens*, III, “Le Maître” (1894; repr., Paris: Dervy-Livres, 1986), p. 245.
14. *Bulletin of the International Bureau for Masonic Affairs at Neuchâtel in 1913*, vol. 10 (October–December 1913), inside front cover.
15. Jules Romains, *Les hommes de Bonne Volonté, VII: Recherche d'une église* (Paris: Éditions Flammarion, 1934). “Lengnau” would seem to be a homonym of “l'agneau” (lamb) with, in this case, caustic Catholic connotations.
16. Marius Lepage, preface to Wirth, *La Franc-Maçonnerie rendue intelligible à ses adeptes*, I: “L'Apprenti,” p. 15.
17. It would be interesting to locate any extant archives of Eugène Schaltenbrand in order to find possible traces of interactions (diary annotations, correspondence, etc.) with Charles-Édouard Jeaneret. I have been unable to do so.
18. See Victor Schoelcher, *Esclavage et colonisation* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2006).

19. See Frère Lecomte, *Histoire de la respectable Loge Chapitre et Aréopage La Clémentine Amitié depuis sa fondation (8 Mars 1805) jusqu'à nos jours précédée de l'histoire universelle de la Franc-Maçonnerie* (Paris: Imprimerie Typographique Henri Richard, 1905); La Clémentine Amitié, *Cent cinquantième anniversaire* (Paris: La Clémentine Amitié, 1955); La Clémentine Amitié, *La Clémentine Amitié, histoire d'un bicentenaire, 1805–2005* (Paris: La Clémentine Amitié, 2006).
20. See Lecomte, *Histoire de la respectable Loge Chapitre et Aréopage La Clémentine Amitié*.
21. However, the final decision by La Clémentine Amitié in 1888 “on the subject of initiations, to return to its initial ritual which is of a much higher philosophical level” was made two years after Schaltenbrand’s initiation in 1886; see Lecomte, *Histoire de la respectable Loge Chapitre et Aréopage La Clémentine Amitié*, pp. 51–52.
22. Daniel Ligou, “La sécularisation de la Maçonnerie française de 1772 à 1887 d’après les rituels,” *Tijdschrift voor de Studie van de Verlichting* 5, no. 1 (1977): 48.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 58.
24. Louis Amiable, quoted in Ludovic Marcos, *Histoire du Rite Français au XIXe Siècle* (Paris: Éditions Maçonniques de France, 2001), p. 57. In practice, rituals varied from lodge to lodge, and individual lodges resisted the interfering attempts by the Grand Orient de France to centralize, standardize, and regulate its rituals.
25. Lecomte, *Histoire de la respectable Loge Chapitre et Aréopage La Clémentine Amitié*, p. 51–52.
26. Louis Amiable, quoted in Ligou, “La sécularisation de la Maçonnerie française,” p. 57.
27. Louis Amiable, quoted in *ibid.*
28. Louis Amiable, quoted in *ibid.*, p. 58.
29. Rituel Louis Amiable 1887, quoted in Marcos, *Histoire du Rite Français au XIXe Siècle*, p. 80.
30. Louis Amiable, quoted in Ligou, “La sécularisation de la Maçonnerie française,” p. 58.
31. Rituel Louis Amiable 1887, quoted in Marcos, *Histoire du Rite Français au XIXe Siècle*, p. 72.
32. Louis Amiable, quoted in Ligou, “La sécularisation de la Maçonnerie française,” p. 58.
33. *Les rituels pour les Loges du Grand Orient de France, 1887, Cahiers des grades symboliques, 1887* (unpublished manuscript, Archives of Le Grand Orient de France), n.p.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 31.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 33.
36. “Le troisième voyage est terminé. Ce voyage symbolise l’âge mûr. Vous l’avez fait avec l’allure d’un homme parvenu à la plénitude de son développement. Même dans cette période de la vie, l’homme a encore besoin d’aide et d’appui. Isolé, il ne pourrait mener à bien aucune entreprise importante.” *Ibid.*, p. 35.
37. See Pierre Mollier, ed., *Le régulateur du Maçon 1785/“1801”: Édition critique* (Paris: Éditions à l’Orient, 2004), pp. 25–28.
38. Comparable Freemasonic ritual movement has been described for French eighteenth-century architecture in Anthony Vidler, “The Architecture of the Lodges,” in *The Writing of the Walls: Architectural Theory in the Late Enlightenment* (London: Butterworth Architecture, 1987), p. 99. See also Anthony Vidler, “The Architecture of Lodges: Ritual Form and Associational Life in the Late Enlightenment,” *Oppositions*, no. 5, pp. 75–97.
39. Roger Richard, *Dictionnaire maçonnique: Le sens caché des rituels et de la symbolique maçonniques* (Paris: Éditions Dervy, 1999), p. 360.
40. Pierre Mollier, ed., *Recueil des trois premiers grades de la Maçonnerie: Apprenti, Compagnon, Maître au Rite Français 1788* (Paris: Éditions à l’Orient, 2001), p. 42.

41. See Mollier, *Le régulateur du Maçon 1785/“1801”*: *Édition critique*. The original publication was *Le régulateur des chevaliers maçons ou les quatre ordres supérieurs suivant le régime du Grand-Orient* (Paris: Librairie Caillot et Brun, 1801).
42. Samuel Prichard, *Masonry Dissected, Being a Universal and Genuine Description of All Its Branches from the Original to the Present Time* (Boston: Poemadress Press Facsimile Reprint, 1996), originally published in London by J. Wilford, 1730.
43. It must here be remembered that theater played a primary role in French culture at the time as potential social critique.
44. *Le régulateur des chevaliers maçons ou les quatre ordres supérieurs suivant le régime du Grand-Orient* (Paris: Librairie Caillot et Brun, 1801), p. 6.
45. In addition to which, in 1877, the Grand Orient de France, the Obédience of La Clémentine Amitié, had annulled its requirement that members believe in a divinity. For this it was banned as “irregular” by the United Grand Lodge of England, which was routinely considered as the final arbiter because of its status as the direct inheritor of the first and oldest Masonic lodge, the Grand Lodge of London and Westminster (1717).
46. Lecomte, *Histoire de la respectable Loge Chapitre et Aréopage La Clémentine Amitié*, pp. 51–52.
47. Mollier, *Le régulateur du Maçon 1785/“1801”*: *Édition critique*, p. 105. The full story of the Rite Français is analyzed in Mollier’s book. See also Mollier, *Recueil des trois premiers grades de la Maçonnerie*.
48. Schaltenbrand, “Planche d’Apprenti.”
49. During this period, consequently, the four higher degrees of the seven-degree Rite Français and their spiritual symbolism were generally neglected with, in consequence, the move of many lodges to the tradition of *Écossisme*, until 1938 when Arthur Grousier created yet a new version of the Rite Français with a return to earlier traditional, symbolic, and spiritual sources close to *Le régulateur des chevaliers maçons* of 1801. Typical of this general historical tendency was even the creation of a new ritual, the Rite Français Moderne et Rétabli, which tried to include other hitherto neglected eighteenth-century features.
50. For aficionados of ritual, it must be explained that, in France, the Rite Écossais Ancien et Accepté includes the first three symbolic degrees (see Mollier, *Le régulateur du Maçon 1785/“1801”*: *Édition critique*, p. 27, note 18).
51. Oswald Wirth, “L’Initiation Adonhirmaite et les nouveaux Rituels du Grand Orient de France,” 7 February 1888, speech at Loge Les Amis Triomphants; published in Jean Bidegain, *Masques et visages maçonniques* (Paris: Librairie Antisemite, 1906), p. 124.
52. This raises the question of the meaning of “initiatory” in francophone Freemasonic culture. “Initiatory” means generative of fundamental self-questioning and critical reflection. Much French Freemasonic exegesis therefore addresses the issues and problems of the nature of authentic initiation. Hence, a “profane,” by implication, is someone unable or unwilling to consider fundamental self-examination and critical thinking. Hence also the notion, and the problem, of the “Maçon sans tablier” (the Freemason without [the traditional ritual] apron), that is, the individual who has a Freemasonic spirit but who is not a Freemason. The Freemasonic process of self-examination and critical thinking is referred to as *travail* (work); thus, the Freemasonic lodge is referred to as an *atelier* (studio or workshop), that is, as the place where the work of self-examination and critical thinking takes place. To initiate this process of self-examination and critical thinking, symbolism is used as a means to produce questions and answers and open-ended thinking; hence the critically important role of symbolism



and the resulting endless stream of French Masonic exegesis about symbols and symbolism. Ritual too is symbolic in intent, but it is also symbolic of fraternity and, in practice, produces the trust that is required inside the Masonic lodge for members to undertake deep self-examination and profound critical thinking through dialogue between members from different faiths, beliefs, ideologies, and social positions. The much-discussed secrecy of French Freemasonry stems from this. Because self-examination and critical thinking is a profoundly personal, intimate, and private matter, it cannot be truly discussed with, or understood by, others. It would also be wrong to reveal to others the private and inner thoughts and beliefs expressed by fellow lodge members. Therefore French Freemasons do not see Freemasonry as a secret or secretive society but as an incommunicable process—and this incommunicability, expressed by silence, is inevitably interpreted by “profanes” as secret or secretive. Two interesting pieces of Freemasonic writing to consult are Juan Gris’s *planche* (oral presentation) on the concept of work in his article “Des possibilités de la peinture” (1924), and several *planches* by Maine de Biran in *La Franc-Maçonnerie d’après ses textes classiques: Anthologie 1599–1967*, ed. Patrick Négrier (Paris: Éditions Detrad, 1996).

53. Jean Marie Ragon, *Cours philosophique et interprétatif des initiations anciennes et modernes* (Paris: n.p., 1841).

54. Oswald Wirth, *Le symbolisme occulte de la Franc-Maçonnerie: Analyse interprétative du frontispice de la “Maçonnerie occulte” de J.-M. Ragon* (Paris: Le Symbolisme, 1928).

55. *Ibid.*, p. 32. The Rite Écossais Ancien et Accepté, with its thirty-three degrees, is the one most in use at the Grande Loge de France. Yet Wirth remained a lifelong critic of the higher degrees above the first three degrees of Apprenti, Compagnon, and Maître,

as part of a tradition that advocates a return to simplicity, inner reflection, and initiatory values.

56. Le Corbusier, “Ineffable Space,” in Le Corbusier, *New World of Space* (New York: Reynal & Hitchcock; Boston: Institute of Contemporary Art, 1948), p. 8.

57. Oswald Wirth, “La religion du franc-maçon,” reprinted in *La Franc-Maçonnerie d’après ses textes classiques*, pp. 336–337. First published in *Le Symbolisme*, December 1924.

58. Wirth, *La Franc-Maçonnerie rendue intelligible à des adeptes*, I: “L’Apprenti,” pp. 135, 138–139.

59. Oswald Wirth, *Qui est régulier? Le pur maçonisme sous le régime des grandes loges inaugurées en 1777* (Paris: Éditions du Symbolisme, 1938), p. 128.

60. Oswald Wirth, “La croyance au Grand Architecte” (1935), in *ibid.*, p. 75.

61. Wirth, *Le symbolisme occulte de la Franc-Maçonnerie*.

62. François Timoléon Bègue-Clavel, *Histoire pittoresque de la Franc-Maçonnerie et des sociétés secrètes anciennes et modernes, illustrée avec 25 belles gravures sur acier* (Paris: Pagnerre, Éditeur, 1844).

63. André Combes, “Esprit-Eugène Hubert,” in *Encyclopédie de la Franc-Maçonnerie*, ed. Eric Saunier (Paris: Librairie Générale Française, 2000), p. 413.

It must be mentioned that Hubert was so deeply involved in the symbolism of ritual that he was involved in another ritual too, the Rite Memphis Misraïm. See also Daniel Ligou, ed., *Dictionnaire de la Franc-Maçonnerie* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1987).

64. Serge Hutin, *Les Francs-Maçons* (Paris: Seuil, 1960).

## 5 The Little Vestibule that Frees Your Mind from the Street

1. Serge Hutin, *Les Francs-Maçons* (Paris: Seuil, 1960), pp. 29–30.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 29–33.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 175, 177.
4. François Timoléon Bègue-Clavel, *Histoire pittoresque de la Franc-Maçonnerie et des sociétés secrètes anciennes et modernes, illustrée avec 25 belles gravures sur acier* (Paris: Pagnerre, Éditeur, 1844), p. 13.
5. See Léo Taxil, *Les mystères de la Franc-Maçonnerie* (Paris: Letouzey & Ané, 1888), p. 17. Taxil's book is one of the great classics of anti-Freemasonic denunciation and, as such, is a remarkable mixture of fact and fiction. On Léo Taxil, see "Leo Taxil" in Eric Saunier, ed., *Encyclopédie de la Franc-Maçonnerie* (Paris: Librairie Générale Française, 2000), pp. 848–850.
6. For a history of the rituals in use at the Loge L'Amitié in La Chaux-de-Fonds, see Michel Cugnet, *Deux siècles et demi de Franc-Maçonnerie en Suisse et dans le Pays de Neuchâtel* (La Chaux-de-Fonds: Éditions du Chevron, 1991). The draft constitution of the Loge L'Amitié, dated 1819, was confirmed in 1821 by the Grande Loge Provinciale de Berne and eventually ratified by the new Grande Loge Nationale Suisse in Berne in 1822. The Grande Loge Suisse Alpina, which finally grouped together all Masonic lodges in Switzerland, was founded in 1844. The use of the Rite Schroeder dates back to this early history.
7. See Eugen Lennhoff and Oskar Posner, eds., *Internationales Freimaurerlexikon* (Munich: Amalthea-Verlag, 1932), p. 1419.
8. See H. H. Solf, "The Origin and Sources of the Schroeder Ritual," *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum, Transactions of Quatuor Coronati Lodge no. 2076*, 92 (1979): 82–103; Harry Carr, "Samuel Prichard's Masonry Dissected, 1730," reprinted in Carr, *Harry Carr's World of Freemasonry: The Collected Papers and Talks of Harry Carr* (London: Lewis Masonic, 1983), pp. 104–144.
9. See Solf, "The Origin and Sources of the Schroeder Ritual," pp. 82–103.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 82. Very briefly, Masonic rituals are organized into two levels. A first set of three degrees (Apprenti, Compagnon, Maître), called symbolic degrees, are followed by a further set of higher degrees, called philosophical degrees, whose number and contents vary from one ritual to another. For a full (and bewildering) complete list of rituals, see "Rite," in *Dictionnaire de la Franc-Maçonnerie*, ed. Daniel Ligou (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1987), pp. 1037–1058. For one among many exegeses of the higher degrees, see Michel Cugnet, *La quête du chevalier dans le Rite Écossais Ancien et Accepté* (La Chaux-de-Fonds: Éditions du Chevron, 2005).
11. Friedrich Ludwig Schroeder, *Materialen zur Geschichte der Freimaurerei zeit ihrer Entstehung bis 1723* (1806 edition), Part IV, p. 52, quoted in Solf, "The Origin and Sources of the Schroeder Ritual," p. 84.
12. Schroeder, *Materialen zur Geschichte der Freimaurerei zeit ihrer Entstehung bis 1723*, Part IV, p. 355, quoted in Solf, "The Origin and Sources of the Schroeder Ritual," p. 88.
13. Solf, "The Origin and Sources of the Schroeder Ritual," p. 87.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 92.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 101.
16. E. B. Barber and Frank Bernhart, "The Pilgrim Lodge, no. 238, London and the Schroeder Ritual," *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum, Transactions of Quatuor Coronati Lodge no. 2076*, 76 (1963): 64–69.

