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Reassessing Ronchamp: the historical context, architectural discourse and design development of Le Corbusier's Chapel Notre Dame-du-Haut

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DECLARATION

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation provides a reassessment of the design documents and historical discourse concerning Le Corbusier's Chapel Notre-Dame-du-Haut, Ronchamp. My aim is to reopen this inquiry, which I believe has been prematurely closed. In order to clear the way for a renewed investigation of Le Corbusier's creative process, I have resituated the discourse within its original historical setting, and reassessed the sum total of textual and visual evidence in the context of its initial production: the postwar controversy about Catholic theology, sacred art, and the role of architecture in religion that formed its cultural and semantic background. I have thus reevaluated Le Corbusier's autobiographical accounts of his creative process in light of the ecclesiastical scrutiny in which they were published, and questioned the reliability of the explanations that they contain. I have also questioned the credibility of secondary discourse based principally upon these sources, and assessed the sum total of this corpus in light of archival evidence.

The primary objects of this study are the architect's primary texts, published between 1953 and 1965; the secondary literature in English and French, published between 1953 and 2013; and the design documents for the Chapel produced between 1950 and 1958. My methodological approach to this documentation includes both textual analysis of the primary and secondary discourse, and formal analysis of the design drawings. Through a combination of these techniques, I argue that the primary literature on Ronchamp is characterized by contradiction; that the secondary literature has often followed this primary account uncritically; and that the design drawings suggest a sequence of production that is at odds with canonical account of the Chapel's design.

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INTRODUCTION

The Chapel Notre-Dame-du-Haut, Ronchamp, sits high upon a hill in eastern France overlooking the small town for which it is named. The present church, designed by Le Corbusier in the early 1950s, replaced a neo-Gothic structure destroyed in a fierce battle in the autumn of 1944. The commission for a new church was prepared with the support of the Archbishop of Besançon, Maurice-Louis Dubourg (1878-1954), who granted the Diocesan Committee on Sacred Art the capacity to preserve, repair, and conceive anew the liturgical environment of the French Catholic Church then under his jurisdiction. Committee members quickly summoned the Parisian avant-garde for this purpose, inviting them to reinvent the Church's ecclesiastical symbolism. Le Corbusier was one of many artists offered absolute creative freedom should he accept the commission. Amid a storm of controversy, he obliged, and designed what is widely regarded as one of the greatest architectural monuments of the twentieth century.

The canonical explanation of Le Corbusier's architectural design for the Chapel was published by Danièle Pauly in her monograph, *Ronchamp. Lecture d'une architecture*. Pauly's insightful and groundbreaking work, based upon archival research conducted at the Fondation Le Corbusier in Paris in the 1970s, unearthed many of the architect's design sources, and placed the Chapel within a long line of expressionist architecture. Pauly's study quickly became the authoritative text on the subject, and has since exerted a powerful influence on the secondary literature, which has consistently referred back to her analysis of the early drawings. However, Pauly's interpretation of these documents was, by her own admission, strongly influenced by Le Corbusier's prior explanations. Her account is thus subtended by the implicit assumption that the architect's publications on Ronchamp are forthright.

My initial research suggested that this was not a safe assumption. Prior to the Chapel's inauguration in 1955, Le Corbusier wrote numerous contradictory accounts of his architectural inspirations for Ronchamp under a variety of authorial and editorial guises. These texts were first published during a bitter but now largely forgotten conflict between the Vatican and the Chapel's Dominican patrons, who were then under the scrutiny of the Holy Office. Members of the Roman Curia were also quite familiar with Le Corbusier and his avant-garde peers, and highly critical of their

involvement with the Dominican sacred art movement. In light of this discovery, it seemed plausible that the architect's primary accounts of Ronchamp may have been influenced by the pressure of extenuating circumstances; and this hypothesis, if true, would suggest that the historical context, architectural discourse, and design documents for the Chapel merited further review. The present study, conducted in Paris from 2005 to 2010, was conceived upon this basis.

The following discussion is ordered chronologically, in order to provide a sense of the social background in which the commission, design, and discourse unfolded. Chapter 1 provides a review of the postwar context in which the commission first appeared, in the aftermath of the German Occupation and the dissolution of the Vichy government. Pétain's capitulation in 1940 had left lasting divisions in French society, which were exacerbated by the severity of the liberation that followed. Amid the conflagrations of 1944, members of the French resistance, many of whom were Catholic, emerged victorious, and the political power that they subsequently enjoyed had a direct impact upon the reconstruction of churches such as Notre-Dame-du-Haut. For a brief period of time, the Dominican sacred art movement flourished within favorable circumstances, which gradually gave way to the resurgence of Vatican power. Ronchamp was conceived within this window of time.

Chapter 2 includes a review of the secondary discourse on the Chapel, presenting chronological evidence that the architect's own explanations of Ronchamp have exerted a strong influence upon this literature from the Chapel's inauguration in 1955 to the time of this writing in 2013. Chapters 3 and 4 include an exhaustive content analysis of the portion of the primary literature on Ronchamp published between 1953 and 1955, highlighting the considerable discrepancies that these texts contain. Upon the basis of this review, I suggest that there is sufficient warrant to be skeptical about the canonical explanation of the Chapel's design.

The study concludes in Chapters 5 and 6 with a renewed investigation of the extant archival materials pertaining to the initial phases of Le Corbusier's design work for the Chapel. I argue that the canonical explanations of Ronchamp have overlooked many early drawings that played a fundamental role in the architect's creative process, and, on the basis of these discoveries, propose a revised sequence of design development for the first three phases of work within the atelier. An alternate explanation of Le

Corbusier's creative process is also proposed, based upon a revolutionary approach to architectural design that he developed after the war, which, I suggest, he did not wish to disclose to his professional peers or to the public.

Subsequent phases of design work, as well as the complex issue of the Chapel's architectural origins, are left as an open question within this dissertation, which I plan to address more thoroughly in a forthcoming publication. It is my hope that this pending monographic account will be more convincing if the fine-grained analysis of archival and textual documents upon which it is based, along with the methodological procedures by which it was conducted, are presented here first, as clearly and straightforwardly as possible. The reader will thus find a comprehensive set of appendices at the end of this dissertation, in which the basis of my arguments are disclosed.¹ This should serve to make the study fully replicable for scholars who might wish to subject it to further scrutiny.

¹ See the Appendices:
A: Timeline
B: Secondary Discourse Summary
C: Content Analysis
D: Correspondence
E: Published Design Documents

THE SOCIAL CONTEXT OF THE COMMISSION

I.1 POSTWAR LIBERATION AND CATHOLIC AUTHORITY

THE BATTLE OF BOURLÉMONT

In September of 1944, Nazi troops retreated toward the German border under Hitler's orders and occupied the neo-Gothic Chapel Notre-Dame-du-Haut, high above the provincial town of Ronchamp in eastern France. The Chapel formed part of a strategic line of defense formulated by Hitler's director of military planning, General Alfred Jodl, which was to be anchored on the Vosges Mountains, from Lunéville through Ronchamp to the Belfort Gap.¹ Allied forces quickly converged upon the area and engaged enemy fire. Throughout the autumn months, Ronchamp and its neighboring Chapel were caught in some of the heaviest fighting of the war.² When German forces were finally cleared from the area in mid-November, **(FIGURE 1.01)** members of the local parish returned to find their Chapel in ruins.³

THE PURIFICATION OF THE FRENCH EPISCOPACY

Ecclesiastical authority for the Chapel's reconstruction lay with the Diocesan Association of Besançon, under the responsibility of Archbishop Maurice-Louis Dubourg.⁴ But at that very moment Dubourg's authority was under attack. Throughout the German Occupation, he had spoken out in adamant defense of Marshal Pétain, under whom he had served during the First World War.⁵ So when

¹ A: 1944-07-31 (Jodl Diary, cited in Blumenson 1993: 419)

² A: 1944-09-11; 1944-09-20—10-19 (Clarke 1993: 565)

³ A: 1944-09-20—10-19 (Bolle-Reddat, JNDH 51, 1974, pp. 8-10)

⁴ A: 1945-08-31 (Caussé 1999: 550-1)

⁵ A: 1954-01-31 (L. Ledeur 1954: 15)

Pétain called upon all Frenchmen to remain neutral in June 1944,⁶ Dubourg, along with the vast majority of the French Catholic hierarchy, clung loyally to the Vichy regime on the eve of the Normandy invasions.⁷

Three weeks later, the Provisional Government of the French Republic in Algiers declared Pétain's government a "pseudo-government,"⁸ and promulgated a decree charging all those who had published writings or given lectures in favor of the enemy with treason.⁹ Few French bishops could evade guilt on such terms. They sealed their fate in early July, eulogizing Pétain's secretary of propaganda, the Catholic collaborationist and militant anti-Semite Philippe Henriot, during a special funerary rite at Notre-Dame in Paris that was attended by leaders of the Wehrmacht.¹⁰ Henriot had been assassinated in June by the Resistance.¹¹ The bishops' actions also left them marked men.

Their political standing was further discredited by Henriot's successor as Vichy propagandist, Xavier Vallat.¹² On 9 July, during his national broadcast on "Christianity and the State,"¹³ Vallat defied the proclamations of the Provisional Government and dismissed De Gaulle's appeal to Pius XII for a "purification" of the French episcopacy.¹⁴ He called instead for loyalty to Pétain, and defended the fealty of six French bishops, including the Archbishop of Besançon, whose wartime colloquies he quoted at length. "Listen to Mgr. Dubourg," he implored,

"to refuse to follow the Maréchal would be to criminally accuse him of betraying the country, when his entire life has been a life of honor and devotion in service of France, when he has given himself to her on that day when she was vanquished, to save her from complete ruin. When a man assumes such a burden, informed by his experience and by his sense of responsibility, he has a right to the recognition and devotion of his Country, and those who are under his orders must follow them to the point of forsaking their personal convictions."

⁶ A: 1944-06-06 (Paxton 1972: 326)

⁷ A: 1944-06-06 (Halls 1995: 174)

⁸ A: 1944-06-26 (François de Menthon, judicial decree: AN BB 30 1729, cited in Lottman 1986: 46)

⁹ A: 1944-06-26 ('Rapport reçu de France', in *Cahier Français*, n. 51, 1943, cited in Novick 1968: 146-7)

¹⁰ A: 1944-07-07 (Press cuttings, July 1944: AN 72 AJ 250, cited in Halls 1995: 356)

¹¹ A: 1944-06-28 (Marrus & Paxton 1981: 338-9)

¹² A: 1944-07-09 (Marrus & Paxton 1981: 339)

¹³ A: 1944-07-09 (Vallat 1944, cited in Halls 1995: 157, 368-80)

¹⁴ A: 1944-07-09 (Latreille 1978: 43; Halls 1995: 368)

The broadcast was intercepted and transcribed by members of the French Resistance,¹⁵ who were undoubtedly already aware of Dubourg's doctrine of submission. The elder prelate had preached loyalty to the Pétain throughout the war,¹⁶ and his blind patriotism stirred the ire of the French Committee of National Liberation, who sought to 'purify' the French Catholic Church of its Pétainist traitors as quickly as the Germans could be cleared from French soil.

The National Council of the Resistance called for immediate action. A memorandum dated 26 July 1944, probably written by its leader Georges Bidault (1899-1983), placed the bishops in imminent peril: "It is advised," he began,

*that the government negotiate with the Holy See so that the latter accepts to undertake the measures necessary to obtain the demission of those members of the episcopate whose attitude has caused the greatest scandal under the Occupation.*¹⁷

Bidault, like many members of the Resistance, was a devout Catholic.¹⁸ Following the decrees of a 'social' faction of French Catholicism, he saw the wartime actions of French bishops, who had preached loyalty to Pétain and Vichy, as both political treason and theological hypocrisy.¹⁹ When the Vichy regime was nullified by a decree of 9 August 1944, several members of the episcopacy were thus forced to resign, or removed from their posts by the Liberation forces.²⁰

Dubourg's position was tenuous. During a ceremony of liberation at Besançon on 17 September 1944, just a few days before the first bombardment of the Chapel of Ronchamp, he made a desperate plea. "Enough hatred!" he intoned,

¹⁵ A: 1944-07-09 (Vallat 1944, AN F-1A-3351/B 2725-1)

¹⁶ A: 1941-01-04 (Dubourg 1941a, cited in Clément 1999: 50)

A: 1941-01-15 (ACA, Directives de la hiérarchie au clergé, 15 Jan 1941, cited in Clément 1999: 53)

A: 1941-06-19 (Dubourg 1941b, cited in Clément 1999: 68-9)

A: 1941-10-15 (Dubourg 1941c, cited in Clément 1999: 154)

A: 1942-10-02 (Mgr Tissier, Lettre au maréchal Pétain, 2 Oct 1942: AN 2AG-492)

A: 1944-02-17 ('Déclaration de l'ACA', 17 Feb, in *Gazette de Lausanne*, 1 Apr 1944, cited in Halls 1995: 169-70)

A: 1944-07-09 (Vallat, 'La Chrétienté et l'état', *Radio Vichy*, 19:30, 9 July 1944: AN F-1A-3351/B 2725-1)

A: 1944-09-17 (Dubourg 1944, in Thiébaud 1999: 283-4)

¹⁷ A: 1944-07-26 (Bidault [?], Note sur l'épiscopat, 26 July 1944, cited in Latreille 1978: 29)

¹⁸ A: 1944-07-26 (Halls 1995: 18)

¹⁹ A: 1941-10-06 (Maritain 1941a; cited in Halls 1995: 102)

²⁰ A: 1944-08-19 (Halls 1995: 365)

*We need fraternity. We shall not throw ourselves headlong into mutual anathema; seek not that which divides us, but that which brings us together. Know how to forgive, more than to accuse and to condemn! ... Long ago, in the time of the Great Schism of the Western Church, which had torn it apart at the end of the 14th century and divided it into two confessions, giving each one its Pope, there would have been saints in each camp, because there would have been souls of good faith on either side...*²¹

Dubourg professed the wrong allegiances at just the wrong time: his chosen 'pope', Marshal Pétain, had been arraigned for military prosecution just three days before.²² His mistimed plea thus inspired little sympathy in the heated context of Liberation. The Catholic journal that Dubourg had previously overseen as editor was quickly reconvened under the auspices of a group of young priests, several of whom had served in the Resistance.²³

Throughout the autumn months of 1944, political pressure against the episcopacy mounted. October saw the first arrest and internment of a French Archbishop.²⁴ In November, the provisional government reconvened on French soil,²⁵ and the *Mouvement Républicain Populaire* (MRP), a newly-founded party of Christian Democrats, gained unprecedented power. At its helm was Bidault, who remained incensed by the French hierarchy's collusion with Vichy and pressed for a "drastic purification" of the Gallican bishops. More than thirty members of the hierarchy were targeted for demission in his ever-changing blacklists, and since no one knew who had been charged, or who might be next, the Catholic mood turned acutely anxious.²⁶ In December, the first French Bishop was officially defrocked,²⁷ and in January of 1945, a second was charged with '*indignité nationale*', the moral sanction of postwar justice.²⁸

The mood was defiant: French youth and resistance fighters threatened the old guard. Dubourg found himself under attack in his own diocese, accused of collaboration in

²¹ A: 1944-09-17 (Dubourg 1944, in Thiébaud 1999: 283)

²² A: 1944-09-09—14 (Raïssac 1963: 350-1, cited in Novick 1968: 154)

²³ A: 1944-09-19—21 (Lambert 2007: 41-50)

²⁴ A: 1944-10-26 (Mgr Dutoit, Dossier 8 M 1, 26 Oct 1944, Archives diocésaines, Lille, cited in Halls 1995: 365-80)

²⁵ A: 1944-11-07 (*Journal officiel de la République Française*, 18 Nov 1944, 296ff, cited in Lottman 1986: 185)

²⁶ A: 1944-11-27 (Latreille 1963: 66-74, cited in Novick 1968: 131; Latreille 1978: 24-6)

²⁷ A: 1944-12-15 (Mgr de la Villarabel, in Latreille 1978: 43)

²⁸ A: 1945-01-10 (Tixier, dossier sur Mgr Dutoit: AN F-1A-3354, cited in Halls 1995: 365; Latreille 1978: 50)

local journals due to his vocal support of Pétain.²⁹ His unrepentant, quasi-religious *maréchalisme* had damaged his prestige, and left him, along with his rest of the French archbishops, fighting for his ecclesiastical future.³⁰ A younger generation of 'progressive' Catholics in Franche-Comté had even accused Dubourg, in the midst of war, of leading his flock astray.³¹ His demotion would bring them opportunity.

Throughout the winter and spring of 1945, the Assembly of Cardinals and Archbishops defended their traditional doctrine of submission to a legitimate state,³² while backroom deals in Paris and Rome brokered their uncertain future. In May, the horror of Nazi concentration camps became known to the world, and the price of submission was laid bare.³³ De Gaulle's Interior Minister Adrien Tixier continued to press for purification of the episcopacy,³⁴ but the General soon intervened to preserve political stability.³⁵ The bishops' prestige reached its postwar nadir, and Dubourg's power waned.

By the summer of 1945, the purge of Vichy collaborators, which had affected every level of French society, reached its upper echelon. Pétain's trial commenced in late July,³⁶ and a few days later, seven loyal French ecclesiastics were forced to resign. Dubourg, however, was not among them.³⁷ But he was brought to trial in August, and forced to defend his unrepentant Catholic triumphalism before the French judiciary. The lengthy deliberations lasted throughout the autumn months, and finally concluded in November.³⁸ Pétain, his would-be savior, was condemned to death, but spared execution and interred in a military prison, where he would remain for the rest of his life.³⁹

²⁹ A: 1945-01-18—02-03 (Dubourg 1945b, cited in Lambert 2007: 46);

A: 1945-06-00: Dubourg (E. Ledeur 1977: 214; Lambert 2007: 259)

³⁰ A: 1944-12-20 (Latreille 1944);

A: 1945-02-17—24 (Latreille 1978: 56)

³¹ A: 1944-09-17: Dubourg (E. Ledeur 1977: 210)

³² A: 1945-02-25—03-11 (ACA, 'Les conditions de la réconciliation nationale', 28 Feb 1945, in Clément 1999: 246);

A: 1945-05-03 ('Déclaration de l'ACA de France', in *La Croix*, 3 May 1945, AN F-1A-3351)

³³ A: 1945-05-07 (Novick 1968: 159)

³⁴ A: 1945-05-08—30 (Tixier, letter to Laffon, 8 May 1945: AN F-1A-3351)

³⁵ A: 1945-05-08—30 (Halls 1995: 377)

³⁶ A: 1945-07-23 (Novick 1968: 175-8)

³⁷ A: 1945-07-27 (De Montclos et al. 1982: 601)

³⁸ A: 1945-08-00: Dubourg (Lambert 2007: 259)

³⁹ A: 1945-08-15 (Novick 1968: 175-6)

I.2 POSTWAR PATRONAGE STRATEGIES

THE FIRST COMMISSION FOR RONCHAMP

The commission to rebuild the Chapel of Ronchamp emerged within this heated political climate. It was initiated by a 26-year-old cleric, François Mathey (1918-1993), a native of Ronchamp and inspector in the Historical Monuments Society in Paris, who had a keen eye for opportunity. In the midst of governmental efforts to purge the French bishops, he penned a letter on 16 February 1945 to the parish priest of Ronchamp, Abbé Henri of Besançon, asking him to provide a request for postwar retributions. On behalf of his provincial hometown, Mathey sought financial aid for the reconstruction of the Chapel, and suggested the right architectural approach.⁴⁰

His reference for religious architecture was the journal *L'Art sacré*, published prior to the outbreak of war by Joseph Prichard (1892-1973), Raymond 'Pie' Régamey (1900-1996) and Pierre 'Marie-Alain' Couturier (1897-1954). The journal's twentieth-century architectural ideal was Auguste Perret's church at Raincy, which Mathey dreamed of re-creating at Ronchamp. **(FIGURE I.02)** Instead, he resigned himself to an historicist approach that would combine the neo-Romanesque architecture of the *Chantiers du Cardinal*, an influential movement of prewar ecclesiastical architecture in Paris,⁴¹ **(FIGURE I.03)** with the "renaissance of stained glass" then underway in France. **(FIGURE I.04)** Mathey's recommendations were thus informed by a progressive strand of Beaux-Arts Catholicism that had flourished in the 1930s,⁴² rather than the work of contemporary architects, whose approach, he believed, lacked a proper sense of "the sacred."⁴³

His efforts to reconstruct the Chapel would require the support of the Catholic hierarchy. By Canon law, ecclesiastical authority for the project belonged to the local Diocesan Committee on Sacred Art in Besançon. The bishops remained the titular heads of such committees, despite their diminished status;⁴⁴ their moral influence had

⁴⁰ D: 1945-02-16 (Mathey, letter to Henri, 16 Feb 1945, AONDH 005-8-168)

⁴¹ A: 1945-02-16 (Lesourd & Paillat 1968: 463, cited in E. Weber 1994: 200)

⁴² A: 1945-02-16 (Caussé 1999: 35)

⁴³ D: 1945-02-16 (Mathey, letter to Henri, 16 Feb 1945, AONDH 005-8-168)

⁴⁴ A: 1945-08-31 (Caussé 1999: 550-1)

diminished, but official power remained. Several Vichy decrees in 1942-43 had in fact granted the diocesan committees additional financial and legal leverage,⁴⁵ so their political force was greatest at the moment of Liberation, when the needs of postwar reconstruction were most pressing and the bishops, ironically, had the least ability to act. To gain control of this committee with the Bishop's approval was thus to share his power.

Mathey deftly initiated the Ronchamp commission and reorganized the Diocesan Committee at Besançon within this void of official authority. In the winter of 1945, when Mathey wrote his letter to Abbé Henri, the vast majority of the French populace favored punishment for bishops who had collaborated with the enemy,⁴⁶ and Dubourg's status was thus under siege: he was busy deflecting attacks within his diocese,⁴⁷ and suffering from the grave uncertainty then affecting the entire French hierarchy.⁴⁸

Dubourg retained his tiara by an edict of 27 July 1945.⁴⁹ A few weeks later, still endowed with official authority but lacking social prestige, he received Mathey's detailed instructions for the reorganization of the Diocesan Committee of Besançon. Dubourg agreed: on 31 August, in the midst of his own trial, he wrote to the Head of the Historical Monuments Society in Paris, stipulating that this reorganization should take effect "in accord with Mr. Mathey."⁵⁰ The duties of the former secretary of the commission, the elderly Monsignor Pfister, were assumed by Mathey's childhood friend, Canon Lucien Ledeur (1911-1975). A young Parisian clerk had thus created the means to take aesthetic control away from parish priests.⁵¹

Mathey's bold moves stood among many such events in postwar France when a younger generation of Catholics usurped the power of their elders,⁵² whose prestige had been stained by Vichy submission.⁵³ Mathey would later describe his actions as

⁴⁵ A: 1945-02-12 (Latreille 1945b: 18-9)

A: 1945-08-31 (Caussé 2007: 61)

⁴⁶ A: 1944-12-20 (Bulletin d'informations de l'Institut Français d'Opinion Publique, 1978, p. 21; Lottman 1986: 201)

⁴⁷ A: 1945-01-18—02-03 (Dubourg 1945a, cited in Lambert 2007: 46)

⁴⁸ A: 1944-11-27 (Latreille 1978: 19-26)

⁴⁹ A: 1945-07-27 (De Montclos et al. 1982: 601)

⁵⁰ A: 1945-08-31 (Dubourg, letter to M. Monnet, 31 Aug 1945, ADB, cited in Flicoteaux 1998: 7-8)

⁵¹ A: 1945-09-06 (Mathey, letter to Dubourg, 6 Sept 1945, ADB, cited in Flicoteaux 1998: 7-8)

⁵² A: 1945-01-18—02-03 (Latreille 1945b: 28-9, AN F-1A-3351)

⁵³ A: 1944-12-20 (Latreille 1944)

A: 1945-01-18—02-03 (Tixier, letter to De Gaulle, 26 Jan 1945: AN F-1A-3351)

intended "to redress a lamentable situation" within "the interior of the Church itself"—that is to say, within the hierarchical power structure of the French episcopacy.⁵⁴ He would later face demission for his actions, which exceeded his clerical authority and angered his superiors;⁵⁵ but his timely maneuvers convinced Dubourg—then facing the scrutiny of judicial authorities—to sign an ordinance on 8 September, granting the committee oversight of the construction of new churches.⁵⁶

Then, in the autumn of 1945, Mathey helped form a Committee of Architecture with the Dominican priest, Pie Régamey, sole editor of *L'Art sacré* from 1945 to the spring of 1949. Régamey's texts on the rehabilitation and reconstruction of churches, written as Mathey reorganized the diocesan committee of Besançon, would serve as a manifesto for the ad hoc institution. Their goal was to influence the aesthetics of reconstruction by educating the parish priests,⁵⁷ and to convince them to comply with the favored aesthetics of the Committee's proposed reforms: a neo-traditionalist vision of the "pure origins" of Christian liturgy that denounced later accretions.⁵⁸

Régamey thus wrote of the "incredible vulgarity" of pious Catholics, and the "ostentation" of their churches, pleading for a return to the "pure and true." His reformist semantics reflected the aspirations of the "new youthfulness of the Church," which, he claimed, required clear means of Christian salvation, and the 'purification' of the architecture of his Pétainist superiors.⁵⁹ Régamey thus attacked the highest authority of Catholic aesthetics: the decrees of Canon law orchestrated by the Vatican,⁶⁰ written in part by nuncio Eugenio Pacelli, who then oversaw their enforcement as Pope Pius XII.⁶¹ Battle lines were drawn.

The first retort at Ronchamp was surprisingly modest. In October 1945, Mathey offered the commission to his friend, the Beaux-Arts architect Jean-Charles Moreux,⁶² who responded favorably and commenced work in the following month.⁶³ Régamey

⁵⁴ A: 1945-09-06—08 (Mathey, letter to Manessier, 3 Apr 1977; cited in Flicoteaux 1998: 7)

⁵⁵ A: 1953: Mathey (Mathey, letter to Manessier, 3 Apr 1977; cited in Flicoteaux 1998: 52)

⁵⁶ A: 1945-09-06—08 (Dubourg 1945b, cited in Flicoteaux 1998: 8-9, 13)

⁵⁷ A: 1945-08-00: Brochure de *l'Art sacré* (Boulard, Henri de Laborde & Régamey 1945, in Caussé 1999: 141-3)

A: 1945-09-00 (Régamey 1945a, cited in Caussé 1999: 151-3; Caussé 2010: 98-102)

⁵⁸ A: 1945-10-00 (Régamey 1945b, cited in Caussé 1999: 26, 117; Caussé 2010: 81-5)

⁵⁹ A: 1945-09-00 (Régamey 1945a, cited in Caussé 1999: 151-3; Caussé 2010: 99-102)

⁶⁰ A: 1945-09-00 (Régamey 1945a, cited in Caussé 2010: 102)

⁶¹ A: 1945-09-00 (Cornwell 1999: 6; Cornwell 2008: xv)

⁶² A: 1945-11-00—12-21 (Mathey 1980, JNDH 67, pp. 13-4; cited in Caussé 1999: 654)

⁶³ D: 1945-11-06 (Moreux, letter to Henri, AONDH)

was thrilled with the result, offering guidance about the building's liturgical arrangement,⁶⁴ which, in his logic of reform, held the key to architectural purity.⁶⁵

But the commission faltered. The parish priest, Abbé Henri, headed a rival committee of Ronchamp parishioners who considered the Chapel their personal property.⁶⁶ They ignored the Diocesan Committee and summoned proposals from local architects.⁶⁷ In February of 1947, Mathey and his colleague Lucien Ledeur utilized the Committee's authority to reject these proposals, finally granting official support to Moreux.⁶⁸ The architect then submitted several projects to the Diocesan Committee over the next two years, striving to attain his patrons' vision of 'purity'. His fourth and final effort, submitted in the spring of 1949, was a restrained, neo-classical hall-church built upon the foundations of the previous chapel, with reduced dimensions that followed the recommendations of the Committee.⁶⁹ **(FIGURE 1.05)**

With its steeply pitched roof, single bell tower, and simplified details, Moreux's final project reflected the initiative that Mathey had first set forth: an orderly array of French stained glass framed within the neo-traditional architecture of the *Chantiers du Cardinal*. It evidently satisfied no one. Relations quickly broke down, and Moreux, tired of "critiques, opposition, and indecision," ceased work on the project.⁷⁰ The first commission for Ronchamp, despite the Diocesan Committee's best efforts, had failed.

COUTURIER'S ROLE AT RONCHAMP

Moreux's fortunes at Ronchamp turned in June of 1949,⁷¹ just as Father Marie-Alain Couturier, Régamey's prewar partner at *L'Art sacré*, rejoined the journal's editorial committee.⁷² Shortly thereafter, Régamey's formerly glowing assessment of Moreux's religious art was quickly revised, since the new editor found it "without great

⁶⁴ D: 1945-12-21 (Régamey, letter to Henri, 21 Dec 1945, AONDH)

⁶⁵ A: 1945-09-00 (Régamey 1945a, cited in Caussé 2010: 99-101)

⁶⁶ A: 1945-11-00—12-21 (Mathey 1980, JNDH 67, pp. 13-4; cited in Caussé 1999: 654)

⁶⁷ D: 1948-04-27 (Henri, letter to Dubourg, AONDH). The AONDH collection contains the following proposals: 1945-03-26 (Émery Bedon, Architect, Lure); 1946-07-17 (Rêne Humbert, Architect, Vesoul); 1947-01-07 (Reboux, Architect, Serous-les-Fleury)

⁶⁸ D: 1947-02-06 (Ledeur, letter to Henri, ADB)

⁶⁹ D: 1947-02-06 (Henri, letter to Moreux, ADB)

⁷⁰ D: 1949-05-04 (Moreux, letter to Henri, AONDH)

⁷¹ A: 1949-06-25 (Conseil de Ronchamp, AONDH)

⁷² A: 1949-06-20 (Caussé 1999: 200-1; Caussé 2010: 134)

interest,"⁷³ and Mathey suddenly disappeared from the editorial committee, probably due to his strained relationship with his new colleague.⁷⁴ Under Couturier's guidance, a new strategy of patronage emerged, which would prove to be of central importance in the second commission for Ronchamp.

Couturier had long wished to grant Le Corbusier a commission for a chapel. The first written record of this desire dates to 1939, in a set of notes that the Dominican penned during an exposition on sacred art in Paris.⁷⁵ But the onset of war delayed all such opportunities for nearly a decade. Nine years later, in July of 1948, the Dominican again suggested hiring Le Corbusier as the architect for the Chapel at Vence, where it was hoped he would work with Henri Matisse on the newly commissioned Chapel of Vence. But the elder French artist refused.⁷⁶

Shortly thereafter, Couturier campaigned for an ambitious project for a subterranean Basilica at La Sainte-Baume, which had been planned with the assistance of Le Corbusier. But the Dominican had brashly promoted these plans without first consulting the diocesan Bishop, Monsignor Gaudel, whose ecclesiastical authorization was required by Canon Law. Instead, Couturier bypassed these official protocols and sought public approval through the French press.

His strategy backfired. That summer, provincial authorities were informed of his plans and contacted their superiors in Rome,⁷⁷ who demanded that the development of the project conform to proper Church procedures. Authority was thus given back to the Bishop, and Couturier bowed to ecclesiastical pressure.⁷⁸ The Dominican, who had little respect for his French superiors, was disgusted. "The hierarchy," he confessed privately,

*has been compromised through unconscious connivance with these vulgarities and stupidities. This is a sordid, spiritual misery which must at least be counterbalanced, if a remedy can't be found, by a few irreproachable works.*⁷⁹

⁷³ A: 1949-08-00 (Couturier, letter to Régamey, Aug 1949; cited in Caussé 1999: 205)

⁷⁴ A: 1949-03-30 (Caussé 1999: 194; Caussé 2010: 138)

⁷⁵ « Le jour ou Perret, Le Corbusier, Mallet Stevens auront à bâtir dans les Chantiers du Cardinal autant d'églises que M. Barbier et M. Tartempion, ce jour-là une grande partie de notre tâche sera faite. » (Couturier 1965: 201-2)

⁷⁶ A: 1948-07-03 (Rayssiguier manuscrit, 3 July 1948; cited in Matisse, et al. 1993: 71-3)

⁷⁷ A: 1948-07-27—10-20 (Lavaud, letter to Couturier, 27 July 1948; cited in Caussé 1999: 462-3)

⁷⁸ A: 1948-07-27—10-20 (Caussé 2010: 299)

⁷⁹ A: 1948-07-27—10-20 (Couturier, letter to Régamey, 11 Aug 1948: CES D-2C-31)

Beneath these words and actions lay a deep resentment of the French bishops' moral submission to the Vichy regime during the war. Couturier's ambitions as patron of postwar architecture, at Vence, La Sainte-Baume, Ronchamp and elsewhere, were in fact closely related to his work for the French Resistance, and the opportunities that his status as a former member of the Liberation provided after the war.⁸⁰

Unlike Dubourg and the majority of the French hierarchy, Couturier had been among those few "resisters of the first hour" who had openly objected to Pétain's supplication to German Occupation.⁸¹ Exiled in America in the summer of 1940, he had joined forces with the pro-Gaullist France Forever group in New York City,⁸² and repeatedly denounced French submission to an anti-Semitic regime.⁸³ The price of these words in September of 1940 had been expulsion from his Dominican monastery in New York;⁸⁴ but this banishment had, in turn, brought him into closer contact with a community of French exiles around the Catholic philosopher Jacques Maritain (1882–1973) in Greenwich Village,⁸⁵ where he developed lasting friendships with Marc Chagall, Fernand Léger, and other prominent members of the French avant-garde.⁸⁶

Upon his return to France in August of 1945,⁸⁷ Couturier benefited from Maritain's prior appointment as French ambassador to the Vatican,⁸⁸ which enhanced his access to the upper echelons of the Catholic hierarchy. He also benefited from the prestige of his wartime resistance, which convinced non-Christian artists like André Lurçat—an avowed communist with little sympathy for Catholicism—to accept religious commissions they would have otherwise denied.⁸⁹ For a brief period of time, Couturier's position as patron, astride the world of religion, politics, and art, was thus close to ideal.

⁸⁰ A: 1940-09-00 (Schwartzwald 2004: 141-2)

⁸¹ A: 1940-09-00 (Paxton 1972: 38)

⁸² A: 1940-08-00: Romaines (Schwartzwald 2004: 148)

⁸³ A: 1940-09-00 (Couturier, Radio broadcast, Sept 1940, in Couturier 1958: 80; cited in Lion 2005: 52)

A: 1942-11-01 (Couturier, Radio broadcast, 1 Nov 1942, in Couturier 1958)

⁸⁴ A: 1940-09-00 (De Miribel 1981: 65; cited in Schwartzwald 2004: 148)

⁸⁵ A: 1940-09-00 (Hughes [1968] 1987: 79)

⁸⁶ A: 1942: Couturier (Rubin 1961: 116, 137)

⁸⁷ A: 1945-09-02 (Caussé 2010: 238)

⁸⁸ A: 1945-01-15 (Latreille 1945a)

A: 1945-04-10—23 (Tixier, 10 Apr 1945, AN F-1A-3351; Halls 1995: 376)

⁸⁹ A: 1944: Catholic-Communist resistance (Lurçat, interview with Rubin, late 1950s, cited in Rubin 1961: 103-4)

Couturier used this position to openly challenge ecclesiastical authority at the highest level. In April 1946, he was invited to Rome by Maritain,⁹⁰ who had by then taken up his post as French ambassador to the Holy See, and was received personally in the Vatican by Pope Pius XII.⁹¹ Couturier would later publicly claim that during this encounter the Holy Father had given his "blessing to the modern artists" working at the new Church at Assy,⁹² a proving ground of the sacred art movement then under construction in the Haute-Savoie.

But this strategic gloss hid deeper tensions. Pius in fact had little sympathy for the Dominicans' sacred art movement;⁹³ and privately, in a letter penned during his travels, Couturier expressed his contempt for Rome, describing the 'Eternal City' as "spoiled by fascist academicism."⁹⁴ One week later, during an ecclesiastical conference in Rome, he used a similar expression to condemn the underlying principles of Canon law, which had been written in part by the Pope. "Academicism," he explained,

*is essentially the pretension to respond to personal expressions of art in the name of doctrines and collective authority. From this also comes the explanation of the immediate sterilization of art that we have seen produced in all totalitarian regimes, whether fascist, Nazi, or communist.*⁹⁵

This was the "sordid, spiritual misery" that he had previously lamented in the Catholic hierarchy: a collective authority that had submitted to Nazi depravities, and that had found its proper aesthetic expression in both the "oppressive," mass-produced liturgical art of Saint-Sulpice,⁹⁶ and the plastered decoration of baroque architecture—"a constant sign," he claimed, "of emerging decadence."⁹⁷ To such Catholic "misereries" he contrasted "independent art," which, he believed, could stop such moral and aesthetic decline. In Couturier's logic, the renaissance of Christian art would thus have to be entrusted to modern artists, whose activities, he claimed, were "intimate, perfect, and pure," like "heroes and saints."⁹⁸

⁹⁰ A: 1946-04-00—04-02 (Maritain, letter to Couturier, Apr 1946, CES C9-A60)

⁹¹ A: 1946-04-00—04-02 (Caussé 2010: 240)

⁹² A: 1946-04-00—04-02 (Couturier 1951a, cited in Rubin 1961: 78-9)

⁹³ A: 1946-04-00—04-02 (Rubin 1961: 78-9)

⁹⁴ A: 1946-04-00—04-02 (Couturier, letter to Elizabeth de Miribel, 2 Apr 1946; cited in Couturier 1958: 15)

⁹⁵ A: 1946-04-11 (Couturier 1946: 13-5)

⁹⁶ A: 1950-04-00 (Couturier, journal entry, Apr 1950, in Couturier 1984: 261)

⁹⁷ A: 1950-11-10 (Couturier, journal entry, 10 Nov 1950, in Couturier 1962: 102-3)

⁹⁸ A: 1946-04-11 (Couturier 1946: 20)

This messianic belief in modern artists had bolstered his confidence in the project for the Basilica at La Sainte-Baume, where Georges Braque, Henri Laurens, Henri Matisse, Fernand Léger, and Le Corbusier had all agreed to collaborate.⁹⁹ But his efforts failed, due in part to Couturier's lack of interest in proper diocesan protocols: his contempt for the Catholic hierarchy had earned him some powerful enemies, who worked actively to halt the project. The proposed Basilica at La Sainte-Baume was thus publicly condemned by the French bishops in April of 1949, and news of its demise was disseminated throughout the press in a national scandal that singled out Le Corbusier by name.¹⁰⁰

Couturier would not repeat such errors at Ronchamp. Shortly after the Sainte-Baume debacle, he rejoined Régamey as coeditor of *L'Art sacré*, and took a more covert approach to patronage. The production of the journal was first moved to an independent press, over which the ecclesiastical hierarchy had no control,¹⁰¹ and the Committee of Architecture on which Régamey and Mathey had served was also rendered powerless over future commissions.¹⁰²

Couturier then reconvened his role as Corbusian propagandist within the first edition of the newly reorganized *L'Art sacré*, produced under his sole editorial authority in the summer of 1949.¹⁰³ In an article describing the forms of Le Corbusier's *Unité d'Habitation* in Marseille, then under construction, he cleverly suggested that the sculptural concrete of the controversial building might also incite a renewal of Christian architecture.¹⁰⁴ **(FIGURE 1.06)** Since the Diocesan Committee in Besançon was then actively looking for a replacement for Moreux, Couturier's article appeared as an open invitation for Le Corbusier to consider the commission at Ronchamp.

Several things were required, however, for such a commission to take shape. First, to conform to the ecclesiastical protocols, the proposal would have to appear to come from the local Diocesan Committee, rather than from Couturier—particularly after his name had been slandered in the Sainte-Baume affair;¹⁰⁵ second, the proposal would

⁹⁹ A: 1949-02-07 (Couturier 1949)

¹⁰⁰ A: 1949-04-26 (Agence France-Presse, 26 Apr 1949, CES D-2C76; Caussé 1999: 485-6)

¹⁰¹ A: 1949-06-20 (Régamey, interview with Caussé, 1991, in Caussé 1999: 268)

¹⁰² A: 1949-08-00 (Caussé 1999: 148)

¹⁰³ A: 1949-07-00 (Couturier, letter to Régamey, July 1949, cited in Caussé 1999: 206)

¹⁰⁴ A: 1950-01-00 (Couturier, 'Pour les yeux', AS 5-6, Jan-Feb 1950, p. 23)

¹⁰⁵ A: 1949-04-26 (Caussé 1999: 485-6)

require the signature of Abbé Henri, the local authority for the project, who served as the head of a civil building association for the Chapel and its proprietors;¹⁰⁶ third, the recommendation of Le Corbusier would require the support of Archbishop Dubourg, whose authorization was required for all such decisions. Lastly, Le Corbusier himself would have to be convinced to accept the task. The evidence suggests that this is precisely what happened.

Le Corbusier first appeared as an official candidate for Ronchamp in March of 1950, in a note penned privately by Abbé Henri, following a meeting with Lucien Ledeur.¹⁰⁷ Both Mathey and Ledeur have long been credited for the "audacity" of this proposal, which succeeded in bringing a famous architect to a provincial task.¹⁰⁸ But this story is suspicious for numerous reasons;¹⁰⁹ and a far more likely source of this proposition was, at any rate, Couturier.¹¹⁰ Ledeur then evidently conveyed this proposal to Abbé Henri, whose approval of and compliance with the commission was required by Canon law. These covert dealings were then obscured by the official account of the commission, published first by Couturier¹¹¹ and later by Capellades,¹¹² which credited Ledeur and Mathey with the proposal of Le Corbusier. These reports effectively concealed Couturier's role in the commission, so that the true origin of the proposal would remain unknown to the Vatican.¹¹³

¹⁰⁶ A: 1949-10-27 (Henri, letter to Bolle-Reddat, 28 Aug 1979, in Bolle-Reddat, JNDH 1983, n. 72, p. 23)

¹⁰⁷ D: 1950-03-21 (Henri, personal note, 21 Mar 1950: AONDH)

¹⁰⁸ A: 1955-09-00 (Capellades 1955: 26)

¹⁰⁹ When Capellades first proposed Mathey and Ledeur as the official link to Le Corbusier in autumn of 1955, Ronchamp was under the surveillance of a Vatican spy (presumably Mgr. Vilet), whose presence caused considerable distrust in Dominican circles (see A: 1954-08-26, Dubois). This tense context might explain why credit for the Ronchamp commission was publicly granted to these two men, since, as leaders of the Diocesan Committee on Sacred Art, they were officially responsible for the project in the Code of Canon law; hence, Capellades' account would have served to deflect further criticism from the Holy Office, which had already sanctioned Couturier, Régamey, and other prominent members of the Dominican Order (see A: 1954-02-06—07, Dominicans). If this is right, it might also explain why Mathey enshrouded his own role in CDAS commissions within a veil of dubitable statements (see A: 1980-1991: Mathey); and why Couturier, in a letter to Ledeur in August 1950, wrote: "As for Le Corbusier, I knew that it would work [...]. But he did not speak of it with me, except for a brief word, respecting the agreement of silence..." (A: 1950-08-26, Couturier, letter to Ledeur, 26 Aug 1950, cited in Caussé 2007: 72).

¹¹⁰ Couturier was the only affiliate of the Diocesan Committee who had both a professional relationship with Le Corbusier and a long-standing preference for avant-garde aesthetics. Couturier was also visiting the diocese at just this time (A: 1950-03-15—29: Couturier, 14 Mar 1950; in Matisse, et al. 1993: 317), which makes him a plausible source of this suggestion. Both Mathey and Ledeur had, by contrast, expressed satisfaction with Moreux, which makes a subsequent proposal of Le Corbusier on their behalf seem less likely.

¹¹¹ A: 1953-07-00 (Couturier, 'Le Corbusier, Ronchamp', AS 11-12, July-Aug 1953, p. 29)

¹¹² A: 1955-09-00 (Capellades 1955: 26)

¹¹³ D: 1950-03-21 (Henri, AONDH). This might explain why the deeply pious Ledeur "carried all the worries" about Ronchamp (see A: 1955-09-00, Ledeur et Mathey), and why he later felt compelled to rescind his "audacity" (A: 1970s: CDAS Besançon).

In order for this covert enterprise to succeed, Couturier also had to win the confidence of Dubourg—a skill at which the Dominican apparently excelled.¹¹⁴ There is, in fact, a poignant piece of anecdotal evidence suggesting that he used the Archbishop's confidence to good effect at Ronchamp: in a conversation with a young architect in 1949, Couturier confessed that he was unsatisfied with his previous commissions, but was hopeful of his prospects for the future. "I have an Archbishop in my pocket," he said of Dubourg, "and I'm going to get Le Corbusier to build me a new Chapel."¹¹⁵

Couturier's ability to persuade Dubourg in this way—having the Archbishop's authority "in his pocket," as he boasted—suggests that the second commission for Ronchamp, much like the reorganization of the Diocesan Committee five years before, was facilitated by the inversion of power that took place after the war, when members of the French Resistance like Couturier had privately subsumed the authority of their ecclesiastical elders who had submitted to the Vichy—a situation that Pius XII and the members of the Holy Office found deeply unsettling.

¹¹⁴ A: 1950: Couturier (Duployé [1954] 2005: 213)

¹¹⁵ Rykwert 2005

1.3 PIUS XII, THE HOLY OFFICE, AND THE FRENCH HIERARCHY

THE POSTWAR RESURGENCE OF THE VATICAN

When Le Corbusier first visited Ronchamp in the spring of 1950, a major confrontation was brewing between the Dominican Order and the Catholic hierarchy. During the first years after the war, the Dominican sacred art movement, headed by Couturier and Régamey in Paris, had publicly challenged and at times openly flouted Roman Catholic Canon law. Their words and actions were thus soon brought under the scrutiny of the Vatican. In the months and years that followed, Pius XII and the Holy Office in Rome attempted to bring the Dominicans in line through the use of covert surveillance and official sanctions, but their insubordinations continued. In the end, this ideological struggle led to severe condemnations of the Dominican Order in France. It also formed the implicit foundation of the discourse about the Chapel of Ronchamp in ways that have never been detected. It is important to understand how this occurred.

Roman criticism of the French Dominicans rose in step with the Vatican's postwar political power. The Holy Office first responded to the Dominican sacred art movement in February of 1947 by denouncing deformed or grotesque representations of Christ's crucifixion.¹¹⁶ One month later, the French Dominican priest Pierre Henri-Marie Féret (1904-1992) was sanctioned for excessively liberal teachings at the convent of Saulchoir,¹¹⁷ where both Couturier and Régamey had been educated. But these early reprisals appear to have been isolated events, probably because the Vatican was then immersed in more urgent problems, including the assassination of Catholic priests¹¹⁸ and the threat of Communist takeover on the Italian peninsula.¹¹⁹

However, the political scene in Italy transformed shortly thereafter, in May 1947, when Christian Democrats, supported by US military and economic aid, forced Communist and Socialist out of the government, thereby dissipating the principal

¹¹⁶ A: 1947-02-25 (Holy Office, Directive to Bishops, 25 Feb 1947, cited in Leniaud 2005: 171)

¹¹⁷ A: 1947-03-00 (Féret, *Rome, 18 octobre-15 novembre 1953*, unpublished manuscript, cited in Leprieur 1989: 591)

¹¹⁸ A: 1946: Italy (Phayer 2000: 159)

¹¹⁹ A: 1945: Italy (Grenville 2000: 364, 572)

opposition to Vatican authority.¹²⁰ One year later, when Christian Democratic leader Alcide De Gasperi—a former Vatican employee with ties to the Roman Curia—was elected prime minister by majority vote, the threat of Communist takeover had all but disappeared.¹²¹

In November of 1947, amid the context of this new political climate, Pius XII delivered the encyclical *Mediator Dei*,¹²² the first of several official addresses to include criticism of Dominican reforms.¹²³ In March of the following year, increasing Vatican conservatism led to public denunciations of leading members of the French hierarchy who had challenged the Pope's authority.¹²⁴ Then, in June, less than two months after the ascendancy of the Italian Christian Democrats and a concomitant rise of Vatican power, the social theologian Jacques Maritain, whose writings had served as a manifesto of wartime resistance,¹²⁵ resigned from his position as French ambassador to the Holy See.¹²⁶ Under pressure from conservative French bishops, Maritain also resigned from the committee in support of the Basilica at La Sainte-Baume, headed by Couturier.¹²⁷ One by one, the political advantages of a wartime resisters began to fade away.

The onset of the Cold War had, by contrast, enhanced Pius XII's political prestige,¹²⁸ and he used his heightened international status to exert pressure upon all political factions opposed to Catholic power. His central concern was communism, which the pope redressed with a special decree on 13 July 1949 that excommunicated any Catholic “who knowingly and freely defends or spreads the materialist and anti-Christian doctrine of communism.”¹²⁹

These words were a direct response to recent events in Eastern Europe;¹³⁰ they were also an indirect rebuff of French efforts toward a more 'social' Catholicism, most persuasively expressed by Dominican writers like Dominique ‘Marcel Marie’ Chenu

¹²⁰ A: 1947-05-00 (Grenville 2000: 574)

¹²¹ A: 1948-04-18 (Grenville 2000: 574)

¹²² A: 1947-11-20 (Pius XII 1947-11-20)

¹²³ A: 1947-11-20 (Flicoteaux 1998: 49)

¹²⁴ A: 1948-03-00 (*Osservatore Romano*, Mar 1948, cited in Kent 2002: 202)

¹²⁵ A: 1941: Maritain (Maritain 1941, cited in Halls 1995: 213, 219)

A: 1943-03-00 (Maritain 1935; ‘Letter to une Éminence’, Mar 1943: AN 2 AG 492, cited in Clément 1999: 222)

¹²⁶ A: 1948-06-00 (Maritain, resignation paper, File Ambassade I, CAM, cited in Phayer 2000: 219)

¹²⁷ A: 1948-07-27—08-20 (Maritain, letter to Régamey, after 20 Aug 1948, CES D 2C 38, in Caussé 1999: 474)

¹²⁸ A: 1948: Pius XII (Phayer 2000: 158)

¹²⁹ A: 1949-07-13 (*Decretum: Responso ad dubia de communism*, AAS volume 41, 1949: 334; cited in Dunn 1977: 171)

¹³⁰ A: 1949-07-13 (Dunn 1977: 171)

(1895-1990) and Yves Congar (1904-1995), whose *nouvelle théologie* embraced class struggle as a necessary component of Christian liberation.¹³¹ The Pope's decree thus threatened two of the most influential theologians in postwar France, who, like Couturier and Régamey, had emerged from the Dominican school at Saulchoir.

By the spring of 1950, when Le Corbusier accepted the commission at Ronchamp,¹³² the authority of his Dominican patrons was under siege: their doctrines were being attacked; their chief theologians were threatened with excommunication; and, after the Sainte-Baume affair, their sacred art movement, led by Couturier and Régamey, was under close surveillance by the Holy Office—and the situation would only get worse.

DOMINICAN ART AND DOCTRINAL ERROR

In the summer of 1950, as Le Corbusier's first designs for Ronchamp began to take their definitive form,¹³³ the Dominicans inaugurated the first work of 'modern' sacred architecture, the church of Notre Dame des Toute-Grace in Assy.¹³⁴ The liturgical art for the church had been commissioned to prominent members of the French avant-garde, including the atheist Germaine Richier, the irreligious Marc Chagall,¹³⁵ and the Communist and anticlericalist Fernand Léger.¹³⁶ Several features of the program again flouted Vatican doctrine: Richier's crucifix typified the grotesque depiction of Christ that had been condemned by the Holy Office as "an offense to the doctrine and the dignity of worship";¹³⁷ and the table-like altar, modeled after early Christian precedents, openly defied condemnations set forth by Pius XII in his recent encyclical, *Mediator Dei*.¹³⁸

¹³¹ A: 1949-07-13 (Poulat 1982: 547)

¹³² D: 1950-05-06 (Ledeur, letter to LC, 6 May 1950: FLC Q1-5-74); see also Chapter 5.

¹³³ See Chapter 5.

¹³⁴ A: 1950-08-04 (Bolle-Reddat, JNDH 58, 1976, n. p 11; Bischof 2005: 17); see also:

A: 1946-04-00—04-02: Couturier

A: 1946-11-04: Assy

A: 1947: Assy

A: 1948: Assy

A: 1948-04-16: Assy

A: 1950-05-00: Couturier

¹³⁵ A: 1948: Couturier (Richier & Chagall, interviews, cited in Rubin 1961: 136, 160)

¹³⁶ A: 1946-11-04 (Léger 1933, cited Rubin 1961: 114; Léger 1934, cited in Wilson 2007: 90)

¹³⁷ A: 1947-02-25 (Holy Office, Directive to Bishops, 25 Feb 1947, cited in Leniaud 2005: 171)

¹³⁸ A: 1950-08-04 (Costantini, C. & G. 1945-49; Pius XII 1947-11-20, cited in Rubin 1961: 82)

Eight days after the inauguration, Pius XII responded with his encyclical *Humani generis*, which spelled out the rules of future engagement in no uncertain terms. Priests who were "desirous of novelty" and "presumptive enough to question theological methods," he wrote,¹³⁹ were referred back to the Code of Canon Law, and reminded of the price of doctrinal error:

*It is incumbent to flee all those errors which more or less approach heresy, and accordingly 'to keep also the constitutions and decrees by which such evil opinions are proscribed and forbidden by the Holy See'.*¹⁴⁰

True to his juridical training, Pius recited Canon Law whenever church doctrine was at stake. He also disarmed all attempts to question his judgment, including the Dominican tradition of democratic predication, by first asserting that only the Roman Catholic Church could provide a "living Teaching Authority" in matters of dogma. Pius thus insisted that the content of his encyclical was closed to "discussion among theologians."¹⁴¹ Church historians would later characterize these assertions as evidence of the Pope's "creeping infallibility," due to the almost unlimited power that they granted the Roman pontiff.¹⁴²

Pius XII's next encyclical, *Menti Nostrae*, delivered in September of 1950, applied a similar set of parameters to sacred art. Within this oration, Pius lamented the presence of priests "infected" by a contagion of "errors," who had commissioned "monstrosities of art that pretend to call themselves Christian."¹⁴³ Such men, he claimed, had allowed themselves to be "carried away by the mania of novelty."¹⁴⁴ The solution to this problem in his mind was clear: "the future priest," he insisted,

*must learn to give filial and sincere obedience to his superiors, in order to always be ready, later on, to obey his Bishop docilely, in accordance with the teaching of the invincible Athlete of Christ, Ignatius of Antioch: 'Obey ye all the bishop as Jesus Christ obeyed the Father'.*¹⁴⁵

¹³⁹ A: 1950-08-12 (Pius XII 1950-08-12)

¹⁴⁰ A: 1950-08-12 (Pius XII 1950-08-12; cited in Cornwell 1999: 338)

¹⁴¹ A: 1950-08-12 (Pius XII 1950-08-12)

¹⁴² A: 1950-08-12 (McCormick 1994: 50, 73-4)

¹⁴³ A: 1950-09-23 (Pius 1950-09-23)

¹⁴⁴ A: 1950-09-23 (Pius 1950-09-23; cited in Rubin 1961: 47-8)

¹⁴⁵ A: 1950-09-23 (Ignatius of Antioch, *Ad Smyrnaeos*, cited in Pius 1950-09-23)

With these words—"Obey ye all the bishop"—Pius insisted upon a form of ecclesiastical submission that members of the Christian resistance had repeatedly refused to obey, both during and after the war. His encyclical thus appeared on a political level as an attempt to redress the problems of postwar Catholic authority: the trend toward novelty, relativism, and insubordination must, he claimed, defer to the authority of the diocesan Bishop and the Holy See.

In making these assertions, Pius had also taken a stand that was diametrically opposed to recent efforts of the Dominicans. In Chenu's theology, for example, dogma had been described as subject to historical change and therefore open to argumentation;¹⁴⁶ and in Couturier's personal philosophy of sacred art, novelty was desirable, an essential component of creative freedom that expressed the historical development of humanity.¹⁴⁷ Such Dominican philosophies thus inevitably drew the critical attention of Rome: Chenu had been barred from teaching and had his teachings placed on the papal index during the war,¹⁴⁸ and Couturier's position was also tenuous.

In the months that followed, Couturier publicly conformed. Following diocesan regulations, Le Corbusier's designs for the Chapel at Ronchamp were twice subjected to the liturgical review of Lucien Ledeur, Secretary of the Diocesan Committee,¹⁴⁹ and shortly thereafter, a model of the Chapel was brought before Archbishop Dubourg for official review.¹⁵⁰ Despite such formalities, however, the architect had already been told privately that he would be free to do what he wished¹⁵¹—encouraged, in other words, to pursue the "mania of novelty" that the Pope so despised.¹⁵²

This tactful duplicity, in which Couturier gave the public appearance of conformity while privately seeking his own aims, was soon brought to light. In January 1951, just as the Chapel of Ronchamp was being submitted to the Diocesan Committee of

¹⁴⁶ A: 1942-02-06 (Chenu 1937: 139, cited in Boersma 2009: 211)

¹⁴⁷ « Focillon avait compris que le monde de l'art, le monde des 'formes' est un autre monde que le monde de la réalité. Il avait atteint et reconnu cette vérité, à une profondeur qui faisait de ce discernement une véritable découverte. Étant historien, il avait vu que les formes plastiques, dans le développement historique de l'humanité et de ses œuvres, ont une vie propre, qu'elles s'engendrent, se modifient, se tuent l'une l'autre selon des exigences et des lois qui ne sont pas celles du monde réel: [Il a] compris cette autonomie, presque totale, du monde des formes.» (Couturier, *Homage to Henri Focillon*, 1943, in Couturier 1958: 134-5)

¹⁴⁸ A: 1942-02-06 (Fouilloux, cited in De Montclos et al. 1982: 68; R. Chelcea 2006)

¹⁴⁹ A: 1950-10-17; A: 1950-11-24 (LC agenda, cited in Caussé 2007: 77-8)

¹⁵⁰ D: 1950-11-16 (LC, letter to Ledeur, 16 Nov 1950: FLC Q1-5-77)

A: 1950-11-29 (Flicoteaux 1998: 24)

¹⁵¹ A: 1950-04-23—24 (Ledeur, interview with Pauly, Mar 1974, cited in Pauly 1980: 27)

¹⁵² A: 1950-09-23 (Pius 1950-09-23)

Besançon for official approval,¹⁵³ a group of antimodernist French Catholics—including Monsignor Marmottin, an ardent Pétainist¹⁵⁴ who had been targeted by Bidault’s purge committee for demission¹⁵⁵—staged a violent protest against the Dominican movement.¹⁵⁶ The ostensible focus of the protest was Richier’s crucifix, which Couturier had included as a full-page spread in a recent edition of *L’Art sacré*;¹⁵⁷ but deep political resentments also lingered beneath the surface. Art and architecture had become symbols of rival ideologies.

THE HOLY OFFICE AND THE INQUISITION

The antimodernist faction of the French hierarchy quickly brought Richier’s crucifix to the attention of Monsignor Alfredo Ottaviani (1890-1979), inquisitorial assessor as the Holy Office,¹⁵⁸ who would thereafter work tirelessly, with the help of his colleague Monsignor Celso Costantini, against the Dominican sacred art movement. Their protest set in motion a bitter war of words that persisted throughout the Ronchamp commission.

Inquisitorial powers were also turned at this time against the worker-priest movement, which the Dominicans had commenced during the war, sending young Catholic seminarists into Nazi work camps to share their doctrine of salvation.¹⁵⁹ During the postwar liberation, the movement had steadily grown, as more young priests were sent into the industrial sector of French society in an effort to spread the Christian faith among the working class.¹⁶⁰ But the Vatican viewed these developments with great alarm, and quickly forced the French episcopacy to gather these young priests, much like their counterparts at *L’Art sacré*, under the authority of diocesan bishops.¹⁶¹ Both Pius XII and his secretary of ordinary affairs, Monsignor Giovanni Montini (the future Pope Paul VI), would later remark that they saw these parallel

¹⁵³ A: 1951-01-12 (Ledeur, letter to Henri, 12 Jan [1951]: AONDH)

A: 1951-01-20 (Henri, letter to Bolle-Reddat, 28 Aug 1979; cited in JNDH 72, 1983, p. 21)

¹⁵⁴ A: 1944-07-09 (Marmottin, Bulletin diocésain, 25 Jan 1942, cited in Vallat 1944)

¹⁵⁵ A: 1945-04-10—23 (Tixier, letter to Laffon & Latreille, 23 Apr 1945, AN F-1A-3351)

¹⁵⁶ A: 1951-01-04 (Rubin 1961: 49; Caussé 2010: 504-5)

¹⁵⁷ A: 1950-05-00 (Couturier, ‘Aux grands hommes, les grands choses’, AS 9-10, May-June 1950)

¹⁵⁸ A: 1951-01-04 (Sevregand 1994: 343-8, cited in Fouilloux 1999: 266-7)

¹⁵⁹ A: 1943-03-02 (Suhard 1965: 90; cited in Halls 1995: 329)

¹⁶⁰ A: 1943-04-30 (Poulat 1965: 259-270, cited in Arnal 1986: 58; Halls 1995: 385-6)

¹⁶¹ A: 1951-02-10 (Leprieur 1989: 303)

A: 1951-04-05 (Dansette 1957: 219-20)

Dominican developments, involving both the ministry and sacred art, as a "general line of errors."¹⁶²

In the two years that followed the protest of the Richier crucifix, from June 1951 to July 1953, a tense ideological struggle was waged between the Vatican and the Dominican sacred art movement, in which the rival factions defined their respective aims and pronounced their grievances in print: members of the Holy Office voiced authoritative opinions within its official, international journal, the *Osservatore Romano*; while Couturier and Régamey responded within the pages of the Dominican publication *L'Art sacré*. It began in the summer of 1951, when Cardinal Costantini launched an attack on the Dominicans' artistic program that was widely disseminated in both Italian and French.¹⁶³ Father Couturier responded in the next edition of *L'Art sacré* with a smug retort:

*In the future, it will be recalled that the renewal of Christian art took place on 20 January 1951, when a Diocesan Committee for Sacred Art, presided by the Archbishop and his Auxiliary, reviewed and unanimously approved seventeen sketches by Fernand Léger, the layout of a large mosaic by Bazaine, and Le Corbusier's plans for a church at Ronchamp. When such projects, representing what is purest and strongest in the living arts, can be accepted by high ecclesiastical authority, we can be sure that something has changed in the Church of France.*¹⁶⁴

In response to Costantini's prior attack, the Dominican presented a group of the most controversial members of the French avant-garde, united under the cause of Gallican Christianity, and working loyally under the Diocesan Committee, the Archbishop, and Canon Law. Couturier's remarks within this heavily scrutinized context were the first public recognition of Le Corbusier's commission—a disclosure that would have deeply troubled Vatican authorities. The priest evidently relished controversy.

And so it went over the course of two years: while Le Corbusier pursued his creative process in near complete freedom and Vatican authorities grew increasingly incensed,

¹⁶² A: 1953-10-07—09 (D'Ormesson, quoting Montini, 9 Oct 1953; cited in Leprieur 1989: 294)

A: 1953-11-05 (D'Ormesson, quoting Pius XII, 14 Nov 1953, ESS 26-26, p. 5; cited in Leprieur 1989: 343)

¹⁶³ A: 1951-06-10 (Costantini, *Osservatore Romano*, 10 June 1951, p. 1; cited in Rubin 1961: 54)

A: 1951-07-03 (*La Croix*, 3 July & 24 Aug 1951; cited in Caussé 2010: 507)

A: 1951-08-20 (Costantini, *Osservatore Romano*, 20 Aug 1951; cited in Rubin 1961: 56)

¹⁶⁴ A: 1951-09-30 (Couturier, 'Audincourt', in AS 11-12, Jul-Aug 1951, p. 102)

the editors of *L'Art sacré* held steadfast by their principles, engaged with unabashed confidence in a trenchant ideological struggle that they could not possibly win.

VATICAN SPIES AND OFFICIAL SANCTIONS

Pius XII and the Holy Office had two distinct advantages in this war on words. First, throughout the struggles of the Second World War, Pius had cultivated a highly disciplined papal entourage characterized by secrecy, allegiance, and the mastery of modern techniques of cryptography and espionage,¹⁶⁵ which were soon turned upon the Dominicans. Information was thus repeatedly extracted from the nuncio, Monsignor Marella;¹⁶⁶ from several French ecclesiastical moles;¹⁶⁷ from provincial bishops with diocesan authority;¹⁶⁸ and from well-placed spies in significant locations. A victim of the latter technique described this aspect of Vatican policy as a true police system, which was as extensive as it was effective, and strategically aimed at individuals whom the Holy Office deemed "dangerous."¹⁶⁹ Couturier, Régamey, and their former colleagues at Saulchoir were thus under heavy surveillance.

Secondly, the Vatican had ultimate authority over the Dominican Order and its members, and could impose this authority through punitive sanctions when needed. Throughout the critical period of this ideological struggle—which corresponds almost exactly to the duration of Le Corbusier's design work for Ronchamp—sanctions thus fell with increasing frequency and severity. The discipline of the worker-priests in the summer of 1951, mentioned above, was the first such instance, which was followed by many others: Couturier was sanctioned for his promotion of the Chapel at Vence in January 1952;¹⁷⁰ the published works of theologian Yves Congar, who had criticized Church hierarchy, were banned shortly thereafter;¹⁷¹ and the worker-priests were finally recalled from active duty in the following year, in September of 1953.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁵ A: 1948-05-22 (Parsons memorandum, 22 May 1948, NARA; 'Cryptographic Codes and Ciphers: Vatican Code Systems', NARA, cited in Alvarez & Graham 1997: 149-50, 177)

A: 1948-05-22 (Alvarez & Graham 1997: 149-50, 176-7)

¹⁶⁶ A: 1950-05-00 (Féret, 'Note autour d'une grève', May 1950, cited in Leprieur 1989: 39, 406)

¹⁶⁷ A: 1951-07-22 (D'Ormesson, 22 July 1951, ESS 26-21, pp. 15-6, cited in Leprieur 1989: 404)

¹⁶⁸ A: 1952-11-13 (Suarez, letter to père Avril, 13 Nov 1952, cited in Leprieur 1989: 36, 505)

¹⁶⁹ A: 1953-11-13 (Féret, letter to père Kopf, 13 Nov 1953, cited in Leprieur 1989: 404)

¹⁷⁰ A: 1952-01-30—02-06 (Caussé 2010: 518)

¹⁷¹ A: 1952-01-30—02-06 (Fouilloux 1983, cited in Leprieur 1989: 591)

¹⁷² A: 1953-08-24 (Marella, Directive from Rome, 24 Aug 1953, cited in Dansette 1957: 268)

One week later, the construction of the Chapel at Ronchamp broke ground just as the worst Papal repressions commenced.¹⁷³ Later that same month, the Vatican ordered a partial termination of the worker-priest movement;¹⁷⁴ and then, in October, Cardinal Giuseppe Pizzardo (1877-1970), Secretary of the Holy Office, railed against the "spirit of insubordination and indiscipline toward official authority" that he had seen in certain religious orders.¹⁷⁵ Shortly thereafter, the aged Cardinal Feltin—who had been the first among all French bishops to profess loyalty to Vichy¹⁷⁶—lambasted former members of the French Catholic Resistance, who had learned from the BBC that they "must not obey the demands of established authority, but follow their own conscience," a practice that had taught them only to "doubt so strongly the Holy Father."¹⁷⁷ The tables had turned; the rule of renegade priests was over.

Two days later the convocations began: three Dominicans, including Father Boisselot, publishing director in charge of the journal *L'Art sacré*, were summoned to Rome by the Holy Office.¹⁷⁸ The following week, the three French Cardinals Feltin, Liénart, Gerlier were brought before Pius XII in order to surrender the "general line" of doctrinal errors to Vatican authority.¹⁷⁹

Back in France, the dénouement befell: on 19 January 1954, the worker-priests were formally disbanded, and informed by the French episcopacy that their Christian faith should "lead them to submission."¹⁸⁰ Father Chenu, informed of the event in advance, privately penned a cogent response: "when I made a vow of obedience," he wrote,

*it was for a defined purpose... Obedience is not an empty vessel, a 'voluntary' imperative, in which one first obeys, and then sees what happens.*¹⁸¹

He and his confrères subsequently refused to submit. Two weeks later, members of the movement published their final manifesto in the Parisian press, in blatant rebellion against Vatican authority. The text condemned the injustices of capitalism and the

¹⁷³ A: 1953-09-00 (Caussé 2007: 76)

¹⁷⁴ A: 1953-09-17—23 (Marella, verbal directive, 23 Sept 1953, cited in Leprieur 1989: 40, 409; Arnal 1986: 145)

¹⁷⁵ A: 1953-10-07—09 (Pizzardo, letter to Suarez, 7 Oct 1953, cited in Leprieur 1989: 501)

¹⁷⁶ A: 1940-07-26 (*L'Aquitaine*, 26 July 1940, p. 238, cited in Clément 1999: 30)

¹⁷⁷ A: 1953-10-18 (Feltin, retreat conference, 18 Oct 1953: DC 1158-1305, cited in Leprieur 1989: 261)

¹⁷⁸ A: 1953-10-20—28 (Poulat 1965: 414ff, cited in Leprieur 1989: 41)

¹⁷⁹ A: 1953-11-04—05 (Arnal 1986: 149; D'Ormesson, ESS 26-26, p. 5, cited in Leprieur 1989: 343)

¹⁸⁰ A: 1954-01-19—20 (ACA, lettre aux prêtres ouvriers, 19 Jan 1954: DC 1168-297, cited in Leprieur 1989: 576)

¹⁸¹ A: 1954-01-12—16 (Chenu, letter to l'abbé Le Sourd, 12 Jan 1954, cited in Leprieur 1989: 265)

bourgeois religion said to support it. The Church hierarchy, the authors claimed, had become "habituated to place religion in the service of their own interests, and the prejudices of class."¹⁸²

The Vatican received word of their manifesto on February 4, 1954. The severity of the Roman Curia's response was unprecedented: Dominican insubordination had become so widespread that the Holy Office threatened to suppress the independence of the Order by abolishing their historical right to elect their own provincial leaders through democratic processes,¹⁸³ and to curtail their theological independence by closing their teaching seminaries. These decisions had been made under the pressure of a dominant current of the both the French and Roman hierarchy who were adamantly opposed to the revolutionary developments in Gallican Catholicism.¹⁸⁴

Couturier was immediately notified that the Dominican journal *L'Art sacré* was, from that day forward, suspended from publication and formally suppressed by a Roman interdict.¹⁸⁵ However, the priest had shrewdly foreseen during the Sainte-Baume affair in the autumn of 1953 that his actions might bring official sanctions against the publication, so he had moved it from a production facility that had close ties with the Vatican into a secular press, La Tour-Maubourg, over which Rome had no authority. The journal was thus saved from official termination.¹⁸⁶

Two days later, the Head of the Dominican Order was sent to Paris to oversee a "grand purge" of Catholic dissenters.¹⁸⁷ Provincial leaders in Paris, Lyon, and Toulouse received their demission,¹⁸⁸ and five preeminent members of the Order were suspended, exiled from Paris, and forbidden to publish: Fathers Chenu and Congar, the preeminent French theologians; Father Féret, the chair of the Catholic Institute in Paris; Father Boisselot, the director of *L'Art sacré*; and Father Couturier, its most outspoken theorist.¹⁸⁹ All of them had been educated and remained associated with the Dominican teaching school at Saulchoir,¹⁹⁰ which the Holy Office had evidently

¹⁸² A: 1954-02-02—04 ('Manifeste des 73', in *La Quinzaine and l'Humanité*, cited in Leprieur 1989: 69-70)

¹⁸³ A: 1954-02-04 (Congar, *Chronique de la petite purge*, manuscript, 1954, cited in Leprieur 1989: 66)

¹⁸⁴ A: 1954-02-04 (Bouche, notes manuscrites sur ses entretiens avec Suarez, in Leprieur 1989: 69)

¹⁸⁵ A: 1954-02-05 (Couturier, letter to Régamey; cited in Caussé 1999: 264)

¹⁸⁶ A: 1954-02-05 (Capellades, interview, in Caussé 1999: 268)

¹⁸⁷ A: 1954-02-06—07 (Congar, *Chronique de la petite purge*, manuscript, 1954, cited in Leprieur 1989: 77-82)

¹⁸⁸ A: 1954-02-06—07 (Dansette 1957: 286)

¹⁸⁹ A: 1954-02-06—07 (Régamey, interview with Caussé, 1991, cited in Caussé 2010: 194)

¹⁹⁰ A: 1954-02-06—07 (Caussé 2010: 225)

targeted as a center of insubordination. The leaders of both the worker-priest and sacred art movements were removed from their posts, and their collective efforts were condemned as an example of "disobedience to the Holy Office and to the Hierarchy."¹⁹¹

The news of Couturier's own demission evidently took the Dominican by surprise. While recovering from a chronic illness in a Parisian hospital, he received word of his pending exile, fell into an asthmatic fit and died.¹⁹² His sudden disappearance, at the age of 56, followed the unforeseen death of Archbishop Dubourg nine days before, in the tense days between the suppression of the worker-priests and the Dominican purge. Dubourg was one of three French bishops who knew of the pending suppressions, and had been in close contact with the Vatican authorities, who had just promoted him to 'Assistant to the Pontifical Throne.'¹⁹³ A second wave of condemnations soon removed Régamey from the editorial staff of *L'Art sacré*.¹⁹⁴ Struck by the resurgent power of a postwar inquisition, the leaders of the Dominican sacred art movement fell silent.

¹⁹¹ A: 1954-02-07—08 (Bouche, manuscript, 8 Feb 1954, cited in Leprieur 1989: 516)

¹⁹² A: 1954-02-08—09 (Régamey, interview, in Caussé 2010: 194) Caussé claimed that Couturier died "without having heard the news" of the Dominican condemnations. However, the condemnations took place within his own convent, and involved his own colleagues, who then immediately launched a communal response in which word was quickly disseminated to all those affected (Bouche, agenda 1954; cited in Leprieur 1989: 75-7). This suggests, to my mind, that it is likely Couturier would have been informed. There is evidence of this transmission: in a letter that Le Corbusier wrote to his mistress two years later, the architect stated that Couturier "died very suddenly in the hospital [...] following the violent shock he received when Rome took her dramatic decisions against the 'worker priests' [...]" (LC, letter to Tjader Harris, 6 Oct 1956; cited in Weber 2008: 721).

¹⁹³ A: 1954-01-31 (*La Croix*, 2 Feb 1954, p. 1; cited in Caussé 1999: 557). Dubourg had written a few months before that "a Bishop must live for the Church and be ready to die for it" (Dubourg, personal journal, Oct 1953; cited in L. Ledeur 1954: 26). Father Saurez, another high-ranking ecclesiastic who had served the Vatican's cause, also died suddenly in similar circumstances during 1954 (Leprieur 1989: 597). Both were involved in the suppression of the worker-priests.

¹⁹⁴ A: 1954-02-19 (Régamey, interview with Caussé, 1991; cited in Caussé 2010: 194)

I.4 LE CORBUSIER AND THE POLITICS OF POSTWAR LIBERATION

THE LIBERATION OF PARIS

When the Dominican patrons first visited Le Corbusier's Parisian atelier in March 1950,¹⁹⁵ the architect had successfully rehabilitated his postwar political image and resuscitated his architectural career. After the expulsion of German troops and the Liberation of Paris, his connections to influential technocrats in the first Provisional Government brought a series of promising commissions. Few of these postwar patrons, however, could have known of Le Corbusier's extensive involvement with the Vichy government during the war, and fewer still the danger that he faced after Pétain's fall.

Four years earlier, after the German invasion of Paris, the architect had repeatedly courted the favor of Vichy ministers.¹⁹⁶ After the armistice on 17 June 1940, his ongoing efforts won numerous architectural and urban commissions,¹⁹⁷ as well as membership in a series of governmental cabinets,¹⁹⁸ often with the Marshal's explicit approval.¹⁹⁹ In the midst of German Occupation, Le Corbusier had also worked

¹⁹⁵ A: 1950-03-15—29 (Henri, note, 21 Mar 1950: AONDH; Caussé 2007: 71)

¹⁹⁶ A: 1940-06-18: Charles Pomaret and Yves Bouthillier (Badouï 1987: 456)

A: 1940-06-18: Marcel Peyrouton and Paul Baudouin (Badouï 1987: 456)

A: 1940-07-03: René Belin (LC, letters to Marie, 3 July, Vichy, FLC R2 4 10; and 2 Aug 1940, Ozon, FLC R2-4-11, in Weber 2008: 418)

A: 1940-10-18: M. Meaux (Meaux, letter to LC, 18 Oct 1940, in McLeod 1985a: 384)

A: 1940-11-25: Marcel Peyrouton and Jean Giraudoux (LC, letter to Marie, 17 Jan 1941, in Weber 2008: 430)

A: 1940-12-27: Jean Picard (Picard, letter to LC, 27 Dec 1940, McLeod 1985a: 384)

A: 1941-06-30: Maxime Weygand (LC, 'Plan d'urbanisation d'Alger', in Cantier 2002: 247)

A: 1941-08-11: Lucien Romier (McLeod 1985a: 385)

A: 1941-11-01: Charles Trochu (LC, postcard to Marie, 6 Nov 1941, in Weber 2008: 440)

A: 1942-08-07: Jean Baudry (Baudry, letter to LC, 7 Aug 1942; LC-Baudry, 'Note de Le Corbusier à M. Jean Baudry, du Cabinet du Marechal à Vichy', 4 Nov 1942, in McLeod 1985a: 395)

A: 1943-01-08—02-12: Louis Hauteceur (Hauteceur, letter to Pétain, 12 Feb 1943, in Weber 2008: 456)

A: 1944-03-11: André Prothin (Prothin, letter to LC, in Catllar 2010: 10)

¹⁹⁷ A: 1940-08-18: Lannemezan (LC, letter to Jean Badovici, 18 Aug 1940: FLC E1-5-38, in Jenger 2002: 267)

A: 1941-06-16: Algiers (LC, 'Intervention de M. Le Corbusier à la séance du plan de la région d'Alger le 16 Jun 1941', in McLeod 1985a: 387-8)

A: 1941-11-01: Paris, Lot insalubre n. 6 (LC, postcard to Marie, 6 Nov 1941, in Weber 2008: 440)

A: 1942-04-01—05: Algiers ('Propositions en vue de la création d'un comité d'études de l'habitation et de l'urbanisme pour l'Algérie', Algiers, 5 Apr 1942, manuscript, in McLeod 1985a: 388)

A: 1944-03-11: Saint-Gaudens (Prothin, letter to LC, in Catllar 2010: 10)

¹⁹⁸ A: 1941-01-15—02-15: Temporary appointment (Meaux, Ordre de Mission, 15 Jan 1941, in McLeod 1985a: 384)

A: 1941-01-15—02-15: Comité d'études du Bâtiment (Boll, Ordre de Mission, 1 Feb 1941, in McLeod 1985a: 385, 409)

A: 1941-05-27: Comité d'études de l'Habitation et de la Construction Immobilière (*Journal Officiel* 73, n. 148, 29 May 1941, p. 2241, in McLeod 1985a: 385, 409)

A: 1942-03-19: Comité d'études de l'Habitation et l'Urbanisme de Paris (LC, 'Decree relative to the organization of CEHUP', n.d., in McLeod 1985a: 395-6)

¹⁹⁹ A: 1941-03-29 (LC, letter to Marie and Albert, 28-30 Mar 1941, FLC R2-4-28, in Jenger 2002: 275)

actively for the promotion of Vichy's state-sponsored youth movement,²⁰⁰ praised Pétain's political authority in print,²⁰¹ contributed to a collaborationist journal,²⁰² and published favorable words concerning Hitler and his youth movement.²⁰³ As Allied forces prepared the Normandy invasion, the architect continued to work actively for the eugenicist Alexis Carrel, whose French Foundation for the Study of Human Problems (*Fondation française pour l'étude des problèmes humain*) had partnerships with almost every governmental ministry.²⁰⁴

It was not until 20 April 1944, after the French Committee of National Liberation at Algiers had officially charged all Vichy ministers with treason,²⁰⁵ and Radio London had broadcast a warning that traitors were "known, catalogued, and labeled" and would shortly be tracked down,²⁰⁶ that Le Corbusier relinquished membership within Carrel's foundation and finally dissociated himself from his long tenure at Vichy.²⁰⁷ The following day, De Gaulle issued an official decree establishing regulations for the prosecution of Pétain and his ministers,²⁰⁸ which were finalized on 26 August 1944 in a judicial ordinance listing the specific acts of "national indignity" that would be subject, upon the expulsion of Occupation forces, to official sanctions.²⁰⁹ Le Corbusier and many of his Vichy colleagues could, on the basis of these statutes, be found guilty on numerous counts.²¹⁰

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- A: 1941-05-27 (LC, letter to Marie and Albert, 2 June 1941, in Jenger 2002: 277)
A: 1941-07-18 (Jardel, letter to de Pierrefeu, 18 July 1941: FLC-D1-08, in Badouï 1987: 457)
A: 1942-03-19 (LC, letter to Marie, 19 Mar 1942, Vichy, in Weber 2008: 447)
A: 1942-04-01—05 (LC, letter to Marie, 4 Apr 1942, Algiers, in Weber 2008: 415)
²⁰⁰ A: 1940-09-25 (LC, 'Les Maisons Murondins: un petit cadeau à mes amis Les Compagnons de France', manuscript, 25 Sept 1940, cited in McLeod 1985a: 383, 408)
A: 1941-03-21: (LC, letter to Marie and Albert, 28-30 Mar 1941: FLC R2-4-28, in Jenger 2002: 274)
A: 1942-03-28 (LC, letter to Marie, 28 Mar 1942, in Jenger 2002: 280; Weber 2008: 449)
²⁰¹ A: 1940-10-21 (LC, *Destin de Paris*, 1941, pp. 39, 60)
²⁰² A: 1941-01-15—02-15 (LC 1941d. 'Le logis nouveau'. In *Construire la France. I, Urbanisme d'Aujourd'hui*, 15 fév. 1941. Paris: Sequana; in Badouï 1987: 457)
²⁰³ A: 1941-06-02 (LC 1941a: 165-6; bleached and omitted from the English translation)
²⁰⁴ A: 1940-01-17 (LC, letter to Jean Paulhan, 17 Jan 1940, in Jenger 2002: 265)
A: 1941-11-17 (Le Couédic 2005: 48)
A: 1942-03-07 (LC, letter to Carrel, 7 Mar 1942, Vézelay, in Weber 2008: 448)
A: 1943-02-00: LC: technical consultant in department of bio-sociology (Le Couédic 1995: 58)
A: 1943-05-20 (Reggiani 2007: 150)
A: 1943-07-01: Biosociologie: la décentralisation industrielle et la décongestion urbaine (Conférence des collaborateurs immédiats du régent [Carrel], 1 July 1943: AN 2 AG 78, in Drouard 1992: 443)
A: 1943-12-03--24: Technical advisor on sanitary conditions (J. Merlet, letter to LC, Vichy, in Weber 2008: 462)
A: 1943-12-03--24: Département de biosociologie (Perroux, Rapport sur l'activité du département de biosociologie transmettaient au régent Alexis Carrel, 24 Dec 1943, in Drouard 1992: 211-2)
²⁰⁵ A: 1944-03-15 (CNR charter, 15 May 1944, in Novick 1968: vii, 36-8, 198; Paxton 1972: 286)
²⁰⁶ A: 1944-04-12 (Pierre Dac, Radio London, 12 Apr 1944, in Lottman 1968: 30)
²⁰⁷ A: 1944-04-20 (LC, letter of demission to Carrel, 20 Apr 1944, FLC, E2-18-240, in Le Couédic 1995: 58)
²⁰⁸ A: 1944-04-21 (*Journal officiel de la République française*, Algiers, 22 Apr 1944, in Lottman 1968: 48-9, 185)
²⁰⁹ A: 1944-08-26 (Comité française de la Libération nationale, 26 Aug 1944, in Novick 1968: 144-8)
²¹⁰ See notes 197-204 above.

In September, after the Liberation of Paris,²¹¹ De Gaulle's Provisional Government was transferred to the French capital, and a purge commission was established under the new Minister of Justice, François de Menthon,²¹² who actively targeted Pétain's ministers.²¹³ Membership in any of the Marshal's cabinets was defined as a punishable offense, which could be suspended for those who had 'rehabilitated' themselves through subsequent military action against Axis forces, or through active participation in the French Resistance.²¹⁴ That autumn, amid a political climate much like civil war, vigilante justice and summary executions ensued in newly liberated territories,²¹⁵ and a legion of eleventh-hour freedom fighters emerged to aid the Allied cause. Former Vichy stalwarts shed all evidence of their wartime allegiances,²¹⁶ and, in what was often a bid for personal survival, donned the colors of the '*résistants de septembre*.'²¹⁷

Amid this upheaval, Le Corbusier responded tactfully. In September, he joined the National Front of Architects, a Communist organization for which he hoped to serve as an "active wing."²¹⁸ Then, as the mass arrest of Vichy suspects in Paris came to a close,²¹⁹ and the French military police began to track down persons misusing resistance credentials,²²⁰ he published an article in the circular of the *Neuilly-Résistance*,²²¹ providing a timely association with the conquering army. Finally, in mid-November, as De Gaulle prepared the arraignment of Vichy ministers before the High Court of Justice,²²² the architect readied the first printing his new biography, *Le Corbusier, or Architecture in Service of Man*, (*Le Corbusier, ou architecture en service de l'homme*),²²³ which had been targeted for publication with the Parisian editor Robert Denoël at the critical hour of postwar judgment.²²⁴

²¹¹ A: 1944-08-24 (Dansette, *Libération de Paris*, pp. 334-39, in Blumenson 1993: 615)

²¹² A: 1944-09-09—14 (Lottman 1986: 123)

²¹³ A: 1944-09-09—14 (*Combat*, Paris, 10 Oct 1944, in Novick 1968: 172)

²¹⁴ A: 1944-08-26 (Comité française de la Libération nationale, 26 Aug 1944, in Novick 1968: 144-8)

²¹⁵ A: 1944-09-23—28: Executions and shearings (*L'Humanité*, Paris, 28 Sept 1944, in Lottman 1986: 88-9)

A: 1944-09-23—28: Settling of scores: 8000-9000 deaths (Paxton 1972: 329)

²¹⁶ A: 1944-10-23 (Baruch 1997: 429)

²¹⁷ A: 1944-09-29—10-15 (Farge, *Rebelles, soldats et citoyens*, 1945, p. 216, in Lottman 1968: 105; Novick 1968: 148)

²¹⁸ A: 1944-09-29—10-15 (LC, note pour le conseil de direction de l'ASCORAL, 29 Sep 1944, FLC D-3-8)

²¹⁹ A: 1944-09-29—10-15 (Ministère de la Guerre, Direction de la Gendarmerie, synthesis of 15 Sep-15 Oct 1944: AN 72 AJ 384, cited in Lottman 1986: 86)

²²⁰ A: 1944-09-29—10-15 (Farge, *Rebelles, soldats et citoyens*, 1945, pp. 216ff, in Lottman 1968: 105)

²²¹ A: 1944-09-29—10-15 LC, 'La science du logis', *Neuilly-Résistance, Organe officiel du Comité de résistance de Neuilly-sur-Seine*, 15 Oct 1944, cited in Badouï 1987: 458-9)

²²² A: 1944-11-18 (*Journal Officiel*, 19 Nov 1944, in Novick 1968: 155; Paxton 1972: 330, 393; Lottman 1986: 171)

²²³ Correspondence concerning this biography (Gauthier 1944) commenced in the 1930s (Gauthier, letter to LC, 14 Jan 1934, FLC E2 03 97; LC, letter to Gauthier, 22 Jan 1935, FLC E2 03 87). The project was then revived in the summer of 1942, following the defeat of Le Corbusier's 'Plan Directeur' at Algiers (Gauthier, letter to LC, 9 Aug 1942, FLC E2 03 98), and, just prior to the battle of El Alamein and the Allied landing in North Africa, given the title, 'Architecture et Révolution, l'exemple de Le Corbusier'. (LC, note for Gauthier, 25 Sep 1942, FLC E2 03 89)

²²⁴ A: 1943-06-00 (LC, note for Gauthier, FLC E2 03 95)

The text was ostensibly attributed to author Maximilien Gauthier, but its contents had been carefully arranged by Le Corbusier. He left little to chance: the narrative was based upon his own publications,²²⁵ and followed an outline that he had provided, in which his early education,²²⁶ humanist doctrine, and architectural oeuvre were all described in a series of preordained chapters.²²⁷ In a brilliant polemic that made clever use of his enemies' accusations,²²⁸ the reader was educated about the "chorus of hatred and proscription" that had long suppressed the architect's career—a labyrinthine defense that suggested, but never clearly defined, the proper postwar allegiances.²²⁹ The accompanying text instead described him as a disinterested "artist, poet, and form-giver,"²³⁰ an "irreproachable man"²³¹ not given to politics, who had only met with Chiefs of State and Ministers to realize his urban plans.²³²

Le Corbusier's biography was delivered to national outlets just as De Gaulle established the High Court by November decree.²³³ Several of the architect's colleagues were promptly caught in the net: Alexis Carrel, suspended from his functions and hiding in Paris, was pursued by the Resistance,²³⁴ suffered a heart attack and died;²³⁵ Robert Denoël, who had published Le Corbusier's biography, was arraigned for "national indignity"²³⁶ and found dead on a dark street in Paris before his case could be brought to trial;²³⁷ and Hubert Lagardelle, who had co-edited the journals *Plans* and *Prelude* with the architect in the 1930s, and had joined him in Vichy in the fateful September of 1940,²³⁸ was targeted by one of de Gaulle's purge committees and sentenced to life in prison.²³⁹ In the heat of Liberation, political miscues proved costly.²⁴⁰

²²⁵ A: 1942-08-12 (Gauthier, letter to LC, 12 Aug 1942, FLC E2 03 100)

²²⁶ A: 1943-06-00 (LC, note for Gauthier, n.d., FLC E2 03 94)

²²⁷ A: 1942-09-25 (LC, note for Gauthier, 25 Sept 1942, FLC E3 03 96)

²²⁸ A: 1942-09-25: LC, note for Gauthier, 25 Sept 1942, FLC E3 03 96)

A: 1943-06-00 (LC, note for Gauthier, after May 1943, FLC E2 03 527; LC, note for Gauthier, FLC E2 03 95)

²²⁹ A: 1944-11-07 (Gauthier 1944: 163-218)

²³⁰ A: 1944-11-07 (Gauthier 1944: 109)

²³¹ A: 1944-11-07 (Gauthier 1944: 222)

²³² A: 1944-11-07 (Gauthier 1944: 213)

²³³ A: 1944-11-18 (*Journal Officiel*, 19 Nov 1944, in Novick 1968: 155; Paxton 1972: 330, 393; Lottman 1986: 171)

²³⁴ A: 1944-08-21 (*New York Times*, 29 Aug 1944, in Reggiani 2007: 160-2)

²³⁵ A: 1944-11-05 (Reggiani 2007: 162)

²³⁶ A: 1945-03-00 (*Circulaire Hachette*, n. 1, Mar 1945, AN 72 AJ 383, in Novick 1968: 126; Lottman 1986: 253)

²³⁷ A: 1945-12-00 (AN F12 9640, in Lottman 1986: 234, 237)

²³⁸ A: 1940-09-18 (LC, letter to Yvonne, 18 Sept 1940, Vichy, in Jenger 2002: 271-2; LC, letter to Marie, 31 Oct 1940, FLC R2-4-17T)

A: 1940-10-01 (LC, letter to Marie and Albert, 1 Oct 1940, FLC R2-4-16T)

²³⁹ A: 1946-07-17 (Novick 1968: 181, 222; McLeod 1980: 514)

²⁴⁰ From 1944 to 1951, nearly 125,000 French men and women were tried for collusion with Vichy and collaboration with the Nazis, resulting in 49,723 verdicts of "national degradation"; 10,637 terms of hard labor; 3910 death sentences in absentia; 2853 death sentences in the presence of the accused, of which 767 were carried out; and 2702 sentences of life at hard labor. (A: 1951: French courts. André Boissarie, *La Répression*, Paris, 1949, p.

Le Corbusier was careful to avoid them. To conceal his past, he created a consistent story about the period of German Occupation that obscured his involvement in Vichy. In August of 1945, during an interview with the *Architectural Forum*, the architect claimed that he had been denied all clients during the war; then, in the fourth volume of the *Œuvre complète*, published in 1946, an anonymous article claimed that he had also been "expelled from all committees and commissions operating since 1940";²⁴¹ and later, in 1947, he was cited in the *New York Times*, and again stated that he had been "given no work in France until the Liberation."²⁴² Such statements served to exonerate the architect from wrongdoing while French courts were in session; but they also broke a pact with the reader who might expect his words to follow demonstrable facts.

At the time, of course, few people knew of the architect's involvement at Vichy, and those who did were telling similar stories, in an effort to save their own careers, and sometimes their lives. Gauthier's biography was the first of many memoirs penned by former Vichy ministers who would similarly deny the nature of their involvement with the National Revolution, and the specific tasks that they had performed under Pétain's anti-Semitic regime. By the time Jean Petit published Le Corbusier's posthumous autobiography in 1970, the Vichy memoir had become a standard postwar genre, and the text added another voice to a growing chorus of self-exonerating stories,²⁴³ which proliferated for decades. Consensual silence threw a veil over the past.²⁴⁴

8; Émile Garçon, *Code pénal annoté*, Paris, 1952-59, I, p. 266; *Journal Officiel*, AN Debates, 12 Dec 1951, p. 9100, 12 July 1952, p. 3539, 21 Oct 1952, p. 4248, 23 Mar 1958, p. 1213; *Compte général de l'administration de la justice civile et commerciale et de la justice criminelle: 1944 à 1947*, Melun, 1951, pp. 262-4; in Novick 1968: 184-7, 213-21)

²⁴¹ A: 1946 (Boesiger 1946: 124)

²⁴² A: 1947-05-03 (Hellman, 'Profiles: From within to without II', *The New Yorker*, 3 May 1947, pp. 44-6, in McLeod 1985: 417-8)

²⁴³ A: 1940-10-31: De Gaulle (LC, letter to Marie, 31 Oct 1940, Ozon, FLC R2-4-17T, in Weber 2008: 427-8; Petit 1970: 86)

A: 1941-03-28—04-01: Argentina (LC, letters to Marie and Albert, 28-30 Mar 1941, FLC R2-4-28; 2 June 1941, in Jenger 2002: 274, 278; Petit 1970: 86, 92)

A: 1941-06-02: Order of Architects (LC, 'Demande de dérogation au titre de la loi du 17 juillet 1940', 2 June 1941, in Weber 2008: 437; Petit 1970: 86, 92)

A: 1941-11-01: Commissions (LC, postcard to Marie, 6 Nov 1941; telegram to Marie, 8 Nov 1941, in Weber 2008: 440; Petit 1970: 86)

A: 1943-12-00—1944-01-00: Darnand (Bertram Gordon, 'Un soldat du facisme: l'évolution politique de Joseph Darnand', RHDGM 82, Oct 1977, pp. 43-70, in Marrus & Paxton 1981: 335; Petit 1970: 93)

²⁴⁴ A: 1946-1989 (Du Moulin de Labarthète 1946; Laval 1948; Baudouin 1948; Peyrouton 1950; Bouthillier 1950; Weygand 1950-57; Carpopino 1953; Leguay 1959; Juin 1959-60; Scapini 1966; Barthélemy 1989)

THE UNITÉ D'HABITATION

Rehabilitation required careful positioning. Le Corbusier thus turned his attention toward the men in power who might help him rebuild his status and secure new commissions. Eugène Claudius-Petit (1907-1989), a founding member of the National Council of Resistance in Algiers and a confidant of De Gaulle,²⁴⁵ became the architect's political advocate in the Provisional Government, and put forth his candidature for the position of director of Urbanism and Reconstruction.²⁴⁶ Raoul Dautry (1880-1951), who had been named director of De Gaulle's ministry of Reconstruction and Urbanism in November 1944,²⁴⁷ made Le Corbusier a founding member his new architectural council,²⁴⁸ and granted him coveted projects at La Rochelle-La Pallice, where he was to serve as head urbanist,²⁴⁹ and also at Marseille, where he would be provided with state funding to design and build his first postwar housing block, the *Unité d'habitation*.²⁵⁰ Dautry's colleague André Prothin (1902-1971), who served as Director of Urbanism under both Pétain and De Gaulle, summoned Le Corbusier back to a prior project at Saint-Gaudens,²⁵¹ where he had first served as leading urbanist in 1943, under the auspices of Vichy.²⁵²

Le Corbusier also quickly reconvened professional contacts with leading industrialists, such as Jean-Jacques Duval (b. 1912), whose factory in Saint-Dié had been destroyed during the Germans' retreat in November,²⁵³ and André Jaoul (1894-1954), whose position as co-director of the French electrical engineering company Ugines had continued under both Pétain and De Gaulle.²⁵⁴ Such prominent governmental and technocratic affiliations helped Le Corbusier gain additional commissions,²⁵⁵ rebuild his architecture staff,²⁵⁶ and successfully reposition himself within the shifting structures of

²⁴⁵ A: 1943-06-03—07 (Badouï 1987b: 101)

²⁴⁶ A: 1944-09-29—10-15 (Badouï 1995: 69)

²⁴⁷ A: 1944-11-16 (Paxton 1972: 264)

²⁴⁸ A: 1944-11-16 (Badouï 1995: 70)

²⁴⁹ A: 1945-01-17 (Badouï 1987: 458)

²⁵⁰ A: 1945-11-30 (Dautry, letter to LC, 30 Nov 1945, in Sbriglio 2005: 28-9)

²⁵¹ A: 1945-04-24—05-02 (Prothin, letter to LC and Marcel Lods, 24 Apr 1945, FLC H3-19-23, in Badouï 1987: 458; Catllar 2010: 10)

²⁵² A: 1944-03-11 (Catllar 2010: 10)

²⁵³ A: 1944-08-07 (LC, letter to Duval, 7 Aug 1944, Paris, in Petit 1970: 93)

A: 1944-12-07—12 (LC, letter to Duval, 7 Dec 1944, in Jenger 2002: 284)

²⁵⁴ A: 1942-03-28 (Jenger 2002: 281)

²⁵⁵ A: 1945-04-19—05-02: Saint-Dié (Colnat, letter to LC, 20 Apr 1945: FLC H3-18-77, in Clericuzio 2010: 53-4)

A: 1946-07-25: Duval factory (LC, letter to Duval, 25 Jul 1946: FLC Q-3-1, in Ragot & Dion 1997: 310-1)

A: 1951-07-23: Maisons Jaoul (Jaoul, letter to Entwhistle, 23 Jul 1951, archives Jaoul, cited in Maniaque 2005: 36)

²⁵⁶ A: 1946-07-25 (Soltan 1987: 11)

political power during the dangerous hours of Liberation. They also undoubtedly served to dissuade the curiosities of postwar purge committees.²⁵⁷

In the spring of 1945, as the first trials of the High Court commenced in Paris,²⁵⁸ Le Corbusier began work on a series of urban plans for Saint-Dié, La Rochelle-Pallice, and Marseille.²⁵⁹ The resulting scheme for Saint-Dié was soon exhibited at both the Museum of Modern Art²⁶⁰ and the Rockefeller Center in New York, as part of an exhibition on Le Corbusier's work that November,²⁶¹ which brought the architect international acclaim. Through numerous interviews, telegrams, and publications, Le Corbusier portrayed the project as the fulfillment of the solitary research that he had conducted during the German Occupation, which had finally come to fruition in his first new commission in over four years.²⁶² The Saint-Dié plan quickly gained an iconic status within the architectural profession; but elite support in Paris and abroad could not overcome the political power of local factions who wished to rebuild their cities in the regional vernacular. Most postwar reconstruction thus fell to more aesthetically conservative architects,²⁶³ and Le Corbusier's urban schemes remained on paper.²⁶⁴

One notable exception to this trend was the *Unité d'habitation* at Marseille, which benefited from the assistance of Léon Blum, a veteran of the Popular Front and interim director of the Provisional Government,²⁶⁵ as well as Eugène Claudius-Petit, who, in September of 1948, had taken over the Ministry of Reconstruction and Urbanism first chaired by Dautry.²⁶⁶ The Marseille project commenced in March of 1947 under the modernizing impulse of the Monnet Plan,²⁶⁷ and was entirely

²⁵⁷ A: 1944-12-13—20 (Paxton 1972: 343; Lottman 1986: 217, 218, 221)

²⁵⁸ A: 1945-04-18 (Novick 1968: 172; Lottman 1986: 174)

²⁵⁹ A: 1945-08-01 (Soltan 1987: 5, 7-8, 12-3)

²⁶⁰ A: 1945-10-13—19 (Philip Johnson, letter to LC, 19 Oct 19 1945, FLC H3-18-74, in Clericuzio 2010: 67)

²⁶¹ A: 1945-11-00 (Mumford 2002: 156)

²⁶² A: 1945-08-00 (LC, interview, in *Architectural Forum*, Aug 1945, in McLeod 1985a: 417)

A: 1945-11-00 (LC, 'Un plan pour Saint-Dié', *Homme et l'architecture* 5-6, Nov-Dec 1945, p. 39, in Clericuzio 2010: 59)

A: 1946-01-22 (LC, Radio-Diffusion Française, New York, 22 Jan 1946, FLC H3-18-289, in Clericuzio 2010: 67)

A: 1946-01-24 (LC, letter to André Colin, head of the Chamber of Commerce of Saint-Dié, 24 Jan 1946, cited in Duval, 'Le Bataille de Saint-Dié'; in Clericuzio 2010: 67)

A: 1946-10-00 (LC, 'A Plan for Saint-Dié'; E. Claudius-Petit, 'Saint-Dié: Crossing the Threshold', in *Architectural Record*, Oct 1946, pp. 78–82, in Clericuzio 2010: 67)

²⁶³ A: 1945 (Mumford 2002: 159)

²⁶⁴ A: 1945-08-00—18 (*La Gazette Vosgienne*, 15 Aug 1945, in Clericuzio 2010: 62-3)

A: 1946-02-13—03-12 (Voldman, *La Reconstruction des Villes Françaises de 1940 à 1954*, p. 204; *La Gazette Vosgienne* 77, no. 127, 23 Feb 1946, in Clericuzio 2010: 69)

A: 1946-07-25 (Soltan 1987: 12-3)

²⁶⁵ A: 1946-12-25 (LC, letter to Marie, 29 Dec 1946, in Weber 2008: 492)

²⁶⁶ A: 1948-09-11 (Badouï 1987b: 101)

²⁶⁷ A: 1947-01-00 (Grenville 2000: 360, 539-40)

supported by the administrative, technical and financial tutelage of the French State.²⁶⁸ Le Corbusier's chameleonic public image continued to find favor across a broad spectrum of French political ideology.

The architect nonetheless faced staunch opposition at Marseille. To overcome the ongoing controversy that surrounded the project, Le Corbusier made use of his considerable skills as author, orator, and publisher. Prior to the commencement of construction, he proclaimed that the *Unité d'habitation* would conjoin "a natural social grouping within harmonious unity," a vertical garden city that could replace the "denaturalization" of contemporary urban phenomena,²⁶⁹ which were ruled by suburban waste and the single-family home. The Marseille *Unité* would, by contrast, reestablish "contact between man and nature," in which the individual and the collective could find a new equilibrium.²⁷⁰ The essence of the project, as he would later explain in the fifth volume of the *Œuvre complète*, was his desire to create a community liberated from "political passions" and animated by "the desire to live in efficiency and in harmony."²⁷¹

Construction commenced in November of 1947,²⁷² and, despite ongoing resistance from numerous factions, proceeded at a brisk pace. In late autumn, as the ground floor neared completion, Le Corbusier cast the first bas-relief sculpture of the Modulor Man near the building's western entry, (**FIGURE 1.07, right**) with the help of a young Greek sculptor from his atelier. A few days later, the architect wrote a letter to his friend Joseph Savina, who would later collaborate with him at Ronchamp, and described his impressions of the young man's family life. "His parents," he lamented,

who are not of the same blood, occupy a disgraceful position in my estimation. I will say only one thing to you: lies and intrigue are there, in a state of permanent antillage. This is not slander, far from it, because these people have an occupation of remarkable value, but me, I could not cohabit with them. I wish you good luck. You've had it anyway, to be sure, on diabolical paths. I think that in the world there

²⁶⁸ A: 1947-01-00—03-17 (Ministre de Reconstruction et de l'Urbanisme, 21 Jan 1947, in Sbriglio 2000: 130)

²⁶⁹ A: 1947 (LC, 'Une unité d'habitation de grandeur conforme', *L'homme et l'architecture*, 11-14, 1947, p. 5)

²⁷⁰ A: 1947 (LC, 'Extraits du rapport à la commission du Siège des ONU', *L'homme et l'architecture*, 1947, p. 8)

²⁷¹ A: 1953-03-00 (LC, introduction, in Boesiger 1953: 10)

²⁷² A: 1947-11-00 (Sbriglio 2005: 131)

are events and people oriented differently and marked by a deep imprint. To be brief. The subject weighs heavily upon me, and you who are a peculiarity, good luck!"²⁷³

Working on his magnum opus, which he presented to the public as a vehicle of social harmony, Le Corbusier expressed private sentiments that seem to contradict the very essence of his architectural doctrine. Was this intended as a joke? Or had his public and private personae drifted this far apart?

LE CORBUSIER'S POSTWAR PUBLIC IMAGE

Such questions are rather difficult to answer, since Le Corbusier's public image after the war was framed in a double identity, as 'artist-poet' and 'architect-scientist'. In the former description, emphasized within Gauthier's biography,²⁷⁴ the architect frequently described himself in quasi-religious terms, as "an artist sensible to the things in the universe," who could "see" musical proportions with his ears and "hear" the music of visual proportions²⁷⁵—a synesthetic conceit that could be traced to symbolist poets like Paul Claudel and Charles Baudelaire, and also to St. Bernard, as Le Corbusier knew quite well.²⁷⁶ On this reading, the architect was said to be "a 'monk' of the Mondrian type," who, through his art, poetry, and architecture, had made a consistent and heroic effort toward artistic "purity."²⁷⁷

This esoteric image was, however, contrasted in postwar publications by a second authorial voice in which Le Corbusier described his work in scientific terms. In this description, the architect was said to be the only person who could create a bond between human "psycho-physiology, nature and the cosmos."²⁷⁸ To achieve this goal, he wrote, it was necessary to return to the fundamental principles of human biology and the laws of nature,²⁷⁹ creating a new accord between "man and his milieu."²⁸⁰ The *Unité d'habitation*, he claimed, was a paradigm case of this method, which had required

²⁷³ D: 1948-12-16 (LC, letter to Savina, 16 Dec 1948, FLC F3-18-38)

²⁷⁴ A: 1944-11-07 (Gauthier 1944: 56, 109)

²⁷⁵ A: 1955-06-00 (LC 1955a: 154-5)

²⁷⁶ A: 1956-12-31 (LC, note, 31 Dec 1956, FLC B3-7-500)

²⁷⁷ A: 1955-06-00 (LC 1955a: 154)

²⁷⁸ A: 1950 (LC 1950b: 113)

²⁷⁹ A: 1944-08-07 (LC 1945: 26, 115)

A: 1946 (LC 1946b: 18-9, 43)

²⁸⁰ A: 1946 (LC 1946b: 43)

the close collaboration architects, engineers, and biologists.²⁸¹ It thus stood as the culmination of his long-standing quest to produce architecture conceived as a living organism—like "a tree or a plant,"²⁸² as he liked to say, an "authentic biology" in built form.²⁸³ This approach, he insisted, would also reinstate favorable patterns of human habitation,²⁸⁴ long since destroyed by Garden City suburbs, which had "broken the family, molested biology," and "weakened the race."²⁸⁵ The end result, he noted, was a crushing weight upon the woman of the house,²⁸⁶ and "eugenics reduced to zero."²⁸⁷

This unlikely admixture of synesthesia and biology, with a call to both artistic and racial purity, recalls the content of syncretistic, fin-de-siècle ideologies that were fashionable during Le Corbusier's early years in Paris. Theosophy, in particular, is known to have exerted an influence upon fellow members of the avant-garde such as Amédée Ozenfant,²⁸⁸ co-editor of *L'Esprit nouveau*, and Piet Mondrian,²⁸⁹ to whom the architect referred sympathetically as a "monk." Evidence of Le Corbusier's personal interest in Theosophical literature, as well as a wide range of other esoteric subjects, can be found within his library in Paris,²⁹⁰ as well as in the annotations of his sketchbooks.²⁹¹ The presence of these annotated volumes suggests that the architect's ideology may have been influenced by such esoteric literature in ways that have never been sufficiently examined.

Le Corbusier's professed belief in eugenics and the benefits of a strong "race" also suggests that his interest in Carrel's institute may have been inspired by ideological affinity as well as by the need for wartime employment. Evidence of this interest can also be found within Le Corbusier's library, which contains numerous annotated volumes that treat biological racism at length, including Carrel's *L'homme cet inconnu*.²⁹²

²⁸¹ A: 1947 (LC 1947: 6, 9)

A: 1948-04-00 (LC 1948a: 49)

²⁸² A: 1940-10-21 (LC 1941c: 24)

A: 1946 (LC 1946c: 12)

²⁸³ A: 1944-08-07 (LC 1945: 28, 70)

²⁸⁴ A: 1944-08-07 (LC 1945: 67)

²⁸⁵ A: 1944-08-07 (LC 1945: 66-7)

²⁸⁶ A: 1944-08-07 (LC 1945: 116)

²⁸⁷ A: 1940-10-21 (LC 1941c: 24)

²⁸⁸ Ozenfant 1968: 65

²⁸⁹ Seuphor 1956: 54-7

²⁹⁰ Renan [1863] 1906; Schuré 1889; Huysmans 1908; Krishnamurti 1926; Choïnard 1926; Ghyka 1927; Krishnamurti 1929; Belperron 1942; Maillard 1943; Lobet 1944; Schwaller de Lubicz 1949; Saures 1950; Jean Français 1951; Oldenbourg 1954; Koelliker 1957; Salmanoff 1958; Oldenbourg 1959.

²⁹¹ *Jésus nouveau*: Sketchbook B7-458; Steiner: Sketchbook C12-717; Krishnamurti: Sketchbook D17-307; Schuré, Bible, and the Apocalypse: Sketchbook N56-270.

²⁹² Ménard 1883; Le Bon 1884; Le Bon 1889; Ritter 1903; Cingria-Vaneyre 1908; Ritter 1910; Roupnel 1932; Carrel 1936; Mabilbe 1936; Vernes 1936; Pétaïn & Lamirand 1941; Thibon 1942; Bourdel & Genevay 1946.

(FIGURE 1.06) Of course, sympathy for such ideas was not uncommon in France, before or after the war—most of Carrel's former colleagues had, in fact, returned to professional life after the liberation of Paris with little problem, as the *Fondation française pour l'étude des problèmes humains* was transformed into the *Institut National Etudes Démographiques*, maintaining more than half of its original staff.²⁹³ During the postwar period, eugenics and biological racism remained, for many people, central components of a favored ideology, at least behind closed doors.

Le Corbusier's disparaging comment about Greek parents who did not share "the same blood" may thus reflect a similar, lingering racial prejudice that lay hidden behind his postwar rhetoric about harmonious cohabitation. But these issues have never been sufficiently explored in the secondary literature; nor were they subject to official questioning after the fall of Vichy. Instead, the architect continued his work after the liberation unperturbed. The project at Marseille rose triumphantly just as postwar interrogations began to wind down: in December of 1948, Marcel Peyrouton, the architect's former colleague at Vichy,²⁹⁴ was the first of Pétain's ministers to be acquitted from wartime collusion,²⁹⁵ and in the summer of 1949, the last case was heard by the High Court in Paris.²⁹⁶ The mood in France had shifted steadily toward amnesty,²⁹⁷ and the period of danger for Pétain's ministers had finally passed.

THE DOMINICAN RENAISSANCE

Le Corbusier's opportunities arose in step with the stories of the *Unité d'habitation*. Father Couturier, long convinced of the architect's sympathetic social agenda and his transcendent status as an elite artist, soon suggested his name to Matisse as project architect for the Chapel of Vence.²⁹⁸ Despite the elder French artist's refusal, Le Corbusier remained intrigued by the project, and met with both Couturier and Matisse in September of 1949.²⁹⁹ Struck by the artist's approach to the Dominican

²⁹³ A: 1945-10-00 (Reggiani 2007: 166)

²⁹⁴ A: 1940-09-18 (LC, letter to Peyrouton, 18 Sept 1940: FLC 01-9-70, in Catllar 2010: 8)

²⁹⁵ A: 1948-12-22 (Novick 1968: 56, 224)

²⁹⁶ A: 1949-07-00 (Jackson 2001: 588)

²⁹⁷ A: 1947-08-16: (*Journal Officiel de la République française*, 17 Aug 1947, in Lottman 1986: 276-7)

A: 1949-12-22 (*Journal Officiel*, 22 Dec 1949, Lottman 1986: 279)

A: 1951-01-05 (*Journal Officiel*, 6 Jan 1951, in Novick 1968: 188; Lottman 1986: 281)

A: 1953-08-06 (*Journal Officiel*, 7 Aug 1953, in Paxton 1972: 332; Lottman 1986: 210, 283)

²⁹⁸ A: 1948-07-03 (Couturier, cited in Rayssiguier, journal, 3 July 1948, in Matisse, et al. 1993: 71)

²⁹⁹ A: 1949-09-04 (LC, letter to Marie, 7 Sept 1949, in Weber 2008: 522)

commission, he found much to admire in Matisse's designs: "What a lesson he gives us," he reported back to the priest, "such renewal!"³⁰⁰

Matisse's acceptance of the Dominican commission created quite a stir in avant-garde circles. Picasso responded to the news of the Vence Chapel with a sense of betrayal,³⁰¹ and chastised his elder rival for bowing to the Catholics. But he was the exception. By the autumn of 1949, Couturier and his Dominican confrères had successfully persuaded many members of the French avant-garde to participate in the renewal of Catholic art: André Lurçat and Marc Chagall had agreed to contribute to the new Dominican church at Assy; Jacques Lipchitz was busy working on prototypes for a sculpture of the Virgin Mary for the same choir; Georges Braque had been commissioned to design a bronze tabernacle for the northern transept;³⁰² and Fernand Léger's mosaic had already been installed upon its western façade.³⁰³ But careful positioning was required to convince Le Corbusier to take part in this Dominican 'renaissance', and to persuade the Church hierarchy that such an alliance was acceptable.

Couturier thus prepared his first article on Le Corbusier, which was scheduled to appear in the forthcoming edition of *L'Art Sacré* in January 1950, just as the Diocesan Committee on Sacred Art was actively seeking a new architect for Ronchamp. **(FIGURE 1.07)** The priest called for a "purification" of architectural forms, without concession to "moral, social, or apostolic" aims,³⁰⁴ thereby offering a wholesale rejection of Pius XII's recent encyclical on just these topics.³⁰⁵ Couturier argued that true aesthetic criteria must instead be discerned directly, through empirical impressions of color and line, and a "sensory intuition" of beauty. This process implied liberation of the individual, rejection of social conformity, and a confrontation with the "pretensions of nobility" that issued from official milieu.³⁰⁶ In Couturier's world, sensationist art theory usurped Vatican authority, and Le Corbusier was upheld as a saint.

A: 1949-09-27 (Rayssiguier, journal, 27 Sept 1949; Couturier, journal, 27 Sep 1949, in Matisse et al. 1993: 246)

³⁰⁰ A: 1949-09-27 (LC, cited in Couturier, journal, 27 Sept 1949, in Matisse et al. 1993: 246)

³⁰¹ A: 1951-05-06 (Picasso, quoted in Penrose 1981: 423; Bernadac and Piot 1989: 372, in Utley 2000: 154, 238)

³⁰² A: 1948: Assy (Rubin 1961: 38, 103-4, 127-30, 134-7; Caussé 2005a: 11)

³⁰³ A: 1949-05-00 (Rubin 1961: 123)

³⁰⁴ A: 1950-01-00 (Couturier, 'Pour les yeux', AS 5-6, Jan-Feb 1950, p. 3)

³⁰⁵ A: 1947-11-20 (Pius XII, *Mediator Dei*, 20 Nov 1947: AAS 39, 1947, 528-29; www.vatican.va, mediator-dei)

³⁰⁶ A: 1950-01-00 (Couturier, 'Pour les yeux', AS 5-6, Jan-Feb 1950, pp. 3-4)

THE END OF A WORLD

When Couturier's article appeared in print, Le Corbusier was on his way to South America, to meet with the president of Columbia and develop his ideas for the capital city of Bogota.³⁰⁷ There, he studied the historical fabric of the city in detail, and commented on the 19th-century Catholic cathedral in his sketchbook. The neo-Baroque façade, he noted, should be immediately classified as an historical monument;³⁰⁸ but his own city plan, by contrast, would have no place for the celestial symbolism of the dome, and no need to provide for "the seat of a spirit or of the gods."³⁰⁹ In his view of social evolution, old-world religion had been replaced by "the civil and the civic," **(FIGURE 1.08)** which required a very different form of architecture.³¹⁰ Following the precedent of his plan for Saint-Dié, **(FIGURE 1.09)** he suggested that the Cathedral of Bogota be retained as a symbol of a defunct worldview.

During his long stay in South America, Le Corbusier also took some notes for a book, which he tentatively entitled, "The End of a World, or the Deliverance" (*La Fin d'un Monde, ou la Délivrance*). Comparing his vision of urbanism with the decrepit institutions of his time, he identified the social groups who had long opposed him, and pondered the ways in which they might be overcome. "Each day," he wrote,

*Algiers, like Bogota, closed its windows and streets to its own landscape, just as Saint-Dié, which said 'no', and La Rochelle too. We know wherein lies the crime: it's the imbecility, forged in the schools, churches, and groups in favor of money and vanity.*³¹¹

Shortly after his return to Paris in March of 1950,³¹² Le Corbusier was greeted by the first emissaries from Ronchamp,³¹³ who offered him complete artistic freedom upon a provincial acropolis that looked out toward the landscape of his youth.³¹⁴ A new revolution was set to begin, one which the architect could marshal alone, without the aid of political authority.

³⁰⁷ A: 1950-02-02 (LC, notes, Sketchbooks D14 27-29, 44; D16' 150)

³⁰⁸ A: 1950-02-02 (LC, note, Sketchbook D16' 159)

³⁰⁹ A: 1950-02-02 (LC, note, Sketchbook D15-82)

³¹⁰ A: 1944-08-07 (LC 1945: 93)

³¹¹ A: 1950-02-02 (LC, notes, Sketchbook D16' 197-8, 200)

³¹² A: 1950-03-12 (Sketchbook D14-41)

³¹³ A: 1950-03-29 (LC, agenda, 29 Mar 1950, in Caussé 2007: 71)

³¹⁴ A: 1950-04-23—24 (Ledeur, interview, Mar 1974, in Pauly 1980: 27)

READING RONCHAMP: A REVIEW OF THE SECONDARY LITERATURE

INTRODUCTION

The secondary discourse on Le Corbusier's Chapel at Ronchamp is extensive. From the summer of 1953, when articles about Le Corbusier's controversial church first appeared in the local press, to the time of this writing in 2013, thousands of texts in many different languages have been written about the Chapel. An exhaustive evaluation of all these texts would exceed the scope of this dissertation. In the following analysis, I will therefore focus upon texts that I believe to be of seminal importance, which have either exerted a demonstrable, long-standing effect upon subsequent discourse, or provided significant reassessments of the documentary evidence. Though this study will be limited to the two principal languages of the discourse, French and English, it is my hope that it will be augmented in the future by similar investigations in other languages, since the discourse about the Chapel of Ronchamp has, from its inception, been an international phenomenon of considerable importance.

With these concerns in mind, the following review is meant to serve several purposes. First, in the six decades that have passed since the Chapel's inauguration, a historiographical review of this kind, collecting key points of the arguments within the relevant literature, has not, to my knowledge, ever been published. Future researchers might therefore benefit from a summary of these sources, many of which are to be found within out-of-print conference proceedings, specialized journals, and unpublished dissertations, and thus known—if they are known at all—through interpretations published within more widely available authorized accounts.¹ First-

¹ Most readers have gleaned their knowledge of the Chapel through highly influential surveys such as Kenneth Frampton's *Modern Architecture: a Critical History* (1980; 1985, 2nd ed.; 1992, 3rd ed.; 2007, 4th ed.; reprinted 2010,

hand knowledge of these source texts is, of course, essential to any serious analysis of the subject; but the following outline can hopefully serve as a useful introduction.

Secondly, the summaries, concluding arguments, and questions that this review contains serve to define my own interpretation of this complex discourse, which is full of contradictions and paradoxes that took several years to untangle. I describe one possible way out: a deconstruction of the origins of the canonical explanation of the Chapel of Ronchamp, which, with its vague semantics and incomplete descriptions, has never to my mind been particularly satisfying.

Lastly, I would like to highlight the fact that my personal contribution to this discourse would not have been possible without the prior efforts of the scholars whose publications are discussed below. I have done my best to understand their arguments; and if at times I have presented their conclusions in a critical light, I hope that I have done so fairly.

2.1 INITIAL RECEPTION: THE RULES OF ART UNDER VATICAN SCRUTINY

After the inaugural ceremonies for the Chapel of Ronchamp in June 1955, popular discourse about its revolutionary architectural forms commenced in earnest. The most pressing context of that reception, now largely forgotten, was theological and political. It involved a profound disagreement between the Dominican patrons and the Vatican concerning the role of liturgy and architecture in the modern world, and a closely related issue of French Catholic religious freedom. For the Dominicans patrons, the Chapel represented a postwar rebirth of religious architecture and a clean break from what they perceived as the excessively hierarchical and authoritarian edicts of the Roman Curia. The revolutionary new architecture at Ronchamp thus came to symbolize, for them, a revitalized and reformed Christianity suitable for the postwar era.

2011), or William Curtis' *Modern Architecture since 1900* (1982; 2nd edition 1987; 3rd edition, revised and expanded 1996; reprinted 1997, 1999, 2002, 2003, 2006, 2007, 2009, 2011), which have been frequently translated and reprinted, granting them an extensive, international audience.

In keeping with these progressive views, Father Joseph Ball, who had given the closing sermon at the Chapel's inauguration in June 1955,² later wrote of the theological significance of Ronchamp:

*with the renewal of Catholicism, the church emerges in the present world. It is natural that new churches would arise from the edge of modernity in the purest tradition of churches of refinement, but authentically created from the constructional means of our time.*³

Ball's commentary justified the Chapel's unusual design, made possible through the use of reinforced concrete, by appealing to the technological changes characteristic of modernity. These new constructional means were, in his view, in perfect accord with corresponding changes in liturgy and architecture in the "present world." His Dominican colleague, Robert-Marie Capellades, followed this teleological argument about the "renewal of Catholicism" by emphasizing that Le Corbusier, the Dominicans' chosen architect at Ronchamp, had also been inspired by religious concerns. The controversial modernist, Capellades proclaimed,

*had enquired about the role of the Chapel and popular pilgrimage, which seduced him as much as the site itself, and the problems raised "fascinated" him.*⁴

Such pronouncements made it sound as if the architect were faithful to the Catholic cause. However, these proclamations must be seen in the context in which they were written. In February 1954, prior to the appearance of these publications, the Holy Office had issued an unprecedented condemnation of the Dominican Order in France, restricting public expression of their controversial *nouvelle théologie*, and effectively putting an end to their ambitious program of social and architectural renewal.⁵ Hence, the comments of Ball, Capellades, and other French Catholics sympathetic to the new Chapel at Ronchamp were undoubtedly influenced by this context of surveillance: both men published their carefully worded justifications of Le Corbusier's architecture under acute Vatican scrutiny.⁶

² Inaugural publicity poster (AONDH)

³ A: 1955-07-10 (Ball 1955, cited in Lambert 2007: 283)

⁴ A: 1955-09-00 (Capellades 1955: 26)

⁵ See Chapter 1 above; Leprieur (1989) provides a documentary account of these events.

⁶ Lambert (2007) has discovered documentary evidence suggesting that Monsignor Dubois, who was nominated archbishop of Besançon in June 1954 and inaugurated on 7 October that same year, was actively involved in

Following the publication of these articles, Vatican authorities hardened their critique of the Dominicans' efforts to "renew" religious art, and the Holy Office continued to monitor the events at Ronchamp closely. For Cardinal Pizzardo, Secretary of the Holy Office, Le Corbusier's Chapel had long stood at the center of this controversy as a symbol of dangerous transgressions.⁷ Pope Pius XII addressed this problem directly in his 1955 Christmas encyclical:

during these recent years, certain artists, gravely offending Christian piety, have dared to introduce into churches works of a personal nature, completely lacking in religious inspiration and entirely contrary to the correct rules of art. They try to justify these deplorable activities through specious arguments which they pretend to derive from the nature and character of art itself. They say, in effect, that the inspiration by which the artist proceeds is free, and that it is not possible to submit this inspiration to laws and norms foreign to art, be they religious or moral, because one would thus greatly offend the dignity of art, and shackle and enchain even the artist guided by a sacred inspiration... however, such expressions of 'art for art's sake'... constitute a grave offense against God himself...⁸

The reference here to "certain artists" undoubtedly pertains to the controversial patronage that had taken place in previous years under Dominican supervision, including the commission granted to Le Corbusier at Ronchamp. In fact, the Pope uttered these words shortly after the architect had published his first autobiographical account of the Chapel, in which he had stated in no uncertain terms that his inspiration at Ronchamp had been "free"⁹—precisely the offense that the Pope most deplored. Tensions were high.

clandestine surveillance of both the Dominican publishing house and the diocesan journal previously overseen by his predecessor, Archbishop Dubourg. During this time, Dubois amassed a secret box of letters, previously exchanged by Dubourg and his Dominican colleagues, which were evidently the object of Vatican scrutiny (A: 1954-08-26: Lambert 2007: 13-19, 164). Such techniques of surveillance had been refined by the Vatican during the war, and were characteristic practices of the Holy Office under Pius XII (A: 1948-05-22: Alvarez & Graham 1997: 149-50, 176-7). Bolle-Reddat reported that Dubois had also expressed "great apprehension" with respect to the Chapel of Ronchamp, which was viewed with suspicion by his superiors at the Vatican (A: 1954-12-31: Bolle-Reddat, JNDH 1971 40, p. 3).

⁷ During the summer of 1954, the capitulary Bishop of Ronchamp, Monsignor Georges Béjot (1875-1987), received "a note from the Holy Office, signed by Cardinal Pizzardo himself, asking how it could be that we were able to confide the construction of the Chapel to a materialist architect"—the latter reference suggesting that Pizzardo, Secretary of the Holy Office from 1951-59, may have thought that Le Corbusier was a Communist. (A: 1954-04-04: Béjot, 16 Mar 1980, JNDH 68, p. 7-8, cited in Caussé 1999: 661)

⁸ A: 1955-12-25 (Pius XII, *Musicae sacrae disciplina*, 25 Dec 1955, Rubin trans. [modified], cited in Rubin 1961: 71)

⁹ LC 1955a: 266

Within this volatile context in the summer of 1956, the first monograph on the Chapel appeared, Jean Petit's *La Chapelle Notre Dame du Haut, Ronchamp. Le Corbusier*.¹⁰ Petit's book contains several essays written by the individuals involved with the Chapel's design and construction, including a few articles by Le Corbusier.¹¹ Significantly, these latter texts appear to have been tailored for a Catholic audience, as several passages of potentially controversial material were omitted. The architect's prior declaration concerning his design process, for example, in which he insisted that "the requirements of religion intervened in few things," had been struck from the record,¹² along with an earlier confession that he was "not conscious of the miracle of faith."¹³ What remained reflected his characteristically limited public commentary on religion, which comprised less than 10% of the thematic content of these essays.¹⁴

These modifications suggest that Petit, as editor, made an effort to soften the secular tone of the architect's autobiographical discourse on Ronchamp—a tactical move in a volatile context, which was then made more effective by placing Le Corbusier's essays within an extensive collection of the patrons' own writings on the subject.¹⁵ The most extensive contribution came from the presiding Abbot of Ronchamp, the Dominican priest Marcel Ferry, who provided a detailed, ecclesiastical interpretation of the Chapel.¹⁶ Ferry claimed that, in the midst of the 20th century, the revolutionary architecture reflected "the totality of Christian mystery" and "the moving atmospheres of earlier ages, like those of the catacombs, the ancient basilicas and our old Romanesque churches."¹⁷ His article offered confirmation to the Catholic reader that the Chapel's atmosphere reflected "the sacred grandeur of the Bible,"¹⁸ and that the requirements of religion had "determined the plan" and "arranged the true contents of the edifice"¹⁹—pious words that blatantly contradicted Le Corbusier's own proclamations on the subject, which, conveniently, had not been included in the publication.

¹⁰ Petit 1956

¹¹ C: 411, Authors (Petit 1956)

¹² C: 413, Omissions (Petit 1956: 22-3, editing Boesiger 1953: 88)

¹³ C: 413, Omissions (Petit 1956: 50-1, editing LC 1946c: 9-10; trans. LC 1948b: 7-9)

¹⁴ C: 416, Thematic Content (Petit 1956: 20-52)

¹⁵ C: 411, Authors (Petit 1956)

¹⁶ Ferry, untitled, in Petit 1956: 74-80

¹⁷ Ferry, untitled, in Petit 1956: 80

¹⁸ Ferry, untitled, in Petit 1956: 75

¹⁹ Ferry, untitled, in Petit 1956: 77

Such tactful positioning may have been an effort to assuage both Le Corbusier's Dominican patrons and their Roman superiors. This hypothesis would explain the strategic omissions in Le Corbusier's essays, for example, as well as the preponderance of religious themes within this book, which comprise nearly 50% of its textual contents, thus setting the architect's proclamations within a decidedly sacral air.²⁰ Ferry wrote, for example, that

Le Corbusier has done his work loyally. He has given the Church a marvelous implement²¹

—a strategic remark that would seem to place the new Chapel in conformity with the words of Pope Pius XII on sacred art,²² which Petit had wisely included as a poignant coda:

Modern art should be given free scope in the due and reverent service of the church and the sacred rites.²³

Presumably, if Le Corbusier had been loyal to the church, then his services had indeed been reverent, following the Pope's decree. However, Petit had carefully abridged Pius' views on sacred art, which, in the official version, continued with an important caveat:

... provided that they preserve a correct balance between styles tending neither to extreme realism nor to excessive "symbolism," and that the needs of the Christian community are taken into consideration rather than the particular taste or talent of the individual artist.²⁴

The encyclical from which this quote was extracted had concluded, furthermore, with a pointed critique that had been aimed, in the context of the times, directly at the French Dominicans:

²⁰ C: 416, Thematic Content (Petit 1956)

²¹ Ferry, untitled, in Petit 1956: 80

²² A: 1947-11-20 (Pius XII, *Mediator Dei*, 20 Nov 1947)

²³ A: 1947-11-20 (Pius XII, *Mediator Dei*, 20 Nov 1947, cited in Petit 1956: 110)

²⁴ A: 1947-11-20 (Pius XII, *Mediator Dei*, 20 Nov 1947)

*in keeping with the duty of Our office, We cannot help deploring and condemning those works of art, recently introduced by some, which seem to be a distortion and perversion of true art, and which at times openly shock Christian taste, modesty and devotion, and shamefully offend the true religious sense.*²⁵

Petit had also left this out of his abridged quotation, and for good reason: Pius' condemnation of art introduced "by some" had been uttered as a warning to the Dominicans—one that they had not heeded. Ignoring the Pope's encyclical, the Dominican patrons had repeatedly taken "the talent of the individual artist" to be their overriding concern, whether it shocked Christian taste or not, and the Pope, in his condemnations of the Order in 1954, ultimately responded with stern reprobation.

Nevertheless, Ronchamp stood as a battle that the Dominicans had won, and it was, as a result, watched by the Vatican closely.²⁶ Amid such scrutiny, Petit appears to have carefully positioned the Dominican discourse on the Chapel in a favorable light. His chosen quotations were not faithful to the prior commentaries of Pius XII, nor to those of the architect; but they may have served to calm local ecclesiastical tensions.

Significantly, Petit's editorial politics followed a specific request from Le Corbusier. Three days after saving Petit's editorial company *Forces Vives* from ruin with a substantial, open-ended loan,²⁷ Le Corbusier wrote to his new colleague with suggestions for his forthcoming book on Ronchamp:

*I think that you should all the same call upon Canon Ledeur and Abbot Ferry and perhaps (?) have a few declarations from them. Not laudations, but expressions of the useful nature that they have found in the implement of work that constitutes the Chapel of Ronchamp...*²⁸

The following month, Petit informed Jeanne Heilbuth, Le Corbusier's secretary, that he had begun this work, following the architect's specific requests:

²⁵ A: 1947-11-20 (Pius XII, *Mediator Dei*, 20 Nov 1947)

²⁶ A: 1954-12-31 (Canet, letter to LC, 31 Dec 1954: FLC Q16-315, cited in Flicoteaux 1998: 51)

D: 1955-04-25 (Ledeur, letter to LC, 25 Apr 1955: FLC Q1-13)

²⁷ D: 1955-10-07 (Petit, letter to LC, 7 Oct 1955: FLC E1-10-21)

²⁸ D: 1955-10-10 (LC, letter to Petit, 10 Oct 1955: FLC E1-10-22)

*As Monsieur Le Corbusier requested from me prior to his departure, I send you the enclosed: a letter, the summary of the work that I am preparing on the Chapel of Ronchamp, and a textual annexation. These are such that Monsieur Le Corbusier can prepare the diverse elements that he has foreseen to include in this edition of Forces Vives. I thus ask you to please transmit to him all of this as he asked me to do.*²⁹

This correspondence suggests that architect and his editor were well aware of what was at stake, and it appears that their emphasis upon a functional interpretation of the Chapel within an ecclesiastical context did prove to be quite useful, just as Le Corbusier had hoped. Following the publication of Petit's monograph, Vatican scrutiny of Ronchamp subsided, and no further pronouncements from the Holy Office were ever forthcoming. The controversy soon ceased to provoke the interest of the Roman Curia, was forgotten by architectural historians, and settled slowly into the past.

2.2 EARLY ARCHITECTURAL DISCOURSE: MONUMENT OF A NEW IRRATIONALISM

The theological and political issues involved in this dispute between the Vatican and the Dominican Order did not affect the majority of architectural historians of the time, who simply ignored them. As a result, ideological concerns that had been central to architect, patron, and Pope, and that had served as the background to their respective textual propaganda, slowly receded from view. In the years that followed, such issues were frequently displaced by the formalist methods of art historical analysis, as questions of style, formal pedigree, and the hidden sources of the architect's creative inspiration took precedence over religious concerns.

Le Corbusier, who had privately influenced the initial ecclesiastical discourse of Ronchamp through his private bargain with Jean Petit, also evidently tried to control this architectural discourse about the Chapel from the outset. On 8 June 1955, two and half weeks before the Chapel's inauguration, he sent a letter to Monsieur Duchemin, the Secretary-General of SPADEM, the French organization in charge of copyright protection, asking him to alert all architectural journals in Paris that as the

²⁹ D: 1955-11-25 (Petit, letter to LC, 25 Nov 1955: FLC EI-10-26/31) Le Corbusier prepared his own text for Petit's book within the margins of this letter—a remarkable example of his linguistic creativity.

architect of record he would not tolerate the publication of articles on Ronchamp without his authorization—a request that surely surpassed the legal statutes on freedom of the press.³⁰ Nonetheless, the architect had considerable power in the capital city, and widespread influence in the architectural profession as well, and he used both to steer the early discourse about his controversial new building.

Prior to writing his letter to Duchemin, Le Corbusier had been approached by several authors who wished to contribute to publications on Ronchamp, including Jean Petit, Gio Ponti, and Lucien Hervé.³¹ On 24 June 1955, he agreed to let Ernesto Rogers, an Italian architect then serving as editor of the review *Casabella continuità*, publish an article on Ronchamp.³² Rogers' publication, entitled 'La Chiesa di "Notre Dame du Haut" a Ronchamp', was released shortly thereafter,³³ followed by a second edition in French and English a few months later.³⁴ Within this text, the author repeatedly emphasized his own distance from religion, describing himself as an "architectural pilgrim" who did not know "how to pray," rather than a member of the faithful.³⁵ He also underscored the irony of the fact that Catholic authorities had commissioned the work to Le Corbusier, who was Calvinist not Catholic, and "in a certain sense a nonbeliever," but who had nonetheless found inspiration in "the ideals of others."³⁶ Rogers's account thus served to distance the architect from institutional religion while protecting him from charges of insincerity.

Many contemporary critics, however, were far less sympathetic to Le Corbusier's involvement with religion. Rogers' Italian colleague Giulio Carlo Argan claimed that the architect, in accepting a commission under the ultimate authority of the Vatican, had undermined "the value of reason" and persuaded "poor plebeians to believe."³⁷ English critic James Stirling attacked the design in similar terms, condemning Le

³⁰ D: 1955-06-08 (LC, letter to Duchemin, 8 June 1955: FLC G2-19-42)

³¹ Petit had been working on Le Corbusier's behalf to promote Ronchamp since July 1954 (D: 1954-10-10: Petit-LC, 10 Oct 1954: FLC E1-10), and on 5 July 1955, shortly after the Chapel's inauguration, wrote to Le Corbusier that he would thereafter be available "to work usefully, even humbly, in the sense that you would judge necessary." (D: 1955-07-05: Petit, letter to LC, 5 July 1955: FLC E1-10-20) Le Corbusier wrote to Hervé on the same day, noting that he had "given priority of publication for Ronchamp to Rogers" despite "the sympathy that you and I have for Ponti," who was evidently then also seeking to publish on Ronchamp. The architect concluded by stating that he was "morally committed to Rogers," underscoring the ethical basis of his decision (D: 1955-07-05: LC, letter to Hervé, 5 July 1955: FLC G2-19-143). However, he soon also secretly agreed to collaborate with Petit in the production of *La Chapelle Notre Dame du Haut, Ronchamp*. *Le Corbusier*. See notes 27-9 above.

³² D: 1955-06-24 (LC, letter to Rogers, 24 June 1955: FLC G2-19-100)

³³ Rogers 1955

³⁴ Rogers 1956

³⁵ Rogers 1956: 5, 7

³⁶ Rogers 1956: 8-12

³⁷ Argan 1956, cited in Tzonis 2001: 176

Corbusier's Chapel as a subversion of "the rationale and the initial ideology of the modern movement," and an indulgence in "South Bank festivalia" that could only benefit the Catholic Church.³⁸ Nikolaus Pevsner, one of the most influential critics of the day, summarized this point of view in a widely read tome in which he referred to the Chapel as the "the most discussed monument of a new irrationalism."³⁹ Such attacks hinted at the widespread anticlericalism within the architectural professions, which paradoxically served to divert attention away from Le Corbusier's complex relationship with his Dominican patrons. The discourse surrounding the Chapel thus became increasingly distant from the ideological conflict that had initially characterized the commission.

Attention turned thereafter to concerns more central to architectural history. No reputable publication on the visual arts could fail to comment upon the Chapel's aesthetic novelty, which would play an important role in subsequent histories by Henry Russell Hitchcock (1958), Leonardo Benevolo (1960), Sigfried Giedion (1962), and Maurice Besset (1967), to name but a few. Shortly after Le Corbusier's death in 1965, Benevolo suggested that the Chapel reflected the master's late turn towards a more autobiographical approach to his craft, and that its design expressed "frank concern for religious themes."⁴⁰ But the architect had in fact said very little about the content of such concerns, which were left shrouded in mystery. Following the social upheaval of the late 1960s, a new generation of architectural historians frequently interpreted his lifelong interest in religion in the light of secular concerns, and the shady context of the commission all but disappeared from the discourse.

Several generations of historians have since attempted to reconstruct the Chapel's origins. In a pioneering work, Stanislaus von Moos studied Le Corbusier's cultural background and resituated Ronchamp in an historical perspective. When von Moos commenced his research in the mid-1960s, however, the Corbusian archives were not yet open to the public, so the architect's prior publications had to serve as his primary source of biographical information.⁴¹ Von Moos thus suggested, following Le Corbusier's public confessions from the 1920s, that the Chapel at Ronchamp subconsciously echoed a dream of the architect's first teacher, Charles L'Eplattenier

³⁸ Stirling [1956] 1991: 217, 221

³⁹ Pevsner [1957] 1963: 429

⁴⁰ Benevolo [1966] 1971: 796

⁴¹ von Moos 1979: vi

(1874-1946), who had also wished to build “a monument dedicated to nature” within the Jurassic landscape.⁴² Following an explanation in the *Œuvre complète*, von Moos also credited the echo of the “distant horizons” as the initial inspiration for the spatial dynamism of the Chapel’s design, which the architect had famously described as “landscape acoustics.”⁴³ The building’s warped surfaces also recalled, von Moos noted, the work of contemporary sculptors Antoine Pevsner and Naum Gabo, as well as certain features of Le Corbusier’s villas from the 1920s, such as the curving walls of the solarium on the roof of the Villa Savoye—astute observations that corroborated the architect’s prior assertions that Ronchamp should be seen as a “synthesis of the major arts.”⁴⁴ Von Moos’ insightful text, which remains one of the most penetrating analyses of Le Corbusier ever written, would have a lasting impact upon all subsequent historiography; it would also serve to establish a mode of critical discourse that was paradoxically based upon the architect’s own proclamations.

Charles Jencks followed with a memorable text casting Le Corbusier as an “atheist and nonconformist,” a true Nietzschean “Superman,” who had approached the problem of Ronchamp with deeply entrenched commitments to “natural law,” set apart from the attitudes of conventional religion. The architect was said to have created “a rationally perfected piece of sculpture” at Ronchamp, in which conventional religious motifs were “specifically rejected.”⁴⁵ In his subsequent *Language of Postmodern Architecture*, Jencks placed a newfound emphasis upon architectural metaphor, which was applied with great enthusiasm to Le Corbusier’s enigmatic Chapel. By virtue of its metaphorical capacity to “mean many different things at once” through an open-ended quality of semiotic “suggestiveness,” the sculptural form of Ronchamp was deemed the first postmodern building, one that could “set the mind off on a wild goose chase.”⁴⁶ Jencks’ arguments, if not overly rigorous, were highly provocative, and the fanciful illustrations—depicting the Chapel as an ocean liner, an academic’s cap, a pair of praying hands, and a duck⁴⁷—stayed in the mind long after the first reading, as a filter of images through which the Chapel would thereafter be unwittingly perceived.⁴⁸ His

⁴² von Moos 1970: 242, 1979: 254; citing LC 1925b: 198

⁴³ von Moos 1970: 239, 1979: 253; citing Boesiger 1953: 88

⁴⁴ von Moos 1970: 242-4, 1979: 254, 280; citing Boesiger 1953: 88, LC in Petit 1956: 21

⁴⁵ Jencks 1973: 151-3, 181

⁴⁶ Jencks 1977: 44

⁴⁷ Jencks 1977: 45

⁴⁸ Jencks noted that the diagrams had been drawn by Hillel Schocken in a seminar on architectural semiotics at the Architectural Association in London, and claimed that “the mapping is amazingly literal when compared to the actual views” (1977: 44, 53-58).

work exerted a lasting influence upon the discourse, and the quaint illustrations were circulated repeatedly in subsequent publications, underscoring his central point: Ronchamp could be conveyed in any number of ways, all of them equally valid as an aspect of its vague signification, none requiring documentary evidence of any kind.

A critical examination of the architect's library was also conducted at this time, by the young American scholar Paul Turner, working within the archival trust known as the Fondation Le Corbusier, which the architect had arranged before his death. Turner's subsequent publication on Le Corbusier's early education, in which he presented convincing evidence of the architect's quasi-Hegelian belief in "the absolute principles or spiritual forces existing separate from matter and the visible world,"⁴⁹ is still widely regarded, nearly forty years later, as the authoritative study on the young man's intellectual formation.⁵⁰ Following the influence of the architectural historian Peter Collins, Turner believed that this latent idealism held the key to Le Corbusier's thought.⁵¹ He also claimed that positivistic science had not had any substantive impact upon the young man's upbringing, or any meaningful influence upon his later architectural theory—any traces of 'rationalism' that remained, he wrote, had simply been "grafted" onto a "deeply rooted idealism."⁵² Evidence of this worldview, Turner noted, could be found within historically-coded language in Le Corbusier's writing. He pointed out, for example, that the French term *esprit*, which English translators had invariably rendered as 'mind', also carried the religious connotation of 'spirit' in the architect's native tongue,⁵³ and that the French term *l'échelle humaine*—a key term in Le Corbusier's theoretical work, commonly translated as 'human scale'—could also convey an esoteric notion of the 'scale of man's spirit', as in the biblical term '*l'échelle du Jacob*' (Jacob's Ladder).⁵⁴ These semantic insights, however, were more or less ignored in subsequent historiography. By contrast, Turner's conclusions about the architect's supposed "idealism" exerted a lasting influence on the secondary discourse, turning attention away from the numerous aspects of nineteenth-century positivism that had also shaped Le Corbusier's early education.⁵⁵

⁴⁹ Turner 1977: 196

⁵⁰ B: 358-9, Discourse Sequence (Authoritative Texts, von Moos)

⁵¹ Turner 1977: 2, 11, 28, 69, 196

⁵² Turner 1977: 28, 39, 46

⁵³ Turner 1977: 200

⁵⁴ Turner 1977: 19

⁵⁵ I believe that Turner's claim that Le Corbusier's ideology was characterized "deeply rooted idealism" (1977: 28) gave undue emphasis to this aspect of his early education. This assertion, along with the corollary claim that "the 'positivist' side of 19th-century thought" had "little fundamental influence" on his formation (39), has served, in my view, as a source of considerable confusion in the secondary literature, since positivist influences on his early

The architect's involvement with religious culture was critically reviewed a few years later by the Dominican scholar William Purdy, in an edited volume entitled *The Open Hand: Essays on Le Corbusier*.⁵⁶ Purdy noted that, from the point of view of Dominican theology, Le Corbusier's architectural designs at Ronchamp seemed "arbitrary," guided by an aesthetic considerations rather than "the needs of the Catholic clergy." In Purdy's view, this resulted from the architect's "primitive spiritual vision,"⁵⁷ which reserved privileged access to "the spiritual world" to peasant families, who retained, as he once wrote, that "special and precious quality found only in people who are in permanent contact with nature."⁵⁸ In effect, Purdy highlighted the same 'primitivistic' qualities that von Moos and Jencks had championed earlier, but saw in them not artistic inspiration but theological failure.⁵⁹ True to the tenets of Vatican II,⁶⁰ Purdy's article, which described an orthodox view of religion quite foreign to liberal academic institutions, levied the most stringent critique of the architect's purportedly 'irrational' behavior from within the fold of religion, taking Le Corbusier to task for ignoring the needs of "the demythologizing society of the second half of the 20th century."⁶¹

Turner's groundbreaking study had, meanwhile, thrown Le Corbusier's buried past into sharp relief. This helped to inspire several critical studies of the architect's shadowy dealings with the French arch-right in the 1930s, and his alleged eighteen-month tenure with the Vichy government immediately thereafter. Leading the way in this regard was Mary McLeod, who uncovered archival documents linking Le Corbusier to syndicalism, a fascist movement that had thrived in France between the wars.⁶² McLeod also brought to light Le Corbusier's involvements in Algeria from 1931 to 1942, when he had presented a series of purportedly totalitarian planning schemes to the foreign and domestic authorities while sketching peasant women in his spare time—sketches that von Moos had previously linked to the design of the 'feminine' curves of the Chapel.⁶³ McLeod's exposure of what she claimed to be the architect's blatant objectification of women cast him in a negative light from which, in the eyes of many scholars, he has never emerged; and the original context of the

education were, in fact, abundant. Evidence of this can be found in Le Corbusier's library in Paris; see Chapter 1, note 292; Chapter 3, note 29.

⁵⁶ Walden, ed. 1977

⁵⁷ Purdy 1977: 299-300

⁵⁸ Purdy 1977: 289; citing LC 1930: 323

⁵⁹ Purdy 1977: 317

⁶⁰ Purdy 1977: 309

⁶¹ Purdy 1977: 290

⁶² McLeod [1980] 1998; McLeod 1985

⁶³ McLeod [1980] 1998: 497; von Moos 1979: 268

design sources for Ronchamp—in the imperialistic dealings of *France d'outre mer* and the Vichy government—suggested a dark side of this 'religious' affair. Working alongside McLeod, Robert Fishman found additional evidence of Le Corbusier's affiliations in Algiers, as well as his association with Mussolini in 1934. In his *Urban Utopias of the Twentieth Century*, Fishman later characterized this phase of the architect's career as a period of "self-deception,"⁶⁴ in which a blind search for power and "a wholehearted identification with the 'general will'" had led him into a political abyss.⁶⁵ According to McLeod and Fishman, Le Corbusier was not the paragon of virtue that he was sometimes claimed to be, and their critical discourse set forth a wave of detractors who began to see the architect as a shadowy figure, hiding political extremism within his supposedly benign, humanistic intentions.

Danièle Pauly, another young scholar working in the Paris archives during this same time, turned her attention away from controversies in the secondary literature,⁶⁶ and continued to write of Le Corbusier's life and work in flattering terms, with no reference to more questionable aspects of his architectural career. Pauly focused instead upon "a return to sources," hoping to create the first truly objective study of the Chapel's design.⁶⁷ In her survey of archival design documents, Pauly questioned the notion that the Chapel was principally a work of capricious artistry, claiming instead that each element had been "conceived through rapport with a specific function"⁶⁸—a reading of Le Corbusier's creative process that was, by her own admission, strongly influenced by the architect's autobiographical statements and theoretical works.⁶⁹ In addition, she discovered several remote architectural sources, including the vernacular constructions of a Berber tribe in southern Algeria, a set of wind towers on the Mediterranean island of Ischia, and a series of funerary steles in a Jewish cemetery in the Levant, which bore a striking resemblance to certain features of Ronchamp. Pauly suggested that the apparent similarity between these historical structures and the forms of the Chapel could best be explained as an example of "the independent life of forms," following the influential doctrine of Henri Focillon.⁷⁰ Her approach thus combined a marked allegiance to the primary literature with an analytical technique

⁶⁴ Fishman 1982: 252

⁶⁵ Fishman 1982: 260

⁶⁶ Pauly 1980: 17

⁶⁷ Pauly 1980: 18

⁶⁸ Pauly 1980: 54

⁶⁹ Pauly 1980: 17

⁷⁰ Pauly 1980: 133-5, citing Focillon 1934

that implicitly ascribed agency to inanimate forms. The resulting study offered unparalleled insights concerning the Chapel's formal antecedents, but was uncritical of the explanations provided by the architect. Hence, Pauly's analysis of the sequence of design drawings was subtended by the implicit assumption that the architect's publications on Ronchamp are forthright.

In the same year that saw the publication of Pauly's monograph, a special edition of the journal *Oppositions* appeared, dedicated to Le Corbusier's oeuvre.⁷¹ Richard Moore's article within this volume attempted to explain the mysterious symbols and quasi-religious references within Le Corbusier's oeuvre through reference to alchemy, astrology, and mythology.⁷² In contrast to Pauly's 'functional' reading, Moore outlined a process by which various symbolic motifs in Le Corbusier's architecture, such as those on the south door of the Chapel, could be correlated with archetypal figures of ancient mythology through morphological congruity.⁷³ Moore based his symbolic readings on the form, shape and color of selected motifs, the meaning of which, he claimed, could be designated through an analysis of corresponding myths. As an aid to this hermeneutic enterprise, Moore allowed himself access to source texts that had been published near the date of the rendering of these symbolic materials, whether or not the architect was known to have read them.⁷⁴ Many of Moore's observations along these lines are highly insightful, and his corresponding assertions concerning Le Corbusier's interest in the occult might well be true; but the lack of archival evidence that he brought forth in support of these arguments leaves them difficult to assess. His hypotheses thus often remain mired in speculation. Nevertheless, his work has proved to be highly influential and remains a standard reference.

Within this same edited volume, the architects Cohen and Hurtt offered a rival explanation for the Chapel's morphology. Following the methodologies of their architectural mentor, Colin Rowe, these authors sought to explain the architectonic structure of the Chapel through reference to "spatial types."⁷⁵ Cohen and Hurtt defined the allegedly free-form construction of Ronchamp through reference to stable formal properties, which they claimed recurred throughout history: the orthogonally-

⁷¹ Frampton, ed. 1980

⁷² Moore 1980

⁷³ Moore 1980: 118

⁷⁴ Moore 1980: 135

⁷⁵ Cohen & Hurtt 1980: 143, 156

framed cube, the parallel planes of floor and ceiling, the open-ended mural enclosure of the megaron, and the space-defining parasol roof. The Chapel could be understood, they argued, as a combination of these timeless configurations,⁷⁶ which had been interpreted at Ronchamp “in terms of the traditions of Catholic worship.”⁷⁷ Using similar techniques of formal analysis, the authors also suggested that the curved, eastern edge of the Chapel’s roof could be described as “an arch against the sky, suggesting a baldachin or ‘dome of heaven’ over the outside altar.” This symbolic allusion, combined with a reconciliation of centralized and longitudinal church schemata, led Cohen and Hurtt to conclude that the Chapel embodies numerous “elements of the Christian church,” as well as others elements from “archetypal sacred places of worship,” all of which had been rearranged according to Le Corbusier’s own “personal cosmology.”⁷⁸ Following this logic, Cohen and Hurtt suggested that the celebrated Chapel could be seen as “a reinterpretation of the Parthenon” in a very different historical and cultural context—an assertion that was supported by Le Corbusier’s own published account of the building’s origins.⁷⁹

2.3 ESTABLISHING THE CANON MYTHS, DREAMS, AND HIEROGLYPHS

In the mid-1980s, William Curtis, arguably the most comprehensive Corbusian scholar to date, approached the symbolic material of Ronchamp through his vast knowledge of art history, philosophy, and psychoanalysis. Curtis claimed that a period of seclusion during World War II had “sent the artist deep into his subconscious in search of totemic images,” which were said to have had a direct relation to his subsequent designs for the Chapel.⁸⁰ The initial result of this introverted phase of Le Corbusier’s artistic development, Curtis wrote, was a series of iconic paintings known as the *Ubu* and *Taureaux* series, which drew from Alfred Jarry’s irreverent character, *Ubu Roi*. Curtis suggested that the architect had used this imaginary, iconoclastic figure to express own his sense of futility and irony during the Second World War, which he characterized as “a mental state of withdrawal”.⁸¹ What these works might have

⁷⁶ Cohen & Hurtt 1980: 143

⁷⁷ Cohen & Hurtt 1980: 146, 150

⁷⁸ Cohen & Hurtt 1980: 154-6

⁷⁹ Cohen & Hurtt 1980: 143, 151; LC 1957a: 6

⁸⁰ Curtis 1986: 165-7

⁸¹ Curtis [1982] 1996: 417

signified to Le Corbusier was, however, difficult if not impossible to say, since they expressed "poetic correspondences" that operated within the architect's psyche, as "in a dream."⁸² These vague, shifting, and polymorphous associations, Curtis claimed, reflected a "personal language" comprised of a private "set of schemata," the order of which was reflected in the artist's sketches, paintings, and architectural designs.⁸³ One plausible approach to interpreting such schemata was suggested by Curtis' assessment of the curvilinear forms of the Chapel's roof, which the architect had described as modeled after the "shell of a crab (*coque du crabe*)."⁸⁴ Curtis noted that the term may have been intended as pun—thus again linking Le Corbusier to the clever semantics of Jarry—since the French term 'coque' can refer to both a crustacean shell and the hull of the boat, which the roof's profile does seem to resemble. Such linguistic connections, Curtis proposed, might have served as a means by which the architect had combined "hermetic levels of meaning," unifying such disparate ideas as "a 'vessel of communication', a spiritual container," and "a ship of salvation" through semantic polysemy.⁸⁴ These associations might appear appropriate for a pilgrimage church; but according to Curtis, Le Corbusier's underlying, Rousseauesque ideas were at odds with Catholic doctrine⁸⁵—indeed, he noted that Le Corbusier's alleged ancestors were among the heretics crushed by his Dominican patrons 700 years before⁸⁶—so the Chapel had instead been conceived, he claimed, as a "temple to nature"⁸⁷ pervaded by a sense of heathen pantheism and "primitive animism."⁸⁸

One year after Curtis' landmark publication, a collection of scholarly articles entitled *Le Corbusier: Architect of the Century* was published in conjunction with the Centennial celebration of the architect's birth.⁸⁹ This edited volume includes Tim Benton's analysis of Le Corbusier's life-long involvement with religion within an article entitled 'The Sacred and the Search for Myths'.⁹⁰ Benton suggested that Le Corbusier's myriad ecclesiastical projects, on which the architect had privately labored throughout his life, "left the door open for a spiritual dimension," in which "levels of symbolism and mythology were clearly meant to substitute for religious faith."⁹¹ The architect's ideas

⁸² Curtis 1986: 179

⁸³ Curtis 1986: 224

⁸⁴ Curtis 1986: 180

⁸⁵ Curtis 1986: 179

⁸⁶ Curtis 1986: 179

⁸⁷ Curtis 1986: 181

⁸⁸ Curtis [1982] 1997: 421

⁸⁹ Raeburn & Wilson, eds. 1987

⁹⁰ Benton 1987c

⁹¹ Benton 1987c: 238

were said to be neither “religious”⁹² nor admitting of the “pathos” of faith,⁹³ but were said to depend nonetheless upon a set of “comparable metaphysical and moral assumptions.”⁹⁴ Benton thus proposed that Le Corbusier had been strongly influenced by the symbolism and mythology of traditional religion, and had utilized these sources to invent his own quasi-religious metaphysics; furthermore, he also had a rare ability, Benton noted, “to transfer the resulting energy into actual, if idealistic, projects.” The architect came across as a man who was set apart from conventional systems of belief, but who could nonetheless offer the secular world a concentrated distillation of all that he had borrowed from his religious friends.⁹⁵ In light of the odd admixture of vaguely ‘spiritual’ and overtly anticlerical statements that color the architect’s written oeuvre, this conclusion is probably true; however, within this article, Benton’s analysis implicitly defined ‘religion’ in institutional terms as a collective obedience to ‘faith’, and the architect’s private “search for myths” as ‘spiritual’—a semantic distinction that may have granted Le Corbusier considerable immunity from the enduring influence of his Christian upbringing, which at the time remained largely unexplored.

In this same volume, art historian Christopher Green analyzed the relationship between Le Corbusier’s work as a painter and his development as an architect.⁹⁶ Augmenting previous work by Eduard Sekler,⁹⁷ Green claimed that there could be no doubt that the practice of painting had directly informed Le Corbusier’s process of architectural design, since “the painting, after all, came first.”⁹⁸ Green suggested that the “primitive” forms associated with the Chapel of Ronchamp were first explored in just this manner, through drawings and paintings dating back to the early 1940s, and also through the polychromatic sculptures that were translated from them, which later became “the functional sculpture” of the Chapel itself.⁹⁹ Part of this function, Green emphasized, was symbolic: Le Corbusier had developed a private set of symbolic devices that carried hidden meanings about “the closeness of the human to nature,”¹⁰⁰ and these natural symbols were, in turn, interspersed with additional enigmatic signs that Green insisted were expressions of Le Corbusier’s personal

⁹² Benton 1987c: 240

⁹³ Benton 1987c: 244

⁹⁴ Benton 1987c: 240

⁹⁵ Benton 1987c: 244

⁹⁶ Green 1987

⁹⁷ Sekler 1978

⁹⁸ Green 1987: 114

⁹⁹ Green 1987: 117-8

¹⁰⁰ Green 1987: 125-6

mythology, as “manifestations of the self.”¹⁰¹ Green thus suggested that a private concept of self was expressed in Le Corbusier’s art and architecture, through a personal mythology that formed “the entire structure of his thinking.”¹⁰² Green’s research thus provided an analytical framework that linked Le Corbusier’s artistic process, and also his personal mythology, to the enigmatic forms of the Chapel. But the actual content of this private ideology remained unclear.

Several years later, Peter Carl surveyed the twentieth century’s most famous architect using a hermeneutic methodology that drew upon the work of Hans-Georg Gadamer. Continuing the research that Moore had begun a decade before, Carl searched for morphological congruities within museum objects across the world, claiming that the answer to Le Corbusier’s private mythology lay not within a closer reading of archival sources, nor an in-depth analysis of his creative process, but rather in a reading of similar religious symbols throughout history. The architect was heir, Carl claimed, to a supposedly unbroken tradition of “secret wisdom” that had been transmitted to him via nineteenth-century esotericism.¹⁰³ Carl based this conclusion upon the visual similarities of artistic and architectural motifs spanning over three millennia, from the fifteenth-century BCE to the 1950s, and suggested that an “infinite extension of horizons as a metaphor for cultural context” was sufficient evidence to prove that Le Corbusier’s rendering of a tree in the 1940s could, for example, be positively correlated with both a mystical tree of Neolithic ritual and Robert Fludd’s Renaissance-era “Sephirothic tree.”¹⁰⁴ However, since Le Corbusier represented “the intensely personal creativity of the artist,”¹⁰⁵ which lacked a sense of “shared transcendence”¹⁰⁶—a quality that Carl claimed was characteristic of religious culture in general—his esoteric iconography at Ronchamp was said to have merely led to the inversion of architectural elements in a sort of formalistic game.¹⁰⁷ The Chapel thus stood for Carl as a symbol of self-consuming, cultural “dispersal,”¹⁰⁸ and thus of a regrettable demise. He later wrote that the building represented a culmination of Le Corbusier’s attempts to reconvene a “synthesis of the arts,”¹⁰⁹ but one which had

¹⁰¹ Green 1987: 116, quoting LC 1938a: 11

¹⁰² Green 1987: 111-12

¹⁰³ Carl 1991: 50

¹⁰⁴ Carl 1992: 55, 59-60

¹⁰⁵ Carl 1992: 58

¹⁰⁶ Carl 1992: 60

¹⁰⁷ Carl 1992: 63 n. 143

¹⁰⁸ Carl 1992: 60

¹⁰⁹ Carl 2003: 104

failed, because the architect thought it best to “deploy avant-garde means to achieve monumental ends.”¹¹⁰ The result, according to Carl, was a monument to individual genius alone.¹¹¹

During this same period, a similar hermeneutic approach was taken up by Mogens Krustrop, in a series of publications that sought to divulge the secret of Le Corbusier’s mysterious iconographical program. Taking Moore’s previous work as a point of departure,¹¹² Krustrop presented an elaborate analysis of the enamel doors of the Chapel, in which individual motifs were traced back to their origins in Le Corbusier’s paintings, graphics, sketches, and personal notes.¹¹³ The author claimed that alchemy was the architect’s principal source, and singled out the mysterious ‘FF’ symbol in the center of the southern door as an important bearer of this esoteric meaning: it stood for ‘fusion’, he maintained, in which the solar-masculine power was said to be linked with the lunar-feminine energy.¹¹⁴ In a similar fashion, he explained the concentration of symbolic motifs in the great southern wall in reference to the astrological “signs of the zodiac.”¹¹⁵ Krustrop emphasized that many of these alchemical and astrological symbols shared formal similarities with a series of sketches created by Le Corbusier in the early 1930s during his yearly sojourn to the seaside resort of Le Piquey, outside of Bordeaux¹¹⁶—a pattern previously noted by Green. A common theme was autobiographical: the pentagon,¹¹⁷ swastika,¹¹⁸ and open door¹¹⁹ occur again and again in the architect’s oeuvre, and, according to Krustrop, “seem to signify Le Corbusier himself.”¹²⁰ Krustrop corroborated these assertions through reference to textual sources, such as Jung’s *Psychology and Alchemy* (1938), which, he claimed, had been an essential source of these motifs—even though there is no evidence that Le Corbusier ever owned the book. The architect did, however, own several copies of Homer’s epic poetry,¹²¹ and in 1954 left a note to himself to revisit the writings of the antique master.¹²² Krustrop’s claim that the Chapel resembles an initiatory cave like the one

¹¹⁰ Carl 2003: 117

¹¹¹ Carl 2003: 117

¹¹² Krustrop 1991: 28

¹¹³ Krustrop 1991: 22

¹¹⁴ Krustrop 1987a: 32; 1991: 29

¹¹⁵ Krustrop 1987b: 204; 1991: 57, note 33

¹¹⁶ Krustrop 1991: 46

¹¹⁷ Krustrop 1991: 29

¹¹⁸ Krustrop 1991: 46

¹¹⁹ Krustrop 1991: 49

¹²⁰ Krustrop 1991: 47

¹²¹ Krustrop 1987: 205; FLC J 90, 92, 93

¹²² Krustrop 1987: 205, citing Sketchbook F26-839

described in the *Odyssey* is thus one instance in his work of an intertextual hypothesis corroborated by archival evidence.¹²³

Another work published in the the early 1990's was Alex Gerber's *La leçon de M'zab*, included within an edited volume analyzing Le Corbusier's interest in Mediterranean culture.¹²⁴ Following Pauly's canonical account, Gerber claimed that the religious architecture of an eleventh-century Berber tribe known as the Mozabites had been a central focus of Le Corbusier's travels in northern Africa in the 1930s, and that within this context the "domain of the sacred interested him above all."¹²⁵ Gerber also noted that the tribe had been persecuted as heretics¹²⁶—a fact that evidently appealed to Le Corbusier, who, recalling the plight of both his adoptive ancestors, the Cathars, as well as his actual Protestant ancestry, referred to them as "les Huguenots musulmans."¹²⁷ Poring over neglected sources, Gerber revealed Le Corbusier's idealized view of the Mozabites, whom the architect saw as noble "barbarians" living "in quietude and well-being," always "in accord with nature,"¹²⁸ and suggested that this valorization of the 'primitive' could be traced within Le Corbusier's symbol system, from Le Piquey and Algiers to Ronchamp, in an unbroken chain.¹²⁹ Gerber thus opened a door to a deeper investigation of Le Corbusier's interest in North African religion and its relation to the design of the Chapel. However, two central 'facts' of the previous discourse seemed to dissuade further examination of this hypothesis: first, a persistent assertion concerning the architect's agnosticism,¹³⁰ which evidently suggested that no deeper inquiry into Le Corbusier's private beliefs was required;¹³¹ and second, Pauly's explanation of the Chapel as a collection of forms with manifest 'function',¹³² which seemed to curtail further analysis of its cultural origins.¹³³ Hence, Gerber claimed that, with respect to Ronchamp, "everything has been said," or "nearly everything."¹³⁴ His text nonetheless offered unprecedented insight concerning the architect's sustained interest in the architecture of northern Africa.

¹²³ Krustrup 1987: 201

¹²⁴ Bonillo & Monnier, eds. 1991

¹²⁵ Gerber 1991: 53-4

¹²⁶ Gerber 1991: 58

¹²⁷ Gerber 1991: 59, citing LC 1931: 105

¹²⁸ Gerber 1991: 62-4, citing LC 1935a, 1941a

¹²⁹ Gerber 1991: 57

¹³⁰ B: 363, Semantics of Religion (Agnostic/Atheistic Explanations)

¹³¹ Gerber 1991: 79

¹³² Pauly 1980: 54

¹³³ Gerber 1991: 79

¹³⁴ Gerber 1991: 79

2.4 REVISION AND REASSESSMENT

FALSE TRAILS, FETISHISM, AND THE ENIGMA OF FORM

The final decade of the twentieth century bore witness to a renewed wave of critical denunciations of Le Corbusier's oeuvre. Feminist scholars, in particular, were outspoken in their criticism of Le Corbusier, and forced a reassessment of the 'architect-hero'. Beatriz Columina, analyzing his life through a composite lens of Freud and Adorno, focused upon the effects of Le Corbusier's involvement with the "culture industry," a debased milieu in which the architect and the rest of his modernist comrades were said to be prone to the "fetishistic appropriation of women."¹³⁵ Evidence of this voyeuristic practice, which he pursued to the end of his life, could be found, she claimed, in his fascination with traced images, culled from paintings, photographs, and books. Such drawings, in Columina's view, were "instrument of colonization."¹³⁶ Following the semiotic theory of Roland Barthes, she concluded that his continual attempt to reduce his image of the world to its "essential forms"¹³⁷ was a misguided attempt "to fix the floating chain of signifieds in such a way as to counter the terror of uncertain signs."¹³⁸ Le Corbusier was thus said to have engaged a lifelong struggle of "fetishistic substitution,"¹³⁹ in which he tried to compensate for his own troubled sexuality through a series of increasingly pathological artistic practices, culminating in 1938 with the production of a provocative mural in Eileen Gray's house—a modification that Columina described as unauthorized "vandalism."¹⁴⁰ Von Moos had pointed out some years before that this very mural was, interestingly enough, an important source for the initial plans of the Chapel at Ronchamp.¹⁴¹

In the following year, Robin Evans staged in a rare return to the archival materials that had first been analyzed by Danièle Pauly in the 1970s. Evans framed his review of Le Corbusier's built oeuvre within a sweeping revision of architectural historiography, in which he highlighted the inherent "instability" of the various modes of projective geometry upon which human perceptual processes, and thus the production of architecture, have historically been based.¹⁴² Drawing upon the works of Nietzsche,

¹³⁵ Columina 1994: 84

¹³⁶ Columina 1994: 93

¹³⁷ Columina 1994: 93

¹³⁸ Columina 1994: 100, quoting Barthes [1964] 1977: 38-40

¹³⁹ Columina 1994: 89

¹⁴⁰ Columina 1994: 85-9

¹⁴¹ von Moos 1979: 287

¹⁴² Evans 1995: xxxi

Freud, Foucault, and Derrida, Evans pointed out that hidden frameworks of social power often lurk within such projective frameworks, as forms of "fraudulent metaphysics," which he felt it was his duty as a critic to undermine.¹⁴³ Following this logic, Evans brought great scrutiny to his analysis of Ronchamp, deconstructing Le Corbusier's claims about his supposedly universal system of measure, the Modulor, while suggesting that the architect had used this arcane system as a form of "fictional wish fulfillment."¹⁴⁴ Behind this lay the real, embarrassing secret to his craft, which, in Evans' view, was rather prosaic: Le Corbusier had simply been enamored of an artistic trend involving "the rigid lines of ruled surfaces," borrowed from his friend, the sculptor Antoine Pevsner—a link previously noted by Besset and von Moos.¹⁴⁵ Evidence of this rather mundane engineering technique, Evans claimed, could be found in a tiny, nearly undecipherable sketch that had previously been overlooked, suggesting sources that the architect had apparently been reluctant to reveal.¹⁴⁶ The rest of the so-called "secret" symbolism in the Chapel, according to Evans, had nothing to do with Pythagorean idealism or alchemical symbolism, which he believed Le Corbusier had lain as a false trail or a farce;¹⁴⁷ rather, these motifs and myths could be seen, he claimed, as "an assault on the ubiquitous representation of the subjective self in western architecture."¹⁴⁸ Evans thus suggested that if Ronchamp fit within the dubious chain of would-be "religious buildings" that had historically drawn architects into the service of popular faith, then it was hopefully the end of the line.¹⁴⁹

While Evans sought to deconstruct the Chapel's alleged 'secret' meanings, Kenneth Frampton, writing in the same year, reconvened the typological analysis of Ronchamp first examined by Cohen and Hurtt, offering a more nuanced investigation of its constructive or 'tectonic' dimension. With characteristic insight and vast erudition, Frampton suggested that different modes of construction can be said to evoke specific "cosmic associations"¹⁵⁰ through the articulation of "the poetic and the cognitive aspects" of a building.¹⁵¹ By this logic, he claimed that the Chapel at Ronchamp marked a key moment in the evolution of Le Corbusier's design process, in which two

¹⁴³ Evans 1995: 42, 316

¹⁴⁴ Evans 1995: 292

¹⁴⁵ Evans 1995: 310; Besset 1967: 49; von Moos 1970: 244

¹⁴⁶ Evans 1995: 309

¹⁴⁷ Evans 1995: 314-7

¹⁴⁸ Evans 1995: 295

¹⁴⁹ Evans 1995: 319

¹⁵⁰ Frampton 1995: 7

¹⁵¹ Frampton 1995: 26

different structural paradigms from the architect's oeuvre, the megaron form of the Greek temple, explored in the *Maison Week-End* in St. Cloud, Paris, in 1934, and the primordial form of the nomadic tent, exemplified by the canvas-covered *Pavilion des Temps Nouveaux* at the Paris Exposition of 1937, had been successfully combined in a "sacred tectonic/typological synthesis."¹⁵² In a subsequent text, Frampton provided his own synthetic assessment of the Chapel—arguably the most complete explanation of Ronchamp offered to date—in which he claimed that an admixture of Christian symbols, Asiatic emblems, nautical and aeronautical precedents, and Mediterranean vernacular motifs, among other things, had all been deployed as a collective expression of the architect's belief in "the rhythmic order of nature" and "the aquatic origin of all life."¹⁵³ Frampton noted that such an approach had clearly set the architect apart from all forms of institutionalized religion; but the exact details of Le Corbusier's beliefs, he admitted, remained an "enigma."¹⁵⁴ Previously, Frampton had suggested that the architect's interest in reconciling such opposing principles was a reflection of his "dialectical' habit of mind," which may have resulted from a "half-forgotten but latent Manichean view of the world," drawn from his distant Albigensian forebears—an iconoclastic heritage, he remarked, which "permeates his architecture and is evident as a habit of mind in most of his theoretical texts."¹⁵⁵

H. Allen Brooks sought documentary evidence, rather than theoretical arguments, to explain the origins of Le Corbusier's creativity. Brooks spent a decade poring over archival sources in search of such clues, and the result of his efforts, published in 1997, revealed several unknown projects from the architect's formative years, as well as a wealth of uninvestigated cultural influences. Among the most important of these early influences, Brooks claimed, was the cultural background of the Swiss canton in which the young Charles-Édouard Jeanneret received his early education.¹⁵⁶ This developmental context, Brooks noted, was strongly marked by the presence of Calvinism, and had included six weeks of formal religious instruction, through which the future architect became well-versed in the history of Protestant reform and the biblical prose that formed its cultural center—a seminal event, according to Brooks, which had left "an indelible impression upon his mind."¹⁵⁷ Shortly thereafter, Jeanneret

¹⁵² Frampton 1995: 345-6

¹⁵³ Frampton 1997: 167-174

¹⁵⁴ Frampton 1997: 183

¹⁵⁵ Frampton 1980: 149

¹⁵⁶ Brooks 1997: 19

¹⁵⁷ Brooks 1997: 20, 41

produced a series of drawings for a local church-building competition initiated by the *Union Chrétienne de Jeunes Gens*, a local reformist Church with ties to the Swiss Socialist Party, and there was a possible link, Brooks argued, between these early efforts and Le Corbusier's later designs for the Chapel of Ronchamp.¹⁵⁸ The only evidence for this, however, was visual comparison: the buildings seemed to look vaguely alike. Whether or not this is sufficient proof is an open question; but Brooks' research left little doubt that the early years of Le Corbusier's architectural training had been equally divided between ecclesiastical and domestic projects. Only the latter, prior to his efforts, had been the object of extensive study.

The art historian Christopher Pearson suggested a different approach to the study of the Chapel in his article 'Le Corbusier and the Acoustic Trope: an Investigation of Its Origins'. Pearson claimed that examination of the architect's built works could be contextually grounded in "an interrogation of the idiosyncratic vocabulary of his later writings," rather than a study of "the significance of individual motifs [...], psychoanalytical approaches," or "esoteric alchemical symbolism."¹⁵⁹ In effect, Pearson renewed the semantic investigation that his research supervisor, Paul Turner, had begun three decades earlier, in which both the etymological and pragmatic aspects of Le Corbusier's coded lexicon had been subject to scrutiny.¹⁶⁰ Pearson noted, for example, that the French verb *irradier*—a term of great theoretical importance in the architect's so-called 'Late Period'—carried a different set of semantic associations than its English cognate, 'radiate', and set out to explore the specific use of that term in Le Corbusier's lexicon. Drawing attention to both the etymological origins of the term and the various semantic contexts from which it had been extracted, Pearson concluded that the architect had made use of some eccentric terminology in contemporaneous medical research, in which a physical body was said to 'irradiate' from within, and had used the term in an unconventional "existential sense" to represent a "fundamental human activity."¹⁶¹ Through such private semantic coding, Pearson claimed, Le Corbusier had concealed a magical world view in scientific terms. The Chapel of Ronchamp, he concluded, was the "preeminent architectural manifestation"¹⁶² of this "fundamentally non-rational aim,"¹⁶³ in which works of

¹⁵⁸ Brooks 1997: 45-7

¹⁵⁹ Pearson 1997: 168

¹⁶⁰ Turner 1977

¹⁶¹ Pearson 1997: 170

¹⁶² Pearson 1997: 180

¹⁶³ Pearson 1997: 179

architecture are said to be imbued with “a certain kind of human presence, a sense of active participation in their environment,” acting as “an expression of the will and personality of their creators.”¹⁶⁴ Evidence supporting this hypothesis, Pearson claimed, could be found in a letter that Le Corbusier had written to his friend Joseph Savina in 1947, three years before their celebrated collaboration at Ronchamp, in which the architect had coined the phrase “*acoustique plastique*” to describe the animistic worldview that guided his creative process.¹⁶⁵ Despite this careful corroboration, however, Pearson’s article was all but ignored by established Corbusian scholars, and, as he later admitted, “sank without a trace.”¹⁶⁶ In later writings, the author abandoned this semantic approach, and instead scrutinized Le Corbusier’s oeuvre in the context of his political involvements,¹⁶⁷ concluding that the architect’s sculptural oeuvre served as an embodiment of his need “to exert authoritarian control.”¹⁶⁸

The final years of the twentieth century also saw the publication of a doctoral thesis on Ronchamp, written at the *Escola Tecnica Superior d’Arquitectura* in Barcelona by the Catalan scholar Jaime Alberto Sarmiento.¹⁶⁹ Sarmiento returned to the archival documents previously examined by Pauly and Evans, and suggested several design sources that had apparently been overlooked. He pointed out, for example, that in one of Le Corbusier’s original sketches of the Chapel’s southeast façade, two upturned sections of the roof were depicted in a manner that resembled, in his view, a pair of boats hung in mid-air.¹⁷⁰ Sarmiento also highlighted a sketch of the Chapel’s roof that the architect had produced in which the form of a small boat could be seen in outline,¹⁷¹ and claimed that this loose rendering, along with a set of marginal drawings on this same sheet, represented a series of structural studies in which the architect was exploring the metaphorical congruence between the hull of a boat and the curves of the Chapel’s roof.¹⁷² In addition, Sarmiento suggested a parallel between the curving, western portion of the Chapel’s plan and a similar motif in Le Corbusier’s artistic vocabulary, found within the rounded forms of a painting from 1940, as well as a homologous shape in a sculpture from 1947, *Ozon 40*, in which this form seems to

¹⁶⁴ Pearson 1997: 170

¹⁶⁵ Pearson 1997: 179, citing LC, letter to Savina, 27 Aug 1947: F3-18-20 (D: 1947-08-27)

¹⁶⁶ Pearson, personal correspondence, 4 Nov 2005

¹⁶⁷ Pearson 2005: 68

¹⁶⁸ Pearson 2005: 69

¹⁶⁹ Sarmiento 1997

¹⁷⁰ Sarmiento 1997: figure 32

¹⁷¹ Sarmiento 1997: figure 47

¹⁷² Sarmiento 1997: figures 49-52

represent an ear.¹⁷³ The author thus proposed formal parallels between the Chapel's design and the architect's artistic oeuvre,¹⁷⁴ and suggested that the repetition of such motifs could be seen as "a mystical, mysterious component" that served to balance all of the rational, mathematical, and psychological aspects that Le Corbusier inscribed in his projects.¹⁷⁵ Sarmiento's observations were thus put forth in an argument that presupposed the rationality of the architect's design process, while interpreting his artistic motifs within the semantics of 'mysticism and mystery'.