17. Walter Horace Bruford, *Theatre, Drama, and Audience in Goethe's Germany* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1950), p. 252.
18. Heinz Kindermann, *Theatergeschichte Europas* (Salzburg: Otto Müller, 1961–1964), vol. 4, p. 545; quoted in Michael Patterson, *The First German Theatre: Schiller, Goethe, Kleist and Büchner in Performance* (London: Routledge, 1990), p. 14.
19. Patterson, *The First German Theatre*, p. 14. Patterson includes a list of the plays introduced by Schroeder.
20. Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, "Hamburgische Dramaturgie, Stück 4, 12 May 1767," in *Lessing's Werke* (Leipzig: Reclam, n.d), vol. 4, p. 14.
21. Johann Friedrich Schütze, *Hamburgische Theatergeschichte* (Hamburg: Treder, 1794), p. 454; quoted in Bruford, *Theatre, Drama, and Audience in Goethe's Germany*, p. 196.
22. Ludwig Friedrich Schroeder, quoted in Bruford, *Theatre, Drama, and Audience in Goethe's Germany*, p. 197.
23. Le Corbusier and Pierre Jeanneret, *Œuvre complète 1929–1934*, 3d ed. (Erlenbach-Zurich: Éditions d'Architecture, 1946), p. 24; quoted in Yve-Alain Bois, "A Picturesque Stroll around Clara-Clara," *October* 29 (1984): 56.
24. Le Corbusier, *Towards a New Architecture* (1923; London: Architectural Press, 1946), p. 183.
25. Pierre Chenal, quoted in *Pierre Chenal*, ed. Pierrette Matalon, Claude Guiget, and Jacques Pin-turault (Paris: Éditions Dujarric, 1987), p. 33.
26. Le Corbusier, *Towards a New Architecture*, pp. 47–50.
27. William J. R. Curtis, *Le Corbusier: Ideas and Forms* (London: Phaidon, 1986), p. 96.
28. Bègue-Clavel, *Histoire pittoresque de la Franc-Maçonnerie et des sociétés secrètes anciennes et modernes*, p. 13.
29. Yves Hivert Messeca, "Rose-Croix," in Saunier, *Encyclopédie de la Franc-Maçonnerie*, p. 759.
30. Anonymous, "Planche: Quatre substances primordiales" (Grande Loge de France, Travaux 19, Travaux no. 8, no date), p. 1.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 3.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
34. Virgile Humbert-Droz was a member of Les Vrais Frères Unis of Le Locle, while Marcel Gentil and Gustave Gentil were members of the Loge L'Amitié. George Moïse Hirsch was already in Paris and transferred from the Loge Ernest Renan of the Grand Orient de France.
35. See Roger Girard, "Le Rite Français," in Michel Gaudart de Soulages and Hubert Lamant, eds., *Dictionnaire des Francs-Maçons français* (Paris: Éditions J.-C. Lattès, 1995), p. 55.
36. André Ouvrard, Tourangeau le bien aimé, "Causerie historique du compagnonnage d'antan à nos jours: Ses rites, ses symboles, son mysticisme" (Grande Loge de France, Archives, Classeur XVIII, no. 32).
37. Le Corbusier, *Quand les cathédrales étaient blanches* (Paris: Plon, 1937).
38. See Jean Cassou's introduction to Le Corbusier, *Urbanisme* (Paris: Crès, 1925).
39. See Gérard Monnier, *L'art et ses institutions en France: De la Révolution à nos jours* (Paris: Gallimard, 1995).
40. Jean Cassou, *Le centre du monde* (Paris: Éditions du Sagittaire, 1945), p. 277.
41. *Ibid.*, p. 53.
42. *Ibid.*, p. 129.
43. Jean Cassou, letter to Le Corbusier, 16 December 1937 (FLC E1-12-145).
44. Le Corbusier, *Quand les cathédrales étaient blanches* (Grande Loge de France, Library Acquisition no. 6533 of 4th April 1978; Book Catalogue

Number: N-6-d-5). The copy of *Quand les cathédrales étaient blanches*, which belonged to Jean Cassou, came into the library of the Grande Loge de France on 4 April 1978.

45. Jean Cassou, *Entretiens avec Jean Rousset* (Paris: Éditions Albin Michel, 1965), p. 144.

46. Cassou, *Le centre du monde*, p. 105.

47. *Ibid.*, p. 23.

48. Bronislaw Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific: An Account of Native Enterprise and Adventure in the Archipelagoes of Melanesian New Guinea* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1922), p. xvi.

## 6 My Ancestors' Old Bible to Be Given to Éliisa

1. Éliisa Guinand, letter to Le Corbusier, 13 March 1934 (FLC E2-11-111).

2. There follows the accounts of (1) the costs of Charles Perret for his trip to America (1110 francs), (2) those of Marie Perret, Le Corbusier's mother, for her musical studies in Stuttgart (1375.68 francs), and (3) the rental of a piano at 120 francs per year for five years plus associated costs, shared with Éliisa, amounting to 5026.18 francs. Amélie Perret continues: "Marie's vocation proved expensive for her but she also greatly benefited from it later; having returned to the house she was able to give some piano lessons and thus acquire her trousseau when she wanted to get married and from then on she always continued to give them. When Marie returned from Stuttgart, I thought I had made a good acquisition by buying a piano that had been recommended as valuable, having belonged to Mme Joseph Guinand and sold by Mme Guinand Grosjean at a cost of 1000 francs that I paid in several installments, for which I have the receipts. However, once Marie had tried it out, she never found it any good, and later at Sully's house they took it back at the price of 650

francs, at a net loss for me of 350 francs for which I did not hold her accountable, but am indicating here." Amélie Perret, "Inventaire et comptes de famille," manuscript, 1896–15 January 1902 (Fonds Le Corbusier, Bibliothèque de la Ville de La Chaux-de-Fonds, Le Corbusier/110/1444).

3. *Ibid.*

4. There is also an entry for "Alcide Guinand, epic., Pl.-Neuve 4." See Bureau Central de Publications Horlogères and Bureau d'Annonces, eds., *Annuaire des adresses pour La Chaux-de-Fonds et Le Locle 1894* (La Chaux-de-Fonds: A. Maridor, 1894).

5. *L'Impartial*, Saturday, 13 November 1897.

6. Georges-Édouard Jeanneret, *Journal 1888–1898*, entry for 29 December 1889, p. 14 (Bibliothèque de la Ville de La Chaux-de-Fonds, Le Corbusier/106/1041).

7. *Ibid.*, entry for 1 January 1890, p. 19.

8. *Ibid.*, entry for 11 May 1890, p. 35.

9. *Ibid.*, entry for 24 December 1890, p. 45.

10. *Ibid.*, entry for 31 December 1891, p. 68.

11. *Ibid.*, entry for 2 January 1892, p. 69.

12. *Ibid.*, entries for 24 December 1892, p. 96; 24 December 1893, p. 122; 24 December 1894, p. 142, etc.

13. See also *ibid.*, pp. 6, 14, 19, 35, 45, 68, 69, 96, 122, 132, 142, 160, 168, 181.

14. *Ibid.*, entry for 13 November 1897, p. 195.

15. "27 Déc. . . . Le jour de Noël ciel radieux; nous avons une petite réunion chez nous le soir—les grand parents, et tantes et cousins. Sans arbre, soirée paisible qui se termine par le thé et les bonbons. Les garçons ont reçu de nombreux cadeaux: de nous, musique pour Albert, fourniture de dessin pour Edouard; un magnifique livre de Tante Pauline et f 20 qu'elle destine aux études d'Albert. De grand papa f 5 chacun, et de la musique et des couleurs de mon frère de Soleure. Après la mort de mon beau-frère Sully Guinand, les fêtes de Noël ont perdu de leur brio dans la famille; les enfants grandissent,

les idées changent, et les parents s'assagissent." Georges-Édouard Jeanneret, *Journal* 1899–1914, entry for 27 December 1900.

16. See Alpina, Schweizerische Grossloge, *Mitglieder-Verzeichnis des Schweizerischen Logenbundes auf das Jahr 1885: Catalogue des membres de l'Union des Loges Suisses pour l'année 1885* (Winterthur: Buchdruckerei von J. Westferling, 1885). Another seems to be André Jeanneret, Le Corbusier's paternal uncle and the father of his eventual business partner and collaborator, Pierre Jeanneret, but the evidence is elusive. Le Corbusier's diagrammatic genealogy indicates that Pierre was the son of André who was the son of Auguste, living in Geneva (Le Corbusier/103/1141; Bibliothèque de la Ville de La Chaux-de-Fonds). Hence one could deduct that the son, André, lived in Geneva too. According to the Grande Loge Suisse Alpina 1885, J. André Jeanneret from La Chaux-de-Fonds is described as "horloger, La Chaux-de-Fonds, né 1854, I" and listed as belonging to Les Vrais Freres Unis in Le Locle; in the 1880 Alpina list he is listed similarly but as "III," while in the 1891 Alpina list he is described as "horloger, Genève." In the 1910 anti-Freemasonic list by William Vogt, a Jules-André Jeanneret is described as "horloger, Genève, Le Locle, né 1854, initié 1883"; see William Vogt, *Catalogue des Francs-Maçons suisses 1910–1911: Deuxième partie comprenant toutes les loges sauf celles de Genève* (Geneva: chez l'auteur, 1912), p. 106. He appears in the 1920 Alpina list as "Jeanneret J. A., [rue] Succès 13, La Chaux-de-Fonds, né 1854, initié 1883."

17. Georges-Édouard Jeanneret, *Journal*, 1888–1898 (Bibliothèque de la Ville de La Chaux-de-Fonds, Le Corbusier/106/1041). He also socialized with other members of the Gallet family (Julien and Georges): see pp. 42, 50, 98, 102, 153.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 22.

19. Sully Guinand, biography, no. 297 (Loge L'Amitié, Box 4, Biographies 36-300).

20. "Sully Guinand, né le 27 Décembre 1847, originaire des Brenets. Reçu dans l'ordre à la Respectable Loge de l'Amitié à l'Ordre de La Chaux-de-Fonds. Au I Grade le 12 Mars 1869. Parrain le Très Cher Frère Louis Amer Guinand. Au II Grade le 11 Décembre 1869. Au III Grade le 3 Mars 1871. 1873: Secrétaire." L'Amitié, *Livre matricule, ordre de La Chaux-de-Fonds, du 19 avril 1860 au 21 mai 1881*, p. 97, Member no. 297.

21. Georges-Édouard Jeanneret, *Journal* 1888–1898, pp. 21, 22.

22. There was also Auguste Jeanneret from Geneva. Georges-Édouard Jeanneret notes that he attended the funeral after Auguste died on 2 July 1903 in his eightieth year; see Georges-Édouard Jeanneret, *Journal* 1899–1903, entry for 6 July 1903, p. 280.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 245, 275 (Bibliothèque de la Ville de La Chaux-de-Fonds, Le Corbusier/106/1042). See also Georges-Édouard Jeanneret, *Journal* 1917–1918, entry of 4 January 1917 (Bibliothèque de la Ville de La Chaux-de-Fonds, Le Corbusier/106/1043).

24. Charles-Édouard Jeanneret, letter to Charles L'Eplattenier, 9 May 1913 (Bibliothèque de la Ville de La Chaux-de-Fonds). Le Cercle du Sapin was another Chaux-de-fonnier club.

25. Jeanneret, letter to L'Eplattenier, 7 June 1910 (Fondation Le Corbusier E2-12-67); quoted in Marc-Albert Emery, "Premières réflexions: Le manuscrit inédit de 'La construction des villes,'" in *Le Corbusier: Une encyclopédie*, ed. Jacques Lucan (Paris: Éditions du Centre Pompidou, 1987), p. 432.

26. Sully Guinand, "Lettre biographique," no. 297 (Loge L'Amitié, Box 4, Biographies 36-300).

27. Miriam Cendrars, *Blaise Cendrars* (Paris: Balland, 1984), p. 41.

28. Blaise Cendrars, *Œuvre complètes*, book 13 (Paris: Club Français du Livre, 1976), p. 7; quoted in Cendrars, *Blaise Cendrars*, p. 41.

29. Ernest Sauser, “Planche d’avancement au II grade,” 25 January 1902 (Loge L’Amitié, Archives, Planche no. 552). Ernest Sauser was also the printer of the *Club Alpin Suisse Bulletin Annuel La Chaux-de-Fonds*; see Club Alpin Suisse, *Club Alpin Suisse Bulletin Annuel La Chaux-de-Fonds 1901* (La Chaux-de-Fonds: Imprimerie Sauser, 1902).

30. Guinand, “Lettre biographique.”

31. Édouard du Bois, letter to Le Corbusier, 23 January 1953 (FLC R1-18-90).

32. It is now the Musée Historique de La Ville de La Chaux-de-Fonds.

33. William Ritter, Journal, entry for 19 March 1915 (unpublished manuscript, Fonds William Ritter, Archives Littéraires Suisses, Bibliothèque Nationale Suisse, Berne).

34. Serge Hutin, *Les Francs-Maçons* (Paris: Seuil, 1960), pp. 29–33.

35. Quartier-la-Tente  *fils* became Apprenti on 20 November 1901, Compagnon on 8 April 1903 and Maître on 15 February 1905; see Édouard Quartier-la-Tente  *fils*, Masonic diploma (Collection Rose-Marie Berger-Quartier-la-Tente). He was ordained at the Temple National on 30 October 1902 by the Pasteur Borel, and then nominated *diacre* on 1 October 1903, becoming *pasteur titulaire* in January 1905; see Édouard Urech, *Histoire de l’église de La Chaux-de-Fonds* (La Chaux-de-Fonds: Éditions G. Saint-Clair, 1964).

36. Édouard Quartier-la-Tente  *fils et père*, *Les édifices religieux du canton de Neuchâtel* (Neuchâtel: Attinger Frères, 1914).

37. See Cercle du Sapin de La Chaux-de-Fonds, *Le Saplot: Bulletin mensuel du Cercle du Sapin de La Chaux-de-Fonds* (La Chaux-de-Fonds: Imprimerie W. Graden, 20 February 1911, Première année, no. 2), p. 3. The Cercle du Sapin was a formally organized club with selection procedures for new mem-

bers. Charles Humbert belonged to it, but never actually attended.

38. “Piatok 19. marca 1915. . . . Pan farár Q. La Tente práve dobicykloval oznámiť telef. vzkaz, že Jeaneret snáď prijde odpol” (Janko Cádra Archives, Slovak National Library).

## 7 Delightful Evening Yesterday at the Quartier-la-Tentes’

1. See *Le Corbusier Sketchbooks*, vol. 1 (London: Thames and Hudson; Paris: Fondation Le Corbusier, 1981).

2. William Ritter, Journal (Fonds William Ritter, Archives Littéraires Suisses, Bibliothèque Nationale Suisse, Berne). All following quotations are from the same source.

3. “Pondelok, 20. januára 1915. Práve nás navštívil p. Q. L. T.—poznám už jeho rezký krok na chodbe—a je . . . pastelly nadšený. I moje mu imponovaly. Divil sa smelosti, s akou narábam s pastelly, barvami, čo on by nikdy si nedovolil. Wilkov akvarell zarámovyný robí vraj veľký dojem a máme ho prísť obzrieť.” Janko Cádra, Diary (Janko Cádra Archives, Slovak National Library).

4. Personal communication with author from Claude Meylan (7 June 2006). See Claude Meylan, ed., *William Ritter, chevalier de Gustav Mahler: Ecrits, correspondance, documents* (Bern and Oxford: P. Land, 2000). See also the catalogue of William Ritter’s watercolors of Le Landeron: Edmond Charrière, *William Ritter (1867–1955): Aquarelles du Landeron et de ses environs* (Le Landeron: Fondation de l’Hôtel de Ville du Landeron, 2004).

5. William Ritter, “Mes relations avec les artistes suisses, tome 3” (typescript, Fonds William Ritter, Archives Littéraires Suisses, Bibliothèque Nationale Suisse, Berne), chapter XVII, p. 1.

6. William Ritter was then regularly selling works of art inherited from his father (see Fonds William Ritter, Archives Littéraires Suisses, Bibliothèque Nationale Suisse, Berne) and buying cases of vintage wine. Guillaume Ritter, before his bankruptcy, had amassed a substantial art collection.
7. Josef Tcherv, *William Ritter: Enfance et jeunesse 1867–1889* (Melide, Switzerland: Flèche d’Or, 1958), pp. 319–321.
8. For the description of this trip, see *ibid.*, pp. 334–352.
9. Joséphin Péladan, “Carnet de notes,” p. 46 (Bibliothèque Nationale, L’Arsenal, MS 13782).
10. William Ritter, *Rêves vécus et vies rêvées: Ames blanches* (Paris: Alphonse Lemerre, Éditeur, 1893).
11. See Philippe Kaenel, “William Ritter (1867–1955): Un critique cosmopolite, böcklinien et anti-hodlérien,” *Revue Suisse d’Histoire*, no. 48 (1998): 73–98.
12. See William Ritter, “Les artistes suisses à l’Exposition de la Rose-Croix,” *Revue du Dimanche*, 3 April 1892, pp. 105–107; Tcherv, *William Ritter: Enfance et jeunesse*; Philippe Junod et Philippe Kaenel, eds., *Critiques d’art de Suisse Romande: de Töpffer à Budry* (Lausanne: Éditions Payot Lausanne, 1993).
13. Coincy-Saint Palais, *Esclarmonde de Foix, princesse cathare* (Toulouse: Privat Éditeur, 1956), p. 175. There is also the statement, “Our Sââr Péladan, though he was a Hellenist as intelligent as passionate, used to say to me: ‘I should like to be kind: I would behead all those who dare to draw and to build a Greek entablature today!’” See Le Corbusier, *Precisions on the Present State of Architecture and City Planning* (1930; Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1991), p. 51.
14. Quartier-la-Tente père (1855–1925) was born in Havana. After the death of his father, his mother sent him back to his grandfather in Les Brenets, where he lived until the age of seven when his grandfather died. He was then transferred to the Maison des Orphelins in Neuchâtel, where he was raised. He obtained a degree in theology, and then taught that subject at the Académie de Neuchâtel (1883–1898). A member of the *parti radical* in politics, he became president of the Département de l’Instruction Publique et des Cultes of the canton of Neuchâtel (1898–1922). Quartier-la-Tente père created a *Code Scolaire*, a program that unified, centralized, and extended the fragmented and diverse system of public education that had existed in the canton of Neuchâtel; adopted by the State Council of Neuchâtel, it was rejected by a public referendum. In 1912, he presided over the Congrès de la Paix in Geneva, as he was a militant pacifist; see Édouard Quartier-la-Tente [père], *Les victoires du pacifisme! Conférence donnée le 17 Mai 1914 au Musée International de la Guerre et de la Paix à Lucerne à l’occasion de l’anniversaire de la 1ère Conférence de La Haye* (Neuchâtel: Imprimerie Weber & Co., 1914). He was also Grand Master of the Grande Loge Suisse Alpina (1900–1905). In 1923, he was elected Chancellor of the Association Maçonique Internationale, which covered thirty countries. Quartier-la-Tente père was also Honorary Member of the Masonic Veteran Association of Washington D.C., Honorary Senior Grand Warden of the Grand Lodge of Maryland U.S.A., Honorary member of the Lodge Canongate Kilwinning of Edinburgh, etc.
15. “Mort de M. Quartier-la-Tente,” *L’Impartial*, 20 January 1925.
16. P.F., “Lettre Neuchâteloise: Édouard Quartier-la-Tente 1855–1925,” *Gazette de Lausanne*, 23 January 1925. See the many other obituaries, in particular *Le Radical, Organe Mensuel des Associations Radicales de Neuchâtel-Serrières*, 23 January 1925; and the review in *Alpina*, no. 2 (1925): 19–20.
17. See Le Conseil Communal, *La Chaux-de-Fonds 1944: Documents nouveaux publiés à l’occasion du*

150e anniversaire de l'incendie du 5 Mai 1794 (La Chaux-de-Fonds: Le Conseil Communal, 1944). See also Mme James Courvoisier, *James Courvoisier, Pasteur: En Souvenir* (n.p., n.d. [1917]). To confuse matters, both the old Église Neuchâteloise and the new post-1873 Église Nationale were both popularly called “Le Vieux Temple” because of their old and historic building, which was closely associated with both religious and political events that took place in its auditorium, being the largest hall in the town.

18. Georges-Édouard Jeanneret, *Journal 1899–1914*, p. 291 (Bibliothèque de la Ville de La Chaux-de-Fonds, Le Corbusier/106/1042).

19. It is about Gustave Borel (1868–1913) that the very young Charles-Édouard, in his newly learned handwriting, had written to his mother in the 1890s that “On a été à l'église, Monsieur Borel a prêché.” Charles-Édouard Jeanneret, letter to Marie-Charlotte-Amélie Jeanneret-Perret (Bibliothèque de la Ville de La Chaux-de-Fonds, Fonds Le Corbusier/102/1424). The *cathéchisme* of Albert Jeanneret was with Pasteur Pettavel.

20. Conseil Communal, *La Chaux-de-Fonds 1944: Documents nouveaux*, p. 549.

21. Paroisse Nationale de La Chaux-de-Fonds, *Le Grand Temple* (La Chaux-de-Fonds: Collège des Anciens de la Paroisse, 1921).

22. Édouard Quartier-la-Tente [*père* and *fil*s], *Les édifices religieux du canton de Neuchâtel* (Neuchâtel: Attinger Frères Éditeurs, 1914). The other (charitable) activities of Quartier-la-Tente *fil*s included working in prisons and offering support for released prisoners, which, not being relevant to my argument, will not be discussed.

23. Édouard Quartier-la-Tente [*fil*s], *Cahiers d'enseignement pratique no. 27: L'architecture religieuse chrétienne* (Neuchâtel et Paris: Éditions Delachaux & Niestlé, 1939), p. 21.

24. *Ibid.*

25. Édouard Quartier-la-Tente [*père*], *L'esprit maçonnique* (Berne: Imprimerie Buchler, 1910), pp. 15–16.

26. “Often disappointed, of a difficult character, massively anti-Semitic, embodying from the 1900s onward the figure of the reactionary aesthete, loathing modernity and the avant-gardes and preferring fin-de-siècle art, Ritter is the typical eternally dissatisfied person.” Xavier Galmiche, “Europe centrale et patries personnelles chez William Ritter,” *Cultures d'Europe centrale no. 3 CIRCE*, 2003, p. 1.

27. Ritter, “Mes relations avec les artistes suisses,” pp. 14–15.

28. Josef Tcherv, “William Ritter: Vieillesse, 1914–1955” (unpublished, Fonds William Ritter, Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire de Neuchâtel, n.d. [ca. 1955]), pp. 4–14.

29. Édouard Quartier-la-Tente [*père*], *Souvenirs et expériences d'un Franc-maçon* (Berne: Imprimerie Büchler & Cie., 1917).

## 8 Knights Beneficent of the Holy City

1. Édouard Quartier-la-Tente [*père*], *L'esprit maçonnique* (Berne: Imprimerie Büchler & Cie., 1910), p. 13.

2. Le Corbusier, letter to Auguste Perret, 14 December 1915, quoted in *Lettres à Auguste Perret*, vol. 1 of *Le Corbusier: Lettres à ses maîtres*, ed. Marie-Jeanne Dumont (Paris: Éditions du Linteau, 2002), p. 152.

3. “Mort de M. Quartier-la-Tente,” *L'Impartial*, 20 January 1925. See also *Dictionnaire historique et biographique de la Suisse*, vol. 5 (Neuchâtel: Administration du Dictionnaire Historique et Biographique de la Suisse, 1930), pp. 361–362; and *Messenger boiteux, Almanach historique pour l'an de grâce 1926* (Neuchâtel, 1926).



4. Édouard Quartier-la-Tente [père], *Souvenirs et expériences d'un Franc-maçon* (Berne: Imprimerie Büchler & Cie., 1917).
5. See Joseph Castelli, *Les rituels du Rite Écossais Rectifié* (Paris: Éditions Maçonniques, 2006), pp. 15–19; Jean Ursin, *Création et histoire du Rite Écossais Rectifié* (Paris: Dervy, 2004).
6. Camille Savoie, quoted in Eric Saunier, ed., *Encyclopédie de la Franc-Maçonnerie* (Paris: Librairie Générale Française, 2000), p. 799.
7. Édouard Quartier-la-Tente [père], *Les grades et les rites maçonniques: Simple exposé à l'usage des membres des loges maçonniques* (Berne: Bureau International de Relations Maçonniques/Imprimerie Büchler & Cie., 1915), p. 17.
8. Savoie, quoted in Saunier, *Encyclopédie de la Franc-Maçonnerie*, p. 799.
9. See Jean Baylor, *Histoire du Rite Écossais Rectifié* (Harzé, Belgium: Éditions Willard de Honnecourt, 1976).
10. See Martinès de Pasqually, *Traité de la réintégration des êtres créés dans leurs primitives propriétés, vertus et puissances spirituelles et divines* (1775; Paris: Robert Dumas Éditeur, 1974); translated into English as Martinès de Pasqually, *Treatise on the Reintegration of Beings into Their Original Estate, Virtues and Powers Both Spiritual and Divine* (England: Septentrione Books, 2007). The Quartier-la-Tente archives include many letters advocating help for homeless war refugees, etc.
11. Quartier-la-Tente, *Les grades et les rites maçonniques*, p. 18.
12. Édouard Quartier-la-Tente [père], *1791–1891 Notice historique sur la respectable La Bonne Harmonie, ordre de Neuchâtel* (Neuchâtel: Loge La Bonne Harmonie, 21 June 1891), pp. 23–24.
13. The motto is adapted from Isaiah 30:15.
14. Castelli, *Les rituels du Rite Écossais Rectifié*, p. 197.
15. Quartier-la-Tente, *L'esprit maçonnique*, pp. 3, 4–5.
16. Castelli, *Les rituels du Rite Écossais Rectifié*, p. 13.
17. Quartier-la-Tente [père], *Les grades et les rites maçonniques*, p. 13. For a discussion of relations between Jean-Baptiste Willermoz, Louis-Claude de Saint-Martin, and Martinès de Pasqually, see “Martinisme” in Daniel Ligou, ed., *Dictionnaire de la Franc-Maçonnerie* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1987), pp. 797–801.
18. Bertran de La Farge, *La voie cathare: Aux sources du Christianisme: Le message de la colombe* (Le Tremblay: Université Rose-Croix Internationale, 2000), p. 15. For Robert Ambelain too, Catharism is built into the Scottish Rectified Rite via Martinès de Pasqually; see Robert Ambelain, *Le Martinisme* (Paris: Éditions Niclaus, 1946).
19. L. Jean Français, *Naissance du monde nouveau annoncé par Emmanuel Swedenborg* (Paris: Éditions des Eaux Claires, 1951) (FLC V 114). Intriguingly, some of the more numinous interpretations are academic: Mogens Krusturp, *Porte Email = Emaljporten = La Porte Emailée = The Enamel Door: Le Corbusier, Palais de l'Assemblée de Chandigarh* (Copenhagen: Arkitektens Forlag, 1991); Richard Moore, “Alchemical and Mythical Reference Themes in the Poem of the Right Angle, 1945–1965,” *Oppositions* 19–20 (Winter–Spring 1980): 111–139.
20. Charles-Édouard Jeanneret, letter to William Ritter, 31 October 1917 (FLC R3-19-187); quoted in *Le Corbusier: Choix de lettres*, ed. Jean Jenger (Basel: Birkhäuser, 2002), p. 127.
21. See Castelli, *Les rituels du Rite Écossais Rectifié*, p. 22.
22. Le Corbusier, *Le poème de l'angle droit* (Paris: Fondation Le Corbusier/Éditions Connivences, 1989), p. 150. (Originally published in Paris by Éditions Verve/Mourlot Frères, 1955.)

## 9 We Felt Like New Beings from Deep Inside the Woods

1. *Le Corbusier Sketchbooks*, vol. 2, 1950–1954 (London: Thames & Hudson, 1981), p. E23, no. 624. See also Daphne Becket-Chary, “A Study of Le Corbusier’s *Poème de l’Angle Droit*” (M.Phil. thesis, Cambridge University, January 1990), p. 57.
2. “. . . pas seulement au fond de mon caractère mais aussi au fond même de mon œuvre bâtie et peinte.” Le Corbusier, letter to Marcel Levaillant, 21 April 1954; reproduced in *Le Corbusier: Choix de lettres*, ed. Jean Jenger (Basel: Birkhäuser, 2002), p. 376.
3. André Wogenscky, introduction to *Le Corbusier, Le poème de l’angle droit* (Paris: Fondation Le Corbusier/Éditions Connivences, 1989), n.p.
4. Le Corbusier, *Le poème de l’angle droit*, p. 130.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 150.
6. Le Corbusier, *Le Modulor: A Harmonious Measure to the Human Scale Universally Applicable to Architecture and Mechanics* (London: Faber and Faber, 1951), pp. 222–225.
7. Le Corbusier, *Le poème de l’angle droit*, pp. 122–123.
8. Michel Cugnet writes about “the spirit of Chivalry that animates and gives force to our Ritual.” See Michel Cugnet, *La quête du chevalier dans le Rite Écossais Ancien et Accepté* (La Chaux-de-Fonds: Éditions du Chevron, 2005), p. 5.
9. André Wogenscky, *Architecture active* (Paris: Casterman, 1972), p. 256.
10. Le Corbusier, *Modulor 2, 1955 (Let the User Speak Next): Continuation of “The Modulor”* (London: Faber & Faber, 1958), p. 33. Various Swiss-French links exist. In 1930, Albert Lantoiné published *Histoire de la Franc-Maçonnerie française: Le Rite Écossais Ancien et Accepté* with Émile Nourry, Éditeur, at 62, rue des Écoles (their emblem was a symbolic trowel with “EN” inscribed inside). He also published with the Association Maçonnique Internationale in Neuchâtel in 1924 (Albert Lantoiné, *De la régularité maçonnique* [Neuchâtel: Association Maçonnique Internationale, 1924]).
11. Oswald Wirth, *Le tarot des imagiers du Moyen Âge*, with an introduction by Roger Caillois (Paris: Éditions le Symbole et Émile Nourry, 1927).
12. Philippe Duboy even suggests that Marcel Duchamp used Lequeu’s *Architecture civile*, which was composed of “78 plates and of 22 Arcana or major trumps among the plates of the second volume hidden in the first. (In this connection one might look at Raymond Queneau’s *Odile*, written in 1936).” Philippe Duboy, *Lequeu: An Architectural Enigma* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1986), p. 95.
13. Eudes Picard, *Manuel synthétique et pratique du tarot* (Paris: H. Daragon, 1909), p. 1.
14. Éliphas Lévi, *Dogme et rituel de la haute magie* (Paris: Éditions Baillière, 1856).
15. Gérard Encausse [dit Papus], *Le tarot des Bohémiens* (Paris: Éditions Carré, 1889); Gérard Encausse [dit Papus], *Le tarot divinatoire* (Saint-Jean-de-Braye: Éditions Dangles, 1909).
16. Stanislas de Guaita, *Au seuil du mystère* (Paris: Durville, 1915).
17. Oswald Wirth, *Tarot kabbalistique: 22 arcanes du tarot dessinés à l’usage des initiés sur les indications de Stanislas de Guaita* (Paris: G. Poirel, 1889; 2d ed., Paris: Éditions Le Symbolisme, 1926).
18. Wirth, *Le tarot des imagiers du Moyen Âge*.
19. Oswald Wirth, *Introduction à l’étude du tarot* (Paris: Éditions Le Symbole, 1931).
20. Encausse, *Le tarot divinatoire*.
21. Picard, *Manuel synthétique et pratique du tarot*.
22. Le Corbusier, *Le Modulor*, p. 26.
23. “Each major card corresponds to a letter of the Hebrew alphabet, which is symbolic.” Gervais Bouchet (Élie Alta), *Le tarot égyptien: Ses symboles*,