2.5 RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

RELIGION, SPIRITUALITY, AND THE CULTURAL ICON

In the early years of the twenty-first century, the variety of published interpretations of Le Corbusier and his enigmatic Chapel has continued to grow. Anthony Vidler, in a popular book entitled, *Warped Space: Art, Architecture, and Anxiety in Modern Culture*, broadened a Freudian attack on architecture levied earlier by Evans. Following the work of Jacques Lacan, Vidler presented a "psychoanalysis of architecture" in which the built environment could be studied as both mirror and frame of the anxiety said to be characteristic of modern culture.¹⁷⁶ In a departure from the Lacanian paradigm, he also suggested that much contemporary architecture could be seen, in addition, as contrivances produced in an existential vacuum, or "representations of anxiety or horror in the face of the void," as Vidler put it.¹⁷⁷ He thus suggested that Le Corbusier and his modernist comrades were infected by the "old phobias of modernity," which, he claimed, had forced the aesthetic fashions of twentieth-century artists and architects "into new and sometimes excessive modes of expression."¹⁷⁸ The theoretical notion of *l'espace indicible*, a central component of Le Corbusier's explanations of Ronchamp, was seen by Vidler as a poignant example of this tendency, and he claimed that the architect brandished this construct as "an instrument of the modernist sublime."¹⁷⁹ The "oceanic" sense of transcendence implied by this theory, Vidler claimed, was "virtually religious in nature,"¹⁸⁰ and the source of this exuberance

¹⁷³ Sarmiento 1997: figure 91

¹⁷⁴ Sarmiento 1997: figure 91

¹⁷⁵ Sarmiento 1997: 182

¹⁷⁶ Vidler 2001: 13

¹⁷⁷ Vidler 2001: 14

¹⁷⁸ Vidler 2001: 2

¹⁷⁹ Vidler 2001: 54

¹⁸⁰ Vidler 2001: 54-5

was said to be found in Le Corbusier's youthful enthusiasm for "Nietzsche and Herbert Spencer" and a "quasi-religious Wagnerianism fomented by Édouard Schuré"¹⁸¹—three authors and one composer known to have influenced the architect's youth.

In the same year, Alexander Tzonis reframed the Marxian analysis of Le Corbusier's oeuvre, returning to an approach that had previously structured the work of Frampton, McLeod, and others. For Tzonis, the Chapel at Ronchamp and other works within the Corbusian oeuvre were indebted to the great architect's lifelong iconoclasm, said to be founded upon an allegiance to his Cathar ancestors.¹⁸² Tzonis described the Cathars as a proto-revolutionary sect characterized by "socialist, reformist, critical, and optimistic" ideas, able to "scrutinize the authority of the Church and even the scriptures."¹⁸³ The author also claimed that the architect was a modern-day adherent of this revolutionary lineage, and—reiterating Le Corbusier's own personal mythology—heir to a "collective *catharist* memory,"¹⁸⁴ which allowed him to be "consistently optimistic, iconoclastic, and purist,"¹⁸⁵ while keeping a critical distance from institutionalized religion. Due to this cultural distance, Tzonis noted that the architect's pilgrimage Chapel, upon completion, had aroused "deep anxiety and extreme responses" around the world, as Le Corbusier's contemporaries openly questioned his involvement with the Catholic Church—an expression, Tzonis observed, of the tense ideological struggle in which the design and conception of Ronchamp had first emerged.¹⁸⁶ Highlighting this troubled postwar milieu, Tzonis suggested that the explanations Le Corbusier had put forth within this context were open to question: the "acoustic" metaphor often credited as the source of the Chapel's forms, for example, was said to be intellectually stimulating but also the "the most obscure" and "most perplexing" that the architect had ever developed;¹⁸⁷ while the structure and form of the roof, which Le Corbusier claimed was inspired by a crab shell, actually resembled, in Tzonis' view, a boat.¹⁸⁸ Such critical observations were also accompanied by more conventional explanations from the *Œuvre complète*: the

¹⁸¹ Vidler 2001: 58

¹⁸² Tzonis 2001: 15

¹⁸³ Tzonis 2001: 15

¹⁸⁴ Tzonis 2001: 218

¹⁸⁵ Tzonis 2001: 15

¹⁸⁶ Tzonis 2001: 174-5

¹⁸⁷ Tzonis 2001: 178

¹⁸⁸ Tzonis 2001: 181

“landscape” and “four horizons,” Tzonis wrote, had been the most significant constraints, and the requirements of religion had had “no major effect.”¹⁸⁹

In stark contrast to Tzonis’ interpretation, Flora Samuel suggested that Le Corbusier’s lifelong interest in religious topics did not stem from his political interests, but rather from his interest in “the subject of spirituality.”¹⁹⁰ Drawing attention to previously overlooked autobiographical materials, Samuel brought attention to the influence of prominent religious figures upon Le Corbusier’s prolific oeuvre, such as Saint Teresa of Ávila,¹⁹¹ Giovanni Pico della Mirandola,¹⁹² Pierre Teilhard de Chardin,¹⁹³ and André Gide.¹⁹⁴ Samuel claimed that her publications directly confronted topics that had been “neglected by architectural historians,” including Le Corbusier’s interest in Catholicism,¹⁹⁵ primitive religion, alchemy, the occult,¹⁹⁶ and in particular, Orphism.¹⁹⁷ It was from the latter philosophy, Samuel claimed, that the architect had derived his interest in “harmony with nature,” which, she explained, “could only be achieved through a balanced relationship between male and female.”¹⁹⁸ Such textually-derived insights were used by Samuel as a critical means of investigation of the architect’s oeuvre, with a central focus upon the Chapel of Ronchamp. Thus she argued that “certain parts of the building might be compared with elements of a woman’s body,”¹⁹⁹ and that prominent features of the Chapel, such as the form of a tower, could be said to simultaneously represent an “ear and a vagina,” open at once to “spiritual or erotic connotations.”²⁰⁰ Samuel remarked that Le Corbusier’s inclusion of this overtly sexual symbolism at Ronchamp could be seen as “a critique of the Catholic Church and its attitude to bodily pleasure,”²⁰¹ and that the goal of this libidinous subtext was to encourage all of us “to find the union of opposites within ourselves.”²⁰² The author also recognized that Le Corbusier made few explicit references to such ideas in his published explanations, which renders such hypotheses difficult to prove;²⁰³

¹⁸⁹ Tzonis 2001: 178, citing Boesiger 1953: 88

¹⁹⁰ Samuel 2000: 184

¹⁹¹ Samuel 1999a: 121

¹⁹² Samuel 1999a: 120; 2004: 66

¹⁹³ Samuel 2000: 181

¹⁹⁴ Samuel 2004: 125

¹⁹⁵ Samuel 1999a: 112

¹⁹⁶ Samuel 2000: 185; 2004: 66

¹⁹⁷ Samuel 2004: 5, 57-73

¹⁹⁸ Samuel 2004: 5

¹⁹⁹ Samuel 2004: 120

²⁰⁰ Samuel 1999b: 412; 2004: 122

²⁰¹ Samuel 1999c: 74

²⁰² Samuel 2004: 120

²⁰³ Samuel 2004: 123

nonetheless, Samuel proposed that “something similar seems to be implicit in his work,”²⁰⁴ though certain details of this symbolism might remain a matter of speculation, due to a lack of corroborating evidence.²⁰⁵

Daniel Naegele has also recently attempted to disinter the Chapel’s underlying symbolic connotations. Naegele noted that, after the war, Le Corbusier began to conceive of his increasingly sculptural work “anthropomorphically,” imbuing his architecture “with a dimension of spirituality and otherworldliness.”²⁰⁶ This new sense of ‘spirituality’ was described as a move from “the absolute and material world of the rationalist,” said to describe the early period of stark geometric villas, to the “relative and phenomenal world of the poet-artist,” characterized by the post-Cartesian pioneers of the New World, such as Einstein, Freud, Breton, Leiris, Picasso, and, by proxy, the late works of Le Corbusier.²⁰⁷ Naegele thus suggested that an anthropomorphic source lurked within the Chapel’s forms: “a glowing, benevolent face,” which, according to the author, seemed to look toward the eastern horizon with one open eye. Precedents for this type of symbolism, Naegele noted, dated back to a painting from 1935 known as *Femme couché*, in which a skull-capped feminine figure with eccentric anatomy “stares out with her right eye only, covering the left with her hand in a last judgment gesture.”²⁰⁸ Naegele stated that this monocular face had simply been given “three-dimensional form” in the design of the Chapel.²⁰⁹ It followed from this that the curvilinear structure of Ronchamp was meant to represent “a colossal skull,” which people could “inhabit,” and, once inside, “dwell in its darkness.”²¹⁰ Similar ideas, the author noted, had first appeared in the Surrealist projects of Man Ray, André Masson, and George Bataille, which, he claimed, may have served as Le Corbusier’s inspiration.²¹¹ Naegele also suggested that this monocular façade resembled a medieval chapel in the south of France, which Le Corbusier knew from a postcard in his collection;²¹² but the only evidence for this, the author admitted, was a certain morphological congruence.²¹³

²⁰⁴ Samuel 2004: 123

²⁰⁵ Samuel 2004: 127

²⁰⁶ Naegele 2003: 17

²⁰⁷ Naegele 2003: 32-5

²⁰⁸ Naegele 2003: 21

²⁰⁹ Naegele 2003: 22

²¹⁰ Naegele 2003: 24

²¹¹ Naegele 2003: 28-31

²¹² Naegele 2003: 24-5

²¹³ Naegele 2003: 24

Two articles recently published within the edited volume *Le Corbusier, le symbolique, le sacré, la spiritualité*²¹⁴ examined the cultural sources of the architect's quasi-religious affiliations. The first, Philippe Potié's 'De la spiritualité cathare à l'initiation puriste' ('From Cathar spirituality to Purist initiation'),²¹⁵ examined Le Corbusier's interest in Catharism, and thus his purported sympathy with ancient Manichean thought, from the perspective of the anthropology of religion.²¹⁶ Potié claimed that Le Corbusier's belief in his Cathar origins set him within a specific domain of "spiritual quest" distinctive to Occidental Christianity,²¹⁷ which, together with the medieval enclaves of Bogomil and Paulician culture, emanated from "the same Manichean root."²¹⁸ This religious narrative, Potié claimed, had also made the culture of the Mozabite heretics irresistibly appealing to the architect, who saw them as "an orientalist version of Catharism."²¹⁹ Following this logic, Potié suggested that Le Corbusier's religious identity was an ongoing historical construction in which the ritual culture of these "diverse Manichean schools" was conjoined in a primitivistic image of 'purism'.²²⁰ Such a commitment to "abstract" religious practices, Potié believed, was also shared by one of the principal patrons of the Chapel of Ronchamp, Father Couturier,²²¹ and it was this common ground, he claimed, that sustained their unlikely partnership, and allowed the commission to be successfully completed. Potié also expressed a personal sympathy for Le Corbusier's 'religious primitivism' and the Manichean theology upon which it was presumably founded, which he described—in an inversion of Durkheim's developmental logic—as "a more evolved Christianity."²²²

The second article within this volume was Rémi Baudouï's 'Le regard sur l'islam' ('The view of Islam').²²³ Baudouï situated Le Corbusier's reconstruction of Islamic culture within a long line of French Romantic writers who had similarly idealized, and in varying degrees falsified, the social and cultural complexities of Islamic society. The young Charles-Édouard Jeanneret's *Voyage d'Orient* in 1911, he claimed, was the most important experience in this respect, since it had firmly established this mythical

²¹⁴ Bédarida & Prélorenzo, eds. 2004

²¹⁵ Potié 2004

²¹⁶ Potié 2004: 32

²¹⁷ Potié 2004: 27

²¹⁸ Potié 2004: 31

²¹⁹ Potié 2004: 34

²²⁰ Potié 2004: 32

²²¹ Potié 2004: 32

²²² Potié 2004: 31

²²³ Baudouï 2004

fabrication of an “*Orient imaginaire sublime*,”²²⁴ which the architect subsequently employed in encounters with religious culture throughout his life.²²⁵ Baudouï suggested that this highly filtered perception was “superficial” and gave privilege to aesthetically-based conceptions over and above “more anthropological and societal interpretations.” Hence, the architect could be said to be guilty of a “restrictive delimitation of religious meaning,” which Baudouï qualified as “phenomenological reductionism.”²²⁶ The author also suggested that while this reductive process may have blinded the architect to social realities, it had also allowed him to freely transcribe symbolic motifs from one religious to another in “an infinite combination of references.”²²⁷ Baudouï claimed that this pattern of free transcription was the architect’s operative approach to the Catholic faith in general, and to the Chapel of Ronchamp in particular, for which the syncretistic combination of symbolic motifs was guided only by Le Corbusier’s self-professed belief in ‘the sacred’ as an interior notion, which, by nature, was “totally individual.”²²⁸ He also presumed, following a long line of Corbusian discourse dating back to Rogers’ original publication in 1956, that despite his long-standing rapport with the “religious convictions” of others, the architect had personally conceived of the sacred in secular terms, and had remained unquestionably “agnostic.”²²⁹ Le Corbusier’s interest in the Islamic architecture was thus said to be principally, though not exclusively, aesthetic and architectural rather than substantively ‘religious’.²³⁰

In an article published in the same year, Françoise Caussé analyzed Le Corbusier’s relationship with his Dominican patrons. Summarizing her dissertation on postwar religious art in France,²³¹ Caussé described the unique circumstances in which the Chapel of Ronchamp had been commissioned, and the individuals who had fought tirelessly to see it through. Among these supporters was the Dominican priest Marie-Alain Couturier, who saw Le Corbusier as one of those rare beings whose “gift of self is his art,” and whose charity came forth as an “authentic charity, coming from his heart and from the heart of God.”²³² Couturier was convinced, Caussé noted, that this

²²⁴ Baudouï 2004: 41

²²⁵ Baudouï 2004: 52

²²⁶ Baudouï 2004: 49

²²⁷ Baudouï 2004: 50

²²⁸ Baudouï 2004: 50, quoting LC, in Petit 1970: 177

²²⁹ Baudouï 2004: 39; B: 363, *Semantics of Religion (Agnostic/Atheistic Explanations)*

²³⁰ Baudouï 2004: 49

²³¹ Caussé 1999

²³² Caussé 2005b: 20, citing Couturier, letter to Bazaine, 2 July 1951

divine force was “incarnated” within great artists, “passing through” them, and present throughout all their “personal vicissitudes”²³³—a boundless faith that was partly due to the Dominican’s belief that, in matters of art, it was “not the intelligence that judges and discerns,” but “sensory intuition,” since “one does not judge as one thinks, but as one feels—that is to say, as one is.”²³⁴ It followed from this logic that a great artist like Le Corbusier, who in Couturier’s view had made all the right aesthetic judgments, was inevitably a great man, and that the innate “creative liberty” that subtended such genius was in essence divine.²³⁵ Caussé’s research thus revealed one source of the Dominican’s unmitigated support for modern art and architecture. She also described the Catholic academicism that Couturier had long fought against: “the art called *Saint-Sulpician*,” which, she remarked, was “incapable of transmitting the radical nature of the Christian message, and had deformed the face of the Church, signifying to all cultivated people its spiritual decadence.”²³⁶

John-Louis Cohen’s *Le Corbusier, 1887-1965. Un lyrisme pour l’architecture de l’ère mécaniste* (*The lyricism of architecture in the machine age*) reviewed the architect’s prolific career with the deference due a cultural icon. Cohen described Le Corbusier as an “*homme complet*”²³⁷ who had “lived his entire life with a prophetic fervor,”²³⁸ driven by an “inner duality”²³⁹ that was said to be the source of both contradiction and creativity. Evidence of this could be found, Cohen claimed, in a letter that the architect had written in 1926, which revealed the inherent tension of this double persona: “Le Corbusier,” the architect had said of himself, “is an entity separate from the weight of the flesh,” who must, he insisted, “never be brought down”; while Charles-Édouard Jeanneret “is a man of the flesh who has sought all the adventures, both glowing and desperate, of a rather active life.”²⁴⁰ Cohen noted that the struggle between this lofty, “detached” persona and the “man of the flesh” had rendered “his most radical edifices captivating” just as it “broadened the perspective of his paintings.”²⁴¹ The sum total of this vast oeuvre, Cohen remarked, had been consistently accompanied by a carefully constructed public image,²⁴² which underwent a

²³³ Caussé 2005b: 30, citing Couturier 1958: 29-30

²³⁴ Caussé 2005: 23, citing Couturier 1950a: 3-4

²³⁵ Caussé 2005: 27, citing Couturier, ‘Tâches modestes I’, AS 3-4, Nov-Dec 1952

²³⁶ Caussé 2005: 25

²³⁷ Cohen 2005: 7

²³⁸ Cohen 2005: 15

²³⁹ Cohen 2005: 13

²⁴⁰ Cohen 2005: 13

²⁴¹ Cohen 2005: 13

²⁴² Cohen 2005: 7

transformation after the war, when the architect engaged “a dialogue with spirituality.”²⁴³ A principal example of this postwar tendency was the Chapel of Ronchamp, which Le Corbusier had undertaken despite his “quasi-genetic distrust of the Catholic Church.”²⁴⁴ In his description of the Chapel, Cohen summarized the architectural influences that had first been established by Pauly,²⁴⁵ and characterized the resulting project as “grand eclecticism.”²⁴⁶ Following Le Corbusier’s own account, Cohen also described the architecture as specific to the site and a “response to the horizons.”²⁴⁷

More recently, within an edited volume containing several articles written by Corbusian specialists,²⁴⁸ Giuliano Gresleri has elaborated an hypothesis in which Le Corbusier’s acceptance of the commission at Ronchamp is said to reflect his personal involvement in a postwar movement to reform the Holy Liturgy.²⁴⁹ Reiterating an argument that he had published previously,²⁵⁰ Gresleri argued that the supposedly atheistic architect was profoundly influenced by the religious life of his family, from whom he gleaned “a cosmic sentiment, a fervent attention to all noble manifestations of the human soul,” and “a love for life and nature.”²⁵¹ All of these qualities were nourished, Gresleri claimed, by household devotional practices overseen by his Aunt Pauline, the most pious member of the Swiss family, to whom the author collectively ascribed “Cathar origins.”²⁵² One result of this early religious life, according to Gresleri, was Le Corbusier’s enduring conviction, previously cited by Baudouï, that each man carries within him an individual sense of ‘the sacred’—or, as Gresleri put it, a “religious sentiment.”²⁵³ In support of this argument, he pointed out that Le Corbusier’s library includes a vast array of books on religious topics, and suggested that this literature contributed to the intellectual development of the architect to a considerable degree.²⁵⁴ The success of the Chapel of Ronchamp, Gresleri believed, could be traced to this life-long interest, and to the “indissoluble rapport” that it

²⁴³ Cohen 2005: 12

²⁴⁴ Cohen 2005: 65

²⁴⁵ Cohen 2005: 65-7; Pauly 1980

²⁴⁶ Cohen 2005: 65

²⁴⁷ Cohen 2005: 65; citing Boesiger 1953: 88

²⁴⁸ Lair de la Motte, ed. 2007

²⁴⁹ Gresleri 2007: 126

²⁵⁰ Gresleri & Gresleri, et al. 2001

²⁵¹ Gresleri 2007: 133

²⁵² Gresleri 2007: 133

²⁵³ Gresleri 2007: 130; paraphrasing LC, in Petit 1970: 177

²⁵⁴ Gresleri 2007: 127

engendered between patron and architect.²⁵⁵ The result, he claimed, was an authentic religious art that defied “the arid sources of a false tradition” then dominant.²⁵⁶ Gresleri was thus singularly outspoken in his defense of Le Corbusier’s “personal, sacred interpretation of the universe,”²⁵⁷ which, he insisted, was in general agreement with a thread of twentieth-century theology developed in the writings of Rudolf Otto, Mircea Eliade, and Pierre Teilhard de Chardin,²⁵⁸ in which “the ‘sacred’” was said to be a “natural dimension of religious practice.”²⁵⁹ The Chapel of Ronchamp, seen from this point of view, was thought to represent the architect’s alliance with “the spirit of a return to origins”²⁶⁰ that formed the essence of progressive, postwar Catholicism.

Within this same edited volume,²⁶¹ Sarah Wilson provided an historical contextualization of the ‘progressive’ faith to which Gresleri referred. Wilson recounted the succession of events through which the Dominican Order in France had become increasingly allied with Marxian politics in general, and the Communist Party in particular, underscoring the importance that this unusual alliance held for both architect and patron during the commission of Ronchamp. The Popular Front of 1936-37, Wilson explained, had established an important precedent in which both theologians and politicians had attempted to create “a rapprochement between Catholics and Communists.” This dialogue had resulted in a number of fruitful collaborations between the Parisian avant-garde and a progressive wing of the Dominican Order, who had granted them several major ecclesiastical commissions. The most significant development to arise from this early interaction was the design of a subterranean church, first proposed for a site in Chicago during the war and then later for the flanks of Mount Sainte-Victoire in Provence, in which the Communist artist Fernand Léger collaborated with the Catholic author Paul Claudel, along with the Dominicans Jacques Maritain and Marie-Alain Couturier.²⁶² This project, to which Le Corbusier would contribute after the war, stood as a remarkable testimony of this historical rapprochement, Wilson explained, as well as a subsequent precedent for the design of the Chapel of Ronchamp. This ecumenical spirit was, however, short-lived, and after a few collaborations between Dominican patrons and contemporary artists

²⁵⁵ Gresleri 2007: 133

²⁵⁶ Gresleri 2007: 126

²⁵⁷ Gresleri 2007: 130

²⁵⁸ Gresleri 2007: 128

²⁵⁹ Gresleri 2007: 127

²⁶⁰ Gresleri 2007: 126

²⁶¹ Lair de la Motte, ed. 2007

²⁶² Wilson 2007: 87

such as Léger, the Holy Office had declared that “it would from that point forward be impossible to be both Catholic and Communist at the same time”—an orthodox pronouncement, which, Wilson noted, one outspoken ally of the Dominican cause had decried as “a massive historical error.”²⁶³ Wilson also revealed that Léger, during a celebrated lecture at the Sorbonne in 1934, had proclaimed that “religions are like cocaine.”²⁶⁴ Her research thus revealed the unique historical conditions in which the commission for Ronchamp had first emerged, marked by the lingering antipathies of a long-standing cultural divide.

The most recent analysis of the Chapel of Ronchamp, as of this writing, was penned by the German scholar, Niklas Maak.²⁶⁵ Maak’s assessment of the famous building, included within an edited volume that accompanied the exposition *Le Corbusier – the Art of Architecture*,²⁶⁶ reiterated several themes that found their origins at the very outset of the discourse. Developing an argument that had first been published by Le Corbusier, Maak noted that the architect had utilized the shell of a crab as an inspiration for both the surface texture and structural constitution of the building frame.²⁶⁷ Following this logic, he claimed that the building represented an important juncture in the history of architectural representation, in which Le Corbusier sought to resolve “the emotive antithesis of nature and art” within a novel synthesis of “nature, history, and culture.”²⁶⁸ Maak then connected this argument, via archival evidence, to the known facts of Le Corbusier’s life, by calling attention to certain thematic contents within Paul Valéry’s *Eupalinos*,²⁶⁹ a copy of which remains in the architect’s library in Paris.²⁷⁰ Maak claimed that Valéry’s notion of the *objet ambigu*, which lay beyond the dichotomized categories of “naturalness and artificiality” said to be characteristic of ancient metaphysics,²⁷¹ had been a source of inspiration for Le Corbusier, whose famed *objets à réaction poétique*—pebbles, pieces of bone, and bricks with worn surfaces that displayed anthropomorphic or other expressive characteristics—seemed to share many of the same qualities. Maak thus corroborated Le Corbusier’s prior assertion that one of these celebrated objects had been used as

²⁶³ Wilson 2007: 89; citing Mounier 1949

²⁶⁴ Wilson 2007: 90; citing Léger 1934

²⁶⁵ Maak 2007

²⁶⁶ von Vegesack, et al., eds. 2007

²⁶⁷ Maak 2007: 304, 308

²⁶⁸ Maak 2007: 308

²⁶⁹ Valéry 1921

²⁷⁰ Valéry 1923 (FLC V I 12)

²⁷¹ Maak 2007: 307, citing Blumenburg 2001, commenting on Valéry 1921

the source of the Chapel's roof, and suggested that the pilgrimage church was, in this respect, "a sublime spectacle of nature" that "turned away from the long handed-down symbols of faith and sought to overpower church visitors immediately and directly through a calculated effect."²⁷²

2.6 CONCLUSION

As the preceding analysis should hopefully make clear, the secondary discourse about Ronchamp is characterized by complex, divergent, and often contradictory streams of thought. Many of the hypotheses set forth within this literature, such as the correlation of the Chapel with the Parthenon, links to archetypes of religious architecture, suggestions of nautical and aeronautical sources, and indebtedness to Le Corbusier's artistic oeuvre, among others, are based in my view upon valid insights concerning the origins of the Chapel's design, and worthy of fine-grained examination. In subsequent chapters, I will argue that several of these sources can be corroborated through careful analysis of the documentary evidence; and in a forthcoming publication, I will also suggest that many additional sources can be conclusively linked to the architect's design process for the Chapel through this same procedure.

However, for the purposes of the present discussion, it first seems necessary to address some problematic features of this discourse, which appear to have frequently turned attention away from the documentary evidence concerning the Chapel's design, and established a set of discursive conventions in which such processes of fine-grained corroboration are rarely emphasized. These conventions include the types of narrative frameworks in which authors' arguments are construed; the scope of the analyses in which these investigations have been conducted; the assumptions about Le Corbusier's ideology that subtend these analyses; the tendency toward historical decontextualization that has frequently turned attention away from the origins of the commission; and the influence of the architect's primary literature upon subsequent accounts of his design process for Ronchamp. Each one of these features deserves comment.

²⁷² Maak 2007: 301

From the outset of the discourse in 1950s, descriptions of the Chapel of Ronchamp have been frequently put forth within open-ended narrative frameworks common to architectural history, and the broad scope of explanation standard to the discipline. The narrative frameworks in which these respective explanations have been construed involve broad concerns about the architect's biographical history, his relation to various movements and styles of architectural history, and the possible influence of spiritual, religious, and reformist ideologies upon his specific approach to the built environment,²⁷³ among other things. Textual explications of the Chapel have thus frequently appeared in works of considerable scope. By contrast, few texts have narrowed the scope of analysis to specific features of the Chapel's architecture; and fewer still upon a fine-grained documentary analysis of its design. Pauly's study, in fact, is the only publication to date to include an exhaustive review of Le Corbusier's design process for the Chapel—a rather narrow base, in my estimation, for such a broadly defined discourse.²⁷⁴

As a result, evidence of the Chapel's origins has been frequently swept up in narrative concerns that have little to do with postwar France, the Dominican sacred art movement, and Le Corbusier's atelier in the early 1950s. In this sense, the discourse appears uncoupled from its original context—a short-lived, and now mostly forgotten, theological and political struggle between a progressive wing of the French Dominican Order and the postwar inquisitorial powers of the Vatican. The architect's designs for Ronchamp have thus rarely been considered as a response to this social milieu.²⁷⁵

Instead, evidence concerning the Chapel's commission and design has been repeatedly filtered through methodological frameworks in which the patrons' cultural motivations have seldom been seen as a subject of great interest. Le Corbusier's response to the commission has thus been frequently analyzed without reference to such concerns; and those few authors who have investigated this cultural context have often seen Le Corbusier's Chapel through a prism of sympathies, in which the complex and at times antagonistic relations between the architect and his Catholic patrons have, in my view, been considerably distorted. The fact that Le Corbusier's writings are filled with

²⁷³ B: 361, Interpretive Frameworks (Narrative Frameworks)

²⁷⁴ B: 362, Interpretive Frameworks (Narrative Scope)

²⁷⁵ B: 361, Interpretive Frameworks (Narrative Frameworks, Religious history)

anticlerical sentiments, and even overt, concurrent criticisms of the Dominicans, for example, has received little comment.²⁷⁶

These processes of methodological filtering and distortion inevitably proceed through language, and evidence of this can be seen in the semantics of the explanations provided. Few authors have chosen to discuss, for example, the ideological context of the commission through the semantics native to either the patrons' Catholicism or the architect's Calvinism. As a result, the possible antagonism between these rival confessions, and the influence that such tensions may have had upon Le Corbusier's design, remain largely unexplored. Instead, the discourse has repeatedly addressed the background of religious concerns through reference to the architect's alleged agnosticism—a notion which, as I have noted above, was first published by Rogers, whom Le Corbusier handpicked for the task. Several texts have also focused, despite abundant evidence to the contrary,²⁷⁷ upon the architect's purported atheism,²⁷⁸ and this explanation has, in turn, been subsumed—with considerable irony—within the story of his would-be Albigenian origins.²⁷⁹

The repetition of this historical fable, a persistent feature of Corbusian historiography, is revealing.²⁸⁰ Few contemporary religious scholars would claim that the Cathars, now widely believed to have espoused a world-denying dualism, could be credibly allied with socialism, as several authors have suggested;²⁸¹ and Le Corbusier, at any rate, had

²⁷⁶ B: 365, Interpretive Frameworks (Religious Explanations, Catholicism)

²⁷⁷ Le Corbusier's literary oeuvre includes numerous personal assertions concerning "Dieu" or "les dieux/déeses," and at least one direct criticism of atheists: « Le tête-à-tête avec soi-même existait, on le supprime, on l'a supprimé: réfléchir par soi-même pourrait conduire à une certaine dignité et indocilité. Les autres nous conduiront désormais, les autres, les conducteurs prêtres, athées ou dictateurs et ils emploieront l'art pour nous enserrer dans leur postulat et leurs impératifs... pour prêcher, fixer et imposer leurs dogmes ou leurs doctrines. » (LC 1951: 2)

²⁷⁸ B: 363, Semantics of Religion (Agnostic/Atheistic Explanations)

²⁷⁹ B: 365, Semantics of Religion (Catharism/Manichaeism)

²⁸⁰ The myth was first published by Le Corbusier as a footnote in *Croisade* (1933: 32-5); it was reiterated by Giedion ([1941] 1966: 518-9); then adumbrated by Le Corbusier's brother Albert Jeanneret ("the Jeannerets are grouped with the inhabitants of the Jura who came to France at the moment of the religious persecutions of the Huguenots. I think that the Huguenots were, like the ancestors of the Cathars, disciples of Mani living in the southwest of France and against whom the pope unleashed the cruel crusade of the Albigenes"), who claimed that Le Corbusier had first come in contact with the "Cathar question" through his friend William Ritter (Albert Jeanneret, interview, Feb 1970, cited in Turner 1977: 203); this story was then repeated in various forms within the secondary literature. See Appendix B: 365, Semantics of Religion (Catharism/Manichaeism).

²⁸¹ As Stoyanov put it, arguments claiming that "Bogomilism and Catharism epitomize a noble and pneumatic version of Christianity, focused on the future salvation of man," tend to ignore "some of the more intense implications of their dualist theodicy" (2000: 287). Nonetheless, ideologically-inspired 'resistance' readings of the Albigenians persisted throughout the twentieth century: Bloch, for example, favorably alluded to the medieval sect in *La Société féodale* (2 vol., 1939-1940); Catharism was subsequently revalorized within the French left as an anticlerical, social-revolutionary force during the political movements of 1968 (Soula 2005: 12, 105); and Marxist historiography has consistently treated the related Bogomil sect as social movement against 'feudal oppression'. Stoyanov has pointed out that there is a lack of evidence for such theses (2000: 388), which nonetheless appear to be highly resistant to revision.

no demonstrable genealogical or historical connection to them. The persistence of this explanation therefore suggests, to my mind, that Le Corbusier's assertions have not been subject to sufficiently rigorous protocols of corroboration, since there is, to date, no documentary evidence supporting this claim. Instead, the substantive content of these valorizations appears to be based upon a fanciful reconstruction of the 'evolved', 'noble', and 'socialist' Cathars that can be traced back to the publications of Voltaire, Friedrich Engels, Napoléon Peyrat, and other post-Revolutionary writers, who based their assessments of the sect upon wishful thinking rather than historical fact.²⁸² Such misconceptions evidently remain widespread, and, in my view, have frequently distorted accounts of Le Corbusier's ideology.

References to religion, real or imagined, are nonetheless outnumbered in this discourse by accounts that frame explanations of Le Corbusier's symbolic motifs within quasi-religious semantics.²⁸³ This strategy often reiterates the architect's own statements about 'the archaic', 'the sacred', and 'the spiritual' aspects of Ronchamp,²⁸⁴ rather than considering the contrary hypothesis that such impenetrable phrases might have been utilized by Le Corbusier as a diversion, to gloss over aspects of social discord, which, in the context of the times, he may have wished to conceal.²⁸⁵ Repetition of this language has thus frequently served, in my view, to uncritically corroborate Le Corbusier's postwar assertions of his own ideological commitments, and in turn, to semantically uncouple explanations of Ronchamp from the initial context of confessional conflict in the 1950s, which was conducted within a very different web of linguistic associations. Arguments about Le Corbusier's alleged 'spirituality' might nonetheless be true; but the vague and often contradictory signification of these assertions, and the absence of documentary evidence brought forth in their support, make them difficult to assess; and the Chapel, as a result, seems no less mysterious in light of them.

It is my own view that behind such methodological, narrative and semantic concerns lays a vexing set of questions about Le Corbusier that remains unanswered: what were his ideological affiliations? What narratives influenced his decision to accept the commission? In what semantic context were his private symbols given meaning? Any

²⁸² Voltaire 1756; Engels 1850; Peyrat 1870; see also Cabanel & Robert, eds. 1998; Soula 2005.

²⁸³ B: 365, Semantics of Religion (Quasi-Religious explanations)

²⁸⁴ B: 364-5, Semantics of Religion (Archaic/Primitivistic/Primordial, Sacred, Spirituality)

²⁸⁵ See Chapter I.

attempt to answer these questions is, of course, well beyond the scope of this dissertation. But I would suggest that the fact that they have not been sufficiently answered—if ever they can be—has been an influential factor contributing to the broad scope and speculative character of many of the texts under review.²⁸⁶

Instead, the architect's well-known refusal to explain the Chapel appears to have left the discourse open, perhaps intentionally, to a steady stream of speculation about its revolutionary design. Starting with the ecclesiastical responses during the inception of the discourse in 1953, there has been a seemingly endless profusion of morphological comparisons, each claiming to offer an explanation of the Chapel's curvilinear forms.²⁸⁷ The proliferation of such comparisons, often with the faintest support of evidence, is a characteristic feature of the Ronchamp discourse. The most plausible of these comparisons, to my mind, are those that pertain to works of art and architecture in Le Corbusier's own prolific oeuvre. The Chapel has been linked, for example, to a series of pavilions that the architect designed for expositions in Paris, Liège, and San Francisco from 1937 to 1939, as well as a series of paintings and sculptures that he produced shortly after the war.²⁸⁸ However, these arguments have rarely been corroborated by evidence within the drawing set, which, in lieu of explanatory comments by the architect, would appear to be the only way that they might be convincingly connected to his design process for Ronchamp.

By contrast, the canonical explanations of the Chapel's design as 'a response to the horizons' and a 'synthesis of the major arts', in which a 'crab shell picked up on Long Island' is said to have served as a model for the roof, have remained remarkably constant from the inception of the discourse to the present day. These pithy phrases have been repeated so many times in the secondary literature that they have attained the status of what I call *discourse facts*: self-evident utterances that require no arguments for their defense, and which may even appear without the standard apparatus of footnotes and references.

²⁸⁶ One favorable context for this sort of ideological investigation is the extensive marginal annotations that the architect left within the books of his library, which provide abundant primary evidence concerning his political, religious, and social affiliations. Considerable research remains to be done in this area; see Dercelles (2005).

²⁸⁷ B: 359-61, Formal Analysis

²⁸⁸ B: 359-60, Formal Analysis (Architecture LC; Art LC)

A careful assessment of this literature reveals that these assertions, along with several other characteristic phrases in the Ronchamp discourse, can be traced back to a series of explanations that were first published under various authorial and editorial guises by Le Corbusier.²⁸⁹ These explanations were then embedded in the secondary discourse through their inclusion within the influential texts of Rogers, von Moos, Jencks, Pauly, Curtis and others, where they appear as a series of easily recognizable quotations, often set forth in succession, carrying with them a sense of explanatory certainty.²⁹⁰

This evidence suggests that the architect's account of his own design process has been consistently treated within this discourse as a reliable source, and uncritically incorporated within the secondary literature, where it appears to function as an unshakable explanatory foundation. This implicit procedure, I contend, has been subtended by three related processes:

- first, the uncritical repetition of *discourse facts* from Le Corbusier's autobiographical explanations, which I will refer to as *parallel construction*;
- second, the dissemination of these canonical explanations through a series of authoritative texts that are mutually corroborating, consistently referenced, but never subject to sustained criticism, which I will refer to as *discourse enclosure*;
- and third, the consensual agreement through which these explanations are exempted from procedures of epistemic scrutiny, which I will refer to as *explanatory privilege*.²⁹¹

Such arguments may, of course, be true; my point is that they have never once been critically analyzed—neither the set of explanations first brought forth by Le Corbusier in the primary literature, nor the canonical account published by Pauly has ever been scrutinized in light of documentary evidence.

²⁸⁹ B: 357, Discourse Sequence (LC explanations). See also Chapters 3 and 4.

²⁹⁰ B: 357-8, Discourse Sequence (Parallel Constructions)

²⁹¹ B: 358-9, Discourse Sequence (Authoritative Texts)

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Fortunately, this suggests a way forward. For if these primary texts, and the explanations of the Chapel's design process that they contain, have served as the principal basis of the canonical account of Le Corbusier's creative process for Ronchamp, then a critical evaluation of these texts is clearly required. However, a discussion of this entire primary corpus exceeds the scope of this dissertation. In the following chapters, I will therefore focus upon the texts that were written, produced and published during the critical phase of the commission from 1953-55, in which both the Chapel itself and the arguments for its defense were carefully constructed, leaving the remaining texts for a future publication.²⁹²

A series of questions, drawn from this review of the secondary literature, will guide my investigation. The first set of questions pertains to the production of these texts and the substantive content of the arguments that they contain:

1. Can the identities of authors and editors be established on the basis of documentary evidence?
2. Are the substantive contents of the arguments logically coherent and consistent as a series?
3. Can these arguments be tested in light of counterfactual evidence gleaned from other documentary sources?

A second set of questions pertains to the canonical set of design documents that was first presented with in these texts:

4. Does the presentation of design documents within these texts provide evidence of the sequence in which these drawings were produced?
5. If so, can this sequence be tested in light of counterfactual evidence from the drawing set or from other relevant documentary sources?
6. Can the formal comparisons in the secondary literature be corroborated with evidence from the drawing set?

²⁹² C: 367-450, Content Analysis, includes data from the entire primary corpus.

Before I attempt to answer these questions, I will discuss the research methods that subtend the present study, and then return to the inception of the primary discourse in the summer of 1953, when the canonical explanation of the Chapel first appeared in volume 5 of the *Œuvre complète* amid acute Vatican scrutiny.

OUTLINE OF RESEARCH METHODS

My research involved the evaluation of primary and secondary texts through various methods of *discourse analysis*. Three different approaches were utilized: *timeline analysis* for the investigation of the institutions, individuals, and events of the social context, circa 1940-55; *reception history* for a review of the general features of the secondary literature; and *content analysis* for fine-grained investigation of specific features of the primary texts. Review of this primary and secondary literature also inspired a reassessment of the design documents for the Chapel of Ronchamp, studied through techniques of *formal analysis* that are described at the end of this section.

TIMELINE ANALYSIS

Techniques of *timeline analysis* were applied to the investigation of the institutions, individuals, and events of the social context, circa 1940-55. This involved the evaluation of historical, political, military and other secondary texts using the following subheadings:

- *institutions*, including the Diocesan Committee on Sacred Art, the French Association of Cardinals and Archbishops, the Dominican Order, the Holy Office, and various French governmental ministries, etc.;
- *individuals*, such as Le Corbusier, Archbishop Dubourg, Father Couturier, Canon Ledeur, Pius XII, Jacques Maritain, etc.; and
- *events*, such as the battle of Bournémont, the establishment of postwar purge commissions, the commencement of the Ronchamp commission, the publication of criticisms by the Holy Office, etc.

The technique is both powerful and straightforward: relevant facts and assertions were first transcribed from these texts using voice dictation software; each thematic entry was then assigned a date on the basis of documentary evidence and sorted via computer algorithm (e.g. 1944-09-20); these entries were then collated in a single document as a cumulative timeline of social context; and subheadings were finally established within this document on the basis of thematic and temporal proximity. This temporal sequence then served as a framework in which the decrees of institutions and the assertions of individuals, which often appear within the primary and secondary discourse on Ronchamp as isolated fragments, could be recontextualized.

The results of this analysis suggested two implicit features of this discourse: first, contemporary accounts of the Chapel's commission appear uncoupled from important aspects of the original social context; and second, considerable discontinuities exist between the demonstrable facts of historical events and the accounts of those events within these primary and secondary texts. Hence, these observations suggested aspects of the original social context that required additional research, as well as features of the primary and secondary literature that deserved additional scrutiny. A portion of the results of this analysis can be found in *Appendix A: Timeline*.²⁹³

RECEPTION HISTORY

An analysis of the general features of the secondary literature was conducted within a framework of *reception history*. This involved an evaluation of the sequential interpretations of the Chapel within these texts, which I will refer to as the discourse sequence, as well as the implicit structure of the arguments that they contain, which were studied through an analysis of the authors' interpretive frameworks.

My assessment of the *discourse sequence* involved a close textual reading of the primary and secondary literature, and an evaluation of the patterns of explanatory dissemination within this corpus as a whole. The first step in this procedure was identifying the principal features of Le Corbusier's explanations of Ronchamp within

²⁹³ A: 248-356, Timeline

the primary literature. This data was drawn from two different categories of the content analysis described below: the architect's theoretical statements concerning the Chapel's design,²⁹⁴ which formed the textual component of these explanations, and the published design documentation, which formed its visual counterpart.²⁹⁵

A second step in this procedure involved identifying phrases within the secondary literature that reiterate Le Corbusier's prior explanations of the Chapel. The results of this evaluation suggested that many of the architect's explanatory phrases had become embedded within the secondary discourse through a process of successive, uncritical repetition. These embedded explanatory phrases were then collected as a temporal series, which revealed patterns of repetition within the discourse.²⁹⁶ The results of this analysis suggested that a considerable portion of the explanations concerning Ronchamp were based upon these embedded primary phrases, which typically appear within the secondary literature as self-evident theoretical statements, often without the support of corroborating arguments.

I will refer to such self-evident theoretical statements as *discourse facts*, and the explanations that are based upon them as *parallel constructions*, since they follow the substantive content of the accounts put forth within the primary literature without recourse to the incisive criticism typical of academic discourse.

A subsequent examination of the footnotes and references within this secondary literature suggested that a small number of early texts had played an influential role in the dissemination of such discourse facts. The publications of Stanislaus von Moos (1968, 1970, 1979), Paul Venable Turner (1977), and Danièle Pauly (1980), in particular, were cited favorably in nearly every subsequent evaluation of Ronchamp. I will refer to the process of dissemination of such canonical explanations through a series of authoritative source texts that are mutually corroborating, consistently referenced in the secondary literature, but never subject to sustained criticism as *discourse enclosure*; and the implicit consensual process through which these explanations are exempted from procedures of epistemic scrutiny as *explanatory privilege*.

²⁹⁴ B: 357, Discourse Sequence (LC explanations)

²⁹⁵ E: 520-523, Published Design Documents

²⁹⁶ B: 357-9, Discourse Sequence

A close examination of these texts revealed that the substantive content of two of them, von Moos' survey of Le Corbusier's architectural oeuvre (which first appeared in German [1968], then in French [1970], and finally in English [1979], each with significant variations) and Pauly's monograph on Ronchamp (1980), had been based, by the authors' own admissions, upon the architect's autobiographical accounts of his own work. This suggested a discursive chain that had been firmly anchored to the primary literature. This realization, in turn, inspired a fine-grained analysis of Le Corbusier's publications on Ronchamp—the origin of these canonical accounts.

Questioning the sequential nature of this discourse also involved an assessment of the *interpretive frameworks* that researchers utilize to formulate their arguments. The results of this analysis suggested a prevalence of philosophically- and psychoanalytically-based approaches in the secondary literature, in which factual corroboration was rarely emphasized. Similarly, analysis of the narrative frameworks that had structured research about the Chapel suggested that none of the dominant storylines involved a critical analysis of the context of the commission. These observations suggested, to my mind, that a careful reassessment of the documentary evidence concerning the Chapel's commission and design might serve as a useful addition to the discourse.

Lastly, an assessment of the *narrative scope* of these explanations also revealed a long standing emphasis upon broadly-based narratives and exhaustive accounts of Le Corbusier's entire architectural oeuvre, rather than fine-grained, monographic accounts. The results of this analysis revealed that a single study of the design documents for the Chapel, which has never been critically appraised or tested, has served as an authoritative source within this discourse for over 30 years. This suggested, to my mind, that replication of that study might be beneficial.

An account of these analyses is included in Chapter 2, and a portion of the results of this research are summarized in *Appendix B: Secondary Discourse Summary*.²⁹⁷

²⁹⁷ B: 357-66, Secondary Discourse Summary

CONTENT ANALYSIS

Techniques of *content analysis* were utilized for fine-grained investigation of specific features of primary texts. This research involved the evaluation of seven different subheadings: methods of textual production, constructions of agency, design documentation, intertextuality, semantics, thematic content, and translation.

The investigation of *textual production* involved the determination of the date of publication of a text; attribution of authorship, and the implicit or explicit nature of that attribution; and, when possible, the evaluation of editorial practices. Hypotheses regarding the influence of contemporaneous social events upon these aspects of textual production were also evaluated through reference to the timeline, and corroborated via other features of the discourse, both public and private.

Investigation of *constructions of agency* involved the establishment of interpretive coding categories, which were derived from a preliminary reading of primary texts:

- *agentless constructions*, in which all agency was elided;
- *anonymous agency*, in which unnamed or implied social actors were granted agency through vague semantics ('those people who...'), reference to the implied reader ('you will discover...'), use of nonspecific pronouns ('one has thus...'), and other lexical and syntactic strategies;
- *displaced agency*, in which artifacts or other non-sentient objects were said to have active volition ('forms have emotional strength...', 'words speak praise...'); and
- *explicit agency*, in which the author or authors asserted agency directly ('I produced an immense effort...'), or ascribed it directly to other social actors ('Monsignor Dubois consecrated the Chapel...').

This investigation proceeded through a phrase-by-phrase analysis of each predication within a text, followed by an assessment of the percentages of each particular type of construction. Hypotheses concerning authorial strategies, and the use of specific constructions of agency within different social contexts, were then based upon these quantifications.

The investigation of *design documentation* involved the identification of all design drawings and photographs of models within the primary literature. This data was then cross-checked against archival information so that these individual documents could, whenever possible, be dated. A spreadsheet was then produced in which these individual documents were organized by date of production (specified provisionally when necessary), archival number, publication date and page number, and frequency of publication. A total of 63 different drawings and 41 photographs of 3 different design models were arranged in a provisional, chronological *sequence of production* for the design of the Chapel of Ronchamp as it appeared in these primary texts. The results of this investigation are found in *Appendix E: Published Design Documents*.²⁹⁸

The investigation of *intertextuality* involved the identification of the sources of quotations, textual fragments, and paraphrases within this discourse. This analysis started with a close textual reading of Le Corbusier's written corpus in French and English.²⁹⁹ A second reading produced an extensive database of transcribed quotations using voice recognition software, and this textual database then served as a useful context for the evaluation for phrases and expressions within the Ronchamp discourse. The results of this analysis suggested some of the editorial strategies by which phrases and keywords had been transposed from one book to another, as well as the specific ways that these texts had been modified to fit different social contexts.

Investigation of Le Corbusier's *semantics* charted the architect's frequent utilization of semantic ambiguity and polysemy. Categories of semantic polysemy were drawn from the texts themselves. Two types proved most prevalent: corporeal polysemy, including anatomical/biological descriptions of architecture and artifacts; and nautical polysemy, in which maritime semantics were utilized in descriptions of the Chapel. This research suggested that semantic polysemy was a key feature of Le Corbusier's textual production and design process, as well as an implicit component of his explanations of Ronchamp.

The investigation of the *thematic content* of these primary texts involved the formulation of interpretive coding categories that emerged from the texts themselves:

²⁹⁸ E: 520-523, Published Design Documents

²⁹⁹ Bibliography, p. 629

- *autobiography*: Le Corbusier's personal history prior to the commission at Ronchamp;
- *commission*: descriptions involving the patronage committee or building program;
- *construction*: descriptions of the building site, materials, and techniques of construction;
- *critics*: descriptions of rival views of the Chapel or of the architect;
- *design forms*: descriptions of the formal features and composition of the Chapel;
- *design process*: descriptions of the compositional strategies used in the design of the Chapel;
- *design theory*: justifications of these formal features and compositional strategies;
- *religious doctrine*: descriptions of Scripture associated with Christianity or other religions;
- *religious history*: descriptions of events known through Scripture or other sacral sources;
- *religious ritual*: descriptions of actions and agency specific to religious institutions;
- *spirituality*: pronouncement of quasi-religious belief that defies institutional classification;
- *miscellaneous*: remaining phrases, such as titles, that do not fit any of these criteria.

Textual contents were analyzed within this framework by parsing them into coherent phrases, which were then analyzed individually on a case-by-case basis. Such thematic classification is, in my view, inherently subjective, since both the determination of coding categories and the assignment of phrases to them necessarily involves interpretation. Nonetheless, this technique of parsing, coding, and classification, when practiced with careful protocols of consistency across the discourse as a whole, revealed substantive differences in the distribution of thematic material among these texts, as well as the specific emphases of individual publications.

Lastly, the investigation of *translation* involved the comparison of primary texts in French, English, and German. This aspect of my investigation involved the analysis of the following alterations:

- *textual alteration*: addition and/or omission of words or phrases;
- *lexical changes*: changes in description, subject, or agency; and
- *semantic changes*: loss or change of polysemy.

This investigation suggested that the explanations of the Chapel of Ronchamp disseminated through the primary literature vary, often dramatically, in each of these

three languages. The cumulative results of these methods of content analysis are tabulated in *Appendix C: Content Analysis*.³⁰⁰

FORMAL ANALYSIS

The architectural drawings for the Chapel were assessed via techniques of *formal analysis*, which involved five different levels of research:

- identification of architectural features;
- description of compositional properties;
- comparison of formal and compositional properties;
- techniques of drawing production; and
- the sequence of drawing production

A basic level of formal analysis involved the identification of architectural *features* as they are represented on a drawing sheet. These included common building elements, as well as elements of liturgical furniture, all of which were analyzed in detail through reference to profile and shape. This basic level of formal analysis also involved the identification of liturgical, functional, and other architectural spaces, as well as the exterior profile of the Chapel as a whole. The principal aim of this level of analysis was accurate identification of all the features of an architectural drawing as a preliminary step in compositional, comparative, and inferential analyses.

A second level of formal analysis concerned a comparative description of the interrelations of these architectural features within the context of a particular drawing, which I will refer to as *composition*. This entailed evaluation of the changing adjacency and orientation of individual features; the assessment of the relative size and scale of architectural features; and the identification of implicit or explicit patterns of geometrical order governing the composition of the drawing as a whole. Compositional analysis, on this reading, thus involves a careful evaluation of spatial relations, circulation paths, and ordering principles as they appear upon a drawing sheet.

³⁰⁰ C: 367-450, Content Analysis

A third level of formal analysis concerned a fine-grained assessment of correspondences and discontinuities between specific features of multiple drawings, which I will refer to as *comparison*. Correspondence was defined as the presence of identical or nearly identical features with the same position and basic orientation; discontinuity as either the comparative absence of an architectural feature on a drawing sheet, or the alteration of one or more features between drawings (such as change of position, orientation, scale, etc.). The principal aim of this level of analysis was the identification of patterns of change within the drawing set.

The last two levels of formal analysis involved inferences that could be formulated on the basis of these comparisons, as well as the formulation of hypotheses that could account for patterns of change within the drawing set. These hypotheses fell under two basic types: those concerning *techniques of production*; and those concerning the *sequence of production*.

Inferring *techniques of production* involved the identification of the vestiges of such techniques within the drawing set, such as the remnants of a dimensional grid used to transpose graphic information; evidence of overlaid tracing between drawing sheets; and evidence of the production of elevations and sectional drawings via orthographic projection.

Inferring a hypothetical *sequence of production* of these drawings required the identification of the addition and omission of specific architectural features, and the establishment of a series of such discontinuities, when possible, by date. This series of discontinuities then served as a logical framework to which other drawings could be compared and temporally assessed via *terminus ad quem* and *terminus ante quem* logic. However, considerable ambiguities remain within the early drawing set, as well as a relative absence of projective drawings such as elevations and sections, as I will describe below.

The end result of these design inferences is a proposed sequence of *phases* of architectural design for the Chapel, including the initial schematic phase, in which the first versions of design work were created and tested, and the subsequent design development phases, in which a preferred design was formulated in greater detail and prepared for presentation. The discussion also highlights the difference between

iterations and *phases* of design work: the former entails the production of a drawing, or a series of related drawings, in a relatively short period of time; while the latter is comprised of sequential series of such iterations, which might persist for weeks or even months without fundamentally changing a common underlying set of features and corresponding dimensions.

The results of this investigation are described in Chapters 5 and 6, in which the illustrations, in particular, reveal the careful identification of features, evaluation of composition, techniques of formal comparison, as well as a proposed sequence of production of drawings for the Chapel of Ronchamp.

LE CORBUSIER'S EDITORIAL POLITICS: REPRESENTING RONCHAMP IN THE *ŒUVRE COMPLÈTE* & *FORCES VIVES*

INTRODUCTION

The preceding analysis of the secondary literature suggests that the discourse about Ronchamp has been strongly influenced by the texts that Le Corbusier authored, edited, supervised or commissioned from 1953 to 1965, in which his designs for the Chapel were first described.¹ The sum total of this primary corpus is extensive, including 80 photographs of architectural models, 164 reproductions of architectural drawings,² and over 9,000 words of explanatory text.³ Many of the explanations in the secondary literature first appeared within these texts.

However, the primary literature on the Chapel has never been subject to an extensive, critical review: fundamental questions related to the production of these texts, such as attribution of authorship, identification of editorial responsibilities, and sources of financing, have never been sufficiently answered. Many authors have simply assumed, for example, that the articles on Ronchamp in the *Œuvre complète* were written by Le Corbusier, despite the fact that they make reference to the architect in the third person, and do not grant explicit attribution of authorship. Similarly, the four different volumes on Ronchamp published by John Petit have frequently been cited in the secondary literature as reliable primary sources,⁴ despite the fact that Petit, as editor, is known to have consistently produced texts in which routine concerns of authorial attribution and proper citation of sources were regularly overlooked.⁵

¹ C: 367, Content Analysis, Primary Literature

² E: 520-3, Published Design Documents

³ C: 367-450, Content Analysis

⁴ Petit 1955, 1956, 1961a; 1965

⁵ De Smet 2007: 198-202, 223-38.

Most authors have simply accepted the authenticity and reliability of these texts, taking Le Corbusier and his various editors on their word. Of the many authors cited in the previous review of the secondary literature,⁶ only one, Robin Evans, who referred to the primary discourse as “an elaborate false trail,” has investigated the hypothesis that Le Corbusier's published explanations of the Chapel are factually and historically suspect.⁷ I wish to follow Evans' suggestion by conducting a critical review of these publications, which I believe is long overdue, and the portion of this content analysis that falls within the temporal parameters of this dissertation is presented below.⁸

3.1 PRELIMINARY CORRESPONDENCE, 1951-54

As a first step in this procedure, I will review the communications between architect, patrons, and publishers in the period that preceded the first article on Ronchamp in 1953. This correspondence suggests that within Le Corbusier's ongoing project of textual self-promotion, in which new projects often appeared within the pages of the *Œuvre complète* before contracts had been signed or clients had come to be, the Chapel at Ronchamp presents an exceptional case. Contrary to his normal practices, the architect seems to have worked actively to suppress all public knowledge of the project for the first few years. In fact, archival evidence reveals that he wrote repeatedly to friends and colleagues in the early stages of the design process, in an effort to convince them of the need for total silence about the Chapel.

The first to receive such a warning, shortly before an important presentation of design materials to the Dominican patrons in January of 1951, was Father Marie-Alain Couturier, who, the architect evidently suspected, might wish to include such documentation in a forthcoming edition of the review *L'Art Sacré*. Within a brief letter, Le Corbusier asked his friend to “not publish any document concerning the Chapel of Ronchamp.” He clarified the list of restricted items before sending the typewritten text, underlining of the word ‘document’, and appending it with an hand-written

⁶ See Chapter 2 above.

⁷ Evans noted that Le Corbusier “kept trying to provide it [the Chapel at Ronchamp] with a firm base on the atavism of modern Art, on the unerring intuition of genius, on the Modulor, and even on an idea of Swiss peasant authenticity that may have derived from Rousseau,” suggesting that none of these were substantive explanations. (1995: 320)

⁸ C: 367-450, Content Analysis

asterisk that added “plan or model” to the list of unauthorized materials.⁹ Couturier clearly understood the urgency of the matter, and wrote back immediately, promising the architect that “nothing will be published—neither information, nor documentary corpus—before you yourself and Canon Ledeur have formally provided the authorization.”¹⁰

In the summer of 1952, Le Corbusier would extend this cautionary tone to others within Couturier’s circle. On 31 July, he provided several photographs of an architectural model of the Chapel to Abbé Bourdin, the new Curé of Ronchamp, cautioning the Dominican that if photographs of the model of the Chapel were made available to the popular press, then the “perfidious weapons possessed by certain interest groups” would be brought forth in opposition to the project. The architect thus suggested that he “look after them with the greatest care.”¹¹ A copy of this letter was also sent to the Dominican functionary Alfred Canet of Ronchamp, with the same five photographs, and the same warning about the threat of rival “interest groups.” In this missive, Le Corbusier made the reasons for such conduct quite clear: he had no desire to “awaken that pitiless machine of controversy (the press)” before construction had begun.¹²

The architect’s reference to “interest groups” undoubtedly referred to the neighboring Catholic dioceses and ultramontane authorities in Rome, who viewed the Chapel’s commission and the nascent sacred art movement of which it was a part with great suspicion. Le Corbusier was evidently convinced that if such unsympathetic factions were to gain knowledge of the unconventional nature of the proposed design, it would lead to a backlash, and possibly even the downfall of the project. In fact, he knew this from experience: just a few years before, his previous collaboration with the Dominicans at La Sainte-Baume had suffered the same fate, publicly condemned by Church authorities whose defamation singled him out by name. **(FIGURE 3.01)** It seems likely, therefore, that Le Corbusier suggested silence to his Dominican patrons for just this reason: he wished to have no publications containing information about the Chapel appearing in print until construction was under way.

⁹ D: 1951-01-20 (LC, letter to Couturier, 20 Jan 1951: CES C11-C10)

¹⁰ D: 1951-01-23 (Couturier, letter to LC, 23 Jan 1951: CES C11-C10)

¹¹ D: 1952-07-31 (LC, letter to Bourdin, 31 July 1952: FLC Q1-5-40)

¹² D: 1952-07-31 (LC, letter to Canet, 31 July 1952: FLC G2-13-116)

However, by the time construction began in the summer of 1953, knowledge of the project could no longer be contained. An architectural model of the new Chapel had been exhibited in Franche-Comté in the spring, causing perplexity and consternation.¹³ In December, two photographs of the model were published in the newspaper *Le Bien Publique*, with a title that invited controversy:

With the complicity of Mgr. Dubourg
LE CORBUSIER HAS BUILT AT RONCHAMP
working class town in the Haute-Saône
A REVOLUTIONARY CHAPEL

The author described the new pilgrims' hostel as a "bunker of concrete" with windows on its southern side, and asked sarcastically whether it was intended as a "hothouse or sanatorium."¹⁴

Suddenly aware of the revolutionary nature of the project, unsympathetic Catholic factions initiated a public condemnation of the diocese of Besançon in 1954, referring to their efforts as "blasphemous,"¹⁵ and singling out architect's proposed Chapel as "a veritable horror."¹⁶ The neighboring bishop of Paderborn in Westphalia even published a 50 page pamphlet outlining a list of their transgressions, which were promptly sent to the Holy Office in Rome.¹⁷ Within ecclesiastical circles, the Chapel at Ronchamp had thus brought forth strong animosities before the project was even halfway complete.

Le Corbusier's fears were well-founded. One year before the Chapel's inauguration, with construction well underway, he again wrote to Canet, urging restraint:

the publicity and the agitation that have been aroused around the Chapel have provoked a backlash that risks breaching the dam in a flood! I have always been hostile to publicity so long as the church remains to be completed. You have judged the situation otherwise. Be careful! Prepare your umbrella. It is much more serious

¹³ The touring exhibit was later mentioned in *La Croix*, 6 April 1954 (Caussé 2007a: 79).

¹⁴ A: 1953-12-03 ('À temps modernes, églises modernes', in *Le bien public*, 3 Dec 1953)

¹⁵ Diocese of Munich, cited in Bolle-Reddat, JNDH 68, 1980, p. 7

¹⁶ A.C., 'Art religieux', in *La Nouvelle Revue Franc-comtoise*, n. 4, Oct 1954, p. 243; cited in Flicoteaux 1998: 46

¹⁷ Paderborn pamphlet, cited in Bolle-Reddat, JNDH 68, 1980, p. 7

*than you believe it to be. You are hereby informed. When the storm arrives, you will know why it arrives and I think that your convictions will be sure enough to not be shaken [...] This interest is immense, spreading everywhere. We have not but a few enemies – far from it. But when there is a quagmire along the road, better to avoid passing through it by taking a detour.*¹⁸

3.2 ‘LA CHAPELLE DE RONCHAMP, 1950-1953’

In the context of these ecclesiastical hostilities, Le Corbusier authorized the first of many publications on the Chapel, ‘La Chapelle de Ronchamp, 1950-53’, an 11-page exposé in the fifth volume of the *Œuvre complète*, published in 1953 by his Swiss editor Willi Boesiger.¹⁹ In keeping with the long-standing theme of the *Œuvre complète*, the presentation was predominantly visual, comprised of 48 different illustrations: 10 schematic sketches from the early stages of design work; 10 different architectural drawings, showing the Chapel in plan, elevation, and section; and 28 photographs of the two architectural models, one in plaster, and the other in paper and wire.²⁰ This set of images (**FIGURE 3.02**) would remain the most extensive collection of design materials concerning the Chapel of Ronchamp ever assembled in publication, with portions of the choreographed sequence of text-and-image repeated in all subsequent presentations.

DESIGN DOCUMENTS

This visual presentation in the *Œuvre complète* proceeds in a roughly chronological order, offering the reader an overview of the design process: loose site sketches and conceptual studies are followed by carefully rendered architectural drawings, with multiple views of two different models and several more developed elevations and sections concluding the sequence. Captions and annotations appear to provide sufficient information to allow the design process to be provisionally reconstructed:

¹⁸ D: 1954-06-19 (LC, letter to Canet, 19 June 1954: FLC Q1-6-134)

¹⁹ Boesiger 1953: 88-98

²⁰ C: 378-9, Design Drawings
E: 520-3 (OC 5 1953)

▪ early site studies	20 May 1950	(FIGURE 3.03)
▪ first sketches	undated	(FIGURE 3.04)
▪ first model in plaster	undated	(FIGURE 3.05)
▪ site plan	undated	(FIGURE 3.06)
▪ plan, sections, and elevations	22 Nov 1950	(FIGURE 3.07)
▪ south elev. & east-west section	undated	(FIGURE 3.08)
▪ east façade	undated	(FIGURE 3.09)
▪ elevation sketches	4 Jan 1951	(FIGURE 3.10)
▪ second project: wire model	undated	(FIGURE 3.11)
▪ construction sketch	18 Dec 1951	(FIGURE 3.12)
▪ elevations and sections	undated	(FIGURE 3.13)

Much of this has to be inferred from the visual presentation, however, since most of the drawings are not dated. As a result, several aspects of the design process remain unclear. Nonetheless, the captions do suggest that the process leading from the first to the second design had been based upon rational calculation, through which the dimensions of the latter project had been “brought to a minimum.”²¹ The general approach to design, if not transparently conveyed by such statements, was at least lent an air of scientific rigor.

TEXTUAL CONTENTS

Design drawings in the *Œuvre complète* are accompanied by a brief, 500-word text,²² translated into English²³ and German.²⁴ A central feature of this text is an explanation of the design process as “an acoustics of the landscape,” in which the Chapel’s curvilinear forms are said to have been conceived in “conformity with these horizons, in acceptance of them.”²⁵ The derivation of architectural forms is thus granted a naturalistic and site-specific basis that is repeatedly emphasized in the captions. This initial response is said to have been further developed through Le Corbusier’s architectural “research”:

²¹ Boesiger 1953: 97

²² C: 375-7, ‘La chapelle de Ronchamp 1950-1953’ (Boesiger 1953: 88-98)

²³ C: 383, ‘The chapel of Ronchamp’ (Boesiger 1953: 88-96)

²⁴ C: 389-90, ‘Die Kapelle von Ronchamp’ (Boesiger 1953: 90-6)

²⁵ « On commença donc par une acoustique paysagiste [...]. On créa des formes pour répondre à ces horizons, pour les accueillir. » (Boesiger 1953: 88)

It was agreeable for once to become absorbed in a disinterested problem without any real practical program, the reward being the effect of architectural forms and the spirit of architecture, in the construction of a vessel of intense concentration and meditation. The researches of Le Corbusier have led him to the perception of an "acoustic component in the domain of form".²⁶

The ensuing description of the Chapel's design suggests that the architect engaged in a 'call-and-response' with the surrounding environment, from the initial evaluation of the site, to the contextual schematic sketches, and finally to the models, which gave form to this 'response'. The entire process is described in technical language, as a form of quasi-scientific research:

An implacable mathematics and physics reign over (animer) the forms presented to the eye; their agreement (concordance), their repetition (réurrence), their interdependence, and the spirit of unity or of family which binds them together to form architectural expression, a phenomenon which, as he says, is as supple, subtle [sic], exact and implacable as that of acoustics.²⁷

The general approach is thus explained in French using terminology borrowed from the natural sciences (*recherches, concordance, réurrence, interdépendance*), mixed with metaphorical pronouncements of a more poetic nature (*un vaisseau d'intime concentration et de méditation*). Mediation between these realms is said to have been achieved through empirical procedures, with the resulting disposition of forms described as "a response to the psycho-physiology of the feelings (*la sensation*)."²⁸ The logical basis of the theory thus implicitly refers back to a sensationist psychology of perception that Le Corbusier knew from his early studies of turn-of-the-century positivists such as Charles Henry,²⁹ though the translations mask this source.

²⁶ « Il était agréable pour une fois, de s'absorber dans un problème désintéressé. La récompense étant l'effet des formes architecturales et l'esprit d'architecture de construire un vaisseau d'intime concentration et de méditation. Les recherches plastiques de Le Corbusier l'avaient conduit à la perception d'une 'intervention acoustique dans le domaine des formes'. » (Boesiger 1953: 88)

²⁷ « Une mathématique, une physique implacable doivent animer les formes offertes à l'œil; leur concordance, leur réurrence, leur interdépendance, et l'esprit de corps ou de famille qui les unit, conduisent à l'expression architecturale, phénomène, dit-il, aussi souple, aussi subtil, aussi exact, aussi implacable que celui de l'acoustique. » (Boesiger 1953: 88)

²⁸ « La nature des formes était une réponse à une psychophysiologie de la sensation. » (Boesiger 1953: 88)

²⁹ A theoretical statement indebted to Henry, nearly identical to the opening phrase cited here, appeared in the essay entitled '*Sur la plastique*': « nous étudierons cette fois que les sensations directement perceptibles par l'œil. » (Jeanneret & Ozenfant 1920). Henry and other positivists were explicitly credited as the source of such notions five years later: « Le purisme a commencé ses recherches par celle des sensations optiques et d'abord celle de la couleur; les études de Rood, de Helmholtz, de Koenigs, de Brodhun, de Ch. Henry, etc., ont en effet prouvé que

In addition to these quasi-scientific pronouncements, the text also makes several references to religion. The opening stanza, for example, situates the new Chapel within local religious history, as the successor to a series of pagan temples and Christian chapels that had been destroyed, one after the other, by a series of wars.³⁰ The liturgical requirements for the new pilgrimage chapel are also briefly outlined: an external altar would serve the ceremonial Mass, and an outdoor esplanade would be added, sufficient to receive 12,000 pilgrims as a “place of prayers.”³¹

However, Le Corbusier’s design efforts are described at considerable distance from such Catholic rituals: “the requirements of religion,” the text proclaims, “have had little effect on the design.”³² The reader is instead informed that the architect accepted the commission because he had found it agreeable to absorb himself within a “disinterested problem,” with his personal reward described as the construction of “an intimate vessel of concentration and meditation,” as noted above.³³ Such language, while perhaps loosely ‘spiritual’, is not specifically Catholic, nor even Christian, suggesting that the architect’s ambitions may have been different from those of his Dominican patrons.

In this sense, the text constructs an image of the architect whose principal inspirations were drawn from architecture, nature, and science, rather than religion. The procedures of his architectural atelier are described in a pragmatic manner, as both methodologically practical and technologically prudent. The resulting design, while clearly unconventional, is said to be indebted to careful analysis of the site, and composed of forms with analytical foundations “as supple, subtle, exact and implacable as acoustics.”³⁴ The textual presentation of the Chapel in the *Œuvre complète* thus reads as a factual exposition intended for an international, professional audience, in which the extensive coverage granted to the two consecutive design models appears to stand as proof of Le Corbusier’s analytical design technique.

l'on connaît les constantes de la réaction provoquée par un existant coloré déterminé [...]» (LC & Ozenfant 1925: 165; cited in De Heer 2009: 38-9).

³⁰ « Autrefois s'y élevèrent des temples païens, puis des chapelles chrétiennes, chapelles de pèlerinage. » (Boesiger 1953: 88)

³¹ « [C]ette construction [...] est une chapelle de pèlerinage, que fréquentent deux fois par an douze mille pèlerins montant la colline et se rassemblant sur la faible surface aplatie du sommet de la colline. C'est un lieu de prières. » (Boesiger 1953: 88)

³² « Il était agréable pour une fois de s'absorber dans un problème désintéressé. [...] Les impératifs du culte interviennent ici en peu de choses. » (Boesiger 1953: 88)

³³ Boesiger 1953: 88; note 26 above

³⁴ Boesiger 1953: 88; note 27 above

ATTRIBUTING AUTHORSHIP

The preceding text presents a fundamental difficulty to the researcher: it lacks attribution of authorship. Many researchers have assumed that it was written by Le Corbusier, since he is the only author identified within this volume of the *Œuvre complète*. As a result, the text and accompanying set of illustrations have frequently been viewed as an important primary source concerning Le Corbusier's design process for the Chapel.³⁵

However, a close analysis of this text and the book in which it was published suggests that this assumption is problematical. In fact, authorial ambiguity is evident from the very first page: the title presents the work as “*Le Corbusier Œuvre complète 1946-1952*”, and mentions “W. Boesiger” as the publisher; but no mention is made of author or authors. It thus remains unclear whether the architect's name is meant to appear as part of the title, as an authorial credit, or perhaps both. On the following page, the table of contents credits Le Corbusier as the author of the book's introduction, but provides no attribution for more than one hundred subsequent texts, in French, English, and German.³⁶ The ensuing editorial preface, also anonymously penned, offers little clarification: the French version proclaims that the book was a source of “special pleasure and satisfaction to editor and *authors*,” with no further information provided as to the identity of these various writers.³⁷ The reader can thus infer that several anonymous writers might have been involved in the production of the *Œuvre complète*, without knowing who they were or how they had contributed.

This authorial anonymity is maintained within the syntax of the Ronchamp text, which lacks authorial attribution, and was also written in a manner that veils the author's identity. The essay contains four different third-person references to the architect, for example, suggesting that Le Corbusier was not the author of the text, or at least not

³⁵ Von Moos, for example, noted that when he started work in the 1960s on his classic study *Le Corbusier: Elemente einer Synthese* (1968), Le Corbusier's personal archives “were not accessible”; hence his sources of information on Ronchamp and the other works of architecture were “primarily from published works of the architect himself, and the eight volumes of the *Œuvre complète*.” (1979: vi)

³⁶ C: 377-8, Authorial attribution (Boesiger 1953: 5-6)

³⁷ « La parution du cinquième volume des Œuvres complètes de Le Corbusier est pour l'éditeur et les *auteurs* un sujet tout particulier de joie et de contentement. » By contrast, the published English translation reads: “a source of special pleasure and satisfaction to editor and publisher.” (Boesiger 1953: 6, italics added)

the sole author.³⁸ However, the text also makes use of a consistently anonymous authorial voice which makes it impossible to identify the other contributors, if indeed there were any. For example, the description of design and construction within the French text makes widespread use of the anonymous third-person, pronominal expression ‘on’, which, as in the following expression, is semantically ambiguous.

On commença donc par une acoustique paysagiste
(*One/We thus commenced with an acoustics of the landscape*)

The expression seems to connote an informal, second-person assertion of agency (‘*We commenced*’)—suggesting that perhaps a member of the atelier had written the text—or perhaps an agentless construction (‘*It was commenced*’), rather than an anonymous, third-person construction.³⁹ The overriding point is that such predication is, in just this sense, open to numerous interpretations, none of which provide any information about *who* was engaging in the activities described—or, for that matter, *who* was writing about them.⁴⁰

There are also several instances within this text of what I will refer to as *displaced* agency, or expressions in which forms of agency conventionally associated with human volition have been transposed onto natural objects and/or human artifacts. For example, in the following expression:

*Both [models] show that an answer to the question has been found...*⁴¹

³⁸ Le Corbusier made frequent references to himself in the third person within his own publications, from 1918 to his death in 1965, a practice which can be traced to the inaugural publication of the avant-garde journal *L'Esprit Nouveau* in 1918, which Le Corbusier (then still known by his given name of Charles-Édouard Jeanneret) co-edited with Amédée Ozenfant. Hence, the presence of these third-person references does not rule out the possibility that Le Corbusier was the author of this text.

³⁹ The anonymous English translator rendered it, “One begins with the acoustic of the landscape”, which is somewhat awkward in context; however, the subsequent expression, “On créa des formes pour répondre à ces horizons,” was rendered as an agentless construction: “The design is conceived in conformity with these horizons”—a good example of the interpretive problems posed by such third-person ‘on’ expressions. (Boesiger 1953: 88)

⁴⁰ Archival evidence from a legal dispute with Jean Petit in 1957 leaves little doubt that Le Corbusier was well aware of the fact that such expressions can be used to conceal authorial identity. Inquiring about an advertisement for Petit’s publication on Ronchamp (Petit 1956), the architect asked for clarification concerning the identity of an anonymous third party mentioned in the text: « Qui a rédigé cette publicité ? Qui l’a composée ? Prière de me donner des explications. J’apprends par-dessus le marché, que ‘on’ aurait interdit à Hatje de vendre mon livre (le mien [LC 1957a]) en France. Venez me voir pour me donner une réponse immédiate. » (LC, letter to Petit, 27 May 1957: FLC E1-10-78)

⁴¹ « Toutes deux disent que la question posée a reçu une réponse. » (Boesiger 1953: 88)

it is the *models* that provide the answer, not the author. Of course, such figures of speech are quite common in any language, and do not necessarily entail deliberate semantic ambiguity. However, there are no fewer than five instances of such displaced agency in this short text, and the end result of the frequent use of such figures of speech is that human agency is consistently displaced. The reader thus has no way of knowing who posed the question, made the models, or weighed the response. In fact, both the architect's agency and the author's identity are continually elided by means of such displaced agency, along with the following additional syntactic devices:

- passive constructions (*It was built*)
- past-participle predications (*forms offered to the eye*)
- gerundive predications (*reinforced concrete forming membranes*), and
- aphoristic pronouncements (*And so it was through the centuries*).

Constructions of these four types comprise nearly one half the total predications within this text, with agentless, anonymous, and displaced constructions outnumbering explicit attributions 43 to 6, or a ratio more than 7 to 1.⁴² The overriding impression is thus of a broad veil of semantic ambiguity that obscures both the identity of those responsible for the actions described and the attribution of authorship.

ARCHIVAL EVIDENCE

Fortunately, there is a considerable amount of evidence upon which an attribution of authorship can be based. Extant correspondence between the architect's office and his editor, Willi Boesiger, for example, provides important information concerning both the timeline of the events that took place, and the identities of those who participated.

The first extant letter concerning volume 5 is a request from Boesiger to Wogenscky in which the editor requested a preliminary review of the editorial mockup upon Le Corbusier's return from India in July of 1952.⁴³ The editorial mockup in the Parisian archives that fits Boesiger's description includes a full set of visual documentation, laid out across thirteen pages in the same fashion that it would appear in the first edition

⁴² C: 379, Discursive construction (Boesiger 1953: 88-98)

⁴³ D: 1952-07-08 (Boesiger, letter to Wogenscky, 8 July 1952: FLC B1-6-156)

of the forthcoming volume of the *Œuvre complète*. **(FIGURE 3.14)** The textual documentation, however, is absent. In its place stands a carefully allocated set of partitioned columns, stamped ‘f, e, d’, representing the empty French, English, and German text blocks, which evidently had yet to be written.

An exchange between Boesiger and Wogenscky in November of 1952 suggests these texts were to be a collaborative effort, since it stipulated the provisional responsibilities of all three men. A letter from Boesiger on 15 November 1952, for example, provides evidence that Wogenscky, who was granted the task of creating the bulk of the captions, was one of the anonymous authors mentioned in the French preface. Le Corbusier is also mentioned as a secondary author, who would provide the captions for more “personal” illustrations within the text.

However, the closing phrase of this letter also suggests that Le Corbusier might be a principal author as well, since Boesiger wrote that he awaited both captions *and* texts, and trusted that his client would again come through with them.⁴⁴ Wogenscky’s response also suggests this: Le Corbusier, he noted, wanted “the entirety of his text” to play a central role in page layout, thereby delaying his own contribution to the captions.⁴⁵ One week later, the architect sent the first portion of these texts to his publisher, Hans Girsberger, who then notified his colleagues that this manuscript, now evidently lost, had indeed arrived.⁴⁶

The manuscript was apparently far short of what Girsberger expected, however, which placed his editorial team in a bind. By the year’s end, the matter had become so urgent that both editor and publisher began repeatedly pressing Wogenscky for an immediate resolution of the matter. So Wogenscky then reviewed the manuscript, which Le Corbusier had written in India or perhaps en route, and voiced his opinions to the publisher without reservation:

I have remained as brief as possible, but in certain cases, it seemed necessary to me to give some explanation, because the texts of Corbu seem to completely lack them.

⁴⁴ D: 1952-11-15 (Boesiger, letter to Wogenscky, 15 Nov 1952: FLC BI-5-163)

⁴⁵ D: 1952-11-25 (Wogenscky, letter to Boesiger, 25 Nov 1952: FLC BI-8-166)

⁴⁶ D: 1952-12-01 (Girsberger, letter to Wogenscky, 1 Dec 1952: FLC BI)

*With only these texts of Corbu, someone who had not worked in our office would be incapable of understanding the plans, above all those of urbanism...*⁴⁷

Wogenscky apparently found himself in an uncomfortable position. Having personally worked on several of the projects that were to be published, while acting as supervisor of the atelier in the midst of many others, he was in a unique position to see that there was a considerable gap between, on the one hand, the careful manner in which Le Corbusier engaged his design practice, and, on the other, the curious way in which he planned to present it to the public. The effect of this gap, he suggested, was serious, since the target audience of architects would be incapable of properly understanding the plans.

When Le Corbusier's final texts were delivered to the publisher, Wogenscky's concerns were evidently further escalated, as he openly questioned their contents and the odd, third-person voice in which they had been penned. "In the text entitled 'La Trouinade', accompanying the projects for La Sainte-Baume", he wrote,

*Le Corbusier was speaking of himself in saying "your servant". But the set of texts was written as if the author were not Le Corbusier. I find this expression "your servant" is perhaps awkward. In addition, I would like to ask you if Le Corbusier has decided to mention the name of the collaborators with whom he created the plans and public works within this book.*⁴⁸

At issue was the way in which the architect seemed to withhold certain information from the public view, including a forthright attribution of authorship. For just this reason, Wogenscky had highlighted one of Le Corbusier's more unusual personal aliases, 'your servant', as a cause for concern, since it granted the reader the rather odd impression that someone else had written the text. The effect of this strategy, as Wogenscky observed, was that the identity of the author was rendered unclear. Thrust into the position of editor, Wogenscky evidently objected to such elisions. He was also quick to add that Le Corbusier's silence about the contributions of his collaborators would draw this same anonymous veil across the entire field of the atelier's architectural production.

⁴⁷ D: 1952-12-16 (Wogenscky, letter to Boesiger, 16 Dec 1952: FLC B1-6-141)

⁴⁸ D: 1953-01-28 (Wogenscky, letter to Boesiger, 28 Jan 1953: FLC B1-6-173)

Wogenscky's testimony suggests that Le Corbusier made deliberate use of a veiled authorial voice in the production of this volume. An obvious benefit to this approach was that the texts could be edited, altered, and augmented by others using the same strategy, thus ensuring a consistently anonymous and even authorial tone throughout. Most of the texts within this volume of the *Œuvre complète* bear the imprint of this editorial process: they are exclusively based upon Le Corbusier's ideas—and most likely, given the testimony of both Girsberger and Wogenscky, upon his handwritten manuscripts—but also show signs of multiple authors, mixed voices, altered terminology, and corrected syntax.⁴⁹ The text on the Chapel of Ronchamp should, I believe, be included in this 'hybrid' category, and attributed to the sequential efforts of Le Corbusier, as lead author, with both André Wogenscky and Willi Boesiger serving as anonymous co-authors.

THE RONCHAMP MANUSCRIPT

Le Corbusier also appears to have been granted the final edit at the end of this process. A manuscript for the Ronchamp text currently held in the archives of the Fondation Le Corbusier in Paris contains hand-written revisions, penned over typewritten text, which were included in the final French version.⁵⁰ (FIGURES 3.15 & 3.16) However, the script does not match the recognizable characteristics of Le Corbusier's handwriting, which again makes authorial attribution difficult. Following an analysis of the handwriting of several members of Le Corbusier's atelier, I would propose that the script on this manuscript can be attributed to his secretary, Jeanne Heilbuth, since it bears several characteristic idiosyncrasies of her handwriting. This can be ascertained with reasonable certainty through analysis of her signed annotations on other, contemporaneous documents. (FIGURE 3.17) If this is correct, then the annotated changes would most likely reflect Le Corbusier's own suggestions,

⁴⁹ Texts marked by these attributes of multiple authorship include: La Grille CIAM d'Urbanisme (Boesiger 1953: 40); L'ONU à New York sur l'East River (52); Urbanisme. La Règle des 7 V (Voies de circulation) (104); La chapelle de Ronchamp 1950-1953 (88); Urbanisation de Marseille Vieux-Port et de Marseille-Veyre (99); Chandigarh. La naissance de la nouvelle capitale du Punjab (Indes) 1950 (128); Les Signes (149); La Main ouverte (149); La Maison du Péon (158); and Unité d'Habitation de Nantes-Rezé 1952/5 (166). Only three texts in this volume can be convincingly attributed to Le Corbusier as primary author: the text on La Sainte-Baume (*la «Trouinade»*) mentioned by Wogenscky; the text concerning the *Unité d'Habitation* at Marseille, identified in a subsequent letter from Girsberger; and the introduction. These are the only texts to include Le Corbusier's own first-person references, both singular and plural, in which his voice briefly cuts through the anonymous air of the *Œuvre complète*.

⁵⁰ 'La Chapelle de Ronchamp' (FLC A3-7-907)

relayed to Heilbuth from abroad via telegram or even telephone—a practice known to have been conducted in the Parisian atelier at this time.⁵¹

There are forty-eight such suggested alterations in all.⁵² Of these suggested alterations, the least numerous, and perhaps the least significant, are those concerning minor adjustments of syntax and spelling. There are at least eight changes of this type, which seems a reasonable number in a thousand-word text, preparing an article that had presumably been subject to considerable review already, in preparation for the printed page. Far more numerous are the proposed lexical changes, in which Le Corbusier found cause to supplant one word choice for another. Typically, these are subtle changes in description of one sort or another, and again it seems safe to say that the nature of such changes are well within reason, if the author of the typewritten text and the penned corrections were one and the same.⁵³

The number of suggested lexical alterations is nonetheless considerable: at least 23 different modifications, consisting of some 57 replacements in the lexicon, or more than 5% of the total word count. There were, in addition, 8 separate instances of simple omission, in which a word or phrase was deleted without any substitute proposed to take its place, along with 5 more verbal interjections, amounting to 62 more altered words, pushing the total well above one-tenth the total word count.⁵⁴ So it must be said that if the typewritten text and the penned corrections were the product of a single author's hand, then he or she must have had a distinct change of mind in preparing the pages for print. This is certainly plausible.

Several features of this manuscript, however, suggest that it may not have been written, or at least not entirely written, by one and the same author. Quite a few of the elided terms, for example, are rare in the Corbusian lexicon, if not altogether

⁵¹ There are several factors that seem to me convincing arguments in favor of this hypothesis. First, I will assume that it is highly implausible that Heilbuth would have undertaken such an important task on her own initiative, rewriting the text by herself. Second, it is known that Le Corbusier dictated texts to her—one year later the architect claimed to have dictated an entire book, *Modulor 2*, with Heilbuth serving as his assistant (LC 1955a: 311). Lastly, Boesiger mentions that his prior communication with Le Corbusier, while the architect was in India, was relayed back and forth with Heilbuth serving as the intermediary. Therefore there is a known precedent for each aspect of this practice. Furthermore, the only person known to have used Heilbuth's expertise in such a way was Le Corbusier; therefore he is not only the most likely candidate source for such proposed changes, but indeed the only plausible one.

⁵² C: 367-8, Suggested Changes (Boesiger 1953, Manuscript)

⁵³ C: 368-9, Types of Changes (Boesiger 1953, Manuscript)

⁵⁴ C: 368-9, Types of Changes (Boesiger 1953, Manuscript)

unknown, at least in my reading.⁵⁵ Furthermore, several of the suggested changes include terms drawn directly from the architect's other texts, with at least one instance in which the altered phrase was made to conform to a prior expression that can be readily identified.⁵⁶ This intertextual evidence suggests that the handwritten correction may have been meant to highlight an improper word choice made, perhaps, by a second party unfamiliar with the architect's specialized mathematical language. In that event, the term would have resulted from an error of transcription, perhaps by an editor attempting to mimic Le Corbusier's writing style.

Furthermore, one proposed alteration was not a simple an exchange of terms, but a change which fundamentally altered the account of the Chapel's commission. The typed version reads:

*If Le Corbusier accepted to undertake this construction, it is because it is a question of a Chapel of pilgrimage [...]*⁵⁷

By contrast, the corrected, handwritten version on the manuscript reads:

*Le Corbusier accepted to undertake this construction, which is a Chapel of pilgrimage [...]*⁵⁸

In the latter version, the architect's acceptance was no longer said to be directly related to the building's function as a pilgrimage Chapel. This suggests far more than a change of syntax; it is a substantive alteration of the text, modifying the account of the architect's underlying reasons in accepting the commission. It is possible, of course, that this change resulted from Le Corbusier's own personal dissatisfaction with

⁵⁵ For example, 'grossier' replaced by 'rude', or 'vitres' replaced by 'verres' (Boesiger 1953: 88)—two terms which, to my knowledge, do not recur in Le Corbusier's other texts.

⁵⁶ In that particular passage, a caption describing the second design model, the altered text reads: « Les fils représentent les directives <directrices> et les génératrices des surfaces gauches. » Since the semantic context of this phrase is a formal description of a design feature, the term 'directives' would seem to have been used in error, since the resulting phrase, "the wires represent the directives and generatrices of the irregular surfaces" is semantically incoherent. It could be said that this was a simply a spelling blunder rather than a mistaken word choice; but this seems less likely in light of the fact that roughly the same phrase appeared in one of Le Corbusier's texts from 1948, in a description of the formal patterns he had seen inscribed upon shells exhibited at the *Musée de l'histoire naturelle* in Paris: « À gauche sont les séries, de plus en plus polies et brillantes, fournissant l'email blanc le plus pur, puis ensuite les peintures les plus précises décorant selon les directrices ou selon les génératrices [...] » (LC 1948a: 53)

⁵⁷ « Si Le Corbusier a accepté d'entreprendre cette construction c'est qu'il est une question d'une chapelle de pèlerinage... » (Boesiger 1953, Manuscript, FIGURE 3.15)

⁵⁸ « Le Corbusier a accepté d'entreprendre cette construction qui est une chapelle de pèlerinage... » (Boesiger 1953, Manuscript, FIGURE 3.15)

something that he had written previously, which, upon review, he saw fit to modify. But it is equally plausible, if not more so, that this change resulted from the architect correcting what was, once again, essentially an editorial mistake, in which his personal motivations for accepting the commission had somehow been misconstrued. Whatever the reason, the change was retained in the final text, for that is how it went to print.

However, not all of the proposed changes were retained in the final text. Of the 49 handwritten alterations, 14 were evidently rejected, as the crossed-out type reemerged in the final, printed edition, with Le Corbusier's suggestions effectively ignored.⁵⁹ An analysis of the English and German translations suggests a plausible reason for this divergence.

ENGLISH AND GERMAN TRANSLATIONS

A comparative study of the English and German translations of this text also provides a provisional basis upon which this manuscript can be dated, suggesting that the annotated review was indeed a last minute affair. In each one of these accompanying texts, the vast majority of the alterations that Le Corbusier suggested were not incorporated. Even the phrases that he had carefully crossed out were nearly all retained in the English and German texts of the final publication, suggesting that these revisions did not make it to the printer before the deadline.⁶⁰ This strong correlation between the discrepancies of the English and German texts and the handwritten corrections on the annotated Ronchamp manuscript suggests that the corrections were produced in a response to an urgent letter sent by Girsberger to Le Corbusier on 4 March 1953—that is to say, sometime in mid-March.

At that time, Girsberger had asked the architect to “assess, correct and complete” the first set of proof sheets of the page layouts for volume 5 of the *Œuvre complète*, and to provide the missing captions and the final text on Marseille, which he still awaited.⁶¹

⁵⁹ C: 367-8, Suggested changes (Boesiger 1953, Manuscript)

⁶⁰ C: 370-4, Translation Analysis (Boesiger 1953, Manuscript)

⁶¹ D: 1953-03-04 (Girsberger, letter to LC, 4 March 1953: FLC B1-8-119). I have not found these proof sheets in the archives. However, since the extant mockup (FIGURE 3.14) does not include captions, or any other of the features that Girsberger mentions, it can be convincingly identified as an earlier version, most likely produced by both Boesiger and Le Corbusier, as each man's handwriting appears prominently upon each page.

Most importantly, Girsberger announced to Le Corbusier that the rest of the texts had already been corrected and translated, and that the English and German translations were at the printer's office at that very moment, being typeset. The Ronchamp text would likely have been among those mentioned; and since the translations of this particular text, as published, did not include the annotated corrections on the manuscript, it also seems likely that they were produced at this time, and then sent back to Girsberger along with the text on Marseille that he had requested.

SUMMARY: RONCHAMP IN THE ŒUVRE COMPLÈTE

The French text on Ronchamp in volume 5 of the *Œuvre complète*, as it appeared in print in the summer of 1953, appears to have been produced by a collective effort between five identifiable agents (Le Corbusier, Wogenscky, Boesiger, Girsberger, and Le Corbusier's secretary, Jeanne Heilbuth), along with a team of anonymous translators. This unusual editorial process, I suggest, explains a great many puzzling features in the handwritten corrections that appear on the typewritten manuscript, mentioned above, and in the final version of the text.

If this is correct, it would provide a clear reason why this text presents familiar Corbusian terminology within a veiled authorial voice: the architect's final handwritten edit served to grant the French text an identifiable sense of Corbusian semantics without embodying his syntactical style—the principal source of the authorial ambiguity characteristic of this text. Through numerous edits and adumbrations, the architect's authorial identity was, in all ways mentioned, effectively masked.

This editorial process might also explain the proliferation of ambiguous, third-person, French 'on' constructions in this text, which, as I have argued above, most likely resulted from Le Corbusier's preference for such 'open-ended' pronominal expressions, which allowed multiple authors to contribute to a single text without producing any notable conflict in the editorial voice. This syntactical device would have allowed Wogenscky, for example, to interject the technical explanations of construction that he believed the text sorely needed, without explicitly introducing himself as an author, or disturbing the anonymous tone of the *Œuvre complète*.

Lastly, this collaborative process would also explain some of the discrepancies between the three different versions of this text as they appeared in print. The English and German translations, as I have noted above, were evidently based upon an uncorrected version of the manuscript, which contained many phrases written by Boesiger and/or Wogensky, which differed markedly from the final French text. In addition, the fanciful semantics, extensive alterations, and curious omissions of the translating team introduced numerous additional discrepancies. The end result of this process was a set of texts in three different languages which often diverge dramatically.⁶²

The resulting publication provides the reader an interpretation of the Chapel's architecture written by several different authors, and penned from several different vantage points, all of which remain hidden from view. The exposition thus comes across as visually captivating but textually unclear; and if the reader stands pressed for sources, they are nowhere to be found.

3.3 'LA CHAPELLE DE RONCHAMP, 1950-1953', AUGMENTED EDITION

The fifth edition of the *Œuvre complète* proved to be so popular that it sold out almost immediately. The editors, along with the architect, thus brought forth a new volume without delay. In the early months of 1955, just prior to the Chapel's inauguration, a second, augmented edition of volume 5 was published, as a part of a much broader effort on the part of the publishers to capitalize upon the growing international demand for the *Œuvre complète*.⁶³

The augmented version of volume 5 is, in fact, a very different book from the first edition: ten new photographs were added to the article 'La Chapelle de Ronchamp, 1950-1953', for example, and six more removed;⁶⁴ and while the text itself was reprinted verbatim within an updated layout that ostensibly granted the reader a more

⁶² C: 370-4, Translation Analysis (Boesiger 1953: 88-98)

⁶³ From 1946-60, no fewer than 18 volumes were brought forth to satisfy this interest: first editions of volumes 4 and 5, along with at least 16 re-editions of prior volumes. Evidence of this can be found online (<http://www.worldcat.org>).

⁶⁴ The altered layout (Boesiger 1955: 72-84) includes nine new photos of the construction site and one of Le Corbusier in a meeting with his Dominican patrons, which replaced six photographs of the wire model, a central feature of the first edition (Boesiger 1953: 88-98).

inclusive view of the commission and construction of the Chapel, these alterations also omitted important documentation concerning its design. Several additional projects were similarly altered or entirely removed,⁶⁵ and this cumulative set of modifications would thereafter serve as the template for all subsequent re-editions of volume 5, starting from the third edition, issued in 1961.

The contemporary reader, however, has no way of knowing this, as all reference to these revisions was removed during the third printing: the title page reverted back to the layout of the first edition, and the subtitle 'Augmented Edition' was struck from the text, with the accompanying reference note misleadingly rolled back to 1953; while the unmarked omission of several sections of the text reduced the number of pages to a figure that matched the original binding: 244 instead of 250. Hence, all later imprints bear production notes that appear to match the first edition.⁶⁶

Such alterations and omissions were not uncommon in postwar editions of the *Œuvre complète*: several volumes in the 1940s and 1950s were similarly augmented with photographs and other documentary materials that clearly postdate the period of time that the volume was meant to cover.⁶⁷ The second, augmented edition of volume 5 was, to my knowledge, the only edition ever produced that alerted the reader to such changes in its title; thereafter, the editors evidently thought it preferable to exclude such information, and simply effected the desired changes without notice. The end result of this editorial process is that the substantive differences of the various editions tend to disappear from catalog records,⁶⁸ and the only way a reader or researcher might discover them is through a careful, page-by-page comparison—an unlikely event, given the current scarcity of these early imprints.⁶⁹

⁶⁵ The prior presentation (Boesiger 1953) of the projects for La Sainte Baume, the United Nations in NYC, and the urbanization of Izmir were reduced; those for Chandigarh, Ronchamp, 'La bouteille', and LC's tapestries were augmented; LC's own apartment and a technical report on sun and shade were removed. (Boesiger 1955)

⁶⁶ OC 5, 3rd (1961) through 12th (2006) editions, as of this writing.

⁶⁷ The third edition of volume 4, 1938-46, for example, includes 18 new pages of photographs and drawings of the Unité d'habitation in Marseilles from 1947-49, with corresponding omissions that keep the total page number consistent with the prior imprint (Boesiger 1955b: 176-93); and the second edition of volume 6, 1952-57, includes a two-page spread on the Philips Pavilion in Brussels from 1958, with other alterations again made to retain the original page count (Boesiger 1958: 200-1).

⁶⁸ Only the second edition appears to stand out; but this is misleading, since it served as the basis of all subsequent editions. The first edition thus tends to recede from view.

⁶⁹ De Smet has noted that this type of silent alteration was also a consistent feature of Petit's later re-editions of Le Corbusier's texts, which were authorized, encouraged and controlled by the architect. (2007: 198-202)

Textual production of the *Œuvre complète* did not, in this sense, follow the rigorous protocols of historical research, whereby such alterations would be dutifully noted volume to volume, leaving a carefully annotated trail—indeed, far from it. The evidence suggests that editorial practices were instead geared toward a desire for aesthetic consistency, in which standardization of page layout and volume size was prioritized over temporal accuracy, consistency of title and contents, etc. The volumes of the *Œuvre complète* are not, in other words, scholarly books—although they have consistently been treated as such since the 1960s.

Perhaps the most plausible explanation of such overarching aesthetic priorities was a conscious desire for market ‘branding’, in which the collected volumes of the *Œuvre complète*, like all Corbusian artifacts, were made to conform to a carefully designed synthetic vision, in which “each element of editorial composition,” as Catherine de Smet has recently noted, “was considered in its minutiae.”⁷⁰ This formula proved hugely successful. The introduction to volume 5, published in 1953, announced that the enterprise had met with

*the success which today has brought the volumes of the complete works into every country of the world. The fourth volume, published at the end of the war, was very soon out of print, and since then the complete works have had to be brought out in repeatedly new editions.*⁷¹

The myriad editions of the *Œuvre complète*, then, including the various editions of volume 5 and the documentation of the Chapel of Ronchamp that they contain, were published in response to burgeoning international popularity and demand; hence, these texts might best be seen as a set of popularized, professional publications that answered to both the protocols of the publishing market and a desire to present a global, professional image of the architect, rather than as a set of scholarly essays that attempted to depict Le Corbusier's individual projects with historical rigor.

Nonetheless, my review of the secondary literature suggests that the individual volumes of the *Œuvre complète* have been repeatedly quoted as if they were valid, primary source materials, containing rigorous assessments of Le Corbusier's

⁷⁰ De Smet 2007: 243

⁷¹ Boesiger 1953: 6

architectural oeuvre—including, significantly, the Chapel of Ronchamp.⁷² However, in light of the evidence presented here, this seems an unreliable practice.

3.4 'UNE CHAPELLE À RONCHAMP'

As the augmented edition of the *Œuvre complète* was prepared for print, the French editor Jean Petit was hard at work on a similar publication, entitled *Le Corbusier, Architecture du Bonheur – L'urbanisme est une clef*.⁷³ Petit's book was also planned as a retrospective monograph on the architect's recent work, and was scheduled to include many of the same projects as the fifth volume of the *Œuvre complète*, presented in a similar fashion. To date, the publication has received little or no attention from Corbusian scholars. However, archival evidence reveals that the architect was closely involved from the outset with editorial decisions that determined the book's contents, suggesting that this obscure publication, and the editorial dynamics from which it emerged, merit closer analysis than they have yet received. As I will argue below, Petit's edited volume and the textual exposition on the Chapel that it contains are of fundamental importance to an understanding of the way in which Ronchamp was presented to the public.

JEAN PETIT AND FORCES VIVES

Le Corbusier, Architecture du Bonheur was the fourth publication produced by the editorial conglomerate of *Forces Vives*,⁷⁴ a Paris-based company dedicated to the promotion of the arts, which Petit had founded with colleagues Guy Dupuis and Alain Milhaud in 1952. The previous three editions had presented a broad assortment of art historical texts, literary excerpts, and guest editorials, all of which shared the page with everything from the Romanesque architecture of Brittany to the latest Parisian production of Shakespeare.

⁷² See Chapter 2 above.

⁷³ Petit 1955

⁷⁴ *Architecture du Bonheur* (Petit 1955) was the 4th edition of *Forces vives*, confusingly comprised of volumes 5, 6, & 7.

Petit introduced the journal as “a collective work,” born of “a well-defined community.”⁷⁵ Several fellow Catholics formed its central editorial committee: early contributors including the Benedictine monk Dom Angelico Surchamp⁷⁶ (b. 1924) and the Dominican priest Pie Régamey, whose works mingled with a collection of secular voices. French luminaries such as André Malraux and Albert Camus, for example, were among the first contributing authors, along with prominent artists like Henri Matisse and Fernand Léger, whose inclusion undoubtedly gave the makeshift production a more serious air in the eyes of the Parisian avant-garde. Petit's journal thus partook of the ecumenical and syncretistic spirit of a liberal current of French postwar Catholicism then in full force.

Nevertheless, the young journal struggled to find an audience, and early in 1954, just two years after its inception, Petit found himself faced with considerable financial difficulties. The success of the forthcoming edition would be critical to the journal's survival.⁷⁷

LE CORBUSIER, ARCHITECTURE DU BONHEUR

It was in this context that Petit first contacted Le Corbusier, asking the architect if he would contribute to a special edition of the journal dedicated to the religious architecture of medieval Normandy. Le Corbusier was sufficiently intrigued to write back,⁷⁸ and arranged a meeting with Petit in July of 1954.⁷⁹ After their initial encounter, the young editor abandoned his original plan, and decided to dedicate his forthcoming volume to the architect's oeuvre.

Petit was evidently thrilled by this opportunity, and wrote to the architect on 10 October 1954, recounting a list of elements that Le Corbusier had asked him to

⁷⁵ Petit & Dupuis, introduction, *Forces Vives* v. I, 1952, n.p.

⁷⁶ Surchamp, a friend and colleague of the cubist painter Albert Gleizes, published on both Gleizes and Picasso after the war before founding the publishing house Zodiaque, which produced numerous critically-acclaimed volumes on Romanesque art. Brooke (2001: 237ff) contains a brief account of his involvement with the Sacred Art movement.

⁷⁷ D: 1955-03-18: Petit's letter of 18 March 1955 (FLC E1-10) mentions his financial difficulties.

⁷⁸ D: 1954-05-04 (LC, letter to Petit, 4 May 1954: FLC E1-10). Le Corbusier's letter makes reference to Petit's prior request; however, I have not located Petit's earlier letter in the Parisian archives.

⁷⁹ D: 1954-10-10 (Petit, letter to LC: FLC E1-10). Petit mentions a meeting from “last July” in this letter of October 1954; since his correspondence with LC began in April of that same year, this must refer to July 1954.

include. His language suggests that the architect played a central role in planning the book's contents. "Since our last meeting," Petit wrote,

*following your advice and that of M. Wogensky [sic], we have arranged a certain number of elements for the edition that we would like to publish on your work and your oeuvre that we admire with all our strength.*⁸⁰

Projects proposed for the forthcoming volume included the *Unités d'Habitation* at Marseille and Nantes-Rezé; the manufacturing plant at Saint-Dié; new designs for the city of Chandigarh and the monastery at La Tourette; and the Chapel at Ronchamp. Petit concluded his letter with a provisional table of contents and a list of proposed articles, along with suggestions of authors who might write them. He then asked, with characteristic deference, if Le Corbusier might pen the text for Marseille, just as he had "proposed last July," and if time allowed, perhaps a few other articles as well.

Curiously, the Chapel of Ronchamp and the monastery at La Tourette were the only projects for which no author was specifically mentioned. However, the very first item in Petit's proposed table of contents was an article by the Dominican Marie-Alain Couturier, which the priest had dictated shortly before his death in 1954.⁸¹ The text, entitled simply 'Le Corbusier', was the Dominican's final public homage to the architect, which also contained significant commentary on both the Chapel and the monastery at La Tourette. Its inclusion would thus complete the volume's textual contents, providing knowledgeable explanations of Le Corbusier's recent forays into religious architecture as seen from the patron's point of view.⁸²

Petit's letter suggests that the forthcoming publication was planned from the outset as a collective undertaking, in which the editor was prepared to defer to the architect's wishes in every respect. In fact, since their correspondence evidently began with a far more modest proposal, it seems plausible that the original idea for *Architecture du Bonheur* came from Le Corbusier himself. This would explain why Petit had emphasized the provisional nature of all his suggestions, and why his proposals were repeatedly framed in deferential language: final editorial control clearly belonged to

⁸⁰ D: 1954-10-10 (Petit, letter to LC, 10 Oct 1954: FLC E1-10)

⁸¹ D: 1954-10-10 (Petit, letter to LC, 10 Oct 1954: FLC E1-10)

⁸² C: 395-6, 'Le Corbusier' (Couturier, in Petit 1955: n.p.)

the architect, a fact that he emphasized again and again throughout their correspondence. As Petit put it, the proposed volume should be seen as “subject to the modifications that you would consider useful.” All such decisions, Petit maintained, would either await the architect’s approval, or better, be made by him personally.

Le Corbusier evidently gave Petit’s requests careful consideration. A copy of the letter in the Corbusian archives in Paris includes a marginal note, in which the architect proposed additional topics for the book, suggesting that he had not only read his editor’s suggestions, but had also found them acceptable. He made no omissions to Petit’s proposed table of contents. The following day, Le Corbusier received a second letter from Petit, and again penned his thoughts in the margins, pondering the book’s appearance: “What sort of volume could make a bookstore edition – what manufacture, which format?” he asked, answering: “Format 21 x 18, paperback.”⁸³ The proposal was, in other words, not only acceptable, but indeed already beginning to take shape in his mind.

INTERTEXTUAL EVIDENCE

Shortly thereafter, Le Corbusier agreed to Petit’s proposal, sending him a set of page layouts originally created for his own forthcoming publication, *Modulor 2*, with a suggestion that Petit also make use of them for his new book.⁸⁴ Ten days later, he proposed an additional feature on Paris, calling Petit’s attention to a sequence of urban proposals that had previously been published in the third and fourth volumes of the *Œuvre complète*.⁸⁵ Close analysis of the book’s final contents suggests that Le Corbusier guided Petit’s editorial decisions very carefully. Upon release, *Le Corbusier, Architecture du Bonheur* contained imagery, text, and page layouts drawn from no fewer than 8 different Corbusian texts. It was, in this sense, an editorial pastiche of previously released material: of the 83 illustrations included, only 19 were new; the rest had appeared elsewhere, or were currently in print with other publishers.⁸⁶

⁸³ D: 1954-10-10 (Petit, letter to LC, 10 Oct 1954: FLC E1-10). The word ‘couché’ (paperback) is rendered in Jeanne Heilbuth’s script, suggesting that the notes may have followed a conversation between the architect and his secretary.

⁸⁴ D: 1954-10-21 (LC, letter to LC, 21 Oct 1954: FLC E1-10)

⁸⁵ D: 1954-11-02 (LC, letter to LC, 2 November 1954: FLC E1-10, citing Bill 1938: 46; Boesiger 1946: 143-4)

⁸⁶ C: 398, Intertextuality (Petit 1955)

The reader already familiar with the architect's prolific literary oeuvre would thus have found much of the content quite familiar: more than 50% of the visual documentation had been taken directly from volumes 3, 4, 5, and the pending volume 6 of the *Œuvre complète*, and many of these illustrations also copied the captions word for word.⁸⁷ The end result of this extensive intertextual exchange was that a large portion of Petit's book resembled a small-scale French version of Boesiger's refined international publication. **(FIGURE 3.18)**

Much like the *Œuvre complète*, Petit's *Architecture du Bonheur* does not make it initially clear to the reader if the book was written *by* Le Corbusier, or written *about* him—particularly the cover, which features the architect's name in bold, cursive script at the bottom of the page, at a much greater scale than the title. **(FIGURE 3.19)** Attribution of authorship is also at times vague, or simply unacknowledged: more than a third of the articles lack proper attribution,⁸⁸ and many articles that appear to be written by Le Corbusier also make third-person reference to the architect, leaving the matter—again, following the precedent of the *Œuvre complète*—quite unclear.⁸⁹

DESIGN DOCUMENTS

The exposition on Ronchamp, an eight-page spread in the middle of the book, also shares many similarities with the *Œuvre complète*. It contains three images of the plaster model of the Chapel, two of which had first appeared in volume 5 **(FIGURE 3.20)**, and three additional design drawings: one from Boesiger's previous publication, and two more which appeared in print for the first time. **(FIGURE 3.21)** Each of these photos would also appear in joint publication with the *Œuvre complète*: one appearing simultaneously in the second edition of volume 5, and the other scheduled for the forthcoming publication of volume 6.

⁸⁷ C: 398, Intertextuality (Petit 1955)

⁸⁸ C: 395, Authors & Articles (Petit 1955)

⁸⁹ This authorial ambiguity may have included false attribution of the introduction, which is credited to Petit. This one-page essay is written in a voice which, to my knowledge, is quite foreign to Petit's writing style, otherwise characterized by proper grammatical and syntactical structures, and rarely if ever expressing polemical content. By contrast, the introduction in *Architecture du Bonheur* is characterized by grammatical fragments, run-on sentences, polemical content, and an atypical lexicon—authorial tendencies common to Le Corbusier. (Petit 1955: n.p.)

TEXTUAL CONTENTS

The textual explanation of the Chapel in *Architecture du Bonheur*, however, did not include a single word from Le Corbusier. Instead, the exposition was accompanied by two essays written by Father Couturier: the first was an article on Le Corbusier from January of 1954, mentioned in Petit's letter;⁹⁰ and the second, entitled '*Une Chapelle à Ronchamp*', was a more lengthy account of the Chapel's architecture which had previously appeared in the journal *L'Art Sacré* in 1953 under another title—though again, the reader was not made aware of the original sources, nor the textual modifications made to the articles.⁹¹

Couturier's explanation of the Chapel within these texts followed, in many respects, the existing accounts in volume 5 of the *Œuvre complète*. The Dominican confirmed, for example, that Le Corbusier's initial designs had been sketched "in accord with the dominant lines of the landscape." Couturier also echoed a fundamental tenet of the architect's theory when he claimed that the plans and forms of the Chapel had been developed with "the flexibility and freedom of a living organism."⁹² In this sense, the articles simply reiterate much of what had been said before.

But in other respects, Couturier's account of the Chapel was quite different from the previous explanation in the *Œuvre complète*. Boesiger's publication had emphasized that the requirements of religion had "had little effect on the design"⁹³—a declaration that underscored the architect's creative freedom. By contrast, Couturier spelled out a rival explanation, which, at the very least, called such freedom into question:

We know that this church, built upon the summit of a wooded hill towering above the small town of Ronchamp, must replace an edifice destroyed by the war, and thus renew a very ancient tradition of pilgrimage for the Virgin, in which thousands of the faithful participate two times a year. The need for ceremonies both interior and exterior on these occasions has exactly determined the plans and forms of this

⁹⁰ C: 395-6, 'Le Corbusier' (Couturier, in Petit 1955: n.p.)

⁹¹ C: 397, '*Une Chapelle à Ronchamp*' (Couturier, in Petit 1955: n.p.). More than 20% of the text was omitted.

⁹² « Le Corbusier ait aussi, dès le départ, tenu à dessiner les principaux profils, en accord avec les lignes dominantes du paysage... on verra que plans et formes se développent ici avec la souplesse et la liberté des organismes vivants. » (Petit 1955: n.p.)

⁹³ Boesiger 1953: 88; note 32 above

*church, even if Le Corbusier had, from the beginning, also insisted upon drawing the principal profiles in accord with the dominant lines of the landscape.*⁹⁴

Clearly, there was a deep tension between these two points of view. Couturier's explanation, originally written for the Dominican journal that he co-edited, stood, at least in this respect, as a direct contradiction of the previous statements in the *Œuvre complète*: either the Chapel had been designed with few concessions to the requirements of religion, as in Boesiger's volume, or its plans and forms had been exactly determined by the pilgrimage ceremony it was meant to serve, as in Petit's; one could not have it both ways.

Couturier's article did hint at some sort of possible reconciliation, however, claiming that such architectural forms, while "determined" by liturgical needs, also arose from the "soul" of great artistic personalities, in a quasi-divine process, which, he believed, had served as Le Corbusier's true inspiration:

*That these spiritual gifts, and this instinct of the sacred could be more pure and more demanding in these 'masters of the outside world' than in many artists of faith, or even, alas, than in numerous members of the clergy, might be an irritating fact, but it has become, in our times, perfectly incontestable: 'the Spirit moves where it will'... We are happy that the occasion would thus be offered to render homage to Le Corbusier: for not only do we take him to be the greatest living architect, but also the one in whom this spontaneous instinct of the sacred is the most authentic and the most strong.*⁹⁵

In hindsight, it seems clear that Couturier's homage was meant to express the profound sense of gratitude that the members of the Dominican Order felt toward their chosen architect. This is abundantly clear in prose of Couturier's last article,

⁹⁴ « On sait que cette église, bâtie sur le sommet d'une colline boisée dominant la petite ville de Ronchamp, doit remplacer un édifice détruit par la guerre et renouer ainsi la tradition d'un pèlerinage à la Vierge très ancien, auquel, deux fois l'an, participent des milliers de fidèles. La nécessité de cérémonies non seulement intérieures mais extérieures pour ces grandes circonstances a exactement déterminé les plans et les formes de cette église [...]. » (Couturier, 'Une Chapelle à Ronchamp', in Petit 1955: n.p., citing *L'Art sacré* 11-12, July-Aug 1953, pp. 29-31)

⁹⁵ « Que ces dons spirituels, que cet instinct du sacré soient plus purs et plus exigeants chez des 'maîtres du dehors' que chez beaucoup d'artistes croyants, ou même hélas que chez de nombreux membres du clergé, cela peut être un fait irritant, mais ce fait est devenu de nos jours parfaitement incontestable. 'L'esprit souffle où il veut...' Nous sommes heureux que l'occasion nous soit ainsi offerte de rendre hommage à Le Corbusier: non seulement nous le tenons pour le plus grand architecte vivant, mais encore pour celui en qui cet instinct spontané du sacré est le plus authentique et le plus fort. » (Couturier, 'Une Chapelle à Ronchamp', in Petit 1955: n.p., citing *L'Art sacré* 11-12, July-Aug 1953, pp. 29-31)

which Petit reprinted in its entirety. The avant-garde priest, then suffering from debilitating bouts of asthma, dictated the final text from his hospital bed. “We rejoice,” he proclaimed,

of that which these last few months have brought to Christian art: the walls of Ronchamp have arisen. But joyously, that is not all: the provincial chapter of the Dominicans at Lyon have just entrusted Le Corbusier with the task of building the new monastic school in the province. This monastic ensemble, including a church, cloister, chapter house, and library [...] will certainly mark an important step in the renewal of religious architecture. The first studies are already underway. Here we thus find new reason to hope.⁹⁶

The fact that Couturier died eight days after writing this article, apparently broken by a censorious interdict from Rome,⁹⁷ only served to underscore the poignancy of his prose, leaving his final words as a moving epitaph to the efforts of the Dominican clergy and their ‘master from the outside’. As such, it has frequently been cited in the secondary literature as testimony of the profound sympathies that served to unite architect and patron. This, I would argue, is precisely what Couturier had meant to convey.

However, it is not clear that Le Corbusier would have agreed. These two parallel volumes, which the architect covertly edited, were published just before the Chapel’s inauguration, and offered radically different explanations of his underlying motivation and contradictory accounts of the Chapel’s design. The archival evidence suggests that Le Corbusier was not only well aware of the contents of these rival publications, but had in fact authorized each one. Thus, in the spring of 1955, as the augmented edition of the *Œuvre complète* arrived in bookstores all over Europe, and was quickly picked up by the ranks of professional architects, Petit’s more modest offering was delivered to a small number of select Parisian outlets catering to an entirely different audience, with the architect’s signature figuring boldly on the cover.⁹⁸

⁹⁶ « Réjouissons-nous donc du moins, de ce que ces derniers mois auront apporté à l’art chrétien: les murs de RONCHAMP s’élèvent: Mais, par bonheur, ce n’est pas tout: le Chapitre provincial des Dominicains de Lyon vient de confier à LE CORBUSIER le soin d’édifier le nouveau Couvent d’études de la Province. Cet ensemble monastique comportant église, cloître, chapitre, bibliothèque [...] marquera certainement une étape importante dans le renouveau de l’architecture religieuse. Déjà les premières études sont en train. Voici donc de nouvelles raisons d’espérer. » (Couturier, ‘Le Corbusier’, in Petit 1955: n.p., citing *L’Art Sacré* 7-8, March-April 1954, pp. 9-10)

⁹⁷ A: 1954-02-08—09 (Régamey, interview, in Caussé 1999: 268); Chapter 1, note 192.

⁹⁸ The copy in the Bibliothèque Mitterrand, Paris, bears the stamp ‘26 mars 1955’.

A SYMPATHETIC ALLIANCE

As soon as the book was available, in March of 1955, Petit sent a copy to Le Corbusier's apartment in Paris, where it lay for three months, awaiting his return from India. Back in the French capital, his first reaction to Petit's publication was recorded in a letter written shortly thereafter, in which the architect expressed his gratitude. "Dear friend," he began, dropping his official tone,

Returning from India yesterday afternoon, I found your edition of Forces Vives and I'm eager to tell you, most kindly, of all the sympathy that arose in me for the work that you have done, and above all the spirit that you brought to it. Well done. It's intelligent. What is essential is gathered there together. It's one way to present a useful theme.

My wife and I would be very happy to have you over one night for dinner, but right now I have to leave again on a trip and will send you notice as soon as I am back in Paris.

I do hope that your book will not be a burden for you but, on the contrary, a source of effective compensation for all the trouble that you have given to it.

Thank you as well for your very kind letter of 18 March. I hope to always deserve your trust; it is not so easy because the hour always comes where it ends with a letdown.

Very kind regards to you,

LE CORBUSIER

P.S. Could you be so kind as to dedicate one of your books to my mother and send it to her: Madame Jeanneret-Perret, Le Lac, Route de Lavaux, Vevey (Suisse).⁹⁹

The editor was, of course, thrilled to receive such news. He had indeed found a way to make himself useful to the architect, just as he had hoped, and had also been invited, in the process, into the architect's inner circle. He wrote back to assure Le Corbusier of his ongoing loyalty. "Cher Monsieur," he wrote,

I would like to say to you here that I wish and desire but one thing for myself: that is to work, and to work usefully for the cause that you have defended for so long. I

⁹⁹ D: 1955-03-28 (Petit, letter to LC, 28 March 1955: FLC E-10-12)

*would like you to know that I am at your disposition to work usefully, even humbly, in the sense that you would judge necessary.*¹⁰⁰

Le Corbusier responded immediately, suggesting the right approach to such work:

*Stay close to me, as close as possible; it will work out well with a favorable bond.*¹⁰¹

The architect was indeed quite happy to have found an editor who would willingly conform to his every wish, and penned a note privately to himself, expressing his desire to continue on the open road ahead:

*L - C foresees active collaboration with J. Petit of "Forces Vives". Up to this point, the rapport is excellent. It remains to be seen if we can continue "with a green light."*¹⁰²

Petit would, in fact, remain close to Le Corbusier for the remainder of his life. The 'letdown' that the architect feared never came to be. The collaboration that began with the publication of *Architecture du bonheur* continued unabated, with Petit serving as one of the architect's principal editors, responsible for numerous additional volumes of Le Corbusier's written oeuvre. Among these were three more books exclusively dedicated to the Chapel of Ronchamp,¹⁰³ and one dedicated to the monastery at La Tourette,¹⁰⁴ making *Forces Vives* the principal conduit through which the general public came to know of the architect's designs for the Dominican Order.¹⁰⁵

3.5 CONCLUSION: LE CORBUSIER'S EDITORIAL POLITICS

This review of the primary discourse on the Chapel of Ronchamp, from its inception in 1953 to the summer of 1955, suggests that on the eve of the Chapel's inaugural ceremony, Le Corbusier's editorial practices were far from transparent. The evidence suggests that the architect was directly involved in the production of both the

¹⁰⁰ D: 1955-07-05 (Petit, letter to LC, 5 July 1955: FLC EI-10-20)

¹⁰¹ D: 1955-07-09 (LC, letter to Petit, 9 July 1955: FLC EI-10)

¹⁰² D: 1955-07-09 (LC personal memo, n.d.: FLC EI-10)

¹⁰³ Petit 1956, 1961a, 1965

¹⁰⁴ Petit 1961b

¹⁰⁵ Petit's biography of the architect (1970) also helped obscure Le Corbusier's role in the Vichy government.

concurrent volumes of Boesiger's *Œuvre complète* and the relevant edition of Petit's *Forces Vives* in ways that concealed his editorial responsibilities, and frequently masked the authorial attribution of his own texts, as well as those of other contributing authors. Through such practices, two influential articles on Ronchamp were published for different target audiences, each disseminating contradictory claims and alternate accounts of the influence of religion upon the design of Chapel.

Content analysis of the fifth volume of the *Œuvre complète*, published in the summer of 1953, suggests that numerous syntactical modalities were used to veil the identities of the authors, editors, and other professional agents involved in the production of these texts, including the article, 'La Chapelle de Ronchamp, 1950-53', in which evidence of such practices is abundant.¹⁰⁶ Careful review of the extant documentation in the Parisian archives suggests that this seminal text, which included the most extensive collection of design materials concerning the Chapel ever assembled in publication, was the product of an editorial give-and-take between Le Corbusier, André Wogenscky, and editor-in-chief, Willi Boesiger.¹⁰⁷

The result of this process was a canonical presentation of Ronchamp that was privately controlled by the architect, but written from multiple, hidden perspectives, and with no clear sources—"as if the author," as Wogenscky noted, "were not Le Corbusier."¹⁰⁸ This collaborative text was then evidently passed back to the architect, who was granted a final edit at the end of this process,¹⁰⁹ **(FIGURE 3.15-17)** just as the article was concurrently translated in English¹¹⁰ and German¹¹¹ in ways that diverge from the French original. The end product is a kaleidoscopic view of the Chapel that turns on the semantic ambiguities of interpretation, translation, and polysemy.¹¹²

¹⁰⁶ C: 379, Discursive construction (Boesiger 1953: 88-98)

¹⁰⁷ D: 1952-07-08 (Boesiger, letter to Wogenscky, 8 July 1952: FLC B1-6-156)

D: 1952-11-15 (Boesiger, letter to Wogenscky, 15 Nov 1952: FLC B1-5-163)

D: 1952-11-25 (Wogenscky, letter to Boesiger, 25 Nov 1952: FLC B1-8-166)

D: 1952-12-01 (Girsberger, letter to Wogenscky, 1 Dec 1952: FLC B1-??-??)

D: 1952-12-16 (Wogenscky, letter to Boesiger, 16 Dec 1952: FLC B1-6-141)

D: 1953-01-28 (Wogenscky, letter to Boesiger, 28 Jan 1953: FLC B1- ?? -173)

¹⁰⁸ D: 1953-01-28 (Wogenscky, letter to Boesiger, 28 Jan 1953: FLC B1- ?? -173)

¹⁰⁹ Boesiger 1953 manuscript (FLC A3-7-176)

C: 367-9, Content Analysis (Boesiger 1953, Manuscript)

¹¹⁰ C: 383, 'The chapel of Ronchamp' (Boesiger 1953: 88-96)

¹¹¹ C: 389-90, 'Die Kapelle von Ronchamp' (Boesiger 1953: 90-6)

¹¹² C: 384-8; 390-4, Translation Analysis (Boesiger 1953)

A critical review of Le Corbusier's involvement in Jean Petit's *Le Corbusier, Architecture du Bonheur* suggests that editorial control of this volume, dedicated to the Corbusian oeuvre, was also the province of the architect. Correspondence between the two men in 1954 and 1955 reveals that Petit, under the strain of financial difficulties, deferred to whatever modifications Le Corbusier deemed useful, and followed his famous colleague's advice while filling out the book's contents.¹¹³ Significantly, this included two articles by the Dominican patron, Father Couturier,¹¹⁴ with whom Petit, who was sympathetic to the liberal current of French postwar Catholicism, had been personally acquainted.¹¹⁵ The edited volume that resulted from this collective effort presented texts on the Chapel of Ronchamp that clearly conveyed the patrons' point of view, set alongside numerous articles written by, and directly attributed to, Le Corbusier,¹¹⁶ who also supplied a considerable portion of the volume's content from eight different texts in his literary oeuvre.¹¹⁷

These two concurrent publications, each privately controlled by Le Corbusier, put forth contradictory claims about the Chapel, and offered divergent explanations for his acceptance of the commission. The anonymous article in the *Œuvre complète* proclaimed that the Chapel had been designed "to respond to the horizons," through an "acoustic intervention" in the landscape mediated by the "psycho-physiology of the feelings (*la sensation*)." In this text, the requirements of religion were said to have "intervened in few things" as the architect considered the aesthetics of a "disinterested problem."¹¹⁸ By contrast, Couturier's article in Petit's edited volume assured the reader that Le Corbusier, guided by a "spontaneous instinct of the sacred," had conceived the Chapel in conformity with a long tradition of Christian pilgrimage, which had "exactly determined" its plans and forms; and that the architect,

¹¹³ D: 1954-05-04 (LC, letter to Petit, 5 May 1954: FLC E1-10)
 D: 1954-10-10 (Petit, letter to LC, 10 Oct 1954: FLC E1-10)
 D: 1954-10-21 (LC, letter to Petit, 21 Oct 1954: FLC E1-10- ??)
 D: 1954-11-02 (LC, letter to Petit, 2 Nov 1954: FLC E1-10- ??)
 D: 1955-03-18 (Petit, letter to LC, 18 May 1955: FLC E1-10)
 D: 1955-03-28 (Petit, letter to LC, 28 May 1955: FLC E1-10-12)
 D: 1955-07-05 (Petit, letter to LC, 5 July 1955: FLC E1-10-20)
 D: 1955-07-09 (LC, letter to Petit, 9 July 1955: FLC E1-10)
 D: 1955-07-09* (LC personal memo, n.d.: FLC E1-10)

¹¹⁴ C: 395-8, 'Une Chapelle à Ronchamp' & 'Le Corbusier' (Couturier, in Petit 1955: n.p.)

¹¹⁵ D: 1954-10-10 (Petit, letter to LC, 10 Oct 1954: FLC E1-10)

¹¹⁶ C: 395, Authors & Articles (Petit 1955)

¹¹⁷ C: 398, Intertextuality (Petit 1955)

¹¹⁸ C: 375-7, 'La chapelle de Ronchamp 1950-1953' (Boesiger 1953: 88)

entrusted with such a task, had responded to this call authentically, beyond the walls of Catholic orthodoxy, as a "master of the outside world."¹¹⁹

Le Corbusier's Chapel was thus presented to two very different audiences, with each text tailored to contrasting requirements: in Boesiger's *Œuvre complète*, the secular image of a modern, professional architect; and in Petit's *Architecture du Bonheur*, a 'spiritualized' image of that same architect, suddenly entrusted with the "the rebirth of religious architecture"¹²⁰ under the watchful eye of the Roman Curia. This strategic dichotomy might explain the lack of authorial and editorial attribution in these publications, which would have served to keep such practices well hidden, diverting potential criticism, while hiding the source of such contradictions.

The evidence thus suggests that Le Corbusier, finding himself within a hostile context that was marked, as he knew quite well, by the ongoing surveillance of his numerous Roman Catholic "enemies,"¹²¹ attempted to control, both prior to and during the publication of these respective volumes, the nascent discourse about the Chapel. Hence, he wrote to Father Couturier, asking him to "not publish any document concerning the Chapel of Ronchamp,"¹²² to Abbé Bourdin, beseeching him to not mobilize the "perfidious weapons possessed by certain interest groups,"¹²³ and to Alfred Canet, warning him to "not awaken that pitiless machine of controversy (the press),"¹²⁴ all in an effort to curtail public knowledge of the project.

However, during the precise period of time in which he was corresponding with Bourdin and Canet, Le Corbusier was also busy preparing his own publications. Indeed, three weeks before the architect sent his letter to Bourdin, in which he had stated that no documents of the Chapel should be made available to the popular press, the typographic plates for the fifth volume of the *Œuvre complète* were already underway;¹²⁵ and six weeks prior to warning Canet about "awakening the press," Le Corbusier had already agreed to his Petit's request for a joint publication about the Chapel.¹²⁶

¹¹⁹ C: 397-8, 'Une Chapelle à Ronchamp' (Couturier, in Petit 1955: n.p.)

¹²⁰ C: 397-8, 'Une Chapelle à Ronchamp' (Couturier, in Petit 1955: n.p.)

¹²¹ D: 1954-06-19 (LC, letter to Canet, 19 June 1954: FLC Q1-6-134)

¹²² D: 1951-01-20 (LC, letter to Couturier, 20 Jan 1951: CES C11-C10)

¹²³ D: 1952-07-31 (LC, letter to Bourdin, 31 July 1952: FLC Q1-5-40)

¹²⁴ D: 1954-06-19 (LC, letter to Canet, 19 Jan 1952: FLC Q1-6-134)

¹²⁵ D: 1952-07-08 (Boesiger, letter to Wogenscky, 8 July 1952: FLC BI-6-156)

¹²⁶ D: 1954-05-04 (LC, letter to Petit, 5 May 1954: FLC E1-10)

The architect had thus already submitted extensive documentation of the Chapel to his own publisher, whose forthcoming volume was marketed to an international audience of professional architects, rather than to unsympathetic factions of the French or Roman Catholic hierarchy. In order to defuse the ‘perfidious weapons’ of these latter ‘interest groups’, Le Corbusier had evidently thought it best to recommend silence to the members of the local diocesan committee, while he privately hired Petit, who could position the Dominican discourse on the Chapel in a favorable light—and, most importantly, under the guidance of the architect’s invisible hand. Le Corbusier thus appears to have steered the discourse in covert ways.¹²⁷

It therefore seems plausible to suggest, given the calculated background of social interactions in which they were penned, that the architect’s own published accounts of Ronchamp may indeed constitute “an elaborate false trail,” as Evans once claimed.¹²⁸ However, such criticisms presuppose the possibility of a clearer explanation of Le Corbusier’s involvement with his Dominican patrons, and thus of his design work for Ronchamp. But this cannot be established on the basis of the evidence reviewed thus far, which raises more questions than it answers.

To assess the matter more thoroughly, I will therefore turn to an analysis of the architect’s first autobiographical account of Ronchamp, and some private letters that he wrote to family members and confidantes on the eve of the Chapel’s inauguration, which collectively provide several points of clarification.

¹²⁷ See also Chapter 2, note 31

¹²⁸ Evans 1995: 314, 320

LE CORBUSIER'S AUTHORIAL STRATEGIES: EXPLAINING RONCHAMP IN THE SHADOW OF ROME

INTRODUCTION

In the inaugural summer of 1955, Le Corbusier published his first autobiographical account of Ronchamp amid acute Roman Catholic scrutiny. The text, a portion of the essay entitled 'Art libre' (Free Art),¹ appeared in the architect's popular book, *Modulor 2*, a densely theoretical tome produced in parallel with both the fifth volume of the *Œuvre complète* and Jean Petit's *Architecture du bonheur*. In contrast to the pragmatic and liturgical explanations of the Chapel put forth in those texts, *Art libre* proclaimed that Ronchamp should be seen as a work of art, guided by "diverse and innumerable" poetic rapports,² rather than the prerogatives of construction or religion.

The short essay thus placed the Chapel in the context of Le Corbusier's artistic oeuvre, which was described within the private semantics of his postwar philosophy. Borrowing language from the architect's seminal article *L'Espace indicible*,³ Ronchamp was said to express "the radiance of ineffable space" and "the impeccable mathematics of combination"⁴—pithy phrases that have had a powerful impact on subsequent discourse. But the meaning of these words, left undefined within *Modulor 2*, left the details of Le Corbusier's creative process an open question.

Nonetheless, the text of *Art libre* does provide important evidence concerning the architect's strategies for presenting the Chapel in the public eye. Intertextual analysis suggests that Le Corbusier's explanation of Ronchamp within this publication drew

¹ C: 399, 'La Chapelle de Ronchamp' (LC 1955a: 264-8)

² LC 1955a: 264; note 12 below.

³ LC 1946c

⁴ « le rayonnement de l'espace indicible »; « la mathématique impeccable des combinaisons ».
C: NNN, Intertextuality (LC 1955a: 266-7)

selectively from his theoretical texts from the 1940s, and the sources of the descriptive lexicon within this exchange, as well as the architectural precedents that were omitted from it, are revealing.⁵ The text of *Art libre* can also be profitably compared to a concurrent series of private letters, written to family members and confidantes on the eve of the Chapel's inauguration.⁶ These letters clearly reveal his knowledge of, and profound concern about, the watchful eye of the Holy Office, and the fears of Papal condemnation in which his public accounts were penned. The frank admissions that these letters contain suggest that Le Corbusier's public explanations of Ronchamp were not altogether forthcoming, and may have served to mask the limited sympathy he felt for the aspirations of his Dominican patrons.

In the following discussion, I will therefore analyze these texts, both public and private, in considerable detail. My analysis begins with the linguistic and visual evidence within *Modulor 2*, noting its intertextual borrowings and curious esoteric themes, while also highlighting the puzzling discursive voices that characterize its narrative. I will then turn to Le Corbusier's inaugural reflections, sent privately to his brother, Albert Jeanneret, and mother, Marie-Charlotte Jeanneret-Perret, as well as his longtime mistress, Marguerite Tjader Harris, with whom he was particularly frank.

4.1 'FREE ART'

The first text on Ronchamp explicitly attributed to Le Corbusier appears in an essay entitled '*Art libre*'⁷ set within the architect's book, *Modulor 2*.⁸ Produced as a sequel to the highly successful theoretical tome published five years earlier, *Modulor 2* appeared in print just after the Chapel's inauguration in 1955, in parallel with the fifth volume of the *Œuvre complète*. In contrast to Boesiger's profusely illustrated, large format edition, which by then had come to include full-color representations of Le Corbusier's architectural designs, *Modulor 2* is a diminutive book, principally textual, and, apart from the cover illustration, black and white. The story that it recounts is a

⁵ C: 400-1, Intertextuality (LC 1955a: 264-8)

⁶ D: 1955-06-05 (LC, letter to Marie & Albert, 5 June 1955: FLC R2-2-123)

D: 1955-06-23 (LC, letter to Marie & Albert, 23 June 1955: FLC R2-2-124)

D: 1955-06-27 (LC, letter to Marie, 27 June 1955: FLC R2-2-125)

D: 1955-06-27 (LC, letter to Tjader Harris, 27 June 1955: FLC G2-19-108)

⁷ LC 1955a: 260-300

⁸ The full French title is *Modulor 2. 1955. (La parole est aux usagers). Suite de 'Le Modulor' 1948*. However, the first *Modulor* was published in 1950, not 1948. The title has thus caused some confusion in subsequent literature.

tall-tale of invention, in which Le Corbusier casts himself as both central protagonist and third-person narrator, offering a lengthy account of the metrical device for which the book is named. This new compositional tool, he claimed, could serve to “unite, rally, and harmonize the work of man.”⁹ The brief exposition on Ronchamp is placed within this broad historical context and presented as a paradigm case of the architect's creative process: the Chapel, the text implies, should not be seen as an element of an urban plan, or as an architectural prototype, but as a mingling of “formal events”¹⁰—that is to say, a work of art.

DESIGN DOCUMENTS

In sharp contrast to the published exposition in the *Œuvre complète*, the essay in *Modulor 2* includes very little documentation of design work. In fact, only two architectural drawings are presented, along with one photograph of the first plaster model, and one additional image of the dormitory, then under construction:

- final version of the Chapel's plan (FIGURE 4.01 left)
- photograph of the east elevation of the plaster model (FIGURE 4.01 right)
- photograph of a Romanesque fresco in the dormitory (FIGURE 4.02 left)
- longitudinal section of the interior (FIGURE 4.02 left)

Two additional illustrations within the book, a photograph of the Modulor exhibition at the Triennale in Milan in 1951, and another exposition at the Museum of Modern Art in Paris in 1953 (FIGURE 4.02 right), also include documentation of the Chapel's design, but these are reproduced at greatly reduced size, with the images partially cropped, making them difficult if not impossible to analyze.

None of these illustrations include captions, and the only accompanying reference within the text simply states, “The Chapel of Ronchamp. (Fig. 134 to 137).”¹¹ The reader is thus left to infer, from the scant evidence at hand, what is actually shown.

⁹ « [C]et outil neuf aura pour premier effet d'unir, de rallier, d'harmoniser le travail des hommes... » (LC 1955a: 17)

¹⁰ « La Chapelle de Ronchamp démontrera peut-être [...] que l'architecture n'est pas affaire de colonnes mais affaire d'événements plastiques. » (LC 1955a: 265)

¹¹ LC 1955a: 264

Undoubtedly, anyone familiar with reading construction drawings would be able to do this without too much difficulty, at least for the plan, section, and elevation; but the book's small format required that these construction documents—two of which presented important information about the building's design for the first time—be reproduced at a diminutive scale. Notes, details, and technical information are thus impossible to decipher, and readers able to grasp the significance of the visual data are, as a result, unable to obtain from it a comprehensive understanding of the design process. Architects consulting the volume in search of professional edification, in particular, would find very little to satisfy their technical curiosities.

Nonetheless, the plan, section, and modeled elevation are so radically unlike anything the architect had created before, and so revolutionary with respect to the accepted canons of modern architecture, that the summary presentation is sufficient to underscore the essay's principal argument: that architecture freed from standardized modules, from programmatic constraints, and from "canons" of any kind—including, presumably, the recently published *Canons of the Holy Office*—grants liberty to the creative imagination and the spirit of invention. This freedom is said to have been a wellspring of postwar renewal for the architect, interested in "poetic" rapports and the "presence of harmony between objects."¹² The illustrations hardly suffice to provide an ample definition of what this would entail from a practical standpoint; but they do provide evidence that Le Corbusier's new approach to architectural design was quite extraordinary.

The other illustration of Ronchamp in *Art libre*, a photograph of a Romanesque fresco, **(FIGURE 4.02 left)** is, however, impossible to identify as presented. Historical research reveals that the image is a reproduction of a portion of an iconographical cycle in the eastern sanctuary of a remote church, Saint Aignan, in the town of Brinay in central France, representing one of the alleged miracles recounted in the Bible, in which Christ is said to have transformed six jars of water into wine.¹³ When Le Corbusier

¹² « Je suis, en principe, contre 'les modules' lorsqu'ils coupent court à l'imagination, prétendant à l'absolu de l'objet et aboutissant à la pétrification de l'invention. Mais je crois à l'absolu d'un rapport (poétique). Et les rapports sont, par définition, variables, divers et innombrables. Mon esprit n'arrive pas à adopter les modules de l'AFNOR et de Vignole en matière de bâtiment. Je n'accepte pas les 'canons'. Je réclame la présence de l'harmonie entre les objets mis en cause. » (LC 1955a: 264; de Francia & Bostock, trans., 1982: 251-2)

¹³ The frescoes at Brinay were granted the status of an historical monument in 1913. Citing their artistic merits, the Le Musée des Monuments français in the Palais de Chaillot then embarked upon an ambitious program of archaeological reproduction, and in 1943, in the midst of wartime conflagrations, commissioned a young painter named Pierre Valade to produce a series of full-scale copies, which are still on display in the museum.

was writing *Modulor 2*, a photographic print of the central part of this fresco was placed in the far corner of the pilgrim's hostel, a secondary building at Ronchamp designed by the architect. However, in *Art libre*, this illustration is not accompanied by a caption, so the reader is given no clue as to what is depicted, or even where it might possibly be located, since the hostel was not mentioned in the publication.

The Brinay fresco had, in fact, become well known to French medievalists after the war, when a series of expositions at the Palais de Chaillot in Paris, which included full-scale reproductions of this and other works of medieval art (**FIGURE 4.03**), brought attention to the Romanesque heritage of iconographical painting in France. However, few members of the architect's international audience would have been familiar with this exposition; and fewer still would have had a background in academic studies of 12th-century iconography sufficient to identify the imagery; and even this 'ideal reader' could not possibly have known what the illustration was meant to represent in the context of the essay. For specialists and lay-readers alike, its meaning was left mysterious.

All others were left totally in the dark. Where was this image located? And why had it been included within the Chapel? Had this been the patrons' request, or was it Le Corbusier who had selected this fresco for the pilgrim's hostel? The latter hypothesis is not unlikely, since the architect is known to have frequented the Palais de Chaillot, and expressed his admiration for the museum in his book *Entretiens avec les étudiants* in 1943, when the Brinay project was underway.¹⁴ He had also been a great admirer of medieval wall paintings from the time of his youth. Evidence of this interest remains in the Corbusian archives in Paris: an early sketchbook (**FIGURE 4.04, top left**) contains a similar image, with the same cruciform halo and gesture of benediction copied from a stained-glass window in the Cathedral of Notre-Dame in Paris. This interest in religious imagery also appears to have been sustained in later years, since the sketchbook that Le Corbusier was using at the time of the publication of *Modulor 2* contains a similar sketch of 'Christ in Majesty' (**FIGURE 4.04, right top**) copied from

¹⁴ « [L]'ethnographie, dont la matière première et le document exact [...] nous donne désormais les vues les plus limpides sur l'existence des peuples, sur l'état de civilisations jusqu'ici hors de portée. Avec lui, nous tombons à pic dans des gouffres d'âges, mais nous sommes à même d'immédiatement étudier, comprendre, voire envier ou admirer. [...] [N]ous pouvons, d'un coup de métro et le seuil du Palais du Chaillot franchi, entrer chez eux, les voir, les entendre, les surprendre dans le vif de leurs usages, de leurs croyances, de leurs rites. » (LC 1943a: 42)

the small Church of Tavant, not far from Brinay, in May of 1955¹⁵—one month before the inaugural ceremony at Ronchamp.

Such imagery seems to have formed an integral part of Le Corbusier's artistic vocabulary. However, it is not clear from the text how this may have influenced his involvement with the commission at Ronchamp. The only thing that can be said with certainty, on the basis of these illustrations, is that the architect was evidently fond enough of the image to include it within the *Modulor 2* as one of four illustrations devoted to the Chapel. The design documentation of Ronchamp, as presented in *Art libre*, thus includes plan, section, elevation, and 'Christ as miracle worker'.

Further description of the Chapel's design is practically absent in the *Modulor 2*. Discussion of architectural forms, processes, and the building's subsequent construction is found in but a few short phrases, comprising less than 20% of the essay's content.¹⁶ These phrases include a proposed date of completion for the project, as well as one substantive description of the Chapel, in which it is claimed that "all would be white inside and out."¹⁷ However, when Le Corbusier wrote this phrase, the painting schedule of the interior had already been slated to include a vivid assortment of colors (**FIGURE 4.05**)—a task that was in fact fully complete by the time the book was first in print¹⁸—so the one piece of data provided is demonstrably false.

The illustrations are thus left hanging above the text without any real explanation, as a visual accompaniment uncoupled from Le Corbusier's architectural theory. The prior exposition in the *Œuvre complète* had, by contrast, dedicated more than 70% of its textual contents to these issues,¹⁹ and the comparison suggests that *Modulor 2* was from the outset intended as a different sort of publication, with explanatory priorities

¹⁵ Sketchbook K40-516 (De Francieux, ed. 1982, 3: 42). The frescoes of the Church at Tavant (Indre-et-Loire), first studied by art historians in the 1920s, were brought to the attention of an educated, art-historical audience through Henri Focillon's *Art d'Occident: le moyen âge, roman et gothique* (1938), which appeared in a second, expanded edition in 1947—a likely source of Le Corbusier's knowledge of them, since the two men had great admiration for one another. See Focillon, letter to LC (FLC B2-16-178/179); and LC's copy of Focillon's *Vie des formes* (FLC V 98).

¹⁶ C: 405, Thematic Content (LC 1955a: 264-8)

¹⁷ « Tout sera blanc dedans et dehors. » (LC 1955a: 266; de Francia & Bostock, trans., 1982: 253)

¹⁸ The color specifications for Ronchamp are dated in Le Corbusier's own handwriting, and the earliest of them, which is annotated 'Document pour *Modulor 2*' and dated 16 April 1954, antedates the month in which Le Corbusier claims to have dictated the book, in June 1954 (LC 1955a: 311). The other color specifications also antedate the author's stated authorization of the book's printing, on 14 April 1955 (311), and his final additions on 12 May 1955 (344). See also the following drawings: FLC 07508, 16 Apr 1954; FLC 07540, 24 Nov 1954; FLC 07486, 4 Feb 1955; FLC 07493, 4 Feb 1955; FLC 07498, 8 Feb 1955; FLC 07607, 17 Feb 1955.

¹⁹ C: 382, Thematic Content (Boesiger 1953: 88-98)

that appear, in this sense, inverted: abstract theory displaced formal description at practically every turn.

TEXTUAL CONTENTS

This motley assortment of illustrations is accompanied by a brief textual description of the Chapel. This short essay, comprised of some 325 words,²⁰ is set within the broader textual framework of *Art libre*, in which the author sought to explain the hidden links, which, he claimed, united his creative efforts as artist, urbanist, and architect. The Chapel thus shares the page with several contemporaneous works of sculpture, a few wool tapestries created for the Indian High Court, and a series of abstract paintings exhibited two years before, in 1953, at the National Museum of Modern Art in Paris. The overriding emphasis of the text is the notion was that each one of these works resulted from Le Corbusier's unbridled sense of artistic freedom, and that the creative events in which they had been brought forth were, as he said, “not governed by scholarly or academic formulae,” but by poetic rapports that were, by definition, “free and innumerable.”²¹

Le Corbusier's description of the Chapel thus focuses principally upon this invisible ‘poetic’ framework, which he claimed was his true source of inspiration. Highlighted in this sense is the so-called “acoustic phenomenon,” said to be the principal source of the Chapel's forms, which were purportedly designed in direct response to the four horizons. This geographical cadre, in turn, is rendered in oddly anthropomorphic, even quasi-animistic terms, with the profiles of the surrounding landscape described as “a presence” that served collectively as “the hosts” of the architecture—thereby suggesting that both the building and its site are somehow alive, suffused with “an intimacy that must penetrate into everything, capable of provoking the radiance of ineffable space.”²²

²⁰ C: 399, ‘La Chapelle de Ronchamp’ (LC 1955a: 264-8)

²¹ LC 1955a: 264; note 12 above.

²² « Ces paysages des quatre horizons sont une présence, ce sont les hôtes. C'est à ces quatre horizons que la Chapelle s'adresse par l'effet 'd'un phénomène acoustique introduit dans le domaine des formes'. C'est une intimité qui doit s'intégrer en chaque chose, capable de provoquer le rayonnement de l'espace indicible. » (LC 1955a: 266-7; de Francia & Bostock, trans., 1982: 252-3 [modified])

Theoretical assertions of this type, composed in the architect's private lexicon, comprise more than 70% of the essay's thematic content.²³ Such expressions are conveyed mysteriously within the text and left disarmingly vague, and the reader is left to ponder what they could possibly mean. Those seeking further understanding of the ways in which this creative process had come to be applied at Ronchamp were perhaps no better informed by a subsequent statement:

*All will be coherent. Lyricism, the poetic phenomenon, is released by disinterested invention, through the brilliance of relationships, all things being based on the faultless mathematics of the combinations. It was a pleasure, here, to allow free play to the resources of the Modulor, keeping a corner of one's eye on the game to avoid blunders. For blunders lie in wait for you, take you by the hand, tug at your sleeve, drag you down into the abyss.*²⁴

Such bizarre passages abound in *Modulor 2*, making it difficult to see the book as a serious work of architectural theory. As Robin Evans once noted, the Modulor essays present “an elaborate false trail” of mathematics in the context of parody, and can thus be read more as a source of entertainment, or even comedy, than the source of some would-be explanation of the Chapel's forms.²⁵ Confronting such risible interludes, the reader could easily be led to suspect that the exposition, on the whole, is a farce—indeed, the final phrase of this quotation was accompanied by the image of Christ and Mary Magdalene, (**FIGURE 4.02, left**) as if they were the “blunders” that might lead the incautious architect into the abyss. The juxtaposition of religious iconography and parodic language does seem to invite this sort of interpretation.

INTERTEXTUAL EVIDENCE

However, it is not so simple to dispense with *Modulor 2* as parody, as Evans suggests. The comedic prose of the book was in fact conjoined with several of Le Corbusier's

²³ C: 405, Thematic content (LC 1955a: 264-8)

²⁴ « Tout sera cohérent. Le lyrisme, le phénomène poétique, sont déclenchés par l'invention désintéressée, par l'éclat des rapports, toute chose étant appuyées sur la mathématique impeccable des combinaisons. C'était un plaisir, ici, de jouer des ressources du Modulor tout en surveillant le jeu du coin de l'œil pour éviter les balourdises. Car celles-ci vous guettent, vous tendent la main, vous tirent par le bas du veston, vous entraînent aux abîmes. » (LC 1955a: 267-8; de Francia & Bostock, trans., 1982: 253-4 [modified])

²⁵ Evans 1995: 314

most influential design principles, expressed in the professional language that the architect preferred for scholarly or technical journals, where he frequently published more forthright accounts of his theory. In this sense, the description of the Chapel in *Art libre* was closely related to both the farcical language of the *Modulor* and the quasi-scientific lexicon of the postwar period, which culminated in the architect's accounts of Ronchamp. It is useful to explore this second lexicon within *Art libre*, because it leads back to some plausible sources of the Chapel's design.

The theoretical relation between architecture and the surrounding landscape—a notion that would later become almost exclusively associated with Ronchamp—was first described in three related texts written shortly after the war: *L'Espace indicible (Ineffable space)*, written in September 1945 and published in a special edition of *L'Architecture d'aujourd'hui* in April 1946;²⁶ *L'architecture et l'esprit mathématique (Architecture and the mathematical mind)*, written in January 1946 and published in the journal *Cahiers du Sud* in 1948;²⁷ and *Urbanisation de Saint-Gaudens (Urbanization of Saint-Gaudens)*, published in the fourth volume of the *Œuvre complète* early in 1946.²⁸ Collectively, these articles include two different proposals for apartment blocks, one at Saint-Gaudens and the other at Algiers, which were evidently based upon design concepts similar to those that would later inspire the Chapel. The design principles that these texts expound thus became central to the description of Ronchamp: the interdependence of architectural form and the four horizons; the so-called 'acoustic phenomenon' through which this relation was said to give shape to architectural forms; and the concept of 'ineffable space', in which the resulting ensemble of architecture and landscape was said to give rise to lofty, 'radiant' sensations—all of these concepts found their first expression within these postwar texts.²⁹

These theoretical principles were then distilled within Le Corbusier's description of Ronchamp in *Art libre*, where he described the context of the Chapel in the following terms:

It is to these four horizons that the Chapel addresses itself through the effect of "an acoustic phenomenon introduced into the realm of forms". It is an intimacy which

²⁶ LC 1946c

²⁷ LC 1948c

²⁸ Boesiger 1946: 162-3

²⁹ C: 400-1, Intertextuality (LC 1955a: 264-8)

*must penetrate into everything, capable of provoking the radiance of ineffable space.*³⁰

This language clearly recalls the architect's prior theoretical proclamations. Nine years before the publication of *Modulor 2*, the article *L'Espace indicible* had, for example, included a description of the curvilinear apartment blocks proposed for Saint-Gaudens, in which the buildings were described as set upon a western plateau, with

*terrain providing admirable views of the four horizons.*³¹

This same project was also described in the fourth volume of the *Œuvre complète*, published that same year, in terms that recalled Le Corbusier's alleged inspiration for Ronchamp. The new housing blocks, he declared, would be an architectural spectacle

*in intimate accord with the landscape. [...] The form of this housing will be determined by the conditions of the land (a prow on top of a cliff). The forms of these buildings will respond to the horizons, to the views, and to the sun.*³²

Similarly, the notion of the 'acoustic phenomenon', in which the surrounding landscape was said to inspire architectural form, can also be traced back to *L'Espace indicible*:

*The infinite horizon from which radiating waves emerge, and the architectural walls disposed to create an echo, bring to life this acoustic phenomenon of time-space [...].*³³

Within this same text, an accompanying description of Le Corbusier's Project 'B' for Algiers provides a brief account of his design process, in which it was said that architectural "organs" appear, and

³⁰ LC 1955a: 266-7; note 22 above.

³¹ « À l'ouest, en prou du plateau, est un terrain disposant de vues admirables sur les quatre horizons. » (LC 1946c: 11)

³² « Un urbanisme à trois dimensions peut [...] créer des spectacles architecturaux en intime accord avec le paysage. [...] La forme de ce groupe sera dictée par les conditions mêmes du terrain (proue au sommet d'une falaise). Les formes des bâtiments répondront aux horizons, aux vues, et à l'ensoleillement. » (Boesiger 1946: 162; English modified)

³³ « Horizon infini où vont s'enfoncer les ondes irradiées, murailles d'architecture disposées pour faire écho, pour rendre vivant ce phénomène acoustique temps-espace [...] » (LC 1946c: 16-7)

*discover their insertion in a useful site, their specifically worthy form. And the milieu integrates itself in a form which is like an acoustic receptacle [...].*³⁴

Lastly, the expression 'ineffable space', which concludes the description of Ronchamp cited above, had also been used in the article *L'architecture et l'esprit mathématique* to describe earlier projects, including the curving apartment blocks proposed to sit atop the Fort l'Empereur in Algiers. There, in his efforts to provide lodging for the hundred thousand inhabitants of the Algerian capital, Le Corbusier wrote that he was

*dominated by the imperative and intimate need to enter into concordance with the world around me—that is to say, with the site, the sun, and the typography. From these motifs, conditioned forms are born, all responding to this threefold plan. One might call this 'situating' something; harmonizing the work of man with the milieu, bringing the spirit of men into accord with the rules of nature. To cry out (faire sonner), to conjoin expression (consonner), to produce a consonance. To make harmony reign. To accomplish, if one is successful, the miracle of ineffable space.*³⁵

The text of *L'Espace indicible* also describes this process in an account of the French capital, and the terms follow quite closely the architect's description of Ronchamp, conjoining the 'ineffable' with a quasi-scientific notion of 'radiation':

*Among the most beautiful [cities], Paris is the one which, beneath the sky that covers the Seine, radiates ineffable space.*³⁶

These are vague notions, to be sure, which defy straightforward interpretation. But the fact that they were drawn from the architect's most forthright and influential theoretical treatises of the postwar period suggests, to my mind, that their inclusion

³⁴ « Cette longue recherche urbanistique africaine fut une lente découverte des ressources possibles d'une topographie hostile aux solutions paresseuses. [...] Les organes apparaissent, dénichent leur insertion au lieu utile, leur forme spécifiquement valable. Et le milieu s'intègre en une plastique qui en est comme le réceptacle acoustique... » (LC 1946c: 12)

³⁵ « [P]our loger, cent mille habitants d'Alger [...] j'étais dominé par l'impératif et intime besoin d'entrer en concordance avec l'univers ambiant, c'est-à-dire avec le site, le soleil et la topographie. De ces motifs naquirent des formes conditionnées et toutes répondant à ce triple dessein. C'est ce qu'on peut appeler situer quelque chose ; harmoniser l'œuvre humaine et le milieu, accorder l'esprit des hommes aux règles de la nature. Faire sonner, consonner, produire une consonance. Faire régner l'harmonie. Accomplir, si l'on réussit, le miracle de l'espace indicible. » (LC 1948c: 486)

³⁶ « Paris est, entre les plus belles, celle qui, sous le ciel recouvrant la Seine, rayonne d'espace indicible. » (LC 1946c: 12)

within *Art libre* as a substantive description of the design process for Ronchamp renders the essay with an air of seriousness that is difficult to dismiss.

However, the theoretical exposition within this essay, like its technical predecessors from 1946, could be said to suffer from an absence of semantic clarity. Key terms are never defined: the meaning of such fundamental notions as the 'acoustic phenomenon',³⁷ 'ineffable space',³⁸ 'lyricism',³⁹ and 'harmony'⁴⁰ are simply presupposed, and set forth as theoretical constructs with the slightest support of argument. As a result, their truth-status is left wholly incorrigible: 'acoustics' is said to prevail synaesthetically in visual phenomena in a way that is not made clear; 'ineffable space' is said to be brought forth by a set of features left largely undescribed; 'lyricism' implies a lineage of prose that remains an historical secret; and 'harmony' is said to result from a set of variables locked away in the architect's own mind. The explanation of the Chapel offered in *Art libre*, resting upon these loose semantics, thus leaves the matter open to broad interpretation, and even the most careful reader is left to ponder how this approach might proceed upon an actual site.

The omission of site-specific examples in *Modulor 2* is particularly revealing, because Le Corbusier had included visual evidence in support of these theoretical statements in each of these earlier texts. Black-and-white renderings of the curving apartment blocks at Saint-Gaudens⁴¹ and Algiers,⁴² for example, had been prominently featured in both *L'Espace indicible* and the fourth volume of the *Œuvre complète*; and to my eye, the concave façades of these buildings, facing the open horizon from an exposed promontory, (**FIGURE 4.06, top**) bear favorable comparison to subsequent designs at Ronchamp—indeed, this paired correspondence between language and form suggest an architectural precedent. This interpretation finds further support in a diagram of the Algiers project that Le Corbusier included in the article *L'architecture et l'esprit mathématique*,⁴³ which succinctly distills the theoretical notion of the 'acoustic' response to the four horizons. (**FIGURE 4.07**) This visual cipher appears as a design concept in need only of a suitable site—a theoretical prolegomena for Ronchamp.

³⁷ C: 401, Acoustique (LC 1955a: 154, 266)

³⁸ C: 402, L'espace indicible (LC 1955a: 23, 25 note 1, 266)

³⁹ C: 402, Lyrisme (LC 1955a: 267, 293, 310)

⁴⁰ C: 402, Harmonie (LC 1955a: 44, 50, 264)

⁴¹ Saint-Gaudens (LC 1946c: 9; Boesiger 1946: 163)

⁴² Algiers, Project A (LC 1946c: 12); Algiers, Project B (LC 1946c: 10)

⁴³ LC 1948c: 486

However, none of this visual evidence was published in *Modulor 2*. Was the architect so busy “surveying the game through the corner of an eye to avoid blunders,” that he overlooked this opportunity? Or did he perhaps not wish to reveal his sources? I will return to this question below.

THE REQUIREMENTS OF RELIGION

There is at least one respect in which *Art libre* and the essay on Ronchamp in the *Œuvre complète* are quite similar: neither treats religion as a central concern in the design process. Less than 15% of the thematic content of volume 5 of the *Œuvre complète* is allocated to the requirements of religion,⁴⁴ which, as I have noted in the previous chapter, is said to have intervened “in few things.”⁴⁵ *Art libre* also grants less than 12% of its total word count to the description of religious topics.⁴⁶ The few phrases that do concern religion follow the pattern set forth in the previous essay: the building is identified, simply and generically, as “a Chapel of pilgrimage,” with its function described as “a place of meditation and prayer.”⁴⁷ These rituals are never said to be specifically Catholic, or even Christian. Rather, the limit of religious requirements is again emphasized:

*all will be truly free, unconstrained by any program other than a brief ritual, which indeed ennobles the elements of the problem.*⁴⁸

Here again the account stands in stark contrast to Couturier’s essay in Petit’s edited volume, in which the priest had emphasized that the requirements of pilgrimage had “exactly determined the plans and forms of the church.”⁴⁹ Le Corbusier’s account of the design process instead proclaimed that the Chapel’s design had been “truly free,” which seems to contradict the Dominican’s claims. In this sense, the essay in *Art libre* follows the argument first set out in volume 5 of the *Œuvre complète*, though it softens the tone through a respectful reference to “a brief ritual.” Nonetheless, since the

⁴⁴ C: 382, Thematic Content (Boesiger 1953: 88-98)

⁴⁵ Boesiger 1953: 88; Chapter 3, note 32

⁴⁶ C: 405, Thematic Content (LC 1955a: 265-7)

⁴⁷ « La Chapelle de Ronchamp, chapelle de pèlerinages sur le dernier contrefort des Vosges, sera un lieu de recueillement, de prière. » (LC 1955a: 265; de Francia & Bostock, trans., 1982: 252)

⁴⁸ « [T]out sera vraiment libre, sans contrainte de programme autre qu'un rituel sommaire, anoblissant d'ailleurs les données du problème. » (LC 1955a: 266-7; de Francia & Bostock, trans., 1982: 252)

⁴⁹ Couturier, ‘Une Chapelle à Ronchamp’, in Petit 1955: n.p.; Chapter 3, note 94

augmented edition of the *Œuvre complète* had been reissued to coincide with the publication of the *Modulor 2*—both of which first appeared in the summer of 1955, just a few weeks after Petit's publication—Couturier's account was bracketed, quite literally, by contradiction: both books put forth arguments that effectively refuted one of its central claims.

AUTHORIAL VOICE

At the time, no one knew who had actually written the articles in the *Œuvre complète*, since the authors' names had been strategically concealed within the publication. A similar pattern also holds true within *Modulor 2*, in which a great many statements are phrased in such a way that the author, though clearly identified upon the book's cover, seems to be lurking somewhere in the background.

Instances of first-person agency, clearly expressed, are surprisingly few in *Modulor 2*. There are, for example, 45 different assertions of agency in the portion of the text that describes the Chapel, and 40 of them render such agency indirectly, through the same means deployed within the *Œuvre complète*: agentless, anonymous, or displaced verbal constructions.⁵⁰ Of the five remaining assertions in which Le Corbusier explicitly stakes out his own claims, only two refer to his own convictions: his absolute belief in 'a poetic rapport', on the one hand, and the assertion of 'the presence of harmony', on the other; three others assertions convey criticism of others' views. Hence, of the forty-five claims brought forth, only two substantive assertions benefit from the architect's personal stamp of approval,⁵¹ and neither was clearly defined.⁵²

This was evidently Le Corbusier's preferred style of writing about Ronchamp. One possible benefit of such an approach was that it was amenable to the sort of editorial anonymity that was characteristic of the *Œuvre complète*.⁵³ As a result, readers familiar with both Le Corbusier's and Boesiger's publications could not easily identify which portions of the *Œuvre complète* had been written by the architect and which by other,

⁵⁰ C: 400, Discursive Construction (LC 1955a: 264-8)

⁵¹ C: 400, Explicit agency (LC 1955a: 264)

⁵² C: 402-3, Poétique; Harmonie (LC 1955a: 264)

⁵³ See Chapter 3.

anonymous authors. The predominantly agentless voice within the architect's own publications, such as *Modulor 2*, also helps to create an air of inevitability about the text's central claims. The author could thus exhort within the essay *Art libre* that the poetic phenomenon had been released at Ronchamp "by disinterested invention," with everything resting upon "the impeccable mathematics of combination," as if he were describing a natural process—one that he simply watched unfold, perhaps in his own mind. Such language lends the essay an air of artistic genius that sidesteps, from the outset, all interrogations of his creative process.

On the whole, then, I would conclude that the arguments put forth by the architect in *Art libre* were less than forthcoming. Since they appeared simultaneously with two other publications that he had tacitly authorized, with each one granting the reader a markedly different view of the Chapel—one pragmatic (Boesiger 1955), the other liturgical (Petit 1955), and the last densely theoretical (LC 1955a)—the end result was a puzzling set of contradictions: was the Chapel's design to be seen as rational and scientific, as suggested in the *Œuvre complète*, liturgical and sacred, as in *Architecture du Bonheur*, or free and poetic, as in *Modulor 2*? Publicly, Le Corbusier had clearly endorsed the latter view; but privately he promoted all three.

In hindsight, it seems plausible to suggest that the architect, well-versed in the art of rhetoric, was simply attempting to reach a larger audience through such a strategy. However, such an explanation fails to account for several characteristic features of the discourse under review—the masking of authorial attribution, for example, or the contradictions conveyed by these conflicting and often anonymous voices; or the puzzling intertextual borrowings that overlook a clear opportunity to explain the Chapel's forms by reference to Saint-Gaudens and Algiers. To account for all these features, I am inclined to advance the hypothesis that Le Corbusier was not only attempting to reach a larger audience through this diverse publishing strategy, but doing so in a way that would encourage a contradictory set of interpretations of the Chapel, while providing minimal evidence of his role as author, editor, and architect. This is a plausible explanation of the materials reviewed thus far; but the evidence provides no explanation why, if true, this might be the case.

However, the larger context of *Modulor 2*, in which the essay *Art libre* was published, does provide a few additional clues. So I shall briefly extend the analysis beyond the discourse on the Chapel *per se*, to scrutinize certain features of the text as a whole.

CONTRADICTORY CONTEXT

Modulor 2 is in fact full of such contradictions. The most prominent is perhaps the explanation of the metrical device for which the book is named. As I have noted above, Le Corbusier claimed that in designing the Chapel of Ronchamp, he had found great pleasure playing with the “resources of the Modulor,”⁵⁴ said to be the source of the proportions that had guided his design. It stands to reason, therefore, that the reader in search of a better understanding of the Chapel's design might benefit greatly from a better understanding of what such resources actually entail.

However, such an investigation, launched within the pages of *Modulor 2*, leads in circles. Based upon the information provided in the text, two equally powerful arguments can be advanced to explain the theoretical foundations of the proportional device. On the one hand, the architect describes it in practical terms, as a means by which the various aspects of the design process can be ergonomically orchestrated according to a set of rationally derived dimensions. Described in this fashion, the Modulor is said to be first and foremost “a tool” invented in 1942,⁵⁵ the direct result of “simple pragmatism”⁵⁶ that stopped short of “the threshold of metaphysics and symbolism.”⁵⁷ Not one bit of it, he assured the reader, is “sacred.”⁵⁸

On the other hand, a second stance, running parallel to this pragmatism, was also put forth by Le Corbusier, often in criticism of those who had misunderstood some aspect of his system. Under this description, the proportions upon which the Modulor was based were not justified through reference to their pragmatic value, but through reference to their “high poetics,”⁵⁹ said to emerge “from a natural play of the spirit.” In this version, the device is not said to be based upon a *posteriori* calculation, but

⁵⁴ LC 1955a: 267; note 24 above.

⁵⁵ C: 403, Outil (LC 1955a: 17, 102-3)

⁵⁶ C: 403, Pragmatisme (LC 1955a: 98-9)

⁵⁷ C: 403, Métaphysique (LC 1955a: 85, 204)

⁵⁸ C: 404, Sacré (LC 1955a: 21)

⁵⁹ C: 403, Poétique (LC 1955a: 106)

upon an *a priori* notion of “the golden section,”⁶⁰ the source of “harmony” governing the growth of all structures, from humankind all the way to “plants, animals, clouds, etc.”⁶¹ In the hands of a capable artist and poet, this process is said to lead to “l'espace indicible,” immersed in the nature of “the sacred” and not in magic.⁶²

Within the essays of *Modulor 2*, the reader is not provided a plausible resolution of these two seemingly contradictory views. However, a close analysis of *L'Architecture et l'esprit mathématique* suggests that Le Corbusier had resolved this contradiction, at least in his own mind, through an appeal to unconventional semantics. Within this text, the architect provided an unusual definition of mathematics that could serve both purposes:

*For the artist, math [la mathématique] is not mathematics [les mathématiques]. It does not necessarily concern calculation, but the presence of royal power: a law of infinite resonance, consonance, and organization. Its rigor is such that a work of art truly resulting from it, whether it be a drawing of Leonardo, or the breathtaking exactitude of the Parthenon, comparable in the cut of its marble to the same cut of machined tools, the implacable and impeccable constructive play of the cathedral, the unity made by Cézanne, the law that determines the tree, and the singular splendor of its roots and trunk, its branches, leaves, flowers, and fruit. There are no accidents in nature. If a man has understood that this is math [la mathématique] in the philosophical sense, then he will detect it thereafter in all of his works. Its rigor and exactitude are the means of a solution, the cause of character, the reason for harmony.*⁶³

Seen in this way, mathematics could serve both the architect-scientist, who utilizes the geometrical calculations of *les mathématiques*, and the artist-poet, who invokes *la mathématique*, the imminent force that rules the universe, a royal domain of

⁶⁰ C: 404, Section d'or (LC 1955a: 47-8, 150-1)

⁶¹ C: 402, Harmonie (LC 1955a: 50)

⁶² C: 401-2, Artiste (LC 1955a: 23)

⁶³ « La mathématique n'est pas, pour l'artiste, les mathématiques. Il ne s'agit pas de calculs, forcément, mais de la présence d'une royauté; une loi d'infinie résonance, consonance, ordonnance. La rigueur en est telle, que l'œuvre d'art en résulte véritablement, qu'il s'agisse du dessin de Léonard, de l'effarante exactitude du Parthénon, comparable, dans la taille de son marbre, à la taille même des machines-outils, de l'implacable et impeccable jeu constructif de la cathédrale, de l'unité qui fait Cézanne, de la loi qui détermine l'arbre, la splendeur unitaire des racines, du tronc, des branches, des feuilles, des fleurs, des fruits. Il n'y a nul hasard dans la nature. Si l'on a compris ce qu'est la mathématique au sens philosophique, on la décèlera, désormais, en toutes ses œuvres. La rigueur, l'exactitude sont le moyen de la solution, la cause du caractère, la raison de l'harmonie. » (LC 1948c: 490)

consonance, character, and harmony broad enough to encompass both nature's bounty and Cézanne's still life. The Chapel of Ronchamp could thus be said to stand at the intersection of these two competing definitions, which were united in the architect's unusual philosophy of architectural design.

Instead of explaining such things in *Art libre*, however, Le Corbusier slipped into the elliptical language of his 'artistic' image without defining this important element of his theory. In lieu of such explanation, he offered the reader an abundance of quasi- or even overtly sacral references, including ten references to "God" or the "gods", four references to the "sacred", two references to the "spiritual", two more to the "soul," several sideways glances at religion, both Hindu and Christian, and even one additional reference to the "devil."⁶⁴ This clearly defies the stated prohibition on 'metaphysics'—a term he characteristically confirms and denies in one and the same book.⁶⁵ It also seems an unlikely lexicon for a man who professed himself a member of the laity.⁶⁶

Was he serious? Given the nature of the text, it's hard to say. Perhaps in the context of Vatican scrutiny, his priorities had shifted away from the sort of graphic and theoretical explanations offered in *L'Architecture et l'esprit mathématique* and settled into an authorial voice characterized by circular arguments and obfuscation.

SUMMARY: RONCHAMP IN MODULOR 2

On the whole, *Modulor 2* leaves a very strange impression. The text repeatedly refers back to prior publications that seem to provide both theoretical understanding of Le Corbusier's architecture, and the specific precedents that influenced the Chapel's design. However, none of these associations are made clear to the reader. Instead, the narrative seems to express "an elaborate false trail" of mathematics, obscuring any clear description of a building that slips "in and out of parody, in and out of sublimity," as Evans had it,⁶⁷ as if the book were intended for a young audience whom the architect sought to entertain rather than educate.

⁶⁴ C: 401-4, Dieu (LC 1955a: 69, 210); les dieux (15, 17, 69, 165, 206, 212, 311); le sacré (21, 23, 316); le spiritual (155, 336); l'âme (212, 315); le diable (23).

⁶⁵ C: 403, Métaphysique (LC 1955a: 14, 31, 106-7, 204)

⁶⁶ C: 402, Dieu/dieux (LC 1955a: 206)

⁶⁷ Evans 1995: 314, 320

With respect to Ronchamp, this discursive strategy can be said to have glossed over more serious concerns, and in the process to have diverted attention away from deeper questions that might otherwise arise in the reader's mind—how, for example, did Le Corbusier actually go about designing his architecture? The fact that the architect elided source materials in his intertextual borrowings, leaving important theoretical precedents for the Chapel's design unacknowledged, suggests that he did not wish to straightforwardly answer such questions.

4.2 INAUGURAL REFLECTIONS

The archival evidence concerning the publication of *Modulor 2*, unlike the private correspondence associated with the *Œuvre complète* and *Architecture du Bonheur*, sheds little light upon possible sources of such contradictions, revealing few, if any, of the motivations that may have inspired the architect to write the book in such a way. This is likely due to the fact that Le Corbusier served as the sole author, so there was no need for the sort of lengthy private correspondence that accompanied each of these previous publications.

However, in the spring of 1955, as the final edit of *Modulor 2* was sent to the printer,⁶⁸ Le Corbusier wrote an abundance of letters to close friends and family members, expressing concerns that he had not put in print. In the context of this private correspondence, the architect was evidently able to express himself more freely, and made several comments about the Chapel that do serve to clarify some of his publishing strategies for *Modulor 2*. These comments, in turn, suggest that there may indeed have been a compelling motive that inspired him to write and publish in the contradictory fashion that characterized his editorial efforts in the spring of 1955. I will therefore subject these letters to careful analysis in the following section, treating them as a private facet of the same discourse—one which reflects back upon these conflicting voices in a revealing fashion.

⁶⁸ « Bon à tirer donne le 14 avril 1955, à Cap Martin. » (LC 1955a: 311) « Fin du siloloque, Paris, 12 mai 1955. » (344)

LETTERS TO MARIE AND ALBERT JEANNERET

A series of letters that Le Corbusier wrote to his brother, Albert Jeanneret, and mother, Marie-Charlotte Jeanneret-Perret, are particularly informative. One of these letters, written on 15 May 1955, the same week in which the architect had completed his final review of the manuscript for *Modulor 2*,⁶⁹ includes just three brief phrases about the Chapel. However, these few short lines refer to an historical source of the design process utilized for Ronchamp, and thus provide a specific insight into the Chapel's formal development that was not included in his concurrent publications. "Dear ones," the letter began,

Corbu painted the glass for the two façades of Ronchamp that we will inaugurate on 25 June. This Saturday, I'll be going to a factory near Tours, to paint the enamel of both sides of the 9 m² door (Ronchamp) = 18 m². The teachings of L'Eplattenier ripen: I am finely prepared for this sort of affair.⁷⁰

Charles L'Eplattenier was a professor of drawing and decorative composition at the *École d'art* in La Chaux-de-Fonds where Le Corbusier, then known by his given name of Charles-Édouard Jeanneret, had first studied architecture. During the young man's first year of school, L'Eplattenier had recognized that his unusual set of talents would make him a fine architect, and had advised in the spring of 1905 that Jeanneret take up the craft.⁷¹ L'Eplattenier had then immersed him in a pedagogical program of his own creation, influenced by Art Nouveau and Symbolist currents,⁷² in which architecture was defined as a *Gesamtkunstwerk*, a 'total work of art', in which detailing, decoration, and even elements of structure were all made by hand. Architecture, in this sense, was seen as the highest craft, involving hands-on training in a wide array of design processes and construction techniques, including the fabrication of architectural study models, principally in clay, and the production of metal enameling, similar to that used for the doors at Ronchamp. This was the training that the young Jeanneret had received in his school; and it was undoubtedly for this reason that Le Corbusier, immersed 50 years later in the production of the handcrafted fixtures, doors and windows that would soon adorn the Chapel, which had also been designed through

⁶⁹ LC 1955a: 344

⁷⁰ D: 1955-05-15 (LC, letter to Marie & Albert, 15 May 1955: FLC R2-2-122)

⁷¹ Diary of Georges Édouard Jeanneret-Gris, the architect's father, 12 June 1905, cited in Brooks 1997: 43

⁷² Rapetti (2007) provides an account of the artistic context from which Le Corbusier's generation emerged.

extensive use of models, had recalled his first professional instruction and his inception into the world of architecture under the guiding eye of L'Eplattenier.

What is remarkable about this passage, to my mind, is that Le Corbusier made no equivalent mention of this historical source anywhere in the pages of *Modulor 2*, nor, for that matter, in any of the previous volumes produced for Boesiger and Petit, nor any of the texts that would follow. This is surprising, since the reference provides an important insight into the design of the Chapel that had not been included in those prior texts: it suggests that the design process of Ronchamp, which grew out of the architect's collaboration with the Breton sculptor Joseph Savina⁷³ and relied heavily and at times exclusively upon models,⁷⁴ was directly indebted to the training that the architect had received from L'Eplattenier.⁷⁵ It was just this education, he claimed, that had "finely prepared" him for the project.

If public explanation of the design of the Chapel were his goal, then this surely would have been helpful for the reader to know. The photographs of the model in *Modulor 2*, for example, would have been far more comprehensible if they had been highlighted within this context, perhaps even with reference to the direct parallels that could be made between the set of design models realized for the architect's first houses in La Chaux-de-Fonds, between the years of 1906-08⁷⁶ and the similar sequence that had characterized the development of the design of the Chapel.⁷⁷ (**FIGURE 4.08**) In the absence of such information, the reader was instead left to ponder how the extraordinary forms of the Chapel had actually come to be; and the only answer provided was that they had emerged from "the impeccable mathematics of combination." Starting with the opening lines of this letter, then, there is a stark contrast between frank admission of historical sources included in Le Corbusier's

⁷³ On Savina, see Chapter 5.

⁷⁴ Soltan 1987: 16; Maisonnier 1987: 14-6; Chapter 6.4.

⁷⁵ The association of the craft processes utilized in the design of Ronchamp and Le Corbusier's early education has, of course, been pointed out previously by numerous authors, including Jardot (1955, cited in Cousin, et al., eds. 2004: 63), Curtis (1982: 421), Fishman (1982: 255), Benton (1987c: 246), and particularly Brooks (1997: 46-47), whose work remains the canonical study of this period. My point is that the architect appears to have made no effort to highlight these associations in his own published texts.