- ses nombres, son alphabet, comment on lit le tarot: *L'œuvre d'Etteilla restituée* (Vichy: Bouchet-Dreyfus, 1922), p. 27.
24. Grande Loge de France, "Qu'est-ce qu'un symbole?" Nice, January 1931, Planche no. 50 (Archives Travaux no. 16), p. 2.
  25. Le Corbusier, *Creation Is a Patient Search* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1960), p. 19.
  26. Charles Humbert, Carnet 17, 28–31 January 1925; quoted in Maurice Favre, "Les voix et leur époque 1919–1920," *Nouvelle Revue Neuchâteloise* 20, no. 78 (Autumn 2003): 53.
  27. See Flora Samuel, "Le Corbusier, Rabelais and the Oracle of the Holy Bottle," *Word & Image* 17, no. 4 (October–December 2001): 325–338.
  28. François Rabelais, *Œuvres complètes* (Paris: La Pléiade, 1951). (FLC J 162.)
  29. Barbara C. Bowen, *The Age of Bluff: Paradox and Ambiguity in Rabelais and Montaigne* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1972), pp. 5–6.
  30. *Ibid.*, p. 162.
  31. Mikhail Bakhtin, *L'œuvre de François Rabelais et la culture populaire au Moyen Âge et sous la Renaissance* (Paris: Gallimard, 1970), p. 19.
  32. Michel Cugnet, personal communication with author (May 2004).
  33. Le Corbusier, *My Work* (London: Architectural Press, 1960), p. 19.
  34. Liane Lefavre, *Leon Battista Alberti's Hypnerotomachia Poliphili: Re-Cognizing the Architectural Body in the Early Italian Renaissance* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1997), p. 250. There is no need to enter into the debate about whether the posthumous *cinquième livre* is or is not or is partly by Rabelais, which for this argument is irrelevant. And the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* was well known at the turn of the century. Lucien Magne, whose lectures at the École des Beaux-Arts on the history of architecture were attended by Charles-Édouard Jeanneret, wrote about the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* and its influence on French architects in his book *L'architecture française du siècle* (Paris: Librairie de Firmin-Didot, 1889), p. 4.
  35. Joséphin Péladan, *Le secret des corporations: La clé de Rabelais* (Paris: Bibliothèque Internationale d'Édition E. Sansot, 1905), p. 94.
  36. Agricol Perdiguier, *Mémoires d'un compagnon* (1855; Paris: Librairie du Compagnonnage, 1964).
  37. See André Piot, "Le maître du jeu," *Compagnonnage: Organe des Compagnons du Devoir*, 25e année, no. 282 (December 1965): 11–12.
  38. Raoul Vergez dit Béarnais l'Ami du Tour de France, "La Cité Radieuse," *La Voix des Compagnons*, October 1949, p. 11. On this ambivalent attitude, see Nicolas Adell-Gombert, "Les sentiers de l'Orient: Initiation chez les Compagnons du Tour de France," *Ethnologie française* 34, no. 3 (2004): 517–525.
  39. Anonymous report, "Les architectes de Marseille," *Compagnonnage: Organe des Compagnons du Tour de France*, no. 82 (January 1948): 6.
  40. Parisien la Bonne Volonté, C.F.M.D.D., "La fête des Quatre Couronnes à Marseille," *Compagnonnage: Organe des Compagnons du Tour de France*, no. 84 (March 1948): 10.
  41. Eugène Claudius-Petit, "Paroles prononcées à l'occasion de la journée de la pierre à Marseille en la fête des Compagnons Tailleurs de Pierre de Provence," *Compagnonnage: Organe des Compagnons du Tour de France*, no. 104 (December 1949): 1–3. This speech was part of a large celebration in Marseille on 14 November 1949, which involved a procession and a mass at the cathedral with Monseigneur Delay, archbishop of Marseille, and a banquet presided over by Marius Claudius-Petit and attended by representatives of the prefect of Bouches-du-Rhône, of the mayor of Marseille, and of the general inspector of the Ministry

of Reconstruction and Urbanism; the president of the Order of Architects; the director of the École des Beaux-Arts of Marseille; another legendary *compagnon*, Jean Bernard dit La Fidélité d'Argenteuil; and the guild of the *compagnonnage* of stonecutters of Marseille. (In 1949, Marius Claudius-Petit described Switzerland as an example of excellent artisanship, exhorting the *compagnonnages* to visit Switzerland to see the quality of handicrafts and manual work.)

42. Briard le Moqueur, "Le poème de l'angle droit," *La Voix des Compagnons*, January 1954, p. 11. *Bouillabaisse* is a local traditional fish soup.

43. Bordelais l'Ami-du-Trait, Compagnon Couvreur-Zingueur-Plombier du Devoir de la cayenne de Lyon, "Construisons une basilique," *Compagnonnage: Organe des Compagnons du Tour de France*, no. 91 (November 1948): 6–7. Between 1945 and the 1960s, Le Corbusier worked on the Sainte-Baume project—which involved a museum, a theater, and a residential village around the main element of an underground basilica—for Édouard Trouin, the owner of the land around the pilgrimage grotto of Saint Mary Magdalene. In Le Corbusier's scheme, the pilgrims would never enter the existing grotto of Saint Mary Magdalene, which is located at a different level on the mountain.

44. Édouard Trouin, letter to Picasso, 23 February 1956 (FLC P5-2-37). This letter concerns le Père Couturier. The project was eventually not realized for a number of reasons, including the Catholic church's realization that Le Corbusier's project was not strictly, if at all, Catholic (author's interview with a Dominican friar at La Sainte-Beaume, 6 January 2005). A number of interpretations as to the nature of his intentions have been made, including that of a quasi-heretical pilgrimage place comparable to the ancient underground churches of the Cathars, whom the order of the Dominicans guarding the

Sainte-Baume grotto of Saint Mary Madeline were specifically created to destroy.

45. For an example, see Laurent Bastard, "Albert Bernet: Un singulier compagnon tailleur de pierre," in Bastard, ed., *Fragments d'histoire du compagnonnage: Cycle de conférences 2000* (Tours: Musée du Compagnonnage, 2001), pp. 44–116.

46. See Roger Garry, *Les compagnons de France et en Europe*, vol. 3 (Paris: Connaissance des Hommes, 1973), p. 363; quoted in Jean-Pierre Bayard, *Le compagnonnage en France* (Paris: Éditions Payot, 1990), p. 406.

47. Le Corbusier, "Fonds du sac" (FLC F2-10-269/315; 291).

48. Le Corbusier, *The Modulor*, pp. 48–49.

49. See Benoît Pouvreau, *Un politique en architecture: Eugène Claudius-Petit (1907–1989)* (Paris: Le Moniteur, 2004).

50. Eugène Claudius-Petit, "Speech on 29 January 1952 at La Soirée du Compagnonnage du Devoir at the Palais de Chaillot," *Compagnonnage: Organe des Compagnons du Tour de France*, no. 130 (March 1952): 1.

51. Eugène Claudius-Petit, "Paroles prononcées à l'occasion de la Saint Joseph 1950 au siège provincial de Lyon," *Compagnonnage: Organe des Compagnons du Tour de France*, no. 109 (May 1950): 1–2.

52. Ibid.

53. Antoine Moles, *L'histoire des charpentiers: Leurs travaux* (Paris: Gründ, 1949).

54. André Wogenscky, letter to Antoine Moles, January 3 1950 (FLC G-3-159). For a description of this episode, see Flora Samuel, *Le Corbusier: Architect and Feminist* (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 2004), pp. 107–108. For a description of these *compagnonnages*, see François Icher, *Les compagnonnages en France au XXe siècle* (Paris: Jacques Grancher Éditeur, 1999). Curiously, André Wogenscky and his

wife, the artist Marta Pan, lived near the Fondation de Coubertin, where Pan worked, and which was a center of *compagnonnage* after its establishment in 1973. It grew out of the Association Ouvrière, created in 1951 by Jean Bernard. See François Icher, *The Artisans and Guilds of France: Beautiful Craftsmanship through the Centuries* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2000).

55. The period after 1945 was characterized by intense internecine struggles in the *compagnonnages* (see below, note 78). The *compagnons* whom Le Corbusier knew came from across all three organizations of the *compagnonnages* (the Association Ouvrière, the Fédération Compagnonnique, and the Union Compagnonnique); he had no personal participation in the politics of the *compagnonnages*. However, as a sample of these complexities, Antoine Moles was a Compagnon Passant Charpentier Bon Drille du Devoir du Tour de France, which, in 1945, joined with the Charpentiers Compagnons du Devoir de Liberté to create the Compagnons Charpentiers des Devoirs, which was at the source of the Fédération Charpentiers des Métiers du Bâtiment.

56. “Te parant de la seule vertu, charpente, tu es l’architecture tout entière, c’est toi, charpente, qu’antoine moles célèbre dans les pages qui suivent.” Auguste Perret, preface to Moles, *L’histoire des charpentiers*, p. xi.

57. Moles, *L’histoire des charpentiers*, pp. 72–73.

58. *Ibid.*, p. 168.

59. Le Corbusier, inscription in his copy of Viollet-le-Duc’s *Dictionnaire raisonné de l’architecture française de XIe au XVIe siècle*; quoted in H. Allen Brooks, *Le Corbusier’s Formative Years: Charles-Edouard Jeanneret at La Chaux-de-Fonds* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), p. 171.

60. Jacques Sbriglio, “Unité,” in *Le Corbusier: Une encyclopédie*, ed. Jacques Lucan (Paris: Centre Georges Pompidou, 1987), p. 425.

61. See Le Corbusier, *Œuvre complète 1946–1952* (Zurich: W. Boesiger, 1953), pp. 170, 190. See also *Le Corbusier Carnets*, vol. 3, 1957–1964 (Milan: Electa, 1981–1982), Carnet K 43, p. 35.

62. Author’s interview with a Dominican friar (6 January 2005).

63. Jules Alazard (with Jean-Pierre Hébert), *De la fenêtre au pan de verre dans l’œuvre de Le Corbusier: Étude conçue et rédigée avec l’accord de Le Corbusier* (Paris: Dunot, 1961).

64. See Caroline Maniaque, “Artisanat et petites entreprises dans l’activité parisienne de Le Corbusier après 1945,” in *Le Corbusier et Paris*, ed. Claude Prelorenzo (Paris: Fondation Le Corbusier, 2001), pp. 81–94.

65. Lyonnais le Bon Cœur, “Construction d’une sapine pour ascenseur provisoire dans un grand immeuble moderne,” *Compagnonnage: Organe des Compagnons du Tour de France*, no. 131 (April 1952): 5.

66. Bayard, *Le compagnonnage en France*, p. 11. See also Guy Desprat, *René Despierre* (Paris: Librairie du Compagnonnage, 2003).

67. Hyacinthe Dubreuil, *Nouveaux standards: Les sources de la productivité et de la joie* (Paris: Grasset, 1931), FLC J 17. About Dubreuil, see also Hyacinthe Dubreuil, *J’ai fini ma journée* (Paris: Librairie du Compagnonnage, 1971).

68. Dubreuil, *Nouveaux standards*, p. 25.

69. *Ibid.*, p. 32.

70. *Ibid.*, p. 43.

71. *Ibid.*, p. 181.

72. *Ibid.*, pp. 178–179.

73. Hyacinthe Dubreuil, “Raoul Dautry,” *Compagnonnage: Organe des Compagnons du Tour de France*, no. 125 (October 1951): 2.

74. Raoul Dautry, “Présentation des compagnons,” in Union Compagnonnique des Compagnons du Tour de France des Devoirs Unis, *Compagnons par les Compagnons du Tour de France* (Paris: Plon,

1951), p. viii. For biographies of Raoul Dautry, see Michel Avril, *Raoul Dautry: La passion de servir 1880–1951* (Paris: Éditions France-Empire, 1993); Rémi Baudouï, “Un grand commis de l’état: Raoul Dautry (1880–1951)” (doctoral thesis, Institut d’Études Politiques de Paris, February 1991).

75. Jean Gimpel, *Les bâtisseurs de cathédrales* (Paris: Seuil, 1958) (FLC J 149).

76. Jean Gimpel, *The Cathedral Builders*, trans. Teresa Waugh (London: Century Hutchinson, 1983), p. 152. “Peu à peu, dans les Loges, la proportion des ouvriers a diminué en faveur des hommes cultivés, de *non operative masons*. On peut considérer que l’histoire des bâtisseurs des cathédrales anglaises s’achève avec la formation de la Grande Loge à Londres en 1717. La Franc-Maçonnerie spéculative prend alors vraiment son essor.” In Gimpel, *Les bâtisseurs de cathédrales*, p. 181.

77. Le Corbusier, *The Four Routes*, translated by Dorothy Todd (London: Dobson, 1947), pp. 136–137. Le Corbusier, *Sur les quatre routes* (1939; Paris: Éditions Denoël, 1970), p. 187.

78. At mid-twentieth century, three groups of *compagnonnages* vied with each other. One was the Association Ouvrière des Compagnons du Devoir, formed in 1941 by the visionary and prophetic Jean Bernard. Bernard saw the *compagnonnages* as carriers of ancient and transcendental ethical values. In order to achieve his lofty goals, Bernard approached the Vichy regime of maréchal Pétain to have the Association formally recognized, which it was as an “association d’utilité publique,” thus qualifying for state funding. In this respect, the Association was linked to the fascist regime of Vichy, and thus stood for *la France profonde*, virulently anti-Semitic and anti-Masonic, pro-Catholic and nationalistic. Opposed to the Association and its right-wing character was the Fédération Compagnonnique des Métiers du Bâtiment, created in 1953 by Raoul

Vergez. The third organization was the Union Compagnonnique du Tour de France, which had been founded in 1889 with the express aim of overcoming differences within the movement of *compagnonnage* at the end of the nineteenth century. As part of this attempt, the Union borrowed and adapted wholesale elements from Freemasonry, such as the three grades whose various features it combined into one new grade. But the important point, for this study, is that the Association was established as an organization “d’utilité publique” with state funding, which it retained even after World War II (and still retains). Thus, when the construction of the Unité d’habitation was reviewed in the journals of the guilds, it was reviewed in the state-funded journal of the Association Ouvrière, *Compagnon du Devoir*—and the Unité d’habitation was itself state-funded.

79. Jean-Pierre Bayard, personal communication with author (26 April 2005). See also André Combes, *La Franc-Maçonnerie sous l’Occupation* (Paris: Éditions du Rocher, 2001). Le Corbusier had known Jean Cassou since the early 1920s. Cassou wrote an introduction for Le Corbusier’s *Urbanisme* (Paris: Crès, 1925).

80. See Ducros, *Amédée Ozenfant 1886–1966*, p. 19. Ozenfant emphasized that his family history—stonemasons from Picardy dating back to the eighteenth century—constituted an important source for his work. Thus a history of belonging to guilds would not be unexpected.

81. René Lambert (dit Provençal la Fidélité), *La Sainte-Baume: Le Pèlerinage des Compagnons du Devoir* (Paris: Librairie du Compagnonnage, 1997), p. 4.

82. *Ibid.*, pp. 4–5.

83. Abel Boyer, dit Périgord Cœur Loyal, Compagnon Maréchal Ferrant du Devoir, *Le Tour de France*

*d'un Compagnon du Devoir* (Paris: Imprimerie du Compagnonnage, 1957), pp. 45–48.

**84.** Émile Coornaert, *Les compagnonnages en France du Moyen Âge à nos jours* (Paris: Éditions Ouvrières, 1966), p. 379. The *compagnonnages* met either in the *cayenne* (e.g. for the *charpentiers*) or the *chambre* (e.g. for the *menuisiers*). The overall organization for each guild is the *société*. Thus, for each trade, there are three *sociétés*, each one belonging to one of the three organizations (the Association, the Fédération, or the Union). The ceremony of reception into the *compagnonnage* involves two juries, the first of which comments on the chef d'œuvre, the second of which comments on the applicant.

**85.** See Lucien Klotz, ed., *Les meilleurs ouvriers de France* (Mâcon: Mâcon-Imprimerie et Gestimage, 1993).

**86.** Jean Bernard La Fidelité, “De l’humanisation du travail mécanique,” *Compagnonnage: Organe des Compagnons du Tour de France*, no. 86 (May 1948): 1; no. 87 (June 1948): 1–2; no. 89 (September 1948): 1–2; no. 90 (October 1948): 1; no. 91 (November 1948): 1–2; no. 93 (January 1949): 1.

**87.** Bernard La Fidelité, “De l’humanisation du travail mécanique,” no. 87 (June 1948): 1

**88.** Anonymous, *Centenaire Klaus 1856–1956* (n. d.), p. 1 (Bibliothèque de la Ville de La Chaux-de-Fonds).

**89.** Union Compagnonnique des Devoirs Unis, *100e Anniversaire de la Cayenne de Genève 1892–1992* (Geneva: Cayenne de Genève, 1992). See the comprehensive lists of Swiss *compagnons* in the private archives of Jean Philippon Bordelais la Constance, Lyon.

**90.** At time of finishing this book, Le Corbusier’s posthumous city center of Firminy-Vert has just been opened, commissioned by Claudius-Petit, mayor of Firminy. Typically, the project was stopped when Claudius-Petit was replaced by a new Marxist socialist mayor. (Traditionally, the French Catholic

right wing sees Freemasons as dangerous radical extremists, while the Communist Party sees them as dangerous bourgeois counterrevolutionaries.)

**91.** Jean Cassou, “L’esprit du symbolisme,” in Jean Cassou, *Encyclopédie du symbolisme* (Édition Aimerly Somogy, 1979), p. 28.

**92.** Le Corbusier, quoted in Stanislaus von Moos, “La synthèse invisible,” in Fondation Le Corbusier, *Le Corbusier: L’œuvre plastique* (Paris: Fondation Le Corbusier, 2005), p. 19.

**93.** Different interpretations of the years between 1887 and 1917 exist. For H. Allen Brooks, Jeanneret “had largely achieved his objectives in La Chaux-de-Fonds. . . . Moreover he had proven himself as a furniture designer, published his first book, honed his writing skills, and with increasing seriousness turned to the art of painting. . . . Thus he could leave La Chaux-de-Fonds with a clear conscience, and from a position of strength” (Brooks, *Le Corbusier’s Formative Years*, p. 467). But for Maurice Favre, these same eight years were an abortive mess because of the ill will and disputes Jeanneret created by stealing Chapallaz’s plans, sections, and structural details for the La Scala cinema design, so that he lost credibility with local architects, as well as because of the lawsuit over the Villa Schwob, by which “he compromised his chances of making a career for himself in the town where he was born. After such legal proceedings, it was of course useless to expect new commissions.” Maurice Favre, “Le Corbusier in an Unpublished Dossier and a Little-Known Novel,” in *The Open Hand: Essays on Le Corbusier*, ed. Russell Walden (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1977), p. 109.

## 10 To Be an Architect Is Nothing, You Have to Be a Poet

1. Honoré de Balzac, *Le Père Goriot* (1835; Paris: Éditions Garnier, 1981), p. 309.
2. Charles-Édouard Jeanneret, letter to Mesdames Paul Ditisheim and Raphy Schwob, 16 December 1917 (FLC G1-6 84T).
3. Le Corbusier, “Exposé bref de nos tribulations” (FLC B2-16-43/44).
4. For a discussion of Le Corbusier’s patrons, see Mary McLeod, “‘Architecture or Revolution’: Taylorism, Technocracy, and Social Change,” *Art Journal* 43, no. 2 (Summer 1983): 132–147.
5. Jean Stern, *À l’ombre de Sophie Arnould: François-Joseph Belanger, architecte des menus plaisirs, premier architecte du comte d’Artois* (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1930).
6. Charles-Édouard Jeanneret, letter to his parents, 9 January 1919; reproduced in *Le Corbusier: Choix de lettres*, ed. Jean Jenger (Basel: Birkhäuser, 2002), pp. 147–149.
7. See Le Tout-Paris, *Annuaire de la Société Parisienne 1921* (Paris: A. La Fare éditeur, 1921). See Cyril Grange, “La haute société juive dans les cercles et clubs parisiens de la fin du XXe siècle à 1914,” in *Élites et sociabilité en France*, ed. Marc Fumaroli, Gabriel de Broglie, and Jean-Pierre Chaline (Paris: Perrin, 2003), pp. 133–146. A member named Jean Stern belonged to the Loge L’Éducation Civique of the Grande Loge de France (see *Bulletin Hebdomadaire des Loges de la Région Parisienne*, 810).
8. See Le Tout-Paris, *Annuaire de la Société Parisienne 1921*.
9. See Sylvia Kahan, *Music’s Modern Muse: A Life of Winnaretta Singer, Princesse de Polignac* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2003), and Le Tout-Paris, *Annuaire de la Société Parisienne 1921*.
10. See Michael de Cossart, *The Food of Love: Princesse Edmond de Polignac (1865–1943) and Her Salon* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1978); Rémi Baudouï, “Anthropologie du pouvoir: Les réseaux parisiens dans la promotion de l’action de Le Corbusier,” in *Le Corbusier et Paris*, ed. Claude Prelorenzo (Paris: Fondation Le Corbusier, 2001), pp. 9–30.
11. Le Corbusier, letter to his mother, 20 January 1928; reproduced in *Le Corbusier: Choix de lettres*, p. 192.
12. See Le Corbusier, letter to his mother, 28 November 1928, in *ibid.*, p. 194, note 4, and reproduced on pp. 199–200.
13. James Stevens Curl, *The Art and Architecture of Freemasonry: An Introductory Study* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1991), p. 10.
14. Adrian Hicken, *Apollinaire, Cubism and Orphism* (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate, 2002), p. xxiii. In the 1830s, publications deemed “contrary to public morals” were separated from the rest of the collections of the Bibliothèque Nationale into a separate Rare Manuscripts department known as *L’Enfer* (Hell). The Cabinet des Estampes proceeded to do the same. As a result, *L’Enfer* became a mythical place of all curiosities and phantasms.
15. Philippe Duboy, *Lequeu: An Architectural Enigma* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1986), p. 352. My correspondence with Michel Gallet (2005) has confirmed the extent to which the Bibliothèque Nationale reading rooms were a place of encounter between a wide range of people: “I remember a number of curators at the Cabinet des Estampes: Roger-Armand Weigert; he was deaf-mute, [and] . . . very learned; Jean Vallery-Radot; he and his family owned the pentagonal château in Maulnes that was engraved by Du Cerceau; Françoise Gardet, Edmond Pognon, Madeleine Barbin, Jean-Claude Lemagny, Françoise Jestaz, Jean Adhémar and his wife, Hélène de Vallée. In the 1930s, as well as Le Corbusier and Péladan, another



eccentric is reported at the Estampes, the painter Marcel Duchamp, a major figure of the surrealist movement. Duchamp is said to have covered some drawings by the architect J.-J. Lequeu (1757–1826) with inscriptions of his own invention. Jean Adhémar certainly thought so, and I relayed his opinion [to Philippe Duboy]. I give you, rather haphazardly, the names of some researchers who worked at the Estampes in the period when Michel Roux-Spitz had just modernized the staircase and the reference room: L. Hauteœur, the old Louis Mimier, Émile Dacier, Solange Dounic, Mlle Duportal, Mlle Bataille, the sisters Madeleine and Marguerite Charageat, Georges Hudard, Jean Vernet-Ruiz, Jean Messelet, Odette Arnaud, Jean Lafon, François-Georges Pariset, Pierre Lavedan, Robert Brun, Pierre Lelièvre, Jean Lejeaux, Jean Cordey, Louis Réau, Ernest de Ganay, Jean Loquin, Jean Ebersolt, Pierre Verlet, Michel Florissonne, Germain Bazin, G. Lokoumski, Paul Jamot, René Huyghe, Charles Sterling, André Chastel, Bernard Dorival, and many scholars whom I have forgotten. I saw them all disappear.”

16. Le Corbusier, letter to Auguste Perret, 26 January 1916; reproduced in *Lettres à Auguste Perret*, vol. 1 of *Le Corbusier: Lettres à ses maîtres*, ed. Marie-Jeanne Dumont (Paris: Éditions du Linteau, 2002), p. 159.

17. William Ritter, Journal (Fonds William Ritter, Archives Littéraires Suisses, Bibliothèque Nationale Suisse).

18. Le Corbusier, interview with Pierre Vago (1932), reproduced in *Lettres à Auguste Perret*, p. 229.

19. *Le Corbusier Sketchbooks*, vol. 1, 1914–1948 (London: Thames & Hudson, 1981), Carnet A2, p. 133.

20. See Dossier Personnel François Courboin, Bibliothèque Nationale, dossier 3792. François Courboin was officer of the Légion d’honneur, member of the Société de l’Histoire du Costume and of the Société de l’Histoire de la Gravure Française. He

was in contact with many French and foreign artists who studied in the Cabinet des Estampes.

21. François Courboin, *Histoire illustrée de la gravure en France*, vol. 1, *Des origines à 1660*; vol. 2, *De 1660 à 1800*; vol. 3, *Au 19ème siècle* (Paris: Legarrec, 1923); François Courboin, *Gravures et marchands d’estampes au 18ème siècle* (Brussels-Paris: Van Oest, 1914).

22. A heliogravure uses chemicals to transfer a photographic image to a copper plate, which is then usually worked by hand.

23. Éliphas Lévi (1810–1875), according to Geurt Imanse, “popularized age-old ideas of Western occultism and made them accessible to a large public. One of the ideas was that man is a microcosm of the universe, which is the macrocosm, and that all elements of the visible world refer to corresponding elements of the invisible world.” Geurt Imanse, “Occult Literature in France,” in *The Spiritual in Art: Abstract Painting 1890–1985*, ed. Maurice Tuchman (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art; New York: Abbeville Press Publishers, 1986), p. 356. Édouard Schuré (1841–1929) developed Éliphas Lévi’s ideas in his own book, *Les grands initiés* (Paris: Perrin, 1908), given to Charles-Édouard Jeanneret by Charles L’Eplattenier (FLC J 172).

24. See Imanse, “Occult Literature in France,” p. 358.

25. Le Corbusier recounted how, in 1909, he made a special point of visiting Johann Thorn Prikker’s house, designed by J. L. M. Lauweriks according to theosophical principles; see Le Corbusier, *The Modulor: A Harmonious Measure to the Human Scale Universally Applicable to Architecture and Mechanics* (London: Faber & Faber, 1954), p. 26. This microscopic event has a curious historiography. It is recounted in Reyner Banham, *Theory and Design in the First Machine Age* (London: Architectural Press, 1960), p. 142, note 5, and in Susan R. Henderson,

“J. L. M. Lauweriks and D. P. C. de Bazel: Architecture and Theosophy,” *Architronic* 8, no. 1 (January 1999): 1–15. Henderson recounts the event in the following terms:

In *The Modulor* Le Corbusier articulates a preoccupation with questions of harmony and proportion. “What is the rule that orders, that connects all things? I am faced with a problem that is geometrical in nature; I am in the very midst of a phenomenon which is visual; I am present at the birth of something with a life of its own.” Pondering these matters, he recalls how sometime in 1909 he visited a hilltop villa, an unusual building based on some inscrutable proportional system authored by its architect. A man identified as the gardener explained the house saying “This stuff, you see, that’s complicated, all these twiddly bits, curves, angles, calculations, it’s all very learned.” The house was identified by Reyner Banham years later as that of Johann Thorn Prikker, the Theosophist painter. It was built for him by the patron Karl Ernst Osthaus and designed by J. L. M. Lauweriks. Part of the small colony “Hohenhof,” the house was perhaps the most complete expression of his Theosophically-based, systematic method of design. Le Corbusier was likely told of the settlement by Peter Behrens during his stay in the latter’s studio. His encounter with Lauweriks’s work was prescient, at the very least. Some propose that it had a lasting influence on his own propositions regarding modular systems. . . . A number of historians have suggested that Le Corbusier evolved his modular system directly under the influence of Lauweriks’s theory. Nic Tummers, for example, compares Lauweriks’s use of the golden section to the regulating lines that first appear in *Vers une architecture* (1922); he also posits a strong

link to Le Corbusier’s *The Modulor* of 1954. Indeed the Domino House and the settlement at Pessac are assembled in much the same way as the ensemble at Hohenhagen; and a meander typical of Lauweriks’s work forms the plan of the Wachende Museum of 1939. Tummers speculated that the “gardener” was Lauweriks himself, who was then living in the so-called gardener’s house on the Osthaus estate. But it is hard to imagine Lauweriks describing his work in such a fashion (see N. H. M. Tummers, *J. L. Mathieu Lauweriks, Zijn werk an Zijn Invloed. Op. Architectuur en Vormgeving Rond 1910: “De Hagener Impuls”* [Hilversum, 1967], pp. 35–36).”

Reyner Banham himself had previously written, “It is clear that the contribution of J. G. Lauweriks is of great importance in this respect, for, although he was an Amsterdam architect to begin with, he taught for some years at the Düsseldorf Kunstgewerbeschule . . . and he may also have provided Le Corbusier with his first sight of a building designed according to systematic proportion” (*Theory and Design in the First Machine Age*, p. 142). Banham adds in a footnote: “As regards Le Corbusier the evidence is only circumstantial, but conclusive. In his *Modulor* (London edition, 1954) he relates that ‘looking over a modern villa at Bremen, the gardener there had said to him (i.e. Le Corbusier) that “This stuff, you see, that’s complicated, all these twiddly bits, curves, angles, calculations, it’s all very learned.” The villa belonged to someone called Thorn Brick (?) a Dutchman, (about 1900).’ The inference seems unavoidable that the answer to the parenthetical question mark is the Dutch artist J. Thorn Prikker, and that this was the house built for him in Bremen by Lauweriks in 1905—and one wonders if it can have been Berlage who directed Le Corbusier’s attention to it” (p. 142, note 5).

In this respect, H. Allen Brooks notes about the Villa Schwob of 1916 that Jeanneret claimed his use of geometry and harmonic proportions were his own unique and original invention, but that, in response, “H. P. Berlage refuted this claim in a letter to Le Corbusier (Fondation Le Corbusier) dated December 30, 1923, in which he asserted that in Holland a similar system was in use since the 1890s”; see H. Allen Brooks, *Le Corbusier’s Formative Years: Charles-Edouard Jeanneret at La Chaux-de-Fonds* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), p. 444, note 41. The dates of the letter exchange between Berlage and Le Corbusier in the Foundation Le Corbusier (E1-5-12 and 113) are 30 December 1923 (Berglage to Le Corbusier) and 11 January 1924 (Le Corbusier’s reply to Berglage). Furthermore, Stanford Andersen notes that Julius Meier-Graefe, a close friend of Behrens, witnessed Behrens’s interest in both the theory and the practice of Lauweriks. At this time, Behrens made intense use of geometric themes such as the circle in the square, as at the Schede House (1904–1905), and occult themes, as at the Obenauer House (1905–1906). Lauweriks and Behrens were then considered “leaders in the endeavors to change the revolutionary architectural debates”; see Stanford Anderson, *Peter Behrens and a New Architecture for the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2000), p. 82. Anderson notes that, during his early years in Berlin, Behrens even attempted to bring the typology of the factory “under the rubric of the embassy, or the temple,” and this involved intense use of symbolism, as at the AEG turbine factory (1908–1909) on the brief set by Oscar Lasche, engineer and director of turbine fabrication at the AEG factory. (May I add that the AEG logo of the woman bringing light into the world was surprisingly similar to the cover of Robert’s *Chaîne d’union* and Bartholdi’s Statue of Liberty?)

26. Fernand Divoire, “Les maîtres de l’idéalisme contemporain: Notes sur Péladan,” in *Les Péladan*, ed. Jean-Pierre Laurant and Victor Nguyen (Lausanne: L’Âge d’Homme, 1990), pp. 128–129. (This is an extract from Fernand Divoire, “Les Entretiens Idéalistes,” *Cahiers Mensuels d’Art et de Philosophie*, tome 1, cahier IV, 25 [January 1907].)

27. See Sophie Rossier, “La Croix-Bleue et sa lutte antialcoolique en Suisse romande, 1877–1910: Le fonctionnement d’une société de tempérance entre idéaux religieux et aspirations patriotiques,” unpublished thesis, Université de Fribourg, 2005.

28. It has been suggested that two Freemasonic lodges were active in La Chaux-de-Fonds around 1900 but this is incorrect; see Claude Garino, *Le Corbusier: De la Villa Turque à L’Esprit Nouveau* (La Chaux-de-Fonds: Idéa Éditions, 1995). For more information, see Jean-Marc Barrelet and Jacques Ramseyer, *La Chaux-de-Fonds ou le défi d’une cité horlogère, 1848–1914* (La Chaux-de-Fonds: Éditions d’En Haut, 1990), p. 170.

29. See the archives of La Croix Bleue, La Chaux-de-Fonds. I have not had the opportunity to research these extant and extensive archives myself.

30. See Jean Fatum, “L’Ordre Indépendant des Bons Templiers,” n.d. [after 1918], manuscript (Loge L’Amitié, Archives, Box 12, numbers 551–648). The first Swiss Good Templars Lodge was founded in Geneva in 1883, followed by the permanent inauguration of a lodge in Zurich in 1894.