⁷⁶ Baker & Gubler 1987; Brooks 1997: 29-91; Thomson, ed. 2006: 138-9

⁷⁷ Soltan 1987: 16; Maisonnier 1987: 14-6; Chapter 6. I am *not* saying that there are formal parallels between these buildings; rather, the parallel is limited to sculptural design methods: the design and construction of Ronchamp apparently also utilized both plastic study models and craft production techniques indebted to L'Eplattenier's teaching. See also Chapter 6.4.

personal correspondence and the vague language that characterized *Art libre*: the letter seems straightforward, at least in this respect; the essay was not.⁷⁸

A subsequent letter, sent on 5 June 1955, contains additional information of a very different sort, which begins to shed some light upon the possible motivation of such an authorial practice. Anticipating the inaugural event, then just three weeks away, Le Corbusier again wrote to his immediate family:

Dear ones,

Returned tonight from Ronchamp at two in the morning after two days of presence on site, standing on my feet from 8 a.m. to 8 p.m. We mounted the stained-glass windows and the altars. It's an exceptional place from this day forward. It's something up there.

We inaugurate it 25 June. Received the letter from Albert. You must not come to the inauguration. We are expecting 18,000 people. There will be a terrible crowd. I won't be available. Plus I'll clear out as soon as the official service is through. [...]

My thought would be that you could wait until July, on a convenient day, and that you could look for a car (Montmollin, or Boesiger, or Péchot Dubois, etc.) and that mom could go there. [...]

I would like to come. I would like it more if you both would come to Ronchamp; I could meet you there.

One request on the subject: keep to yourself all declarations: 'We Protestants, wir schweitzer', etc. I have made a perilous work. Rome has an eye on the hill. The conspiracy only needs one spark.

I slept 2 hours this afternoon. The task is crushing. A telegram called me to Rio de Janeiro to "consult" for the construction of the new political capital of Brazil.

*Such stories!!! [...]*⁷⁹

This letter clearly expresses some of Le Corbusier's deep set anxieties about the forthcoming inauguration. He was most concerned, as the latter portion of the letter makes clear, that the Roman Curia was watching him closely.

⁷⁸ It is of course possible and even likely that Le Corbusier also mentioned L'Eplattenier to gratify his mother's prior investment in his education; but the reference is nonetheless historically substantive.

⁷⁹ D: 1955-06-05 (LC, letter to Marie & Albert, 5 June 1955: FLC R2-2-123)

His fears were not unfounded: just a few months before he had penned this letter, one the most vocal members of the Roman Catholic 'Integrist' movement, Cardinal Costantini, had published a condemnation of the Dominican sacred art movement that was widely disseminated throughout France, including the local diocese of Besançon.⁸⁰ **(FIGURE 4.09)** In this article, Costantini claimed that the brazen expressions of new religious art then underway amounted to “figurative blasphemy” that offended Christian piety, and he accused the artists of putting forth “hyperbolic and poetic expressions” that recalled the “antique heresy of Docetism.”⁸¹ His proposed solution also made a critical reference to avant-garde aesthetics:

*The church is not opposed to that which is modern, far from it: the church desires modernism because it is a living body. But it wants a reasonable modernism, not a return to archaic primitivism or the infantilism of primitive peoples, nor to the subterranean drawings in caves... It wants a decent and dignified modernism... To achieve this, the artist must be inspired by the fundamental canons, which are the recommendations for decorum in the Instructions of the Holy Office.*⁸²

Le Corbusier, longtime champion of the primitive and the poetic, was one of many likely targets that Costantini had meant to publicly criticize. Surely the Papal Curia, if prompted, could easily find fault with his revolutionary new construction, since it cut straight across their recently published mandates, which condemned “distorted” and “confused” execution, or anything that “might rightly be considered in bad taste or cause a scandal.”⁸³ The assessment of what amounted to 'confusion' or 'bad taste' was, of course, sufficiently vague to allow a wide application of such edicts; and the Chapel had, at any rate, prompted scandal from the start, making it an easy target—particularly since it had been designed by Le Corbusier.

⁸⁰ Costantini 1954

⁸¹ 'Docetism' is a form of Christology based upon the belief that “Christ assumed only an appearance (Greek: *dokesis*, 'to seem') of humanity, and accordingly his passion and crucifixion were also apparent”. Sects professing docetic beliefs, such as various Gnostic and Cathar communities, “distinguished the heavenly Christ from the earthly Jesus” in a way that was deemed heretical by Catholic orthodoxy (Stoyanov 2000: 87).

⁸² « L'Église n'est pas opposée à ce qui est moderne, bien mieux, elle le désire parce qu'elle est un organisme vivant mais elle veut du modernisme raisonnable, non un retour au primitif archaïque et à l'infantilisme des peuples primitifs ou aux dessins rupestres des cavernes. ... Elle veut du moderne digne et décent... Pour le réaliser, l'artiste devra s'inspirer de ce canon fondamental que sont les recommandations de bienséance de l'Instruction du Saint-Office... » (Costantini 1954: 490; FIGURE 4.09).

⁸³ The *Instructions* quoted Pope Urban VIII, who had declared that sacral images should “appear neither distorted nor confused in the eyes of the faithful” (*Sacrosancta Tridentina*, 1652), and the anti-Gallican Pope Pius X, who proclaimed that “One must thus find nothing within the temple that troubles or even slightly diminishes the piety and devotion of the faithful, nothing that could be rightly be considered in bad taste or cause a scandal, nothing above all that would be unworthy of the house of prayer and the majesty of God.” ('Tra le sollecitudini', 22 Nov 1903; Pizzardo & Ottaviani, 'Instruction du Saint-Office sur l'art sacré', 30 juin 1952, in AS 11 -12, 1952, pp. i-iv.)

The day after Costantini's article appeared in the local press of Besançon, the architect had received a letter from a member of the Diocesan Committee on Sacred Art informing him that Monsignor Dubois had taken a "great interest" in the new Chapel at Ronchamp, by then nearly halfway complete, and had specifically asked to meet with him during his next visit to the province.⁸⁴ The subsequent encounter between architect and Archbishop in April allowed Dubois to express his concern about Le Corbusier's chosen symbols for the Chapel's south door, which evidently threatened to breach the requirements of the Holy Office.⁸⁵ 'Free art' was under tight surveillance.

This is what the architect meant when he said that "the conspiracy only needs one spark": Costantini, along with Cardinals Pizzardo and Ottaviani, leaders of the Holy Office and co-authors of the *Instructions*, had been watching the developments in the diocese of Besançon with great alarm, and they were all well aware of the pending inauguration of the Chapel. Le Corbusier's letter reveals that he was quite concerned by this, to the point where he openly advised against the presence of family members upon the chosen day. The reason that he gave is quite instructive: it was out of fear that one or both of them would draw unwanted attention to the family's religious affiliations—as he said, "we Protestants." He wanted his own confessional background to remain well out of view.

This fear evidently ran deep. Two days before the inauguration, after receiving news of their pending journey to Ronchamp, Le Corbusier wrote back to his mother and brother and reiterated the same concerns:

Dear ones,

Received the letter from the 19th. You will be going to Ronchamp in early July [...].

I leave tomorrow, the 24th, for Ronchamp. Inauguration 25 June.

Have I not already written on the subject of the necessary discretion up there? I wish to say: do not make proclamations about

- 1. we other Protestants*
- 2. we, the mother and brother of Corbu*
- 3. we Swiss... etc.*

⁸⁴ A: 1954-12-31 (Canet, letter to LC, 31 Dec 1954: FLC Q16 315, cited in Flicoteaux 1998: 51)

⁸⁵ D: 1955-04-25 (Ledeur, letter to LC, 25 April 1955: FLC Q 1-5)

*Pardon me, but do understand: there will be words of praise.
But I await a ferocious storm that will strike right at the time of the inauguration.
Rome has an eye on Ronchamp, and not a good one. Each one of them there will
hold a private desire to stir up trouble on this subject.
I am the architect in this affair. I've found excellent blokes there. But...
You understand, huh? Or must I signal with a torch??? [...]
Have a great time, and bon voyage!⁸⁶*

Fearing that his elder sibling and aging mother did not properly understand the gravity of the situation, Le Corbusier attempted to make his concerns crystal clear. His first priority was thus to repeat the prohibition on any mention of Protestantism, and secondly to extend this request to include an omission of all public acknowledgment of family ties. The architect was forthright about the reasons why he believed such precautions were necessary: in setting out toward the inaugural ceremony, he felt that he was walking into a storm of controversy that had been arranged by the Roman Curia—in effect, a trap. The consulates, priests, and bishops who would preside upon that day, he warned, meant to cause a scandal. His words thus gave voice to unequivocal concern.

But the third and final letter in this sequence—the only one that Le Corbusier wrote solely to his mother, and signed with his childhood name of 'Ed'⁸⁷—reveals that his fears, at least upon this day, had been unfounded. Two days after the inaugural proceedings, which had not been marked by scandal, but rather by the profound gratitude of his Dominican patrons, the architect spoke of his great surprise:

*My dear petite maman,
All went well this Saturday at Ronchamp. Everything was jubilation, beauty,
spiritual splendor.
Your Corbu was honored, on a pedestal. Regarded highly, loved, respected.
The matter was very delicate. It's the most revolutionary work of architecture
to be built in a long time. And upon a religious plan, a Catholic plan. On the plan of
the rite.*

⁸⁶ D: 1955-06-23 (LC, letter to Marie & Albert, 23 June 1955: FLC R2-2-124)

⁸⁷ Charles-Édouard Jeanneret-Gris, dit 'Le Corbusier', was known to family as Édouard and to his mother as 'Ed'.

But through my architecture, the rite is carried to the highest heights, clarified, brought back to the Gospels.

That's what the priests said – the good and true: a gesture of significance perhaps unexpected, with some unforeseeable effects, good or evil.

All was joy and enthusiasm. BUT, the devil must snicker in a corner and, as usual, does not rest inactive. Rome has an eye on Ronchamp. I await thunderous storms. Look out for villainies, base acts.

That's why I have been quite vile and base, by necessity, in making you follow my recommendations on three points. But I do not have the right to lack vigilance.

[...]

Embracing you both, [Y]v[onne and] Ed ⁸⁸

What a surprise it must have been: expecting an ambush, he found adulation. The respect that he had sought throughout his career, and rarely received, was paradoxically granted by a patron whose wrath he feared the most. But even the unmitigated praise of the Dominican priests, who claimed that his architecture has lifted the Catholic rite “back to the Gospels,”⁸⁹ left him to wonder whether the significance of the day had not, in the end, been negative. Instead of finding comfort in their words, he conjured the portent of evil effects. Le Corbusier remained wary of the Roman Curia, whose praise he did not expect.

Such fears took center stage in the latter half of the letter, in which he voiced his concerns about a pending reprimand from Rome, in terms that reiterate some of the religious vocabulary that had been included in *Modulor 2*: the villainous and base acts that he saw on the Roman horizon were thus described as the work of “the devil”—or at least as thunderous envoys that would be accompanied by his laughter.

⁸⁸ D: 1955-06-27 (LC, letter to Marie, 27 June 1955: FLC R2-2-125)

⁸⁹ The lines were likely drawn from the inaugural speech of the Abbot Marcel Ferry: « Il ne s'agit pas là d'un facile bonheur mais d'une atmosphère religieuse où d'autres visiteurs, plus avertis, reconnaissent la grandeur sacrée de la Bible mêlée dans une intime unité avec la joie simple et grave de l'Évangile. » (Ferry, in Petit 1956: 75)

THE ARCHBISHOP'S ADDRESS

Despite this, Le Corbusier had been sure to include within this letter a friendly postcard, written by Archbishop Dubois, who had presided over the inaugural ceremony. The prelate extended a deep sense of gratitude to the architect's mother:

For the venerable mother of Monsieur Le Corbusier, "woman of courage and faith," whom I have had the joy of evoking this morning, at the foot of the clear and refreshing Chapel that we owe to the intelligence of her son.

*Marcel-Marie Dubois, Archbishop of Besançon*⁹⁰

During the morning's invocations, the Archbishop had also sung the praises of the architect, speaking in the most flattering terms of the revolutionary building that he had designed:

*You have come, master, to implant in this place a Marian landmark upon our Christian routes, and the months that have passed indicate clearly that we shall stop here voluntarily... You can feel it: the soul of the true 'cité radieuse' is here on this hill. I have often thought about those who built our churches, or sculpted for them all the venerable statuary: beneath the vaults they have constructed, before these faces they have chiseled by hand, such moving and saintly prayers! May the vision of these prayers, Monsieur, which from this day forward shall rise from this house of God, be your highest recompense.*⁹¹

By placing Le Corbusier's efforts at Ronchamp within the broader historical context of the Christian tradition, Dubois's words seem to convey a remarkable gesture of rapprochement, in which he expressed an apparent sympathy for the architect's long-standing architectural ambitions. Such a soliloquy, if true, could hardly have failed to touch a man who had worked for more than thirty years to create an urban center frequently defined in just these terms, as the soul of a *cité radieuse*.⁹²

⁹⁰ D: 1955-06-29 (Dubois, postcard to Marie, 29 June 1955: FLC R2-1-126)

⁹¹ « Vous venez, maître, de planter en ce lieu sur nos routes chrétiennes une borne mariale: les mois écoulés indiquent assez qu'on s'y arrêtera volontiers... Vous le sentez: l'âme de la vraie 'cité radieuse', elle est là, sur cette colline. J'ai souvent songé à ceux qui élevèrent nos églises ou sculptèrent pour elles tant de statues vénérées: sous ces voûtes qu'ils ont construites, devant ces visages qu'ils ont creusés, que de prières émouvantes et saintes! Que la perspective, Monsieur, de ces prières qui désormais monteront de cette demeure de Dieu, soit votre plus haute récompense. » (Dubois, 25 June 1955, Benediction of the Chapel, cited in JNDH 40, 1971, p. 5)

⁹² See LC 1935a

But Le Corbusier knew better. The Archbishop had in fact been sent to Besançon after Dubourg's untimely death to keep a careful eye on ultramontane Dominican art,⁹³ and he had played his words with tactful restraint, as cleverly as any member of the *avant-garde*.⁹⁴ The architect thus found Dubois's oration sensational but unconvincing, and he remained concerned by the threat of "thunderous storms, villainies, and base acts." Another letter, sent to his mistress Marguerite Tjader Harris, suggests a plausible reason why his fears were not so easily assuaged.

A LETTER TO MARGUERITE TJADER HARRIS

On the same day that he had posted this letter to his mother, Le Corbusier also sent a long letter to his mistress and confidant of many years, Marguerite Tjader Harris.⁹⁵ The letter contains a frank confession of some of his thoughts about his Dominican patrons, written immediately after the inaugural ceremony, and thus provides an example of a private discourse, much like his personal correspondence with his family, in which some of the puzzling pronouncements made within *Art libre* and elsewhere can be semantically contextualized. It also may explain his response to Archbishop Dubois.

The letter commences with Le Corbusier's confession that the long-feared event had in fact been a pleasant surprise. The architect noted that he had been quite impressed by the sympathetic tone of the Archbishop's address. But in a postscript, probably added on the same day that the letter was sent, the 27th of June, he conveyed some surprisingly candid remarks about the Dominicans' sacred art movement, and suggested some of the underlying reasons why he was not fully convinced by Dubois' words. "Last Saturday," he wrote,

I inaugurated the Chapel of Ronchamp [...] everything was joy and smiling faces (including me). The archbishop gave a sensational address. We shall see what we

⁹³ A: 1954-08-26 (F. Mathey, 1968, cited in J.-F. Mathey 2007: 148; Lambert 2007: 13, 19, 164)

⁹⁴ A: 1948-05-22 (Alvarez & Graham 1997: 176-7)

⁹⁵ Marguerite Tjader Harris was a deeply religious woman, who, as a wealthy heiress, had dedicated a considerable part of her fortune to constructing a nunnery in Connecticut. She had first met Le Corbusier in 1932, and from the outset of their long affair had won his trust and affection in a way that few people ever would. Le Corbusier continually conveyed a very high degree of respect for her in their ongoing correspondence, and confided to her private reflections that he seemed to share with no one else. For an account of their relationship, see N. Weber (2008: 365 ff.).

*shall see! Architecture in reinforced concrete is now part of the history of pure architecture, and, what is far more amusing, the priests said that this church would begin a new era. I'm quite afraid that the Pope would not be too happy! He had sent a Bishop to survey the proceedings of the inauguration.*⁹⁶

Such words would seem to reflect a rather critical view of the proceedings. Although he commenced with a description of the Archbishop's speech as 'sensational', Le Corbusier then slipped into the familiar terrain of parody and perhaps even disdain. His remark, "we shall see what we shall see!", for example, suggests that he had found Dubois' words, no matter how eloquent, to have fallen rather wide of the mark; and his comments about the local priests' faith in the dawning of a new era, which he blithely dismissed as "*drôle*," suggests that he had different ideas about their future.

4.3 CONCLUSION: LE CORBUSIER'S AUTHORIAL STRATEGIES

A comparison of Le Corbusier's first autobiographical essay on Ronchamp, published within the popular theoretical tome, *Modulor 2*, and his concurrent correspondence with family members and confidantes, in which similar themes are broached privately, suggests a considerable disjunction in his authorial practices. In a public context, the architect revealed few if any of the sources of his designs for Ronchamp. By contrast, his private letters imply religious sources and architectural precedents that seem to call into question the veracity of these 'official' authorized accounts.

This selective presentation of the sources of the Chapel's design suggests, to my mind, that the architect was less than forthcoming in his published explanations of Ronchamp. In *Art libre*, for example, the unidentified and seemingly random illustration of a Romanesque fresco⁹⁷ can be plausibly linked to Le Corbusier's lifelong interest in medieval iconography, (**FIGURES 4.03 & 4.04**) which he actively explored one month prior to the inauguration of the Chapel.⁹⁸ However, this illustration was published in *Modulor 2* (**FIGURES 4.02**) without any supporting information for the general reader, and its significance was thus left mysterious.

⁹⁶ D: 1955-06-27 (LC, letter to Tjader Harris, 27 June 1955: FLC G2-19-108)

⁹⁷ LC 1955a: 268

⁹⁸ Sketchbook K40-516 516 (De Franclieu, ed. 1982, 3: 42)

Similarly, the theoretical lexicon in *Art libre* can be traced back to a series of essays from the 1940s, in which Le Corbusier was more forthcoming about his postwar design principles.⁹⁹ Content analysis of these texts reveals that certain expressions, which later came to be associated with the design of the Chapel at Ronchamp, were first used to describe several earlier projects, such as the curvilinear housing blocks proposed for both Saint-Gaudens and Algiers.¹⁰⁰ **(FIGURES 4.06 & 4.07)** However, when the architect repeated these same expressions in his descriptions of the Chapel, he did not refer back to these earlier projects, and did not include any of these prior illustrations.¹⁰¹

Within his publications on Ronchamp, the architect also provided limited documentary evidence concerning the Chapel's design. *Modulor 2* included only three such documents,¹⁰² **(FIGURES 4.01 & 4.02)** reproduced at a diminutive scale, which grant little understanding of the design process; and an accompanying description of one aesthetic element, the painting schedule, **(FIGURES 4.05)** is demonstrably false.¹⁰³ The discrepancies in these texts thus may reflect both the context of surveillance and secrecy in which the Chapel was designed, and the ongoing scrutiny of the Roman Curia in which these texts were published.

By contrast, Le Corbusier's private correspondence, during the spring and summer of 1955, contains many statements which diverge from his concurrent publications. The evidence suggests that the architect was able to express himself more freely in these letters, which were neither burdened by the need to uphold a professional image, nor constrained by the surveillance of the Roman Curia. As a result, both architectural and religious matters are divulged in these private texts in ways that reflect back upon his public discourse about Ronchamp in revealing way.

Writing to his mother and brother, the architect confided that his approach to the design owed much to his early training under the Swiss master, Charles L'Eplattenier,¹⁰⁴ thus associating the Chapel's design with turn-of-the-century sources

⁹⁹ Boesiger 1946; LC 1946c; LC 1948c

¹⁰⁰ Saint-Gaudens (LC 1946c: 9; Boesiger 1946: 163)

Algiers, Project A (LC 1946c: 12); Algiers, Project B (LC 1946c: 10)

¹⁰¹ LC 1955a: 264-8

¹⁰² FLC 07167; FLC 07188; FLC L3-2-12

¹⁰³ LC 1955a: 266

¹⁰⁴ D: 1955-05-15 (LC, letter to Marie & Albert, 15 May 1955: FLC R2-2-122)

that were never mentioned in his published accounts of Ronchamp. **(FIGURES 4.08)** Similarly, Le Corbusier's private admission that the Chapel had been set upon a "religious plan, the Catholic plan"¹⁰⁵ stands in considerable tension with his public writings on the subject, in which he repeatedly minimized the influence of religious requirements in the Chapel's design.¹⁰⁶ Such remarks suggest, to my mind, that Le Corbusier may have been hesitant to disclose information concerning the architectural and ideological origins of his creative process in public.

His private correspondence suggests one possible source of this reticence: repeated admonitions to family members make it clear that Le Corbusier was well aware of the general disfavor in which he was held by members of the Holy Office, and evidently concerned about a possible reprimand. "Rome," he wrote, "has an eye on Ronchamp," and the only right response to such surveillance, he declared, was "vigilance."¹⁰⁷ One topic evidently held tight by this state of affairs was religion, since he repeatedly urged caution about public disclosure of his Calvinist origins, and insisted that his family's confessional background remain behind closed doors.¹⁰⁸

The content of these letters also suggests that Le Corbusier's sympathy for his Dominican patrons was limited. Writing to Marguerite Tjader Harris, he implied that Archbishop Dubois, who had proclaimed that the new Chapel would stand as "the soul of the true *cit  radieuse*," had failed to see his intentions clearly; and reflecting upon the Dominican priests' professed belief that their new Chapel "would begin a new era," his sarcastic response seems to express considerable distance from their Catholic ambitions.¹⁰⁹

These candid remarks also seem to reflect a sobering light back upon Father Couturier's homage to Le Corbusier, which the architect had privately authorized for publication with his editor Jean Petit. In this article, Couturier had professed his boundless optimism that the Chapel of Ronchamp and the new monastery at La Tourette, then just underway, had marked a new beginning for sacred art. These revolutionary works, the Dominican claimed, would "mark an important step in the

¹⁰⁵ D: 1955-06-27 (LC, letter to Marie, 27 June 1955: FLC R2-2-125)

¹⁰⁶ Boesiger 1953: 88; Boesiger 1955: 72; LC 1955a: 267-8; Petit 1956: 52

¹⁰⁷ D: 1955-06-27 (LC, letter to Marie, 27 June 1955: FLC R2-2-125)

¹⁰⁸ D: 1955-06-05 (LC, letter to Marie & Albert, 5 June 1955: FLC R2-2-123)

D: 1955-06-23 (LC, letter to Marie & Albert, 23 June 1955: FLC R2-2-124)

¹⁰⁹ D: 1955-06-27 (LC, letter to Tjader Harris, 27 June 1955: FLC G2-19-108)

rebirth of religious architecture," providing "new reason to hope"¹¹⁰—precisely the millennial aims that Le Corbusier found privately amusing.¹¹¹

In this sense, the fact that the architect had authorized the publication of Couturier's ebullient homage within *Architecture du Bonheur* is particularly puzzling. For in doing so he was disseminating an interpretation of the Chapel's design, and an account of his role as architect for the Dominican Order, which coincided perfectly with their inaugural ceremony—and with which, apparently, he did not agree.

¹¹⁰ Couturier, in Petit 1955, n.p.; Chapter 3, note 96.

¹¹¹ D: 1955-06-27 (LC, letter to Tjader Harris, 27 June 1955: FLC G2-19-108)

REASSESSING RONCHAMP:

LE CORBUSIER'S FIRST PLANS FOR THE CHAPEL NOTRE-DAME-DU-HAUT

INTRODUCTION

Le Corbusier's first drawings for Ronchamp are legendary. The canonical account of their creation was provided by the architect himself, in three short texts written in the 1950s. The fifth volume of the *Œuvre complète* initiated this primary discourse, providing a pragmatic explanation of the design process that linked the Chapel's origins to the provincial site: the architectural forms, Le Corbusier claimed, had first been created in response to the horizons and the surrounding landscape.¹ Then, shortly after the inaugural ceremony in 1955, he declared that the entire oeuvre had been born spontaneously, "in a single blow."² Finally, in his monograph on Ronchamp, *Les carnets de la recherche patiente*, he again insisted that the original idea had emerged within the quiet expanse of the Jurassic landscape, where he had carefully drawn the four horizons surrounding the hilltop site. But these contextual studies, which had served as the original inspiration for the Chapel's design, had unfortunately since been lost. The only remaining traces of this remarkable process were thus a few brief explanatory phrases within the primary literature, and the collection of sketches that the architect had chosen to accompany them.³

¹ « On créa des formes pour répondre à ces horizons, pour les accueillir. » (Boesiger 1953: 88)

² « Ronchamp? Contact avec un site, situation dans un lieu, éloquence du lieu, parole adressée au lieu. Aux quatre horizons [...] Trois temps à cette aventure: 1° S'intégrer dans le site; 2° Naissance 'spontanée' (après incubation) de la totalité de l'ouvrage, en une fois, d'un coup; 3° La lente exécution des dessins, du dessein, des plans et de la construction même; et 4° L'ouvrage achevé, la vie est impliquée dans l'œuvre, totalement engagée dans une synthèse des sentiments et des moyens matériels de réalisation [...] » (LC, untitled, in Petit 1956: 20-1; 1961: 17-8; 1965: 45; FIGURE 6.33) This text was written in the margins of a letter received from Petit: see D: 1955-11-25 (Petit, letter to LC, 25 Nov 1955: FLC EI 10 26/31).

³ « Juin 1950, sur la colline, je m'occupe pendant trois heures à prendre connaissance du sol et des horizons [...] Dans la tête, l'idée naît-elle : vague, divague et se cherche. Sur la colline j'avais soigneusement dessiné les 4 horizons. Car il y en a 4: à l'Est, les Ballons d'Alsace; au Sud, les derniers contreforts laissent un vallon: à l'Ouest, la plaine de Saône; au Nord, un vallon et un village. Ces dessins sont égares ou perdus : ce sont eux qui déclenchèrent architecturalement la riposte acoustique – *acoustique visuelle au domaine des formes...* Ce 4 juin 50 : - Donnez-moi du fusain et du papier... » (LC 1957a: 89, original syntax)

In the years that followed he had little more to say on the subject. Several more texts on Ronchamp would appear in his name, but the Chapel was always described linguistically through recourse to the same phrases, and explained graphically by reference to the same sketches. This was evidently all that Le Corbusier wished to reveal about his design process: he insisted that the essence of his creativity was private, conducted in silence and solitude, and "open to no one." A work of art that emerged from this craft, he claimed, was quietly set forth into the world, loved or hated, understood or misinterpreted, and nothing he could say would ever change that. Architecture, he implied, was like painting, something he would never explain.⁴

Le Corbusier's words on the Chapel were therefore few. They were also written during an important transition in his postwar career, in which he became increasingly conscious of his historical legacy and took the legal steps necessary to ensure that his prolific oeuvre would be preserved for posterity. Hence, in the spring of 1953, well aware of the immense value of his collected works,⁵ he penned a series of notes stipulating that his entire oeuvre was to be retained within a private archival institute that would provide "life annuity for Corbu and immediate family."⁶ The descriptions of Ronchamp in the *Œuvre complète* were almost exactly contemporaneous with the creation of this institute, which would come to be known as the 'Fondation Le Corbusier'.⁷

⁴ « Quand mûrissant [sic] et construisant une œuvre (de longue haleine toujours) (urb, arch, ou peinture) je mets au point, je réalise, j'approche du but, j'ai produit un immense effort, sans mots, sans discours, - dans le silence et la solitude; sur les tables à dessin de l'atelier 35 rue de Sèvres, je ne parle pas; mon atelier privé (de la recherche patiente) d'Auteuil, n'est ouvert à personne. J'y suis seul. Je n'ai jamais de ma vie « expliqué » un tableau. Le tableau partira, sera aimé ou détesté, compris ou pas. Qu'est-ce que vous voulez que ça me fasse ! (que ça puisse me faire.) » (LC 1957a: 6)

⁵ On 11 May 1953, the architect wrote to Walter Gropius and noted that the foundation would have "an enormous financial value if it were commercialized" (A: 1953-05-11: LC, letter to Gropius, 11 May 53, in Jenger 2002: 370).

⁶ The earliest documentary evidence of Le Corbusier's desire to start an archival foundation in his own name is, to my knowledge, found within a personal note from June 1952, when, suffering from overwork and migraine headaches, the architect saw a legal notary, one Monsieur Mageut, to discuss his last will. The "foundation Corbu," comprised of "paintings, apartments, authorial rights, and land" is first mentioned in this note: « Maux de tête. Il me faut contact chaud : la main sur le cou, la tête. Dès que je réfléchis, le mal intervient. Je me réveille le matin dispos. Si je lis = mal ; dessine, combine et[c.] = mal ; soir : très mal. [...] L-C, Jeanne. Emporter Roberto [Rebutato] Magnétophone + gravage de disques, revoir Maguet notaire, testam[ent], fondation Corbu : peintures, appt, droits d'aut[eur], terrain » (Sketchbook E22-596/597, De Franclieu 1981b: 49; punctuation added). Then, in the spring of 1953 (probably in late May or early June), he penned another note concerning the "Corbu Foundation," suggesting Gropius, Gideon, Tata, Sarabhai, and Thapar as its original members (Sketchbook G28-939; De Franclieu 1981b: 72); and on 20 June 1953, noted his intention to grant "life annuity for Corbu and immediate family," which was to be provided by the Fondation: « Fondation Corbu, 20 juin 53. Tata dit : doit être internationale. J'avais remis 1 note à Tata à l'arrivée 20-21 mai (lui en demander une copie). Il conseille : Constituer une société dont le capital est formé des objets de la collection (L-C a donc des parts, quand la Sté vend L-C... etc. demander Tata). Il y a une combine qui constitue le viager Corbu et famille immédiate. (Sinon loi = héritiers indirects et calamités). A réaliser d'urgence. Dans le coup : Matarazzo, Carneiro Costa, Sweeney + Claudius, Sert. Gropius, Giedion, Roggers [sic], et demander Chéreau Nantes, Montmollin. » (Sketchbook G28-963, De Franclieu 1981b: 73; punctuation added). Neither Le Corbusier nor his brother Albert had children, so the legal rights to this institution would likely have passed to other parties, despite his concerns about "indirect inheritance."

⁷ The article on Ronchamp in the fifth volume of the *Œuvre complète* (Boesiger 1953: 88-98) was produced between July 1952 and March 1953 (see Chapter 3, notes 43-8, 61).

Ten years later, when the Fondation opened its doors to the public, a bronze plaque near the entry portal urged scholars to pursue their research "in the spirit defined by the literary and built works of Le Corbusier."⁸ Danièle Pauly was among the first researchers to work in the archive, and discovered the architectural drawings for the Chapel in the state that Le Corbusier and his colleagues had left them. With the help of the archival staff of the Fondation, many of whom had been personally chosen by the architect, she set out to inventory, classify, and analyze the vast corpus of documents associated with the Chapel's design. Pauly described her work as a "return to sources" after a long line of speculative works written by authors who did not have access to the original documents.⁹ But her research took place within an archival context that had been carefully prepared by Le Corbusier himself, and followed the methodological precepts set forth in his primary literature. The seemingly exhaustive account that emerged from her research thus followed the spirit of the architect's prior explanation, just as the Fondation's entry plaque suggested. The potential conflict of interests implied by such an arrangement was never mentioned.

Three years after the publication of Pauly's landmark study, the entire collection of Le Corbusier's architectural drawings was made public by the Fondation in collaboration with Garland Publishing. The complete Ronchamp drawing set, including a great many renderings that had not been featured in either Le Corbusier's primary literature or Pauly's subsequent explanation of Ronchamp, was thereby presented to a vast scholarly audience for the first time.¹⁰ However, there was little perceived need for further inquiry, since these authoritative texts had already provided a seemingly comprehensive account of the Chapel's design; hence, no one thought it necessary to question the architect's principal texts or to replicate Pauly's study, an excerpt of which served as the volume's introduction. The discourse, in this respect, was effectively closed. Part of this may have been due to the fact that the Ronchamp drawing sheets in the Garland edition were reproduced at a vastly reduced scale, and with insufficient optical quality to support fine-grained analysis of the documents, or to provide a legible presentation of their annotations and marginal sketches. Critical information remained invisible.

⁸ La Fondation Le Corbusier... a été créé sur l'initiative de Le Corbusier, avant sa mort, dans le but de recevoir, acquérir, restaurer, conserver et faire connaître au public, par tous les moyens appropriés, les œuvres originales, notes, manuscrits, documents, biens et objets divers provenant de Le Corbusier, et d'encourager la recherche dans l'esprit défini par l'œuvre écrite et construite par Le Corbusier. (FLC inscription, cited in Pauly 1980: 18)

⁹ Pauly 1980: 18

¹⁰ Brooks & Tzonis, eds. 1983, v. 20

Then, in 2006, the Fondation completed the task of transferring the documentary record of the Ronchamp drawing set onto a collection of digital video discs, which made high-definition copies of these archival drawings available to scholars for the first time.¹¹ This digital set, produced with optical quality that far surpassed the Garland publications, allowed individual drawings to be studied in greater detail, and with far greater ease than a physical drawing set could possibly allow. The publication of these drawings coincided with my own desire to "return to sources," and to study the original documents firsthand, just as Pauly had done many years before. Her account served as an invaluable starting point, suggesting where additional research might be profitable within a diverse and difficult set of drawings.

The first step in this process involved a careful examination of every drawing in the Ronchamp set, using additional imaging technologies that greatly assisted the undertaking. A fundamental challenge quickly arose: the vast majority of these drawings are neither signed nor dated, making it difficult to reconstruct the original sequence of the atelier's production. This problem was exacerbated by the fact that the individual drawing sheets are not indexed by standard graphic conventions that would typically link plan, section, and elevation. Hence, the Ronchamp set lacks the connecting threads that might otherwise suggest the sequence in which the drawings had first been produced. As a result, reweaving the evidence of the early design documents proved to be a complex and time-consuming process.

Several aspects of this initial investigation nonetheless suggested that both Le Corbusier's explanation of his design process and Pauly's subsequent account were probably incomplete. The complexity of the early plans, as well as the presence of numerous variations within the initial schematic sequence, soon led me toward an alternate reading of the first design drawings—many of which, I discovered, had never been identified. In the following two chapters, I will present a portion of this alternate interpretation of the design drawings for the Chapel, leaving the remainder of this research for a forthcoming monograph.

Chapter 5 will focus upon eight of these drawing sheets, which, in my analysis, comprise the extant remains of the first schematic designs for the Chapel's plan

¹¹ Le Corbusier. 2006. *Plans, v. 10. 1950-1951* (Tokyo: Echelle-I, Inc): index.

produced within the Parisian atelier. Six of these drawings have not been previously identified. Building upon these observations, Chapter 6 will then focus upon the elevations, perspective renderings, and other related drawings within Le Corbusier's sketchbooks, suggesting a plausible sequence of production for the documentary record of the first three phases of design work, as well as an alternate explanation of the architect's design process.

Since formal analysis is often the only means by which this sequence of drawings can be convincingly established, I have provided exhaustive descriptions of them, and, in the accompanying illustrations, labeled their principal features so that future researchers can, when necessary, follow the supporting arguments in detail. However, these descriptions will likely provide the general reader with an excess of information, so the following discussion is formatted into two different levels: the main text describes the summary of design features, and the detailed analyses upon which these summaries are based are expounded in a series of notes.

I will begin by suggesting a plausible date of Le Corbusier's acceptance of the commission, which, like most things in the Ronchamp discourse, is not as simple as it might first appear. Contradictory accounts exist for almost every aspect of this study. This conflicting evidence is also presented in a series of notes, in which I offer my own analysis, while suggesting subject areas that are still in need of additional research. It is my hope that the following discussion of these drawings will thus serve to inspire further examination of the documentary record, since there are undoubtedly aspects of Le Corbusier's design process that I too was unable to see.

The story begins with two letters that offer some clarification of both the architect's acceptance of the commission and the commencement of his creative process, setting the stage for a reassessment of the drawings. My aim will be to provisionally reconstruct the historical sequence of extant documentation produced within Le Corbusier's atelier for the first schematic iteration of the Chapel's plan.

5.1 THE ARCHBISHOP'S REQUEST FOR DRAWINGS

The first mention of drawings for the Chapel of Ronchamp appears in a letter that Canon Lucien Ledeur wrote to Le Corbusier on 6 May 1950:

Monsieur,

I have been waiting to thank you for the friendly greeting and long conversation that you granted me, having met again with our Archbishop, Mgr. Dubourg. He returned Monday evening — much later than I had said, and I've only been able to see him quickly this morning.

Monsignor is very interested in the details of our conversation, and he has a clear desire to see you study the project for the Chapel of N[otre] D[ame] du Haut. I have been expressly requested to tell you this, and to ask you, as we have agreed, for a few drawings that would allow us to make a definitive decision. In the meantime, I have seen M[onsieur] the Curé of Ronchamp [Abbé Henri]; he has agreed.

You could thus plan the date of your trip to Ronchamp. I would be pleased if you would let me know so that I could meet you there again. As soon as possible would, at present, be best. I have great confidence that this commission can be realized. So allow me to express to you my great joy, and to offer the expression of my most respectful sentiments.

*Lucien Ledeur*¹²

Ledeur's letter provides important evidence concerning the events of the Chapel's commission. It states that the head patron, Archbishop Dubourg, was personally involved, and had met with Le Corbusier on more than one occasion to discuss the proposed Chapel at Ronchamp. The letter also makes it clear that, through the course of these discussions, the Archbishop and the architect had come to an agreement regarding this proposal. Since the letter is dated, it also makes it possible to situate Le Corbusier's introduction to, and acceptance of, the Dominican commission. For this is suggested in Ledeur's prose: he wrote that he awaited a set of drawings from the architect "as we [the architect and the Diocesan Committee] have agreed", which "would allow us [i.e., the Diocesan Committee] to make a definitive decision"—a

¹² D: 1950-05-06 (Ledeur, letter to LC, 6 May 1950: FLC Q1-5-74)

statement that certainly suggests that the architect had already made up his mind to accept the job, despite his alleged reluctance.¹³

Le Corbusier's acceptance of the commission can thus be said to have occurred prior to 6 May, four weeks before his first reported visit to the site; and although Ledeur does not mention the date of the meeting, saying only that he had "been waiting" prior to sending an expression of gratitude, it can be inferred from office records that the event would most likely have taken place at least five or six weeks prior to the creation of the first sketches.¹⁴ The architect thus had ample time in which to ponder his approach.

5.2 'A SMALL CHAPEL NEAR BELFORT'

Le Corbusier's response to Ledeur's letter has apparently not survived. However, on 18 May 1950, less than two weeks after receiving the Canon's request, the architect expressed his excitement about the project in a letter to his friend and colleague, the Breton craftsman Joseph Savina. Le Corbusier had by that time collaborated with Savina for several years, co-producing a series of wood sculptures that the architect dubbed "acoustic," due to their alternately convex and concave profiles, which, he

¹³ Accounts of the initial meeting between architect and patron conflict: after Le Corbusier's death in 1965, Maurice Jardot noted that the architect was interested in the idea of a pilgrimage chapel and immediately accepted the commission (Jardot, in JNDH 19, Dec 1965-Jan 1966: 6, cited in Cousin 2004: 97-8). However, François Mathey later claimed that, during this initial meeting, Le Corbusier had practically thrown the two men out of his office. In Mathey's account, the architect had told him and Maurice Jardot that they should find a Christian architect to help them build their chapel, since he had no interest in working for the Church or the Archbishop. (Mathey, letter to Manessier, 3 April 1977: Archives Atelier Manessier, cited in Flicoteaux 1998: 23). Wogenscky's subsequent account also suggests that the architect initially refused on religious grounds: asked by Couturier to accept the commission, he allegedly replied "I have no right! Find a Catholic architect!" (Wogenscky 1987: 18-9)

¹⁴ There is conflicting evidence concerning Le Corbusier's acceptance of the Ronchamp commission. Caussé (2007: 71) noted that Le Corbusier's daily agenda from his atelier at 35 rue de Sèvres mentions three meetings that took place between the Dominican patrons and the architect prior to 6 May 1950. The first was a rendezvous between the architect, François Mathey, and Maurice Jardot on Wednesday, 29 March 1950, at 9 a.m. Jardot claimed that Le Corbusier immediately accepted the commission (see note 13 above). This interpretation is also supported by a letter that Le Corbusier wrote to his mother and brother on 28 November 1950, in which he claimed that he had been working on the project "for eight months," which would place the commencement of design work on 29 March, concurrent with his first meeting with the Dominicans (A: 1950-11-28: LC, letter to Marie and Albert, 28 Nov 1950, FLC R2-2-24T). A second rendezvous is mentioned in the architect's daily agenda on Sunday, 23 April: "10 h, Abbé Ledeur (Jardot)", (Caussé 2007: 71) suggesting that a meeting took place between Ledeur, Le Corbusier, and possibly Jardot on that occasion. Since Ledeur, in his letter of 6 May, thanked the architect for "meeting again" with Dubourg, it is likely that the Archbishop was also present at one of these initial meetings. Lastly, the architect's daily agenda for Sunday, 30 April 1950, mentions a third rendezvous: "10 h Abbé Ledeur Mathey." (Caussé 2007: 71) Since Ledeur wrote on Saturday, 6 May that the archbishop had returned on "Monday evening" (which I take to mean *this past* Monday evening, 1 May 1950, five days prior to the date of Ledeur's letter), it seems plausible that the architect met the Dominican Committee members on Sunday, 30 April, as the agenda suggests, with Dubourg returning to Besançon the following day. Hence, when Le Corbusier received Ledeur's letter in early May, he had already met with the Dominican patrons on several occasions, and it is possible that he had already been 'incubating' the design for quite some time. But more research is required to clarify the matter.

claimed, “could emit and listen.”¹⁵ Their partnership marked a fundamental change in La Corbusier’s approach to design, propelling him forward upon “a heroic path of sculpture leading to great architecture.”¹⁶ He was, as a result, confident of their future prospects, and wrote to his friend to express his excitement: “My dear Savina,” he declared,

The evolution of the era leads towards a synthesis of the arts. Sculpture is first to take this step, before painting, which floats and flaps its wings. I believe that sculpture is very close to being reunited with architecture in a few buildings. At Marseille, without the least bit of credit, there is evidence of this.

- 1. the pilotis are works of sculpture.*
- 2. the roof, with the surrounding landscape, is phenomenal: the elevator tower and wading pool, ventilation chimneys, exercise pavilion, ramp, stairway, and sunbathing screens—it’s triumphant*
- 3. the bons hommes (made from sculpted, raised relief planks) emerging from the concrete formwork (glorification of the moduler)*
- 4. the windows in the foyer of cement plaster and colored glass*
- 5. A sculpture 5 m long (reclining) in leaves of hammered brass on a lattice of wood and plaster.*

And all of that was done in the atelier at 35 rue de Sèvres with some guys who are making their debut (as architects). [...]

We are going to build another Unité at Nantes similar to the one in Marseille. I would like it if you could create something beautiful there. When the time comes, I will come see you. I’m going to begin a small chapel near Belfort, pauvre, there as well... [...] I’m exhausted. All goes well, but what a role for a night watchman!¹⁷

Although Le Corbusier does not mention it by name, the reference in this letter to a “small chapel near Belfort” certainly alludes to the commission for the Chapel of

¹⁵ D: 1947-08-28 (LC, letter to Savina, 28 Aug 1947: FLC F3-18-20)

¹⁶ D: 1948-05-19 (LC, letter to Savina, 19 May 1948: FLC F3-18-29)

¹⁷ D: 1950-05-18 (LC, letter to Savina, 18 May 1950: FLC: F3-18-46)

Ronchamp.¹⁸ His private testimony also suggests that among the architect's fundamental inspirations for the project, in addition to environmental and contextual concerns, was an interest in the "synthesis of the arts," in which sculpture could be said to lead the way. He thus believed that the results of his collaboration with Savina, already applied to individual elements at Marseille, could be applied to an entire building. Architecture so conceived, he claimed, could properly convey "the evolution of our era." Most importantly, Le Corbusier stated in this letter that he was "going to begin" his work on the chapel, making it clear that at this point he had already accepted the commission and was eager to get started.

5.3 THE FIRST DRAWINGS

Two drawings in Sketchbook D17 suggest that shortly after writing his letter to Savina, Le Corbusier followed through on this promise, leaving Paris on Saturday, 20 May on a train to Basel, passing through the provincial township of Ronchamp en route. If the architect's annotations on these sketches are accurate, then he must have drawn them quickly while peering through the window of a train, studying the contours of the building site. The date provided would also place them prior to any other work on the project, making these sketches plausible candidates for the first extant record of his design drawings for the Chapel.¹⁹

The first of these sketches, which I will refer to as Sketch 272, depicts the ruins of the previous Chapel perched atop a lofty butte, with a scribbled annotation stating that the hill was "too big," and the "church too small";²⁰ **(FIGURE 5.01)** while the second sketch on the following page, Sketch 273, dated 20 May 1950, offers another view of the ruins standing above the local cemetery.²¹ **(FIGURE 5.02)**

¹⁸ Belfort is the provincial capital of the Territory of Belfort, directly adjacent to the Department of the Haute-Saône, in which the neighboring town of Ronchamp resides; and since Le Corbusier had no other pending commissions for a "small chapel" anywhere near the area at this or any other time, the reference must allude to the Chapel Notre Dame-du-Haut.

¹⁹ This is the account suggested by the evidence in Sketchbook D17-272/3. However, given the limited visibility upon this particular train line, it is also plausible that Le Corbusier made these sketches with the help of photographs, an interpretation that was suggested to me by Jean-François Mathey.

²⁰ Sketchbook D17-272 (De Franclieu, ed. 1981, 2: n.p.)

²¹ Sketchbook D17-273 (De Franclieu, ed. 1981, 2: n.p.)

According to Le Corbusier's own account, no further drawings were produced until his second visit to Ronchamp on 4 June, when he surveyed the ruins of the former chapel, and, inspired by the splendour of the terrain, "carefully drew the four horizons." As the story goes, he then requested some paper and charcoal from his Dominican colleagues, and quickly drew the first plan of the Chapel.²² Lucien Ledeur, who was present on that day, would later recall this historic encounter:

*I recall his immediate reaction to the site: the first line he drew in pencil: the south wall! Just like this (making a gesture of a curved line in mid-air). Then he had to gather the pilgrims in front of the wall where he placed the altar, the curve of which responded to the south wall: that was the east wall; then he only had to join these two curves!*²³

The architect would later note that some of the drawings he had made on that day were "missing or lost."²⁴ Prior to their disappearance, however, Le Corbusier had apparently brought these sketches into the atelier and approached the drawing board of André Maisonnier, his sole assistant on the project. The two men stood above the drafting table and carefully reviewed the sketches, discussing the architect's nascent ideas for the Chapel, in a conversation that would mark the commencement of five years of fruitful collaboration on the project. Maisonnier would later recall the context of their exchange:

*Canon Lucien Ledeur of Besançon had asked Le Corbusier to design a chapel. Le Corbusier waited awhile, then, one day, he showed up at my drawing board with his sketchbook. He had met with Canon Ledeur, with whom he had had an ideal conversation. [...] In the course of his visit to the site with the Canon, Le Corbusier had made a few sketches, and the studies commenced quickly thereafter. [...] Le Corbusier had made some colored drawings of the four horizons, north, south, east, and west. On my drawing board, he made a drawing in charcoal, representing his idea in plan. A few days later, he sketched some elevations.*²⁵

²² LC 1957a: 89; note 3 above

²³ « Je retrouve tout à coup sa réaction immédiate au site: le premier coup de crayon qu'il a dessiné: le mur sud ! qui fait ceci ! (traçant d'un geste dans l'air une ligne incurvée). Il faut ensuite regrouper les pèlerins devant le mur où il place l'autel, dont la courbe répond à celle du mur sud: c'est le mur est; ensuite, il n'y avait plus qu'à rejoindre les deux courbes ! » (Ledeur, interview, 1972; cited in Pauly 1980: 34)

²⁴ LC 1957a: 89; note 3 above.

²⁵ « Le Chanoine Lucien Ledeur de Besançon avait demandé à Le Corbusier de faire une chapelle. Le Corbusier a attendu quelques temps, puis, un jour, il a débarqué sur ma planche à dessin avec son carnet de croquis. Il avait

Maisonnier's testimony highlights several drawings that have since evidently been lost, and a few others that may have survived. The plan that Ledeur described, drawn during the architect's visit to the site, may have been among the sketches that Maisonnier saw that day; but unfortunately he did not specify which sketchbook he viewed, or describe the formal characteristics of the drawings, so it is not possible on the basis of his testimony to identify this initial plan, which may have not survived. Maisonnier also mentioned a set of colored drawings of the four horizons, and it seems likely that these are the same "missing or lost" renderings previously mentioned by Le Corbusier,²⁶ since there are, to date, no extant drawings in the Ronchamp set that fit this description.

However, there is a drawing that matches Maisonnier's description of a "drawing in charcoal" created during the course of his initial exchange with Le Corbusier,²⁷ **(FIGURE 5.04)** and until recently, it bore an annotated date that seems to fit his testimony, 6 June 1950²⁸—two days after the architect claimed to have made his first trip to Ronchamp, on 4 June.²⁹ Maisonnier also stated that the architect had drawn some sketches "that corresponded almost completely to the final project,"³⁰ and there is a series of studies in Sketchbook E18 that seem to fit this description. **(FIGURE 5.03)** Lastly, his testimony also draws attention to a set of elevations, which, as he said, were produced after only a few days had passed, and these too can be provisionally identified.³¹

In summary, then, it seems likely that several of the earliest drawings in the Ronchamp set are missing, and most of the remaining candidates are unsigned and undated. This makes it particularly difficult to identify the early drawings, and harder still to

rencontré le Chanoine Ledeur avec qui il avait eu une conversation idéale. [...] Au cours de la visite du site avec le Chanoine, Le Corbusier a fait des croquis et les études ont alors commencé assez rapidement. [...] Le Corbusier avait fait des dessins en couleurs des quatre horizons, Nord, Sud, Est et Ouest. Sur ma planche, il a fait un dessin au fusain représentant son idée en plan. Au bout de quelques jours, il a esquissé des élévations. » (Maisonnier 1987: 14-5)

²⁶ LC 1957a : 89, note 3 above

²⁷ FLC 07470; Brooks & Tzonis, eds. 1983, 20: 158; Pauly 1980: 34

²⁸ The date was first reported by Pauly (1980: 34), and is visible in the reproduction in Brooks & Tzonis, eds. (1983, 20: 158). The drawing sheet has since been damaged, and the inscription now reads '[...]in 50', (FIGURE 5.05) the actual date and first two letters of the month ('juin') having been torn off in the interim period.

²⁹ To date, there is no corroborating evidence for Le Corbusier's first visit to Ronchamp. In his monograph on the Chapel, the architect implied that he made a charcoal drawing on site on 4 June 1950: "This 4th of June '50: Give me some charcoal and paper..." (LC 1957a: 89; note 3 above); but this text does not explicitly state that he was at Ronchamp on this day, or that he made the drawing on site.

³⁰ « Il a en fait dessiné des esquisses qui correspondaient presque totalement au projet final. » (Maisonnier 1987: 15)

³¹ See Chapter 6.

determine the sequence in which they were produced. Maisonnier's testimony seems to provide a starting point for such an analysis; but he did not specifically identify the studies and sketches to which he referred, so his account offers little clarification of the initial design process.

However, within the Ronchamp set, there are several extant plans that do show characteristic signs of early schematic design—tentative provisions of the patrons' program, for example, and shifting patterns of circulation—and a few of these also bear dated annotations, which, if accurate, would place them at the very outset of the design process on 6-7 June. I will therefore commence with a detailed review of these plans, as well as a critical examination of the annotations upon them.

PLAN 07470: THE CHARCOAL PLAN

The charcoal drawing that Maisonnier mentioned in his testimony is a logical starting point for this analysis, since, on the basis of his account, it seems to be the earliest extant drawing. There is an archival document that matches his description of a “drawing in charcoal representing Le Corbusier’s idea in plan,”³² drawing sheet 07470, which until recently was signed and dated ‘6 juin 50 L.C.’.³³ **(FIGURE 5.04)** However, this drawing sheet, like the majority these early drawings, whether rendered by Le Corbusier or by his assistant, was signed and dated by Maisonnier (who signed his drawings eponymously, and his mentor's, 'L. C.'). Hence, it is possible and even likely that this group of the drawings was post-dated.³⁴ The dates provided are thus open to question, **(FIGURE 5.05)** and require corroboration and/or falsification through reference to other criteria.

Maisonnier’s proposed timeframe therefore appears to only be corroborated by an anecdote of his mentor and a set of annotations of uncertain origin. The Ronchamp

³² Maisonnier 1987: 14-5; note 25 above.

³³ The drawing sheet has since been damaged; see note 28 above.

³⁴ Of the many drawings that are likely candidates for the first schematic set, only five are signed and dated: four drawings, rendered by hand, bear the inscription 'L. C.', which suggests that they were drawn by the lead architect (FLC 07470, 07307, 07311, 07463); and one, mechanically drafted, is signed 'Maisonnier', and thus presumably drawn by his assistant (FLC 07463). However, comparative analysis of the handwriting of these two men suggests that all these annotations were written by Maisonnier, since their alphabetical and numerical characters correspond to characteristic features of his script, while contrasting with the characteristic features of Le Corbusier's script. **(FIGURE 5.05)** Hence, it is possible and even likely that these drawings were post-dated, since they were not signed by the same person who originally produced them.

researcher is thus set afloat upon a sea of uncertain clues and dubitable references. Nonetheless, one must start somewhere; so I will therefore presume that the Charcoal Plan is indeed the drawing that Maisonnier mentioned; and I will also provisionally assume, for the moment at least, that the annotation upon it is correct, which would place the preliminary meeting between Le Corbusier and his assistant on this same day, Tuesday, 6 June 1950. These assumptions can provide a temporal datum from which a sequential analysis can begin.

By Maisonnier's admission, the extant site sketch, which I will refer to as the 'Charcoal Plan', is not the one that Ledeur remembered. That sketch, drawn during Le Corbusier's first visit to the site,³⁵ may have disappeared. Ledeur's description of it provides a vague idea of what the architect had drawn previously; but the details of that first study, unfortunately, remain unknown. Nonetheless, the interim period seems to have granted Le Corbusier sufficient time to reflect upon this initial drawing, and to arrive at Maisonnier's drawing board with a clear idea of what he wished to create.

This is certainly what comes across in the sketch. In addition to the basic footprint of the building and the general positioning of the altar described by Ledeur, **(FIGURE 5.09, left)** this drawing sheet includes a general organization of the site plan, **(FIGURE 5.04)** which was probably informed by the architect's prior visit to Ronchamp. Two approach routes were defined: one from the southeast, and another from the north, with a massive engineered esplanade, intended to serve the large crowds that traditionally gathered on pilgrimage days, circling the building's plan to the east. The arc of this esplanade follows the southern topography quite closely, and the two access routes traced well-worn paths that had served the previous chapels for centuries. **(FIGURE 5.06)** A series of paired foundations can also be identified at the terminus of the northern pilgrimage route, **(FIGURE 5.04)** and subsequent versions of the plan make it clear that these were meant to subtend a steel-frame entry portal serving the northern doorway.³⁶ On the opposite side of the Chapel, the main portal is shown as an open breach, erased from the upper section of the curved southern wall.

³⁵ Ledeur, interview, 1972, cited in Pauly 1980: 34; note 23 above

³⁶ See FIGURE 5.10 (FLC 07311); and drawing sheets 07421, 07478, and 07108.

All of these features are clearly situated in positions quite close to that of the final project—even the cursory allocation of liturgical furniture³⁷ closely approximates the layout of future plans. In all these respects, then, the Charcoal Plan apparently served as a useful map for all future modifications, including liturgical requirements, which appear to have been carefully considered from the outset.

In this sense, the Charcoal Plan, with its prescient arrangement of the principal architectural features, all carefully set within the historical context the building site, does seem to support the notion that Le Corbusier designed the Chapel in "a single blow,"³⁸ following his initial analysis of "the ground and the horizons,"³⁹ just as the architect insisted. However, Maisonnier's testimony suggests that this drawing was not Le Corbusier's first analysis of the building site; rather, he claimed that it was produced after the series of initial studies was already complete, as a graphic condensation of an original set of drawings that are now unfortunately "missing or lost." In my view, this leaves some doubt about its authenticity.⁴⁰

PLAN 07307: THE CENTRAL DOOR PLAN

A ground plan signed and dated "6-6-50 - L.C."⁴¹ (**FIGURE 5.08**) appears at first glance to be a candidate for the next drawing in the series. This drawing sheet also bears the prominent inscription '2' on the upper left, one of three similarly inscribed early drawings that were evidently annotated by Le Corbusier as a series of early schematic design. (**FIGURE 5.05**) However, it is plausible and even likely that these numerical characters were added by the architect at a later date, during a post-production

³⁷ In this essay, I will use the term 'liturgical' in an architectural rather than an ecclesiastical sense, in reference to all elements of the building program that correspond to Catholic rituals (such as altars, pulpits, icons, choir platforms, processional entries/exits, the cross, basin, sacristy, etc.), rather than the elements of the liturgy *per se*.

³⁸ LC in Petit 1956: 20-1 (FIGURE 6.33); note 2 above

³⁹ LC 1957a: 89; note 3 above

⁴⁰ Maisonnier mentioned that, following his visit to the site, Le Corbusier had "waited a while" before appearing at his drawing table, carrying his sketchbook and the colored drawings of the four horizons, now lost; and presumably, it was during this initial encounter that the elder architect rendered the "charcoal drawing representing his ideas in plan" (Maisonnier 1987: 14-5; note 25 above). It therefore seems plausible that the Charcoal Plan represents a graphic condensation of these lost antecedent studies, which may or may not have been identical, or even similar, to the extant charcoal drawing—a question which cannot be clarified on the basis of the evidence at hand. In addition, Ledeur had also previously claimed that Le Corbusier had waited "eight days" after his first visit the site before commencing design work, whereas the annotation on the Charcoal Plan suggests that it took only two; so available evidence again conflicts. Future research is required to clarify the matter.

⁴¹ FLC 07307; Brooks & Tzonis, eds. 1983, 20: 84

reorganization of the drawing sheets, as I will describe below.⁴² The warrant of this evidence is therefore limited; and, since only three drawings from the original series are extant, the significance of the remaining sequence is also left uncertain.

Formal analysis suggests that this plan should nonetheless be counted among the first extant, detailed studies of the Chapel. If indeed it was drawn on the same day as the Charcoal Plan, as the annotation suggests, **(FIGURE 5.05)** then it may be the very first detailed drawing, representing the architect's initial attempt to incorporate the requirements of the building program. Certain aspects of this drawing do bear a close relation to the Charcoal Plan: the provisions of the site, **(FIGURES 5.08 & 5.23, top)** as well as the general outline of the interior of the nave and the orientation of the southeast wall, **(FIGURE 5.09, right)** all correspond, in varying degrees, to their prior representations in that early drawing.

However, this plan, which I will refer to as the 'Central Door Plan', also represents a considerable change to the schematic program as it appeared on the Charcoal Plan. The main entry is no longer found at the western limit of the interior space, but has instead been repositioned closer to the center of the south wall; while the east wall has been moved in such a way that it grants more room to the Chapel's interior, narrowing the open-air liturgical porch on its opposite side. **(FIGURE 5.09, right)** The western and northern outlines of the building, which were left as mere place-holding perimeter walls in the charcoal sketch, have been expanded beyond their original boundaries and appointed with a series of liturgical spaces: three distinct peripheral chapels, each set within a horseshoe-shaped enclosure, sit astride the main sanctuary, with a narrow secondary entry positioned between the northern pair; while a provisional allocation for a rectangular sacristy sits just below them to the east. With the exception of the centrally-positioned southern door—a feature that does not appear on any other drawing—all of these changes would remain in the final building.

⁴² The numbers '2', '4', and '5' are written in the upper left portion of drawing sheets 07307 (Central Door Plan), 07293 (Foundation Plan), and 07463 (Basin Plan), respectively. Presumably, at the time these annotations were written, there were also drawing sheets numbered '1' and '3', which are no longer extant. Analysis of these numerical characters suggests that they were written by Le Corbusier, since both the '4' and '5' correspond to the idiosyncratic manner in which the architect rendered these figures, while contrasting to Maisonnier's manner of rendering them. **(FIGURE 5.05)** However, there is no definitive evidence suggesting when these numerical characters were added to the drawing set; hence, they might represent a subsequent reordering of the schematic series. I will propose one plausible explanation of their purpose in my analysis of the Maisonnier Plan below.

A large part of the planning decisions represented in the Central Door Plan resulted from residual effects of this new centrally-placed entry. The position of the main altar on the Charcoal Plan, for example, which had been situated close to the central axis of the Chapel, no longer worked: the new entry pressed uncomfortably close to it. In response to this, Le Corbusier appears to have rearranged the liturgical furniture, and evidence of this process remains visible in the drawing, **(FIGURE 5.09, right)** as traces of erased lines.⁴³ However, it appears that he was not pleased with the results, for in all other extant drawings, these liturgical features reappear in positions that recall the final configuration of the Chapel's interior: the altars move back to the southern side of the nave and porch, and the raised platform reappears in its familiar position on the northern side of the Chapel. The centrally-placed main entry also disappears altogether—a short-lived idea that was permanently abandoned. The Central Door Plan, in other words, appears to represent an example of an early schematic design in which a possible solution to liturgical requirements featuring a centrally placed door was quickly rendered, tested through a process of trial-and-error, and promptly rejected.

In all these ways, the Central Door Plan provides evidence of Le Corbusier's initial design process. However, it also leaves a conundrum, since there is a rather large iterative leap between the features of the Charcoal Plan and the respective features of the Central Door Plan. This suggests, to my mind, that there may have been other versions of early programmatic planning that are no longer extant, or remain to be discovered. I will return to this issue below.

PLAN 07311: THE THREE ENTRY PLAN

There is only one additional drawing in the set that is signed and dated “6-6-50 - L.C.”, Plan 07311, which I will refer to as the ‘Three Entry Plan’.⁴⁴ **(FIGURE 5.10)** Several features of the drawing suggest that it was an immediate, or nearly immediate,

⁴³ Close analysis of this drawing (**FIGURE 5.09, right**) reveals that the first rendition of the main altar was erased and moved, along with the Marian icon, toward the northern side of the sanctuary (on the right side of the drawing); the raised platform was displaced from its first position (a faint outline of which remains visible in the drawing), and moved south, toward the new main entry; and the exterior altar, crowded by the platform's new position, was also moved further north. It is interesting to note that during this reconfiguration the architect was careful to retain the oblique, axial relationship between the interior and exterior altars, which were not moved randomly, but laterally displaced to preserve this alignment.

⁴⁴ FLC 07311; Brooks & Tzonis, eds. 1983, 20: 86

successor to the Central Door Plan. The general outline of the building's footprint, for example, **(FIGURE 5.11)** is homologous in both the Central Door and Three Entry Plans, despite a slight difference in scale; and the disposition of peripheral chapels to the north and west is also very close. The two drawings also share a comparatively large set of dimensions. Since there are few additional drawings in the set that share this particular footprint and these enlarged dimensions, these features provide a convincing basis for identifying these drawings among the earliest extant plans.⁴⁵

Several important design changes are represented in this drawing, which, as I will argue below, marked a significant transformation of the liturgical program, maintained throughout all subsequent iterations.⁴⁶ **(FIGURE 5.11, right)** Each one of these configurations would undergo further refinement in subsequent schemes; but each would also remain in the final plan. As such, I would suggest that the Three Entry Plan represents an early resolution of liturgical considerations, in which each element of the patron's program had been successfully positioned.⁴⁷

PLAN 07293: THE FOUNDATION PLAN

Two additional drawings appear to be likely candidates for inclusion within this early schematic series: one of them, plan 07321, is signed and dated "7-6-50 – L.C." and labeled "5".⁴⁸ **(FIGURE 5.13)** I will refer to this drawing, following the liturgical basin

⁴⁵ On both the Central Door and Three Entry Plans, the width of the exterior platform from north to south is very large: 43 meters and 42.5 meters, respectively (141 and 139 feet). In subsequent iterations of schematic design, the overall dimensions of the Chapel were, by contrast, significantly reduced: on Plan 07435, for example, the width of the exterior platform from north to south is roughly 31.5 meters (103 feet), a reduction of nearly 30% (FIGURE 6.23).

⁴⁶ In the Three Entry Plan (FIGURE 5.11, right), the main entry was repositioned near the southwestern corner of the nave (at the top of the drawing), which favorably altered the building's circulation, since this point of entry had the effect of placing the visitor, upon the very first step into the interior, further from the main interior altar. This entry position also permitted a second row of seating to be installed adjacent to the south wall, which the Central Door Plan had sacrificed to circulation (FIGURE 5.11, left). Next to the sacristy, an elevated pulpit appears for the first time, served by a short series of steps (FIGURE 5.11, right). The sacristy itself is now clearly labeled as such, but loses a clear sense of enclosure, suggesting that the drawing may have been left unfinished. Adjacent to it, a raised platform, reached by another short flight of steps (faintly drawn on its north side), settles into its permanent position in the northeastern corner of the sanctuary, where it would serve both the interior nave and the exterior altar; while the main interior altar assumes a more central position in the nave, clearly accented by an orthogonal axis bisecting its surface. Behind the main altar, a large votive box housing the Marian icon is embedded in the eastern wall, offset slightly from this central axis. Finally, a third entry has been added in the southeastern corner of the Chapel's interior (on the lower-left portion of the plan), loosely defined by a short, re-entrant wall that served both to define a small entry vestibule at this corner and to subtly enclose the space around the Marian shrine.

⁴⁷ An alternate interpretation can be put forth in which the Three Entry Plan is prior to the Central Door Plan. However, since the Three Entry Plan includes additional elements that are not featured on the Central Door Plan, such as the elevated pulpit and southeast entry, it appears to represent, in my view, a more developed version.

⁴⁸ FLC 07321; Brooks & Tzonis, eds. 1983, 20: 90

that appears near the main entry, as the 'Basin Plan'. The second drawing is an unsigned and undated foundation drawing labeled "4", plan 07293,⁴⁹ (FIGURE 5.12) upon which the architect explored certain structural ramifications of the design. I will refer to it as the 'Foundation Plan'.

These two drawings share strong formal parallels. The disposition of the paired subsidiary chapels on the northern side of the building, for example, is similar in each: both of the northern peripheral altars are set within semicircular apses of nearly equal dimension, (FIGURE 5.14) and this spatial symmetry contrasts with the arrangement of the subsidiary chapels on both the Central Door and Three Entry Plans, in which the northwestern chapel is far more constrained. (FIGURE 5.11) This subtle transformation also had the effect of displacing the northern entry away from the axis of the main entry on the opposite side of the building, and thus served to make each entrance more visually and spatially distinct.⁵⁰

The Foundation and Basin Plans also share certain idiosyncrasies. The under-drawing on the Basin Plan, for example, suggests that the specific outline of the south wall, as well as the short entry wall facing the main portal, were at least initially features of both drawings; however, on the latter sheet, these design elements were then evidently erased and modified.⁵¹ (FIGURE 5.14, right) This suggests that these drawings were traced from a common source, or perhaps one from the other. Since both of these features were short-lived solutions found only upon the Foundation Plan, it seems quite likely that these drawing sheets were produced concurrently.⁵²

⁴⁹ FLC 07293; Brooks & Tzonis, eds. 1983, 20: 79; Pauly 1980: plate 8A, n.p.

⁵⁰ On both the Foundation and Basin Plans, (FIGURE 5.14) the entry to the northwestern chapel was broadened by moving the altar and its horseshoe-shaped enclosure away from the western wall; while the northwestern chapel itself was also lengthened, particularly in the Basin Plan. This spatial symmetry would become a characteristic feature of the second iteration of schematic design.

⁵¹ A comparison of these drawing sheets using digital transparency reveals that the erased under-drawing of the south wall on the Basin Plan (FIGURE 5.14, right) follows the scale, outline, and thickness of the same wall on the Foundation Plan very closely. However, on the Basin Plan, a portion of the wall was then erased and modified, giving it a more pronounced point of inflection. The configuration of the main entry on these drawings also shows signs of a similar process: the short entry wall on the Foundation Plan, which turned the visitor toward the main altar, also appears to have been an initial feature of the Basin Plan; (FIGURE 5.14, right) however, it was subsequently erased, leaving a faint trace of its origin. These remnants coincide with the position, scale, and placement of the same feature on the Foundation Plan.

⁵² The process of tracing suggests that the Foundation Plan came first. However, there are also features of the Foundation Plan which seem to postdate the Basin Plan, as I will argue below. Hence, the sum total of evidence suggests, in my view, that these two drawings were concurrently modified and cross-referenced during early schematic design.

Perhaps the most compelling evidence for the concurrent production of these drawings is the similarity of their overall dimensions, **(FIGURE 5.14)** which are nearly identical. These dimensions would be greatly reduced during the second phase of design work, and so would the distinct set of homologous features, described above, which would be permanently transformed in subsequent drawings. **(FIGURE 6.20)** Hence, it seems likely that these two drawings were produced shortly after the Central Door and Three Entry Plans, as sequential iterations of early schematic design. The process of tracing suggests that the Foundation Plan came first, so I will describe its features next, and then return to the Basin Plan below.

The Foundation Plan follows the general arrangement of liturgical furniture and circulation outlined in the Three Entry Plan. **(FIGURE 5.11, right)** However, provisions for seating were omitted, and the raised platform, drawn in sharp outline on the Three Entry Plan, is instead reproduced as a dashed line, which is oval- rather than horseshoe-shaped.⁵³ **(FIGURE 5.14, left)** In addition, the general outline of the Chapel, which, in the drawings analysed thus far, appears as a continuous and rather tentative boundary condition, is instead represented as a series of clearly defined structural elements. This is most evident in the south wall, in which five structural foundations define a set of spatial intervals that traverse the entire structure from north to south, as a parallel set of structural bays.⁵⁴ This horizontal bay system appears to have been applied to the Chapel as a whole, resolving both spatial relationships and their constructional frame in one synthetic gesture.

Another characteristic feature of this drawing is the oblong, almond-shaped structural pier in the northeastern corner of the exterior altar, which did not appear in any of the drawings analysed thus far. This pier also seems to follow the structural logic of the bay system: its position appears to have been determined by a similar, slightly expanded transverse interval, and its length corresponds roughly to the short sections of wall surrounding the sacristy above it to the north.

⁵³ This oval-shaped platform is one of many features that would reappear in a subsequent phase of design work. See Chapter 6.

⁵⁴ The walls defining the sacristy, for example, **(FIGURE 5.14, left)** are aligned for the first time with the corresponding structural elements on the opposite side of the building; another transverse alignment, drawn in a faint line just to the north of the interior altar, represents the division between congregational and sacred space, spanning the entire breadth of the building; and a third transverse alignment, drawn with a heavier hand, passes across the interior space from the southern wall to the northern entry, where the portal is bisected by this longitudinal axis.

The Foundation Plan thus appears to represent the first schematic iteration of the Chapel's structure, in which a paired concern for constructional rigidity and geometrical order, carefully orchestrated around the liturgical program defined in the Three Entry Plan, were the defining features.

MARGINAL SKETCHES OF THE CHAPEL'S ROOF

The adjacent marginal sketches on the right side of the Foundation Plan, representing provisional solutions to the Chapel's roof, appear to have formed an integral part of this structural investigation. **(FIGURE 5.12, right)** One of these marginal sketches is a schematic elevation of a portion of the northern side of the Chapel, **(FIGURE 5.15, bottom)** and the arrangement of formal features in this sketch recalls certain aspects of the structure of the *Pavillon des temps nouveaux*, which Le Corbusier and his cousin Pierre Jeanneret designed for the International Exposition in Paris in 1937:⁵⁵ a series of three structural bays are surmounted by the concave, hanging folds of the roof above, and the deployment of the lateral structural member, as well as the division of the roof into three bays, is reminiscent of the 1937 Pavilion.

The adjacent sketch **(FIGURE 5.16, bottom left)** represents a partial study of the southern façade, in which the relationship between the cantilevered southern edge of the Chapel's roof, the south wall, and the mass of the southwestern tower was examined. This sketch again appears to represent the tent-like folds of a canvas roof, which hang in even intervals above the Chapel's southern wall. A comparison between this drawing and two photos of the *Pavillon des temps nouveaux* that Le Corbusier published in 1938 **(FIGURE 5.16, top & right)** again suggests that the canvas pavilion was a likely source for such a motif: there is a notable similarity between the serrated edge of the Chapel's roof and the undulating rhythm of the canvas solution used in the 1937 Pavilion.⁵⁶

In addition to these sketches of the Pavilion, a third drawing can be seen on the margin of this sheet, a portion of which looks like a small boat. **(FIGURE 5.17)** In this rendering, Le Corbusier appears to have sketched the details of a canvas boat cover,

⁵⁵ LC 1938; Bill, ed. 1938: 158-69

⁵⁶ LC 1938: 19; Bill, ed. 1938: 162; see also Chapter 6, note 20

carefully depicting the concave surface of the tightly stretched fabric, spanning from port to starboard. This motif was then repeated in a rhythmic succession of concave bays, mimicking the tensile structure of a tent. It thus appears that the architect was attempting to forge, in this unusual manner, a conceptual relationship between the canvas boat cover (**FIGURE 5.18**) and the hanging folds of the 1937 Pavilion.⁵⁷

However, it seems unlikely that Le Corbusier was actually considering a canvas covering for the roof at Ronchamp, since the Chapel, unlike the 1937 Pavilion, was intended to be a permanent structure. It seems far more plausible that these two sketches represent a conceptual exploration of a tent, rendered, paradoxically, in permanent materials—a ‘petrified’ version of the *Pavillon des temps nouveaux*, as Kenneth Frampton once suggested.⁵⁸

Set among these marginal drawings are two faint oblong sketches, one of which resembles the profile of an airplane wing. (**FIGURE 5.19, top**) The drawing of the southern edge of the Chapel’s roof, (**FIGURE 5.19, bottom left**) analyzed above, was rendered just beneath these sketches, and a closer look at this drawing suggests that this wing motif was also incorporated within the early schematic exploration of the Chapel’s structure: the tent-like arcs that span the southern edge of the roof, mentioned above, (**FIGURE 5.16**) appear to have been drawn over the original outline of the roof structure, which resembles the front edge of a wing. The same frontal view of an airplane wing also appears in a faint sketch just above it, (**FIGURE 5.19, middle**) perhaps recalling the model airplane that had been installed within the canvas chamber of the *Pavillon des temps nouveaux*. This collection of sketches thus suggests, to my mind, that Le Corbusier attempted to synthesize three different formal sources in his initial design of the Chapel’s roof: the draped arcs of a canvas tent, the hull of a boat with canvas cover, and an airplane wing.

A final marginal sketch on the opposite side of this drawing sheet (**FIGURE 5.12, left**) provides some evidence of the way in which architect attempted to bring these

⁵⁷ Le Corbusier evidently recognized a similar disposition in the formal features of these two sources, and then sought a way to fuse the underlying concepts through a ‘marriage of contours’, as described by Alan Colquhoun (1981: 51), and the formal ‘rhyming’ characteristic of in his early Purist paintings, borrowed from Synthetic Cubism, as described by Christopher Green (1987: 117). I suggest that this is an apt description of the processes involved in Le Corbusier’s early sketches for the Chapel’s roof, which appear to ‘rhyme’ the contours a canvas boat cover with the hanging folds of a canvas tent, among other things.

⁵⁸ Frampton 2001: 173

disparate themes together. This simple drawing (**FIGURE 5.20, bottom**) depicts a gently sloping concave line that cuts across the page, bisected at its lowest point by a vertical axis, with a series of carefully placed square ‘nodes’ projected beneath its surface. Similar marginal sketches were produced by André Maisonnier several months later, during an intensive examination of the Chapel's roof structure, (**FIGURE 5.20, top**) and one of these analytical studies can be identified as a representation of a conoid, and thus of ruled-surface geometry, which had by that time become the preferred technique of analysis for the warped forms of the roof at Ronchamp. This suggests, in turn, that Le Corbusier's earlier geometrical sketch also reflect the architect's interest in the mathematics of the ruled surface, which evidently also formed a part of the initial exploration of design ideas for the Chapel's roof.

Robin Evans had previously noted that ruled-surface geometry probably played a role in the design of the Chapel's roof,⁵⁹ and he highlighted a related geometrical figure within Sketchbook D17 to make his case. (**FIGURE 5.21, top**) Evans suggested that this sketch was a representation of “Le Corbusier's first idea for the Ronchamp roof shell,” and concluded that, while designing the Chapel's roof, the architect had made direct reference to ruled-surface geometry, which “was integral from the start.”⁶⁰

One possible source of this structural geometry, Evans claimed, was a series of related roof forms that Le Corbusier had developed in the late 1930's, such as the open-air pavilion proposed for an exposition at Liège, Belgium, in 1939. The ruled-surface drawing on the upper left of the sketchbook page does bear some resemblance to a perspective drawing of the Liège pavilion in the third volume of the *Œuvre complète*: (**FIGURE 5.22**) the proportions of these two shells differ; but the array of vertical and

⁵⁹ Evans (1995: 301-12) suggested that Le Corbusier's effort to reconcile the Chapel's roof forms involved both his interest in contemporary structural engineering and a related movement of postwar sculpture represented by Antoine Pevsner and Naum Gabo—two fields of design that were united by the use of ruled-surface geometry in the production of curvilinear forms. Evans noted that through this technique, sculpture and engineering were allied with architectural drafting and design, since it provided a means by which architects could investigate and conceive such forms beyond “conventional limits” (308). Le Corbusier was well acquainted with these methods: Pevsner had sent him a signed copy of an exhibition catalogue in 1947, commemorating the grand opening of recent works in Paris, which remains in Le Corbusier's library (Drouin ed., *Antoine Pevsner*, L'imprimerie Union: Paris, 1947). The architect promptly made use of these techniques in his designs for the *pilotis* at the Unité d'Habitation in Marseille, which were designed in 1948 in collaboration with his structural engineer at 35 rue de Sevres, Vladimir Bodiansky, and cast in wooden formwork inspired by the mathematics of the ruled surface. This was the feature of the design at Marseille that Le Corbusier had highlighted in his letter to Joseph Savina, when he stated that “the pilotis are works of sculpture” (D: 1950-05-18, LC-Savina, 18 May 1950: FLC: F3-18-46), which Evans later claimed were a “prospectus for Ronchamp” (1995: 310).

⁶⁰ Evans (1995: 309) pointed out that this sketch (FIGURE 5.21) represents the frontal and lateral elevations of a segmental conoid—which, I might add, is the same geometrical form represented in Maisonnier's axonometric sketch from March 1951 (FIGURE 5.20, top left).

oblique struts, as well as the horizontal cross-members, are true to the same structural type, suggesting that this sketch bears a close relation to the underlying principles of the Liège design.⁶¹ I suspect that it does.

In summary, the sum total of these marginal sketches suggests a complex origin of the design of the Chapel's roof. Since these drawings are partial representations of the building's exterior, rendered in the loose style common to the schematic studies of Le Corbusier's later years, any attempt to identify them is at best provisional. However, I would suggest that on the basis of the preceding analysis, two general observations can be made: first, within these sketches, there is evidence of a wide range of typological precedents for the design of the Chapel's roof, in which an attempted synthesis of multiple forms led to several candidate solutions, all of which appear to have been left incomplete during the initial iteration of schematic design; and second, there is no evidence among these early drawings of the crab shell that Le Corbusier would later claim had been his principal inspiration for the roof's design.⁶²

PLAN 07321: THE BASIN PLAN

The structural analysis in the Foundation Plan, (**FIGURE 5.14 left**) described above, appears to have also been incorporated within the Basin Plan. (**FIGURE 5.14 right**) In this drawing, the building's envelope was subtly modified: the south wall no longer appears as a thin screen, as it does the Central Door and Three Entry Plans, but instead assumes a massive disposition capable of enclosing the foundations of the structure. The curvature of the south wall was also subsequently modified: its continuous curve was erased and redrawn to include a pronounced point of inflection in the eastern portion of the entry façade.

However, the structural logic of the bay system, introduced in the Foundation Plan, seems to have only affected the programmatic arrangement of the Basin Plan in minor

⁶¹ Evans also claimed that the Liège pavilion "cannot be defined as ruled surfaces" (1995: 308), which is not entirely correct: the drawing of the Liège pavilion in the third volume of the *Œuvre complète* depicts the geometry of the top surface of the shell as a simple conoid (FIGURE 5.22, left), the most basic ruled-surface form; the bottom surface, however, was not defined through this method (FIGURE 5.22, right).

⁶² LC 1957a: 89. One drawing in the Ronchamp set does resemble the shell of a crab (FLC 32129; Pauly 1980: 52); however, the features of this drawing suggest that it was rendered at a later date. See Chapter 6, note 100.

ways.⁶³ The only significant addition to the program was the liturgical basin that appeared on the eastern side of the main entry,⁶⁴ which, along with the disposition of pews, served to direct the visitor toward the main altar. The short entry wall, which had served this purpose on the Foundation Plan, was thus erased on this drawing. Lastly, the northwestern peripheral chapel was subtly lengthened on the Basin Plan, an identifiable feature of this particular phase of design which can also be correlated with other drawings.⁶⁵

The Basin Plan thus appears as an early synthesis of structural, programmatic, and spatial concerns, incorporating and refining the successful features of prior drawings. However, it also contains one curious omission: it does not include the almond-shaped structural pier included on the Foundation Plan.⁶⁶ I will return to a plausible explanation of this omission below.

PLAN 07420: THE COLORED SITEPLAN

Throughout these early schematic plans, Le Corbusier seems to have retained the initial dispensations of site planning with little modification: The Central Door, Three Entry, and Basin Plans follow the site allocations first set forth in the Charcoal Plan almost exactly.⁶⁷ (FIGURE 5.23) On all four of these drawing sheets, site contours and existing outbuildings are not shown, which suggests that the architect's initial designs for Ronchamp were principally focused upon the Chapel's form, rather than the constraints of the site.

⁶³ The Foundation Plan (FIGURE 5.14, left) proposed a strict relationship between the walls of the sacristy and the transverse bay system; but this was abandoned in the Basin Plan, (FIGURE 5.14, right) in which the position of the sacristy does not conform to this bay system, but was moved instead toward the eastern edge of the interior, freeing a circulation path to the northeastern peripheral chapel.

⁶⁴ In the Basin Plan, (FIGURE 5.14, right) The liturgical basin is not labelled as such; however, it is clearly visible in a subsequent sectional drawing by Maisonnier (West Section 07412, FIGURE 6.25, left middle), probably drawn in late June 1950 (see Chapter 6), and also labelled on several later drawings (e.g. 'bénitier sud', FLC 07169, 16 April 1953), which, I suggest, provides a convincing basis for its identification within the Basin Plan.

⁶⁵ See note 50 above

⁶⁶ See Chapter 6

⁶⁷ The massive, crescent-shaped enclosure of the Charcoal Plan was, for example, repeated in an identical fashion in the Central Door and Three Entry Plans, and, with abbreviations due to the size of the sheet, in the Basin Plan (FIGURE 5.23). Similarly, the northern entry pavilion, first sketched on the Charcoal Plan as a series of square bays axially aligned with the rear entry, was reiterated in the same location in the Central Door and Three Entry Plans. In the latter version, its purpose was made clear, as the architect added the annotation "*musique*" above the structure. Evidently the notion of an entry portal with ambient electronic music was present at the very inception of the project, and Le Corbusier later contacted Edgar Varèse in the hope that he would provide the compositions (Le Corbusier, letter to Varèse, 19 June 1954, cited in Pauly 1980: 129). The two men would later collaborate at the Philips Pavilion in Brussels.

The first comprehensive allocation for outbuildings on the site appears on another drawing sheet, plan 07420, which I will refer to as the ‘Colored Siteplan’.⁶⁸ (FIGURE 5.24) Two features stand out on this drawing: first, the clear delineation of the northern and southern footpaths, highlighted in yellow, suggests that Le Corbusier had proposed to redirect this processional route, which in the neo-Gothic era had circumambulated the western end of the Chapel, directly through the building; and second, this alteration was practically necessitated by the uncomfortably close position of the southwestern peripheral chapel to an existing outbuilding, since there was little remaining room for such a procession to be comfortably conducted.⁶⁹

The close adjacency of these outbuildings might explain the considerable reduction of the overall dimensions of the Chapel in the Colored Siteplan—the only drawing analyzed thus far in which this occurs. (FIGURE 5.33) These reductions were made at the precise locations where the design faced site constraints: at the southeastern corner of the building, where the existing slope fell dramatically, the pointed prow of the liturgical platform was shortened; and at the western end of the building, where the elongated northwestern chapel came uncomfortably close to the existing outbuildings, the length of its interior was also reduced.

The Colored Siteplan also shows signs of overlaid tracing: the visible edges of at least two other drawing sheets appear in the colored infill at the eastern side of the esplanade, suggesting that the plan resulted from a synthetic process that referred back to numerous different plans.⁷⁰ As such, the Colored Siteplan appears to represent a provisional summation of prior design decisions, some of which had to be modified to fit the site, with color-coded infill probably added thereafter, when the line drawing was more or less complete.⁷¹ This suggests that Le Corbusier’s design

⁶⁸ FLC 07420; Brooks & Tzonis, eds. 1983, 20: 132

⁶⁹ These site conditions, which were brought to my attention by Tim Benton (2013), appear to have first been noted in Sketchbook E18, in which a pen-and-ink rendering shows the Chapel’s plan with the northern pilgrimage path deflected eastward in a way that is similar to both the Colored Siteplan and the Maisonnier Plan. I will refer to this plan in a future discussion as Siteplan 316 (Sketchbook E18-316; Pauly 1980: 44).

⁷⁰ The disposition of the two northern subsidiary chapels in the Colored Siteplan (FIGURE 5.27 & 5.33) appears to revert back to the arrangement on the Central Door Plan; while other characteristics of this drawing seem to reflect later refinements, such as the addition of a northeastern pier, which probably first appeared on the Foundation Plan, (FIGURE 5.33) as well as the details of the southeast entry, where the subtly inflected curve of the south wall and the L-shaped termination of the east wall are reminiscent of the Basin Plan (FIGURE 5.33).

⁷¹ Structural elements on the Basin Plan were embellished in red (FIGURE 5.24); circulation paths were highlighted in yellow; site flora, slope gradient, and external ceremonial spaces were marked with green, black, and tan, respectively.

process was not strictly linear, but relied instead upon cumulative reassessments of previous design decisions, which might be adopted, reinstated, or abandoned according to the ongoing development of the project—an hypothesis to which I will return below.

Lastly, the Colored Siteplan also includes an interesting set of marginal sketches, including both plan and section of an unidentified medieval church, which was apparently used as a point of reference for the transept entry at Ronchamp.⁷² (FIGURE 5.25) The presence of these sketches suggests that Le Corbusier referred to historical precedents in religious architecture while designing the Chapel.⁷³

PLAN 07463: THE MAISONNIER PLAN

Another likely candidate for inclusion within the early schematic set is a carefully drafted site plan signed and dated, "Maisonnier 8-6-50."⁷⁴ (FIGURE 5.26, right) Since this drawing is the first sheet within the Ronchamp set attributed to André Maisonnier, Le Corbusier's sole assistant on the project, I will refer to it as the 'Maisonnier Plan'. The arrangement of site features on this drawing sheet, such as the outbuildings, processional routes, and crescent-shaped esplanade, suggests that the assistant architect closely followed the representation of these same features on the Colored Siteplan.⁷⁵ (FIGURE 5.26, left)

However, the features of this plan do not follow their respective representations upon the Colored Siteplan, or at least not entirely; instead, the Maisonnier Plan appears to combine features from several different earlier versions of the Chapel's plan, synthesizing these various solutions within a precise analysis of existing site conditions. Several details of the Chapel's plan on Maisonnier's drawing bear direct comparison to the Colored Siteplan,⁷⁶ (FIGURE 5.27 & 5.33) for example, but many

⁷² I will discuss the significance of this medieval chapel (FIGURE 5.25) below. These marginal sketches also include a study of a stairway; a sketch of some medieval arcade motifs; and two other unidentified drawings.

⁷³ There are several additional sketches of religious architecture in the margins of the Ronchamp drawing set, and many of them appear to have been used as source materials for important aspects of the Chapel's design. I will discuss the significance of these architectural precedents in a forthcoming publication.

⁷⁴ FLC 07463; Brooks & Tzonis, eds. 1983, 20

⁷⁵ I will assume that Maisonnier copied Le Corbusier's plan and not vice versa (see notes 83-4 below); hence, the Colored Siteplan was likely rendered before the Maisonnier Plan.

⁷⁶ The width of the eastern liturgical porch on the Maisonnier Plan, (FIGURE 5.27, right) for example, follows the precedent of the Colored Siteplan, (FIGURE 5.27, left) upon which this dimension was first reduced to 41.5 m (136 ft;

other features are clearly divergent, and follow instead the precedents of the Basin Plan,⁷⁷ (FIGURE 5.14, right & 5.33) the Foundation Plan,⁷⁸ (FIGURE 5.14, left & 5.33) the Three Entry Plan,⁷⁹ (FIGURE 5.11, right & 5.33) and the Central Door Plan.⁸⁰ (FIGURE 5.11, left & 5.33)

In addition, the Maisonnier Plan also includes two novel features that do not appear on any other early plan: first, a small room was added on the west side of the sacristy; (FIGURE 5.27, right) and second, the Chapel's length was again reduced, (FIGURE 5.33) which resulted from both a diminishment of the size of the nave and a marked attenuation of the western bay.⁸¹ This reduction in scale resulted in a significant alteration of the building's footprint, which, in turn, served to move its southwestern extremity away from the nearest outbuilding. This separation from existing site conditions was also further enhanced by moving the entire Chapel six meters (20 feet) east.⁸²

The Maisonnier Plan thus appears to represent a concluding summary of the first iteration of schematic design, in which preferred solutions from the drawings dated 6-7 June were combined, and, following the precedent of the Colored Siteplan, further modified to fit actual site conditions. Given the importance of such a task, it seems implausible, in my view, that Maisonnier would have initiated such changes on his own;

FIGURE 5.33); the thickness of the south wall also resembles, in slightly attenuated form, the representation on the Colored Siteplan; the scale of the northeastern pier is very close to the red-pencil rendering on Le Corbusier's siteplan; and lastly, the interior pews, carefully arranged in twelve central rows, also follow the same number of pencil lines upon the Colored Siteplan—the only other early drawing on which the central seating arrangement is represented with some degree of accuracy.

⁷⁷ The arrangement of pews adjacent to the south wall in the Maisonnier Plan (FIGURES 5.27, right & 5.33) differs from the Colored Siteplan: (FIGURES 5.27, left & 5.33) the rows closest to the main entry are replaced by a liturgical basin, the scale and position of which are similar to the same feature on the Basin Plan; (FIGURES 5.14, right & 5.33) the east wall on the Maisonnier Plan also closely resembles the representation on the Basin Plan, where that same wall is shown enclosing the Marian icon within a square frame that is slightly reduced in scale, terminating in an acute, L-shaped corner that defines the southeast entry vestibule in exactly the same manner.

⁷⁸ The Foundation Plan, (FIGURES 5.14, left & 5.33) as I have argued above, was likely the source of the northeastern pier on the Colored Siteplan, (FIGURES 5.27, left & 5.33) as well as the thick south wall on the Basin Plan; (FIGURES 5.14, right & 5.33) it thus also served as a source, once removed, for the same features of the Maisonnier Plan.

⁷⁹ On the Maisonnier Plan, (FIGURES 5.27, right & 5.33) the representation of the raised platform, which sits within the Chapel's eastern façade, is shown with a flight of stairs ascending its northern side, just as it did on the Three Entry Plan; (FIGURES 5.11, right & 5.33) and the interior pulpit is also separated from the sacristy wall by a narrow passage in the same manner as the Three Entry Plan—the only other drawing on which this feature is clearly represented.

⁸⁰ The curvature of south wall on the Maisonnier Plan (FIGURES 5.27, right & 5.33) lacks the distinct point of inflection that was added to the Basin Plan (FIGURES 5.14, right & 5.33) and the Colored Siteplan; (FIGURES 5.27, left & 5.33) instead, the curvature of the southeastern portion of this wall traces the same arc as the corresponding section of the south wall on the Central Door Plan. (FIGURES 5.11, left & 5.33) In addition, the narrow peripheral chapels on the Maisonnier Plan recall the narrow southwestern chapel of the Central Door Plan, as does the slightly reduced dimension of the enclosure of the sacristy, the quadrilateral shape of which follows the general disposition of the same feature on the Central Door Plan.

⁸¹ Colored Siteplan (FIGURE 5.33): nave 34 m (112 ft.); overall length E-W, 46.5 m (153 ft.); Maisonnier Plan: nave 30 m (98 ft.); overall length E-W, 43 m (141 ft.).

⁸² Tim Benton (2013) brought this to my attention.

rather, it seems far more likely that the assistant architect would have combined these various design solutions according to precise instructions from Le Corbusier. In fact, Maisonnier later admitted that his role in the project was, for the most part, limited to executing Le Corbusier's instructions, taking great care to not "betray the original idea."⁸³ Following his testimony, I suspect that the design work during this crucial stage of the project would have been tightly controlled by Le Corbusier, so that he could accurately follow "the original idea," just as he said.

The careful oversight implied by Maisonnier's testimony suggests one plausible explanation of the sequential, numbered annotations upon these drawing sheets, which can be interpreted as residual evidence of Le Corbusier's supervision of his assistant. On this reading, these early plans would have been numbered by Le Corbusier and then brought to Maisonnier, probably with an indexed list of features to be taken from each drawing, so that he might graphically summarize the schematic sequence in a carefully drafted plan—indeed it is difficult to imagine how Maisonnier could have successfully completed this task without such a list, or perhaps even a summarizing sketch for his assistant to copy. Since no one in the atelier was allowed to betray the master's "original idea," as Maisonnier and others have remarked, this seems a plausible explanation.⁸⁴

However, the 'original idea' to which Maisonnier referred remains obscure. At this point in the discussion, it is unclear that any of the original drawings have been identified. Following his testimony, it seems likely that the extant drawing set does not include the landscape studies that Le Corbusier produced on site,⁸⁵ nor does it seem to include the original plan, which has not been identified to date, and may unfortunately be among those drawings that the architect claimed were either "missing or lost."⁸⁶ The numbered series upon these drawings, which are labelled '2', '4', and '5', also suggests that at least two other plans are missing. There is one additional drawing, however, which appears to represent a missing link in this series.

⁸³ « J'avais le souci de transposer le projet pour qu'il soit exécuté comme il convient. [...] À Ronchamp personne ne devait trahir l'idée originale » (Maisonnier 1987: 14-5).

⁸⁴ Jerzy Soltan would later offer an account of Le Corbusier's postwar atelier, noting that "each project was really his own... Each afternoon he brought from home new ideas, new sketches, new notes. They were not easy to decipher... He would then pass them on to me—to us—sometimes with a mischievous smile. The role of the team was then to interpret, clarify, and present the concept for his scrutiny, in a precise graphic form, sometimes as a model" (1987: 4).

⁸⁵ Maisonnier 1987: 14-5

⁸⁶ LC 1957a: 89. Pauly (1980: 34) suggested that the first plan was among those missing.

PLAN 07312: THE SACRISTY PLAN

Plan 07312 incorporates identifiable features of both the Charcoal and Central Door Plans, and thus seems to be a likely candidate for inclusion within the early schematic series.⁸⁷ **(FIGURE 5.28)** Several aspects of this drawing suggest that it represents an intermediary step between these two early plans, in which an alternative location for the sacristy was briefly considered.⁸⁸ Following the lone annotation on this drawing, I will refer to it as the 'Sacristy Plan'.

The Sacristy Plan incorporates key features of the angular outline of the Charcoal Plan: the position and thickness of the south wall and the general outline of the exterior altar (both partially drawn), as well as the northern and western outline of the nave, **(FIGURE 5.29)** all appear to have been directly transposed from this drawing. In addition, the position of the main entry, the interior and exterior altars, and the Marian icon on the Sacristy Plan all correspond closely to their respective positions on the Charcoal Plan. In fact, these correspondences are so exact that they can be plausibly explained as a direct tracing. Since this practice was utilized within Le Corbusier's architectural atelier as well as his private artistic practice, this seems a plausible explanation.⁸⁹

A significant feature of both these plans, which does not appear on any of the other drawing analyzed thus far, is the deep liturgical porch on the Chapel's eastern side. On the Charcoal Plan, the eastern boundary of this porch is clearly represented, and the resulting depth is approximately 15 meters (49 feet) **(FIGURE 5.29, left)**; by contrast, in the remainder of these early plans, this dimension is considerably reduced, narrowing the liturgical porch to widths between 12.5 and 10.5 meters (41 to 34 feet). **(FIGURE 5.33)**

⁸⁷ FLC 07312; Brooks & Tzonis, eds. 1983, 20: 87

⁸⁸ The Sacristy Plan (FIGURE 5.32, left) has a unique footprint that is not found in any other iteration. This alone is enough to warrant an investigation, since the earliest extant schematic drawings all share a similar footprint, which would be reduced in size during subsequent iterations (see note 45 above; and FIGURE 5.33). There are three exceptions to this rule: the Charcoal Plan, which seems to represent an idealized representation of schematic design, rather than an architectural plan *per se*; the Sacristy Plan, (FIGURE 5.29) in which the southwest peripheral chapel is considerably broadened; and Plan 314 (FIGURE 6.14 & 6.15), which I will analyze in Chapter 6.

⁸⁹ Regarding the practice of tracing architectural drawings within Le Corbusier's atelier, see William Curtis' explanation of the design process for the Carpenter Center, in which he states that "rough drafts done on thin onion-skin tracing paper" were used to "transfer [drawings] onto the paper of another member of the atelier" (1978: 64). On similar practices within Le Corbusier's artistic oeuvre, see Samir Rafi's account of Le Corbusier's drawings for 'Les femmes d'Alger': "In his Paris atelier in 1930, Le Corbusier selected some of his sketches and redrew them using tracing paper, which helped him to eliminate accidental features and to render the figures more architectonically, revealing their lines of force" (1968: 3).

The width of the liturgical porch on the Sacristy Plan is not clearly determined, since the eastern portion of the drawing was left unfinished; **(FIGURE 5.29, right)** however, within this drawing, the portion of the east wall astride the Marian icon is clearly represented, and both its steep angle and relation to the interior altar suggest that it was traced from the Charcoal Plan. It therefore seems likely that the Sacristy Plan, if complete, would have also featured a deep liturgical porch; **(FIGURE 5.29, center)** and this observation suggests, in turn, that it may be the earliest drawing analyzed thus far, since it does not belong to the set of 'narrow liturgical porch' plans that begins, most likely, with the Central Door Plan and culminates in the Maisonnier Plan. **(FIGURE 5.33)** The Sacristy Plan thus appears, in my analysis, as an abortive attempt to configure the Chapel's liturgical program at an early stage of schematic design. Alternately, it might also be a remnant of a more developed set of early schematic drawings featuring a deep eastern porch, which are no longer extant.⁹⁰

In either case, the allocations for liturgical requirements in the Sacristy Plan do not correspond to any other extant drawing. Instead, the overall disposition of the drawing appears to follow the precedent of a medieval church sketched in the right-hand margin of the drawing sheet. **(FIGURES 5.28)** Comparison with the marginal drawing on the Colored Siteplan **(FIGURES 5.24 & 5.30, right)** suggests that these two sketches represent the same unidentified church,⁹¹ which was evidently used as a formal precedent during the early stages of schematic design. The elevation of this church on the Colored Siteplan **(FIGURE 5.25)** appears to represent a two-story building with a single tower, set high on a hill and surrounded by 'the four horizons', and Le Corbusier seems to have borrowed several aspects of its formal and liturgical arrangement, while inverting both the position and function of programmatic elements.⁹² **(FIGURE 5.31)** A few of these architectural features, such as the asymmetrical plan with an isolated southern chapel, and the central nave flanked by a

⁹⁰ I will return to the subject of a 'lost' set of early design drawings in Chapter 6.

⁹¹ The plan of this church **(FIGURE 5.30)** is atypical, characterized by a single, colonnaded 3-bay aisle on one side (which I presume to be north); an enclosed northwestern corner bay (probably representing a single western tower); a protruding southern transept arm; an entry within the northern transept portal; and a flat eastern sanctuary (though this latter feature may reflect an incomplete representation). This collection of formal features is unusual; hence, it seems likely that the two the sketches represent the same unidentified church.

⁹² The isolated peripheral chapel on the south side of this medieval church, **(FIGURE 5.31, left)** for example, was repeated on the Sacristy Plan, **(FIGURE 5.31, right)** but the arrow passing through Le Corbusier's rendering suggests that the architect was, at this point, considering the south chapel as a possible entry, while positioning the peripheral chapel on the opposite side of the nave within a series of northern bays. In this sense, Le Corbusier seems to have inverted both the position and function of these programmatic elements. This 'liturgical inversion' also appears to hold true for the building as a whole: in the medieval church, the southern peripheral chapel and lateral entry sit on either side of the eastern sanctuary, whereas in the Sacristy Plan, these elements are positioned on the western side of the building, opposite the main sanctuary to the east.

series of northern bays, would remain in the finished plan at Ronchamp, mirrored east-west with respect to their anonymous medieval source.

However, the combination of these elements in the Sacristy Plan appears unresolved. The sacristy itself, for example, was placed within the western extremity of the building, rather than alongside its northern boundary (**FIGURE 5.32, left**)—an arrangement which, if retained, would have radically altered all subsequent programmatic decisions. Similarly, the northwestern chapel is oriented in such a way that it opens directly onto the western portion of the nave, rather than into the privacy of a secluded corner, as it appears in nearly all other plans in the Ronchamp set. The documentary evidence therefore suggests that this particular arrangement of the liturgical program was quickly abandoned, since the drawing was left incomplete, and neither of these decisions was retained in subsequent versions.

By contrast, the curving northwestern wall that encloses these peripheral spaces in the Sacristy Plan (**FIGURE 5.32, left**) does appear to have been carried over to the next iteration of design, since it corresponds almost exactly to the outline of the northwestern corner of both the Central Door and Three Entry Plans. (**FIGURES 5.32, right & 5.33**) The purpose of this modification seems clear: it provided the additional square footage in which the required liturgical spaces could be arranged. In the Central Door Plan, the sacristy was transferred into the northern portion of this newly enclosed space, opening the western extremity of the Chapel's interior, which was, in the process, made available as an entry to the corner chapels.

SUMMARY: RECONSTRUCTING THE EARLY SCHEMATIC DESIGN

The identification of the Sacristy Plan appears to provide a missing link between the earliest extant drawing of the Chapel of Ronchamp, the Charcoal Plan, and subsequent design work. If this is correct, then the preceding analysis has addressed the intermediary steps required for a provisional reconstruction of early schematic design, bearing in mind that numerous drawings are almost certainly missing from this sequence. My review of the evidence suggests the following account:

1* May ⁹³	Le Corbusier accepted the commission for Ronchamp ⁹⁴
20 May	Site Sketches 272 and 273 were rendered from a train ⁹⁵
4 June ⁹⁶	The four horizons ⁹⁷ and a schematic plan ⁹⁸ were rendered on-site ⁹⁹
6 June ¹⁰⁰	Charcoal Plan ¹⁰¹ replaced the original schematic plan, possibly lost ¹⁰²
6* June	Sacristy Plan ¹⁰³ traced from Charcoal Plan, referring to a medieval church
6 June ¹⁰⁴	Central Door Plan ¹⁰⁵ defined the peripheral chapels and a narrow porch
6 June ¹⁰⁶	Three Entry Plan ¹⁰⁷ positioned circulation paths and liturgical furniture
7* June	Foundation Plan ¹⁰⁸ defined a structural bay system with a northeastern pier
7* June	Marginal sketches ¹⁰⁹ explored early schematic designs for the roof
7 June ¹¹⁰	Basin Plan ¹¹¹ added a liturgical basin and lengthened the peripheral chapels
7* June	Colored Siteplan ¹¹² synthesized prior design features to fit site constraints
8 June ¹¹³	Maisonnier Plan, ¹¹⁴ summarized, reduced and repositioned design on site

A few important qualifications to this list should be noted. First, it seems unlikely that this series of drawings represents a strictly temporal sequence. Some drawings, such as the Foundation and Basin Plans, were probably rendered in parallel, while others, such as the Colored Siteplan, may include design features from drawings produced on consecutive days. Significantly, the Charcoal Plan is also a 'replacement' drawing that may or may not accurately replicate the original, now lost.

Second, it seems very likely, as I have noted above, that this schematic series is incomplete. The numbered sequence upon these drawing sheets, for example, suggests that the plans once labeled '1' and '3' are no longer extant, which leaves open

⁹³ Provisional dates are marked with an asterisk

⁹⁴ D: 1950-05-06 (Ledeur, letter to LC, 6 May 1950: FLC Q1-5-74); notes 13 and 14 above.

⁹⁵ Sketchbook D-17-272/273, in de Francieu, ed. 1981, 2; note 19 above.

⁹⁶ LC 1957a: 89; note 3 above

⁹⁷ LC 1957a: 89; Maisonnier 1987: 14-5; notes 3 and 25 above

⁹⁸ Ledeur, interview, 1972, cited in Pauly 1980: 34; note 23 above

⁹⁹ The drawings of the horizons and the plan made on-site have not been identified

¹⁰⁰ Brooks & Tzonis, eds. 1983, 20: 158; Maisonnier 1987: 14-5; notes 25 and 28 above

¹⁰¹ FLC 07470

¹⁰² Ledeur, interview, 1972, cited in Pauly 1980: 34; note 23 above

¹⁰³ FLC 07312

¹⁰⁴ (FIGURE 5.05); note 34 above

¹⁰⁵ FLC 07307

¹⁰⁶ (FIGURE 5.05); note 34 above

¹⁰⁷ FLC 07311

¹⁰⁸ FLC 07293

¹⁰⁹ FLC 07293

¹¹⁰ (FIGURE 5.05); note 34 above

¹¹¹ FLC 07321

¹¹² FLC 07420

¹¹³ (FIGURE 5.05); note 34 above

¹¹⁴ FLC 07463

the possibility that this reconstruction contains considerable lacunae. In addition, the presence of early design drawings in the architect's sketchbooks suggests that additional investigation of his design process outside the atelier is also required to complete this analysis. I will address each of these topics in Chapter 6.

Lastly, the dates on these drawings suggest that Le Corbusier produced the majority of these plans in a remarkably short period of time, during a flurry of inspiration on 6-7 June, which then culminated with the Maisonnier Plan on 8 June. There is one additional early drawing in the Ronchamp set that bears the annotated dated '9 June 1950', a perspective sketch of the Chapel's southern façade in Sketchbook E18. If these annotated dates are accurate, then the early design process for the Chapel must have occurred at an extraordinary pace. However, these annotations are likely post-dated, as I have argued above, so the timeline of production that these dates imply might best be left as an open question, awaiting further evidence.¹¹⁵

5.4 CONCLUSION: REASSESSING RONCHAMP

Of the eight architectural plans discussed in this chapter, only two have been previously identified, the Charcoal and Foundation Plans. The evidence suggests that the remaining drawings—the Sacristy, Central Door, Three Entry, Basin, and Maisonnier Plans, along with the Colored Siteplan—also belong to Le Corbusier's initial creative process for the Chapel. **(FIGURE 5.33)** I propose that these drawings comprise the earliest extant set of schematic plans produced for Ronchamp within the architect's atelier.

However, these drawings were not featured within any of Le Corbusier's primary accounts of Ronchamp, in the *Œuvre complète* or elsewhere;¹¹⁶ nor were they included

¹¹⁵ An alternate temporal framework would place the commencement of design work immediately after Le Corbusier's letter to Savina, (D: 1950-05-18: LC, letter to Savina, 18 May 1950: FLC: F3-18-46) in which he declared that he was "going to begin" work on the Chapel, just prior to the production of the first extant sketches of the site, dated 20 May 1950. On this reading, the cumulative production of the drawings analyzed thus far would have taken three weeks rather than three days, which, in my view, seems a far more realistic timeframe for the conception and execution of this diverse set of schematic plans. This observation gains additional plausibility in light of the additional drawings brought forth in Chapter 6, and the design methods by which they were likely produced, which, I will argue, probably involved the production of numerous study models (see note 14 above). I will consider this issue in greater detail in a future publication.

¹¹⁶ E: 520-3, Published Design Documents

within Danièle Pauly's subsequent explanation of the Chapel's design.¹¹⁷ The canonical account of Le Corbusier's design process for Ronchamp thus appears to have overlooked an important series of early design drawings. I suggest that the identification of these plans might provide the basis for a more integrated assessment of the architect's early design process for Ronchamp, and in several ways.

First, contrary to Le Corbusier's declaration in the *Œuvre complète* that "the requirements of religion had little effect on the design,"¹¹⁸ the varied iterations of the building program within this sequence of early plans suggests that the patrons' liturgical program was among the architect's central concerns in the first few days of schematic design. Catholic ritual evidently did intervene in at least one significant feature of the Chapel's architecture: the floor plan. Evidence of this process is provided by the carefully considered placement of liturgical furniture, circulation paths, and ritual sites, as well as the skillful manner in which Le Corbusier refined these placements and pathways from one drawing to the next. **(FIGURE 5.33)** Perhaps this is what he meant when he wrote to his mother and brother that the Chapel was "the most revolutionary work of architecture to be built in a long time. And upon a religious plan, a Catholic plan. On the plan of the rite."¹¹⁹ What this "religious plan" meant to him, of course, remains an open question; but the sequence of plans analyzed in this chapter suggests that the requirements of religion had a pronounced effect on the design, despite Le Corbusier's public disavowal of this fact.

Second, these planning considerations also appear to have been associated with an unidentified medieval church from the outset of schematic design. The marginal sketches on both the Sacristy Plan and the Colored Siteplan,¹²⁰ **(FIGURES 5.30)** which I have interpreted as two representations of the same medieval building, provide evidence that fundamental decisions about the Chapel's initial spatial disposition, circulation paths, liturgical arrangement, and contextual placement upon a hilltop site were made in reference to this anonymous source. **(FIGURE 5.25)** Certain features of this church were evidently appropriated during the first phase of the Chapel's design, and the patrons' programmatic requirements were carefully fitted within this architecture frame, **(FIGURE 5.31)** which was altered, inverted, and distorted beyond

¹¹⁷ Pauly 1980

¹¹⁸ « Les impératifs de culte interviennent ici en peu de choses. » (Boesiger 1953: 88)

¹¹⁹ D: 1955-06-27 (LC, letter to Marie, 27 June 1955: FLC R2-2-125)

¹²⁰ FLC 07312 & 07420

recognition. The fact that Le Corbusier publicly minimized the Chapel's links to religion suggests that he might not have wished to disclose the source of this inspiration; but he certainly did refer to it, as well as a great many other religious buildings within his marginal sketches. This suggests that the architect was better informed about such religious precedents than his numerous commentaries might lead one to believe. Additional research is required to clarify the matter.

Third, the marginal sketches on the Foundation Plan also provide evidence of several additional precedents to which Le Corbusier referred during the initial phase of schematic design.¹²¹ The *Pavillon des temps nouveaux*, a monumental canvas tent constructed in Paris in 1937, appears to have served as one of his initial conceptual inspirations for the Chapel's roof, (**FIGURE 5.15 & 5.16**) along with a canvas-covered boat (**FIGURE 5.17**) and the profile of an airplane wing. (**FIGURE 5.19**) By contrast, there is no evidence within these early drawings that the architect referred to a crab shell as a source of inspiration for the Chapel's roof. In fact, the only drawing that provides evidence of this inspiration dates from a later phase of design work during the late summer or early autumn of 1950.¹²² I therefore propose that the diverse collection of architectural and technological precedents on the margins of the Foundation Plan might serve to clarify the sources that first inspired this aspect of Le Corbusier's early design process for Ronchamp.

Lastly, the discovery of these drawings also opens up a new set of questions. For in lieu of this sequence of early plans, several other drawings in the Ronchamp set have previously been brought forth as potential members of the first iteration of schematic design. A few of these drawings first appeared in the fifth volume of Le Corbusier's *Œuvre complète*, (**FIGURE 6.02**) where they were labeled "the first sketches,"¹²³ and a few more were published four years later in the architect's monograph on Ronchamp.¹²⁴ (**FIGURE 6.04**) Danièle Pauly has argued that several additional sketches should also be counted among the first schematic drawings for the Chapel.¹²⁵

¹²¹ FLC 07293

¹²² FLC 32129 (Pauly 1980: 52); see Chapter 6, note 100.

¹²³ Sketchbook E18-312 & 318, Sketchbook D17-274 (Boesiger 1953: 90; 1955: 74).

¹²⁴ FLC 07435, undated; FLC 07433, undated; Sketchbook E18-313, 9 June 1950. These drawings were accompanied by a text describing their "acoustic" inspiration, and reference to the "crab shell (*coque du crabe*)" which supposedly served as the model for the Chapel's roof (LC 1957a: 89-90).

¹²⁵ Sketchbook E18-314 (Pauly 1980: 36); Sketchbook E18-315 (Pauly 1980: 55); Sketchbook E18-317 (Pauly 1980: 37); FLC 07464 (Pauly 1980: 42); FLC 32129 (Pauly 1980: 52); FLC 07417 (Pauly 1980: plate 2c); FLC 07412 & 07414 (Pauly 1980: plate 4); FLC 07264 (Pauly 1980: plate 8b)

(FIGURES 6.05 & 6.06) On the basis of the preceding analysis, I suggest that this evidence deserves careful reassessment. This is the subject of the next chapter.

QUESTIONING THE CANON:

LE CORBUSIER'S FIRST SKETCHES FOR THE CHAPEL NOTRE-DAME-DU-HAUT

INTRODUCTION

The set of schematic plans identified in the previous chapter highlights a significant lacuna in the primary literature on Ronchamp: these early drawings played a minor role in Le Corbusier's explanations of the Chapel's design. Within his autobiographical accounts,¹ eight different plans are reproduced from the drawing set; but only two of these drawings, an undated siteplan and the Charcoal Plan, (**FIGURE 6.01**) could plausibly be said to belong to the early design process;² and the latter drawing, according to Maisonnier's testimony, is a conceptual sketch representing the architect's initial "idea" for the Chapel, rather than a detailed design drawing.³ The presentation of the initial schematic design within these texts might thus be described as incomplete. Early plans are, in fact, practically absent.

Instead, the account of the design process published in the fifth volume of the *Œuvre complète* focuses upon numerous drawings of the Chapel's exterior, including a series of elevations, sections, and perspective sketches, accompanied by an extensive array of photographs of two different design models.⁴ (**FIGURE 6.02 & 6.03**) Within this

¹ C: 367, Content Analysis, Primary Literature; see also Chapter 3.

² FLC 07470, 6 June 1950 and FLC 07435, undated (LC 1957a: 89). The others drawings are not, in my analysis, part of the original schematic design: the white-on-black plan in volume 5 of the *Œuvre complète* (Boesiger 1953: 90) is a portion of a siteplan dated 11 November 1950 (FLC 07105), and the plan labeled 'Ron. 4254', on a subsequent page of volume 5 of the *Œuvre complète* (Boesiger 1953: 92), is a portion of another siteplan also dated 11 November 1950 (FLC 07104), and together, these drawings represent the completion of Phase IV of design development, presented to the Dominican patrons on 22 November 1950. The schematic construction sketch in this same volume (Boesiger 1953: 96) is dated 18 December 1951, and thus corresponds to a subsequent modification of Phase IV; the plan in *Modulor 2* (LC 1955a: 266) is a portion of the final drawing set (FLC 07169A) dated 25 June 1954; the undated siteplan in volume 6 of the *Œuvre complète* (Boesiger 1957: 20) is a portion of a variant of a site-grading scheme (FLC 07481) dated 15 October 1954; and the undated siteplan in Le Corbusier's monograph on the Chapel (LC 1957a: 103) is a portion of another site-grading plan (FLC 04529) dated 15 December 1954. Hence, none of these drawings pertain to work conducted in June 1950.

³ Maisonnier 1987: 14-5; chapter 5, note 25

⁴ The layout in the first edition of the fifth volume of the *Œuvre complète* features 28 photos of architectural models; 14 drawings from the architect's atelier, including 6 elevations, 6 sections, and 2 plans; and 10 of Le

presentation, three of Le Corbusier's sketches are subtitled "the first sketches"⁵ (**FIGURE 6.02, bottom left**), a special designation which suggests that the Chapel's origins are to be found within Le Corbusier's sketchbooks. The paper model is also described as part of a "second project," in which the dimensions were "brought to a minimum."⁶ (**FIGURE 6.03**)

This emphasis upon early elevations, sections, perspective sketches and photographs was later repeated in Le Corbusier's monograph on the Chapel, *Les carnets de la recherche patiente 2. Ronchamp*.⁷ This text includes a brief description of the origins of the schematic design for the Chapel, along with an accompanying set of drawings that illustrate the architect's creative process. (**FIGURE 6.04**) These drawings were published alongside Le Corbusier's account of his visit to the provincial site, where it is said he meticulously drew "the four horizons" and "the idea was born."⁸

Le Corbusier's subsequent publications provide additional support for this account, emphasizing the contextual immediacy of the Chapel's origins. Within these texts, the same sketches appear again and again,⁹ confirming the "spontaneous" birth of the design,¹⁰ said to be brought forth "in one moment, in a single blow." Passing reference is also made to the "incubation" period that presaged this creative gestation; but little is said about this process, or "the slow execution of the drawings, design, and plans" said to follow.¹¹ The vast majority of the plans identified in the previous chapter thus never appeared within any of Le Corbusier's ten different texts on the subject.

Corbusier's sketches, many of which were altered, retouched or redrawn for publication. See Appendix E: 520-3, Published Design Documents, Boesiger 1953.

⁵ « Les premiers croquis... La première maquette en plâtre: chapelle et campanile, vue à vol d'oiseau. » (Boesiger 1953: 90-1)

⁶ « Le second projet. Maquette en fil de fer. La maquette est réalisée en fil de fer d'après les nouvelles épures. [...] Note: Dans cette seconde étude, les dimensions ont été portées au minimum. » (Boesiger 1953: 96-7)

⁷ LC 1957a

⁸ LC 1957a : 89; Chapter 5, note 3

⁹ Repetitive publication of the same sketches is a characteristic feature of the primary literature: Sketch 272 (4x); Sketch 273 (5x); Perspective 274 (6x); Perspective 312 (8x); Perspective 313 (2x); Perspective 318 (7x); Sketches 4 Jan 1951 (6x; 5x). See Appendix E: 520-3, Published Design Documents.

¹⁰ « La tête humaine est ainsi faite qu'elle possède une certaine indépendance : c'est une boîte dans laquelle on peut verser en vrac les éléments d'un problème. On laisse alors 'flotter', 'mijoter', 'fermenter'. Puis un jour, une initiative spontanée de l'être intérieur, le déclic, se produit ; on prend un crayon, un fusain, des crayons de couleur (la couleur est la clef de la démarche) et on accouche sur le papier : l'idée sort, – l'enfant sort, il est venu au monde, il est né. » (LC, untitled, in Petit 1965: 5)

¹¹ LC, untitled, in Petit 1956: 21; 1961: 17-8; 1965: 45; FIGURE 6.33

Ronchamp's principal expositor, Danièle Pauly, referred back to this primary literature as a point of departure for her analysis of the Chapel's design.¹² Pauly's research, conducted during the early years of the Fondation Le Corbusier,¹³ uncovered several sketches, elevations, sections, and plans from the early phases of design development for Ronchamp, which served to close some significant gaps in Le Corbusier's published design sequence.¹⁴ **(FIGURES 6.05, 6.06, & 6.07)** Her account of these drawings, filled with detailed description, interpretive insight, and some astute observations concerning the Chapel's architectural origins, has stood as the canonical interpretation of Le Corbusier's creative process for more than thirty years.

However, several aspects of Pauly's account are problematical. Her description of Le Corbusier's early schematic design for the Chapel, for example, includes only two of the eight architectural plans presented in the previous chapter. **(FIGURE 5.33)** The absence of these drawings suggests that her account of the initial design process is incomplete.¹⁵ The schematic variation within these missing plans, as well as evidence of architectural sources found within the accompanying marginal sketches, also suggests that the architect's design process may have been considerably more complex and far less spontaneous than Pauly's account, like Le Corbusier's before her, might lead one to believe.¹⁶

I would suggest that a more critical attitude is warranted in assessing this documentary evidence. In light of the acute ecclesiastical scrutiny in which the architect's publications first appeared,¹⁷ it seems plausible that Le Corbusier may not have wished to fully disclose the sources and procedures of his design process. In the

¹² « [M]ultiple monographies ont été consacrées à la Chapelle. Hormis quelques études assez brèves, nous retenons particulièrement celles qui avaient été réalisées par Le Corbusier lui-même et qui contiennent une partie de ces notes et des dessins faits pour Ronchamp (LC 1957[a]), ou encore celle de Jean Petit qui rassemble une série de textes et de témoignages (Petit 1961). » (Pauly 1980: 17)

¹³ The Fondation Le Corbusier was founded 24 July 1968 (Besset 1981: xiii); Pauly's research on Ronchamp commenced in 1971 (Pauly 1980: 7).

¹⁴ Pauly identified the following early design drawings: Plan and Perspective 314 (Sketchbook E18-314); Section 315 (Sketchbook E18-315); Siteplan 316 (Sketchbook E18-316); Plan 317 (Sketchbook E18-317); Foundation Plan (FLC 07293); Drawing Sets 07412 & 07414 (FLC 07412 & 07414); Perspective 07464 (FLC 07464). However, her account also mistakenly attributes several drawings to the early design process; see note 100 below.

¹⁵ See note 99 below.

¹⁶ « Les quelques dessins que nous choisissons d'analyser ne sont pas datés mais une comparaison avec les croquis sur sketch-book, réalisé le 9 juin 1950, nous permet de les situer à la même période, un dessin étant parfois la confirmation d'un croquis (exemple : plate 2B [FLC 07435] et figure 7 [Sketchbook E18-317]), ou inversement, un croquis aidant à préciser l'intention ébauchée dans un dessin (exemple : figure 4 [Sketchbook E18-312] ou figure 5 [Sketchbook E18-313] et plate 3C [FLC 07433]). Donc, *naissance spontanée*, certes, dans la mesure où *l'inspiration* est immédiatement exprimée dans le dessin ; puis, par ce même moyen, l'idée première est ensuite longuement *expliquée*, développée et enrichie » (Pauly 1980: 39).

¹⁷ See Chapter I

following discussion, I will therefore subject his early design drawings to additional scrutiny, taking a closer look at these early elevations, sketches, and perspective renderings of the Chapel.

6.1 EARLY SCHEMATIC DESIGN: A RENEWED INVESTIGATION

ELEVATION SET 07433

There are very few elevations produced within Le Corbusier's atelier that might plausibly be said to belong to the early schematic set for Ronchamp. Within the extant documentation, early elevations are in fact quite scarce. However, one version published by Le Corbusier in his monograph on the Chapel, Elevation Set 07433, **(FIGURE 6.04, right)** does appear to represent an inchoate state of schematic design. The four renderings upon it are thus likely to count among the earliest extant drawings of the Chapel's exterior.¹⁸ **(FIGURE 6.08)**

South Elevation 07433, for example, includes several design features that appear to antedate all other extant versions.¹⁹ **(FIGURE 6.09)** It therefore seems likely that this elevation was drawn during the initial phase of schematic design, perhaps in conjunction with one of the first plans examined in the previous chapter. However, several features of the drawings on Elevation Set 07433 exceed the dimensions of all the plans reviewed thus far. **(FIGURE 5.33)** In fact, the dimensions of East and North Elevation 07433 exceed the scale of all extant plans in the Ronchamp set. This suggests that the plan upon which these elevations were based must now be missing.

Nonetheless, formal analysis of these elevations can disinter some of the characteristics of this phase of design work. In North Elevation 07433, for example, the Chapel's eastern side is cut by a deep liturgical porch, **(FIGURE 6.10)** an architectural feature characteristic of both the Charcoal and Sacristy Plans, which was abandoned in subsequent iterations of schematic design. This suggests that the missing

¹⁸ FLC 07433; Brooks & Tzonis, eds. 1983, 20: 139; Pauly 1980: plate 3, n.p.

¹⁹ The southwestern tower in South Elevation 07433 **(FIGURE 6.09)** is rendered with a far less massive appearance than subsequent iterations; the mass of the roof, with its perfectly horizontal upper plate and inert formal composition, seems quite thin when compared to the designs that would follow; the southern façade lacks fenestration; and the mural surface of the south wall meets the adjoining mass of the southwestern tower directly, separated only by an expansion joint, without the entry vestibule characteristic of all other versions.

plan that presumably served as the source of these elevations might have been drawn concurrently with the Charcoal and Sacristy Plans, at the outset of the design process.

A close examination of the eastern portion of the roof on North Elevation 07433 reveals that it did not extend to the edge of the exterior platform in this iteration of design. **(FIGURE 6.10)** Instead, the roof stops short of the exterior altar, as a flat surface, flush with the edge of the south wall. The initial design concept, on this reading, evidently called for a cantilevered roof, which did not extend above of the northeastern corner.²⁰ A structural pier in this location was therefore unnecessary.²¹

A closer look at South Elevation 07433 appears to support this interpretation. In this drawing, the eastern extremity of the Chapel's roof again stops short of the edge of the liturgical porch, which extends into the open landscape, exposed to the elements. **(FIGURE 6.09)** The northeastern corner of the porch thus lacks a structural pier, since at this stage of schematic design there was no roof above it to support. All of these features suggest that this elevation also followed a design concept that called for a cantilevered roof, which did not cover the entire eastern porch.

However, there is no plan in the Ronchamp set that corresponds to this design scheme. Since architectural design typically proceeds from plan to elevation through orthographic projection, it stands to reason that these drawings were based upon a plan that is no longer extant. The absence of this plan makes it difficult if not impossible to sufficiently comprehend this phase of design work.

Fortunately, North Elevation 07433 does provide sufficient information to provisionally reconstruct a significant portion of this missing plan, since, at this particular moment of the design process, both the eastern and western facades were visible from the north. **(FIGURE 6.10)** As a result, the arrangement of the architectural

²⁰ One plausible source of certain aspects of this design is suggested by a comparison of North Elevation 07433 with a photograph of the 1937 *Pavillon des temps nouveaux* (LC 1938: 24). There are strong formal similarities between these two elevations, which suggests that the architect referred to this pavilion as a source for the Chapel's design. See also Chapter 5 (FIGURE 5.15 & 5.16).

²¹ A drawing of the eastern portion of the Chapel in Sketchbook E18, which I will refer to as Section 315 (Sketchbook E18-315; Pauly 1980: 55), offers some corroboration of this hypothesis. In this sketch, Le Corbusier was evidently studying the relationship between the altars and the Marian icon through a sectional drawing of the Chapel's east wall. The portion of the roof shown in this sketch bears a resemblance to the same aspect of North Elevation 07433: a cantilevered roof extends just short of the external altar, while the altar itself sits inside the liturgical railing that marked the edge of the platform during the first two phases of schematic design. It therefore seems likely that this sketch also represents a version of the cantilevered roof scheme, which was drawn prior to the abandonment of this design concept and the addition of a northeastern pier.

features on the eastern wall, such as the raised platform, Marian icon, and southeastern entry, can all be inferred, and the features of the western wall, such as the relative size and position of the Chapel's northwestern and southwestern towers, which are all in clear view, can also be provisionally established.

The eastern, northern, and western portions of the missing plan can thus be provisionally reconstructed by reversing the conventional sequence of architectural design and working backward, as it were, from the elevation to an orthographic projection of the plan.²² The resulting drawing, which I will refer to as 'Plan 07433', provides a conjectural view of several features of the cantilevered design scheme, **(FIGURE 6.11)** a few of which deserve comment: first, it is larger than any of the extant plans in the Ronchamp drawing set, as I have noted above; **(FIGURE 5.33)** second, the eastern porch is quite deep, resulting in an exterior liturgical space that is nearly equal in area to the Chapel's nave—a characteristic feature of the Charcoal Plan, and probably the Sacristy Plan, but none of the subsequent iterations; and third, the scale and position of the Marian icon, which is situated close to the southeast entry in this drawing, also recalls those early plans. This collection of design features—deep eastern porch, Marian icon near the southeast entry, and a cantilevered roof—appears to have defined one of the earliest schematic designs for Ronchamp, for which no plan remains in the drawing set.

However, this hypothesis of a 'lost design' featuring a cantilevered roof is complicated by the rendering at the bottom of this drawing sheet, **(FIGURE 6.08, bottom)** East Elevation 07433, which shows a wide structural pier under the northeastern corner of the roof. In fact, a closer look at this drawing **(FIGURE 6.12)** suggests that the entire eastern portion of the building was transformed at this point of the design process.²³ As a result, North and East Elevations 07433 cannot plausibly be said to represent the same schematic design. Instead, these drawings seem to correspond to alternate solutions, in which fundamental components of the building's structure, circulation, and liturgical arrangement differ considerably.

²² For the purpose of this reconstruction, I have assumed that the width of the Chapel from north to south was commensurate with East Elevation 07433, and that the Chapel's general outline, apart from the depth of the eastern porch, was similar to the disposition of the series of early plans examined in the previous chapter.

²³ In East Elevation 07433, **(FIGURE 6.12)** the raised platform is no longer shown near the southeastern entry, as it appears to be on North Elevation 07433, **(FIGURES 6.10 & 6.11)** but instead is shown on the north side of the nave—a change that recalls the contrasting positions of the same architectural feature in the Central Door and Three Entry Plans, **(FIGURE 5.11)** which significantly altered the Chapel's liturgical arrangement and internal circulation.

This representational inconsistency is characteristic of the drawing sheet as a whole, since none of these elevations share the same set of formal features: their dimensions differ, and the respective arrangement of the towers does not correspond.²⁴ (**FIGURE 6.08**) Hence the design solution depicted on East Elevation 07433, featuring a northeastern pier, cannot be convincingly correlated with the other three. This lack of graphic coherence continues in West Elevation 07433, (**FIGURE 6.13**) where extensive portions of the Chapel's eastern extremity, which would normally be shown in such a view, were omitted entirely. The building's northeastern corner, which would have provided evidence of the form of the roof if the drawing were complete, is thus not shown. A significant feature of early schematic design is thus left ambiguous.

One way to explain these discrepancies would be to suggest that, while rendering these elevations, Le Corbusier was not concerned with the consistency of individual features of the Chapel's design; rather, he appears to have focused upon multiple, contrasting schematic solutions, from which a few preferred characteristics could be later be extracted. On this reading, the conflicting features of this drawing sheet can be said to represent rival schematic designs, which the architect may have investigated concurrently, or perhaps sequentially, during the initial phase of schematic design. Elevation Set 07433 can thus be interpreted as a synthetic drawing, upon which a series of early designs solutions were presented on the same drawing sheet.

This interpretation suggests, in turn, that the anomalous depiction of the eastern façade might correspond to a moment in the design process in which Le Corbusier reconsidered the Chapel's cantilevered roof and decided to explore an alternate design with a northeastern pier. However, since neither design scheme can be traced back to an extant plan, nor convincingly related to the other drawings in the set, it is not possible to derive a clear sense of this process from the evidence at hand, or to offer any provisional timeline in which it occurred. Hence, the evidence provided by Elevation Set 07433 leaves the initial phase of the Chapel's schematic design unclear: the first designs for Ronchamp appear both to include and to not include provisions

²⁴ The North and South Elevations 07433, for example, appear at first glance to correspond to the same cantilevered roof scheme, as I have suggested above, (**FIGURE 6.08**) but a closer look reveals that their dimensions differ slightly (N-S dimension: North Elevation 07433, 48.5 m [159 ft.]; South Elevation 07433, 47.5 m [156 ft.]), as do the respective representations of the towers, which are shown at equal height in the southern view, but at differing heights from the north. By contrast, the southwestern tower was omitted from East Elevation 07433, at the bottom of the page, leaving the matter of its height unclear.

for a northeastern pier, and it is impossible to say if these schemes were explored concurrently or sequentially. Little can be said about the origins of the design.

Unfortunately, there are no additional elevations that might clarify the issue. The absence of such drawings in the Ronchamp set is unusual: typically, detailed exploration of a building's exterior would accompany the development of an architectural plan. However, within the extant documentary record of the Chapel's design, there are no corresponding elevations for the plans examined in the previous chapter. It may be that such drawings once existed, and, along with the sketches of the four horizons and Plan 07433, have since disappeared; or perhaps the Chapel was designed without recourse to such drawings. I will return to this issue below.

PLAN AND PERSPECTIVE 314

One pair of sketches in Sketchbook E18, a partial schematic plan and perspective rendering of the Chapel's southeastern corner, appears to shed some light upon the early stages of Le Corbusier's design process.²⁵ **(FIGURE 6.14)** Each one of these drawings, which I will refer to as Plan and Perspective 314, includes architectural features that are not found in any other extant plan or elevation. This suggests that they may be among the earliest drawings in the Ronchamp set.²⁶

The eastern wall of the Chapel in Plan 314, for example, forms a deeply concave backdrop behind the liturgical porch, which is reminiscent of the same feature on two other extant plans, the Charcoal Plan and the Sacristy Plan. **(FIGURE 6.15)** These plans were likely drawn at the beginning of the design process, as I have argued above,²⁷ hence, the inclusion of this concave porch in Plan 314 suggests that it might also belong to this early group of drawings, rendered at the outset of schematic design.

This hypothesis is corroborated by the inchoate state of the liturgical program in this drawing: the altars and Marian icon, for example, are not shown in this version—the

²⁵ Sketchbook E18-314; De Franclieu, ed. 1981, 2: n.p.; Pauly 1980: 36

²⁶ Pauly (1980: 37-8) suggested that Plan 314 represents Le Corbusier's earliest rendering of the three secondary chapels, and thus a tangible record of the moment in which architect, working from the schematic outline of the Charcoal Plan, first drew the building's northwestern outline. But a closer look at these drawings suggests that the matter is considerably more complex, as I will argue below.

²⁷ See Chapter 5

only ground plan in the early Ronchamp set in which these features do not appear.²⁸ Instead, Plan 314 appears to have been organized around a rival set of design decisions that do not follow any other drawing.²⁹ The eastern entry, for example, which occupies the southeastern corner of the Chapel in most other versions,³⁰ (**FIGURE 5.33**) appears in this plan as a deep cleft near the center of the east wall. (**FIGURE 6.14**) The unusual placement of this entry had several residual effects,³¹ which probably included provisions for a western, rather than eastern, interior sanctuary, perhaps following the precedent of the ruined neo-Gothic Chapel.³² (**FIGURE 5.07**)

This combination of features suggests that Plan 314 was produced when the circulation paths, spatial allocations, and positioning of the liturgical furniture had not yet been clearly determined. In fact, these features of Plan 314 appear less developed than any other version, including the Charcoal and Sacristy Plans. This again suggests that it may have been drawn during the outset of schematic design.

Perspective 314, which was drawn just above this schematic plan, (**FIGURE 6.14, top**) appears to corroborate this interpretation in several ways. The Chapel's eastern façade, for example, seems to follow the corresponding portion of Plan 314, since it includes a similar set of idiosyncratic features;³³ and the slightly foreshortened view of southern façade, rendered from an unusually low vantage point, suggests that the top plate of the roof, from east to west, is nearly flat³⁴—an architectural feature that only appears in the earliest elevations.³⁵ This suggests, in my view, that Plan and Perspective 314 represent an early solution to the Chapel's circulation patterns and liturgical program, which was probably rendered at the outset of schematic design and then subsequently abandoned.

²⁸ Numerous foundation plans also elide all surface furniture, but this omission follows convention.

²⁹ The northwestern peripheral chapel in the under-drawing of Plan 314 (**FIGURE 6.14**) is rotated almost 90 degrees; the southern portion of the east wall is shown as a bold, arcuated line, which wraps around the end of the liturgical porch; and the eastern entry is placed near the middle of the nave, as noted below.

³⁰ Except the Charcoal Plan (FLC 07470), Sacristy Plan (FLC 07312), and Central Door Plan (FLC 07307), which lack an eastern entry (**FIGURE 5.33**).

³¹ The central eastern entry (**FIGURE 6.14**) resulted in an awkward vestigial space in the southeastern corner of the interior; it also would have necessitated patterns of interior and exterior circulation that conflict with the representation of the liturgical program on all other early plans.

³² The neo-Gothic Chapel, reconstructed from the ruins of the previous church in 1930, had an exterior liturgical porch on its eastern end (**FIGURE 5.06**) with a central eastern entry immediately behind it; internal circulation was axially aligned with the interior altar at the western end of the Chapel. (**FIGURE 5.07**)

³³ The eastern façade of Perspective 314 (**FIGURE 6.14, top**) includes a centralized entry, which appears as a deep, full-height cleft behind the liturgical porch; the Marian icon is again absent.

³⁴ The horizontality of the roof in Perspective 314 (**FIGURE 6.14, top**) is suggested by the intersection of its southern and eastern edges, which converge above the southeastern corner at an obtuse angle.

³⁵ The southern edge of the roof in South Elevation 07433 is perfectly flat; (**FIGURE 6.17**) in Perspective 313, it is nearly so.

However, several features of Plan and Perspective 314 do not correspond. This discrepancy is most noticeable at the Chapel's southeastern corner: in plan, the southern and eastern walls (**FIGURE 6.14, bottom**) appear to converge in a very acute angle; but in the perspective drawing, (**FIGURE 6.14, top**) they do not. In fact, the southern and eastern walls in Perspective 314 appear to converge at a right angle, or something quite close to it. The perspective drawing thus depicts the Chapel's southeastern corner as an orthogonal mass, which is only rounded on its upper portions, where the south and east walls support the curvilinear bottom plates of the roof.³⁶ This discrepancy suggests that Plan and Perspective 314 are not as closely related as it might first appear.

One plausible explanation of this discrepancy is suggested by a close examination of the plan. There, in the southeastern corner, Le Corbusier drew not two, but three converging lines: (**FIGURE 6.14, bottom**) the south wall is shown as a thin, nearly vertical line with crosshatching,³⁷ which meets the arc of the east wall, rendered in a much heavier hand, at an acute angle. Just beneath this, another faint line near the edge of the page meets the south wall at nearly a right angle.

Looking closely at the specific point of view from which Perspective 314 was rendered, (**FIGURE 6.16**) the Chapel's southeastern corner does not appear to correspond to the acute intersection of the south wall and the bold arc of the east wall in Plan 314, since an accurate perspective rendering of this corner would have to conceal a considerable portion of the Chapel's eastern wall due to foreshortening. The southeastern corner would, in such a view, take on a far more pointed disposition. However, in Perspective 314, that is not the case; hence, I suggest that it cannot plausibly be said to represent, from the given point of view—or indeed from any point of view—the bold arc of the east wall in Plan 314.

This observation suggests, in turn, a plausible signification of the faint line in the southeast corner of Plan 314: (**FIGURE 6.16, top**) if the bold arc of the east wall is overlooked, and attention is focused instead upon this faint line, interpreted as an alternate representation of the east wall, then the southeastern corner of the plan

³⁶ The square mass of the southeastern corner in Perspective 314 (**FIGURE 6.14, top**) is masked by the curvature of the bottom plate of the roof, as well as perspectival foreshortening.

³⁷ This cross-hatching probably represents a schematic provision for fenestration on the southern façade; the arrow running through it may be a precedent for the main entry in the Central Door Plan. (**FIGURE 5.08**)

appears to correspond quite closely to the orthogonal mass of the southeastern corner in Perspective 314. In other words, in plan, the south wall intersects the faint line at something close to a right angle, just as it does in the perspective drawing. I would therefore suggest that the faint line in Plan 314 represents an alternate version of the east wall, which served as the graphic source for the orthogonal southeastern corner of the Perspective 314. The massing follows this faint intersection, not the bold arc.³⁸

This analysis suggests that the faintly drawn corner in Plan 314 represents an early design solution in which the southeastern portion of the Chapel was nearly orthogonal. This block-like mass was then evidently studied in three dimensions in Perspective 314. **(FIGURE 6.16, bottom)** However, the documentary evidence suggests that Le Corbusier promptly abandoned this solution, since an orthogonal corner of this type does not reappear in any other drawing. The bold arc of the east wall in Plan 314 thus appears to represent a subsequent modification, in which the square configuration of the southeastern corner in Perspective 314 was replaced by a deeply concave liturgical porch. This alternate solution resulted in an acutely pointed southeastern corner, which was incorporated in all subsequent iterations. On this reading, the three convergent lines in the corner of Plan 314 would represent a documentary record of this transformation.

In light of this analysis, then, I would suggest that this portion of Plan 314 is not one drawing but two: a faint under-drawing and a bold over-drawing.³⁹ **(FIGURE 6.16)** The faint under-drawing appears to represent a very early phase of schematic design. In fact, since it includes anomalous features not found on any other version, such as the orthogonal southeast corner, it may be the earliest extant plan of the Chapel. I suspect that it is. By contrast, the bold over-drawing appears to represent a subsequent phase of design work—or perhaps multiple phases—in which several features of the Chapel’s plan were modified.

On this reading, the bold eastern arc of the over-drawing probably represents the first extant appearance of the deep liturgical porch, which would imply that this portion of

³⁸ At first glance, Perspective 314 appears to conform to the deeply concave liturgical porch in Plan 314 because it includes a centralized eastern entry, which gives these two drawings a misleading sense of visual congruity. As a result, the divergence between Plan and Perspective 314 is difficult to perceive.

³⁹ This hypothesis could be tested through x-radiography and infrared reflectography.

Plan 314 was drawn prior to both the Charcoal and Sacristy Plans. **(FIGURE 6.15)** It follows from this that deep liturgical porch on Plan 314, like the orthogonal southeastern corner of the under-drawing, is also among the earliest design iterations for Ronchamp. By contrast, the two northern peripheral chapels in the over-drawing of Plan 314 are subtly elongated, flanking the northern entry in a symmetrical fashion. This suggests a correspondence between Plan 314 and the Basin Plan, where these chapels appear in a nearly identical fashion. **(FIGURE 5.14, right)** Since the Basin Plan was likely rendered, as I have argued above, toward the end of the first schematic iteration, not its inception, Plan 314 appears to contain features from at least two, and probably three, different iterations of early schematic design—as if it were a graphic repository of consecutive modifications made during successive days of design work. Hence, in my analysis, the documentary evidence appears to conflict with the architect’s assertion that he designed the building in a single blow.⁴⁰

A final conundrum of Plan and Perspective 314 remains unresolved: the perspective drawing features a pier beneath the northeastern corner of the roof. **(FIGURE 6.14, top)** The status of this structural pier at the outset of schematic design was left ambiguous in Elevation Set 07433, as I have noted above, so its inclusion in Perspective 314 is significant. Since this perspective drawing, with its southeastern corner rendered in a block-like mass, was, on the reading just described, likely rendered at the outset of schematic design, the presence of the northeastern pier suggests that this architectural feature might also count among the very first design concepts for Ronchamp.⁴¹

However, this observation leads to a curious feature of Plan 314: in this drawing, the northeastern corner of the liturgical porch falls off the edge of the page. **(FIGURE 6.14, bottom)** Hence, it cannot be known if the pier in Perspective 314 was meant to be

⁴⁰ An alternate reading that preserves Le Corbusier’s assertion is also plausible. On this reading, the varying line weights and conflicting features of Plan 314 can be interpreted as concurrent design solutions, rather than consecutive iterations. The sketch can thus be seen as a sort of architectural cipher, in which several different schematic design solutions, and a wide array of essential features of the Chapel’s forms, were condensed within the very first drawing. This plan would then presumably have been accessed during critical moments of the early design process, as a font of original ideas from which preferred solutions could be extracted, one by one, and then transposed into a series of subsequent plans. This, too, is a plausible explanation of the evidence, which benefits from conformity with Le Corbusier’s assertion that he designed the building in a single blow. However, this interpretation also leads to some strange conclusions. It suggests, for example, that the architect had a near-perfect solution at the very beginning of the design process, but nevertheless went through a series of schematic peregrinations in which he slowly came to see that he had the right answer all along. This might be true; but it seems less convincing, in my view, than the hypothesis of multiple over-drawings, and the sequential process of discovery that I have described above. But I will leave this for the moment as an open question.

⁴¹ Pauly (1980: 34, 61) suggested that the northeastern pier was a feature of the initial schematic design.

included within the under-drawing of Plan 314, which would suggest that it was among the first features of schematic design; or, by contrast, if the pier was meant to be included as a part of the over-drawing, as a later modification, which would suggest that it emerged during a subsequent phase of schematic design. I suspect that it did emerge later. But its elision in plan renders either explanation equally plausible. The matter is again left ambiguous.⁴²

Furthermore, the formal ambiguity of these sketches, much like that of Elevation Set 07433 discussed above, reflects back upon the sequence of early plans examined in the previous chapter. **(FIGURE 5.33)** In four of those plans, the northern boundary of the liturgical porch was not specified, and the northeastern corner of the plan thus appears to have been left unfinished. The absence of a northeastern pier in this set of drawings thus leaves open a number of possible interpretations.⁴³

As a result, two equally valid explanations of the early design process can be put forth: on one hand, it seems plausible that these early plans with an empty northeastern corner followed the precedent of the cantilevered roof in North Elevation 07433, and were thus never intended to include a northeastern pier; and on the other hand, it seems equally plausible that these plans were left unfinished as a reflection of a lingering uncertainty in the design process, in which the need for a northeastern pier was left as an open question, pending the resolution of the Chapel's roof.

Looking back toward the origins of Ronchamp, then, the available evidence seems to offer no clear answers. At one critical juncture, a drawing that might clarify matters is

⁴² This ambiguity cannot be resolved by interpreting Plan 314 as a single design iteration (see note 40 above), since, on that reading, the status of the northeastern pier remains underdetermined by the evidence: it may have been one of the original design ideas; but on the basis of these sketches, it is impossible to say. The inclusion of the northeastern pier in Perspective 314 (FIGURE 6.14) suggests that it was a feature of the initial design; however, the perspective drawing does not correspond to Plan 314, as I have argued above, so the presence of this feature in perspective does not necessarily entail its presence in plan. Hence, the absence of the northeastern pier in Plan 314 is a fundamental documentary lacuna that cannot be convincingly addressed by a single interpretation of these drawings. Numerous readings will always be possible.

⁴³ Two plausible explanations come to mind. First, these 'unfinished' drawings (the Sacristy, Central Door, Three Entry, and Basin Plans; FIGURE 5.33) might have been traced from a common source, upon which the Chapel's northeastern corner had been previously resolved, and the boundary conditions of the liturgical porch fully specified. Hence, in these plans, this corner was not redrawn, since its solution was presumably complete. However, if that were the case, then the completed 'source plan' has since been lost, so it cannot be known if it did or did not include a northeastern pier. Second, the incomplete northern edge of these plans might also represent a design iteration in which the northern grade of the liturgical porch was continuous with the grade of the site—a solution that appears on several of Maisonnier's later elevations (cf. FLC 07412; FIGURE 6.25). On this reading, the platform would have had no need of a curb, and perhaps no need of the northeastern pier. In lieu of additional evidence that might clarify the matter, both interpretations—and indeed a great many more—are equally plausible. These interpretive problems follow from the absence of critical documentary evidence.

missing (**FIGURE 6.11**); at another, the most significant data is absent (**FIGURE 6.13**); and at a third, the salient facts fall off the edge of the page (**FIGURE 6.14**). This is odd. As a result, the only remaining evidence that might shed some light upon the Chapel's origins is found within the *Œuvre complète*, where three additional drawings are presented as the "first sketches" for Ronchamp. I will therefore examine these drawings carefully, to see if they can reveal the principal features of the first phase of schematic design, as the subtitle suggests.

THE 'FIRST SKETCHES'

Three drawings subtitled "the first sketches" initially appeared in the fifth volume of the *Œuvre complète*:⁴⁴ (**FIGURE 6.02, bottom left**) a perspective rendering of the Chapel's southern façade, which I will refer to as Perspective 312;⁴⁵ an oblique view of the Chapel's southeastern corner, which I will refer to as Perspective 318;⁴⁶ and a partial representation of the eastern façade, accompanied by a sketch of one of the Chapel's towers, which I will refer to as Perspective 274.⁴⁷

The first of these drawings, Perspective 312, was also published in Le Corbusier's monograph on Ronchamp, where it appeared with two other renderings of the Chapel's southern façade: (**FIGURE 6.03, right**) a slightly larger drawing on the facing page of Sketchbook E18, which I will refer to as Perspective 313,⁴⁸ and South Elevation 07433, which I have analyzed above. Of the three, South Elevation 07433 appears to be the earliest, (**FIGURE 6.17, top left**) since it includes several design features that seem to antedate all other extant versions, as I have described above.⁴⁹ By contrast, Perspective 312 (**FIGURE 6.17, center right**) includes several features that do not correspond to the initial phase of schematic design,⁵⁰ but to a later phase of design development.⁵¹ Thus it was likely rendered after South Elevation 07433, not before; so

⁴⁴ Boesiger 1953: 90

⁴⁵ Sketchbook E18-312; De Franclieu 1981, 2: n.p.; Pauly 1980: 36

⁴⁶ Sketchbook E18-318; De Franclieu 1981, 2: n.p.; Pauly 1980: 37

⁴⁷ Sketchbook D17-274; De Franclieu 1981, 2: n.p.; Pauly 1980: 34

⁴⁸ Sketchbook E18-313; De Franclieu 1981, 2: n.p.; Pauly 1980: 36

⁴⁹ See note 19 above.

⁵⁰ In Perspective 312, (**FIGURE 6.17, center right**) the Chapel's southwestern tower protrudes far beyond the main entry; the eastern edge of the south wall (on the right side of the sketch) has a slight inward declination; the southern façade is pierced by large, rectangular fenestration, which does not appear in the earliest design schemes; and the southern edge of the roof is shown with a pronounced concavity from east to west.

⁵¹ The earliest datable evidence of east-west concavity in the Chapel's roof appears within a set of structural studies signed and dated "le 19 juillet 50 - Maisonnier" (**FIGURE 6.26**), in which the southeastern corner is vertical;

it cannot plausibly be said to count among the 'first sketches', as proposed in the fifth volume of the *Œuvre complète*.

A comparison of Perspectives 314 and 318 appears to follow this same pattern. **(FIGURE 6.17, bottom)** The former drawing probably counts among the first extant design drawings for the Chapel, as I have described above.⁵² By contrast, in Perspective 318, several architectural features appear to have been modified in ways that correspond to a subsequent phase of design.⁵³ This suggests that Perspective 318 was produced after Perspective 314, not before.

The remaining 'first sketch' from the *Œuvre complète*, Perspective 274, is a partial rendering of the Chapel's eastern façade, accompanied by a schematic sketch of one of its towers.⁵⁴ **(FIGURE 6.18, top)** In this drawing, the northeastern corner of the Chapel's roof is shown supported by a massive pier encircled by a spiral stair and exterior pulpit. The inclusion of this drawing within the 'first sketches' of the *Œuvre complète* suggests that both the exterior pulpit and the arrangement of the fenestration in the tower were features of the first stage of schematic design.⁵⁵

However, less than half of the drawings reviewed thus far include a northeastern pier, and none of them show it encircled by an exterior pulpit.⁵⁶ This combination of pier with encircling stair does, however, correspond to a later phase of design development. The earliest datable version of this particular design feature, in which the exterior pulpit is shown without the overhead sound reflector, appears in two drawings by Le Corbusier, **(FIGURE 6.19)** one of which is dated 12 October 1950.⁵⁷

the earliest datable evidence of inward declination of the Chapel's southeastern corner appears in another set of structural studies signed and dated "30-10-50 - Maisonnier" (FIGURE 6.28). Hence, Perspective 318, in which the roof is concave and the southeastern corner has slight inward declination, was likely drawn between these dates, probably during the autumn of 1950. It therefore corresponds, in my analysis, to Phase IV of design work, rather than the initial schematic process. See also section 6.3 below.

⁵² See notes 33-5 above.

⁵³ The apex of the southeastern corner in Perspective 318 (FIGURE 6.17, bottom right) appears as an acutely pointed mass, rather than the orthogonal block in Perspective 314 (FIGURE 6.17, bottom left); the edges of the roof above the southeastern corner converge at a right angle, rather than the obtuse angle shown in Perspective 314; and the southern edge of the roof is concave and tilted, whereas in Perspective 314 it is slightly convex and flat; hence, Perspective 318 was almost certainly drawn after both Perspective 314, very likely after South Elevation 07433 (FIGURE 6.17, top left), and probably after South Elevation 07412 (FIGURE 6.17, top right), since all of these drawings share some or all of these antecedent features. It thus belongs, in my analysis, to Phase III or IV of design work.

⁵⁴ Sketchbook D17-274; De Franclieu, ed. 1981, 2: n.p.; Pauly 1980: 34

⁵⁵ Pauly (1980: 34) supports this interpretation.

⁵⁶ The Foundation, Colored Siteplan, and Maisonnier Plans (FIGURE 5.33), as well as East Elevation 07433, Perspective 314, and Perspective 318, (FIGURE 6.17) all feature a northeastern pier without an exterior pulpit.

⁵⁷ Drawing sheet 07354 (FIGURE 6.19, left) is probably the first instance of the encircling stair; and sheet 07277, signed 'L.C. - 12-10-50', (FIGURE 6.19, right) appears to be the first datable instance of this feature.

Another version of a northeastern pier with encircling stair and sound reflector appears within a design document that the architect sent to both Maisonnier and Wogenscky shortly thereafter, on 20 October 1950.⁵⁸ (FIGURE 6.18, bottom) The annotation beneath this sketch identifies its purpose in language that is reminiscent of Perspective 274, and the accompanying sketch of one of the Chapel's towers also appears to be a slightly modified version of the tower sketch in Sketchbook D17.

This sum total of this evidence suggests that the exterior pulpit was first conceived during the autumn of 1950. Perspective 274 (FIGURE 6.18, top) probably represents the initial design concept, which was then evidently further explored in early October, (FIGURE 6.19) and, later that month, circulated within the office in altered form as a dated memorandum. (FIGURE 6.18, bottom)

In summary, two of the so-called 'first sketches' from the fifth volume of the *Œuvre complète* include several features that correspond to a later phase of schematic design in autumn of 1950; and the third sketch, Perspective 318, includes features that would place it after several other elevations and plans, including Plan and Perspective 314 and South Elevation 07433. Hence, none of these drawings, in my analysis, can clarify the initial phase of schematic design. This observation, in turn, suggests that the presentation of the design process in the *Œuvre complète* does not contain a single one of Le Corbusier's first sketches for Ronchamp, despite the subtitle. This might explain why the architect's edited manuscript had suggested that the drawings be labelled 'sketches', rather than 'the first sketches' (FIGURE 3.16, left)—he would have known that the subtitle was mistaken.⁵⁹

These drawings therefore cannot inform design work conducted in early June. As a result, it not possible to correlate the series of plans analyzed in the previous chapter with a similar series of elevations and perspective studies. In fact, for the majority of these early plans, there appear to be no extant representations of the exterior architecture. Certain correspondences can nonetheless be suggested, as I have argued above; but a clear understanding of the origins of the Chapel cannot be ascertained on the basis of the evidence at hand.

⁵⁸ LC, note to Maisonnier and Wogenscky, 20 Oct 1950 (FLC Q1-6-110). The exterior pulpit is appended to an unusual, conically-shaped pier. The earliest datable evidence of a conical northeastern pier is found upon a set of structural sections, signed and dated "30-10-50, A. Maisonnier" (FLC 07117) from Phase IV of design work.

⁵⁹ C: 368, Suggested changes, captions (Boesiger 1953, Manuscript)

6.2 DESIGN DEVELOPMENT: A REASSESSMENT

Evidence concerning the ensuing development of the Chapel's design is abundant and easier to understand. However, extant documentation from the drawing set suggests a far more complex process of schematic design than that described within the fifth volume of the *Œuvre complète*, which features only two successive designs: the initial project, **(FIGURE 6.02)** said to be comprised of the "first model in plaster" and the "first sketches;" and a "second project," **(FIGURE 6.03)** explored through another model in paper and wire, in which the Chapel's dimensions were said to be "reduced to a minimum."⁶⁰

PHASE II: DISTILLATION AND REDUCTION

The first phase of schematic design, as I have argued in the previous chapter, concluded with the Maisonnier Plan, in which the dimensions of the Chapel were significantly reduced. **(FIGURE 5.33)** Nonetheless, considerable problems of scale remained in that plan. The Chapel's eastern porch, for example, was so broad that its southeastern corner extended well beyond the level surface of the building site, and its nave so long that the western peripheral chapels, at the opposite end of the structure, were positioned uncomfortably close to the existing outbuildings.⁶¹

The dimensions of the Chapel were therefore further reduced in subsequent plans. Evidence of this attenuation is found within an undated pen and ink drawing in Sketchbook E18, which I will refer to as Plan 317.⁶² **(FIGURE 6.20, left)** The dimensions of this drawing cannot be inferred from the sketchbook;⁶³ however, the plan shares a set of formal features with three scaled drawings from the Ronchamp set, each of which is characterized by a nearly identical set of overall dimensions. **(FIGURE 6.20)** Together, these drawings mark a significant modification of previous plans, in which

⁶⁰ Boesiger 1953: 90-1, 96-7; notes 5 and 6 above.

⁶¹ Tim Benton (2013) first noted these modifications, and kindly shared the results of his quantitative research.

⁶² Sketchbook E18-317; De Francieu 1981, 2: n.p.; Pauly 1980: 37

⁶³ Within Sketchbook E18, Plan 317 appears to be the same scale as Plan 314, so it may have initially represented an alteration of the Chapel's plan, rather than a reduction of scale.

the Chapel's dimensions appear to have been "brought to a minimum."⁶⁴ I will therefore refer to them as the 'Reduced Plans'.

Four plans can be said to correspond to this phase of design work: Plan 317, mentioned above; a ground plan in colored pencil by Le Corbusier, which I will refer to as the 'Reduced LC Plan' (**FIGURE 6.20, middle left**);⁶⁵ another ground plan, drafted by André Maisonnier, which I will refer to as the 'Reduced Maisonnier Plan' (**FIGURE 6.20, middle right**);⁶⁶ and a roof plan, also drafted by Maisonnier, which I will refer to as the 'Reduced Roof Plan'.⁶⁷ (**FIGURE 6.20, right**) None of these drawings are signed or dated, but the modifications that they collectively represent can be described through formal analysis.

A comparison of the Maisonnier Plan, from the first extant phase of schematic design, and the 'Reduced' version, (**FIGURE 6.21**) from the second phase, is particularly instructive. The latter appears to simplify and distill the forms of the Maisonnier Plan within a smaller architectural frame.⁶⁸ Within the 'Reduced' version, the irregular trapezoid of the Chapel's interior was considerably condensed, but most programmatic elements nonetheless maintain similar position and scale through increased spatial efficiency.⁶⁹ The liturgical arrangement from the previous phase of design was thus repeated with only slight alteration and a few temporary omissions.⁷⁰ The only lasting change was the omission of seating within the peripheral chapels, which was permanently abandoned. The overall effect is thus not a radical transformation of the existing design, but an efficient condensation of forms within a

⁶⁴ The Central Door Plan, (**FIGURE 5.33**) the largest plan of the first schematic set, is 47.5 by 43 meters (156 by 141 feet); the Maisonnier Plan is 43 by 40 meters (141 by 131 feet); the reduced LC Plan (**FIGURE 6.20**) is 40 by 31 meters (131 by 102 feet). See also below (**FIGURE 6.21 & 6.23**).

⁶⁵ FLC 07288; Brooks & Tzonis, eds. 1983, 20

⁶⁶ FLC 07389; Brooks & Tzonis, eds. 1983, 20

⁶⁷ FLC 07275; Brooks & Tzonis, eds. 1983, 20

⁶⁸ In the Reduced Maisonnier Plan (**FIGURE 6.21, right**), the Chapel's length, from east to west, was shortened by 7%, and its width by 23%; the eastern porch was thus considerably reduced in area. The peripheral chapels were also altered: the width of each was slightly increased; the protrusion of the southwest chapel was minimized; and northern peripheral chapels were moved to the east. The latter decision lengthened the northwestern chapel and shifted the northern door to the east, thus reinstating a scheme that had first appeared on the Basin Plan. The Chapel's footprint was also moved further away from existing structures, which required a slight modification of the northern pilgrimage path.

⁶⁹ In the Reduced Maisonnier Plan, (**FIGURE 6.21, right**) the floor area of the main sanctuary and the raised platform were reduced; the main entry was compressed; circulation paths were streamlined; and tertiary 'excess' space was all but eliminated.

⁷⁰ In the Reduced Maisonnier Plan, (**FIGURE 6.21, right**) the interior pulpit, liturgical basin, and undesignated room between the northeastern chapel and sacristy from the Maisonnier Plan (**FIGURE 6.21, left**) were omitted. Each would be reinstated in subsequent plans.

much smaller building that seems to better suit the site—and, for that matter, the patron's budget.⁷¹

Geometrical rigor was also emphasized during this phase of design work. The curvilinear architectural elements characteristic of the first phase of schematic design, **(FIGURE 5.33)** which had been partly straightened in the Maisonnier Plan, were increasingly tightened within the Reduced LC and Maisonnier Plans **(FIGURE 6.20 & 6.21)**—as if the rounded flesh of the building had been removed, revealing its underlying skeleton. Flat surfaces define all four facades, and the southern edge of the roof appears perfectly straight, the only phase of design in which this occurs.⁷²

One lasting change from this iterative process appears at the Chapel's southern facade, where a transitional entry foyer was introduced through the addition of a short section of wall parallel to the adjacent mural surface of the southwestern chapel.⁷³ **(FIGURE 6.20)** The southwestern chapel was also turned slightly away from the opposite southeastern corner of the building. Several of these modifications can also be identified in Perspective 313, in which this set of architectural features was evidently studied in three-dimensional form.⁷⁴ **(FIGURE 6.17, left middle)** Perspective 313 thus appears to represent a schematic rendering of the Chapel's southern façade as it was conceived in Plan 317 and the accompanying Reduced Plans during the second phase of schematic design.

There appear to be no additional extant elevations and sections for this phase of the Chapel's design—a documentary lacuna that recalls the absence of such drawings for the first phase, mentioned above. However, at this point in the design process, it

⁷¹ The potential financial burden of hiring a famous architect was among the Dominican patrons' principal concerns from the outset of schematic design. An early contract cited the "enormous sum" of the proposed design as a burden which "weighed upon the Building Committee," due to their "non-commercial" means of construction financing. ('Projet de convention entre Monsieur Le Corbusier et la Société Immobilière de Notre-Dame du Haut à Ronchamp', 25 juin 1951, FLC Q1 I 55-89)

⁷² In the Reduced Plans (except Plan 317, in which it is not represented) the southern edge of the roof extends all the way to the Chapel's southeastern corner, **(FIGURE 6.20, center)** and abuts the southwestern tower behind the apex of the apse. By contrast, the southern edge of the roof on the Foundation Plan, **(FIGURE 5.14)** which differs from all other versions, extends nearly all the way to the apex of the apse, and meets the south wall short of the southeastern corner. In subsequent versions of the plan, **(FIGURE 6.22)** these two variants appear to have been synthesized—a common procedure in Le Corbusier's approach to design.

⁷³ This entry foyer first appears on Plan 317, **(FIGURE 6.20, left)**, where its mural boundaries are not parallel. The Basin Plan also included provisions for a similar entry foyer, which was subsequently erased. **(FIGURE 5.14, right)**

⁷⁴ The entry foyer in Perspective 313, for example, appears as a pronounced cleft between the south wall and the southwestern chapel, **(FIGURE 6.17, left middle)** separating the principal masses of the southern façade; and the southwestern chapel no longer faces the viewer directly, but appears instead at a slightly oblique angle. Overhead, the profile of the roof's southern edge is nearly straight, and its western extremity abuts the southwestern chapel slightly behind the apex of the apse, just as it does in the 'Reduced' series of plans. **(FIGURE 6.20)**

seems likely that such projective drawings would have accompanied these plans; if not, there must have been some other technique of visualizing the architectural forms, since these geometrical relationships would have been quite difficult, if not impossible, to conceive in plan. The complex double curvature of the beams in the Reduced Roof Plan, (**FIGURE 6.20, right**) for example, would have certainly required some means of three-dimensional representation to resolve,⁷⁵ and it seems doubtful that the schematic rendering in Perspective 313 would have been sufficient for this purpose. Hence, the absence of projective drawings during this phase of design work again suggests that some important documentary evidence is missing.

The extant documentation concerning the second phase of schematic design nonetheless reveals a fundamental transformation of the initial design ideas: the reduction of the Chapel's overall dimensions, as well as the refinement of its individual forms, appears to have distilled the initial schematic design to its essential, underlying form. Hence it appears that during this phase of design the Chapel's dimensions were "brought to a minimum." Perhaps for this reason, this phase was rather brief, at least in comparison to the documentary record of subsequent iterations.⁷⁶ The resulting skeletal forms were, however, soon fleshed out in a new set of plans, which brought early design work to a robust conclusion.

PHASE III: AN EARLY SYNTHESIS

The earliest documentary evidence of the third phase of design for Ronchamp appears to be an unsigned and undated ground plan, Plan 07435, rendered in the loose style common to many of Le Corbusier's design drawings.⁷⁷ (**FIGURE 6.22, left**) This plan combines the curvilinear character of the early plans, such as the Foundation and Basin Plans, (**FIGURE 5.33**) with the modifications of form and scale of the Reduced Plans.

⁷⁵ In the Reduced Roof Plan, (**FIGURE 6.20, right**) the irregular trapezoid of the Chapel's interior is spanned by seven parallel structural bays that abut an adjacent L-shaped bay over the peripheral chapels, leaving an awkward triangular interstice between the two systems; the eastern porch, by contrast, is covered by nine short structural bays that are rotated with respect to the interior and terminate above the eastern wall—a very complex system.

⁷⁶ The phase of design work corresponding to the Reduced Plans does not, for example, include a siteplan; rather, it appears that these drawings were traced, like the preceding iteration, upon an underlying graph of site conditions, probably similar to a subsequent siteplan from 31 October 1951. (FLC 07118) The Reduced Plans were moved an additional 5.5 m (18 ft.) to the east, (**FIGURE 6.21, right**) thus continuing the move away from existing outbuildings that first appeared on Siteplan 316 and the Maisonnier Plan. (**FIGURE 6.21, left**)

⁷⁷ FLC 07435; De Francieue, ed. 1981, 2: n.p.; Pauly 1980: plate 2b, n.p.

(FIGURE 6.20) The result is a major leap forward in the design process in which the plan begins to take on its final form.⁷⁸

The documentary evidence suggests that Plan 07435 was produced through a complex process of addition, subtraction, and relocation of previous design features. The key sources, in my analysis, were the Foundation, Basin, and Reduced LC Plans, **(FIGURE 6.23)** from which the architect evidently extracted numerous architectural features and combined them in a single drawing. Several aspects of the design, for example, appear to revert back to the formal characteristics of these prior plans;⁷⁹ one previously omitted design feature, the interior pulpit, was reinstated and relocated;⁸⁰ and at least three features from previous phases of design work were omitted, two of them permanently.⁸¹ This suggests that the architect's creative process for Ronchamp was not linear, but instead involved an ongoing, cyclic process of iterative exploration, in which previously abandoned design solutions were frequently resuscitated.⁸²

A likely candidate for the next drawing is a detailed siteplan, Plan 07432, probably drawn by André Maisonnier.⁸³ **(FIGURE 6.22, right)** This drawing appears to represent a careful reproduction of Plan 07435, in which several features were subtly altered, and a few additional design elements examined for the first time.⁸⁴ Several sketches by

⁷⁸ Danièle Pauly rightly referred to Plan 07435 as a “nearly definitive version” of the Chapel’s plan, (1980: 39-40) noting that it followed Plans 314 and 317 in the design process.

⁷⁹ Plan 07435 (FIGURE 6.23, right) combines features from the following plans, often with reduced scale:

- Foundation Plan: (FIGURE 6.23, left) southern edge of roof spanning from mid-curvature of south wall to the apex of the southwest chapel; subtly inflected curvature of the south wall; slightly curved east wall without eastern entry foyer; and oval-shaped raised platform.
- Basin Plan: (FIGURE 6.23, left middle) configuration of the three peripheral chapels, with slightly lengthened northwest chapel and shortened northeast chapel; position of the sacristy astride the boundary of the internal sanctuary; and configuration of internal pulpit and stair, with altered position.
- Reduced LC Plan: (FIGURE 6.23, right middle) vestibule at the main entry; pews behind the reentrant wall section on south wall; altered frame of the Marian icon; scale and position of the northeastern pier; northern edge of the porch setback of the from the plane of the northern façade; and reduced overall dimensions.

⁸⁰ The interior pulpit is a feature of the Three Door, Basin (FIGURE 6.23, left middle), and Maisonnier Plans, as well as the Colored Siteplan; it was omitted from the Reduced Plans (FIGURE 6.20).

⁸¹ In Plan 07435, the liturgical railing on the eastern porch and the central row of pews in the Chapel’s interior were both permanently omitted; the reentrant wall section at the southeastern entry was omitted, but then reinstated within subsequent plans.

⁸² In light of the complexity of this process, it seems plausible and even likely that there may have been intermediary steps between the Reduced Plans and Plan 07435, probably in the form of sketches; however, there are no extant versions of the Chapel’s plan within Le Corbusier’s sketchbooks that might count as viable candidates for this transformation.

⁸³ FLC 07432; Brooks & Tzonis, eds. 1983, 20. The drafted plans in the Ronchamp set were typically drawn by Maisonnier, not Le Corbusier.

⁸⁴ On Plan 07432, (FIGURE 6.22, right) the following features were altered:

- The southwestern chapel was slightly lengthened, and its apse extended beyond the southern edge of the roof; the southern edge of the roof was extended to the southeastern corner; the interior walls of the northern apses were slightly extended; the boundary of the interior sanctuary was given increased curvature; an entry foyer was reinstated at the southeastern entry; the liturgical basin at the main entry was reinstated; and fenestration, schematically suggested on Plan 07435, was added to the south wall.

On Plan 07432, (FIGURE 6.22, right) the following features appear for the first time:

Le Corbusier surround the margins of this plan, including a few different variants of a stairway leading to the second floor of the sacristy.⁸⁵ Analysis of this stairway probably followed the production of a drawing by Maisonnier, Perspective 07464, which may be the earliest extant rendering of the Chapel's interior.⁸⁶ **(FIGURE 6.24)** In this drawing, the curving boundary of the main sanctuary, small table-like altar, and unbroken mural surface on the Chapel's western wall all correspond to the short-lived features of Plan 07432, which likely served as the basis of this study.

The first complete set of elevations and sections in the Ronchamp set were also produced during this phase of design work.⁸⁷ **(FIGURE 6.25)** However, the projected renderings upon these two drawing sheets, which I will refer to as Drawing Sets 07412 and 07414, are not a perfect match for either plan; instead, they appear to incorporate design elements from each one.⁸⁸ These drawing sheets may therefore reflect a work in progress, rather than a finalized design; or, alternately, this lack of projective correspondence might imply that these drawings were rendered on the basis of a plan that is no longer extant. In either case, the individual elevations and sections were produced as oblique projections—an expression of the inherent challenge of representing the Chapel through conventional drawing techniques.⁸⁹

The resulting drawings share a recognizable set of formal features: **(FIGURE 6.25)** the three towers, for example, have equal height; the roof is horizontal from east to west, without the concavity and the waterspouts characteristic of subsequent versions; and the Chapel's southeastern corner lacks the pronounced, vertical uplift characteristic of later drawings.⁹⁰ West Section 07412 also reveals that the surfaces of the Chapel's

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- Two confessional booths were added at the entry of southwestern chapel; acoustic baffles and two independent doors were added to the main entry; the sacristy was divided into two separate chambers; and a new stairway was added, leading to the upper floor of the sacristy and the raised platform.

⁸⁵ These marginalia also include a sketch of the tower of Notre-Dame-en-bas, Ronchamp, the neo-Gothic parish church at the foot of the hill, which appears to be formally 'rhymed' with a set of three bottles, thus offering some corroboration for Samuel's (2004: 122) hypothesis.

⁸⁶ FLC 07464; Brooks & Tzonis, eds. 1983, 20; Pauly 1980: 42

⁸⁷ FLC 07412 and 07414; Brooks & Tzonis, eds. 1983, 20; Pauly 1980: plate 4, n.p.

⁸⁸ Within Drawing Sets 07412 and 07414, the unusually short depth of the northern peripheral chapels (North Section 07414, FIGURE 6.25, right middle), and the slight protrusion of the southwestern tower (West Section 07412, FIGURE 6.25, left middle) follow the representation of the corresponding features of Plan 07435 (FIGURE 6.22, left); but the liturgical basin at the main entry, four-bay exterior entry portal on the north (West Section 07412, FIGURE 6.25, left middle), and raised platform with two flights of stairs on its northern side (North Section 07414, FIGURE 6.25, right middle), correspond to features on Plan 07432 (FIGURE 6.22, right).

⁸⁹ On Elevation and Section Set 07412, all three drawings are tilted seven degrees counterclockwise, which corresponds to the direction from which they were rendered: West Elevation and West Section 07412 (97 degrees); East Elevation (277 degrees). This non-orthogonal projection is common within the Ronchamp set.

⁹⁰ Perspectives 312 and 318 (FIGURE 6.17, right), for example, both feature pronounced uplift at the southeastern corner.

south wall did not have the pyramidal declination they would later acquire; instead, its mural surfaces are parallel. All of these features were short-lived solutions, and can thus serve as useful criteria for dating other drawings within the Ronchamp set.⁹¹

However, none of these respective drawing sheets are dated, so it is unfortunately unclear when this drawing set was produced. A plausible date is provided by a letter that Le Corbusier wrote to Joseph Savina on 1 July 1950, boasting that he "had completed a project for a Chapel that will be sensational"—a remark that suggests a moment of closure in the design process.⁹² Since these drawing sheets comprise the first complete set of elevations and sections for the Chapel, it seems likely that he was referring to them in this letter. I would therefore propose that these drawings were most likely produced in preparation for a pair of meetings with Diocesan Committee members in late June and early July 1950,⁹³ in which the architect presented his designs to the patrons for the first time. A corresponding timeline for Phases II and III of design development would entail a brisk but reasonable pace of progress.

6.3 EARLY DESIGN DRAWINGS: A SUMMARY OF THE EVIDENCE

In the preceding discussion, I have attempted to provide an exhaustive description of the extant documentary record of the first three phases of design work for the Chapel of Ronchamp. If these conclusions are combined with the results of the analysis in the previous chapter, the following temporal reconstruction can be proposed:

Phase I

- Plan 314 (Sketchbook E18-314, under-drawing)
- Perspective 314 (Sketchbook E18-314)
- Plan 314 (Sketchbook E18-314, eastern over-drawing)
- Elevation Set 07433 (FLC 07433)
- Section 315 (Sketchbook E18-315)
- Charcoal Plan (FLC 07470, 6 June 1950)

⁹¹ See notes 51-3 above; (FIGURE 6.26, 6.27 & 6.28).

⁹² A: 1950-07-01 (LC, letter to Savina, 1 July 1950, in Sers 1984: 99)

⁹³ A: 1950-06-26—30 (Caussé 2007: 73)

- Sacristy Plan (FLC 07312)
- Central Door Plan (FLC 07307, 6 June 1950)
- Three Door Plan (FLC 07311, 6 June 1950)
- Plan 314 (Sketchbook E18-314, northern over-drawing)
- Foundation Plan (FLC 07293)
- Basin Plan (FLC 07321, 7 June 1950)
- Siteplan 316 (Sketchbook E18-316)
- Colored Siteplan (FLC 07420)
- Maisonnier Plan (FLC 07463, 8 June 1950)

Phase II

- Plan 317 (Sketchbook E18-317)
- Perspective 313 (Sketchbook E18-313, 9 June 1950)
- Reduced LC Plan (FLC 07288)
- Reduced Maisonnier Plan (FLC 07389)
- Reduced Roof Plan (FLC 07275)

Phase III

- Plan 07435 (FLC 07435)
- Plan 07432 (FLC 07432)
- Perspective 07464 (FLC 07464)
- Elevations & Sections 07412-14 (FLC 07412-14)

Given the complexity of the documentary evidence, several aspects of this reconstruction are certainly open to question. Plan 314, for example, could be interpreted as a single iteration, rather than successive modifications of early schematic design, as I have noted above;⁹⁴ and the temporal order of the plans could also be interpreted differently on the basis of new evidence, or of evidence that I have misunderstood. However, such modifications would not alter two observations that I believe can be made on the basis of the evidence at hand.

First, I suggest that the origins of Le Corbusier's schematic designs for Ronchamp cannot be ascertained on the basis of extant documentation. The earliest drawings are

⁹⁴ See note 40 above

probably the under-drawing of Plan 314, Perspective 314, and aspects of Elevation Set 07433, as I have argued above. However, certain features of these drawings remain inexplicable: North and East Elevation 07433, for example, depict two rival designs for the Chapel's roof, and the temporal sequence of these respective iterations cannot be established on the basis of the documentary evidence. It thus remains difficult if not impossible to describe the origins of either solution, since the extant documentary record is ambiguous, and there are no additional plans upon which a corroborating argument might be based.⁹⁵ In lieu of additional evidence, the Chapel's origin remains elusive.⁹⁶

Secondly, within the Ronchamp drawing set, there are an abundance of plans but a lack of corresponding projective drawings. Early design documentation includes fifteen different ground plans but only thirteen *total* representations of the building's external appearance;⁹⁷ extant elevations, sections, and perspective sketches are quite rare. Phase I, for example, includes nine different plans,⁹⁸ four elevations, one sectional sketch, and one perspective drawing; the vast majority of these plans thus have no corresponding representations of the building's exterior. Phase II includes four different plans, one perspective sketch, and no elevations or sections; three façades remain unknown. Phase III includes two ground plans, one interior perspective, and the first complete set of elevations and sections in the Ronchamp set. The latter drawings provide the first integrated, comprehensive representation of the Chapel's exterior. Prior iterations, by contrast, include limited representation of the building's outward appearance, or none at all. This is unusual.

The absence of early projective drawings for the Chapel has not, to my knowledge, been previously noted in the secondary literature. This is probably due to the fact that

⁹⁵ This problem remains if Plan 314 is interpreted as a single iteration and Perspective 314 is interpreted as its graphic counterpart, in which these features were given their earliest three-dimensional formulation: the missing northeastern portion of Plan 314, as well as the representational inconsistencies between plan and perspective, make it impossible to establish a definitive correspondence between these two sketches, or between these sketches and the four renderings within Elevation Set 07433. Critical evidence is missing.