31. Georges Dessoulavy is listed in the Members’ Book of the Loge L’Amitié as born 1898, Apprenti in 1925, Compagnon in 1927, Maître in 1928, and resignation in 1934 (Loge L’Amitié, Members’ Book no. 3, p. 12, number 496).

32. See Grande Loge Suisse Alpina, *4e Supplément au catalogue des membres de l’Union des Loges Suisses* (Bern: Buchdruckerei Michel & Büchler, 1894), p. 29.

33. See Fritz von Osterhausen, *Paul Ditisheim, Chronometrier* (Neuchâtel: Éditions Antoine Simonin, 2003).
34. See Le Corbusier's address cards of subscribers (FLC A2-9-201). Paul Ditisheim is listed as subscribing from 26 August 1921 to *L'Esprit Nouveau* no. 9.
35. The name of Perret—"Perret, entrepreneur, 20, rue de Tolbiac, Libre Pensée. (Pl. 1884)"—is listed in *Le Tout-Pais maçonnique contenant 10.000 noms de Francs-Maçon de Paris et de la banlieue* (Paris: Hermelin Éditeur, 1896), p. 214. I have not discovered whether this refers to the family of Auguste Perret or not. The building no longer exists, having been replaced by HLM residences. Auguste Perret and his father, Claude-Marie Perret, came from an ancient family of building entrepreneurs in Sennecey-le-Grand. Claude-Marie Perret (1847–1905) was a communard who had to flee to Brussels before eventually being able to return to Paris.
36. Sébastien Voirol's wife was therefore Claudine Voirol, née Perret. Sébastien Voirol (1870–1930) was the pseudonym of Gustaf-Henrik Lundquist. See Sébastien Voirol, "Où en sont les architectes?" *Montjoie!* 1, nos. 4–6 (April–June 1914): 12–13. Charles-Édouard Jeanneret made many references to Voirol in his letters to Auguste Perret; see *Lettres à Auguste Perret*.
37. See *Les soirées de Paris, tome I et tome II* (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1971). On Sébastien Voirol's biography and on his article "Où en sont les architectes?" see *Encyclopédie Perret*, ed. Jean-Louis Cohen, Joseph Abram, and Guy Lambert (Paris: Éditions du Moniteur, 2002), p. 157, note 1.
38. See Richard L. Admussen, *Les petites revues littéraires 1914–1939: Répertoire descriptif* (Paris: Librairie A. G. Nizet; St. Louis: Washington University Press, 1970). Other journals in which Amédée Ozenfant was involved, such as *Promenoir* and *Le Rouge et le Noir*, also published other Freemasons such as Philippe Soupault. These Freemasonic networks were to be found in other journals too, such as *Action* (1920–1922), on whose board was Paul Dermée and in which appeared articles by Vincent Huidobro, Juan Gris, etc. This fact, however, does not establish the significance of this overlapping and crisscrossing.
39. Charles-Édouard Jeanneret, letter to Perret, 27 November 1910; quoted in *Lettres à Auguste Perret*, p. 55.
40. See the lodge archives of the Loge L'Alliance no. 70, La Grande Loge de France. See also *Le répertoire maçonnique contenant les noms de 36.000 Francs-Maçons de France et des colonies* (Paris: Bureaux de l'Association antimaçonnique de France, 1910), p. 748, in which the reference is to *Le Bulletin Hebdomadaire*, 10 June 1904.
41. See *Bulletin Hebdomadaire des Travaux de la Maçonnerie en France*, no. 1060, Friday, 10 June 1904, 22e année, Travaux du 13 of 19 June 1914, p. 15: "Grande Loge de France, Loge L'Alliance no. 70, Vendredi 17 Juin 1904, Tenue Solennelle à 8 heures ½ précises: 'Le Moralisme dans la littérature'; conférence par le Frère Sébastien Voirol, membre de l'Atelier."
42. Sébastien Voirol, *La philosophie nestvedienne* (Paris: Jules Meynial, 1921) (Bibliothèque de la Grande Loge de France, reference: C-2-d-12-46).
43. *Ibid.* Thus, Emmanuel Hillel eventually gave his copy to the library of the Grande Loge de France with the inscription, "Offert à la Bibliothèque de la Grande Loge de France par le Fr. Hillel de la Respectable Loge l'Alliance no. 70."
44. Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler, *Juan Gris: His Life and Work* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1969), p. 36. Juan Gris's Freemasonic passport and other documents are reproduced in José A. García-Diego, *Antonio Machado y Juan Gris: Dos artistas masones*

(Madrid: Editorial Castalia, 1990). The Loge Voltaire considered the application of José Victoriano Gonzales dit Juan Gris on 1 April 1921, proposed by Paul Dermée. It was rejected (see letter to Grand Orient de France, 18 May 1921). He was eventually accepted and initiated into the Loge Voltaire (Apprenti: 2 February 1923; Compagnon: 18 January 1924; Maître: 27 February 1925). See Pascal Bajou, “Juan Gris: Du Bateau-Lavoir à la rue Cadet,” *La Chaîne d’Union: Revue d’Études Symboliques et Maçonniques de Grand Orient de France*, new series, no. 20 (Spring 2002): 63–77. See also Emmanuel Bréon, *Juan Gris à Boulogne* (Paris: Herscher, 1992).

45. Camille Jansen dit Paul Dermée was at the Loge L’Intelligence et l’Étoile réunies, Orient de Liège, 15 May 1909, and eventually achieved the thirty-second degree; then at the Loge Athéna, followed by the Loge Agni. For a description of the Loge Agni, see Bajou, “Juan Gris: Du Bateau-Lavoir à la rue Cadet.”

46. Paul Dermée, *La croyance en Dieu et le Grand Orient de France: Rapport présenté au Grand Chapitre du 9 mai 1926 par Paul Dermée*, 32e (Paris: Édition de “L’Acacia,” 1927).

47. Paul Dermée, “Esquisse d’une philosophie de la fraternité,” *Acacia*, no. 51 (September 1928): 180–188. Might the deteriorating relationship between Charles-Édouard Jeanneret and Paul Dermée during the period of the first issues of *L’Esprit Nouveau* have reflected Jeanneret’s relationship to Freemasonic praxis? Dermée was mentioned as director only on the first three issues between October and December 1920, during which period Jeanneret wrote acrimonious letters to him about ideological and financial differences; see the Le Corbusier–Paul Dermée letters (FLC E-1-18-198/199). In his article on the concept of fraternity, Dermée opposes “l’homme seul,” driven only by egoism and self-interest, to the social ideals and goals of “l’homme

fraternel” (Dermée, “Esquisse d’une Philosophie de la Fraternité”).

48. There is no mention of Amédée Ozenfant in the archives for the Loge Fraternité and La Fraternité des Peuples for the years 1910 to 1936 (Grand Orient de France, Archives, Box 249 for 1910–1926 and Box 250 for 1927–1936), nor in the registers of the Loge Fraternité for the whole decade of the 1930s (Grand Orient de France, Archives, Loge Fraternité des Peuples, Register 1934 and 1937, BR 1421 and BR 1421 bis). There is a Frère Ozenfant listed as “Frère Ozenfant, du Droit Humain, affilié en 1925 à la Loge Art et Science (Bulletin Hebdomadaire 492)” in Zwickow, *Le Grand Orient de France: Liste des Francs-Maçons du Grand Orient tome II* (Paris: F.N.C., 31 boulevard de Latour-Maubourg, Paris 7e, n.d. [ca. 1930]), p. 100. Grock, the clown, and Paul Dermée are listed in the same lodge. See also Françoise Ducros, *Amédée Ozenfant 1886–1966* (Paris: Éditions Cercle d’Art, 2002). The Loge Art et Science had a large number of people with pseudonyms, thus actors and artists and writers. Of the 170,000 *fiches* of the Police Secrète were several kinds: very complete ones with photographs and detailed case studies with reports from other people interrogated; more partial ones; and summary ones. See André Combes, *La Franc-Maçonnerie sous l’Occupation* (Paris: Éditions du Rocher, 2001). Lists of Freemasons were also published in the *Journal Officiel* of the fascist Vichy government between 12 August 1942 and 1 August 1944 (available on microfilm).

49. The record is inscribed with the initials “M.H.” at the top, and with the reference “F.N.A.” at the bottom.

50. See Ducros, *Amédée Ozenfant 1886–1966*.

51. Amédée Ozenfant, *Mémoires, 1886–1962* (Paris: Seghers, 1968), pp. 131–132.

52. Le Corbusier, letter to his mother, 18 July 1930; reproduced in *Le Corbusier: Choix de lettres*, p. 207.

53. The World War II files of the secret police for Lipchitz at the Grand Orient de France are incomplete, probably indicating that his documents were taken out for consultation and not returned. See Bajou, "Juan Gris: Du Bateau-Lavoir à la rue Cadet," pp. 72, 74. Jacques Lipchitz belonged to the Loge Voltaire (Apprenti on 5 May 1922, sponsored by Paul Dermée; Compagnon on 30 March 1923; Maître on 29 February 1924).
54. See Bréon, *Juan Gris à Boulogne*.
55. René Allendy was initiated into the Loge L'Étoile Polaire (19 February 1914, from which he resigned on 20 October 1920 in order to join Le Droit Humain). See Bajou, "Juan Gris: Du Bateau-Lavoir à la rue Cadet," p. 74.
56. René Allendy, *L'alchimie et la médecine: Étude sur les théories hermétiques dans l'histoire de la médecine* (Paris: Chacornaci, 1912).
57. See *L'Esprit Nouveau*, numbers 13, 14, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, and 28. For a list of titles of his contributions to *L'Esprit Nouveau*, see Robert Coombs, *Mystical Themes in Le Corbusier's Architecture in the Chapel Notre-Dame-du-Haut at Ronchamp: The Ronchamp Riddle* (Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen Press, 2000), p. 200, note 6.
58. See Marguerite Frémont, *La vie du Dr. René Allendy: 1889–1942* (Castelnau-le-Lez: Climats, 1994); and Le Corbusier, letter to Dr. Allendy, 23 January 1924 (FLC E1-1-92).
59. See Kenneth Roberts, *The Fragmentary Class Structure* (London: Heinemann, 1977).
60. See Le Corbusier, letters to Jean Zay, 19 October 1936 (FLC H2-17-55); 25 November 1936 (FLC H2-17-64/67); 24 November 1938 (FLC B1-4-155); 4 July 1939 (FLC R3-9-146); 19 July 1939 (FLC H2-17-603). About this episode, Danilo Udovicki-Selb has tracked typical Corbusian deceptions, lies, and defamations that were employed to manipulate people for immediate gain and to rewrite events for posterity; see Danilo Udovicki-Selb, "Le Corbusier and the Paris Exhibition of 1937: The Temps Nouveaux Pavilion," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 56, no. 1 (March 1997): 62.
61. For a study of networking at the Loge Étienne Dolet, see L. L. Parry, "Friends in High Places: The Favours Sought by the Freemasons of Orléans, 1890–1914," *French History* 12, no. 2 (1998): 209.
62. This was in 1904; see Michel Gaudart de Soulages and Hubert Lamant, *Dictionnaire des Francs-Maçons français* (Paris: J. C. Lattès, 1995). (The Citroën emblem is, of course, a pair of combined right angles and compasses.)
63. The Affaire des Fiches (1904–1905) was a scandal arising from the discovery that minister of war Louis André was using the information from the card index of the Grand Orient de France, which detailed people's religious affiliations, in order to block the promotion of Catholics in the military.
64. These are portrayed in a contemporary novel: Jules Romains, *Les hommes de Bonne Volonté, VII, Recherche d'une église* (Paris: Éditions Flammarion, 1934).
65. See Gérard Baal, "Radicalisme" and "Rad-Soc," in *Encyclopédie de la Franc-Maçonnerie*, ed. Eric Saunier (Paris: Librairie Générale Française, 2000), pp. 690–695; Pierre Chevallier, *La Maçonnerie: Église de la République*, vol. 3 of *Histoire de la Franc-Maçonnerie française* (Paris: Éditions Fayard, 1975). See also Jean-Paul Delahaye, "La Franc-Maçonnerie et l'instruction publique de 1861 à 1882" (thèse, Sciences de l'éducation, Université de Paris 5, 2003).
66. Marcel Sembat, speech at the annual congress of 1913; quoted in Denis Lefebvre, *Marcel Sembat: Le socialisme maçonnique d'avant 1914* (Paris: Éditions Maçonniques de France, 2001), p. 120.
67. See Gaston Gueyrel Parisien la franchise, "Vérité et véracité: Les compagnons sur le chantier de la tour Eiffel," *Compagnonnage: Organe des*

- Compagnons du Devoir* 27, no. 299 (June 1967): 8–11; Claude Bonétat, “Gustave Eiffel et son œuvre,” in *Fragments d’histoire du compagnonnage: Cycle de conférences 2000*, ed. Laurent Bastard (Tours: Musée du Compagnonnage, 2001), pp. 7–17.
68. For a description of the respective roles of the *compagnons charpentiers* and the *compagnons forgerons-serruriers*, see Gueyrel, “Vérité et véracité.”
69. Raoul Vergez, *Les illuminés de l’art royal* (Paris: Julliard, 1976), p. 224. See Suzy Vergez, *Raoul Vergez* (Biarritz: Atlantica, 2000). Vergez was involved in the politics of the *compagnonnage* by his participation in the Congrès de Fusion, Paris, 25 November 1945, at which the different branches discussed merging (see photograph at Musée du Compagnonnage, Box Charpentiers).
70. Charles Cordat, *La Tour Eiffel, présentée par Le Corbusier* (Paris: Éditions de Minuit, 1955).
71. David Hays, “Carmontelle’s Design for the Jardin de Monceau,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 32, no. 4 (Summer 1999): 447–462.
72. See Jean-François Blondel, Jean-Claude Bouleau, and Frederick Tristan, eds., *Encyclopédie du compagnonnage* (Paris: Éditions du Rocher, 2000).
73. See Philip Nord, *The Republican Moment: Struggles for Democracy in Nineteenth-Century France* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1995).
74. For a study of Le Corbusier’s relations to the Third Republic, see Jean-Louis Cohen, “Architectures du Front Populaire,” *Mouvement Social*, no. 146 (January–March 1989): 49–59.
75. Parry, “Friends in High Places,” p. 196.
76. The Fédération Nationale Catholique, created in 1924 by General Édouard de Castelnau, was a militant movement dedicated to the values of “Catholicism, family, society and nation.” The Federation blamed the evils of modern society on the absence of God. See Corinne Bonafoux-Verrax, *À la droite de Dieu: La Fédération Nationale Catholique, 1924–1944* (Paris: Éditions Fayard, 2004).
77. Parry, “Friends in High Places,” p. 209. See also Maurice Larkin, *Religion, Politics and Preferment in France since 1890* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995). On Le Corbusier in Vichy, see Daniel de Roulet, “Le Corbusier in Vichy,” in *Tec21* (Zurich), no. 7 (2006): 22–25; and Marc Perelman, “Le Corbusier Once Again” (Éditions Verdier, <http://www.editions-verdier.fr/v3/article-3.html>).
78. Robert Schwartzwald, “Father Marie-Alain Couturier, O.P., and the Refutation of Anti-Semitism in Vichy France,” in *Textures and Meaning: Thirty Years of Judaic Studies at the University of Massachusetts–Amherst*, ed. Leonard H. Ehrlich, Shmuel Bolozky, Robert A. Rothstein, Murray Schwartz, Jay R. Berkovitz, and James E. Young (Amherst: University of Massachusetts–Amherst, 2004), pp. 141–142.
79. See Bernard Faÿ, Robert Vallery-Radot, and Jean Marquès-Rivière, *Les Documents maçonniques* (Vichy: Imprimerie Spéciale des Documents Maçonniques; Paris: Musée des Sociétés Secrètes, 1941–1944).
80. Éditions Anti-Maçonniques, *La Franc-Maçonnerie démasquée: Listes de F.: M.: appartenant au Parlement, à la presse, au barreau et les dirigeants de la secte* (Paris: Éditions Anti-Maçonniques, n.d.).
81. Udovicki-Selb, “Le Corbusier and the Paris Exhibition of 1937,” p. 62.
82. Gustave Umbdenstock, *La défense des métiers de main des artistes et artisans Français: Conférence donnée le lundi 14 mars 1932 à la salle Wagram sous la présidence de M. Louis Hourticq* (Paris: Imprimerie Reynès [11 p.], 1932).
83. “Appuyé au bastingage de la galère, Le Corbusier pensait: ‘Il faut chercher la lumière.’” Le Corbusier, *Croisade, ou le crépuscule des académies* (Paris: Crès, 1933), p. 46.