⁹⁶ An exhaustive account of the evidence concerning Le Corbusier's early design process exceeds the scope of this dissertation. However, in a future publication, I will present additional evidence from the drawing set and elsewhere suggesting that the architectural origins of the Chapel were considerably more complex than Le Corbusier's explanations would lead one to believe.

⁹⁷ Phases I-III: representation of the Chapel's external appearance (Perspective 314 is listed twice):

- 4 South (Perspective 314, South Elevation 07433, Perspective 313, South Elevation 07414)
- 3 East (Perspective 314, East Elevations 07433 and 07412)
- 2 North (North Elevations 07433 and 07414)
- 2 West (West Elevations 07433 and 07412)
- 3 Sections (North Section 315, North Section 07414, West Section 07412)

⁹⁸ I have not included the eastern over-drawing of Plan 314 or Siteplan 316 in this figure.

the canonical explanations of Le Corbusier's initial design process are principally based upon his autobiographical accounts, which do not include the vast majority of the early plans, as I have noted above. Pauly's discoveries filled some of these gaps; but her account nonetheless overlooked ten of the fifteen ground plans described above,⁹⁹ and mistakenly attributed six additional elevations, sections, and perspective drawings to the first phase of design work.¹⁰⁰ Her account thus provides a visually balanced but chronologically misleading presentation of plans and external renderings that has obscured the relative absence of early projective and perspectival drawings in the Ronchamp set.

Recognition of this documentary lacuna thus presents a new conundrum: during the first three phases of design, projective drawings are rare; and as a result, the evidence from the drawing set is insufficient to explain the formal development of the project. However, testimony from one of Le Corbusier's postwar colleagues provides some insightful commentary on this issue, and suggests one solution to the puzzle.

6.4 LE CORBUSIER'S POSTWAR DESIGN METHODS

SOLTAN'S ACCOUNT OF THE ATELIER

One plausible explanation of the relative absence of projective drawings in the Ronchamp set is suggested by a first-hand account of the design methods developed within Le Corbusier's atelier after the war. In the summer of 1945, the architect received several commissions for urban reconstruction,¹⁰¹ and hired a single assistant,

⁹⁹ Pauly (1980) did not include the following plans in her account of the initial phases of design: the Sacristy Plan (FLC 07312); Central Door Plan (FLC 07307); Three Door Plan (FLC 07311); Basin Plan (FLC 07321); Colored Siteplan (FLC 07420); Maisonnier Plan (FLC 07463); Reduced LC Plan (FLC 07288); Reduced Maisonnier Plan (FLC 07389); Reduced Roof Plan (FLC 07275); Plan 07432 (FLC 07432).

¹⁰⁰ Pauly (1980) mistakenly attributed the following drawings to the initial phase of design for Ronchamp: Sketch 32129 (FLC 32129; Pauly 1980: 52) shows the 'crab shell' roof structure above a pyramidal south wall, but the latter feature was likely introduced in a sketch by Le Corbusier dated 4 September 1950 (FLC 07315); Structural Study 07264 (FLC 07264; Pauly 1980: plate 8b) includes an enlarged northeastern pier and roof structure with east-west concavity, both features that were introduced in Maisonnier's structural studies dated 19 July 1950 (FIGURE 6.26); Perspective 07417 (FLC 07417; Pauly 1980: plate 2c) shows the northeastern pier encircled by an exterior pulpit and stairway, a feature that first appeared in a set of drawings by Le Corbusier, one of which is dated 12 October 1950 (FIGURE 6.19); Perspective 312 (Sketchbook E18-312; Pauly 1980: 36), notes 50-1 above; Perspective 318 (Sketchbook E18-318; Pauly 1980: 37), note 53 above; Perspective 274 (Sketchbook D17-274; Pauly 1980: 34), notes 56-8 above. Hence, none of these drawings correspond to design work conducted in June 1950.

¹⁰¹ A: 1945-08-00—18 (LC, 'L'unité d'habitation de Marseille', [Aug 1945], in *Le Point*, Mulhouse, Nov 1950, p. 4; Sbriglio 2005: 27; LC, 'Un plan pour Saint-Dié,' [Aug 1945] *Homme et l'architecture* 5-6, Nov-Dec 1945, p. 39, in Clericuzio 2010: 58; LC, note, 'Contrat Saint-Gaudens et extension du contrat Toulouse-Bayonne', 18 Aug 1945, FLC F3-7-9, in Catllar 2010: 5). See also Chapter 1.

Jerzy Soltan, to help him complete the needed tasks.¹⁰² Soltan worked within the Parisian atelier for four years, and would later describe the novel design process developed for these urban schemes, which bypassed conventional techniques of projection, and instead progressed through study models and sketches:

At the rue de Sèvres, the model did not have to be precise or particularly elegant to fulfill its purpose... What charcoal represents on the plane of a drawing, plasticine represents in volume. Little bricks of this fat clay are not only easily cut but are easily malleable. I watched them under Corbu's fingers. I saw the charcoal sketches begin to appear as interpretations of the clumsy, topsy-turvy clay toys, illustrating the burgeoning idea of, perhaps, the city center of Saint-Dié or the first proposal of the housing development at La Rochelle. The charcoal followed the spatial study in clay. The charcoal sketch was translated once again into the language of plasticine and then went back on paper. And so it went until the black ink of the fountain pen fixed the project for a while.¹⁰³

Soltan's description highlights the importance of malleable study models in this process, often made from plasticine clay, which evidently became the architect's preferred media for developing schematic ideas after the war. This approach to architectural design, however, was not new. Le Corbusier had been trained in similar methods during his early education with L'Eplattenier,¹⁰⁴ and had used them in the early part of the century to design several houses in his native town of La Chaux-de-Fonds.¹⁰⁵ **(FIGURE 4.08)** These new commissions provided him an opportunity to revive these methods on a grand scale, applying production techniques borrowed from sculpture to both urban planning and architecture.

Soltan also described an important transformation of this process, which gained prominence within the atelier just prior to the commission for Ronchamp. During this time, a new approach was developed for a series of increasingly sculptural projects,

¹⁰² A: 1945-08-01 (Soltan 1987: 1-2)

¹⁰³ A: 1945-08-01 (Soltan 1987: 6)

¹⁰⁴ L'Eplattenier studied at the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris when Auguste Rodin (1840-1917) was head of the school. Rodin is known to have utilized clay study models and scaled plaster models in his sculptural atelier (Green 2000: 49), which may have been one source of L'Eplattenier's knowledge of such techniques and thus of his later pedagogy at La Chaux-de-Fonds.

¹⁰⁵ D: 1955-05-15 (LC, letter to Marie & Albert, 15 May 1955: FLC R2-2-122); Chapter 4, note 70.

such as the Villa Curutchet in Buenos Aires, in which models, not drawings, came to play the predominant role. The Argentinian Villa, Soltan wrote,

became a typical model-leading case... The relations between solids and voids, orthogonal and slanting, were very complex indeed. To develop these relationships on paper using standard projection techniques was impossible... After all, the plan was conceived in this particular, sophisticated way in order to give occasion for developing sophisticated design as well. No amount of spatial imagination can grasp the complexity of some relationships if it is not helped in some new way... This "new" way amounts simply to giving the model, and not the drawing, the leading role in the process. The role of the drawing is thus limited to annotating the model.¹⁰⁶

The driving force in the design process for the Villa Curutchet and similar projects thus became a sequence of study models that could be repeatedly altered to incorporate the changes annotated within Le Corbusier's sketches—a revolutionary technique, which, as Soltan explained, allowed the architect's creative imagination to operate on a higher level.¹⁰⁷ Standard projection techniques such as elevation and section were thus demoted to a secondary status, no longer the principal means by which his design ideas were developed.

One foreseeable consequence of this new approach, Soltan feared, was that future researchers who sought to understand these complex, 'model-leading' projects through an analysis of drawings would not be able to understand the true nature of the process: "a traditional analysis of Corbu's buildings," he wrote,

yields little. Indeed, a normally prescribed, long series of plans or sections of the Curutchet house or the Chapel at Ronchamp, based on the usual projection, taken even in the smallest of intervals, and executed with painstaking devotion, results in a number of drawings, handsome in themselves perhaps but meaningless as far as real comprehension of the space involved.

Soltan's commentary suggests that some of the interpretive problems mentioned in the previous discussion may be the result of a fundamental underlying problem: no

¹⁰⁶ Soltan 1987: 6-7

¹⁰⁷ Soltan 1987: 7

investigation of design drawings, he claimed, could possibly divulge the process through which the Chapel was designed; the most detailed analysis would only lead to an empty understanding, devoid of its true sources. A clear understanding of this process, he insisted, could only come about through knowledge of the study models and charcoal design sketches that were the driving force of the Chapel's design.

However, this proposal highlights yet another conundrum: for if Le Corbusier's designs for Ronchamp were principally explored through schematic sketches and study models as Soltan's account suggests, then one might expect to find additional evidence of this process within the primary literature on Ronchamp. However, that is not the case: within the architect's ten different texts on the subject, there is no mention of the iterative process that Soltan described, and no reference whatsoever to the use of study models in the design process for the Chapel. So if this new "model-leading" method was utilized for Ronchamp, then it was completely omitted from Le Corbusier's numerous explanations.

Some corroboration of Soltan's claims, however, can be inferred from André Maisonnier's account of the design process. Maisonnier mentioned, for example, that the Chapel was not designed through a traditional series of plans, sections, and elevations, but through "models and plans"—a method that benefited from his prior experience as a sculptor. He also described several different models that were constructed throughout the course of the Chapel's design; but most of these, he implied, were made with sculptural casting techniques, which allowed him to fabricate them with "great precision."¹⁰⁸ This is a rather different process than the one that Soltan described. Maisonnier's account thus suggests that his role at Ronchamp was limited to the precise execution of previously resolved design ideas, rather than the exploration of new design concepts. In fact, he clearly stated that this was the case:

From the first day to the inauguration, I made the drawings and models, and then followed the construction site. It was a grand adventure to work with Le Corbusier in

¹⁰⁸ Interviewer : « C'est un projet étudié essentiellement avec des maquettes ? » Maisonnier : « En maquette, mais aussi en plan. Il est certain que Le Corbusier savait que je faisais de la sculpture. J'ai donc monté des maquettes en plâtre, directement comme une sculpture, sans passer par du modelage, ce qui me permettait une grande précision. » (Maisonnier 1987: 15)

*its creation. Then I carried it through. I was tasked with transposing the project so that it would be executed as he wished.*¹⁰⁹

Maisonnier's testimony thus suggests that if malleable study models were indeed utilized for Ronchamp, as Soltan's account might lead one to believe, then their fabrication must have been Le Corbusier's sole responsibility. But neither the architect nor his assistant said a word on the subject. This is a puzzling feature of this discourse, to which I will return below.¹¹⁰

Nevertheless, it seems likely that the design process for Ronchamp utilized schematic sketches and study models, just as Soltan suggested. Indeed, it would be surprising if the architect had developed these revolutionary new sculptural design methods just prior to creating the most complex three-dimensional project of his entire career, but decided not to use them. By contrast, the design methods that Soltan described would seem to provide the most plausible explanation for the revolutionary nature of the Chapel's architectural forms: Ronchamp is not a built sketch; it is sculpture writ large.

I would suggest that Soltan's account also provides a plausible explanation for the absence of elevations in the Ronchamp drawing set. On this reading, the relative absence of such drawings would not reflect a process of attrition in which important design documents were lost; rather, it would reflect the fact that the Chapel was not designed through these means. Few drawings remain because few were produced.

THE ROLE OF PROJECTIVE DRAWINGS

The drawings that do remain in the Ronchamp set seem to fit the hypothesis of a "model-leading" project rather well. During the subsequent phase of design work from July to December 1950, for example, the design was developed in a sequence of no

¹⁰⁹ « Du premier jour à l'inauguration, j'ai fait les études, les maquettes, suivi le chantier. Ça a été une grande aventure de travailler à la création avec Le Corbusier. Puis j'ai réalisé. J'avais le souci de transposer le projet pour qu'il soit exécuté comme il convient. » (Maisonnier 1987: 15)

¹¹⁰ Maisonnier's various accounts of Ronchamp (Petit 1956: 57-60; Petit 1961: 119-21; Maisonnier 1987) suggest, in my view, that he did not wish to transgress the limits of Le Corbusier's pre-existing explanations. However, the marginal drawings within the Ronchamp drawing set also suggest that he was privy to a considerable amount of information about the sources of the Chapel's design that he never mentioned. His account therefore seems rather constrained, possibly from the surveillance of his mentor (cf. FLC 07453, verso, in which Maisonnier drew a cartoon representing his relationship with Le Corbusier). I will have more to say about this in a future publication.

fewer than thirteen plans,¹¹¹ for which there are only a few perspective drawings—including the so-called 'first sketches' (**FIGURE 6.02, left & 6.17**)—and seven corresponding elevations.¹¹² Additional drawings of the Chapel's outward appearance often focus upon a special feature of the design, such as the pulpit with encircling stair,¹¹³ (**FIGURE 6.19**) or the fenestration pattern in the towers,¹¹⁴ rather than a comprehensive analysis of the Chapel's exterior. The disproportionate ratio of plans and external renderings again suggests that there was some other means of developing the Chapel's outward forms, since the extant elevations, perspective renderings, and design sketches in the drawing set would clearly have been insufficient for this purpose.

Instead, techniques of architectural projection appear to have been utilized for the Chapel at Ronchamp in an unconventional manner, to analyze aspects of the architecture that could not be easily explored through models. For example, a series of orthographic sections was utilized to examine aspects of the Chapel's structure,¹¹⁵ (**FIGURE 6.26 & 6.28**) and another to examine aspects of its interior;¹¹⁶ (**FIGURE 6.27**) while a third category of drawings examined the design in context, amid the features of the site.¹¹⁷ (**FIGURES 4.06, bottom & 6.29**)

The evidence suggests that complete drawing sets were only produced for presentations, since during the first six months of design work there are only two such sets within the documentary record: one produced just prior to the first presentation given to the Dominican patrons in June/July,¹¹⁸ mentioned above; (**FIGURE 6.25**) and another for a subsequent presentation granted to the Committee in November 1950.¹¹⁹ (**FIGURES 3.07-3.09 & 6.30**) On these occasions, the conventional graphic techniques of plan, elevation, and section could evidently communicate elements of the design that were not easily conveyed by models.

¹¹¹ I will describe Phase IV of the design process in a future publication.

¹¹² FLC 07408, undated; FLC 07276, 25 Sept (?) 1950; FLC 07277, 12 October 1950; FLC 07333, misdated 'février 1951'; FLC 07356, undated; FLC 07410, undated; FLC 07411, undated

¹¹³ FLC 07354, undated

¹¹⁴ FLC 07309, undated; FLC 07310, undated; FLC 07332, undated; FLC 07335, undated; FLC 07344, undated

¹¹⁵ FLC 07431, 19 July 1950; FLC 07315, 4 Sept 1950; FLC 07469, undated; FLC 07264, undated; FLC 07116-07117, 30 Oct 1950; FLC 07510-07511, 30 Oct 1950; FLC 07426, after 30 Oct 1950; FLC 07314, undated.

¹¹⁶ FLC 07466, undated; FLC 07474, undated; FLC 07475, undated; FLC 07477, undated; FLC 07362, undated

¹¹⁷ FLC 07417, undated; FLC 07421, undated; FLC 07430, undated; FLC 07478; FLC 07407, undated

¹¹⁸ 30 June/10 July 1950 presentation: FLC 07412-07414

¹¹⁹ 22 Nov 1950 presentation: FLC 07104, 07105, 07106, 07107, 07108, 07109, 07110, 07111, 07112, 07113; excerpts: FLC 07119, FLC 07476, FLC 07413

THE PARADOX OF THE PRIMARY LITERATURE

The exception to this rule is Elevation Set 07433, **(FIGURE 6.08)** which figured prominently in the architect's monograph on Ronchamp, *Les carnets de la recherche patiente*. **(FIGURE 6.04)** Surprisingly, it is the only complete set of elevations in Le Corbusier's hand within the entire drawing set, and one which is oddly dissociated from the rest of the documentary record, since the colored renderings upon it cannot plausibly be said to conform to a single design scheme nor be traced to extant plans, as I have noted above. Rather, these renderings appear to represent rival designs for the Chapel's plan and structure, each of which points back to the origins of a schematic design process that cannot be grasped on the basis of the evidence at hand. I am therefore led to believe that Elevation Set 07433 is also a presentation drawing of sorts—one that Le Corbusier produced for his monograph on the Chapel, to give the reading public a vague sense of his design process without revealing his techniques to professional rivals.

In fact, looking back at the primary literature, it seems clear that these sources were never revealed. The only models mentioned in Le Corbusier's texts are a wooden model of the Chapel's roof,¹²⁰ **(FIGURE 6.06)** the plaster model from November 1950, and a structural model in paper and wire. The latter two formed the principal focus of the presentation in the fifth volume of the *Œuvre complète*, in which the design process is said to have transpired in two successive phases: the "first model in plaster" is thus featured directly opposite the "first sketches;"¹²¹ **(FIGURE 6.02)** and the "second project" is presented with photographs of the "second study" in paper and wire, in which the Chapel's dimensions were said to have been "reduced to a minimum."¹²² **(FIGURE 6.03)**

The evidence that I have brought forth suggests otherwise: none of the so-called "first sketches" pertain to design work conducted in June 1950; the model that accompanied them was neither the first model in the series nor the first produced in plaster; and the so-called "second study" in paper and wire, said to correspond to the "second project," was actually based on a plan from the fifth phase of design work, dated 31

¹²⁰ LC 1957a: 104

¹²¹ Boesiger 1953: 90-1; note 5 above.

¹²² Boesiger 1953: 96-7; note 6 above.

January 1951 (**FIGURE 6.31**)—seven months after the Chapel's dimensions had been reduced to a minimum. The only evidence of the new "model-leading" design method in the *Œuvre complète* was thus a curious resemblance between certain design sketches and corresponding photographs of the model, (**FIGURE 6.32**) for which no explanation was provided.

6.5 CONCLUSION

Le Corbusier's design process for Ronchamp is principally known through the autobiographical explanations that he provided for this purpose. In the midst of a tense ideological conflict between the Dominican patrons and the Vatican,¹²³ the architect supervised an anonymous article in the *Œuvre complète*, first published in 1953,¹²⁴ wrote a terse account of the "spontaneous" nature of the design, which figured prominently in Jean Petit's monograph in 1956,¹²⁵ and penned a brief confession of his inspirations in *Les carnets de la recherche patiente*, which first appeared at the end of 1957.¹²⁶ The content of these texts quickly formed a privileged explanation of the Chapel's design that has seldom since been questioned. Danièle Pauly's authoritative account filled several gaps in the architect's prior presentation, but her approach to these materials did not involve critical interrogation of the primary literature, which instead provided a starting point for her own investigation.¹²⁷ The canonical account of Le Corbusier's design process thus became firmly anchored to autobiographical literature that was tacitly assumed to be forthright.

However, critical review of the documentary evidence suggests that several features of this canonical account are problematical. The set of plans presented in this and the previous chapter, for example, (**FIGURES 5.33, 6.20 & 6.22**) played a minor role in Le Corbusier's explanations of his own design work, as well as Pauly's subsequent interpretation. Ten of the fifteen plans within this sequence were thus never featured within any of the architect's primary texts, and have not appeared since within the secondary literature.¹²⁸ If these archival documents do belong to the early phases of

¹²³ See Chapter 1

¹²⁴ 'La chapelle de Ronchamp 1950-1953' (Boesiger 1953: 88-98)

¹²⁵ LC, untitled (Petit 1956: 20-1; 1961: 17-8; 1965 : 45)

¹²⁶ 'Un phénomène d'acoustique visuelle' (LC 1957a: 89-90)

¹²⁷ Pauly 1980: 17; note 12 above.

¹²⁸ Note 99 above

the architect's design process for Ronchamp as I have proposed, then the canonical explanation presented by these authors must be incomplete, since entire phases of early design work, including the earliest extant series of plans, have been previously overlooked.

Critical analysis of this primary literature reveals several additional discrepancies. In the *Œuvre complète*, for example, three of Le Corbusier's pen and ink perspective drawings were subtitled the 'first sketches,' (**FIGURE 6.02**) suggesting that these renderings were among the first produced for Ronchamp.¹²⁹ The architect's subsequent publications, along with those of his chosen editor, Jean Petit, reprinted these sketches again and again, embedding them within the foundations of the primary discourse.¹³⁰ Pauly followed this precedent by attributing these sketches to the initial phase of schematic design, just as their subtitle suggests.¹³¹ (**FIGURE 6.05**) They have since been reprinted on numerous occasions, always with the implicit assumption that they represent Le Corbusier's initial design ideas for the Chapel. However, careful analysis of these drawings reveals that their characteristic features do not correspond to the initial phase of schematic design. Instead, they appear to represent subsequent modifications of the Chapel's architectural forms during the summer and autumn of 1950.¹³² The notion that the Chapel is a 'built sketch' thus appears to be founded upon a mistaken attribution that was paradoxically first set forth in the primary literature.

Le Corbusier also published another early set of renderings, Elevation Set 07433, within his monograph on the Chapel.¹³³ (**FIGURE 6.04, right**) The four elevations on this drawing sheet very likely count among the first representations of the Chapel's outward appearance, and thus seem to provide compelling evidence of the architect's initial creative process for Ronchamp. However, this drawing sheet includes numerous representational inconsistencies that make the individual elevations difficult to comprehend as a temporal sequence. Two alternate designs are depicted, one with a cantilevered roof and another with a northeastern pier, and each includes a rival solution to the Chapel's circulation, structure, and spatial organization.¹³⁴ Reverse projection provides a conjectural glimpse of the missing plan for the cantilevered

¹²⁹ Sketchbook D17-274; Sketchbook E18-312, 318; De Franclieu 1981, 2: n.p.

¹³⁰ E: 520-3, Published Design Documents; note 9 above.

¹³¹ Pauly 1980: 33-9

¹³² Notes 44-58 above

¹³³ FLC 07433

¹³⁴ Notes 18-24 above

design, which may point back to one of the earliest design conceptions in the Ronchamp set. **(FIGURE 6.11, top)** I suspect that it does. But in lieu of additional corroborating evidence, or of some additional plan that might provide a missing link in the initial design process, this hypothesis cannot be further pursued, and the origins of the drawing set remain mysterious.

Pauly discovered several drawings that seem to provide additional insight into Le Corbusier's early design process. **(FIGURES 6.05-6.07)** The formal features of Plan and Perspective 314, in particular, seem to represent an early arrangement of the Chapel's schematic design. **(FIGURE 6.14)** However, these sketches also contain several graphic discrepancies that do not appear to correspond to a single architectural design. Instead, I have argued that the conflicting features of these drawings represent rival formulations of the Chapel's initial massing, as well as conflicting versions of its formal and spatial organization, rather than a cohesive presentation of a single iteration, as one might expect. Plan 314 appears to incorporate both versions within a succession of under- and over-drawings, and these graphic layers can be interpreted as two or more successive variants of schematic design, rendered during separate iterations. **(FIGURE 6.16)** The under-drawing, I have suggested, is probably the earliest extant plan for Ronchamp.¹³⁵ However, the incomplete nature of this plan, which elides the Chapel's northeastern corner, again leaves the origins of these conflicting designs ambiguous; and this ambiguity oddly reiterates the inconsistencies of Elevation Set 07433. Hence, a curious circularity lurks within Le Corbusier's earliest design drawings that defies clear interpretation.

Looking back toward the sources of Ronchamp, then, little can be said about the Chapel's architectural origins, which appear to lay hidden behind an unusual set omissions, elisions, and discontinuities within the drawing set. The marginal sketches on several sheets suggest that, within the early design process, Le Corbusier referred back to several architectural precedents, including typological solutions from his prior architectural oeuvre, such as the *Pavillon des temps nouveaux*,¹³⁶ **(FIGURES 5.15 & 5.16)** as well as other sources from architectural history, such as a medieval chapel that appears on two different early drawing sheets.¹³⁷ **(FIGURES 5.25 & 5.31)** But none of

¹³⁵ Notes 25-43 above

¹³⁶ FLC 07293, marginal sketches; note 20 above.

¹³⁷ FLC 07420 & 07312

these candidate sources were included within the primary literature, and their influence upon the project was not acknowledged by the architect; it is therefore difficult to convincingly describe, on the basis of the evidence at hand, their conceptual role within the early design process. The researcher is limited to formal comparisons. However, additional evidence from the drawing set, as well as from annotations in Le Corbusier's library, does suggest a plausible explanation of these myriad sources; but such a discussion exceeds the scope this dissertation, so I will leave it for a future publication.

Looking forward in the Chapel's design development, the evidence seems less ambiguous. Following the completion of the first phase of schematic design, (**FIGURE 5.33**) a series of subsequent design phases can be clearly identified, each of which built upon its predecessor. The second phase of design work, (**FIGURES 6.20 & 6.21**) which probably commenced in mid-June, distilled the Chapel's formal features to their programmatic essence, abandoning extraneous features within a condensed architectural frame. Through this process, the Chapel's dimensions were 'brought to a minimum'.¹³⁸ Then, in the third phase, which probably commenced in late June, a complex process of synthesis ensued, (**FIGURES 6.22 & 6.23**) in which preferred design decisions from previous iterations were combined within a new version of the plan.¹³⁹ The first complete set of projective drawings (**FIGURE 6.25**) was also produced during this phase, probably in preparation for a meeting with the Dominican patrons in early July 1950.¹⁴⁰ A fourth phase commenced shortly thereafter, (**FIGURES 6.26-6.30**) and brought considerable changes to the Chapel's structure, program, and outward appearance.¹⁴¹ This iterative process then finally arrived at a paradigmatic version of the Chapel's plan on 31 January 1951.¹⁴² (**FIGURE 6.31**) This sequence of iterations clearly reveals there were not just 'two projects', as the account within the *Œuvre complète* suggests, but many phases of design development, each comprised of numerous architectural drawings that the architect evidently preferred not to publish.

I suggest that the complexity of this drawing sequence might serve to call into question Le Corbusier's assertion that he designed the Chapel in a "single blow."¹⁴³

¹³⁸ Sketchbook E18-317; FLC 07288, 07389, 07275; notes 61-76 above

¹³⁹ FLC 07435, 07432

¹⁴⁰ FLC 07412, 07414; notes 77-93 above

¹⁴¹ Notes 111-117 above

¹⁴² FLC 07415

¹⁴³ LC, untitled, in Petit 1956: 21; 1961: 17-8; 1965: 45; FIGURE 6.33

Many fundamental design concepts, such as the massing of the nave (**FIGURE 6.14**), the orientation of the peripheral chapels (**FIGURE 6.15**), the arrangement of the liturgical program (**FIGURES 5.11 & 5.14**), and the structure of the roof shell (**FIGURES 5.19 & 6.10**) appear to have first emerged within these plans in a much less decisive manner than such a remark might lead one to believe. Instead, successive iterations explored rival solutions for each one of these design elements, and led, eventually, to a preferred solution, which was often then questioned, modified, and sometimes abandoned. This process was sometimes brief: the orthogonal massing of Perspective 314, for example, was quickly and permanently replaced by the concave eastern porch and pointed southeastern corner (**FIGURE 6.17**) common to all subsequent iterations. But other concepts underwent continual modification: the arrangement of the liturgical program, for example, was a central focus of a series of initial plans (**FIGURE 5.33**); and the structure of the roof shell remained a work in progress for many months. The documentary evidence thus suggests a complex iterative procedure rather than a single stroke of genius: abandoned ideas were frequently revived; previous solutions were reformulated and combined; new solutions were brought to light through a process of discovery; and preferred arrangements were finally consolidated, briefly, in design drawings that recorded the work of a completed cycle. And then the process would begin anew.

The documentary record of this process, however, left few representations of the Chapel's outward appearance, so it is not possible to describe the development of each phase in great detail. The researcher is, in effect, limited to describing a sequence of plans, (**FIGURES 5.33, 6.20**) since this is all that remains for much of the early design process. Elevations, sections, and other projective drawings typically associated with the development of architectural design are often entirely absent—a curious feature of the Ronchamp set that suggests a significant portion of the drawings might be missing. However, one of Le Corbusier's principal assistants in the late 1940s, Jerzy Soltan, provided a revealing first-hand account of the design methods developed within the architect's atelier just prior to the Ronchamp commission, which can account for this missing evidence in another way. Soltan described a new 'model-leading' design process that was fully operative in the spring of 1950 when the Dominicans came knocking at Le Corbusier's door. Projective drawings, according to Soltan, played a secondary role in this new technique, because their conceptual function had been supplanted by a series of malleable study models, which could

render the architect's increasingly complex spatial conceptions with greater fidelity. The iterative cycle that Soltan described found its origins in sculpture, and progressed through a sequence of study models and sketches rather than through conventional drawing techniques.¹⁴⁴ Following Soltan's testimony, I have suggested that this new 'model-leading' design technique provides a plausible explanation of both the sculptural forms of the Chapel's architecture, and the relative scarcity of projective drawings that remain in the Ronchamp set.

However, if this new process was utilized for Ronchamp, then evidence of it was curiously omitted from Le Corbusier's published accounts of the Chapel's design. Study models never appeared within any of the architect's numerous accounts of the subject, and not a word was said about the iterative process that Soltan described. Instead, Le Corbusier repeatedly insisted that the Chapel's forms had first appeared spontaneously within his mind, and then emerged in an instant, fully-formed, requiring only the "the slow execution of the drawings, designs, and plans" to be brought to completion—as if the Chapel were resolved from the outset, with no need for further elaboration. Thus little was said within these texts about the actual processes of architectural design, which were instead supplanted by the lilting prose of artistic genius; **(FIGURE 6.33)** and the revolutionary 'model-leading' approach to design was never revealed within the primary literature, perhaps because Le Corbusier did not wish to reveal his secrets to his architectural peers, or, for that matter, to the public. A series of unmarked sketches in the *Œuvre complète* hinted at the underlying process, through four design drawings set between photographs of two different design models, as if they were an iterative step between these formal studies, just as Soltan suggested.¹⁴⁵ **(FIGURE 6.02 & 6.32)** But few readers would make this connection.

By the late 1950s, Le Corbusier was arguably the most celebrated architect in the world. His veiled presentation of Ronchamp formed one part of a vast postwar publishing enterprise through which he exerted an extraordinary degree of control over his public image, and tacitly influenced the critical reception of his prolific oeuvre. Previous success as a writer had undoubtedly taught him that the first explanation presented to the public could easily gain a privileged status, particularly if it was put forth with an air of professional certainty. Le Corbusier thus frequently published

¹⁴⁴ Soltan 1987

¹⁴⁵ Boesiger 1953: 91

explanations of his own buildings before others could, and always with more background information and cultural authority than any critic could possibly muster. Publications like the *Œuvre complète* and *Les carnets de la recherche patiente* presented works of art, architecture, and other artifacts within masterfully conceived visual presentations, combined with a carefully delimited set of discourse 'facts' that implicitly taught members of the public the proper way to perceive the Corbusian 'product'—and the architect himself. In this sense, Le Corbusier's published accounts of the Chapel stand in a long line of similar textual presentations in which he exerted considerable control over a nascent discourse from its inception, placing the onus of explanation upon future authors who would, by definition, be far less knowledgeable about the relevant facts, and thus insufficiently prepared to refute his authoritative account. In this sense, the architect's first explanations of Ronchamp, published more than sixty years ago, appear to have served their purpose quite well: a consensus quickly formed around these primary discourse facts, granting them the status of a privileged explanation that few have since found need to question.

Fellow professionals had by then made the *Œuvre complète* an international success. A new generation of architectural students studied the new volumes carefully, undoubtedly enthralled that the greatest architect of his generation had taken the time to explain the Chapel at all. But they would have had no way of knowing that its principal arguments weren't forthright, or that the design techniques that made these revolutionary forms possible never appeared in its pages. A door was thus left open to serious misinterpretation of the master's oeuvre. William Curtis once famously remarked that Le Corbusier's followers "had trouble transforming his discoveries into cogent statements," and often reduced his design procedures to a "checklist of clichés."¹⁴⁶ One source of this difficulty was undoubtedly the limited ability of lesser talents to utilize his discoveries with the same degree of skill; but in light of the terse and often misleading explanations that the architect provided for the Chapel at Ronchamp, I would suggest that another sure source of difficulty was the aging master's unwillingness to reveal the details of his creative process. Architecture, he suggested, was like painting, something he would never explain.

¹⁴⁶ Curtis 1986: 213







APPENDIX A: TIMELINE

1940: GENERATION 'RÉSISTANT' = INCREASING CALL TO PRIESTHOOD

- 1940: **Political generation of priests 'résistants'**: the age disparity between the younger priest and his superiors partly explains their different reactions to the events of the Vichy years, when parish clergy showed themselves to be more 'résistant' than their bishops, who were bound by sheer loyalty to Pétain. Halls 1995: 9
- 1940: **Clerical resistance in Franche-Comté and elsewhere**: numerous reports on the lower clergy's favorable attitude to the resistance came from other very different regions of France – Franche-Comté, Burgundy, the Vosges, the Limousin, Champagne, and even from areas extremely indifferent to religion such as St. Quentin. (Latreille, *De Gaulle, la Libération et l'Église catholique*. 1978: 56) Halls 1995: 217
- 1940-44: **Catholicism in Franche-Comte and Lyon**: geographically the Catholics were most solidly implanted in Alsace-Lorraine, Franche-Comté, and Savoy, the area of the southeast of the Massif centrale, the Breton Peninsula and French Flanders. Lyon and its hinterland were particular areas of piety, as benefited the historical capital of French Catholicism – this despite the fact that the city was also a hotbed of Freemasonry. Halls 1995: 4
- 1940-44: **Lyon: capital of resistance**: the center of activity moved to Lyons, which quickly became the 'capital' of the resistance. Halls 1995: 206
- 1940-44: **Gerlier: Social-minded Cardinal of Lyon**: Cardinal Gerlier of Lyon... served from 1909-13 as president of the Action Catholique de la jeunesse française (ACJF), the umbrella organization for Catholic youth movements... he was elevated to the archbishopric of Lyon and became a cardinal. His experiences and inclinations tended to make him sympathetic to social Catholicism. Since his see lay in the unoccupied zone, he was freer than was his Paris confrere to speak his mind. Halls 1995: 10

1940-45: PIUS XII: 'NOBODY OUTSIDE CATHOLIC CHURCH CAN BE SAVED'

- 1940-45: **Pius XII: 'nobody outside the Catholic Church can be saved'**: Pius XII felt compelled to remain publicly neutral and discrete... He saw and ministered to those who fitted the vertically structured Catholic world of late Tridentine ecclesiology... Pacelli's world was seen through the matrix of belief that held that "nobody outside the Catholic Church can be saved."... Jews were outside Pacelli's vision of the church. O'Shea 2011: 25

1940-01-17: LC « CARREL QUI EST EN PLEIN ACCORD AVEC MES IDÉES »

- 1940-01-17: **LC: « "sur les quatre routes" = n'est point destiné aux professionnels »**: « Quatre mois de retraite à Vézelay m'ont permis de réaliser un projet qui m'occupait depuis longtemps: mon livre, intitulé: "sur les quatre routes"... Ce livre est très objectif, et pourtant il n'est point destiné aux professionnels. Il est comme le compagnon de foyers puisqu'il ne vise qu'à instituer des foyers des décents, avec de la joie... » (Le Corbusier à Jean Paulhan, 17 jan 1940) Jenger 2002: 265
- 1940-01-17: **LC « Carrel qui est en plein accord avec mes idées »**: « Le docteur Alexis Carrel qui est en plein accord avec mes idées m'a autorisé à lui dédier ce livre ["sur les quatre routes"]. Sur la demande de l'éditeur il consentirait certainement à rédiger une préface. » (Le Corbusier à Jean Paulhan, 17 jan 1940) Jenger 2002: 265

1940-03-01: ÉPURATION DES COMMUNISTES

- 1940-03-01: **649 sanctions au sein de l'administration de l'état**. Baruch 1997: 43

1940-03-19: DALADIER GOVERNMENT FELL

- 1940-03-19*: **Giraudoux left post in Daladier's government**. McLeod 1985a: 381

1940-03-21: PAUL REYNAUD ELECTED PRIME MINISTER

1940-05-10: GERMANS ENTERED FRANCE

1940-05-10—21: LC IDEOLOGY, PROPAGANDA & COMMISSIONS

- 1940-05-00: **LC: 'Architecture et la guerre'**, In *Gazette Dunlop*, n. 232 'La Guerre et les Arts', n. 232, mai 1940
- 1940-05-10: **LC: struggle leads to world improvements**: "such events do not discourage me; on the contrary, my temperament finds in them that improvement on the struggle which alone could ultimately lead to the world improvements... Let the good life flow gently past, whatever follies it

commits, whatever pleasures it chooses." (LC, letter to Marie, 10 May 1939, Paris) Weber 2008: 411

- 1940-05-21: **LC: munitions factory in Pyrénées**: was under construction in the foothills... and was to be 2 km long. Le Corbusier was to have the responsibility for housing its 20,000 workers and their families... (LC-Marie, Paris) Weber 2008: 412

1940-05-14: FRENCH CONCENTRATION CAMPS

- 1940-05-14: **camps de concentration: juifs allemands et autrichiens**: La plupart des camps de concentration étaient en zone sud... Dès le début les camps servirent à des motifs politiques... y compris... des juifs allemands et autrichiens... Des mai 1940 une convocation des autorités françaises se présenter les 14 et 15 mai fut signifiée... L'Allemagne ne considérerait plus ces juifs réfugiés comme ses ressortissants... Cohen 1993: 93-4

1940-05-25: PÉTAÏN: SEARCHING FOR PEACE WITH GERMANY

- 1940-05-25: **Reynaud, Petain = searching for a way to conclude a separate peace**: On 20 May Reynaud had brought Marshal Pétain into his new government... In Paris on the night of 25 May 1940 Pétain and other members of the government were already searching for a way to conclude a separate peace with Germany. Grenville 2000: 261

1940-05-30: WLADIMIR D'ORMESSON APPOINTED AMBASSADOR TO VATICAN

1940-06-11—12: LC CLOSED ATELIER, LEFT PARIS

- 1940-06-11: **LC atelier closed**: 11 June 1940, the Parisian atelier closed... Badoui 1987: 456
- 1940-06-12: **LC, PJ, and Yvonne left Paris**. Weber 2008: 413

1940-06-14: GERMANS ENTER PARIS, 14 JUNE 1940

1940-06-16: MARÉCHAL PÉTAÏN, PRÉSIDENT DU CONSEIL

- 1940-06-16: **Reynaud présente la démission du Gouvernement**: Le 16 juin 1940, Paul Reynaud présente la démission du Gouvernement et suggère, suivi en cela par les présidents du Sénat et de la Chambre des députés, de confier la présidence du Conseil au maréchal Pétain. Ferro, ed. 1987: 75-103
- 1940-06-16: **Baudouin made Pétain's Foreign Minister**. Halls 1995: 272

1940-06-16: L'ENTRÉE DES ALLEMANDS À BESANÇON. Lambert 2007: 37

1940-06-17: PÉTAÏN ARMISTICE

1940-06-17: WEYGAND: MINISTRE DE LA DÉFENSE NATIONALE. Cantier 2002: 99

1940-06-18: DE GAULLE: 'FRENCH RESISTANCE MUST NOT BE EXTINGUISHED'

- 1940-06-18: **De Gaulle in London, unexpectedly nearly alone**: high and dry in London, unexpectedly nearly alone, having burned his bridges by the radio appeal of 18 June 1940. Paxton 1972: 42
- 1940-06-18: **French resistance: birth**: it began on June 18 1940 when General Charles de Gaulle, broadcasting from London to his stunned countrymen, told them that "the flame of French resistance must not and shall not be extinguished". (De Gaulle 1944-45, v. I: 13-4) Novick 1968: 14

1940-06-18: LC: POMARET, BOUTHILLIER, BELIN, PEYROUTON ET BAUDOÏN

- 1940-06-18*: **LC: le projet Murondins soumis aux ministres Pomaret et Bouthillier**: Après le 18 juin 1940, Le Corbusier tente de soumettre, en plus de son projet de CEPU, celui des Murondins au ministre de l'Intérieur, Charles Pomaret [Ministre de l'Intérieur, 16-27 juin 1940], et à celui des Finances et du Commerce, Yves Bouthillier [Ministre des Finances et du Commerce, 5 juin 1940; puis Ministre de l'Économie nationale et des Finances]. Badoui 1987: 456
- 1940-06-18*: **LC: écrit directement à René Belin, Marcel Peyrouton et Paul Baudouin**: Après le 18 juin 1940... L'offensive est lancée... Grâce à ses relations de l'entre-deux-guerres, il dispose de nombreux alliés au sein de la place, techniciens pour la plupart pressentis pour l'œuvre de rénovation nationale... Tous les moyens sont bons: écrire directement à René Belin, Marcel Peyrouton et Paul Baudouin... Badouï 1987: 456

1940-06-18: **PETIT 1970: ACCOUNT OF IDEOLOGY & PROPAGANDA**

- **Petit 1970: maisons « Murondins » = pour sinistrés et réfugiés:** L'Atelier rue de Sèvre termine un certain nombre de projets pour des maisons de contremaîtres, des maisons d'ingénieurs, des maisons montées à sec, des maisons « Murondins » pour sinistrés et réfugiés. Avec Jean Prouvé et Pierre Jeanneret étudient des écoles volantes pour les réfugiés. Petit 1970: 86

1940-06-20—21: **BORDEAUX BOMBED, MASSILIA DEPARTS**

- 1940-06-20: **Bordeaux came under the occupied zone:** Having remained one jump ahead of the German armies through the Château of the Loire to Bordeaux, the French government had to move again. Bordeaux was threatened by the German advance guard by June 18 and was bombed on the 20th. When the armistice was signed, Bordeaux was in the occupied zone. Paxton 1972: 18
- 1940-06-21: **Massilia departs, plan to move the government of North Africa:** 26 deputies and one senator had persisted in the earlier plan to move the government of North Africa and had sailed on the Massilia on June 21, only to find themselves detained and identified as cowardly émigrés three weeks later... Paxton 1972: 29

1940-06-22—26: **PÉTAIN & LA CONVENTION D'ARMISTICE**

- 1940-06-22: **France engagée dans la collaboration:** Formellement l'administration se trouva engagée dans la collaboration dès le 22 juin 1940... Baruch 1997: 66
- 1940-06-25: **armistice took effect:** Vichy... The ministers, deputies, and Senators straggled [in] after the armistice took effect on June 25. Paxton 1972: 18
- 1940-06-25: **Pétain kneels at Bordeaux Cathedral:** at Bordeaux Cathedral... Marshal Pétain head of the government but not yet head of state had knelt at the Elevation, an official act of symbolism unknown for many decades. Halls 1995: 49
- 1940-06-25: **Pétain: "the soil does not lie. It is our country itself":** in his rallying call to the French people on 25 June 1940 Marshal Pétain asserted: "the soil does not lie. It remains your resource. It is our country itself." ('Appel', 25 June 1940) Halls 1995: 256

1940-06-25: **MARCEL PEYROUTON URGED CONTINUED RESISTANCE**

- 1940-06-25: **Peyrouton urged continued resistance to the armistice from North Africa** in June 1940... [but] later became [a] fervent supporter of Vichy. Novick 1968: 2

1940-06-29: **PIUS XII TO ACA: VICHY = HERALDING "FRENCH REVIVAL"**

- 1940-06-29: **Pius XII: pro-Vichy:** the Roman Curia... At the very beginning, with a few notable exceptions, its stance was on the whole pro-Vichy... After the defeat the Pope had addressed a letter on 29 June 1940, of commiseration to the bishops, affirming his belief in a French revival... The measures taken by the Vichy regime... could not fail to gratify the Holy See. (Acta Apostolicae Sedis, Rome, volume 32) Halls 1995: 236

1940-07-00: **VOIX DU VATICAN: FIRST CLANDESTINE CHRISTIAN PUB**

- 1940-07-00: **La Voix du Vatican was launched from Marseille** in July 1940 the first clandestine Christian publication. (Christophe 1989: 107) Halls 1995: 225
- 1940-07-00: **La Voix du Vatican, le premier journal catholique paru dans la clandestinité** a diffusé pendant deux ans les émissions en langue française de Radio Vatican. Présenté tout d'abord sous forme de textes ronéotypés, il a été imprimé à partir de fin juillet 1940, non sans interruptions, pour cesser finalement de paraître le 15 octobre 1942. De Montclos et al. 1982: 137

1940-07-03: **LE CORBUSIER IN VICHY: DARLAN, BERGERY, BELIN**

- 1940-07-03: **LC: Vichy was Le Corbusier's main base, 1940-42:** For the next two years, Vichy was Le Corbusier's main base... He arrived in Vichy two days after Marshal Pétain... (LC, letter to Marie, 3 July 1940, Vichy) Weber 2008: 413-6
- 1940-07-03: **LC story about meeting Darlan:** "Admiral Darlan's son wanted Pinceau as a stud for his bitch... For two days, the two of them were brought together in the Admiral's garage... nothing was consummated!" (LC, letter to Marie, 3 July 1940, Vichy) Weber 2008: 417
- 1940-07-03*: **LC connecting with Belin, trade union secretary:** in Vichy... His sole success was a single response from René Belin, "former secretary of the GCT [Confédération générale du travail, a trade union]". (LC, letter to Marie, 2 August 1940, Ozon) Weber 2008: 418
- 1940-07-03*: **LC: flown by new French government to Algiers:** Immediately after the invasion of Paris, Le Corbusier had flown under the auspices of this new French government to Algiers for eight intense days of discussions [June 25-July 2?] on his renewal of that city. (LC-Marie, 3 July 1940, Vichy) Weber 2008: 415

- 1940-07-07: **Jaoul: lettre à LC, Ozon.** (Maison 'M. Burlot', Ozon, 7 July 1940) Maniaque 2005: 27

1940-07-08: LAVAL: PROJET D'INSTAURATION D'UN « RÉGIME NOUVEAU »

- 1940-07-08: **Laval: régime nouveau, audacieux, autoritaire, social, national:** le projet d'instauration d'un «régime nouveau, audacieux, autoritaire, social, national» était présenté par Laval aux parlementaires réunis dans le grand casino de Vichy le 8 juillet 1940... Cantier 2002: 48

1940-07-10: LAVAL: VOTE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGE

- 1940-07-09: **Laval: vote for Constitutional change:** on July 9 [Laval] persuaded the chamber of deputies and the Senate to agree almost unanimously (395-3 and 229-1, respectively) to the principle of Constitutional change. Novick 1968: 5

1940-07-10: PÉTAÏN GRANTED FULL POWERS TO GOVERN:

- 1940-07-10: **Pétain: une nouvelle constitution:** Parlement avait abdiqué sa souveraineté en confiant au maréchal Pétain... la mission de donner au pays une nouvelle constitution... Baruch 1997: 56
- 1940-07-10: **Pétain: by a vote of 569 to 80,** the two chambers sitting together as the national assembly voted not only full legislative, but constituent powers as well, to the 84-year-old Marshal Pétain. Novick 1968: 5

1940-07-10: GERMANY ATTACKS BRITAIN; DE GAULLE PROMISES JUSTICE

- 1940-07-10: **Battle of Britain started over the Straits of Dover:** on 10 July the preliminary of the Battle of Britain started over the Straits of Dover... In mid-August the main [German] attack switched to British airfields...had the Germans persisted in their attacks on these airfields they might... have succeeded in their aim of destroying Britain's air strength. Grenville 2000: 267
- 1940-07-13: **De Gaulle: "liberated France will punish those responsible":** on July 13, General de Gaulle summed up what was to be the attitude of the Free French for many months: "to be sure, one day liberated France will punish those responsible for its disasters, the architects of its servitude... Justice will come; it will come with victory." (De Gaulle, *Discours de guerre*, 1944-45, v. I: 39, 45) Novick 1968: 23

1940-07-17: PUBLIC SERVICE RESTRICTED TO THOSE BORN OF FRENCH FATHER

- 1940-07-17: **Public service restricted to those born of a French father:** a law of 17 July 1940 restricted entry into the public service to those born of a French father. (JO 18 October 1940) Marrus & Paxton 1981: 4

1940-07-26: MGR FELTIN: PREMIER ANNONCEMENT DU LOYALISME

- 1940-07-26: **Feltin: la doctrine catholique nous invite au loyalisme:** « en reconnaissant loyalement le pouvoir légitimement établi – comme la doctrine catholique nous y invite – que nous pouvons le mieux, dans les circonstances difficiles ne semble, servir la France et son avenir. » (*L'Aquitaine*, 26 juillet 1940, p. 238) Clément 1999: 30

1940-08-00: ROMAINS BROADCASTING ANTI-VICHY SPEECHES VIA BBC

- 1940-08-00: **Romains & Couturier: members of Gaullist 'France Forever', NYC:** At the beginning of December 1940, Father Couturier received letter of appreciation from Jules Romains, the President of PEN international and the founder of a chapter for European refugee writers in the United States where he, too, would spend the war years. Romains, who began broadcasting anti-Vichy speeches to France via the BBC in August 1940, was also a member of the pro-Gaullist France Forever group in New York City, and in the letter he expresses satisfaction with the positions the Dominican father was now taking on events in France: "I have heard people speak of you in Canada in terms that were very agreeable for me to hear..." Schwartzwald 2004: 148
- 1940-08-07*: **Romains "Message aux Français": "do not let France be dishonored:** Even as Germany and occupied France tried to profit from Gide's writings and reputation, their opponents were attempting to recruit the nonconformist writer for the resistance cause. A cautious but highly public appeal came from writer Jules Romains, who, like Thomas Mann, had chosen self-imposed exile in America. In an August 1940 "Message aux Français"—part of a broadcast series relayed to France by the B.B.C.—Romains implored the writers of his acquaintance (including Gide, whom he addressed by name) not to let France be dishonored by her defeat or reject the qualities that had historically constituted her *raison d'être* in the eyes of the world. Van Tuyl 2007: 26-7

1940-08-18: LC: PLANS TERMINÉS POUR 'L'USINE DE LANNEMEZAN'

- 1940-08-18: LC: « depuis 6 semaines, dans deux maisons vides »: «... notre arrivée ici [Ozon], fin juin [1940]... Nous... sommes immobiliser ici depuis six semaines, a installé dans deux maisons vides, Pierre dans l'une, la famille Corbu dans l'autre... Nous travaillons à terminer des plans pour l'usine de Lannemezan qui est à 20 km d'ici... J'ai offert mes services au gouvernement. J'attends... (Le Corbusier, lettre à Jean Badovici, 18 août 1940: FLC EI-5-38) Jenger 2002: 267
- 1940-08-18: LC: J'aurais peut-être à me déplacer (Buenos Aires ? Smyrne?). Je ne sais comment arranger les choses... » (Le Corbusier, lettre à Jean Badovici, 18 août 1940: FLC EI-5-38) Jenger 2002: 267

1940-09-00: COUTURIER: VICHY = DETACHED FROM HONOR:

- 1940-09-00: Couturier: « la France pouvait se détacher de son honneur »: « Ils ont estimé que l'intérêt de la France pouvait se détacher de son honneur. Et sans peut-être qu'ils le sentent, c'est comme si l'on disait que la France n'a plus d'intérêt à son honneur désormais ne l'intéresse plus. » (Couturier, *Art et liberté spirituelle*, [1940] 1958: 80) Lion 2005: 52
- 1940-09-00: Couturier: expelled for Gaullist views: In New York, Father Couturier's Dominican brothers became so perturbed by his pro-Gaullist *parti pris* that he was asked to leave their convent [1940*]... Élisabeth de Miribel, who was sent to Canada by De Gaulle to organize support for *la France-Libre*, recalls: "His Dominican brothers in New York didn't want to keep him at their convent because of his Gaullist views." (de Miribel, *La liberté souffre violence*, Paris: Plon, 1981, p. 65) Schwartzwald 2004: 148
- 1940-09-00: Couturier: prohibited from preaching: the future Cardinal (then Archbishop) Spellman would prohibit him from preaching in the churches under his jurisdiction. Schwartzwald 2004: 148
- 1940-09-00: Couturier: "resister of the first hour": "resisters of the first hour"... Their number... was miniscule... The early resistance in 1940 was the work of exceptional individuals, usually already outside the social fabric in some way... Paxton 1972: 38
- 1940-09-00: Couturier: acted in ways that earned him profound respect and gratitude: anti-Semitism [was] not only at the heart of Nazi atrocities but, as Couturier quickly [came] to realize, at the core of policies pursued quite autonomously by the regime at Vichy... Recognizing these truths led Couturier to act in ways during the Second World War that earned him the profound respect and gratitude of exiles, refugees, and the disenfranchised. Schwartzwald 2004: 141-2
- 1940-09-00*: Maritain: Greenwich Village apartment haven for exiles: on a fourth [lecture trip to the USA] events overtook him: the fall of France left him stranded in the country that was to become his second home... Maritain's Greenwich Village apartment circle: he made his apartment in Greenwich Village and intellectual and social haven for others similarly exiled from France. Hughes [1968] 1987: 79

1940-09-00: PEYROUTON: MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR, SEPTEMBER 1940

- 1940-09-00: Peyrouton: Jewish and Muslim citizenship refused in Algeria: Marcel Peyrouton, a former Governor-General of Algeria sympathetic to the European settlers, became minister of the interior in Vichy in September 1940... Marrus & Paxton 1981: 193

1940-09-18: LC: « J'AI PASSÉ UNE SEMAINE À VICHY FIN SEPT »

- 1940-09-18: LC: « J'ai passé une semaine à Vichy fin sept emportant une bonne impression. » (LC-Marie, 31 Oct 1940, FLC R2-4-17T)
- 1940-09-18: LC: « Ce Vichy me fait vichier »: « En arrivant ici ce matin... j'ai les facilités aux affaires étrangères pour pouvoir traverser la ligne et en revenir éventuellement. Et je crois que tu pourras aller à Vézelay... Ce Vichy me fait vichier. Toute flotte encore. Je crois qu'il faut attendre encore... » (LC, letter to Yvonne, 18 Sept 1940, Vichy) Jenger 2002: 271-2

1940-09-18: LC-PEYROUTON: « LA CRÉATION IMMÉDIATE DU CEPU »

- 1940-09-18: LC: CEPU = organisme dépendant du Giraudoux et Pétain: Dans une autre partie de la lettre, [LC] demande: « [...] la création immédiate du CEPU (Comité des Études Préparatoires d'Urbanisme), en donnant une liste de personnalités: Pierre Winter, Le Corbusier, François de Pierrefeu, Jean Hodot [...] dont les références citées sont 'Fondateurs de l'Esprit Nouveau 1919-1923, Plans 1931-1933, Préludes 1933 [...] »... CEPU [était] organisme dépendant du Haut-Commissariat à l'Information (Giraudoux) rattaché directement à la Présidence du Conseil (Maréchal Pétain). (LC, lettre à Peyrouton, 18 septembre 1940: FLC 01-9-70) Catllar 2010: 8

1940-09-25: LC MAISONS MURONDINS PROMOTED FOR COMPAGNONS

- 1941-09-10: **Pétain: Compagnons "avant-garde of the National Revolution"**: The Compagnons, boys of 15 to 20, were supposed to be the "avant-garde of the National Revolution" as Pétain told them in September 1941... (*La France militaire*, 10 September 1941) Paxton 1972: 161
- 1940-09-25: **LC Maisons Murondins promoted for Compagnons**: in the fall of 1940... Le Corbusier compiled two manuscripts, 'La ferme radieuse, le centre coopératif' and 'Les Maisons Murondins'... The second text, dedicated to the Compagnons de France, was oriented towards Vichy's youth program... Le Corbusier, in a charming but paternalistic tone, instructed this "avant-garde of the National Revolution" to build with their own hands youth centers and sports facilities based on the Murondins principle... With these new buildings spreading out "joyously across the countryside", the pamphlet concludes, "young men, inside and outside, can become passionately engaged in active pursuits that will make their bodies beautiful and their minds agile, sharp, and direct". (LC, 'Les Maisons Murondins: un petit cadeau à mes amis Les Compagnons de France', typed manuscript, 25 September 1940) McLeod 1985a: 383, 408 n 19

1940-09-27: PREMIÈRE ORDONNANCE NAZIE RELATIVE AUX JUIFS

1940-09-30: LC'S SYNDICALIST FRIENDS AT VICHY

- 1940-09-30: **LC was one of a number of syndicalists** who became immersed in Vichy. The movement itself was partially responsible for such transfers of allegiance. McLeod 1980: 513
- 1940-09-30: **Winter, Lagardelle: Vichy**: Winter & Lagardelle sont à Vichy depuis hier en prospection. Winter publie son livre [*La Médecine au Moyen Âge*, 1938], important. (LC, letter to Albert et Marie, 1 oct 1940, Ozon) FLC R2-4-16T

1940-10-01: LC LETTER TO ALBERT ET MARIE JEANNERET

- [...] Je suis allé passer une semaine à Vichy. Où j'ai vu pas mal de gens. Il n'y a plus que des gens jeunes. On a nettoyé totalement la ville de tous les crabes qui avaient assailli le G-t naissant. Dans chaque ministère l'atmosphère est toute autre qu'autrefois.
On réalise d'ailleurs des réformes considérables, non encore systématiques mais quotidiennement provoquées par l'évolution de la situation. Quelle partie d'échec d'ailleurs sur le monde entier = reformation moléculaire ! C'est d'ailleurs, aussi semble-t-il, la thèse française. Ne vous alarmez pas des restrictions dont on parle. C'est très supportable. Je dirai même que je m'en fous totalement. Je suis persuadé que l'hygiène publique générale y gagnera.
Une simple mesure comme la suppression de l'apéro, est grosse en germes futurs. Ça n'a l'air de rien, c'est énorme. Les juifs passent un sale moment. J'en suis parfois contrit. Mais il apparaît que leur soif aveugle de l'argent avait pourri le pays.
Les voyages sont très pénibles: 24 heures pour Vichy et des trains bondés. Je suis rentré en avion à Toulouse.
Winter et Lagardelle sont à Vichy depuis hier en prospection. Winter publie son livre, important.
Je n'ai aucune idée sur mon propre avenir. Je ne me vois pas à Paris où je serais coincé. L'hiver nous surprendra-t-il ici ? J'ai installé un poêle dans la chambre. Nous avons cessé les bains avant hier. C'était la limite du froid supportable.
Nous irons passer 1-2 jours près de Lourdes, chez mon ami le R-Père Bordachar, un type magnifique que j'ai revu l'autre jour à Toulouse.
Tout ce que vous m'avez écrit de P me trouve d'accord. La bifur est là – . Il y a des distances trop grandes sur le plan intelligence. Il n'y a plus de contact. On verra. Lui, d'ailleurs, en silence, guette sa route. Je l'ai devinée.
(LC, lettre à Albert et Marie, 1 Oct 1940. FLC R2-4-16T)

1940-10-01—03: PREMIÈRE LOI RELATIVE AU STATUT DES JUIFS:

- 1940-10-01: **Pétain: statut des juifs**: Le texte appelé à devenir la loi de 3 octobre 1940 portant statut des juifs fut adoptée à l'issue de cette séance [1 octobre 1940]. Baruch 1997: 131
- 1940-10-03: **Alibert: Minister of Justice**: Alibert, Minister of Justice, promulgated the first statut des Juifs... The very broad categorization of a Jew... swept many into the net... Halls 1985: 134-5

1940-10-18: JOURNAL OFFICIEL: STATUT DES JUIFS

- 1940-10-18: **Jews singled out as enemy of 'long heredity of French strength'**: a government press release on the Jewish statute published in the *Journal Officiel* and widely referred to in the press, [stated that]... Jews had assumed a "preponderant role" in French public life in recent years, and the present national disaster obliged the government to "retrench the elements of French strength, whose characteristics a long heredity had fixed". (*Le Temps*, 18 October) Marrus & Paxton 1981: 14

1940-10-18: LC ACCEPTED BY MEAUX, COMMISSIONER OF UNEMPLOYMENT

- 1940-10-18: LC accepted by Meaux, deputy Commissioner of unemployment: Le Corbusier... wrote a series of letters to Vichy ministers, petitioning for an official role in the government... and received positive responses from... Meaux, the deputy Commissioner of unemployment... and Jean Picard, a minister of industrial production and labor... (Meaux-LC, 18 October 1940; Picard-LC, 27 December 1940) McLeod 1985a: 384

1940-10-21: LC: « DESTIN DE PARIS » CONTEXTE

- 1940-10-21: LC: L'être humain = transformateur d'énergie solaire: « L'être humain n'est qu'un transformateur d'énergie solaire; la vie n'est qu'une circulation de cette énergie; la lumière est l'un de nos aliments fondamentaux. » (Dr. Pierre Winter, cinquième congrès C.I.A.M., Paris 1937) LC 1941c: 15
- 1940-10-21: LC: les édifices sont les êtres biologiques: Voici l'élément crucial de la réforme architecturale (soleil, lumière, espèce, verdure). Toute la réforme tient ici: les édifices sont les êtres biologiques, vivants, naturels, normaux, logiques; le vrai plan procède du dedans au dehors, lois biologique et non pas du dehors au-dedans... LC 1941c: 24
- 1940-10-21: LC: Eugénisme réduit à zéro: D'un côté l'erreur, chaque jour aggravé par le développement irrésistible de la ville: la rue de largeur immuable, devient trop étroite, se remplit chaque jour davantage de piétons, d'automobiles, de camions, de tramways, de vélos, de canalisations. Bruit, puanteur, poussière. Croisement de rues sans solution possible pour la circulation, gaspillage, danger public. Eugénisme réduit à zéro: ou s'ébattront les enfants? Etc., etc. En un mot, une situation inextricable, sans espoir. LC 1941c: 24
- 1940-10-21: LC: l'édifice comme un arbre, une plante, un être vivant: De l'autre côté, l'édifice quel qu'il soit, se développe comme s'étend et croît un arbre, une plante, un être vivant. Ses faces s'ouvrent à la lumière. Les circulations sont classées et efficaces. Le terrain alentours, et non plus en cours, et disponible pour les nécessités de la vie des hommes (ébats et sports). LC 1941c: 24
- 1940-10-21: LC: Paris amputera une part de sa population par transplantation: Les zones de l'industrie. Le problème entier est remis en question. Les grandes villes ont pour des raisons égoïstes et périlleuses pour la sécurité du pays, attiré à elles l'industrie. Une refonte générale est à faire, une décentralisation est à opérer,— une transplantation—qui, amputant Paris d'une part de sa grande industrie, l'amputera également d'une part de sa population. [21 octobre 1940] LC 1941c: 32
- 1940-10-21: LC: Paris doit se débarrasser de ceux qui n'ont véritablement rien à faire à Paris: Paris se composera: 1. de un, deux, ou trois millions d'habitants. (La qualité de ses habitants réclame examen. Paris doit se débarrasser des foules inertes, de ceux qui n'ont véritablement rien à faire à Paris et dont la place et à la terre ou à des industries à transplanter. [21 octobre 1940] LC 1941c: 32
- 1940-10-21: LC: cités-jardins: chimère cultivée par une société capitaliste: toutes les villes du monde ont sacrifié à l'engouement des cités-jardins,— des banlieues. Chimère cultivée par une société capitaliste heureuse de réduire les populations en poussière d'hommes; par la spéculation; par l'euphorie d'une activité artificielle frénétique. Le cancer ne travaille pas mieux. L'Amérique bat le record. [21 octobre 1940] LC 1941c: 36-7
- 1940-10-21: LC: « îlots insalubres », construction décidée par Maréchal Pétain: il faut aujourd'hui se décider à entrer dans Paris. Les percées nécessaires seront provocatrices d'une richesse immense. Mais il faut pour cela que le tissu urbain de Paris tout entière, se soulève, prenne vie, se prenne à vivre. Et la construction des « îlots insalubres » décidée par le gouvernement du maréchal Pétain peut et doit en être la cause. LC 1941c: 39
- 1940-10-21: LC: octobre 1940: l'Autorité a décidé de conduire le pays: En octobre 1940 une décision de principe, peut conduire la société moderne, dans la réalisation de ses éléments techniques, la même ou l'Autorité a, magistralement, décide de conduire le pays. (LC, Destin de Paris [Ozon, le 21 octobre 1940] LC 1941c: 60
- 1940-10-21: LC: Destin de Paris published under Prelude label: by December 1934 Le Corbusier's deep immersion in the neo-syndicalist movement had ceased... Although the review *Prélude* ceased publication the group continued to keep in close contact until the outbreak of World War II. Lagardelle, Le Corbusier, and Pierrefeu all later worked for the Vichy government. A 'collection *Prélude*' existed until 1942, and Le Corbusier's *Destin de Paris* was published under this label. McLeod 1985a: 154, 199 n. 201

1940-10-22: HITLER AND LAVAL AT MONTOIRE-SUR-LOIR

1940-10-24: HITLER AND PÉTAÏN AT MONTOIRE-SUR-LOIR

1940-10-30: PÉTAÏN: « LA VOIE DE LA COLLABORATION »

- 1940-10-30: **Pétain: « pour maintenir l'unité française de dix siècles »**: « C'est dans l'honneur et pour maintenir l'unité française, une unité de dix siècles, dans le cadre d'une activité constructive de nouvel ordre européen, que j'entre aujourd'hui dans la voie de la collaboration... Je vous tiens aujourd'hui le langage d'un chef. Suivez-moi. » (Philippe Pétain, discours du 30 octobre 1940, dans *Quatre années de pouvoir*, Paris, La Couronne littéraire, 1949, pp. 59-61) Cohen 1993: 113
- 1940-10-30: **Pétain: « une activité constructive de nouvel ordre européen »**: Pétain... dans l'intervention radiodiffusée, qui, le 30 octobre, exposa à des Français... les résultats de l'entretien qu'il avait eu six jours plus tôt avec Hitler en gare de Montoire. Baruch 1997: 79

1940-10-31: LAVAL: "COLLABORATION OF FRANCE, GERMANY & EUROPE"

1940-10-31: LC LETTER TO MARIE JEANNERET FROM OZON

- Ma chère petite maman
- Il y a longtemps que nous n'avons de tes nouvelles ou de celles d'Albert, sauf 2 cartes postales. Je t'ai écrit de Lourde, Lourdes, te disant qu'après consultation sérieuse, Yvonne s'en sortait avec un foie défaillant et qui est guérissable. Elle a déjà d'ailleurs repris depuis ces 15 jours écoulés.
Voici le grand coup de barre donné par le Gt Français. Nous sommes entre les mains d'un vainqueur et son attitude pourrait être écrasante. Si le marché est sincère, Hitler peut couronner sa vie par une œuvre grandiose: l'aménagement de l'Europe. C'est un enjeu qui peut le tenter, de préférence à une vengeance sans fruits. L'inconnue est là. Personnellement je crois le jeu bien fait. La France, à moins des transplantations criminelles de l'invasion germanique, est un morceau inamalgamable et si le problème consiste à mettre chaque nation dans son rôle, à tuer l'argent des banques, à résoudre les tâches réelles, réalistes, c'est alors bon.
C'est la fin des discours de tribune ou de meetings, de l'éloquence et de la stérilité parlementaire. La révolution se fera dans le sens de l'ordre et non pas hors des conditions humaines.
Quoiqu'il en soit, les dés sont jetés. L'Angleterre fulmine. Sa radio en français du soir, crache des flots d'éloquence qui en toute sincérité, me paraît parfaitement creuse, bien que dangereuse quand elle tombe dans les oreilles qui se laissent bercer par le ronflement des périodes.
Nous sommes toujours entièrement privés depuis 3 mois de nouvelles de la zone occupée, sauf ce matin on renseignements de nos concierges 24 [rue] N[un]g[esser-et-]Coli [Paris] disant que l'appartement est intact et qu'on ignore si la maison sera chauffée.
On peut, des événements, présumer que le Gt rentrera à Paris. dans ce cas ma conduite est claire, je rentre aussi.
Les distances sont néfastes. On ne peut pas traiter de loin. Il faut voir les gens. Tu sais que j'ai passé une semaine à Vichy fin sept emportant une bonne impression.
Depuis j'ai entrepris et terminé une tâche d'actualité: J'ai rédigé une plaquette de 50 pages avec 20 dessins, intitulée: "Destin de Paris". Elle est partie avant-hier chez l'éditeur. Elle met les pieds dans le plat et démontre avec une clarté absolue la nécessité de voir le sort de Paris d'ensemble et dans l'esprit nouveau.
Je relisais l'autre jour quelques lignes de "Des canons des munitions..." Ce livre rejeté par les communistes, me semble être la rédaction même des idées directrices de Vichy. Encore faut-il qu'on lise ce livre !
Il semble que pour toi tout aille normalement Albert est-il rentré ? Tu dois t'ennuyer sans lui. Veille au chauffage. Pas d'économie d'argent criminelle ! C'est la saison traîtresse surtout pour les personnes âgées. Sois sage, et fais ce qu'il faut. Tu le promets, n'est-ce pas ?
Winter est rentré à Paris la semaine dernière. Les froids commencent ici. Tout va bien pour nous. Faites qu'il en soit de même pour vous.
Au revoir, petite maman, nous t'assurons de notre grande affection. Yv et Ed. (FLC R2-4-17T)

1940-10-31: PETIT 1970: ACCOUNT OF IDEOLOGY & DE GAULLE

- **Petit 1970: « de Gaulle, Enfin, un peu de courage »**: avec sa femme et Pierre Jeanneret, Le Corbusier séjour dans une ferme abandonnée au pied des Pyrénées à Ozon par Tournay, où il écrit deux livres: «Destin de Paris» et «Les murondins» qui paraîtront l'année suivante. «Depuis dix jours à Ozon. L'armistice a été signé le 22 juin par le maréchal Pétain. Les chambres ont lâché. Nous avons su qu'à Londres, un général de Gaulle, celui des tanks, a lancé un appel pour poursuivre la guerre. Enfin, un peu de courage. » Petit 1970: 86

1940-11-14: NAZIS EXPEL LORRAINE, ALSACE & MOSELLE

1940-11-14: COVENTRY WAS BLITZED BY NAZIS

1940-11-16: DE GAULLE: L'ÉTAT FRANÇAIS = ILLEGAL, UNCONSTITUTIONAL

- 1940-11-16: **De Gaulle: "Etat français" = illegal and unconstitutional:** General de Gaulle outlined what was to become the official position of the movement concerning Vichy's legality... elaborated in an article by Professor Cassin in the following month [December 1940]... The "État français" was illegal and unconstitutional. Novick 1968: 22-3

1940-11-16: LC: '1940 = A WORLD BEING BORN'

- 1940-11-16: **LC: 1940 is the point of inflection:** "this year 1940 is the point of inflection between a world dying and the world being born." (LC to Marie, 16 Nov 1940, Ozon) Weber 2008: 429

1940-11-25: LC SUMMONED BACK TO VICHY BY PEYROUTON, MEETS GIRAUDOUX

- 1940-11-25: **Peyrouton summoned LC from Ozon back to Vichy:** the Ministry of the Interior [Peyrouton] had summoned LC from Ozon back to Marshal Pétain's seat of power [in Vichy] on November 25. [No source] Weber 2008: 430
- 1940-11-25*: **LC in Vichy with Giraudoux:** Le Corbusier was in Vichy for only a few days, but he had three long conversations with Giraudoux. The playwright intended to ask Marshal Pétain and others in his cabinet to attend a public lecture, planned for December on urbanism... [No source] Weber 2008: 430

1940-12-27: LC ACCEPTED BY MINISTER OF PRODUCTION & LABOR PICARD

- 1940-12-27: **LC accepted by Picard, Minister of industrial production and labor:** Le Corbusier... wrote a series of letters to Vichy ministers, petitioning for an official role in the government... and received positive responses from... Meaux, the deputy Commissioner of unemployment... and Jean Picard, a minister of industrial production and labor... (Meaux-LC, 18 October 1940; Picard-LC, 27 December 1940) McLeod 1985a: 384

1940-12-31: HAUTECŒUR CRÉE L'ORDRE DES ARCHITECTES

- 1940-12-31: **Hautecœur: l'Ordre des architectes:** Louis Hautecœur, qui remplaça Georges Huisman (embarqué à Bordeaux sur le Massilia le 17 juin 1940) à la tête de la Direction des Beaux-Arts du ministère de l'Éducation nationale... ce fidèle pétainiste... crée un Ordre des architectes. Bergès 1997: 32

1941: MARITAIN, PRÊTRES OUVRIERS & CATHOLIC RESISTANCE

- 1941: **Suhard: Marxian training of priests at Lisieux:** Cardinal Suhard... promoted a mission-centered seminary... at Lisieux in 1941... students were encouraged to read Karl Marx and other communist materials... Arnal 1986: 25
- 1941: **Maritain: BBC broadcasts & Christian resistance:** throughout the occupation there had come from the world outside encouragement by Christians that stiffened Christian resistance... Maritain's book, *A travers le désastre*, written and published in America, severely critical of Vichy, was commented on by the BBC on several occasions, and other statements by the well-known Christian philosopher were broadcast. (Maritain, *À travers le désastre*, 1941) Halls 1995: 213
- 1941-44: **Maritain utilized as justification by Catholic resisters:** Catholics felt themselves somewhat isolated, because they lacked official blessing. The more intellectual therefore seized upon the writings of Maritain and 'dissident' theologians to justify their actions. Halls 1995: 219

1941-01-04: DUBOURG: « SOUMIS À L'AUTORITÉ LÉGITIME »

- 1941-01-04: **Dubourg: « nous respectons, nous vénérons et nous aimons le chef de l'État »:** «soumis à l'autorité légitime comme notre foi religieuse nous ont fait un devoir, nous respectons, nous vénérons et nous aimons le chef de l'État. Nous ne sommes pas et nous ne serons jamais de ceux qui se permettent de juger ses décisions et de les condamner alors qu'ils ne connaissent rien des raisons qui les motivent. » (*La semaine religieuse du diocèse de Besançon*, 4 janvier 1941, p. 3) Clément 1999: 50

1941-01-15: ACA: « LOYALISME AU POUVOIR ÉTABLI »

- 1941-01-15: **ACA: « loyalisme au pouvoir établi »:** « sans y être inféodé jamais, les clergés pratiquer un loyalisme sincère envers le pouvoir établi du gouvernement de la France et entretiendra les fidèles dans cet esprit. » (ACA, Directives de la hiérarchie au clergé, 15 janvier 1941) Clément 1999: 53

1941-01-15—02-15: **LC: 'L'URBANISME DE LA RÉVOLUTION NATIONALE'**

- 1941-01-15: **LC gained temporary appointment with help of Peyrouton**: Le Corbusier gained, through the assistance of Peyrouton, the minister of interior and former Governor-General of Algeria, a temporary appointment in January 1941. (Meaux-LC, 'Ordre de Mission, Commissaire-adjoint à la lutte contre le chômage', 15 January 1941) McLeod 1985a: 384
- 1941-01-17: **LC in Vichy: 'sides are taken'**: "this is the hour of events, when sides are taken, consequences revealed." (LC, letter to Marie, 17 January 1941, Vichy) Weber 2008: 432
- 1941-02-01: **LC: Comité d'études du Bâtiment**: in February 1940, André Boll, the theater critic for *Plans*, and François de Pierrefeu joined Le Corbusier in serving on a Committee Latournerie, officially entitled the Comité d'Études du Bâtiment. René Belin, the minister of industrial production [and the most prominent syndicalist at Vichy], had asked Robert Latournerie, a leading jurist and member of the Conseil d'état, to study "the proper means to activate the building industry" with a view to establishing a more general "housing program". Latournerie in turn asked Meaux, the Commissioner of unemployment, to form a committee for this task... (Boll, *Ordre de Mission*, 1 February 1941; Pierrefeu, *Ordre de Mission*, 23 February 1941) McLeod 1985a: 385/409 n 27
- 1941-02-15: **LC: 'Le logis nouveau'**: Les multiples chapelles de l'État français se méfient de celui qui, tout en se définissant comme un homme de Maréchal, n'hésite pas une seconde a publié dans ses brochures tenues en main par les chantres de la collaboration franco-allemande [*Urbanisme d'aujourd'hui*, Paris, Sequana, 1941]... Publié sous la direction de Robert Fabre-Luce, proche parent du mémorialiste et journaliste Alfred Fabre-Luce, fonda en 1926 la Droite nouvelle. Pangermaniste convaincu, il participa avec le comte Ernest Zu Reventlow à la fondation d'une Alliance raciste européenne. (LC, 'Le logis nouveau', *Urbanisme d'aujourd'hui*, Paris, Sequana, 1941, in Badoui 1987: 457)
- 1941-02-15: **LC: 'Le logis nouveau'**: *Urbanisme d'aujourd'hui*, Paris, Sequana, 15 février 1941

1941-02-09—17: **DARLAN GOVERNMENT COMMENCES**

1941-03-21: **LC SPOKE ON VICHY RADIO**

- 1941-03-21: **LC: « j'ai parlé à la radio d'État (radio jeunesse) »**: « La semaine dernière (mercredi je crois) j'ai parlé à la radio d'État, à 12:20 (radio jeunesse)... » (Le Corbusier, lettre à Marie et Albert, 28-30 mars 1941: FLC R2-4-28) Jenger 2002: 274

1941-03-28—04-01: **LC & ARGENTINE: IDEOLOGY & COMMITMENT**

- 1941-03-28: **LC: « Si Vichy crevait subitement, ce serait, sans retard, l'Argentine »**: « Pendant ce temps Monsieur Peyrouton télégraphie de Buenos Aires aux affaires étrangères d'ici, que l'université de Tucuman me demande... Et à Buenos Aires mon plan est appuyé par l'ambassadeur de France. Si Vichy crevait subitement, ce serait, sans retard, l'Argentine. Voilà la situation... » (Le Corbusier, lettre à Marie et Albert, 28-30 mars 1941, FLC R2-4-28) Jenger 2002: 274

1941-03-28—04-01: **PETIT 1970: ACCOUNT OF IDEOLOGY & COMMITMENT**

- **Petit 1970: « Je ne veux et je ne puis quitter la France après cette défaite »**: mais pour moi, mon rôle est ici, dans le pays. Je ne veux et je ne puis quitter la France après cette défaite. Je dois me battre là où je pense qu'il est nécessaire pour mettre le domaine bâti sur son véritable terrain. » Petit 1970: 86
- **Petit 1970: l'ambassadeur lui demande d'aller à Buenos Aires, il décline**: L'ambassadeur de France en Argentine [Peyrouton], qui connaît et Le Corbusier depuis 1936, envoie de Buenos Aires par le service des Affaires Étrangères des demandes provenant des autorités de Buenos Aires, de la Plata, de Tucuma pour prier Le Corbusier d'aller faire des cours d'urbanisme et construire plusieurs édifices. Le Corbusier décline ces propositions renouvelées, pensant que sa bataille et en France et non à l'étranger. Petit 1970: 92

1941-03-29: **LC & MARÉCHAL PÉTAÏN**

- 1941-03-29: **LC interview with 'Le M. lui-meme'**: on March 29, 1941, Le Corbusier had an interview with an official high up in the Vichy government... He told his mother it was "Le M. lui-meme" who looked him in the eyes and said that the architect would be supported by every available resource within the government. (LC, letter to Marie, 27 March 1941, Vichy) Weber 2008: 434
- 1941-03-29: **LC: « Le M = désiré que notre organisation fut mise pleine action »**: « Dimanche 30 mars. Hier la grande entrevue a eu lieu, avec celui qui à plein pouvoir pour mettre en œuvre le domaine bâti de la France. À notre stupéfaction, il déclare vouloir faire usage de notre organisation et la considérerait comme son organe d'inspiration. S'adressant à moi tout particulièrement, il a

déclaré qu'il serait vu le plus grande possible, avec toutes les ressources disponibles, avec les idées les plus avancées et de telle façon que le pays se manifeste partout par des grandes œuvres et d'une grande entreprise. Le M lui-même avait désiré que notre organisation fût mise pleine action. Si bien que depuis hier, l'horizon est net... (Le Corbusier, lettre à Marie et Albert, 28-30 mars 1941: FLC R2-4-28) Jenger 2002: 275

1941-04-01: LANNEMEZAN: INTERNMENT CAMP FOR NOMADS OPENED

1941-04-04—07: VALLAT: ANTI-SEMITIC STATUTES MANDATED BY PÉTAÏN

- 1941-04-04: **Pétain: 3 jobs: professions, aryanization, North Africa:** at the Hotel Majestic in Paris on April 4... Vallat explained his mandate. Marshal Pétain had given him three jobs: to broaden the statute of October 1940 to include professions and businesses; to oversee the aryanization of the economy... and to examine the serious and difficult question of Jews in North Africa... Marrus & Paxton 1981: 97

1941-04-06—12: HITLER INVADED YUGOSLAVIA

1941-05-14: LA PREMIÈRE RAFLE À PARIS...

- 1941-05-14: **les listes étaient de recensement d'octobre 1940...** Cohen 1993: 99

1941-05-27: LC COMMISSION POUR L'HABITATION IMMOBILIÈRE

- 1941-05-27: **Pétain signed mandate for CEHCI:** an official mandate signed by Pétain 27 May 1941, extended the group's life [Latournerie's Comité d'Études du Bâtiment], under yet another title, that of Comité d'Études de l'Habitation et de la Construction Immobilière (CEHCI), and charged the committee to formulate a national building policy to embark upon "all studies or missions that it judges useful, in France, in the Empire, or in foreign countries"... (*Journal Officiel* 73, n. 148, 29 May 1941, p. 2241) This committee was created by a decree of the Délégué Générale à l'Équipement nationale (DGEN), and was part of the DGEN. Headed by François Lehideux, the former director of Renault, the delegation was involved in creating France's first large-scale economic plan, the plan d'Équipement national. McLeod 1985a: 385, 409
- 1941-05-27: **LC: commission d'étude problèmes de l'habitation & construction immobilière:** « La loi nous instituant un 'Commission d'étude des problèmes de l'habitation et la construction immobilière' a été signée le 27 mai par le Maréchal et publié le 29 dans le journal officiel. Nous devrions ainsi être l'organe pensant du commissaire général à l'équipement national. » (Le Corbusier à Marie et Albert, 2 juin 1941) Jenger 2002: 277

1941-06-02: LC: DEMANDE DE DÉROGATION AU TITRE DE LA LOI DU 17 JUILLET

- 1941-06-02: **LC: CV distorted the facts of family origins:** Le Corbusier had to create a lengthy document in accordance with the regulations of the Vichy government. It proved his qualifications to serve. Entitled "Request for a waiver according to the law of 17 July 1940" (*Demande de dérogation au titre de la loi du 17 juillet 1940*) it was an elaborate curriculum vitae that distorted the facts at will, particularly in its emphasis on Le Corbusier's Frenchness. The architect gave his name as "LE CORBUSIER (Charles-Édouard)." He came "from a family of French origin, proscribed during the wars of religion". He stressed his French naturalization... In a summation of his career, he wrote: "has never had political involvements, but was alternately accused, as necessity commanded, of communism and fascism"... (LC, 'Demande de dérogation au titre de la loi du 17 juillet 1940', 2 June 1941, in Weber 2008: 437)
- 1941-06-02: **LC: CV allowed him to work with the Vichy government:** This document... would allow him to work with the new French government... (LC, 'Request for a waiver according to the law of 17 July 1940', 2 June 1941) Weber 2008: 437

1941-06-02: PETIT 1970: ACCOUNTS OF COMMISSION AND CANDIDATURE

- **LC 1950: Une loi m'a obligé de faire acte de candidature:** c'est l'occupation allemande à Paris... Une loi m'a obligé de faire acte de candidature à l'Ordre des Architectes créé par Vichy fin 1940. Ma candidature demeurera à l'Ordre, à l'examen, quatorze mois durant jusqu'au moment où, déjà, l'on entend le canon anglais du côté de Versailles (été 1944). LC 1950b: 42
- **Petit 1970: l'Ordre des architectes = LC, Perret, Fressinet autorisait:** Fin 1940, une loi de Vichy [31 décembre 1940] institue l'Ordre des architectes. Une décision ministérielle autorisera trois personnes non diplômées à construire; ce sont Auguste Perret, Eugène Fressynet [sic] et Le Corbusier. Petit 1970: 86
- **Petit 1970: Une loi m'a OBLIGÉ de faire acte de candidature à l'Ordre:** « Il faut que le lecteur se représente les circonstances de cette recherche: c'est l'occupation à Paris. Dispersion des gens,

d'où difficulté de les réunir. Dans la pénible atmosphère de Paris, le débat sur l'architecture entre gens de métier est loin de s'éclairer. Une loi m'a obligé de faire acte de candidature à l'Ordre des architectes créés par Vichy fin 1940. Ma candidature demeurera à l'Ordre, à l'examen, quatorze mois durant jusqu'au moment où, déjà, l'on entend le canon anglais du côté de Versailles (été 1944). Petit 1970: 92

- **Petit 1970: « Ai été obligé d'établir mon dossier pour l'ordre des architectes »:** 26 janvier 1943, Paris: « Ai été obligé d'établir mon dossier pour poser une « candidature » à l'ordre des architectes» Petit 1970: 92

1941-06-02: LC: « SUR LES 4 ROUTES »

- 1941-06-02: **LC "la maison des hommes" et "Les 4 routes":** « Pierrefeu et moi finissons en commun un livre "La maison des hommes" chez Plon qui est un exposé bref et éclatant de doctrine... .. "Les 4 routes" sort à l'impression de la NRF... » (LC, lettre à Marie et Albert, 2 June 1941) Jenger 2002: 277
- 1941-06-02: **LC: « Sinon, l'Argentine pour moi »:** « Résumé: cette semaine sera peut-être déterminante. Conséquence de la mission en suisse. Sinon tout est brisé. Alors les aider pour Yvonne et l'Argentine pour moi. Et bien des événements politiques se dessinent de plus à l'horizon français... » (LC, lettre à Marie et Albert, 2 June 1941) Jenger 2002: 278
- 1941-06-02*: **LC: Hitler, une lueur de bien, retour aux traditions:** Depuis 1933, très vive réaction nationale contre toutes les influences extérieures, contre celles aussi qui sentaient quelque chose de très particulier, dont l'odeur était véritablement nauséabonde — peintures berlinoises d'entre deux lumières, morbides, interlopes, méritant en fait l'excommunication. Dans ce sévère bouleversement, une lueur de bien: Hitler [‘the authorities’, D. Todd trans., p. 121] réclame des matériaux sains et souhaite par ce retour aux traditions, retrouver la robuste santé qui peut se découvrir en toute race quelle qu'elle soit. Car Berlin avait mis au monde une architecture inquiétante d'un « modernisme » affiché, autant que ce terme peut, à l'occasion, contenir de pensées haïssables. Et Hitler n'en voulait plus [omitted, D. Todd trans., p. 121]. Le réseau des routes automobiles n'existant pas en Allemagne, Colbert ayant manqué, c'était une souffrance de rouler en zigzag et l'on ne reprenait goût à la route que passé Karlsruhe, en rentrant dans les terres organisées par Napoléon. Toutefois, Hitler [omitted, D. Todd trans., p. 121], mobilisant les jeunesses pour le travail, vient d'achever de splendides autostrades qui sont certainement les plus belles, qui vont d'est en ouest, pour des transports rapides. LC 1941a: 165-6

1941-06-02—16: LC: IDEOLOGY AND PROPAGANDA

- 1941-06-16: **LC proposed 'seven exemplary works' for realization:** under the auspices of the CEHCI, Le Corbusier proposed "seven exemplary works" for current realization by the Vichy government. Heading the list was the Algiers project. (LC, 'Intervention de M. Le Corbusier à la séance du plan de la région d'Alger le 16 juin 1941', typed manuscript) McLeod 1985a: 387
- 1941-06-16*: **LC flew to Algiers mandated by Moulin de Labarthète:** in June 1941 Le Corbusier flew to Algiers to address the Regional Committee with a special mandate from Henri du Moulin de Labarthète, Pétain's chef de cabinet. (LC, 'Intervention de M. Le Corbusier à la séance du plan de la région d'Alger le 16 juin 1941', typed manuscript) McLeod 1985a: 387-8
- 1941-06-16*: **LC met du Moulin de Labarthète through Giraudoux.** McLeod 1985a: 399

1941-06-16: CARREL FONDATION NATIONALE ÉTUDE PROBLÈMES HUMAINS

- 1941-06-16: **Carrel: Centre d'études des problèmes humaines:** Following the defeat of 1940 and the coming of Vichy, Alexis Carrel set up an Institute of biomedical research and named it after Coutrot's center [*Centre d'études des problèmes humaines*]. Reggiani 2007: 93

1941-06-19: DUBOURG: « SOUMISSION À L'AUTORITÉ LÉGITIME »

- 1941-06-19: **Dubourg: « soumission à l'autorité légitime »:** il demande à ses curés de lire une lettre pastorale sur « Notre devoir présent » dans laquelle il rappelle à ses clercs et fidèles la doctrine de Léon XIII sur la soumission à l'autorité légitime. (Dubourg, adresse pastorale, 19 juin 1941) Clément 1999: 68-9, 148
- 1941-06-19: **Dubourg pendant la guerre de Syrie: « suivre le chef de l'État »:** « Pendant la guerre de Syrie (7 juin 1941 - 12 juillet 1941)... Les premiers mouvements de résistance dans les villes contestent la légitimité du régime... Les archevêques de Toulouse et de Besançon interviennent... pour clore des propos et des débats pernicieux contre l'état français... Mgr Dubourg avait rappelé à ses clercs et à ses fidèles la doctrine de Léon XIII sur la soumission à l'autorité légitime... Il justifie cette intervention politique par la nécessité de lever « le trouble où se trouvent actuellement certains esprits, inquiets de la marche des événements et peu disposés à suivre le chef

de l'État dans la voie où il s'est engagé... » (*La Semaine religieuse de Besançon*, 19 juin 1941, pp. 257-8) Clément 1999: 68-9

1941-06-22: GERMANY LAUNCHED WAR AGAINST RUSSIA

1941-06-30: LC-WEYGAND: URBANISME DE RÉVOLUTION NATIONALE

- 1941-06-30: **LC-Weygand**: « aux côtés du chef, la présence des techniciens diverses »: le 30 juin 1941 l'architecte Le Corbusier... écrit au général Weygand pour tenter de rallier à ses idées. «C'est là une nouvelle ère qui s'ouvre en Afrique, nécessitant aux côtés d'un grand chef la présence des techniciens diverses, capable d'assumer cette tâche, depuis l'idée jusqu'à la réalisation concrète [...] un urbanisme de la Révolution nationale »... (Le Corbusier, plan d'urbanisation d'Alger, Centre des archives d'outre-mer, fonds du gouvernement général de l'Algérie, série H, affaires indigènes, surveillance politique, n. 40) Cantier 2002: 247

1941-07-14: LC: URBANISME REJECTED BY FRANÇOIS LEHIDEUX

- 1941-07-14: **Lehideux terminates work with LC, Pierrefeu, and Boll**: On Bastille Day 1941, François Lehideux sent a message to the committee that he saw "no possibility of working with Le Corbusier, François de Pierrefeu, and Andre Boll in any way." ('Note à l'intention du Cabinet du Maréchal', in Bordachar, p. 174) McLeod 1985a: 399

1941-07-18: LC: PÉTAÏN APPROUVE SES RECHERCHES

- 1942-07-18: **Pétain: 'Maison des hommes' = "répartition d'un meilleur ordre social"**: En recevant *La Maison des hommes* dédicacée par Le Corbusier, le chef de l'État [Pétain] lui fait dire en retour qu'il «approuve» ses recherches et «la liberté de l'esprit» avec laquelle sont abordés «les problèmes essentiels du logis humain, condition d'une plus juste répartition du bonheur et d'un meilleur ordre social.» (Pétain, cited by Jardel, letter to de Pierrefeu, 18 juillet 1941 [sic: 1942 ?], FLC-DI-08, Badouï 1987: 457

1941-08-11: LC AND LUCIEN ROMIER IN VICHY

- 1941-08-11: **Romier: Secretary of State**: Romier was a member of the National Council in 1941, then Secretary of State from 11 August 1941 to his demission on 31 December 1943.
- 1941-08-11: **LC: found colleague, Lucien Romier in Vichy**: Le Corbusier found a number of old acquaintances at Vichy: the former director of *Redressement Française*, Lucien Romier, who was Marshal Pétain's close adviser and Secretary of State. McLeod 1985a: 385

1941-10-06: MARITAIN: CATHOLIC RESISTANCE

- 1941-10-06: **Maritain denounced anti-Semitism as anti-Christian**: from his American exile, Jacques Maritain... castigated anti-Semitism as anti-Christian, a conspiracy to nullify the effects of Christ's passion, since Israel's suffering was that of Christ himself. (Maritain, 'On Antisemitism', in *Christianity and Crisis*, 6 October 1941; quoted in *Témoignage Chrétien* volume VI and VII) Halls 1995: 102

1941-10-15: DUBOURG: BLESSÉ PAR LA FRONDE DE CERTAINS PRÊTRES

- 1941-10-15: **Dubourg: absence d'obéissance du clergé = « injurieux »**: Mgr Dubourg, blessé par la fronde de certains prêtres qui au mois de juin précédent n'avaient pas lu sa lettre sur la devoir d'obéissance au pouvoir légitime, l'écrivit franchement en octobre 1941: « on a été jusqu'à dire que cette note n'a représenté à la pensée de l'archevêque, qu'elle lui avait été imposée, donc qu'elle n'obligeait pas en conscience. On ne sait certainement pas rendu compte de ce qu'avait d'injurieux pour le chef du diocèse une telle insinuation. Un évêque qui agirait de la sorte, raillerie sa mission et serait digne de mépris. » (Circulaire n. 12, 15 octobre 1941, ADB, fonds Dubourg) Clément 1999: 154

1941-11-01—10: LC IN PARIS: IDEOLOGY, PROPAGANDA & COMMISSIONS

- 1941-11-01: **LC working on Lot insalubre n. 6**: on 1 November, the new president of the municipal Council in Paris [Charles Trochu, editorial committee of *Plans* and *Prélude*, 1930-32], asked him to take charge of a condemned housing block, "number 6". (LC, postcard to Marie, 6 November 1941, Vichy; LC, telegram to Marie, 8 November 1941, Geneva, in Weber 2008: 440)
- 1941-11-06: **LC: 'Paris, here the drama is unfolding'**: "Paris... It is here, after all, that we find creative spirits, and it is here that the present drama is unfolding. I shall figure out a way to obtain a permanent pass which will permit me to travel back and forth." (LC, postcard to Marie, 6 November 1941, Vichy) Weber 2008: 441

1941-11-01: PETIT 1970: ACCOUNT OF IDEOLOGY & COMMISSIONS

- **Petit 1970: « 1941: privé de toute commande particulière ou officielle »:** 1941: privé de toute commande particulière ou officielle, Le Corbusier écrit en collaboration avec François de Pierrefeu: « La maison des hommes », et « La Charte D'Athènes », qui demeurent encore maintenant une véritable bible de l'urbanisme et d'architecture. Petit 1970: 86
- **Petit 1970: Charte d'Athènes = « anonyme par prudence »:** « 1^{er} novembre 1941, Vichy: «J'ai rédigé la Charte d'Athènes avec préface de Giraudoux. Mais ce travail doit être anonyme. Par prudence, mon texte sera réécrit par Jeanne de Villeneuve. Le ministre de l'Agriculture vient d'écrire que le scandale de ma présence doit cesser. » Petit 1970: 86

1941-11-17: CARREL: FONDATION FRANÇAISE ÉTUDE PROBLÈMES HUMAINS

- 1941-11-17: **LC: cherchait d'intégrer dans la FFEPH:** Au moment... [LC] cherchait activement – en sollicitant d'ailleurs l'aide de Savina - à intégrer dans la *Fondation française pour l'étude des problèmes humains*, dont Carrel avait obtenu la création le 17 novembre 1941... Le Couédic 2005: 48
- 1941-11-17*: **LC ideology = parallel Alexis Carrel's foundation:** in November 1941 Alexis Carrel had under Pétain's authority created the Foundation for the Study of Human Problems [FFEPH]... LC's idea of destroying the most decrepit parts of cities echoed Alexis Carrel's concept of extermination. LC owned Alexis Carrel's seminal book and annotated his copy copiously. Weber 2008: 440

1941-11-30: LC LEAVES PARIS, BACK IN VICHY

1941-12-15: LC: “WE ARE AN ARMY OF THE RIGHTEOUS”

- 1941-12-15: **LC: “we are an army of the righteous”:** "reaction trumps everywhere, fear, weakness, backward glances. Yet we are an army of the righteous, but it must be reinforced. Only the Marshal is young... (LC-Marie, 15 December 1941, Vichy) Weber 2008: 442
- 1941-12-15: **LC: “Those who have no music, art, or thought are pitiable”:** Those who have no music, art, or thought are pitiable, the rest of us redeemed by what we have. Courage then! Here in this insipid and deluded Vichy we are bored to death!" (LC-Marie, 15 December 1941, Vichy) Weber 2008: 442

1942: COUTURIER, CHAGALL & LÉGER IN AMERICA

- 1942: **Couturier and Léger in America:** Father Couturier had long admired Léger's work, [and] came to know his fellow countrymen personally... during their wartime exile in America. Friendship with Couturier did much to modify Léger's views on the religious community, and, though he never pretended to religious belief, he did temper his previous anti-clericalism to the extent that collaboration in a sacred monument became possible. Rubin 1961: 116
- 1942: **Couturier and Chagall in New York:** Chagall's flight from France and his wartime sojourn in New York brought him into closer contact with certain members of French culture in exile... this was especially true in regard to Father Couturier, with whom he became quite friendly. Rubin 1961: 137

1942-01-00: SOUTHEAST ASIA FALLS UNDER JAPANESE DOMINATION

1942-02-06: PIUS XII: CHENU PLACED ON PAPAL INDEX

- 1942-02-06: **Chenu 'Le Saulchoir': l'ouvrage a été mis à l'index:** l'ouvrage a été mis à l'index le 6 février 1942 (« L'historiographie contemporaine sur les origines de la liturgie eucharistique [1^{er} et II^e siècles]. Entre histoire et théologie ») R. Chelcea 2006
- 1942-02-06: **Chenu 'Le Saulchoir': entraîne l'exclusion de son auteur du poste de régent:** Le manifeste du P. Chenu, *Une école de théologie, Le Saulchoir*, publié *ad usum privatum* en 1937, connaît des difficultés et entraîne finalement l'exclusion de son auteur du poste de régent des études (1942). La collection *Unum Sanctam*, créée par le P. Congar en 1937, évite de peu la condamnation entre 1939 et 1941... (Fouilloux) De Montclos et al. 1982: 68
- 1942-02-06*: **Chenu 'Le Saulchoir': faith expressed in statements connected to history:** Chenu's writings on doctrinal development simply applied the basic sacramental principle that one could know God only in a human manner (*modum cognoscentis*) and that the word of God came to us in human words: “If the economy of revelation develops in time, and if therefore faith finds its authentic expression in statements that are connected to history, the particular instance—which is

all it is—of development of doctrine to the interiority of the new economy, in the life of the Church, does not worry the theologian: it is normal, and here the law of the Incarnation becomes manifest.” (Chenu, *Une école de théologie*, 1937, p. 139) Boersma 2009: 211

- 1942-02-06*: **Chenu ‘Le Saulchoir’: opened the door to some degree of relativism:** For Chenu, the law of the Incarnation implied doctrinal development. He recognized that this opened the door to some degree of relativism. But, he insisted, it was merely the relativism that inevitably accompanied the nature of human language. (Chenu, *Une école de théologie*, 1937, p. 135, 140) Boersma 2009: 211
- 1942-02-06*: **Chenu allowed room for human history argumentation:** Chenu's sacramental ontology allowed room not just for human history but also for intellectual argumentation and theological systems... Boersma 2009: 211

1942-03-07: LC IN COLLABORATION WITH CARREL’S FFEPPH

- 1942-03-07: **LC: “collaboration of Carrel's research Institute”:** having recently met with Alexis Carrel in Paris [February 21 1941], Le Corbusier had written to say how pleased he was that Carrel had promised the committee he [LC] was trying to form "the collaboration of his [Carrel's] research Institute and his personal sympathy"... Pétain made the committee official 10 days later [17* March?] LC was thrilled to have him [Carrel] among the members. (LC-Carrel, 7 March 1942, Vézelay) Weber 2008: 448

1942-03-03: ALLIED BOMBING OF PARIS BEGINS

1942-03-19: VALLAT FIRED BY DARLAN, CGQJ CHIEF OF STAFF ARRESTED

1942-03-19: LC TO BE IN CHARGE OF PARIS RECONSTRUCTION

- 1942-03-19: **LC proposes Paris committee w/ Trochu, right-wing ‘6 Feb Man’:** in March 1942 Le Corbusier proposed the Committee for the Study of Habitation and Urbanism in Paris (CEHUP)... which he hoped would begin to implement his Paris plans. The committee would work directly with Charles Trochu, president of the Paris city Council and a right-wing veteran of 6 February 1934... Trochu also served as the general secretary of the National Front, the right wing coalition opposed to the Popular Front... McLeod 1985a: 395-6
- 1942-03-19: **LC w/ Pierrefeu, Winter, Giraudoux, Carrel, Lods, Bergery:** Le Corbusier volunteered to serve as director of the committee [CEHUP]. Other proposed members included Pierrefeu, Winter, Giraudoux, Alexis Carrel, Auguste Perret, Prost, Freyssinet, Lods, and the Frontist leader Gaston Bergery. (LC, diagram of CEHUP, no date; ‘decree relative to the organization of CEHUP’, n.d.) McLeod 1985a: 395-6
- 1942-03-19: **LC on Pétain committee for Paris w/ Giraudoux and Bergery:** the Marshal himself and the president of the municipal Council of Paris had announced that LC would be a member of the committee... called the Committee for the Study of Habitation and the Urbanism of Paris. Giraudoux was on the committee as was Gaston Bergery. (LC-Marie, 19 March 1942, Vichy) Weber 2008: 447
- 1942-03-19: **LC aligned with fascist Bergery:** previously Le Corbusier and railed against that [Munich] agreement [source: Petit 1970]; now he was more than happy to have one of its supporters as an ally... Bergery had published a pro-fascist declaration [in July 1940] calling for "collaboration with Germany, and the organization of a new or authoritarian order in France." (Jackson 2005: 143) Weber 2008: 447
- 1942-03-19: **Bergery: collaborationist advocated single youth commission:** in March 1942 at the youth commission of Marshal Pétain's National Council, the Marshal stated that "there can be no question of creating a state youth movement..." ... Bonnard, his future education minister and Gaston Bergery, both collaborationists... nevertheless continued to advocate a [single youth movement] as an aspiration... Halls 1995: 283

1942-03-27: FIRST SYSTEMATIC DEPORTATIONS OF JEWS TO AUSCHWITZ

- 1942-03-27: **systematic deportations: first from unoccupied zone:** The first systematic deportations of stateless Jews from camps in the occupied zone began on 27 March 1942. Paxton 1972: 181

1942-03-28: LC & L'ÉLECTRO-CHIMIE D'UGINES

- 1942-03-28: **LC & Jaoul: conseil de société électro-chimie d'Ugines:** « L'électro-chimie d'Ugines pour laquelle je deviens conseil de cette société qui est l'une des plus belles industries françaises. » (LC-Marie, 28 mars 1942) Jenger 2002: 280
- 1942-03-28: **LC & Jaoul: un ami intime de Maréchal:** « Là je trouve des hommes en avant et le chef est un ami intime de M[aréch]al... » (LC-Marie, 28 mars 1942)... Note: l'un des directeurs de la

société d'électro-chimie Ugines était André Jaoul (1894-1954)... [qui] à participer aux travaux de l'association pour la rénovation architecturale... Jenger 2002: 280

- 1942-03-28: **LC period of hope for humankind**: at this same moment French Jews were being deported in increased numbers to concentration camps. On every front, the Allied troops were imperiled. But for Le Corbusier, it was a rare period of hope for humankind. (LC-Marie, 28 mars 1942) Weber 2008: 449

1942-04-01—05: **LC FLEW TO ALGIERS, RECEIVED PÉTAIN'S PRAISE**

- 1942-04-01: **LC flew to Algiers**: and immediately begin to work with the Governor General [Yves-Charles Châtel ?] and other officials to create a committee along the same lines as his Parisian one. (LC-Marie, Algiers) Weber 2008: 415
- 1942-04-04: **LC thanked by Pétain**: he received a letter at his hotel... on the official letterhead of Marshal Pétain, chief of state. Pétain's personal secretary had written to say that the Marshal had received 'The Four Routes' and wanted his thanks conveyed to Le Corbusier. (LC-Marie, Algiers) Weber 2008: 415
- 1942-04-05: **LC proposed new planning committee for Algeria**: during the next year [June 1941-June 1942] Le Corbusier worked closely with Emery and the young colleague, Louis Miquel, to formulate plans for Algiers. In the spring of 1942 he proposed the creation of a new planning body, the Comité d'études de l'habitation et de l'urbanisme pour l'Algérie, which would include Gustave Mercier, J.P. Faure, and Le Corbusier... ([LC], 'Propositions en vue de la création d'un comité d'études de l'habitation et de l'urbanisme pour l'Algérie', Algiers, 5 April 1942, typed manuscript) McLeod 1985a: 388

1942-04-18: **LAVAL RETURNED TO POWER**

1942-04-26: **LAVAL GOV'T: NEW CABINET OF MINISTERS**

- 1942-04-26: **Laval returned to the Vichy cabinet**. Marrus & Paxton 1981: 219
- 1942-04-26: **Pétain reduced to head of state**: the Laval government was formed... Laval now took the office of Prime Minister from Pétain, leaving the Marshal on as head of state. Paxton 1972: 134
- 1942-04-26: **Laval: period of greatest anti-Semitic persecution**: on 26 April, the return to power of Laval inaugurated the period of greatest persecution. His appointment of the fanatical anti-Semite Darquier de Pellepoix as Commissioner for Jewish Questions on 5 May was a concession to the Germans... Halls 1995: 114
- 1942-04-26: **Carrel: nominee for minister of public health**: Carrel's nomination as candidate for the minister of public health appeared in a list addressed by Pétain to the Germans in April 1942 proposing a new cabinet. (Hervé Coutau-Begarie et Claude Huan, ed., *Darlan, Lettres et notes de l'amiral Darlan*, Romillat, 1992) Reggiani 2007: 104
- 1942-04-26: **Lagardelle made ministre du Travail**: At the age of 67, Lagardelle became the Vichy Secretary of labor [Ministre du Travail, April 1942-November 1943], and it was during his period of office that the Charte du travail with its slogan "solidarity, duty, sacrifice" was implemented. McLeod 1980: 505
- 1942-04-26: **Lagardelle: leading spokesman of syndicalism**: Hubert Lagardelle had been a leading spokesman of the syndicalist hostility to parliamentary socialism before World War I as editor of *Le mouvement socialiste*. He had published the works of leading European anti-parliamentary revolutionaries and had introduced... George Sorel to Benito Mussolini... Lagardelle was made Minister of labor in April 1942... Paxton 1972: 275

1942-05-05—06-01: **NAZI PREPARATIONS FOR PARIS ROUNDUP**

1942-05-28: **LC: COMITÉ HABITATION ET DE L'URBANISME DE PARIS**

- 1942-05-28: **LC: Trochu, Giraudoux, Bergery, Carrel, Winter, Pierrefeu, Freyssinet**: « s'est décidé en haut lieu, l'affaire pour laquelle je lutte en quelque sorte depuis 20 ans. Je suis placé par le cabinet de Maréchal et par le président du conseil municipal de Paris [Trochu], à la direction d'un comité que j'ai échafaudé et proposer et qui s'appelle, le Comité d'études et de l'habitation et de l'urbanisme de Paris. J'y groupe: Giraudoux, Gaston Bergery, Alex Carrel, P. Winter, moi, Pierrefeu, et Freyssinet. On m'y a adjoint, mais sous ma direction Aug. Perret et Prost. (Le Corbusier à chère petite maman, 28 mai 1942) Jenger 2002: 280
- 1942-05-28: **LC: 'mettre au point le problème de Paris, la ville et sa région'**: Notre mission est de mettre au point le problème de Paris, la ville et sa région. D'étudier, de proposer, de mettre dans le circuit, les grands travaux sous l'égide du Pt du conseil municipal (qui est un ami convaincu) et du directeur du cabinet de M[aréch]al qui est devenu un grand partisan. De Paris notre mission

rayonnera sur les autres villes et la campagne de France et sur l'empire. » (Le Corbusier à chère petite maman, 28 mai 1942) Jenger 2002: 280

- 1942-05-28*: **Trochu proclaims LC "hour of triumph"**: in *Architecture et Urbanisme...* Trochu gave Le Corbusier an enthusiastic endorsement... "Le Corbusier is willing to suffer from happiness of others. But the hour of his triumph approaches..." (Trochu, 'Un monde s'écroule. On va bâtir un monde', in LC, Trochu, Winter, Paul Boulard [LC pseudonyme], *Architecture et Urbanisme*, [exact date ?] 1942) McLeod 1985a: 396

1942-05-28: LC 1952: ACCOUNT OF COMITÉ D'HABITATION DE PARIS

- 1942-05-28*: **LC 1952: « ni lui, ni moi, n'avions envie de demeurer officiels »**: «Trochu, président du conseil municipal [1942], m'avait déclaré un jour: "vous êtes communistes, mais vous êtes le seul homme de génie capable d'affronter le plan de Paris, voulez-vous vous occuper du plan de Paris ?" À ce moment ni lui, ni moi, n'avions envie de demeurer officiels. J'ai publié la suite du plan de Paris dans "Maison des hommes", "Propos d'urbanisme". La Ville de Paris est en train de faire un avorton sur ses idées. » (Le Corbusier à Pierre-André Emery, 3 mars 1952) Jenger 2002: 353

1942-06-04: LC & ALEXANDRE VON SENGER

- 1942-06-04: **LC rejected as 'communist'**: It is ironic and perhaps indicative of Le Corbusier's confused ideological stance that the plan Director was rejected not because of its authoritarian implications but in part because of its "communist" aspirations. On 4 June 1942... a construction journal distributed regularly to government offices printed Alexandre de Senger's [sic] 'Architecture in Peril'... The same author had previously written *The Trojan Horse of Bolshevism*, a series of vicious attacks on Le Corbusier which were printed by a Swiss paper during the League of Nations competition and later used by the Nazis to discredit modern architecture. McLeod 1985a: 394
- 1942-06-04: **LC in Alexandre von Senger's 'L'architecture en perile', 1934: Travaux Nord Africains**, a construction journal distributed regularly to government offices, printed Alexandre de Senger's [sic] 'L'architecture en péril' an article originally published in *La Libre Parole* in 1934... McLeod 1980: 513

1942-06-12: LC: MUNICIPAL COUNCIL REJECTS ALGIERS PROJECT

- 1942-06-12: **LC in Algiers, for final attempt at Algiers plan**: Le Corbusier again went Algiers to make his final effort to get his way. He brought with him his last and most ambitious plan for Algiers... The municipal officials... objected in particular to Le Corbusier's provision for preserving the Casbah untouched... On June 12 [1942] the Algerian city Council voted definitively and unanimously to reject his plans. Fishman 1982: 250-1
- 1942-06-12: **LC: the project rejected purely and simply**: "inasmuch as the project is essentially communal, it is not desirable to attempt an experience so uncertain and on such a large scale. Accordingly, we have decided to reject purely and simply the project presented by Le Corbusier." (Marie de la ville d'Alger, Extrait du registre des délibérations du Conseil Municipal, 12 juin 1942, p. 9) McLeod 1980: 513

1942-07-16—17: PARIS: MASSIVE JEWISH DEPORTATIONS IN BEGIN

- 1942-07-16—17: **900 French police & PPF teams conduct Paris arrests**. Marrus & Paxton 1981: 251
- 1942-07-16—17: **Paris: 12,884 Parisian Jews arrested and interned**: 'operation vert printanier' took place... in the Velodrome d'hiver, on the 16th and 17th of July 1942. 12,884 Parisian Jews, men, women and children were arrested and interned under abominable conditions; the prelude to the departure of over 75,000 Jews from France to Auschwitz, of whom 3% survived. Allen 1985: 77
- 1942-07-16—21: **Jews in Vel d'Hiv: five days with no food, water, toilets**. Marrus & Paxton 1981: 251

1942-07-27: LC: PARIS (VII) 18 RUE LAS CASES

- 1942-07-27: **LC à Picasso**: « je vous donne mon adresse et téléphone provisoire ici à Paris: Paris (VII) 18 rue Las Cases... Et merci encore de m'avoir montré vos peintures. Picasso vous êtes un heureux homme dans votre vieille maison mais vous ne l'avez pas volé ! Amicalement vôtre Le Corbusier » (Le Corbusier à Picasso, 27 juillet 1942) Jenger 2002: 282

1942-08-07: LC CONTACTED BY JEAN BAUDRY IN PÉTAIN'S CIVIL CABINET

- 1942-08-07: **LC appealed for Pétain to bypass the local Algiers council**: Le Corbusier himself wrote numerous letters to Jean Baudry a member of Pétain's civil cabinet, and appealed in a memorandum dated 4 November 1942 for Pétain to bypass the local [Algiers] council. (Baudry-LC, 7 August

1942; LC-Baudry, 'Note de Le Corbusier à M. Jean Baudry, du Cabinet du Marechal à Vichy', 4 November 1942) McLeod 1985a: 395

1942-08-09: LC: GAUTHIER MANUSCRIT EN PREPARATION

- 1942-08-09: Gauthier: « **Bauchant m'a trouvé une chambre** »: Dimanche 9 août 42. Cher ami... Bauchant m'a trouvé une chambre.... Je pars donc pour Châteaurouault. (Gauthier, letter to LC, 9 Aug 1942) FLC E2 3 98
- 1942-08-09: Gauthier: « **j'emporte vos livres** »: Mais j'emporte vos livres. Aussi, j'avancerais, et nous nous le verrons dès le commencement de septembre. Je vous remercie, et vous prie de m'excuser. Bien fidèlement votre, Maximilien Gauthier Poste restante À Châteaurouault. Donnez-moi, s'il vous plaît, votre adresse Vézelay. (Gauthier, letter to LC, 9 Aug 1942, Châteaurouault) FLC E2 3 98

1942-09-10: LC: 'ÉLÉMENTS MODERNES D'UNE COMMUNAUTÉ VILLAGEOISE'

- 1942-09-10: LC: **Vézelay**, 10 septembre 1942. (LC 1943b)
- 1942-09-10: LC: **L'immense mutation, des buts rigoureusement humains**: en cette recherche, soit abandonnée l'illusion des retours en arrière irréalisables, et dégagé, au contraire, un développement harmonisé à l'immense mutation ouverte par le machinisme et dont nous n'avons plus à discuter ou à regretter l'existence, mais dont nous avons à canaliser les puissances gigantesques vers des buts rigoureusement humains. LC 1943b: 95
- 1942-09-10: LC: **des courants primordiaux**: Pour insuffler à nouveau une vie profonde à la communauté villageoise, il faudra bien un jour déceler la direction vraie des courants primordiaux, acquérir avant toutes choses, sur la question, des vues primordiales. LC 1943b: 95
- 1942-09-10: LC: **'Carrel, capables de nous doter d'un comportement sain'**: Il faudrait demander au Dr Alexis Carrel et à son Institut Scientifique des Recherches Humaines, de nous enseigner les nourritures matérielles capables de nous doter d'un comportement sain. LC 1943b: 95

1942-09-15: CARREL & FFEPPH: 1ST FRENCH PUBLIC EUGENICS INSTITUTION

- 1942-09-15: Carrel: **FFEPPH: mise en route de l'institution**: Le mois de septembre 1942 est celle de démarrage et de la mise en route de l'institution (compte rendu du Comité de direction du 15 septembre 1942). Drouard 1992: 150
- 1942-09-15: Carrel: **eugénisme, stérilité involontaire & l'amélioration de la qualité humaine**: I. Équipe population... b) génétique et eugénisme, qui feraient des recherches... Sur la stérilité involontaire... Sur l'amélioration de la qualité humaine. (compte rendu du Comité de direction du 15 septembre 1942) Drouard 1992: 419
- 1942-09-15: FFEPPH: **Technocratic conception of functional homes**: pro-natalists... views were often mediated by a technocratic conception of the domestic space that by way of mechanical appliances and functional homes sought to make housework routines a scientifically conceived unit... Reggiani 2007: 138
- 1942-09-15: FFEPPH: **Architectural solutions first proposed by the Socialists**: The technical solutions proposed by Alexis Carrel's architects and engineers shared many elements with the progressive policies carried out in the 1930s by the Socialists Henri Sellier and Robert Hazeman in municipalities of Suresnes and Vitry-sur-Seine. Reggiani 2007: 138

1942-09-25: LC-GAUTHIER: 1^e PARTIE DU MANUSCRIT

- 1942-09-25: LC: **1^e Partie: Gauthier, Denoël, Vézelay 25 sept 42**: (LC, note, 25 sept 1942, FLC E2 03 89)
- 1942-09-25: LC: **Architecture et Révolution, l'exemple de Le Corbusier**. Santhes, 25 sept 42, Vézelay. (LC, note, 25 sept 1942, FLC E2 03 89)

1942-10-02: ACA: ONGOING LOYALTY TO MARSHAL PÉTAÏN

- 1942-10-02: ACA: **ongoing loyalty to Marshal Pétain**: A few days later Cardinal Suhard, two archbishops and eleven other bishops all from the occupied zone met for the consecration of Monsignor Petit, a new Bishop, and agreed to the dispatch of a telegram by Tissier, Bishop of Chalons [sent on 2 October], informing Marshal Pétain of their prayers for the reconstruction of France... (AN 2AG 492) Halls 1995: 132
- 1942-10-02: Pétain: « **respectueux et dévoués hommages** »: Monsieur le Maréchal, S[on] E[xcellence] le cardinal Suhard, archevêque de Paris, les archevêques de Reims et de Besançon [Dubourg], les évêques de Chalons, de Verdun, du Mans, de Chartres, de Soissons, de Beauvais, de Nancy, de Saint-Dié, de Langres, de Troyes et de Vannes, réunit à Chalons pour le Sacré de Mgr Petit, coadjuteur de Verdun, vous prie d'agréer leurs respectueux et dévoués hommages avec

l'assurance de leurs prières pour le relèvement de la France auquel vous vous consacrez si généreusement. Votre très reconnaissante et très fidèle, Joseph Marie Tissier, Évêque de Chalons (Mgr Tissier, évêque de Chalons, lettre au maréchal Pétain, 2 octobre 1942) AN 2AG-492

1942-10-03—19: PIERREFEU: 'LAVAL OPPOSES LC'

- 1942-10-03: **LC: Laval opposed to his committee**: shortly after arriving in Paris, Le Corbusier received a letter from Pierrefeu in Vichy making clear that Pétain's new "Chef du cabinet" [Laval] was opposed to his committee... (Pierrefeu-LC, Vichy) Weber 2008: 454
- 1942-10-03: **Pétain had advocated Le Corbusier in charge of national urbanism**: However... Robert Lallemand, a cabinet member... had told the others how strongly Marshal Pétain had advocated having Le Corbusier in charge of urbanism on a national scale. (Pierrefeu-LC, Vichy) Weber 2008: 454
- 1942-10-19: **LC appealed to Pierrefeu and Emery for Plan Directeur**: Le Corbusier's friends lobbied on his behalf. Pierrefeu, his partner on the CEHCI, returned to Vichy in October hoping to attain executive intervention; and at Le Corbusier's urging, Emery undertook steps to publish the "proposal for a Plan Director", in an effort to rally public opinion. (Pierrefeu-LC, October 1942; Emery-LC, 19 October 1942) McLeod 1985a: 395

1942-10-23: EL ALAMEIN = THE FIRST LARGE ALLIED LAND VICTORY:

- 1942-10-23: **Rommel: outgunned and outwitted by Montgomery**: In North Africa on the western frontiers of Egypt... this desert war varied dramatically until October 1942 in the second battle of Alamein finally broke the offensive power of Gen. Erwin Rommel and the Africa Korps. General Bernard Montgomery... outgunned and outwitted Rommel, who had to withdraw hastily. Grenville 2000: 296
- 1942-10-23: **El Alamein: turned back Rommel**: the great tank battle began at El Alamein... turned back Rommel's deepest advance in North Africa. Paxton 1972: 280

1942-11-01: COUTURIER CONTRE L'ANTISÉMITISME

- 1942-11-01: **Couturier: « l'antisémitisme = aucun chrétien puisse s'associer à ces mesures »**: «Ceux de nos amis et de nos frères qui sont tombés dans les deux guerres venaient de tous côtés, de tous parties, de droite comme de gauche. Ils étaient libres penseurs, catholiques, protestants et juifs. Leurs pensées étaient diverses, comme leurs convictions et leurs passions, mais ils voulaient tous pour la France la justice et l'honneur. [...] C'est pour cela qu'ils sont morts [...] aucun d'eux ne soit tombé pour qu'il y ait des injustices légales dans la communauté nationale. Je ne pense pas qu'aucun d'eux soit mort pour l'antisémitisme [...] il n'est aucun chrétien qui puisse s'associer à ces mesures sans sentir peser sur ses épaules la malédiction du Sauveur: "quiconque serait un sujet de scandale pour un de ces petits, il lui serait meilleur qu'on lui mît une meule au cou et qu'on le jetât à la mer". » (Allocution à la radio à destination de la France, 1 novembre 1942, in *Art et Liberté Spirituelle*, 1958, Paris: Éditions Cerf) Couturier 1958

1942-11-04—07: LC WROTE AND ABORTED DEFENSE IN TRAVAUX NORD-AFRICAINS

- 1942-11-04: **LC requests Pétain to bypass local council**: Le Corbusier himself wrote numerous letters to Jean Baudry a member of Pétain's civil cabinet, and appealed in a memorandum dated for November 1942 for Pétain to bypass the local council. (Baudry-LC, 7 August 1942; LC-Baudry, 'Note de Le Corbusier à M. Jean Baudry, du Cabinet du Marechal à Vichy', 4 Novembre 1942) McLeod 1985a: 395
- 1942-11-04: **LC wrote letter denouncing 'perjuries' of Algiers committee**: Le Corbusier drafted an open letter to Governo Pagès, which he hoped to publish in *Travaux Nord-Africains*, detailing explicitly the 'perjuries' in the city Council's report rejecting the plan Director... Originally, he had hoped with the aid of the lawyer Jean Follain to publish the letter in *Travaux Nord-Africains* and TAM. (LC, letter to Governo Pagès, prefect of Algiers, beginning of November 1942) McLeod 1985a: 395
- 1942-11-07: **LC "not to be sent following the events of November 1942"**: The document, however, was never sent. On November 7 1942, the Allies landed in North Africa. Algiers became a mute issue... At the end of this defense, Le Corbusier added in handwriting, "this 'open letter' was not to be sent following the events of November 1942 in North Africa". McLeod 1985a: 395

1942-11-07: ALLIES MAKE NORTH AFRICAN LANDINGS

- 1942-11-07: **Allied landing in Vichy French North Africa**: There had been much inter-Allied dispute on where an Anglo-American force could best strike against Hitler's Europe in 1942... Agreement was eventually reached that an Anglo-American force should land in Vichy French North Africa in November 1942. Grenville 2000: 297-8

- 1942-11-07: **Morocco and Algeria landings**: Allied forces landed on the south side of the Mediterranean in Morocco and Algeria during the night of November 7-8. Paxton 1972: 280

1942-11-11: GERMAN FORCES MOVE INTO THE SOUTHERN ZONE OF FRANCE

- 1942-11-11: **Hitler maintained a useful fiction of Vichy French sovereignty**: Responding to the Allied landing in North Africa, German forces moved into the southern zone of France on November 11... Hitler carefully maintained a useful fiction of Vichy French sovereignty... Paxton 1972: 281
- 1942-11-11: **Hitler moved into the unoccupied regions of Vichy France**. Grenville 2000: 298
- 1942-11-11: **Troupes allemandes franchir la ligne de démarcation**: 3 jours après le débarquement anglo-américain en Algérie les troupes allemandes franchit la ligne de démarcation... Baruch 1997: 406

1942-12-16: CARREL: FFEPPH EUGENICS

- 1942-12-16: **premarital exam: only eugenic measure in French history**: The law of 16 December 1942 concerning the protection of mothers and children... adopted a mandatory premarital examination. The law introduced the first and to this day the only eugenic measure in French legislation. (*Bulletin du Secrétariat d'État de la Famille et de la Santé*, 1942: 301-10) Reggiani 2007: 141

1942-12-25: DUBOURG: « ÉGAREUR DE PROFESSION »

- 1942-12-25*: **Dubourg: « égareur de profession »**: Une protestation des évêques de la province de Besançon valut à Mgr Dubourg d'être traité dans *L'Œuvre* «d'égareur de profession». E. Ledeur 1977: 210

1943-01-08—02-12: LC: APPROVAL OF PÉTAÏN & HAUTECŒUR FOR EBA STUDIO

- 1943-01-08: **LC: agreement to open studio free for students of the EBA**: Le Corbusier was still working in compliance with ruling powers. On 8 January 1943, he completed an agreement with Lallement to open a studio that would be free for students of the EBA... The students would according to Le Corbusier's proposal have the opportunity to be awarded a "Le Corbusier diploma"... (Hauteceur, Paris, letter to Pétain, Vichy, 12 February 1943) Weber 2008: 456
- 1943-01-19: **LC: qualification étrange du « fourrier de bolchevisme »**: « Il est étrange, au cours de cette histoire générale de l'architecture... de me voir apparaître sans raison valable, pour y être cité avec la qualification du fourrier de bolchevisme... par l'intermédiaire de Monsieur Alex von Senger... » (LC, lettre à Hauteceur, 19 janvier 1943) Jenger 2002: 282
- 1943-01-19: **LC: « von Senger & Mauclair = des faux témoins »**: « Il est regrettable qu'un homme chargé des droits, des devoirs et des responsabilités que vous confère de hautes fonctions, s'inscrive ainsi de sa propre volonté, dans la lignée des Alex von Senger et des Camille Mauclair, justiciables, eux, de la succession d'être des faussaires et des faux témoins» (LC, lettre à Hauteceur, 19 janvier 1943) Jenger 2002: 282
- 1943-02-12: **LC: official approval of Pétain and education secretary**: On 12 February, from the minister's office in Paris at the Palais Royal... Le Corbusier had at last gained official approval... In Marshal Pétain, Le Corbusier had at last found someone in the inner sanctum with the power to sanction his way of practicing architecture. (Hauteceur, letter to Pétain, 12 February 1943) Weber 2008: 456

1943-01-08—02-12: PETIT 1970: ACCOUNT OF CANDIDATURE & EBA STUDIO

- **LC 1950: l'Ordre des architectes**: C'est l'occupation allemande à Paris... Une loi m'a obligé de faire acte de candidature à l'Ordre des Architectes créé par Vichy fin 1940. Ma candidature demeurera à l'Ordre, à l'examen, quatorze mois durant jusqu'au moment où, déjà, l'on entend le canon anglais du côté de Versailles (été 1944). LC 1950b: 42
- **Petit 1970: l'Ordre des architectes**: Fin 1940, une loi de Vichy institue l'Ordre des architectes. Une décision ministérielle autorisera trois personnes non diplômées à construire; ce sont Auguste Perret, Eugène Fressynet [sic] et Le Corbusier. Petit 1970: 86
- **Petit 1970: Une loi m'a OBLIGÉ de faire acte de candidature**: « Il faut que le lecteur se représente les circonstances de cette recherche: c'est l'occupation à Paris. Dispersion des gens, d'où difficulté de les réunir. Dans la pénible atmosphère de Paris, le débat sur l'architecture entre gens de métier est loin de s'éclairer. Une loi m'a obligé de faire acte de candidature à l'Ordre des architectes créés par Vichy fin 1940. Ma candidature demeurera à l'Ordre, à l'examen, quatorze mois durant jusqu'au moment où, déjà, l'on entend le canon anglais du côté de Versailles (été 1944). Petit 1970: 92

- **Petit 1970: « Ai été obligé d'établir mon dossier pour l'ordre des architectes »:** 26 janvier 1943, Paris: « Ai été obligé d'établir mon dossier pour poser une « candidature » à l'ordre des architectes » Petit 1970: 92

1943-02-00: LC TECHNICAL CONSULTANT TO CARREL'S FOUNDATION

- 1943-02-00: **LC: technical consultant to department of bio-sociology:** In February of 1943... LC was designated technical consultant of the 6th department, devoted to bio-sociology. Le Couédic 1995: 58

1943-02-02: STALINGRAD MARKED A TURNING POINT IN THE WAR

- 1943-02-02: **Hitler: myth of infallible military genius exploded:** In the ruins of Stalingrad, the Russians, fighting from house to house, made their stand. The battle lasted from mid-August to mid-November 1942... On 19 November 1942 the Russians launched their attack and encircled the 250,000 men of Germany's Sixth Army fighting in Stalingrad... Fierce fighting continued until 2 February 1943... The Wehrmacht had been decisively defeated, and more than that, the myth of Hitler's infallible military genius had been exploded. Grenville 2000: 300
- 1943-02-02: **Stalingrad: The world felt it marked a turning point in the war.** Grenville 2000: 300

1943-03-00: MARITAIN, CHRISTIAN RÉSISTANCE & CHURCH AUTHORITY

- 1943-03-00: **Maritain: « Structure de l'action »:** Ces catholiques résistants... utilisaient les distinctions que Jacques Maritain avait définies dans l'article intitulé 'Structure de l'action' publiée dans l'hebdomadaire *Sept* les 12 et 26 avril 1935... « jugé de nos devoir, en tant que catholiques connus comme tels, d'être au jours d'épreuve en premier rang des patriotes afin de grandir pour demain l'autorité des catholiques dans la cité libérée et de faciliter alors par cette position morale la tâche apostolique de l'église dans la société française. » Or vouloir agir en tant que catholiques signifie, dans la pensée maritainnienne, engager l'église du Christ. L'approbation épiscopale devenait une nécessité. (Maritain, 'Structure de l'action', *Sept*, 12 et 26 avril 1935 ; lettre à une Éminence, mars 1943, AN 2 AG 492) Clément 1999: 222
- 1943-03-00: **Maritain: Témoignage Chrétien: « Ils se sont mis en marge de la hiérarchie »:** for the first time since the early 19th century, Christians set out freely positions hostile to Church authority... As Maritain remarked in 1943: « Ils se sont mis en marge de la hiérarchie, du monde ecclésial qui était le leur. » (Maritain 1943) Halls 1995: 214

1943-03-02: SUHARD: BEGINNING OF WORKER-PRIESTS

- 1943-03-02: **Suhard commissioned early worker-priests:** Suhard went ahead with the commissioning of more clandestine worker priests. On 2-3 March he gathered together a score of volunteers and outlined their task. Theirs was a "mission of salvation" and it represented the Church... 22 more priests finally left for Germany... seven were sent to concentration camps, where three died... (Suhard 1965: 90) Halls 1995: 329

1943-04-30: SUHARD: BEGINNING OF WORKER-PRIESTS

- 1943-04-30*: **Suhard: a clandestine chaplaincy:** The Archbishop of Paris suggested to his fellow cardinals and archbishops that a clandestine chaplaincy be established... This was approved by the ACA late in April 1943... (Emile Poulat, *Naissance des pretres-ouvriers*, 1965, pp. 259-270) Arnal 1986: 58
- 1943-04-30*: **Suhard assigns first worker-priests:** in 1943 Cardinal Suhard assigned two priests of the young Christian workers movement to draw up a report on the relationship of the Church and the working classes... Young priests began working full time in factories and workshops, wearing the same clothing as the workers and sharing their lot. They were distinguished from the workers only by being unmarried and by saying Mass. Rubin 1961: 22
- 1943-04-30*: **worker priests bring church closer to everyday life:** The Mission de France, which Suhard created, marked the beginning of the worker priest movement which flourished in the immediate postwar years. Younger priests regarded it as a particular challenge to get closer to the everyday life of the working class. Halls 1995: 385-6

1943-05-12: TUNISIA: MAJOR VICTORY FOR ANGLO-AMERICAN FORCES

- 1943-05-12: **Tunisia finally fell to the Allies...** Novick 1968: 46
- 1943-05-12: **major victory for the Anglo-American forces:** Fighting between the Allies and the Italian and German forces then occurred in Tunisia and lasted until May 1943, when a total of 150,000 troops both Italian and German finally capitulated. It was a major victory for the Anglo-American forces. Grenville 2000: 298

1943-05-20: FFEPPH: CARREL, RAPPORT AU MARÉCHAL PÉTAIN

- 1943-05-20: **Carrel: "biologically undesirable" immigrants:** In this matter the foundation continued the racist debates of the 1930s on "good" and "bad" foreigners... In his report to Marshal Pétain, Alexis Carrel warned that the presence of "biologically undesirable" immigrants posed "a threat to the French population"... It was necessary to know which immigrants were most "desirable". (Alexis Carrel, 'Rapport au chef de l'État sur l'activité de la fondation en 1942', 20 May 1943: AN 2 AG 78) Reggiani 2007: 140
- 1943-05-20: **Carrel: les immigrants jugés 'désirable':** Immigration: Une documentation sur la migration étrangère en France et en cours... Ces enquêtes ont pour but de déterminer quels sont les immigrants dont la présence peut être jugée désirable. Drouard 1992: 387-8
- 1943-05-20: **LC: expert on housing and the environment:** Experts on housing and the environment investigated the conditions under which individuals could perform their activities with minimum stress. They studied the influence of room temperature, noise, and light on human physiology, and drafted a bill to prevent harmful noise. A team of specialists — in which Le Corbusier participated — visited plants in Carmaux, Lille, Roubaix, and Tourcoing to discuss with architects, government officials, workers, and members of the committees of organization ways of improving the conditions of the workplace. Reggiani 2007: 150
- 1943-05-20: **"biotypes" reminiscent of Lombrosos's taxonomy:** The unit of biotypology researched psychosomatic factors that would permit classification of individuals and "biotypes". Borrowing from Nicola Pende's definition of biotypology as the "science of the architecture and structure of the human body"... the foundation's experts favored a method that assessed the relationship between morphology and psychology as they "showed" themselves in a person's face and body — methods reminiscent of Cesare Lombrosos's taxonomy of criminals. Reggiani 2007: 144

1943-05-27: CONSEIL NATIONAL DE LA RESISTANCE MET IN PARIS:

- 1943-05-27: **CNR: met for the first time:** Resistance groups'... work culminated in the formation of a National Committee (le Conseil National de la Résistance) which met for the first time in Paris on 27 May 1943. Harrison 1993: 199
- 1943-05-27: **Jean Moulin: first chairman of CNR:** Council of National Resistance was established under the chairmanship of de Gaulle's representative, Jean Moulin. Novick 1968: 19
- 1943-05-27: **Georges Bidault: second chairman of CNR:** In May 1943, these movements [French Forces of the Interior and the Franc-Tireurs et Partisans] had been unified, and a Council of National Resistance had been set up, first under the chairman of 'Max' (Jean Moulin) and then, after he had been executed by the Germans, Georges Bidault. A general delegate (Parodi) represented the Algiers committee of national liberation in this Council. Maurois 1956: 536-7

1943-05-30: DE GAULLE ARRIVES IN ALGIERS, PEYROUTON RESIGNS

- 1943-05-30: **De Gaulle arrives in Algiers:** General de Gaulle himself arrived from London to make Algiers his headquarters on May 30... Paxton 1972: 286

1943-06-00: LC-GAUTHIER: MANUSCIT EN PREPARATION

- 1943-06*-00: **LC: « Corbu toujours sans titre »:** Max Gauthier le mot des professionnels/ I Lavedan Sorbonne... Bandes titre bon reverse/ Remise Unités sur 5^e CIAM... / Hauteceur Alex de Senger [sic]/ voir carnet noir poche, mai 43... Les MMs avec leurs titres, Corbu toujours sans titre (LC, note for Gauthier, après mai 1943, FLC E2 03 527)
- 1943-06*-00: **LC-Gauthier: « von Senger de nouveaux »:** Denoël/ le cas Alger juin 42/ von Senger de nouveaux/ article dans Travaux Nord Africains (LC, note for Gauthier, n.d., FLC E2 03 95)
- 1943-06*-00: **LC: Un cycle: voyage d'Italie 1907, puis Orient 1910, nettoyage:** AAR, Atelier d'art réunion [...] les techniques des arts des bâtiments / Un cycle / Décoratif + voyage d'Italie 1907 / puis Orient 1910 nettoyage / + I style jurassienne / Grimaud Carabin Plumet etc. / + influence Ruskin. (LC, note for Gauthier, n.d., FLC E2 03 94)

1943-06-03—07: DE GAULLE: COMITE FRANÇAIS DE LA LIBÉRATION NATIONALE

- 1943-06-03: **CFLN: officially constituted:** under the premiership of Charles de Gaulle. Novick 1968: 48
- 1943-06-03: **De Gaulle: based in Algiers:** De Gaulle and his followers... secured the formation at Algiers of a Committee of National Liberation (later the Provisional Government of the French Republic)... Maurois 1956: 535
- 1943-06-07*: **Claudius-Petit: Conseil national de la Résistance:** À Lyon... dans cette capitale de la résistance à l'occupation allemande, Eugène Claudius-Petit s'engage dans le mouvement Franc-Tireur dont il deviendra, en 1942, membre du comité directeur. Gaulliste, partisan d'une unification

des mouvements de résistance en France, il est appelé par le général De Gaulle et participe à la fondation du Conseil national de la Résistance. Badouï 1987b: 101

- 1943-06-07*: **Claudius-Petit: chrétien-démocrate du mouvement Le Sillon**: Dès l'âge de 16 ans, il s'engage dans la vie syndicale et politique en militant à La Jeune République de Marc Sangnier (1873-1950)... fondateur du mouvement Le Sillon, relayé ensuite par La Jeune République, milite dans les années 20 en faveur de la réconciliation entre la France et l'Allemagne. Conscience des chrétiens-démocrates, il est partisan d'une révolution sociale. Badouï 1987b: 101

1943-07-00: **RUSSIANS DEFEAT GERMANS AT KURSK**

- 1943-07-00: **Kursk Tank battle: Russian armor proved superior**: in July 1943... the largest tank battle of the war was being waged at Kursk on the Russian front. The German attack on the Russian salient was beaten back by Marshal Zhukov. It was the last occasion on which the Germans were able to mount a major offensive in Russia... but the Russian armor proved superior... Successive Russian offenses drove the German armies back in heavy fighting into Poland... Grenville 2000 307
- 1943-07-00: **Russians had also won superiority in the air**: By the summer of 1943 the Russians had also won superiority in the air with thousands of planes engaged on each side. Grenville 2000: 301

1943-07-01: **LC: DÉPARTEMENT 'BIO-SOCIOLOGIE' DE LA FONDATION**

- 1943-07-01: **LC = décentralisation industrielle et décongestion urbaine**: 8. Monsieur Perroux propose d'engager comme conseiller technique rémunéré dans son département [biosociologie]:... Monsieur Le Corbusier. Ce dernier aurait pour fonction d'apporter ses conseils dans les travaux entrepris par le département VI [biosociologie], sur la décentralisation industrielle et la décongestion urbaine. (Conférence des collaborateurs immédiats du régent [Alexis Carrel], 1 juillet 1943: AN 2 AG 78) Drouard 1992: 443

1943-07-19: **LC LISTENING TO RADIO FRANCE DAILY**

- 1943-07-19: **LC: listening to Radio Paris**: by the summer of 1943... at 7:15 every morning he performed a quarter of an hour of gymnastic exercises while listening to radio Paris. (LC-Marie, Paris) Weber 2008: 460

1943-08-18: **CFLN PURGE COMMITTEE FORMED**

- 1943-08-18: **The purge of collaborationist officials** had already been announced with the formation by the CFLN of a purge committee on 18 August 1943. Paxton 1972: 330
- 1943-08-18: **CFLN: l'épuration administrative**: C'est à la fin de l'été 1943 qu'elles furent publiées les premiers textes du comité français de libération nationale relative à l'épuration administrative... Les 18 août 1943 le nouvel exécutif de la France combattante se dota d'une commission d'épuration... Baruch 1997: 448
- 1943-08-18: **North African purge commission**: *Combat* (Alger) published a resolution of the Central committee of La France Combattante in North Africa. It announced the formation of a purge commission [18 August] made up of the organization's own members which would study various cases and advise general de Gaulle of its findings. Novick 1968: 50

1943-10-12: **LC: "ON THE PHYSICAL LEVEL THERE ARE SEPARATE CLASSES"**

- 1943-10-12: **LC: "on the physical level it is clear that there are separate classes"**: "we have a tendency to believe that human beings are alike. Now even on the physical level it is clear that there are separate classes." (LC-Marie, 12 October 1943, Paris) Weber 2008: 461

1943-11-06: **LC: "NEWSPAPERS & RADIOS, NOTHING IS BELIEVABLE."**

- 1943-11-00: **Pétain radio address: 'removal of Laval' announced**. Marrus & Paxton 1981: 332
- 1943-11-06: **LC: "nothing is believable"**: "newspapers and radios seeing fantasies, and nothing is believable." (LC-Marie, Paris) Weber 2008: 461

1943-11-19: **COUTURIER, MARITAIN, LÉGER & « L'ÉGLISE SOUTERRAINE »**

- 1943-11-19: **Léger: « l'église souterraine de P. Claudel »**: « Mon cher Ami, Relu dans Claudel l'autre soir ce projet étonnant de l'église souterraine de P. Claudel. Je sais qu'avec Raynaud architecte vous avez déjà pensé à la réalisation du projet... » (Léger-Couturier, 19 Nov 1943) CES C SB 11
- 1943-11-19: **Léger: « Voyez-vous une possibilité du côté catholique »**: « J'aimerais reprendre cela avec vous ? Où en êtes-vous resté ? Voyez-vous une possibilité du côté catholique. Il y a-t-il déjà une opinion de faite là-dessus ? Je vois très bien une collaboration de vous, de moi, des élèves et de nombreux artistes Américains. Nous aurions facilement une lettre ou câble de P. Claudel pour

amorcer la chose. Quelle chose magnifique à réaliser - J'aimerais vous rencontrer à ce propos, faites-moi signe. » (Léger-Couturier, 19 Nov 1943, NYC) CES C SB 11

1943-12-00—1944-01-00: **DARNAND: MILICE & MAINTENANCE OF ORDER**

- 1943-12-00: **Darnand: Milice = national para-police force against resistance:** Darnand was forced upon Vichy as secretary-general for the maintenance of order in December 1943. He raised the old paramilitary arm of the veterans' Legion, the Service d'Ordre Legionnaire, known since January 1943 as the Milice, into a national para-police force of volunteers against the Resistance. Paxton 1972: 298
- 1944-01-00: **Darnand named chief of police:** At the end of 1943, the Germans finally removed Bousquet from office; and in January 1944, Vichy named Darnand to replace him, changing the title of his office appropriately to "Secretary-General for the maintenance of order." (Bertram Gordon, 'Un soldat du facisme: l'évolution politique de Joseph Darnand', RHDGM 82, Oct 1977, pages 43-70) Marrus & Paxton 1981: 335

1943-12-00—1944-01-00: **RECHERCHÉ PAR LA POLICE DE DARNAND, 20 JUILLET 1943**

- **Petit 1970: recherché par la police de Darnand, refuse de partir:** le 20 juillet 1943 on apprend à Le Corbusier qu'il est recherché par la police de Darnand. « Un groupe de jeunes communistes m'avertit une nouvelle fois que Darnand ma recherche, mais je ne partirai pas. J'ai refusé l'offre de repli, 'la planque', préparait en province par ces jeunes ». Petit 1970: 93

1943-12-03—24: **LC = TECHNICAL ADVISOR AT CARREL'S FOUNDATION:**

- 1943-12-03: **LC: guidelines and regulations to improve sanitary conditions:** Le Corbusier was proud to accept Alexis Carrel's request that he become technical advisor to the French Foundation for Human Research, with its goal of cleansing society of criminals and the insane... as one of the "technicians of value" for the FFEPPH, to assist with the specific task of creating guidelines and regulations that would improve sanitary conditions... (J. Merlet, letter to LC, Vichy) Weber 2008: 462
- 1943-12-24: **LC: FFEPPH architecte, département de bio-sociologie:** Le département de bio-sociologie, formé de six équipes: économiques, sociales, juridiques, administratives, financières et assurances... bénéficiait du concours d'un certain nombre de conseillers techniques d'origine et de formation très variées... Le Corbusier, architecte... (Perroux, Rapport sur l'activité du département de bio-sociologie transmettaient au régent Alexis Carrel, 24 décembre 1943) Drouard 1992: 211-2

1943-12-11—21: **CFLN PENAL CODE TO PERSECUTE CIVIL SERVANTS**

- 1943-12-11: **Schumann: Penal Code concerning collusion with foreign power:** the Free French had decided at a December 11 1943 meeting to proceed with the arrest of former ministers and high civil servants of the "pseudo-government of Vichy" in North Africa and... Maurice Schumann told listeners in his London radio broadcast that article 75 of the Penal Code concerning collusion with a foreign power "fits like a glove on these gentlemen..." (*Voix de la liberté* IV, 142) Lottman 1986: 51
- 1943-12-21: **Peyrouton, Boisson, and Flandin arrested:** the CFLN authorized the arrest of Pierre Boisson, Marcel Peyrouton, and Flandin... Roosevelt demanded that at a minimum "formal assurance from the French committee that no trials of these individuals would take place until the restoration of France is accomplished..."... The three men were moved to a villa outside Algiers, and were not tried until long after the liberation. Novick 1968: 55

1944: **CATHOLIC-COMMUNIST RESISTANCE & POSTWAR ALLIANCE**

- 1944: **Communist/Catholic respect:** during the Occupation years, a mutual respect grew up, as it became apparent by 1944 that Communists and Catholics would be the key players in shaping postwar France. Halls 1995: 209
- 1944: **MRP: Mouvement Republicaine Populaire founded:** in January 1944 a group of Catholics under Bidault met to draw up plans for a new unitary Christian Democratic Party... it was to be styled the *Mouvement Republicaine Populaire*... uniting the strands of reformism and social Catholicism, the MRP was to become for a while the largest party in postwar France. It was in this way that Catholics, together with the Communists, emerged as the most influential of all the groupings in the final months of the resistance and the first months after the liberation. Halls 1995: 212

- 1944: **Couturier: Resistance work led Lurçat to accept Assy commission:** Lurçat... was drawing tapestry cartoons while operating a clandestine radio for the Resistance when he received a letter from Canon Devémy... suggesting he do a large tapestry for the choir at Assy... the resistance had transcended divisions of a religious or political order... Lurçat was especially aware of the effective work father Couturier had done for the movement in America. This fact weighed heavily in his final decision to do the tapestry for Assy... Lurçat would not be inclined today [in the late 1950s] to create such an ecclesiastical work, he says, and his willingness at the time depended on unique historical circumstances and on the inspiring liberalism and rare purity of faith of Father Couturier. (Lurçat, interview with Rubin, late 1950s) Rubin 1961: 103-4

1944-02-17: **ACA RÉUNION: STO, RESISTANCE, AND "TERRORISM"**

- 1944-02-17: **STO: priests and seminarists become subject to call-up:** by February 1944 Vichy's position was clarified: all priests and seminary students previously exempt could now be called up. (Monsignor Chappoullie, note, 17 February 1944) Halls 1995: 329
- 1944-02-17: **ACA declaration: condemning Resistance "violence and terrorism":** for the Association of Cardinals and archbishops, the three Cardinals at last issued their own declaration on 17 February 1944, which was partly censored... "... We condemn these appeals to violence in these acts of terrorism which today are tearing the country apart..."... The text was published in full 1 April 1944... and the uncensored text quickly became known via the Swiss press. (*Gazette de Lausanne*) Halls 1995: 169
- 1944-02-17: **Dubourg: contre les exécutions sommaires de la résistance:** Il est sûr que Mgr Dubourg regardé le gouvernement de maréchal Pétain comme légitime, même après le débarquement de 1942. Très attentif aux tâches nécessaires de rechristianisation, il était sensible aux valeurs proclamées par le nouveau régime: travail, famille, patrie. Juriste, il s'est montré sévère pour les pillages et les exécutions sommaires de quelques groupes de résistance. E. Ledeur 1977: 209

1944-03-20: **PIERRE PUCHEU'S TRIAL AND EXECUTION**

- 1944-03-20: **Pucheu: first Vichy minister to be prosecuted:** first of Vichy ministers to be prosecuted, Pierre Pucheu, had already been condemned to death by a military court in Algiers and shot [20] March 1944. Paxton 1972: 330

1944-03-11: **LC: PROJET D'AMÉNAGEMENT DE SAINT-GAUDENS AVEC PROTHIN**

- 1944-03-11: **LC: Prothin projet d'Urbanisme de Saint-Gaudens:** Le Corbusier est agréé le 11 mars 1944 par le Délégué Général à l'Équipement National pour l'établissement du projet d'aménagement d'Urbanisme de Saint-Gaudens... André Prothin (1902- 1971)... le premier directeur de l'Urbanisme au sein de la Direction Générale de l'Équipement National en 1943. Corédacteur de la loi d'urbanisme de 1943, il fréquenta un temps l'ASCORAL. Proche de R. Dautry, ce dernier le maintien à la direction de l'Urbanisme à la Libération au sein du ministère de la Reconstruction et de l'Urbanisme. À partir de 1958, il dirige l'établissement public de La Défense. (Prothin, lettre à Le Corbusier, mars* 1944, FLC, in Catllar 2010: 10)

1944-03-15: **CNR: COUNCIL NATIONALE RESISTANCE CHARTER ADOPTED:**

- 1944-03-15: **CNR charter: unanimously adopted at a secret plenary session:** the symbol of resistance unity was the "charter" of the national Council of the resistance. The CNR charter was unanimously adopted at a secret plenary session of that body on March 15 1944. At the liberation, the charter became the symbol of the aspirations of the resistance... Novick 1968: 36
- 1944-03-15: **purge of Vichyites: first task of the new provisional gov't:** in the postwar program of the National Council of the Resistance — the so-called CNR charter — the purge of Vichyites and collaborators was listed as the first task of the new provisional government... / defined as "the punishment of traitors and the eviction from the administration and professional life of all those who have dealt with the enemy or have actively associated themselves with the policy of the governments of collaboration." Novick 1968: vii, 38, 198
- 1944-03-15: **collaborators knew they had to win or die:** A decree of the French Committee of National Liberation at Algiers charg[ed] all Vichy ministers with treason, promising them trials after the liberation, and ordering public servants not to obey their orders. [Pierre Pucheu] was shot on 20 March 1944. Already, reported German intelligence, collaborators knew they had to win or die. Paxton 1972: 286

1944-03-22: LC: 'FUNDAMENTAL CHANGES, EVOLUTION TOWARD THE GOOD'

- 1944-03-22: LC: "the first act of the evolution is ending": "The certitude of enormous fundamental changes. Only the first act is ending at this moment... But it is encouraging to realize that the evolution will be in the direction of the good." (LC-Marie, Paris) Weber 2008: 465

1944-03-26: PANZER DIVISIONS LEAVE FRANCE FOR EASTERN FRONT

- 1944-03-26: Panzer Divisions received marching orders to leave France: On 26 March... the whole II SS Panzer Corps with the 9th and 10th SS Panzer Divisions received marching orders to leave France and go to the assistance of the first Panzer Army. (Die OKW Kriegsschauplaetze) Harrison 1993: 235

1944-04-12: CFLN: COLLABORATORS ARE "KNOWN, CATALOGUED, LABELED"

- 1944-04-12: CFLN: Commissaires de la Republique to arrest suspects: A network of "Commissaires de la Republique", eighteen "super-prefects" each with responsibility for the administration of a region... had complete administrative authority... Their enumerated tasks included the removal of compromised officials and the arrest of suspects. Novick 1968: 65
- 1944-04-12: Radio announcement: collaborators = known and catalogued: Pierre Dac... addressed traitors over the air in April 1944... No matter how they tried to hide, he said, collaborators would be tracked down. "You are known, catalogued, labeled." Lottman 1968: 30

1944-04-20: LC QUILTS CARREL FONDATION

- 1944-04-20: LC: démissionna: LC en démissionna le 20 avril 1944. (LC, lettre à Carrel, 20 avril 1944, FLC, E2-18-240) Le Couédic 2005: 48
- 1944-04-20: LC trying to disassociate himself from the past three years: Le Corbusier was now trying to disassociate himself from his efforts of the past three years... He resigned from the projects with Alexis Carrel, saying that this approach no longer appealed to him. Weber 2008: 465

1944-04-21: CNR DECREE ON INSTITUTIONAL LIBERATION & HIGH COURT

- 1944-04-21: CNR decree established institutional rules: the comprehensive decree of April 21 1944 was to serve as a book of rules for establishing democratic institutions on the municipal and district levels as well as in Paris. Lottman 1968: 185
- 1944-04-21: de Gaulle decree for liberation: creation of High Court of Justice: the April 21 decree included the provision for setting up a High Court of Justice to bring to trial the "usurping" chief of state and his ministers. (JORF, Algiers, 22 April 1944) Lottman 1968: 49
- 1944-04-21: new government: women would be able to vote: on April 21 1944 de Gaulle's cabinet issued a decree providing for the organization of government in France after the liberation... French women would be able to vote... (JORF Algiers, 22 April 1944, 325ff) Lottman 1968: 48
- 1944-04-21: resistance activity: would waive ineligibility of collaborators: The principle of ineligibility for public office was introduced for former Vichy cabinet ministers and other collaborators... It would be waived for persons who could prove they had been active in the resistance. (JORF Algiers, 22 April 1944, 325ff) Lottman 1968: 48

1944-06-03: GOUVERNEMENT PROVISoire DE LA RÉPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE:

- 1944-06-03: CFLN: becomes GPRF: the CFLN adopted a new name which more accurately reflected its role... Novick 1968: 66
- 1944-06-03: Regional Commissioners granted broad powers: regional commissioners of the Republic at the hour liberation were vested with nearly all the power a president or even a king might have... The decree which created this unique corps was signed on 10 January 1944... Their role was revealed to Occupied France by London radio's French program on June 3 1944... If communications were cut each Commissioner of the Republic could suspend any law, make any law, taken a decision necessary "to assure order, the functioning of government... and the security of the French and Allied armies". Lottman 1968: 38-9

1944-06-06: NORMANDY INVASION

- 1944-06-06: Allied fleet: largest ever assembled: The invasion was launched, and through the choppy waters of the Channel the 5,000 ships and craft of the largest fleet ever assembled held to their carefully plotted courses toward the transport areas off the enemy coast. Harrison 1993: 274

1944-06-06: PÉTAÏN: "ALL FRENCHMEN TO REMAIN NEUTRAL"

- 1944-06-06: **Pétain: Frenchmen to remain neutral**: Pétain issued a proclamation calling upon all Frenchmen to remain neutral. French blood was too precious to waste, he said. By the Liberation, regular French forces had never fought the Allies side-by-side with German forces. Paxton 1972: 326
- 1944-06-06: **ACA: led astray by Pétainism**: the repeated interventions of the hierarchy... betray a certain ineptness; they were singularly mistimed... Once again their clinging to the Vichy regime, and particularly to Marshal Pétain, had led them astray. Halls 1995: 174

1944-06-26: ORDINANCE: SANCTIONS AGAINST CABINET & BISHOPS

- 1944-06-26: **Judicial purge: proclamation of the Vichy illegitimacy**: the decree containing the essence of the judicial purge was signed on 26 June 1944... It argued that the Vichy government was not legitimate and thus its orders did not excuse acts of collaboration... Pétain's government had been a "pseudo-government" and this meant that participation in a latter constituted treason. (François de Menthon, judicial decree: AN BB 30 1729) Lottman 1986: 46
- 1944-06-26: **"national indignity" defined**: the government, on June 26, 1944, submitted to the assembly a "Proposed Ordinance Instituting National Indignity"... The draft defined "national indignity" as the "state entered into" by one who "directly or indirectly, voluntarily aided Germany or her allies, or harmed the unity of the nation or the liberty and equality of Frenchman"... (*Journal officiel*, 26 June 1944, ACP, Documents, n. 108 ; 'Rapport reçu de France', in *Cahier Français*, n. 51, Dec 1943) Novick 1968: 146-7

1944-06-28: MILITARY TRIBUNALS, COLLABORATORS & EXECUTIONS

- 1944-06-28: **Henriot: assassinated after last broadcast**: Henriot was a Catholic militant instated as secretary of propaganda in January 1944. Twice daily thereafter Henriot embroidered on one theme: the violence and the self-interest of France's pretended "liberators", "our future colonizers" (12 May 1944), who included "all those Jews who surround you" (14 April 1944)... "The finance ministry, where one would be surprised not to find a Jew" (4 April 1944)... His evening broadcast of 27 June — in which he boasted of never having defended the Jews — was his last; that night a resistance group disguised as the Milice penetrated his apartment in the Ministry of information in Paris and shot him dead. Marrus & Paxton 1981: 338-9
- 1944-06-28: **Henriot assassinated by resistants**: Henriot, Minister of information in the Vichy government and one of the leaders of the ultra-collaborationist circles in Paris, was condemned to death by the Council of National Resistance and executed in a daring daylight raid on June 28 1944. Novick 1968: 33

1944-07-07: FUNÉRAILLES 'NATIONALES' DE PHILIPPE HENRIOT

- 1944-07-07: **Suhard à Notre-Dame**: funérailles 'nationales' de Philippe Henriot présidé à Notre-Dame par le cardinal [Suhard] et en présence des autorités militaires allemandes... Bruckberger 1980: 383
- 1944-07-07: **Suhard, Chappoulie, Beaussart: funeral mass for Henriot**: in Paris Cardinal Suhard attended by Monsignor Chappoulie and Monsignor Beaussart presided over the funeral mass [of Philippe Henriot] in Notre Dame, in the presence of the German commanding officer for Gross-Paris. Suhard refused, however, to pronounce a funeral oration. (Press cuttings, July 1944: AN 72 AJ 250) Halls 1995: 356
- 1944-07-07: **ACA: un test de la fidélité pétainiste**: Les réactions à l'exécution par la Résistance de Philippe Henriot... représente un test de la fidélité pétainiste des évêques français. Ceux-ci sont présents aux obsèques nationales à Notre-Dame de Paris et aux services que la Milice fait célébrer en province... Ce concours d'évêques... attriste et mécontente les résistants chrétiens que les miliciens combattant torturent et assassinent. Hilaire 1995: 92

1944-07-09: DE GAULLE RECEIVED BY THE POPE

- 1944-07-09: **De Gaulle: reçu aux Vatican**: le général... avaient été reçu aux Vatican par la secrétaire d'État Maglione et par le pape Pie XII lui-même. Latreille 1978: 43
- 1944-07-09: **De Gaulle: an 'épuration' of the episcopacy**: De Gaulle, received by the Pope on 9 July 1944, had raised the desire for an 'épuration' of the episcopacy, but the Pope pretended not to hear him. Halls 1995: 368

1944-07-09: VALLAT: BROADCASTS ON DE GAULLE, PIUS XII, BISHOPS

- 1944-07-09: Vallat: **Henriot "killed by London, Washington, Moscow, Jerusalem"**: Vallat took over Henriot's position [as Vichy secretary of propaganda], and gave 25 radio broadcasts in July: Henriot, he said, had been "killed by London, Washington, Moscow, Jerusalem". Marrus & Paxton 1981: 339
- 1944-07-09: Vallat: **sarcastic comment on 'épuration' of the episcopacy**: De Gaulle, received by the Pope on the ninth of July 1944, had raised the desire for an 'épuration' of the episcopacy, but the Pope pretended not to hear him... / The visit was the subject of much sarcastic comment by Xavier Vallat on radio Vichy... The broadcast was made at a time when De Gaulle was still being treated as of little account by the Americans. (AN F60 .1674, Radio Vichy, 19:30, 9 July 1944) Halls 1995: 368-80
- 1944-07-09: Vallat on Radio Vichy: **"the Pope has not turned Gaullist"**: Xavier Vallat, a prominent Catholic, waxed sarcastic [about de Gaulle's visit with the Pope] on radio Vichy: "De Gaulle... I do not acknowledge his authority... An audience with the Pope is a grace he [Pius XII] grants... It would be an exaggeration to say that it constitutes a recognition by the Vatican of the government of France... Rest assured, the Pope has not turned Gaullist." (Xavier Vallat, recording made by FFI of talk entitled 'La Chrétienté et l'État', Radio Vichy, 19:30, 9 July 1944) Halls 1995: 157
- 1944-07-09: Vallat: **plea for loyalty to Pétain on Radio Paris**: Xavier Vallat, who took over Philippe Henriot's radio broadcasts after his assassination, on 9 July 1944 made a desperate plea for loyalty [to Marshal Pétain], citing a long list of bishops who, he alleged, continued actively to support the regime. (Xavier Vallat, recording made by FFI of talk entitled 'La Chrétienté et l'État', Radio Vichy, 19:30, 9 July 1944; Note, AN F60.1674) Halls 1995: 83
- 1944-07-09: Vallat: **Dubourg: « loyalisme absolu à l'égard du maréchal »**: « Tous les évêques de France, quel que soit le jugement interne que leurs tendances personnelles puissent leur inspirer sur les événements de ces dernières années, ont tenu fort explicitement, à une occasion ou à une autre, à recommander à leurs ouailles un loyalisme absolu à l'égard du maréchal... [comme] Mgr Dubourg, archevêque de Besançon: 'refuser de suivre le Maréchal, ce serait l'accuser scélératement [sic] de trahir la patrie alors que toute sa vie est une vie d'honneur et de dévouement au service de la France, et qu'il s'est donné à elle le jour où elle été vaincu, pour la sauver d'une ruine totale. Quand un homme assume une telle charge, éclairé par son expérience et par le sentiment qu'il a de sa responsabilité, il a droit à la reconnaissance et au dévouement au Pays, et ceux qui sont sous ses ordres doivent le suivre jusqu'au prix de leurs convictions personnelles.' » (Dubourg, cited in Xavier Vallat, 'La Chrétienté et l'État', Radio Vichy, 19:30, 9 July 1944; transcription by FFI) AN F-IA-3351/B 2725-1
- 1944-07-09: Vallat: **Marmottin: « un catholique français, devoir d'obéir Pétain »**: « Mgr Marmottin [sic], archevêque de Reims, qui rappelle dans son bulletin diocésain du 25 janvier 1942, 'Le Maréchal Pétain détient également, depuis le 10 juillet 1940, le pouvoir de gouverneur l'État français. Donc, un catholique français a de conscience le devoir de lui obéir, de le servir et de le soutenir; c'est-à-dire qu'il est coupable d'un péché s'il ne le fait pas, s'il se met en opposition avec lui. [...] Le catholique commet un péché qui peut être grave s'il prend le parti des rebelles, de deux qui refusent de reconnaître le chef de l'État et qui se révoltent contre son autorité.' » (Marmottin, Bulletin diocésain, 25 Jan 1942, cited in Xavier Vallat, 'La Chrétienté et l'État', Radio Vichy, 19:30, 9 July 1944; transcription by FFI) AN F-IA-3351/B 2725-1

1944-07-26: BIDAULT: BISHOPS RECOMMENDED FOR REMOVAL

- 1944-07-26: Bidault: **l'épiscopat français avaient prêché aux catholiques la soumission**: Une note, sans signature mais qui portait évidemment sa marque [Bidault] et qui était daté de Paris, le 26 juillet 1944... « Il convient... que le gouvernement négocie avec le Saint-Siège à fin que ce dernier accepte de faire les démarches nécessaires pour obtenir la démission de ceux des membres de l'épiscopat dont l'attitude a causé le plus grand scandale sous l'Occupation. Les listes 'A' et 'A-bis' ci-jointes donnent quelques indications à ce sujet. »... Grief était fait globalement à « l'épiscopat français » d'avoir prêché aux catholiques la soumission à Vichy... Tous les cardinaux français du moment été mis en cause... (Bidault, Note sur l'épiscopat, 26 juillet 1944) Latreille 1978: 26-32
- 1944-07-26*: Bidault: **member the 'Parti Democrate Populaire' founded by social Catholics**: A splinter group [of the Sillonist movement] sought to create a 'social Catholic' party, politically more centrist. This developed into the Parti Democrate Populaire, formally founded in 1924 by an ex-Sillonist... The party had little success... other party members... were to figure prominently in history... Georges Bidault, who was to head the Council of the Resistance... Halls 1995: 18

1944-07-31: JODL: DEFENSIVE BELT ANCHORED ON VOSGES MOUNTAINS:

- 1944-07-31: Jodl: **sketched defensive belt anchored on Vosges Mountains**: Jodl sketched a major defensive belt across Belgium and France (and into northern Italy) that consisted of two lines: the

Somme-Marne-Saone River line, and the Albert Canal-Meuse River line, both anchored on the Vosges Mountains... (OKW *Besprechung des Fuehrers mit Generaloberst Jodl am 31.7.1944*. in *Der Wolfschanze; Der Westen*, Schramm; Jodl Diary; *OB WEST, a Study in Command*, pp. 46-47) Blumenson 1993: 419

1944-08-07: LC: 'TROIS ÉTABLISSEMENTS HUMAINS'

- 1944-08-07: **le manuscrit: on est venu le prendre**: « Cher Monsieur Duval... On est venu prendre le manuscrit « 3 Établissements Humains ». Vous serez gentil de m'en donner deux, trois pages d'appréciation critique Jeune Patron... » (Le Corbusier, lettre à Jean-Jacques Duval, 7 août 1944, Paris) Petit 1970: 93
- 1944-08-07: **La révolution architecturale: Une loi naturelle se grouper ces hommes**: [U]ne lois naturelle doit être opposée, celle qui fait se grouper ces hommes pour s'entraider, se défendre, économiser leurs efforts. La révolution architecturale... a permis les solutions nécessaires. 1945: 26
- 1944-08-07: **nouvelle forme d'habitat: une nouvelle biologie**: Une nouvelle biologie du domaine de bâti apparaît. Les organes et les fonctions nécessaires à l'accomplissement d'une journée agréable, utile et propice, s'inscrivent dans cette nouvelle forme d'habitat. LC 1945: 28
- 1944-08-07: **Race: « La famille est brisée, biologie molestée, la race s'épuise »**: Les cités... à la suite de la première ère du machinisme, deviennent des villes tentaculaires. Le « grand gaspillage » en est issu, suintant de ces ententes bâties, enfiévrées, et bouleversant l'emploi tout simplement humain de la journée solaire de 24 heures. Les entreprises tombent dans la démesure et les actes dans l'inhumain. Effervescence fallacieuse, agitation stérile: urbanisme dégénéré, se dénature, ce rebiffe contre celui même qui en poursuit le développement contradictoire, contre l'homme. La famille est brisée ; biologie molestée, physique et morale accablées, elle tombe en déchéance ; la race s'épuise ; elle n'est plus bonne que tomber dans les lacets tendus par les profiteurs du monde. La voilà chair à canons à douleurs innombrables et sans terme. LC 1945: 66-7
- 1944-08-07: **Griaule: les limites naturelles des villes**: L'homme... a brisé des limites naturelles... ses entreprises... abandonnées à la violence des intérêts particuliers, ont envahi les zones « sacrées »... Marcel Griaule a écrit: « La limite est une affaire de dieux et non une affaire d'hommes. » LC 1945: 67
- 1944-08-07: **Griaule: la reconstitution des peuplements favorables**: Les villes ont rompu le contact avec les dieux d'alentour, gérants des conditions de nature. Il faut reconnaître et retrouver les conditions de nature. Cette tâche exigera la reconstitution des peuplements favorables. Les peuplements seront favorables lorsqu'ils reprendront aux forces cosmiques naturelles et humaines ; lorsqu'ils obéiront, respecteront, conquerront selon la règle du jeu ; lorsqu'ils auront gagné la partie. L'entreprise est provocatrice de joie, de foi, de civisme. LC 1945: 67
- 1944-08-07: **une unité: une authentique biologie bâtie**: Les établissements humains doivent occuper le sol en des points spécifiquement désignés, et leur forme, issue de valeur intrinsèque, s'organise en une authentique biologie bâtie... une unité... *d'exploitation d'agricole... la cité-linéaire industrielle... les cites radio concentriques des échanges...* LC 1945: 70
- 1944-08-07: **un nouveau signe architectural: un signe civique, le centre des forces civiles**: Voici surgi dans le pays de France, un nouveau signe architectural débute sur les étoiles, les meules, les champs et les pâtures, un signe civique ; le centre des forces civiles. Il vient au XXe siècle, marqué de son sceau énergétique le paysage de France, en Provence, comme un Beauce et en Bretagne. 1945: 93
- 1944-08-07: **l'urbanisme: les conditions de nature**: Les techniciens de l'urbanisme clairvoyants et désintéressés assistèrent alors à la longue déchéance d'un principe qui semblait étayé sur la plus solide des postulats: aller retrouver les conditions de nature là où elles existaient encore. 115
- 1944-08-07: **Eugénisme: « l'eugénisme, la puériculture, assurant l'élevage d'une race »**: La cite jardin verticale prend le relais de la cite jardin horizontale... L'organisation rendue possible de grand jeu des « services communs » dont l'essentiel—celui de ravitaillement et du service domestique—va transformer enfin le sort de la maîtresse de maison, écrasée aujourd'hui sous des tâches exténuantes: l'eugénisme, la puériculture, assurant l'élevage d'une race; la récupération quotidienne des forces physiques et nerveuses apportant la force et la santé; enfin, et combien importante, la cessation d'un gaspillage fantastique (canalisations, transports, temps perdu, etc.). LC 1945: 116
- 1944-08-07: **Paris: « vider la ville tentaculaire d'un surplus de populations »**: L'examen de l'occupation du territoire par les « trois établissements humains » de la civilisation machiniste permet de prendre des initiatives... Vider aussi ce Paris tentaculaire d'un surplus de populations vouée aujourd'hui à un va-et-vient insensé à l'intérieur de l'agglomération. LC 1945: 148
- 1944-08-07: **populations parasites: « la lèpre des banlieues »**: la lèpre des banlieues... ; immenses zones parasites de banlieue... ; populations parasites: [Les] villes radio concentrique...

doivent même répudier ces populations parasitaires qui se sont jetées sur elles... ; la lèpre des banlieues... LC 1945: 22, 100, 127, 162

- 1944-08-07: **Démolir ces blocs de faubourgs**: « pour être reconstruire de neuf, en plus soigné »: chacun de ces blocs de faubourgs avait le destin d'être démoli pour être reconstruire de neuf, en mieux, en plus soigné, ayant grimpé d'un échelon. LC 1945: 169
- 1944-08-07: **Race**: « Une race paysanne adaptée à notre époque »: L'« unité d'exploitation agricole » est l'instrument de réveil de la terre, faisant une paysannerie aisée et sociable, à l'aise dans un cadre proportionné aux outils qui allégeront son labeur... la cite linéaire industrielle opère par classement. Une race paysanne adaptée à notre époque apparaîtra. LC 1945: 175

1944-08-09: GOUVERNEMENT PROVISoire DE LA RÉPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE:

- 1944-08-09: **GPRF: l'ordonnance sur la légalité républicaine**: l'ordonnance relative au rétablissement de la légalité républicaine sur le territoire continental. Baruch 1997: 570
- 1944-08-09: **Vichy regime: expunged from history**: Vichy regime and all its works were simply expunged from history when France was liberated... The Comité Français de Libération Nationale... declared [it] null and void by an ordinance issued in Algiers on nine August 1944. Paxton 1972: 330

1944-08-18: HITLER'S ORDERS WITHDRAWAL FROM FRANCE

- 1944-08-18: **Hitler: defensive line from Sens through Dijon to the Swiss border**: On 18 August... Hitler ordered Army Group G to disengage its forces in southern France, with the exception of troops at Toulon and Marseille... and begin at once to organize a rallying position along a line from Sens through Dijon to the Swiss border. Blumenson 1993: 535

1944-08-19: FRENCH BISHOPS ARRESTED & TAKE FLIGHT

- 1944-08-19: **Collaborating bishops: arrested, fled, or resigned**: in the climate of the Liberation, those who had condemned the Resistance and Gaullism, had labeled the Maquis as terrorists, or who had characterized the Allied bombing as barbaric were particularly stigmatized... Monsignor Auvity, Bishop of Mende... was arrested on 19 August 1944 and forced to quit his diocese... whence he was destined never to return... Monsignor Dubois de la Villarabel... also fled... Two other bishops were forced to resign and others were in jeopardy. Halls 1995: 365

1944-08-21: CARREL: SUSPENDED FROM FUNCTIONS AS REGENT

- 1944-08-21: **FFEPH: partnerships with almost every Vichy ministry**: By the war's end, research departments [of the FFEPH] had set up links and partnerships with almost every ministry... Reggiani 2007: 119
- 1944-08-21: **Carrel suspended**: In late August 1944... Louis Pasteur Vallery-Radot issued a decree suspending Carrel from his functions as the foundation's regent... the intervention of the Americans saved him from being sent to prison... (New York Times, 29 August 1944) Reggiani 2007: 160-61
- 1944-08-21: **Carrel: visées par le gouvernement**: Carrel était cloué chez lui par une grave attaque cardiaque. Il fut une des toutes premières personnalités visées par le gouvernement provisoire de la République. Il fut suspendu de ses fonctions le 21 août 1944 à la demande de Paul Milliez et de Louis Pasteur Vallery-Radot, la Fondation dissoute. Mais il comptait de nombreux soutiens américains et Eisenhower reçut l'ordre de « ne pas laisser toucher à Carrel ». Henriette Delaye-Dider-Delorme 1963: 187

1944-08-24: LIBÉRATION OF PARIS

- 1944-08-24: **Leclerc reached the Hotel de Ville shortly before midnight**: Leclerc called on Billotte to dispatch a small detachment of tanks and half-tracks to infiltrate into the city. A small force under a Captain Dronne... crossed the Seine by the Pont d'Austerlitz, drove along the quays of the right bank, and reached the Hotel de Ville shortly before midnight, 24 August. (Dansette, *Libération de Paris*, pp. 334-39) Blumenson 1993: 615

1944-08-26: NATIONAL INDIGNITY = COLLABORATION WITH THE ENEMY

- 1944-08-26: **Purge begins in Paris**: once the provisional government was installed in Paris the purge began in earnest. The original target date for the end of the purge in the central offices of the ministries was 15 February 1945, and for other levels one month later. Novick 1968: 83
- 1944-08-26: **Violations defined**: The ordinance instituting national indignity was promulgated on 26 August 1944... Among the enumerated specific acts, performance of which would carry a presumption of guilt, were...