84. A. L. Coussy-Henriet, *La nouvelle croisade: Essay commenté sur une nouvelle déclaration des droits de l'enfant* (Paris: Éditions Jouve, 1939).

85. Alexander de Senger, *Le cheval de troie du bolchevisme* (Bienne: Éditions du Chandelier, 1931).

86. Camille Mauclair, *L'architecture va-t-elle mourir? La crise du panbitonnisme integral* (Paris: Nouvelle Revue Critique, 1933).

87. "... pas seulement au fond de mon caractère mais aussi au fond même de mon œuvre bâtie et peinte." Le Corbusier, letter to Marcel Levaillant, 21 April 1954; reproduced in *Le Corbusier: Choix de lettres*, p. 376.

## 11 An Index Card from the World War II Secret Police

1. "Planche funèbre pour Charles Jeanneret," 24 Octobre 1965 (Loge L'Amitié, Archives, box Planches funèbres 2). For explanations of the meanings of some of these terms, which belong to the higher degrees used in La Chaux-de-Fonds, see Michel Cugnet, *La quête du chevalier dans le Rite Écossais Ancien et Accepté* (La Chaux-de-Fonds: Éditions du Chevron, 2005).

2. Jeanneret officially worked for Perret from 1 July 1908 to 9 November 1909. He actually started work on 28 June 1908. See Rémi Baudouï, "Anthropologie du pouvoir: Les réseaux parisiens dans la promotion de l'action de Le Corbusier," in *Le Corbusier et Paris*, ed. Claude Prelorenzo (Paris: Fondation Le Corbusier, 2001), p. 19.

3. See Monique Cara and Marc de Jode, *Dictionnaire des Francs-Maçons illustres* (Paris: Éditions Dervy, 2006).

4. André Wogenscky, *Le Corbusier's Hands* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2006), p. 24.

5. Charles-Édouard Jeanneret, letter to William Ritter, 9 May 1913 (Fonds William Ritter, Archives

Littéraires Suisses, Bibliothèque Nationale Suisse); reproduced in *Le Corbusier: Choix de lettres*, ed. Jean Jenger (Basel: Birkhäuser, 2002), p. 100. I have not found L'Eplattenier listed in any Masonic member lists on either side of the Swiss-French border. Charles-Édouard Jeanneret seems to be talking metaphorically here.

## 12 The Dwelling as the Temple of the Family

1. "... des vieilles notions bien établies et assises dans l'entendement, usées comme une phrase de catéchisme, détecteurs d'une série féconde d'automatismes." Le Corbusier, quoted in Stanislaus von Moos, "La synthèse invisible," in Fondation Le Corbusier, *Le Corbusier: L'œuvre plastique* (Paris: Fondation Le Corbusier, 2005), p. 19.

2. Le Corbusier, *Modulor 2 1955 (Let the User Speak Next): Continuation of "The Modulor" 1948* (London: Faber and Faber, 1958), pp. 32–33.

3. David Hays, "Carmontelle's Design for the Jardin de Monceau," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 32, no. 4 (1999): 448. An article that considers Rudolf Laban's use of Freemasonry is Marion Kant, "Laban's Secret Order," *Discourses in Dance* 1, no. 2 (2003): 43–63.

4. See Albert Boime, "Les thèmes du Serment: David et la Franc-Maçonnerie," in *David contre David: Actes du colloque organisé au musée du Louvre par le service culturel du 6 au 10 décembre 1989*, ed. Régis Michel (Paris: Louvre, 1993), p. 280. The methodological flaw in Boime's circular argument is that he asserts that the painting has Masonic content based on the discovery of David's membership in a lodge, which he uses as *evidence* of the artist's intentions, which are then used as proof of the subject of the painting. Logically, the evidence needed would consist either of explicit examples of receptions of



the painting as Masonic and/or explicit statements by the artist of his Masonic intentions.

5. L. Jean Français, *Naissance du monde nouveau annoncé par Emmanuel Swedenborg* (Paris: Éditions des Eaux Claires, 1951) (FLC V 114).

6. See Eric Saunier, ed., *Encyclopédie de la Franc-Maçonnerie* (Paris: Librairie Générale Française, 2000), pp. 230–232.

7. See Le Corbusier's copy of the *Bulletin de l'Ordre de l'Étoile d'Orient*, no. 1, January 1925 (Special Collections, Loeb Library, Graduate School of Design, Harvard University [LeC Per Or2 1925]). There is no record of how or when Le Corbusier's copy, which carries the official "Fondation Le Corbusier" stamp, came into the collection of the Graduate School of Design. About the Ordre de l'Étoile d'Orient, see Ernest Armine Wodehouse, *The Order of the Star in the East: Its Outer and Inner Work* (Madras: Theosophist Office, ca. 1912), and Ernest Armine Wodehouse, *L'Ordre de l'Étoile d'Orient* (Paris: Éditions Théosophiques, 1912). In Le Corbusier's own library, see J. Krishnamurti, *La dissolution de l'Ordre de l'Étoile* (Holland: Star Publications Trust, 1929) (FLC V 282), and J. Krishnamurti, *Pour devenir disciple: Série de causeries à des aspirants disciples* (Paris: Adyar, 1926) (FLC J 372).

8. René Allendy, *La psychanalyse: Doctrines et applications* (Paris: Denoël et Steele, 1931) (FLC J 161); René and Yvonne Allendy, *Capitalisme et sexualité* (Paris: Denoël et Steele, 1932) (FLC J 257). The evidence here could be read the other way, since the first two books by Allendy in Le Corbusier's library are not signed; these are René Allendy, *Les tempéraments* (Paris: Vigot Frères, 1922) (FLC V 111); and René Allendy, *Le problème de la destinée* (Paris: Gallimard, 1927) (FLC J 28). Allendy contributed articles and book reviews to *L'Esprit Nouveau* (often several in one issue) in numbers 13, 14, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, and 28; see Robert Coombs, *Mystical Themes*

*in Le Corbusier's Architecture in the Chapel Notre-Dame-du-Haut at Ronchamp: The Ronchamp Riddle* (Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen Press, 2000), p. 200, note 6.

9. Olek Kujawsky, interview, quoted in Nicoletta Trasi, "La formation d'André Wogenscky et sa conception de métier d'architecte," in Paolo Misino and Nicoletta Trasi, *André Wogenscky: Raisons profondes de la forme* (Paris: Éditions Le Moniteur, 2000), p. 44.

10. André Wogenscky, interview, quoted in Trasi, "La formation d'André Wogenscky et sa conception de métier d'architecte," p. 45.

11. The entries are: "M. Allendy (René), doctor, 67, rue de l'Assomption, Paris-16<sup>e</sup> (Bulletin Bimensuel de la Franc-Maçonnerie, 194)," "M Le Corbusier (Bulletin Bimensuel de la Franc-Maçonnerie, 94)," and "Amédée Ozenfant, ex-editor in chief of *L'Esprit Nouveau* (Bulletin Bimensuel de la Franc-Maçonnerie, 100)." N. Switkow, *La Franc-Maçonnerie féminine: L'ordre maçonnique mixte international, Le Droit Humain, répertoire de 2400 noms de frères et sœurs de l'Obédience* (Paris: Nouvelles Éditions Nationales ["La Judéo-Maçonnerie" collection published under the direction of Henry Costo], 1933). René Allendy was in fact initiated into the Loge L'Étoile Polaire on 19 February 1914, which he left on 20 October 1920 in order to join Le Droit Humain.

12. Stephen Bann, "Meaning/Interpretation," in *Critical Terms for Art History*, ed. Robert S. Nelson and Richard Schiff (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), p. 87.

13. Flora Samuel, "Le Corbusier, Teilhard de Chardin and La Planétisation humaine: Spiritual Ideas at the Heart of Modernism," part 2, *French Cultural Studies* 11, no. 32 (June 2000): 182.

14. Le Corbusier, *New World of Space* (New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, 1948), p. 8.

15. Oswald Wirth, *Le symbolisme occulte de la Franc-Maçonnerie: Analyse interprétative du frontispice de la "Maçonnerie occulte" de J.-M. Ragon* (Paris: Éditions Le Symbolisme, 1928), pp. 76–77.
16. Reyner Banham, *Theory and Design in the First Machine Age* (London: Architectural Press, 1960), p. 220.
17. For a study of techniques of originality, see Richard Shiff, *Cézanne and the End of Impressionism: A Study of the Theory, Technique, and Critical Evaluation of Modern Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984).
18. See Michael Fried, *Manet's Modernism, or, The Face of Painting in the 1860s* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966), pp. 150–151.
19. Aby Warburg, "Manet," 1929 texts dictated to Gertrud Bing, kept in a folder with typescript; quoted in Ernst Gombrich, *Aby Warburg: An Intellectual Biography* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), p. 274. This is described, discussed, and referenced in Hubert Damisch, *Le jugement de Paris: Iconologie analytique* (Paris: Flammarion, 1992), who refers to Gustav Pauli, "Raphael und Manet," *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft* 1 (January–February 1908): 53–55. The episode involving Aby Warburg is described in Gombrich, *Aby Warburg*, pp. 273–277.
20. For a detailed analysis of the controversy and its reception over the centuries, including that by Anthony Blunt in the twentieth century, see Robert W. Berger, *The Palace of the Sun: The Louvre of Louis XIV* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1993), Appendix D, pp. 104–109.
21. Le Corbusier, letter to Albert Jeanneret, 1 April 1954 (Bibliothèque de la Ville de La Chaux-de-Fonds, ref. xxix/18).
22. Le Corbusier, inscription in his copy of Viollet-le-Duc's *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française de XIe au XVIe siècle* (FLC Z 018).
23. Le Corbusier, letter to Ernesto R. Rogers at Casabella, 25 Novembr 1958; reproduced in *Le Corbusier: Choix de lettres*, ed. Jean Jenger (Basel: Birkhäuser, 2002), p. 429.
24. H. Allen Brooks, *Le Corbusier's Formative Years: Charles-Edouard Jeanneret at La Chaux-de-Fonds* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), p. 131.
25. See Geoffrey H. Baker, *Le Corbusier: The Creative Search: The Formative Years of Charles-Edouard Jeanneret* (London: E & FN Spon, 1996), p. 118.
26. Jacques Gubler, "La Chaux-de-Fonds: Charles-Édouard Jeanneret, 1887–1917, ou l'accès à la pratique architecturale," in *Le Corbusier: Une encyclopédie*, ed. Jacques Lucan (Paris: Éditions du Centre Pompidou, 1987), p. 224.
27. Brooks, *Le Corbusier's Formative Years*, p. 84. And the elevation of the Villa Jeanneret-Perret, occasionally compared to a Frank Lloyd Wright Prairie House, with its low decorative band of windows under the overhanging roof, could equally be compared to Belanger's design of the Maison Talleyrand.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 75.
29. See Lucan, ed., *Le Corbusier: Une encyclopédie*, pp. 225–226.
30. J. Ch. Krafft, *Plans, coupes et élévations de diverses productions de l'art de la charpente exécutées tant en France que dans les pays étrangers* (Paris: L'Imprimerie de Levrault et Compagnie, 1805), p. 11.
31. See chapter 1.
32. See Timothy Anglin Burgard, "Picasso and Appropriation," *Art Bulletin* 73, no. 3 (September 1991): 479–494; Robert Goldwater, *Primitivism in Modern Art* (1938; New York: Vintage Books, 1967); William Rubin, ed., "Primitivism" in *Modern Art: Affinity of the Tribal and the Modern* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1984).
33. Stanislaus von Moos makes a comparably problematic statement about Le Corbusier, asserting

- that he was intuitively and disinterestedly in harmony with the times: “The classical roots of his culture were all the more visceral as they resulted from an active search for founding principles.” Stanislaus von Moos, “Art, Spectacle and Permanence: A Rear-Mirror View of the Synthesis of the Arts,” in *Le Corbusier: The Art of Architecture*, ed. Alexander von Vegesack, Stanislaus von Moos, Arthur Rüegg, and Mateo Kries (Basel: Vitra Design Stiftung, 2007), p. 89.
34. Charles Harrison, Francis Frascina, and Gill Perry, eds., *Primitivism, Cubism, Abstraction: The Early Twentieth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press with the Open University, 1993), pp. 18–19.
35. Joseph Rykwert, *The First Moderns: The Architects of the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1980), p. 469.
36. See Laurent Bastard, “Albert Bernet: Un singulier Compagnon Tailleur de Pierre,” in Laurent Bastard, ed., *Fragments d’histoire du compagnonnage: Cycle de conférences 2000* (Tours: Musée du Compagnonnage, 2001), pp. 45–116.
37. Albert Bernet (with a preface by Jean de Pierrefeu), *Joli Cœur de Pouyastruc: Tailleur de pierre, maître de l’œuvre, compagnon étranger de devoir de liberté* (Paris: Éditions des Initiations Ouvrières, 1928).
38. Albert Bernet, *La morale professionnelle* (Tarbes: Imprimerie de Croharé, 1920).
39. Albert Bernet, *Les maisons économiques* (Dourdan: Éditions H. Vial, 1929).
40. Frédéric Brunet, *Les constructeurs de cathédrales* (Paris: Aristide Quillet Éditeur, 1928).
41. Frédéric Brunet, *Le socialisme expérimental: Étude sociale* (Paris: La Renaissance du Livre, 1924).
42. Frédéric Brunet, *La solution coopérative: Pour le logement* (Paris: Imprimerie Nouvelle [Association Ouvrière], 1911).
43. Frédéric Brunet, *Contre le logement cher* (Paris: L’Humanité, 1912).
44. Frédéric Brunet, *Les services publics: Les régies directes coopératives* (Paris: Imprimerie Nouvelle [Association Ouvrière], 1909).
45. Raoul Brandon, *Théorie et pratique des ombres et des cadrans solaires: Cours professé à l’École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts* (Paris: La Construction Moderne, 1926).
46. Raoul Brandon, *Nouveaux modèles de tombeaux* (Dourdan: Vial Éditeur, n.d.).
47. Raoul Brandon, *Géométrie descriptive: Épures d’application: Cours professé à l’École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts* (Tours: Imprimerie E. Arault; Paris: Librairie de la Construction Moderne Éditeurs, n.d.).
48. Raoul Brandon, *L’architecture nouvelle: Constructions diverses et de style “Art Nouveau”* (Dourdan: Ch. Juliot, 1906).
49. Charles-Édouard Jeanneret, letter to William Ritter, Paris, 31 October 1917 (LCF R3-19-187).
50. William J. R. Curtis, *Le Corbusier: Ideas and Forms* (London: Phaidon, 1986), pp. 178–179.
51. Von Moos, “Art, Spectacle and Permanence,” p. 62.
52. Ibid.
53. Louis Reutter, *Fragments d’histoire neuchâtoise, aux XVIème, XVIIème et XVIIIème siècles* (Neuchâtel: Imprimerie Attinger, 1914) (FLC V 423). On Reutter, see Patrice Allanfranchini, “Louis Reutter,” in *Architektlexikon der Schweiz: 19./20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Isabelle Rucki and Dorothee Huber (Basel: Birkhäuser, 1998), p. 441.
54. Von Moos, “Art, Spectacle and Permanence,” p. 64. The actual constellation of Orion at Saint-Pierre in Firminy-Vert is a posthumous refinement, not as drawn by Le Corbusier.
55. Oswald Wirth, “L’étude du tarot,” *Le Symbolisme* (1930): 204.