- Member of cabinet: Having been a member of any of Marshal Pétain's cabinets...
 - Writings or lectures: having published writings or given lectures in favor of the enemy, collaboration with the enemy, racism, or totalitarian doctrines.
- (CFLN, Ordonnance, 26 Aug 1944, Novick 1968: 144-8)
- 1944-08-26: **Membership in listed organizations**: specific criteria found in the ordinance of August 26, 1944, on national indignity... The commissions considered membership in organizations listed in the ordinance of August 26 as prima facie evidence of "antinational behavior"; they accepted resistance activity as a mitigating circumstance... Novick 1968: 89
- 1944-08-26: **resistance involvement: "rehabilitation" and suspension of indignity**: the court might suspend the penalty [for national indignity] in the case of those who, subsequent to the acts charged against them, "rehabilitated" themselves, either by military action in the war against the axis or by participation in the resistance... (CFLN, Ordonnance, 26 Aug 1944, Novick 1968: 144-8)
 - 1944-08-26*: **septembristes: later ordinances altered to eliminate abuse**: This was altered in the ordinance of December 26 1944 to "sustained and effective active participation", a measure of self-defense against the *septembristes*. Novick 1968: 148

1944-08-31: PARIS: TRANSFERT DU GOUVERNEMENT PROVISOIRE

1944-09-08: BESANÇON WAS LIBERATED BY THE 3RD INFANTRY DIVISION

1944-09-08: RONCHAMP: UN MAIGRE PÈLERINAGE AVEC LA MESSE

- 1944-09-08: **Ronchamp: 8 sept a encore lieu un maigre pèlerinage**, avec la messe. Bolle-Reddat, JNDH 51, Nov 1974, p. 8

1944-09-09—14: PARISIAN PURGE COMMISSION

- 1944-09-09: **François de Menthon, Catholic minister of justice**: François de Menthon arrived in Paris from Algiers at the beginning of September 1944 to take over the Ministry of Justice. He saw Resistance courts martial as a violation of the will of the provisional government... Lottman 1986: 123
- 1944-09-09*: **central purge commission for the magistrature**: within two weeks of the liberation of Paris, the central purge commission for the magistrature was established, which was divided into subsections manned by both judges and résistants. Novick 1968: 86
- 1944-09-09*: **Paris purge began in earnest**: once the provisional government was installed in Paris the purge began in earnest. The original target date for the end of the purge in the central offices of the ministries was 15 Feb 1945, and for other levels of month later. Novick 1968: 83
- 1944-09-09*: **Purge commissions: grounds for sanctions**: membership in a collaborationist organization... was a sufficient ground. So were such acts as informing on the anti-Vichy opinions of colleagues or subordinates, mistreatment of Jews or résistants, voluntary aid to Germany, or attempting to profit from the misfortunes of Jewish businessmen... / The administrative purge included "offenses of expression" and "personal attitudes". Among the kinds of opinions sanctioned were "rejoicing over the defeat of France", "remarks openly displaying a desire for Franco-German rapprochement", "language insulting the French resistance" and manifestations of the hatred of the Jews. (Kaminsky 1962: 132-91) Novick 1968: 87
- 1944-09-09*: **ad hoc courts: closed down in provinces**: during the month of September, Maurice Rolland and three colleagues went off to establish the new courts in the provinces to close down ad hoc courts. Often the Paris inspectors had to negotiate with local resistance chiefs, in some cases with veritable gang leaders, to persuade them to relinquish their courts martial. (Maurice Rolland, interview) Lottman 1986: 124
- 1944-09-09*: **Pétain's ministers apprehended by military justice**: in September 1944 the Paris military tribunal had drawn up indictments against Pétain and his ministers, and those of the ministers who could be apprehended were turned over to military justice [in early October]. (*Combat*, Paris, 10 October 1944) Novick 1968: 172
- 1944-09-09*: **Communists calling for vigorous purge**: in the fall of 1944, when the Allied armies appeared capable of ending the war within a few months, the Communists were in the vanguard of those calling for vigorous action on the purge. Lottman 1986: 180
- 1944-09-09*: **Third Republic luminaries released from prison**: Leon Blum, Daladier, and Gamelin, together with Georges Mandel, Reynaud, and other luminaries of the Third Republic, remained in Vichy (later German) prisons for the duration [of the war]. Novick 1968: 9
- 1944-09-14: **civil servants liable to prosecution ONLY if they had gone beyond orders**: A law of 14 September 1944 held that civil servants were liable to prosecution only if they had gone beyond

orders to aid the Germans or if they had had the power to ignore Vichy orders. (*Ministère public contre Dayras*, page 78) Paxton 1972: 333

- 1944-09-14: **civil servants: continued to manage their own administrative archives:** [A]t the moment of the Liberation, every administrative service continued to manage its archives, often in the hands of the same civil servants and according to the same fifty-year closure as the archives of the late Third Republic... [M]any French peoples' itineraries had been so complicated that it suited almost everyone to keep prying eyes out of the Vichy archives for as long as possible. Paxton 1972: 392
- 1944-09-14: **traditionalists were vigorously uprooted at the liberation:** traditionalists... were much more vigorously uprooted at the liberation than the experts... They had commanded newspaper pages, radio hours, and public platforms... talking about provinces and tradition... The traditionalists had provided the words and voices of Vichy, and they were marked men. Paxton 1972: 344
- 1944-09-14: **Vichy industrialists retained control of social power:** leading industrialists of the Vichy period retained control of their sources of social power through the liberation. Paxton 1972: 343
- 1944-09-14: **'double game' defense:** many civil servants invoked the defense of the "double game" — that they had worked for Vichy only in order to be able to work at the same time for the resistance. Novick 1968: 88-9
- 1944-09-14: **Pétain: plans for his prosecution:** the military tribunal of Paris was ordered to begin preparing the prosecution of Marshal Pétain and his ministers. (Raïssac, *Un soldat dans la tourmente*, Paris, A. Michel, 1963, pp. 350-1) Novick 1968: 154

1944-09-11: RONCHAMP: THE VOSGES FOOTHILL POSITION

- 1944-09-11: **Rundstedt moved to protect the German border:** Hitler on 5 September...recalled Rundstedt whom he had relieved at the beginning of July... [He] assumed his old post, Commander-in-Chief, West... Rundstedt was able to direct his attention to the whole Western Front... By 11 September most of the German units... were making an honest effort to protect the German border in the west. Blumenson 1993: 700-1
- 1944-09-11: **Armées allemandes refluant de la Méditerranée aux approches de Lure:** les armées allemandes refluant de la Méditerranée et du Sud de la France vers ce passage... La progression est foudroyante: de Fréjus le 15 août à Lyon le 3 septembre, aux approches de Besançon et de Lure les 6 et 11 septembre. Le général Wiese avec la 19^e Armée allemande se fixe comme objectif de retarder cette avance et de maintenir ouverte la « Trouée de Belfort » ... Bolle-Reddat 1974, n. 51, p. 8
- 1944-09-11*: **Vosges Foothill Position extended south past Le Thillot to the Belfort Gap:** The *Vosges Foothill Position* began on the Rhine-Marne Canal at Lagarde, about twelve miles northeast of Lunéville. The line ran south to the Meurthe at Baccarat, followed the east bank of the river past Raon-l'Étape and St. Dié to the vicinity of Fraize, seven miles south of St. Dié, and extended on south past Le Thillot to tie into the defenses of the Belfort Gap. Farther east, generally following the crest of the Vosges Mountains, lay the *Vosges Ridge Position*, the final *Weststellung* defensive line. Clarke 1993: 317
- 1944-09-11*: **Germans on Moselle: Metz, Nancy, Epinal, Remiremont, l'Isle-sur-les-Doubs:** [T]he basic German operational objective in northern France was to hold along a defensive line as far west of the Franco-German border as possible... From Sarralbe, the line was to continue generally south and southwest across the Vosges, through the approaches to the Belfort Gap, and on to the Swiss border. In the area north of Devers' 6th Army Group, the German high command also wanted to establish a western salient at Metz, on the Moselle twenty miles south of Thionville, and, in addition, a buffer line along the Moselle from Metz through Nancy, Épinal, and Remiremont, all the way south to the vicinity of l'Isle-sur-les-Doubs [Ronchamp between the latter two]. (Charles V. P. von Luttichau, "German Operations in Southern France and Alsace, 1944", chs. 16 and 17; and Krasomil, "German Operations in Southern France," ch. 6, CMH manuscript R-51) Clarke 1993: 233-4
- 1944-09-11*: **German forces trying to turn Weststellung into a defensive position:** In mid-September this projected line, named the *Weststellung*, or West Line, existed largely on paper... As the VI Corps was about to begin its attack, the opposing German forces were desperately trying to buy time to turn the *Weststellung* into a solid defensive position. Clarke 1993: 234
- 1944-09-11*: **15-mile front from La Longine south to La Cote:** South of Rambervillers, the *Nineteenth Army* stood opposite Devers' small 6th Army Group along a front stretching for about ninety miles (*Map 13* [w/ Ronchamp, p. 236])... the *IV Luftwaffe Field Corps* with the *338th* and *198th Divisions* [were] deployed on a line, north to south, along a fifteen-mile front west of the

Moselle from La Longine south to La Coté, about four miles east of Lure on Route N-19. Clarke 1993: 235

- 1944-09-11*: **Ronchamp: Notre-Dame-du-Haut, un observatoire des allemands**: Le clocher de Notre-Dame, haut de 35 m, au sommet de la colline est un remarquable observatoire et une cible toute désignée. Les observateurs allemands s'y tiennent chaque jour, en descendent le soir, vers le village. Bolle-Reddat 1974, n. 51, pp. 8-9

1944-09-17: **DUBOURG: CÉRÉMONIES DE LA LIBÉRATION DE BESANÇON**

- 1944-09-17: **Dubourg: Schisme du XVe siècle = 'saints dans l'un et l'autre camp'**: « Parlons net. La France est avide d'union et de paix. Elle a tant souffert de ses dissensions et de ses luttes intestines. N'allons pas commettre le crime de prolonger ses divisions, à plus forte raison d'en susciter de nouvelles. Assez de haine ! Nous avons besoin de fraternité. Ne nous jetons pas à la face des anathèmes mutuels; cherchant non ce qui divise, mais ce qui nous rapproche. Sachant pardonner, plutôt qu'accuser et condamner ! ... Jadis au temps de grande Schisme l'Occident qui, à la fin du XVe siècle déchira l'Église et la partagea en deux obédiences se rattachent chacune à un Pape, il y eut des saints dans l'un et l'autre camp, parce qu'il y eut de part et d'autre des âmes de bonne foi... » (Cérémonies de la libération de la ville de Besançon, le dimanche 17 septembre 1944) Thiébaud 1999: 283
- 1944-09-17: **Dubourg: « Nous devons aux chefs du pays, respect et soumission »**: « Je crois avec l'Église que toute autorité vient de Dieu, l'autorité temporelle, comme l'autorité spirituelle. Nous devons aux chefs qui ont l'honneur et la charge de gouverner le pays, respect et soumission, et c'est un devoir de prier pour eux. Il plaît sans doute à beaucoup d'entendre rappeler ces vérités aujourd'hui. Je les ai affirmées en un temps où cela pouvait déplaire à certains. Ah ! c'est que, voyez-vous, les principes restent les principes. Et l'Église doit les enseigner à temps et à contretemps, sans aucune recherche de popularité avec le seul souci de la vérité. » (Cérémonies de la libération de la ville de Besançon, le dimanche 17 septembre 1944) Thiébaud 1999: 284
- 1944-09-17*: **ACA: De Gaulle's conciliatory tour of the provinces & meetings with bishops**: the resistance did not accept gladly the outcome of the settlement... De Gaulle... was inclined to greater indulgence, realizing that the establishment of a peaceable atmosphere was of paramount importance. Thus in September 1944 in his efforts to reassert the power of the central authority he had toured the provinces making a point of meeting not only Saliège and Cardinal Gerlier but even Feltin... He had attended a mass at which Cardinal Liénart officiated... Halls 1995: 378-9
- 1944-09-17*: **Dubourg: traité par les évêques de la province = « d'égareur de profession »**: La note du père Lebreton sur la légitimité de la résistance au STO [que Lebreton dénonçait] fut connue aussi [dans le diocèse de Besançon]. Une protestation des évêques de la province de Besançon valut à Mgr Dubourg d'être traité dans *L'Œuvre* « d'égareur de profession ». E. Ledeur 1977: 210

1944-09-19—21: **CITÉ FRATERNELLE: L'ÉQUIPE DE JEUNES PRÊTRES RÉSISTANTS**

- 1944-09-19: **Kayser: « l'affaire de l'hebdomadaire prend tournure »**: Le 19 septembre L. Kayser annonçait à Mgr Dubourg que « l'affaire de l'hebdomadaire prend tournure »... Il envisageait de demander un article au président de l'Union des Catholiques Maurice Billey... / Kayser signalait qu'il avait contacté le chanoine Goux directeur de l'imprimerie de l'Est, et que celui-ci l'avait assuré « être en mesure de tirer sur une machine ordinaire 5 à 6000 exemplaires pendant quelques semaines ». Lambert 2007: 46, 49
- 1944-09-19: **Kayser: « un certain opportunisme » démocrate-chrétien**: Paul Dhoutaud... parlait à son encontre d'un certain opportunisme. Ceci permettrait d'expliquer son désir de discrétion. Cette discrétion avait aussi un autre motif plus politique celui-ci. (Paul Dhoutaud, entretien, 27 février 1993) ... « incontestablement il a eu de notre part une volonté avortée de relancer un journal [démocrates-chrétiens] contre *La République* [du marquis] de Moustier ». (Louis Convers, entretien, 6 février 1993)... les fronts unis de la résistance éclatent, c'est la tendance socialiste qui conservait ce journal. Lambert 2007: 47
- 1944-09-19: **Cité fraternelle: l'équipe de jeunes prêtres cléricales-résistants**: La première de ces mouvances [de l'équipe de *Cité fraternelle*]... s'agit d'un petit groupe de jeunes prêtres dont on observe la présence dès le départ de journal. Ce sont André Galloy, 35 ans... aumônier du maquis de la Dame Blanche, Joseph Ball, 35 ans... aumônier du maquis du Lomont, François Redoutey, 34 ans... résistant sous le nom de commandant Henry, Jean Garneret, 37 ans... Tous avaient effectivement en commun d'être des disciples de l'abbé Flory... Lambert 2007: 48
- 1944-09-19: **Béjot : avait voulu dédouaner Mgr Dubourg**: Le choix de lui confier [Maurice Billey] la direction, choix comme monseigneur Pourchet attribue au chanoine Béjot, a pu paraître habile. Il permettait d'abord d'éviter de donner un visage trop clérical au journal, alors que celui-ci défendait dans sa première page l'importance du laïc. De plus, à une époque où l'église de France avait à justifier quelques prises de position en faveur de pouvoir précédent, il pouvait être intéressant de

s'offrir des garanties vis-à-vis des nouvelles autorités de l'opinion publique. Certains témoins rencontrés ont déclaré que le chanoine Béjot avait voulu par-là dédouaner Mgr Dubourg pour ses positions prises en faveur de Vichy. Lambert 2007: 49-50

- 1944-09-19*: **Billey: résistance armée et puis FFI, département de Doubs**: 8 septembre 1944, après quatre jours de combats ... Un Comité départemental de Libération [CDL] né dans la clandestinité prenait alors en charge... les destinées du département... Un autre catholique notoire, Maurice Billey... dirigeait par intérim le CDL... Maurice Billey est trésorier de l'organisation de résistance armée, puis des FFI pour le département de Doubs. Il devient président de CDL le 15 avril 1944... Lambert 2007: 41
- 1944-09-19*: **BBC: "press officers to confiscate Vichy Enterprises"**: radio London: "we are sending press officers... Remember, representatives of the resistance, resistance journalists, you have the duty to see the confiscation of any press enterprise which operated under the Vichy regime." ... It is possible to follow the progress of the Allied advance across Normandy through the dates of appearance of the first issues of the new newspapers. (*Voix de la liberté* V, 157f, August 11 1944) Lottman 1986: 230
- 1944-09-21: **Dubourg demandait à Kayser de « ne pas partir trop vite »**: Mgr Dubourg a annoté de sa main [21 septembre] cette lettre et posait en marge trois questions: « qui aura la responsabilité du journal, morale et pécuniaire ? Qui en aura la direction ? Qui en fixera les appointements ? » Dans sa réponse très brève, le surlendemain, [Dubourg] demandait à Kayser de « ne pas partir trop vite ». Il précisait qu'il n'avait « pas constitué le comité qui devra prendre la direction de nouveau journal ». Lambert 2007: 47

1944-09-20—10-19: **RONCHAMP: BATTLE OF BOURLÉMONT**

- 1944-09-20: **Truscott's VI Corps infantry began their advance toward the High Vosges**: Devers and Patch agreed with Truscott that further delays would only allow the Germans to become more entrenched along the Moselle and the western slopes of the Vosges. So, with the French II Corps' redeployment nearly complete, Patch, with Devers' blessing, gave Truscott the green light to start this new offensive the following morning. Thus, at 1630 on the 20th, the three VI Corps infantry divisions began their advance toward the High Vosges. Available record files contain no written authorization permitting Truscott to reactivate his Field Order 3 of 16 September, and SHAEF did not officially approve the new offensive until 22 September, when Devers and Patch attended a conference at SHAEF headquarters. (Msg, G-3, VI Corps, to G-3, 36th Div, 191025 Sep 44, in VI Corps War Rm Jnl, 19 Sep 44; VI Corps Fld Msg 191200, 19 Sep 44; Seventh Army Diary, 19 Sep 44) Clarke 1993: 233
- 1944-09-20*: **Le Thillot = major anchor of German defense in the Vosges**: Le Thillot itself, a key road junction town on the upper reaches of the Moselle River, lay in the French zone of advance and had become one of the major anchors of the German defenses in the mountains north of Belfort. Clarke 1993: 298
- 1944-09-20*: **Hitler had ordered that Allied forces be kept west of Vosges Foothill Position**: the southern, forward section of the *Weststellung*... had come to bear the designation *Vosges Foothill Position*. Hitler had already personally directed *Army Group G* to hold the Allied forces west of the *Vosges Foothill Position* in order to gain time to improve its main defenses, and von Rundstedt was reluctant to challenge the directive without due cause... Clarke 1993: 250
- 1944-09-20*: **High Vosges one of the bitterest contests of the war**: The campaign in the High Vosges from late September to early December was one of the bitterest contests of the war. Clarke 1993: 565
- 1944-09-23: **Le Thillot et Ronchamp: résistance en route**: au nord, la première division blindée est également bloquée peu au-delà de Mélisey, sur la route de Lure au Thillot, et bien en deçà de la côté Magny sur la route de Lure à Ronchamp. Tout le mordant de nos unités, qui éprouvent des pertes sensibles, ne peut venir à bout de cette résistance: le 23 septembre, la ligne de feu se stabilise sur tout le front du 2 e corps. De Lattre 1949: 208
- 1944-09-25: **Lure-Champagne: Hitler a confié la défense à des unités d'élite**: le 25 à l'aube... le général du Vigier... va engager dès le début... la totalité de cette force: la gauche de la Division Française Libre sera épaulée sur l'axe Lure-Champagne par le Combat Command 2 de Kientz... Le commandement allemand, qui a compris l'importance de ce secteur, en a confié la défense à des unités d'élite qui s'y accrochent furieusement et ne le cède que mètre par mètre... Ce sont quatre divisions qui occupent devant nous ces avancées et au chef desquelles Hitler a promis, le 21 septembre, le poteau d'exécution si elles venaient à lâcher pied. De Lattre 1949: 210-2
- 1944-09-26: **Le Thillot: IV Luftwaffe holding up Americans & French in SE hills**: The rest of the 198th Division was to hold the right flank of the IV Luftwaffe Corps south of Rupt. There the IV Luftwaffe was to continue its successful efforts to jam up the American and French attackers in the hills southeast of Le Thillot... [including Bourlémont] Clarke 1993: 251

- 1944-09-28: **Chapelle N.D-du-Haut: enlevé par une compagnie de Zouaves:** le 28... Dans la partie sud de la zone de bataille, le combat commande 2 à contourner le bois de la Nannue et la deuxième Compagnie de Zouaves à enlever la chapelle de Ronchamp sur un piton qui domine cette localité. De Lattre 1949: 213
- 1944-09-28: **Chapelle N.D-du-Haut: La colline sera prise dans la nuit du 28-29:** En deux phases de progression violente sera débloquée la Trouée de Belfort et le haut cours du Rhin atteint. La première du 28 septembre au 2 octobre; la deuxième du 19 novembre au 1er décembre. Ronchamp et sa colline seront d'un côté puis de l'autre de la ligne de feu du 22 septembre au 19 novembre. La colline sera prise dans la nuit du 28 au 29 septembre et demeurera sous le feu de la guerre jusqu'au 19 novembre... Bolle-Reddat, JNDH 1974, n.51, p. 8
- 1944-09-29: **Bourlémont: la bataille se déclenche:** dix heures du matin, ce 29 septembre, commence la brève et cruelle bataille de Bourlémont... A 13 heures se déclenche une intense préparation d'artillerie. L'infanterie allemande s'élance alors à l'assaut de la colline par les trois faces en même temps... Les pertes sont très lourdes de part et d'autre. Bolle-Reddat, JNDH 1974, n. 51, pp. 9-10
- 1944-09-29: **Chapelle N.D-du-Haut: l'opération de sauvetage de la statue:** En cette nuit du 29-30 fut sans doute descendue la statue vénérable de Notre-Dame. Le père Le Tilly, aumônier, dirigea l'opération. Un jeune oranais [d'Alger] porta la statue dans ses bras. Quelqu'un dit: « Si ta mère te voyait » et le gars en fondait d'émotion. La statue portée de poste en poste atteignit Lure. Bolle-Reddat, JNDH 1974, n. 51, p. 10
- 1944-09-30: **Chapelle N.D-du-Haut: commencement de séjour de la statue à la Côte:** Une plaque de marbre est scellée près du chœur de l'église du village de la Côte. Elle rappelle que la statue miraculeuse de Notre Dame du Haut y a séjourné du 30 septembre au 9 décembre 1944. <http://www.abamm.org/bourmont58.html>
- 1944-09-30: **contre-attaque: devant Le Thillot, Château-Lambert, et Ronchamp:** dans la matinée de 30 septembre... les nouvelles reçues des deuxième corps font état d'un raidissement général et d'un renforcement rapide de l'ennemi qui nous a contre-attaqués efficacement au col de la Chevastraye, nous bloque devant Le Thillot et Château-Lambert, et tient bon devant Ronchamp. Le moment est donc bien peu opportun pour une extension de notre front. De Lattre 1949: 221
- 1944-10-01: **Champagne: une série de petites actions d'infanterie:** Je traduis cette décision par mon I.P.S. diffusée le 1^{er} octobre, qui... précise que la manœuvre de la gauche de 2^e corps sera couverte au sud par l'accrochage de sa droite dans la région de Champagne, et allégée par une série de petites actions d'infanterie menée par le premier corps pour fixer l'ennemi et le tenir en haleine dans la trouée de Belfort. De Lattre 1949: 224
- 1944-10-02: **Chapelle N.D-du-Haut: bombardements par les Allemandes:** Le clocher et la colline sont un excellent observatoire pour les deux camps. Le 2 octobre vers 11 heures un canon allemand bombarde l'édifice. Le sanctuaire subit de très gros dégâts, dont le clocher, mais n'est pas détruit. La cloche de 1869, "Marie Marguerite Florentine" est criblée de cicatrices. Elle git, affaissée dans le beffroi. La moyenne, "Jeanne Bernadette" est intacte. La plus petite "Anne-Marie Alfrède Bernadette" s'est tue à jamais. La paix retrouvée, la chapelle est sommairement réparée avec la réfection de la toiture et la construction d'un toit sur le moignon du clocher. Les quatre séraphins sont restés stoïques sur leurs piédestaux. Cependant deux ont été sérieusement touchés. Les deux autres, remis en état et marqués des impacts de balles, veillent sur une tombe au cimetière de Ronchamp. <http://www.abamm.org/bourlemont5.html>
- 1944-10-04: **Ronchamp: général Brosset enfin maître de l'agglomération industrielle:** après trois jours de combat très violents le général Brosset est enfin maître, le 4 octobre, de la totalité de l'agglomération industrielle de Ronchamp-Éboulet-Recologne-La Houillère. De Lattre 1949: 225
- 1944-10-04: **Vosges: new assault in the vicinity of Ronchamp:** Early in October new French plans called for a major assault through the High Vosges north of the Belfort Gap, continuing and expanding de Monsabert's original effort... On the II Corps' right, or southern, wing, the French 1st Infantry Division was to act as a hinge anchoring the eastward attack in the vicinity of Ronchamp [e.g. the Chapel N.D-du-Haut] on Route N-19... / 1st French Armored Division... / was to continue pressure toward Le Thillot down Route N-66 southeast from Ferdrupt as well as along N-486 from the southwest... The 3d Algerian Division began moving into its new sector early on 3 October, and de Monsabert set 4 October as the date his corps would start its new attack... Clarke 1993: 300-4
- 1944-10-04: **Vosges: renewed offensive began on 4 October:** The renewed offensive of the French II Corps into the Vosges began on 4 October... [with] the French 1st Infantry Division against assorted IV Luftwaffe and LXXXV Corps units south of Le Thillot. Clarke 1993: 305-6
- 1944-10-06-08: **German counterattack: French forced to pull back from passes and hills:** German counterattack on 6 October... [a]t first... achieved considerable success, forcing the French to pull

back from the passes and several of the surrounding hills. Confused, bitter fighting raged for two days as units on both sides became isolated or cut off, and both French and German casualties mounted rapidly. Meanwhile, to the south, French armor had managed to push its way down Route N-66 along the north bank of the Moselle, but was finally stopped one mile short of Le Thillot, again failing to take the key junction town. Clarke 1993: 306

- 1944-10-17: **De Lattre decided to bring the operation to a halt.** By 17 October General de Lattre had had enough. Never completely enamored of General de Monsabert's plan to drive across the High Vosges in a deep, northerly envelopment of the Belfort Gap, the First French Army commander, on 17 October, decided to bring the operation to a halt. Clarke 1993: 308
- 1944-10-19: **Chapelle N.D-du-Haut: demeuré sous le feu de la guerre:** En deux phases de progression violente sera débloquée la Trouée de Belfort et le haut cours du Rhin atteint. La première du 28 septembre au 2 octobre; la deuxième du 19 novembre au 1er décembre. Ronchamp et sa colline seront d'un côté puis de l'autre de la ligne de feu du 22 septembre au 19 novembre. La colline sera prise dans la nuit du 28 au 29 septembre et demeurera sous le feu de la guerre jusqu'au 19 novembre... Bolle-Reddat, JNDH 1974, n. 51, p. 8
- 1944-10-19*: **4000 churches required reconstruction postwar:** the vast programs of reconstruction and urbanization after World War II... [included] and the restoration of the some 4000 churches, as well as the realization of new religious buildings responding to the cultural means of new urban zones. (Mercier, *L'Architecture religieuse contemporaine en France*, Tours: Mame, 1968: 18-210) Pauly 1980: 24

1944-09-23—28: RESISTANCE REVENGE: EXECUTIONS AND SHEARINGS

- 1944-09-23: **Yves Farge: "it has become banal to kill a man":** Commissioner of the Republic Yves Farge in a speech [in Lyon] on September 23 made it clear that from then on only the established authorities would make arrests; only regularly organized courts could render justice... He regarded that "it has become banal... to kill a man"... (AN FIA 4022) Lottman 1986: 104
- 1944-09-28: **Execution and shearing: 'need of the public conscience':** Communist chieftain Marcel Cachin in a front-page editorial in the party's daily *L'Humanité* pointed out that the summary executions of collaborators at the moment the village or town was liberated and the shearing of "miserable street women" was a "preliminary purge which was responsive to the needs of the public conscience". (*L'Humanité*, Paris, 28 September 1944) Lottman 1986: 88-9

1944-10-23: PURGE TRIALS: MORAL & LEGAL EFFECTS

- 1944-10-23*: **Basis of trials: judging the intentions of the man:** In a great many cases... what was in dispute was whether these particular acts, taken out of context of the defendant's total behavior, accurately reflected either his intentions or the main thrust of his activity. The juries were, in effect, asked to judge the man, not the specific acts alleged... Novick 1968: 171
- 1944-10-23*: **Statistics: 124,751 persons tried in regional courts:** during the more formal purge processes that followed, 124,751 persons were tried, 1600 were executed under sentence of treason or contact with the enemy in time of war, and over 38,000 were sentenced to some form of prison term. Thousands were expelled or demoted in the public service... Lesser figures were tried in regional Courts of Justice and Chambres civiques, 124,751 cases in all. (Novick 1968) Paxton 1972: 329 / 394
- 1944-10-23*: **Experts, businessman, and bureaucrats survived almost intact:** Liberated France punished a smaller proportion of total population with prison terms than any other occupied Western European country... Experts, businessman, and bureaucrats survived almost intact... (Novick 1968: 159 note, 186-7) Paxton 1972: 333
- 1944-10-23*: **Traditionalists were much more vigorously uprooted** at the liberation than the experts... They had commanded newspaper pages, radio hours, and public platforms... talking about provinces and tradition... The traditionalists had provided the words and voices of Vichy, and they were marked men. Paxton 1972: 344
- 1944-10-23*: **l'administration vichyssoise: le double jeu:** grand spécialiste de brouillage de cartes, nombre d'acteurs de l'administration vichyssoise, témoins à décharge lors du procès d'épuration ou auteurs à succès de livres de souvenirs, parvinrent ainsi à faire apparaître comme immédiate une attitude qui ne mûrit en fait que lentement pour ne s'enraciner, souvent par le biais de double jeu, qu'avec l'apparition des mesures d'expédition des jeunes Français en allemande. Baruch 1997: 429

1944-09-29—10-15: LC: FNA, NEUILLY-RÉSISTANCE, & EUGÈNE CLAUDIUS-PETIT

- 1944-09-29: **LC: entre au Front national des architectes, inspiration communiste:** à la libération, Le Corbusier entre au Front national des architectes (FNA), inspiration communiste. Il entend faire de l'ASCORAL « l'aile marchante du FNA ». (LC, note pour le conseil de direction de l'ASCORAL, 29 septembre 1944, FLC D-3-8) Badouï 1995: 69
- 1944-10-04: **Decree on the arrested suspects:** the provisional government in Paris issued a second decree on October 4 1944 which offered three possibilities: an arrested suspect could be barred from his normal place of residence, assigned to a residence in a specific locality, or interned. (*Journal officiel*, 5 October 1944) Lottman 1986: 85
- 1944-10-15: **FFI: tracking down "les résistants de septembre":** on Sunday, October 15 Yves Farge addressed a crowd in Lyon and said he was using FFI military police to track down persons misusing resistance credentials; he asked his Lyon audience to help put a stop to the activities of the "September resistance" (les résistants de septembre) — those who had joined up after Liberation. (Farge, *Rebelles, soldats et citoyens*, 1945, pp. 216ff, in Lottman 1968: 105
- 1944-10-15: **Gendarmerie report: 'period of massive arrests over':** "the period of massive arrests of suspects seems to be over", the gendarmerie noted in a secret report covering the months running from September 15 to October 15 1944. (Ministère de la Guerre, Direction de la Gendarmerie, synthesis of 15 September-15 October 1944: AN 72 AJ 384) Lottman 1986: 86
- 1944-10-15: **LC: publié dans Neuilly-Résistance, Organe officiel du Comité de résistance:** il est possible à Le Corbusier, qui se pose en victime de l'État français, d'atteindre à cette image même de résistant en publiant dans des feuilles de choux de même parti-pris... (LC, 'La science du logis', *Neuilly-Résistance, Organe officiel du Comité de résistance de Neuilly-sur-Seine*, 15 octobre 1944) Badouï 1987: 458-9
- 1944-10-15*: **rehabilitation: resistance involvement:** the court might suspend the penalty [for national indignity] in the case of those who, subsequent to the asked charge against him, "rehabilitated" themselves, either by military action in the war against the axis war by participation in the resistance [26 August]... This was altered in the ordinance of December 26 1944 to "sustained and effective active participation", a measure of self-defense against the *septembristes*. Novick 1968: 148
- 1944-10-19: **Claudius-Petit: LC candidature à la direction de l'Urbanisme et de la Reconstruction:** Le 19 octobre 1944... Eugène Claudius-Petit... le collaborateur du général De Gaulle... imprégné de l'esprit de la résistance, il affiche d'un ton gaullien l'ambition d'attendre par l'urbanisme à la restauration de la civilisation et de la nation. Le Corbusier applaudit la bonne parole du messenger. Eugène Claudius-Petit fait acte de candidature à la direction de l'Urbanisme et de la Reconstruction française. Badouï 1995: 69
- 1944-10-19*: **Claudius-Petit: le médiateur politique privilégié de Le Corbusier:** Député de la Loire aux Assemblées constituant puis à l'Assemblée nationale, Eugène Claudius-Petit s'affirme très rapidement comme l'interlocuteur et le médiateur politique privilégié de Le Corbusier. Durant les années d'après-guerre, il défendra contre vents et marées le plan de la reconstruction de Saint-Dié et celui de la Rochelle-la Pallice ; il mènera à bon port, avec opiniâtreté, l'édification de L'Unité d'habitation de Marseille lorsqu'il sera devenu Ministre de la Reconstruction et de l'Urbanisme. Badouï 1987b: 101
- 1944-10-19*: **Claudius-Petit: à l'exposition de 1937 voir le fameux pavillon de Le Corbusier:** «Naturellement je dévore les livres de Le Corbusier, naturellement je vais à l'exposition de 1937 voir le fameux pavillon sous toile. Je prends connaissance des efforts qu'il a fait, des batailles qu'il a conduites pour l'Armée de Salut et pour le Bastion Kellermann. » (Eugène Claudius-Petit, entretien, 16 février 1987, in Badouï 1987b: 101)

1944-10-26: LYON COURT OF JUSTICE OPENED

1944-10-26: MONSIGNOR DUTOIT PLACED UNDER HOUSE ARREST

- 1944-10-26: **Mgr Dutoit: 'collaborator':** Mgr Dutoit [was] the only diocesan bishop that could really have been said to have "collaborated", and then in words only... At the Liberation he left his diocese in haste, then was detained for 24 hours before taking refuge with Cardinal Liénart in Lille... The new Pas-de-Calais prefect was formally placed under administrative internment for his various injudicious statements... in the *Semaines religieuses* in 1942-43... relating to the STO and attitudes towards the Germans. (Archives diocésaines, Lille, dossier 8 M 1, 26 October 1944) Halls 1995: 365-80

1944-11-05: **CARREL'S DEATH MAY HAVE SPARED HIM HUMILIATING TRIAL**

- 1944-11-05: **Carrel meurt le matin du 5 novembre** à son domicile du 54, avenue de Breteuil. Delaye-Didier-Delorme 1964: 189
- 1944-11-05: **Carrel: spared trial**: Carrel's death may have spared him the humiliating trial reserved for those who had "disgraced French intelligence", the blanket accusation leveled at collaborationist scientists and academics. Reggiani 2007: 162

1944-11-07: **1ST PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT PARLIAMENT ON FRENCH SOIL:**

- 1944-11-07: **Provisional government called the consultative assembly session**. This temporary Parliament convened for first time on French soil on November 7 1944. (*Journal officiel de la République Française*, 18 November 1944, 296ff) Lottman 1986: 185

1944-11-07: **LC: GAUTHIER'S BIOGRAPHY IN PRESS WITH DENOËL**

- 1944-11-07: **Denoël: publisher**: Maximilien Gauthier's book... was about to be published by Denoël... "A veritable swarm is forming around my ideas. A decisive battle is being fought which must see them triumph." (LC-Marie, 7 Nov 1944, Paris) Weber 2008: 467
- 1944-11-07: **title was LC's own invention**... Weber 2008: 467
- 1944-11-07*: **Gauthier: LC, ou architecture en service de l'homme**. (4^e trimestre 1944) Gauthier 1944: Dépôt légal
- 1944-11-07*: **Denoël a target of purge committee**: Often the same publisher who turned down collaboration propaganda and racist tracts also did fund books by prestigious authors... Denoël published prominent communist resistance writers during the German occupation... Denoël... had also not only flooded the market with the provocative anti-Semitic writings of Louis-Ferdinand Céline during the Occupation, together with the pro-fascist *Les Décombres* of Lucien Rebatet, but publisher Robert Denoël had actually sold 360 of his 725 shares to Germans. He was found dead on a dark street in Paris in December 1945... His death ended the case. (AN F12 9640) Lottman 1986: 234, 237

1944-11-07: **GAUTHIER: 'LC, OU ARCHITECTURE EN SERVICE DE L'HOMME'**

- 1944-11-07: **Biographie: autofiction**
 - **Les Jeanneret: « l'origine française »**: Le Jura Neuchâtelois... d'aller se réfugier... ce fut certainement à cette tentation qui cédèrent tant de nommés Perret, Jeanneret... qui vinrent habiter à de telles altitudes des maisons dans le type est tour à tour languedocien ou bourguignon... Mais pour attester l'origine française des Jeanneret-Le Corbusier, il y eut mieux: près de Locle au lieu-dit les Jeannerets, trois maisons de pur style languedocien bâties au commencement du XVI^e siècle, incendiés vers 1910. Gauthier 1944: 13-6
 - **1918: « ses premiers tableaux, rue Jacob »**: Ch.-Édouard Jeanneret avait trouvé à se loger rue Jacob au numéro 20... Ce fut dans cette atmosphère qu'il peignit ses premiers tableaux. Gauthier 1944: 40
- 1944-11-07: **Image politique: « Le Corbusier ne fait pas de politique »**
 - **L'esprit nouveau: « pas de dessous politiques »**: Y eut-il à *L'Esprit nouveau* des dessous politiques? On ne s'est pas privé de l'affirmer. C'est faux. Gauthier 1944: 49
 - **LC: sa politique: « de résoudre les problèmes de l'habitation »**: Quant à Le Corbusier, sa position personnelle à l'égard des gouvernements de droite ou de gauche était déjà prise: «Hâtez-vous, leur disait-il en substance, de résoudre les problèmes de l'habitation ; la crise du logement est l'un des signes les plus évidents de l'incapacité actuelle de l'État ; en matière d'organisation du bonheur, tant matériel que spirituel, des citoyens ; de cette crise, prenez-y garde, peut surgir la Révolution. » C'était bien là toute sa politique en 1921. Il n'en a jamais plus changé. Gauthier 1944: 49
 - **Le Corbusier : « un artiste, un poète désintéressé »**: Le Corbusier... sa véritable nature que celle d'un artiste, d'un poète plasticien... Le Corbusier... a eu l'affaire aux politiciens et aux hommes d'État, il a dû se battre avec l'administration, mais jamais il ne s'est laissé, par rien de tout cela, dominer au point de renoncer à faire de la peinture, tous les jours, à titre de mise en train, de régulateur, d'exercice mental, pure, libre, désintéressé... Cette œuvre... permet de se faire une idée de la puissance de l'élan qui, depuis des années, porte Le Corbusier à la recherche, inlassablement, de rythmes, de proportions, de rapports colorés, de volumes mis en harmonie... Gauthier 1944: 109
 - **Le Corbusier: « ne fait pas de politique »**: Le Corbusier fait appel à l'autorité de l'État pour la mobilisation du sol. Le Corbusier ne fait pas de politique, mais, comme tous les urbanistes digne de ce nom, de l'économie et de la morale... De pouvoir politique dépend la mise en train des grands travaux ; l'urbaniste et donc fatalement appelé à rencontrer des chefs d'État,

- des ministres, des édiles ; mais c'est de *problèmes sociaux*.... qu'il les entretient, et dont ses plans proposent la solution... Gauthier 1944: 213
- **Le Corbusier: « un homme irréprochable »:** *La ville radieuse* parut en 1935... Vivante preuve, aussi, de la splendeur de dévouement que peut susciter un homme irréprochable, champion d'une idée juste. Gauthier 1944: 221-2
 - **La ville radieuse: « Les contingences évaluées en fonction d'une biologie, une psychologie »:** C'est à l'autorité que Le Corbusier a dédié *La ville radieuse*...: « Les plans ne sont pas de la politique, dit-il. Les plans sont le monument rationnel et lyrique dressé au centre des contingences. Les contingences sont le milieu: régions, races, cultures, topographies, climats. Ce sont, d'autre part, les ressources apportées par les techniques modernes. Celles-ci sont universelles. Les contingences ne doivent être évaluées qu'en fonction de l'identité "homme", que par rapport à l'homme, que par rapport à nous, à nous autres: une biologie, une psychologie. » (LC 1935) Gauthier 1944: 221-3
 - 1944-11-07: **Alexandre de Senger [sic]: Le Corbusier, « un bolchevique notoire »**
 - **Le Corbusier: complicité avec cet « allié de la juiverie internationale »:** Le 4 juin [1942], paraît à Alger, un article-massue... [dans] un hebdomadaire qui le publie: *Travaux Nord Africains* et *La Journée Nord-Africaine* réunis... [et] répandu là seulement où il importe qu'il le soit: dans le monde des affaires et de la politique... C'est un article illustré de deux photographies représentant, d'une part, les immeubles de la *Pravda*, et, d'autre part, le *Club des Travailleurs Municipaux de Moscou*. Ces deux constructions ne sont pas l'œuvre de Le Corbusier... [C]ette page nauséuse... était précédée dans la *Travaux Nord Africains*, de la note ci-après:... « Dans son numéro de 5 mai 1934, LA LIBRE PAROLE publiait sous ce titre un très intéressant article de M. Alexandre de Senger [sic]. Les alliés de la juiverie internationale continuant, malgré le bouleversement, à intriguer sous des titres et des programmes différents pour accroître leur fortune et garder leur influence, cet article se trouve être encore d'actualité. Nos lecteurs en jugeront. »... Après une telle publication – en 1942 – voter pour l'adoption, n'eût-ce pas été, en effet, délibérément s'exposer à l'accusation de complicité avec cet «allié de la juiverie internationale» doublé d'un bolchevique notoire? Mais qui est M. De Senger [sic] ? Gauthier 1944: 171-4
 - **Les caisses en béton: « la poussée des gouvernements marxistes »:** « Tout le monde connaît les caisses en béton à toit plat et fenêtres géantes qui dépareillent nos villes et nos campagnes... Cette construction, malgré la réprobation générale, se répand de plus en plus, sous la poussée des gouvernement marxistes [sic] comme à Genève, à Vienne et à Zurich... » (Alexandre von senger, *Le Cheval de Troie de Bolchevisme*, Bienne: Les Éditions du Chandelier, 1931) Gauthier 1944: 180
 - **Le Corbusier: ses liaisons communiste et bolcheviste:** Le Corbusier a publié deux livres: *Vers une architecture* et *Urbanisme* chez l'ancien gérant de journal communiste *L'Humanité*. Ces deux livres qui ont été traduits en allemands sont des extraits textuels de la revue bolcheviste *Esprit nouveau*. (Alexandre von senger, *Le Cheval de Troie de Bolchevisme*, Bienne: Les Éditions du Chandelier, 1931) Gauthier 1944: 191
 - **CIAM : « dirigée par un juif Giedion »:** « Cette entreprise gigantesque est organisée sous le nom de l'Association Internationale pour la construction nouvelle... [L]e secrétariat central de cette association, qui dépend pour ainsi dire de Moscou, se trouve à Zurich et est dirigée par un juif nommé Siegfried [sic] Giedion. » C'est sans doute aux Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne (C.I.A.M.) et à leur Comité International pour la réalisation des Problèmes architecturaux contemporains (C.I.R.P.A.C.) que Monsieur de Senger [sic] entend faire allusion. (Alexandre von senger, *Le Cheval de Troie de Bolchevisme*, Bienne: Les Éditions du Chandelier, 1931) Gauthier 1944: 195
 - **Villes marxistes: « ne construisent plus que d'après la doctrine de Le Corbusier »:** « Des villes marxistes comme Vienne et Zurich ne construisent plus que d'après la doctrine de Le Corbusier.» (Alexandre von senger, *Le Cheval de Troie de Bolchevisme*, Bienne: Les Éditions du Chandelier, 1931) Gauthier 1944: 197
 - **Alexandre von Senger: Parti National-Socialiste:** Mais qui est M. De Senger [sic] ? [Alexandre von Senger... en 1931 avec Eugen Hönig, Konrad Nonn, et German Bestelmeyer dans le *Kampfund Deutscher Architekten und Ingenieure*, organisation professionnelle allemande pilotée par le *Kampfund für deutsche Kultur*, lui-même émanant du Parti National-Socialiste, contre l'architecture dégénérée... il intrigue pour obtenir une chaire à la grande école technique d'architecture de Munich. Il est nommé officiellement professeur en 1938.] Gauthier 1944: 174
 - 1944-11-07: **Vichy: histoire**
 - **Carrel: « le concept de vie, conception où il se rencontre avec le docteur »:** « Je songeais au problème des maisons à bon marché dans notre Europe empoisonnée par les principes de la

Renaissance, les papes ou M Nénot, et mon éternelle conclusion, après tant de pays parcourus depuis plus de vingt années, se précise chaque jour: C'EST LE CONCEPT DE VIE QU'IL FAUT CHANGER, C'EST LA NOTION DE BONHEUR QU'IL FAUT DÉGAGER ; LA ET LA RÉFORME ; LE RESTE N'EST QUE CONSÉQUENCE » – conception où il se rencontre, par avance, avec le docteur Alexis Carrel, dont *L'homme, cet inconnu*, ne devait paraître que plus tard. « Nous sommes arrivés à l'impasse, les rouages sociaux et moraux sont désorganisés. Nous avons le soif de Montaigne ou de Rousseau entreprenant un voyage pour aller questionner "l'homme nu"...». (LC 1930 ; Carrel 1935) Gauthier 1944: 144-5

- **Plan directeur: « rejeté par le Conseil Municipal »:** le 12 juin [1942], le conseil municipal prend la délibération suivante:... « Le Conseil Municipal, Après avoir pris connaissance et discuter d'un projet d'urbanisme présenté par Monsieur Le Corbusier... décide... de rejeter purement et simplement le projet... » ... La décision, je le rappelle, porte la date du 12 juin 1942. Le 4 du même mois, c'est-à-dire quelques jours auparavant, par l'article-massue auquel je faisais allusion tout à l'heure. Et il paraît dans des conditions qui sentent à plein nez une mauvaise odeur de combine. Gauthier 1944: 171-3
- **Pierrefeu et Winter: « des têtes de la revue Plans et de journal Prélude »:** *La maison des hommes* et un ouvrage d'un gendre tout à fait particulier ; si le texte y est dans la main de François de Pierrefeu, les images, avec leurs légendes, sont de Le Corbusier... Dès l'époque du *Plans*, François de Pierrefeu a combattu aux côtés de Le Corbusier... Avec le docteur Winter, il a été l'une des têtes de la revue *Plans* et de journal *Prélude*... *La maison des hommes*, en collaboration avec François de Pierrefeu. Gauthier 1944: 261-2, 275

1944-11-09: STATE BROADCASTING PURGE

- 1944-11-09*: **propaganda broadcasters: leniency will not be extended:** head of the state broadcasting co. ... "leniency will not be extended to those who had any part in propaganda broadcasts." (Pickles 1946: 180-1) Novick 1968: 138

1944-11-16: DAUTRY NAMED HEAD OF RECONSTRUCTION

- 1944-11-16: **MRU: Ministère de la Reconstruction et de l'Urbanisme**, couramment appelé MRU, a été créé en octobre 1944 par le Gouvernement provisoire de la République française du général de Gaulle.
- 1944-11-16: **Dautry named head of Reconstruction and Urbanism:** On the 16th of November 1944, General Charles de Gaulle named Raoul Dautry as the head of the new Department of Reconstruction and Urbanism. Badoui 1995: 69
- 1944-11-16: **Dautry: excluded from office under Vichy:** Raoul Dautry [was] Minister of armaments (13 September 1939)... Dautry... an apostle of the preeminence of expertise over representation between the wars, was excluded from office under Vichy and was thus available to continue this tradition as the fourth Republic minister of reconstruction. Paxton 1972: 264

1944-11-16: LC ON DAUTRY'S ARCHITECTURAL COUNCIL:

- 1944-11-16: **Le Corbusier: member of Dautry's architectural council:** Le Corbusier was named as one of its members alongside Andre Leconte, Louis Madeline, Pierre Paquet, Henri Pacon, Auguste Perret and Andre Lurçat. Badoui 1995: 70
- 1944-11-16*: **Institutions: Continuity of postwar corporations:** the dominant impression, as one leafs through the yearbooks [of postwar corporative institutions], is still that of continuity... In the world of these *grands corps* [there] was... resistance to replacement of professionals by amateurs forced upon them for political reasons. Paxton 1972: 338-9
- 1944-11-16*: **'little people' more likely to be prosecuted:** everywhere it seemed the little people were more likely to be taken to court. One prosecutor reported that Militia chiefs, who were better informed than their men about how the war was going to end, had managed to slip away before capture. These chiefs were tried in absentee, while their underlings stayed around to be arrested and tried. (Montpellier, November 17 1944) Lottman 1968: 149

1944-11-18: DE GAULLE SIGNED DECREE FOR HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE

- 1944-11-18: **De Gaulle signed decree for High Court of Justice** le 18 novembre 1944... (*Journal Officiel*, 19 novembre 1944) Lottman 1986: 171
- 1944-11-18: **Haut Cour de Justice created:** a new jurisdiction, the "Haut Cour de Justice", was established by the ordinance of November 18, 1944. It had jurisdiction over the Chef d'état (Marshal Pétain) and the Chef du Gouvernement (Laval), plus all Cabinet and subcabinet officers and colonial governors who had participated in the governments... Novick 1968: 155

- 1944-11-18: **ministers and cabinet members arraigned**: the ministers of all successive governments since 16 June 1940 were arraigned before a specially created High Court of Justice by a decree of 18 November 1944... Vichy cabinet members came before a special High Court of Justice set up in 1944, 108 cases in all... Paxton 1972: 330, 393

1944-11-25: **BIDAULT: MOUVEMENT RÉPUBLICAIN DE LIBÉRATION**

- 1944-11-25: **MRP: premier congrès national**: le manifeste du MRP... son premier congrès national (tenu les 25 et 26 novembre 1944)... Bédarida 1982: 499
- 1944-11-25: **MRP: as a new party, had no past to disavow**. Novick 1968: 109
- 1944-11-25: **Dru et Bidault: "la mystique démocrate d'inspiration chrétienne"**: Le mouvement n'est pas né d'une génération spontanée. Dès l'été 1943 un jeune Résistant, responsable de la Jeunesse Étudiante Chrétienne (JEC) de Lyon, Gilbert Dru, rédige un mémoire proposant de fonder un "Mouvement Républicain de Libération" dans le but de regrouper "la mystique des droits de l'homme et la mystique démocrate d'inspiration chrétienne". Avant d'être fusillé par la Gestapo en juillet 1944, Gilbert Dru avait rencontré Georges Bidault qui approuva son projet et accepta de prendre la tête de ce mouvement. <http://www.amicalemrp.org/html/fondements/creation.htm>
- 1944-11-25: **Communists: "hand extended to the Catholics"**: Maurice Thorez's "hand extended to the Catholics" in the early Popular Front days of May 1934 was extended again in the period of Communist participation within the system between 1944 and May 1947. Paxton 1972: 349

1944-11-26: **DUBOURG: PREMIER NUMÉRO DE CITÉ FRATERNELLE**

- 1944-11-09: **Dubourg et Cité fraternelle**: Le jeune hebdomadaire ... était d'abord un « instrument de formation et d'information » (*Voix diocésaine*, 9 novembre 1944)... Lambert 2007: 46
- 1944-11-26: **Cité fraternelle: porte-parole des groupements venus de la Résistance**: Les journaux « compromis » durant l'occupation devaient être suspendus... Hebdomadaires pour la plupart, devant souvent l'autorisation officielle, ses publications se voulaient les porte-parole des groupements venus de la Résistance, des partis politiques ou des groupes d'opinions... Lambert 2007: 42-3

1944-11-27: **ANDRÉ LATREILLE RESPONSABLE DES CULTES**

- 1944-11-27: **Latreille: ministère de l'Intérieur**. De Montclos 1982: 601
- 1944-11-27: **Latreille: question no 1 était celle de l'épuration épiscopale**: Dans le domaine religieux la question numéro 1 était celle de l'épuration épiscopale... Les évêques avaient prêché à la quasi-unanimité l'obéissance au « pouvoir établi », à la grande majorité l'obéissance au « pouvoir légitime »... Latreille 1978: 19
- 1944-11-27: **Latreille: l'inquiétude d'une épuration drastique épiscopale**: émissaires des milieux ecclésiastiques... m'apportaient leurs doléances est la preuve de l'inquiétude qui régnait autour d'eux sur les intentions du gouvernement. Latreille 1978: 24
- 1944-11-27: **Latreille: une épuration drastique dans le haut clergé**: Je l'avais entendu dans la clandestinité se prononcer pour une épuration drastique dans le haut clergé, le moment venu. Latreille 1978: 26
- 1944-11-27: **Latreille report: positive policy towards church vital**: Latreille continued with an analysis of the political situation... There was a possibility that more progressive Catholics would ally themselves with the Communists who had said they would look upon them with a benevolent eye. For the first time women would have suffrage and many of these were Catholics... A positive government policy towards the church was vital. Halls 1995: 371
- 1944-11-27: **Latreille receives Bidault's proposed sanctions against bishops**: it was to these proposals [by Bidault] that André Latreille, the Catholic historian, had to react shortly after his appointment in 1944 as the new Sous-Directeur of Cults in the Interior Ministry. Halls 1995: 371
- 1944-11-27: **Bidault: New blacklist of bishops, 18, 24, 30, 35?**: Georges Bidault drew up yet another list of some 30 [or 35, according to Novick] bishops that he still wished removed from their sees. / A. Mallet gives the number as 18 (*Pierre Laval*, 1945, volume 2, p. 166)... Monsignor Lustiger, Archbishop of Paris... put the number of bishops at 24 (*Le Choix de Dieu*, 1987: 106)... Halls 1995: 376-80
- 1944-11-27: **Bidault: New blacklist of 30-35 bishops**: Latreille reported "30 or 35" bishops. (André Latreille, 'Les débuts de Mgr Roncalli à la nonciature de Paris. Souvenirs d'un témoin, décembre 1944-août 1945', *Revue de Paris*, August 1963, pp. 66-74) Novick 1968: 131
- 1944-11-27: **Latreille: Clerical resistance in Franche-Comté**: numerous reports on the lower clergy's favorable attitude to the resistance came from very different regions of France – Franche-Comté, Burgundy, the Vosges, the Limousin, Champagne, and even from areas extremely indifferent to religion such as St. Quentin. (Latreille 1978: 56) Halls 1995: 217

1944-12-07—12: LC: DUVAL, SAVINA, ET LA LIBERATION

- 1944-12-07: LC: « nous avons bien pris les événements de St Dié »: « C'est avec effacement que nous avons bien pris les événements de St Dié raconté par le TSF... » (LC à Jean-Jacques Duval, 7 décembre 1944) Jenger 2002: 284
- 1944-12-12: Savina: « vos dessins avaient une grande valeur sculpturale »: Le 12 décembre... Savina écrivit à Le Corbusier une lettre mémorable... « J'ai plus l'esprit à la sculpture qu'aux meubles pour l'instant... Ci-joint deux photos. Vous reconnaîtrez sur l'une d'elle votre dessin de la planche 12 de votre "Œuvre plastique" ["Composition à cadence harmonique"] édité chez Morancé. Je me suis amusé à faire cela, car j'ai trouvé que plusieurs de vos dessins avaient une grande valeur sculpturale.» (FLC R3 03 23) Le Couédic 2005: 45

1944-12-13—20: LEADING VICHY INDUSTRIALISTS RETAINED CONTROL

- 1944-12-13: Leading industrialists of the Vichy period retained control of their sources of social power through the liberation. Paxton 1972: 343
- 1944-12-20: powerful businessman: left alone during purge of professionals: the first session of the national inter-professional purge commission (CNIE) took place on December 20 1944... Case after case concerned the small fry... The purge of the nation's business class could never have been thorough if only to keep the factories humming in the interests of the economic recovery. Lottman 1986: 217, 218, 221

1944-12-15: MGR DE LA VILLARABEL: PREMIÈRE DÉMISSION ÉPISCOPALE

- 1944-12-15*: ACA: la première démission épiscopale: Vers la mi-décembre, était survenue la première démission épiscopale: celle de l'archevêque d'Aix, Mgr de la Villarabel. Latreille 1978: 43

1944-12-16: GERMAN OFFENSIVE THROUGH THE ARDENNES:

- 1944-12-16: Ardennes: Germans' last offensive of the war: Powerful German divisions led by tanks together with what was left of the Luftwaffe in the West opened an offensive through the Ardennes on 16 December 1944. The Germans advanced 60 miles before they were halted. It was their last offensive of the war. Grenville 2000: 309

1944-12-20: LATREILLE: REPORT ON GENERAL ATTITUDE OF THE CLERGY

- 1944-12-16: French poll: 82% felt that collaborating bishops should be punished: a poll in November 1944 (when André Latreille was taking up his job at the interior) discovered that 82% of the French felt that the bishops who had collaborated should be punished. 10% disagreed; 8% had no opinion. Of those favoring sanctions, 57% felt that the government should take them, 32% thought it was a Church responsibility, and 11% said that both government and Church should act. (*Bulletin d'informations de l'Institut Français d'Opinion Publique*, Paris, 1978, p. 21) Lottman 1986: 201
- 1944-12-20: Church seen favorably, but loses credibility: in late 1944 the Interior Ministry asked the commissary of the Republic to report on what the general attitude of the clergy had been towards the Germans, the Vichy regime, [and] the Resistance... on the whole, the reports were "extremely favorable". The people acknowledged what some Christians had done to assist those whom the law had persecuted although the Church had also lost some credibility. (Latreille, Directions de recherché, in *Actes*, 1978: 361) Halls 1995: 373
- 1944-12-20: Religious orders and spirit of resistance: the religious orders, particularly the Jesuits, Dominicans and Franciscans, had shown a spirit of resistance, especially in Lyons, Le Puy, and Montpellier. (Latreille, Directions de recherché, in *Actes*, 1978: 361) Halls 1995: 373
- 1944-12-20: Dominican resistance: in the religious orders, resisters tended to be Jesuits or Dominicans... The Resistance also included Christian intellectuals and theologians sensitized to the evils of Nazism. Halls 1995: 199
- 1944-12-20: Left-leaning Catholicism after resistance: the resistance notably reinforced the leftward course of French Catholicism. And it added to this tendency a tolerant understanding of Marxism which had earlier been restricted to the circle around Emmanuel Mounier. Hughes [1968] 1987: 161
- 1944-12-20: Latreille: bas clergé vis-à-vis la hiérarchie: Les catholiques, en général, ont sans hésité apporté leur confiance au gouvernement du Général De Gaulle, encouragé dans cette direction par le bas clergé, qui, en contact avec les milieux populaires, avait été largement résistant. La hiérarchie [...] se trouve à manifestement gênée par le souvenir de la soumission générale, parfois enthousiaste et maintenue presque jusqu'au bout au Maréchal et au consignes de Vichy. (Latreille, Note à Charles de Gaulle sur l'état des rapports entre le gouvernement provisoire de la République et l'Église de France, 20 décembre 1944, page 1-2) AN F-1A-3351

- 1944-12-20: **Latreille: l'obéissance au régime de Vichy, à discréditer la résistance:** Le gouvernement ne peut admettre que reste sans sanctions certains actes ou certains prises de position qui ont évidemment contribué à donner l'apparence d'un devoir de conscience à l'obéissance au régime de Vichy, à discréditer la résistance et à égarer les jeunes gens qui demandaient à être guidés dans les problèmes de la collaboration, de la relève, du maquis... (Latreille, Note à Charles de Gaulle sur l'état des rapports entre le gouvernement provisoire de la République et l'Église de France, 20 décembre 1944, page 3) AN F-1A-3351
- 1944-12-20: **Latreille: renouvellement global de l'épiscopat est absolument chimérique:** L'idée d'un renouvellement global ou de moins très large de l'épiscopat est absolument chimérique. [...] Il existe un seul exemple historique d'une pareille opération: c'est la déposition collective de l'épiscopat d'ancien régime lors de concordat de 1801. Le pape Pie VII n'y a finalement consenti qu'avec une extrême répugnance [...]. (Latreille, Note à Charles de Gaulle sur l'état des rapports entre le gouvernement provisoire de la République et l'Église de France, 20 décembre 1944, page 8) AN F-1A-3351
- 1944-12-20: **Latreille: Reste l'éventualité de remplacement d'un nombre limité d'Évêques:** Reste l'éventualité de remplacement d'un nombre limité d'évêques: quelques exemples, frappant vite et haut auraient une valeur symbolique pour l'opinion. (Latreille, Note à Charles de Gaulle sur l'état des rapports entre le gouvernement provisoire de la République et l'Église de France, 20 décembre 1944, page 9) AN F-1A-3351
- 1944-12-20: **Latreille: Prêtres et laïques peuvent critiquer leur évêque:** Prêtres et laïques peuvent critiquer leur évêque. Dans bien des cas ils diffèrent avec lui par leurs conceptions politiques et civiques: beaucoup, qui ont été résistants parce que catholique, ont maintenu leur point de vue avec une grande indépendance et continué à agir selon leur conscience malgré des désapprobations formelles. (Latreille, Note à Charles de Gaulle sur l'état des rapports entre le gouvernement provisoire de la République et l'Église de France, 20 décembre 1944, page 11) AN F-1A-3351
- 1944-12-20: **Latreille: L'église de France ne présente aucune survivance de gallicanisme:** L'église de France ne présente plus aujourd'hui aucune survivance de vieux gallicanisme. Elle est entièrement ultramontaine. Aucun dignitaire de la hiérarchie n'acceptera une intrusion de l'État dans le choix des évêques; aucun en revanche ne contestera le droit de Rome de suggérer ou d'imposer des changements dans l'Épiscopat; aucun n'opposera une résistance fondée sur des arguments canoniques ou sur des franchises nationales à une sentence de Rome. (Latreille, Note à Charles de Gaulle sur l'état des rapports entre le gouvernement provisoire de la République et l'Église de France, 20 décembre 1944, page 12-3) AN F-1A-3351

1944-12-26: DECREE ON 'INDIGNITÉ NATIONALE'

- 1944-12-26: **guilty were banned from all public functions and bodies:** paragraph 2 of article 21 of the December 26 1944 in decree which codified procedures concerning indignity national stated that those found guilty were banned from all public functions and bodies. (*JORF*, 27 December 1944) Lottman 1968: 250
- 1944-12-26: **rehabilitation: resistance involvement:** the court might suspend the penalty [for national indignity] in the case of those who, subsequent to the asked charge against him, "rehabilitated" themselves, either by military action in the war against the axis war by participation in the resistance [26 August]... This was altered in the ordinance of December 26 1944 to "sustained and effective active participation", a measure of self-defense against the *septembristes*. Novick 1968: 148

1945-48: FRANCE: INFLATION AND GRAVE SHORTAGES

- 1945: **France: Postwar problems:** there were grave shortages of food and fuel, the infrastructure of transport, bridges and railways had to be rebuilt. Grenville 2000: 358
- 1945-48: **France: Years of the key inflation, shortages, and strikes:** During the years of acute inflation and shortages (1945-48), when wholesale prices tripled but wages lagged behind, there was plenty to fuel discontent. Split ideologically and frequently calling strikes that were politically motivated, organized labor was limited in the constructive role it could play to help reform and modernize the economy. Grenville 2000: 538

1945: ITALY: POSSIBILITY OF INTERNAL COMMUNIST TAKEOVER

- 1945: **Italy: Communist and Socialist alliance:** the alliance of Palmiro Togliatti's communists and Pietro Nenni's Socialist Party, both strongly based in industrial northern and in central Italy,

contained as much support as Christian Democrats, but, with the Allies occupying Italy until the peace treaty was signed in 1947, they had to content themselves with the position of coalition partners in governments led by the Christian Democrat Alcide De Gasperi. Grenville 2000: 364

- 1945: **Italy: inflation, food shortages, and postwar reconstruction**: all three government parties, Christian Democrats, socialists, and communists, collaborated on the urgent task of postwar reconstruction; unemployment, rampant inflation and shortages of food created enormous difficulties for the government and people of Italy. Flour was brought in by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, largely financed by the United States. American emergency loans further emphasized Italy's dependence on the United States. Grenville 2000: 364
- 1945: **Italy: Communist Party strong in North**: in 1945, the partisans in the north of Italy were strong and there were many communists among them who believed that the hour of revolution had indeed struck, but, disciplined and obedient to their leader, they took care to avoid any direct challenge to the anti-Communist Anglo-American forces. Grenville 2000: 572
- 1945-47: **Italy: possibility of internal Communist takeover**: impoverished Italy in the early postwar years, in the aftermath of the destruction and dislocation of the war, facing dire poverty in many regions and with an industrial proletariat in the North, did not appear secure against a Communist takeover from within. The resistance had retracted the working masses to communism, especially in the north. The Italian Communist Party now numbered 2 million, the largest in the Western world. Grenville 2000: 572

1945: ITALY: CATHOLIC CHURCH & CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS

- 1945: **Catholic Church: resumed enormous influence**: in postwar Italy the church resumed its enormous influence over the lives of believers, the Vatican and priests backing from their pulpits the Christian Democrats against the godless communists. The Christian Democrats succeeded in attracting by far the largest support of any one party. Grenville 2000: 364
- 1945: **Christian Democrats: decisive role in postwar Italian politics**: the Christian Democrats were to play the decisive role in postwar Italian politics.... They enjoyed one large electoral advantage: the full backing of the Vatican. Grenville 2000: 364

1945-48: PERIOD OF HOLOCAUST REMEMBRANCE

- 1945-48: **Vatican: three postwar periods: three periods**: the war years (1940-44), the immediate postwar years (1945-48) and the Cold War era. Phayer 2000: xvi
- 1945-48: **German Catholics: the period of Holocaust remembrance**: mindful of the atrocities, German Catholics debated their responsibility for them from the summer of 1945 until 1948 — the period of Holocaust remembrance. Phayer 2000: 134

1945-01-05: CAMUS: "NATIONS BEAR THE MARK OF THEIR JUSTICE"

- 1945-01-05: **Camus: "A country which fails in its purge is ready to fail in its restoration"**: "A country which fails in its purge is ready to fail in its restoration. Nations bear the mark of their justice." (Albert Camus, *Combat*, 5 January 1945) Novick 1968: 167

1945-01-10—19: DUTOIT: À LA CHAMBRE CIVIQUE POUR INDIGNITÉ NATIONALE

- 1945-01-10: **Dutoit: Tixier soumettait un dossier**: entre le 10 janvier et le 6 février... Mgr Dutoit était un des évêques qui étaient allés le plus loin, et à l'époque le moins opportune, dans la prédication de l'obéissance au maréchal... Le 10 janvier 1945, Monsieur Tixier me soumettait un dossier... sur lesquels il m'annonçait qu'il était décidé à déférer Mgr Dutoit à la chambre civique pour indignité nationale. Latreille 1978: 50
- 1945-01-19: **Dutoit accused of 'indignite nationale'**: It was suggested he appear before a 'Civic chamber' and indicted on the lesser charge of 'indignite nationale' a course favored by the Interior Ministry. This was also not proceeded with... On 19 July 1945 he formally resigned. (Tixier, dossier sur Mgr Dutoit: AN F-1A-3354) Halls 1995: 365

1945-01-15: MARITAIN: CANDIDAT POUR L'AMBASSADE À ROME

- 1945-01-15: **Latreille: « dangereux d'envoyer un écrivain d'une notoriété éclatante »**: L'une porte sur les candidats dont le nom est donné comme le plus probable M. J. Maritain. La désignation de cet écrivain catholique, philosophe thomiste notoire, serait certainement agréée avec faveur par le Saint-Siège et par une fraction de l'opinion en France et au dehors. Mais [...] il y aurait quelque péril à le transformer en ambassadeur à Rome. Il paraît dangereux à qui connaît les habitudes du Vatican d'envoyer auprès de la Curie un écrivain d'une notoriété éclatante. (Latreille, Note à André Tixier, Objet: définition de l'ambassadeur de la république auprès de Saint-Siège, 15 jan 1945, page 1-2) AN F-1A-3351

- 1945-01-15: **Maritain appointed as ambassador**: Jacques Maritain, the philosopher, was appointed as ambassador, despite objections [in January, 1945] that his Thomist views would make him unacceptable to Vatican theologians. (Latreille, note à André Tixier, Objet: définition de l'ambassadeur de la république auprès de Saint-Siège, 1945-01-15; AN F-1A-3351) Halls 1995: 235
- 1945-01-15: **Maritain appointed ambassador to negotiate purge of hierarchy**: it was decided to appoint the philosopher Jacques Maritain as France's ambassador to the Vatican charged with negotiating the purge of the hierarchy. (André Latreille 1978: 48-9) Halls 1995: 202
- 1945-01-15: **Latreille: suggested removal of 9 prelates & 3 archbishops**: André Latreille drafted a note suggesting the removal of 12 churchmen, three of them archbishops. (André Latreille 1978: 54) Halls 1995: 202
- 1945-01-15: **Catholic Left: predominant**: into the vacuum left by a discredited conservative [Catholic] hierarchy stepped a vigorous Catholic left ready to take predominance in the postwar French church... a quiet shift of power within the French Catholic Church took the place of a purge... Paxton 1972: 349

1945-01-16: **COUTURIER: « NOUS REVIENDRONS D'AMÉRIQUE 'CHANGÉS' »**

- 1945-01-16: **Couturier: « nous reviendrons d'Amérique assez 'changés' »**: « Souvent, avec le père Ducatillon, nous nous disons que nous reviendrons d'Amérique assez 'changés'. » (Couturier, lettre à Louise Gadbois, 16 jan 1945) Brunet-Weinmann 2005: 82

1945-01-17: **LC: COMMISSION FOR LA ROCHELLE-LA PALLICE**

- 1945-01-17: **LC: Commission for La Rochelle-La Pallice**: on the 17th of January, Dautry revealed to Le Corbusier his first project at La Rochelle-La Pallice, and on the 2nd of May, Le Corbusier was named the urbanist in charge of this project.... Badoui 1987: 458

1945-01-18—02-03: **L'ÉPURATION DES ÉVÊQUES COLLABORATEURS**

- 1945-01-18: **Bidault: « Je devais en trouver dix ou douze coupables »**: Huit jours plus tard [de l'affaire Dutoit, 10 janvier], il [Bidault] me convoquait pour me dire qu'il allait l'engager. Il me demanda de lui fournir un travail à ce sujet, et une liste de coupable... Je devais en trouver dix ou douze [évêques]... Cette approximation, ces singuliers procédés de travail m'inquiétaient... Latreille 1978: 51
- 1945-01-26: 1. **Tixier: protestation contre le maintien en fonction de certains évêques**: le maintien en fonction de certains évêques celui d'ARRAS et quelques autres qui furent, indubitablement, des collaborateurs ardents, provoque de la part des populations, même catholique, une surprise qui se transforme, progressivement, en protestation contre ce qu'on appelle l'inactivité de gouvernement... (Adrien Tixier, lettre à De Gaulle, Objet: Relations entre le gouvernement et l'Église catholique, 26 janvier 1945, pages 1-2) AN F-1A-3351
- 1945-01-26: 3. **Tixier: l'épuration de quelques évêques collaborateurs**: a. l'acceptation, par le Saint-Siège et par le Nonce de l'épuration de quelques évêques particulièrement connus comme collaborateurs... (Adrien Tixier, lettre à De Gaulle, Objet: Relations entre le gouvernement et l'Église catholique, 26 janvier 1945, page 4) AN F-1A-3351
- 1945-01-30: **Dubourg: « un organe régional nous permette de relever ses attaques contre l'Église »**: le contexte immédiat de l'après-guerre l'obligeait [Dubourg] à préciser explicitement que, face aux critiques dont ils étaient l'objet, les catholiques devaient se donner les moyens de répondre à leurs adversaires: « Il se publiait dans notre diocèse plusieurs journaux qui se laissent fréquemment aller à des attaques contre l'Église et le clergé. Il serait inadmissible que nous ne disposions pas d'un organe régional qui nous permette de relever ses attaques. » (Mgr Dubourg, Circulaire au clergé et aux fidèles du diocèse, 30 janvier 1945) Lambert 2007: 46
- 1945-02-03: **Latreille: Dominicains ont fourni dès le début au gaullisme des hommes d'action**: [L]e rôle du clergé régulier qu'on aurait pu croire plus détaché du monde que les séculiers a été souvent peu favorable à la résistance. Non seulement, les ordres actifs, Jésuites, Dominicains, mais les contemplatifs, Bénédictins, Carmes etc... ont fourni dès le début au gaullisme des hommes d'action et le secours de leur autorité spirituelle... Et si les réguliers ont aidé hier la résistance dans la lutte pour la libération, c'est encore parmi eux que l'on trouvera demain eu le plus d'esprits ouverts à l'intelligence des problèmes relatifs au renouvellement de l'Église, à l'accord avec l'État, aux réformes scolaires et aux transformations sociales. (André Latreille à Adrien Tixier, Rapport sur les problèmes relatifs aux congrégations religieuses, note sur les conditions d'existence des congrégations, février 1945, pp. 28-9) AN F-1A-3351
- 1945-02-03: **Latreille: une liste de dix noms d'évêques contestés**: Je me mets donc au travail pour répondre à Bidault. Le 3 février [1945] j'adresse au ministre des Affaires étrangères un *Mémoire* sur l'épuration... La seconde [partie] offre une liste de dix noms d'évêques contestés... (André

Latreille à Adrien Tixier, Rapport sur les problèmes relatifs aux congrégations religieuses, note sur les conditions d'existence des congrégations, février 1945; AN F-1A-3351) Latreille 1978: 52

1945-02-03: **YOUNG PARISH PRIESTS CARRIED CONGREGATIONS POSTWAR**

- 1945-02-03*: **young clergy carried their congregations**: there was a generation gap between the more elderly of the higher clergy and the younger parish priests. The latter, more vigorous, and less inclined to knuckle under and accept defeat, largely carried their congregations with them. Their audience was swollen in numbers by the war. Halls 1995: 385
- 1945-02-03*: **Besançon youngest diocese (Boulard 1945)**: in 1940 the hierarchy was an aging body of ecclesiastics... in 1942, 82 out of 87 metropolitan bishops were born between 1858 in 1896... many of the lower clergy were also past their prime. In 24 dioceses at least 40% of the priests were over 60. In 47 rural diocese priests over that age ranged from 22% of the total (Besançon) to 62% (Auch). (Boulard, et al. *Problèmes missionnaires de la France rurale*, 1945, 1: 282f) Halls 1995: 8-9

1945-02-09: **GERMANS PUSHED ACROSS RHINE AT CHALAMPÉ**

- 1945-02-09: **Colmar Pocket: end of Allied operations**: Finally, on 9 February I Corps eliminated the German rearguard at Chalampé, and with no major German forces left on the west bank of the Rhine in the region of Colmar, the Germans detonated the bridge over the Rhine at Chalampé. This act signaled the end of Allied operations in the Colmar Pocket and the end of any significant German military presence in Alsace. Gaujac 1986: 126-7

1945-02-12: **LATREILLE: 'LA SITUATION DES CONGREGATIONS, 1940-1944'**

- 1945-02-12: **Latreille: 'Les lois du gouvernement de fait', 1940-44**
13 sep 1940: abrogation des dispositions législatives interdisant l'enseignement aux congréganistes
21 fév 1941: loi autorisant le Chartreux
4 avril 1941: loi sur les religieuses employées dans certains établissements hospitaliers
30 mai 1941: loi étendant la capacité de certaines congrégations autorisées
8 avril 1942: loi modifiant les dispositions de la loi de juillet 1901 sur les congrégations
8 avril et 24 oct 1942: loi sur le régime fiscal des congrégations
31 déc 1942: loi sur l'incorporation d'immeubles dans le patrimoine des congrégations reconnues (André Latreille, 'Rapport sur les problèmes relatifs aux congrégations religieuses, note sur les conditions d'existence des congrégations', 12 février 1945, pages 18-9) AN: F-1A-3351

1945-02-16: **MATHEY LETTER STARTS COMMISSION**

- 1945-02-16: **Mathey: « un sens du sacré bien rare chez nos architectes contemporains »**: « il faut joindre aussi un sens du sacré bien rare hélas chez nos architectes contemporains... » (Mathey-Abbé Henri de Besançon, 16 février 1945) AONDH 005.8.168
- 1945-02-16*: **Les catholiques laïcs: une certaine liberté d'action et de manœuvre**: Ceux qui sortaient sérieusement ébranlés de la guerre, c'était la personne des évêques et la confiance qu'ils méritaient en raison de leur comportement public, propos, discours et attitudes. C'était une crise de leur rôle social... un discrédit politique, qui s'est traduit par la réaction de Georges Bidault... et aussi un discrédit spirituel, peut-être le plus profond. Car cela établissait, pour les catholiques, les laïcs (le clergé beaucoup moins, pour d'autres raisons)... que chacun avait au fond une certaine liberté d'action et de manœuvre: il n'était pas tenu comme autrefois à demander un mandat ou une approbation avant de prendre une initiative... rien ne sera plus comme avant. Poulat 1982: 536
- 1945-02-16*: **Société de Saint-Jean: un rôle actif dans les Chantiers du cardinal et Art sacré**: Les membres de la société de Saint-Jean... jouèrent un rôle actif dans les *Chantiers du cardinal*... Le premier *L'Art sacré* était bien entendu en relation avec la société de Saint-Jean... partie du comité de patronage de la revue dès 1935. Caussé 1999: 34
- 1945-02-16*: **Catholiques des Beaux-Arts: Peugniez, Barillet, Hébert-Stevens, Huré**: Le plus vaste groupement d'artistes après la société de Saint-Jean fut celui des '*Catholiques des Beaux-Arts*'... En 1926... il était alors présidé par l'architecte Paul Tournon... le mouvement comptait... les architectes Blondeau, Froidevaux, Storez... les peintres... Pauline Peugniez, les verrières Barillet, Hébert-Stevens, et Marguerite Huré... Caussé 1999: 35
- 1945-02-16*: **Chantiers du Cardinal: 110 churches in the Paris suburbs**: the Archbishop of Paris, Cardinal Verdier, launched a church building program to fight joblessness. In 1932 he offered a first loan at 5% to build 16 new churches and chapels in the Paris region and quickly raise 30 million francs. In 1935 a further 70 million francs to the same end were covered in half a day. By 1939, 110 churches and chapels had been built in the Paris suburbs, providing work to thousands of unemployed. (Lesourd & Paillat 1968: 463) E. Weber 1994: 200

1945-02-17—24: LATREILLE: ACA ET LES CATHOLIQUES RÉSISTANTES

- 1945-02-17: **Latreille: le point de vue des catholiques résistants**: C'est le 17 février 1945 que je fus reçu par Mgr Roncalli [le nonce à Rome]. J'ai noté ce jour-là: « ... J'ai quelque peine à exposer... le point de vue... des catholiques résistants. Les évêques ont eu une lourde responsabilité. Par leur silence presque tous, par leurs déclarations et leur attitude quelques-uns, ils ont donné l'impression de manquer au devoir d'appliquer les principes et la doctrine pontificale au temps où nous vivions. » Latreille 1978: 60
- 1945-02-19: **Latreille: des voyages en province pour voir quelques prélats influents**: Je fus alors chargé par le ministre de l'Intérieur, à qui appartenait le droit de nomination, d'une enquête préalable... Je commençais à acquérir une assez bonne connaissance de personnel épiscopal et, si j'ose dire, de ses « états d'âme »... je fis quelques voyages en province pour aller voir quelques prélats influents... La première le 19 février, à Rouen... La seconde, fin mars, à Nantes, Le Mans et Rennes... Latreille 1978: 69-70
- 1945-02-24: **Latreille: le « pétainisme » du haut clergé**: le 24 février 1945, j'étais en mesure d'en tirer un tableau d'ensemble de la situation religieuse à l'intention de mon ministre... dans le haut clergé, les évêques de leur entourage (vicaires généraux, chanoines), le « pétainisme » s'était manifesté par une sorte de dévotion personnelle, plutôt que par des appels en faveur de la politique de Vichy... Latreille 1978: 56
- 1945-02-24: **Latreille: bas clergé = « esprit de résistance »**: dans le bas clergé, « la réserve fut plus sensible » et les régulières surtout « se sont signalés par leur esprit de résistance: les jésuites, dominicains, franciscains, à Lyon, à Puy, à Montpellier... »... ainsi dans les Vosges, dans le Limousin, en Champagne, dans l'arrondissement de Cambrai, où, selon Lille, « chaque couvent ou maison religieuse fut un centre de résistance ». Latreille 1978: 56-7

1945-02-25—03-11: ACA DEFENSE: « LA RÉCONCILIATION NATIONALE »

- 1945-02-28: **ACA: « union autour du chef du gouvernement »**: l'assemblée des cardinaux et archevêques réunis à Paris le 28 février 1945 reprenait partiellement dans le point sept de sa déclaration la notion de légitimité de valeur... « Fidèle à notre doctrine traditionnelle, nous vous demandons de réaliser cette union autour du chef du gouvernement qui, après avoir incarné l'espoir de la délivrance, à tant contribuer avec nos alliés à la libération de la presque totalité du territoire. » Clément 1999: 246
- 1945-02-28: **ACA: desire to put an end to "denunciation, suspicion, vengeance"**: the bishops of France appealed for a reduction of tensions: "let us do away definitively with the spirit of denunciation, suspicion, and vengeance; they are not our way of doing things. Let us put an end to exaggerated or unjust accusations against our brothers." (Déclaration de l'ACA sur « Les conditions de la réconciliation nationale », 28 février 1945; in Abbot Jean Popot 1962: 119f) Lottman 1986: 96-7
- 1945-03-11: **ACA en Cité fraternelle: « Les conditions de la réconciliation nationale »**: la déclaration de l'ACA de 28 février 1945 sur « Les conditions de la réconciliation nationale »... *Cité fraternelle* publié le 11 mars 1945... Lambert 2007: 243

1945-03-00: A WRITER'S PURGE COMMISSION

- 1945-03-00: **writer's purge commission: established in the spring of 1945**: Leading collaborationist and vichyssoise writers had been preempted by the courts, so they generally had to content themselves with relatively minor figures. Novick 1968: 126
- 1945-03-00: **Denoël targeted by censors**: Censorship was persistent. Books by famous authors who were notorious collaborators were now banned... Titles published by well-known houses such as Denoël, Grasset, and Mercure de France were on the list. (*Circulaire Hachette*, number one, March 1945, AN 72 AJ 383) Lottman 1986: 253
- 1945-03-00: **Denoël targeted by purge committee**: Chairman of the publishing purge committee, Raymond Durand-Auzias... summed up the problem in March 1945 to the CNIE... The sanctions provided did not include a ban on the names of publishers and yet it would be... wrong, he argued, to allow names such as Denoël to continue to appear on book jackets... But few publishers received sanctions proportionate to the services they rendered to the occupying forces... (AN F12 9640) Lottman 1986: 234-6
- 1945-05-00: **new decree opened publishers' files to courts**: new trials were made possible by the decree of May 1945 which covered newspapers and periodicals. Files had been opened at the Paris court of justice against Gallimard and Denoël among others... Publisher Robert Denoël ... was found dead on a dark street in Paris in December 1945... His death ended the case. (AN F12 9640) Lottman 1986: 234, 237

1945-04-06: PROVISIONAL GOV'T DECREE BANNING ADMINISTRATORS

- 1945-04-06: **New criteria banning candidates**: the provisional government issued a decree on six April 1945 listing new criteria banning candidates who had been sanctioned by administrative or professional purge commissions, etc.... (JORF, 7 April 1945, p. 1914) Lottman 1986: 45
- 1945-04-06: **"national indignity": automatically ineligible**: as the local and departmental elections approached, the government slightly modified the list of activities entailing ineligibility... Since the previous enactment... anyone convicted of collaboration, or declared to be in a state of "national indignity" was automatically ineligible; there was thus no need to include these offenses in the new legislation... Novick 1968: 100

1945-04-10—23: MARITAIN: L'ÉPURATION DES ÉVÊQUES & DE L'ANTISÉMITISME

- 1945-04-10: **Maritain: la question de 'l'épuration des évêques'**: « J'ai reçu aujourd'hui la visite de M. Maritain, qui partira dans quelques jours pour rejoindre son poste à Rome, et nous avons naturellement posé la question de 'l'épuration des évêques'. M. Maritain souhaiterait emporter à Rome des notes précises sur chacun des évêques qui feront éventuellement l'objet d'une demande de démission ou de déplacement au Saint-Siège. Je vous retourne des évêques d'Arras, de Saint-Brieuc, de Mende, que vous m'avez transmis. » (Tixier à Latreille, 'Épuration des évêques', 10 April 1945) AN F-1A-3351
- 1945-04-10: **Maritain takes up appointment in Rome, seeks info on bishops**: on the 10th of April, 1945, Tixier, the interior minister, received Maritain, at last about to take up his appointment, who wished to know what his instructions were regarding the bishops. (Tixier à Latreille, 'Épuration des évêques', 10 April 1945, AN F1a .3351) Halls 1995: 376
- 1945-04-10*: **Maritain: anti-Semitism highest priority of mission in Rome**: France's Ambassador to the Vatican, Jacques Maritain, had made the issue of German and European anti-Semitism the highest priority of his mission in Rome. Bishop Muench's [President Truman's Catholic liaison to OMGUS and Pius XII's personal envoy to Germany] disregard of this issue and his philo-Teutonic attitude sickened Maritain... Phayer 2000: 154
- 1945-04-23: **Tixier softens tone of purification of bishops**: Tixier responded to the promptings of his two officials [Laffon and Latreille]. He now wished cases to be pursued only against bishops who had patently collaborated, who had condemned the resistance, or who had treated de Gaulle publicly as a 'rebel'... the Vatican, he hinted, would be wise not to be too negative in its attitude... (Adrien Tixier, letter to M. Laffon & André Latreille 'Démarches auprès du Saint-Siège, sur la question des évêques', 23 April 1945, AN F1a .3351) Halls 1995: 377
- 1945-04-23: **Tixier: 5 évêques ne peuvent rester à leur poste**: 5 évêques ne peuvent rester à leur poste: Mgr Dutois, évêque d'Arras, Mgr Serrand, évêque de Saint-Brieuc, Mgr Auvity, évêque de Mende, Mgr Delay, évêque de Marseille, Mgr Marmottin, évêque de Reims. (Adrien Tixier, letter to M. Laffon & André Latreille 'Démarches auprès du Saint-Siège, sur la question des évêques', 23 April 1945) AN F-1A-3351

1945-04-18: FIRST VICHY TRIALS: ADM. ESTEVA AND GENERAL DENTZ

- 1945-04-18: **Adm. Esteva & General Dentz: elderly military leaders first to trial**: the government decided that two elderly military leaders should be the first to answer for the policy of Vichy: Adm. Esteva... and general Dentz... Novick 1968: 172
- 1945-04-18: **General Dentz: 'double game' defense**: the trial of General Henri Dentz opened on 18 April 1945. He argued that his policy had been to put a brake on German demands while doing what he had to do for the Germans to avoid a pretext for permanent enemy occupation... Prosecutor Mornet pointed out that the "double game" of the general had actually worked to the advantage of the Germans, just as it had in mainland France. He was sentenced to death. De Gaulle commuted it. Lottman 1986: 174

1945-04-19—05-02: LC: IDEOLOGY, PROPAGANDA & COMMISSIONS

- 1945-04-19: **LC: named "architect-counsel" to city of Saint-Dié**: By the time Dautry visited [Saint-Dié, on 17 February 1945], several local citizens' groups had formed to garner attention for their particular interests. Among these were the Association des Sinistrés (Association of the Affected), led by Jean-Jacques Duval, a local industrialist and friend of Le Corbusier, and the Association Populaire des Sinistrés (Popular Association of the Affected). Following a request issued by the Association Populaire des Sinistrés, Le Corbusier was named "architect-counsel" to the city on April 19, 1945. While Le Corbusier's role in his position of "architect-counsel" is not clear, what is certain is that the title did not designate Le Corbusier chief architect. Le Corbusier had not been charged with the task of engineering the town's reconstruction; Dautry had already named Jacques André, a Nancy architect, to this post. "Architect-counsel," then, seems to have indicated an advisory position, whereby Le Corbusier was to be involved in planning discussions but would not

himself have issued designs. (Letter from Gaston Colnat, Mayor of Saint-Dié, to Le Corbusier, 20 April 1945, FLC H3-18-77) Clericuzio 2010: 56-8

- 1945-04-24: **LC: Projet d'aménagement de Saint-Gaudens**: 24 avril 1945: Lettre d'André Prothin, directeur de l'urbanisme, à Marcel Lods et Le Corbusier, confirmant la mission pour établir le projet d'aménagement [d'Urbanisme de Saint-Gaudens]... (Prothin, lettre à Le Corbusier et Marcel Lods, 24 avril 1945, FLC H3-19-23) Catllar 2010: 10
- 1945-04-24: **Saint-Gaudens: « un véritable puzzle où nous manque les principales pièces »**: La commande du plan de Saint-Gaudens à Le Corbusier et Lods est un véritable puzzle où... nous manque les principales pièces qui nous permettraient de mieux comprendre ou reconstituer la longue filière du projet de Saint-Gaudens... Le Corbusier est agréé le 11 mars 1944 par le Délégué Général à l'Équipement National pour l'établissement du projet d'aménagement d'Urbanisme de Saint-Gaudens... [par] André Prothin (1902- 1971)... le premier directeur de l'Urbanisme au sein de la Direction Générale de l'Équipement National en 1943. Corédacteur de la loi d'urbanisme de 1943, il fréquenta un temps l'ASCORAL. Proche de R. Dautry, ce dernier le maintint à la direction de l'Urbanisme à la Libération au sein du ministère de la Reconstruction et de l'Urbanisme. À partir de 1958, il dirige l'établissement public de la Défense... Catllar 2010: 9-10
- 1945-04-28: **LC: "St.-Die systematically destroyed, a splendid problem"**: "St.-Die was systematically destroyed in three days [8-11* December 1944]. A splendid problem." (LC-Marie, Nancy, 28 avril 1945) Weber 2008: 467
- 1945-05-02: **LC: Commission for La Rochelle-La Pallice**: on the 17th of January [1945], Dautry revealed to Le Corbusier his first project at La Rochelle-La Pallice, and on 2 May, Le Corbusier was named the urbanist in charge of this project.... Badoui 1987: 458

1945-04-30: HITLER'S SUICIDE

1945-05-03: **ACA: « OBÉIR AUX LOIS JUSTES DE L'ÉTAT »**

- 1945-05-03: **ACA: « Obéir aux lois justes de l'État = volatilité même de Dieu »**: Fidèles à notre doctrine traditionnelle, nous vous demandons de réaliser cette union autour du chef du gouvernement provisoire... L'Église professe le plus grand respect pour l'État... L'église enseigne que l'État possède une autorité souveraine dans sa sphère et dans l'exercice de sa mission propre. L'église demande que cette autorité de l'État soit pleinement reconnue et elle obéie: elle fait de la soumission au pouvoir établi une vertu morale qui relève de la justice. Obéir aux lois justes de l'État est se conformer à la volatilité même de Dieu. L'église entend respecter l'autonomie de l'État dans l'exercice de ses fonctions. Elle s'interdit toute immixtion dans ce domaine politique. (Déclaration de l'Assemblée des cardinaux et archevêques de France, in *La Croix*, 3 mai 1945, pages 2-3) AN: F-1A-3351

1945-05-07: GERMAN SURRENDER, SEVENTH OF MAY 1945

1945-05-07: KNOWLEDGE OF CONCENTRATION CAMPS:

- 1945-05-07: **verified accounts: indignation**: after VE day there was indignation from the first verified accounts of concentration camps from returning survivors... (Mason 1952: 173) Novick 1968: 159
- 1945-05-07: **opening of camps: purge intensified**: emotions flared up after the collapse of Germany, when the gates of the Nazi camps opened, and their inmates came home with further details of collaboration crimes. Novick 1968: 159
- 1945-05-07: **death camps: shock leads to pleas of 'ignorance' about Jews**. Marrus & Paxton 1981: 346

1945-05-08: **LC: « LES HORREURS QUE L'ORGUEIL PEUVENT ENTRAÎNER »**

- 1945-05-08: **camps: « toutes les horreurs que l'orgueil et la grosse vanité peuvent entraîner »**: « 8 mai 1945. Ma chère petite maman, Ce sera la paix proclamée dans quelques heures. il y a cinq années c'était la ruée des Allemands sur l'ouest. Maintenant on découvre toutes les horreurs que l'orgueil et la grosse vanité peuvent entraîner: les charniers des camps !!! » (Le Corbusier, lettre à Marie, 8 mai 1945, Paris: FLC R2-4-78) Weber 2009: 541
- 1945-05-08: **camps: « c'est une nouvelle guerre à livrer, contre l'argent et la paresse »**: « Paris et pleine de soleil. Nous sommes heureux, mais inconscient à vrai dire de la valeur de cette signature apposée hier à Reims. Les énergies seront-elles maintenues liées pour construire la paix ? Je sais que c'est une nouvelle guerre à livrer, contre l'argent et la paresse. Me voici armée, voici sur un tremplin. Je suis pleine de courage. » (Le Corbusier, lettre à Marie, 8 mai 1945, Paris: FLC R2-4-78) Weber 2009: 541

1945-05-08—30: **ACA: DE GAULLE TAKES OVER ÉPURATION**

- 1945-05-08: **Tixier: « membres de haut clergé devraient effacer leurs fonctions »**: je désirerais vivement recevoir de M. le professeur Latreille d'une part son rapport sur l'attitude du clergé pendant le régime de Vichy et depuis la libération: les rapports des commissaires régionaux et des préfets doivent maintenant donner une substance assez riche pour l'élaboration de ce rapport. En outre, je désirerais recevoir de M. le professeur Latreille ses propositions et dossiers quant aux membres de haut clergé qui devraient effacer leurs fonctions ou faire l'objet d'une mutation. (Adrien Tixier, lettre à M. Laffon, 'Politique religieuse de gouvernement', 8 mai 1945) AN F-1A-3351
- 1945-05-09: **De Gaulle meets Cardinal Suhard at Notre Dame**: in May [9] 1945, at a service to mark the end of the war in Europe, de Gaulle had been received at the portico of Notre Dame by Cardinal Suhard whom he had spurned a few months previously. There was thus a partial reconciliation. Halls 1995: 379
- 1945-05-30: **De Gaulle took over negotiations with the nuncio Roncalli**: Tixier... wished cases to be pursued against bishops who had patently collaborated, who had condemned the resistance, or who had treated de Gaulle publicly as [a] 'rebel'... the Vatican, he hinted, would be wise not to be too negative in its attitude... De Gaulle decided to intervene: his private office took over negotiations with the nuncio... on the 30th of May [1945]... the Pope... agreed to some resignations; names would be communicated to the foreign affairs Ministry... Halls 1995: 377

1945-06-00: **PIUS XII: ALLOWED GERMAN CHURCH TRIUMPHALISM**

- 1945-06-00: **Pius XII: allowed German church to set off triumphal path**: Pius XII's attitude towards the Holocaust allowed the German Church to set off on a triumphal path immediately after the war by denying collective guilt for German crimes... By exonerating the "good Germans" in a June 1945 radio address, Pius XII made it possible for German Catholics to believe their claim of innocence, or *Selbstfreispruch*. Phayer 2000: 162
- 1945-06*-00: **Pius XII: lied about German Catholics and Nazism**: Pope Pius XII stated immediately after the war that German Catholics were martyrs, and that most Catholics had opposed Nazism with all their hearts. This, of course, was not the case. Phayer 2000: 144

1945-06-00—17: **DUBOURG: GRANDES RÉUNIONS TROP 'TRIUMPHALISTES'**

- 1945-06-00: **Dubourg: critiqué comme 'triumphaliste' par des catholiques**: la construction du monument à Notre-Dame de Libération [des Buis] est jugé par certains trop coûteuse ou inutile. Les grandes réunions, aimées de Mgr Dubourg, sont regardées ici et là comme trop extérieures et triomphalistes. E. Ledeur 1977: 214
- 1945-06-00: **Dubourg: face à la réflexes de l'anticléricalisme d'avant-guerre**: les vieux réflexes [de l'anticléricalisme] d'avant-guerre ont tôt fait de refaire surface. L'affaire de Fête-Dieu en est une bonne illustration. Alors que la procession à travers la ville [de Besançon] avait été tolérée par les municipalités radicales, le maire socialiste Jean Minjoz en refuse autorisation en juin 1945. Passons outre, les autorités religieuses rassemblent quelque dix milles personnes dans les rues de Besançon ; attitude qui les conduit en justice. Lambert 2007: 259
- 1945-06-17: **Dubourg: est défendu par Billy et Charrière dans Cité fraternelle**: L'affaire entraîne une mobilisation des plus énergiques de *Cité fraternelle*. Le numéro du 17 juin qui succède à la manifestation lui consacra près de la moitié de ses articles. Dans un long éditorial (« Une procession »), Maurice Billy entend placer le débat sur le terrain de la liberté, au-delà de la simple défense religieuse. La lettre qu'il [M. Billy] a adressée au général De Gaulle est reproduite, ainsi que la correspondance échangée entre Mgr Dubourg et le maire [Jean Minjoz]. Lambert 2007: 259
- 1945-06-17*: **Dubourg: L'action intentée en justice contre Mgr a lieu en août 1945**: L'action intentée en justice contre Mgr Dubourg et les organisateurs de la manifestation... [et] un procès à lieu en août 1945. Mgr Dubourg est défendu par son ami G. Pernot. L'affaire mise en délibéré, le jugement est prononcé en novembre 1945. Ce n'est qu'en 1947 que le conseil d'État rend un arrêt annulant l'interdiction de procession [de la fête Dieu]. (*Cité fraternelle*, 'Merci MM Les Juges', 18 novembre 1945) Lambert 2007: 259

1945-06-00: **COUTURIER: L'ÂME DE L'ARTISTE & LA QUALITÉ DES FORMES**

- 1945-06-00: **Couturier: La deuxième édition d'Art et catholicisme**, augmenté de la fameuse 'Note sur l'abstraction', datée de juin 1945... Brunet-Weinmann 2005: 84
- 1945-06-00: **Couturier: « que la valeur religieuse de l'œuvre tient à l'œuvre elle-même »**: « La musique fait la preuve qu'un art abstrait – c'est-à-dire non-représentatif – peut avoir valeur religieuse. Cela implique donc une référence *explicite* à un ordre extérieur de réalités sacrées n'est pas nécessaire, et que la valeur religieuse, le caractère religieux ou profane de l'œuvre tient à

l'œuvre elle-même, à ses éléments substantiels. En musique cela tiendra à la *qualité* même des sons et des rythmes. Pourquoi n'en serait-il pas de même pour les couleurs et les lignes en peinture ? » (Couturier, *Art et catholicisme*, June 1945, pp. 97-100; in Couturier 1958: 64-66) Brunet-Weinmann 2005: 84

- 1945-06-00: **Couturier**: « la qualité des formes plastiques = la qualité de l'esprit et de l'artiste »: « En cette qualité propre des formes plastiques ne naîtra ni du sujet en tant que tel ni d'aucune formule hiératique, ni même d'aucun symbolisme, mais immédiatement de la qualité même de l'esprit et de la sensibilité de l'artiste. » (Couturier, *Art et catholicisme*, June 1945, pp. 97-100; reprinted in Couturier 1958: 64-66) Brunet-Weinmann 2005: 84
- 1945-06-00: **Couturier**: « l'art naturaliste, l'art réaliste qui, de soi, est anti-religieux »: « En ce sens-là, c'est l'art naturaliste, l'art réaliste qui, de soi, est anti-religieux, alors que l'art abstrait, ayant déjà coupé tous ses liens [aux réalités naturelles], participe déjà à une certaine liberté spirituelle, à un 'détachement' qui le prédispose à ce transfert et à l'expression des réalités sacrées. » (Couturier, *Art et catholicisme*, June 1945, pp. 97-100; reprinted in Couturier 1958: 64-66) Brunet-Weinmann 2005: 84
- 1945-06-00: **Couturier**: « l'âme de l'artiste s'exprime par la beauté des formes elles-mêmes »: « C'est directement par la beauté des formes elles-mêmes que l'âme et la vie personnelle de l'artiste s'expriment. » (Couturier, *La peinture moderne*, manuscrit, 1945, pages 14-5) CES

1945-06-02: FRANÇOIS DE MENTHON: 5000 SENTENCES ISSUED PER MONTH

- 1945-06-02: **François de Menthon**: 17,500 sanctions of 'indignité nationale': in May of 1945 justice minister François de Menthon announced that there had been 17,300 trials, 1598 death sentences, 17,500 sanctions of 'indignité nationale'. Courts and Chambers together were issuing sentences at a rate of 5000 per month. (Bulletin, Minister of justice, 2 June 1945) Lottman 1986: 163

1945-06-16: LC À LA SAINTE-BAUME

- 1945-06-16: **LC à la Sainte-Baume**: Selon les informations données par Trouin à Régamey le 16 juin 1945, Le Corbusier avait passé quatre jours sur le site [de La Sainte-Baume] et envisagé d'y construire une basilique en forme de tour. Caussé 2010: 290-1

1945-07-23: MARSHAL PÉTAIN TRIAL: FAULTY POSTWAR JUSTICE SYSTEM

- 1945-07-23: **Third Republic luminaries as witnesses**: virtually every available luminary of the Third Republic passed through the witness box: Leon Blum... Gen. Weygand... [Laval]... Most of the eminent witnesses (with the exception of Blum) were principally concerned with defending their own role... The jury after seven hours of deliberation found Marshal Pétain guilty of intelligence with the enemy. He was sentenced to death [15 August 1945], but with the recommendation from the jury that the sentence not be executed. Novick 1968: 175-6
- 1945-07-23: **Mornet: presiding judge was a Pétainist**: Judge Mornet had sworn the magistrate's oath to Marshal Pétain, volunteered to sit on the court at Riom, and served four years on Vichy's "denaturalization commission" (to brake its activity). These facts were frequently alluded to by the defense during the trials in which he served as prosecutor... Mornet was replaced [at the end of 1945]. Novick 1968: 176-8
- 1945-07-23: **Mornet: Vichyste prosecutor**: having applied Vichy's law for four years, the [judicial] magistracy went on applying the Fourth Republic's law from the august heights... This state of affairs produced not a few ironies during the postwar trials... Old André Mornet, who had prosecuted Mata Hari... came out of retirement to prosecute Laval and Pétain... Mornet had taken the oath to Pétain [in 1940] like all judges [and] had been named to the Riom court that had tried the Third Republic leaders (he had apparently not served), and had served on the denaturalization commission which revoked the citizenship of many recent immigrants. No wonder Mornet called his book about Vichy *Four Years to Strike from Our History*. Paxton 1972: 340
- 1945-07-23*: **trial records: isolated nuggets in artificial contexts**: trial records... must be used with great care. They contain isolated nuggets rather than whole veins of contemporary letters and papers, placed in artificial contexts by the trial proceedings... Neither party [prosecution nor defense] addressed [it]self to historians' questions: a sustained analysis of the defendant's thoughts and actions. Paxton 1972: 394

1945-07-23—08-03: TRIAL DEFENDANTS = SELF-EXCULPATING PROSE

- 1945-07-23—08-03: **Vichyistes: presented fictitious image of 1940 to save their lives**: It takes more than the usual leap of historical thought to recapture the elusive moods of the summer of 1940... Most misleading of all, one sees 1940 through the changed lenses of the Liberation, through the postwar trials and memoirs that have placed the stamp of their perspectives on a basically fictitious image of 1940... Vichy veterans had every incentive to produce a flood of selective, self-justifying

prose designed to show that in 1940 they had already seen the world in 1944 terms. Their very lives depended on doing so. Paxton 1972: 45

- 1945-07-23: **Pétain: opening statement "a shield to protect the French"**: Pétain's trial opened on 23 July 1945. His defence strategy was devised by the young lawyer Jacques Isorni who had made his reputation defending Brasillach. Pétain began by reading out a prepared statement. It declared that the Armistice had contributed to the Allied victory by keeping North Africa free of German troops, and that Vichy had acted as a shield to protect the French... Jackson 2001: 587
- 1945-08-01: **Britain: Secret contacts alleged with Vichy**: on the ninth day of the trial [1 August]... the trial... concentrate[d] on the Vichy government. The defence used the argument that Pétain had been playing a double game. Much was made of supposed secret contacts between Britain and Vichy in 1940, and of the secret telegrams to Darlan in 1942. Most of these claims were false, or did not bear the construction put on them, but this was not so easy to prove, and the defence's strategy did sow doubts. Jackson 2001: 587-8
- 1945-08-01*: **'Double game': contacts with the Allies or the Resistance**: those in more responsible positions not only had greater possibilities of "playing a double game", but frequently had done so — perhaps as a result of greater foresight and a corresponding recognition of the path of enlightened self-interest... The double game usually consisted of the maintenance of contacts with the Allies... [or] contacts with the resistance. Novick 1968: 116-7
- 1945-08-01*: **Pétain: casting doubt on alliance w/ Hitler**: the defense in Pétain's trial succeeded in casting doubt on the very existence of Pétain's 21 August 1942 letter to Hitler. German archives show, however, that the letter did reach Berlin... Paxton 1972: 304
- 1945-08-03: **Laval: implicates Pétain's guilt**: Laval... Appearing in court on 3 August... was unstoppably eloquent, arguing that all his actions had met with Pétain's full approval. Jackson 2001: 588
- 1945-08-03*: **Antisemitism: denied, claim of German pressure & French passivity**: The blackest mark on the whole Vichy experience is anti-Semitism... nowhere else has to claim of German pressure and French passivity been more insistent... Paxton 1972: 173

1945-07-27: RESIGNATIONS OF SEVEN ECCLESIASTICS MADE KNOWN:

- 1945-07-27: **l'épuration épiscopale: Règlement du problème**: démission des évêques du Bois de la Villerabel, Dutoit, Auvity, Beaussart, Vielle, Poisson, Grimaud. De Montclos 1982: 601
- 1945-07-27: **Resignations of seven ecclesiastics made known**: On the 27th of July 1945, the resignation of Dutoit, Auvity, and du Bois de la Villerabel were made known. Archbishop Beaussart gave up his appointment as Auxiliary Bishop of Paris... three apostolic vicars overseas also resigned... by then the situation had relaxed considerably and initial demands for a total purge had been toned down. Halls 1995: 377
- 1945-07-27*: **Moral authority of bishops suffered**: the moral authority of the [French] bishops had suffered because of their attitudes and their incapacity to react. Halls 1995: 378

1945-08-00: DUBOURG: COMMENCEMENT DU PROCÈS JUDICIAIRE

- 1945-08-00: **Dubourg: L'action intentée en justice contre Mgr a lieu en août 1945**: les vieux réflexes [de l'anticléricalisme] d'avant-guerre ont tôt fait de refaire surface. L'affaire de Fête-Dieu en est une bonne illustration. Alors que la procession à travers la ville [de Besançon] avait été tolérée par les municipalités radicales, le maire socialiste Jean Minjoz refuse autorisation en juin 1945. Passons outre, les autorités religieuses rassemblent quelque dix milles personnes dans les rues de Besançon ; attitude qui les conduit en justice... un procès a lieu en août 1945. Mgr Dubourg est défendu par son ami G. Pernot. L'affaire mise en délibéré, le jugement est prononcé en novembre 1945. Ce n'est qu'en 1947 que le conseil d'État rend un arrêt annulant l'interdiction de procession [de la fête Dieu]. (*Cité fraternelle*, 18 novembre 1945, 'Merci MM Les Juges') Lambert 2007: 259

1945-08-00: BROCHURE DE L'ART SACRÉ: LA RÉHABILITATION DES ÉGLISES

- 1945-08-00: **Régamey: Brochure envoyée à tous les curés de France**: c'est peut-être pour des raisons stratégiques que cette publication [*Brochure de l'Art sacré*] mettait à l'honneur le thème de la réhabilitation des églises. Dans le contexte des détestations et des urgences criantes, reconstruire les églises restaient secondaires... Changer le « visage indigne de la France » impliquait un changement d'esprit du clergé et des fidèles, une « mystique » de l'église... Publié en août 1945, envoyée à tous les curés de France, la brochure été épuisée en octobre 1946. Caussé 2010: 98-9
- 1945-08-00: **Suhard: le décor « indigne » des églises sous le contrôle des CDAS**: Éditée en août 1945... [la *Brochure de l'Art sacré*] été introduite par une lettre de archevêque de Paris le cardinal Suhard.... [qui] rappelait que... l'autre « tâche urgente » était de redonner leur beauté aux églises,

dont le décor était devenu « indigne », comme presque tout le cadre de la vie française... La remettre en valeur... était possible grâce à l' « œuvre en train de naître » qui allait « mettre sa compétence au service de NN. SS. les Évêques et des curés sous le contrôle des commissions diocésains d'art sacré. » (Suhard, introduction de *Brochure de l'Art sacré*, août 1945, pp. 3-4) Caussé 1999: 141

- 1945-08-00: **Monuments Historiques: législation sur le rôle des CDAS:** Le Directeur des monuments historiques, René Perchet ainsi que deux inspecteurs généraux, Jean Verrier et René Planchenault... rappelaient de manière détaillée la législation en vigueur et le rôle des commissions diocésains d'art sacré auxquelles on allait donner « une activité renouvelée ». (Perchet, 'La direction des monuments historiques au service des édifices du culte'; Verrier, 'Le service des monuments historiques conseillait artistique du clergé', in *Brochure de l'Art sacré*, août 1945, pp. 5-7) Caussé 1999: 142
- 1945-08-00: **le Curé: le mieux était de s'adresser aux CDAS:** il fallait que le curé fasse « aimer son ministère », qu'il intéresse ses paroissiens à leur église en commençant d'abord par les travaux de réparations et de propreté... Ces améliorations devaient être « l'œuvre des paroissiens sous la direction du curé »... [qui] ne fallait pas hésiter à faire appel à des concours extérieurs à la paroisse pour consulter des personnes compétentes... Le mieux était de s'adresser aux commissions diocésaines d'art sacré, « organisation en train de naître précisément pour donner une assurance de qualité dans l'incertitude actuelle ». (Chanoine Boulard, Dom Henri de Laborde, et père Régamey, 'La mise en valeur de l'église et le renouveau de la paroisse', in *Brochure de l'Art sacré*, août 1945, pp. 19-28) Caussé 1999: 143

1945-08-00: LC PORTRAYED BY 'ARCHITECTURAL FORUM' AS HERO

- 1945-08-00: **LC: Architectural Forum interview promoting St Dié:** Le Corbusier catalogued his efforts abroad to promote the plans [for Saint-Dié] in a letter to André Colin, head of the Chamber of Commerce of Saint-Dié and a member of the Association of the Affected, January 24, 1946. They included an interview with the American journal *Architectural Forum*; a piece (with Eugène Claudius-Petit) for the journal *Architectural Record* that would appear in its October 1946 issue (Archives FLC XI-1: 20), 79–83; and telegrams to radio outlets in the United States and France. (Jean-Jacques Duval, "Le Bataille de Saint-Dié," in Daniel Grandidier, ed., *Le Corbusier et Saint-Dié*, 1987, p. 67) Clericuzio 2010: 67
- 1945-08-00: **Architectural Forum: "There were no clients — Vichy had seen to that":** the article "Overseas" portrays Le Corbusier as a kind of hero, persisting alone in his research through the horrors of Vichy... "Le Corbusier sat in a heatless studio, working through the long winters of the occupation. There were no clients — Vichy had seen to that — there was plenty of work to do... What happened to Le Corbusier was what happened to most of France's non-collaborationist architects. Those who worked with Vichy were much better fed for a while..." (*Architectural Forum*, 'Overseas', August 1945) McLeod 1985a: 417

1945-08-00—18: LC COMMISSIONS: ST DIÉ, MARSEILLE, SAINT-GAUDENS, TOULOUSE

- 1945-08-00: **Dautry: un projet d'unité d'habitation à construire à Marseille:** Raoul Dautry, le premier ministre de la reconstruction de l'urbanisme, et Le Corbusier... se connaissent de longue date... Cette série de contacts aboutit à une commande au mois d'août 1945. Raoul Dautry demande à LC de lui fournir des esquisses pour un projet d'unité d'habitation à construire à Marseille. (LC, 'L'unité d'habitation de Marseille', in *Le Point*, Mulhouse, nov 1950, p. 4) Sbriglio 2005: 27
- 1945-08-00: **LC: plans for Saint-Dié:** Le Corbusier drew up plans [for Saint-Dié] and submitted these to the Ministry during the summer of 1945. Le Corbusier called them the "plan directeur." It was the same name he had given to his urban scheme for Algiers presented to Pétain's Vichy government in 1942. (LC, "Un plan pour Saint-Dié," *Homme et l'architecture* 5-6, Nov-Dec 1945, p. 39) Clericuzio 2010: 58
- 1945-08-15: **Saint-Dié: local resistance to LC:** Georges Friesz, the editor of the Saint-Dié newspaper, *La Gazette Vosgienne*, was particularly suspicious of Le Corbusier's involvement in the reconstruction. He noted that "Le Corbusier is... the head of a vast enterprise named 'The Studio of Corbusian Buildings,'" and wondered, "[o]ne would love to know under what conditions Le Corbusier would deign to interest himself in the reconstruction of Saint-Dié." (*La Gazette Vosgienne*, 15 Aug 1945) Clericuzio 2010: 62-3
- 1945-08-18: **LC: « contrat Saint-Gaudens et extension du contrat Toulouse-Bayonne »:** Nous pouvons nous en rendre compte dans une de ces notes du 18 août 1945 « signer contrat Saint-Gaudens et extension du contrat Toulouse-Bayonne... » (LC, note, 'Contrat Saint-Gaudens et extension du contrat Toulouse-Bayonne', 18 Aug 1945, FLC F3-7-9) Catllar 2010: 5

1945-08-01: JERZY SOLTAN AT 35 RUE DE SÈVRES

- 1945-08-01: **Soltan: early days at 35 rue de Sèvres:** August 1, 1945 [was] the first of my work with Le Corbusier... at his atelier, 35 rue de Sèvres in Paris... [Gerald] Hanning left the atelier and did not return. The short-lived trio was reduced again to a duo. It was Le Corbusier and me alone. The financial situation did not improve. The projects were not backed up by any solid commissions, and as a result of Le Corbusier could not pay me. Eventually my military commitment ended... and with it the military board and lodging. I had to live. Le Corbusier agreed that I should moonlight in the morning and work for him in the afternoon... At this time, I was Le Corbusier's only assistant and I was at the rue de Sevres only in the afternoon. All work to be done in these few hours. Soltan 1987: 1-2
- 1945-08-01*: **Soltan: first project town center of St Dié:** My first particular complex problem was the town center of St Dié. Le Corbusier brought some sketches from home. He wanted to pursue this particular pictorial thinking in the atelier... "Haven't you got a piece of charcoal?" He asked. He started sketching [in charcoal] with a deliberately shaky hand. He stopped for fractions of a second. He went on. Meanwhile, he succeeded in erasing half of what he began with... he stopped again. He returned with a light, jittery line to the spots that had already been drawn and erased. The new line was almost the same -- almost. "Maybe it's worth retaining?" [Le Corbusier said.] He pulled out his own pen, an old Parker 51, and traced with a slow movement on top of the charcoal, the final (for the time being) version of the concept. Soltan 1987: 5
- 1945-08-01*: **Soltan: the project of the Unité du grandeur conforme:** I worked with Gerald Hanning on the project of the Unité du grandeur conforme (unit of the proper size). It was a theoretical project preceding the project of the Marseille unit. At the time we studied it, nobody had any idea whether it would ever be erected — much less erected in Marseille... How far does technology allow the individual family (using perhaps some combinatorial analysis) to create a small, private world around itself? Not much seems to be possible in this respect, particularly given the conditions in 1945... Soltan 1987: 7-8
- 1945-08-01*: **Soltan: took over the La Rochelle-Pallice project from Hanning:** I took over the La Rochelle-Pallice project from Gerald Hanning and worked on it with Le Corbusier as a sort of job captain... Never in my time did Le Corbusier take the trouble to go there in person... The task of introducing the project to the mayor and city Council went to me... I did my job as well as I could. Then the mayor took the floor: "Sir, what you propose might perhaps be possible in the country of your master (*Monsieur votre patron*). It might perhaps be possible in your own country — incidentally, I do not happen to know where you are from. But it is not possible in La Rochelle. I thank you very kindly for your presentation."... I personally suspected that Le Corbusier was quite aware of the danger involved and, guessing what the results of the meeting would be, decided to spare himself a few unpleasant moments. Soltan 1987: 12-3
- 1945-08-01*: **Soltan: plasticine study models for St Dié and La Rochelle:** Corbu's use of model building [w]as an integral part of the design process. Presenting architectural ideas through a model is, of course, an age-old visual communication technique. However, architects normally use models to communicate things already conceived and even drawn. Used in this way, the model becomes merely an additional way of presentation... Architects do not normally build models as an integral part of the process of conceptualization... At the rue de Sevres, the model did not have to be precise or particularly elegant to fulfill its purpose... What charcoal represents on the plane of a drawing, plasticine represents in volume. Little bricks of this fat clay are not only easily cut but are easily malleable. I watch them under Corbu's fingers. I saw the charcoal sketches begin to appear as interpretations of the clumsy, topsy-turvy clay toys, illustrating the burgeoning idea of perhaps, the city center of St Dié or the first proposal of the housing development at La Rochelle. The charcoal followed the spatial study in clay. The charcoal sketch was translated once again into the language of plasticine and then went back on paper. And so it went until the black ink of the fountain pen fixed the project for a while. Soltan 1987: 6

1945-08-14: HIROSHIMA, NAGASAKI, AND THE SURRENDER OF JAPAN

1945-08-15: MARSHAL PÉTAIN SENTENCED TO DEATH

- 1945-08-15: **Pétain guilty of intelligence w/ enemy, sentenced to death:** The jury after seven hours of deliberation found Marshal Pétain guilty of intelligence with the enemy. He was sentenced to death [15 August 1945], but with the recommendation from the jury that the sentence not be executed. Novick 1968: 175-6
- 1945-08-15: **Pétain verdict made without necessary evidence:** Pétain and his followers were found to be guilty. However all the evidence of their guilt was difficult to produce at the time, so the trial itself failed to resolve all issues. Novick 1968: 176

- 1945-08-15: **death sentence commuted**: On 15 August the jury delivered their verdict. Pétain was condemned to death, but with the recommendation, which de Gaulle accepted, that owing to his age the sentence should be commuted to imprisonment. Jackson 2001: 588
- 1945-08-15: **Pétain immediately transported on de Gaulle's aircraft to the Pyrénées**: Fearing riots at the announcement of the sentence, de Gaulle ordered Pétain immediately transported on de Gaulle's private aircraft to Fort du Portalet in the Pyrenees, where he remained from 15 August to 16 November 1945. The government later imprisoned Pétain in the Fort de Pierre-Levée citadel on the Île d'Yeu, an island off the French Atlantic coast. (Charles Williams, *Pétain*, London, 2005, pp. 512-3)

1945-08-30: CAMUS: "PURGE IN PARIS IS DISCREDITED"

- 1945-08-30: **Camus: 'the purge has now become odious. The failure is complete'**: the purge ended... with a universal sense of frustration and bitter disappointment... Albert Camus wrote: "it is clear that henceforth the purge in Paris is not only lost, but discredited. The word 'purge' was painful enough in itself; the thing has now become odious. The failure is complete..." (Camus, in *Combat*, 30 August 1945) Novick 1968: 158

1945-08-31: DUBOURG: 'GESTATION' DE LA CDAS AVEC MATHEY

- 1945-08-31: **Dubourg, Monnet, et Mathey**: [une lettre] de l'archevêque datée du 31 août 1945 adressée... à M. Monnet, Architecte en Chef des Monuments Historiques, stipulent que cette réorganisation se fait en accord avec M. Mathey et leur demande de bien vouloir en faire partie... la réponse affirmative de l'architecte en chef, datée du 6 septembre 1945... (Dubourg, lettre à M. Monnet, 31 août 1945, ADB) Flicoteaux 1998: 7
- 1945-08-31: **Dubourg: lettre à Mathey sur le CDAS**: toujours datée du 31 août 1945 une lettre de l'archevêque [Dubourg] à Fr. Mathey lui donne le texte de l'ordonnance relative à la Commission, sa composition, et demande en outre des précisions à propos d'une éventuelle nomination de Marcel Ferry comme délégué au recensement des Monuments Historiques dans le diocèse. Flicoteaux 1998: 8
- 1945-08-31*: **Associations Diocésaines: control moved from parish to Bishop**: a conciliatory step [between the French church and the Papacy] was taken [in 1924] when the 'associations culturelles', set up at parish level to administer church property, were replaced by 'associations diocésaines', over which the Bishop had greater control. Halls 1995: 223
- 1945-08-31*: **Associations Diocésaines: administrative control back to bishops**: 'Associations culturelles', which had been set up at the parish level as a device to administer church property at one remove, and over which the state had greater control than the bishops, were replaced by 'associations diocésaines' [authorized by Pope Pius XI in 1924], whose members, although subject to ratification by the associations' general assemblies, were appointed by the bishops. Halls 1995: 15-6
- 1945-08-31*: **Pie XI: Maximam gravissimam et le nouveau projet d'associations diocésaines**: [E]n janvier 1924 le Pape Pie XI approuvait dans l'encyclique *Maximam gravissimam*, le nouveau projet d'associations diocésaines qui permettait de trouver une application des lois de 1905 acceptables par le gouvernement français et par le Saint-Siège. Caussé 1999: 21
- 1945-08-31*: **Associations diocésaines: les lois de 1942-43 avait élargi les pouvoirs**: Une loi (25 décembre 1942), complétée d'une loi de finances (31 décembre 1942), et par la loi du 12 avril 1943, avait élargi les pouvoirs des associations diocésaines, leur permettant de repérer les édifices de culte en accordent avec les municipalités: il devenait possible de d'impulser des travaux. Caussé 2007: 61
- 1945-08-31*: **CDAS: sous l'autorité de l'évêque, en conformité avec les lois canoniques**: La constitution des commissions diocésaines d'art sacré découle de la création en France en 1924 des « associations diocésaines »... L'encyclique *Maximam gravissimam* du 18 janvier 1924 « en recommanda l'essai aux évêques et dans chaque diocèse une association fut constituée »... leur fonction était strictement de «subvenir aux frais et à l'entretien du culte catholique, sous l'autorité de l'évêque... en conformité avec les lois canoniques (article 2), acquérir ou louer et administrer des édifices pour « l'exercice public du culte » dans le diocèse (article 3). Caussé 1999: 550-1

1945-09-00: RÉGAMEY: LE CAHIER DE L'ART SACRÉ, 'RECONSTRUIRE LES ÉGLISES'

- 1945-09-00: **Régamey: une série intitulée « Reconstruire les Églises »**: le premier *Cahier* [de *L'Art sacré*, septembre 1945] se présenta comme un dossier critique destiné à fournir aux architectes, aux artistes, et aux ecclésiastiques des données sur les diverses obligations d'une église: liturgique, symbolique, pratique... [c]onstruit en trois articles... Le troisième avait été préparé et par un « Comité », dont le secrétaire était Régamey... Le projet ambitieux de rédiger un ouvrage de

référence sur l'architecture des églises n'aboutit pas. À la place, il nous reste cinq numéros qui constituèrent une série intitulée « Reconstruire les Églises »... Caussé 2010: 101-2

- 1945-09-00: **Régamey: les arts était soumis à la liturgie:** Du point de vue du « sacré », les arts étaient soumis à la liturgie. Cela n'impliquait nullement des moyens de plastique déterminé, mais l'artiste avait le devoir d'entrer dans l'esprit de la liturgie, et dans la mesure où cette dernière était vivante, il lui fallait préférer les formes du présent à celle du passé. Caussé 2010: 101-2
- 1945-09-00: **Régamey: le contexte de « vulgarité incroyable » des milieux pieux:** Le commentaire [dans le *Cahier de L'Art sacré* n. 1, septembre 1945]... s'étendait davantage sur le problème soulevé par le canon 1279, chapitre 1, des images « insolites » qu'il n'était « permis à personne de mettre dans les églises... ou dans les autres lieux sacrés » si elles n'étaient approuvées par l'évêque. Il fallait noter que la prescription ne concernait que les seules « images » et compte tenu de la méfiance habituelle des ecclésiastiques vis-à-vis de l'art contemporain, on pouvait s'inquiéter des retombées possibles de son interprétation [Régamey]: dans le contexte de « vulgarité incroyable » des milieux pieux, une œuvre pure est vraie serait inévitablement perçue comme insolite par un public incessamment averti. (Régamey, *Le Cahier de L'Art sacré*, n. 1, sept 1945) Caussé 2010: 102
- 1945-09-00: **Régamey: tradition: « principe de renouvellement et de progrès »:** Régamey... tenter de dissocier la notion de 'tradition' de celle de « forme stylistique ». « Dans l'ordre de l'art », la «tradition» ne pouvait être entendue comme une répétition à l'identique des anciennes formes artistiques. Par contre, elle orientait vers un certain « esprit »... Comprise de cette façon, la tradition était « principe de renouvellement et de progrès ». (Régamey, *Le Cahier de l'Art sacré*, n. 1, septembre 1945) Caussé 1999: 151
- 1945-09-00: **Régamey: renouvellement d'une « nouvelle jeunesse de l'Église »:** [L]'église contemporaine ne devait plus viser « à l'ostentation ». Il fallait enfin que les artistes s'imprègnent de cette impression ambiante d'un renouvellement d'une « nouvelle jeunesse de l'Église ». (Régamey, *Le Cahier de l'Art sacré*, n. 1, septembre 1945) Caussé 1999: 153
- 1945-09-00*: **Pacelli collaborated in drafting Code of Canon Law & Roman power:** at the turn of the century, Pacelli [the future Pope Pius XII] collaborated in redrafting the Church's laws in such a way as to grant future popes unchallenged domination from the Roman center. These laws were packaged in a manual known as the Code of Canon Law, published and brought into force in 1917 and distributed to Catholic clergy throughout the world. Cornwell 1999: 6
- 1945-09-00*: **Code of Canon Law brought entire Church under a tight set of rules:** A Code of Canon Law, largely devised by Pacelli in the course of twelve years and modeled on the Napoleonic code, was eventually signed in 1917 by Pope Benedict XV, bringing the entire Church under a tight set of rules for the laity, religious, clergy, and bishops worldwide. Cornwell 2008: xv

1945-09-02: COUTURIER IN PARIS: STATE SUBSIDIES FOR LURÇAT

- 1945-09-02: **Couturier à Paris:** Couturier [était] à Marseille le 30 août 1945 et rejoignit Paris le 2 septembre 1945. Caussé 2010: 238

1945-09-06—08: DUBOURG: ORDONNANCE DE CDAS BESANÇON

- 1945-09-06: **Dubourg: la réponse affirmative de Monnet:** la réponse affirmative [à la réorganisation de la CDAS, Besançon] de l'architecte en chef [de Monuments Historiques, Paris, M. Monnet], datée du 6 septembre 1945, émet des réserves quant à son assiduité tout en comptant sur ses collègues pour le tenir au courant afin, écrit-il, qu'il « puisse... apporter [son] modeste concours chaque fois qu'une question de quelque importance sera discutée. » (Monnet, lettre à Dubourg, 6 septembre 1945, ADB) Flicoteaux 1998: 8
- 1945-09-06: **Mathey: « les prêtres acceptent de se plier à son contrôle esthétique »:** la réponse de Fr. Mathey à l'archevêque, à l'en-tête du Ministère et datée du 6 septembre 1945, montre bien toute la réflexion menée: l'Inspecteur des Monuments Historiques se réjouit que l'archevêque rende sa décision officielle mais précise les conditions pour que cette commission soit efficace: "L'œuvre que nous entreprenons se révélera féconde si les prêtres acceptent de se plier à son contrôle esthétique et suivent ses avis. Toute la difficulté est là mais elle est essentielle." (Mathey, lettre à Dubourg, 6 septembre 1945, ADB) Flicoteaux 1998: 8
- 1945-09-06: **Mathey: Ledeur « secrétaire soit justement un homme jeune »:** Il suggère aussi un changement dans le choix du secrétaire de la dite commission: « Ne conviendrait-il pas que le secrétaire soit justement un homme jeune qui pourrait plus facilement se déplacer que Mgr. Pfister, tenir en haleine les curés et les persuader? » Par contre, Mgr Pfister reste secrétaire. En réalité il s'agit probablement d'une nomination de pure forme, par égard pour ses services antérieurs et sa notoriété locale; très vite cette charge sera assumée par Lucien Ledeur comme François Mathey l'avait écrit à A. Manessier. (Mathey, lettre à Dubourg, 6 septembre 1945, ADB; Mathey, lettre à Manessier, 3 avril 1977, Archives Atelier Manessier) Flicoteaux 1998: 8-9

- 1945-09-06*: **Mathey**: 'Je ne crois pas aux recommandations et interdictions de l'autorité civile': « L'aventure commence pendant la guerre lorsque Lucien [Ledeur] termine ses études à l'Institut Catholique et que je lui fais part de mes inquiétudes d'Inspecteur des Monuments Historiques ; désolé par l'incompréhension des curés que je visite, de l'abandon des églises, de la nécessité de rétablir une situation lamentable, et de le faire de l'intérieur même de l'Église ; car je ne crois pas aux recommandations et interdictions de l'autorité civile, d'autant plus que nos curés sont indépendants et imaginent mal de la part de laïcs des sentiments, de respect dont ils n'ont pas eux-mêmes l'idée. C'est dans cet esprit que fut créée la Commission d'Art Sacré du diocèse de Besançon et Mgr. Dubourg chargea Lucien d'en assurer le secrétariat. On revenait de loin. » (Mathey, lettre à Alfred Manessier, 3 avril 1977, Archives Atelier Manessier) Flicoteaux 1998: 7
- 1945-09-08: **Dubourg**: **L'ordonnance sur la CDAS**: L'ordonnance de Mgr. Dubourg est datée du 8 septembre 1945 et paraîtra dans *La Voix Diocésaine* du 27 septembre 1945. Elle est aussi connue par le numéro de la revue *L'Art Sacré* entièrement consacré à la Commission de Besançon dans lequel elle est intégralement reproduite. Flicoteaux 1998: 9
- 1945-09-08: **Dubourg**: **'La CDAS sera consultée pour la construction de nouvelles églises'**: L'ordonnance de Mgr. Dubourg est datée du 8 septembre 1945... Art. 5. – « La C.D.A.S. sera également consultée pour la construction de nouvelles églises ou chapelles, pour toute réfection importante des anciens édifices religieux, pour tout achat ou donation d'objets immobiliers: statues, tableaux, vitraux, orgues. » (Dubourg, 8 septembre 1945; "Ordonnance de S. Exc. Mgr. Dubourg, archevêque de Besançon, sur la Commission Diocésaine d'Art Sacré", *La Voix Diocésaine*, Besançon, 27 septembre 1945, p. 156) Flicoteaux 1998: 9, 13
- 1945-09-08*: **Dubourg**: **'chargea Lucien Ledeur d'en assurer le secrétariat'**: « Mgr. Dubourg chargea Lucien [Ledeur] d'en assurer le secrétariat... » (Mathey, lettre à Manessier, 3 avril 1977, Archives Atelier Manessier) Flicoteaux 1998: 7
- 1945-09-08*: **Ferry**: **Mathey et Ledeur « partagèrent leur connaissance de l'art contemporain »**: Cette commission est donc le fruit de ses échanges d'idées avec Lucien Ledeur lorsque ces deux amis [Mathey et Ledeur] « partagèrent leur connaissance de l'art contemporain et se firent des jugements communs sur le renouveau qu'appelaient les églises ». Cette ouverture à l'art contemporain jouera un rôle très important. (M. Ferry, "Le Vitrail Moderne en Franche-Comté", *Vitréa*, n. 4, 1989, pp. 17-48) Flicoteaux 1998: 8

1945-09-06—08: MEMBERS OF THE COMMISSION DIOCÉSAINNE D'ART SACRÉ

- **Président**: Mgr l'Archevêque Dubourg
- **Vice-Président**: Mgr. Bringard
- **Secrétaire**: Mgr Pfister (l'ancien secrétaire)
Lucien Ledeur, (nouveau secrétaire)
- **Membres**: Le chanoine Quinnez; conservateur des objets classés
L'abbé Jean Garneret, un des meilleurs folkloristes de France
L'abbé Marcel Ferry; aumônier universitaire diocésain, aumônier de la 'PU'
François Mathey, inspecteur des Monuments Historiques
M. Monnet, architecte en chef des Monuments Historiques
René Tournier, architecte
M. Picard, bibliothécaire de la ville de Besançon
Henri Rey, sculpteur
Mlle Cornillot, Conservateur des Musées de Besançon
(Flicoteaux 1998: 9)

1945-10-00: RÉGAMEY, L'ART SACRÉ, & LE CENTRE DE PASTORALE LITURGIQUE

- 1945-10-00: **Régamey**: **le « sens liturgique » distinct de goût artistique**: Le troisième article [de Régamey] sortie dans *La Maison-Dieu* numéro 2, quatrième trimestre de 1945. La *Brochure* et les premiers *Cahiers de L'Art sacré* avaient déjà paru. Organe trimestriel du Centre de Pastorale Liturgique, *La Maison-Dieu* avait pour lecteur privilégiés les prêtres que Régamey souhaitait le plus gagné à sa cause... la revue consacra trois pages au sujet. L'article établissait sans équivoque la relation entre le nouvel *Art sacré* et l'ancien. Régamey évoquait d'abord le « sens liturgique » distinct de goût artistique. (Régamey, *La Maison-Dieu*, n. 2, 4^e trimestre, 1945) Caussé 2010: 81
- 1945-10-00: **Régamey**: **La liturgie, un art majeur de qui les autres arts tenaient leur caractère sacré**: C'est dans la revue du Centre de Pastorale Liturgique, *La Maison-Dieu*, que Régamey argumenta pour le mouvement liturgique se doté d'une revue d'art religieux. La liturgie était comme un art majeur de qui les autres arts tenaient leur caractère sacré: il était sage d'unir les efforts. Caussé 2010: 85

- 1945-10-00*: **Centre de Pastorale Liturgique: romanisant la liturgie, 1890's***: Le Centre de Pastorale Liturgique fut le point d'émergence français d'un vaste mouvement européen, amorcée à la fin du XIXe siècle. D'abord cantonné aux abbayes bénédictines de Solesmes et de Beuron, il voulait unifier en la romanisant la liturgie émiettée en de multiples traditions, fixer les rites et restaurer le chant grégorien. Caussé 2010: 84
- 1945-10-00*: **Centre de Pastorale Liturgique: « retrouver la pureté des origines »**: Après la deuxième guerre... le mouvement liturgique, né en Belgique et en Allemagne, prenait racine en France. Ses sessions annuelles, sa collection 'Lex Orandi', sa revue la *Maison Dieu*, cherchaient « à retrouver la pureté des origines sous le fatras des rubriques » et à permettre une meilleure participation du « peuple fidèles ». Caussé 1999: 26
- 1945-10*-00: **L'Art sacré: une revue 'travaillant à la renaissance des arts sacrés' à l'intérieur du CPL**: la liturgie était « comme un art majeur » aux arts « sacrés », ces derniers tenant ce caractère sacré de leur service culturel. Un « agencement sage des efforts » demandait donc « qu'une revue et un 'mouvement' travaillant à la renaissance des arts sacrés s'install[ât] à l'intérieur de l'œuvre de Centre de Pastorale Liturgique. » (Régamey, *Maison Dieu* n. 2, quatrième trimestre 1945, p. 170) Caussé 1999: 117

1945-10-00: INED: CONTINUITY WITH FFEPPH STAFF POST-WAR

- 1945-10-00: **INED: More than half of the staff had worked under Carrel**: In October 1945 the provisional government replaced the Foundation [Carrel's FFEPPH] with the INED [Institut National Etudes Démographiques] and appointed [Alfred] Sauvy as its director. More than half of the institute's staff had worked under Carrel... Reggiani 2007: 166

1945-10-03: JOSEPH DARNAND WAS SENTENCED TO DEATH

- 1945-10-03: **Darnand was sentenced to death**: 3 October, executed 10 October. Novick 1968: 177

1945-10-04—15: LAVAL: AN IDEAL SCAPEGOAT

- 1945-10-04—09: **Laval's trial took place in early October and was a disaster**: The inevitable death sentence was pronounced on October 9. Novick 1968: 177
- 1945-10-15: **execution: an ideal scapegoat**: it became expedient to load everything on his stooped shoulders, especially after Laval was shot in the courtyard of Fresnes prison in Paris on the morning of 15 October 1945... Laval was an ideal scapegoat... Paxton 1972: 24-5

1945-10-13—19: LC: CRITICISM OF PLAN & EXHIBITION AT MOMA

- 1945-10-13: **St Dié: criticism of LC plan as 'grotesque'**: *La Gazette Vosgienne* mercilessly ridiculed Le Corbusier's plans, condemning them as "not just fantastic," but "simply grotesque." (*La Gazette Vosgienne*, 13 Oct 1945) Clericuzio 2010: 64
- 1945-10-19: **LC: secured exhibition at MOMA through Johnson**: Le Corbusier had secured exhibitions of the plans for St Dié at the Museum of modern Art in New York and at the Walker Art Center in Minneapolis. His support abroad included a letter from Philip Johnson, then head of the Department of Architecture at the Museum of Modern Art, who explained that nearly everyone who had seen the plans was "extremely impressed," and hoped for their adoption. (Philip Johnson, letter to LC, 19 Oct 1945, FLC H3-18-74) Clericuzio 2010: 67

1945-10-21: MILITARY TRIBUNAL WAS OPENED IN NUREMBERG

1945-10-21: REFERENDUM VOTE SUPPORTS NEW CONSTITUTION

- 1945-10-21: **Referendum: Communists 160 seats, MRP 152, Socialists 142**: following a national referendum held in October 1945, the French people voted overwhelmingly for a new constitution to be framed, and for a constituent assembly to be elected and given the task of drafting the constitution... the Communists benefited most with 160 seats, and the Socialists won 142. The new progressive Catholic party, the MRP [Mouvement Républicaine Populaire], also did surprisingly well, gaining 152 seats. Grenville 2000: 358
- 1945-10-21: **MRP deputies: 60% served in Resistance**: Christian resisters prospered, and their causes yielded political results. Of the 204 MRP deputies elected in 1945-46, 126 had served in the resistance. (Novick 1968: 134) Halls 1995: 219
- 1945-58: **MRP: market economy, trade unions, social welfare, Catholic education**: the MRP, that is to say the French Christian Democrats, managed to remain partners in all these coalition governments... It inclined to the conservatives in believing in a market economy and private property, but was progressive in seeking to overcome the traditional industrial complex by collaboration between employer and employee. On issues of social and welfare policies they sided

with the Socialists, but differed from them and the radicals in seeking to retain independent Catholic education with state aid. On policies relating to Western European cooperation, which were generally favored by both the MRP and the Socialists, they were aligned against the conservative right. Grenville 2000: 541-2

1945-10-31—11-06: LC: ST DIÉ PLAN PUBLISHED AND DEFEATED

- 1945-10-31: **St Dié: plans by rival architect Paul Résal:** The plans of architect Paul Résal were featured in the Saint-Dié paper... Résal's plan bore a striking similarity to the old prewar configuration of Saint-Dié. It called for the restoration of the rue Thiers as the main commercial artery through the town, as well as the prewar routes of other major streets. His minor adjustments included the enlargement of the square in front of the cathedral and the straightening and widening of the central streets to conform to an orthogonal grid. The accompanying article lavished praise on his plan, declaring, "Saint-Dié is not a city to create, but a city to reconstruct." It praised Résal for his "double preoccupation" with "preserving the past" and "reserving the future." (*La Gazette Vosgienne*, 31 Oct 1945) Clericuzio 2010: 63
- 1945-11-00: **LC: St Dié plan published:** Le Corbusier envisioned a total break with the prewar configuration of Saint-Dié. The lynchpin of the plan was the eight unités d'habitation... The most innovative part of Le Corbusier's plan for Saint-Dié was the city center, a huge pedestrian plaza that would occupy the land on the north bank of the Meurthe River (fig. 8). This new concept had been discussed in 1944 among the members of CIAM (Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne), of which Le Corbusier had been a founding member. They argued that large cities required a center to provide a forum for public gatherings as well as a focal point for buildings with cultural functions, like theaters, libraries, and stadiums. Members of CIAM encouraged urban planners to include such spaces in their plans for the postwar city. (Le Corbusier, "Un plan pour Saint-Dié," *Homme et l'architecture* 5-6, Nov-Dec 1945, p. 39) Clericuzio 2010: 59
- 1945-11-00: **LC: St Dié plan at Rockefeller Center in New York:** The St Dié scheme became the centerpiece of the exhibition of Le Corbusier's work at Rockefeller Center in New York in November 1945. It took on an iconic value as the illustration of the application of both the Athens Charter and the CIAM version of the Civic Center. Mumford 2002: 156
- 1945-11-06: **St Dié: overwhelming support for Résal plan:** On November 6, [Le Corbusier's] plan was discussed along with Résal's in a meeting of the Popular Association of the Affected of Saint-Dié. The overwhelming majority voted to back Résal's plan, largely because they anticipated further debates on the proposals by the Commission of Urbanism and the Municipal Council. (*La Gazette Vosgienne*, 10 Nov 1945) Clericuzio 2010: 64
- 1945-11-06*: **Dautry: 'urbanistic regression' of St Dié:** The Ministry of Reconstruction officials [e.g. Dautry] considered the wholesale rejection of modern techniques and forms [at St Dié] to be an example of "urbanistic regression." (Joseph Abram, *L'Architecture Moderne en France*, vol. 2: *Du chaos à la croissance 1940–1966*, dir. Gérard Monnier, Paris, 1999, pp. 38–42) Clericuzio 2010: 66
- 1945-11-06*: **St Dié: residents wish to reconstruct prior city:** The city's residents... insisted that their houses include a cellar, attic, laundry room, with a small garden in front, a larger yard in back, and a garage to keep their bicycles. This plea was consistent with local opinion in the rest of France, where citizens in other destroyed cities, such as Saint-Lo, Sedan, and Saint-Malo, wished to see their towns rebuild as close to their previous incarnations as possible. (Joseph Abram, *L'Architecture Moderne en France*, vol. 2: *Du chaos à la croissance 1940–1966*, dir. Gérard Monnier, Paris, 1999, pp. 38–42) Clericuzio 2010: 66

1945-11-21: DE GAULLE: PROVISIONAL NEW GOVERNMENT

- 1945-11-21: **de Gaulle: new government formed:** the political crisis... provoked by the Communist demands was... resolved, and a government, headed by de Gaulle and comprising ministers drawn from all the major parties, was formed. Grenville 2000: 359

1945-11-00—12-21: L'ART SACRÉ: 'RECONSTRUIRE LES ÉGLISES' & RONCHAMP

- 1945-11-00: **'Comité d'architecture': Régamey, Morel, Mathey, etc:** Le troisième [article de la série 'Reconstruire des églises', dans *Cahier de L'Art sacré* n. 10, décembre 1946] avait été préparé par un «Comité», dont la secrétaire était Régamey... Le Comité... se réunissait tous les 15 jours et dont le *Cahier* numéro un avait fourni une liste de 12 noms... l'abbé Morel... François Mathey et six architectes: P. Barbe, J. Courtot, P. Koch, Millet, Picot, G.-H. Pingusson... Il prit dans les *Cahiers* numéro 4 et numéro 5 le nom de « Comité d'architecture de L'Art sacré »... Le rôle du Comité fut clairement circonscrit à la série 'Reconstruire les Églises'; on y examina de façon critique les formes récents d'architecture religieuse, selon les axes définis dans l'article de *La Maison Dieu*... Le Comité intervint surtout dans les trois premiers *Cahiers* de la série; son rôle fut réduit dans la quatrième sur l'architecture alémanique, nul dans le cinquième de septembre 1949. Caussé 2010: 99-100

- 1945-11-00: **Ronchamp: les paroissiens estimaient que « la chapelle était leur propriété »**: Fort heureusement Ledeur et Mathey était dans la CDAS car ce fut la raison pour laquelle les paroissiens « n'entendaient guère s'en laisser conter, estimant que la chapelle était leur propriété », admirent que la CDAS avait son mot à dire. (Mathey, entretien avec Bolle-Reddat, 8 septembre 1980, JNDH 67, page 13-4) Caussé 1999: 654
- 1945-11-00: **Mathey: le curé « devait s'en remettre au choix de la Commission Diocésaine »**: Dans « l'environnement immédiat du curé [Abbé Henri] » un certain nombre de personnes avaient « des idées sur la construction de la chapelle ». La CDAS venait d'être créée ; on lui présenta un projet de restauration fait par un architecte de Lure, « Monsieur Bedou[x] », qu'elle rejeta. Mathey a l'occasion de voir « six et sept » projets... « Tout y était: le gothique aussi bien que le constructivisme... Le chapelain [Abbé Henri] hésité... et il fut encore plus démonté quand je lui déclarai qu'ils étaient aussi insupportables l'un que l'autre et qu'en tout état de cause il devait s'en remettre au choix de la Commission Diocésaine. » (Mathey, entretien avec Bolle-Reddat, 8 septembre 1980, JNDH 67, page 13-4 ; Mathey, entretien avec Caussé, 1991) Caussé 1991: 654
- 1945-11-00: **Mathey: Jean-Charles Moreux**: Mathey proposa Jean-Charles Moreux architecte en chef des Palais Nationaux « qui, à défaut d'innover, est capable de restituer l'édifice souhaité en des proportions sympathiques ». (Mathey, 1980, JNDH 67, page 13-4 ; l'Abbé Henri, Besançon, JNDH 68, page 3) Caussé 1999: 654
- 1945-11-06: **Moreux: « j'ai commencé l'étude » pour Ronchamp**: « J'ai commencé l'étude de votre intéressant projet d'église et vais essayer, pour des raisons d'économie, d'utiliser les fondations et partie des murs en élévation. D'ici un mois, je puisse pouvoir vous enverrais une esquisse ou un avant-projet. » (Moreux, lettre à l'Abbé Henri, 6 novembre 1945) AONDH
- 1945-12-21: **Régamey: « l'église de M. Moreux permet d'espérer »**: « J'ai vu avant hier le projet d'église de M. Moreux... combien il permet d'espérer. » (Régamey, lettre à l'Abbé Henri, 21 décembre 1945) AONDH

1945-11-28—12-27: **LC: ST-DIE, MARSEILLE, DAUTRY & DE GAULLE**

- 1945-11-00: **Dautry: un projet d'unité d'habitation à construire à Marseille**: Raoul Dautry demande à LC de lui fournir des esquisses pour un projet d'unité d'habitation à construire à Marseille. (LC, 'L'unité d'habitation de Marseille', in *Le Point*, Mulhouse, novembre 1950, p. 4) Sbriglio 2005: 27
- 1945-11-28*: **LC: summoned by de Gaulle**: Le Corbusier was summoned to meet the general... He received instructions to go immediately to the Atlantic seaport town of La Rochelle to meet General de Gaulle and Raoul Dautry... On Monday at noon he shook de Gaulle's hand... Within a couple of days Raoul Dautry approached him [probably 30 Nov 1945] with a proposal... to design a large apartment building in Marseille. [no source] Weber 2008: 472-3
- 1945-11-30: **Dautry: « l'immeuble à usage de logements sera construit sous votre direction »**: « J'ai l'intention de proposer au ministère de l'économie et des finances l'édification d'un immeuble sans affectation individuelle à Marseille sur un terrain qui sera choisi ultérieurement en accord avec la municipalité. Cet immeuble à usage de logements sera construit sous votre direction; vous agirez alors comme architecte chargé de conduire l'action des architectes d'opérations dans les conditions définies par la charte des architectes. En attendant que soient établis les contrats relatifs à l'exécution proprement dite des travaux, la présente lettre est destinée à vous confier les opérations préliminaires.» (Dautry, lettre à LC, 30 novembre, FLC) Sbriglio 2005: 28-9
- 1945-12-07: **LC: Plan Directeur de la Région Pyrénéenne**: Dans le texte de présentation du Plan Directeur de la Région Pyrénéenne signé Le Corbusier et Marcel Lods du 7 décembre 1945 et envoyé à Raoul Dautry, Ministre de la Reconstruction et de l'Urbanisme, il y a la liste suivante: la vallée Toulouse-Boussens (Toulouse et sa région non comprise); la vallée de Saint-Gaudens-Montréjea; le plateau de Lannemezan; Tarbes-Pau. Catllar 2010: 5
- 1945-12-21: **LC: promoting St Dié to Raoul Dautry**: Just before leaving France for the United States in December 1945, Le Corbusier directly appealed to Dautry for approval. His six-page letter declared that his plans were perfect for the site [at Saint-Dié]. (LC, letter to Dautry, 21 Dec 1945, FLC H3 18, 146-51) Clericuzio 2010: 68
- 1945-12-21: **LC: claim of communist support for St Dié**: He boasted of the close relationships he had built with the citizens of Saint-Dié and the support they had shown for his plans. He claimed members of the French Communist Party (PCF) and the General Council of Labor (CGT), the main worker's union in France, had also expressed support, though these endorsements were never publicly made... As far as I am aware, nobody who has investigated Le Corbusier's work on Saint-Dié's reconstruction has discovered any direct involvement by the PCF or CGT [Conseil Générale du Travail]... Le Corbusier told Dautry that he was sending him copies of the plans, and was confident that the Minister would approve them and order their implementation. (LC, letter to Dautry, 21 Dec 1945, FLC H3 18, 146-51) Clericuzio 2010: 68

- 1945-12-27: **LC: Dautry: règles de la commande de Marseille:** « j'ai décidé qu'une construction Le Corbusier serait faite dans votre ville. Il s'agit d'une formule hardie devant allier une grande rapidité d'exécution... Il est prévu une équipe de 8 à 10 architectes assureront l'exécution des travaux, équipe composée pour moitié des éléments adaptés aux disciplines de Le Corbusier, pour moitié d'architectes marseillais. » (Raoul Dautry-Jean Cristofol, 27 décembre 1945) Sbriglio 2005: 29
- 1945-12-27*: **Claudius-Petit: voyage aux États-Unis avec Dautry et Le Corbusier:** Fin de l'année 1945 et au début de l'année 1946, Raoul Dautry, ministre de la reconstruction et de l'urbanisme, conscient de l'importance de Le Corbusier, l'envoie, accompagné de Eugène Claudius-Petit aux États-Unis. Badouï 1987b: 101

1945-12-00: **DENOËL FOUND DEAD IN PARIS**

- 1945-12-00: **Denoël a target of purge committee:** Often the same publisher who turned down collaboration propaganda and racist tracts also did fund books by prestigious authors... Denoël published prominent communist resistance writers during the German occupation... Denoël... had also not only flooded the market with the provocative anti-Semitic writings of Louis-Ferdinand Céline during the Occupation, together with the pro-fascist *Les Décombres* of Lucien Rebatet, but publisher Robert Denoël had actually sold 360 of his 725 shares to German. He was found dead on a dark street in Paris in December 1945... His death ended the case. (AN F12 9640) Lottman 1986: 234, 237

1946-89: **VICHY MINISTERS: SELF-EXCULPATING MEMOIRS**

- 1946-89: **Memoirs: basis of most secondary work on Vichy:** Most secondary work on Vichy [c. 1972] consisted of participants' memoirs or was based on them. These memoirs were written under the pressure of threats to liberty, property, and even life. Paxton 2001: 397
- 1946-89: **Memoirs shed light upon authors' attempts at rehabilitation:** Without exception, their main historical value is the light they shed upon their authors' attempts at rehabilitation, the kinds of alibis they used, and the legends they created about Vichy's "double game" and secret resistance to the Germans. Information about Vichy France contained in these tendentious memoirs could be accepted only when verified by authentic contemporary archives. Paxton 2001: 397
- 1946-89: **Memoirs: Vichy veterans' postwar strategies of defense:** Most of the personal memoirs published soon after the liberation shows signs of postwar retouching; they tell us more about Vichy veterans' postwar strategies of defense than about Vichy itself. Paxton 2001: 402
- 1946-89: **l'administration vichyssoise: le biais de double jeu:** grand spécialiste de brouillage de cartes, nombre d'acteurs de l'administration vichyssoise, témoins à décharge lors du procès d'épuration ou auteurs à succès de livres de souvenirs, parvinrent ainsi à faire apparaître comme immédiate une attitude qui ne mûrit en fait que lentement pour ne s'enraciner, souvent par le biais de double jeu, qu'avec l'apparition des mesures d'expédition des jeunes Français en allemande. Baruch 1997: 429
- 1946-89: **l'Algérie: une histoire longtemps tributaire des écrits post-justificatifs:** le régime de Vichy, né du vote du 10 juillet 1940... Cette période, au cours de laquelle l'Algérie vécut sous la tutelle du régime de Vichy, reste mal connue... Le croisement et la critique de ces sources multiples ont ainsi permis de renouveler une histoire longtemps tributaire des seules écrits post-justificatifs des protagonistes ou des chroniques écrites à chaud au lendemain de la guerre. Cantier 2002: 8-9
- 1946: **Laval: "screen" defense taken up by a stream of self-exculpating memoirs:** in his turn for the High Court, Laval claimed that his government had managed to "éviter le pire", to act as a "screen" between the conqueror and the French population. The refrain was taken up by succeeding defendants before the High Court and by stream of self-exculpating memoirs. (Maurice Garçon, ed., *Le Procès Laval: Compte-rendu sténographique*, Paris: Albin Michel, 1946, pp. 91) Paxton 1972: 358
- 1946: **Du Moulin de Labarthète: account does not square with 1942 list:** the persons whom [Pétain] wanted to include the new government [in 1942]... were a mixture of "experts", old-fashioned patriots, and clericals... Du Moulin de Labarthète, Pétain's chef de cabinet and a participant in drawing up the plan... said [in March 1942] that the main intention was to clean house within the ministry. Du Moulin de Labarthète's *Le temps des illusions* (1946)... has a totally different list. (Henri du Moulin de Labarthète, *Le temps des illusions*, 1946, p. 398-9) Paxton 1972: 132-3
- 1946: **Du Moulin de Labarthète described Le Corbusier:** Giraudoux, Le Corbusier, François de Pierrefeu, and Alexis Carrel are briefly described in Henri du Moulin de Labarthète's memoirs of

the Vichy regime (Henri du Moulin de Labarthète, *Le temps des illusions; souvenirs, juillet 1940-avril 1942*, Geneva, 1946, pp. 248-9, 252) McLeod 1985a: 408

- 1948: **Laval: erroneous figures about the percentage of French workers**: Laval, 1947... [supplied] erroneous figures about the percentage of French workers taken to Germany (Constant Bourquin, ed., *Laval Parle, Notes et Mémoires Rédigées par Pierre Laval dans sa cellule*, Geneva: Éditions du Cheval Ailé, 1948, p. 130) Paxton 1972: 364
- 1948: **Baudouin: les Allemands ne veulent pas la France en position d'associés**: « vendredi. Pierre Laval arrive à 18 h. 30 [27 septembre 1940], retour de Paris, d'où il ne rapporte, comme lors de ses précédents voyages, que des résultats très vagues et pour ainsi dire nuls. Il a eu l'impression que ni les Allemands ni les Italiens ne souhaitaient que nous nous engagions davantage contre l'Angleterre. Ils ne veulent pas que notre position de vaincus se transforme en position d'associés. »... [In fact] on September 26 Hitler told top military advisers that he wanted to try to "hook France to the German wagon" and mentioned the possible meeting with Pétain... / Pétain... with the news of Dakar... sent the... war veterans' leader Georges Scapini... to Berlin as his personal emissary. Scapini spent September 27-30 visiting top German officials... He told his German auditors that France wanted to swing sharply around... to the European sphere. France, he said, was "ready to enter the continental front". He foresaw a valuable role for France as a leading continental power of the new Europe, provided of course that she kept those colonies. (Baudouin, *Neuf mois au gouvernement*. Paris: Éditions de la Table Ronde, 1948, p. 363) Paxton 1972: 72-30
- 1948: **Baudouin: l'application par les Allemands en zone occupée de mesures antijuives**: « Le Conseil de cabinet, de 17 heures à 19 heures [30 septembre 1940], est consacré à l'étude du statut des Juifs qui doit être discuté au Conseil des ministres de demain. Il est maintenant évident que le seul moyen d'empêcher l'application par les Allemands en zone occupée de mesures draconiennes antijuives - la Délégation générale à Paris nous a annoncé qu'elles étaient imminentes - est d'édicter un certain nombre de mesures beaucoup plus modérées et conçues dans un autre esprit, qui seront applicables à toute la France. Le statut préparé par Alibert est sévère, beaucoup trop sévère... » ... [In fact] Vichy's initial anti-Jewish measures actually ran contrary to German preferences in the fall of 1940, and then Vichy chose to participate actively in the deportations of 1942 partly in order to maintain the visible signs of its sovereignty... Today... there is no longer a serious debate about the indigenous origin of Vichy's first anti-Jewish measures in 1940, or about Vichy's insistence in 1942 upon helping the Nazis deport foreign Jews the east. (Baudouin, *Neuf mois au gouvernement*. Paris: Éditions de la Table Ronde, 1948, p. 365) Paxton 2001: xxvii-xxviii
- 1948: **Baudouin: C'est le Maréchal qui se montre le plus sévère: « aucun Juif »**: Long Conseil des ministres, de 17 heures à 19 h. 45, où pendant deux heures est étudié le statut des israélites. C'est le Maréchal qui se montre le plus sévère. Il insiste en particulier pour que la Justice et l'Enseignement ne contiennent aucun Juif. (Baudouin, *Neuf mois au gouvernement*. Paris: Éditions de la Table Ronde, 1948, p. 366)
- 1948: **Baudouin: Je dis [à Laval] que je ne partage pas du tout sa façon de voir**: Jeudi. Pierre Laval est de mauvaise humeur car il désapprouve cette mission que les Allemands voient d'un mauvais œil. Il veut même que, sa signature ne figure pas sur le décret commun définissant les pouvoirs du général. Au sortir de la réunion, Pierre Laval me tient sur le général Weygand des propos très durs, profondément injustes. Je lui dis que je ne partage pas du tout sa façon de voir. Il me répond: « Vous êtes un enfant; vous croyez à la sainteté. » (Baudouin, *Neuf mois au gouvernement*. Paris: Éditions de la Table Ronde, 1948, p. 367)
- 1950: **Peyrouton: Anti-Jewish legislation of 1942 = "German pressures"**: Peyrouton traced the anti-Jewish legislation of 1940 to German pressures and said that the Germans threatened 10,000 hostages in 1942 of the French did not tighten those laws even further. This alibi runs through all the postwar trials and memoirs, and it has rooted itself successfully in general opinion about Vichy. The archives of the German occupation contradict it. (Peyrouton 1950: 155) Paxton 1972: 142
- 1950: **Peyrouton: Technical administration "independent from private interests"**: on 12 October 1940 elected departmental councils were replaced by appointed administrative councils... It seems a safe bet that interior minister Marcel Peyrouton's postwar explanations [of this 'épuration'] were special pleading. This was no Tocquevillian return to local-notable rule, "en père de la famille", as he claimed, nor a move dictated entirely by the need of larger cities for technical administration "independent from private interests". It was a purge of the Third Republic's local cadres. Paxton 1972: 196-7
- 1950: **Peyrouton: No reason to indulge in "political intrigue"**: according to senior public administrators like Peyrouton and Bouthillier, trained experts had no reason to indulge in political intrigue. They saw public service as a "realistic" process of "doing", rather than a "political" process of "making an impression". [technocratic image hides anti-Semitism] (Peyrouton 1950: 120) Paxton 1972: 262-3

- 1950: **Peyrouton: Scheme to send 2000 Jews to Madagascar not mentioned**: Marcel Peyrouton had been appointed two months earlier... Peyrouton was a colleague of dubious merit. Just after he had been appointed minister, he had become so concerned about the Jewish "problem" that he developed a scheme to send 2000 Jews to Madagascar; the enterprise was halted in part because the Ministry of Finance deemed it too expensive... After the war he was put on trial... [and] declared, "I did not post questions. I repeat: I am a Republican, I am not antirepublican. I am an agent, a functionary." (Peyrouton 1950, cited in Jackson 2005: 263, in Weber 2008: 431)
- 1950: **Peyrouton & Bouthillier: invented story about Laval's removal**: it is pure invention to suggest, as do the memoirs of Bouthillier, Peyrouton, and others, that Laval was removed in order to reverse the post-Montoire negotiations. (Yves Bouthillier, *Le Drame de l'armistice*, Paris, 1950. v. 1, p. 138); v. 2, p. 280) Paxton 1972: 98
- 1950: **Bouthillier: tried to establish his distance from September 1940 and Laval**: Yves Bouthillier, whose postwar memoirs try to establish his distance from Laval, got to Paris himself on 30 September and proposed that instead of stripping French industries, Germany give war contracts to French industry, even in the unoccupied zone. This policy would revive the French economy and end unemployment. At the same time, Bouthillier promised, France was ready to embark on a new social and economic order. (Yves Bouthillier, *Le Drame de l'armistice*, Paris, 1950. v.2; Abetz memorandum, September 1940, T-120/364/206021-30) Paxton 1972: 67
- 1950: **Bouthillier: talks in his preface about the "revolution of 1944"**. (Yves Bouthillier, *Le Drame de Vichy. I. Face à l'ennemi, face à l'allié*, Paris, 1950) Paxton 1972: 331
- 1950: **Bouthillier: "I have never played politics"**: Bouthillier's claims of political neutrality at his postwar trial [concluded 8 July 1948] are sadly reminiscent of Le Corbusier's. "I have never played politics, neither as a student nor as a public official. I never belonged to a political party or sought elective office. My activity was purely administrative." (Yves Bouthillier, *Le Drame de l'armistice*, Paris, 1950. v. 1, p. 13, 177 ; v. 2, p. 256, cited in Paxton 1972: 263) McLeod 1985a: 415 n 71
- 1953: **Weygand: la persécution antisémite totalement occultée**: le mémoire de générale Weygand constitue un plaidoyer remarquablement construit au silence parfois éloquent. Ainsi dans l'épais volume consacré à la période de la deuxième guerre mondiale, un thème se trouve totalement occulté, celui de la persécution antisémite... En réalité, Weygand... reste imprégné d'un antisémitisme qui apparaît dans ses rapports officiels où il présente les juifs « justement frappés » comme les principaux soutiens de la propagande anglo-gaulliste, dans son journal où il dénigre les banques juives « délestées de leur sale argent »... Cantier 2002: 130-1
- 1953: **Weygand survived to manicure his archives**: Weygand... was held as a collaborator at the Val-de-Grâce but was released in May 1946 and cleared in 1948. He died in Paris [28 January 1965] at the age of 98... Since Weygand survived to manicure his archives, it is much more difficult to decide when — if ever — he was ready to return to war on the Allied side. Paxton 2001: 404
- 1953: **Carpolino: memoir blames Germans for Jewish statutes**. (Jérôme Carpolino, *Souvenirs de sept ans 1937-1944*, Paris, Flammarion, 1953) Baruch 1997: 5
- 1954: **Aron: his assumptions do not fit documentary evidence**: I did manage to find contemporary documents concerning the Armistice Army of Vichy France: the German archives. Reading the telegraphs and notes... led me to realize that the assumptions underlying the standard work on Vichy of that time [1972], Robert Aron's *Vichy Regime*, did not fit what I was seeing in those documents... Robert Aron's reading of Vichy rested upon the four pillars: 1. A total Nazi diktat; 2. Vichy's service as a shield against that diktat; 3. A secret double game between Vichy and the allies; 4. A generally *attentiste* French public opinion — ready to return to the war on the Allied side as soon as the time was right... Robert Aron's interpretation seemed to me a classic case of retrospective memory, in which the fresher recollections of a later time obscured memories of an earlier time. (Robert Aron, *Regime du Vichy*, Paris: Fayard, 1954) Paxton 2001: x-xii
- 1959: **Leguay: Vel d'Hiver round-up did not take place**: This is especially apparent with the testimonies gathered by Laval's son-in-law, the Comte René de Chambrun, and published by the Hoover Library at Stanford University... Parts of this work are simply mendacious... For example, Jean Leguay, Representative in Paris of the secretary-general of the Interior Ministry for Police (René Bousquet) claims that, thanks to his opposition, the notorious arrest of about 13,000 Jews in Paris in July 1942, the celebrated Vel d'Hiver round-up, did not take place. (Comte René de Chambrun, ed., *France during the German Occupation, 1940-1944*, Stanford, 1959, v. III, pp. 1228-9) Paxton 2001: 402
- 1959-60: **Juin: obscured relation of Berlin mission to protocols of Paris**: General Alphonse Juin was sent to Berlin on December 21... to work out the military implications of Rommel's retreat towards Tunisia. It is apparent that Berlin was interested only in French military aid in Africa, which they could obtain under the armistice without any of the concessions that Darlan was pleading for... This is entirely misleading in Juin's memoirs, which obscure the relation of his Berlin mission

to Part II of the protocols [of Paris]. (Alphonse Juin, *Mémoires*, Paris: Fayard, 1959-60) Paxton 1972: 128

- 1966: **Scapini: says nothing of the September-October 1940 missions:** Pétain... sent the blind conservative deputy and war veterans' leader Georges Scapini, a man who had been received by Hitler in the 1930s and who had been a cofounder of the Comité France-Allemagne with Brinon and Abetz in 1935, to Berlin as his personal emissary. Scapini spent September 27-30 [1940] visiting top German officials... he told his German auditors that France wanted to swing sharply around ('unwalzen') to the European sphere. France, he said, was "ready to enter the continental front." He foresaw a valuable role for France as a leading colonial power in the new Europe... Scapini's postwar memoirs, *Mission sans gloire*, treat his role as a purely technical matter of overseeing the condition of French prisoners of war in Germany. He says nothing of the September-October 1940 missions. (Scapini, *Mission sans gloire*, Paris, 1996) Paxton 1972: 72
- 1989: **Barthélemy: anti-Jewish legislation = German origin:** the statement by Barthélemy, the justice minister, writing long after the events, that "the so-called anti-Jewish legislation officially" was entirely of German origin is palpably inaccurate. (Joseph Barthélemy, *Ministre de la Justice. Vichy 1941-1943. Mémoires*, Paris: Pygmalion, 1989, p. 311) Halls 1995: 113

1946: ITALY: REPUBLIC OF DEMOCRATS, SOCIALISTS, & COMMUNISTS

- 1946: **Italian assembly: Democrats, socialists, communists:** a constituent assembly was elected in Italy in 1946, with three parties gaining most of the votes: the Christian Democrats secured 35%, the Socialists nearly 21% and the Communists just under 19%. The revived extreme right, quasi-fascist, managed to obtain 5.3%. Grenville 2000: 364
- 1946: **Italy: became a republic by referendum:** despite the support the Church gave to the monarchy, Italy became a Republic in 1946, in response to a national referendum. Grenville 2000: 364
- 1946: **Italian priests: 52 murdered in northern Italy by Communists:** communist guerrillas murdered 52 priests in northern Italy between 1944 and 1946. Phayer 2000: 159

1946: LC: OEUVRE COMPLÈTE, 1938-1946

- 1946: **LC: Jeanne Heilbuth**, secrétaire de Le Corbusier de 1946 à 1965. Jenger 2002: 335
- 1946: **LC: 'rejeté de tous les comités et commissions qui siègent et travaillent depuis 1940':** Un cycle d'études s'amorce à ce moment-là, malgré l'occupation, et après un silence complet. Le Corbusier, rejeté de tous les comités et commissions qui siègent et travaillent depuis 1940, reprend ses travaux personnels. Ici commence une série d'études, suite naturelle des «murondins». Diverses solutions seront acquises. Boesiger 1946: 124
- 1946: **LC: 'LC expelled from all Vichy committees and commissions':** At this moment, and in spite of the occupation, a cycle of studies is beginning after a period of complete silence. Le Corbusier, who was expelled from all committees and commissions operating since 1940, is resuming his private work. These studies are natural sequel to the 'murondins', and in them various problems are to be solved. Boesiger 1946: 124

1946: LC: « MANIÈRE DE PENSER DE L'URBANISME »

- 1946: **LC: point d'inflexion entre la somme d'erreurs:** Année 1943 sans caractère particulier, situe peut-être à ce point d'inflexion entre la somme d'erreurs et l'aube de renouvellement. LC 1946b: 11
- 1946: **LC: la nature est organisation en tout chose:** La réalité, pour qui veut le voir, est pourtant positive... les appareils de mesure et l'investigation des savants nous montrent que des roches sont faites des milliards d'êtres vivants qui occupaient les mers. Chacun de ces êtres vivants fut éblouissants de formes harmonieuses... de véritables palais microscopiques calcaires soudés de silice. Et que la nature est organisation en tout chose, de l'infiniment grande de l'infiniment petit... l'homme... se sera mis en harmonie avec l'univers, avec les lois de la nature où tout est naissance, croissance, mort et renouvellement éternel. LC 1946b: 18-9
- 1946: **LC: l'homme dans son essence permanente = l'homme fondamental:** Pour juger des réponses à donner aux formidables questions posées par l'époque et concernant son équipement, une seule mesure est admissible qui ramènera toute question aux bases même: l'humain... Mais de quel milieu et de quel homme...? D'un homme modifiée profondément par l'artifice des siècles de civilisation; ... d'un homme énermée effroyablement par cent années de machinisme? ... Ni de l'un ni de l'autre. En cette heure de trouble, on remonte aux principes même qui constituent l'humain et son milieu. L'homme considérée comme une biologie—valeur psycho-physiologique: le milieu exploré à nouveau dans son essence permanente et ce sera la nature... l'homme fondamental et la nature profonde. LC 1946b: 43

- 1946: **LC: Biologie gérant plans et coupes des édifices = une architecture vivante:** La nature nous fournit des enseignements illimités. La vie s'y manifeste ; la biologie en rassemble les règles... Le terme biologie convient éminemment à l'architecture et à l'urbanisme: biologie, qualités d'une architecture et d'un urbanisme vivants. Biologie gérant plans et coupes des édifices, coordonnant les volumes, répondant à des fonctions, biologie dotant les circulations de souplesse et d'harmonie. LC 1946b: 44

1946: **LC: « L'ESPACE INDICIBLE »: L'ARCHITECTURE D'AUJOURD'HUI**

- 1946: **LC: Recherches qui touchent le sacré:** on s'élève à des problèmes de plastique désintéressée, recherches qui touchent plus au sacré qu'au frivole... LC 1946c: 9
- 1946: **LC: l'harmonie: le fond de la sensibilité:** Ce texte s'adresse à ceux qui ont pour mission d'aboutir à une juste et efficace occupation de l'espace, seule capable de mettre en place les choses de la vie, et par conséquent, de mettre la vie dans son seul milieu vrai, *celui où règne l'harmonie*. N'atteint l'harmonie que ce qui est infiniment précis, juste, sonnant et consonant; que ce qui ravit en fin de compte, à l'insu même de chacun, le fond de la sensibilité; que ce qui aiguise le tranchant de l'émotion. LC 1946c: 9
- 1946: **LC: phénomène de concordance comme une mathématique:** Un phénomène de concordance se présente, exact comme une mathématique—véritable manifestation d'acoustique plastique ; il sera permis ainsi d'en appeler à l'un des ordres de phénomènes les plus subtils, porteur de joie (la musique) ou d'oppression (le tintamarre). LC 1946c: 9
- 1946: **LC: centre des forces civiques ajouté au volume de la cathédrale:** Année 1945... Premier geste: ne pas craindre d'ajouter au volume de la cathédrale la réplique du prisme net du *centre des forces civiques*, organisme moderne de la vie civile... LC 1946c: 10
- 1946: **LC: Saint Gaudens: les quatre horizons, soleil, vue et vent:** À l'ouest, en proue du plateau, est un terrain disposant de vues admirables sur les quatre horizons. On ne saurait hésiter. C'est en ce lieu qu'on doit rassembler les trois unités d'habitation nécessaires, munies de leurs services communs et des prolongements du logis. Or, ceux du pays nous avertissent que des vents violents soufflent ici, qu'à cela ne tienne! Les bâtiments seront hermétiques au vent sur la face intéressée. Soleil, vue et vent coopèrent dès lors à modeler la juste forme des bâtisses. Il est bon de le mettre en valeur: la prise de possession de l'espace façonne une harmonie indiscutable, soude l'entreprise humaine au site, aboutit à un événement plastique architectural et urbanistique de haute portée émotive. LC 1946c: 10
- 1946: **LC: L'architecture: comme un arbre ou une plante:** L'architecture met au monde des organismes vivants. Ils se présentent dans l'espace, à la lumière, se ramifient et s'étendent comme un arbre ou une plante... La maison (ici, le Palais du Ministère de l'Industrie légère, construit à Moscou de 1928 à 1933) est devenue un être vivant, une fois encore, sur un sol, et il ne fait qu'y prendre appui. LC 1946c: 12
- 1946: **LC: Alger 1933 projet B: topographie, le sol, humidité:** Cette longue recherche urbanistique africaine fut une lente découverte des ressources possibles d'une topographie hostile aux solutions paresseuses. Quand le sol est si exigeant (falaise, humidité aux lieux bas, victoire sur les hauteurs...) LC 1946c: 12
- 1946: **LC: Alger 1933 projet B: une plastique comme le réceptacle acoustique:** l'idée se trouve comme moulée dans une matrice impérieuse. Les organes apparaissent, dénichent leur insertion au lieu utile, leur forme spécifiquement valable. Et le milieu s'intègre en une plastique qui en est comme le réceptacle acoustique... LC 1946c: 12
- 1946: **LC: Paris: rayonne d'espace indicible:** Paris est, entre les plus belles, celle qui, sous le ciel recouvrant la Seine, rayonne d'espace indicible. LC 1946c: 12
- 1946: **LC: Alger: formes courbes = horizons, volume, vents, soleil, plastique, lyrique:** projet A d'Alger 1931... Pourquoi ces formes courbes au redent de Fort l'Empereur ? 1° Pour chercher en tous sens les vastes horizons. 2° Pour rechercher, dans les vallonnements, les fonds les plus bas afin d'augmenter le volume des constructions. 3° Pour répondre à une invite du paysage, événement créatif d'ordre plastique: la réponse aux horizons porte plus loin, la réponse aux vents, au soleil est plus vraie. Événement lyrique en vérité. Ce qui compte éminemment, ce qui couronne une démarche rationnelle. (L'enceinte intérieure du redent, 1.200 m. X 800 m., redevient un espace naturel, un paysage). LC 1935, in LC 1946c: 12-3

1946-01-22: **LC: PROMOTING ST DIÉ ON AMERICAN & FRENCH RADIO**

- 1946-01-22: **LC: promoting St Dié plan in New York City:** Speaking in New York in January 1946, Le Corbusier presented his plans for St Dié... His American audience, who acknowledged France's profound influence on American ideas of liberty and freedom, eagerly anticipated the appearance of

his schemes for St Dié in a 1946 issue of *Architectural Record*. (LC, Radio-Diffusion Française, New York, 22 Jan 1946) Clericuzio 2010: 67

- 1946-01-22: **LC: promoting St Dié on French radio:** Outside of his engagements mentioned in that letter, Le Corbusier held an interview with Radio-Diffusion Française in New York on January 22, 1946 in which he vigorously promoted his plans for Saint-Dié (LC, Radio-Diffusion Française, New York, 22 Jan 1946, FLC H3-18-289) Clericuzio 2010: 67

1946-01-20: DE GAULLE'S RESIGNATION

- 1946-01-20: **De Gaulle démissionne:** de Gaulle est maintenu à la tête du Gouvernement provisoire constitué le 21 novembre. Mais il entre en conflit avec les partis politiques, à propos des rapports à établir entre l'Assemblée et le Gouvernement et sur la question du budget militaire. Il démissionne le 20 janvier 1946. <http://www.assemblee-nationale.fr/histoire/histoire-1946.asp>
- 1946-01-23: **Félix Gouin: président du Conseil:** Le Gouvernement provisoire de la République française (GPRF) été dirigé... par Félix Gouin (janvier - juin 1946).
- 1946-01-23*: **Communist Party: controlled new government:** At the end of January 1946, Charles de Gaulle handed over power to a national government controlled by the French Communist Party. Clericuzio 2010: 69
- 1946-01-23*: **François Billoux: new Minister of Reconstruction:** The new Minister of Reconstruction, François Billoux, refused to interfere with the local and regional boards that had handled the reconstruction of Saint-Dié. Clericuzio 2010: 69

1946-01-24: LC EFFORTS ABROAD TO PROMOTE THE PLANS FOR SAINT-DIÉ

- 1946-01-24: **LC: letter catalogued his efforts to promote the plans for Saint-Dié:** Le Corbusier catalogued his efforts abroad to promote the plans in a letter to André Colin, head of the Chamber of Commerce of Saint-Dié and a member of the Association of the Affected, January 24, 1946. They included an interview with the American journal *Architectural Forum*; a piece (with Eugène Claudius-Petit) for the journal *Architectural Record* that would appear in its October 1946 issue (Archives FLC XI-1: 20), 79–83; and telegrams to radio outlets in the United States and France. (Jean-Jacques Duval, "Le Bataille de Saint-Dié," in Daniel Grandidier, ed., *Le Corbusier et Saint-Dié*, 1987, p. 67) Clericuzio 2010: 67

1946-02-13—03-12: LC'S PLAN FOR ST DIÉ: OVERWHELMINGLY REJECTED

- 1946-02-13: **St Dié: overwhelmingly rejects LC's plan:** On February 3, 1946, Raymond Malot presented a slightly modified version of André's plan to the Municipal Council of Saint-Dié. It was considered alongside other architects' competing plans for the city, including Le Corbusier's and Paul Rézal's. Ten days later the Council approved the André-Malot plan by a vote of twenty to one. (Voldman, *La Reconstruction des Villes Françaises de 1940 à 1954*, p. 204; 'Célérité, Economie, Confort,' *La Gazette Vosgienne* 77, no. 127, 23 Feb 1946) Clericuzio 2010: 69
- 1946-03-00: **Architectural Record: article on St Dié:** Le Corbusier's schemes for St Dié appeared in an issue of *Architectural Record* in 1946. ('Le Corbusier: Plans for the Reconstruction of France', *Architectural Record* 99, no. 3, March 1946, pp. 92–3; 'A Plan for Saint-Dié', *Architectural Record* 100, Oct 1946, pp. 78–80; Eugène Claudius-Petit, 'Saint-Dié: Crossing the Threshold', *Architectural Record* 100, Oct 1946, pp. 81–82) Clericuzio 2010: 67
- 1946-03-12: **St Dié: André-Malot plan approved by ministry of reconstruction:** On 12 March 1946, the Technical Commission of the Ministry of Reconstruction gave its formal approval to the André-Malot plan. Clericuzio 2010: 69

1946-03-24: LC: CHAIR OF ARCHITECTURE & URBANISM COMMITTEE

- 1946-03-24: **LC: members of a government committee for architecture and urbanism:** LC was one of six members of a government committee for architecture and urbanism... an "army of the mediocre"... (LC-Marie, 24 March 1946) Weber 2008: 483
- 1946-03-24: **LC made chairman of de Gaulle's Mission on Architecture and Urbanism:** de Gaulle's government through its Ministry of foreign affairs had created a mission on architecture and urbanism to examine how other countries were handling those areas. Le Corbusier was appointed chairman. (LC-Marie, 24 March 1946) Weber 2008: 476

1946-04-00—04-02: COUTURIER: PIUS XII ET L'ACADÉMISME FASCISTE

- 1946-04-00: **Couturier à Rome à l'invitation de Maritain:** Conférence donnée à Rome le 11 août [sic: avril] 1946 à l'invitation de Maritain alors ambassadeur de France auprès du Saint-Siège qui prit la précaution d'adresser le jour même au père Couturier la lettre suivante... CES C9-A60

- 1946-04-00: **Maritain: « il faut éviter tout ce qui pourrait être regardé comme une attaque »:** « Bien cher ami, Suite à notre conversation d'hier, relative à votre conférence. Je crois décidément que parlant sous les auspices de l'Ambassade, dans une ville où la Villa Médicis joue un rôle important, il faut éviter tout ce qui pourrait être regardé comme une attaque contre celle-ci. Donc ne pas parler de Prix de Rome ! Vous pouvez dire "peinture officielle" sans préciser. Aussi bien ce qui importe c'est l'explication positive de la peinture moderne et de son esprit. Le côté négatif et les obstacles extérieurs qu'elle a eu à vaincre sont d'un intérêt tout secondaire. Pardonnez-moi ces soucis d'ambassadeur, je suis tenu en conscience par les services de ma mission. Je vous embrasse, J[acques] M[aritain] » (Maritain, lettre à Couturier, Avril 1946) CES C9-A60
- 1946-04-00: **Couturier à Rome, reçu par le pape Pie XII:** Couturier... alla à Rome au printemps de 1946, fut reçu par le pape Pie XII, donna à Saint-Louis-des-Français une conférence sur la peinture moderne [11 avril]... Caussé 2010: 240
- 1946-04-00: **Couturier: 'Holy Father gave blessing to the modern artists at Assy':** Couturier enlarged upon references to the papal gift [for the church of Assy] by observing that, on his visit to the pope, the Holy Father gave his blessing to the modern artists working at Assy, but admitted that "he [Pius XII] would have done the same for others". (Couturier, 'Note on Assy', in *Liturgical Arts* XIX, Feb 1951, n. 2, pp. 30-1). Rubin 1961: 78-9
- 1946-04-00: **Couturier: deceptively implied papal approval of Assy:** These gifts [from Pius XI and Pius XII] have often been deceptively cited [by Couturier, Devémy, and others] with the implication that they represent papal approval of the experiments at Assy... / e.g., Couturier 1948 ('L'Église d'Assy', in *Arts*, April 16, 1948, page 1); Couturier 1950 ('The Assy church', in *Life*, June 19, 1950); Devémy 1951 ('L'Église d'Assy et L'Art sacré', public lecture at Angers published in *Courier de l'ouest*, January 6, 1951, page 1); Couturier 1951 (Note on Assy, in *Liturgical Arts* XIX, February, 1951, number 2, pages 30-31). Rubin 1961: 78-9, note 3
- 1946-04-02: **Couturier: « Rome très abîmée par l'académisme fasciste »:** « J'ai trouvé Rome très abîmée par l'académisme fasciste. » (Couturier, lettre à Elizabeth de Miribel, 2 April 1946) Couturier 1958: 15
- 1946-04-02*: **Pius XII: mindset based upon Canon law and concordats:** Pius XII's aims and policies in 1945 were exactly what they had been in 1939... Educated theologically in Canon Law, Pius XII put stock in contractual relationships... As Secretary of State, the future Pope cut his professional teeth on the concordatory contracts he negotiated with German states and then with the Third Reich. These experiences created a mindset from which he was not temperamentally equipped to free himself. Phayer 2000: 221

1946-04-11: COUTURIER: CONTRA "TOTALITARIAN ART IN ROME"

- 1946-04-11: **Couturier: 'Chantiers du Cardinal', les grandes architectes ne fut pas appelés:** Cardinal Verdier... avait entrepris une œuvre magnifique qui s'est appelée 'les Chantiers du Cardinal' et qui eut pour but de bâtir, dans la banlieue immédiate de Paris, 120 ou 130 églises. Il y avait à ce moment-là à Paris 3 ou 4 grands architectes universellement connus. Pas un seul d'entre eux ne fut appelé à donner ses avis ou à bâtir une seule de ces églises. Le résultat fut ce que l'on pouvait prévoir: sur ces 120 ou 130 églises, il y en eut une vingtaine de convenables, trois ou quatre d'assez remarquables, et tout le reste parfaitement banal ou très médiocre. (Couturier, *L'Art moderne et le catholicisme contemporain*, manuscrit, Rome, 11 avril 1946, p. 7) CES
- 1946-04-11: **Couturier: académisme: « la prétention de régir à au nom d'autorités collectives »:** Dans ces régions mystérieuses de l'être humain où sont ses sources les plus profondes et où l'amé et le corps ne font plus qu'un, dans une *unité* que les mots ne peuvent absolument pas exprimer. De ce principe de *singularité* [...] nous avons là le principe fondamental pour la condamnation de tout académisme, puisque celui-ci est, en effet, essentiellement la prétention de réagir au nom de doctrines et d'autorités collectives l'expression personnelle de l'art. (Couturier, *L'Art moderne et le catholicisme contemporain*, manuscrit, Rome, 11 avril 1946, p. 14) CES
- 1946-04-11: **Couturier: la stérilisation immédiate de l'art sous tous les régimes totalitaires:** De là [le principe de *singularité* de l'amé et le corps humain] aussi l'explication de la *stérilisation* immédiate de l'art que nous avons vu se produire sous tous les régimes totalitaires qu'ils soient fasciste, nazi ou communiste. (Couturier, *L'Art moderne et le catholicisme contemporain*, manuscrit, Rome, 11 avril 1946, p. 14-5) CES
- 1946-04-11: **Couturier: les seuls principes qui auraient pu arrêter la décadence de l'art chrétien:** [C]es principes de l'art indépendant étaient, en réalité, les seuls principes qui auraient pu arrêter la décadence de l'art chrétien – et assurer sa renaissance. [...] Ces principes-là étaient [...] les plus propres à assurer une certaine spiritualité de l'art sans laquelle il ne peut y avoir d'art chrétien. (Couturier, *L'Art moderne et le catholicisme contemporain*, manuscrit, Rome, 11 avril 1946, p. 19) CES

- 1946-04-11: **Couturier: l'art moderne: capable d'incarner les réalités spirituelles de l'art chrétien:** Du fait même que l'art moderne avait de plus en plus tranché les liens qui attachaient les formes plastiques aux réalités naturelles, il dégagait ces formes des émotions sensuelles ou même charnelles que ces réalités suscitent – par là même il préparait des formes plus libres, détachées, plus capable d'incarner et de porter les réalités spirituelles de l'art chrétien. (Couturier, *L'Art moderne et le catholicisme contemporain*, manuscrit, Rome, 11 avril 1946, p. 19) CES
- 1946-04-11: **Couturier: Le parallélisme entre vie mystique et activité créatrice de l'art:** L'inspiration authentique dans l'artiste, c'est toujours un peu cet "esprit", ce vent de l'esprit dont parle l'Évangile: "Le vent souffle où il veut et tu entends sa voix, mais tu ne sais ni d'où il vient ni où il va..." ... On verrait alors comment tout ce que nous revendiquons de liberté souveraine pour les dons créateurs de l'artiste fait aussi la loi absolue de l'activité mystique: dans cette activité, raison et volonté sont décidément subordonnées et servantes une activité plus intime, plus parfaite et plus pure: celle qui fait les héros et les saints... Le parallélisme entre vie mystique et activité créatrice de l'art semble ici constant. (Couturier, *L'Art moderne et le catholicisme contemporain*, manuscrit, Rome, 11 avril 1946, p. 20) CES

1946-06-02: ÉLECTIONS LÉGISLATIVES: BIDAULT PRÉSIDENT

- 1946-06-02: **Nouvelle Assemblée: MRP triomphante:** Le rejet du premier projet de Constitution entraîne l'élection d'une nouvelle Assemblée constituante le 2 juin 1946. La composition de la deuxième Assemblée constituante issue des élections législatives de juin 1946: MRP: 28,2 %, 166 sièges; PCF: 25,9 %, 153 sièges; SFIO: 21,1 %, 128 sièges; Modérés; 12,8 %, 78 sièges; RGR: 11,6 %, 52 sièges; Autres: 0,1 %, 9 sièges.
- 1946-06-02: **Bidault: président du Conseil:** Un élu du MRP, Georges Bidault devient président du Conseil, dont le cabinet obéit toujours au tripartisme.

1946-07-12—08-12: MARITAIN: URGED PIUS XII TO SPEAK OUT ON HOLOCAUST

- 1946-07-12: **Maritain: urged Holy See to speak out against Holocaust:** in a letter to Undersecretary Giovanni Montini, one of Pius XII's closest advisers, Maritain spoke openly about the Holocaust, pointing out that hundreds of thousands of its victims were innocent children and infants. The Holy See must speak out about this unprecedented rupture of natural law... in order to show the Pope's compassion for the Jewish people. (Maritain-Montini, 12 July 1946, File Ambassade I, CAM) Phayer 2000: 178
- 1946-07-12: **Maritain: 'a word from the Pope would be appropriate':** "When I think of the part Catholicism has played in the development of anti-Semitism in Germany, in Europe and in places like Argentina, I see how appropriate a word from the Pope would be." (Maritain, letter to Montini & Pius XII, 12 July 1946, CAM) Phayer 2000: 182
- 1946-08-12: **Maritain: urged 'collective responsibility' for Holocaust:** Maritain... spoke of collective responsibility for genocide... From this it followed that even though many Germans were not themselves guilty of the crimes of the Gestapo and of the SS, all must answer for them, because these organizations were prominent agents of the community. (Maritain-Montini, 12 August 1946, File Ambassade I, CAM) Phayer 2000: 178
- 1946-08-12*: **Pius XII: did not agree with Maritain:** Pius XII obviously did not agree with Maritain's thoughts about the SS and Gestapo mirroring the German community. Pius XII never addressed the question of civil responsibility on the part of those who were not personally guilty of the crime. Phayer 2000: 179

1946-07-17—29: HIGH COURT VERDICTS: LAGARDELLE & FLANDIN

- 1946-07-17: **Lagardelle sentenced to life:** Hubert Lagardelle, who as minister of labor had cooperated with the STO... was sentenced to life at hard labor. Novick 1968: 181, 222
- 1946-07-17: **Le Corbusier was fortunate to meet such adamant opposition:** perhaps Le Corbusier was fortunate to meet such adamant opposition. For many syndicalists who persisted with their dream of Vichy as the organic state, it was not until 1946 that the deception became clear. Lagardelle, their primary political spokesman, was sentenced to life imprisonment for the deportation of French workers to Germany. McLeod 1980: 514
- 1946-07-26: **Flandin: 'indignité' nationale immediately suspended:** The prosecution called no witnesses... The jury sentenced him to five years national degradation but immediately suspended the penalty for "resistance". Novick 1968: 182
- 1946-07-29: **Communists: breakdown of political entente after Flandin verdict:** Flandin was sentenced on July 26 1946 to 5 years of 'indignité', which was immediately excused. A few days later... the Communist Party jurors were absent — in protest against Flandin's sentence... The boycott reflected a growing schism between France's Communists, then entering into a new

hardline phase, and their onetime resistance partners — socialists, Democratic Catholics, and others of the moderate left and center. (Noguères, *La Haut Cour de la Libération*, Éditions de Minuit, 1965, p. 157) Lottman 1986: 180

1946-07-25: LC: COMMISSION POUR L'USINE JEAN-JACQUES DUVAL

- 1946-07-25: LC: **Nous allons sans retard mettre en route une étude**: J'ai trouvé votre lettre du 5 mai [1946] me parlant de votre voyage en Suisse... Concernant votre usine, j'y ai réfléchi, et j'en ai discuté autour de moi. Nous allons sans retard mettre en route une étude qui je réclame depuis des années, et qui est celle d'établir un glossaire des éléments de série des bâtiments industriels et autres, et que nous commencerons d'appliquer à La Rochelle en les imposant aux petites entreprises comme aux grandes. Je voudrais que votre usine bénéficie de ces recherches de standards, seuls capables de conférer à une région bâtie l'unité nécessaire. (LC, lettre à Jean-Jacques Duval, 25 juillet 1946: FLC Q-3-1) Ragot & Dion 1997: 310-1
- 1946-07-25: Soltan: **Marseille and St Dié sent the office off on a new track**: The decision to realize the Marseille housing unit, combined with the commission to design the Duval factory in St Dié, sent the office off on a new track. A wave of new people entered the atelier. Bodiansky would lead the 'technology department'. A group of Greeks completed the new staff: Candilis (architecture), Hadjidakis (engineering), Proveleggios (architecture), and Xenakis (engineering). Soltan 1987: 11
- 1946-07-25*: Soltan: **rejection of the La Rochelle-Pallice plan**: I took over the La Rochelle-Pallice project from Gerald Hanning and worked on it with Le Corbusier has a sort of job captain... Never in my time did Le Corbusier take the trouble to go there in person... The task of introducing the project to the mayor and city Council went to me... I did my job as well as I could. Then the mayor took the floor: "Sir, what you propose might perhaps be possible in the country of your master (Monsieur votre patron). It might perhaps be possible in your own country — incidentally, I do not happen to know where you are from. But it is not possible in La Rochelle. I thank you very kindly for your presentation."... I personally suspected that Le Corbusier was quite aware of the danger involved and guessing what the results of the meeting would be, decided to spare himself a few unpleasant moments. Soltan 1987: 12-3

1946-09-29—10-13: NOUVELLE CONSTITUTION: BIDAULT EXÉCUTIF

- 1946-09-29: Bidault: **pouvoir exécutif réel exercé par le président**: Durant l'été 1946, l'Assemblée rédige une nouvelle Constitution... le pouvoir exécutif réel étant exercé par le président du Conseil [Bidault], à la manière du Premier ministre britannique, et non par le président de la République qui a un rôle honorifique, même s'il demeure chef des armées.
- 1946-09-29: **Constitution est adopté par l'Assemblée**: 440 voix contre 106.
- 1946-09-29: **De Gaulle le condamne** quelques heures plus tard dans son discours d'Épinal (29 septembre).
- 1946-10-13: **Constitution approved in a referendum vote**: A new draft of the Constitution was written, which this time proposed the establishment of a bicameral form of government. Léon Blum (SFIO) headed the GPRF from 1946 to 1947. After a new legislative election in June 1946, the Christian-Democrat Georges Bidault assumed leadership of the cabinet. Despite de Gaulle's so-called discourse of Bayeux of 16 June 1946 in which he denounced the new institutions, the new draft was approved by the French people, with 53% of voters voting in favor (with an abstention rate of 31%) in the referendum held on 13 October 1946.
- 1946-10-13: **diplomatic corps: nearly 2/3 served Vichy and 4th Republic**. Paxton 1972: 341

1946-10-00: LC PLANS FOR ST DIÉ IN ARCHITECTURAL RECORD

- 1946-10-00: **Architectural Record: published LC St Dié plans**: Le Corbusier's work on Saint-Dié was published as "A Plan for Saint-Dié," *Architectural Record* 100 (October 1946, pp. 78–80), with Eugène Claudius-Petit's accompanying piece, "Saint-Dié: Crossing the Threshold," (pp. 81–82). Clericuzio 2010: 67

1946-11-00: RÉGAMEY: « L'ÉDUCATION ARTISTIQUE DU CLERGÉ »:

- 1946-11-00: Régamey: **'L'éducation artistique du clergé'**: Le *Cahier* numéro neuf, « *L'Éducation artistique du clergé* »... ce grand dossier didactique sur l'éducation artistique des futurs prêtres fut rédigé par Régamey seul... Conçue dans le droit fil de l'article de 1945 dans *La Maison-Dieu*, elle partait d'une enquête faite dans les grands séminaires à la fin de 1944. Causse 2010: 117
- 1946-11-00: Régamey: **« cette pureté qui exclut les compromissions avec le faux goût »**: Le sens religieux doit être dirigé principalement dans deux directions: 1. Il doit être un sens proprement sacré, sens de la grandeur de Dieu, l'esprit d'adoration ; 2. Il doit être un sens évangélique, c'est-à-dire au fond, la charité. À cet égard, on se souciera de déceler si les œuvres de l'art traduisent ou

non les béatitudes, particulièrement cet esprit de pauvreté qui est l'introduction à l'art chrétien comme à la vie chrétienne, auquel s'oppose de façon si choquante le goût ecclésiastique pour toute ostentation, pauvreté qu'il ne faut pas confondre avec l'absence de talent ; - cette faim et soif de justice, qui s'exprime dans l'art par l'exigence de la justesse, de la vérité (cf. n. 35) ; - cette pureté, qui exclut, encore plus que la sensualité, les biaisements, les éclectismes veules, les compromissions avec le faux goût ; - cette paix enfin qui ne peut pas rayonner de la maison de Dieu (« *dicta pads visio* ») si les complications de la fausse originalité, la prétention, le disparate y règnent. Une humilité vraiment évangélique sera la meilleure condition de la rectitude, et pour l'avenir, la meilleure garantie contre les défauts que l'on regrette le plus souvent dans le comportement artistique du clergé. (Régamey, 'L'éducation artistique du clergé', *Cahier* n. 9, Nov 1946, p. 22)

1946-11-04: ASSY: COUTURIER, LÉGER, PRENEL & LES MAQUETTES DE MOSAÏQUE

- 1946-11-04*: **Couturier: commissioned church of Assy mosaic to Léger:** in 1945, Father Couturier decided on the church of Assy as the site of Léger's first religious collaboration. But it was not until the following year that previously negotiated projects were set aside, and Léger was given the entire western façade to decorate... Father Couturier and Canon Devémy had selected the litany of the Virgin as the subject for the mosaic. Rubin 1961: 118-9
- 1946-11-04: **Léger: « maquettes définitifs pour le projet de mosaïque de votre Église »:** Par ce même courrier je vous envoie deux maquettes, états définitifs pour le projet de mosaïque de votre Église. (Léger-Abbé Prenel, 4 Nov 1946) CES C-9B 22
- 1946-11-04: **Léger: « le Père Couturier les a vues avant le départ »:** Je pense être à peu près "au point" et c'est aussi l'avis du Père Couturier qui les a vues avant le départ. Une fois la décision générale admise il reste à étudier à plus grande échelle les détails des objets et des lettres. On fera cela à temps voulu. Il y a surtout la figure centrale de la Vierge qui demande une attention particulière. Du côté technique j'ai trouvé ce qu'il fallait chez Mr Godin. Il va je crois vous faire parvenir son devis... (Léger-Abbé Prenel, 4 Nov 1946) CES C-9B 22
- 1946-11-04: **Léger: « votre église sera vraiment un événement mondial »:** J'attends donc de vos nouvelles à propos de tout cela. J'ai eu un grand plaisir à y travailler. Mais c'est peu de chose à côté de la pensée de voir votre église réalisée entièrement, ce sera vraiment un événement *mondial* croyez-le. (Léger-Abbé Prenel, 4 Nov 1946) CES C-9B 22
- 1946-11-04*: **Léger: Church = 'cult of the supernatural, shadowy religion in decline':** "The highest power of man consists in understanding the world, virtue, and beauty without the vulgar aid of symbol and the recourse to hidden divinities of the cult of the supernatural such as the Church has foisted on a timid and fearful majority. But the shadowy religion is in its turn in decline." (Léger, 'Discorso agli architetti', Athens, 1933; reprinted in Casabella *continuità*, September-October 1955, number 207, pages 69-70; translation Rubin) Rubin 1961: 114
- 1946-11-04*: **Léger: « Les religions sont des cocaines »:** Léger opposait son idéal d'un peuple «digne, debout, de plain-pied dans le présent, souriant à l'avenir, marchant harmonieusement vers son destin objectif et rationnel » avec les chrétiens du passé, « à genoux, la tête dans la poussière, attendant un miracle insensé et qui veulent ignorer leur destinée terrestre... Les religions sont des cocaines... C'est vouloir vivre les yeux fermés, nier la lumière, cultiver la nuit... » (Léger, 'De l'Acropole à la Tour Eiffel', la Sorbonne, 8 février 1934) Wilson 2007: 90

1946-12-00: RÉGAMEY: « RECONSTRUIRE LES ÉGLISES III »

- 1946-12-00: **Régamey: l'art officiel, « scolaire et artificiel », « la vanité du bourgeois »:** Le *Cahier* numéro 10 [décembre 1946, publié en février 1947] l'auteur [Régamey] développait une critique de l'enseignement officiel de l'art, « scolaire et artificiel », toujours liée à l'éclectisme, et du pastiche qui limitait la conception de l'art chrétien à quelques partis et donnait à penser que l'Église s'attachait à des formes révolues... Le chapitre se concluait sur la « prétention incommensurable » de cette architecture qui manifestait « la vanité du bourgeois qui donne à sa villa des allures de château, à son pavillon des allures de grande villa, et qui ne fait qu'en accuser la mesquinerie ». Caussé 2010: 107
- 1946-12-00: **Régamey: des pasteurs et personnalités éminente, « Faire riche, faire de l'effet »:** le mal le plus profond, le plus grave... et l'on voit qu'il est d'ordre spirituel... « faire riche », « faire de l'effet », tel est l'idéal des pasteurs et des fidèles. Nous apercevons combien sont multiples, généralisées, sans cesse renaissantes de toutes part, les causes du mal... cette perversion est naïve, inconsciente, et non seulement dans les âmes qui semblent médiocres, mais en de très saintes gens et en des personnalités éminente, tout de bonne volonté. Et puis, espérons dans les élites authentiques (surtout laïque) qui prennent consistance. Dieu merci... Elles crient leur exigence d'une vie de l'Église effectivement conforme à l'Évangile. (Régamey, 'Reconstruire des églises III. Formes de l'Architecture religieuse modern', in *Cahier de l'art sacré*, n. 10, 1947, p. 27)

- 1946-12-00: **Régamey: églises modestes d'Henri Vidal**: la deuxième partie présentait les efforts de renaissance de l'entre-deux-guerres ; des architectes s'étaient efforcés un peu partout de retrouver «les lois constantes de l'architecture, outrageusement méconnues par l'immense majorité de leurs confrères ». Le texte [de Régamey] donnait plusieurs exemples des églises, modestes ou ayant le sens de monumental, des architectes Omez, Tandreau de Marsac, d'Henri Vidal surtout... Caussé 2010: 107
- 1946-12-00: **Régamey: Raincy = bon exemple de l'architecture novatrice**: Un deuxième chapitre présentait des bâtiments d'Auguste Perret, de Bastin, de Marme, dont les structures et les formes étaient plus novatrices tout en maintenant l'aspect général de l'église traditionnelle... À l'exception du Raincy, il n'existait pas en France de bons exemples [de l'architecture de l'église]. Caussé 2010: 107-8

1946-12-16: **LÉON BLUM: LE GOUVERNEMENT PROVISOIRE**

- 1946-12-00: **Léon Blum: Gouvernement provisoire de la République française** été dirigé par Léon Blum (décembre 1946 - janvier 1947).
- 1946-12-00: **French governments: 22 different governments, 1946-58**: December 1946 to May 1958 saw the spectacle of 22 governments, the shortest lasting four days and the longest little over a year, seemed to justify the behaviour of those groups who treated parliamentary democracy with scorn. Grenville 2000: 538

1946-12-25: **LC: DINNER WITH LÉON BLUM & ANDRÉ GIDE**

- 1946-12-25: **LC dinner with Léon Blum, Gide**: the wife of the former French president Léon Blum invited the architect for Christmas dinner at the official state residence, with André Gide as the only other guest... the main subject of conversation was his project in Marseille. (LC-Marie, 29 December 1946, Paris) Weber 2008: 492

1946-12-27: **LC-SAVINA COLLABORATION**

- 1946-12-27: **LC-Savina collaboration**: Mon Cher Savina, [...] Savina, je trouve, quant à moi, cela épatant, dépassent mes espérances. N'est pas de la bonne statuaire ? N'y a-t-il pas lieu de poursuivre notre collaboration ? (LC-Savina, 27 décembre 1946) FLC F3-18-10

1947: **FRANCE: A YEAR OF SCARCITY AND INFLATION:**

- 1947: **France: a particularly bad year**: 1947 was a particularly bad year for France. Food became still scarcer in the cities, and coal production fell. Prices doubled. Grenville 2000: 359
- 1947: **bread ration: lower than it had been under Vichy**: The bread ration of the winter of 1947 was lower than it had been under Vichy. Paxton 1972: 335

1947: **ASSY: COUTURIER: LIPSCHITZ, BONY & 'LA VIE MYSTIQUE DE L'ARTISTE'**

- 1947: **Couturier: Lipchitz's "great sympathy with the experiment at Assy"**: it was early in 1947, after he had returned to New York, that Lipchitz first spoke with Father Couturier, who was then on a return trip to the Americas. He had known the priest slightly before the war and had great sympathy with his experiment at Assy. (Lipchitz, interview with Rubin, 1950s) Rubin 1961: 126
- 1947: **Couturier: obtint de Lipchitz une monumentale « Notre-Dame de Liesse »**: Couturier... obtint de Lipchitz, encore en Amérique, une monumentale « Notre-Dame de Liesse »... Caussé 2005a: 11
- 1947: **Couturier: 'l'activité artistique, l'équivalent de la 'nuit obscure' de Jean de la Croix'**: Cette dissociation des facultés serait alors dans l'activité artistique, l'équivalent de ce qu'est, dans la vie mystique, la nécessité de la 'nuit obscure', ce renoncement de l'activité rationnelle que saint Jean de la Croix réclame comme une condition essentielle à l'entrée dans les hauts états de 'contemplation' proprement dite. (Couturier, *Rodin et l'imitation de Jésus-Christ. Don de l'artiste et dons du Saint Esprit*, manuscrit, 1947, pp 7-8) CES
- 1947: **Couturier: vitraux pour la chapelle d'École**: En 1947 et 1949 huit vitraux exécutés par Paul Bony furent réalisés par Couturier pour la chapelle des missionnaires diocésains d'École... les deux derniers vitraux furent posés en janvier 1950... L'ensemble fut béni le dimanche 29 janvier 1950. Causse 2010: 375

1947: LC: L'UNITÉ D'HABITATION DE GRANDEUR CONFORME, MARSEILLE

- 1947: LC: « une unité harmonieuse un groupement social naturel »: Cette fois-ci la chose se fait: «l'Unité d'habitation de grandeur conforme» se bâtit à Marseille... Rassemblant en une unité harmonieuse un groupement social naturel – une communauté – elle propose la solution de « la cité-jardin verticale » apte à remplacer « la cité-jardin horizontale », maîtresse de ce dernier siècle et cause de « la dénaturalisation » du phénomène urbain qui a déclenché sur le monde les méfaits – la catastrophe d'un urbanisme sans rapport avec ses fins qui sont d'ordonner le phénomène social (ici, ordonner les actes fondamentaux de la vie quotidienne: habiter, savoir habiter). (LC, 'Une unité d'habitation de grandeur conforme', *L'homme et l'architecture*, numéro spécial, 11-14, 1947, p. 5)
- 1947: LC: L'autorité: doit préparer les populations à ces modes nouveaux de vie domestique: Cette démonstration est à deux temps: l'heure des techniciens suivie de l'heure des usagers. L'une est affaire des gens de métiers: architectes et ingénieurs, l'autre est affaire de l'autorité: celle-ci doit préparer les populations à ces modes nouveaux de vie domestique. LC 1947: 6
- 1947: LC: Marseille, notre équipe d'ingénieurs et d'architectes: les professionnels d'aujourd'hui savent ce que cela signifie. Et, ici, pour Marseille, notre équipe d'ingénieurs et d'architectes a connu ce que cela représente comme casse-tête chinois de fournir à l'habitation, isolation phonique et thermique, eau, gaz, électricité, évacuation des ordures et des odeurs de cuisine, chauffage et fraîcheur, et cela non pas à la simple famille d'un honnête client, mais à une communauté de mille six cents habitants, entrés tous par la même porte. LC 1947: 6
- 1947: LC: le rapport HOMME-NATURE: l'homme social a été mis dans son cadre: Nous avons quitté l'arbitraire des terrains biscornus (« Charte d'Athènes des CIAM ») et des immeubles tordus, nous avons recherché, exprimé le rapport HOMME-NATURE. L'homme social a été mis dans son cadre, celui brillant et digne d'une haute civilisation machiniste (qu'il nous faut rendre haute). LC 1947: 7
- 1947: LC: « l'objet de rétablir le contact entre les hommes et la nature »: Deux formes d'habitat s'offrent à la société moderne. Toutes deux ont pour objet supérieur de rétablir le contact entre les hommes et la nature, de faire régner les « lois de nature » qui commandent à notre biologie et à notre psychologie. (LC, 'Extraits du rapport à la commission du Siège des Nations Unies', *L'homme et l'architecture*, numéro spécial, 11-14, 1947, p. 8)
- 1947: LC: « l'individuel et le collectif s'équilibrent »: La cité-jardin verticale et le don des techniques modernes... Elle crée un phénomène social productif où l'individuel et le collectif s'équilibrent dans une juste répartition des fonctions de la vie quotidienne. (LC, 'Extraits du rapport à la commission du Siège des Nations Unies', *L'homme et l'architecture*, numéro spécial, 11-14, 1947, p. 8)
- 1947: LC: « le grand gaspillage des maisons familiales en forme de cité-jardins horizontales »: L'Organisation des Nations Unies, devant bannir le grand gaspillage, acceptera de le combattre par la cité-jardin verticale ; mais elle construira toutefois des maisons familiales en forme de cité-jardins horizontales, instituant ainsi une confrontation, véritable expérience de laboratoire (expérience sociale), de la portée la plus considérable. (LC, 'Extraits du rapport à la commission du Siège des Nations Unies', *L'homme et l'architecture*, numéro spécial, 11-14, 1947, p. 8)

1947-01-00: MONNET PLAN: ELITE, 'OLD-BOY' NETWORK GOT THINGS DONE

- 1947-01-00: Monnet Plan: for the reconstruction and modernization: de Gaulle had appointed Jean Monnet after the liberation to head a committee to prepare a plan for the reconstruction and modernization of the French economy... the aim of the plan was to raise agricultural and industrial output by 25% over 1929 levels within three years. Grenville 2000: 360
- 1947-01-00: Monnet Plan: modernization of industry & agriculture: The first five-year plan was approved in January 1947. It placed Monnet at the head of a small secretariat in the modest offices of the Commissariat du Plan de Modernisation et d'Équipement... [It] concentrated on key sectors fundamental to a general modernization program: coal, electricity, steel, cement, the mechanization of agriculture, fertilizers and transportation. Grenville 2000: 539
- 1947-01-00: Monnet Plan: run by French elite: Monnet's plan was greatly aided by a closely knit French establishment recruited from elitist educational establishments selected on academic merit. This group of graduates around the state industries and was also found in the private sector. The close old-boy network got things done and counterbalanced the rigid administrative divisions of the state. Grenville 2000: 540
- 1947-01-00: Monnet Plan: worker housing overlooked: But the most immediate needs of the workers for better housing and consumer goods were largely sacrificed, with the exception of food, to provide for a better future. Grenville 2000: 539-40

1947-01-00—03-17: MARSEILLE: COMMENCEMENT SOUS LA TUTELLE DE L'ÉTAT

- 1947-01-21: **Marseille: chantier sera entièrement sous la tutelle de l'État:** à la fin de mois de janvier 1947... les crédits affectés à ce projet sont intégralement maintenus. Ce chantier sera donc entièrement sous la tutelle de l'État au niveau administratif, technique et financier. (Ministre de Reconstruction et de l'Urbanisme, aux délégués départementaux de la reconstruction, 21 janvier 1947) Sbriglio 2005: 130
- 1947-03-17: **Marseille: les premiers sondages sur le terrain:** décidé à aller vite, Le Corbusier fait approuver en mars son projet pour la matrice d'ouvrage et, le 17 de ce mois, il fait commencer les premiers sondages sur le terrain. Sbriglio 2005: 130

1947-02-25: HOLY OFFICE: DOCTRINE ON REPRESENTATIONS OF CHRIST

- 1947-02-25: **Saint-Office: contre la difforme, le grotesque et la nudité du Crucifié:** En 1947, la circulaire du Saint-Office aux évêques, du 25 février, fait le point sur les règles de représentation du Christ et s'élève contre la difforme, le grotesque et la nudité du Crucifié, affirme que cet avertissement ne doit pas être entendu comme un obstacle à la « libre expression et au progrès de l'art », mais que, pour autant, l'art ne doit pas continuer une « offense à la doctrine à la dignité du culte ». (La Saint-Office, directives aux évêques, 25 février 1947) Leniaud 2005: 171

1947-03-00: SAINT-OFFICE: CESSATION DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT DE FÉRET

- 1947-03-00: **Féret: sanctionné et exclu par le Saint-Office:** C'est en mars 1947, en effet, que Féret apprend d'être l'objet d'une sanction du Saint-Office, comportant la cessation de son enseignement et son exclusion de Saulchoir. (Féret, *Rome, 18 octobre-15 novembre 1953*, manuscrit) Leprieur 1989: 591
- 1947-03-00: **Féret: surveillé par un employé du Saint-Office:** Le père Féret a découvert, dès 1947, que le père Gagnebet, employé dominicain du Saint-Office, demandait à telle religieuse de prendre des notes sur les interventions que son confrère donnait dans sa congrégation. (Féret, dossier personnel) Leprieur 1989: 409

1947-05-00: ITALY: COMMUNISTS & SOCIALISTS FORCED OUT OF GOV'T

- 1947-05-00: **Italy: communists and socialists forced out of government:** Truman's response [to the threat of communism] was to offer the Democratic Western European states US support — diplomatic, economic and military. The outcome was the Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan and NATO. The effect of the support on Italian politics was that the Christian Democratic leader Alcide De Gasperi, after a visit to Washington, forced his Communist-Socialist partners out of the governing coalition in May 1947. Grenville 2000: 572
- 1947-05-00: **Italy: danger of Communist takeover receded:** the danger of a Communist political and economic takeover receded. De Gasperi cited the waning need for Communist and Socialist support when he excluded those parties from his new government in the spring of 1947. Grenville 2000: 365
- 1947-05-00: **Italy: political and religious stability attained:** With their departure [the communists and socialists] the last vestiges of the wartime committee of national liberation vanished. The politics of war, and of possible revolutionary change, were over, and Italy was returning to a kind of normality. Thus after a little more than two years a certain political stability had been attained, and vital issues such as the future control of industry, the monarchy and the role of the Catholic Church had all been defined. Grenville 2000: 365

1947-05-03: LC DESCRIBED AS 'GIVEN NO WORK UNTIL THE LIBERATION'

- 1947-05-03: **New Yorker article quoted LC as 'given no work' in Vichy:** "in 1942 [Le Corbusier] returned to France. The Vichy government, perhaps suspecting that it was dealing with a dissident spirit, told him that he would have to have a new license if he wished to resume the practice of architecture in France... "Le Corbusier said recently, 'I was given no work in France until the Liberation.'" (Hellman, 'From within to without II', *The New Yorker*, 3 May 1947, pages 44-6) McLeod 1985a: 417-8

1947-07-28: MARITAIN: URGED PIUS XII 'CONSCIOUSNESS OF RACISM'

- 1947-07-28: **Maritain: urged Pius XII to 'awaken consciousness of racism':** Maritain... wanted Pius XII "to awaken the consciousness of people regarding the horror of racism" by holding up the example of the "extermination of millions of Jews in gas chambers and the torturous death camps." (Maritain, 28 July 1947, international conference for combating anti-Semitism, File Ambassade I, CAM) Phayer 2000: 179

1947-08-00: GERMAN BISHOPS LOST MORAL AUTHORITY IN WAR

- 1947-08-00: **Kogon: 'German bishops had lost moral authority'**: because the [German] bishops had adopted a confrontational posture vis-à-vis occupational authorities, they reacted heatedly when Eugon Kogon [Buchenwald survivor and author of *Der SS-Staat: Das System der deutschen Konzentrationslager* ("The SS-State: The System of the German Concentration Camps"), a basic reference on Nazi crimes, in 1946] published another critical piece about them. In August of 1947, exactly 2 years after the Fulda statement [in which German Catholics sought to escape their share of Holocaust guilt], Kogon asserted that the reason the bishops were unable to influence the occupational authorities to provide better living conditions was that they had lost their moral authority through their cowardice during the Nazi era... Phayer 2000: 146

1947-08-16: FRENCH AMNESTY LAW PASSED

- 1947-08-16: **French collaboration: reference to crimes removed from court records**: the original crime [of wartime collaborators] was considered not to have occurred and reference to it would be removed from court records. (*JORF*, 17 August 1947) Lottman 1986: 276-7

1947-11-00: MARSEILLE: FONDATION DES PREMIERS PILOTIS. Sbriglio 2005: 131

1947-11-20: PIIUS XII: L'ENCYCLIQUE "MEDIATOR DEI"

- 1947-11-20: **Pius XII: "Modern art should be given free scope", but wary of "individual artist"**: 195. What We have said about music, applies to the other fine arts, especially to architecture, sculpture and painting. Recent works of art, which lend themselves to the materials of modern composition, should not be universally despised and rejected through prejudice. Modern art should be given free scope in the due and reverent service of the Church and the sacred rites, provided that they preserve a correct balance between styles tending neither to extreme realism nor to excessive "symbolism," and that the needs of the Christian community are taken into consideration rather than the particular taste or talent of the individual artist. Thus modern art will be able to join its voice to that wonderful choir of praise to which have contributed, in honor of the Catholic faith, the greatest artists throughout the centuries. (Pius XII, *Mediator Dei*, 20 Nov 1947: AAS 39, 1947, 528-29; www.vatican.va, mediator-dei)
- 1947-11-20: **Pius XII: « de laisser le champ libre à l'art de notre temps »**: Il importe extrêmement de laisser le champ libre à l'art de notre temps, qui, soucieux du respect dû aux temples et aux rites sacrés, se met à leur service... (Pius XII, *Mediator Dei*, 20 Nov 1947: AAS 39, 1947, 528-29; www.vatican.va, mediator-dei)
- 1947-11-20: **Pius XII: condemning works "which seem a distortion and perversion of true art"**: Nevertheless, in keeping with the duty of Our office, We cannot help deploring and condemning those works of art, recently introduced by some, which seem to be a distortion and perversion of true art and which at times openly shock Christian taste, modesty and devotion, and shamefully offend the true religious sense. These must be entirely excluded and banished from our churches, like "anything else that is not in keeping with the sanctity of the place." (Pius XII, *Mediator Dei*, 20 Nov 1947, citing Code of Canon Law, 1178: AAS 39, 1947, 528-29; www.vatican.va, mediator-dei)
- 1947-11-20: **Pius XII: « ces images ou ces statues introduites récemment par quelques-uns »**: Nous ne pouvons, cependant, Nous empêcher... de déplorer et de reprouver ces images ou ces statues introduites récemment par quelques-uns, et qui semblent bien être une dépravation et une déformation de l'art véritable, en ce qu'elles répugnent parfois ouvertement à la beauté, à la réserve et à la piété, par le regrettable mépris qu'elles font de l'instinctif sentiment religieux; il faut absolument bannir ou expulser ces œuvres de nos églises ainsi qu'en général, tout ce qui n'est pas en conformité avec la sainteté du lieu. (Pius XII, *Mediator Dei*, 20 Nov 1947: AAS 39, 1947, 528-29; www.vatican.va, mediator-dei ; French translation in *La Bonne Presse*, Paris, 1948, p. 72) Flicoteaux 1998: 49
- 1947-11-20: **Pius XII: "certain enthusiasts are straying beyond the path of sound doctrine"**: Indeed, though we are sorely grieved to note, on the one hand, that there are places where the spirit, understanding or practice of the sacred liturgy is defective, or all but in-existent, We observe with considerable anxiety and some misgiving, that elsewhere certain enthusiasts, over-eager in their search for novelty, are straying beyond the path of sound doctrine and prudence. Not seldom, in fact, they interlard their plans and hopes for a revival of the sacred liturgy with principles which compromise this holiest of causes in theory or practice, and sometimes even taint it with errors touching Catholic faith and ascetical doctrine. (Pius XII, *Mediator Dei*, 20 Nov 1947: AAS 39, 1947, 528-29; www.vatican.va, mediator-dei)

1947-12-02: VALLAT TRIAL: 10 YEARS IN PRISON AND 'INDIGNITÉ'

- 1947-12-02: **Vallat: Condemnation of anti-Semitic radio broadcasts**: the trial opened on 2 December 1947. The jury found Xavier Vallat guilty of collaborating with the Germans in his anti-Jewish work and favoring the enemy and harming the Allies in his radio broadcasts. He was sentenced to 10 years in prison and 'indignité' for life. (Noguères, *La Haut Cour*, 1946, p. 199) Lottman 1986: 181

1947-12-04: CHAPELLE DE VENCE: RAYSSIGUIER PLAN

- 1947-12-04: **Rayssiguier: ébauche un plan pour Vence**: Rayssiguier n'est pas architecte, mais il ébauche, avant de la rencontrer, le 4 décembre 1947, un plan qui retient l'attention de Matisse. Matisse, et al. 1993: 10

1948: PIUS XII: REPUTATION SOARED WITH HOLOCAUST AMNESIA

- 1948: **Vatican: Cold War era**: Three phases of history: the war years, the immediate postwar years (1945-48) and the Cold War era. Phayer 2000: xvi
- 1948: **Pius XII reputation soared**: during the first decade of the Cold War [1948-58], Pope Pius XII's reputation soared to lofty heights... The onset of the Cold War must have made Pope Pius XII seem uncannily wise to Western statesmen. Only he had followed a pro-German course consistently. Phayer 2000: 161
- 1948: **Holocaust amnesia sets in**: the Cold War, along with German hatred of denazification processes, snuffed out public discussion of the Holocaust... By 1948, the period of remembrance had ended, and Holocaust amnesia had set in. Phayer 2000: 158
- 1948: **Germany: need for restitution diminished**: immediately after the war, virtually all Germans agreed that restitution and compensation were national obligations, but by the time the denazification ordeal wound down in 1948, German opinion has lost this focus. Phayer 2000: 193

1948: LC: COLOMBIAN OFFICIALS REQUEST PLAN FOR BOGOTA

- 1948: **LC asked by Colombian officials to study the planning of Bogota**: Following his 1948 stay in Colombia, where he delivered two lectures on architecture and urbanism, Le Corbusier was asked by Colombian officials to study the planning of Bogota, specifically to take charge of the Pilot Plan. He was assisted by Josep Lluís Sert, president of CIAM, and Sert's associate, Paul Lester Wiener, who were responsible for the more detailed plans. A central office for liaison was set up in Bogota to ensure that proposals elaborated outside of Columbia would be properly carried out. De Franclieu 1981b: 3

1948: ASSY: COUTURIER, MATISSE, LIPSCHITZ, BRAQUE, CHAGALL & RICHIER

- 1948: **Couturier and Matisse at Assy**: when, in 1948, Canon Devémy approached Matisse with the suggestion that he decorate the altar, the latter had already begun preparatory drawings for a figure of St. Dominic for the Vence Chapel; at the urging of father Couturier – who posed for the first studies of the Saint... – he agreed to make a variant for Assy, using the same medium, ceramic tiles. Rubin 1961: 156-7
- 1948: **Lipchitz: 'vision' of the Virgin of Assy**: one day early in January, 1948, while riding in a New York City subway, he had a 'vision' which provided the nucleus of the Virgin of Assy. (Rubin 1961: 127)
- 1948-50: **Lipchitz: five small models of the Virgin Mary from 1948 to 1950**: Upon his return to the studio [in January 1948], Lipchitz proceeded to make a series of 11 pencil drawings... developing this first idea to a point approaching the five small-scale models that preceded the large sculpture... By the time Lipchitz had completed the drawings, the main iconographic constituents were clearly established... These elements remain constant throughout the five small models, dating from 1947 [sic: 1948] to 1950, which were made primarily to experiment with relationship of sculptures to variously shaped baptismal fonts (figure 31). Rubin 1961: 128-30
- 1948: **Couturier and Richier at Assy**: Germaine Richier... visit[ed]... her tubercular niece at the sanatorium of Sancellemoz in 1948... A short time later, father Couturier prevailed on her to collaborate in the project [at Assy], suggesting that she create a crucifix, a liturgical object he considered appropriate for her "dry" style. Rubin 1961: 116
- 1948: **Richier an atheist**: Mme. Richier... [was] herself an atheist, [who] had never had occasion to make a religious figure... (Richier, interview, late 1950s) Rubin 1961: 160

- 1948: **Couturier and Braque**: In 1948, Georges Braque offered a small relief for the door of the tabernacle... Rubin 1961: 38
- 1948: **Couturier and Braque**: Couturier... obtint... de Braque la petite porte en bronze du tabernacle de l'autel du bas-côté Nord... Caussé 2005a: 11
- 1948: **Braque offered a small relief for the door of the tabernacle**... Rubin 1961: 38
- 1948: **Maritain and Chagall**: Marc Chagall's decision to undertake the decoration of the baptistery of Notre Dame [at Assy] was in part the outgrowth of his long friendship with Jacques and Raïssa Maritain... the Maritains, and others who were concerned with the renewal of religious art, considered Chagall the prototype of the true religious artist. Jacques Maritain published an article on him in 1929, and Mme. Maritain later wrote poems on his work. Rubin 1961: 134-5
- 1948: **Chagall: "I am not now, and have never been, religious"**: Chagall has said... "I am not now, and have never been, religious. Moreover, I felt that religion meant little in the world that I knew, even as it seems to mean little today." ... Chagall... fears that his contribution [at Assy] will be appropriated by the Church for propagandistic purposes. (Sweeney, 'an interview with Marc Chagall', in *Partisan Review* XII, number 1, winter 1944, pp. 88-93; Chagall, interview with Rubin, late 1950s) Rubin 1961: 136
- 1948: **Couturier and Chagall**: Chagall's flight from France and his wartime sojourn in New York brought him into closer contact with certain members of French culture in exile... This was especially true in regard to Father Couturier, with whom he became quite friendly. Thus, when, in 1948, after [Chagall's] return to France, [Couturier] spoke to him of the project at Assy, and Maritain urged his support, Chagall was happy to contribute. Rubin 1961: 137
- 1948: **Couturier: took over direction & iconography at Assy**: [A]n orderly iconographic program for the decorations [at Assy]... was largely the product of Couturier, who now more or less took over direction of the work at Assy [upon his return to France]... Rubin 1961: 34-5
- 1948: **Couturier granted state subsidies for Lurçat tapestry**: Andre Lurçat placed his tapestry, with the theme of the Apocalypse, within the choir—a work for which Couturier, returning to France in 1945, had obtained subsidies from the state. Caussé 2005a 11
- 1948: **Couturier and Lurçat, unable to represent God: "leave him out"**: Couturier... suggested that he do a tapestry based on the vision of John. Lurçat agreed, and also accepted Couturier's suggestion to do contiguous panels representing Paradise and the Jesse Tree. When Lurçat remarked that he would be unable to represent God convincingly in the Paradise panel, the priest replied simply: "leave him out"... (Lurçat, interview with Rubin, 1950s) Rubin 1961: 104
- 1948: **Couturier's resistance work in America weighed heavily in Lurçat's decision**: [T]he Resistance had transcended divisions of a religious or political order...Lurçat was especially aware of the effective work father Couturier had done for the movement in America. This fact weighed heavily in his final decision to do the tapestry for Assy. ... Lurçat would not be inclined today [in the late 1950s] to create such an ecclesiastical work, he says, and his willingness at the time depended on unique historical circumstances and on the inspiring liberalism and rare purity of faith of Father Couturier. (Lurçat, interview with Rubin, 1950s) Rubin 1961: 104

1948-03-00: VATICAN: HOSTILE TOWARDS VIEWS OF FRENCH HIERARCHY

- 1948-03-00: **Vatican: hostile towards views of Solages, Salièges, and Liénart**: By the spring of 1948 the Vatican was giving more and more support to the anti-communism of the RPF [*Le Rassemblement du peuple français*, a political movement founded by general de Gaulle in April 1947]. The new conservatism in the Vatican was reflected in hostility to advanced scientific and intellectual views being espoused by French church leaders, most notably Monsignor de Solages, the rector of the Catholic Institute of Toulouse, and Cardinals Saliège and Liénart, whose views were attacked in an officially sanctioned article in the *Osservatore Romano* in March. Kent 2002: 202

1948-04-00: LC: « UNITÉ »: L'ARCHITECTURE D'AUJOURD'HUI

- 1948-04-00: **LC: Les moteurs secrets = l'extension d'une science a l'autre**: Dévoilons les moteurs secrets de l'harmonie: nous sommes au cœur d'un événement acoustique où tout consonne, acoustique des formes, extension d'une science a l'autre qu'il faut nous pardonner. LC 1948a: 16
- 1948-04-00: **LC: Certitude = expérimentations au laboratoire**: Un point de doctrine est une acquisition de l'esprit qui porte certitude par démonstration opérée au cours d'expérimentations, au cours de travaux dits de laboratoire. LC 1948a: 26
- 1948-04-00: **LC: « La machine à habiter » = un véritable organisme**: Chaque unité est un véritable organisme rempli d'organes ponctuels. C'est, codifiée vingt ans après, « la machine à habiter » annoncée dès l'après-guerre de 1914. LC 1948a: 26-7
- 1948-04-00: **LC: L'atelier des recherches patiente**: [U]ne porte discrète de mon appartement... livre passage dans l'atelier des recherches patiente. Ici est la clef de mon labeur. Chaque jour née

d'une vie consacrée à l'épanouissement de la société machiniste, est en partie vouée à des travaux purement désintéressés. Inventions de formes, créations de rapports, mises en proportion linéaires, volumétriques, colorées... LC 1948a: 32

- 1948-04-00: **LC: Les secrets de la forme**: Ces dessins et tableaux datent de 1920, lorsque, à l'âge de trente-trois ans, je commençai à peindre. Je n'ai cessé de peindre depuis, tous les jours, arrachant où je pouvais les trouver les secrets de la forme, développant l'esprit d'invention, au même titre que l'acrobate, chaque jour, entraîne ses muscles et la maîtrise de soi. LC 1948a: 32-3
- 1948-04-00: **LC: La porte des miracles de la mathématique**: le signe d'ASCORAL... dépasse d'étape des images pittoresques, ouverte la porte des miracles de la mathématique et de ses puissances expressives, les entendues illimitées sont devant nous. Passée la porte des miracles... LC 1948a: 41
- 1948-04-00: **LC: Le miracle des nombres, une clef d'harmonie**: L'art est dans ces plaines illimitées au-delà de la porte. L'effort de la vie entière seul vous conduit à ce seuil. Le miracle des nombres, une clef d'harmonie... LC 1948a: 41
- 1948-04-00: **LC: Les lois de l'univers**: L'architecture scelle l'alliance de l'homme et de la nature par la géométrie réglée sur les lois de l'univers. LC 1948a: 45
- 1948-04-00: **LC: objets a réaction poétique = les lois de la nature**: Vers 1928, j'eus envie d'élargir le cercle de mon vocabulaire pictural et je m'attachai à ce que j'ai baptisé « les objets a réaction poétique », mille chose modestes qui contiennent, résumant ou expriment les lois de la nature, les événements ramenés à l'état de signes, etc. ... Puis j'abordai la figure humaine. LC 1948a: 45
- 1948-04-00: **LC: Le plan libre et la façade libre = évolution naturelle**: L'acier ou le ciment armé... conduisaient au plan libre ; la façade libre et au pan-de-verre. Évolution naturelle, irréfutable. LC 1948a: 49
- 1948-04-00: **LC: Musée d'Histoire Naturelle = les directrices des peintures des coquillages**: Allée au Musée d'Histoire Naturelle et considère par exemple, dans la salle des coquillages, une famille quelconque de ceux-ci... Vous prendrez la leçon d'unité et de variété, d'harmonie jamais démentie... À gauche sont les séries, de plus en plus polies et brillantes, fournissant l'email blanc le plus pur, puis ensuite les peintures les plus précise décorant [les coquillages] selon les directrices ou selon les génératrices... LC 1948a: 53

1948-04-16: **ASSY: COUTURIER CLAIMS PIUS XI & PIUS XII = 'APPROVAL'**

- 1948-04-16: **Couturier: publicly cited Papal financing for Assy**: Financial support came... from gifts via Pius XI in 1937 and Pius XII in 1939. Rubin 1961: 78-9, note 3
- 1948-04-16: **Couturier: deceptively implied papal approval of Assy**: These gifts [from Pius XI and Pius XII] have often been deceptively cited with the implication that they represent papal approval of the experiments at Assy... / e.g., Couturier 1948 ('L'Église d'Assy', in *Arts*, April 16, 1948, page 1); Couturier 1950 ('The Assy church', in *Life*, June 19, 1950); Devémy 1951 ('L'Église d'Assy et L'Art sacré', public lecture at Angers published in *Courier de l'ouest*, January 6, 1951, page 1); Couturier 1951 (Note on Assy, in *Liturgical Arts* XIX, February, 1951, number 2, pages 30-31). Rubin 1961: 78-9, note 3
- 1948-04-16: **Couturier: 'Holy Father gave blessing to the modern artists at Assy'**: Couturier enlarged upon references to the papal gift [for the church of Assy] by observing that, on his visit to the pope, the Holy Father gave his blessing to the modern artists working at Assy, but admitted that "he [Pius XII] would have done the same for others". Rubin 1961: 78-9, note 3

1948-04-18: **ITALIAN ELECTIONS: HIGH POINT OF CATHOLIC POWER**

- 1948-04-18: **Christian Democrats** 48.5% (12,740,042 votes, 305 seats, 98 gained)
- 1948-04-18: **Popular Front** 31% (8,136,637 votes, 183 seats, 14 gained)
- 1948-04-18: **Socialist Unity** 7.1% (1,858,116 votes, 33 seats, 17 gained)
- 1948-04-18: **Pius XII: alarmed by communist strength in the electorate**: The success of the Communist Party in Italy as well as in other Western European countries alarmed the Pope. Extremely pessimistic about the 1948 Italian elections, Pius XII told a visiting American that he would not leave Vatican City if the Communist Party won. Phayer 2000: 159
- 1948-04-18: **Christian Democrats gain absolute majority**: the 1948 elections had given the Christian Democrats — as it turned out for the only time — an absolute majority. Grenville 2000: 574
- 1948-04-18: **Italy: Catholic leader & Prime Minister De Gasperi**: Alcide De Gasperi... spent the next few years [after 1929] quietly employed in the Vatican Library... A practicing Catholic, his relations with the Vatican remained close... after leading governments of national unity until May 1947, he thereafter headed coalitions with small centrist parties... De Gasperi was Prime Minister from December 1947 to August 1953, heading eight successive governments... During the last

years of his political life he was careful not to let the Church dominate the Christian Democratic Party. Grenville 2000: 574

- 1948-04-18: **Italy: high point of Christian Democratic power:** the Christian Democratic share of the votes declined after the high point of 1948 throughout the 1950s and early 1960s... Grenville 2000: 576

1948-05-22: **VATICAN: CLOSED SOCIETY OF PRUDENCE, SECRECY & ALLEGIANCE**

- 1948-05-22: **Vatican: diplomatic service as disciplined and secretive as Soviet Union:** In post-war evaluations of the Secretariat of the [Papal] State and its personnel, the American mission to the Pope recorded the consensus of the diplomatic corps in Rome that perhaps only the Soviet Union had a diplomatic service as disciplined and secretive as the Vatican. (Memorandum by McFadden, 5 Dec. 1947, NARA, RG 59, Political-General, Box 17; Memorandum by Parsons, 22 May 1948, NARA, RG 59, Memoranda-Confidential, Box 19) Alvarez & Graham 1997: 177
- 1948-05-22*: **Vatican: closed society emphasized prudence, secrecy and allegiance:** Vatican City... represented a largely closed society which consciously recognized boundaries between itself and secular society, and which encouraged only limited interaction across those boundaries. Distinguished by dress, education, lifestyle and discipline from their counterparts in the secular world, the ecclesiastical citizens of the Vatican were also products of an administrative tradition and culture which emphasized prudence, secrecy and, above all, allegiance to the Church and its Pontiff. Alvarez & Graham 1997: 176-7
- 1948-05-22*: **Vatican: administrative culture committed to secrecy and loyalty:** In curial departments, such as the Secretariat of [the Papal] State, which supervised especially sensitive areas of Church affairs, this administrative culture was reinforced among the personnel by oaths of office which explicitly committed the staff to secrecy and loyalty. Such oaths with their administrative and religious sanctions were not taken lightly. Alvarez & Graham 1997: 177
- 1948-05-22*: **Vatican: World War II code remains shrouded in secrecy:** During the First World War (which witnessed the first systematic application of signals intelligence on a large scale), the Vatican tried to modernize its cryptographic procedures... Over the course of the [Second World War], the Secretariat of State used several different codes, each designated by a color... The characteristics of the Green code remain shrouded in secrecy as do the characteristics (and designations) of the other systems used by the wartime Secretariat of [Papal] State. ('Cryptographic Codes and Ciphers: Vatican Code Systems', In NARA, RG 457, Historic Cryptographic Collection, Pre-World War I through World War II, Item 3823, pp. 53-4) Alvarez & Graham 1997: 149-50

1948-06-00: **MARITAIN: RESIGNED AS VATICAN AMBASSADOR**

- 1948-06-00: **Maritain: resigned his ambassadorship:** the Cold War began. Realizing that his argument for papal-led spiritual reawakening in Europe would come to naught, Jacques Maritain resigned his ambassadorship in [June] 1948. Phayer 2000: 182
- 1948-06-00: **Maritain: Pius XII 'attention is too political':** Maritain... recognized that his arguments for a campaign against anti-Semitism that would be launched by Pope Pius, and for a papal-led spiritual reawakening in Europe, would not succeed. After only a little more than two years of service at the Vatican, Maritain realized that his efforts to divert Pius's mind away from politics and the practical would fail. "One is tempted to say that this attention to the political is too much considering the essential role of the Church." (Maritain, resignation paper, File Ambassade I, CAM) Phayer 2000: 219
- 1948-06-00: **Maritain: accepted with a position at Princeton University:** It was perhaps fitting that Jacques Maritain resigned his ambassadorial post in June 1948 to accept a position at Princeton University; the climate at the Vatican was becoming less sympathetic to his personal outlook and value. Kent 2002: 202

1948-06-00: **WLADIMIR D'ORMESSON: AMBASSADE PRÈS LE SAINT-SIÈGE**

- 1948-05-00: **Wladimir d'Ormesson: ambassade près le Saint-Siège:** En mai 1945, Wladimir d'Ormesson était nommé ambassadeur de France en Argentine, puis, l'année suivante, ambassadeur extraordinaire au Chili. En 1948, il retrouvait son ambassade près le Saint-Siège, qu'il occupa jusqu'en 1956. (<http://www.academiefrancaise.fr>)

1948-07-03—26: **LC, COUTURIER, AND THE CHAPELLE OF VENCE**

- 1948-07-03: **Rayssiguier: « nous nous mettons vite d'accord pour proposer LC à Matisse »:** « Je suis avec le père Couturier (nous avons hier discuté à la veillée dans sa cellule de 21 h 30 à 23 heures de l'église de Henri Matisse. Je lui ai dit qu'il il me paraît indispensable d'envisager un troisième avant-projet, après les schémas critiqués de frère H. C. [probablement frère Couesnon]. Il m'a montré des photos de la basilique de la Sainte-Baume.) Dans l'autobus - jusqu'à Observatoire -

nous nous mettons vite d'accord pour proposer Le Corbusier à Matisse. Le troisième avant-projet doit être de cette veine. Le père Couturier me dit qu'il n'a jamais vu chez Le Corbusier que des Picasso, Léger, Braque, mais pas de Matisse. » (Rayssiguier, 3 juillet 1948) Matisse, et al. 1993: 70

- 1948-07-03: **Couturier: l'architecte pour Vence: « J'ai pensé à Le Corbusier »:** « Je présente [à Matisse] le schéma critique: troisième avant-projet... Alors vient la question de l'architecte. On ne parlera pas de Vago. Le père Couturier attaque: 'J'ai pensé à Le Corbusier.' » (Rayssiguier, 3 juillet 1948) Matisse, et al. 1993: 71
- 1948-07-03: **Matisse veut Perret:** « Il [Matisse] *re-bondit* (c'est pour la même raison que tout à l'heure), il n'en veut pas - suit une critique en quelques mots généraux. Il veut Perret. Il le connaît depuis longtemps. 'Il fera ce que je voudrais'. On lui remettra l'affaire. » (Rayssiguier, 3 juillet 1948) Matisse, et al. 1993: 71
- 1948-07-11: **Couturier: « J'ai dîné hier soir chez Le Corbusier »:** « J'ai dîné hier soir chez Le Corbusier. » (Couturier, journal, 12 juillet 1948) Couturier 1962: 44
- 1948-07-26: **Matisse: « il y a des choses qu'il n'aime pas chez Le Corbusier »:** « Je dis que Milon est très loin de comprendre la valeur présente *normale* de Le Corbusier. Matisse me répond que qu'il y a des choses qu'il n'aime pas chez Le Corbusier: 'colonnes plus étroites en bas qu'en haut', une maison comme un paquebot coupé. Je dis que ce qui est bon, c'est l'esprit et la méthode de Le Corbusier. » (Rayssiguier-Matisse, 26 ou 27 juillet 1948) Matisse, et al. 1993: 219-20

1948-07-26—1953-01-08: ROBERT SCHUMAN: FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTER

1948-07-27—08-20: COUTURIER, MATHEY, MARITAIN & LA SAINTE-BAUME

- 1948-07-27: **Lavaud: soulignait les fautes de stratégie auprès de l'évêque du provincial:** Le père Marie-Joseph Nicolas, provincial, se trouvait au Brésil et il devait revenir en France vers la mi-septembre. En son absence, le père Lavaud, prieur du couvent de Toulouse, était "vicaire provincial". Ami de Jacques Maritain, membre d'*Eau vive*, admirateur de Le Corbusier est intéressé par l'art religieux, le père Benoit Lavaud se montra dès le début favorable... il avait déclaré à Mgr Auguste Gaudel qu'on ne pourrait pas arrêter ce projet [à la Sainte-Baume]. Le père Lavaud était sensible aux cautions apportées par le père Couturier et Maritain, mais perplexe devant le maintien de Trouin dans le Comité [provisoire de la Basilique de Paix] sans insister trop, il soulignait les fautes de stratégie [à la Sainte Baume] non seulement auprès de l'évêque [Mgr Gaudel], mais aussi auprès du provincial de Toulouse [le père Nicolas] qui risquait d'être très froissé de n'avoir été «consulté voire informé que quand les journaux annoncèrent *urbi et orbi* le projet d'église souterraine.» (Lavaud, lettre à Couturier, 27 juillet 1948) Caussé 1999: 462
- 1948-07-27*: **Lavaud: convoqué par le père Giraud, assistant de Maître Générale de l'Ordre:** En juillet 1948, le père Lavaud fut convoqué d'urgence à la Sainte Baume par le père Giraud, assistant de Maître Générale de l'Ordre [Mgr Gillet]. Cette convocation n'était pas directement en rapport avec l'affaire de la basilique mais il en fut évidemment question, et le rencontre atteste que Rome fut mis au courant du projet [à la Sainte-Baume]. Caussé 1999: 463
- 1948-07-31: **Genevois: la campagne était soutenue par les dominicains:** Le père M.-A. Genevois avait déjà rencontré le père Régamey, et connaît *L'Art sacré* depuis l'avant-guerre... Il avait découvert «avec stupéfaction» que la campagne journalistique était «soutenue par les dominicains de *L'Art sacré*», et il demandait au père Régamey d'arrêter « une entreprise criminelle », «somptuaire et inutile », patronnée par des gens qui n'avaient pratiquement « jamais mis les pieds » à la Sainte-Baume... (M.A. Genevois, lettre à Régamey) Caussé 1999: 468
- 1948-07-31: **Genevois: « Les officiels dominicains commencent à s'inquiéter »:** [A]vant même que l'évêque de Fréjus ou notre Provincial aient été directement avertis, la campagne s'est amplifiée. Avec stupéfaction nous avons appris qu'elle était soutenue par les dominicains de *L'Art Sacré*... J'ai connu le Père Couturier, à Rome, il y a une vingtaine d'années ; mais il ne se souvient certainement plus de moi. Je préfère m'adresser à vous, convaincu que vous comprendrez et que vous voudrez employer à arrêter une entreprise criminelle. Elle est criminelle de faire appel à la charité catholique pour une œuvre purement somptuaire et inutile, alors qu'actuellement il y a tant d'églises nécessaires à réparer, reconstruire ou simplement bâtir... C'est un crime aussi, au point de vue de la spiritualité... il ne faudrait pas oublier que Marie-Madeleine a déjà sa basilique, joyau du moyen âge, à Saint Maximin... Les journaux parlent de milliards pour le projet de Le Corbusier... Les officiels dominicains commencent à s'inquiéter. (M.A. Genevois, lettre à Régamey, 31 juillet 1948, Bordeaux) CES D-2C 23
- 1948-08-11: **Couturier: la hiérarchie est compromise par une misère spirituelle sordide:** Je renvoie aussitôt au Père Genevois votre lettre pour laquelle je suis suffisamment d'accord... Ceci dit, ce qui me paraît plus important que tout, au sujet de la Ste Baume, c'est cette possibilité immédiate d'une grande œuvre entièrement faite sans aucune concession. Dans notre temps j'en suis sûr que cela aussi c'est une des plus grandes "charités" que nous puissions faire, précisément en raison de

l'effroyable bassesse, de la scandaleuse vulgarité de tout ce qui a été fait par l'Église, comme telle, en ces domaines. Je dis "comme telle" parce que la hiérarchie y est, tout de même compromise par ses inconscientes connivences avec ces vulgarités ou ces stupidités. Là aussi il y a une misère spirituelle sordide à laquelle il est nécessaire sinon de porter remède du moins de faire contrepoids, par quelques œuvres irréprochables. (Couturier, lettre à Régamey, 11 août 1948) CES D-2C-31

- 1948-08-11: **Couturier: l'évêque de Fréjus m'attend:** Demain, je pars pour Gerbéviller pour y voir l'évêque de Fréjus qui m'attend, et auprès de qui une lettre de père Lavaud m'aura précédé. (Couturier, lettre à Régamey, 11 août 1948) CES D-2C-31
- 1948-08-12: **Couturier: rencontre avec Monseigneur Gaudel:** Couturier se rendit au couvent de Toulouse pour préparer avec Lavaud sa rencontre avec Monseigneur Gaudel prévue pour le 12 août [1948] à Gerbéviller en Lorraine et que le père Lavaud prépara en écrivant à l'évêque, espérant rattraper ainsi l'impair d'une entrevue si tardive. Caussé 2010: 298
- 1948-08-12: **Couturier: reçut avec courtoisie, le pensait gagner au projet:** le père Lavaud... Son plaidoyer nous permet de connaître l'argumentaire de Couturier. Le projet de basilique devait être dissocié des précédents projets de Trouin... Le rôle de Couturier était celui d'un artiste et d'un ami de Le Corbusier et de Léger, mais même dans cette activité « privée », Couturier dépendait de son supérieur religieux... Mgr Gaudel reçut Couturier avec courtoisie, mais sans s'engager. Couturier le pensait gagner au projet. Caussé 2010: 299
- 1948-08-18: **Couturier: on passe à l'action, pour des réalisations avec quelques risques:** Pour moi, en raison de l'incroyable confusion et de la médiocrité générale dans lesquelles se débattent nos pauvres essais de renaissance de l'art chrétien, une telle entreprise, menée par d'authentiques grandes artistes, me paraît, au contraire, la seule chose à faire qui soit immédiatement urgente – et son échec comme une défaite grave de nos meilleurs efforts... Des travaux excellents comme ce que vous faites à *L'Art sacré*, resteront stériles si on ne passe pas à l'action, pour des réalisations où avec quelques risques, les meilleures chances sont pourtant acquises dès le départ. (Couturier, lettre à Régamey, 18 août 1948) CES D 2C 38
- 1948-08-20: **Couturier: Lourdes ou Lisieux, « monuments de prétention et de médiocrité »:** [N]ous qui sommes catholiques, nous savons que nous avons à réparer le scandale donné par les auteurs décadents de l'art chrétien. La vulgarité, l'offensante laideur de nos sanctuaires modernes les plus illustrés et les plus offensants, Lourdes ou Lisieux [bénie par le nonce Pacelli: pape Pie XII lui-même], nous font aussi un devoir d'amendes honorables (réparations). Il nous faut démontrer qu'autre chose est possible dans l'église du Christ que ces monuments de prétention et de médiocrité pusillanime. (Couturier, La Basilique universelle de Pardon et la Paix et la Basilique de St Maximin, sans date) CES D 2C 5
- 1948-08-20*: **Maritain: informé de la réaction hostile, décida de se retirer du comité:** le père Nicolas avait également écrit à Maritain, qui, informé de la réaction hostile des dominicains de la Sainte-Baume, décida de se retirer du comité. (Maritain, lettre à Régamey, après le 20 août 1948, CES D 2C 38) Caussé 1999: 474

1948-09-03: COUTURIER: BAGARRES À L'HORIZON, IL FAUT JOUER SERRÉ

- 1948-09-03: **Couturier: « En attendant bagarres à l'horizon, il faut jouer serré »:** « vous êtes, vous le savez, impossible et merveilleuse à la fois. En attendant bagarres à l'horizon: certains Dominicains de Toulouse ont écrit des lettres telles que Maritain se retire du côté... Quelques autres incidents. Donc il faut jouer serré. Mais cela ne fait rien: on a des chauds partisans à Toulouse même ce qui est excellent. Surtout il y a ferveur des gens qui comprennent, et la vôtre... et notre bonne amitié. » (Couturier, lettre à Trouin, 3 septembre 1948) FLC I 3 I-499

1948-09-11: CLAUDIUS-PETIT: MINISTRE DE LA RECONSTRUCTION ET DE L'URBANISME

- 1948-09-11: **Claudius-Petit: Ministre de la Reconstruction et de l'Urbanisme:** Eugène Claudius-Petit... une très grande stabilité et continuité à la tête de ce ministère, 11 septembre 1948 à 1953. Badouï 1987b: 101

1948-10-00: L'ART SACRÉ: PUBLICATION ARRÊTÉE TRÈS SOUDAINEMENT

- 1948-10-00: **L'Art sacré décision d'arrêter la publication dut être très soudaine:** La décision d'arrêter la publication dut être très soudaine ainsi que l'indique une note de journal personnel de Régamey: «octobre [1948*], crise 'financière', publication suspendue». Caussé 2010: 130

1948-12-22: PEYROUTON WAS ACQUITTED,

- 1948-12-22: **Peyrouton was acquitted,** becoming the first of Vichy Minister whom the High Court did not automatically punish with national degradation because of his position in the regime. Novick 1968: 56, 224

1949: POSTWAR JUSTICE: PRISON, DENIALS, & DISCONTINUITIES

- 1948-12-31: **France: more than 1 in 400 persons tried:** The median number of cases per 10,000 population was 27... based on calculations made using statistics... through the end of 1948... (*Cahiers Francais d'Information*, 15 mars 1949) Novick 1968: 164
- 1949: **Frenchmen: nearly 1 per 1000 imprisoned:** The 38,000 prison sentences in France meant that 94 out of every 100,000 Frenchmen were imprisoned for collaboration. (André Boissarie, *La Répression*, Paris, 1949, p. 8 1949: 8) Novick 1968: 184-7
- 1949: **Judge Mornet: "four years to strike from our history":** Liberation writers talked about "four years to strike from our history"... discontinuities seemed the dominant mode of late 1940s France. (André Mornet, *Quatre années à rayé de notre histoire*, Paris, 1949) Paxton 1972: 331

1949-02-07: COUTURIER: LE FIGARO, 'BASILIQUE DU PARDON ET DE LA PAIX'

- 1949-02-07: **Couturier: Basilique du Pardon et de la Paix confié aux maitres de l'art moderne:** dans un temps où nous voyons s'aggraver toutes nos divisions, nous voulions donner un signe tangible que des hommes de bonne volonté (que tout séparait, par ailleurs, politiquement et socialement) pouvaient encore s'unir pour entreprendre ensemble une grande tâche spirituelle... De plus, pour que cette Basilique du Pardon et de la Paix fût digne d'un tel idéal, nous entendions la confier aux plus audacieux des maitres de l'art moderne. (Couturier, 'La Basilique du Pardon et de la Paix') *Le Figaro*, 7 février 1949
- 1949-02-07: **Couturier: en face des déplorables monuments de la décadence de l'art chrétien:** Et, par-là, en face des déplorables monuments de la décadence de l'art chrétien, nous étions heureux d'offrir aux catholiques de France cette revanche d'une église cachée où travailleraient librement les plus grands de nos artistes: Le Corbusier, Braque, H. Laurens, Matisse, Léger, donnaient leur adhésion... (Couturier, 'La Basilique du Pardon et de la Paix') *Le Figaro*, 7 février 1949

1949-03-03: COUTURIER: « LE CONTRE-PIED DE LA DÉCISION D'UN ÉVÊQUE »

- 1949-03-03: **Nicolas: l'article de Couturier dans Le Figaro:** le provincial de Toulouse [Le père Marie-Joseph Nicolas], furieux de cet article [de Couturier dans *Le Figaro*, 7 février 1949] qui semblait le mettre en cause, écrivit au père Couturier avec une intention de lui mettre les points sur les 'i'. Le père Couturier pouvait avoir des idées différentes quant à « la possibilité, l'opportunité et la valeur spirituelle de la basilique rupestre de Trouin », mais il était « incroyable » qu'« un religieux puisse, par la voie de la presse, prendre publiquement le contre-pied de la décision d'un évêque [Monseigneur Gaudel] à laquelle avait officiellement apporté son adhésion le responsable de son Ordre », et qu'il « puisse traiter cette décision en termes méprisants ». (Père Nicolas, provincial de Toulouse, lettre à Couturier, 3 mars 1949, CES 3 M5) Caussé 1999: 483

1949-04-26: ACA CONDEMNATION OF ST BAUME & LC

- 1949-04-26: **Gaudel: condamnation du projet:** Mgr Gaudel dut fort peu goûter l'article [du Couturier] du Figaro [7 février 1949] qui déclencha sans doute le dernier acte de l'histoire. La nouvelle tomba avec une dépêche de l'AFP le 26 avril 1949: assemblée des cardinaux et évêques se rangeant à l'avis de « l'évêque de Fréjus [Mgr Gaudel] », condamnait solennellement le projet. Caussé 1999: 485
- 1949-04-26: **ACA: Cardinaux et archevêques sont unanimes à blâmer cette initiative:** L'assemblée des cardinaux et archevêques vient de faire connaître que, lors de sa dernière assemblée, elle s'est rangée à l'avis de l'évêque de Fréjus [Mgr Gaudel] qui a condamné le projet de construction d'une basilique souterraine de la Paix et du Pardon, dans le massif rocheux de la Sainte-Baume, près de la grotte de Sainte Marie-Madeleine. « Les cardinaux et archevêques sont unanimes à blâmer cette initiative et désapprouvent tout appel qui serait fait à la générosité des catholiques en faveur de ce projet. » (Agence France-Presse, 26 avril 1949) CES-D-2C76
- 1949-04-26: **ACA: Cette basilique devait être construite par l'architecte Le Corbusier:** Cette basilique, pour laquelle un comité avait été créé devait être construite par l'architecte Le Corbusier, avec la collaboration d'artistes contemporains. (Agence France-Presse, 26 avril 1949) CES-D-2C76
- 1949-04-26*: **La leçon: le rôle décisif des responsables locaux:** La leçon [de la condamnation de la basilique de la Sainte Baume] fut l'impossibilité de concevoir un projet en dehors d'une assise locale solide... À la Sainte-Baume, le fait que le projet soit importé [de l'Île-de-France] constitua la pierre d'achoppement, redoublée du fait que les responsables religieux furent prévenus qu'après coup, et aggravée encore par la personnalité inquiétante d'Édouard Trouin. L'appel aux grands artistes ne constitua pas le fond de cette querelle. Ce constat met parfaitement en lumière le rôle décisif des

responsables locaux – prêtres et laïcs – à Assy, Vence, et dans le diocèse de Besançon. Caussé 1999: 485-6

- 1949-04-26*: **Sainte-Baume: la réticence, à Besançon, au nom de Couturier:** l'affaire [la condamnation de la basilique de la Sainte-Baume] coïncida avec le début des controverses sur Assy et sur Vence et le lien fut établi dans la presse entre les trois lieux. Elle fut aussi une des raisons données à la réticence que certains eurent, à Besançon, à voir rattaché le nom de Couturier au projet de Le Corbusier pour Ronchamp. Caussé 2010: 289

1949-05-00: SAINT-SIÈGE: AUTORISATION DE LA MISSION DE FRANCE

- 1949-05-00: **Saint-Siège: autorisation de la mission de France « pour trois ans »:** Ce statut [l'autorisation des prêtres-ouvriers de la Mission de France par le Saint-Siège], le cardinal Suhard le reçoit en mai 1949 deux jours avant sa mort, comme une joie ultime. La mission est placée sous l'autorité d'une commission épiscopale dont les membres sont nommés par le Saint-Siège sur la proposition de l'Assemblée des cardinaux et archevêques... Le statut est donné « pour expérience et pour trois ans ». Dansette 1957: 254

1949-05-00: LÉGER: MOSAIC WAS SHIPPED TO ASSY AND INSTALLED

- 1949-05-00: **Léger: mosaic was shipped to Assy and installed,** May 1949. Rubin 1961: 123

1949-06-20: L'ART SACRÉ RELANÇÉ AUX ÉDITIONS DU CERF

- 1949-06-20: **L'Art sacré: relancé par Les éditions du Cerf.** Caussé 1999: 191
- 1949-06-20: **Comité de rédaction: premier rencontre:** Les projets [de la nouvelle *L'Art Sacré*] pris forme depuis le mois de mars 1949. Le père Régamey adressa en juin au père Couturier un projet préparatoire à un comité de rédaction prévue pour « le jeudi 20 juin 1949... ». Caussé 1999: 200-1
- 1949-06-20: **Couturier participation définitive dans la revue L'Art sacré.** Caussé 2010: 134
- 1949-06-20: **Couturier: n'était pas d'accord sur la présentation de la revue:** Régamey adressa à Couturier un projet pour le premier comité de rédaction [de AS] qui devait se tenir le 20 juin 1949... Couturier lui écrivit qu'il... n'était pas d'accord sur la présentation de la revue, qui devait être un objet d'art, « et non pas une section d'un vaste ouvrage de 'Philosophie de l'art sacré' plus ou moins coupé en morceaux... » Caussé 2010: 142
- 1949-06-20*: **Régamey: christianisme « impuissant à féconder les forces du monde qui naît »:** dans le domaine de l'expression sensible, les difficultés de l'art sacré moderne retrouvaient celles « de l'homme désaccordé », celles d'un christianisme « impuissant à féconder les forces du monde qui naît ». (Régamey, lettre de la Tour-Maubourg, juin 1949) Caussé 1999: 196
- 1949-06-20*: **L'Art sacré: sauvé de l'anéantissement:** *L'Art sacré* fut sauvé de l'anéantissement [fév. 1954] par le fait qu'a le Tour-Maubourg... étant « strictement laïque », la maison d'édition était « totalement indépendante », ce qui permet « justement au moment de cette tempête, qu'elle soit à plus près préservée parce que le Maître Général avait autorité sur les religieux mais pas... sur la maison. » (Régamey, entretiens, 1991) Caussé 1999: 268

1949-06-25: RONCHAMP: MOREUX N'ACCEPTERAIT PAS DES TRAVAUX

- 1949-06-30: **Conseil: Il se révèle nécessaire de démonter la Chapelle existante:** Il se révèle absolument nécessaire, à notre avis, de démonter la Chapelle existante, l'état de celle-ci ne permettant pas d'envisager une remise en état et de satisfaire au minimum aux conditions essentielles de solidité. (Henri, La Réunion du Conseil de Ronchamp, 25 juin 1949) AONDH
- 1949-06-25: **Moreux: n'accepterait pas d'entreprendre des travaux de réparation:** Monsieur Moreux n'accepterait pas d'entreprendre des travaux de réparation si le problème se posait. (Henri, La Réunion du Conseil de Ronchamp, 25 juin 1949) AONDH
- 1949-06-25: **Conseil: Les matériaux récupérés: construction d'un amphithéâtre naturel:** Après discussion, le conseil a accepté que cette démolition soit accomplie. Les matériaux récupérés entrèrent d'une part dans la construction d'un amphithéâtre naturel et, d'autre part, serviront à empierrer la route d'accès dont l'état ne permet pas le passage des véhicules automobiles. (Henri, La Réunion du Conseil de Ronchamp, 25 juin 1949) AONDH
- 1949-06-25*: **Ronchamp: CDAS chercha un autre architecte,** 1949-50. Caussé 2007: 70

1949-07-00: FRANCE: THE HIGH COURT LAST CASE WAS HEARD. Jackson 2001: 588

1949-07-00: COUTURIER: PRÉPARE LA PRÉSENTATION DE MARSEILLE

- 1949-07-00: **Couturier: la préparation des numéros 3-4 et 5-6:** dans ses lettres de l'été, le père Couturier abordait aussi la préparation des numéros [de *L'Art Sacré*] 3-4 [novembre-décembre 1949] et 5-6 [janvier-février 1950]. « Ne prévoyant pas des grands travaux entre septembre et le

15 novembre », il prendrait « entièrement la charge » de troisième (n. 5-6...) Malgré le principe de l'alternance, les deux directeurs échangèrent sur les articles de ce numéro. Le père Couturier... en discuter en août 1949 la documentation... (Couturier, lettre à Régamey, juillet 1949) Caussé 1999: 206

- 1949-07-00: **Couturier: prépare la présentation du chantier de Marseille:** Durant l'été, Couturier avait abordé la préparation de ce numéro [3-4, novembre-décembre 1949] ainsi que du suivant (numéro 5-6, janvier-février 1950)... et la cité radieuse de Marseille... (Couturier, AS n. 5-6, janvier 1950) Caussé 2010: 146, 450

1949-07-13: VATICAN EXCOMMUNICATION OF COMMUNISM

- 1949-07-13: **Pius XII: Excommunication for communism:** The Church responded to the Communist persecution in Eastern Europe on 13 July 1949, when the Vatican issued the decree *Decretum: Response ad dubia de communismo*, excommunicating any Catholic "who knowingly and freely defends or spreads the materialist and anti-Christian doctrine of communism". (AAS volume XLI, 1949: 334) Dunn 1977: 171
- 1949-07-13: **Pius XII: le catholicisme « progressiste » français et la « nouvelle théologie »:** Un coup de frein brutal a été donné à ce mouvement [du catholicisme « progressiste » français et de la « nouvelle théologie » des dominicains] en 1951 par l'encyclique *Humani generis*, suivant elle-même le décret du Saint-Office de 1949 sur les rapports des catholiques avec le communisme. Vu de Rome, le cas des prêtres ouvriers n'apparaissait que comme le chaînon extrême d'une vaste remise en cause qui menaçait dangereusement l'autorité et même l'orthodoxie. Poulat 1982: 547

1949-08-00: COUTURIER: LES AUTELS DE MOREUX « SANS GRAND INTÉRÊT »

- 1949-08-00: **Couturier: les autels de Moreux et Laborde:** Dans une lettre... le père Couturier lui retournait ses remarques [de Régamey]... il trouvait les autels de Jean-Charles Moreux et de dom de Laborde « sans grand intérêt » est proposait pour le second une légende atténuant les compliments qu'en faisait le père Régamey... « Je me suis permis de remplacer votre texte: 'd'une valeur si exceptionnelle, œuvre de P. ...' etc. par: 'cette autel, œuvre charmante de dom de L...' Et je crois qu'à la réflexion vous me donnerez raison »... (Couturier, lettre à Régamey, août 1949, CES C 10C 45) Caussé 1999: 205
- 1949-08*-00: **Comité d'architecture: son rôle réduit à zéro:** On retrouve en divers endroits dans les textes du père Régamey des traces de discussions, d'appréciations émanant de membres du comité [d'architecture de *L'Art Sacré*], mais son rôle fut clairement circonscrit à la série "Reconstruire Les Églises". Il [le comité] participa activement aux trois premiers cahiers... Son rôle était réduit dans le quatrième numéro, consacré à l'architecture alémanique, et réduit à zéro dans le cinquième et dernier cahier de la série de septembre 1949, qui a inauguré la nouvelle formule de *L'Art Sacré*. Caussé 1999: 148

1949-09-04: LC MEETING WITH MATISSE AT VENCE

- 1949-09-04: **LC: meeting with Matisse:** on the previous Sunday [4 September] Le Corbusier met with the 79-year-old Henri Matisse... (LC-Marie, 7 September 1949, Paris) Weber 2008: 522
- 1949-09-04: **LC: Matisse "has found the key" cutting forms out of colored paper:** The architect was deeply impressed by the way Matisse... managed to cut forms out of colored paper and arrange them rhythmically. "He has found the key"... (LC-Marie, 7 September 1949, Paris) Weber 2008: 522

1949-09-27: LE CORBUSIER: RENCONTRE COUTURIER ET MATISSE

- 1949-09-27: **Rayssiguier: « Le Corbusier est venu voir Matisse »:** Le Corbusier qui est venu le voir pendant presque deux heures a été très gentil. Il a déclaré « qu'on retrouvait la main de Matisse partout ». (Rayssiguier, journal, 27 septembre 1949) Matisse et al. 1993: 246
- 1949-09-27: **LC: « Quelle leçon Matisse nous donne ! »:** J'ai vu récemment Le Corbusier, enthousiasmé de la visite qu'il vous avait faite. Il redisait à tout le monde, 'Quelle leçon il [Matisse] nous donne !' ... quel renouvellement !... » (Couturier, journal, 27 septembre 1949) Matisse et al. 1993: 246

1949-10-06: DUBOURG: « MON AFFECTION FILIALE ENVERS LE PAPE »

- 1949-10-06: **Dubourg: « la statue sur la colline des Buis à Besançon »:** « [L]a Sainte vierge que j'ai tant aimée, que j'ai été si heureux de pouvoir glorifier magnifiquement à Marseille d'abord, en faisant couronner sa statue de Notre-Dame de la Garde en présence d'une foule innombrable et enthousiaste; à Besançon ensuite, où, le 8 septembre 1949, fut inauguré le monument votif de la guerre, et bénie la statue de Notre-Dame de Libération sur la colline des Buis. » (Dubourg, Testament spirituel, 6 octobre 1949) Thiébaud 1999: 287

- 1949-10-06: **Dubourg**: « mon affection filiale envers Notre Saint-Père le Pape »: « [C]es lignes... attestent à... mon attachement indéfectible à la Sainte Église Catholique, Apostolique et Romaine à laquelle je suis si heureux et si fier d'appartenir. Qu'elles proclament bien haut mon respect, ma soumission, mon affection filiale envers Notre Saint-Père le Pape ! (Dubourg, 'Mon testament spirituel', 6 octobre 1949; in *La Voix Diocésaine*, numéro spécial sur Monseigneur Dubourg, 1954, page 4) Thiébaud 1999: 286-7

1949-10-27: RONCHAMP: SOCIÉTÉ CIVILE IMMOBILIÈRE DE N.-D. DU HAUT

- 1799: **N.-D. du Haut**: la chapelle rachetée par une association de chefs de familles: « Après la Révolution de 1789, la chapelle et son territoire avaient été rachetés par une association de chefs de familles... Il aurait fallu contacter leurs descendants aux quatre coins du monde. Je passe sur toutes ces démarches. » (Henri, lettre à Bolle-Reddat, septembre 1980) Bolle-Reddat, JNDH 1983, n. 72, p. 22
- 1799: **N.-D. du Haut**: sous l'égide de M. Leauchet, curé de Ronchamp de 1796 à 1799: « [S]ous l'égide de M. Beauchet, curé de Ronchamp de 1796 à 1799 ou sous le pastorat de M. Pierchy qui administra la paroisse de 1799 à 1803, on racheta le bien ecclésiastique nationalisé. L'acte de vente fut signé le 14 Prairial de l'An VII de la République Première (2 juin 1799). Le citoyen Claude-François Billy céda sans regret ce bien acquis le 9 Pluviose de l'An V... » (Henri, lettre à Bolle-Reddat, septembre 1980) Bolle-Reddat, JNDH 1983, n. 72, p. 22
- 1945: **titre de propriété: les Services de la Reconstruction**: « Enfin grâce à Me Hartmann, notaire à Ronchamp, on réussit à produire un titre de propriété dont les Services de la Reconstruction voulaient bien se contenter. On procéda à la constitution du dossier. » (Henri, lettre à Bolle-Reddat, septembre 1980) Bolle-Reddat, JNDH 1983, n. 72, p. 22
- 1949-10-27: **Henri et propriétaires: Statuts d'une 'Société civile immobilière de N.-D. du Haut'**: Le 26 septembre 1949, 150 ans après, 20 légitimes (?) propriétaires et trois nouveaux venus au pays mais qui apportent une surface importante de terrain sont réunis sous l'égide de l'abbé [Henri] Besançon et par-devant M. Carraud, notaire à Vesoul. Les statuts d'une « Société civile immobilière de N.-D. du Haut » sont définis et signés. Enregistrés à Lure le 27 octobre 1949... Il ne s'agissait pas de se partager un héritage mirifique mais de prendre de graves responsabilités et de courir des risques. Les héritiers ne se pressaient pas en l'étude du notaire. Bolle-Reddat, JNDH 1983, n. 72, p. 23

1949-10-31: LC: « VOUS ÊTES UN PARISIEN DE FORTES SOUCHES, DU SANG RACÉ »

- 1949-10-31: **LC-Bauchant**: « Vous êtes un paysan, mais dans vos veines fut coulé du sang racé »: «vous êtes un parisien de fortes souches. La ville ne vous vit jamais qu'en voyageur furtif ; mais l'âme du parisien et en vous, faite du terroir des origines de chacun de nous et des aspirations fondamentales: le goût de la nature – la forêt, les prairies, les ruisseaux – le besoin d'histoire qui est un soubassement de l'existence et le goût des légendes, et votre œuvre et pleine de déesses, de héros et de sirènes et de Dieu encore. Vous êtes un paysan, mais dans vos veines fut coulé du sang racé. Miracle de France, où les nobles et gentils-hommes connaissent les bergères... » (LC, lettre à André Bauchant, 31 octobre 1949) Jenger 2002: 323

1949-12-12: MATISSE: LA CÉRÉMONIE DE LA CHAPELLE DE VENCE

- 1949-12-00: **Couturier**: avait « horreur » du travail en équipe: Couturier... avait « horreur » du travail en équipe... (Couturier, lettre à Régamey, décembre 1949) Caussé 1999: 209
- 1949-12-12: **Matisse**: « la première pierre de la chapelle sera bénie par Mgr Rémond »: je dois vous faire savoir que la cérémonie de la pose de la première pierre de la chapelle doit avoir lieu le 12 décembre prochain à 10:00, ce lundi, demain en huit. La cérémonie sera bénie par Mgr Rémond. (Matisse-Couturier, 4 décembre 1949) Matisse, et al. 1993: 272

1949-12-00: FRANCE: THE CIVIC COURTS CONCLUDED DECEMBER 1949

1949-12-22: FRANCE: SECOND AMNESTY LAW PASSED. Lottman 1986: 279

1950s: SAINT-OFFICE: STRUCTURE DE L'AUTORITÉ

- 1950s: **Saint-Office**: structure de l'autorité: le Pape, Ottaviani, Pizzardo: C'est le Pape qui en a la responsabilité la plus haute... Dix cardinaux nommés par le pape siègent régulièrement à la tête du Saint-Office. Parmi eux, son responsable permanent, le secrétaire de la Suprême Congrégation. Le cardinal préfet de la congrégation des séminaires et des universités y est comme membre de droit.

À l'époque qui nous intéresse, le cardinal Ottaviani occupe la première charge, et le cardinal Pizzardo, la seconde. Leprieur 1989: 504

- 1950s: **Suprême Congrégation: fondée en 1542 pour la surveillance de la doctrine:** la Suprême Congrégation du Saint-Office a été fondée en 1542, avec pour tâche principale la surveillance de la doctrine en ce qui concerne la foi et les mœurs. Son importance et telle qu'elle est présidée par le pape lui-même. Depuis le deuxième concile Vatican, cette congrégation a été sensiblement remaniée. Leprieur 1989: 721

1950-53: SEVERE IDEOLOGICAL TENSIONS

- 1950-53: **Korean War: the years of the most severe ideological tension:** 1950 to 1953 were the years of the most severe ideological tension. With the outbreak of the Korean War, it was not too far-fetched to predict a Russian occupation of Western Europe... in early 1953, Stalin died; the following summer the war in Korea came to an end... Hughes [1968] 1987: 164-5

1950: LC: « LE MODULOR »

- 1950: **LC: Le pays des nombres:** mathématiques sont l'édifice magistral imaginé par l'homme pour sa compréhension de l'univers. On y rencontre l'absolu et l'infini le préhensible et l'insaisissable. Des murs s'y dressent devant lesquels on peut passer et repasser sans fruit; une porte s'y trouve parfois; on l'ouvre, on entre, on est en d'autres lieux, là où se trouvent les dieux, là où se sont les clefs des grands systèmes. Ces portes sont celle des miracles. Passée l'une de ces portes, ce n'est plus l'homme qui opère: c'est l'univers que celui-ci touche ici en un point quelconque. Et devant lui se déroulent et rayonnent les tapis prodigieux des combinaisons sans limites. Il est au pays des nombres. Il peut être un homme bien modeste et être entré tout de même. Laissez-le demeurer ravi devant tant de lumière si intensément répandue. LC 1950b: 73
- 1950: **LC: l'aspiration, réaliser sur terre le paradis:** Cette dernière affirmation, insolente, de Rameau, éclaire notre recherche: la musique domine, règne. À vrai dire l'harmonie. L'harmonie régnant sur toutes choses, réglant les choses autour de nos vies, et l'aspiration spontanée, assidue et inlassable de l'homme animé d'une force: le divin [the sense of the divine, 74], et chargé d'une mission: réaliser sur terre le paradis. Paradis signifiait *jardin* dans les civilisations orientales; le jardin sous les rais du soleil, comme à son ombre, était rutilant des plus belles fleurs et des légumes variées. LC 1950b: 76
- 1950: **LC: l'Apocalypse: 'un silence d'environ une demi-heure':** [Q]uand l'Évangéliste de l'Apocalypse écrit: « Il y eut dans le ciel un silence d'environ une demi-heure... » Cette appréciation humaine isolée de la durée cosmique est subitement poignante au point de vous couper le souffle. LC 1950b: 76-7
- 1950: **LC: miracle des nombres:** Le « Modulor » ... se prêtant à l'illimité des combinaisons, il assure unité dans la diversité, bénéfice inestimable, miracle des nombres. LC 1950b: 92
- 1950: **LC: l'accord entre une psychophysiologie et l'univers:** L'architecte seul est capable d'instituer l'accord entre l'homme et son milieu (l'homme = une psychophysiologie; le milieu = 'l'univers': nature et cosmos). LC 1950b: 113
- 1950: **LC: la mathématique est près du divin:** la mathématique... est aussi près du divin qu'elle sera à jamais insaisissable dans ses infinis retranchements... LC 1950b: 185-6
- 1950: **LC: on perçoit quelque part le fait religion:** Nulle nécessité, pour nous, de prendre des airs confits ou extasiés en évoquant ces éclairs de vérité fondamentale qu'il nous est loisible de saisir parfois au croisement des chemins et qui sont un fait authentique de religion. Mais il est inutile aussi quand on perçoit quelque part le fait religion, de marcher sur la pointe des pieds et de se faire bigot. LC 1950b: 220

1950: PURGE: FAILURE AND BACKLASH

- 1950s: **Leguay, Bousquet, Papon: glittering careers in business and politics:** Leguay and Bousquet had both been tried at the Liberation but suffered only minor penalties because they were able to show that they had abetted the resistance. Papon not been tried at all. Their role in the Jewish deportations had barely been an issue at the liberation. All had gone on to glittering careers in business and politics. Jackson 2001: 616
- 1950s: **Carrel: purged of racist eugenics, reinvented as a scientific genius and visionary humanist:** In the early 1950s... purged of his fascist sympathies and racist eugenics, Carrel was... reinvented as a scientific genius and visionary humanist. In the next three decades... writers in France and the United States... showed a convenient disregard of the biographical evidence — such as his fascist and racist views — that contradicts any definition, religious or secular, of humanism. Reggiani 2007: 169

1950: COUTURIER: CONFIANCE DE SON EXCELLENCE DUBOURG

- 1950: **Couturier: l'affectueuse confiance de Dubourg et ses conseillers:** Couturier a l'affectueuse confiance de son excellence Mgr l'archevêque [Dubourg] de Besançon et de ses conseillers... Duployé [1954] 2005: 213

1950-01-00: COUTURIER: AS 5-6, JAN-FEV 1950, PURIFICATION & LIBÉRATION

- 1950-01-00: **Couturier: Marseille: « un renouvellement des formes »:** Marseille. Le Corbusier. Nous ne disons pas que de telles constructions feraient d'admirables églises (et, d'ailleurs, il suffira toujours à l'essentiel du culte chrétien d'une table du bois dans une pauvre chambre), mais nous devons rappeler inlassablement que lorsque les nécessités matérielles ont su provoquer un pareil renouvellement des formes, il est scandaleux que les exigences spirituelles n'aient plus dans nos milieux la force d'en susciter aussi. (Couturier, 'Pour les yeux', AS 5-6, janvier-février 1950, p. 23)
- 1950-01-00: **Couturier: l'art: « c'est l'intuition sensible qui juge, et non pas le raisonnement »:** En art ce n'est pas l'intelligence qui juge et discerne, ce sont les sens. Très exactement l'intuition sensible et non pas le raisonnement. En matière d'art on ne juge pas comme on pense, mais comme on sent. C'est-à-dire comme on est. (Couturier, 'Pour les yeux', AS 5-6, janvier-février 1950, p. 3)
- 1950-01-00: **Couturier: renaissance de l'art chrétien: « une purification et une libération »:** La tâche assumée par l'art sacré dans cette tentative d'une renaissance de l'art chrétien en France doit être double: réforme des idées – restauration de la sensibilité visuelle. Sur le premier point il semble que la partie soit à peu près gagnée – à tous le moins auprès de l'élite du clergé... cette tâche de restauration de la sensibilité visuelle... semble devoir impliquer deux choses: une *purification* et une *libération*. *Purification*: par la vue des formes en elle-même très pures. Pureté formelle, beauté des formes en tant que telles, c'est-à-dire indépendamment des sujets des intentions. Beauté dont nous devons maintenir qu'elle est, en art, le seul moyen légitime, le seul d'ailleurs qui soit durablement efficace... En second lieu, *Libération*. Durant ce même dernier siècle — et du fait encore de l'impérialisme académique dans les Écoles d'art et les milieux officiels... les habitudes visuelles du public ont été non seulement perverti, mais encore enfermées, emprisonnées dans des conformismes à prétention de noblesse, ou n'était plus admise qu'une portion très diminuée de la beauté multiple et vivante des êtres. (Couturier, 'Pour les yeux', AS 5-6, jan-fév 1950, pp. 3-4)
- 1950-01-00: **Couturier: « beauté des formes sans aucune concession morale ou apostoliques »:** L'histoire de l'art prouve en effet irrécusablement que, depuis cent cinquante ans, aucune œuvre n'a duré, aucune œuvre n'a tenu que celles où la primauté de la beauté des formes, comme telle a été (consciemment ou inconsciemment) absolue. Absolue, c'est-à-dire sans aucune concession à des fins morales, sociales ou apostoliques, extérieure à l'œuvre. Dès que ces concessions interviennent, nous quittons, en effet, le domaine propre de l'art pour celui de la propagande, domaine où les moyens ne sont pas seulement provisoires. (Couturier, 'Pour les yeux', AS 5-6, janvier-février 1950, p. 4)
- 1950-01-00: **Couturier: « des formes pures nous 'accordent' comme on accorde un piano »:** [P]urs rapports de couleurs et de lignes gardent pour toujours cette miraculeuse puissance de purification, d'apaisement ou d'exaltation que leur auteurs n'avaient même pas cherchée. Car la beauté, de soi et pour soi, est déjà un véritable bien: *diffusivum sui*. Rien qu'à rester sous nos regards, des formes pures peu à peu nous « accordent » (comme un accord un piano) à leur beauté. Comme une musique, elles nous imposent secrètement leur mesure et leurs rythmes. Voilà pourquoi nous présenterons (p. 3 à 10) des images qui ne seront que des belles images très pures – et, si possible, sans légendes et sans explications. Ceci afin qu'aucune activité rationnelle ne vienne s'interposer dans ce qui doit rester une très simple et très directe intuition sensible. (Couturier, 'Pour les yeux', AS 5-6, janvier-février 1950, p. 4)
- 1950-01-00: **Couturier: formes admirables: rigueur des calculs et des fonctions:** nous publierons donc des images empruntées aux réalités naturelles et surtout à l'industrie... Nous rappelant que toujours des formes admirables sont nées, sans aucun souci d'art, de la seule rigueur des calculs et d'une saine conception des fonctions et des fins. [Positivisme] (Couturier, AS 5-6, janv-février 1950, p. 4)

1950-02-02—03-12: LC: BOGOTA: CATHÉDRALE HISTORIQUE & ANTICLÉRICISME

- 1950-02-02: **LC in Bogota.** Sketchbook D16'-I50
- 1950-02-02*: **LC: Bogota: La Sainte-Baume and the Plaza the Toro:** in Bogota, Le Corbusier once again returned to an idea developed for an earlier project, in this case the underground basilica he wished to see built in the rock of La Sainte-Baume, where, according to tradition, Mary Magdalene had come to seek refuge... At Bogota, the Plaza the Toro confirmed for the architect the potential of this circular scheme. (171) De Franclieu 1981b

- 1950-02-02*: **LC: Bogota: notre plan manque la coupole qui marque le siège des dieux:** Il y a dans notre plan de Bogota que des chambres carrées, car il n'y que business, affaires, logis. Il manque la coupole sous ses formes diverses qui marque le siège de l'esprit ou des dieux. D15-82. 1981b: 9
- 1950-02-02*: **LC: Bogota: « Classé historique le front total de la cathédrale »:** [Bogota] délimitation d'une zone historique d'urgence. Classé historique le front total de la cathédrale + l'hinterland paysage abc + Saint Ignacio. Sketchbook D16'-159. De Franclieu 1981b: 16
- 1950-02-02*: **LC: « La Fin d'un Monde, ou la Délivrance »:** « La fin d'un Monde », « ou la Délivrance » une langue unique. Toutes les langues séparent. Heurtent. L'anglais imposé ? Jamais. Le mot indicible n'existe pas en anglais !! Sketchbook D16'-197. De Franclieu 1981b: 17
- 1950-02-02*: **LC: « le ciel et la création humaine remis en contact »:** Quand on voit les montagnes sur la ville, les arbres dans la ville, ou là où [on] est en droit de les imaginer dans la ville, de la ville – Le Matin, le ciel et la création humaine remis en contact, alors qu'Alger, comme Bogota chaque jour ont fermé leurs fenêtres et leurs rues au paysage offert, comme St Dié qui a dit non et la Rochelle autant. Sketchbook D16'-198. De Franclieu 1981b: 17
- 1950-02-02*: **LC: « le crime: l'imbécillité, forgée par les écoles, les églises, l'argent »:** on sait où est le crime: C'est l'imbécillité, forgée par les écoles, les églises, les cellules en faveur de l'argent ou de la vanité. Sketchbook D16'-198, 200. De Franclieu 1981b: 17
- 1950-03-07: **LC interview with Columbia's president:** At the end of the sketchbook D14, the first explicit date, 7 March 1950, alludes to the interviews Le Corbusier and his associates had with Columbia's president (44). Certain pages clearly reveal the initial approach to the plan for Bogota (Sketchbook D14-27-29).
- 1950-03-08: **LC: airplane from Miami to New York.** (Sketchbook D14-42)
- 1950-03-12: **LC: through customs at Orly airport.** (Sketchbook D14-41)

1950-02-16: **DUBOURG: UNE PASTORALE OUVERTE**

- 1950-02-16: **Dubourg: une pastorale ouverte:** Mgr Dubourg... prônait une pastorale ouverte, ainsi que le montre clairement sa lettre pastorale de 1950 sur « Les exigences du monde moderne ». (Dubourg, *La Croix*, 16 février 1950) Caussé 2007. 63

1950-03-00—03-23: **COUTURIER: LES CHOSES NOUVELLES VRAIMENT PURES**

- 1950-03-00: **Couturier: AS n. 7-8 mars-avril:** « le numéro [AS n. 7-8 mars-avril 1950 tel que le voilà... » (Régamey, lettre à Couturier, février 1950) Caussé 2010: 153
- 1950-03-23: **Couturier: « les choses nouvelles vraiment pures »:** Je crois devoir vous déconseiller de livrer cette bataille, qui n'en vaut décidément pas les risques. Il me semble que nous n'avons pas le droit d'engager l'art religieux sur des routes qui, dans dix ans, s'avéreront avoir été des fausses routes, même si, actuellement, il semble "meilleur" de prendre ces routes-là plutôt que de rétrograder vers le passé... Je comprends très bien, soyez-en sûr, votre sentiment: barrer la route aux mauvaises raisons qui font qu'on rejeterait aussi bien (et même mieux) les choses nouvelles vraiment pures que celles qui ne le sont pas. (Couturier, lettre à Régamey, 23 mars 1950) Caussé 2010: 460

1950-03-15—29: **LC: FIRST MEETING FOR RONCHAMP: EVIDENCE**

- 1950-03-15: **Couturier: en Franche-Comté:** Je serai, en effet, là-bas pour l'église d'Assy après demain matin. Pour trois jours, et de là-bas, étant à mi-chemin, je pourrais descendre sur Nice si vous le désirez. (Couturier, lettre à Matisse, 14 March 1950) Matisse, et al. 1993: 317
- 1950-03-21: **Henri: « Vu Ledeur: Proposez Le Corbusier ! »:** AONDH. Abbé Henri: Vu M. le Chanoine Lucien Ledeur / Projets Moreux ne donnent pas satisfaction. / Lui - pas assez énergique. / Proposez Le Corbusier ! un maître – / moderne – audacieux – ([Building ?] – Marseille) / bien en cours auprès du gouvernement. / Agréer – avec M. François Mathey pour régler l'affaire. / Attends. (Henri, note, 21 mars 1950) AONDH
- 1950-03-29: **LC: rendez-vous avec Mathey et Jardot:** l'agenda de l'architecte mentionne un rendez-vous avec Mathey et Jardot le 29 mars [mercredi] 1950 à neuf heures. Caussé 2007: 71
- 1950-03-29: **LC notation of meeting:** le carnet correspondant de Le Corbusier mentionnait (1949 à 1951, page 98): « Mathey, Jardot, Le Corbusier. Organismes voyage église Ronchamp. Montrez Mathey télégramme Brésil. » Caussé 2007: 71

1950-03-29: **LC: RONCHAMP, COMMENCEMENT DE TRAVAIL ?**

- 1950-03-29: **LC: la chapelle de Ronchamp à laquelle je travaille depuis 8 mois:** Demain l'Archevêque de Besançon vient ratifier (?) la chapelle de Ronchamp à laquelle je travaille depuis 8 mois. LC, lettre à Marie et Albert, 28 novembre 1950, FLC R2-2-24T

1950-03-26: **DUBOURG: LA PREMIÈRE PIERRE DE L'ÉGLISE D'AUDINCOURT**

- 1950-03-26: **Audincourt: la première pierre fut bénie par Dubourg...** Caussé 1999: 634

1950-04-00: **VENCE: LES MURS DE LA CHAPELLE**

- 1950-04-00: **Vence: les murs de la chapelle étaient achevés en avril 1950:** le chantier [de la chapelle de Vence] débuta le 28 septembre 1949... La première pierre fut posée le 12 décembre... Les murs étaient achevés en avril 1950. Caussé 2010: 334

1950-04-00: **COUTURIER: L'ART DE SAINT-SULPICE, DE LOURDES, DE LISIEUX**

- 1950-04-00: **Couturier: L'art de Saint-Sulpice: l'état réel de chrétienté européenne:** L'art de Saint-Sulpice, de Lourdes, de Lisieux, de Fourvière, répond exactement à ce qu'aimaient inconsciemment cardinaux, évêques et prêtres. Cet art porte sur l'état réel de chrétienté européenne un témoignage accablant. (Couturier, journal, avril 1950) Couturier 1984: 261
- 1950-04*-00: **Pacelli: consecrated the new basilica of Saint Thérèse in Lisieux:** Pacelli [future Pius XII] consecrated the new basilica of Saint Thérèse in Lisieux on 9 July 1937. Cornwell 1999: 173-4

1950-04-23—24: **LC: MEETING FOR RONCHAMP: ARCHIVAL EVIDENCE**

- 1950-04-23: **LC: agenda 23 avril, rue de Sèvres, mentionne: « 10 h, Abbé Ledeur (Jardot) »:** L'agenda du 23 avril mentionne: « 10 h, Abbé Ledeur (Jardot) » et le carnet correspondant: « l'Abbé Ledeur, prof à Besançon, aimerait voir Claudius pour la reconstruction des églises de France, voudrait avoir rendez-vous le lundi si possible. Avertir Mathey (tel ?) lundi 4 heures ». Agenda du 30 avril: « 10. Abbé Ledeur Mathey ». Caussé 2007: 71
- 1950-04-24: **LC: rue de Sèvres: lundi, 24 April à 16 h:** les archives [FLC] ne permettent pas de trancher entre le lundi 24 avril à 16 heures et dimanches 30 avril à 10 heures. Caussé 2007: 71
- 1950-04-24*: **Ledeur: « la possibilité d'aller jusqu'au bout, une totale liberté de création »:** Ledeur... essaie de convaincre Le Corbusier il s'agit là de bâtir, non pour une « institution morte », mais pour une tradition bien vivante; et il plaide en ces termes: « nous n'avons pas grand-chose à vous offrir, mais nous pouvons vous offrir ceci: un magnifique paysage, et aussi la possibilité d'aller jusqu'au bout. Je ne sais si vous devez faire des églises, mais si vous devez en faire une, les conditions sont ici requises, permettant de penser que la cause n'est pas perdue d'avance et que là sera favorisée une totale liberté de création. » (Ledeur, entretien avec Pauly, mars 1974) Pauly 1980: 27

1950-04-30: **LC: MEETING FOR RONCHAMP: EVIDENCE**

- 1950-04-30: **LC: Agenda du 30 avril: « 10. Abbé Ledeur Mathey ».** Caussé 2007: 71

1950-05-00: **COUTURIER: CRUCIFIX D'ASSY & L'INSPIRATION MYSTIQUE**

- 1950-05-00: **Couturier: la maquette du crucifix d'Assy:** Couturier présenta [AS n. 9-10 mai-juin 1950]... de sa propre initiative, en pleine page, la maquette du crucifix d'Assy dont l'image déclencha la querelle. Caussé 2010: 154
- 1950-05-00: **Couturier: les plus grands maîtres de l'art et les plus grands monuments:** Ce fut une tradition ininterrompue: de siècle en siècle, et si divers et révolutionnaires qu'ils fussent, les plus grands maîtres de l'art occidental avaient toujours trouvé des Papes, des Évêques, des Abbés, pour leur confier, et parfois contre vents et marées, les plus grands monuments de la Chrétienté. (Couturier, 'Aux grands hommes, les grands choses', AS 9-10, mai-juin 1950)
- 1950-05-00: **Couturier: Lisieux: les plus grands monuments sont les pires:** À partir de XIXe siècle tout commence à changer: les grands hommes sont, les uns après les autres, évincés au bénéfice des talents « secondaires », puis des médiocres, puis des faiseurs, puis des marchands. Les plus grands monuments sont désormais les pires (Lourdes, Fourvière, Lisieux [bénit par Pacelli, 9 juillet 1937], etc.). (Couturier, 'Aux grands hommes, les grands choses', AS 9-10, mai-juin 1950)
- 1950-05-00: **Couturier: le plus grand architecte du monde:** résolution positive: « aux grands hommes, ces grandes choses ». On a une cathédrale à bâtir ? On se dira: « il doit y avoir au monde un architecte qui est le plus grand architecte du monde. C'est celui-là que nous devons découvrir. Nous lui confierons la cathédrale, car c'est celui-là qui en est digne et qui en est capable...
- 1950-05-00: **Couturier: une volonté de grandeur, indispensables au salut de l'art chrétien:** Même s'ils doivent refuser, c'est à eux, d'abord qu'il faut faire appel. Et n'aller ailleurs que si ceux-là refusent. Par-là sera sauvée, et maintenue, une tradition, une volonté de grandeur qui sont indispensables au salut et à l'honneur même de l'art chrétien. (Couturier, 'Aux grands hommes, les grands choses', AS 9-10, mai-juin 1950)
- 1950-05-00: **Couturier: l'inspiration mystique des héros et des grandes artistes:** Le génie ne donne pas la foi, mais il y a entre l'inspiration mystique et celles des héros et des grandes artistes, une

trop profonde analogie pour que le préjugé favorable ne soit pas d'emblée en leur faveur. « Il faut toujours parier pour le génie », disait Delacroix. (Couturier, 'Aux grands hommes, les grands choses', AS 9-10, mai-juin 1950)

- 1950-05-00: **Couturier: on ne demandera pas à Perret ce qu'on peut attendre de LC:** il faut encore se rappeler que même parmi les plus grands, *il ne s'agit aucunement de demander n'importe quoi à n'importe qui...* on ne demandera pas à Perret ce qu'on peut attendre de Le Corbusier. (Couturier, 'Aux grands hommes, les grands choses', AS 9-10, mai-juin 1950)
- 1950-05-00: **Couturier: le rôle du prêtre est de fournir les idées et les thèmes liturgiques:** même en face du génie, le prêtre ne doit jamais oublier qu'il a, au départ, un rôle et un devoir strict d'inspirateur: à lui de fournir les idées et les thèmes. Les plus grands maîtres veulent absolument des programmes nets et ne redoutent aucunement l'exigence rigoureuse des règles liturgiques. Personne ne peut donc dispenser le prêtre de fournir des idées, et des idées très précises. (Couturier, 'Aux grands hommes, les grands choses', AS 9-10, mai-juin 1950)
- 1950-05-00: **Couturier: De ces idées programmatiques, l'artiste « fera des formes »:** De ces idées l'artiste, lui, « fera des formes ». Et c'est dans cette élaboration des formes que nous ne devons à aucun prix intervenir. (Couturier, 'Aux grands hommes, les grands choses', AS 9-10, mai-juin 1950)

1950-05-00: **NONCE MARELLA: CANAL DES INFORMATIONS AU VATICAN**

- 1950-05-00: **Féret: la nonciature, canal des informations au Vatican:** lors des grandes grèves salariales dans le bâtiment, les transports et la métallurgie, en mars 1950, le père Féret avait eu l'occasion de séjourner quelque temps avec les prêtres ouvriers limousins. Il avait observé l'engagement déterminé des membres de la mission ouvrière avec les syndicats. Cette solidarité, que, pour sa part, il trouvait « indispensable à l'efficacité de leur témoignage », heurtait biens des patrons chrétiens... « il serait plus grave encore que, par le canal de la nonciature, le Vatican reçoive de ces événements ou de tels autres du même genre des versions aussi radicalement unilatérales et donc fausses. » (Féret, note autour d'une grève, mai 1950) Leprieur 1989: 405-6
- 1950-05-00*: **Marella: proche du cardinal Ottaviani et la tendance conservatrice du Saint-Siège:** Mgr Marella... proche parent du cardinal Ottaviani chef du Saint-Office. Il appartient à la tendance conservatrice du Saint-Siège. (ESS, série 26, dossier 5, avril 1953) Leprieur 1989: 39

1950-05-18: **LC: « UNE PETITE CHAPELLE VERS BELFORT »**

- 1950-05-18: **LC: « Je vais commencer une petite chapelle vers Belfort »:** Je vais commencer une petite chapelle, pauvre, vers Belfort... (LC, lettre à Savina, 18 mai 1950, 'Ascension') FLC F3 18 46

1950-06-26—30: **LC, LEDEUR, JARDOT, AND MATHEY VIEW DRAWINGS #1**

- 1950-06-26: **LC: Mathey et Ledeur à Paris:** le 26 juin il [Le Corbusier] convoqua Mathey et Ledeur à Paris, pour une présentation confidentielle du projet, destiné aussi à Jardot... Caussé 2007: 73
- 1950-06-30: **LC: présentation du projet avec Mathey et Jardot:** Il y eut sans doute deux rencontres: l'une entre le 7 et le 10 juillet, avec Ledeur et Mathey, l'autre « le vendredi 30 juin à 5 heures », avec Mathey et Jardot. Caussé 2007: 73

1950-07-00: **COUTURIER ON MARSEILLE: 'FAITE POUR DES MOINES'**

- 1950-07-00: **Couturier: Marseille: 'faite pour des moines':** Sa dernière œuvre, l'admirable Unité d'habitation de Marseille, semble étonnamment faite pour des moines. (Couturier, 'Les moyens pauvres dans l'art moderne', AS 11-12, juillet-août 1950, p. 25) Casali 2005: 96

1950-07-01: **LC: « NOUS AVONS FAIT LE PROJET D'UNE CHAPELLE »**

- 1950-07-01: **LC: « le projet d'une chapelle, quelle forme et réponse au paysage ! »:** Nous avons fait le projet d'une chapelle qui sera sensationnelle: sans décor, mais quelle forme et réponse au paysage ! (LC, lettre à Savina, 1 juillet 1950) Sers 1984: 99

1950-07-10: **LC, LEDEUR, AND MATHEY VIEW DRAWINGS**

- 1950-07-10*: **LC: présentation du projet avec Ledeur et Mathey:** Il y eut sans doute deux rencontres: l'une entre le 7 et le 10 juillet, avec Ledeur et Mathey, l'autre « le vendredi 30 juin à 5 heures », avec Mathey et Jardot. Caussé 2007: 73

1950-08-04: **INAUGURATION OF ASSY**

- 1950-08-04: **Assy: inauguration:** Jean Devémy, curé d'Assy, confia le projet de construction de l'église d'Assy inaugurée le 4 août 1950. Bischof 2005: 17
- 1950-08-04: **Assy: consacrée par Mgr Cesbron:** Le 4 août 1950 l'église est consacrée par Mgr Cesbron. Sur la façade une monumentale mosaïque de Fernand Léger, l'abside du chœur couverte

d'une immense tapisserie de Lurçat. Or Léger comme Lurçat appartiennent ouvertement au parti communiste. Chagall, plus tard, sera chargé du baptistère: il est juif. Bolle-Reddat, JNDH 58, 1976, n. p 11

- 1950-08-04*: **Assy: table altar condemned in the papal Encyclical Mediator Dei**: The large pink marble altar is in table form, like those of earliest Christianity, and rests on a single central support. This is not uncommon in France, particularly in regions where the Liturgical Movement has been strong... Long held objectionable in Vatican quarters (Celso and Giovanni Costantini, in *Fede ed arte. Manuale per gli artisti*, 3vol., Rome: Tumminelli–Pontificia commissione per l'arte sacra, 1945-1949) had spoken of the single support table altars as "difficult to admit, for they do not lend themselves well to the liturgy" (v. II, p. 134), such table altars were specifically condemned in the papal Encyclical *Mediator Dei*. Rubin 1961: 81
- 1950-08-04*: **Assy: baptistery contrary to the requirements of the Roman rite of 1925** The baptistery located in the basement of the campanile... seems quite detached from the nave owing to its incorporation with the campanile... such complete separation... [is] contrary to the requirements of the Roman rite of 1925, which demand that the place of the preliminary baptismal ceremony and, above all, the baptistery itself open clearly into the church proper. Rubin 1961: 82

1950-08-12: PIUS XII: L'ENCYCLIQUE DOCTRINALE HUMANI GENERIS

- 1950-08-12: **Pius XII: Encyclical at St. Peter's, Rome, 12 August 1950**
- 1950-08-12: **Pius XII: English translation**: http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/pius_xii/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-xii_enc_12081950_humani-generis_en.html (www.vatican.va, humani generis)
- 1950-08-12: **Pius XII: réprobation des tendances philosophiques et théologiques françaises**: Au mois d'août 1950 l'encyclique doctrinale *Humani generis* signalait « le danger du relativisme dogmatique » et entendait mettre en garde contre des dérives pouvant menacer les fondements de la doctrine chrétienne. Il était alors « bien difficile de ne pas avoir la réprobation de certains tendances philosophiques et théologiques françaises. » (Étienne Fouilloux). Lambert 2007: 274
- 1950-08-12: **Pius XII: encyclical combats "reprehensible desire for novelty"**: there was a "reprehensible desire for novelty"... Catholic scholars, thirsty for novelty, were espousing "dogmatic relativism", meaning that dogmas were good for their day, but in constant state of decay. Cornwell 1999: 337
- 1950-08-12: **Pius XII: "desirous of novelty & recent scientific findings"**: "10. ... it is apparent... that some today, as in apostolic times, desirous of novelty, and fearing to be considered ignorant of recent scientific findings, try to withdraw themselves from the sacred Teaching Authority and are accordingly in danger of gradually departing from revealed truth and of drawing others along with them into error." www.vatican.va, humani generis
- 1950-08-12: **Pius XII: "some are presumptive enough to question theological methods"**: "11. ... some are presumptive enough to question seriously whether theology and theological methods, such as with the approval of ecclesiastical authority found in our schools, should not only be perfected, but also completely reformed, in order to promote the more efficacious propagation of the kingdom of Christ everywhere throughout the world among men of every culture and religious opinion." www.vatican.va, humani generis
- 1950-08-12: **Pius XII: novelty and relativism combated by Canon Law 1324**: Pius XII's remedy for these various diseases of novelty and relativism was a clarification of the Code of Canon Law number 1324, which conflates error and heresy... "It is incumbent to flee all those errors which more or less approach heresy, and accordingly 'to keep also the constitutions and decrees by which such evil opinions are proscribed and forbidden by the Holy See'". (AAS, volume 42, 1950, pages 567) Cornwell 1999: 338
- 1950-08-12: **Pius XII: "teaching office of Church preserves & interprets divine revelation"**: "the teaching office of the Church... has been instituted by Christ, Our Lord, to preserve and interpret divine revelation... For often those who disagree with the true Church complain openly of their disagreement in matters of dogma and thus unwillingly bear witness to the necessity of a living Teaching Authority." www.vatican.va, humani generis
- 1950-08-12: **Pius XII: "Supreme Pontiffs judgment cannot be open to discussion"**: 20. "Nor must it be thought that what is expounded in Encyclical Letters does not of itself demand consent, since in writing such Letters the Popes do not exercise the supreme power of their Teaching Authority. For these matters are taught with the ordinary teaching authority, of which it is true to say: "He who heareth you, heareth me" (Luke, X, 16); and generally what is expounded and inculcated in Encyclical Letters already for other reasons appertains to Catholic doctrine. But if the Supreme Pontiffs in their official documents purposely pass judgment on a matter up to that time under dispute, it is obvious that that matter, according to the mind and will of the Pontiffs, cannot be any

longer considered a question open to discussion among theologians.” www.vatican.va, *humani generis*

- 1950-08-12*: **Pius XII: encyclical *Humani generis* asserts 'creeping' infallibility**: the Pope... had introduced the notion of a kind of infallibility by the back door, or "creeping infallibility", as it was to become later in the century. Cornwell 1999: 339
- 1950-08-12*: **Pius XII: "creeping infallibilism"**: Certain Catholic fundamentalists speak and act as if there were no distinctions or limits [on Papal teaching competence]. This tendency was noted by the great French Dominican Yves Congar when he stated that the ordinary magisterium "has been almost assimilated, in current opinion, to the prerogatives of the extraordinary magisterium." Thus we have what is known as "creeping infallibilism." McCormick 1994: 73
- 1950-08-12*: **Pius XII: appeal to the Holy Spirit supports "creeping infallibilism"**: [One] support for "creeping infallibilism" is appeal to the "special assistance of the Holy Spirit" where ordinary moral teaching is involved... The assistance of the Holy Spirit... can guarantee a teaching... [this] can be and ha[s] been expanded uncritically in a way that removes any limits on the Church's teaching competence and caricatures the search for truth in the Catholic context. McCormick 1994: 74
- 1950-08-12*: **Pius XII: Congar: high water mark of "creeping infallibilism" under Pius XII**: Congar, OP, has noted that the ordinary magisterium reached a kind of high water mark of one-sidedness in the pontificate of Pius XII... McCormick 1994: 50

1950-08-26: COUTURIER: LC & RONCHAMP 'JE SAVAIS QUE CE MARCHAIT'

- 1950-08-26: **Couturier: « respectant la consigne du silence »**: « Quant à Le Corbusier, je savais que ce marchait [...]. Mais il ne m'en parlait qu'à demi-mot, respectant la consigne du silence. Et de ma côté, malgré nos relations d'amitié je n'avais pas à lui en parler plus ouvertement. » (Couturier, lettre à Leduc, 26 août 1950) Caussé 2007: 72

1950-09-23: PIUS XII: ENCYCLICAL 'MENTI NOSTRE'

- 1950-09-23: **Pius XII: "monstrosities of art which even pretend to call themselves Christian"**: "You are already aware that among priests, especially those less equipped with doctrine and of less strict lives, a certain spirit of novelty is being diffused in an ever graver and more disturbing manner. Novelty is never in itself a criterion of truth and it can be worthy of praise only when it confirms the truth and leads to righteousness and virtue. The age in which we live suffers from serious errors indeed: philosophical systems which are born and die without improving morals in any way; monstrosities of art which even pretend to call themselves Christian; standards of government in many countries which are aimed at the personal interests of individuals rather than at the common prosperity of all; methods of living and economic and social relations which threaten honest men more than the cunning."
- 1950-09-23: **Pius XII: "priests allow themselves to be led astray by the mania for novelty"** From this it follows almost naturally that there are not lacking in our times priests, infected in some way by this contagion, who imbibe opinions and follow a mode of life even in dress and the care of their person alien to both their dignity and their mission; priests who allow themselves to be led astray by the mania for novelty whether it be in their preaching to the faithful or in combating the errors of adversaries; priests who compromise not only their consciences but also their good name and the efficacy of their ministry." (Pius XII, *Menti Nostrae*, 23 Sept 1950, Trans. N.C.W.C. News Service & John P. McCormick) www.papalencyclicals.net/Pius12/PI2CLERG.HTM
- 1950-09-23: **Pius XII: "priests allow themselves to be carried away by the mania of novelty"**: By the end of the year Vatican reaction... became more marked. This was reflected in the Papal exhortation, *Menti nostrae* to the clergy of the Catholic world, which attacked "works which astonishingly deform art and yet pretend to be Christian... from which naturally derives the fact that there is no lack in our times of priests infected in some way with a similar contagion... who have allowed themselves to be carried away by the mania of novelty." (Pius XII, *Menti Nostrae*, 23 Sept 1950; in *Arte cristiana* XXXVIII, number 7-10, July-October 1951, pages 110-12) Rubin 1961: 47-8
- 1950-09-23: **Pius XII: 'Obey ye all the bishop as Jesus Christ obeyed the Father'**: 98. From the seminary on, the future priest must learn to give filial and sincere obedience to his superiors in order to be always ready later on to obey his Bishop docilely according to the teaching of the invincible Athlete of Christ, Ignatius of Antioch: "Obey ye all the bishop as Jesus Christ obeyed the Father" (*Ad Smyrnaeos*, VIII, 1; Migne, P.G., VIII, 714). "He who honors the bishop is honored by God". "He who does anything without the Bishop's knowledge, serves the devil" (Migne, P.G., IX, I, 714, 715). "Do nothing without the bishop, keep your body like the temple of God, love union, flee discord, be an imitator of Jesus Christ as He was an imitator of His Father" (*Ad Philadelphenses* VII, 2; Migne, P.G., V, 700). (Pius XII, *Menti Nostrae*, 23 Sept 1950, Trans. N.C.W.C. News Service & John P. McCormick) www.papalencyclicals.net/Pius12/PI2CLERG.HTM

1950-10-02: LC REREADING CARREL

- 1950-10-02: **LC: "Reread Carrel *L'Homme cet inconnu*":** Reread Carrel *L'Homme cet inconnu*... October 2, 1950... Sketchbook D16"-254. 1981b: 22

1950-10-10: VATICAN: WARNING ABOUT RELIGIOUS 'INDIFFERENTISM'

- 1950-10-10: **Vatican: warning about Freiberg Circle's religious 'indifferentism':** the Freiberg Circle underwent a continuous theological evolution, leading them away from views regarding Jews as potential converts toward accepting Judaism's permanent validity... In 1950, the Vatican issued a warning regarding indifferentism (the belief that religions are of equal value) resulting from Christian-Jewish dialogue. The warning was clearly intended for the Freiberg activists, because no other German Catholics were engaged in this dialogue. Phayer 2000: 189
- 1950-10-10*: **Maritain & Congar: in contact with Freiberg Circle:** the Freiberg Circle contributed to and benefited from a small international group of Catholics who were rethinking Christian-Jewish relations during the 1950s... The Freiberg journal kept in regular contact with the work of leaders such as... Jacques Maritain, Yves Congar, [etc.]... Phayer 2000: 198

1950-10-17: LEDEUR & LC MEETING

- 1950-10-17: **LC: meeting with Ledeur:** the 17th of October... Caussé 2007: 77-8

1950-11-01: PIUS XII: DOCTRINE OF MARIAN ASSUMPTION

- 1950-11-01: **Pius XII: "Virgin Mary was assumed body and soul into heavenly glory":** The promulgation of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary by Pope Pius XII in 1950... 'By the authority of our Lord Jesus Christ, of the Blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, and by our own authority, we pronounce, declare, and define it to be a divinely revealed dogma: that the Immaculate Mother of God, the ever Virgin Mary, having completed the course of her earthly life, was assumed body and soul into heavenly glory.' (Pope Pius XII, Acta Apostolicae Sedis, *Munificentissimus Deus*, 1950, p. 44) Pelikan 1989: vii
- 1950-11-01: **Pius XII: dogma of Marian Assumption contra ecumenism:** the dogma flew in the face of contemporaneous efforts toward Christian unity between Catholics, Protestants, unorthodox... According to one Protestant theologian, "creation of the dogma of the assumption is interpreted today in the midst of efforts at closer relationships between the churches as a fundamental veto on the part of the Roman church." (Schlink, Lutheran quarterly 3, 1951) Cornwell 1999: 343-4

1950-11-10: COUTURIER: LE BAROQUE, SIGNE DE DÉCADENCE

- 1950-11-10: **Couturier: Le baroque, signe constant des décadences:** « Il faut être contre le baroque. Ne pas se laisser séduire. Tout ce qu'il y a de plus grand dans l'art moderne a été gagné contre lui, sur lui. [...] Le baroque, signe constant des décadences commençantes. Le baroque, mauvais signe.» (Couturier, journal, 10 Nov 1950) Couturier 1962: 102-3

1950-11-24: LEDEUR & LC MEETING

- 1950-11-24: **LC: meeting with Ledeur:** the 24th of November... Caussé 2007: 77-8

1950-11-28: LC: 'L'ARCHEVÊQUE VIENT RATIFIER RONCHAMP'

- 1950-11-28: **LC: 'l'Archevêque vient ratifier Ronchamp':** Demain l'Archevêque de Besançon vient ratifier (?) la chapelle de Ronchamp à laquelle je travaille depuis 8 mois. LC, lettre à Marie et Albert, 28 novembre 1950, FLC R2-2-24T

1950-11-29: LC & DUBOURG

- 1950-11-29: **Dubourg: rendez-vous à Paris:** Rendez-vous fut fixe pour le 29 novembre 1950 et Mgr. Dubourg put voir la maquette et surtout rencontrer l'architecte... Flicoteaux 1998: 24
- 1950-11-29: **LC: « L'archevêque de Dijon [sic: Besançon] à accepte notre chapelle:** «L'archevêque de Dijon [sic: de Besançon,] aussi est venu et à accepter notre futur célèbre chapelle de Ronchamp.» (LC-Marie et Albert, 10 Dec 1950) Jenger 2002: 331

1951: FRENCH COURTS OF JUSTICE

- 1951: **Court of Justice, Paris** wound up in January 1951. Jackson 2001: 589
- 1951: **French courts: final figures**: The 38,000 prison sentences in France meant that 94 out of every 100,000 Frenchmen were imprisoned for collaboration... The courts of justice and civic chambers finished the bulk of their work sooner than the High Court... Eventually, all were closed except the court at Paris; that jurisdiction finally stopped work on 31 January 1951, and handed over its few remaining cases to the Military Tribunal of Paris. In all, the courts of justice and civic chambers heard 124,751 cases. Death sentences in the presence of the accused totaled 2853, of which 767 were carried out; 3910 death sentences were handed down in absentia. There were 38,266 sentences involving "peines privatives de liberté": 2702 sentences of life at hard labor; 10,637 terms of hard labor; 2044 sentences of solitary confinement; 22,883 to terms of imprisonment. National degradation was visited upon 49,723 individuals: in 3578 of these cases this was the principal penalty decreed by a court of justice; the civic chambers sentenced 46,145 individuals to national degradation, and in addition imposed the penalty and then immediately suspended it in 3184 cases. (André Boissarie, *La Répression*, Paris, 1949, p. 8 1949: 8; Émile Garçon, *Code pénal annoté*, Paris, 1952-59, I, page 266; *Journal Officiel*, AN Débâtes, 12 December 1951, page 9100, 12 July 1952, page 3539, 21 October 1952, page 4248, 23 March 1958, page 1213; *Compte général de l'administration de la justice civile et commerciale et de la justice criminelle: 1944 à 1947*, Melun, 1951, pp. 262-4 ; Appendix E) Novick 1968: 184-7, 213-21

1951-01-04: SAINT-OFFICE & L'ÉPISCOPAT FRANÇAIS CONTRE LA CRUCIFIX D'ASSY

- 1950-05-00: **Couturier: reproduction du crucifix et la Curie romaine**: *L'Art Sacré* publie... une reproduction du crucifix la photographie de *L'Art Sacré* [AS n. 9-10 mai-juin 1950] qu'épingle une officine traditionaliste d'Angers, animée par le médecin Pierre Lemaire. Cette officine s'illustre alors dans la défense tous azimuts de la plus rigoureuse des intransigeances, en matière de morale conjugale notamment. Et elle n'est pas dépourvue de relais dans l'épiscopat français (cardinal Grete, du Mans, ou Mgr Marmottin, de Reims), ni dans la Curie romaine, puisque Lemaire a ses entrées chez Mgr Ottaviani, assesseur du Saint-Office. (Martine Sevregand, 'L'Église et des catholiques français devant la limitation des naissances, 1919-1969', unpublished thesis, Université de Paris VII, 1994: 343-348) Fouilloux 1999: 266-7
- 1951-01-04: **Crucifix d'Assy: le tract les Amis de l'art d'Angers**: Le 4 janvier 1951, les Amis de l'art d'Angers invitèrent le chanoine Devémy à venir donner une conférence. À l'entrée de la salle fut distribué un tract attaqué violemment Régamey, Couturier et l'abbé Morel. La photographie du crucifix prise en *L'Art sacré* était placée en vis-à-vis d'une tête du crucifie de type baroque... Caussé 2010: 504-5
- 1951-01-04: **Devémy: attacked by vociferous band of Integrist**: a vociferous band of Integrist used the occasion [a lecture by Canon Devémy at Angers] for a partisan attack upon the whole Dominican movement. At the moment that the slide of the Richier crucifix flashed on the screen they began a small riot, shouting "insult!" "Sacrilege!"—and demanded to know whether Canon Devémy had been authorized by the Bishop to speak there. Rubin 1961: 49
- 1951-01-04*: **Marmottin: ciblé par l'épuration, 1945**: Mgr Dutois, évêque d'Arras, Mgr Serrand, évêque de Saint-Brieuc, Mgr Auvity, évêque de Mende, Mgr Delay, évêque de Marseille, Mgr Marmottin, évêque de Reims. (André Tixier, letter to M. Laffon & André Latreille 'Démarches auprès du Saint-Siège, sur la question des évêques', 23 avril 1945) AN F-1A-3351

1951-01-05: AMNESTY OF NATIONAL DEGRADATION

- 1951-01-05: **prisoners: the early release**: early 1951 was the eve of the first important amnesty law... It involved the end of national degradation for virtually all those who received the sentence as a principal penalty... There were numerous provisions for the early release of prisoners. Novick 1968: 188
- 1951-01-05: **amnesty law excused 'indignité nationale'**: this law of 5 January 1951 authorized early release for persons sentenced to prison terms of less than life. 'Indignité nationale' would cease to be a criminal offense and its effects would be limited to deprivation of civil rights and certain professional activities including work in the media. (*Journal Officiel*, 6 January 1951) Lottman 1986: 281

1951-01-12: LEDEUR: RÉUNION DE LA CDAS SAMEDI PROCHAINE

- 1951-01-12: **Ledeur: photos de la maquette très suggestives**: Bien cher ami, Réunion de la Commission d'Art Sacré Samedi prochaine 20 [janvier] à 3h à l'Archevêque. Je n'ai pas encore le dossier complet – mais quelques plans et quatre photos de la maquette très suggestives. Si j'avais un peu plus de temps, j'irais te les présenter avant la réunion. C'est neuf... mais bien, je crois... (Ledeur, lettre à Henri, 12 Jan 1951) AONDH

1951-01-20: DECISIVE REUNION OF CDAS BESANÇON

- 1951-01-20: **CDAS: Bazaine, Léger, Ronchamp**: La commission approuva le 20 janvier 1951 des esquisses de Bazaine et de Léger... et aussi les plans de Ronchamp. Caussé 2010: 384
- 1951-01-20: **Henri: 'Couturier, en l'absence de Le Corbusier, présenta le projet'**: Une réunion eut lieu à l'archevêché, en présence de Mgr Dubourg, l'archevêque, de Mgr Béjot, son auxiliaire, des vicaires généraux, de Mlle Cornillot, conservateur du Musée de Besançon, de MM. Tournier et Jouvenne, architectes, ce dernier étant délégué du ministère. (Je crois que) c'est le père Couturier qui, en l'absence de Le Corbusier, présenta le projet. » (Henri, letter à Bolle-Reddat, 28 Aug 1979) JNDH 72, 1983, p. 21

1951-02-10: OTTAVIANI: UN DIRECTOIRE DES PRÊTRES-OUVRIERS

- 1951-02-10: **Ottaviani: Mgr Ancel à réguler un directoire des prêtres-ouvriers**: du Saint-Office, Mgr Ottaviani demanda, au nom de Saint Pierre, à Mgr Ancel d'être, avec les évêques responsables des prêtres-ouvriers, l'artisan d'un directoire destiné à réguler leur expérience singulière. Mgr Feltin fit connaître cette lettre à la réunion nationale des prêtres-ouvriers du 10 février 1951. Leprieur 1989: 303

1951-04-05: ACA: DIRECTOIRE PRÊTRES OUVRIERS = SOUMIS À L'ÉVÊQUE

- 1951-04-05: **ACA: réunion des prêtres ouvriers: projet d'un directoire**: Le problème... pour l'épiscopat de définir une politique qui établisse sans équivoque l'autorité de l'évêque sur les prêtres ouvriers comme sur les autres prêtres diocésains... au cours d'une réunion tenue le 5 avril 1951, ils approuvent les grandes lignes d'un projet d'un directoire – sorte de charte de prêtres ouvriers... Ils sont soumis à l'évêque et se tiennent en contact avec lui... Dansette 1957: 219-20

1951-05-06: PICASSO: "RELIGIOUS ART IS AN ABSURDITY"

- 1951-05-06: **Picasso: competition with Matisse, desire for his own chapel**: it is certainly true that Picasso's lifelong sense of competition with Matisse sharpened his desire for a chapel of his own. (Joseph A. Barry, 'The Two Picassos: Politician and Painter', 6 May 1951, *The New York Times Magazine*) Utlely 2000: 154
- 1951-05-06*: **Picasso: was incensed by Matisse and Vence**: Picasso was particularly incensed with Matisse, who inaugurated his chapel for the Dominican convent in Vence on 25 June 1951. Penrose relates how capriciously Picasso reacted when the subject of Matisse's commission came up. In a short memo found among his papers, Picasso had noted contemptuously... "Grande chapellerie modern / A l'odalisque repeinte / Henri Matisse chapelier modiste." (Picasso, quoted in Penrose 1981: 423; Bernadac and Piot 1989: 372) Utlely 2000: 154, 238
- 1951-05-06*: **Picasso: "religious art is an absurdity"**: Picasso had repeatedly voiced scorn for the idea that modern artists, especially politically progressive artists, should create religious art. "What do you mean by religious art?" he demanded. "It is an absurdity." (Picasso, quoted in Penrose 1981: 373) Utlely 2000: 154

1951-06-10: COSTANTINI: DIRECT ATTACK ON SACRED ART MOVEMENT

- 1951-06-10: **Costantini: 'Dell'Arte sacra deformatrice'**: Cardinal Costantini launched the Vatican's first direct attack upon Assy in particular and the Sacred art movement in general... Costantini's article, appearing in the top center of the first page of *Osservatore Romano* and faithfully reprinted by Catholic newspapers and magazines from around the world, represented the greatest censure sustained by the Dominicans up to that point. (Celso Costantini, 'Dell'Arte sacra deformatrice', in *Osservatore Romano*, 10 June 1951, page 1) Rubin 1961: 54

1951-07-03: COSTANTINI: ARTICLE APPEARS IN FRENCH LA CROIX

- 1951-07-03: **Costantini: « l'artiste n'avait pas la liberté de déformer L'Art sacré »**: À Rome, monseigneur Celso Costantini se lança dans la querelle. Il écrivit dans *l'Osservatore Romano* des articles que *La Croix* présenta... le 3 juillet et le 24 août 1951... les artistes qui cherchaient à rénover *L'Art sacré* ... devaient sauvegarder « le caractère sacré et les bonnes règles de la grammaire et de la syntaxe du discours artistique »... l'artiste... n'avait pas [la liberté] de « déformer le caractère de vénérabilité et la pensée théologique et l'office liturgique de *L'Art sacré* ». (Celso Costantini, *La Croix*, 3 juillet & 24 août 1951) Caussé 2010: 507

1951-07-22: INFORMATEURS FRANÇAIS AU VATICAN

- 1951-07-22: **d'Ormesson: informateurs français au Vatican**: « il est bien trop souvent à Rome des Français... qui tiennent ici dans les milieux du Vatican et auprès de certains responsabilités romanes dont les têtes sont faibles, des propos malveillants contre la France. L'on présente notre bas clergé comme crypto-communiste. L'on assure que la moitié de nos évêques sont ou des

utopistes attirés par le "progressisme" ou des opportunistes pliaient aux ordres du gouvernement... On importe même pour renforcer ces thèses des dossiers truqués, c'est-à-dire des dossiers qui ne mettent en relief que des erreurs locales ou des accidents et passent tout le reste sous silence. » (D'Ormesson, 'du courant intégriste', 22 juillet 1951, ESS 26-21, pp. 15-6) Leprieur 1989: 404

1951-07-23: **JAOUL: DÉCIDE DE CONFIER À LC LA RÉALISATION DES DEUX LOGIS**

- 1951-07-23: **Jaoul: décide de confier à Le Corbusier la réalisation des deux logis**: Le 23 juillet 1951, Jaoul décide de confier à Le Corbusier la réalisation des deux logis... (André Jaoul, lettre à Clive Entwistle, 23 juillet 1951, archives Jaoul) Maniaque 2005: 36

1951-08-20: **COSTANTINI: ARTIST HAS NO LIBERTY TO DEFORM THEOLOGY**

- 1951-08-20: **Costantini: "artist retains the liberty of decorative compositional conception"**: "Although the artist retains the liberty of compositional conception in certain modes of expression (as long as they are decorous), and the liberty of various techniques (as long as these do not offend the sanctity of the subject), he does not have any liberty at all to deform the venerable character and theological conception... of the sacred representations." (Celso Costantini, 'Réponse à diverses critiques' in *Osservatore Romano*, 20 août 1951) Rubin 1961: 56

1951-09-30: **ART SACRÉ: LC RONCHAMP COMMISSION ANNOUNCED**

- 1951-09-30*: **AS 11-12, 1951: Parution : fin septembre**. Caussé 1999: 1137
- 1951-09-30*: **Couturier: Léger, Bazaine, Le Corbusier et le renouveau de l'art chrétien**: «l'avenir retiendra pour l'histoire du renouveau de l'art chrétien cette date du 20 janvier 1951 où, dans une Commission Diocésaine d'Art Sacré et de l'Évêque Auxiliaire, dix-sept esquisses de Fernand Léger, la maquette d'une grande mosaïque de Bazaine et les plans de Le Corbusier pour l'église de Ronchamp furent ensemble et unanimement approuvés.» (Couturier, 'Audincourt') AS 11-12, juillet-août 1951, p. 102

1952-56: **FRANCE: BRIEF PERIOD OF GREATER ECONOMIC STABILITY**

- 1952-56: **three years of greater stability**: high inflation from 1947 to 1951, when retail prices more than doubled, followed by three years of greater stability (1952 to 1956) and a resumption of inflation in 1957, proved very unsettling... Grenville 2000: 546

1952-01-30—02-06: **COUTURIER & CONGAR: INTERDICTION DU SAINT-OFFICE**

- 1952-01-30: **Couturier: film sur la liturgie à Vence**: La supérieure informa Rome du projet. Une lettre signée des cardinaux Pizzardo et Ottaviani... demandait à l'évêque de transmettre au père Couturier l'interdit de Saint-Office et de les informer de sa réaction. Caussé 2010: 518
- 1952-02-06: **Saint-Office: interdiction de Congar**: le 6 février 1952, la suprême congrégation interdit toute réédition ou de traduction de son ouvrage *Vrai ou fausse réforme dans l'église*, place son travail sous la responsabilité directe du maître de l'ordre et fait soumettre tous ces écrits à la censure de la Curie généralice. (Fouilloux, in *Recherche de sciences religieuses* 71, 1983, pp. 269-86) Leprieur 1989: 591

1952-04-28: **WORKER-PRIESTS CATAPULTED INTO THE PUBLIC EYE**

- 1952-04-28: **NATO protest: turning point in worker-priest movement**: Henri Barreau... joined the massive demonstration of 28 May 1952 against the entry of the NATO commander Matthew B. Ridgway into Paris... it was this protest that catapulted the worker-priests into the public eye and incurred the wrath of the hierarchy upon their apostolate. The arrest of Fathers Louis Bouyer and Bernard Cagne in the wake of this march and the subsequent publicity it prompted was a turning point in the entire worker-priest movement. Arnal 1986: 90-1

1952-05-18: **ACA: DIRECTIVE ON LITURGY AND SACRED ART IN LA CROIX**

- 1952-04-28: **ACA: Directive published in La Croix**, 18 May 1952, page 1 (Rubin 1961: 57-8)

1952-06-30: **ROME: INSTRUCTIONS ON HOLY ART FROM THE HOLY OFFICE**

- 1952-06-30: **Pizzardo & Ottaviani: penalize "anything contrary to ecclesiastical institution"**: This ultraconservative document signed by Giuseppe Cardinal Pizzardo and Alfredo (now Cardinal)

Ottaviani... quotes the 2nd Council of Nicaea, which threatened with severe penalties "those who dare to wickedly invent anything contrary to the ecclesiastical institution." Rubin 1961: 59

- 1952-06-30: **Pizzardo & Ottaviani: Injunction against "distorted and confused execution"**: It continues with... the injunction of the Council of Trent against "distorted and confused execution..." Rubin 1961: 59
- 1952-06-30: **Pizzardo & Ottaviani: contra "unusual images, false dogma, dangerous error"**: The instruction [30 June 1952] called to mind certain Canon laws (especially number 1279) which condemn "unusual images... not in conformity with the approved usage of with the Church" or those which "represent a false dogma... or which would be an occasion of dangerous error to the unlearned." (Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office, 'On sacred art', 30 June 1952; English translation in *Catholic Mind*, number 1079, November 1952, pages 699-702) Rubin 1961: 59
- 1952-06-30: **Holy Office: official critique of the Dominican program**: the instruction... was clearly an official critique of the Dominican program. A decisive blow had been struck for the conservative and Integrist forces. Rubin 1961: 60

1952-07-20: ROME: 'INSTRUCTION SUR L'ART SACRÉ' DANS 'LA CROIX'

- 1952-07-20: **Pizzardo & Ottaviani: version française dans *La Croix***: Le Saint-Office rendu public une 'Instruction sur *L'Art sacré*' du Saint-Office, signée des cardinaux Pizzardo et Ottaviani, daté du 30 juin, dont la version française parut dans *La Croix* des 20-21 juillet 1952. Caussé 2010: 537

1952-10-14: LC MARSEILLE UNITÉ INAUGURATED

1952-11-13: SUAREZ DEMANDE SURVEILLANCE SECRÈTE AU PÈRE LIÉGÉ

- 1952-11-13: **Suarez demande surveillance secrète au père Liégé**: « sous le sceau du secret le plus absolu... me remettre au plus vite aux notes concernant la vie personnelle et les engagements d'A. Liégé, frère de votre province... » (Suarez, lettre à Avril, 13 Nov 1952) Leprieur 1989: 36, 505

1953: MATHEY: FORCED TO QUIT HISTORICAL MONUMENT SOCIETY

- 1953: **Mathey: Vitraux des Bréseux et Ronchamp furent déterminants**: Pendant la visite aux Ateliers Lorin de Jean Verrier, inspecteur général des Monuments Historiques, amené par Fr. Mathey, dont il était le supérieur hiérarchique, pour voir Manessier travaillant aux vitraux des Bréseux... « Il fut littéralement scandalisé... » Fr. Mathey d'en tirer les conséquences: « cet incident et Ronchamp commençant... furent déterminants pour moi... Je ne pouvais plus sans être un traître demeurer plus longtemps aux Monuments Historiques. » (Mathey, lettre à Manessier, 3 avril 1977) Flicoteaux 1998: 52

1953-03-00: LC: DE VIVRE DANS L'EFFICIENCE ET DANS L'HARMONIE

- 1953-03-00: **LC: Chandigarh sectors mixed poorest people w/ those with most money**: at Chandigarh... sectors mixed — and here Le Corbusier and his cohorts departed completely from Indian tradition — the poorest people and those with the most money, "proposing social contacts which can only be educational". (Boesiger 1953: 112) McLeod 1985a: 554
- 1953-03-00: **LC: une communauté verticale animée du désir de vivre dans l'harmonie**: le 14 octobre 1952, L'Unité d'habitation Marseille-Michelet a été remise au Ministre de la Reconstruction, terminée et vouée à ses mille six cents habitants. Le 14 janvier 1953 ceux-ci se sont constitués en association, créant une communauté verticale, animée, non pas de passions politiques, mais du désir de vivre dans l'efficience et dans l'harmonie. (LC, introduction) Boesiger 1953: 10
- 1953-03-00: **LC: un morceau de territoire irrigué par les 7 voies comme un système sanguin**: un morceau de territoire consacré à l'habitation est irrigué par les 7 voies agissant ici, en urbanisme, comme agissent en biologie un système sanguin, un système lymphatique, un système respiratoire, etc... En biologie, ces systèmes sont établis rationnellement, fonctionnellement ; ils sont différents les uns des autres, il n'y a pas de confusion entre eux: ils sont harmonisés. Organes précis au sein d'un organisme ils créent de l'ordre. Boesiger 1953: 92
- 1953-03-00: **LC: les systèmes de biologie, c'est Dieu qui les a mis au monde**: C'est Dieu qui les a mis au monde ; à nous d'en tirer leçon pour ordonner le territoire qui s'étend sous nos pieds. Boesiger 1953: 92

1953-05-11: LC: FONDATION LE CORBUSIER, 'UNE VALEUR ÉNORME'

- 1953-05-11: LC: « Fondation Le Corbusier, une valeur financière énorme »: « La seconde idée en question serait de trouver quelqu'un qui crée une Fondation Le Corbusier et qui deviendrait, dès maintenant de mon vivant, propriétaire de choses dont on pourrait faire un inventaire. Il faudrait chercher une modalité utile... À vrai dire, l'actif que je propose ici a une valeur financière énorme si c'est commercialiser, ou une valeur de zéro si c'est un incendie qui liquide tout. » (Le Corbusier, lettre à Walter Gropius, 11 mai 1953) Jenger 2002: 370

1953-07-00: COUTURIER: AS 11-12: RONCHAMP, DUBOURG, CDAS

- 1953-07-00: Couturier: les promoteurs ont été Dubourg, Béjot, et Ledeur de la CDAS: «Une fois de plus, le diocèse de Besançon sera donc à l'honneur avec cette œuvre importante, dont les promoteurs ont été Mgr. L'Archevêque de Besançon, Mgr. Béjot, et le chanoine Ledeur, secrétaire de la commission diocésaine d'art sacré. La réalisation matérielle en est maintenant assurée par les soins et les dévouements exemplaires de l'abbé Bourdin et d'un comité des paroissiens à la tête duquel se trouve M. Alfred Canet. » (Couturier, 'Le Corbusier, Ronchamp') AS 11-12, juillet-août 1953, p. 29
- 1953-07-00: Couturier: Ronchamp: un édifice sacré par la qualité de ses formes: «Il nous semble pouvoir dire que c'est dans de tels édifices que nous accédons à ce type supérieur d'architecture où on dépasse le pur fonctionnalisme où la dignité des fonctions se manifeste directement (et déjà opère) par la beauté des formes. Dans les édifices religieux, de telles choses prennent tout leur sens: car un édifice vraiment sacré n'est pas un édifice profane rendu sacré par un rite consécatoire ou son usage ultérieur (comme on l'a écrit récemment dans un article très inconsidéré): un édifice sacré l'est déjà, et substantiellement, par la qualité même de ses formes.» (Couturier, 'Le Corbusier, Ronchamp') AS 11-12, juillet-août 1953, pp. 29-31

1953-07-02—28: PIZZARDO: LA SOUMISSION LES PRÊTRES-OUVRIERS

- 1953-07-27: Pizzardo: annonce la soumission les prêtres-ouvriers à tous les évêques. Leprieur 1989: 39
- 1953-07-28: Pizzardo: interdire aux séminaristes de s'engager comme en des travaux: Le 28 juillet 1953, le même cardinal [Pizzardo] fait parvenir à tous les évêques de France d'autres lettres en vue d'interdire aux séminaristes de s'engager comme « stagiaire en des travaux de quelques genres que ce soit ». Mgr Harscouset, évêque de Chartres, rend ce document public en l'insérant dans le bulletin religieux de son diocèse. Dansette 1957: 266

1953-08-06: LAST AMNESTY LAW BANS REFERENCE TO VICHY CONVICTIONS

- 1953-08-06: collaboration crimes: final word: the final vote was 394 to 212, communists and socialists in the opposition. The law of 6 August 1953 was promulgated by President Auriol... It was the final word in the postwar Republic's disposal of collaboration crimes... Article 45 banned any future reference to amnesty convictions or penalties... (JO, 7 August 1953) Lottman 1986: 283
- 1953-08-06: administrative sanctions: were wiped out. Lottman 1986: 210
- 1953-08-06: return to public life: of purged officials: the conspicuous diminution of purging zeal after 1950 was followed by a general amnesty in 1953, allowing others to return to public life. Paxton 1972: 332

1953-08-24: ROME DEMANDS RECALL OF WORKER PRIESTS

- 1953-08-24: Mgr Marella: fermeture provisoire du séminaire de la mission de France: Mgr Marella... a transmis le 24 août 1953 la décision de fermeture provisoire du séminaire de la mission de France... le Saint-Siège estime que ces prêtres sont devenus un scandale pour les chrétiens... chaque évêque aura à rappeler ceux qui se trouvent sous sa juridiction. Dansette 1957: 268
- 1953-08-24: Rome demands recall of worker priests: by the end of August, the Roman Congregation of Religious had commanded that the superiors of all religious orders recall their worker-priests... Arnal 1986: 145

1953-09-00: CHAPEL OF RONCHAMP: CONSTRUCTION BEGINS

- 1953-09-00: Ronchamp: construction began in September. Caussé 2007: 76

1953-09-17—23: ROME DEMANDS TERMINATION OF WORKER PRIESTS

- 1953-09-17—23: Marella: les prêtres-ouvriers devaient disparaître: le père Belaud se rendit à l'archevêché de Lyon le 17 septembre [1953], et le père Avril se rendit l'archevêché de Paris avec le père Nicolas le 23 septembre. Le nonce Marella se présenta comme le porte-parole du Saint-

Siège pour communiquer des décisions de fermement arrêtées. Les prêtres-ouvriers devaient disparaître. Leprieur 1989: 40

- 1953-09-23: **Marella informs ACA of Vatican decision**: on 23 September 1953 the new papal nuncio Mgr. Marella summoned 26 bishops, prelates, and superiors of religious orders to inform them of the Vatican's decision to terminate the worker-priests. Arnal 1986: 145
- 1953-09-23: **Marella: 'l'abondance d'informations sont parvenus au Saint-Siège'**: pour mieux leur signifier que la décision reposait sur des données irréfutables... Mgr Marella fait valoir à ses auditeurs du 23 septembre 1953 « l'abondance d'informations dignes de foi, orales et écrites, qui sont parvenus au Saint-Siège. » (Compte rendu officieux d'un participant, 23 septembre 1953) Leprieur 1989: 409

1953-10-07—09: SAINT-SIÈGE: 'UNE LIGNE GÉNÉRALE D'ERREUR'

- 1953-10-07: **Pizzardo: 'un esprit d'insubordination'**: « des idées nouvelles et des tendances non seulement exagérées mais erronées, spécialement dans le champ théologique, juridique et social trouvent un large écho dans certains ordres et congrégations religieuses... un esprit d'insubordination et d'indiscipline envers les autorités constituées... le déplorable état de chose qui ne peut pas ne pas préoccuper le Saint-Siège... » (Pizzardo, lettre à Suarez, 7 octobre 1953) Leprieur 1989: 501
- 1953-10-09: **Montini: réquisitoire devant d'Ormesson et Marella à Paris**: le pro secrétaire Montini avait eu un réquisitoire devant l'ambassadeur de France, et le nonce Marella, à l'archevêché de Paris. (d'Ormesson, 9 octobre 1953, ESS 26-26) Leprieur 1989: 343
- 1953-10-09: **d'Ormesson: 'Montini: redresser une ligne générale des erreurs'**: Mgr Montini s'empressa de rectifier l'appréciation de la crise naissante qui suggérait l'ambassadeur de France. « Il ne s'agit pas de corriger "des erreurs individuelles" mais bien de redresser une ligne générale. » (D'Ormesson, 9 octobre 1953) Leprieur 1989: 294

1953-10-18: FELTIN: LIBÉRATION, UNE INFLUENCE SUR UNE GÉNÉRATION

- 1953-10-18: **Feltin: 'les attitudes de la Libération' = suivre sa conscience personnelle'**: le cardinal Feltin tenait pour majeur l'incidence « d'attitudes prêchées pendant la guerre et la Libération »... «Après avoir répété sans cesse à la radio qu'il ne fallait pas obéir aux exigences de l'autorité établie, mais suivra sa conscience... le fait... a exercé une influence sur toute une génération, surtout à l'époque de l'adolescence et l'a convaincue qu'elle n'avait qu'à suivre sa conscience personnelle. » (Feltin, 18 octobre 1953, DC 1158-1305) Leprieur 1989: 261

1953-10-20—28: AVRIL, FÉRET, ET BOISSELOT CONVOQUÉS À ROME

- 1953-10-20—28: **Dominicains convoqués à Rome**: le père Avril, le père Henri Féret, et le père Boisselot, directeur des éditions du cerf. (Poulat 1965: 414ff) Leprieur 1989: 41

1953-11-04—05: PIE XII : « PRÊTRES OUVRIERS DOIT DISPARAÎTRE »

- 1953-11-04: **Pie XII: Reprimands of Cardinals Feltin, Liénart, Gerlier in Rome**: on 4 November 1953 France's three most prominent cardinals Maurice Feltin of Paris, Achille Liénart of Lille and Pierre-Marie Gerlier of Lyon travelled to Rome to receive the harsh judgment from the direct hands of the Holy Father... the old idea of the worker-priest would not be tolerated. Arnal 1986: 149
- 1953-11-05: **Pie XII: les prêtres ouvriers et une 'ligne générale' répréhensible**: le souverain pontife répondit à ce plaidoyer [du cardinal Liénart et Feltin à Rome en octobre 1953] par un réquisitoire analogue, en sa direction... Il formula, en effet, un certain nombre d'objections, auxquelles tel ou tel des cardinaux présents répondit. Mais en vain. L'évolution du... le comportement des prêtres ouvriers... confirme, à ses yeux, toutes les préventions que cette « expérience » avait suscitées et surtout la vigueur de cette « ligne générale » répréhensible. (D'Ormesson, 14 novembre 1953, ESS 26-26, page 5) Leprieur 1989: 343

1953-11-13: SAINT-OFFICE: SURVEILLANCE DES PERSONNES DANGEREUSES

- 1953-11-13: **Féret: découvre l'ampleur des dénonciations**: ce n'est que durant son séjour prolongé à Rome, à l'automne 1953, qu'il découvrit l'ampleur du phénomène, l'étendue de cette pratique: « les dénonciations dépassent tout ce que je supposais dans ce qu'il y a de policiers dans le "système". » (Féret, lettre au père Kopf, prieur de Saint-Jacques, 13 nov 1953) Leprieur 1989: 404
- 1953-11-13*: **Saint-Office: surveillance des personnes dangereuses**: l'information anonyme circule sans trêve. Cette surveillance « spontanée » s'exerce en permanence à l'endroit d'une certaine population – ces personnes à risque qui, par leurs propos ou leurs initiatives, sont tenues pour dangereuses. Leprieur 1989: 404

1953-12-03: RONCHAMP: PREMIERE PUBLICITÉ PUBLIQUE

- 1953-12-03: **Ronchamp**: « va posséder son église révolutionnaire »: La maquette de la chapelle, si elle est révolutionnaire, ne choque pas l'œil: l'ensemble est harmonieux. Les trous semblables à des éclats d'obus qui criblent la façade latérale feront l'office de vitraux non-figuratifs (Reproduit avec l'autorisation du comité paroissial de Ronchamp). De notre envoyé spécial: après Assy et sa chapelle-chalet, Vence et sa chapelle-Matisse, Ronchamp, petite ville de Haute-Saône... va, dans quelques mois, posséder son église révolutionnaire. Cet édifice, dont l'achèvement est prévu pour septembre prochain (les travaux sont déjà très avancés), n'existe encore qu'à l'état de maquette. Mais quelle maquette! Inutile d'ajouter que Le Corbusier, l'architecte de la Cité des étudiants à Lausanne, de la fameuse Cité radieuse de Marseille, et de tant d'autres, en est l'auteur... (A.-H. D., 'À temps modernes, églises modernes') *Le bien public*, 3 décembre 1953
- 1953-12-03: **blockhaus de béton: les maisons de gardiens et des pèlerins**: L'immense chantier de béton... À droite, ce sont des bétonneuses, par groupe, qui fonctionnent sans arrêt. En avant, on termine d'étranges blockhaus de béton, entièrement vitrés sur la face sud: les maisons de gardiens et des pèlerins—Le Corbusier est passé par là—Pas une planche n'entre dans la construction de ces singulières demeures vitrées presque sans porte qui, ensuite, seront crépies de panneaux polychromes. Serres ou sanatoria ? On ne sait. (A.-H. D., 'À temps modernes, églises modernes') *Le bien public*, 3 décembre 1953

1954: FRENCH ANTISEMITISM PERSISTS

- 1954: **census: Paris: 46% of Right, 12% of Left** think Jews NOT common Frenchman. (*Les Temps modernes*, May 1955) Marrus & Paxton 1981: 180

1954: LC 'PETITE MAISON': FALSE HISTORY OF VEVEY

- 1954: **LC: false story of vintner established the house in old farming tradition**: the story of the delightful family of the vintner who supposedly sold him the land ("La famille du vigneron vendeur fût charmante et accueillante, on but 'le verre'" [LC, *Une Petite Maison*, 1954, p. 11])... serves primarily to establish the roots of the house in the history of the region, with its age old farming tradition. It is now known that the land never really belonged to a vintner; rather it belonged to the painter Gaston Vaudou... (Adolphe Stiller, "Une descente sur les lieux: construction et détails techniques de la 'petite maison,'" in *Le Corbusier et Genève 1922-1932. Projets et réalisations*. eds. Isabelle Charollais and André Ducret, Lausanne: Payot, 1987, pp. 135-42) Von Moos 1997: 65
- 1954: **LC: Romanticized work = should not be taken literally**: It offers a fairly romanticized version. *Une petite maison*... in short, is not an account of travel and work that should be taken literally. It offers a fairly romanticized version of events. Von Moos 1997: 65

1954-01-12—16: CHENU: UNE 'NOTE THÉOLOGIQUE'

- 1954-01-12: **Chenu: 'l'obéissance n'est pas une forme vide'**: « quand j'ai fait vœux d'obéissance, ce fut sur un objet défini. [...] L'obéissance n'est pas une forme vide, un impératif "volontaire". Obéissez d'abord, on verra après. » » (Chenu, lettre à l'Abbé le Sourd, 12 janvier 1954) Leprieur 1989: 265
- 1954-01-16: **Béjot: adhésion de la théologie de Chenu**: Chenu a rédigé une note... «La théologie qui commande cette position est une mauvaise théologie par sa vue unilatérale des formes du sacerdoce.»... Mgr Béjot, qui participait à un groupe de réflexions sur la question, au couvent Saint-Jacques, apporta son adhésion à cette note le 16 janvier 1954... Leprieur 1989: 216-8

1954-01-19—20: ROME: SUPPRESSION DES PRÊTRES OUVRIERS

- 1954-01-19: **Saint-Office: raisons doctrinales et pastorales**: Le texte de la lettre circulaire portera la date de 19 janvier 1954. Elle formule, avec des précautions oratoires destinées à ménager la sensibilité de prêtres ouvriers... L'église est intervenue pour des raisons doctrinales et pastorales... Dansette 1957: 276 / 279
- 1954-01-19: **ACA: lettre d'obéissance aux prêtres-ouvriers**: les évêques ont envoyé une lettre à chacun des prêtres-ouvriers de leur diocèse, 19 janvier 1954. Leprieur 1989: 262, 558
- 1954-01-19: **ACA: 'votre foi vous entraîne à la soumission'**: (ACA, lettre aux prêtres ouvriers, 19 janvier 1954, DC 1168-297) Leprieur 1989: 576
- 1954-01-19: **Pius XII: « C'est une forme anormale du sacerdoce »**: toutes les illusions s'étaient dissipées... La déclaration aux mesures définitives annoncées le 19 janvier par l'ensemble des évêques était une décision irrévocable... Il n'est pas d'hésitation possible, c'est bien le pape qui a pris l'ultime décision... Le pape répond: « Je ne peux pas permettre... Il faut trouver un autre

moyen que le travail. C'est une forme anormale du sacerdoce. » (Froidevaux, compte rendu de la réunion, 23 janvier 1954, *Journal d'un prêtre au travail*) Leprieur 1989: 222-3

- 1954-01-20: **ACA déclaration sur la suppression des prêtres-ouvriers.** Leprieur 1989: 32

1954-01-31: DEATH OF DUBOURG

- 1954-01-31: **Dubourg: venait d'être nommé « assistant au trône pontifical » par Pie XII:** Monseigneur Dubourg a mort brutalement à l'aube de 31 janvier 1954... il venait d'être nommé «assistant au trône pontifical » par Pie XII, et le gouvernement français l'avait promu «commandeur de la Légion d'honneur ». (*La Croix*, 2 février 1954, p. 1) Caussé 1999: 557
- 1954-01-31: **Dubourg: avant son jubilé épiscopal:** la mort de Mgr Dubourg quelques jours avant les fêtes prévues pour son jubilé épiscopal provoqué une vive émotion dans le diocèse. E. Ledeur 1977: 215
- 1954-01-31*: **Dubourg: 1914-1918, à la Marne, à Verdun et au Chemin des Dames:** Mobilisé en 1914, l'Abbé Dubourg est d'abord brancardier, et bientôt aumônier au 170^e Régiment d'Infanterie... Cinq citations de la Croix de Guerre et la Légion d'Honneur récompensent un dévouement qui s'était prodigué à la Marne, à Verdun et au Chemin des Dames. L. Ledeur 1954: 15

1954-02-02—04: 'LES 73': MANIFESTE DES PRÊTRES OUVRIERS

- 1954-02-02: **prêtres-ouvriers: riposte aux évêques français:** Avant de répondre à leurs évêques la majorité entre eux va publier le 2 février 1954 un communiqué dit « des soixante-treize »... Le « manifeste des soixante-treize » assène des affirmations. Hors du monde ouvrier, sa coloration marxiste et sa manière de porter sur le forum les exigences de la Hiérarchie, va informer le public, qui en est encore au *Saints vont en enfer*, des tendances des prêtres ouvriers. Dansette 1957: 282
- 1954-02-04: **« les 73 »: le manifeste des prêtres-ouvriers:** il fut connu à Rome dans la journée du 4 janvier 1954... Il pouvait passer par un acte de rébellion des signataires... les auteurs de cette décision n'avaient-ils pas, en fait, cédé aux pressions de tous ceux que l'action des prêtres-ouvriers plongeait dans le désarroi, de ceux qui étaient « habitués à mettre la religion au service de leurs intérêts et de leurs préjugés de classe » ? ('Manifeste des 73', dans *La Quinzaine* et *l'Humanité*) Leprieur 1989: 69-70

1954-02-04: DOMINICAINS DISCIPLINÉS DEVANT LE SAINT-OFFICE

- 1954-02-04: **Avril fait connaître la soumission des prêtres-ouvriers.** Leprieur 1989: 62
- 1954-02-04: **Valeri annonce l'abolition de l'élection dominicaine:** Le cardinal Valeri avait «tendu au père Suarez en papier » décidant l'abolition de l'élection des provinciaux au profit de Rome. (Congar, *Chronique de la petite purge*, journal manuscrit, 8 fév-31 oct 1954) Leprieur 1989: 66
- 1954-02-04: **Valeri demande à Suarez de déposer les trois provinciaux:** « quand je dis, "attendez, je vais arranger cela", on me dit, "mais comment empêcherez-vous l'influence de cet esprit français?"... grand courant d'opposition au Saint-Siège et aux évêques... on me demande de fermer les noviciats et les studentats... » (Saurez, in Bouche, notes manuscrites sur ses entretiens avec Suarez, 7-8 février 1954) Leprieur 1989: 69
- 1954-02-04: **Saint-Office: mesures radicales pour une stricte discipline religieuse:** Plusieurs Dominicains français étaient l'objet de procès devant le Saint-Office et de plaintes à des titres divers émanant d'évêques. Les congrégations romaines avaient envisagé des mesures radicales pour assurer une stricte discipline religieuse parmi les frères prêcheurs. Dansette 1957: 288

1954-02-05: COUTURIER: « L'INTERDICTION DE L'ART SACRÉ FORMULÉE »

- 1954-02-05: **Couturier: j'allais « un peu mieux »:** On reçut ensuite un remède venu d'Amérique... qui apporta une nette amélioration (15 septembre 1953). On espéra à son retour à la santé (27 novembre 1953). Lui-même trois jours avant sa mort avait écrit au père Régamey qu'il allait un peu mieux (5 février 1954). (Couturier, lettre à Régamey, 5 février 1954) Caussé 1999: 330
- 1954-02-05: **Couturier: « l'interdiction de AS formulée au début de février »:** selon ce dernier [Couturier] l'interdiction [de la revue AS] avait été formulée au début de février. (Couturier, lettre à Régamey, 5 février 1954) Caussé 1999: 264
- 1954-02-05: **Couturier: AS 9-10 mai-juin, 'Photos du sacré', censuré:** Le numéro [de *L'Art sacré*, n. 9-10 mai-juin] était prêt à paraître lorsqu'il [le numéro de AS] fut censuré par le [père] Provincial [Avril ?]. Couturier en informa le 5 février 1954 le père Régamey, lui expliquant les raisons de la censure et fournissant par la même occasion des détails supplémentaires sur son contenu. (Couturier, lettre à Régamey, 5 février 1954) Caussé 1999: 264
- 1954-02-05: **Couturier: L'interdiction venait de « la plainte du père Pichard »:** L'interdiction venait de «la plainte du père Pichard qui redoutait une attaque trop rude contre la télévision»... (Couturier, lettre à Régamey, 5 février 1954) Caussé 1999: 264

- 1954-02-05*: **L'Art sacré fut sauvé de l'anéantissement** En février 1954... L'art sacré fut sauvé de l'anéantissement par le fait qu'à le Tour-Maubourg... étant « strictement laïque », la maison d'édition était « totalement indépendante » ce qui permet « justement au moment de cette tempête, qu'elle soit à plus près préservée parce que le maître Général avait autorité sur les religieux n'est pas... sur la maison. » (Capellades, entretien) Caussé 1999: 268

1954-02-06—07: **DOMINICAINS DISCIPLINÉS DEVANT LE SAINT-OFFICE**

- 1954-02-06: **Suarez revenait à Paris**. Leprieur 1989: 65
- 1954-02-06: **Suarez au couvent faubourg Saint-Honoré**. Leprieur 1989: 75
- 1954-02-07: **Suarez entrevu avec Albert Bouche, faubourg Saint-Honoré**. Leprieur 1989: 75
- 1954-02-07: **Bouche a alerté les adjoints**: Bouche donna l'alerte Bernard Gardey... Il joignit père Féret et Chenu qu'il retrouva au restaurant. Il prit en outre rendez-vous avec deux autres frères de sa communauté: Henri Berger à 14:00, et Joseph Robert à 17:00. Ils se retrouvèrent à 18:00 chez Mme Sauvageot: toute « l'équipe du 48 » au complet, le père Avril, le père Chenu et peut-être Beuve-Méry. (Bouche, agenda 1954) Leprieur 1989: 76-7
- 1954-02-07*: **Suarez rencontre les frères visés dans 'grande purge'**: selon le mot du père Avril, rapporté par le père Congar: « le père général [Suarez] est venue pour exécuter une grande purge... le père Chenu, exilé à Rouen; le père Féret, suspendu; le père Boisselot, exilé de Paris, cesser d'être supérieur des éditions du Cerf; le père Congar, exilé de Paris, interdire à écrire. (Congar, *Chronique de la petite purge*, journal manuscrit, 8 fév-31 oct. 1954) Leprieur 1989: 77-82
- 1954-02-07*: **démissionnés: Chenu, Boisselot, Congar, Féret et trois provinciaux** La seconde semaine de février... les trois provinciaux (Paris, Lyon, Toulouse) ont démissionné ou ont été « démissionnés » ... quatre autres pères, personnalités marquantes de l'ordre, sont mis en cause dont trois sont « assignés » en dehors de Paris... quatre dominicains frappés : le père Chenu... Boisselot... P. Congar... P. Féret... Dansette 1957: 286
- 1954-02-07*: **Régamey: la décision de changer les directeurs de la revue vint de Rome**: La décision de changer les directeurs de la revue vint de Rome. L'art sacré « fut pris dans les remous de la crise relative aux prêtres-ouvriers... » (Régamey, entretien) Caussé 1999: 267-8
- 1954-02-07*: **Costantini: le ressentiment double: L'Art sacré et prêtres-ouvriers**: En février 1954... l'hostilité, qui était évidente dans les milieux qu'animait le cardinal Celso Costantini, a éclaté [...] et du même coup on a vidé sur nous que le ressentiment qu'on avait sous cette double forme [L'Art sacré et les prêtres-ouvriers]. » (Régamey, entretien) Caussé 1999: 267-8
- 1954-02-07*: **censuré: Couturier, Chenu, Congar, Féret, Boisselot**: « En février 1954, le général de l'Ordre [Suarez] vint à Paris pour signifier l'obligation de l'éloigner de Paris les pères Chenu, Congar, Féret et Boisselot et Couturier. ... Et moi, de me retirer de la direction de *L'Art sacré*. Le père Couturier était mourant; il expira deux jours après. » (Régamey, entretien) Caussé 2010: 194
- 1954-02-07*: **Saulchoir: Couturier, Chenu, Congar, Féret, et Régamey**: Le couvent d'études de Saulchoir à Kain, près de Tournai en Belgique... était une des grandes maisons de formation qui impulsèrent la vitalité intellectuelle de l'église de France... À l'époque de Couturier et de Régamey il hébergeait 120 religieux. Les professeurs étaient les pères... Congar, Féret, Chenu (régent de 1932-42)... Caussé 2010: 225

1954-02-07—08: **DOMINICAINS: DÉSOBÉISSANCE AU SAINT-SIÈGE ET À LA HIÉRARCHIE**

- 1954-02-08: **Suarez: 'les évêques se plaignent au Saint-Siège'**: « les évêques se plaignent au Saint-Siège et le Saint-Siège à moi. Il veut prendre des solutions sur les prêtres-ouvriers puis sur d'autres choses... ce mouvement des prêtres-ouvriers a été poussé par les théologiens dominicains qui se sont ouvertement mis entre la Saint-Siège et les évêques. (Bouche, notes manuscrites, 8 février 1954) Leprieur 1989: 516
- 1954-02-08: **Suarez: l'Ordre dans la désobéissance au Saint-Siège**: On en est arrivé à la conclusion que l'Ordre était complètement anarchique tant dans la désobéissance au Saint-Siège et à la Hiérarchie que du côté de la vie intérieure en pleine dissolution... (Bouche, notes manuscrites, 8 février 1954) Leprieur 1989: 516

1954-02-08—09: **COUTURIER MOURUT DANS LA NUIT DE 8 AU 9 FÉVRIER**

- 1954-02-07: **Couturier Chenu, Congar, Féret, Boisselot censuré**: L'art sacré « fut pris dans les remous de la crise relative aux prêtres-ouvriers. En février 1954, le général de l'Ordre vint à Paris pour signifier l'obligation de l'éloigner de Paris les pères Chenu, Congar, Féret et Boisselot et Couturier. (Régamey, entretien) Caussé 2010: 194
- 1954-02-08—9: **Couturier expira deux jours après**: et le père Couturier était mourant; il expira deux jours après. » (Régamey, entretien) Caussé 2010: 194

- 1954-02-08—9: **Couturier mourut dans la nuit de 8 au 9 février**: Couturier mourut dans la nuit de 8 au 9 février, d'une dernière crise d'asthme... Caussé 2010: 241
- 1954-02-08—9*: **LC: "Couturier died following the violent shock he received from Rome"**: "our friend father Couturier was a master... He died very suddenly in the hospital... following the violent shock he received when Rome took her dramatic decisions against the 'worker priests', especially the Dominicans, who had employed nonacademic methods in the practice of their convictions." (LC-Marguerite, 6 Oct 1956, Paris) Weber 2008: 721

1954-02-19: RÉGAMEY DÉMISSIONNÉ DE L'ART SACRÉ

- 1954-02-19: **Régamey démissionné = continuation des pressions romaines**: L'apparition de ces nouveaux noms laisse pressentir combien les exigences romaines... s'efforce de contenir ces pressions... Cette intervention est d'autant plus symbolique que la province vient de célébrer les funérailles du père Couturier décidé le 9 février 1954. Leprieur 1989: 103
- 1954-02-19: **Régamey démissionné de l'art sacré**: Saurez: « on devra faire une attention spéciale à l'activité du père Régamey et à la revue "L'art sacré" en cherchant peu à peu à mettre à côté du père Régamey quelqu'un qui pourra lui être substitué... » (Saurez, lettre au père Ducattillon, 19 février 1954, Archives de la province de France) Leprieur 1989: 103
- 1954-02-19: **Régamey retiré de la direction de L'Art sacré**: La décision de changer la tête de la revue vint de Rome, ainsi que le confirma Régamey en 1991. L'art sacré « fut pris dans les remous de la crise relative aux prêtres-ouvriers. En février 1954, le général de l'Ordre [Saurez] vint à Paris pour signifier l'obligation... de me retirer de la direction de L'Art sacré.» (Régamey, entretien) Caussé 2010: 194
- 1954-02-19: **Saulchoir: Couturier, Chenu, Congar, Féret, et Régamey**: Le couvent d'études de Saulchoir à Kain, près de Tournai en Belgique... était une des grandes maisons de formation qui impulsèrent la vitalité intellectuelle de l'église de France... À l'époque de Couturier et de Régamey il hébergeait 120 religieux. Les professeurs étaient les pères... Congar, Féret, Chenu (régent de 1932-42)... Caussé 2010: 225

1954-04-04: BÉJOT INAUGURÉ LA PREMIÈRE PIERRE DE RONCHAMP

- 1954-04-04: **Béjot: inauguré la première pierre de la chapelle de Ronchamp**: Mgr Béjot « inauguré l'Abri du Pèlerin et bénit la première pierre de la chapelle le dimanche 4 avril 1954... » (JNDH 1980 n. 68, p. 7-8) Caussé 1999: 668
- 1954-04-04*: **Pizzardo: on ait pu confier la construction à un « architecte matérialiste »**: Mgr Béjot... bénit la première pierre du chantier... Le Saint-Office lui demanda des comptes. Il reçut un jour, durant l'été 1954 sans doute car il était encore "évêque capitulaire"... « une note du Saint-Office, signée du Cardinal Pizzardo en personne, demandant comment il se faisait qu'on ait pu confier la construction d'une chapelle à un architecte matérialiste... » (Mgr Béjot, 16 mars 1980, dans JNDH 68, p. 7-8) Caussé 1999: 661

1954-06-09: NOMINATION DE MGR MARCEL-MARIE DUBOIS

- 1954-06-09: **Dubois nomination**: la nomination par le Saint-Père de Son Excellence Monseigneur Marcel-Marie Dubois... le mercredi 9 juin 1954. Béjot 1954: 178

1954-08-26: DUBOIS: DEMANDÉ UN RAPPORT SUR L'IMPRIMERIE DE L'EST

- 1954-08-26: **Dubois: demande rapport sur l'imprimerie de l'Est**: Deux documents permettent de retracer les origines de l'imprimerie de l'Est. Un rapport rédigé par J. Goux à la demande de Mgr Dubois daté de 26 août 1954... Lambert 2007: 19
- 1954-08-26*: **Dubois: Dubourg surveille au sujet de Cité fraternelle**: Une boîte... «À mon retour à Dieu» s'agissait des pièces que Mgr Dubois demandait de n'ouvrir qu'après son décès, mais au milieu de celles-ci se trouvait une chemise contenant des lettres que Mgr Dubourg son prédécesseur avait échangées avec différents correspondants au sujet de lancement de *Cité fraternelle*. Lambert 2007: 13
- 1954-08-26*: **Dubois: Surveillance des hommes de Cité fraternelle**: Mgr Dubois décida au printemps 1963 de faire mener, largement à l'insu de la direction de *Cité fraternelle*, une mission d'exploration dans le but de changer les hommes en place... Nomme à un post fictif de secrétaire du temporel, l'abbé Mauvilly... communiquait directement avec Mgr Dubois. Lorsque celui-ci était au concile ils échangeaient des lettres dont le ton était allusif et où les noms des personnes évoquées étaient remplacés par des initiales. Lambert 2007: 164
- 1954-08-26*: **Mathey: Dubois relations intimes avec un capucin, espion du Vatican**: « On sait quelle était l'attitude de Mgr Dubois réputé intégriste nettement hostile à l'architecture de Le Corbusier comme témoignage d'art sacré, et on se méfiait d'autant plus qu'avait été repéré certain capucin

connu pour ses relations intimes avec la Curie romaine et qui devait être quelque espion du Vatican. » (François Mathey, 1968) J.-F. Mathey 2007: 148