56. On the notion of “Orient,” see Nicolas Adel-Gombert, “Les sentiers de l’Orient: Initiation chez les Compagnons du Tour de France,” *Ethnologie Française* 34, no. 3 (2004): 517–525.
57. Napoléon Peyrat, *Histoire des Albigeois* (Paris: Fisbacher, 1880). See Jean-Philippe Audouy, *Déodat Roché: “Le Tisserand des catharismes”* (Carcassonne: Centre de Valorisation du Patrimoine Médiéval, 1997).
58. This historiographical *néo-catharisme*, inspired by and in veneration of the work of Déodat Roché, was kept alive in two Parisian salons, that of the countess Pujol-Murat and the salon of Maurice Magre and Rolt-Wheeler, the English astrologist. See Audouy, *Déodat Roché*, pp. 129–130.
59. See Robert Ambelain, *La Franc-Maçonnerie occulte et mystique (1643–1943): Le Martinisme: Histoire et doctrine* (Paris: Éditions Niclaus, 1946).
60. Coincy-Saint Palais, *Esclarmonde de Foix, princesse cathare* (Toulouse: Privat Éditeur, 1956), pp. 175–176.
61. Gian Mario Cazzaniga, *Symboles, signes, langages sacrés pour une sémiologie de la Franc-Maçonnerie* (Pisa: Edizioni Ets, 1995), preface, p. 11.
62. Le Corbusier, *La ville radieuse* (Boulogne: Éditions de l’Architecture d’aujourd’hui, 1935); Le Corbusier, *Quand les cathédrales étaient blanches: Voyage au pays des timides* (Paris: Plon, 1937); Le Corbusier, *Le modulator: Essai sur une mesure harmonique à l’échelle humaine applicable universellement à l’architecture et à la mécanique* (Boulogne: Éditions de l’Architecture d’Aujourd’hui, 1950); Le Corbusier, *Des canons, des munitions? Merci! Des logis . . . s.v.p.* (Boulogne: Éditions de l’Architecture d’Aujourd’hui, 1938); Le Corbusier, *Sur les 4 routes* (Paris: Gallimard, 1941); François de Pierrefeu and Le Corbusier, *La maison des hommes* (Paris: Plon, 1942); Le Corbusier, “L’espace indicible,” *Architecture d’Aujourd’hui*, special issue (1946), pp. 9–17; Le Corbusier, *New World of Space*; Le Corbusier, *Poème de l’angle droit* (Paris: Verve, 1955); Le Corbusier, *Croisade, ou le crépuscule des académies* (Paris: Crès, 1933).
63. Le Corbusier, quoted in the catalogue for the exhibition “Dessins d’architecture de Le Corbusier,” Fondation Le Corbusier, September–December 1975.
64. See Alberto Pérez-Gómez, *Built upon Love: Architectural Longing after Ethics and Aesthetics* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2006), p. 165. See also the study of the John Soane Museum in Donald Preziosi, *Brain of the Earth’s Body: Art, Museums, and the Phantasm of Modernity* (Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press, 2003).
65. Michael Fried, *Menzel’s Realism: Art and Embodiment in Nineteenth-Century Berlin* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), p. 34. For the record, Charles-Édouard Jeanneret was of course aware of Menzel’s art; see Charles-Édouard Jeanneret, letter to Charles L’Eplattenier, 16 January 1911, Bibliothèque de la Ville de La Chaux-de-Fonds; quoted in Francesco Passanti, “Architecture: Proportion, Classicism and Other Issues,” in *Le Corbusier before Le Corbusier*, ed. Stanislaus von Moos and Arthur Rüegg (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), pp. 69–97, note 40.
66. Le Corbusier, *Précisions sur un état présent de l’architecture et de l’urbanisme* (Paris: Crès, 1930), p. 97.
67. Émilie Lefranc, *Des Pharaons à Le Corbusier: Esquisse d’une histoire de l’architecture: Cours de l’Institut Supérieur Ouvrier 1933–1934* (Paris: Centre Confédéral d’Education Ouvrière, 1935).
68. An addition to Charles Peirce’s fourfold generic categorization of signs into traces, indexes, icons, and symbols is needed to indicate an interactive relationship. Like the dipstick, this type of sign is changed by its referent: the oil sticks to the dipstick, which, in turn, affects the quantity of oil; I

would propose the notion of “dipstick” for this sign process.

69. Le Corbusier, *Towards a New Architecture* (London: Architectural Press, 1931), pp. 69–70.

70. Le Corbusier, *Œuvre complète 1938–1946* (Zurich: Boesiger, 1946), p. 8.

71. Le Corbusier, “Fonds du sac” (unpublished, c. 1952) (FLC F2-10-269/315; 262).

72. Danielle Janin, “La maison radieuse,” special issue of *L’Homme et l’Architecture* 11–14 (1947): 68–73.

73. See Carlo Ginzburg, “Clues: Morelli, Freud, and Sherlock Holmes,” in *The Sign of Three: Dupin, Holmes, Peirce*, ed. Umberto Eco and Thomas A. Sebeok (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983), pp. 81–118. Ginzburg gives historical evidence for influences between Morelli, Freud, and Conan Doyle, quoting explicit mutual references between these three authors, including even Freud’s references to Morelli.

74. *Ibid.*, p. 86.

75. Richard Wollheim, “Giovanni Morelli and the Origins of Scientific Connoisseurship,” in Wollheim, *On Art and the Mind: Essays and Lectures* (London: Allen Lane, 1973), p. 181.

76. See Eric Fernie, *Art History and Its Methods: A Critical Anthology / Selection and Commentaries* (London: Phaidon Press, 1995), pp. 103–115.

77. See Charles S. Peirce, *Philosophical Writings* (New York: Dover, 1940).

78. Charles S. Peirce, *The Essential Peirce: Selected Philosophical Writings*, vol. 1 (1867–1893), ed. Nathan Houser and Christian Kloesel (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992), p. 227.

79. Rosalind E. Krauss, *The Optical Unconscious* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1993), p. 253.

80. Thomas Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962).

81. Anthony Vidler, *Warped Space: Art, Architecture, and Anxiety in Modern Culture* (Cambridge, Mass.:

MIT Press, 2000), p. 2. As evidence, Vidler refers to Stephen Kern, *The Culture of Time and Space, 1880–1918* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1983).

82. Stanislaus von Moos writes that “Le Corbusier never enrolled in the École des Beaux-Arts” (von Moos, “Art, Spectacle and Permanence,” p. 89). In fact he of course *assiduously* attended classes at the École des Beaux-Arts but *without enrolling*.

83. Two classic studies are Mardges Bacon, *Le Corbusier in America: Travels in the Land of the Timid* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2001); William Curtis, *Le Corbusier at Work: The Genesis of the Carpenter Center for the Visual Arts* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1978).

84. Simon Richards, *Le Corbusier and the Concept of Self* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), p. 1.

85. Le Corbusier, “Fonds du sac” (FLC F2-10-251/268; 256). For a brief description of “Fonds du sac,” see William H. Jordy, “Le Corbusier Sketchbooks by André Wogenscky; Maurice Besset,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 42, no. 1 (March 1983): 83–86.

86. Le Corbusier, letter to Auguste Perret, 30 June 1915, quoted in *Lettres à Auguste Perret*, vol. 1 of *Le Corbusier: Lettres à ses maîtres*, ed. Marie-Jeanne Dumont (Paris: Éditions du Linteau, 2002), p. 144.

87. Another example is that of the empty panel on the front elevation of the Villa Schwob, which was meant to carry a mural of right angles.

88. Prewar Freemasons who became wartime Resistants in groups like Groupe du Musée de l’Homme, Franc-Tireur, and Patriam Recuperare moved into significant postwar political positions in the ministries dealing with reconstruction, culture, and museums; Claudius-Petit and Jean Cassou are two such examples. Following the active participation record of many French Freemasons in World War II (but not all, since some collaborated), De Gaulle, who had the support of many Freemasons

during the war, officially recognized the Masonic Obédiences. See Yves Hivert Messeca and Olivier Pringard, “Résistance,” in *Encyclopédie de la Franc-Maçonnerie*, pp. 712–717; Pierre Chevallier, *La Maçonnerie: Église de la République (1877–1944)*, vol. 3 of *Histoire de la Franc-Maçonnerie française* (Paris: Librairie Arthème Fayard, 1975); André Combes, *La Franc-Maçonnerie sous l’Occupation* (Paris: Éditions Rocher, 2001); Ministère de la Défense, *Le réseau du Musée de l’Homme* (Paris: Collection Mémoire et Citoyenneté no. 5, Ministère de la Défense Direction de la Mémoire, du Patrimoine et des Archives, n.d.).

89. Jean Cassou [Jean Noir], *33 sonnets composés au secret* (Paris: Éditions de Minuit, 1944).

90. “Gestion de la mobilité”; see Daniel Roche, ed., *La ville promise: Mobilité et accueil à Paris (fin XVIIIe-début XIXe siècle)* (Paris: Éditions Fayard, 2000). See Pierre-Yves Beaurepaire, “Correspondances (réseaux de),” in *Encyclopédie de la Franc-Maçonnerie*, pp. 186–189.

91. Le Corbusier, “Fonds du sac” (FLC F2-10-269/315; 291).

92. See, as disproof, the convoluted financial records of the CIAM Belgian section (1928–1958) (Getty Research Institute).

## Postscript: Growing Up in Paris

1. Le Corbusier, *Creation Is a Patient Search* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1960), n.p. During Charles-Édouard Jeanneret’s time in La Chaux-de-Fonds (1887–1917), the Vénérables of the Loge L’Amitié were Jules Soguel (1877–1887), Léon Gallet (1887–1891), Louis-Arnold Grosjean (1891–1898), Henri Lehmann (1898–1905), Henri Waegeli (1905–1914), and then Auguste Jeanneret (not a fam-

ily member), when the Loge L’Amitié attained its greatest number ever of over 160 members.

2. See Jacques Gubler, *Inventaire suisse d’architecture, 1850–1920, La Chaux-de-Fonds* (La Chaux-de-Fonds: Société d’Histoire de l’Art en Suisse, 1984), p. 137; Alpina, Schweizerische Grossloge, *Mitglieder-Verzeichnis des Schweizerischen Logenbundes auf das Jahr 1891: Catalogue des membres de l’Union des Loges Suisses pour l’année 1891* (Bern: Haller’sche Buchdruckerei, 1890); Musée des Beaux-Arts de La Chaux-de-Fonds, *Centenaire du Musée des Beaux-Arts de La Chaux-de-Fonds, 1864–1964* (La Chaux-de-Fonds: Société des Amis des Arts, June 1964).

3. Georges-Édouard Jeanneret, *Journal 1888–1898* (Bibliothèque de la Ville de La Chaux-de-Fonds, Le Corbusier/106/1041), pp. 42 and 98.

4. *Ibid.*, entry for 7 February 1893, p. 102.

5. See Loge l’Amitié, *Loge l’Amitié, La Chaux-de-Fonds: Notice historique 1819–1969* (La Chaux-de-Fonds: Loge L’Amitié, 1969). For obituaries, see “Chronique locale” in *L’Impartial*, Thursday, 11 May 1899. See also the news of Gallet’s death in *Le National Suisse*, Thursday, 11 May 1899, and the description of the funeral in *Le National Suisse*, Wednesday, 31 May 1899. *L’Impartial*, on Sunday, 28 May 1899, announced that his body had been brought back from New York and that the date of the funeral would be 30 May 1899.

6. Le Corbusier, quoted in Stanislaus von Moos, “La synthèse invisible,” in Fondation Le Corbusier, *Le Corbusier: L’œuvre plastique* (Paris: Fondation Le Corbusier, 2005), p. 19.

7. Joseph Rykwert, “The Dark Side of the Bauhaus,” in Rykwert, *The Artifice of Architecture* (London: Academy Editions, 1982), p. 44.

8. Ernst Gombrich, *Symbolic Images: Studies in the Art of the Renaissance* (London: Phaidon, 1972), pp. vii–viii.

9. Le Corbusier, "Fonds du sac" (unpublished, c. 1952) (FLC F2-10-251/268; 255).
10. Jean Gimpel, *Les bâtisseurs de cathédrales* (Paris: Seuil, 1958), p. 181. In library of Le Corbusier (FLC J 149).
11. Charles-Édouard Jeanneret and Amédée Ozenfant, "L'angle droit," in *L'Esprit Nouveau*, no. 18, n.d. [November 1923], n.p.
12. William Matthey-Claudet, "Charles L'Eplattenier," *Pages d'Art*, no. 4 (August 1915): 3–16.
13. Le Corbusier, *When the Cathedrals Were White: A Journey to the Country of Timid People* (London: Routledge, 1947–1948), p. 6.
14. Le Corbusier and Pierre Jeanneret, *Œuvre complète 1910–1929* (1930; repr. Erlenbach-Zurich: Éditions d'Architecture, 1946), p. 23.
15. Le Corbusier and Pierre Jeanneret, *Œuvre complète 1929–1934*, 3d ed. (Erlenbach-Zurich: Éditions d'Architecture, 1946), p. 144.
16. Jean Cassou, *Le centre du monde* (Paris: Éditions du Sagittaire, 1945), p. 53.
17. Le Corbusier, letter to Perret, 14 December 1915, quoted in *Lettres à Auguste Perret*, vol. 1 of *Le Corbusier: Lettres à ses maîtres*, ed. Marie-Jeanne Dumont (Paris: Éditions du Linteau, 2002), p. 152.
18. Alain Le Bihan, *Francs-Maçons parisiens du Grand Orient de France (fin du XVIIIème siècle)* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1966).
19. Le Corbusier, quoted in Alexander Gorlin, "The Ghost in the Machine: Surrealism in the Work of Le Corbusier," *Perspecta* 18 (1982): 50–65. Therefore, in answer to the frequent complaint by landscape historians that Le Corbusier's landscapes show a total disregard for nature, it would be logical to reply that French eighteenth-century Anglo-Chinese gardens must also show a total disregard for nature!
20. See Lucien Hervé, *Architecture of Truth (the Cistercian Abbey of Thoronet)* (London: Phaidon, 2001).
21. Cassou, *Le centre du monde*.
22. Jean Cassou, *Entretiens avec Jean Rousselot* (Paris: Éditions Albin Michel, 1965), p. 144.
23. Le Corbusier, cited in René Gimpel, *Journal d'un collectionneur, marchand de tableaux* (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1963), pp. 419–420.
24. Georges-Édouard Jeanneret, Journal 1914–1923, entry for 6 October 1917 (Bibliothèque de la Ville de La Chaux-de-Fonds, Le Corbusier/106/1043), pp. 462–463.
25. See *La Sentinelle*, no. 63, 16 March 1917, pp. 2–3; *La Sentinelle*, no. 68, 22 March 1917, p. 3. A detailed account of the events is to be found in Jean-Marie Nussbaum, "Histoire d'un mouvement ouvrier," in *Profils et caractères: Cahiers suisses Esprit* 3–4 (1951): 94–99. This is a detailed account of the days between Lenin's first hearing of the beginning of the revolution and his departure home to Russia. This unique account is based on an interview with someone who attended the talk. None of the many biographies mention or discuss this sequence of events leading to his departure; indeed they gloss it over. Yet it shows very exactly his preparations in all their tactical logic. (My appreciation to Mr. Jeanneret at the Bibliothèque de la Ville de La Chaux-de-Fonds, who managed to assemble this information.) See also Maurice Pianzola, *Lénine en Suisse* (Geneva: Librairie Nouvelle, 1951). See the account of the events in *L'Impartial*, 18 March 1988, p. 17.
26. See Christophe Stawarz, *La paix à l'épreuve, La Chaux-de-Fonds 1800–1914: Une cité horlogère au cœur du pacifisme international* (Hauterive: Éditions Gilles Attinger, Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie du Canton de Neuchâtel, 2002); Charles Thomann, *Les hauts lieux de l'anarchisme jurassien: Le Locle—Sonvilliler et Saint-Imier—La Chaux-de-Fonds, 1866–1880* (La Chaux-de-Fonds: Éditions du Haut, 2002).

27. See Raoul Cop, *Histoire de La Chaux-de-Fonds* (La Chaux-de-Fonds: Conseil Communal de La Chaux-de-Fonds, 1980); Jules Humbert-Droz, *Mémoires: Mon évolution du Tolstoïsme au Communisme 1891–1921* (Neuchâtel: Éditions La Baconnière, 1969).

28. “. . . de vieilles notions bien établies et assises dans l’entendement, usées comme une phrase de catéchisme, détecteurs d’une série féconde d’automatismes.” Le Corbusier quoted in von Moos, “La synthèse invisible,” p. 19. For the weather conditions, see *Feuille d’Avis de La Chaux-de-Fonds*, Thursday, 4 October 1917, no. 233.



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