- 1954-08-26*: **Mathey: Dubois nommé pour faire pièce au déviationnisme moderniste:** "Tout ce qui avait été plus ou moins possible au temps de Mgr. Dubourg devint très difficile avec son successeur, Mgr. Dubois, dont on sut qu'il avait été précisément nommé par Pie XII pour faire pièce au déviationnisme moderniste dont faisait preuve le diocèse de Besançon en proie aux fantaisies iconoclastes. Mgr. Dubois qui avait été le coadjuteur de Mgr. Grente au Mans était résolument hermétique à l'art sauf lorsqu'il était pompier." (Fr. Mathey, lettre à Alfred Manessier, 3 avril 1977, Archives Atelier Manessier) Flicoteaux 1998: 50-1

1954-10-07: MGR DUBOIS FUT INTRONISÉ À BESANÇON

- 1954-10-07: **Dubois fut intronisé à Besançon** 7 octobre 1954. JNDH 1967, n. 24, p. 11

1954-12-31: DUBOIS SUIV LES TRAVAUX DE RONCHAMP

- 1954-12-31: **Canet: « Dubois suit les travaux de Ronchamp avec très grand intérêt »:** Mgr. Dubois n'était sûrement pas favorable à l'art moderne, encore moins à son introduction dans l'Église et sa nomination à l'archevêché de Besançon marque un tournant dans l'œuvre de la commission d'art sacré... Certains l'ont entendu dire qu'il était arrivé trop tard pour empêcher la construction de Notre Dame du Haut... Néanmoins et malgré ses réticences personnelles, il s'est préoccupé des travaux comme l'indique M. Canet dans une lettre à Le Corbusier: « Mgr. Dubois est très intéressé par l'œuvre et suit les travaux avec un très grand intérêt. Il nous a chargé de vous demander la date de votre prochaine visite à Ronchamp, de façon à vous y rencontrer. » (Canet, lettre à LC, 31 décembre 1954, FLC Q16 315) Flicoteaux 1998: 51
- 1954-12-31*: **Dubois: « éprouvait une grande appréhension à l'égard » de Ronchamp:** « Mgr Dubois... éprouvait une grande appréhension à l'égard d'une œuvre qui avait déjà soulevé des nuages de poussière dans certains bureaux du Vatican. » Bolle-Reddat, JNDH 1971 40, p. 3

1955-01-11: LC: CHRISTIANITY WHICH BY GRACE OVERWHELMED ROME

- 1955-01-11: **LC: 'Christianity which by grace overwhelmed Rome':** Ronchamp... "an ineffable thing! I believe it to be an aberration from 2000 years ago. From the Christianity which by grace overwhelmed Rome... I've based the design (pentagram) on an altarpiece in the Louvre..." (LC, letter to Marguerite, 15 Feb 1955, Cap Martin) Weber 2008: 672

1955-03-15: LC INAUGURATION OF CHANDIGARH HIGH COURT

1955-04-25: DUBOIS: « LES ALLUSIONS REPRÉSENTATIVES » À RONCHAMP

- 1955-04-25: **Dubois: autorise son accord pour l'extérieur de la porte sans enthousiasme:** Finalement, Monseigneur m'autorise à vous être son accord pour l'extérieur de la porte. Ce n'est pas d'enthousiasme, mais il s'est laissé persuader qu'il y a dans votre composition une grande rigueur... Le revers intérieur de la porte fait difficulté—uniquement d'ailleurs pour les allusions représentatives et les formes que j'ai entourées d'un tract rouge. (Ledeur, lettre à LC, 25 avril 1955) FLC Q1-5-

1955-06-00: LC: L'ARTISTE, L'ÊTRE SENSIBLE AUX CHOSES DE L'UNIVERS

- 1955-06-00: **LC: « l'artiste, l'être sensible aux choses de l'univers »:** Il faut pour reconnaître la présence d'un phénomène acoustique au domaine des formes, être, non pas l'initie des mots tabou, mais l'artiste, l'être sensible aux choses de l'univers. C'est l'oreille qui peut « voir » les proportions. On peut « entendre » la musique de la proportion visuelle. LC 1955a: 154
- 1955-06-00: **LC: « un 'moine' du type Mondrian »:** La capacité de sensibilité évoque ici et dévolue à l'animal humain fut celle qui provoqua chez Cézanne déjà, chez les grands cubistes avant 1914, puis chez un « moine » du type Mondrian (pendant trente années de sa vie [LC]) une puissance d'audibilité marquant un sommet, non seulement de sensibilité et de concentration, mais de la volonté, de l'esprit de clarté, de l'esprit de l'exactitude, supports seuls efficaces de la poésie dont la raison et de mettre en jeu les ressources les plus élevées de la pensée. En parlant de Mondrian, par exemple, on signale une tentative vers la pureté qui fut, comme sa normal self-défense en cette période de déchaînement matériel, rançon inévitable du progrès technique. LC 1955a: 154
- 1955-06-00: **LC: « ART: s'étendant du matériel au spirituel, un miracle ineffable »:** le problème oscille dans l'espace sans limites contenu dans le mot ART qui est « manière de faire », et où, par

conséquent, tout est panorama s'étendant du matériel au spirituel ou arc-en-ciel posant ses deux pieds par terre pour réaliser sous nos yeux, en plein ciel, un miracle ineffable. Il nous conduira vers un vocable venu du profond de la civilisation est capable de contenir notre désir: SYMÉTRIE, qui exprime un rapport illimitable tendu entre deux termes dont chacun se trouve haussé au-delà de toute acception vulgaire, et placés, l'un par rapport à l'autre, dans des positions imprévisibles a priori, inattendues, étonnantes, stupéfiantes, ravissantes. Poésie ! LC 1955a: 155

1955-06-25: LC: « PRÊTRES ONT DIT QUE CETTE ÉGLISE OUVRAIT DES TEMPS NOUVEAUX »

- 1955-06-25: LC: 'les prêtres ont dit que cette église ouvrait des temps nouveaux': L'architecture de béton armé est rentrée dans l'histoire de l'architecture pure et, chose beaucoup plus drôle, les prêtres ont dit que cette église ouvrait des temps nouveaux. Je crains bien que le Pape ne soit pas très content! Il avait envoyé un Évêque pour surveiller la manœuvre de l'inauguration. (LC-Marguerite, 24-5 juin 1955) FLC-G2-19-108

1955-07-10: JOSEPH BALL: « LE RENOUVEAU DU CATHOLICISME »

- 1955-07-03: LC Ronchamp discours, « Excellence... »: L'inauguration est relatée pleine page dans le numéro [*Cité fraternelle*] de 3 juillet 1955 avec notamment le discours de Le Corbusier « Excellence... » Lambert 2007: 281
- 1955-07-10: Ball: « églises authentiquement parentes des constructions de notre temps »: « Avec le renouveau du catholicisme l'église s'incarne dans le monde actuel. Il est normal que les églises nouvelles surgissent du champ moderne dans la plus pure tradition des églises distinguées mais authentiquement parentes des constructions de notre temps. » (Joseph Ball, 'La chapelle de Ronchamp, la trouver-vous traditionnel ?', in *Cité fraternelle*, 10 juillet 1955) Lambert 2007: 283
- 1955-07-10*: Suhard: « la fin d'un monde, une ère nouvelle, une civilisation universaliste »: Pour comprendre la parenté... la plupart des initiatives religieuses de la guerre et de l'après-guerre, il faut méditer la célèbre lettre pastorale publiée en 1947 par le cardinal Suhard sous le titre *Essor ou déclin de l'église...* Le cardinal Suhard commence par constater que la guerre marque la fin d'un monde. Nous sommes entrés dans une ère nouvelle où s'ébauche une civilisation universaliste. Dansette 1957: 135-6

1955-09-00: LEDEUR ET MATHEY: 'L'AUDACE DE S'ADRESSER À LE CORBUSIER'

- 1955-09-00: Capellades: 'Ledeur et Mathey eurent l'audace de s'adresser à Le Corbusier': Le Chanoine Ledeur, secrétaire de la Commission diocésaine d'art sacré de Besançon, et Monsieur François Mathey, membre de cette Commission, eurent l'audace de s'adresser à Le Corbusier. (Capellades, 'Ronchamp') AS 1-2, sept-oct 1955: 26
- 1955-09-00: Capellades: 'LC: passionné par problèmes soulevés et la grandeur spirituelle': Celui-ci refusa d'abord, ne voulant pas entreprendre une tâche pour laquelle il ne croyait pas être assez préparé. Puis saisi par la beauté du site, passionné par les problèmes soulevés et la grandeur spirituelle de l'entreprise, il se mit au travail. (Capellades, 'Ronchamp') AS 1-2, sept-oct 1955: 26
- 1955-09-00*: Ledeur rescinded his supposed 'audacity' in 1974. Caussé 2007: 70
- 1955-09-00*: Mathey « Ledeur portait tous les soucis »: Ledeur « portait tous les soucis », écrivit François Mathey à Étienne Ledeur après la mort de son frère... Ledeur mourut accidentellement le 21 juin 1975. (Mathey à Étienne Ledeur, c. 1975) Caussé 2007: 64

1955-10-07: PETIT-LC: « 120.000 FRANCS, QU'IL M'AVANCE CE JOUR »

- 1955-09-00: Petit: « 120.000 francs, qu'il m'avance ce jour »: Je soussigné Jean Petit, m'engager à rembourser Monsieur Le Corbusier la somme de cent vingt mille francs, qu'il m'avance ce jour, à la date du 31 octobre 1955. Jean Petit, Paris 7 octobre 1955 (Petit, lettre à LC, 7 oct. 1955) FLC EI-10-21

1955-12-25: PIUS XII: ENCYCLICAL MUSICAE SACRAE DISCIPLINA

- 1955-12-25: Pius XII: "Artist who doesn't profess faith must not occupy religious art": "[T]he artist who does not profess the truths of the faith or who alienates himself from God in his soul or conduct, must not in any manner occupy himself with religious art: he does not possess, in effect, that interior eye which permits him to discover that which the majesty of God and the Divine cult require... [the works of such artists] shall therefore never be worthy of being admitted by the Church into its divine edifices." (Pius XII, *Musicae sacrae disciplina*, encyclical letter of December 25, 1955; French text in *La Documentation catholique*, January 22, 1956, number 1217, pages 74-5; English translation from French) Rubin 1961: 70
- 1955-12-25: Pius XII: "certain artists say the inspiration by which artists proceed is free": "We have not failed to note that during these recent years certain artists, gravely offending Christian piety,

have dared to introduce into churches works of a personal nature totally without religious inspiration and entirely contrary to the correct rules of art. They try to justify these deplorable activities by specious arguments which they pretend to derive from the nature and character of art in itself. They say, in effect, that the inspiration by which the artist proceeds is free, and that it is not possible to submit this inspiration to laws and norms foreign to art – be they religious or moral – because one would thus gravely offend the dignity of art and shackle and chain even the artist guided by a sacred inspiration... (Pius XII, 25 December 1955) Rubin 1961: 71

- 1955-12-25: Pius XII: “‘art for art’s sake’ constitutes a grave offense against God himself”: However, such expressions of ‘art for art’s sake’... constitute a grave offense against God himself...” (Pius XII, 25 December 1955) Rubin 1961: 71

1956-06-25: LC DISPLACEMENT OF RONCHAMP CROSS

1956-11-00: RÉGAMEY QUITTAIT TOUT CE TRAVAIL EN MATIÈRE D'ART

- 1956-11-00: Régamey: *il avait été saisi de doute, discernement en matière d'art*: Père Régamey, en novembre ou décembre 1956... était en quelque sorte venu nous annoncer qu'il quittait non seulement la revue, mais tout ce travail en matière d'art, parce qu'il avait été saisi de doute. Il se défendait explicitement de tout soupçon de décision autoritaire de la part de Rome ou de ses supérieurs. C'était par décision personnel qu'il se retirait pour se consacrer à la spiritualité, les critères de discernement en matière d'art étant trop incertain pour qu'il acceptât de continuer plus longtemps. Gilbert 2005: 157

1956-12-31: LC: ST. BERNARD, « TU DÉSIR VOIR, ÉCOUTE »

- 1956-12-31: LC: « Tu désir voir, écoute: L'audition est un degré vers la vision »: « Tu désir voir, écoute: / L'audition est un degré vers la vision. » / St. Bernard de Clairvaux, 1095-1153. / Extrait de livre Français Cali Hervé – Chez Arthaud / Ce propos est admirable. / J'avais parlé d'un « événement acoustique / au domaine des formes » / – d'une acoustique visuelle / – de l'Espace indicible - / Roquebrune. 31/12/56. L'espace indicible. Pour Éditions de Minuit. (LC, note, 31 Dec 1956) FLC B3-7-500

1958-09*-00: LC PLACEMENT OF RONCHAMP TABERNACLE

1958-09-18: LC SUR RONCHAMP: « L'ŒUVRE D'ART EST UN TREMPLIN »

- 1958-09-18: LC: « chacun saute à sa manière parfois très près, parfois très loin »: Cher Monsieur l'abbé... J'ai eu des échos de votre sacerdoce. M. Claudius Petit m'a dit que vous étiez d'une brillance extraordinaire pour expliquer les symboles peints sur la porte de la Chapelle et, par ailleurs, pour toutes autres explications sensibles. Le propre de l'œuvre d'art ce qu'est un tremplin pour autrui et chacun saute à sa manière parfois très près, parfois très loin. Et tout est très bien ! Merci. (LC, lettre à Bolle-Reddat, 18 sept. 1958) FLC Q1-05123

1958-10-06—09: PIUS XII DEATH

- 1958-10-06: Pius XII took to his bed ill. Cornwell 1999: 356
- 1958-10-09: Pie XII mort. Leprieur 1989: 484

1962-05-00: LC: PLEINS POUVOIRS 'OUTSIDE ALL IDEOLOGICAL QUARRELS':

- 1962: LC: *Pleins pouvoirs 'outside all ideological quarrels'*: Le Corbusier praised the study [Giraudoux's *Pleins pouvoirs*] as "an admirable book, outside of all ideological or academic quarrels, which calls to the IMAGINATION — to the French imagination". (LC, 'Ou en est-on 26 ans après la charte d'Athènes?', unpublished manuscript, May-June 1962) McLeod 1985a: 380
- 1962*: *Pleins pouvoirs*: “‘policy achieves highest plane once it is racial’”: Giraudoux published *Pleins pouvoirs*... the gravest problem of ail was immigration. France had become 'an invaded country' facing a 'continuous infiltration of barbarians'. It was necessary to accompany immigration by a policy of 'methodical choice' and 'pitiless surveillance' in order 'to send back those elements which could corrupt a race, which owes its value to the selection and refining process of twenty centuries'. France had too many foreigners: 'We find them swarming in our arts and in our old and new industries, in a kind of spontaneous generation reminiscent of fleas on a newly born puppy...

we are in full agreement with Hitler in proclaiming that a policy only achieves its highest plane once it is racial'. (Giraudoux, *Pleins pouvoirs*, 1939, pp. 58- 76) Jackson 2001: 111

1963: LC ACCUSED OF MEMBERSHIP IN FRENCH FASCISM

- 1963: **LC accused of membership in French fascism**: J. Plumyène and R. Lasierra stated in *Les Fascismes Français 1923-63* (Paris: Seuil, 1963, page 10) that Le Corbusier was a member of the Faisceau in 1926. McLeod 1985a: 169 n 16

1964-69: VICHY DISCOURSE: CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY PURSUED & DENIED

- 1960s: **Gerlier obtained affidavits in Touvier's behalf**. Lottman 1986: 286
- 1964: **Statute of Limitations on crimes against humanity ended**: French parliament's vote in 1964 to end the Statute of Limitations on crimes against humanity. That decision had been taken to allow the possibility of pursuing Nazi war criminals still at large... Jackson 2001: 615
- 1964: **war crimes statute of limitations eliminated**: the French passed a law in December 1964 by unanimous vote which eliminated the statute of limitations for war crimes... "Based on the definition of crimes against humanity in the charter of the [Nuremberg] tribunal which by their nature cannot be prescribed". Lottman 1986: 285-6
- 1966: **Pétain biographies, outpouring of sympathy**: an outpouring of sympathetic Pétain biographies beginning in 1966 argued that [concerning the Algerian issue] the Marshal would have known how to deal with dissident youth. Paxton 1972: 345
- 1966: **Resistance & Liberation characterized as revenge and lawlessness**: when biographies of Marshal Pétain began to appear in 1966, it became regular practice to blame the poisons of division attending the liberation upon de Gaulle's rigorous sectarianism and the upwelling of revenge encouraged by resistance lawlessness. Paxton 1972: 381
- 1966: **Scapini, Vichy Ambassador, omitted September-October 1940 missions**: Scapini [Service diplomatique des prisonniers de guerre à Berlin, Vichy Ambassador] in his postwar memoirs, *Mission sans gloire* (Paris, 1996), treat his role as a purely technical matter of overseeing the condition of French prisoners of war in Germany. He says nothing of the September-October 1940 missions. Paxton 1972: 72
- 1967: **La Roque treated as a member of the resistance**: Philippe Rudeaux, *La Croix de feu et la PSF* (Paris, 1967) treats La Roque as a member of the resistance. Paxton 1972: 253
- 1969: **Mitterrand postwar falsification as 'Résistant'**: Mitterrand... allowed himself to be interviewed on television for ninety minutes in September 1994 to appease the uproar excited by Péan's book. This willingness to come clean on his past represented a change of attitude by Mitterrand. In 1969, he had written of his wartime experience: 'Back in France I became a resister after no great agonising.' To say the least, this missed out a lot in between. (F. Mitterrand, *Ma part de vérité*, 1969, pp. 20, 23-4) Jackson 2001: 620
- 1962-67*: **Paxton: France lacks an interpretative conception for the recent past**: the mixture of humiliation and national powerlessness with recovered opulence in the French experience since 1940 have left many French people without any interpretive conception of the recent past. Paxton 2001: xxxviii

1970: PETIT: 'LC LUI-MEME' HIDES LE CORBUSIER'S ROLE IN VICHY

- **Petit 1970: maisons « Murondins » = pour sinistrés et réfugiés**: L'Atelier rue de Sèvre termine un certain nombre de projets pour des maisons de contremaîtres, des maisons d'ingénieurs, des maisons montées à sec, des maisons « Murondins » pour sinistrés et réfugiés. Avec Jean Prouvé et Pierre Jeanneret étudient des écoles volantes pour les réfugiés. Petit 1970: 86
- **Petit 1970: « de Gaulle, Enfin, un peu de courage »**: avec sa femme et Pierre Jeanneret, Le Corbusier séjour dans une ferme abandonnée au pied des Pyrénées à Ozon par Tournay, où il écrit deux livres: « Destin de Paris » et « Les murondins » qui paraîtront l'année suivante. « Depuis dix jours à Ozon. L'armistice a été signé le 22 juin par le maréchal Pétain. Les chambres ont lâché. Nous avons su qu'à Londres, un général de Gaulle, celui des tanks, a lancé un appel pour poursuivre la guerre. Enfin, un peu de courage. » Petit 1970: 86
- **Petit 1970: « Je ne veux et je ne puis quitter la France après cette défaite »**: mais pour moi, mon rôle est ici, dans le pays. Je ne veux et je ne puis quitter la France après cette défaite. Je dois me battre là où je pense qu'il est nécessaire pour mettre le domaine bâti sur son véritable terrain. » Petit 1970: 86
- **Petit 1970: « l'ambassadeur lui demande d'aller à Buenos Aires, il décline »**: L'ambassadeur de France en Argentine [Peyrouton], qui connaît et Le Corbusier depuis 1936, envoie de Buenos Aires

par le service des affaires étrangères des demandes provenant des autorités de Buenos Aires, de la Plata, de Tucuma pour prier Le Corbusier d'aller faire des courses d'urbanisme et construire plusieurs des fils. Le Corbusier décline ces propositions renouvelées, pensant que sa bataille est en France et non à l'étranger. Petit 1970: 92

- **Petit 1970: l'Ordre des architectes autorisera LC, Perret, et Fressinet** : Fin 1940, une loi de Vichy [31 décembre 1940] institue l'Ordre des architectes. Une décision ministérielle autorisera trois personnes non diplômées à construire; ce sont Auguste Perret, Eugène Fressinet [sic] et Le Corbusier. Petit 1970: 86
- **Petit 1970: « Une loi m'a obligé de faire acte de candidature à l'Ordre »**: « Il faut que le lecteur se représente les circonstances de cette recherche: c'est l'occupation à Paris. Dispersion des gens, d'où difficulté de les réunir. Dans la pénible atmosphère de Paris, le débat sur l'architecture entre gens de métier est loin de s'éclairer. Une loi m'a obligé de faire acte de candidature à l'Ordre des architectes créés par Vichy fin 1940. Ma candidature demeurera à l'Ordre, à l'examen, quatorze mois durant jusqu'au moment où, déjà, l'on entend le canon anglais du côté de Versailles (été 1944). Petit 1970: 92
- **Petit 1970: « Ai été obligé d'établir mon dossier pour l'ordre des architectes »**: 26 janvier 1943, Paris: « Ai été obligé d'établir mon dossier pour poser une « candidature » à l'ordre des architectes» Petit 1970: 92
- **Petit 1970: 1941: privé de toute commande particulière ou officielle** : 1941: privé de toute commande particulière ou officielle, Le Corbusier écrit en collaboration avec François de Pierrefeu: La maison des hommes, et La Charte D'Athènes, qui demeurent encore maintenant une véritable bible de l'urbanisme et d'architecture. Petit 1970: 86
- **Petit 1970: Charte d'Athènes = « anonyme par prudence »**: « 1^{er} novembre 1941, Vichy: «J'ai rédigé la Charte d'Athènes avec préface de Giraudoux. Mais ce travail doit être anonyme. Par prudence, mon texte sera réécrit par Jeanne de Villeneuve. Le ministre de l'Agriculture vient d'écrire que le scandale de ma présence doit cesser. » Petit 1970: 86
- **Petit 1970: « recherché par la police de Darnand, mais je ne partirai pas »**: le 20 juillet 1943 on apprend à Le Corbusier qu'il est recherché par la police de Darnand. « Un groupe de jeunes communistes m'avertit une nouvelle fois que Darnand m'a recherché, mais je ne partirai pas. J'ai refusé l'offre de repli, 'la planque', préparait en province par ces jeunes ». Petit 1970: 93

1970s: FRENCH DENIAL ABOUT VICHY, EUGENICS & HOLOCAUST

- 1973: **Carrel: reinvented as a humanist at 100th birthday**: The commemoration of Carrel's 100th birthday in 1973 was a significant marker of the process of reinventing the eugenicist as a humanist... In France... conservative authors — as well as supporters of holistic medicine and ecology — celebrated him as a prophet who had anticipated all the ills of modern life. Reggiani 2007: 170
- 1978: **Negationism: denying existence of Holocaust, invented in France**: Negationism was invented in France by the former Socialist resister Paul Rassinier who had been in Buchenwald. He became convinced after the war that the gas chambers, of which there were indeed none at Buchenwald, had never existed. In 1978 Robert Faurisson, a lecturer at the University of Lyons, announced his support of Darquier de Pellepoix's allegations that the gas chambers had not existed. Jackson 2001: 620

1970s: SECOND WAVE OF PURGE PROSECUTION

- 1970s: **Trials for roles in Jewish deportation commence**: in the 1970s the [end of the Statute of Limitations on crimes against humanity] was turned against French perpetrators of war crimes... After the war no one had been specifically tried for their role in the deportation of the Jews. Now this came to be seen as the central crime of the Occupation, and one which could be pursued as a crime against humanity... the Jewish deportations had barely been an issue at the Liberation. Jackson 2001: 615-6
- 1979-03-14: **Leguay: first trial new war criminal statutes**: The first Frenchman to be successfully indicted for crimes against humanity was Jean Leguay in March 1979. As René Bousquet's representative in the Occupied Zone until the end of 1943, Leguay had been profoundly implicated in the round-ups of Jews. Jackson 2001: 615-6
- 1979-03-14: **Leguay targeted by Klarsfeld**: the first totally new case to be opened in the second wave of the purge was that of Jean Leguay, secretary-general of the police in occupied Paris... The case had been brought to public attention by attorney Serge Klarsfeld who had been compiling evidence of such crimes against humanity and announcing their perpetrators. (*Le Monde*, 14 March 1979) Lottman 1986: 288

- 1979-07-29: **Touvier prosecution became possible**: in July 1979 the Foreign Ministry decided in favor of the victims after a third appeal. The prosecution of Touvier became possible again... An arrest warrant was issued for Touvier 1982 but he was not to be found... (*Le Monde*, 29 July 1976) Lottman 1986: 287

1980-1991: MATHEY ET LA CDAS

- 1980: **Mathey: les dominicains avaient été tenus dans l'« ignorance totale »**: l'intervention de Couturier dans l'histoire de Ronchamp... on eut tendance à nier en bloc à Besançon... tellement on était irrité de lui en voir attribuer le mérite... Mathey arguait de possibles foudres romaines « si on mettait au courant les dominicains », mais l'argument est assez peu convaincant. Il écrivit à plusieurs reprises que les dominicains avaient été tenus dans l'« ignorance totale » du chantier jusqu'à la fin des travaux. (Mathey, JNDH 68, 1965, p. 5) Caussé 2007: 71
- 1986-08-02: **Mathey: son recension soulève quelques questions...** Caussé 2010: 380
- 1986-08-02: **Mathey: Couturier étonné, « rapidement convaincu et très emmerdé »**: Selon [Mathey] Couturier aurait été étonné, puis « rapidement convaincu et très emmerdé car [...] il avait évoqué cette affaire chez les Hébert-Stevens [et] l'équipe avait déjà jeté les maquettes ». (Mathey, lettre à l'abbé Ferry, 2 août 1986) Caussé 2010: 380
- 1986-08-02: **Mathey: Couturier avait fait volte-face**: « trop intelligente pour ne pas réaliser l'importance de l'enjeu » puisqu'il avait l'approbation de la Commission de Besançon, [Couturier] avait fait volte-face... (Mathey, lettre à l'abbé Ferry, 2 août 1986) 2010: 380
- 1986: **Mathey: « Couturier n'a pas saisi l'occasion de faire appel à un grand artiste »**: « Comme je m'étonnais qu'il [Couturier] n'eut pas saisi plus tôt l'occasion de faire lui-même appel à un grand artiste, il me confia maladroitement, comme s'il avait besoin de s'excuser, qu'il avait craint précisément de n'être pas suivi par l'abbé Prenel. » (Mathey, lettre à l'abbé Ferry, 2 août 1986) Caussé 2010: 380-1
- 1986: **Mathey: portrait de Couturier est fort peu convaincant**: Selon Mathey: après son « exil américain » le père Couturier avait vu là [à Audincourt] une occasion de « renou[er] avec ses vieux amis » et de « retrouver l'esprit d'équipe comme avant-guerre », et le fait de les « laisser tomber » provoqua des blessures « qui furent longues à cicatriser ». C'était pour cette raison que le père Couturier avait écrit son article en hommage à ses « plus vieux amis », et que Ledeur avait proposé au père Couturier le chantier des vitraux du séminaire d'école « à titre de compensation » pour la perte du chantier d'Audincourt... (Mathey, lettre à l'abbé Ferry, 2 août 1986) Caussé 1999: 629
- 1986: **Mathey: les raisons sont chronologiquement inacceptables**: Le portrait que dresse ici François Mathey... est fort peu convaincant... les raisons qu'il invoque pour la commande des vitraux d'école (passée en 1947 alors que celle de Audincourt se situe en 1950) sont chronologiquement inacceptables. (Mathey, lettre à l'abbé Ferry, 2 août 1986) Caussé 1999: 629
- 1986: **Mathey: avait minimisait le rôle de père Couturier**: Mathey en 1986 minimisait le rôle de père Couturier à proportion sans doute de l'irritation que provoquaient en lui les éloges universels déversés sur sa tête: « ainsi se retournent et se détournent les choses. Ainsi Couturier est Prenel eurent la gloire, relative et tout le monde fut content ». (Mathey, lettre à l'abbé Ferry, 2 août 1986) Caussé 1999: 629
- 1991: **Mathey: « on évita soigneusement d'informer » les Dominicains**: Un des discours constants fut la nécessité du secret vis-à-vis des dominicains car rien ne devait filtrer du côté de Rome au Mgr Costantini était 'tout-puissant'... selon François Mathey, on évita soigneusement de les informer [les Dominicains]. Au Père Couturier... il avait déclaré: « en ne vous pas vous informer pour ne pas vous mettre dans cette situation gênante ». (Mathey, entretien, 1991) Caussé 1999: 675
- 1991*: **Caussé: Couturier lettre infirme pour partie la partie du témoignage**: La lettre (Couturier à Ledeur, 1 mai 1950) infirme pour partie la partie du témoignage de François Mathey selon laquelle Ledeur aurait écrit directement à Couturier au nom de la Commission. Caussé 2010: 380

1980s: VICHY DISCOURSE: CRIMES, DENIALS, INDICTMENTS

- 1983-01-00: **Papon indicted for war crimes**: In January 1983 followed the indictment of Maurice Papon who had organized deportations of Jews in his capacity as an official in the prefecture of the Gironde. Jackson 2001: 616
- 1983-02-00: **Barbie indicted for crimes against humanity**: Klaus Barbie had been the Gestapo chief in Lyons. Found guilty *in absentia* of war crimes in the 1950s, Barbie escaped to Bolivia where Beate Klarsfeld located him in 1971. After several abortive attempts to secure his extradition, Barbie was

eventually brought back to France in February 1983 and indicted for crimes against humanity... Barbie's trial, which lasted from 11 May to 4 July 1987, was not the cathartic event which had been expected... He was found guilty and sentenced to life imprisonment. Jackson 2001: 616-7

- 1985: **Carrel: exploits acknowledged by left-wing or progressive writers:** Alexis Carrel's scientific and cultural exploits have also been acknowledged in the fiction work of literary celebrities with left-wing or progressive leanings. This is the case of the international best-selling novel *Love in the Times of Cholera*, by the Colombian Nobel Laureate Gabriel Garcia Marquez. Reggiani 2007: xiv
- 1989: **Touvier arrested and indicted:** in 1989 Touvier was finally discovered hiding in a priory in Nice. He was arrested and indicted, but it took time to prepare the case against him. Jackson 2001: 616
- 1989: **Weygand: « rejeter toute discrimination en raison de la race ou de la religion »:** Un chrétien de conviction ne peut que rejeter toute discrimination en raison de la race ou de la religion. Pendant les années d'occupation, Weygand s'est raisonnablement trouvé en communion de pensée en la matière avec les cardinaux Saliège et Gerlier. » (Bernard Destremau, *Weygand*, Paris, Perrin 1989, p. 669) Cantier 2002: 131
- 1989: **Barthélemy: anti-Jewish legislation of German origin:** the statement by Barthélemy, the justice minister, writing long after the events, that's "the so-called anti-Jewish legislation officially" was entirely of German origin is palpably inaccurate. (Barthélemy, *Ministre de la justice, Vichy 1941-1943, Mémoires*, 1989, p. 311) Halls 1995: 113
- 1989: **Gerlier: responsible for slowing police cooperation:** "we must emphasize that it is to Cardinal Gerlier, a pillar of the Vichy regime, that is owed more than anyone else the abrupt slowdown of the massive police cooperation given by Vichy to the Gestapo." For Klarsfeld, the SS recognized in Cardinal Gerlier its most formidable adversary, so that Laval, seeing the resistance of the Church, eventually shrank from further anti-Jewish measures. (Klarsfeld, in *Le Monde*, 3 June 1989) Halls 1995: 142

1990's: VICHY DISCOURSE

- 1990s: **Carrel: claimed by Front national as the "founder of ecology":** In the early 1990s a polemic erupted after the *Front national* claimed Alexis Carrel as the "founder of ecology and the man of the right." Reggiani 2007: xii
- 1990s: **Carrel: few people recalled his fascist eugenics:** Until the early 1990s... few people recalled his fascist eugenics, and only a handful of scholars knew of Carrel's role as head of the French Foundation for the Study of Human Problems [FFEPH]. Reggiani 2007: 3
- 1991-03-00: **Bousquet was indicted** in March 1991. Jackson 2001: 616
- 1995-07-16: **Chirac accepted responsibility for France's part in the Holocaust:** on 16 July 1995... Chirac became the first French leader formally to accept responsibility for France's part in the Holocaust: 'the criminal madness of the occupier was supported by the French people and by the French State ... France on that day committed an irreparable act ... It is undeniable that this was a collective fault.' Apart from expressions of outrage by a few die-hard Gaullists... Chirac's words seemed to meet with general approval. Jackson 2001: 623
- 1997-1998: **Papon trial: French Catholic Church repentance for guilt and Holocaust:** The trial of Maurice Papon for crimes against humanity in October 1997... sparked off... collective repentance for France's guilt in the Holocaust. For the first time, the Catholic Church performed a public *mea culpa*; so too did the official spokesmen of the French medical profession. Jackson 2001: 623-4
- 1997-1998: **Papon trial: Paxton and Baruch for the prosecution, Amouroux for the defence:** The trial of Maurice Papon for crimes against humanity in October 1997 caused France's obsession with Vichy to reach a new paroxysm of intensity... Robert Paxton and Marc-Olivier Baruch... testified for the prosecution... Henri Amouroux, testified for the defense... on 2 April 1998, Papon was convicted of complicity in crimes against humanity and sentenced to ten years' imprisonment. Jackson 2001: 623-4

APPENDIX B: SECONDARY DISCOURSE SUMMARY

- Note: the following lists represent discursive patterns; they are not exhaustive

DISCOURSE SEQUENCE

LC EXPLANATIONS

- Boesiger 1953: 88 une acoustique paysagiste ; intervention acoustique
1953: 88 prenant les quatre horizons à témoin
1953: 88 on créa des formes pour répondre à ces horizons
1953: 88 Les impératifs du culte interviennent ici en peu de choses
1953: 88 2 maquettes: la première en plâtre et la seconde en papier et fil de fer
1953: 90 Les premiers croquis
1953: 96 Le second projet. Maquette en fil de fer
- LC 1955a: 266 Ces paysages des quatre horizons sont les hôtes
1955a: 266 tout sera vraiment libre, sans contrainte de programme autre qu'un rituel
1955a: 266 une intimité capable de provoquer le rayonnement de l'espace indicible
- Petit 1956: 21 Naissance « spontanée » (après incubation) en une fois, d'un coup
1956: 21 architecture est la synthèse des arts majeurs
1956: 51 La quatrième dimension provoquée par une consonance des moyens plastiques
1956: 51 une profondeur sans bornes accomplit le miracle de l'espace indicible
- LC 1957a: 6 Le Parthénon: ma conscience, désormais, avait pris sa direction
1957a: 7 Je n'ai jamais de ma vie « expliqué » un tableau
1957a: 25 Le sentiment du sacré anima notre effort
1957a: 88 trois heures à prendre connaissance du sol et des horizons
1957a: 88 Sur la colline j'avais soigneusement dessiné les 4 horizons
1957a: 89 Une coque de crabe deviendra le toit de la Chapelle
1957a: 123 L'art abstrait est la raison d'être de Ronchamp
1957a: 123 les archanges byzantins (et sur l'Euphrate) ont quatre ailes aussi
- LC 1960b: 166 Architecture totalement libre
- Petit 1965: 5 j'ai pour habitude de ne me permettre aucun croquis pendant des mois
- Petit 1965: 24 La « Canope » de la Ville Hadrien. La lumière solaire, un trou de mystère

CRITICAL CONSTRUCTIONS

- Curtis 1986: 180 French 'coque' means hull of a boat
- Evans 1995: 314 an elaborate false trail in the search for the mathematics of Ronchamp
- Tzonis 2001: 181 structure and form of the roof actually resemble a boat
- de Smet 2007: 141 coque du crabe est caractéristique de la dimension fictionnelle du propos

PARALLEL CONSTRUCTIONS

- LC, in Petit 1956: 21 « **Naissance 'spontanée', en une fois, d'un coup** »
Maisonnier 1956: 57 Le Corbusier dessine la Chapelle *d'un seul jet*
Curtis 1978: 58 Ronchamp conception also surged '*en une fois*'
Pauly 1980: 39 *naissance spontanée, l'inspiration* est immédiatement exprimée
- Boesiger 1953: 88 « **On créa des formes pour répondre à ces horizons** »
Boesiger 1953: 88 « **une acoustique paysagiste, intervention acoustique** »
LC 1957a: 88 « **trois heures à prendre connaissance du sol et des horizons** »
LC 1957a: 88 « **Sur la colline j'avais soigneusement dessiné les 4 horizons** »
Maisonnier 1956: 57 Son projet est immédiatement synthétique, tenant compte du site
Rogers 1956: 8 la cause génératrice a certainement été le paysage préexistant
Rogers 1956: 8 'une intervention de nature acoustique dans le domaine des formes'
von Moos 1970: 239 Les lointains horizons demandent à résonner dans l'œuvre plastique
von Moos 1970: 239 Le Corbusier parle à propos de Ronchamp d' 'acoustique paysagiste'
Pauly 1980: 40 Le premier geste consiste en ce qu'il appelle *la réponse aux horizons*
Tzonis 2001: 178 landscape and four horizons were the most significant constraints
Cohen 2005: 65 'une parole adressée au lieu, réponse aux horizons'
Maak 2007: 299 a so-called 'réponse au site' (site-specific response) was employed

- Boesiger 1953: 88 « **Les impératifs du culte interviennent ici en peu de choses** »
Jencks 1973: 152 'the requirements of religion have had little effect on design'
Tzonis 2001: 178 the requirements of religion 'had no major effect'
Jencks 2005: 63 Ronchamp without a religious iconography

- Petit 1956: 21 « **l'architecture est la synthèse des arts majeurs** »
Sekler 1978: 258 Ronchamp a demonstration of the 'synthesis of the major arts'
von Moos 1979: 280 Ronchamp is a temple to the arts
Pauly 1980: 130 La chapelle serait le *temple de la synthèse des arts*
von Moos 2007: 85-7 Ronchamp is the key example of iconographic memory of modern Art

- Petit 1956: 51 « **le miracle de l'espace indicible** »
Pauly 1980: 125 le lieu de *l'espace indicible*
Curtis 1986: 179 'the miracle of ineffable space'

- LC 1957a: 25 « **Le sentiment du sacré anima note effort** »
Curtis 1986: 175 reflected upon the role of the sacral in past and present architecture
Pauly 1980: 135 *l'atmosphère du sacré* pénètre les croyants
Gerber 1991: 53-4 le domaine du sacré a intéressé avant tout l'architecte
Frampton 1995: 346 sacred tectonic/typological synthesis
Sebbag 2007: 39 la lumière du sacré de la modernité

- LC 1957a: 89 « **Une coque de crabe ramassée à Long-Island deviendra le toit** »
Pauly 1980: 61 la forme du toit (à partir de la coque de crabe)
Kostof 1985: 732 roof was crab shell picked up on Long Island
Cohen 2005: 65 une carapace de crabe vide donnera son modèle à la toiture
Jencks 2005: 205 shell found on the beach in Long Island
Maak 2007: 304 crab carapace from Long Island

- Petit 1965: 24 « **La 'Canope' de la Ville Hadrien** »
Pauly 1980: 50 le principe d'arrivée de la lumière dans l'abside du serapeum
Curtis 1986: 180 influence of the Serapeum at Hadrian's Villa
Krustrup 1991: 23 Sketches of Serapeum were important for Ronchamp
Sarmiento 1997: fig. 66 Hadrian's villa Serapeum elevations

AUTHORITATIVE TEXTS

- **von Moos 1970. *Le Corbusier: l'architecte et son mythe***
- Pauly 1980: 28 'le retour à la réalité après un voyage au royaume de l'illusion'
- 1980: 29 Le Corbusier prendre comme modèle le monastère et le navire
- 1980: 93 la fenêtre ouverte utilisée comme parabole poétique
- 1980: 138 le cadre historique de la voûte de Ronchamp

- **Turner 1977. *The Education of Le Corbusier***
- von Moos 1979: 11 Turner's fascinating study of LC's education
- 1980: 100-1 Turner documented influence of idealist French intellectualism
- Curtis 1986: 22 Turner's reading of Henry Provensal
- Benton 1987c: 239 Turner's reading of Renan and Schuré
- Green 1987: 111 Turner's reading of 'idealism' and William Ritter
- Brooks 1997: 68 Turner the most authoritative study of LC's intellectual formation
- 1997: 172 Turner's conclusion that rationalism was grafted onto Jeanneret's idealism
- Samuel 1999a: 124 Turner's overview of Le Corbusier's early education
- Frampton 2001: 15 Turner's account of 'Balkan peasant culture'

- **Pauly 1980. *Ronchamp: Lecture d'une architecture***
- B.-Reddat 1983, 72: 27 *Lecture* de Pauly, un livre excellent
- B.-Reddat 1986, 78: 20 la mosquée d'El Ateuf au Mzab
- Curtis 1986: 179-80 Pauly as reference for design process and sources of Ronchamp
- Green 1987: 118 Pauly's point about closeness of first sketches to the final built form
- Gerber 1991: 79 tout a été dit au sujet de cet édifice, ou presque tout

- Evans 1995: 277 Pauly has published the most extensive researches on Ronchamp
 - Caussé 1999: 665 Pauly détermine dans l'élaboration du projet des étapes importantes
 - Frampton 2001: 171 Ronchamp related to Sidi Brahim mosque in El Atteny
 - 2001: 171 the southeast corner adopts the swell of the ships prow
 - Badouï 2004: 51 Pauly's analyses of Mediterranean sources
 - Cohen 2005: 65-7 summarized influences first established by Pauly
 - Weber 2008: 654 Pauly (1997) basis of account of Ronchamp
 - Caussé 2010: 401 Pauly distinguait des deux étapes dans le projet
-

FORMAL ANALYSIS

ANTHROPOMORPHIC COMPARISONS

- | | | |
|-----------------|-----------|------------|
| • Skin of woman | Hervé | 1970: 28 |
| • Praying hands | Jencks | 1977: 45 |
| • Human head | Moore | 1977: 22 |
| | Naegele | 2003: 24 |
| • Female form | von Moos | 1979: 280 |
| • An ear | Sarmiento | 1997: 96 |
| | Samuel | 1999b: 412 |
| • Mother Mary | Samuel | 1999b: 410 |
| • Woman's body | Samuel | 2004: 120 |

ARCHITECTURE, LC

- | | | |
|--|---------------|-------------|
| • C-E Jeanneret's <i>UCJG</i> Church, 1906 | Brooks | 1997: 46 |
| • Curved, rooftop solariums, 1920s | von Moos | 1970: 242 |
| • Algiers apartments, 1930s | Besset | 1968: 178 |
| | Pauly | 1980: 148 |
| | Gerber | 1991: 80 |
| • <i>Pavillon de temps nouveaux</i> , 1937 | Frampton | 1980: 228 |
| | Cohen & Hurtt | 1980: 150 |
| | Frampton | 1995: 345-6 |
| | Udovicki-Selb | 1997: 56-7 |
| | Frampton | 2001: 171-2 |
| • Liège Pavilion, 1939 | Cohen & Hurtt | 1980: 146 |
| | Frampton | 1995: 346 |
| | Evans | 1995: 308 |
| | Frampton | 2001: 172 |
| • Magasin Bailly, 1949 | Gerber | 1991: 78 |

ARCHITECTURE, OTHERS

- | | | |
|--------------------------------------|----------|------------|
| • Algerian fortress | Argan | 1956: 243 |
| • Towers on Ischia | Finsler | 1958 |
| | Stirling | 1960 |
| | Pauly | 1980: 134 |
| | Cohen | 2005: 67 |
| • Romanesque churches | Ferry | 1956: 80 |
| • Sartoris' Church at Lourtier | Slutsky | 1980 |
| | Evans | 1995: 293 |
| • Hebrew Temple in the wilderness | Frampton | 1980: 228 |
| | Krustrup | 1987: 204 |
| • Barrage de Chastang | Pauly | 1980: 52-3 |
| • Mendelssohn's Einstein Observatory | Pauly | 1980: 142 |
| • Steiner's Goetheanum | Pauly | 1980: 142 |
| • Sidi Brahim mosque | Pauly | 1980: 133 |
| | Gerber | 1991: 78 |
| | Frampton | 2001: 171 |
| | Badouï | 2004: 48-9 |
| | Cohen | 2005: 67 |

- Serapeum of Hadrian's villa
Pauly 1980: 50
Kostof 1985: 732
Curtis 1986: 180
Krustrup 1991: 23
Sarmiento 1997: fig. 66
- Israelite stele in Orient
Pauly 1980: 135
- Mendelssohn's Einstein Observatory
Pauly 1980: 142
- The Parthenon
Frampton 1980: 229
Cohen & Hurtt 1980: 143
- Archetypical Christian Church forms
Cohen & Hurtt 1980: 156
- WWII fortification
Curtis 1986: 180
- Catalan chapel
Curtis 1986: 180
Pauly 1987: 54
- Templar rotunda
Carl 1991: 63
- Gaudi's architecture
Brooks 1997: 47
- Santa Maria in Cosmedin in Rome
Frampton 2001: 179
- Notre Dame de Belvezet
Naegele 2003: 24

ART, LC

- Casbah nudes/Grey mural
Rafi 1968: 50
von Moos 1979: 287
Curtis 1986: 166
Gerber 1991: 69-70
Columina 1994: 83-5
- Delacroix's *Femmes d'Alger*
Rafi 1968: 52'
von Moos 1979: 287
Columina 1994: 85
- Sculptures of Gabo and Pevsner
Giedion 1956: 196-7
Besset 1968: 49
von Moos 1970: 254
Pauly 1980: 118
Evans 1995: 309
- *Taureaux* human and animal heads
Moore 1977: 22
- *Ubu* sculptures
Curtis 1982: 417
Benton 1987c: 246
Jencks 2005: 56
- *Taureaux* paintings
Curtis 1986: 166
- *Ozon* sculptures
von Moos 1979: 284-5
Pauly 1980: 112
Curtis 1986: 167
Benton 1987c: 246
Sarmiento 1997: 96
Samuel 1999b: 402
- *Acoustic forms*, 1947
Coll Lopez 1994
Samuel 1999b: 402
- *Icône*
Coll Lopez 1994
Sarmiento 1997: 96
Samuel 1999b: 402
- *La grande verre...* 1940
Sarmiento 1997: 96

NAUTICAL AND AERONAUTICAL FORMS

- Ocean liner
Jencks 1977: 45
Naval construction
Pauly 1980: 102
prow of a ship
Pauly 1980: 110
the hull of the ship
Frampton 2001: 173
- airplane wing
Pauly 1980: 84
- USS Lexington
Evans 1995: 307
- boat on roof
Sarmiento 1997: fig. 34
Tzonis 2001: 181

TOMBS AND MORTUARY SCULPTURE

- | | | |
|------------------------------------|-----------|----------------|
| • Sardinian tomb | Giedion | 1956: 578 |
| | Pauly | 1980: 135 |
| • Megalithic tomb | Alford | 1958: 302 |
| | Kostof | 1985: 32 |
| | Sarmiento | 1997: fig. 154 |
| • Neolithic mortuary of Brittany | Alford | 1958: 303 |
| | Samuel | 1999b: 408 |
| • Christian catacombs | Ferry | 1956: 86 |
| • Israelite cemetery in the Orient | Pauly | 1980: 135 |

VARIOUS OTHER COMPARISONS

- | | | |
|-----------------------------------|---------------|-----------|
| • Alchemical rebus | Moore | 1977: 21 |
| • Academic's cap | Jencks | 1977: 45 |
| • Duck | Jencks | 1977: 45 |
| • Capricorn's horn | Moore | 1977: 22 |
| • Hermes' lyre | Moore | 1980: 138 |
| • Warning dishes on English coast | Evans | 1995: 307 |
| • The 'dome of heaven' | Cohen & Hurtt | 1980: 154 |
| • Cave in the Odyssey
'cave' | Krustrup | 1987: 205 |
| | Carl | 2003: 102 |
| • Signs of the zodiac | Krustrup | 1991: 57 |
| • Cubist space | Carl | 1991: 59 |
| • Millais' painting of Mariana | Carl | 1991: 58 |
| • The Holy Trinity | Frampton | 2001: 171 |

INTERPRETIVE FRAMEWORKS

NARRATIVE FRAMEWORKS

Biographical history

- | | | |
|---------|------|---|
| • Green | 1987 | personal mythology and 'manifestations of the self' in art |
| • Potié | 2004 | spiritual quest related to Manichean purist identity |
| • Cohen | 2005 | career of prophetic <i>homme complet</i> with inner duality |

Architectural history

- | | | |
|-----------------|------|--|
| • Stirling | 1956 | crisis of rationalism in postwar architecture |
| • Jencks | 1977 | the language of postmodern architecture |
| • Pauly | 1980 | la vie indépendante des formes |
| • Cohen & Hurtt | 1980 | architectonic spatial types of Christian church |
| • Gerber | 1991 | influence of Muslim culture and vernacular |
| • Frampton | 1995 | poetics of construction in the 19 th and 20 th c. architecture |
| • Samuel | 2004 | making architectural history relevant to women |

Religious history

- | | | |
|----------|-------|--|
| • Purdy | 1977 | postwar architecture for demythologized modern liturgy |
| • Moore | 1980 | latent symbolism of alchemy, astrology, and mythological history |
| • Benton | 1987c | LC's symbolism and mythology substituting for religious faith |
| • Carl | 1991 | dispersal of iconography in postmodern age |
| • Evans | 1995 | projective representation of subjective self in western architecture |
| • Badouï | 2004 | LC's phenomenological reductionism of religious architecture |
| • Wilson | 2007 | postwar rapprochement of Catholics and communists |

NARRATIVE SCOPE

Monographic

- Pauly 1980 analysis of design process and architectural precedents

Features in context

- Purdy 1977 relation to Vatican II liturgy
- Krustrop 1987 relation of symbols to Homer's Iliad
- Gerber 1991 relation to North African vernacular

Chapel in religious contexts

- Carl 1991 relation to history of religion
- Samuel 2000 relation to Catholicism, spirituality, and occultism

Chapel in period study

- Moore 1980 LC's Late Period and symbolism
- Benton 1987c LC's Late Period art and architecture
- Pearson 1997 LC's Late Period theoretical premises

Complete oeuvre

- von Moos 1968 LC's complete architectural and artistic oeuvre
- Jencks 1973
- Curtis 1986
- Green 1987
- Tzonis 2001
- Samuel 2004
- Cohen 2005

Modern Architectural history

- Stirling 1956 20th century architectural modernism
- Jencks 1977 20th & 21st century postmodernism architecture
- Curtis 1982 20th & 21st century architectural history
- Frampton 1995 19th and 20th century tectonic architectural poetics
- Pearson 2005 20th century modernist sculptural paradigms

Other narratives

- Columina 1994 20th century architectural colonization and patriarchy
- Evans 1995 history of architectural projection
- Vidler 2001 20th century destabilized, phobic subjectivity

METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORKS

MARXIAN

Engels

- Tzonis 2001: 15 echoes Engels' account of Millennial sects

Marx

- McLeod 1980: 513 critique of architecture as social redeemer
- McLeod 1985: 427 Marx's critique of the utopian socialists

PHILOSOPHICAL

Barthes

- Columina 1994: 100 Barthes' floating chain of signifieds

Derrida

- Evans 1995: 42 Derrida attack on the notion of subjective interiority
- Birksted 2006: 72 Derrida's analysis of human relationships in Freemasonry

Idealism

- Gauthier 1944: 56 Le Corbusier idéaliste
- Wittkower 1951: 154-5 Modulor dependent on Pythagorean-Platonism
- Collins 1965: 165 Idealism held the key to Le Corbusier's thought
- Turner 1977: 28 deeply rooted idealism shaped LC's thinking throughout career
- Curtis 1978: 222 Turner's insights about idealism and rationalism
- von Moos 1979: 49 *l'Esprit nouveau* was Neoplatonic and idealist
- Curtis 1982: 421 his outlook was fundamentally idealist
- Curtis 1986: 22 highly idealistic view of art and artists
- Benton 1987b: 193 generalized substratum of idealism behind all his projects
- Green 1987: 111 Turner's idea of triumph of idea over matter
- Brooks 1997: 172 Turner's conclusion about Jeanneret's idealism
- Samuel 1999a: 124 Turner's reading of LC's 'early education'

Nietzsche

- von Moos 1968: 292 LC's open hand motif had source in Nietzsche
- Jencks 1973: 181 had to master opponents' power like Nietzsche's Superman
- Benton 1987c: 250 Nietzschean figure of prophetic, misunderstood architect
- Kruft 1994: 396 outlook was formed by 'Nietzschean elitism'
- Evans 1995: 359 perspectival model of consciousness challenged by Nietzsche
- Frampton 1995: 345 Nietzschean embodiment of vanquished states
- Frampton 2001: 8 Nietzschean self-image assumed in early manhood
- Vidler 2001: 53 LC saw architecture in 'Nietzschean terms'
- Pearson 2005: 61 sculpture reflected 'Nietzschean violence'

PSYCHOANALYTICAL

Freud

- Curtis 1986: 226 Freud's dream theory
- Columina 1994: 89 LC's drawing was violent fetishistic substitution
- Carranza 1994: 71-2 Freudian psychoanalytic theory
- Evans 1995: 355 Freudian projection as psychological colonization of the real
- Vidler 2001: 54-5 Freudian 'oceanic' feeling
- Tzonis 2001: 27 subliminal eroticism gives birth to surrealist images
- Birksted 2009: 33 Freud's unobserved phenomena

Jung

- Moore 1977: 2 Jung's psychology and alchemy
- Moore 1980: 135 Jung's psychology and alchemy
- Krustrup 1991: 34 Jung's psychology and alchemy

SEMANTICS OF RELIGION

AGNOSTIC/ATHEISTIC EXPLANATIONS

- LC 1946c:10 « J'ignore le miracle de la foi »
- Rogers 1956: 12 LC is not catholic and is in a certain sense a nonbeliever
- von Moos 1970: 240 Le Corbusier n'est certes pas croyant
- Jencks 1973: 152 LC, the atheist and nonconformist
- 1973: 153 atheistic cosmic truth and natural law
- Curtis 1982: 421 not a member of any particular faith
- Benton 1987c: 238 spiritualist associations, although decidedly agnostic
- Gerber 1991: 79 Le Corbusier qui était agnostique
- Brooks 1997: 20 perhaps later in life he might be called agnostic
- Frampton 2001: 183 LC excluded institutionalized religion from his vision of society
- Tzonis 2001: 185 Le Corbusier was an atheist
- Baudouï 2004: 39 En agnostique, LC pense le sacré dans une absolue laïcité
- Jencks 2005: 62 rejected all conventional religious motifs
- Greff 2007: 111 realized by an architect-artist who was openly agnostic

QUASI-RELIGIOUS EXPLANATIONS

Alchemy

- LC 1955b: D3 « tolérez des alchimies qui d'ailleurs vous laissent hors de cause »
- Moore 1977: 6 doctrine of alchemy
- 1977: 8 Rabelais bottle w/ single ear quoted in *Modulor II*
- 1980: 135 Jung's psychology and alchemy, 1944
- Samuel 1999a: 124 LC's copy of Rabelais filled with annotations of alchemy
- 2000: 185 interest in primitive religion, alchemy, and occult in Paris

Archaic/Primitivistic/Primordial

- LC 1923: 53-4 « L'homme primitif a apporté l'ordre »
- Purdy 1977: 300 architect's primitive spiritual vision
- Curtis 1982: 421 Ronchamp was pervaded by a sense of primitive animism
- Kostof 1985: 732 LC's postwar archaic primitivism, vernacular methods
- Frampton 1995: 345-6 primordial, the eternal present, the archaic
- Carl 2003: 99 primitivist embodiment at Ronchamp

Cosmological/ Naturalistic

- LC 1935a: 311 « architecture, intégrale de la nature »
- LC 1955a: 154 « l'artiste, l'être sensible aux choses de l'univers »
- Rogers 1956: 7 architecture was the result of a cosmic dialogue
- Jencks 1973: 153 atheistic cosmic truth and natural law
- 1977: 44 LC believed in a natural religion, a pantheism
- von Moos 1979: 254 Ronchamp: response in terms of an atavistic mysticism of nature
- 1980: 99 nature grasped as the nameless expression of underlying cosmic laws
- Pauly 1980: 32 L'architecte et peut-être sensible à ce *sentiment cosmique*
- Curtis 1986: 177 mystical cult of nature
- 1986: 225 private cosmology
- Frampton 2001: 171 Ronchamp celebrates the rhythmic order of nature
- Jencks 2005: 205 cosmic images in the stained glass
- Maak 2007: 301 Ronchamp became a stage for a sublime spectacle of nature

Mysticism/Occult/Esotericism

- LC 1954: H32-57 « La Vierge, rose mystique »
- Giedion 1956: 569 Le Corbusier preoccupied with mystic quality of space
- Turner 1977: 35 Ruskin's myth of the 'mysticism' of the Mediterranean
- Curtis 1982: 417 private and mystical world of poetry in his last years
- Curtis 1986: 177 private agenda of a mystical cult of nature
- von Moos 1991: 44 Ruskin's transcendentalist ideas the grand ideal of LC's youth
- Carl 1991: 50 LC's inherited secret wisdom from 19th century esoteric thought
- Sarmiento 1997: 182 mystical, mysterious component balanced the rational
- Samuel 2004: 5 Orphism most important idea underpinning LC's work
- Samuel 2004: 122 symbolism of Ronchamp towers: Oracle of holy bottle
- Birksted 2006: 57 LC's connection to Parisian Freemasonry and *Compagnonnages*

Sacred, Sacral

- LC 1957a: 25 « Le sentiment du sacré anima notre effort »
- Curtis 1986: 175 reflected upon the role of the sacral in past and present architecture
- Pauly 1980: 135 *l'atmosphère du sacré* pénètre les croyants
- Gerber 1991: 53-4 le domaine du sacré a intéressé avant tout l'architecte
- Frampton 1995: 346 sacred tectonic/typological synthesis
- Sebbag 2007: 39 Ronchamp et la lumière du sacré de la modernité

Spirituality

- LC 1955a: 155 « ART... panorama s'étendant du matériel au spirituel »
- Turner 1977: 196 LC's belief in spiritual forces existing separate from matter
- Moore 1977: 1 LC's concept of *mécanique spirituelle*, spiritualization of matter
- Moore 1977: 20 motive force of LC's art: spiritual solutions in his own image
- Curtis 1986: 8 saw architecture in lofty, even spiritual terms

- Curtis 1986: 218 imagination released by the morning's spiritual exercises
- Benton 1987c: 238 left the door open for spiritual dimension
- Naegele 2003: 18 LC's postwar dimension of spirituality & otherworldliness
- Cohen 2005: 12 ses œuvres ultimes engagent un dialogue avec la spiritualité
- Jencks 2005: 205 Ronchamp metaphors were generally spiritual not doctrinal

Various other quasi-religious semantics

- Rowe 1961: 237 theater for virtuosi of asceticism
- von Moos 1979: 252 Le Corbusier's rational soul
- McLeod 1980: 513 architecture as social redeemer
- Pauly 1980: 54 il a extrait l'essentiel, dont il a su tirer *l'esprit de la forme*
- Curtis 1980: 55 le domaine de l'inexplicable, le phénomène de la création
- Curtis 1982: 419 postwar, private worlds of metaphor
- Curtis 1986: 167 symbols belonged to the artist's private religion
- Benton 1987c: 240 metaphysics & morals comparable to religion
- Kruft 1994: 397 eschatological role of architect-redeemer
- Pearson 1997: 179 non-rational aim of creating 'ineffable space'
- Vidler 2001: 54-5 modernist sublime, virtually religious in nature
- Pearson 2005: 66 aesthetic arousal that bordered on the religious
- Pearson 2005: 68 transcendent subject w/ political authority
- Cohen 2005: 7,15 Cet homme complet, habité par une fureur prophétique

RELIGIOUS EXPLANATIONS

Catharism/ Manichaeism

- LC 1933: 33 « idées libertaires, doctrine religieuse des Français du Sud »
« Certains purent de la langue d'Oc se sauver toutefois »
« terres d'asile leur étaient les *Montagnes neuchâteloises* »
« *Ma famille Jeanneret inscrit son arrivée dans ce dur pays* »
- Giedion 1941: 518-9 Jeannerets descended from Albigenses, heretical sect from France
- Choay 1960: 9 Jeannerets were originally from the south of France
- Turner 1977: 203 Albert: 'Jeannerets were Huguenots, like Cathars, disciples of Mani'
- von Moos 1979: 1 LC claimed to have French Albigensian ancestors
- Frampton 1980: 149 Albigensian background of his otherwise Calvinist family
- Curtis 1986: 167 echoing the exotic heresies of his Catharist ancestors
- Benton 1987c: 247 told of persecution of his Albigensian ancestors
- Brooks 1997: 5 LC insisted his family emigrated from Albigensian territories
- Tzonis 2001: 15 iconoclasm: allegiance to Cathar ancestors
- Potié 2004: 32 Le 'purisme' de LC s'inscrit dans cette culture manichéiste
- Gresleri 2004: 24 Cathar religious education a profound influence

Catholicism

- LC 1955: K41-549 « la continuation des rites les plus lointains, humains »
- Curtis 1986: 177 outdoor chapel conveys the feeling of Early Christian gathering
- Sarmiento 1997: 182 temple dedicated to the Virgin Mary
- Samuel 2000: 187 LC and Teilhard de Chardin thought in similar terms
- Samuel 2000: 198 LC linguistic parallels with Teilhard de Chardin
- Gresleri 2007: 126 authentic application of reform of holy liturgy

Orthodox

- LC 1957a: 123 « les archanges byzantins ont quatre ailes aussi »
- Samuel 2004: 122 Le Corbusier may have alluded to Gregory of Nyssa
- Gresleri 2007: 128 Mt. Athos and a new mystique of place

Protestantism

- LC 1911: 75 « Le protestantisme manque de cette sensualité »
- Rogers 1958: 8 this Catholic church is the work of the Calvinist Le Corbusier
- Turner 1977: 26 Calvinist training influenced the way LC interpreted ideas
- von Moos 1979: 2 Mother's Protestantism shaped his feelings about life and work

- Brooks 1997: 19 CEJ took normal six weeks of formal religious instruction
1997: 20 Protestant faith left indelible impression upon his mind

SYNCRETISTIC EXPLANATIONS

- Tzonis 1985: n.p. syncretistic and critical nature of LC's oeuvre
- Baudouï 2004: 49-50 phenomenological reductionism with infinite references
- Birksted 2006: 106 Maçons encourage multiplicity

APPENDIX C: CONTENT ANALYSIS

PRIMARY LITERATURE ON RONCHAMP:

- 'La Chapelle de Ronchamp, 1950-1953' (Boesiger 1953: 88-98)
- 'La Chapelle de Ronchamp, 1950-1953' (Boesiger 1955: 72-84)
- *Le Corbusier. Architecture du Bonheur – L'urbanisme est une clef* (Petit 1955: n.p.)
- 'Art libre', in *Modulor 2* (LC 1955a: 264-8)
- Untitled (Petit 1956: 20-3)
'Propos notés en 1945 par Le Corbusier' (Petit 1956: 50-2)
'Propos notés dans Modulor 2 par Le Corbusier' (Petit 1956: 52)
- 'La Chapelle de Ronchamp' (Boesiger 1957: 16-41)
- *Les carnets de la recherche patiente 2: Ronchamp* (LC 1957a)
- Untitled (LC 1960b: 166-9, 216, 242-3, 266-9)
- Untitled (Petit 1961a: 6, 17-21, 24, 63, 72-3, 92, 107, 117, 141, 144, 146-7, 155, 157, 161)
- *Textes et dessins pour Ronchamp. Le Corbusier* (Petit 1965)
- Untitled (Petit 1970: 116-7, 128, 163-9, 183-4)

BOESIGER 1953, MANUSCRIPT: CONTENT ANALYSIS

Title: 'La Chapelle de Ronchamp, 1950-1953'. Corrected manuscript
Date: 1953, March (?)
Authors: Le Corbusier; with Jeanne Heilbuth.
Source: FLC A3-7-907

SUGGESTED CHANGES:

Notes:	blue or red text	suggested changes	:	49
	strikethrough	suggested omission/replacement		
	blue text	changes retained in publication	:	33
	red text	changes rejected in publication	:	13
		changes partially retained	:	3

Main text (23)

- le dernier contrefort des Vosges ~~tombant sur~~ dominant la plaine
- ~~Si~~ Le Corbusier a accepté d'entreprendre cette construction...
- ~~e'est qu'il est un question d'~~ qui est une chapelle de pèlerinage...
- que fréquententé deux fois par an douze mille
- pèlerins ~~montant la colline~~...
- Il était agréable pour une fois, ~~de s'absorber dans d'aborder~~
- un problème désintéressé ~~sans véritable programme pratique~~.
- La récompense ~~étant en serait~~ l'effet des formes architecturales.
- ~~et~~. L'esprit d'architecture
- ~~de construire~~ concevait
- un vaisseau d'intense intime concentration et de méditation.
- Les recherches plastiques de ~~Le Corbusier L – C~~
- la perception d'une la perception d'une « intervention de nature acoustique
- Une mathématique, une géométrie une physique implacables [sic]

- ~~règnent entre les~~ peuvent et doivent animer les formes offertes à l'œil
- leur concordance, leur récurrence, leur interdépendance,
- de famille qui les ~~fait s'aider les unes les autres pour~~ unit,
- conduisent à l'expression architecturale
- On commença donc par une acoustique paysagiste
- le Ballon d'Alsace; et, sur les côtés, deux vallons.
- la ~~question problème~~ des matériaux était impératif.
- une surface de ciment grenu, très dur mais ~~grossier rude~~
- Quelques vitres verres de couleur occuperont le fond des grandes alvéoles

Captions

(26)

- ~~La chapelle intérieure est doublée par~~ Un autel extérieur
- ~~pour les sert~~ aux messes de pèlerinage.
- L'esplanade peut recevoir ~~10.000~~ la masse des pèlerins;
- elle ~~est entourée par se termine en~~ pourtour par une dalle de béton
- à bord relevé ~~construite~~ à la limite du plateau.
- Le campanile ajouré ~~et est~~ séparé de la chapelle
- ; il comportera des abat-sons,
- ~~pour que les sonneries soient~~ permettant aux cloches d'être entendues
- ~~dans~~ des hameaux voisins. 90
- ~~Les premiers~~ croquis. 90
- Façade est - L'autel extérieur ~~dans sous~~ l'auvent. 91
- chapelles surmontées de tours ~~qui prennent la donneuses de~~ lumière
- Façade nord - Les portiques du campanile ~~orientés vers est axé sur~~
- la seconde porte ~~de l'Église la~~ chapelle. 93
- claustras de verres colorés de dimensions ~~très~~ diverses
- et ~~moulés noyés~~ dans le mur.
- relique des anciennes églises est placée dans ~~une boîte en verre une baie~~
- elle peut être vue de l'intérieur et de l'extérieur ~~de la chapelle~~. 93
- ~~La chapelle est construite sur le sol naturel sans ravalement.~~
- ~~Les confessionnaux sont aménagés dans les murs~~
- ~~déplacement de terre~~. [entire caption deleted] 93
- Mur constellé de trous qui ~~s'ouvrent dégageant~~ largement à l'intérieur
- ~~en diffuseur sur des vastes embrasures~~. 94
- ~~L'ensemble est~~ La maquette habillée de papier. 96
- Les fils représentent les ~~directives~~ directrices et les génératrices
- Note: Dans cette seconde étude, les dimensions ont été portées au minimum. 97

TYPES OF CHANGES:

ADDITIONS

(5)

- la perception d'une la perception d'une « intervention de nature acoustique
- Une mathématique, une géométrie une physique implacables [sic]
- On commença donc par une acoustique paysagiste
- ~~La chapelle est construite sur le sol naturel sans ravalement...~~ déplacement de terre. 93
- Note: Dans cette seconde étude, les dimensions ont été portées au minimum. 97

ALTERATIONS

(1)

- ~~Si~~ Le Corbusier a accepté d'entreprendre cette construction ~~c'est qu'il est un~~ question-d' qui est une chapelle de pèlerinage... 88

OMISSIONS

(8)

- un problème désintéressé ~~sans véritable programme pratique~~. 88
- de famille qui les ~~fait s'aider les unes les autres pour~~ unit,
- ~~La chapelle intérieure est doublée par~~ Un autel extérieur
- à bord relevé ~~construite~~ à la limite du plateau.
- ~~Les premiers~~ croquis. 90
- claustras de verres colorés de dimensions ~~très~~ diverses
- elle peut être vue de l'intérieur et de l'extérieur ~~de la chapelle~~. 93
- ~~Les confessionnaux sont aménagés dans les murs~~

LEXICAL CHANGES

(23)

- le dernier contrefort des Vosges ~~tombant sur~~ dominant la plaine
- Il était agréable pour une fois, ~~de s'absorber dans~~ d'aborder
- ~~de construire~~ concevait
- un vaisseau d'~~intense~~ intime concentration et de méditation.
- Les recherches plastiques de ~~Le Corbusier~~ L – C
- ~~règnent entre les~~ peuvent et doivent animer les formes offertes à l'œil 88
- le ~~question~~ problème des matériaux était impératif.
- une surface de ciment grenu, très dur mais ~~grossier~~ rude
- Quelques ~~vitres~~ verres de couleur occuperont le fond des grandes alvéoles
- Un autel extérieur ~~pour les~~ sert aux messes de pèlerinage.
- L'esplanade peut recevoir ~~10.000~~ la masse des pèlerins;
- elle ~~est entourée par~~ se termine en pourtour par une dalle de béton
- ~~pour que les sonneries soient~~ permettant aux cloches d'être entendues ~~dans~~ des hameaux voisins. 90
- Façade est - L'autel extérieur ~~dans~~ sous l'auvent. 91
- chapelles surmontées de tours ~~qui prennent la~~ donneuses de lumière
- Façade nord - Les portiques du campanile ~~orientés vers~~ est axé sur
- la seconde porte ~~de l'Église~~ la chapelle. 93
- et ~~moulés~~ noyés dans le mur.
- relique des anciennes églises est placée dans ~~une boîte en verre~~ une baie
- Mur constellé de trous qui ~~s'ouvrent~~ dégagent largement à l'intérieur
- ~~en diffuseur sur des~~ vastes embrasures. 94
- ~~L'ensemble est~~ La maquette 96
- Les fils représentent les ~~directives~~ directrices et les génératrices

SYNTACTICAL CHANGES

(9)

- La récompense
- ~~et~~. L'esprit d'architecture
- ~~étant en~~ serait l'effet des formes architecturales.
- leur concordance, leur ~~récurr~~ence, leur interdépendance,
- conduisent à l'expression architecturale
- le Ballon d'Alsace; et, sur les côtés, deux vallons.
- Le campanile ajouré ~~et est~~ séparé de la chapelle
- ; il comportera des abat-sons,
- habillée de papier. 96

BOESIGER 1953, MANUSCRIPT: TRANSLATION ANALYSIS

Title: 'La Chapelle de Ronchamp, 1950-1953'. Corrected manuscript.
Date: 1953, March (?)
Authors: Le Corbusier; with J. Heilbuth.
Source: FLC A3-7-907

MANUSCRIPT CHANGES		21	main text;
		26	captions
		31	retained
		1	partially retained
		15	not retained.
FRENCH	included	31	12 main text; 19 captions
	not included	15	8 main text; 7 captions
	partly included		14 maintain deleted lexicon
			1 main text
ENGLISH	included	5	5 captions
	not included	18	16 main text; 2 captions
	undecidable	6	14 maintain deleted lexicon
	not applicable	16	16 untranslated captions
GERMAN	included	2	2 captions
	not included	12	7 main text; 5 captions
	undecidable	6	7 maintain deleted lexicon
	not applicable	25	9 variances; 16 untranslated captions

ALTERATION

(1)

- ~~Si~~ Le Corbusier a accepté d'entreprendre cette construction ~~e'est qu'il est un question d' qui est~~ une chapelle de pèlerinage...
 - Le Corbusier consented to undertake this work which is **a question of** a pilgrim's chapel . . . 88
 - Le Corbusier hat den Auftrag angenommen, **weil es ihn lockte**... 89

OMISSIONS

(8)

- un problème désintéressé ~~sans véritable programme pratique~~.
 - a disinterested problem **without any real practical programme** . . . 88
 - eine Aufgabe **ohne jeden praktischen Zweck**. . . 89
- de famille qui les ~~fait s'aider les unes les autres pour~~ unit,
 - the spirit **of unity or of family which binds them together**. . . 88
 - ihre **gegenseitige Abhängigkeit und ihr Zusammenwirken**. . . 89
- une dalle de béton à bord relevé ~~construite~~ à la limite du plateau. 90
 - **NA**
 - **NA**
- ~~Les premiers~~ croquis. 90
 - **NA**
 - **NA**

- ~~La chapelle intérieure est doublée par~~ Un autel extérieur 90
 - An outdoor altar
 - Aussenaltar
- claustras de verres colorés de dimensions ~~très~~ diverses
 - panes of stained glass of [...] varying sizes 93
 - verschieden [...] grosse Maueröffnungen die farbig verglast sind. 93
- elle peut être vue de l'intérieur et de l'extérieur ~~de la chapelle.~~ 93
 - visible from both inside and out [...] 93
 - vom Innern **der Kirche** wie auch von aussen sichtbar. 93
- ~~Les confessionnaux sont aménagés dans les murs~~
 - **NA**
 - **NA**

ADDITIONS

(5)

- la perception d'une « intervention **de nature** acoustique 88
 - the perception of an "[...] acoustic component in the domain of form" 88
 - zum Begriff der « [...] akustischen Komponente im Bereich der Form» 89
- Une mathématique, **une géométrie** une physique implacables [sic]
 - An implacable mathematics [...] and physics 88
 - strengen mathematischen [...] und physikalischen Gesetzen 89
- On commença donc **par** une acoustique paysagiste
 - One begins **with** the acoustic of the landscape 88
 - Die « Akustik » der Landschaft **wird bestimmt von ihren vier Horizonten** 89
- **La chapelle est construite sur le sol naturel sans ravalement... déplacement de terre.**
[entire caption deleted] 93
 - **NA**
 - **NA**
- **Note: Dans cette seconde étude, les dimensions ont été portées au minimum.** 97
 - **NA**
 - **NA**

LEXICAL CHANGES

(23)

- le dernier contrefort des Vosges ~~tombant sur~~ **dominant** la plaine
 - the last bastion of the Vosges **falling away to** the plain of the Saône 88
 - letzten Ausläufer der Vogesen, der gegen die Saône-Ebene **abfällt.**
- Il était agréable pour une fois, ~~de s'absorber dans~~ **d'aborder**
 - It was agreeable for once **to become absorbed in** 88
 - **es ihn lockte** 89
- ~~et~~ l'esprit d'architecture ~~de construire~~ **concevrait**
 - the spirit of architecture, **in the construction** 88
 - in der **Schaffung** reiner architektonischer Formen 89

- un vaisseau d'~~intense~~ **intime** concentration et de méditation.
 - a vessel of **intense** concentration and meditation. 88
 - diesen Zufluchtsort der **Andacht** und Meditation 89
- Les recherches plastiques de ~~Le Corbusier~~ **L – C**
 - The researches of **Le Corbusier** 88
 - **Seine** Untersuchungen 89
- ~~règnent entre les~~ **peuvent et doivent animer les** formes offertes à l'œil
 - **reign over** the forms presented to the eye 88
 - Die dem Auge dargebotenen Formen. . . **von**. . . **beherrscht** 89
- le ~~question~~ **problème** des matériaux était impératif.
 - the **question** of the choice of materials was dominant. 88
 - die **Wahl** des Materials entscheidend. 89
- une surface de ciment grenu, très dur mais ~~grossier~~ **rude**
 - a very hard **rough** surface 88
 - **grobkörnige** Oberfläche 89
- Quelques ~~vîtres~~ **verres** de couleur occuperont le fond des grandes alvéoles
 - **panes** of stained glass of varying sizes 88
 - farbigen **Glasfenstern**
- Un autel extérieur ~~pour les sert aux~~ messes de pèlerinage. 90
 - An outdoor altar **serves for** pilgrims' mass 90
 - Die Messen für die Pilger werden an einem Aussenaltar **zelebriert**. 90
- L'esplanade peut recevoir ~~10.000~~ **la masse des** pèlerins; 90
 - **NA**
 - Der Platz kann **10000** Pilger aufnehmen. 90
- elle ~~est entourée par~~ **se termine en pourtour** par une dalle de béton
 - **NA**
 - **NA**
- ~~pour que les sonneries soient~~ permettant aux cloches d'être entendues ~~dans~~ des hameaux voisins. 90
 - **so that bells can be heard** in lower lying settlements. 90
 - **so dass das Geläute** in den tiefer gelegenen Nachbarweilern **gehört werden** kann. 90
- Façade est - L'autel extérieur ~~dans~~ **sous** l'auvent. 91
 - **NA**
 - **NA**
- chapelles surmontées de tours ~~qui prennent la~~ **donneuses** de lumière 92
 - **NA**
 - **NA**
- Façade nord - Les portiques du campanile ~~orientés vers~~ **est axé sur** 93
 - **NA**

- **NA**
- la seconde porte ~~de l'Église~~ la chapelle. 93
 - **NA**
 - **NA**
- et ~~moulés~~ noyés dans le mur. 93
 - **embedded** in the walls 93
 - **NA**
- relique... placée dans ~~une boîte en verre~~ une baie 93
 - relic... stands in **a niche** 93
 - Die Reliquie... in einer auf **zwei Seiten verglasten Nische** 93
- Mur constellé de trous qui ~~s'ouvrent~~ dégagent largement à l'intérieur 94
 - **NA**
 - **NA**
- ~~en diffuseur~~ sur des vastes embrasures. 94
 - **NA**
 - **NA**
- ~~L'ensemble est~~ La maquette 96
 - **NA**
 - **NA**
- Les fils représentent les ~~directives~~ directrices et les génératrice 96
 - The wires represent the **structure** 96
 - Die Drähte stellen das **Konstruktionssystem** dar. 96

SYNTACTICAL CHANGES

(8)

- La récompense ~~étant~~ en serait l'effet des formes architecturales. 88
 - the reward **being** the effect of architectural forms . . . 88
 - **weil es ihn lockte** 89
- ~~et~~ l'esprit d'architecture 88
 - **and** the spirit of architecture
 - **NA**
- leur concordance, leur récur~~re~~nce, leur interdépendance, 70
 - their agreement, their **repetition**, their interdependence 88
 - **ihr Rhythmus**, ihre gegenseitige Abhängigkeit und ihr Zusammenwirken 89
- conduisent à l'expression architecturale
 - **to form** architectural expression 88
 - **die schliesslich** zum architektonischen Ausdruckführen
- le Ballon d'Alsace; et, sur les côtés, deux vallons. 88
 - the hills of Alsace , and on the other sides two valleys. 88
 - den Hügeln des Elsass [] und zu beiden Seiten den kleinen Seitentälern. 89

- Le campanile ajouré ~~et~~ est séparé de la chapelle 90
 - The perforated campanile (bell tower) is detached from the chapel 90
 - Der durchbrochene Campanile ist freistehend

- ; il comportera des abat-sons,
 - equipped with a sound reflector 90
 - einem Schall reflektor versehen 90

- habillée de papier. 96
 - **NA**
 - **NA**

BOESIGER 1953: CONTENT ANALYSIS

Title: 'La Chapelle de Ronchamp, 1950-1953'
Date: 1953
Authors: unattributed (Le Corbusier, A. Wogenscky, W. Boesiger)
Source: Boesiger, Will, ed. 1953. *Le Corbusier. Œuvre complète, Volume 5: 1946-1952*, 1st edition. Zurich: Girsberger, pp. 88-98

FRENCH TEXT: 'LA CHAPELLE DE RONCHAMP 1950-1953'

Elle se construit sur le dernier contrefort des Vosges dominant la plaine de la Saône; colline qu'on appelle un « Haut-Lieu ». Autrefois s'y élevèrent des temples païens, puis des chapelles chrétiennes, chapelles de pèlerinage. Ainsi pendant des siècles. Les guerres, l'une après l'autre, les détruisaient inexorablement, car ce « haut-lieu » était aussi un observatoire et un point de mire. C'est la dernière guerre qui abolit la dernière chapelle.

Le Corbusier a accepté d'entreprendre cette construction, qui est une chapelle de pèlerinage que fréquentent deux fois par an douze mille pèlerins montant la colline et se rassemblant sur la faible surface aplatée du sommet de la colline. C'est un lieu de prières. Il était agréable pour une fois, de s'absorber dans un problème désintéressé.

La récompense étant l'effet des formes architecturales et l'esprit d'architecture de construire un vaisseau d'intime concentration et de méditation. Les recherches plastiques de Le Corbusier l'avaient conduit à la perception d'une « intervention acoustique dans le domaine des formes ». Une mathématique, une physique implacable doivent animer les formes offertes à l'œil; leur concordance, leur récurrence, leur interdépendance, et l'esprit de corps ou de famille qui les unit, conduisent à l'expression architecturale, phénomène, dit-il, aussi souple, aussi subtil, aussi exact, aussi implacable que celui de l'acoustique.

On commença donc par une acoustique paysagiste, prenant les quatre horizons à témoin, qui sont: la plaine de la Saône et, à l'opposé, le Ballon d'Alsace, et, sur les côtés, deux vallons. On créa des formes pour répondre à ces horizons, pour les accueillir. À l'intérieur on imagina une symphonie d'ombre, de lumière et de clair-obscur, matérialisée par un rude épiderme de « gunnite » entièrement couverte de lait de chaux blanche.

Les impératifs du culte interviennent ici en peu de choses. La nature des formes était une réponse à une psychophysiologie de la sensation. Comme d'autre part la colline de Ronchamp est privée d'accès routier, le problème des matériaux était impératif. On imagina une coque mince de béton armé formant membranes et membrures combinées pour assurer la résistance de l'œuvre. Deux études furent faites. Deux maquettes en sont résultées. La première en plâtre et la seconde en papier et fil de fer. Toutes deux disent que la question posée a reçu une réponse.

Le problème constructif intervenait simultanément, bien entendu. Or, la construction en coque de béton de cette nature dans les formes prévues ici, nécessite de la part des entrepreneurs de la souplesse et de l'imagination. Tout a été préparé pour demeurer dans des prix relativement très bas. L'hiver 1952-53 sera consacré au projet d'exécution afin que les travaux commencent au printemps 1953.

La construction est conçue pour être réalisée au canon à ciment, fournissant une surface de ciment grenu, très dur mais rude; celle-ci se trouvera enduite de chaux blanche intérieurement comme extérieurement, sans aucun décor. Quelques verres de couleur occuperont le fond des grandes alvéoles prévues dans le grand mur latéral. [88]

FRENCH CAPTIONS:

Maquette de la chapelle: vue nord-est. 88

La nouvelle chapelle dans le paysage. 89

La composition architecturale occupe le sommet de la colline. Un autel extérieur sert aux messes de pèlerinage. L'esplanade peut recevoir la masse des pèlerins; elle se termine en pourtour par une dalle de béton à bord relevé à la limite du plateau. Le campanile ajouré est séparé de la chapelle; il comportera des abat-sons, permettant aux cloches d'être entendues des hameaux voisins. 90

Le site, croquis de L-C. 90

Le plan d'ensemble. 90

La maquette de la chapelle et une peinture de L-C. 90

Les premiers croquis. 90

Façade nord-ouest. 91

La première maquette en plâtre: chapelle et campanile, vue à vol d'oiseau. 91

Façade est - L'autel extérieur sous l'auvent. 91

Façade sud - L'entrée principale. 91

Façade ouest. 91

La surface gauche de la toiture. 92

Légende du plan

1 L'entrée principale

2 La nef pour 200 personnes. La plus grande partie de l'assistance reste debout

3 Le chœur

4 Trois chapelles surmontées de tours qui prennent la lumière sur trois orientations différentes

5 L'autel extérieur

6 Tribunes pour les chanteurs

7 Sacristie

8 Campanile. 92

Façade est. 92

Façade nord - Les portiques du campanile orientés vers la seconde porte de l'église. 93

La nef est éclairée par des claustras de verres colorés de dimensions diverses et noyés dans le mur. Une vierge, relique des anciennes églises est placée dans une baie de la façade est, fermée de deux verres; elle peut être vue de l'intérieur et de l'extérieur. 93

Coupe est-ouest, façade nord et coupe nord-sud. 93

Façade sud - Mur constellé de trous qui s'ouvrent largement à l'intérieur en diffuseur. 94

Façade sud de la maquette. 94

Coupe est-ouest – La chapelle est construite sur le sol naturel sans ravalement. Les confessionnaux sont aménagés dans les murs. 94

Façade sud et toit. 95

Silhouette de la chapelle. Acoustique paysagiste. 95

Le second projet. Croquis de construction par L-C. 96

Le second projet. Maquette en fil de fer. 96

Surface réglée de la toiture. 96

Façade nord. 96

La maquette habillée de papier. 96

Façade nord. 96

La maquette est réalisée en fil de fer d'après les nouvelles épures. Les fils représentent les directrices et les génératrices des surfaces gauches. Une gargouille profilée en « saut de ski » rejette toutes les eaux de pluie du toit dans un bassin au sol. 96

Note: Dans cette seconde étude, les dimensions ont été portées au minimum. 97

Façade sud. 97

L'ensemble est habillé de papier. 97

Coupe sur les 2 entrées opposées. 97

Maquette vue du côté sud et est. 97

L'entrée principale. 97

Vue dans la chapelle. 98

Façade est. 98

Façade est. 98

Façade est. 98

Façade ouest. 98

Coupe longitudinale. 98

Façade est. 98

La toiture-coque est réalisée par 2 membranes parallèles distantes de 2,26 m. Des membrures minces relient les deux surfaces transversalement et longitudinalement. La toiture est très inclinée. Le point bas au fond de la chapelle est à 4,94 m, le point le plus haut est à 14 m. 98

Le mur fermant le chœur est sur les différentes vues de la façade est retiré de la maquette pour laisser voir l'intérieur de la chapelle. 98

AUTHORIAL ATTRIBUTION

TEXTS

‘L’éditeur et les auteurs’: La parution du cinquième volume des Œuvres complètes de Le Corbusier est pour l’éditeur et les auteurs [English: ‘editor and publisher’] un sujet tout particulier de joie et de contentement. 6

I 14 texts

41 Fr. = 1 LC
40 no attribution
37 Eng. = 1 LC
36 no attribution
36 Gr. = 1 LC
35 no attribution

Introduction

All = Le Corbusier

10-11

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- La nouvelle chapelle dans le paysage. 89
 - FLC 07113 (Maisonnier 1950-11-22)
- Le site, croquis de L-C. 90
 - FLC D17-272 (1950-05-20)
 - FLC D17-273 (1950-05-20)
- Le plan d'ensemble. 90
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 - 1. FLC E18-312
 - 2. FLC E18-318

- 3. FLC D17-274
 - 4. FLC E18-320
 - 5. [unknown]: resembles FLC E18-320 and photo next page (Girsberger 1953a: 91)
 - 6. [unknown]
 - 7. [unknown]
- Légende du plan... 93
 - FLC 07104; FLC 07108; FLC 07110 (1950-11-22) Coupe est-ouest, façade nord et coupe nord-sud.
 - FLC 07106; FLC 07112; FLC 07109 (1950-11-22)
- Façade sud... 94
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- Le second projet. Croquis de construction par L-C. 96
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- Façade nord. 96
 - FLC 07400
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 - FLC 07323 ('mars 51')

DISCURSIVE CONSTRUCTION

TOTAL PREDICATIONS	(49)	
Agentless	(30)	61%
Anon./Ambiguous	(8)	16%
Displaced	(5)	10%
Explicit	(6)	12%

INTERTEXTUALITY

Note: **blue text:** signifie intertextual correlation

- **Derived text:** solid bullet entries (bibliographical reference)
 - **Sources texts:** hollow bullet entries (bibliographical reference)
- un **problème désintéressé**. (Boesiger 1953: 88)
 - des **problèmes** de plastique **désintéressée**, recherches qui touchent plus au sacré qu'au frivole... (LC 1946c: 9)
- Une mathématique, une physique implacables [sic] doivent animer les formes offertes à l'oeil; leur concordance, leur récurrence, leur interdépendance, et l'esprit de corps ou de famille qui les unit, conduisent à l'expression architecturale, **phénomène**, dit-il, aussi souple, aussi subtil, aussi exact, aussi implacable que celui **de l'acoustique**. (Boesiger 1953: 88)
 - Un **phénomène** de concordance se présente exact comme une mathématique - véritable / manifestation d'**acoustique** plastique; il sera permis, ainsi d'en appeler à l'un des ordres de phénomènes les plus subtils, porteur de joie (la musique) ou d'oppression (le tintamarre). (LC 1946c: 9)
- une **acoustique** paysagiste, prenant les quatre horizons à témoin... 88
 - [L]e milieu s'intègre en une plastique qui en est comme le réceptacle **acoustique**. (1946c: 12)

- les quatre horizons... sont: la plaine de la Saône et, à l'opposé, le Ballon d'Alsace, et, sur les côtés, deux vallons. On créa des formes pour répondre à ces horizons... 88
 - jusqu'aux horizons nus de la plaine ou ceux crispés des montagnes, toute l'ambiance vient peser sur ce lieu où est une œuvre d'art (1946c: 9)
 - Horizon infini où vont s'enfoncer les ondes irradiées, murailles d'architecture disposées pour faire écho, pour rendre vivant ce phénomène acoustique... (1946c: 15-6)
 - Les formes déploient [a Alger sont] courbes ou droites. Un modèle extraordinaire parce qu'il est précisément une fonction directe de la topographie... (LC 1948a: 13)
- La nature des formes était une réponse à une psychophysiologie de la sensation. 88
 - « Le jeu des panneaux » [...] [sont] [d]ocuments qui seraient des tests instituant une sorte de graphologie du sentiment plastique de l'individu, réactions psycho-physiologiques de chaque participant au jeu. (LC 1950: 98)
 - l'homme = une psychophysiologie... (LC 1950b: 113)
- On imagina une coque mince de béton armé, formant membranes et membranes combinées pour assurer la résistance de l'œuvre. 88
 - cette grande salle de 14,000 spectateurs-auditeurs [de la Palais de Soviets] dont toutes les parties étaient aussi vraies que le sont l'une par rapport à l'autre les deux coques d'une coquille Saint-Jacques ou d'un clam. (LC 1948a: 48)
- La maquette est réalisée en fil de fer d'après les nouvelles épures. Les fils représentent les directrices et les génératrices des surfaces gauches. 96
 - Les peintures [des coquillages au Musée d'Histoire Naturelle] les plus précises décorant selon les directrices ou selon les génératrices... (LC 1948a: 53)

SEMANTICS

POLYSEMY

Corporeal

- **alvéoles:** *cavities; pulmonary cells*
 - grandes alvéoles prévues dans le grand mur latéral 88
- **l'esprit de corps:** *solidarity; 'commonality'; 'spirit of the body' (etymological)*
 - les formes offertes à l'œil, leur concordance, leur récurrence, leur interdépendance, et l'esprit de corps ou la famille qui les unit. 88
- **épiderme:** *skin (biological); skin (architectural)*
 - un rude épiderme de « gunnite » 88
- **silhouette:** *outline (of a face); outline (of an object)*
 - Silhouette de la chapelle 95
- **habillée:** *dressed; covered*
 - La maquette habillée de papier. 96
 - L'ensemble [de la maquette] est habillé de papier. 97

Nautical

- **coque:** *shell; hull*
 - On imagina une coque mince de béton armé, formant membranes et membranes combinées pour assurer la résistance de l'œuvre. 88
 - la construction en coque de béton... 88
 - **nef:** *central aisle of a Church; vessel, ship*
 - Légende du plan... 2 La nef pour 200 personnes. La plus grande partie de l'assistance reste debout. 92
 - La nef est éclairée par des claustras de verres colorés de dimensions diverses et noyés dans le mur. 93
-

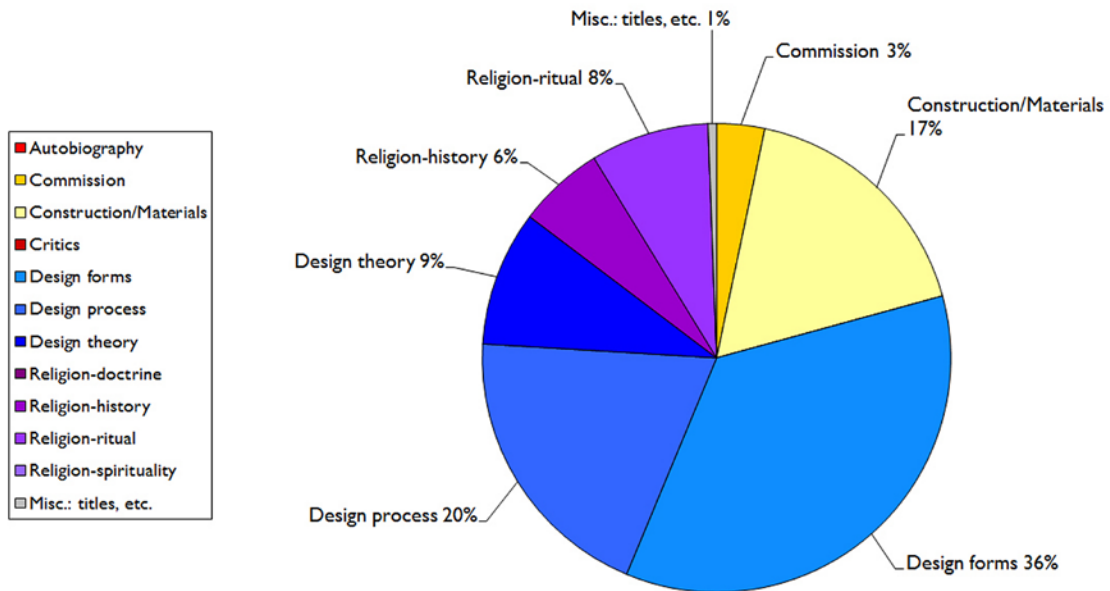
Others

- **famille:** *family (of forms); family (genealogical)*
 - les formes offertes à l'œil, leur concordance, leur récurrence, leur interdépendance, et l'esprit de corps ou la famille qui les unit. 88
 - **acoustique:** *scientific phenomenon; artistic intervention*
 - « intervention acoustique dans le domaine des formes » 88
 - l'expression architecturale, [est une] phénomène, dit-il, aussi souple, aussi subtil, aussi exact, aussi implacable que celui de l'acoustique. 88
 - acoustique paysagiste 95
 - **implacable:** *inexorable, unyielding, inflexible; remorseless, ruthless, vindictive*
 - Une mathématique, une physique implacables [sic]... 88
 - l'expression architecturale, phénomène, dit-il, aussi souple, aussi subtil, aussi exact, aussi implacable que celui de l'acoustique. 88
 - **rude:** *rough (texture); rude (manners)*
 - un rude épiderme de « gunnite »... 88
 - une surface de ciment grenu, très dur mais rude... 88
 - **opposées:** *opposed (spatially); eologically opposed*
 - 2 entrées opposées. 97
 - **gauche:** *left (versus right); Left-wing politics; awkward; warped or skewed*
 - La surface gauche de la toiture. 92
 - **génératrice:** *regulating line (mathematics); generator (industry)*
 - Les fils représentent les directrices et les génératrices...96
-

THEMATIC CONTENT

word count:	main text	517
	captions	510
	total	1027

'La chapelle de Ronchamp, 1950-1953' (Boesiger 1953: 88-98)



BOESIGER 1953: TRANSLATION ANALYSIS, FRENCH-ENG

Title: 'La Chapelle de Ronchamp, 1950-1953'
Date: 1953
Authors: unattributed (Le Corbusier, A. Wogenscky, W. Boesiger)
Source: Boesiger, Will, ed. 1953. *Le Corbusier. Œuvre complète, Volume 5: 1946-1952*, 1st edition. Zurich: Girsberger, pp. 88-98

ENGLISH TEXT: 'THE CHAPEL OF RONCHAMP'

The chapel is constructed on the last bastion of the Vosges falling away to the plain of the Saône below, on a hill which is called a "high place". In earlier times pagan temples were built there, then Christian chapels—pilgrim's chapels; so it was down the centuries. Wars, one after the other, destroyed them mercilessly because the "high place" was also a landmark and an observation point. It was the last war which destroyed the last chapel.

Le Corbusier consented to undertake this work which is a question of a pilgrim's chapel serving some 12000 pilgrims twice a year, who climb and assemble on the flattened summit of the hill. This is a place of prayer. It was agreeable for once to become absorbed in a disinterested problem without any real practical programme, the reward being the effect of architectural forms and the spirit of architecture, in the construction of a vessel of intense concentration and meditation. The researches of Le Corbusier have led him to the perception of an "acoustic component in the domain of form". An implacable mathematics and physics reign over the forms presented to the eye; their agreement, their repetition, their interdependence, and the spirit of unity or of family which binds them together to form architectural expression, a phenomenon which, as he says, is as supple, subtile [sic], exact and implacable as that of acoustics.

One begins with the acoustic of the landscape, taking as a starting point the four horizons. These are, the plain of the Saône, opposite to it the hills of Alsace, and on the other sides two valleys. The design is conceived in conformity with these horizons—in acceptance of them. The interior is a symphony of light, penumbra and shade, within a rough skin of "gunnite" entirely covered with white plaster.

The requirements of religion have had little effect on the design, the form was an answer to a psycho-physiology of the feelings. Because the hill of Ronchamp is inaccessible by road, the question of the choice of materials was dominant. A very thin reinforced concrete shell has been imagined, and two studies of it have been made, resulting in two models. The first is of plaster, the second of paper and wire. Both show that an answer to the question has been found. The constructional problem was naturally considered at the same time. The construction of such a concrete shell calls for adaptability and imagination on the part of the contractor. It is expected to have a relatively low cost. Winter 1952-53 will be devoted to the preparation of the construction which will be begun in the spring of 1953.

The construction will be by concrete gun, giving a very hard rough surface, which will be covered with white plaster inside and out, with no decoration. Some coloured glass will be set in the bottom of the great openings in the large side wall. [88]

The chapel compound lies on a hill top. An outdoor altar serves for pilgrims' mass. The chapel's yard accommodates 10000 pilgrims. The perforated campanile (bell tower) is detached from the chapel and equipped with a sound reflector so that bells can be heard in lower lying settlements. [90]

The nave is lit by panes of stained glass of varying sizes, embedded in the walls. A statue of the Virgin, a relic from the old churches, stands in a niche on the east façade, enclosed by two panes of glass which make her visible from both inside and out. [93]

North elevation. A wire model made after the latest designs. The wires represent the structure of the building. [96]

ALTERATION

ADDITION

(3)

- **une chapelle de pèlerinage: a *question* of a pilgrim's chapel:**
 - Le Corbusier a accepté d'entreprendre cette construction, qui est une chapelle de pèlerinage . . . 88
 - Le Corbusier consented to undertake this work which is a *question* of a pilgrim's chapel . . . 88
 - **addition: subtle change of meaning**
 - **problem *without any real practical programme***
 - Il était agréable pour une fois, de s'absorber dans un problème désintéressé. 88
 - It was agreeable for once to become absorbed in a disinterested problem *without any real practical programme* . . . 88
 - **addition: phrase**
-

OMISSION

(48)

- ***pour assurer la résistance de l'œuvre***
 - On imagina une coque mince de béton armé... *pour assurer la résistance de l'œuvre*. 88
 - A very thin reinforced concrete shell has been imagined... 88
 - **omission: phrase**
- ***l'esplanade se termine à la limite du plateau***
 - Elle l'esplanade se termine en pourtour par une dalle de béton à bord relevé à la *limite du plateau*. 90
 - **omission: caption phrase**
- ***Une gargouille profilée en « saut de ski »...***
 - *Une gargouille profilée en « saut de ski »* rejette toutes les eaux de pluie du toit dans un bassin au sol. 96
 - **Omission: caption phrase**
- ***directrices et génératrices des surfaces gauches***
 - Les fils représentent les directrices et les génératrices *des surfaces gauches*... 96
 - The wires represent the structure of the building. 96
 - **omission: loss of polysemy; English based on German**
- **OMITTED CAPTIONS**
 - Maquette de la chapelle: vue nord-est. 88
 - La nouvelle chapelle dans le paysage. 89
 - Le site, croquis de L-C. 90
 - Le plan d'ensemble. 90
 - La maquette de la chapelle et une peinture de L-C. 90
 - Les premiers croquis. 90
 - Façade nord-ouest. 91
 - La première maquette en plâtre: chapelle et campanile, vue à vol d'oiseau. 91
 - Façade est - L'autel extérieur sous l'auvent. 91
 - Façade sud - L'entrée principale. 91
 - Façade ouest. 91

- La surface gauche de la toiture. 92
- Façade est. 92
- Légende du plan / 1 entrée principale / 2 nef pour 200 personnes. La plus grande partie de l'assistance reste debout / 3 Le chœur / 4 Trois chapelles surmontées de tours qui prennent la lumière sur / trois orientations différentes / 5 L'autel extérieur / 6 Tribunes pour les chanteurs / 7 Sacristie / 8 Campanile. 92
- Façade nord - Les portiques du campanile orientés vers la seconde porte de l'église. 93
- Coupe est-ouest, façade nord et coupe nord-sud. 93
- Façade sud - Mur constellé de trous qui s'ouvrent largement à l'intérieur en diffuseur. 94
- Façade sud de la maquette. 94
- Façade sud et toit. 95
- Silhouette de la chapelle. Acoustique paysagiste. 95
- Le second projet. Croquis de construction par L-C. 96
- Le second projet. Maquette en fil de fer. 96
- Surface réglée de la toiture. 96
- Façade nord. 96
- La maquette habillée de papier. 96
- Façade nord. 96
- Note: Dans cette seconde étude, les dimensions ont été portées au minimum. 97
- Façade sud. 97
- L'ensemble est habillé de papier. 97
- Coupe sur les 2 entrées opposées. 97
- Maquette vue du côté sud et es sic. 97
- L'entrée principale. 97
- Vue dans la chapelle. 98
- Façade est. 98
- Façade est. 98
- Façade est. 98
- Façade ouest. 98
- Coupe longitudinale. 98
- Façade est. 98

LEXICON: ADJECTIVES/QUALIFIERS

(5)

▪ **intime concentration; intense concentration**

- *un vaisseau d'intime concentration* et de méditation. 88
- a vessel of *intense* concentration and meditation. 88
- **change of description: loss of personalism**

▪ **l'esprit de corps; spirit of unity**

- les offertes à l'œil... *l'esprit de corps* ou la famille qui les unit . . . 88
- the forms presented to the eye... *the spirit of unity* or of family which binds them together . . . 88
- **change of description: loss of polysemy & body metaphor**

- **impératif; dominant**
 - le problème des matériaux était *impératif*. 88
 - the question of the choice of materials was *dominant*. 88
 - **change of description: subtle change of meaning**

- **la masse des pèlerins; 10000 pilgrims**
 - L'esplanade peut recevoir la masse des pèlerins... 90
 - The chapel's yard accommodates 10000 pilgrims. 90
 - **change of description: subtle change of meaning; English based on German**

- **séparé; detached**
 - Le campanile ajouré est *séparé de la chapelle* . . . 90
 - The perforated campanile (bell tower) is *detached from the chapel*. . . 90
 - **change of description: change of meaning; English based on German**

LEXICON: NOUNS: 'change of subject' (6)

- **à témoin; as a starting point**
 - prenant les quatre horizons à *témoin* . . . 88
 - taking *as a starting point* the four horizons. 88
 - **word change: change of meaning**

- **'interventions acoustique'; 'acoustic component'**
 - la perception d'une « *interventions acoustique* dans le domaine des formes ». 88
 - the perception of an "*acoustic component* in the domain of form". 88
 - **word change: change of meaning**

- **une psychophysiologie de la sensation; feelings**
 - une réponse à une psycho-physiologie de *la sensation*. 88
 - an answer to a psycho-physiology of *the feelings*. 88
 - **word change: change of meaning; loss of C. Henry's semantics**

- **composition architecturale; chapel compound**
 - *La composition architecturale* occupe le sommet de la colline. 90
 - *The chapel compound* lies on a hill top. 90
 - **word change: modification of reference**

- **directrices et génératrices; structure**
 - Les fils représentent les *directrices et les génératrices*...96
 - The wires represent the *structure* of the building. 96
 - **word change: loss of mathematical semantics & polysemy; English based on German**

LEXICON: VERBS: 'removal/change of agency' (6)

- **dominant la plaine; falling away to the plain**
 - Elle la chapelle se construit sur le dernier contrefort des Vosges *dominant* la plaine de la Saône . . . 88
 - The chapel is constructed on the last bastion of the Vosges *falling away* to the plain of the Saône below. 88
 - **verb change: change of relation; English based on German**

- **doivent animer; reign over**
 - Une mathématique, une physique implacable *doivent animer* les offertes à l'œil . . . 88
 - An implacable mathematics and physics *reign over* the forms presented to the eye . . . 88
 - **verb change: subtle change of displaced agency**

- **créa ... pour répondre à ces horizons; conceived in conformity with**
 - On créa les formes *pour répondre à ces horizons*, pour les accueillir. 88
 - The design is *conceived in conformity with* these horizons—in acceptance of them. 88
 - **Verb change: from active to passive**

- **on imagina une symphonie; The interior is a symphony**
 - A l'intérieur on *imagina* une symphonie d'ombre, de lumière et de clair-obscur . . . 88
 - The interior *is* a symphony of light, penumbra and shade . . . 88
 - **verb change: from ambiguous agency to agentless construction**

- **Les impératifs de culte interviennent ici en peu de choses; have had little effect**
 - Les impératifs de culte *interviennent* ici en peu de choses. 88
 - The requirements of religion *have had* little effect on the design. 88
 - **verb change: from (denied) agency to agentless construction**

- **On imagina une coque; concrete shell has been imagined**
 - On *imagina* une coque mince de béton armé . . . 88
 - A very thin reinforced concrete shell *has been imagined* . . . 88
 - **verb change: from ambiguous agency to agentless construction**

SEMANTICS: POLYSEMY, change or loss

(6)

- **l'esprit de corps; spirit of unity**
 - les offertes à l'œil... *l'esprit de corps* ou la famille qui les unit . . . 88
 - the forms... *the spirit of unity* or of family which binds them together . . . 88
 - **loss of polysemy: Fr. 'esprit de corp' = solidarity (politics) AND commonality (forms)**

- **grands alvéoles; great openings**
 - des *grands alvéoles* prévues dans le grand mur latérales. 88
 - the *great openings* in the large side wall. 88
 - **loss of polysemy: Fr. 'alvéoles' = cavities (architecture) AND pulmonary cells (biology)**

- **coque mince de béton armé; thin reinforced concrete shell**
 - une *coque* mince de béton armé . . . 88
 - A very thin reinforced concrete *shell* . . . 88
 - **loss of polysemy: Fr. 'coque' = shell (crustacean) AND hull (nautical)**

- **coque de béton; concrete shell**
 - la construction en *coque de béton* . . . 88
 - The construction of such a *concrete shell* . . . 88
 - **loss of polysemy: Fr. 'coque' = shell (crustacean) AND hull (nautical)**

▪ **directrices et génératrices; structure**

- Les fils représentent les *directrices* et les *génératrices*...96
- The wires represent the *structure* of the building. 96
- **loss of polysemy: Fr. 'génératrices' = *regulating lines* (mathematics) AND *generators* (industry)**

BOESIGER 1953: TRANSLATION ANALYSIS, FRENCH-GERMAN

Title: 'La Chapelle de Ronchamp, 1950-1953'
Date: 1953
Authors: unattributed (Le Corbusier, A. Wogenscky, W. Boesiger)
Source: Boesiger, Will, ed. 1953. *Le Corbusier. Œuvre complète, Volume 5: 1946-1952*, 1st edition. Zurich: Girsberger, pp. 88-98

GERMAN: 'DIE KAPELLE VON RONCHAMP'

Die Kapelle erhebt sich auf dem letzten Ausläufer der Vogesen, der gegen die Saône-Ebene abfällt. Früher standen an dieser Stelle heidnische Tempel, später christliche Wallfahrtskapellen. Die einander immer wieder folgenden Kriege haben sie zerstört, denn diese « Hochwachten » waren zugleich Beobachtungs- und Ziel punkte. Die letzte noch verbliebene Kapelle fiel dem letzten Kriege zum Opfer. Nun soll hier eine neue Wallfahrtskapelle, die jährlich von 12000 Pilgern besucht wird, errichtet werden. Der abgeplattete Gipfel des Hügels bildet ein kleines Plateau, wo sich die Pilger zum Gebet versammeln.

Le Corbusier hat den Auftrag angenommen, weil es ihn lockte, sich einmal in eine Aufgabe ohne jeden praktischen Zweck und ohne jedes ökonomische Interesse zu vertiefen und seine Befriedigung einzig und allein in der Schaffung reiner architektonischer Formen für diesen Zufluchtsort der Andacht und Meditation zu finden.

Seine Untersuchungen haben ihn zum Begriff der « akustischen Komponente im Bereich der Form » geführt. Die dem Auge dargebotenen Formen, so sagt er, werden von strengen mathematischen und physikalischen Gesetzen beherrscht; ihr Zusammenklang, ihr Rhythmus, ihre gegenseitige Abhängigkeit und ihr Zusammenwirken, die schliesslich zum architektonischen Ausdruck führen, sind ein ebenso exaktes, ebenso strenges und ebenso subtiles Phänomen wie das der Akustik.

Die « Akustik » der Landschaft wird bestimmt von ihren vier Horizonten: der Saône-Ebene, ihr gegenüber den Hügeln des Elsass und zu beiden Seiten den kleinen Seitentälern. Diesen Horizonten musste die architektonische Konzeption entsprechen. Die im Inneren herrschende Symphonie von Licht, Halbdunkel und Schatten wird durch eine rohe, weiss gekalkte Beton-«Epidermis» hervorgebracht. Die Anforderungen, die der Gottesdienst stellt, haben die architektonischen Formen wenig beeinflusst, diese entsprechen ganz der Psycho-Biologie der Empfindungen. Die Tatsache, dass keine Strasse auf den Hügel von Ronchamp führt, war für die Wahl des Materials entscheidend.

Vorgesehen ist eine dünne Schale aus armiertem Beton; die Kombination ihrer Rippen und Verstrebungen gibt ihr die notwendige Resistenz. Aus den Studien ergaben sich zwei Modelle, das eine aus Gips, das andere aus Draht und Papier. Beide zeigen, dass die gestellte Aufgabe ihre Lösung gefunden hat.

Natürlich musste die Frage der Konstruktion gleichzeitig gelöst werden, denn die Konstruktion einer derartigen Betonschale setzt Anpassungsfähigkeit und Vorstellungskraft seitens der Unternehmer voraus. Ausserdem wurde darauf gesehen, dass die Kosten möglichst niedrig bleiben. Der Winter 1952/53 wird die Fertigstellung der Ausführungspläne bringen, so dass mit dem Bau im Frühling 1953 begonnen werden kann.

Die Konstruktion soll mittels der «Zementkanone» erfolgen, die eine sehr harte, aber grobkörnige Oberfläche liefert. Diese Oberfläche wird innen und aussen mit weissem Kalk übertüncht und weist keinerlei Verzierung auf. Die in der grossen Seitenwand befindlichen grossen Öffnungen sind mit farbigen Glasfenstern abgeschlossen. 89

Die Kapelle befindet sich auf dem höchsten Punkt des Hügels. Die Messen für die Pilger werden an einem Aussenaltar zelebriert. Der Platz kann 10000 Pilger aufnehmen. Der durchbrochene Campanile ist freistehend und mit einem Schallreflektor versehen, so dass das Geläute in den tiefer gelegenen Nachbarweilern gehört werden kann. 90

Das Schiff wird erhellt durch verschieden grosse Maueröffnungen die farbige verglast sind. Die Reliquie der Jungfrau, die aus der alten Kirche stammt, befindet sich in einer auf zwei Seiten verglasten Nische der Ostfassade und ist sowohl vom Innern der Kirche wie auch von aussen sichtbar. 93

Nordfassade. Drahtmaquette nach neuesten Zeichnungen. Die Drähte stellen das Konstruktionssystem dar. Ein Wasserspeier leitet das Regenwasser vom Dach in ein Wasserbassin. 96

ALTERATION

ADDITION

(3)

- **Recompense; Befriedigung einzig und allein**
 - *La récompense* étant l'effet des formes architecturales et l'esprit d'architecture de construire un vaisseau d'intime concentration et de méditation. 88
 - seine *Befriedigung einzig und allein* in der Schaffung reiner architektonischer Formen 89
 - **addition: subtle change of meaning**
 - **problème désintéressé; ... ohne jeden praktischen Zweck**
 - Il était agréable pour une fois, de s'absorber dans un problème désintéressé. 88
 - eine Aufgabe *ohne jeden praktischen Zweck* und ohne jedes ökonomische Interesse . . . 89
 - **addition: phrase**
 - **formes était une réponse à; Formen . . . entsprechen ganz**
 - La nature des formes était une réponse à une psycho-physiologie de la sensation. 88
 - die architektonischen Formen . . . entsprechen *ganz* 89
 - **addition: change of description**
-

OMISSION

(49)

- **colline qu'on appelle un « Haut-Lieu »**
 - colline qu'on appelle un « Haut-Lieu » . . . 88
 - **omission: phrase**
- **Les guerres... les détruisaient inexorablement; sie zerstört**
 - Les guerres, l'une après l'autre, les détruisaient *inexorablement* les détruisaient *inexorablement* . . . 88
 - Die einander immer wieder folgenden Kriege haben sie *zerstört*... 89
 - **omission: word**
- **l'esplanade se termine à la limite du plateau**
 - Elle l'esplanade se termine en pourtour par une dalle de béton à bord relevé à la limite du plateau. 90
 - **omission: caption phrase**
- **Une gargouille profilée en « saut de ski »...**
 - *Une gargouille profilée en « saut de ski »* rejette toutes les eaux de pluie du toit dans un bassin au sol. 96
 - **omission: caption phrase**
- **directrices et génératrices des surfaces gauches**
 - Les fils représentent les directrices et les génératrices *des surfaces gauches*... 96
 - Die Drähte stellen das Konstruktionssystem dar... 96
 - **omission: loss of polysemy**

▪ omitted captions

- Maquette de la chapelle: vue nord-est. 88
 - La nouvelle chapelle dans le paysage. 89
 - Le site, croquis de L-C. 90
 - Le plan d'ensemble. 90
 - La maquette de la chapelle et une peinture de L-C. 90
 - Les premiers croquis. 90
 - Façade nord-ouest. 91
 - La première maquette en plâtre: chapelle et campanile, vue à vol d'oiseau. 91
 - Façade est - L'autel extérieur sous l'auvent. 91
 - Façade sud - L'entrée principale. 91
 - Façade ouest. 91
 - La surface gauche de la toiture. 92
 - Façade est. 92
 - Légende du plan / 1 entrée principale / 2 nef pour 200 personnes. La plus grande partie de l'assistance reste debout / 3 Le chœur / 4 Trois chapelles surmontées de tours qui prennent la lumière sur / trois orientations différentes / 5 L'autel extérieur / 6 Tribunes pour les chanteurs / 7 Sacristie / 8 Campanile. 92
 - Façade nord - Les portiques du campanile orientés vers la seconde porte de l'église. 93
 - Coupe est-ouest, façade nord et coupe nord-sud. 93
 - Façade sud - Mur constellé de trous qui s'ouvrent largement à l'intérieur en diffuseur. 94
 - Façade sud de la maquette. 94
 - Façade sud et toit. 95
 - Silhouette de la chapelle. Acoustique paysagiste. 95
 - Le second projet. Croquis de construction par L-C. 96
 - Le second projet. Maquette en fil de fer. 96
 - Surface réglée de la toiture. 96
 - Façade nord. 96
 - La maquette habillée de papier. 96
 - Façade nord. 96
 - Note: Dans cette seconde étude, les dimensions ont été portées au minimum. 97
 - Façade sud. 97
 - L'ensemble est habillé de papier. 97
 - Coupe sur les 2 entrées opposées. 97
 - Maquette vue du côté sud et es sic. 97
 - L'entrée principale. 97
 - Vue dans la chapelle. 98
 - Façade est. 98
 - Façade est. 98
 - Façade est. 98
 - Façade ouest. 98
 - Coupe longitudinale. 98
 - Façade est. 98
-

- **lieu de prières; wo sich die Pilger zum Gebet versammel**
 - *C'est un lieu de prières.* 88
 - *ein kleines Plateau, wo sich die Pilger zum Gebet versammeln.* 89
 - **change of description: prayer associated with people not place**
- **l'esprit de corps; Zusammenwirken cooperation**
 - *les offertes à l'œil... l'esprit de corps ou la famille qui les unit . . .* 88
 - *Die dem Auge dargebotenen Formen . . . ihr Zusammenklang, ihr Rhythmus, ihre gegenseitige Abhängigkeit und ihr Zusammenwirken.* 89
 - **change of description: loss of polysemy & body metaphor**
- **impératif; entscheidend**
 - *le problème des matériaux était impératif.* 88
 - *Die Tatsache, dass keine Strasse auf den Hügel von Ronchamp führt, war für die Wahl des Materials entscheidend.* 89
 - **change of description: subtle change of meaning**
- **la masse des pèlerins; 10000 Pilger**
 - *L'esplanade peut recevoir la masse des pèlerins...* 90
 - *Der Platz kann 10000 Pilger aufnehmen.* 90
 - **change of description: subtle change of meaning**
- **séparé; freistehend**
 - *Le campanile ajouré est séparé de la chapelle . . .* 90
 - *Der durchbrochene Campanile ist.* 90
 - **change of description: change of meaning**

- **vaisseau; Zufluchtsort sanctuary**
 - *un vaisseau d'intime concentration et de méditation.* 88
 - *diesen Zufluchtsort der Andacht und Meditation . . .* 89
 - **word change: change of subject; loss of metaphor**
- **'interventions acoustique'; 'akustischen Komponente'**
 - *la perception d'une « interventions acoustique dans le domaine des formes ».* 88
 - *zum Begriff der « akustischen Komponente im Bereich der Form » geführt.* 89
 - **word change: change of meaning**
- **Les impératifs de culte; Anforderungen... der Gottesdienst**
 - *Les impératifs de culte interviennent ici en peu de choses.* 88
 - *Die Anforderungen, die der Gottesdienst stellt, haben die architektonischen Formen wenig beeinflusst...* 89
 - **word change: change of meaning**
- **composition architecturale; Kapelle**
 - *La composition architecturale occupe le sommet de la colline.* 90
 - *Die Kapelle befindet sich auf dem höchsten Punkt des Hügels.* 90
 - **word change: nominal substitution**

- **directrices et génératrices; Konstruktionssystem**
 - Les fils représentent les *directrices et les génératrices*...96
 - Die Drähte stellen das *Konstruktionssystem* dar. 96
 - **word change: loss of mathematical semantics & polysemy**

LEXICON: VERBS: 'removal/change of agency'

(7)

- **dominant la plaine; die Saône-Ebene abfällt**
 - Elle la chapelle se construit sur le dernier contrefort des Vosges *dominant* la plaine de la Saône . . . 88
 - Die Kapelle erhebt sich auf dem letzten Ausläufer der Vogesen, der gegen die *Saône-Ebene abfällt*. 89
 - **verb change: change of relation**

- **la dernière guerre qui abolit la dernière chapelle; Die Kapelle fiel 88**
 - C'est la dernière guerre qui *abolit* la dernière chapelle. 88
 - Die letzte noch verbliebene Kapelle *fiel* dem letzten Kriege zum Opfer. 89
 - **Verb change: agency removed**

- **doivent animer; beherrscht**
 - Une mathématique, une physique implacable *doivent animer* les offertes à l'œil . . . 88
 - Die dem Auge dargebotenen Formen, so sagt er, werden von strengen mathematischen und physikalischen Gesetzen *beherrscht* . . . 89
 - **verb change: subtle change of displaced agency**

- **créa ... pour répondre à ces horizons; Konzeption entsprechen**
 - On créa les formes *pour répondre à ces horizons*, pour les accueillir. 88
 - Diesen Horizonten musste die architektonische Konzeption *entsprechen*. 89
 - **Verb change: from active to passive**

- **Les impératifs de culte interviennent ici en peu de choses; wenig beeinflusst**
 - Les impératifs de culte *interviennent* ici en peu de choses. 88
 - The requirements of religion *have had* little effect on the design. 88
 - Die Anforderungen, die der Gottesdienst stellt, haben die architektonischen Formen wenig *beeinflusst*. 89
 - **verb change: from (denied) agency to agentless construction**

- **On imagine une coque; concrete shell has been imagined; Vorgesehen ist eine dünne Schale**
 - *On imagine* une coque mince de béton arme . . . 88
 - *Vorgesehen* ist eine dünne Schale aus armiertem Beton. 89
 - **verb change: from ambiguous agency to agentless construction**

- **Un autel extérieur sert aux messes; an einem Aussenaltar zelebriert**
 - Un autel extérieur *sert* aux messes de pèlerinage. 90
 - Die Messen für die Pilger werden an einem Aussenaltar *zelebriert*. 90
 - **verb change: purpose-built agency removed from structure**

- **l'esprit de corps; gegenseitige Abhängigkeit und... Zusammenwirken**
 - les offertes à l'œil... *l'esprit de corps* ou la famille qui les unit . . . 88
 - Formen . . . *gegenseitige Abhängigkeit* und ihr *Zusammenwirken*. 89
 - **loss of polysemy, body metaphor**

 - **vaisseau; Zufluchtsort**
 - *un vaisseau* d'intime concentration et de méditation. 88
 - diesen *Zufluchtsort* der Andacht und Meditation . . . 89
 - **loss of polysemy, metaphor**

 - **grands alvéoles; grossen Öffnungen**
 - des *grands alvéoles* prévues dans le grand mur latérales. 88
 - Die in der grossen Seitenwand befindlichen *grossen Öffnungen*. 89
 - **loss of polysemy, biological terminology**

 - **coque; Schale**
 - une *coque* mince de béton arme . . . 88
 - eine dünne *Schale* aus armiertem Beton. 89
 - **change of polysemy (Gr. 'schale' = bowl, dish, champagne glass, skin, rind, husk, hull)**

 - **coque de béton; Betonschale**
 - la construction en *coque de béton* . . . 88
 - die Konstruktion einer derartigen *Betonschale* . . . 89
 - **change of polysemy**

 - **directrices et génératrices; Konstruktionssystem**
 - Les fils représentent les *directrices* et les *génératrices*...96
 - Die Drähte stellen das *Konstruktionssystem* dar. 96
 - **loss of polysemy, mathematical semantics**
-

PETIT 1955: CONTENT ANALYSIS

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Duval, Jean-Jacques	La reconstruction d'une usine avec Le Corbusier
Chareau, Gabriel	Le vrai sens du procès de Marseille
Chareau, Gabriel	Naissance de l'Unité a Nantes-Rezé
Wogenscky, André	L'Unité d'habitation de Rezé
Xenakis, Jean	Le Corbusier construit un couvent pour les Dominicains a La Tourette
[Unattributed]	Marseille orientation générale Procès à Marseille La Main ouverte Urbanisme La Grille CIAM d'urbanisme 1942 Un Crime [Alger] À paris 1922 Paris attend de l'époque Poème de l'angle droit. Introduction Nos maisons tuent De Marseille à Nantes Rezé. La technique des ascenseurs évolue vers automatisme totale

FRENCH TEXT

COUTURIER, M-A: 'LE CORBUSIER'

(reprint from *L'Art Sacré*, 1954, v. 7-8, pp. 9-10)

Certains se sont étonnés de l'hommage sans réserve que nous avons rendu à LE CORBUSIER, lors du commencement des travaux pour l'église de RONCHAMP. Nous disions que « non seulement nous tenions LE CORBUSIER pour le plus grand architecte vivant, mais encore pour celui en qui le sens spontané du sacré est le plus authentique et le plus fort ... ». Nous le redirons et nous insisterons. Et nous ajouterons qu'il y a plaisir à dire de telles choses, face à la conjuration des médiocres (et, hélas !

on a la tristesse de voir s'y mêler parfois d'assez grands noms) qui ne cessent de le calomnier, de l'épier et de Je piller: « Ils nous fusillent, mais ils retournent nos poches », disait DEGAS, il y a cinquante ans. Ainsi la même histoire se répète sans fin: on enferme les créateurs dans un isolement où leur génie s'exaspère et se durcit, on leur refuse (et l'on s'adjuge à soi-même) les amples travaux où ce génie se serait épanoui et apaisé – quitte, plus tard, de revendiquer ces grands hommes pour maîtres et pour pontifes, quand, la décrépitude et la vieillesse étant venues, toute puissance créatrice est décidément éteinte en eux. On peut alors écraser de leur autorité sénile ceux qui sont à leur tour les vrais enfants de leur esprit.

Je dois dire qu'il y a quelque chose de désespérant à voir ainsi recommencer sans fin ces errements, ces sottises. Depuis plus d'un siècle, l'ignorance et l'aveuglement des milieux officiels et académiques, leur infatuation insensée, ont à chaque génération, obstinément privé ou dépossédé la France de ses plus beaux chefs-d'œuvre. D'années en années, tout est parti pour l'étranger. Aujourd'hui, les Français ne peuvent même plus savoir ce qu'est la grandeur d'un CEZANNE, d'un RENOIR, d'un SEURAT, d'un BONNARD, ni même déjà, d'un MATISSE, d'un ROUAULT, ou d'un BRAQUE. Ce qui en reste chez nous est infime et parfois dérisoire...

LE CORBUSIER bâtit des villes, mais c'est aux Indes et en Amérique et ce n'est que par miracle (et par l'entêtement d'un Ministre obstiné) que l'unité de Marseille a pu être sauvée. Dans l'œuvre immense, et qui pouvait être radieuse de la Reconstruction, la faiblesse de l'État, la pusillanimité des pouvoirs municipaux, l'universelle conspiration des égoïsmes auront tout empêché, tout ravalé.

Réjouissons-nous donc du moins, de ce que ces derniers mois auront apporté à l'art chrétien: les murs de RONCHAMP s'élèvent: Mais, par bonheur, ce n'est pas tout: le Chapitre provincial des Dominicains de Lyon vient de confier à LE CORBUSIER le soin d'édifier le nouveau Couvent d'études de la Province. Cet ensemble monastique comportant église, cloître, chapitre, bibliothèque, etc., sera édifiée dans la campagne de l'ARBRESLE à une vingtaine de kilomètres de Lyon.

Il marquera certainement une étape importante dans le renouveau de l'architecture religieuse. Déjà les premières études sont en train.

Voici donc de nouvelles raisons d'espérer. Pourtant nous ne dissimulons pas ce que, même là, il pourrait se mêler d'inquiétude pour le proche avenir. Oui, même dans des événements si pleins de promesses. Chez un très grand architecte comme LE CORBUSIER, la liberté de formes et des audaces est un droit et probablement un devoir. Son admirable rigueur, le sens inné de la mesure dans les réalisations lui permettent un lyrisme où il achève de s'exprimer. Les structures de Marseille, quand elles n'étaient que structures, satisfaisaient déjà entièrement l'intelligence et la vue: et elles donnaient encore à rêver: Comme une musique dépouillée, mais parfaite. De même maintenant celles de Rézé [sic]. De même ses belles constructions d'il y a trente ans qui parurent insolentes et folles. Les voici devant nous aujourd'hui en dépit des altérations qu'elles ont subies, elles sont toutes brillantes de jeunesse et de raison. Et il suffit de mettre en regard de leur architecture si lucide, si sage, ce que bâtissaient dans le même temps ses détracteurs pour leur éclater de rire au nez et se sentir parfaitement rassuré.

Ce n'est donc pas pour l'œuvre de LE CORBUSIER qu'on peut s'alarmer, ni pour ces jeunes architectes courageux et libres, fidèle à l'essentiel de ses leçons. Mais déjà de ces audaces, de ces formes nouvelles, nous voyons naître tout un foisonnement bâtard qui, lui est inquiétant: d'ici six mois, tous les petits élèves d'écoles des Beaux-Arts, tous les primaires du spirituel, vont nous offrir des projets d'architecture où les courbes les plus équivoques, les vole-au-vent les plus inconsistants dissimuleront les plus ruineuses faiblesses de science et de la technique. Et ils se réclameront de la terrasse MARSEILLE ou de RONCHAMP...

C'est là une des misères inévitables de notre temps. Dans les époques trop profondément désordonnées, l'ordre même et la vérité, quand elle apparaît, aggravent pour un temps les méprises. Les choses vraies et pures y sont toujours alors des choses dangereuses. Et il faut accepter les risques. Ou se résigner à l'inaction.

Mais il faut aussi avertir les gribouilles.

FRENCH TEXT

COUTURIER, M-A: 'UNE CHAPELLE À RONCHAMP'

(reprint of 'Le Corbusier. Ronchamp', *L'Art Sacré*, n. 11-12, 1953, pp. 29-31)

Note: red text = original text omitted in Petit 1956

Les travaux de Ronchamp ont commencé au début de l'été. Une fois de plus, le diocèse de Besançon sera donc à l'honneur avec cette œuvre importante, dont les promoteurs ont été S. E. Mgr l'Archevêque de Besançon, S. E. Mgr Béjot et le Chanoine Ledeur, Secrétaire de la Commission diocésaine d'art sacré. La réalisation matérielle en est maintenant assurée par les soins et le dévouement exemplaires de l'Abbé Bourdin, et d'un Comité de paroissiens à la tête duquel se trouve M. Alfred Canet.

Les travaux iront désormais très vite. Cela en raison du mode de construction choisi par Le Corbusier, mais aussi, en raison des mises au point très minutieuses auxquelles il a procédé durant ces trois dernières années. Deux maquettes ont été successivement réalisées, dont nous publions aujourd'hui des aspects caractéristiques.

La première montre les aspects extérieurs de l'édifice, l'autre ses structures.

On sait que cette église, bâtie sur le sommet d'une colline boisée dominant la petite ville de Ronchamp, doit remplacer un édifice détruit par la guerre et renouer ainsi la tradition d'un pèlerinage à la Vierge très ancien, auquel, deux fois l'an, participent des milliers de fidèles. La nécessité de cérémonies non seulement intérieures mais extérieures pour ces grandes circonstances a exactement déterminé les plans et les formes de cette église, encore que Le Corbusier ait aussi, dès le départ, tenu à dessiner les principaux profils, en accord avec les lignes dominantes du paysage.

On sera d'abord surpris par l'extrême nouveauté de ces formes. Mais, très vite, on verra que plans et formes se développent ici avec la souplesse et la liberté des organismes vivants, et en même temps avec la rigueur que commandent, dans ces organismes, leur finalité et leurs fonctions. Le caractère sacré s'y affirme de toutes parts, et d'abord par cette nouveauté même, ce côté insolite (1). À l'analyse, on voit quels éléments y concourent essentiellement: le rapport très particulier des proportions, la courbure des surfaces amplifiant indéfiniment l'espace intérieur (2), la répartition précise des lumières et des zones de pénombre.

Note:

1. Bien sûr pas n'importe quel insolite.
2. Même pensée chez Matisse pour Vence, par de tout autres moyens.

Il nous semble pouvoir dire que c'est dans de tels édifices que nous accédons à ce type supérieur d'architecture où on dépasse le pur fonctionnalisme où la dignité des fonctions se manifeste directement (et déjà opère) par la beauté des formes. Dans les édifices religieux, de telles choses prennent tout leur sens: car un édifice vraiment sacré n'est pas un édifice profane rendu sacré par un rite consécatoire ou son usage ultérieur (comme on l'a écrit récemment dans un article très inconsidéré): un édifice sacré l'est déjà, et substantiellement, par la qualité même de ses formes. Naturellement ce passage du profane au sacré dans les formes mêmes s'y accomplit concrètement par des variations infimes et informulables, mais qui n'en sont pas moins parfaitement sensibles à l'âme. Tous les chefs-d'œuvre du passé en témoignent. Sensibles à l'âme, parce que ces purifications merveilleuses, ces dépassements sans prix, ne sont déjà plus le fait de calculs d'ingénieurs ou de l'exacte logique: elles viennent de l'âme même. De l'âme des créateurs, encore que souvent ceux-ci ne puissent eux-mêmes s'en expliquer ni, d'ailleurs, en disposer à volonté.

Que ces dons spirituels, que cet instinct du sacré soient plus purs et plus exigeants chez des « maîtres du dehors » que chez beaucoup d'artistes croyants, ou même hélas que chez de nombreux membres du clergé, cela peut être un fait irritant, mais ce fait est devenu de nos jours parfaitement incontestable. « L'esprit souffle où il veut ... »

Nous sommes heureux que l'occasion nous soit ainsi offerte de rendre, aujourd'hui, dans cette revue, hommage à Le Corbusier: non seulement nous le tenons pour le plus grand architecte vivant, mais encore pour celui en qui cet instinct spontané du sacré est le plus authentique et le plus fort.

L'église de Ronchamp sera son premier édifice religieux et on voit déjà tout ce qu'il apporte.

« Tant crie-t-on Noël qu'enfin il vient ».

M. A. Couturier.

INTERTEXTUALITY

Note : The content of Petit 1955 was derived from 9 different texts:

- LC, *Les trois établissements humains* (1945: 44, 52, 123)
 - LC, *Manière de penser de l'urbanisme* (1946b: 132, 151)
 - LC, *Modulor 2* (1955a: 222, 224, 327, 336)
 - LC, *Poème de l'angle droit* (1955b: 10 pages)
 - Max Bill, ed., *Œuvre complète, volume 3* (1938: 1)
 - Boesiger, ed., *Œuvre complète, volume 4* (1946 : 75, 143-4, 171, 176)
 - Boesiger, ed., *Œuvre complète, volume 5* (1953 : 12, 15, 72, 74-5, 123, 129, 131, 133, 143, 166-7, 181, 186, 195, 197-9, 203, 213, 219, 222, 242)
 - Boesiger, ed., *Œuvre complète, volume 5, 2^e ed.* (1955 : 82)
 - Boesiger, ed., *Œuvre complète, volume 6* (1957: 12, 21, 25, 38, 43, 45, 92)
-

LC 1955: CONTENT ANALYSIS

Title: Art libre
Date: 1955
Author: Le Corbusier
Source: LC 1955a. *Modulor 2. 1955. (La parole est aux usagers). Suite de 'Le Modulor' 1948.* Boulogne : Editions de l'Architecture D'Aujourd'hui, pp. 264-8

FRENCH TEXT: 'Art libre' (excerpt)

La Chapelle de Ronchamp. (Fig. 134 à 137.)

Je suis, en principe, contre « les modules » lorsqu'ils coupent court à l'imagination, prétendant à l'absolu de l'objet et aboutissant à la pétrification de l'invention. Mais je crois à l'absolu d'un rapport (poétique). Et les rapports sont, par définition, variables, divers et innombrables. Mon esprit n'arrive pas à adopter les modules de l'AFNOR et de Vignole en matière de bâtiment. Je n'accepte pas les « canons ». Je réclame la présence de l'harmonie entre les objets mis en cause. [264]

La Chapelle de Ronchamp démontrera peut-être, lorsqu'elle sera achevée au printemps 1955, que l'architecture n'est pas affaire de colonnes mais affaire d'événements plastiques. Les événements plastiques ne se règlent pas sur des formules scolaires ou académiques, ils sont libres et innombrables. La Chapelle de Ronchamp, chapelle de pèlerinages sur le dernier contrefort des Vosges, sera un lieu de recueillement, de prière. Elle commande la plaine de la Saône à l'ouest, et la chaîne des Vosges à l'est et deux petites vallées [265]

au sud et au nord. Ces paysages des quatre horizons sont une présence, ce sont les hôtes. C'est à ces quatre horizons que la Chapelle s'adresse par l'effet « d'un phénomène acoustique introduit dans le domaine des formes ». C'est une intimité qui doit s'intégrer en chaque chose, capable de provoquer le rayonnement de l'espace indicible. Tout sera blanc dedans et dehors, mais tout sera vraiment libre, sans contrainte de programme autre qu'un rituel sommaire, [266]

anoblissant d'ailleurs les données du problème. Tout sera cohérent. Le lyrisme, le phénomène poétique, sont déclenchés par l'invention désintéressée, par l'éclat des rapports, toute chose étant appuyées sur la mathématique impeccable des combinaisons. C'était un plaisir, ici, de jouer des ressources du Modulor tout en surveillant le jeu du coin de l'œil pour éviter les balourdises. Car [267]

celles-ci vous guettent, vous tendent la main, vous tirent par le bas du veston, vous entraînent aux abîmes. [268]

[Saint-Pierre de Rome]

[...] Je livre cette question, qui est une question de fait, à l'appréciation du lecteur: il est des dimensions qui sont fausses..., pourquoi, comment? Peut-être peut-on le démontrer; en tout cas on le ressent. Il est des architectures dimensionnées pour des puces ou pour des girafes, on ne sait pas exactement ! En tout cas pas pour des hommes. Il en est d'insignes, tel l'intérieur de Saint-Pierre de Rome (1), ou de décourageantes, telle la salle du Musée National d'Art Moderne à Paris [...] [276]

(1) Ce mois de mars 1955, faisant escale à Rome, via New-Delhi, j'ai fait un saut à Saint-Pierre, « ayant, dis-je à Nervi, qui était venu me dire bonjour à l'aéroport, un compte à régler avec Saint-Pierre ». Mes visites à la basilique, 1910, 1921, 1934, 1936 m'avaient saturé de négation. Ce 15 mars 1955 situation inchangée, situation confirmée. Il se passe quelque chose à Saint-Pierre: les successeurs de Michel-Ange ont commis un forfait... [277]

DESIGN DRAWINGS

- Figure 134. 266
 - FLC 07167 (Plan)
 - Figure 137. 268
 - FLC 07188 (Section, 1953-12-02)
 - Figure 150. [1953 Paris Museum of Modern Art Expo] 276
 - FLC 07431 (Siteplan)
-

DISCURSIVE CONSTRUCTION

TOTAL PREDICATIONS	(45)	
Agentless	(14)	31%
Anon./Ambiguous	(11)	24%
Displaced	(15)	33%
Explicit	(5)	11%

INTERTEXTUALITY

Note: [blue text](#): signifie intertextual correlation

- **caption:** [Derived text](#): solid bullet entries
 - [Sources texts](#): hollow bullet entries
- **chapelle de pèlerinage, un lieu de prière:** [La Chapelle de Ronchamp, chapelle de pèlerinages sur le dernier contrefort des Vosges](#), sera un lieu de recueillement, de prière. Elle commande [la plaine de la Saône](#) à l'ouest, et la chaîne [des Vosges](#) à l'est et deux petites vallées au sud et au nord. (LC 1955a: 265)
 - [La Chapelle de Ronchamp 1950-1953](#). // Elle se construit [sur le dernier contrefort des Vosges](#) dominant [la plaine de la Saône](#); colline qu'on appelle un « Haut-Lieu ». Autrefois s'y élevèrent des temples païens, puis des chapelles chrétiennes, chapelles de pèlerinage. Ainsi pendant des siècles. Les guerres, l'une après l'autre, les détruisaient inexorablement, car ce « haut-lieu » était aussi un observatoire et un point de mire. C'est la dernière guerre qui abolit la dernière chapelle. // Le Corbusier a accepté d'entreprendre cette construction, qui est une [chapelle de pèlerinage](#) que fréquentent deux fois par an douze mille pèlerins montant la colline et se rassemblant sur la faible surface aplatie du sommet de la colline. [C'est un lieu de prières](#). (Boesiger 1953: 88)
- **quatre horizons, un phénomène acoustique:** Ces paysages des [quatre horizons](#) sont une présence, ce sont les hôtes. C'est à ces quatre horizons que la Chapelle s'adresse par effet « d'un [phénomène acoustique](#) introduit [dans le domaine des formes](#) ». (LC 1955a: 266)
 - Un urbanisme à trois dimensions peut [...] créer des spectacles architecturaux en intime accord avec le paysage. [...] La forme de ce groupe sera dictée par les conditions mêmes du terrain (proue au sommet d'une falaise). Les formes des bâtiments répondront [aux horizons](#), aux vues, et à l'ensoleillement. (Boesiger 1946: 162)
 - À l'ouest [de Saint Gaudens], en proue du plateau, est un terrain disposant de vues admirables sur les [quatre horizons](#). (LC 1946c: 11)
 - Alger 1933, Projet B... Les organes apparaissent, dénichent leur insertion au lieu utile, leur forme spécifiquement valable. Et le milieu s'intègre en une plastique qui en est comme le [réceptacle acoustique](#)... (LC 1946c: 12)

- Horizon infini où vont s'enfoncer les ondes irradiées, murailles d'architecture disposées pour faire écho, pour rendre vivant ce **phénomène acoustique** temps-espace... (LC 1946c: 16-7)
 - Les recherches plastiques de Le Corbusier l'avaient conduit à la perception d'une « intervention **acoustique dans le domaine des formes** ». (Boesiger 1953: 88)
- **provoquer le rayonnement de l'espace indicible**: C'est une intimité qui doit s'intégrer en chaque chose, capable de **provoquer** le **rayonnement de l'espace indicible**. (LC 1955a: 266)
 - La fleur, la plante, l'arbre, la montagne... apparaissent détachés dans leur contenu mais **provoquant** des résonances [sic] tout autour. (LC 1946c: 9)
 - Action de l'œuvre (architecture, statue ou peinture) sur l'alentour: des ondes, des cris ou clameurs (le Parthénon sur l'Acropole d'Athènes), des traits jaillissant comme par **un rayonnement**... (LC 1946c: 9)
 - Paris est, entre les plus belles, celle qui, sous le ciel recouvrant la Seine, **rayonne d'espace indicible**. (LC 1946c: 12)
 - [P]our loger, cent mille habitants d'Alger [...] j'étais dominé par l'impératif et intime besoin d'entrer en concordance avec l'univers ambiant, c'est-à-dire avec le site, le soleil et la topographie. De ces motifs naquirent des formes conditionnées et toutes répondant à ce triple dessein. C'est ce qu'on peut appeler situer quelque chose; harmoniser l'œuvre humaine et le milieu, accorder l'esprit des hommes aux règles de la nature. Faire sonner, consonner, produire une consonance. Faire régner l'harmonie. Accomplir, si l'on réussit, le miracle de **l'espace indicible**. (LC 1948c: 486)
- **la mathématique**: toute chose étant appuyées sur la **mathématique** impeccable des combinaisons. (LC 1955a: 267)
 - Action de l'oeuvre (architecture, statue ou peinture) sur l'alentour... Un phénomène de concordance se présente, exact comme une **mathématique**... (LC 1946c: 9)
 - Une **mathématique**, une physique implacables [sic] doivent animer les formes offertes à l'œil... (Boesiger 1953: 88)

LEXICON

Note: This lexicon includes terms from the book as a whole.

Acoustique

- Il faut pour reconnaître la présence d'un phénomène acoustique au domaine des formes, être, non pas l'initie des mots tabou, mais l'artiste, l'être sensible aux choses de l'univers. 154
- C'est à ces quatre horizons que la Chapelle s'adresse par effet « d'un phénomène acoustique introduit dans le domaine des formes ». C'est une intimité qui doit s'intégrer en chaque chose, capable de provoquer le rayonnement de l'espace indicible. 266

Âme

- Derrière le mur, les dieux jouent avec les mondes, avec *les âmes*. 212
- Le fond du sac, c'est d'émouvoir... par l'effet des milles incidences qui illuminent *l'âme*... 315

Artiste

- Je me suis expliqué: je ne suis pas un mathématicien, mais un artiste, et en fin de compte, un poète. // Par conséquent, voué à la recherche éperdue « du meilleur de tout », du plus pur que tout, pour être la plus intense de tous. Un type la tête pleine de proportions, possédé du désir d'harmonie, appelé à s'occuper d'espace, de volume, de rapports, toutes choses qui, forcément, impliquent une mathématique. Le scintillement, l'éclat, la lumière, nés de l'exactitude, conduisent à l'espace indicible, de la nature du sacré et non pas du magique.

Dans la magie, le diable a le droit de s'en mêler et même brille et gentiment. Dans le sacré, il n'a pas pied. 23

- Il faut pour reconnaître la présence *d'un phénomène acoustique au domaine des formes*, être, non pas l'initié des mots tabou, mais l'artiste, l'être sensible aux choses de l'univers. 154

Diable

- Dans la magie, *le diable* a le droit de s'en mêler et même brille et gentiment. Dans le sacré, il n'a pas pied. 23

Dieu/dieux

- Modulor... On a attribué le miracle, en l'occurrence, non pas aux hommes mais « aux nombres » qui sont affaire de *dieux*. 15
- le rectificatif de l'architecte, urbaniste, peintre, etc. ..., que je suis: ... le mathématicien joue avec des nombres, il est messenger *des dieux*. 17
- L'homme n'est pas *un dieu*, par définition. 17
- je le respecte et j'en admetts la poésie: en boétien, je dis que ce sont *les dieux* qui parlent. (LC, lettre à M. Crussard, 24 avril 1951) 69
- Les deux processus que vous admettez comme un avers-revers... un truc du *bon Dieu*, pour amuser les hommes ! (LC, lettre à M. Crussard, 24 avril 1951) 69
- la nature de mon esprit ne me pousse pas à passer au-delà. « *Les dieux* jouent derrière le mur... » Je n'ai pas le moyen de faire comme eux, par définition, étant qu'un homme... 86
- Nulle rupture, nulle séparation avec le logis du travail, celui des institutions, celui *des dieux*. 165
- À moi, laïque, ce purusha est très sympathique ! 206
- Allez, amis, en protection de cette sphère intellectuelle, de laquelle en tous lieux est le centre et n'a en lieu aucun circonférence, que nous appelons *Dieu*... 210
- Derrière le mur, *les dieux* jouent avec les mondes, avec *les âmes*. 212
- Un jour, passant au pied de ce mur derrière lequel jouent *les dieux*, j'ai écouté. 311

L'espace indicible

- Le scintillement, l'éclat, la lumière, nés de l'exactitude, conduisent à l'espace indicible, de la nature de sacré et non pas du magique. Dans la magie, le diable a le droit de s'en mêler et même brille et gentiment. Dans le sacré, il n'a pas pied. 23
- Ces propos [du miracle de l'espace indicible] sont nés d'une expérience. J'ai chez moi un vestibule de deux mètres de cote... Un jour (à une occasion bien précise), j'ai vu se réaliser sous mes yeux l'espace indicible: ce mur avec son tableau, s'épanouissait sans limite. 25
- C'est à ces quatre horizons que la Chapelle s'adresse par effet « d'un phénomène acoustique introduit dans le domaine des formes ». C'est une intimité qui doit s'intégrer en chaque chose, capable de provoquer le rayonnement de l'espace indicible. 266

Harmonie

- Serralta et Maisonnier... il fallait qu'ils se soient passionnément penchés sur les problèmes de l'harmonie... il fallait que ces deux garçons fussent, en fait, véritablement doués. 43-4
- Par définition, par leur origine même, ces moyens de mesure: coudée, pouce, etc..., tous dérivés de la stature humaine, se trouvaient porter l'harmonie puisque des lois mathématiques les gèrent comme sont gérées par les mathématiques les règles du développement, de la croissance des structures: plantes, animaux, nuages, etc... 50
- les rapports sont, par définition, variables, diverses et innombrables. Mon esprit n'arrive pas à adopter les modules de l'AFNOR ou de Vignole en matière de bâtiment. Je ne l'accepte pas les « canons ». Je réclame la présence de l'harmonie entre les objets mis en cause. 264

Lyrisme

- Tout sera cohérent. Le lyrisme, le phénomène poétique, sont déclenchés par l'invention désintéressée, par l'éclat des rapports, tout choses étant appuyées sur la mathématique impeccable des combinaisons. 267
- Une idée met longtemps à se manifester sous la forme globale du tableau: composition, couleurs, valeurs, etc... Elle naît sans entraves (autre que l'indécision), sans tracé régulateur et sans Modulor, portant son lyrisme, ou potentiel poétique, dès la surgie de l'idée. 293
- Le phénomène pictural m'apparut qui est de faire surgir le moment poétique par la fulgurance et l'originalité des rapports dans l'exactitude. L'exactitude, tremplin de lyrisme. L'architecture, alors seulement, se dévoila. Le mécanisme intellectuel étant acquis, il fut transféré sur le plan différent de la chose bâtie. Puis, pour l'urbanisme, transfère sur le plan

social, binôme individu-collective, amour de l'homme, échelle humaine, lois de nature, prise de possession de l'espace.... 310-1

Métaphysique

- les doutes mettant en cause des faits matériels comme aussi donnant libre cours aux divagations *métaphysiques* ou *ésotériques*. 14
- le premier ruban du Modulor... exposé lors de la parution du livre à la Librairie Vega, boulevard Saint-Germain à Paris en 1950. Cette librairie est consacrée très particulièrement aux publications *ésotériques* et aux *sciences métaphysiques*. 31
- Dans les demeures anciennes... [les] règles des compagnonnages, transmises à travers les siècles de bouche à l'oreille, vite bourrées, gonflées et boursoufflées d'*ésotérisme*, de *métaphysique* au petit pied pour consommateurs courants... 106
- Je ne nie pas et je ne nierai jamais qu'il est une *science métaphysique* rattachée à mille et un symboles ou mille et un significations. Mais je suis un homme de bâtiment. 107
- l'œuvre d'art, par définition, est un objet de haute évaison... c'est l'évasion recherchée par ceux qui se tiennent au-dessus ou dehors de la mêlée dans l'abstraction des symboles, dans les hauteurs altières de *la métaphysique*. 204

Outil:

- [C]et outil neuf aura pour premier effet d'unir, de rallier, d'harmoniser le travail des hommes. 17
- [L]e Modulor est un outil [...] inventé en 1942. 102-3

Poétique

- certain fruits de la recherche partie de la profession—celle d'un homme anime du sens poétique et pratiquant les arts plastiques: l'événement déborde la spécialisation et la spécialité. Pourquoi ne pourrait-on pas passer de la discipline des arts de la science ? 15-6
- [L]es amis commencent à regarder autour d'eux, à mesurer, à s'éveiller à la notion d'un proportionnement qui ne soit pas simplement l'effet d'un 'coup de pouce', mais question de haute poétique. 106
- le rapport mathématique spontanément incarna dans une spirale harmonique... produit spontané d'une passion vouée aux choses de la plastique et de la poétique. 218
- Tout sera cohérent. Le lyrisme, le phénomène poétique, sont déclenchées par l'invention désintéressée, par l'éclat des rapports, tout choses étant appuyées sur la mathématique impeccable des combinaisons. 267
- Je suis, en principe, contre « les modules » lorsqu'ils coupent court à l'imagination, prétendant à l'absolu de l'objet et aboutissant à la pétrification de l'invention. Mais je crois à l'absolu d'un rapport (poétique). Et les rapports sont, par définition, variable, diverses et innombrables. 264
- Une idée met longtemps à se manifester sous la forme globale du tableau: composition, couleurs, valeurs, etc.... Elle naît sans entraves (autre que l'indécision), sans tracé régulateur et sans Modulor, portant son lyrisme, ou potentiel poétique, dès la surgie de l'idée.
- Le phénomène pictural m'apparut qui est de faire surgir le moment poétique par la fulgurance et l'originalité des rapports dans l'exactitude. L'exactitude, tremplin de lyrisme. L'architecture, alors seulement, se dévoila. 310

Pragmatisme

- [J]e suis un constructeur, bâtisseur des maisons et des palais pour des hommes sur terre, avec des matériaux terrestres. Je suis assez artiste pour sentir qu'il y a des prolongements à toutes choses matérielles mais je m'arrête au seuil des métaphysiques et du symbolisme, non par dédain, mais parce que la nature de mon esprit ne me pousse pas à passer au-delà. 85
- Pendant vingt années, avant la guerre de 1939, Pierre Jeanneret et moi avons brisé les contraintes métriques 10, 25, 50, 100, 150, 200, qui, dans le domaine de l'habitat, c'est-à-dire du contact humain, nous semblait n'être pas en accord avec les mouvements de l'homme qualifiés par la dimension de ses membres: le genou, le plexus solaire, les épaules, la tête, le bras levé. Sans aucune inquiétude mathématique, né par simple pragmatisme, nous avons fixé des dimensionnements viables, éveillant *a priori* des inquiétudes semblables à celles qui, légitimement, troublent plusieurs de nos correspondants. 98-9

Religion

- Puisse à certaines sources, les mots prennent parfois une signification fulgurante. De l'« *Apocalypse* »: « ... il mesura la muraille et trouva 144 coudées, mesure d'homme qui était celle de l'ange... » 202-3
- « la clef *hindoue* fondamentale est l'*Avalokiteshvara* [sic] aux 108 noms... 108 et 7 sont universellement considérées comme les *nombre mystiques* et fondamentaux... » (L'Architecture Naturelle) 205
- À moi, laïque, ce *purusha* est très sympathique ! 206
- Ce mois de mars 1955, faisant escale à Rome, via New Delhi, j'ai fait un saut à *Saint Pierre*, ayant dis-je à Nervi qui était venu me dire bonjour à l'aéroport, un compte à régler avec *Saint-Pierre*. Mes visites à la basilique, 1910, 1921, 1934, 1936, m'avaient saturé de négation. Ce 15 mars 1955, situation inchangée, situation confirmée... les successeurs de Michel-Ange ont commis un forfait. 277

Sacré

- M. Guettard, architecte de Paris [...] déclare: 'Votre Modulor est bien, car venu du dehors [la tradition pythagoricien] il a touché au nombre clef. 113 est le nombre clef... etc... etc...' Pendant qu'il pavoise, je me dis: mes 113 à moi sont des centimètres, et rien d'autre, et qui, traduits en anglo-saxon, ne sont plus que des pieds, et au nombre de presque quatre, et rien de plus..., et rien de cela est sacré... 21
- Dans la magie, le diable a le droit de s'en mêler et même brille et gentiment. Dans le sacré, il n'a pas pied. 23
- Le scintillement, l'éclat, la lumière, nés de l'exactitude, conduisent à l'espace indicible, de la nature du sacré et non pas du magique. 23
- On est au plateau de Sainte Baume en Provence, plateau sacré, haute lieu dédiée à Sainte Marie Madeleine ! 316

Section d'or

- Les données étaient concevables pour une grille des proportions, à savoir: L'homme le bras levé – 2 carres de 113 (226). On installe un troisième carré au 'lieu de l'angle droit'. Mais le point d'intersection de ce troisième carré aurait dû être fourni par la section d'or de son côté. Et non par la moitié de son côté ! [...] Cette hypothèse provenait d'un jeu naturel de l'esprit. C'est une notion *a priori* et non pas un calcul *a posteriori*. 47-8
- Peu importe que les formules de section d'or soient considérées dans la mathématique moderne comme une banalité! Eh eh ! la banalité est peut-être précisément la chose en question [...] [L]'homme procède de la fonction ϕ , dans son corps, dans la dimension de ses membres, c'est-à-dire dans les causes décisives d'occupation de l'espace au cours de ses activités quotidiennes. 150-1

Spirituel

- ART... est « manière de faire », et où, par conséquent, tout est panorama s'étendant du matériel au *spirituel* ou arc-en-ciel posant ses deux pieds par terre pour réaliser sous nos yeux, en plein ciel, un miracle ineffable. 155
- la Tourette... rassemblant dans son plan des rites valables faisant état de gestes et dispositions *spirituelles* et morales humaines... 336

SEMANTICS

POLYSEMY

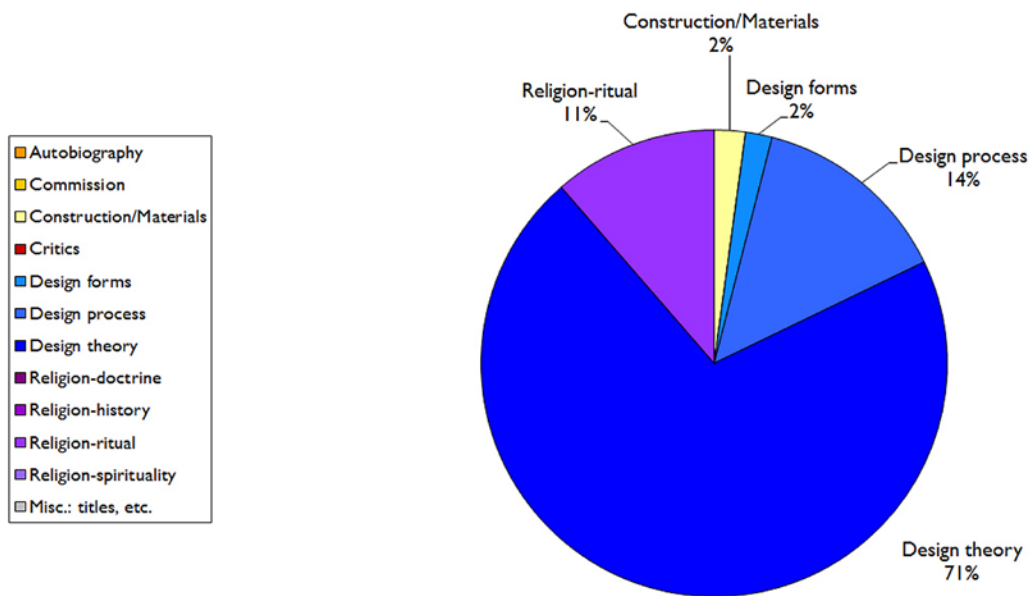
- **hôte**: *host* (gathering); *Holy Spirit* (Communion)
 - Ces paysages des quatre horizons sont une présence, ce sont les hôtes. 266
- **plastique**: adj. *sculptural* (art); vt. *blow up* (1st-pers. 'plastiquer')
 - l'architecture n'est pas affaire des colonnes mais affaire d'événement *plastique*. 265
 - Les événements *plastiques* ne se règlent pas sur des formules scolaires ou académiques, ils sont libres et innombrables. 265

- **Saint-Pierre:** Papal Basilica (architecture); Saint Peter (person)
 - l'intérieur de *Saint-Pierre* de Rome...276
 - J'ai fait un saut à *Saint-Pierre*... 277
 - ayant...un compte à régler avec *Saint-Pierre*... 277
 - Il se passe quelque chose à *Saint-Pierre*... 277

THEMATIC CONTENT

word count: main text: 325

'Art libre' (LC 1955a: 264-8)



LC 1955: TRANSLATION ANALYSIS, FRENCH—ENGLISH

Title: 'Art libre'
Date: 1958
Author: Le Corbusier; trans. P. de Francia & A. Bostock.
Source: LC [1955a] 1982. *Modulor 2. 1955. (The word is given to the users.) Sequel to 'Le Modulor' 1948.* London: Faber & Faber

ENGLISH TEXT:

'The chapel at Ronchamp (Figs. 134-137).'

I am, in principle, against 'modules' when they curtail the imagination, claiming absolute rights over the object and leading to the petrification of invention. But I believe in the absolute nature of a (poetic) relationship. And relationships are, by definition, variable, diverse and innumerable. My mind cannot adopt the modules of AFNOR and Vignola in building. I accept no canons. I claim the presence of harmony between the objects involved. [264]

The chapel at Ronchamp will perhaps show, when it is finished in the spring of 1955, that architecture is not a matter of pillars but plastic events. These are not ruled by scholarly or academic formulae; they are free and innumerable. The chapel at Ronchamp, a pilgrimage chapel on the last buttress of the Vosges, will be a place of meditation and prayer. To the west, it commands the Valley of the Saône, to the east the chain of the Vosges; two small valleys [265] to the north and south. These landscapes with four horizons are a presence; they are your hosts. To these four horizons the Chapel addresses itself by the effect 'of an acoustic phenomenon introduced into the realm of forms'. It is an intimacy which must penetrate into everything, capable of causing the radiation of inexpressible space. All will be white inside and out, but all will be truly free, unconstrained by any program other than a brief ritual, [266] which, indeed, ennobles the elements of the problem. All will be coherent. Lyricism, the poetic phenomenon, are released by free invention, the [253] brilliance of relationships, all things being based on the faultless mathematics of the combinations. It was a pleasure, here, to allow free play to the resources of the Modulor, keeping a corner of one's eye on the game to avoid blunders. [267] For blunders lie in wait for you, beckon you on, tug at your sleeve, drag you down into the abyss. [268]

[...] [275] [...] Let me put this question to the reader, a question of fact: there are certain dimensions which are false. How, why? Perhaps it can be demonstrated; in any case it is sensed. There are certain pieces of architecture dimensioned for fleas or for giraffes, one is not quite sure which. But certainly not for men. Some of these are striking, such as the interior of St. Peter's in Rome (1), others are plainly discouraging, such as the room at the Museum of Modern Art in Paris of which we are speaking. Legitimate works of art are tampered with in such a place, losing their true relationship with man, [276] for whom alone, when all is said and done, they are intended. So far as the exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art was concerned, then, it was a matter of reestablishing, by effective action, a contact between the spectator and the work (paintings, pieces of sculpture, photographic documents). This contact came from a third presence: the introduction of volumes (containing or receiving) designed to the human scale. In that immoderately high room we took a chance on the dimension 226 by combining volumes of that height, developing interior and exterior surfaces suitable for hanging pictures and setting up sculptures arranging documents. [...]

([Note] 1) in March 1955, stopping in Rome on my way to New Delhi, I paid a brief call to St. Peter's, because—as I told Nervi (who came to see me at the airport)—I had an account to settle with St. Peter. My visits to the Basilica in 1910, 1921, 1934 and 1936 had produced in me a reaction of complete negation. On March 15, 1955, that reaction was unchanged and indeed confirmed. Something is wrong at St. Peter's; the successors of Michelangelo have committed a crime... [277]

ALTERATION

ADDITION

- **de jouer; to allow free play**
 - C'était un plaisir, ici, *de jouer* des ressources du Modulor... 267
 - It was a pleasure, here, to *allow free play* to the resources of the Modulor... 254
 - **addition: subtle change of meaning**
 - **l'absolu; absolute rights**
 - Je suis, en principe, contre « les modules » lorsqu'ils coupent court à l'imagination, prétendant à *l'absolu* de l'objet et aboutissant à la pétrification de l'invention. 264
 - I am, in principle, against 'modules' when they curtail the imagination, claiming *absolute rights* over the object and leading to the petrification of invention. 251
 - **addition: subtle change of meaning**
-

LEXICON: ADJECTIVE/QUALIFIERS

- **l'invention désintéressée; free invention**
 - Tout sera cohérent. Le lyrisme, la phénomène poétique, sont déclenchées par l'invention *désintéressée*... 267
 - All will be coherent. Lyricism, the poetic phenomenon, are replaced by *free invention*... 253-4
 - **word change: change of description**
-

ARTICLES

- **les hôtes; your hosts**
 - Ces paysages des quatre horizons sont une présence, ce sont *les hôtes*. 266.
 - These landscapes with four horizons are a presence; they are *your hosts*. 252-3
 - **word change: loss of definite article**
-

LEXICON: VERBS: 'removal/change of agency'

- **provoquer le rayonnement, causing the radiation**
 - [l']effet « d'un phénomène acoustique introduit dans le domaine des formes »... capable de *provoquer* le rayonnement de l'espace indicible. 266
 - the effect 'of an acoustic phenomenon introduced into the realm of forms'... capable of *causing* the radiation of inexpressible space. 253
 - **verb change: loss of the displaced agency**
 - **lyrisme, la phénomène poétique, sont déclenchées; replaced**
 - Le lyrisme, la phénomène poétique, sont *déclenchées* par l'invention désintéressée... 267
 - Lyricism, the poetic phenomenon, are *replaced* by free invention... 253-4
 - **verb change: inversion of meaning**
-

SEMANTICS: POLYSEMY, change or loss

- **esprit; mind**
 - Mon *esprit* n'arrive pas à adopter les modules de l'AFNOR ou de Vignole... 264
 - My *mind* cannot adopt the modules of AFNOR and Vignola... 251
 - **loss of polysemy (FR. 'esprit' = *mind* AND *spirit*)**

 - **domaine, s'intégrer, indicible; realm, penetrate, inexpressible**
 - C'est à ces quatre horizons que la Chapelle s'adresse par effet « d'un phénomène acoustique introduit dans le *domaine* des formes ». C'est une intimité qui doit *s'intégrer* en chaque chose, capable de provoquer le rayonnement de l'espace *indicible*. 266
 - To these four horizons the chapel addresses itself by the effect 'of an acoustic phenomenon introduced into the *realm* of forms'. It is an intimacy which must *penetrate* into everything, capable of causing the radiation of *inexpressible* space. 252-3
 - **loss of polysemy (Fr. 'domaine', 's'intégrer', 'indicible' = mathematical connotations)**

 - **les hôtes; your hosts**
 - Ces paysages des quatre horizons sont une présence, ce sont *les hôtes*. 266.
 - These landscapes with four horizons are a presence; they are *your hosts*. 252-3
 - **loss of polysemy, religious connotations (Fr. 'le hôte' = *the host* AND *The Holy Spirit*)**
-

PETIT 1956: LC TEXTS: CONTENT ANALYSIS

Title: Untitled [Introduction, signed 'LE CORBUSIER'], pp. 20-1
Untitled [*Œuvre complète* v. 5 text, unattributed], pp. 22-3
Propos notés en 1945 par Le Corbusier, pp. 50-1
Propos notés dans Modulor 2 par Le Corbusier, p. 52

Date: 1956, 3rd quarter

Author: Le Corbusier ; unattributed

Source: Petit, Jean. 1956. *La Chapelle Notre Dame du Haut, Ronchamp*. Le Corbusier.
Paris: Les Cahiers Forces Vives

FRENCH TEXTS

Untitled introduction, pp. 20-1

Pas une minute je n'ai eu l'idée de faire objet d'étonnement. Ma préparation? Une sympathie pour autrui, pour inconnu, et une vie qui s'est écoulée dans les brutalités de l'existence, les méchancetés,, l'égoïsme, les lâchetés, les trivialités mais aussi tant de gentillesse, de bonté, de courage, d'élan, de sourire, de soleil, de ciel. Et un choix résultat: le goût, le besoin du vrai. Ronchamp? Contact avec un site, situation dans un lieu, éloquence du lieu, parole adressée au lieu. Aux quatre horizons. [20]

La Chapelle? Un vase de silence, de douceur.

Un désir: oui! par le langage de l'architecture atteindre aux sentiments ici évoqués.

Oui, de l'architecture seule. Car l'architecture est la synthèse des arts majeurs. L'architecture est forme, volumes, couleur, acoustique, musique.

Trois temps à cette aventure:

1° S'intégrer dans le site;

2° Naissance «spontanée» (après incubation) de la totalité de l'ouvrage, en une fois, d'un coup;

3° La lente exécution des dessins, du dessein, des plans et de la construction même;

et

4° L'ouvrage achevé, la vie est impliquée dans l'oeuvre, totalement engagée dans une synthèse des sentiments et des moyens matériels de réalisation.

Il me reste encore une idée pour parachever Ronchamp: c'est que la musique viennoise (sans auditeur, s'il le fallait même), la musique automatique émanant de la chapelle à des heures régulières et s'adressant, au dedans comme au dehors, à l'auditeur inconnu éventuel. LE CORBUSIER [21]

Untitled, pp. 22-3

Une colline...

Une butte de grès. C'est le dernier contrefort des Vosges. Le Site, c'est à l'Ouest les plateaux et les plaines ondulées de la Haute Saône, à l'Est les crêtes arrondies de la chaîne des Vosges, vers le Sud les plis du Jura et les Pics des Alpes. Le paysage est calme, les horizons larges. Un site profondément humain dans la lumière bleutée des forêts.

Colline qu'on appelle un «haut lieu». Autrefois s'y élevèrent des temples païens, puis des chapelles chrétiennes, chapelles de pèlerinage qui furent dédiées à Notre-Dame-du-Haut et, où vinrent en foule chevaliers, croisés, moines, artisans et manants. Ainsi pendant des siècles. C'est la guerre qui abolit la dernière chapelle.

Le Corbusier accepta d'entreprendre cette construction qui est une chapelle de pèlerinage que fréquentent, deux fois par an, douze mille pèlerins montant la colline et se rassemblant sur la faible surface aplatie du sommet de la colline. C'est un lieu de prières.

Les recherches plastiques de Le Corbusier l'avaient conduit à la perception d'une «intervention acoustique dans le domaine des formes». Une mathématique, une physique implacables [sic] doivent animer les formes offertes à l'oeil; leur concordance, leur récurrence, leur interdépendance, et l'esprit de corps ou de famille qui les unit, conduisent à l'expression architecturale, phénomène, dit-il, aussi souple, aussi subtil, aussi exact, aussi implacable que celui de l'acoustique. [22]

On commença donc par une acoustique paysagiste, prenant les quatre horizons à témoin, qui sont: la plaine de la Saône et, à l'opposé, les Ballons d'Alsace et, sur les côtés, deux vallons, On créa des formes pour répondre à ces horizons, pour les accueillir. A l'intérieur on imagina une symphonie d'ombre, de lumière et de clair-obscur, matérialisée par un rude épiderme de «gunnite» entièrement couverte de lait de chaux blanche.

La nature des formes était une réponse à une psycho-physiologie de la sensation, Comme d'autre part la colline de Ronchamp est privée d'accès routier, le problème des matériaux était impératif. On imagina une coque mince de béton armée formant membranes et membrures combinées pour assurer la résistance de l'oeuvre,

Le problème constructif intervenait simultanément, bien entendu. Or, la construction en coque de béton de cette nature dans les formes prévues ici, nécessita de la part des entrepreneurs de la souplesse et de l'imagination.

Tout a été réalisé afin de demeurer dans des prix relativement très bas.

La construction a été conçue pour être réalisée au canon à ciment, fournissant une surface de ciment grenu, très dur mais rude; celle-ci s'est trouvée ensuite enduite de chaux blanche intérieurement comme extérieurement, sans aucun décor. Quelques verres de couleur occupent le fond des grandes alvéoles prévues dans le grand mur latéral. [23]

'Propos notés en 1945 par Le Corbusier', pp. 50-1

Prendre possession de l'espace est le geste premier des vivants, des hommes et des bêtes, des plantes et des nuages, manifestation fondamentale d'équilibre et de durée, La preuve première d'existence, c'est d'occuper l'espace.

La fleur, la plante, l'arbre, la montagne sont debout, vivant dans un milieu. S'ils attirent un jour l'attention par une attitude véritablement rassurante et souveraine, c'est qu'ils apparaissent détachés dans leur contenu mais provoquant des résonances tout autour. Nous nous arrêtons, sensibles à tant de liaison naturelle; et nous regardons, émus par tant de concordance orchestrant tant d'espace; et nous mesurons alors que ce que nous regardons irradie.

L'architecture, la sculpture et la peinture sont spécifiquement dépendantes de l'espace, attachées à la nécessité de gérer l'espace, chacune par des moyens appropriés. Ce qui sera dit ici d'essentiel, c'est que la clef de l'émotion esthétique est une fonction spatiale. Action de l'oeuvre (architecture, sculpture ou peinture) sur l'alentour; des ondes, des cris ou clameurs (le Parthénon sur l'Acropole d'Athènes), des traits jaillissants comme par un rayonnement, comme actionnés par un explosif; le site proche ou lointain en est secoué, affecté, dominé ou caressé. Réaction du milieu: les murs de la pièce, ses dimensions; la place avec les poids divers de ses façades; les étendues ou les pentes du paysage et jusqu'aux horizons nus de la plaine ou ceux crispés des montagnes, toute l'ambiance vient peser sur ce lieu où est une oeuvre d'art, signe d'une volonté d'homme, lui impose ses profondeurs ou ses saillies, ses densités dures ou floues, ses violences ou ses douceurs. Un phénomène de concordance se présente exact comme une mathématique – véritable [50]

manifestation d'acoustique plastique; il sera permis, ainsi d'en appeler à l'un des ordres de phénomènes les plus subtils, porteur de joie (la musique) ou d'oppression (le tintamarre).

Sans la moindre prétention, je fais une déclaration relative à la «magnification» de l'espace que les artistes de ma génération ont abordée dans les élans si prodigieusement créateurs du cubisme, vers 1910. Ils ont parlé de quatrième dimension, avec plus ou moins d'intuition et de clairvoyance, peu importe. Une vie consacrée à l'art, et tout particulièrement à la recherche d'une harmonie, m'a permis, par la pratique des trois arts: architecture, sculpture et peinture, d'observer à mon tour le phénomène.

La quatrième dimension semble être le moment d'évasion illimitée provoquée par une consonance exceptionnellement juste des moyens plastiques mis en oeuvre et par eux déclenchée.

Ce n'est pas l'effet du thème choisi, mais c'est une victoire de proportionnement [sic] en toutes choses: physique de l'ouvrage comme aussi efficacité des intentions contrôlées ou non, saisies ou insaisissables, existantes toutefois et redevables à l'intuition ce miracle catalyseur des sagesse acquises, assimilées, voire oubliées. Car, dans une oeuvre aboutie et réussie, sont affouies des masses d'intentions, un véritable monde qui se révèle à qui de droit, ce qui veut dire: à qui le mérite.

Alors, une profondeur sans bornes s'ouvre, efface les murs, chasse les présences contingentes, accomplit le miracle de l'espace indicible... [51]

'Propos notés dans Modulor 2 par Le Corbusier', p. 52

Je suis en principe contre les «modules» lorsqu'ils coupent court à l'imagination, prétendant à l'absolu de l'objet et aboutissant à la pétrification de l'invention. Mais je crois à l'absolu d'un rapport (poétique). Et les rapports sont, par définition, variables, divers et innombrables. Mon esprit n'arrive pas à adopter les modules de l'afnor et de Vignole en matière de bâtiment. Je n'accepte pas les «canons». Je réclame la présence de l'harmonie entre les objets mis en cause.

La chapelle de Ronchamp [sic] démontrera peut-être, que l'architecture n'est pas affaire de colonnes mais affaire d'événements plastiques. Les événements plastiques ne se règlent pas sur des formules scolaires ou académiques, ils sont libres et innombrables. La chapelle de Ronchamp, chapelle de pèlerinages sur le dernier contrefort des Vosges, est un lieu de recueillement, de prière. Elle commande la plaine de la Saône à l'Ouest, et la chaîne des Vosges à l'Est et deux petites vallées au Sud et au Nord. Ces paysages des quatre horizons sont une présence, ce sont les hôtes. C'est à ces quatre horizons que la chapelle s'adresse par l'effet «d'un phénomène acoustique introduit dans le domaine des formes». C'est une intimité qui doit s'intégrer en chaque chose, capable de provoquer le rayonnement de l'espace indicible. Tout est blanc dedans et dehors, mais tout est vraiment libre, sans contrainte de programme autre qu'un rituel sommaire, anoblissant d'ailleurs les données du problème. Tout est cohérent. Le lyrisme, le phénomène poétique sont déclenchés par l'intervention désintéressée, par l'éclat des rapports, toutes choses étant appuyées sur la mathématique impeccable des combinaisons. C'était un plaisir, ici, de jouer des ressources du Modulor tout en surveillant le jeu du coin de l'oeil pour éviter les balourdises. Car, celles-ci vous guettent, vous tendent la main, vous tirent par le bas du veston, vous entraînent aux abîmes. [52]

AUTHORS	Total	(14)
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Note : Le Corbusier's texts are set within a Catholic context
See also thematic content, below

Ball, Abbé Joseph
Belot, Monseigneur
Bona, François
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Canet, Alfred
Cocagnac, Augustin-Marie, OP
Couturier, Marie-Alain, OP
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Ledeur, Chanoine Lucien

Maisonnier, André
Petit, Eugène-Claudius
Petit, Jean

DESIGN DOCUMENTS	4	
DESIGN DRAWINGS	2	FLC 07191 axonometric, p. 60 FLC 07173 S elevation, p. 63
MODELS	2	Plaster p. 62, Paper and wire, p. 62

DISCURSIVE CONSTRUCTION: NEW MATERIAL

TOTAL PREDICATIONS	(86)	
Agentless	(35)	41%
Anon./Ambiguous	(11)	13%
Displaced	(26)	30%
Explicit	(10)	12%
Misc.	(04)	05%

INTERTEXTUALITY

Title: Untitled, unattributed (Petit 1956: 22-3)
Source: 'La chapelle de Ronchamp 1950-1953' (Boesiger 1953: 88)

ADDITIONS

Note: Blue = additions/substitutions
Red = deletions

- Une colline... Une butte de grès. C'est le dernier contrefort des Vosges. (Petit 1956: 22)
- Le Site, c'est à l'Ouest les plateaux et les plaines ondulées de la Haute Saône, à l'Est les crêtes arrondies de la chaîne des Vosges, vers le Sud les plis du Jura et les Pics des Alpes. (Petit 1956: 22)
- Le paysage est calme, les horizons larges. (Petit 1956: 22)
- Un site profondément humain dans la lumière bleutée des forêts. (Petit 1956: 22)
- chapelles chrétiennes, chapelles de pèlerinage qui furent dédiées à Notre-Dame-du-Haut et où vinrent en foule chevaliers, croisés, moines, artisans et manants. (Petit 1956: 22)

Note: not LC's lexicon, probably added by Petit:

- les plaines ondulées
 - les crêtes arrondies
 - les plis du Jura
 - la lumière bleutée des forêts
 - celle-ci s'est trouvée ensuite enduite de chaux blanche
-

OMISSIONS

- Elle se construit sur le dernier contrefort des Vosges...
- dominant la plaine de la Saône...
- C'est la dernière guerre qui abolit la dernière chapelle.
- Il était agréable pour une fois, de s'absorber dans un problème désintéressé.
- La récompense étant l'effet des formes architecturales et l'esprit d'architecture de construire un vaisseau d'intime concentration et de méditation.
- Les impératifs du culte interviennent ici en peu de choses.
- Deux études furent faites. Deux maquettes en sont résultées. La première en plâtre et la seconde en papier et fil de fer. Toutes deux disent que la question posée a reçu une réponse.
- L'hiver 1952-53 sera consacré au projet d'exécution afin que les travaux commencent au printemps 1953. (Boesiger 1953: 88)

PUNCTUATION & SYNTAX, CORRECTIONS/ALTERATIONS

- cette construction, qui est: cette construction qui est
- que fréquentent deux fois par an: que fréquentent, deux fois par an
- l'acoustique. On commença: l'acoustique. // On commença
- l'imagination. Tout: l'imagination. // Tout

VERB TENSE, ALTERATIONS

- Le Corbusier a accepté; Le Corbusier accepta
- les formes prévues ici, nécessita; les formes prévues ici, nécessite
- Tout a été préparé pour demeurer; Tout a été réalisé afin de demeurer
- verres de couleur occuperont; verres de couleur occupent

Title: 'Propos notés en 1945 par Le Corbusier'
Source: L'Espace indicible

(Petit 1956: 50-1)
(LC 1946c: 9-10)

OMISSIONS

- **Illustration 1: NOUVEAU QUARTIER [SAINT GAUDENS]**
- **196 word introduction:** Ce texte doit être situé par le lecteur à sa juste place. [PP] L'an 1945 compte des millions de sinistrés sans abri, tendus désespérément vers [PP] l'espoir d'une transformation immédiate de leur situation. [PP] On parle dans les lignes qui vont suivre, d'une perfection absolue à atteindre dans l'occupation de l'espace; de villes neuves entièrement préconçues, **on s'élève à des problèmes de plastique désintéressée, recherches qui touchent plus au sacré qu'au frivole** mais qui, dans le malheur des temps, pourraient être amèrement taxées [PP] d'inactuelles, de désinvoltes, voire d'insolentes. Il ne faut pas se laisser dérouter par l'apparence. Ce texte s'adresse à ceux qui ont pour mission d'aboutir à une juste et efficace occupation de l'espace, seule capable de mettre en place les choses de la vie, et par conséquent, **de mettre la vie dans son seul milieu, vrai, celui où règne l'harmonie.** N'atteint l'harmonie que ce qui est infiniment précis, juste, sonnante et consonante; que ce qui ravit en fin de compte, à l'insu même de chacun, le fond de la sensibilité; que ce qui aiguise le tranchant [PP] de l'émotion. [PP]
- **Illustration 3: ALGER 1933 (PROJET B)**
- **subsequent line in source text:** J'ignore le miracle de la foi, mais je vis souvent celui de l'espace indicible, couronnement de l'émotion plastique.
- **+3600 word continuation**

PUNCTUATION & SYNTAX, CORRECTIONS/ALTERATIONS OF

- fonction spatiale. // Action de l'œuvre: fonction spatiale. Action de l'œuvre
- sur l'alentour; des ondes: sur l'alentour; des ondes
- ses dimensions, la place: ses dimensions; la place
- ses façades, les étendues: ses façades; les étendues
- se présente, exact: se présente exact

- toutes choses – physique de l'ouvrage: toutes choses: physique de l'ouvrage
- l'intuition, ce miracle: l'intuition ce miracle
- Car dans une œuvre: Car, dans une œuvre
- un véritable monde, qui se révèle: véritable monde qui se révèle
- le miracle de l'espace indicible.: le miracle de l'espace indicible...:

Title: 'Propos notés dans Modulor 2 par Le Corbusier' (Petit 1956: 52)
Source: 'Art libre' (LC 1955a: 260-8)

OMISSIONS

- La Chapelle de Ronchamp démontrera peut-être, lorsqu'elle sera achevée au printemps 1955,

PUNCTUATION & SYNTAX, CORRECTIONS/ALTERATIONS OF

- Je suis, en principe, contre: Je suis en principe contre
- les « *modules* »: « les modules »
- les « *modules* »: « les modules »
- les modules de l'*AFNOR*: les modules de l'*afnor*
- les objets mis en cause. //: les objets mis en cause.
- La Chapelle de Ronchamp: La chapelle de Ronchamp
- La Chapelle de Ronchamp: La chapelle de Ronchamp
- vallées // au sud et au nord.: vallées au Sud et au Nord
- vallées au sud et au nord.: vallées au Sud et au Nord
- horizons que la Chapelle s'adresse: horizons que la chapelle s'adresse
- un rituel sommaire, // anoblissant: un rituel sommaire, anoblissant
- les balourdises. // Car, celles-ci vous guettent: les balourdises. Car, celles-ci vous guettent

VERB TENSE, ALTERATION OF

- Tout sera blanc: Tout est blanc
- tout sera vraiment libre: tout est vraiment libre
- Tout sera cohérent: Tout est cohérent.

SEMANTICS

POLYSEMY

- **concordance:** *agreement; (Bible) scriptural agreement*
 - nous regardons, émus par tant de concordance orchestrant tant d'espace... (Petit 1956: 50)
 - Un phénomène de concordance se présente[,] exact comme une mathématique - véritable / manifestation d'acoustique plastique... (Petit 1956: 50)
- **coup:** *blow; bump; punch; trick; military takeover; d'un ---- 'in one go' (colloquial)*
 - Naissance « spontanée » (après incubation) de la totalité de l'ouvrage, en une fois, d'un coup... (Petit 1956: 21)

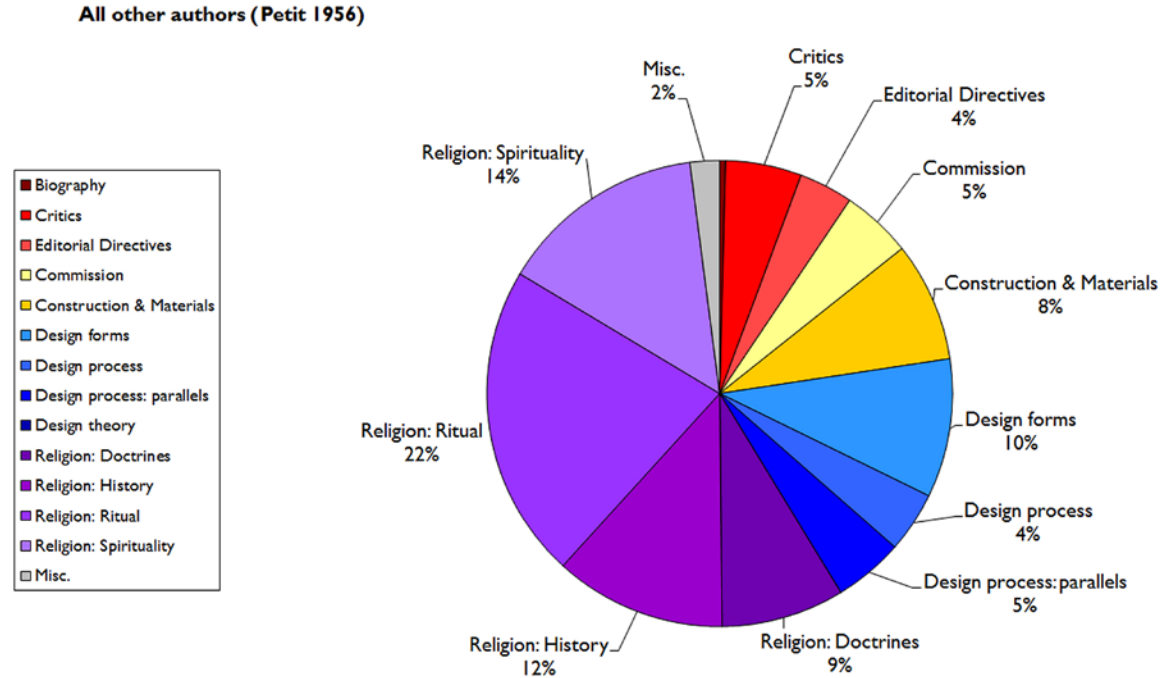
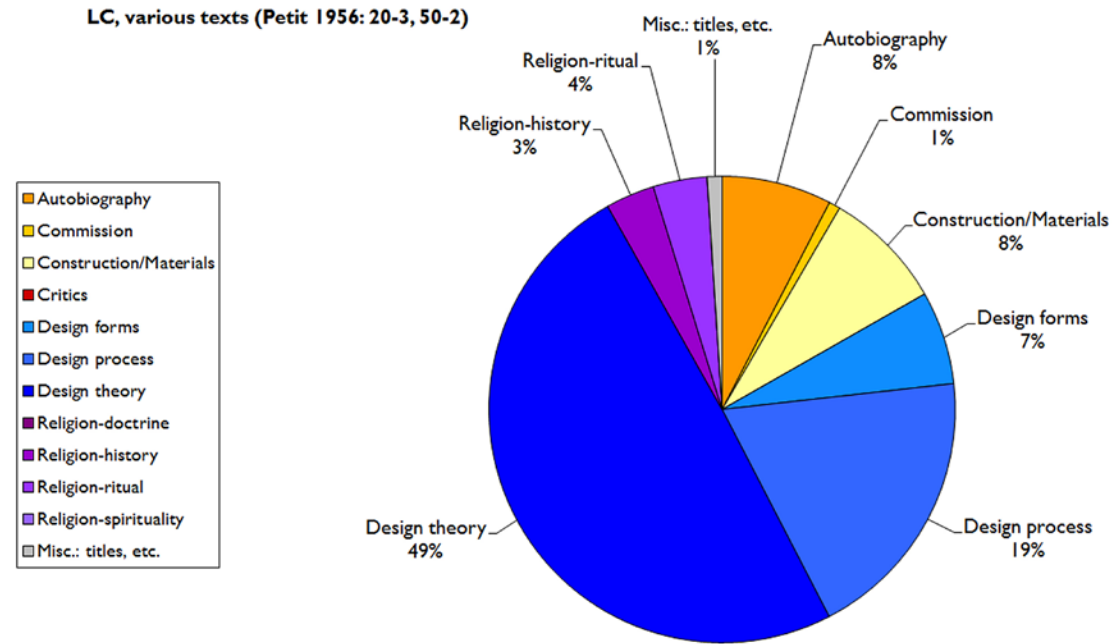
OTHER

- **spontanée:** *see LC definition of 'spontanée'*
 - Naissance « spontanée » (après incubation) de la totalité de l'ouvrage, en une fois, d'un coup... (Petit 1956: 21)
- **nature:** *subjectified semantics*
 - Nous nous arrêtons, sensibles à tant de liaison naturelle... (Petit 1956: 50)
- **espace:** *LC's 'espace' = metaphysical not extensional*
 - l'espace que les artistes de ma génération ont abordée dans les élans si prodigieusement créateurs du cubisme, vers 1910. (Petit 1956: 51)

- **acoustique/musique/orchestrer:** *unconventional use of terms*
 - Un phénomène de concordance se présente[,] exact comme une mathématique - véritable manifestation d'*acoustique* plastique; il sera permis, ainsi d'en appeler à l'un des ordres de phénomènes les plus subtils, porteur de joie (la musique) ou d'oppression (le tintamarre). (Petit 1956: 50)
 - nous regardons, émus par tant de concordance *orchestrant* tant d'espace (Petit 1956: 50)
 - **resonances:** *resonances; echoes; moments of agreement*
 - La fleur, la plante, l'arbre, la montagne... apparaissent détachés dans leur contenu mais provoquant des résonances tout autour. (Petit 1956: 50)
 - **vivant:** *animistic worldview*
 - Prendre possession de l'espace est le geste premier des vivants, des hommes et des bêtes, des plantes et des nuages... (Petit 1956: 50)
 - La fleur, la plante, l'arbre, *la montagne* sont debout, vivant dans un milieu. (Petit 1956: 50)
-

THEMATIC CONTENT

word count: LC texts 1653
All other authors 8298



BOESIGER 1957: CONTENT ANALYSIS

Title: La Chapelle de Ronchamp
Date: 1957
Author: Unattributed
Source: Boesiger, Willi. 1957. *Le Corbusier. Œuvre complète, Volume 6: 1952-1957.* 1st edition. Zurich: Editions Girsberger, pp. 16-41

FRENCH TEXT: 'LA CHAPELLE DE RONCHAMP'

L'essentiel de la construction consiste en une coque de béton de deux membranes séparées par un vide de 2,26 m constituant la toiture de l'édifice. Cette toiture imperméable et isotherme repose sur le sommet de potelets faisant partie d'un pan vertical de béton revêtu de «gunnite» ou armant les murs de vieille pierre des Vosges provenant de l'ancienne chapelle détruite par les bombardements. Ces murs sans contreforts épousent, en plan, des formes curvilignes destinées à donner de la stabilité à cette maçonnerie grossière. Un intervalle de quelques centimètres entre la coque de la toiture et cette enveloppe verticale des murs fournit une arrivée de lumière significative. Le sol de la Chapelle descend avec le sol même de la colline dans la direction de l'autel. Ce sol est fait d'un dallage de ciment coulé sur place entre voliges et dont le dessin est dicté par le Modulor. Certaines parties, en particulier celles sur lesquelles reposent les autels intérieur et extérieur, sont de belles pierres blanches de Bourgogne ainsi d'ailleurs que les autels eux-mêmes. Les tours sont construites de maçonnerie de pierre et coiffées de calottes de ciment. Les parties verticales de la Chapelle sont revêtues de mortier au canon à ciment blanchi à la chaux – intérieur et extérieur. La coque de béton de la toiture est laissée brute de décoffrage.

L'étanchéité est assurée par une application multicouche avec parement extérieur d'aluminium. À l'intérieur, les murs sont blancs; le plafond gris de béton décoffré; le sol de ciment et de pierre; les bancs en bois d'Afrique réalisés par Savina; le banc de communion en fonte de fer coulé par les Fonderies de Lure.

L'éclairage diurne est fourni par une distribution caractérisée des ouvertures fermées de glaces claires et parfois de verres de couleur. Il ne s'agit pas de vitraux; Le Corbusier estime que cette formule d'éclairage est rattachée trop définitivement à des notions anciennes d'architecture et très particulièrement à l'art roman et gothique. Il n'y a donc pas ici de vitraux, mais des vitrages au travers desquels on peut voir passer les nuages ou remuer les feuillages des arbres et même circuler les passants.

L'intérieur de l'une des trois chapelles est peint de rouge intense qu'un peu plus loin le mur conduisant à la sacristie est peint de violet. La porte principale des processions (9 m 2), pivotant en son milieu, est couverte sur chaque face de huit feuilles de tôle d'acier émaillé à 760 degrés de chaleur, de couleurs vives. C'est la première fois qu'on applique cette technique à l'architecture. La porte ouvrant sur la plate-forme des cérémonies de plein air est en béton coulé, la poignée étant en bronze. La Chapelle (comme d'ailleurs toutes les constructions de Le Corbusier) est tracée au Modulor.

On a pu ainsi réduire les dimensions à des chiffres parfois extravagants sans pour cela que le spectateur ressente la petitesse des dimensions de l'ouvrage. Le Corbusier admet que se manifeste ici l'événement plastique qu'il a qualifié «d'espace indicible». L'appréciation des dimensions s'efface devant insaisissable.

Sur l'une des photographies reproduites ici on peut voir la Chapelle sur ses murs de maçonnerie de pierres récupérées. Quantité de ces pierres demeuraient inemployées; on décida qu'au lieu de les transporter au loin on les amoncellerait en pyramide à l'extrémité de la pelouse. Ainsi fut fait. Un jour, on demanda à Le Corbusier d'élever un monument aux Français morts sur la colline à la Libération. La pyramide étant là, Le Corbusier demanda à Maisonnier, de son atelier, de donner le pigeon de métal martelé qu'il avait si joliment réalisé quelques années auparavant chez lui. Sur ce métal martelé on fit un moule pour fondre du bronze. On l'installa sur une hampe faite de deux cornières de fer pinçant une dalle de fonte de fer avec lettres à jour et lettres en relief. Ainsi naquit un monument bien situé, bien proportionné et n'ayant coûté (à peu près) que la peine de l'idée.

Dans la Chapelle reste à achever équipement de l'autel (tabernacle) et un emplacement définitif de la croix; celle-ci occupant actuellement l'axe du maître autel provoque un amoindrissement réciproque

des deux éléments en présence. La croix de bois sera placée sur le côté à droite; le tabernacle en émail recevra la croix rituelle. 16

FRENCH CAPTIONS:

La chapelle est située sur le dernier contrefort des Vosges. 16

les premiers croquis de le Corbusier. 17

Le chemin vers la chapelle, à droite la maison du pèlerin. 17

Vue de la façade est avec le chœur extérieur. 19

le plan d'ensemble. 20

La chapelle est orientée traditionnellement, l'autel à l'est. La nef intérieure (13 x 25 m) peut recevoir 200 personnes. La plus grande partie de l'assistance reste debout, quelques bancs sont prévus sur un côté de la nef. Trois petites chapelles nettement isolées de la nef permettent des offices simultanés. Ces trois chapelles ont un éclairage naturel très spécial; elles sont en effet munies d'une demie-coupole montant à 15 mètres et 22 mètres et prenant la lumière sur trois orientations. Ces éclairages tombant sur les autels, à la verticale sont très différents de l'éclairage de la nef qui est plus faible en intensité, plus précis, rasant les formes gauches. Le maître-autel est situé dans la nef (cette axe est soulignée dans le dallage par une simple bande de béton) et à l'endroit où le plafond est le plus haut; 10 mètres côté moyenne le point bas est à 4.78 m. 20

La première maquette en plâtre: la chapelle vue à vol d'oiseau. 21

la messe en plein air. 22

La façade sud et l'entrée principale. 23

Vue de la façade sud et est. La coque de béton de la toiture est laissée brute de décoffrage. 24

Perspective axonométrique vue du nord. 25

L'autel extérieur. 25

Un jour de pèlerinage. La toiture est en béton très foncé, alors que le crépis extérieur et intérieur de la chapelle est très raboteux et peint avec du lait de chaux. 26

La façade ouest avec la gargouille. 27

La façade ouest avec gargouille et bassin d'eau. 28

Plan et coupe du bassin d'eau pluviale. 29

Le bassin d'eau. 29

Détail de la façade ouest. Les murs intérieurs et extérieurs sont revêtus de mortier au canon à ciment blanchis à la chaux. 29

L'autel extérieur. 30

Plan d'élévation de la façade nord. 30

Les tours sont construites de maçonnerie de pierre et coiffées de calotte de ciment. L'intérieur est peint de l'une des trois tours est peint de rouge intense tandis que celle du côté de la sacristie est peint de violet. 31

La façade nord avec l'escalier conduisant à la sacristie. 31

Les vitrages sont peints par le Corbusier sur verre transparent. 32

Une cérémonie de mariage. 32

Vue intérieure de la chapelle. 33

Les bancs sont en béton brut et bois d'Afrique, réalisés par Savina. 34

Le sol de la chapelle descend avec le sol même de la colline dans la direction de l'autel. 35

L'éclairage diurne est fourni par une distribution caractérisée des ouvertures fermées de glaces claires et parfois de verres de couleurs. Il n'y a donc pas de vitraux ici, mais des vitrages au travers desquels on peut voir passer les nuages ou remuer les feuillages des arbres et même circuler les passants. 36

La nuit. Le rayonnement de l'espace indicible. 37

La façade sud en état de construction. 38

La façade sud. 38

Vue intérieure d'une partie de la façade est et sud en construction. 38

Plan d'élévation de la façade sud intérieur. 38

Coupe sur une partie de la façade sud. 38

Vue intérieure de la façade sud. 39.

La porte principale (vue intérieure). 40

Plan de la porte principale. 40

Coupe verticale sur la porte principale. Elle pivote en son milieu et est couverte sur chaque face de huit feuilles de tôle d'acier émaillé à 760 degrés de chaleur. C'est la première fois qu'on applique cette technique à architecture. 40

La porte principale. Vue extérieure. 41

AUTHORS

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	28 Eng. = 1 LC 27 unattributed	
	27 Gr. = 1 LC 26 unattributed	
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DESIGN DRAWINGS

- 1951-01-04. les premiers croquis de le Corbusier. 17
 - [unknown: resembles FLC E18-318]
 - [unknown: resembles FLC L3-2-10-001]
 - le plan d'ensemble. 20
 - [unknown: resembles FLC 07481, modified]
 - The chapel is oriented in the traditional manner with the altar to the east. 21
 - FLC 07167
 - Perspective axonométrique vue du nord. 25
 - FLC 07191
 - Plan et coupe du bassin d'eau pluviale. 29
 - FLC 07227
 - Plan d'élévation de la façade nord. 30
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 - Plan d'élévation de la façade sud intérieur. 38
 - FLC 07423
 - Coupe sur une partie de la façade sud. 38
 - FLC 07208
 - Plan de la porte principale; Coupe verticale sur la porte principale. 40
 - FLC 07225A
-

DISCURSIVE CONSTRUCTION

TOTAL PREDICATIONS	(60)	
Agentless	(38)	63%
Anon./Ambiguous	(9)	15%
Displaced	(6)	10%
Explicit	(7)	12%

INTERTEXTUALITY

Notes: [blue text](#): signifies intertextual correlation

- [Derived text](#): solid bullet entries (bibliographical reference)
 - [Sources texts](#): hollow bullet entries (bibliographical reference)

- Ces murs sans contreforts épousent, en plan, des **formes curvilignes destinées à donner de la stabilité** à cette maçonnerie grossière. (Boesiger 1957: 16)
 - **les formes courbes résistant** à la poussée des vents... (Boesiger & Stonorov 1929: 187)
- Le Corbusier admet que se manifeste ici l'**événement plastique** qu'il a qualifié « d'**espace indicible** ». L'appréciation des dimensions s'efface devant insaisissable. (Boesiger 1957: 16)
 - la prise de possession de l'espace façonne une harmonie indiscutable, soude l'entreprise humaine au site, aboutit à un **événement plastique** architectural et urbanistique de haute portée émotive. (LC 1946c: 11)
 - Alors une profondeur sans bornes s'ouvre, efface les murs, chasse les présences contingentes, accomplit le miracle de l'**espace indicible**. (LC 1946c: 10)
- La nuit. Le **rayonnement de l'espace indicible**. (Boesiger 1957: 37)
 - Action de l'œuvre ... des traits jaillissant comme par un **rayonnement**, comme actionnés par un explosif le site proche ou lointain en est secoué, affecté, dominé ou caressé. (LC 1946c: 9)
 - Alors une profondeur sans bornes s'ouvre, efface les murs, chasse les présences contingentes, accomplit le miracle **de l'espace indicible**. (LC 1946c: 10)

SEMANTICS

POLYSEMY

Corporeal

- **coiffées:** *covered with a hat; surmounted*
 - Les tours sont construites de maçonnerie de pierre et *coiffées* de calottes de ciment. 16
- **membrane:** *diaphragm; cell-wall*
 - deux *membranes* séparées par un vide de 2,26 m constituant la toiture de l'édifice. 16
- **naquit**
 - Ainsi *naquit* un monument bien situé, bien proportionné... 16

Nautical

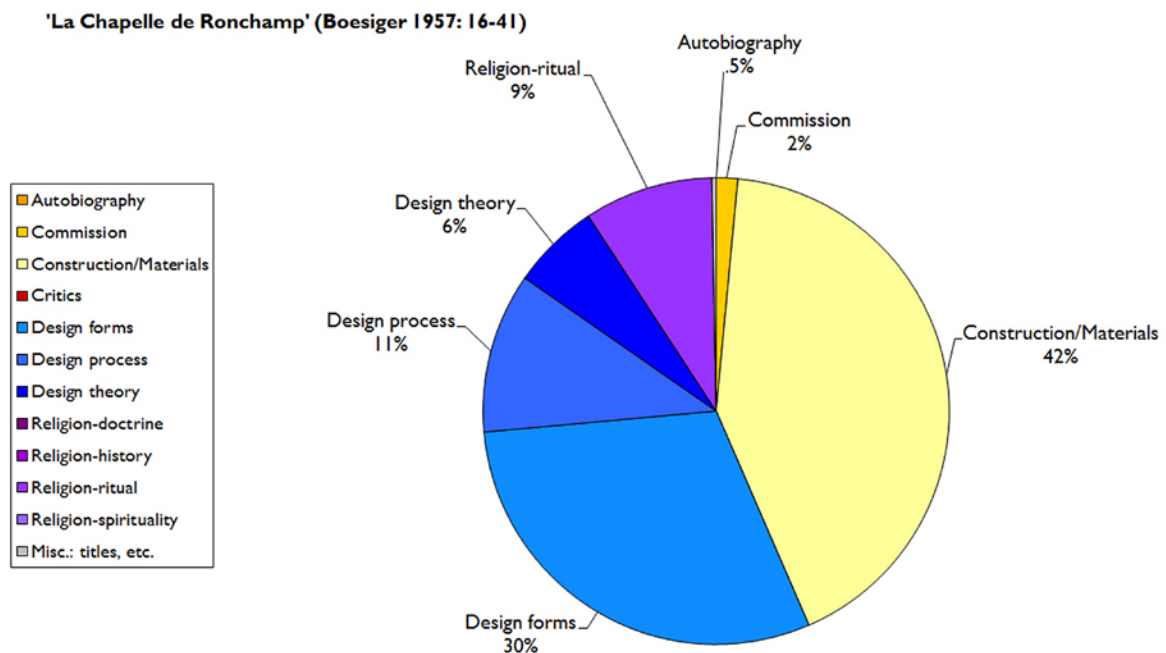
- **bancs:** *benches (seating); shoals, reefs (nautical)*
 - quelques *bancs* sont prévus sur un côté de la nef. 20
- **coque:** *shell; hull*
 - L'essentiel de la construction consiste en une *coque* de béton... 16
 - Un intervalle de quelques centimètres entre la *coque* de la toiture et cette enveloppe verticale des murs... 16
 - La *coque* de béton de la toiture... 16
 - La *coque* de béton de la toiture... 24
- **nef:** *central aisle of a Church; vessel, ship*
 - La *nef* intérieure (13 x 25 m) peut recevoir 200 personnes. 20
 - quelques bancs sont prévus sur un côté de la *nef*. 20
 - Trois petites chapelles nettement isolées de la *nef*... 20
 - l'éclairage de la *nef* qui est plus faible en intensité... 20
 - Le maître-autel est situé dans la *nef*... 20

Others

- **éclairage:** *lighting; point of view*
 - Ces trois chapelles ont un *éclairage* naturel très spécial...
 - très différents de *l'éclairage* de la nef qui est plus faible en intensité, plus précis, rasant les formes gauches. 20
- **épouser:** *follow; marry*
 - murs sans contreforts *épousent*, en plan, des formes curvilignes... 16
- **gauches:** *warped (forms); Left-wing (politics)*
 - *l'éclairage* de la nef qui est plus faible en intensité, plus précis, rasant les formes *gauches*. 20
- **lumière:** *light; knowledge*
 - une demie-coupole montant à 15 mètres et 22 mètres et prenant la *lumière* sur trois orientations. 20
- **offices simultanés:** *simultaneous services (liturgy); reference to Protestant/Catholic conflict concerning 18th-c. 'simultaneum reale' (Church history)*
 - Trois petites chapelles nettement isolées de la nef permettent des *offices simultanés*... 20
- **plastique:** *sculptural (adj.); blow up (vt 'plastiquer', 3rd-person)*
 - l'événement *plastique* qu'il a qualifié « d'espace indicible ». 16
- **rayonnement:** *influence; radiance (beauty); radiance (light); radiation (science)*
 - Le *rayonnement* de l'espace indicible. 37
- **tracer:** *draw, lay out (architecture); to trace the origins of (something)*
 - La Chapelle (comme d'ailleurs toutes les constructions de Le Corbusier) est *tracée* au Modulor. 16

THEMATIC CONTENT

word count:	main text	744
	captions	599
	total	1343



BOESIGER 1957: TRANSLATION ANALYSIS, FRENCH-ENGLISH

Title: La Chapelle de Ronchamp
Date: 1957
Author: Unattributed
Source: Boesiger, Willi. 1957. *Le Corbusier. Œuvre complète, Volume 6: 1952-1957*. 1st edition. Zurich: Editions Girsberger, pp. 16-41

ENGLISH TEXT: THE CHAPEL OF RONCHAMP

The main part of the structure consists of two concrete membranes separated by a space of 2.26 meters forming a shell which constitutes the roof of the building. This roof, both insulating and water-tight, rests on top of short struts which form part of a vertical surface of concrete covered with "gunnite" and which, in addition, brace the walls of old Vosges stone provided by the former chapel which was destroyed by the war-time bombings. These walls which are without buttresses follow, in plan, the curvilinear forms calculated to provide stability to this rough masonry. A space of several centimeters between the shell of the roof and the vertical envelope of the walls furnishes a significant entry for daylight. The floor of the Chapel follows the natural slope of the hill down towards the altar. This floor is constructed of a cement paving poured in place between battens, the design of which is dictated by the Modulor. Certain parts, in particular those upon which the interior and exterior altars rest, are of beautiful white stones from Bourgogne, as are the altars themselves. The towers are constructed of stone masonry and are capped by cement domes. The vertical elements of the Chapel are surfaced with mortar sprayed on with a cement gun and then white washed-both on the interior and exterior. The concrete shell of the roof is left rough, just as it comes from the formwork.

Watertightness is effected by a built-up roofing with an exterior cladding of aluminium. On the interior the walls are white; the ceiling gray, of unfinished concrete; the flooring of cement and stone; the benches of African wood created by Savina; the communion bench is of cast iron made by the Foundries of the Lure.

Daylighting is furnished by a system of openings covered with clear glass, and, in places, with colored glass. This has no connection to stained glass; Le Corbusier considers that this form of illumination is too closely bound to old architectural notions, particularly to Romanesque and Gothic art. Therefore here there is no stained glass, but glazing through which one can see the clouds, or the movements of the foliage and even passers-by.

The interior of one of the three chapels is painted in intense red while a little further on the wall leading to the sacristy is painted in violet. The main door for processions (9 m²) pivoted in its middle, is covered on each face with eight panels of sheet steel enamelled in vivid colors at 760° C. This is the first time that this technique has been applied in architecture. The door opening eastward into the platform for open-air ceremonies is of cast concrete, with a bronze handle. The Chapel (as are all of Le Corbusier's structures) is laid out by means of the Modulor. It has therefore been possible to reduce the whole to ridiculously small dimensions, in places, without making the spectator aware of them. Le Corbusier acknowledges the fact that here is manifested the plastic issue which he has termed "ineffable space". The appreciation of the dimensions steps aside before the imperceptible.

On one of the photographs reproduced here one can see the Chapel on its walls of masonry made from salvaged stones. A large number of these stones remained unused; it was decided that instead of carting them away, to pile them up in a pyramid at the edge of the grassed area. This was done so. One day Le Corbusier was asked to put up a monument to the Frenchmen who were killed on the hill at the time of the Liberation. As the pyramid was already there, Le Corbusier asked Maisonnier for the hammered metal dove which he had so beautifully made at the latter's workshop several years before. A mould for a bronze casting was made from this hammered metal. It was set up on a staff made of two angle-irons gripping a slab of cast iron inscribed with both cut-out and raised letters. Thus a monument came into being-well situated, well proportioned and costing no more than the effort of conceiving the idea.

In the Chapel the only remaining unfinished work is the installation of the altar (tabernacle) and the final emplacement of the cross; the latter, occupying a position on the axis of the high altar, produces a

mutual lessening in importance of these two opposing elements. The wooden cross will be placed somewhat off to the right; the enamelled tabernacle will receive the ritual cross. 18

captions

The chapel is oriented in the traditional manner with the altar to the east. The nave (13 m wide and 25 m long) can accommodate 200 people. Most of the congregation remains standing, while some benches are provided on one side of the nave. Three small chapels, completely separated from the nave, afford simultaneous services. These three chapels have a very special natural illumination; they are covered with half domes rising to heights of 15 and 22' meters, receiving light from three directions. The light falling vertically on the altars is very different from that of the nave (which is lower in intensity) and serves to accentuate these unorthodox forms. The main altar is situated in the nave (the axis of which is delineated in the flooring by a simple concrete band), where the ceiling is the highest, being 10 m high at the mid-point of the altar wall and only 4,78 m high at its lowest point. 21 (French 20)

A day of pilgrimage. The roof is of a very darkly colored concrete while the interior and exterior plastering of the chapel is very rough and coated with white wash. 26

The west facade with the gargoyle. 27

The north facade with the stairway leading to the sacristy. 31

Daylighting is furnished by a system of openings covered with clear glass, and in places, with colored glass. Therefore here there is no stained glass, but glazing through which one can see the clouds, or the movements of the foliage and even passers-by. 36

Cut through the main door. This door pivoted in its middle, is covered on each face with eight panels of sheet steel enamelled in vivid colors at 760° C. 41

ALTERATION

OMISSIONS

(28)

- **l'éclairage... plus précis**
 - l'éclairage de la nef qui est plus faible en intensité, plus précis... 20
 - The light... of the nave... is lower in intensity... 21
 - **omission: additional description; loss of polysemic expression**
- **La façade nord avec l'escalier conduisant à la sacristie**
 - Là les tours sont construites de maçonnerie de pierre et coiffées de calotte de ciment. L'intérieur de l'une des trois tours est peint de rouge intense tandis que celle du côté de la sacristie est peint [sic] de violet. 31
 - **omission: caption phrase in English (anomaly)**
- **C'est la première fois qu'on applique cette technique à architecture**
 - C'est la première fois qu'on applique cette technique à architecture. 40
 - **omission: repeated phrase in English**
- **untranslated captions**
 - La chapelle est située sur le dernier contrefort des Vosges. 16
 - les premiers croquis de le Corbusier. 17
 - Le chemin vers la chapelle, à droite la maison du pèlerin. 17
 - Vue de la façade est avec le chœur extérieur. 19
 - le plan d'ensemble. 20
 - La première maquette en plâtre: la chapelle vue à vol d'oiseau. 21
 - la messe en plein air. 22
 - La façade sud et l'entrée principale. 23
 - Vue de la façade sud et est. La coque de béton de la toiture est laissée brute de décoffrage. 24

- Perspective axonométrique vue du nord. 25
- L'autel extérieur. 25
- Les vitrages sont peints par le Corbusier sur verre transparent. 32
- Une cérémonie de mariage. 32
- Vue intérieure de la chapelle. 33
- Les bancs sont en béton brut et bois d'Afrique, réalisés par Savina. 34
- Le sol de la chapelle descend avec le sol même de la colline dans la direction de l'autel. 35
- La nuit. Le rayonnement de l'espace indicible. 37
- La façade sud en état de construction. 38
- La façade sud. 38
- Vue intérieure d'une partie de la façade est et sud en construction. 38
- Plan d'élévation de la façade sud intérieur. 38
- Coupe sur une partie de la façade sud. 38
- Vue intérieure de la façade sud. 39.
- La porte principale. Vue extérieure. 41

SEMANTICS

POLYSEMY, change or loss

(11)

- **coque; shell**
 - L'essentiel de la construction consiste en une *coque* de béton de deux membranes séparées par un vide de 2,26 m constituant la toiture de l'édifice. 16
 - The main part of the structure consists of two concrete membranes separated by a space of 2.26 meters forming a *shell* which constitutes the roof of the building. 18
 - **semantics: loss or change of polysemy; Fr. "coque" = shell (crustacean) hull (nautical)**
- **épousent; follow**
 - les murs de vieille pierre des Vosges... sans contreforts *épousent*, en plan, des formes curvilignes destinées à donner de la stabilité à cette maçonnerie grossière. 16
 - the walls of old Vosges stone... which are without buttresses *follow*, in plan, the curvilinear forms calculated to provide stability to this rough masonry. 18
 - **semantics: loss of polysemy; Fr. 'épouser' = follow (route) AND marry (persons)**
- **coiffées; capped**
 - Les tours sont construites de maçonnerie de pierre et *coiffées* de calottes de ciment. 16
 - The towers are constructed of stone masonry and are *capped* by cement domes. 18
 - **semantics: loss of polysemy; Fr. 'coiffées' = surmounted (object) AND covered with a hat (person)**
- **tracée: laid out by means of**
 - La Chapelle... est *tracée* au Modulor. 16
 - The Chapel... is *laid out by means of* the Modulor. 18
 - **semantics: loss of polysemy; Fr. 'tracer' = draw, lay out (architecture); to trace the origins of (something)**
- **plastique; plastic**
 - *l'événement plastique* qu'il a qualifié « d'espace indicible ». 16
 - the *plastic issue* which he has termed "ineffable space". 18
 - **semantics: loss of polysemy; Fr. 'plastique' = sculptural (adj.) AND blow up (vt 'plastiquer', 3rd-person)**

- **éclairage; illumination**
 - Ces trois chapelles ont un *éclairage* naturel très spécial... 20
 - These three chapels have a very special natural *illumination*... 21
 - **semantics: subtle change in polysemy; Fr. 'éclairage' = lighting (architecture) AND point of view (knowledge)**

- **lumière: light**
 - une demie-coupole montant à 15 mètres et 22 mètres et prenant *la lumière* sur trois orientations. 20
 - half domes rising to heights of 15 and 22' meters, receiving *light* from three directions... 21
 - **semantics: loss of polysemy; Fr. 'lumiere' = light (architecture) AND knowledge (concepts)**

- **éclairages; light**
 - Ces *éclairages* tombant sur les autels, à la verticale sont très différents de l'éclairage de la nef qui est plus faible en intensité... 20
 - The *light* falling vertically on the altars is very different from that of the nave (which is lower in intensity)... 21
 - **semantics: subtle change in polysemy; Fr. 'éclairage' = lighting (architecture) AND point of view (knowledge)**

- **raser; accentuate**
 - l'éclairage de la nef qui est plus faible en intensité, plus précis, *rasant* les formes gauches. 20
 - The light... which... serves to *accentuate* these unorthodox forms. 21
 - **semantics: loss of polysemy; Fr. 'raser' = to graze (object) AND to shave (face)**

- **gauches: unorthodox**
 - l'éclairage de la nef qui est plus faible en intensité, plus précis, *rasant* les formes *gauches*. 20
 - The light... which... serves to accentuate these *unorthodox* forms. 21
 - **semantics: change polysemy; Fr. 'gauches' = warped (forms); Left-wing (politics)**

- **L'éclairage diurne; Daylighting**
 - *L'éclairage diurne* est fourni par une distribution caractérisée des ouvertures... 36
 - *Daylighting* is furnished by a system of openings... 36
 - **semantics: loss of polysemy; Fr. 'L'éclairage diurne' = daylighting AND day-time knowledge**

LC 1957: CONTENT ANALYSIS

Title: *Les carnets de la recherche patiente 2: Ronchamp*
Date: 1957, 4th quarter
Author: Le Corbusier
Source: LC 1957a. *Les carnets de la recherche patiente 2: Ronchamp*.
Stuttgart: Verlag Gerd Hatje

DESIGN DRAWINGS

- unknown, 10
 - signed 'L – C 55'; similar to Tonka, ed. 1987: 101, 1955-04-18
- 'la lune a une visage'. Chandighah: 22/4/56, 24
 - FLC K42-604 (1956-04-22)
- untitled [Modulor geometry] 26
 - based on Modulor 2, figure 10 (1955b: 44)
- untitled [plan] 89
 - FLC 07470
- untitled [plan] 89
 - FLC 07435
- untitled [elevations] 90
 - FLC 07433
- untitled [perspective sketch] 90
 - FLC E18-312
- '9 juin 1950' [perspective sketch] 90
 - FLC E18-313
- 'pour faire tenir debout les murs' ['Ubu' sketch] 90
 - similar to FLC E18-319
- '7 fermes plates' 92
 - FLC 04638
 - FLC 07165
 - FLC 07163
 - FLC 07338
- untitled [section] 95
 - FLC 07589 detail
- untitled [section] 95
 - FLC 07587
- untitled [interior elevation] 96
 - FLC 07423
- untitled [plans and sections] 98
 - FLC 07209
- untitled [section] 98
 - similar to FLC 07623
- untitled [foundation plan] 99
 - FLC 07583
- untitled [section] 100
 - FLC 07187
- untitled [north towers: plan, section, elevations] 101
 - FLC 07206
- 'dedans: tête-à-tête avec soi-même' [plan] 102
 - FLC 07167
- 'dehors: 10000 pelerins [sic] devant l'autel' 103
 - unknown: resembles FLC 07481, modified
- untitled [axonometric] 106
 - FLC 07191
- 'Modulor partout...' [elevation] 118
 - FLC 07148

- 'des volumes courbes réglés par des génératrices rectilignes' [elevation] 119
 - FLC 07173
- 'le dedans est aussi une "ronde-bosse" (en creux) [interior sketch] 120
 - unknown: possibly drawn for this publication
- untitled [elevation] 120
 - FLC 07185
- 'S.V.P. ! encore plus bas!' 121
 - FLC 07323
- 'comme une onde croissante' 121
 - FLC 33266X
 - FLC 07323
- untitled [section] 122
 - FLC 07188
- untitled [Modulor man: 'modulor / coudée / pied / empan / palme'] 122
 - based on Modulor 2 figure 22 (LC 1955b: 59)
- untitled [south door] 124
 - unknown
- untitled [south door] 124
 - unknown
- untitled [south door] 125
 - FLC 07250b
- untitled [south door] 125
 - étude pour la porte de Ronchamp, extérieur (Tonka, Hubert, ed. 1987: 101)
- untitled [south door motifs: interior (watercolor)] 125
 - étude pour la porte de Ronchamp, intérieur (in IFA 1987: 100)
 - Sketchbook J35-245 'Apocalypse femme'
 - Sketchbook K40-515
- '113: non! / 86: non! / 70 cm' 129
 - unknown: drawn for this publication?
- untitled [elevation] 129
 - FLC 07185

design models

- images
 - 1950 Plaster N above 104
 - 1950 Plaster SE w/ painting 104
 - 1950 Plaster NE from below 104
 - 1953 large wood 'coque' 104
 - 1951 wire (FLC L3-2-1-001) 105
 - 1951 wire 105

DISCURSIVE CONSTRUCTION

TOTAL PREDICATIONS		(190)	
Agentless		(43)	27%
Anon./Ambiguous		(29)	15%
Displaced		(34)	18%
Explicit	Total	(84)	44%
	LC	(51)	
	Atelier	(3)	
	Construction	(17)	
	Dominicans	(10)	
	Misc	(3)	

INTERTEXTUALITY

Note: blue text: signifies intertextual correlation

- la simple croisée d'**angle droit** pris comme **signe** d'une existence... 6
 - On a / avec un charbon / tracé l'**angle droit** / le **signe**... LC 1955b: G
- **Je vous salue Marie**. 13
 - **Je vous salue Marie** (Archangel Gabriel, Gospel of Luke 1: 28)
- **bénie entre toutes les femmes**. 15
 - Elle s'écria d'une voix forte: Tu es **bénie entre les femmes**, et le fruit de ton sein est béni. (Luke 1: 42)
- Juin 1950, sur la colline, je m'occupe pendant trois heures à prendre connaissance du sol et des horizons. Afin de m'imbiber... Sur la colline j'avais soigneusement dessiné les **4 horizons**. 88-9
 - ...la maison des hommes maîtresse de sa forme s'installe dans la nature. Entière en soi faisant son affaire de tout sol ouverte aux **quatre horizons**... (1955b: B3)

SEMANTICS

POLYSEMY

Corporeal

(8)

- **corps**: *body* (anatomy); *form* (object); *collectivity* (social)
 - Un seul *corps* de métier 3, 88
 - Mur enduit et pointe du *corps* stéréométrique de la façade ouest. 136
 - Modulor, le système de mesure créé par Le Corbusier en s'inspirant des proportions du *corps* humain. 136
- **naissance**: *birth* (person, animal); *commencement* (of something)
 - ces formes... leur authentique *naissance*... 27
- **naître**: *to be born* (person, animal); *to appear, to arise* (idea, sentiment)
 - Dans la tête, l'idée *naît-elle*... 89
- **sensible**: *sensitive* (person, act, organ); *difficult, problematical* (project); *sentient* (being)
 - cette oeuvre difficile, minutieuse, rude, forte dans les moyens mis en oeuvre, mais *sensible*, mais animée d'une mathématique totale créatrice de l'espace indicible. 25
- **tête**: *head* (person, animal); *anterior or superior portion* (object)
 - Dans la tête, l'idée *naît-elle*... 89
 - tête de l'axe qui ordonne l'action architecturale de l'édifice. 131

Nautical

(11)

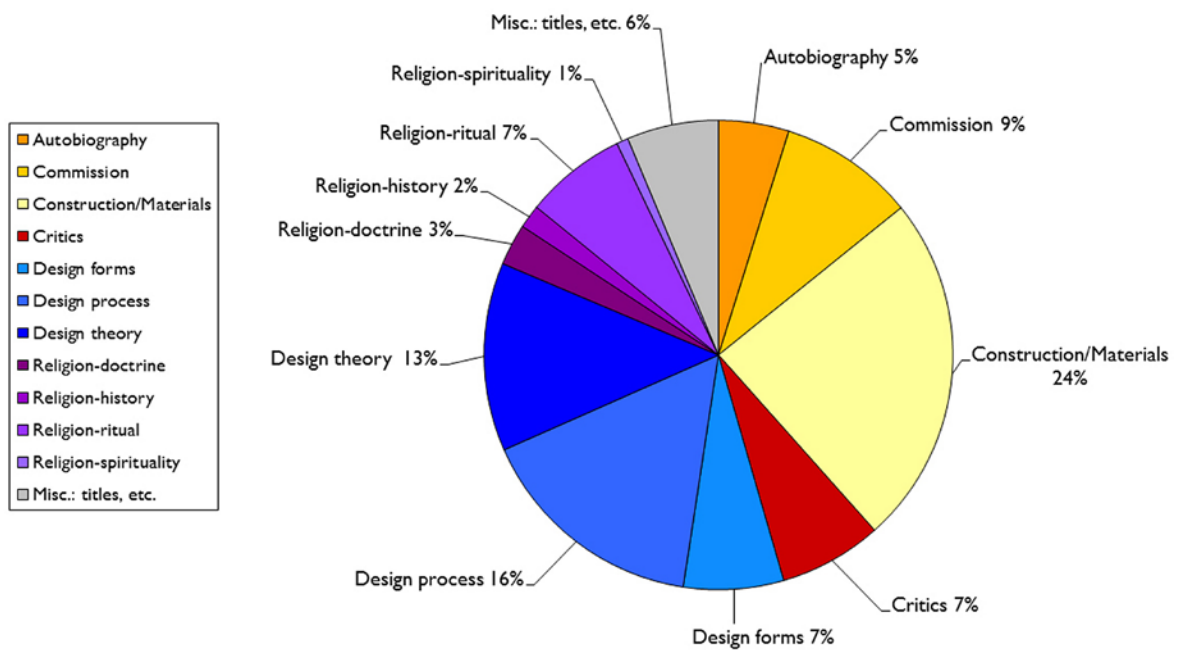
- **arche**: *arch* (architecture); *ark* (religion)
 - La croix - la croix vraie du supplice - est installée dans cette *arche*... 25
- **coque/coquille**: *shell* (crustacean); *hull* (nautical)
 - Une *coque* de crabe 3
 - UNE *COQUE* DE CRABE 89
 - Une *coque* de crabe ramassée à Long-Island... 89
 - La *coque* posera sur des murs de vieilles pierres de récupération... 90
 - la toiture en *coque* de 6 cm. 92
 - On a posé la *coquille* sur des murs bêtement épais mais utilement. 95

- La *coque* reposera de temps à autre sur le sommet de ces poteaux ... 95
- l'immense *coque* débordante de la toiture... 99
- La grande cuvette du toit est une *coque* en béton armé... 107
- la belle étanchéité de la coque de toiture par Soprema. 126

THEMATIC CONTENT

word count:	main text	3131
	captions	525
	total	3656

Les carnets de la recherche patiente 2: Ronchamp (LC 1957a)



LC 1957: TRANSLATION ANALYSIS, FR-ENG

Title: *The Chapel at Ronchamp*
Date: 1957 (?)
Author: Le Corbusier ; Trans. J. Cullen & A. J. Dickson
Source: LC [1957a]. 1957. *The Chapel at Ronchamp*. New York: Praeger

ALTERATION

OMISSION (8)

- **violence de la *mue* plastique; violence of the... plastic arts**
 - La critique moderne, suffoquée par la violence de la *mue* plastique et esthétique contemporaine... 7
 - Modern criticism silenced by the violence of the contemporary plastic arts and aesthetics... 7
 - **word omission in English: loss of biological metaphor**

 - **untranslated inscriptions**
 - mère de Dieu 13
 - je vous salue Marie 14
 - pleine de grâce 15
 - bénie entre toutes les femmes 15
 - la mer 19
 - bénie entre toute 115
 - **omission: English and German, no translations of hand-written LC text**

 - **UN CORPS DE MÉTIER; ONE CRAFT**
 - UN CORPS DE MÉTIER. 88
 - ONE CRAFT. 88
 - **omission: word 'corps' in English**
 - **semantics: loss of corporeal metaphor**
-

LEXICON

ADJECTIVE/QUALIFIERS: 'change of description' (9)

- **prière; sprayer**
 - En bâtissant cette chapelle, j'ai voulu créer un lieu de silence, de prière, de paix, de joie intérieure. 25
 - In building this chapel I wished to create a place of silence, of *sprayer*, of peace, of spiritual joy. 25
 - **change of description: typographical error (?)**

- **rude; primitive**
 - cette oeuvre difficile, minutieuse, *rude* ... 25
 - a project difficult, meticulous, *primitive* ... 25
 - **change of description**
 - **loss of polysemy: rude = rough AND unmannered**

- **loyal; faithful**
 - Excellence, je vous remets cette chapelle de béton *loyal*... 25
 - Excellency, I give you this chapel of dear, *faithful* concrete... 25
 - **change of description: loss of collocation of terms (vie de LC = 'de loyauté' [6]; chapelle = béton 'loyal' [25])**

- **consacrée; associated**
 - Ronchamp, village au pied d'une colline *consacrée* de tous temps aux cultes païens et chrétiens et aux pèlerinages [sic]. 88
 - Ronchamp, a village at the foot of a hill immemorially *associated* with pagan and christian worship and pilgrimages. 88
 - **change of description: weakening of religious connotations**

- **en tête de l'axe; dominating the axis**
 - la croix placé sur le tabernacle *en tête* de l'axe... 131
 - the cross placed on the tabernacle *dominating* the axis... 131
 - **word change: change of description**
 - **semantics: loss of corporeal polysemy**

- **à l'échelle humaine; full size**
 - debout et à *l'échelle humaine*, est le témoin: le bois de la crucifixion... 131
 - upright and *full size* is the witness, the Tree... 131
 - **word change: change of description**
 - **semantics: loss of polysemy**

NOUNS: 'change of subject'

(17)

- **arche; space**
 - La croix – la croix vraie du supplice – est installée dans cette *arche*... 25
 - The cross – the true cross of suffering – is raised up in this *space*... 25
 - **nominal change: loss of nautical polysemy**

- **êtres; vital abstractions**
 - ces formes... des *êtres* ... 27
 - shapes... those *vital abstractions* ... 27
 - **word change: nominal substitution**
 - **semantics: loss of biological metaphor**

- **êtres; qualities**
 - ces formes... des êtres qui sont des *êtres* essentiels... 27
 - shapes... those vital abstractions which are the essential *qualities*... 27
 - **word change: nominal substitution**
 - **semantics: loss of biological metaphor**

- **un seul corps de métier; one all-embracing craft**
 - au sommet d'un mont isolé, ici, *un seul corps de métier*... 88
 - at the top of a lonely hill, here we must have just *one all-embracing craft*... 88
 - **word change: nominal substitution**
 - **semantics: loss of polysemy (Fr. 'corps' = body; form; collectivity)**

- **la tête; the brain**
 - Dans *la tête*, l'idée naît-elle... 89
 - In *the brain* the idea is born... 89
 - **word change: nominal substitution**

 - **riposte; echo**
 - Ces dessins... déclenchèrent architecturalement la *riposte* acoustique ... 89
 - These drawings... unlocked, architecturally, the *echo*... 89
 - **word change: nominal substitution**
 - **semantics: loss of polysemy (Fr. 'riposte' = response; retort; counterattack)**

 - **acoustique visuelle; visual echo**
 - *acoustique* visuelle au domaine des formes... 89
 - the visual *echo* in the realm of shape. 89
 - **word change: nominal substitution**

 - **tête-à-tête; alone**
 - dedans: *tête-à-tête* avec soi-même... 103
 - Inside, *alone* with yourself. 103
 - **word change: nominal substitution**
 - **semantics: loss of metaphor & verbal pun**

 - **assiette de l'œuvre; internal harmony of the work**
 - Toute l'*assiette* de l'oeuvre est dans les tracés. 123
 - All the *internal harmony* of the work is in the drawings. 123
 - **word change: nominal substitution**
 - **semantics: loss of polysemy (Fr. 'assiette' = plate; AND equilibrium point, declination of a ship deck)**

 - **fondation; prime mover**
 - les tracés... cette *fondation*... de l'œuvre. 123
 - the drawings... this *prime mover*... of the project. 123
 - **word change: nominal substitution**

 - **tension valable; fundamental drama**
 - les cinq dessins... expriment... une pensée déterminant *une tension valable*. 130
 - The drawings embody... a thought inducing *a fundamental drama*. 130
 - **word change: nominal phrase substitution**

 - **le bois de la crucifixion; the Tree**
 - debout et à l'échelle humaine, est le témoin: *le bois de la crucifixion*... 131
 - upright and full size is the witness, *the Tree*... 131
 - **word change: nominal substitution**

 - **le bois de crucifixion; the Tree**
 - Hiérarchie: 1. le signe de la croix, dans l'axe, 2. le témoin (le bois de crucifixion)... 132
 - Hierarchy: 1. The sign of the cross on the axis. 2. The witness (the Tree)... 132
 - **word change: nominal substitution**
-

SEMANTICS

POLYSEMY, change or loss

(31)

- **pur; faultless**
 - Je ne suis pas *pur*... 7
 - I am not *faultless* or simple... 6
 - **semantics: loss of polysemy, religious connotations**
- **mûrissent; pondering and working out**
 - Quand mûrissant et construisant une œuvre... 7
 - When pondering and working out a project... 6
 - **verb change: loss of polysemy, biological metaphor**
- **suffoquée; silenced**
 - La critique moderne, *suffoquée* par la violence de la mue plastique et esthétique contemporaine... 7
 - Modern criticism *silenced* by the violence of the contemporary plastic arts and aesthetics... 7
 - **verb change; loss of polysemy, biological connotations**
- **rude; primitive**
 - cette oeuvre difficile, minutieuse, *rude* ... 25
 - a project difficult, meticulous, *primitive* ... 25
 - **change of description**
 - **loss of polysemy: rude = rough AND unmannered**
- **lumière; light**
 - La clef c'est *la lumière*... 27
 - The key is *light*... 27
 - **semantics: loss of polysemy (Fr. 'lumière' = light OR knowledge)**
- **lumière; light**
 - *la lumière* éclaire des formes... 27
 - *light* illuminates shapes... 27
 - **semantics: loss of polysemy (Fr. 'lumière' = light OR knowledge)**
- **naissance; origin**
 - ces formes ont une puissance émotive par... leur authentique *naissance*... 27
 - shapes have an emotional power... by... their authentic *origin*... 27
 - **semantics: loss of biological metaphor**
- **êtres; vital abstractions**
 - ces formes... des êtres ... 27
 - shapes... those *vital abstractions* ... 27
 - **semantics: loss of biological metaphor**
- **êtres; qualities**
 - ces formes... des êtres qui sont des êtres essentiels... 27
 - shapes... those vital abstractions which are the essential *qualities*... 27
 - **semantics: loss of biological metaphor**

- **Ombres propres; Precise shadows**
 - Ombres *propres*, – nettes ou fondues... 46
 - *Precise shadows*, clear cut or dissolving... 46
 - semantics: loss of polysemy (Fr. 'propre' = clean, neat; one's own)

- **Ombres portées; Projected shadows**
 - Ombres *portées*... 46
 - *Projected shadows*... 46
 - semantics: loss of polysemy (Fr. 'Ombres portées' = *projected shadows* AND *shadowy figure brought with*)

- **UN CORPS DE MÉTIER; ONE CRAFT**
 - UN CORPS DE MÉTIER. 88
 - ONE CRAFT. 88
 - omission: word 'corps' in English
 - semantics: loss of corporeal metaphor

- **un seul corps de métier; one all-embracing craft**
 - au sommet d'un mont isolé, ici, *un seul corps de métier*... 88
 - at the top of a lonely hill, here we must have just *one all-embracing craft*... 88
 - word change: nominal substitution
 - semantics: loss of polysemy (Fr. 'corps' = *body; form; collectivity*)

- **riposte; echo**
 - Ces dessins... déclenchèrent architecturalement la *riposte* acoustique ... 89
 - These drawings... unlocked, architecturally, the *echo*... 89
 - word change: nominal substitution
 - semantics: loss of polysemy (Fr. 'riposte' = *response; retort; counterattack*)

- **domaine des formes; realm of shape**
 - acoustique visuelle au domaine des *formes*... 89
 - the visual echo in the realm of *shape*. 89
 - word change: nominal substitution
 - semantics: loss of Idealist connotations

- **coque de crabe; shell of a crab**
 - Une *coque* de crabe ramassée à Long-Island [sic] près New York, en 1946... 90
 - The *shell* of a crab picked up on Long Island near New York in 1946... 90
 - semantics: loss of polysemy (Fr. 'coque' = *shell* AND *hull*)

- **tenir debout; keep up**
 - pour faire *tenir debout* des murs... 90
 - To *keep up* the walls... 90
 - semantics: loss of polysemy (Fr. 'tenir debout' = *to hold upright* AND *to stand*)

- **rais de lumière; crack of light**
 - un *rais de lumière* horizontal de dix centimètres d'épaisseur provoquera l'étonnement... 95
 - A horizontal *crack of light* 10 cm. wide will amaze. 95
 - semantics: loss of polysemy (Fr. lumière = *light* AND *knowledge*)

- **coque; shell**
 - l'immense *coque* débordante de la toiture... 95
 - the immense, spreading *shell* of the roof... 95
 - **semantics: loss of polysemy**

- **tête-à-tête; alone**
 - dedans: *tête-à-tête* avec soi-même... 103
 - Inside, *alone* with yourself. 103
 - **word change: nominal substitution**
 - **semantics: loss of metaphor & verbal pun**

- **coque; shell**
 - La grande cuvette du toit est une *coque* en béton armé... 107
 - The huge trough of the roof is a *shell* of reinforced concrete... 107
 - **semantics: loss of polysemy**

- **assiette de l'œuvre; internal harmony of the work**
 - Toute l'*assiette* de l'oeuvre est dans les tracés. 123
 - All the *internal harmony* of the work is in the drawings. 123
 - **word change: nominal substitution**
 - **semantics: loss of polysemy (Fr. 'assiette' = plate; AND equilibrium point, declination of a ship deck)**

- **coque de toiture; roof-shell**
 - la belle étanchéité de la *coque de toiture* par Soprema. 126
 - the extraordinary waterproofing of the *roof-shell* by Soprema. 126
 - **semantics: loss of polysemy**

- **parlantes; significant**
 - D'*inertes* (peut-être) les choses deviennent actives, agissantes, *parlantes*. 130
 - From being inert and neutral things they become active, stirring and *significant*. 130
 - **semantics: loss of corporeal polysemy**

- **en tête de l'axe; dominating the axis**
 - la croix placé sur le tabernacle *en tête* de l'axe... 131
 - the cross placed on the tabernacle *dominating* the axis... 131
 - **word change: change of description**
 - **semantics: loss of corporeal polysemy**

- **à l'échelle humaine; full size**
 - debout et à *l'échelle humaine*, est le témoin: le bois de la crucifixion... 131
 - upright and *full size* is the witness, the Tree... 131
 - **word change: change of description**
 - **semantics: loss of polysemy, esoteric religious meaning**

LC 1960: CONTENT ANALYSIS

Title: Untitled
Date: 1960
Author: Le Corbusier
Source: LC 1960b. *L'Atelier de la recherche patiente*.
Paris: Vincent et Fréal, pp. 166-9, 216, 242-3, 266-9

FRENCH TEXT

Ronchamp et le Couvent de la Tourette se sont élevés sur un programme nettement humain: la louange de la Vierge; la vie rude des Frères prêcheurs, pour le couvent de la Tourette. Échelle humaine du cœur et du corps, substance humaine animée. Aventure inattendue. Autrefois L- C avait dit: « Je veux réintroduire le temple au foyer, *faire du foyer le temple de la famille* » (le foyer bâti) ce qui signifiait l'intention de rendre sacrée la vie de la famille, de l'installer dans une splendeur de formes et d'efficacité. Ronchamp et la Tourette sont devenues comme Marseille (l'Unité d'Habitation) les étapes de pèlerinages [sic] partis de tous les horizons.

[140]

20 mai 50, la chapelle de Ronchamp, Cimetière, depuis train Paris Bale

abat son, chaire

4/1/51, 4/1/51

1950 -1955. Liberté: Ronchamp. Architecture totalement libre. Pas de programme autre que le service de la messe, – l'une des plus vieilles institutions humaines. Une personnalité respectable était toutefois présente, c'était le paysage, les quatre horizons, Ce sont eux qui ont commandé. Véritable phénomène d'acoustique visuelle. « Acoustique visuelle, phénomène introduit au domaine des formes »: les formes font du bruit et du silence: les unes parlent, les autres écoutent...

[166]

Une étrange unanimité a rassemblé l'opinion mondiale, y compris même, celle de Rome. Lieu de pèlerinage à des dates exactes, mais aussi, lieu de pèlerinage pour isolés venus des quatre horizons, venus en voiture. en train, en avion, On va à Ronchamp.

[168]

« Vitrage » de la Chapelle de Ronchamp: glace trempée et peinte.
La porte d'émail de la Chapelle de Ronchamp (exécutée par L-C), deux fois 9 m. ² = total 18 m. ².

[242]

Une porte de béton...

[266]

... ici, profil exact de Ronchamp,

[267]

Pas de « vitraux » !

[268]

DESIGN DRAWINGS

- 1 sketch, upper left: no caption. 166
 - FLC D17-273
 - 3 sketches, upper right: no captions. 166
 - FLC E18-318. Modified: ink blotches. 166
 - FLC E18-312. 166
 - FLC D17-274. 166
 - 4 sketches, bottom: no captions.
 - unknown. '4/1/51'; resembles FLC E18-320, FLC 07421. 166
 - unknown. '4/1/51'. resembles photo in Boesiger 1953: 75. 166
 - unknown. '4/1/51'; resembles FLC E18-320 & FLC E18-322. 166
 - unknown. '4/1/51'. resembles photo in Boesiger 1953: 76. 166-h
 - ... ici, profil exact de Ronchamp. 267
 - FLC 07323
-

DISCURSIVE CONSTRUCTION

TOTAL PREDICATIONS	(18)	
Agentless	(7)	39%
Anon./Ambiguous	(3)	17%
Displaced	(4)	22%
Explicit	(4)	22%

INTERTEXTUALITY

Note: blue text: signifie intertextual correlation

- Autrefois L-C avait dit: « Je veux réintroduire le temple au foyer, faire du foyer le **temple de la famille** »... 140
 - Mathey: - ...Corbu, allez là-bas et faites oeuvre valable. De l'Unité de Marseille, vous avez fait un **temple à la famille**: ici votre expérience agira sur un thème différent ... (1957a: 88)
 - Véritable **phénomène d'acoustique** visuelle. « Acoustique visuelle, phénomène **introduit au domaine des formes** »: les formes font du bruit et du silence: les unes parlent, les autres écoutent... 166
 - C'est à ces quatre horizons que la Chapelle s'adresse par effet « d'un **phénomène acoustique introduit dans le domaine des formes** ». (LC 1955b: 266)
-

SEMANTICS

POLYSEMY

Corporeal

(2)

- **échelle humaine:** *human scale* (dimension); '*ladder of the soul*' (esoteric)
 - *Échelle humaine* du cœur et du corps, substance humaine animée. 140
- **profil:** *profile* (face); *shape* (object)
 - *profil exact* de Ronchamp. 267

Others

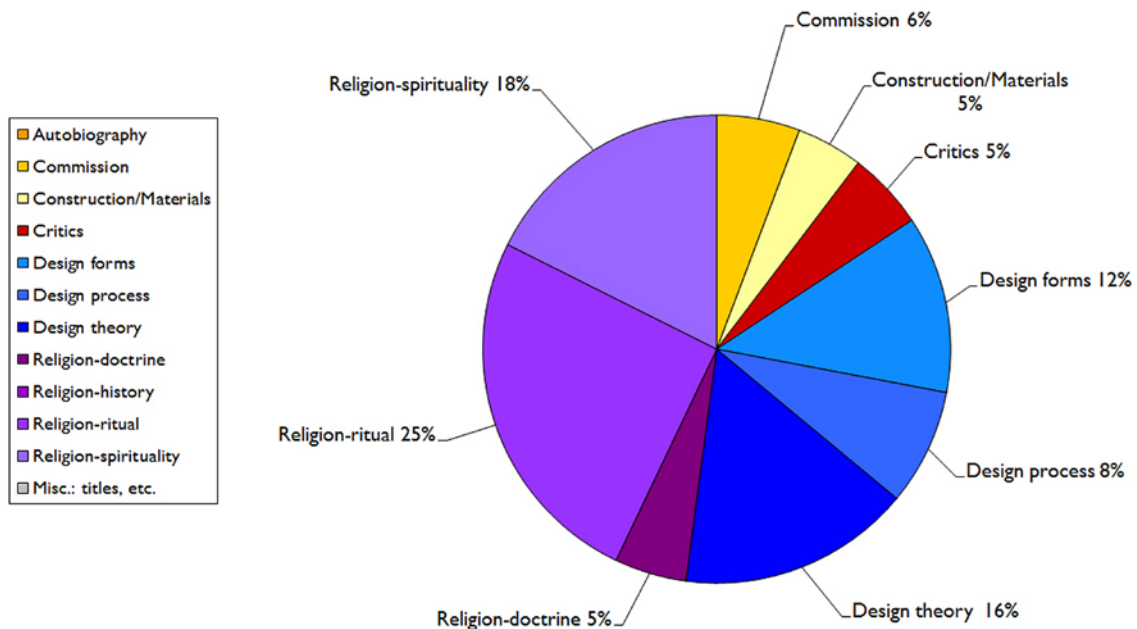
(2)

- **la Vierge:** *the Virgin Mary* (Catholicism); *Virgo* (astronomy)
 - Ronchamp... [est élevé] sur un programme nettement humain: la louange de la Vierge... 140
- **rude:** *rough* (texture); *rude* (manners)
 - la vie *rude* des Frères prêcheurs... 140

THEMATIC CONTENT

word count:	main text	110
	captions	171
	total	281

Untitled (LC 1960b: 166-9, 216, 242-3, 266-9)



LC 1960: TRANSLATION ANALYSIS, FR-ENG

Title: Untitled.
Date: 1960
Author: Le Corbusier; trans. J. Palmes
Source: LC [1960b]. 1980. *My Work*. London: Architectural Press, pp. 166-9, 216, 242-3, 266-9

ENGLISH TEXT:

Ronchamp and the Monastery of La Tourette have been built for deeply human reasons: the adoration of the Virgin for Ronchamp, and the spartan life of the preaching friars for La Tourette, The human scale of heart and body, living human clay - and an unexpected episode. Once in the past L-C had said, "I want to reintroduce the temple to the home and *make the home the temple of the family*", which meant the intention to render family life sacred, to give it a setting at once splendid and practical. Ronchamp and La Tourette have become like Marseilles (L'Unite d'Habitation) stages in a pilgrimage which started from many different points.

[140]

1950-1955. Freedom: Ronchamp. Completely uninhibited architecture. No stipulations except the celebration of the mass, one of the oldest of mankind's institutions. An important influence, however, was there - the countryside, and the horizon on all four sides. These decided the design, and the phenomenon of "visual acoustics" appeared. "Visual acoustics found formal expression". Forms make a noise and are silent; some speaking, others listening

[166]

A strange unanimity inspired world opinion, including even the Church of Rome. A place of mass pilgrimage on fixed dates, but also a place of pilgrimage for individuals from the four quarters of the globe, by car, by train, by aeroplane. They come to Ronchamp.

[168]

A concrete door

[266]

.... precise profile of Ronchamp.

[267]

No stained glass windows!

[268]

Ronchamp.

[270]

ALTERATION

LEXICON:

NOUNS: 'change of subject'

(6)

- **substance humaine; human clay**
 - L'Échelle humaine du cœur et du corps, *substance* humaine animée. 140
 - The human scale of heart and body, living human *clay*... 140
 - **word change: nominal substitution; introduction of metaphor**

 - **les horizons; many different points**
 - Ronchamp et la Tourette sont devenues comme Marseille (l'Unité d'Habitation) les étapes de pèlerinages [sic] partis de tous *les horizons*. 140
 - Ronchamp and La Tourette have become like Marseilles (l'Unité d'Habitation) stages in a pilgrimage which started from *many different points*. 140
 - **word change: nominal substitution; loss of key word**

 - **domaine des formes; formal expression**
 - « Acoustique visuelle, phénomène introduit au *domaine des formes* » ... 166
 - "visual acoustics" appeared. "Visual acoustics found *formal expression*". 166
 - **word change: nominal substitution**
 - **semantics: loss of mathematical terminology**

 - **quatre horizons; four quarters of the globe**
 - isolés venus des quatre *horizons*... 168
 - individuals from the four *quarters of the globe*... 168
 - **word change: nominal substitution; loss of key term**
-

SEMANTICS

POLYSEMY, change or loss

(1)

- **L'Échelle humaine; human scale**
 - L'Échelle humaine du cœur et du corps... 140
 - The human scale of heart and body... 140
 - **semantics: loss of polysemy**

PETIT 1961: CONTENT ANALYSIS

Title: *Le Livre de Ronchamp. Le Corbusier*
Date: 1961
Author: Le Corbusier & Jean Petit
Source: Petit, Jean. 1961a. *Le Livre de Ronchamp*. Paris: Les Cahiers Forces Vives

DESIGN DRAWINGS

- < p. 118 Le premier croquis de Le Corbusier.>
 - FLC E18-318
- < p. 122-123 Les premiers croquis de Le Corbusier. On remarque l'ancienne chapelle, relevée depuis le train Paris-Bâle.>
 - FLC D17-272 122-a
 - FLC D17-273 122-b
 - FLC E18-312 122-c
 - FLC E18-313 ['9 juin 1950'] 122-d
- 'les croquis'. < p... 123 ... Les premiers croquis de Le Corbusier.> 123
 - FLC 07421 123-a
 - unknown; resembles photo in OC 5 1953: 75. 123-b
 - unknown. resembles FLC E18-320 & FLC E18-322 123-c
 - unknown. resembles photo in OC 5 1953: 76. 123-d
 - FLC E18-312 123-e
 - FLC E18-318 tracing. 123-f
 - FLC D17-274 123-g
- 'Les plans et les coupes'. < p. 127 Perspective axonométrique vue du nord.>
 - FLC 07191
- < p. 128 Premier projet avec l'esplanade.> ['façade est']
 - FLC 07113
- < p. 129 Plan d'ensemble avec le premier projet d'aménagement de l'esplanade.> [siteplan]
 - FLC 07105
- < p. 130 Plan d'ensemble définitif.> [siteplan]
 - unknown: resembles FLC 07481, modified
- < p. 131 Plan intérieur de la chapelle.> [plan]
 - FLC 07167
- < p. 132 En haut de la page: Plan d'élévation de la façade sud.>
 - FLC 07173
- < p. 132 ... En bas de la page: Plan d'élévation de la façade nord-ouest.>
 - FLC 07185
- < p. 133 En haut de la page: Plan d'élévation de la façade est.>
 - FLC 07148
- < p. 133 ... En bas de la page: Coupe sur l'intérieur, vue de la façade sud.>
 - FLC 07187
- < p. 134 Coupe sur l'intérieur, vue de la façade sud.>
 - FLC 07188
- < p. 135 Coupe horizontale et verticale [sic] des chapelles à la hauteur des brise-soleil. Perspective des deux tours secondaires.>
 - FLC 07206
- < p. 138 Coupe sur l'intérieur de la façade sud.>
 - FLC 07423
- < p. 140 En haut de la page: Croquis de Le Corbusier indiquant la structure de la toiture.>
 - Follows Boesiger 1953: 80 (w/o plan)
- untitled. [4-winged bird] 167
 - unknown

models

- 'les maquettes.' < p. 124-125 La première maquette en plâtre qui comportait alors un campanile.>
 - (Boesiger 1953: 92) 12
 - (Boesiger 1953: 91) 12
 - (Boesiger 1953: 91) 125
 - (Boesiger 1953: 91) 125
- <p. 126 La seconde maquette en fil de fer. Surface réglée de la toiture et maquette vue des côtés sud et est.>
 - (Boesiger 1953: 96) 126
 - new material 126
- '7 fermes plates...'
 - (LC 1957a: 104)

DISCURSIVE CONSTRUCTION

TOTAL PREDICATIONS	(32)	
Agentless	(16)	50%
Anon./Ambiguous	(2)	06%
Displaced	(6)	19%
Explicit	(8)	25%

INTERTEXTUALITY

Note: [blue text](#): signifie intertextual correlation

- p. 77-80 Les jours de pèlerinages [sic], [la croix à taille humaine](#) de l'autel principal, [est portée à dos d'homme](#). C'est l'architecte qui a suggéré cette cérémonie « [Rompant le silence des murs, elle proclame la plus grande tragédie vécue sur une colline, en Orient, autrefois...](#) » Le Corbusier. 164
 - Cinq jours avant l'inauguration, [la croix à taille humaine est apportée](#). De ce moment Ronchamp cesse d'être une construction, un chantier. [Rompant le silence des murs, elle proclame la plus grande tragédie vécu \[sic\] sur une colline, en Orient, autrefois.](#) (LC 1957a: 128)
- [Comme tout devient étrange et se transpose se transporte haut et se réfléchit sur le plan d'allégresse.](#) [hand-written] 72-3
 - La galère vogue / les voix chantent à bord/ [Comme tout devient étrange / et se transpose / se transporte haut / et se réfléchit sur / le plan de l'allégresse.](#) [hand-written] (1955b: C5)
- [Apparaîtront je le sens / la splendeur du béton brut / et la grandeur qu'il y aura / eu à penser le mariage / des lignes / a peser les formes / A peser...](#) [hand-written] 146-7
 - Les cathédrales modernes / se construiront sur cet / alignement des poissons / des chevaux des amazones / la constance la droiture la / patience l'attente le désir / et la vigilance. / [Apparaîtront je le sens / la splendeur du béton brut / et la grandeur qu'il y aura / eu à penser le mariage / des lignes / à peser les formes / A peser...](#) [hand-written] (LC 1955b: E4)
- [pleine main j'ai reçu / pleine main je donne.](#) [hand-written] 157
 - [Pleine main j'ai reçu / Pleine main je donne.](#) [hand-written] (LC 1955b: G3)
- p. 24 [Les vitrages peints par Le Corbusier sur verre transparent.](#) 163

- Les vitrages sont peints par le Corbusier sur verre transparent. (Boesiger 1957: 32)
- p. 26-27 ... La maçonnerie est enduite au canon à ciment et blanchie. Le béton-armé de la toiture est resté brut. 163
 - Les tours sont construites de maçonnerie de pierre et coiffées de calottes de ciment. Les parties verticales de la Chapelle sont revêtues de mortier au canon à ciment blanchi à la chaux - intérieur et extérieur. La coque de béton de la toiture est laissée brute de décoffrage. (Boesiger 1957: 16)
- p. 28-29 Détails de la façade sud-avec les alvéoles. 163
 - La façade sud vue de l'intérieur avant la construction des alvéoles. (Boesiger 1955: 83)
- p. 32 ... l'autel et la chaire pour les cérémonies de plein air... 163
 - ... la plate-forme des cérémonies de plein air... (Boesiger 1957: 16)
- p. 36 Façade ouest: gargouille, citernes et éléments stéréométriques. 163
 - 66-70 Vue prise de l'ouest avec gargouille, citerne et éléments stéréométriques. (LC 1957a: 136)
- p. 40-41 La porte principale pivote en son milieu et est couverte sur chaque face de huit feuilles de tôle d'acier émaillé à 760 degrés de température, peintes par Le Corbusier. 163
 - La porte principale des processions (9 m 2), pivotant en son milieu, est couverte sur chaque face de huit feuilles de tôle d'acier émaillé à 760 degrés de chaleur, de couleurs vives. (Boesiger 1957: 16)
- p. 42-43 ... La statue vénérable de N .D. du Haut, relique des anciennes églises, est placée dans une baie de la façade est, fermée de deux verres, elle peut être vue de l'intérieur et de l'extérieur. 163
 - Une vierge, relique des anciennes églises est placée dans une baie de la façade est, fermée de deux verres; elle peut être vue de l'intérieur et de l'extérieur. (Boesiger 1953: 93)
- p. 50-51 ... Les ouvertures s'épanouissent largement en diffuseurs. Elles sont fermées de glaces claires et parfois colorées. 163
 - L'éclairage diurne est fourni par une distribution caractérisée des ouvertures fermées de glaces claires et parfois de verres de couleur. (Boesiger 1957: 36)
- les trois chapelles isolées de la nef peuvent permettre des offices simultanés.-Chacune d'elles est munie d'une demi coupole montant à 15 et 22 m- et prenant la lumière sur trois orientations; l'éclairage tombant à la verticale sur les autels est de ce fait très différent de l'éclairage de la nef, plus faible en intensité. 163-4
 - Trois petites chapelles nettement isolées de la nef permettent des offices simultanés. (Boesiger 1957: 20)
 - Ces trois chapelles ont un éclairage naturel très spécial; elles sont en effet munies d'une demie-coupole montant à 15 mètres et 22 mètres et prenant la lumière sur trois orientations. Ces éclairages tombant sur les autels, à la verticale sont très différents de l'éclairage de la nef qui est plus faible en intensité, plus précis, rasant les formes gauches. (Boesiger 1957: 20)
- p. 56 ... Poignée en bronze de la porte en béton, à la façade est, ouvrant sur la plate forme des cérémonies de plein air. 164

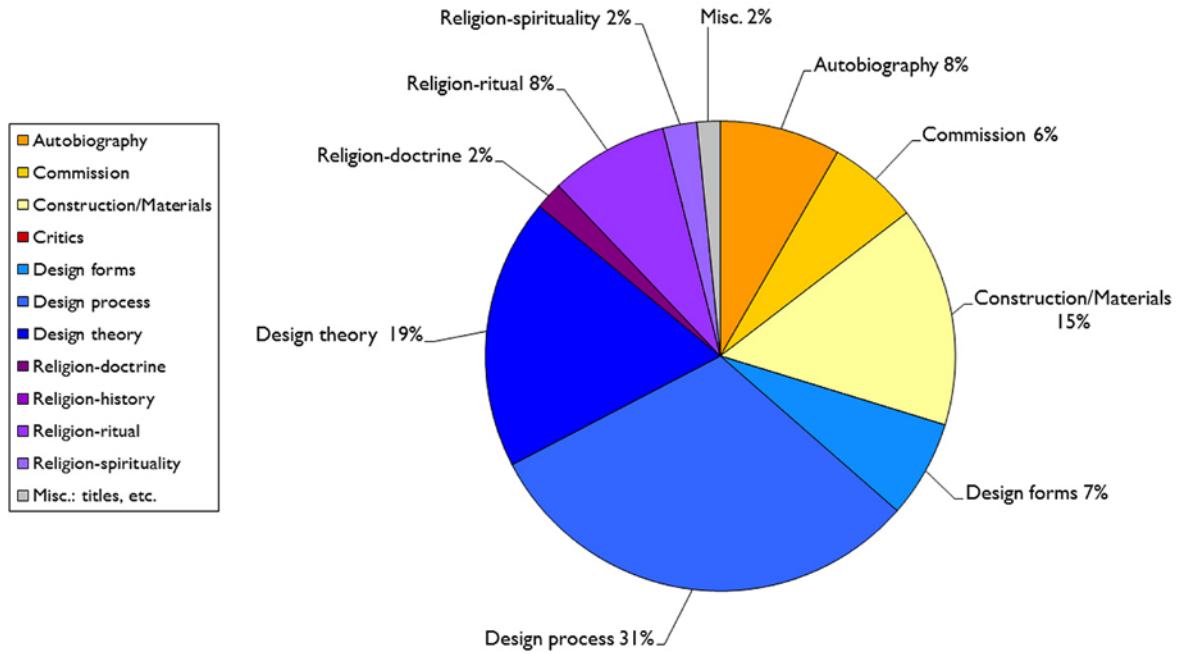
- La porte ouvrant sur la plate-forme des cérémonies de plein air est en béton coulé, la poignée étant en bronze. (Boesiger 1957: 16)
- p. 56 ... Les bancs en béton brut et bois d'Afrique, réalisés par Savina de Tréguier. 164
 - Les bancs sont en béton brut et bois d'Afrique, réalisés par Savina. (Boesiger 1957: 34)
 - Bois et béton brut (bancs de Savina de Tréguier)... (LC 1957a: 107)
- p. 114 Le mur de la façade sud avant la construction des alvéoles. 164
 - La façade sud vue de l'intérieur avant la construction des alvéoles. (Boesiger 1955: 83)
- p. 122-123 Les premiers croquis de Le Corbusier. 164
 - les premiers croquis de le Corbusier. (Boesiger 1957: 17)
 - Les premiers croquis. (Boesiger 1953: 90)
- p. 130-131 ... Quelques pans verticaux triangulaires de ciment armé de 16 cm d'épaisseur variant à la base de 3,70 / m à 1,40 / m, pour un sommet de 50 cm, semblent porter l'immense coque de la toiture. Le reste de la façade, baies, embrasures, ébrasures, n'est qu'une pellicule de 4 cm de béton / solide projeté au canon à ciment sur un grillage de tôle, déployée à mailles serrées. 165
 - Quelques pans verticaux triangulaires de ciment armé de 16 cm d'épaisseur, variant à la base de 3 m 70 à 1 m 40, pour un sommet de 50 cm semblent porter l'immense coque débordante de la toiture; le reste – ces baies, embrasures et ébrasures, qui défoncent la paroi intérieure et perforent à peine la façade, c'est une pellicule de 4 cm de solide béton projeté au « canon à ciment » sur un grillage de tôle déployée à mailles serrées. (LC 1957a: 99)
- p. 143 La toiture est protégée par une étanchéité multicouche à revêtement d'aluminium. 165
 - La grande cuvette du toit est une coque en béton armé protégé par une étanchéité multicouche à revêtement d'aluminium. (LC 1957a: 107)
- p. 148 L'abri des pèlerins [sic]. 165
 - l'abri pèlerin [sic]... (LC 1957a: 78)
- p. 154 Les alvéoles de la façade sud vues de l'intérieur. 165
 - La façade sud vue de l'intérieur avant la construction des alvéoles. (Boesiger 1955: 83)
- p. 155 Deux des vitrages peints par Le Corbusier. 165
 - Les vitrages sont peints par le Corbusier sur verre transparent. (Boesiger 1957: 32)
- p. 161 Vitrage peint par Le Corbusier. 165
 - Les vitrages sont peints par le Corbusier sur verre transparent. (Boesiger 1957: 32)
- p. 168 Détail des panneaux émaillés de la porte principale. 165
 - les seize grands panneaux de la porte des processions qui, émaillés de mes mains... (LC 1957a: 127)

THEMATIC CONTENT: NEW MATERIAL

word count: main text

686

Untitled (Petit 1961a: 6, 17-21, 24, 63, 72-3, 92, 107, 117, 141, 144, 146-7, 155, 157, 161)



PETIT 1965: CONTENT ANALYSIS

Title: *Textes et dessins pour Ronchamp. Le Corbusier.*
Date: 1965
Author: Le Corbusier & Jean Petit
Source: Petit, Jean. 1965. *Textes et dessins pour Ronchamp*. Paris: Éditions Forces Vives

FRENCH TEXT: NEW MATERIAL

Cette chapelle de Ronchamp née d'une longue recherche, au long de cinq années. N-D du Haut est un fruit des nombres.

[1]

Le Corbusier textes et dessins pour ronchamp.

[3]

Publier les croquis de naissance d'une oeuvre architecturale peut être intéressant. Lorsqu'une tâche m'est confiée, j'ai pour habitude de la mettre au-dedans de ma mémoire, c'est à dire de ne me permettre aucun croquis pendant des mois. La tête humaine est ainsi faite qu'elle possède une certaine indépendance: c'est une boîte dans laquelle on peut verser en vrac les éléments d'un problème. On laisse alors « flotter », « mijoter », « fermenter ». Puis un jour, une initiative spontanée de l'être intérieur, le déclic, se produit; on prend un crayon, un fusain, des crayons de couleur (la couleur est la clef de la démarche) et on accouche sur le papier: l'idée sort, – l'enfant sort il est venu au monde, il est né. LE CORBUSIER

[5]

Croquis de Le Corbusier des ruines de l'ancienne chapelle.

La « Canope » de la Ville Hadrien, dessin de Le Corbusier 1910. 'ici la lumière solaire, le rocher, le dehors. Villa Adriana, Tivoli, octobre 1910. L – C. La lumière solaire est au fond de la caverne. Un trou de mystère.'

[24]

Concernant les cloches, il y a à prendre, dès le départ une décision de principe. Aujourd'hui l'électronique est devenue d'usage pratique. On installa des deux cloches, c'est entendu, en bonne place. Vos indications sont très valables. Mais dans le socle pourront s'installer les dispositions électroniques. Nous réservons, en tout cas, ce socle vide pour cela. Je vais étudier cela avec la maison Philips qui a mis sur pied, en 1958, l'équipement du Pavillon Philips, à l'Exposition internationale de Bruxelles, où intervenait le Poème Électronique de L. C. avec musique d'Edgard Varèse (compositeur français habitant New York).

Notre devoir impératif est de faire de Ronchamp, une voix, non pas d'un artiste valable ou pas valable, mais une voix illimitée venant des siècles les plus lointains et arrivant aux heures les plus modernes aujourd'hui. Un choix sera fait, raccordé immédiatement à l'émetteur sonore. Ainsi la colline de Ronchamp parlera décentement à une heure matinale, à l'heure de midi et à l'heure du soir, et comme cela nous serons dans la tradition et Ronchamp sera ouvert à la musique et non pas fermé.

Ne prenons pas le mors aux dents! Je m'occupe de cette affaire et je compte sur votre enthousiaste participation ».

(19.6.1964, en réponse à René Bolle Reddat [sic])

[58]

Je vous salue Marie, pleine de grâce, le Seigneur est avec vous vous êtes bénis entre toutes les femmes et Jésus, le fruit de vos entrailles est béni. Sainte Marie, Mère de Dieu, priez pour nous, pauvres pécheurs, maintenant et à l'heure de notre mort. Ainsi soit-il. [handwritten]

[62]

Cet ouvrage a été réalisé par Jean Petit en 1965, quelques mois avant la disparition de Le Corbusier.

[64]

DESIGN DRAWINGS

- 'La canope de la villa d'Hadrien. Dessin de Le Corbusier 1910 [sic]'. 24
 - FLC 5-68 (1911-10-18) [redrawn]
 - FLC 5-69 (1911-10-18) [redrawn]
 - FLC 5-71 (1911-10-18) [redrawn]
 - untitled. 'marie' / 'une vase de silence...' 44 / 45
 - unknown
 - 'meme hierarchie...' / 'A = le témoin. B = la signe'. [altar & priest] 48 / 49
 - LC 1957a: 132 [b/w inverted]
-

DISCURSIVE CONSTRUCTION: NEW MATERIAL

TOTAL PREDICATIONS	(49)	
Agentless	(26)	53%
Anon./Ambiguous	(17)	33%
Displaced	(9)	18%
Explicit	(19)	39%
	LC (16)	
	Others (3)	

INTERTEXTUALITY

Notes: **blue text:** signifies intertextual correlation

Petit 1965 combines new material

- pp. 1, 5, 8, 24, 44-5, 58, 62
- w/ 6 prior textual sources (and many other images):
 - Boesiger 1953: 88, 97
 - LC 1955a: 265-8
 - LC 1955b: 266
 - Petit 1956: 21-2
 - LC 1957a: 7, 25, 27, 88-90, 92-5, 103, 118-21, 128, 131-5
 - LC, Firminy address, 21 May 1964 (Curtis 1978: 313)
- Lorsqu'une tâche m'est confiée, j'ai pour habitude de la mettre au-dedans de ma mémoire, c'est-à-dire de ne me permettre aucun croquis pendant des mois. La tête humaine est ainsi faite qu'elle possède une certaine indépendance: c'est une boîte dans laquelle on peut verser en vrac les éléments d'un problème. On laisse alors « flotter », « mijoter », « fermenter ». **Puis un jour, une initiative spontanée de l'être intérieur, le dé clic, se produit;** on prend un crayon, un fusain, des crayons de couleur (la couleur est la clef de la démarche) et on accouche sur le papier: l'idée sort, – **l'enfant sort il est venu au monde, il est né.** (Petit 1965: 5)
 - "...**One day out of a spontaneous initiative of the inner being... the idea comes forth – the child comes, it has come into the world, is born...** (LC on Firminy, Paris, 21 May 1964, cited in Curtis 1978: 313)
- **Que Ronchamp me soit témoin: cinq années de travail avec Maisonnier et Bona et ses ouvriers et les ingénieurs tous isolés sur la colline....** [handwritten] (Petit 1965: 7)
 - **Que Ronchamp me soit témoin: cinq années de travail avec Maisonnier et Bona et ses ouvriers, et les ingénieurs, tous isolés sur la colline...**
LC 1957a: 7
- « **Acoustique visuelle, phénomène introduit au domaine des formes** » (Petit 1965: 8)

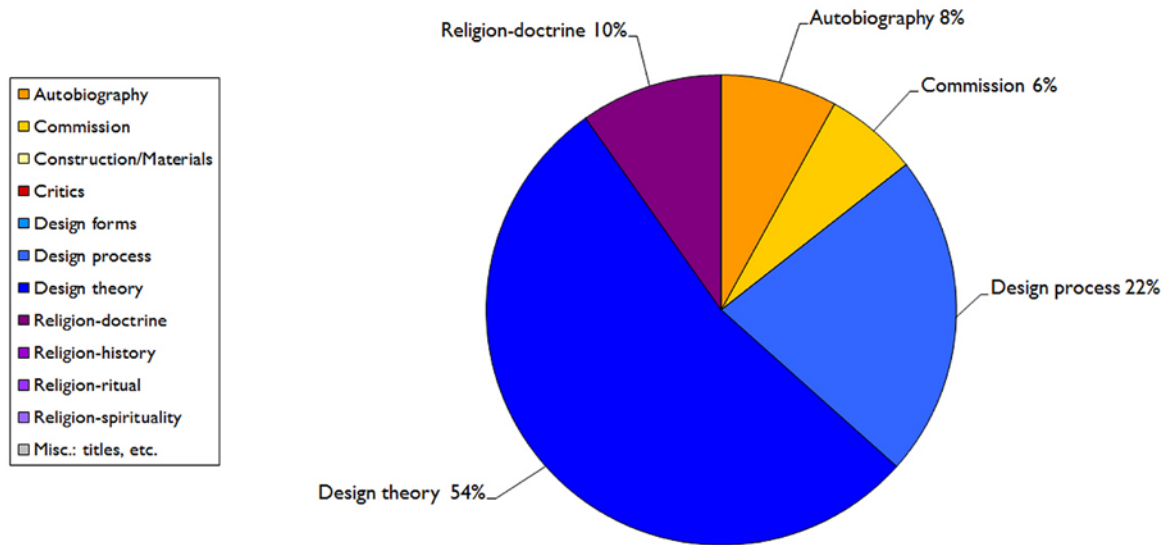
- « intervention [acoustique](#) dans le [domaine des formes](#) »
Boesiger 1953: 88
 - « [phénomène / acoustique](#) introduit dans le [domaine des formes](#) »
LC 1955b: 266
 - « intervention [acoustique](#) dans le [domaine des formes](#) »
Petit 1956: 22
 - [acoustique visuelle au domaine des formes...](#) LC 1957a: 89
 - 1965: 9
 - LC 1957a: 88
 - 1965: 20
 - LC 1957a: 89-90, 95
 - 1965: 23
 - LC 1957a: 92
 - 1965: 27 (verbs: present tense)
 - LC 1955a: 265-8
 - 1965: 28
 - Boesiger 1953: 97
 - 1965: 29
 - LC 1957a: 119
 - 1965: 31
 - LC 1957a: 118
 - 1965: 32
 - LC 1957a: 120
 - 1965: 34
 - LC 1957a: 103
 - 1965: 37
 - LC 1957a: 121
 - 1965: 39
 - LC 1957a: 27
 - 1965: 41
 - LC 1957a: 128
 - 1965: 43
 - LC 1957a: 25
 - 1965: 45 (paragraph order reversed)
 - Petit 1956: 21
 - 1965: 46-54 (b/w reversed this sentence)
 - LC 1957a: 131-5
 - 1965: 57-60 (page breaks)
 - LC 1957a: 7
-

THEMATIC CONTENT: NEW MATERIAL

word count: main text

500

Textes et dessins pour Ronchamp (Petit 1965)



Aux connaissances techniques il faut joindre aussi un sens du sacré bien rare hélas chez nos architectes contemporains qui [-----] aux églises dans la même absence de sacré que des bains douches. Il en est cependant qui se sont pire le problème en hommes de l'art [-----] chrétiens. Je pense à Pingusson, Lods, Froidvieux, Monnet, Vidal. J'avais parlé à Alfred Canet du maître Aug. Perret, l'auteur de l'église de verre du Raincy, « la Ste. Chapelle de béton arme », mais toute réflexion faite, vu son grand âge, il ne me semble pas capable de désir mener à terme une oeuvre semblable.

Avant que de ne rien entreprendre, je crois qu'il y aurait intérêt à ce que vous pourriez prendre contact ici même avec des artistes et [-----] avec des œuvres. Parmi les chantiers du Cardinal, il y a une vivante documentation dont il faut

possible d'obtenir une participation des Beaux-arts.
Je crois qu'il est préférable, en tous cas pour Rchp.
que vous vous mettez en rapports sans tarder avec
le maître verrier car les architectes vont être chargés
de commandes pour la reconstruction. Barillet,
Mlle. Huré, Hébert-Stevens sont certainement les
meilleurs. Je vous recommande ces derniers ; ils sont
à l'origine de la renaissance de l'art du vitrail en
France, et leur modestie n'a d'égale que leur talent.
Je les connais bien et les aime beaucoup. Parlez-en à
Lucien Ledeur. C'est par lui que je suis entre en
relations avec eux. ~~Ils n'ont jamais été changés~~
~~des~~ Ils doivent d'ailleurs aller bientôt [-----] I Spt
pour voir les vitraux de Morteau et ceux de
St. Jean de Besançon.

Voulez-vous me préparer un dossier
avec devis et demandes de rétribution pour que
je m'occupe de la question auprès des différents
organismes officiels intéressés. Je pars au retour

d'une tournée en Alsace, passer à Ronchamp
dans un mois environ. Je pense qu'il n'y
aura pas encore du temps perdu.

Ma femme se joint à moi par vous
prier de ne pas nous oublier avec nos enfants dans
vos prières et vous assurer de notre filial
attachement.

François Mathey

31, rue du Laos

Paris. XVe

Je vous communiquer quelques numéros de l'Art Sacré
qui vous permettront de comparer quelques réalisations
sympathiques. Elles ne sont pas toutes sans critiques mais
elles témoignent d'une réalité vivante et proche de nous
et c'est énorme.

Monsieur le Curé,

J'ai commencé l'étude de votre intéressant projet d'église et vais essayer, pour des raisons d'économie, d'utiliser les fondations et parties des murs en élévation. D'ici un mois. Je puisse pouvoir vous adresser une esquisse ou un avant-projet. Je dois aller faire un voyage d'une quinzaine de jours et me remettrai à votre travail dès me rentrée.

Veillez agréé, Monsieur le curé, l'expression de mes sentiments respectueux et dévoués.

J. C Moreux

Paris, 35, rue Matignon, le 6/XI/45

Les Éditions du Cerf
24, Boulevard de la Tour-Maubourg, Paris 7e Invalides 21-86 – Administration : Invalides
07-45

21 décembre 1945

Monsieur le Curé,

J'ai vu avant hier le projet d'église que M. Moreux a composé pour vous et je m'empresse de vous dire combien il permet d'espérer. Cela ne m'étonne pas, car M. Moreux est un de nos meilleurs architectes.

Ce n'est là, du reste, qu'un projet assez général et toutes sortes de mises au point seront nécessaires, d'après les indications que vous donnerez, précisant le programme pratique. Je resterai en contact étroit avec M. Moreux pour lui donner les indications liturgiques dont il pourra avoir besoin.

Daignez agréer, Monsieur le Curé, l'hommage de mon respectueux et religieux dévouement.

P. Pie Régamey O. P.
directeur de 'l'Art Sacré'
35 rues de la glacière, XIIIe

Besançon le 6 Février 1947

Monsieur le Curé,

La commission diocésaine d'art sacré réuni le 21 janvier [1947] sous la présidence de Mgr l'archevêque a examiné créer attentivement les deux projets que vous aviez envoyés sur la restauration de N.D. du Haut.

La commission a été unanime à rejeter le plan Reboux. Faut-il vous expliquer ? Nous sommes dans l'ordre de ces choses qui se sentent beaucoup plus qu'elles ne s'expriment en raisons claires. On peut essayer cependant de suggérer comment les impressions qui ont imposé à la commission son refus se justifient subjectivement : le projet par exemple ne se présente quand un pastiche d'une architecture gothique inauthentique - il multiplie les volumes sans signification - les décrochements dans le plan est en élévation - il comporte une variété incompréhensible de couvertures... Bref, on n'y sent pas cette unité, cette pureté, cette saine simplicité qui seule peuvent donner à une église de montagne et qui plus est une église pauvre. L'harmonieuse dignité et, autant que possible la beauté sans prétention qui lui conviennent.

Ce sont au contraire ces qualités de franchise et d'élégante netteté qui ont mérité au projet Moreaux l'agrément de la commission - sous la réserve d'ailleurs que l'architecte pousse beaucoup plus à fond l'étude de son projet - de son adaptation au cadre et aux exigences du culte de N. D. du Haut.

Monseigneur l'archevêque comprend l'intérêt qu'il y a de réduire les dimensions de l'édifice actuel et il vous donne son accord. Cela allégera très sensiblement le devis de la reconstruction et vous pourrez ainsi donner tout votre soin à l'ameublement et à la décoration intérieure, on n'y admettant (vitraux, statues, autels, peinture etc...) que des pièces de premier ordre.

L'idée d'aménager les abords de la chapelle paraît aussi séduisante - des gradins en hémicycles permettraient en effet à une foule nombreuse de suivre les offices dans l'ordre et dans le recueillement. La discipline des pèlerinages en serait grandement facilitée.

Voilà les réponses que j'avais à vous communiquer. La commission souhaite que la générosité des fidèles de N. D. du Haut, les concours empressés et de toutes nature de vos paroissiens vous permettent de mener à une fin rapide et heureuse vos projets à la gloire de Notre-Dame. Vous me permettrez d'y ajouter mes vœux personnels et de vous redire mon plus amical dévouement en N. S.

L. Ledeur
Secrétaire de la Commission d'Art Sacré

Paris, le 28 Août 1947

Monsieur Joseph SAVINA
Rue Saint-André
TREGUIER (C.-du-N.)

Mon Cher Savina,

1°) D'abord et inclu un chèque de Frs 6.532 avec excuse pour le retard.

2°) Déballé votre petite statue en bois polychromé. J'ai le sentiment que votre couleur est très aquarellée et ne supporte pas la lumière. De plus, le rouge des deux boules est un rouge qui me paraît terrible pour de la polychromie sculpturale.

Par contre, la partie sculpturale est très belle; elle dénote un grand talent de votre part, un sentiment de l'espace tout à fait épatant et une interprétation, à mon point de vue, très juste d'immense jeu des espaces. Ce genre de sculpture rentre dans ce que j'appelle de la plastique acoustique, c'est à dire de formes qui émettent et qui écoutent. Dans cette statue là il y a un peu de maigreur, mais à tout instant il y a une réponse à toutes les positions de la vue que peu de sculpteurs sont capables de faire.

Je pense que cette sorte de statue, même à très grande dimension et exécutée en ciment et mosaïque de couleur pourrait être tourmente et, le soir, recevoir un éclairage fixe qui donnerait un effet prodigieux. Mon Cher Savina il y a une manne à prospecter dans ce domaine.

3°) Vos deux photographies de modelage sur plâtre me paraissent intéressantes. La deuxième me paraît affreuse d'esprit et de forme, cela sent le foetus et le camp de concentration de Prusse Orientale. Je suis très étonné de vous voir cette tngente là.

Reprenons la plus grande, faite d'après une photographie de tableau. C'est très sympathique mais un peu caricatural. Je vous

...

Joins un ou deux croquis qui expriment l'idée que j'avais, dans lequel devait apparaître une tête plus grande et un bras plus perceptible, mais cette improvisation n'a rien de décisif. Je trouve l'ensemble très bien.

Concernant le deuxième, pourquoi avoir pris des fragments et non l'ensemble qui comportait des plans géométriques heureusement contrastent ?

4° Je pense (et vous me dites que vous le faites) que vous n'abandonnez pas les sculptures telles que vous avez fait les deux premières. Ce sont des assemblages de pierre et non des modèles en terre glaise.

Je poursuis un but architectural et je vois ces sculptures réalisées à des dimensions parfois très grande en ciment, recouvertes de mosaïque, de verre ou de pierre de couleur.

Bon courage et tenez-moi toujours au courant.

Amicalement à vous.

LE CORBUSIER

P.J. un chèque

Ronchamp le 27. 4. 48

Monseigneur,

Permettez-moi de revenir sur une question déjà tranchée par la Commission d'Art Sacre : la Restauration de la Chapelle de N. D. du Haut, sérieusement endommagée par les bombardements de septembre-octobre 1944.

Ne pouvant, par suite des circonstances, envisager une restauration immédiate et désirant par ailleurs profiter de l'occasion que nous était offerte pour réaliser quelque chose de mieux, si possible, nous avons provoqué des projets de divers architectes.

La Commission d'Art Sacre, qui avant à se prononcer, opta pour le projet de Mr. Moreux, intéressant à tous points de vue. Le Comité paroissial se ranger de suite à cette décision et les démarches commencèrent auprès des services de la Reconstruction pour obtenir les autorisations voulues.

Entre temps, la situation au lieu de se clarifier dans un sens encourageant, devient de plus en plus inquiétant pour les 'constructeurs' réduits à compter sur des aumônes et sur une vague indemnité de la Reconstruction, qui viendra ou ne sait quand, si jamais elle arrive.

19 mai 48

(21)
10

Bravo Savina ! La sculpture n° 4 est magnifique, fructification des précédentes.

- 1^a échelle excellente, bonne dimension
- 2^a Rotation ou pivotage sur section d'or offrant toutes les variétés d'aspect
- 3^a Excellente polychromie des bois naturels.
- 4^a taille forte et saine du bois.



C'est très beau, d'une richesse extraordinaire.

Je suis persuadé que vous en êtes étonné vous même.
Je suis sûr que nous sommes sur une piste héroïque de sculpture conduisant à la grande architecture.
Il faut continuer. Récemment j'ai fait un croquis pour un vaste monument de 20 à 30 mètres de haut en mosaïque de verre et sculpture.

Encore quelques statues et nous ferons la première exposition.

(En marge) : courage et persévérance çà va !

Çà va même mille fois mieux que nous n'aurions pu l'espérer.

Corbu

Je vais exécuter une peinture de 44 m²
inclus chèque de IIII.

I6 dec 48L

(25)
14

Mon cher Savina

J'ai bien eu votre lettre du 20 nov m'annonçant v. opération. j'espère que ça s'est bien passé. C'est peu de chose, j'ai été ainsi opéré en 1941 suite de privations alimentaires.

Désolé que vous ne puissiez suivre la sculpture, la grande en question. Car j'en augurais beaucoup de bien.

J'ai exécuté (en hâte féroce), 3 jours, subitement, 4 bons-hommes de bois, pour faire des creux dans le béton de Marseille. (Grandeur nature, à la glorification du modulator) Ce Marseille devient une chose splendide, tous ceux qui voient ce chantier en reviennent subjugués.

Je rumîne une pièce (bois et cuivre mince martelé dessus et cloué) pour l'usine de St Dié. Ça ne presse pas ! Un de nos garçons de l'atelier, un Grec, dont les parents vivent dans une île, plus (ou) moins constructeurs de bateaux, et qui est lui même sculpteur, m'a aidé à tailler mes 4 bonshommes. Un jour vous pourriez travailler en entente, autour de ce problème de sculpture architecturale.

Je pense que vous pouvez faire un excellent apprenti avec le gosse en question. (dont vous m'écrivez) les parents qui ne sont pas du même sang, occupent une place disgraciée dans mon estime. je ne vous dis qu'une chose : le mensonge et l'intrigue sont là, à l'état d'antillage permanent. Ceci n'est pas une calomnie, loin de là, car ces gens, ont une valeur d'activité remarquable, mais moi, je ne puis cohabiter. Je vous souhaite bonne chance. Vous en avez d'ailleurs, d'assurée, par les sentiers diaboliques. Je pense que dans le monde il y a des événements et des gens orientés différemment et marqués d'un sceau profond. Bref. j'en ai gros sur la patate à ce sujet et vous qui êtes un propre, bonne chance !

Amitiés à tous

Corbu.

Pour le tronc de frêne j'ai fait enquête à Marseille. Je crois bien que ce n'est pas encore parti ! ! !

J. C. Moreux
L'architecte en chef des Bâtiments Civils et Palais Nationaux, D. P. L. 6
56 boulevards du Montparnasse
Paris XIVe

À Monsieur le curé de Ronchamp,

Monsieur le Curé,

Je m'excuse de ne pas avoir répondu plutôt à votre lettre du 28/2/49, et cela pour un certain nombre de raisons que je vais vous exposer : après avoir dressé des avant-projets que vous connaissez, après avoir connu certaines critiques, puis rencontré des oppositions et tant d'indécisions, j'ai été, vous l'imaginez aisément, assez découragé. Et cela d'autant plus que mes démarches, auprès du représentant du MRU à Vesoul, avait été très bien accueillies et riches de promesses. J'ajoute, d'autre part, que si l'architecte est doublé d'un artiste, ce dernier ne peut travailler que dans un climat de confiance et de tranquillité relative. Ceci dit, et Monsieur le curé, pour vous être agréable, ainsi qu'à mes amis de Ronchamp, je viens vous faire une proposition, qui, peut-être, correspondra à vos désirs. J'ai trouvé, après bien des difficultés, un jeune et compétent décorateur qui serait disposé à travailler sous mon contrôle et qui surveillerait l'exécution du projet. J'établirai donc le projet de décoration, lequel consisterait en un habillage intérieur de la chapelle. Cet habillage serait en staff peint et reposerait sur un socle étanche. Toutefois, il demeurera entendu que le gros œuvre resterait en son état actuel et que ni l'architecte, ni le décorateur, ne prendront la responsabilité de la chapelle partiellement rebâtie sans directives techniques.

Si cette solution vous agréée ayez, Monsieur le curé, la bonté me répondre et agréer l'expression de mes sentiments respectueux.

Le 4 mai 1949

J. Ch. Moreux

ABBÉ H. BESANÇON
CHAPELAIN DE LA CATHÉDRALE
ET DE N. D. DU HAUT
CURÉ DE RONCHAMP (HTE-S.)
C. CH. POSTAUX. 739-93 – DIJON
TEL. : 63

Ronchamp, le 21. 3. 50

Vu M. le Chanoine Lucien Ledeur
Projets Moreux ne donnent pas satisfaction.
Lui - pas assez énergique.

Propose Le Corbusier ! un maitre –
moderne – audacieux – (Building – Marseille)
bien en cours auprès du gouvernement.

Agréer – avec M. François Mathey
pour régler l'affaire.
Attends.


Q1 5 741

PETIT SÉMINAIRE
9, rue de la Convention
BESANÇON

6 Mai 1950

(classer: église)

Amis.



J'attendais pour vous remercier de l'aimable accueil et de la longue conversation que vous m'avez réservée, d'avoir revu notre archevêque, Mgr Dubourg. Il est rentré lundi soir - beaucoup plus tard que je ne vous avais dit, et je n'ai pu le saisir rapidement que ce matin.

Monseigneur s'est réellement intéressé au récit de notre conversation, et il a un vif désir de vous voir étudier le projet de la chapelle de N. D. du Haut. Je suis expressément chargé de vous le dire et de vous demander

LQ

PETIT SEMINAIRE
9, rue de la Convention
BESANÇON

6 Mai 1950

classer:
L - C église

Monsieur,

J'attendais pour vous remercier de l'aimable accueil et de la longue conversation que vous m'avez réservée, d'avoir revu notre archevêque, Mgr Dubourg. Il est rentré lundi soir - beaucoup plus tard que je ne vous avais dit, et je n'ai pu le saisir rapidement que ce matin.

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-comme nous en avions convenus,
les quelques dessins qui fonderont
une décision définitive. Entre temps,
j'ai vu M. le Curé de Ronchamp; il est
d'accord. et

Vous pouvez donc prévoir la date
de votre voyage à Ronchamp. Je vous
serais obligé de me le faire savoir
pour que je puisse vous y retrouver.
Le plus tôt sera maintenant le meilleur.

J'ai toute confiance que
cette affaire peut aboutir. Permettez-moi
de vous en dire ma grande joie et
de vous offrir l'expression de mes
sentiments respectueux.

abbé L. Ledeur

- 9 rue de la Convention.

Besançon.

comme nous en avions convenus,
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de vous offrir l'expression de mes
sentiments respectueux.

Lucien

Ledeur

abbé L. Ledeur

- 9 rue de la Convention

Besançon

(18)
17

F3 - 18 46
18 mai 50
Ascension

Mon cher Savina

Je profite d'un instant de loisir pour vous dire bonjour. Comment ça va ? Vous et les vôtres ? Et vos sculptures ?

Vous êtes plein de talent, talent de sculpteur certain. L'évolution de l'époque conduit vers une synthèse des arts. La sculpture est la première à prendre rang devant la peinture qui flotte et bat de l'aile.

Je crois la sculpture très proche de rejoindre l'architecture dans des bâtiments. A Marseille, sans un sou de crédit il y a des témoignages :

- 1^a les pilotis qui sont oeuvre sculpturale.
- 2^a la toiture qui, avec le paysage, est prodigieuse : tour des ascenseurs et réservoirs, cheminées de ventilation, salle de culture physique, rampe, escalier, bains de soleil. C'est triomphant
- 3^a les bons hommes (planches détournées et arêtes arrondies) sortis du coffrage dans le béton (glorification du modulaire)
- 4^a des claustras ciment plâtre et verre de couleurs dans le hall
- 5^a une plastique de 5m de long (couchée) en feuilles de laiton battues sur lattes de bois et noyaux de plâtre..

Tout cela, fait dans l'atelier Sèvres 35, avec des garçons qui y font leurs débuts (des architectes).

Savina, courage.

Nous allons bâtir à Nantes une unité semblable à celle de Marseille. Je désire que vous y fassiez quelque chose de beau. Quand le temps sera venu, je vous verrai.

Je vais commencer une petite chapelle, pauvre, vers Belfort, là aussi...

Quand passez vous à Paris ?

Je serai au Midi du 15 juillet au 15 août. Puis à N.York Bogota (septembre)

Je suis crevé, tout marche bien, mais quel rôle de veilleur !

Amitié

V.

Corbu

A la galerie Denise René se trouve un petit panneau à notre nom tous deux montage de 9 Kodachromes des sculptures déjà faites. Ça fait très bien.

Les bougres avaient imprimé le programme avec mon nom, avant même d'être venus me voir pour me demander un tableau. J'ai décidé : les Kodachromes et signé Corbu Savina.

61 5 77
4-3-
Paris, le 16 Novembre 1950

au Chanoine LEDEUR

BESANCON



Cher Monsieur,

Ce mot pour vous dire que les études autour de la chapelle de Ronchamps sont terminées actuellement. J'espère pouvoir articuler un prix approximatif la semaine prochaine.

Serait-il possible de vous voir ici autour de vendredi 24. Vous vous rendriez compte du chemin parcouru et nous pourrions alors préparer la visite projetée à notre atelier de l'Archevêque de Besançon.

Vous laisserai-je alerter M. Matté et qui d'autres vous semblera utile ? *★ sic*

Veuillez croire, cher Monsieur, à mes sentiments les meilleurs.

Le Corbusier

Paris, le 15 Décembre 1950

Monsieur le Chanoine LEDEUR
9, Rue de la Convention
BESANCON (Doubs)

Monsieur le Chanoine,

Vendredi dernier le Ministre de la Reconstruction M. Claudius PÉTTI est venu à mon atelier examiner divers plans; il s'est particulièrement attaché à ceux de la Chapelle de Ronchamps qui lui ont fait la meilleure impression, une si bonne impression que je l'ai pris de prononcer quelques paroles dans mon appareil à enregistrer les voix. Je vous joins la sténographie de ce texte que je vais faire graver sur disque et que j'enverrai à son Excellence l'Archevêque Dubour de Besançon.

Le Ministre qui était accompagné de M. Dallos de son cabinet, a déclaré vouloir s'occuper immédiatement de la question des dommages de guerre relatives à Ronchamps. Appelé lundi dernier au Ministère pour une autre question on m'a présenté le fonctionnaire qui était chargé le jour même de cette affaire et qui m'a promis de faire diligence.

Mon intention est, bien entendu, de remettre à son Excellence l'Archevêque une documentation utile sur les plans de la Chapelle, à savoir :

des kodachromes de la maquette prise sur un fond de paysage et de ciel naturel.
des clichés diapositifs de projection des plans, coupes et façades essentielles (RON 4254 - 4255 - 4256 - 4257 - 4258 - 4259 - 4260 - 4261 - 4262 - 4263).
le disque des paroles du Ministre (pour le gramophone)
un disque de moi donnant les explications utiles à la composition du plan, aux méthodes d'exécution, aux devis et au financement.
Je joindrai au tout un petit appareil de projection portatif pour kodachrome.

Vous pourrez ainsi soumettre une documentation

....//..

F
LC

bien plus efficiente que celle des feuilles de plan et vous aurez la maquette dans son état le plus près de la nature.

Tout ceci prendra un peu de temps, aussi pour ne pas vous impatienter, j'ai décidé de vous envoyer ce jour quelques unes des feuilles de plans, façades et coupes (dont les numéros sont mentionnés ci-dessus) qui vous permettront d'étudier de très près notre projet et d'y apporter les modifications utiles, très particulièrement sur le plan liturgique. Vous ne vous étonnez pas si je vous demande de ne pas montrer les feuilles de plan autour de vous pour l'instant, avant que votre commission ait siégé avec l'aide de la documentation promise ci-dessus.

Je me permets de vous soumettre également une esquisse de la convention qui devra intervenir entre l'Archevêque et moi; cette esquisse ne comprend que mes propositions personnelles, elles devront évidemment se compléter des propositions de son Excellence l'Archevêque.

J'ajoute que l'étude minutieuse que nous avons faite avec le contact permanent des ingénieurs nous permettra, dès l'accord intervenu, d'accélérer très rapidement la réalisation.

Je me tiens à votre entière disposition et vous prie Monsieur le Chanoine, d'agréer mes sentiments les meilleurs.

LE CORBUSIER

F
LC

*Petit Séminaire
9, rue de la Convention
Besançon*

12 janvier

Bien cher ami,

*Réunion de la Commission
d'Art Sacré samedi prochain 20
à 3 h à l'Archevêché. Je n'ai
pas encore le dossier complet –
mais quelques plans et quatre
photos de la maquette très suggestives.
Si j'avais eu peu plus de temps,
j'irai te les présenter avant la
réunion. C'est neuf... mais bien, je
crois.*

LE CORBUSIER

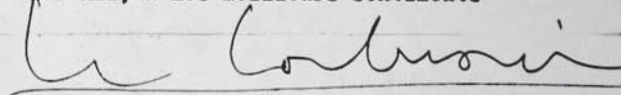
Paris, le 20 Janvier 1951

Révérend Père COUTURIER
222, Faubourg St Honoré
Paris 8^e

Cher Am i,

Un mot seulement pour vous demander de ne publier aucun document^{encore} concernant la chapelle de Ronchamp dans tout journal quelqu'il soit. Je n'autoriserai la publication qu'au moment des plans et coupes définitifs.

Croyez, cher Ami, à mes meilleurs sentiments



LE CORBUSIER

x plan
ou
maquette

35, RUE DE SÈVRES - PARIS (6^e)
TÉL. LITRE 99.62

1951-01-20 Le Corbusier to M.-A. Couturier (CES: C11-C10)

Ronchamps
01 5
mardi
23/1/51

cher ami

J'ai reçu en rentrant de chez vous le
petit mot où vous me demandez de
ne rien publier sur l'église de Ronchamps.
Soyez entièrement rassuré : rien n'est
publié - ni information, ni documents quel-
conques - avant que vous-même et le Chan-
oine Ledeur n'en aient donné formellement
l'autorisation.

avec toute ma admiration laissez-
me vous rechauffer encore ma respectueuse
amitié ! Veuillez aussi remercier Madame
Le Corbusier pour son si doux accueil

très dévoué p. Couturier.

F
LQ

Ronchamps [sic]

mardi
23/1/51

Cher ami

J'ai reçu en rentrant de chez vous le
petit mot où vous me demandez de
ne rien publier sur l'église de Ronchamp.
Soyez entièrement rassuré : rien ne sera
publié - ni information, ni documents [que],
corpus - avant que vous-même et le Chan-
oine Ledeur m'en aient douée formellement
l'autorisation.

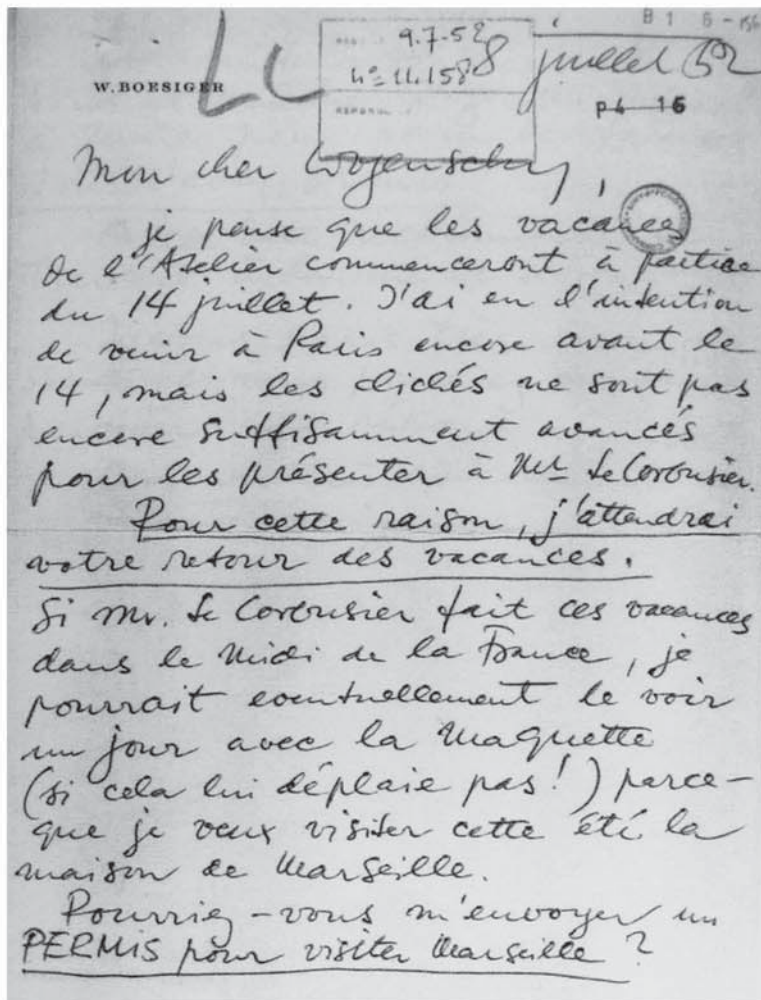
Avec toute mon admiration laissez-
moi vous [-----] encore ma respectueuse
amitié ! Veuillez aussi remercier Madame
Le Corbusier pour son si doux accueil.

Votre très dévoué, père Couturier.

1951-01-23

M.-A. Couturier to Le Corbusier (CES: C11-C10)

The word 'Ronchamps' [sic] appears to have been added by Le Corbusier's secretary, Jeanne Heilbuth. The date, '23/1/51', was added by Le Corbusier, and corresponds to the date the letter was received.



W. BOESIGER RECU 9.7.52
juillet 52

Mon cher Wogenscky,

je pense que les vacances de l'Atelier commenceront à partir du 14 juillet. J'ai eu l'intention de venir à Paris encore avant le 14, mais les clichés ne sont pas encore suffisamment avancés pour les présenter à M. Le Corbusier.

Pour cette raison, j'attendrai votre retour des vacances.

Si Mr. Le Corbusier fait ses vacances dans le Midi de la France, je pourrais éventuellement le voir un jour avec la maquette (si cela lui [ne] déplaie pas!) parce que je veux visiter cette [sic] été la maison de Marseille.

Pourriez vous m'envoyer un PERMIS pour visiter Marseille ?

Et maintenant, nous attendrons
vous et Madame Wogenscky ici
à Zurich pour passer des vacances.
Vous l'avez promis !

Quelle date recommence le
travail à la rue de Sèvres ?

Je vous serais très reconnaissant,
si vous pourriez me faire
parvenir une réponse.

Toujours très amicalement
votre Boesiger.

W. BOESIGER ARCHITEKT
LIMMATQUAI 18 ZÜRICH 1

Et maintenant, nous attendrons
vous et Madame Wogenscky ici
à Zurich pour passer des vacances
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Quelle date recommencer le
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si vous pourriez me faire
parvenir une réponse.

Toujours très amicalement
votre Boesiger.

W. BOESIGER ARCHITEKT
LIMMATQUAI 18 ZÜRICH 1

62 1316

Paris, le 31 Juillet 1952

Monsieur CANET
Industriel
R O N C H A M P



Cher Monsieur,

Je vous remets copie de la lettre adressée ce jour à M. le Curé de Ronchamp. Je joins également 5 photographies à votre usage. Il a bien été admis, lors de notre entrevue à Paris, que ces documents étaient en quelque sorte confidentiels, étant donné qu'il ne faut pas mettre en route l'impitoyable machine de la controverse (la presse) avant que le chantier ne soit déclanché.

Je vous prie de croire, cher Monsieur, à l'assurance de mes sentiments les meilleurs.

LE CORBUSIER

FLC

Paris, le 31 Juillet 1952

Monsieur l'Abbé BOURDIN
Curé de Ronchamp
R O N C H A M P
Haute Saône

Monsieur le Curé,

J'ai eu la visite du Révérend Père Couturier qui m'a dit le plaisir qu'il avait eu à vous voir et à faire votre connaissance, et il m'a dit également toute sa certitude que notre entreprise se réaliserait harmonieusement grâce à votre précieux concours ainsi qu'à celui de M. Canet.

Le Révérend Père Couturier, le Chanoine Le-deur et moi-même sommes d'avis qu'il ne faut en aucun cas livrer à la presse courante les documents photographiques de la maquette de la chapelle de Ronchamp. Vous n'avez pas idée de ce que certains milieux intéressés possèdent d'armes perfides!

J'ai eu une conversation de matin avec le Ministre de la Reconstruction qui m'a dit avoir remis au Révérend Père Couturier les précisions qui seront utiles à M. Canet et à vous-même pour assurer le financement de la construction.

Je vous envoie inclus 5 photographies 12 x 24 de la première maquette en vous priant d'en faire état avec la plus grande prudence et en ne les montrant qu'à des personnes qui méritent votre confiance comme la mienne également.

Je quitte Paris pour un mois à partir du 2 août. Ce délai vous permettra certainement d'assurer le financement demeuré en suspens, et c'est avec

1952-07-31

Le Corbusier to Abbot Bourdin of Besançon (FLC Q1-5-40; © FLC-ADAGP)

Verso: [...] plaisir que je recevrai de vos nouvelles à mon retour à Paris. // Veuillez agréer, Monsieur le Curé, l'assurance [-----] de mes sentiments les meilleurs. // Le Corbusier // PS – J'envoie à M. Canet copie de cette lettre et je lui fournis également une série de 5 photographes.

15-11-52

ATELIER
LE CORBUSIER
17 NOV 1952
35 RUE DE SÈVRES
PARIS (VI^e) L¹. 99-62

Wogenscky,

La Secrétaire de Corbu
m'écrit, qu'il tient à faire
les légendes lui-même.

J'ai parlé à Corbu en ce
sujet et il était d'accord
que vous fassiez les légendes
générales — comme par
exemple l'indication des
étages des façades etc —
mais ce qu'il aime à faire
lui-même pour certains
illustrations un peu personnel,
pour cela il aura toujours
la possibilité en rentrant
des Indes.

Je tiens absolument à
cet accord, et je prendrai

15-11-52

W. BOESIGER
ATELIER LE CORBUSIER 17 NOV 1952

Mon cher Wogenscky,

La Secrétaire de Corbu
m'écrit, qu'il tient à faire
les légendes lui-même.

J'ai parlé à Corbu en ce
sujet et il était d'accord
que vous fassiez les légendes
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exemple l'indication des
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mais ce qu'il aime à faire
lui-même pour certains
illustrations un peu personnel,
pour cela il aura toujours
la possibilité en rentrant
des Indes.

Je tiens absolument à
cet accord, et je prendrai

aussi toute la responsabilité
parce - que je lui ai bien
expliqué jusqu'à quel
limite vous fassiez de textes.

Si Corbu demande à faire
les légendes lui-même - il
pense à des sujet plutôt
personnel !

Nous devons avoir
sérieusement les textes et
légendes - ce que Corbu
sait très bien et il l'a toujours
prouvé.

J'espère bien, mon cher
Wogenscky, que vous m'
abandonnez pas et recevez
et Madame, mes salutations
amicales. Boesiger.

aussi toute la responsabilité
parce-que je lui ai bien
expliqué jusqu'à quel
limite vous fassiez de textes.

Si Corbu demande à "faire
les légendes lui-même" - il
pense à des sujet [sic] plutôt
personnel !

Nous devons avoir
sérieusement les textes et
légendes - ce que Corbu
sait très bien et il l'a toujours
prouvé.

J'espère bien, mon cher
Wogenscky, que vous m'
abandonnez pas et recevez
et Madame, mes salutations
amicales.

Boesiger.

Paris, le 25 Novembre 1952
MC AW/3D

Monsieur BOESIGER
Limmatquai 16
ZURICH I

Mon cher Boesiger,

J'ai bien reçu votre lettre du 15 novembre et croyez-bien que je n'oublie aucunement la question des textes que je dois rédiger pour le 5ème volume. Mais il y a encore un malentendu avec Le Corbusier qui doit être éclairci.

En partant aux Indes, Le Corbusier s'a précisé qu'il estimait qu'il fallait d'abord composer la totalité de son texte pour voir comment on peut le mettre en pages. Et ce n'est que s'il reste de la place que je pourrai compléter par quelques légendes.

Voulez-vous donc me dire rapidement ce que vous en pensez. Mais si vous n'êtes pas de l'avis de Le Corbusier, je ferai tout de suite les légendes des illustrations.

Bien amicalement à vous.

l'Architecte Adjoint,

A. WOGENSCKY

B 1 5 - 166
p4-16

VERLAG DR. H. GIRSBERGER ZÜRICH

Kirchgasse 40 Telephon 32 75 66 Postcheckkonto VIII 24220 Schweiz. Bankverein Zürich

Zürich, 1. 12. 1952

Monsieur André Wogensky
Atelier Le Corbusier
P a r i s



Cher Monsieur Wogensky,

comme il n'est pas tout à fait sûr ^{de} que je peux venir
à Paris encore avant Noël je vous prie de bien vouloir nous
envoyer en tant que possible le matériel dont je vous avais écrit
dans ma dernière lettre et ne pas attendre mon arrivée. Aussi
je vous prie, et cela de toute urgence, de nous envoyer la suite
des textes généraux de Le Corbusier desquels nous avons reçu der-
nièrement ~~ca.~~ ca. 35 pages. L'imprimerie commence maintenant
à composer les clichés et les textes, mais il nous faciliterait
de beaucoup le travail en disposant d'une plus grande partie de
ces textes.

En vous remerciant de l'avance, je vous prie, cher
Monsieur Wogensky, de bien vouloir agréer l'expression de mes
meilleurs sentiments

votre

H. Girsberger

ATELIER
LE CORBUSIER
3 DEC 1952
35 RUE DE SÈVRES
PARIS (VI^e) - LIT. 99-62
43 11.515

Paris, le 16 Décembre 1952
LC AW/AD

Monsieur BOESIGER
Lämattquai 16
ZURICH I



Mon cher Boesiger,

Voici, en deux exemplaires, une première partie des légendes pour le prochain volume. Vous pouvez naturellement les modifier, en supprimer des parties, en compléter d'autres, ou même me demander d'en compléter d'autres.

Je suis resté le plus bref possible, mais dans certains cas, il m'a paru nécessaire de donner des explications, parce que les textes de Corbu m'ont semblé en manquer tout à fait. D'après les seuls textes de Corbu, quelqu'un qui n'a pas travaillé dans notre atelier est incapable de comprendre les plans, surtout les plans d'urbanisme.

Dès que nous nous verrons, il faudra d'ailleurs que nous parlions des textes de Le Corbusier, qui a certains points de vue m'ont paru.

Je pense vous adresser dans quelques jours le reste des légendes.

Toute mon amitié.

l'Architecte Adjoint,

A. WOGENSCKY

Paris, le 28 Janvier 1953
LC AW/SD

Monsieur BOESIGER
Limmatquai 16
ZURICH I



OBJET : Grisberger Tome V

Mon cher Boesiger,

J'ai oublié de vous signaler la chose
suivante :

Dans le texte accompagnant les projets
de la Sainte-Bausse et intitulés "La Trouinade", Le Cor-
busier parle de lui en disant "votre serviteur". Or l'en-
semble des textes est écrit comme si l'auteur n'était
pas Le Corbusier, je trouve que cette expression "votre
serviteur" est peut être maladroite.

D'autre part, j'aurais voulu vous deman-
der si Le Corbusier a décidé de mentionner le nom des
collaborateurs avec lesquels il a fait les études et tra-
vaux publiés dans le livre.

Amitiés.

L'Architecte Adjoint,

A. WOGENSCKY

VERLAG DR. H. GIRSBERGER ZÜRICH

Kirchgasse 40 Telephon 32 73 66 Postcheckkonto VIII 24220 Schweiz. Bankverein Zürich

Zurich, 4. mars 1953

Monsieur Le Corbusier
Rue de Sèvres 35
Paris 6e



Cher Monsieur,

ci-inclus je vous envoie les premières épreuves des pages composées. (Illustrations et Legendes), Boesiger a marqué la place réservée aux textes généraux. Ces textes ont déjà été corrigés, mais ils seront mis sur les pages quand les traductions anglaises et allemandes, qui se trouvent actuellement chez l'imprimeur, seront composés.

Boesiger a souligné en rouge les illustrations qui n'ont pas encore des légendes, en vous priant de bien vouloir les compléter et de nous retourner les épreuves complétées au plus vite possible. Pour faire paraître le livre fin avril ou commencement mai, il nous faut commencer à imprimer dans ca. 2 semaines. Nous vous enverrons donc dès maintenant des épreuves, 30-40 pages à la fois, à fur et mesure que nous les recevons de l'imprimerie, et je me permets de vous demander instamment de bien vouloir les contrôler, corriger et compléter sans retard. Si possible, il nous faudrait avoir les épreuves ci-inclus au plus tard mardi prochain.

Avec mes remerciements anticipés, je vous prie, ~~de bien~~ cher Monsieur, de bien vouloir agréer l'expression de mes meilleurs sentiments

votre

P.S. Il nous manque toujours le texte de Marseille, qui, lui aussi, doit encore être traduit en anglais et allemand. ~~Merci~~ Pourrions nous l'avoir les jours prochains. Merci d'avance!

L-c a la l. tre

Paris, le 4 Mai 1954

Monsieur Jean PETIT
Forces Vives
59, rue de l'Ourcq
P A R I S (XIX^e)

Monsieur,

J'ai reçu votre lettre du 28 avril 1954 me demandant de participer à votre numéro spécial consacré à l'Architecture Religieuse Normande au Moyen Age.

Venez me voir une fois à mon atelier privé, 24 rue Nungesser et Coli, mais vous prendrez rendez-vous téléphoniquement auparavant à MOLitor 32-52, l'après-midi.

Cordialement à vous.

LE CORBUSIER

0-1-3-

Paris, le 19 Juin 1954

Monsieur Alfred CANET
 Société Immobilière
 de Notre-Dame du Haut
R O N C H A M P



Cher Monsieur Canet,

J'ai eu une information de la meilleure source me faisant savoir que la publicité et l'agitation qui avaient été suscitées autour de la Chapelle de Ronchamp ont provoqué des remous qui risquent de tourner en barrage et en cataracte !

J'avais toujours été hostile à une publicité tant que l'Eglise ne serait pas terminée. Vous en avez jugé autrement. Attention ! Préparez votre parapluie. C'est beaucoup plus sérieux que vous ne le croyez. Vous voilà averti. Quand l'orage sera là vous saurez pour quoi il arrive et je pense que votre conviction sera assez assurée pour ne pas en être ébranlée. Personnellement je suis habitué par une vie entière à ces sortes de rafales mais je pense que vous n'en connaissez pas encore les délices !

Tous ensemble / Je sais combien vous êtes actuellement le pivot même de l'action dans l'oeuvre très belle que nous avons entreprise. C'est vous qui l'avez matérialisée et accouchée. Ma lettre est simplement pour vous aviser des événements et vous conseiller d'éviter pour l'instant toute publicité. Par ailleurs, l'attention s'éveille au contraire sur l'événement architectural neuf introduit dans ce genre de construction. Cet intérêt est immense, partout répandu. Nous n'avons pas que des ennemis, loin de là. Mais quand il y a du marécage sur le chemin autant éviter d'y passer et faire le détour.

Croyez, cher Monsieur Canet, à mes meilleurs sentiments.

LE CORBUSIER

E
LCE
10



à Paris ce 10 Octobre 1954

15 Octobre 1954

Monsieur Le Corbusier
24 rue Nungesser & Coli.
Paris,

Maitre,

Permettez nous de nous excuser de venir, encore une fois user de votre temps que nous savons si précieux. Depuis notre dernière rencontre, et suivant vos conseils et ceux de M. Wogensky, nous avons groupé un certain nombre d'éléments pour le cahier que nous voulons publier sur votre action et votre oeuvre que nous admirons de toutes nos forces.

Voici ce que nous avons fait cet été:

- 1° A Marseille, nous avons essayé de réunir les opinions et les avis des habitants, afin de pouvoir parler par la voix des usagers. Cette petite enquête, n'a peut être pas été aussi fructueuse que nous l'espérions, trop de raseurs étant passé avant nous. Malgré tout, nous avons des éléments intéressants.
- 2° A Saint Dié, nous avons vu M. Jean Jacques Duval, qui, très simplement, a bien voulu nous retracer les étapes de cette réalisation et nous faire visiter sans restrictions, la manufacture.
- 3° A Ronchamps, nous avons été aussi très bien reçu et guidé sur le chantier par M. Canet.
- 4° Pour Nantes Rézé, Maitre Chérel, a bien voulu (nous lui avons écrit sur le conseil de M. Wogensky) nous confier deux textes, l'un sur le procès de Marseille, l'autre sur la naissance de l'Unité de Rézé.

Nous ne pourrions voir les détails de ce cahier avec M. Wogensky que le 25 Octobre, à son retour de voyage. Il nous annonce votre prochain départ. Vous serait il possible, de nous confier un texte pour ce cahier ainsi que vous aviez bien voulu nous le proposer en Juillet dernier ?

Voici quel serait, sous réserve des modifications que vous jugeriez utiles, le plan de ce cahier:

.....//

--Le dernier article du P.P.Couturier:LE Corbusier.
--Les citoyens radieux vous parlent.
--Le vrai sens du procès de Marseille par Me Chérassin.
--Peut être quelques plans sur les prolongements que vous aviez prévu à Marseille.
--La reconstruction d'une Usine avec Le Corbusier par J.J.Duval. si possible quelques plans et croquis sur Saint Dié.
6- Naissance de l'Unité par Me Chérassin.
--Notes sur l'Unité de Rézé par M.Wogensky. avec plans et photos.
--La chapelle de Ronchamps.(Notes,photos et Plans)
Et si cela était possible,quelques croquis et notes sur le couvent de Lyon,dont nous avait parlé le R.P.Couturier,peu avant sa mort.
Et aussi nous souhaiterions;;....quelques plans croquis photos & Note sur Chandigarh.

Nous vous demandons beaucoup ,et en sommes confus,mais avant tout,nous voudrions faire oeuvre utile avec la publication de ce cahier,même si nous devons nous attirer les foudres désapobatrices de quelques uns. Nous suivrons fidèlement les conseils que vous voudrez bien nous donner afin d'obtenir un résultat qui puisse être valable et utile.Il nous semble indispensable d'envisager un équilibre des textes et de l'image.Parfois,il semble qu'un croquis ou un plan,parle mieux qu'un cours texte.Il faut que ce cahier puisse être clair et net.Nous ne pouvons vous dire par cette lettre,combien nous serions heureux,s'il est possible de nous confier un texte qui serait le vrai lien de ce cahier,et où vous pourriez concrétiser vos préoccupations et vues actuelles.

Vous savez que Forces Vives est l'oeuvre de jeunes...Nous voudrions i vous dire,toute notre admiration,vous dire combien nous sommes avec v de toutes nos forces.Nous voudrions vous remercier de tout ce que nous savons vous devoir.Nous serions très heureux et très fier,si vous vous bien accepter de faire partie du comité d'honneur de Forces Vives.For Vives,toujours,aussi longtemps qu'il existera(mais nous tiendrons,il faut,malgré les multiples difficultés dans lesquelles nous nous débat sera près de vous,avec vous.

Vous remerciant à l'avance,et m'excusant encore de cette lettre,trop longue,je vous demande,Maitre,de bien vouloir croire en mes sentiments les plus respectueux auxquels se joint toute notre reconnaissance pour votre exemple dont nous voudrions être dignes.

Jeannot
JEAN PETIT.

1954-10-10 Jean Petit to Le Corbusier, page 2 (FLC EI-10; © FLC-ADAGP)

Annotations by Le Corbusier:

3 docs // La Grille CIAM d'urb // [illegible] // [illegible] // Le Modulor // + devenir (?) // L-C à l'étranger



ce II Octobre 1954.

*Jean Petit
accepte
de faire partie
du comité
des amis de LC*

Monsieur LE CORBUSIER.
24 rue Nungesser à Coli.
PARIS.

Maitre,

Veuillez m'excuser de cette nouvelle lettre. Je viens de rencontrer, aujourd'hui M. Lucien Hérvé avec qui j'ai envisagé, l'illustration de notre numéro.

Il me dit que pour ce qui concerne votre oeuvre plastique, vous possédez toutes les photographies qu'il a réalisées à ce sujet. Il est évident que nous n'envisageons pas ce numéro, sans y inclure quelques reproductions de votre oeuvre plastique. Il serait certainement préférable, si cela vous est possible, toutefois, que vous choisissiez les oeuvres que vous jugez le plus utile de reproduire, si toutefois cela vous est possible.

Espérant que vous voudrez bien m'excuser d'être venu encore une fois vous importuner, je vous demandes, Maître, de bien vouloir croire, en mes sentiments les plus respectueux

Jean Petit
Jean Petit.

*Format 21x18
couché*

*Quelle
sorte
d'édition
peut faire
un [illegible]
de librairie
quel procédé
quel format?*

1954-10-11

Jean Petit to Le Corbusier (FLC EI-10; © FLC-ADAGP)

Annotations by Le Corbusier: Jean Petit accepte d'être du comité [illegible] 3 amis de LC.

Quelle sorte d'Édition peut faire un [illegible] de librairie – quel procédé, quel format ? Format 21 x 18, couché.

Paris, le 21 Octobre 1954

Monsieur Jean PETIT
Forces Vives
59, rue de l'Ourcq
P A R I S (XIX^e)

Cher Monsieur,

Trouvez inclus diverses "bonnes feuilles" du MODULOR 2 actuellement à l'impression dont vous avez la primeur. Ce sera ma participation personnelle à votre numéro.

Vous pouvez annoncer dans un chapeau que le MODULOR 2 constitue la réponse de "l'utilisateur", c'est à dire une adhésion de nature internationale au Modulor.

Croyez, cher Monsieur, à mes meilleurs sentiments.

LE CORBUSIER

P.J. : pages 6 - 7 (de pour nous.... à métaphysiciens)
* 84 - 85 (jusqu'à ... Interférences)
* 89 - 90 - 91 - 92 (jusqu'à ... de Konrad Wachsmann)
* II2 - II3 - II4 (En exergue jusqu'à ... 35 rue de Sèvres)
* I45 - I46 - I47 (Epilogue)

Paris, le 2 Novembre 1954

Monsieur Jean PETIT
"Forces Vives"
59, rue de l'Ourocq
P A R I S (XIX^e)

Cher Monsieur,

Je crois remarquer que votre sommaire ne comporte rien sur les divers plans d'urbanisme de Paris que j'ai établis depuis 1922 - 25 - 30 - 37, etc... Il y a un "Plan de Paris, 1937" avec amorce de l'Îlot 6 et réalisation des cinq grandes traversées et limitation des tunnels à une sage proportion (contrairement aux idées tout à fait discutables qui animent certains groupements employés par les "Entrepreneurs de Terrassements").

Wogensky pourrait vous expliquer comment le démarrage de Paris serait possible. J'affirme tenir la solution qui est forte mais vraie alors que le reste n'est qu'ergotage, tentative inutile. Mais jamais personne n'a l'idée de me consulter. Il y a longtemps que je suis refoulé au Royaume d'Utopie !

Croyez, cher Monsieur, à mes sentiments les meilleurs.

LE CORBUSIER

les cahiers
FORCES VIVES

A PARIS XIX^e RUE DE L'OURCQ AU 59
COMBAT 68 23 C.C.P PARIS 10359 78

Paris le 18 Mars 1955

Je vous remercie

RECU
21 Mars 1955
NOM:

Monsieur Le Corbusier
21, rue Nungesser et Coli
PARIS.

Cher Monsieur,

Enfin voici terminé ce numéro dans lequel nous avons mis tout notre cœur.

Réalisé au milieu d'incessantes difficultés, il n'est peut-être pas aussi parfait que je l'avais souhaité dans certains détails. Cela, toujours, parce que nous n'avons aucuns moyens, parce que la puissance de l'argent n'est pas avec nous. Mais tel qu'il est, ce numéro, j'espère, qu'il saura servir la lutte que vous poursuivez sans cesse, et qui est pour la jeunesse, un exemple.

Ici, je voudrais vous dire, combien je souhaite pouvoir servir, être utile à votre action. Je voudrais que vous sachiez que je suis à votre disposition pour agir, même humblement, dans le sens qui vous semblerait utile. Cela est mon désir le plus grand. Peut-être allez vous trouver ridicule que je vous dise cela. Mais tant pis. J'ai trop de reconnaissance pour votre oeuvre pour en rester seulement beat d'admiration. Ce que je voudrais c'est agir, vous être utile. Il faut que vous sachiez qu'un grand nombre de jeunes sont près de vous, avec vous.

Pardonnez moi de vous avoir exprimé aussi mal tout cela qui ne peut que vous ennuyer, mais je ne puis m'empêcher de vous le dire car il me semble que vous êtes un ami, un grand ami en qui j'ai confiance comme avec nul autre personne.

Pardonnez moi aussi de n'avoir pas pu publier un numéro plus riche, plus impeccable, davantage digne de vous, et laissez moi vous remercier de toutes mes forces pour votre aide dans la réalisation de ce cahier qui vous doit tant.

Merci de votre amitié, merci de tout,
merci d'être Le Corbusier.

Et vous demandant de m'excuser pour vous avoir ennuyé encore une fois, je vous prie, Cher Monsieur, de croire en mes sentiments respectueux et dévoués.

Jean Petit

*Serait-il possible que je vous remercie en jours-ci ?
D'autre part avez vous besoin d'un certain nombre de numéros ?
Je pourrais très heureusement vous adresser des
vues sur ce cahier*

Paris, le 28 Mars 1955

Monsieur Jean PETIT
 "Forces Vives"
 59, rue de l'Ourcq
 P A R I S (XIX^e)

Cher Ami,

Rentré des Indes hier après midi, j'ai trouvé votre numéro de "Forces Vives" et je tiens à vous dire bien amicalement toute la sympathie qu'éveille en moi le travail que vous avez fait et surtout l'esprit que vous y avez apporté. C'est bien fait. C'est intelligent. L'essentiel s'y trouve rassemblé. C'est une manière d'exposer un thème qui est utile.

Ma femme et moi nous serions très heureux de vous avoir un soir à dîner mais ces jours-ci j'ai de nouveau à partir en voyage et je vous ferai signe dès que je serai présent à Paris.

Je veux espérer que votre édition sera pour vous non pas une charge mais au contraire, la source d'une compensation efficace à toute la peine que vous vous êtes donné.

Merci aussi de votre lettre si gentille du 18 mars. Je souhaite mériter toujours votre confiance; ce n'est pas si facile car l'heure arrive toujours où on finit par décliner.

Bien amicalement à vous.

LE CORBUSIER

P.S. Auriez-vous la gentillesse de dédicacer votre livre et de l'envoyer à ma mère : Mme Jeanneret-Perret - Le Lac - Route de Lavaux - Vevey (Suisse).

PETIT SÉMINAIRE
9, RUE DE LA CONVENTION
BESANÇON

81-13

25 Avril 55.

REC.
26 Avril 1955

Amiceur



Vraiment, je suis avec vous
d'une incertitude, d'une incogrité
énorme. C'est de la malchance...
Je ne saurais m'en excuser. Vous priez
de bien vouloir s'oublier, tant vous
avez été aimable de votre côté.
Croyez cependant que de ceci, je
vous garde reconnaissance, et
je suis encore, du soin et de l'amour
que vous apportez avec travail

Je joins à cette lettre quelques
uns des titres symboliques ou nou-
dans lesquels l'Église exprime ses
croyances relatives à Marie. Ils sont
inspirés très étroitement de la Bible -
en eux se retrouvent les chrétiens orientaux
et les latins - et très souvent, ils
sont riches d'une poésie très chaude.
Ils peuvent encore vous
servir pour les vitraux. Beaucoup
d'autres ne sont qu'un rappel
de ceux que je vous avais dit déjà.

Vous trouverez aussi des
inscriptions pour cinq des plaques
de fonte. Je vous enverrai demain
la rivière - celle de la fonte des
pièces. L'espère que les textes ne
vous paraîtront pas trop longs.

de notre chapelle. J'étais très
ennuyé, vendredi soir, et écoutant
M. Fainon nous en parler.

La raison de mon absence
est dans le déficit, et la tentation
d'une révolution quelque peu brutale,
et chaotique, si je m'imaginais ces
difficultés et incompréhensions ici.
Il m'est difficile par lettre de
vous les expliquer... Mais après tout,
je suis sûr que le déficit et le
chaos ont toujours existé, et n'avaient
rien.

Finalement, heureusement
je m'autorise à vous dire son accord
pour l'extérieur de la poste. Ce
n'est pas de l'enthousiasme, mais il
s'est laissé persuader qu'il y a dans
votre composition une grande rigueur,

PETIT SÉMINAIRE
9, RUE DE LA CONVENTION
BESANÇON
000

Q1 | 5 | 22

Il serait possible de les simplifier.
★ J'aimerais que vous fussiez portés
à l'origine des textes.

M. Fainon m'avait demandé
quelques précisions relatives aux autres.
Je n'ai pu les avoir la semaine - je les
lui enverrai donc demain...

Je voudrais que cette lettre
vous arrive demain matin. ~~Je~~
remonte que ma course m'avait retenu
et de penser qu'il faut relancer votre
travail et votre peine.

En terminant, vous dirai-je
la joie que j'ai eue, il y a huit
jours, en conduisant ma vieille
mère à Notre-Dame du Haut? ★

et tout un ensemble de signes qui
peuvent rapidement devenir terribles
à tous. -

Le verso intérieur de la porte
fait difficulté - uniquement d'ailleurs
pour "les allusions représentatives" et les
lignes que j'ai entourés et un trait
rouge. Je me demande d'ailleurs si
cela est très grave - Me trompe je
ne lisant sur ces quelques lignes,
un tracé extrêmement vigoureux
qui si lui seul, ^{dans son alphabet,} pourrait porter sa
couleur. Peut être même, dégagé des
allusions représentatives, manifesterait
il mieux encore sa vigueur, et sa
pureté de diamant. Je souhaiterais ne
pas me tromper, puisque selon votre
travail il en serait pas acquiescé
et compliqué.

F
LC

Elle est toute bonne, simple et
franche - Ah! bien, tout de suite,
elle s'est trouvée si l'air, et vous
aime bien d'avoir fait une
chapelote une chapelote si belle."

Très respectueusement

Lucien Ledeur

Dimanche 15 mai 55

Bien chers

pie

J'avais commencé la journée par une oeuvre pie
sous mes pas, dans une avenue de marronniers conduisant
au Bois, j'ai vu un moineau transi, tombé du nid
- un fils de moineau - par un coup ^{jeté hors} de vent violent
de cette nuit. Je l'ai pris, enfermé dans ma main. Il
était hors de portée du chat ou du chien. Pendant
mon heure de promenade dominicale j'ai dû penser à
lui, car il cherchait à s'évader. Voilà disais-je, un
acte un peu ridicule. Tu vas d'empoisonner pendant
plusieurs jours de la présence de cet insecte : une boîte,
une couche, et quelles nourritures ? Yvonne va le gaver, etc etc
Mais non, mon acte était valable : il n'y a pas
de petites choses - c'est ce que j'expérimente à chaque
seconde de ma vie. Une demi-heure plus tard, je trouve
un nid tombé d'un arbre. Je le ramasse "Ce ne
sont pas les dieux qui t'ont préparé cette rencontre
ce sont tes yeux qui ont trouvé un nid ... parce
que ton esprit était occupé à rechercher la caisse,
la boîte d'accueil. Rentré, je prépare la boîte,
j'y mets le nid, j'y mets le moineau. Il ouvre
l'oeil ..., d'un coup il fout le camp, s'élève au
plafond, va buter contre le lanterneau et, se met
à piauler : à piaffer (de piaf : le moineau)

Impossible de le faire descendre du bord du lanterneau
Alors je transporte l'échelle double, je monte, attrappe
le piaf, descend l'échelle, monte sur le toit
de l'appartement où est le jardin, où sont tous les
moineaux d'Yvonne (de 50 à 60!). J'installe piaf sur
le socle de carreaux (boîte de l'ascenseur). Il bat de l'oeil,
il re-fout le camp au diable vert, désormais
rendu à la nature

désormais

cette situation
a son importance !

et les 2 vous embrasse bien affectueusement.

Yv. + Corbu.

Le moineau n'excuse pas mon retard à écrire. Vous connaissez la chanson : le temps n'est plus qu'une fuite effarante.

La petite maman s'est mise sous son cerisier en fleurs, dans ses pâquerettes et ses pissenlits. Lac et tutti quanti. Ode joyeuse. Albert trime. On y est tous, à la trime !

Des nouvelles ? Pas de changement chez Yvonne : arthrite ! Douleurs et gêne. Tout le monde gentil avec elle.

Le 24 N-C = "hotellerie de la bonne assiette!" C'est gentil de recevoir et de contenter ses hôtes par une cuistance bien faite. Luan excelle. Bête et long, il se réveille toutefois dans sa cuisine.

Corbu a peint sur verre les 2 façades de Ronchamp qu'on inaugure le 25 juin. Irai ce samedi, en usine près de Tours, peindre sur émail 2 fois 9m² de porte ^(Ronchamp) = 18m². Les enseignements de l'Eplatténier fructifient : je suis fin prêt pour ces sortes d'histoires. Le contrat de Tokio (musée) est préparé. Le contrat du Couvent (Lyon - les Dominicains) se signe demain. Le contrat Briey (Unité d'habitation, création de Briey-La-Forêt), va se signer. On inaugure Nantes le 28 juin. C'est achevé, l'emménagement est bientôt ~~achevé~~ terminé.

Bonne batisse, mais Marseille a quelque chose d'autre dans le ventre, en plus.

Je cherche à endiguer le travail, à refouler les "importunades"

Cette lettre faite en deux fois, ce dimanche dont les 2/3 ont été occupés à ranger une table ^{un feuillet} (de contreplaqué dessus) et à appuyer la table contre le mur (1 feuille de contreplaqué de 2 mètres sur 2 fauteuils), ce dimanche vous dit bien le bonjour

ce lundi midi, votre lettre et vos photos
des confitures en herbe. Merci. Je poste
cette lettre

5 Juin 55

Dimanche

Bien chers.

Suis rentré cette nuit de Ronchamp à 2 heures après 2 jours de présence sur place, debout sur mes pattes de 8h à 8 heures. on posait les vitraux, les autels. C'est un lieu désormais exceptionnel. Il y a quelque chose là haut.

On inaugure le 25 juin, Reçu la lettre d'Albert. Il ne faut pas venir à l'inauguration. On prévoit 18.000 personnes. Ce sera une cohue terrible. Je ne serai pas disponible. D'ailleurs je ficheraï le camp dès les actes officiels accomplis.

Je ne sais pas où se caseront tant de gens. Il n'y a qu'une piste mauvaise pour monter là-haut, et très longue (2km) entourée d'obstacles sur chaque bord.

Mon idée serait que vous attendiez juillet, un jour courant, et que vous cherchiez une auto (Montmollin, ou Boesiger, ou Péchot Dubois etc) et que maman puisse y aller.

Ne pensez pas une minute que Ronchamp est près de Vevey. C'est au contraire, une perte de temps sur le direct Simplon.

J'aimerais bien venir, j'aimerais mieux que tous deux, vous veniez à Ronchamp; je vous y retrouverais.

Une prière à ce sujet : mettez dans votre poche toutes déclarations : Nous, protestants,;- wir schweitzer. Etc. j'ai fait une oeuvre périlleuse. Rome à l'oeil là-dessus. Les cabales ne demandent qu'une étincelle.

J'ai dormi 2 heures cet après midi. La tâche est écrasante. Un télégramme m'appelle à Rio de Janeiro pour

pour "conseiller" la construction de la
nouvelle capitale politique du Brésil.

Que d'histoires !!!

Albert met 40 N° à son programme d'audition
quel courage et quelle endurance !

Vas-y Léon !!!

Je suis raplapla cet après-midi
Je n'arrête pas de faire ceci ou ça

Que ce mot maintienne le contact
et vous dire toute notre affection

Yv et Corbu

Et à la petite maman : des
fleurs et des légumes du lac, du soleil
du minou etc.

Et toute ma tendresse

Albert

Reçu hier

"petite maison"

Je ne trouve
pas l'adresse
à qui

l'envoyer

J + P

Pourquoi achètes-tu

toi même ces
bouquins ? Je

puis les procurer

à l'occasion

ou écrire

Gisberger qu'il

te fasse les

30% de

réduction d'auteur.

62) 1942

Paris, le 8 Juin 1955

Monsieur DUCHEMIN
Le Secrétaire Général
S.P.A.D.E.M.
12, rue Henner
P A R I S

Cher Monsieur,

1^{re}/ Pour mémoire, ^{ne} ^{il} serait utile d'envoyer, sous forme de circulaire à diverses grandes revues d'architecture de Paris, une note disant que tout article sur Ronchamp, Nantes et Chandigarh ne peut être fait qu'avec mon autorisation (Ronchamp sera inauguré le 25 juin et Nantes le 2 juillet).

Circulaire sur un ton non agressif mais toutefois formel.

2^e/ Répondant à votre lettre du 7 juin, je suis d'avis que vous pouvez réclamer à "Plaisir de France" les droits d'auteur dus pour les deux reproductions de l'Immeuble d'Habitation de Nantes-Rezé.

Croyez, cher Monsieur, à l'assurance de mes sentiments les meilleurs.

LE CORBUSIER

F
LQ

23 juin 55

Bonjour

R2 2 124

Reçu v. lettre d 19.
vous irez à Ronchamp début de juillet
puis après à Fribourg.
Je pars ²⁴ demain pour Ronchamp. ²⁵ inagrat

Mais ai-je déjà écrit au sujet
de la nécessaire distinction ~~nécessaire~~ la
Rant. ? le camp de : ne citez pas un
1° vous autres ~~justes~~
2° Nous, mais ce fut de l'air
3° vous autres ~~justes~~
etc

En cinq mois, mon ~~compagnon~~ : il y aura de
longues ~~années~~
Mais j'attends un finis orage qui éclatera
à propos de l'inagrat.
par Rome ^{à l'œil du Ronchamp} je
non le bon. Chacun y va selon son ~~bon~~ plaisir
essayer d'embêter c'est sujet.

Je suis architecte dans une affaire.
J'y ai trouvé des types excellents. Mais...
vous comprenez, hein, on faut il faire
des ~~affaires~~ avec une tâche...
Mme ~~invalide~~ de la "Chicago Tribune"
m'a demandé : M. L.C. est il ~~un~~ ^{un} ~~travaillant~~
d'être croyant pour faire une église comme
celle-ci ? - Vous êtes, comme les journalistes →

américain, spécialiste de la posture insolente!

Ply frontal: De la route Bah-Faris,
on passe en plein village de l'ouest, pour
monter ^à la colline. On peut y aller en
voiture ^{jusqu'à l'ancien Rant} (sans ^{pas} croiser), il faut faire attention.
Mais je vois qu'il serait possible pour
monter, de monter à pied pendant 1/2
heure au moins. Mieux y aller en voiture.

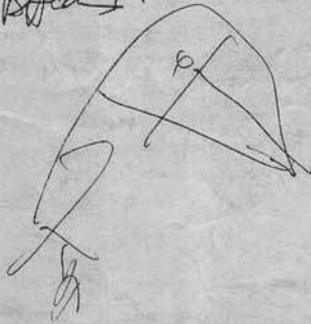
Le 2 juillet imagination à Nantes.
Là, les locaux et renards sont sortis
de l'annuaire. il y a gaché-aper.

Je dirai tu fatigué par un exercice
de responsabilité.

Homme dit, pas brillant!

Et voilà.

voyage! Bp de plaisir et bien
Affect.



G 2 19100

Paris, le 24 Juin 1955

Monsieur Ernesto N. ROGERS
Casabella
Via Monte di Pietà
M I L A N O

Cher Ami,

Je pars pour l'inauguration de Ronchamp. Il est convenu que vous avez la primeur de la publication de Ronchamp, j'entends par là qu'il s'agit de vous autoriser à faire un numéro entier sur Ronchamp avec tous les plans et photographies nombreuses qui donneront du travail accompli une idée utile.

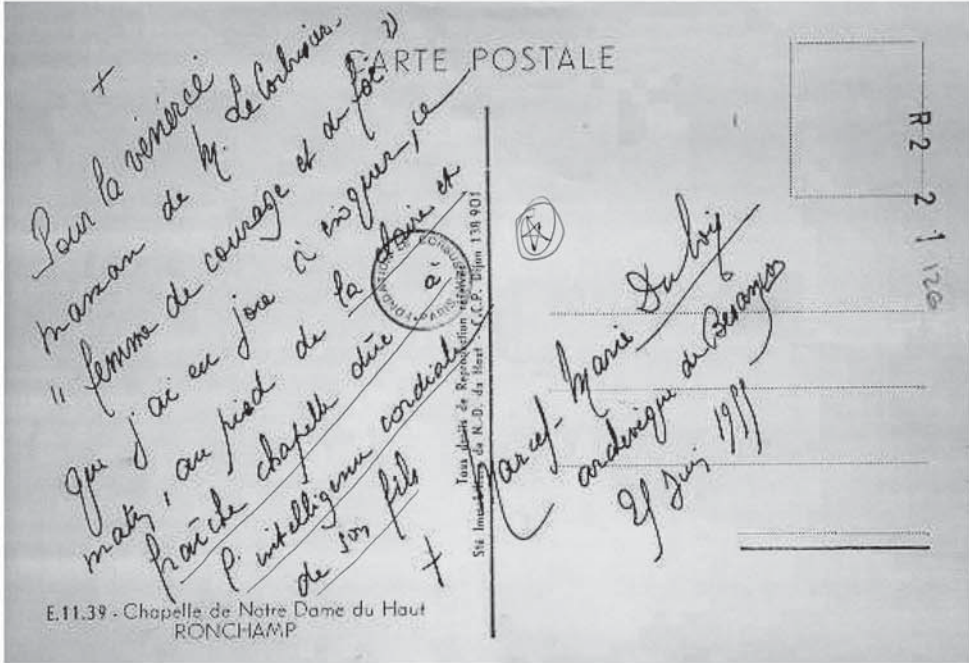
Vous pouvez faire ce travail dès maintenant. Hervé doit partir à Ronchamp dès l'inauguration, la semaine prochaine.

Par ailleurs, Girsberger aura, dans le prochain volume, une analyse complète de ce projet mais ce sera bien après vous.

Bien amicalement à vous.

pr. M. LE CORBUSIER
la Secrétaire

F
LQ



1955-06-25 Archbishop Dubois of Besançon to Marie Jeanneret (FLC R2-2-126; © FLC-ADAGP)

27 juin 55 Ronchamp

R2 2 125

ma chère petite maman

Tout s'est admirablement passé samedi à Ronchamp. Tout fut allégresse, beauté, splendeur spirituelle. Ton Corbu à l'honneur, au pinacle. Considéré aimé, respecté.

La partie était très délicate. C'est l'oeuvre d'architecture la plus révolutionnaire qu'on ait faite depuis longtemps. Et ceci sur le plan religieux, sur le plan catholique - sur le plan du rite.

Or le rite est par mon architecture, porté au plus haut, décanté, reporté aux Evangiles.

Ceci dit par les prêtres - les bons et vrais - = un geste d'une portée peut-être inattendue avec des effets imprévisibles, bien ou mal.

Tout fut joie et enthousiasme. MAIS, le diable doit ricaner dans un coin et il a pour habitude de ne pas rester inactif. Rome a l'oeil sur Ronchamp. J'attends des orages. Et attention, les vilénies, les bassesses.

C'est pourquoi, j'avais été bien vil et bas, par nécessité, en vous faisant mes recommandations en 3 points. Mais je n'ai pas le droit de manquer de vigilance.

Allez à Ronchamp. faites vous ouvrir l'une des portes (je pense que c'est la petite) et visitez l'intérieur. Vous avez le droit d'aller derrière l'autel, vers l'escalier de la sacristie

inclure ce tout haut ! laissez passer la carte de l'archevêque pour maman

inclus à tout hasard 1 laissez passer " la carte de l'archevêque pour maman

27 juin 55 Ronchamp

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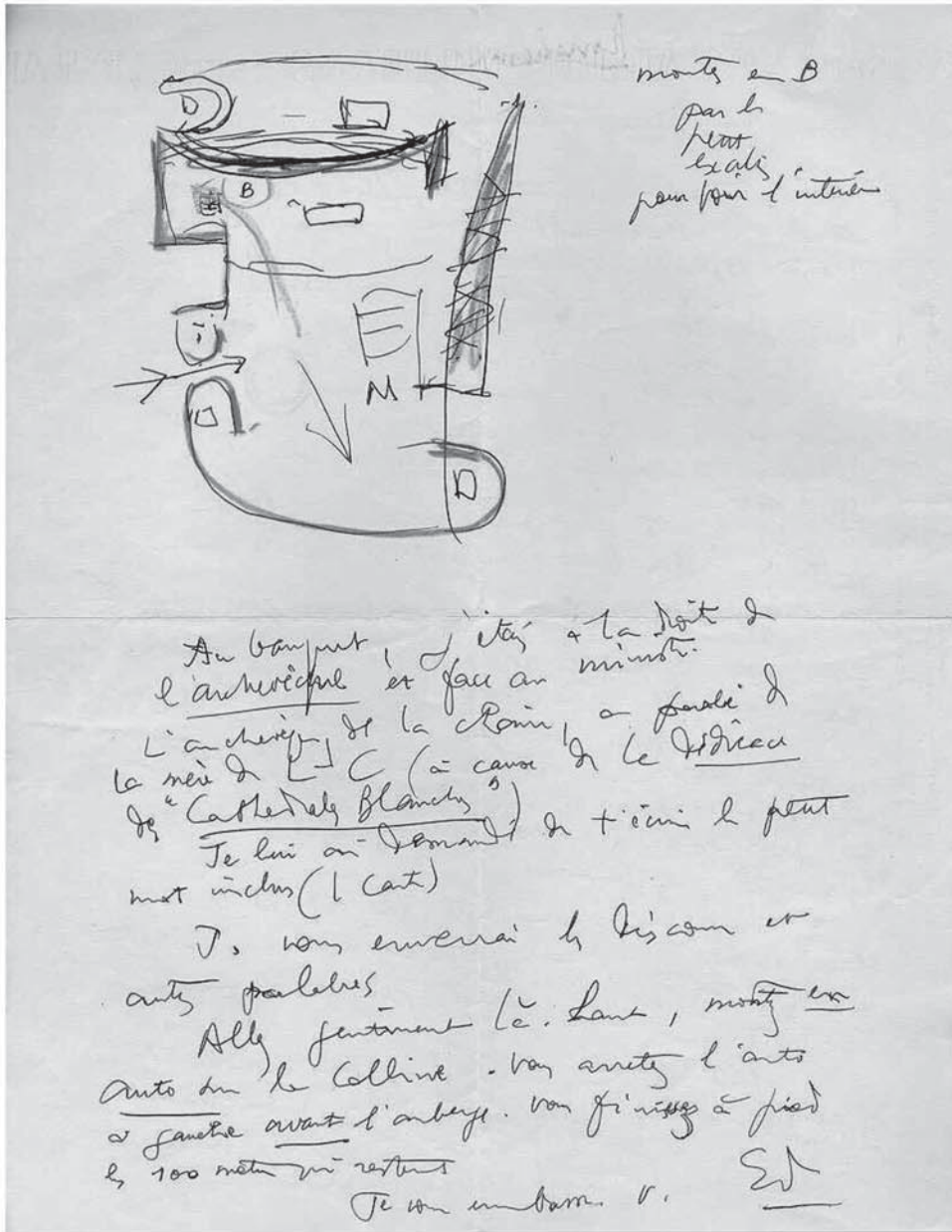
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Si vous buvez un coup, allez à l'auberge du pèlerin en dessous batie par moi. Belles photos à l'intérieur et belles couleurs



monter en B
par le
petit
escalier
pour voir l'intérieur

Au banquet, j'étais à la droite de
l'archevêque et face au ministre.
L'archevêque de la chaire, a parlé de
la mère de L-C (à cause de la dédicace
des "Cathédrales Blanches")
Je lui ai demandé de t'écrire le petit
mot inclus (1 carte)
Je vous enverrai le discours et
autres palabres.
Allez gentiment là-haut, montez en
auto sur la colline. Vous arrêtez l'auto
à gauche avant l'auberge. Vous finissez à pied
les 100 mètres qui restent.
Je vous embrasse v. Ed

exp. 627
Paris, le 24 Juin 1955

Madame TJADER HARRIS
Vikingsborg
DARIEN, Connecticut

Chère Amie,

Je pars inaugurer la Chapelle de Ronchamp. Ce ne sera peut-être pas si beau que votre nonnerie de Vikingsborg, qui est réalisée sur votre inspiration matériellement et spirituellement.

Je vous avais écrit le lendemain du rez-de-marée à Cap Martin. Vous n'avez pas répondu. Je pense que vous naviguez actuellement entre ciel et terre, plutôt ciel !

Quant à moi, j'ai eu le plus vif regret d'avoir à prendre la décision qu'il a fallu prendre, mais les dieux ont bien voulu que je me trouve présent au rez-de-marée. Je perds quelques années de travail sur un thème que j'avais choyé très particulièrement. Je me considérerais comme un homme malhonnête ou un criminel de ne vous avoir pas avertie et d'avoir mis en travail le chantier qui était prêt à partir.

Aussi ai-je eu le très grand réconfort d'apprécier votre amitié et votre gentillesse dans cette affaire. Vous avez de la ligne et ceci est plutôt rare ! J'étais sûr de faire pour vous une très belle affaire. Que voulez-vous ? Vous savez bien que sur terre les hommes ne font pas tout ce qu'ils veulent (les femmes non plus) et plus tard nous en parlerons lorsque nous nous rencontrerons dans les régions supérieures. Mais en attendant, j'espère bien vous voir sur terre encore !

Je vous écrirai quand je retrouverai un instant de liberté. Peut-être aurai-je des vacances.

Bien amicalement à vous.

LE CORBUSIER

P.S. J'ai inauguré samedi dernier la Chapelle de Ronchamp. Le

New Yorker m'a accablé de ses reportages, sans mesure et sans beaucoup de tact. Je les ai même fait mettre à la porte du chantier à un moment donné; c'était il y a dix jours. Par contre, samedi dernier à l'inauguration, tout était dans la joie et les sourires (moi, y compris). L'Archevêque a fait des discours sensationnels. On verra ce que l'on verra ! L'architecture de béton armé est rentrée dans l'histoire de l'architecture pure et, chose beaucoup plus drôle, les prêtres ont dit que cette église ouvrait des temps nouveaux. Je crains bien que le Pape ne soit pas très content ! Il avait envoyé un Evêque pour surveiller la manœuvre de l'inauguration.

Au revoir encore, et amicalement.

L-C



F
LQ

G 2 1943

Paris, le 5 Juillet 1955

Monsieur Lucien HERVE
11, rue Boyer
NEUILLY s/Seine



Mon cher Hervé,

Je vous signale que j'ai donné la priorité de la publication de Ronchamp à Rogers de Milan. Il s'agit d'une étude sérieuse sur la construction. Je vous prie en conséquence de ne pas distribuer de photographies à Domus, par exemple, en ce moment-ci malgré toute la sympathie que j'ai et que vous avez pour Ponti. C'est très important car je me suis engagé moralement envers Rogers.

Il faudra que vous fassiez avec Rogers une entente globale. Vous pourrez m'en parler. Rogers est un type comme nous, il exploite les idées et non pas des gisements.

Bien cordialement à vous.

LE CORBUSIER

les cahiers
FORCES VIVES

11 PLACE XIX^e RUE DE L'OURCOU 59
COMBAT BRÉS CLAP PARIS 10555 78

5 Juillet 1955

Jean Petit

— 30 à 35 DMs. —

Cher monsieur

J'ai tellement peur de vous ennuyer que
je n'osais à peine vous écrire cette lettre. Et pourtant, il
m'est pratiquement impossible de ne pas le faire.

Je n'avais pu faire autrement, que de vous
dire tout ce que j'avais senti à Ronchamp. Et voilà,
que 8 jours après, à Neuf, je suis encore une fois bouleversé,
c'est comment vous dire, vous exprimer, cette sensation
d'un EVENEMENT, un choc formidable. A Reze, j'ai écrit
en tous sens, et je ne pourrais me résigner à partir.

Pardonnez-moi de vous dire tout cela, mais vous
savez, ce n'est que le fond de ma pensée, et je suis trop
timide pour pouvoir vous l'exprimer de vive voix.

Ce qui a été fait à Reze, pourquoi ne le ferions
nous pas à Paris, dans la région parisienne. Reze est venu de
la volonté de quelques habitants... nous saurons bien
être quelques parisiens, pour faire de même...

Encore une fois je voudrais vous dire MERCI
et j'ai l'impression de ne pas le faire assez fort. Je vous
vous le dire, Ronchamp et Reze ont été pour moi des dates
importantes, jamais je n'avais été autant bouleversé.

J'ai vu votre petit exergue tout à Bafoullage,
pardonnez-moi tous les détails, m'aidant tellement l'impression
que vous êtes un ami un grand ami comme nul autre.
Avec vous l'on a confiance. Merci de tout.

Et je voudrais ici vous dire, que je ne
souhaite et désire qu'une chose c'est agir, agir utilement
pour la cause que vous défendez depuis si longtemps.
Je voudrais que vous sachiez que je suis à votre
disposition pour agir utilement, même humblement
sans le sens que vous je serais reconnaissant.

Et il faut que vous arrivions à...

Tout ce que nous pourrions pour que s'édifient
d'autres Unis. Je vois bien, que bientôt cela va devenir
mon seul but dans la vie...

En vous priant d'excuser le trouble de
cette lettre qui a bien du mal à exprimer ce que ressent
mon cœur, je vous salue, cher monsieur et ami,
de croire en mon attachement respectueux et dévoué

Jean Petit

Paris, le 9 Juillet 1955

Monsieur Jean PETIT
Forces Vives
59, rue de l'Ourcq
P A R I S (XIX^e)

Cher Monsieur et Ami,

Merci de votre lettre du 5 juillet. Tout cela est très bien. Vous me dites que vous sauriez bien être quelques Parisiens pour en faire autant que ceux de Rezé ou de Michelet. Je le souhaite. Je vous en remercie d'avance. Découvrez les voies utiles. Restez près de nous le plus près possible; on finira bien par faire une soudure favorable.

A bientôt donc et amicalement à vous.

LE CORBUSIER

L-C envisage
collaboration
active de J. Petit
D^r de la Tour Villy
Tousjours les
rapports sont excellents.
Il s'agit de voir
si l'on peut
continuer à faire vert

les cahiers
FORCES VIVES

4 PARIS, XIX^e RUE DE L'OURCOU AU 59
COMBAT 68 23 - C.C.P. PARIS 10359 78

Je soussigne Jean Petit,
m'engage à rembourser
Monsieur Le Corbusier de
la somme de cent vingt mille
francs, qu'il m'avance ce jour,
à la date du 31 Octobre 1955.

Jean Petit

Paris 7 Octobre 1955

Paris, le 10 Octobre 1955

Monsieur Jean PETIT
"Forces Vives"
59, rue de l'Ourcq
P A R I S (19^e)

Cher Ami,

Esprit d'escalier: je pense que vous devriez évoquer tout de même le Chanoine Ledeur et l'Abbé Ferry et avoir peut-être (?) quelques déclarations d'eux. Non pas des louanges mais exprimant la réponse de nature utile qu'ils ont trouvée dans l'outil de travail que constitue la Chapelle de Ronchamp (sous la brutalité des termes ci-dessus se trouve une question nettement posée).

J'ai retrouvé les photos du Fritz: Renz. Elles sont très bonnes bien que prises par un temps gris. Renz propose de les refaire à l'occasion par le soleil. J'ai refusé de l'autoriser à faire pour l'instant un livre spécial. Voici son adresse par le truchement du Dr Herbert Herrmann (je joins copie de ma lettre); prenez contact.

Bien cordialement à vous.

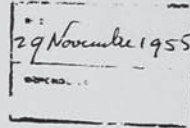
LE CORBUSIER

FORCES VIVES

CARRE D'ÉPURE ET DE DOCUMENTATION
50, RUE DE L'OURCQ - PARIS XII^e

Paris le 25 Novembre 1955

Madame Jeanne HEILBUTH
Atelier Le Corbusier
35, rue de Sèvres
PARIS.



Chère Madame,

Ainsi que me l'avait demandé
M. Le Corbusier avant son départ, je vous transmets ci-joint :
une lettre, le sommaire de l'ouvrage que je prépare sur
la chapelle de Ronchamp, et un texte annexé.

Ceci afin que M. Le Corbusier puisse préparer les divers
éléments qu'il avait prévus inclure dans ce cahier de
" Forces Vives ".

Je vous demande donc de bien vouloir
lui transmettre tout ceci comme il m'avait demandé de la
faire.

Vous en remerciant, je vous demande
de croire, Chère Madame, en mes meilleurs sentiments.


Jean PETIT.

Ainsi que je l'indique à M. Le Corbusier, certaines difficultés
financières qui ont assailli " Forces Vives " ces temps derniers
m'ont empêché de vous remettre le chèque prévu. Je vous
remettrai ceci dans les premiers jours de Décembre.

Paris le 25 Novembre 1955

Monsieur LE CORBUSIER
aux Indes.

Jean

Cher Monsieur et Ami,

Ainsi que vous me l'avez demandé avant votre départ, je vous communique ci-joint, le plan complet du numéro de " Forces Vives " sur Ronchamp. J'ai maintenant réuni presque tous les documents photographiques. Cela n'était pas facile car je désirais avant tout ne pas trahir par de fantaisies photographiques qui n'ont pas leurs places à Ronchamp.

J'en profite pour vous demander rapidement ce qui me manque encore et que je désire inclure dans le numéro.

- 1°) Votre texte que vous aviez envisagé comme une petite préface remettant en quelque sorte la chapelle. J'espère qu'il vous sera possible de me l'envoyer.
- 2°) Écrit de votre main et signé, le texte de votre adresse à Mgr Dubois le jour de l'inauguration (Vous le trouverez ci-joint. Pourriez vous me faire cela ?).
- 3°) Pour la couverture je pensais simplement, comme je vous l'avais déjà dit, ne pas mettre de photo mais un croquis au trait de vous sur la chapelle, ou bien encore peut être reprenant un dessin de vitrail (la mer par exemple)
vitral
Cela vous est il possible ?

J'espère que vous me pardonneriez de vous ennuyer ainsi toujours, mais je voudrais tellement que cet ouvrage sur Ronchamp soit fort et exprime, sans sensiblerie, mais avec sensibilité, ce qui n'exclut point le choc, la force de cette chapelle faisant corps avec la colline. Et aussi la joie fraîche qui s'en dégage.

..../....

Il ne faut donc point parler de Ronchamp.
On pénètre. On reçoit.

Et aussi il faut le dire, ce message honnête, loyal, sincère, à notre temps, à l'architecture, à l'essence du sacré retrouvée ici.

J'espère que votre voyage aux Indes ne vous fatigue pas de trop, et vous apporte des maintes satisfactions.

Et vous demandant de m'excuser pour vous avoir ennuyé encore une fois, et, vous remerciant, je vous demande de croire, cher Monsieur et Ami, en mon attachement respectueux et dévoué.

Jean Petit
Jean PETIT.

Tous ces temps ci la lutte a été dure matériellement pour " Forces Vives ". Une mauvaise passe, et je n'ai pu à la date prévue remettre à Jeanne le chèque correspondant à ce que vous m'aviez avancé. L'horizon s'éclaircit maintenant et je remettrai cela dans les premiers jours de Décembre. Pardonnez moi de ce retard involontaire. J'en suis confus, mais vous savez mieux que moi, cela est dur parfois, très dur.

Merci encore de tout.

J'ajoute que très certainement, cet ouvrage de Forces Vives sur Ronchamp prendra un peu l'aspect d'un livre, et que l'impression sera beaucoup plus soignée que la précédente. Je vous en reparlerai comme d'ailleurs, des numéros de Forces Vives qui suivront et que je désire orienter comme je vous l'avais déjà dit sur la somme de logos et de ses prolongements.

Pour M. Le Corbusier

Cahier " FORCES VIVES "
consacré à Ronchamp

P L A N

D'abord il faut vous dire que ce cahier ne vise absolument pas à être un plaidoyer, une défense, une louange de Ronchamp, mais simplement sans vouloir à tout prix démontrer, ou expliquer, cet ouvrage doit faire ressentir le choc vrai de Ronchamp, qui à lui seul est une réponse. Tout cela très vivant, comme un film.

1ère partie LE DESORDRE

DESORDRE,
ET LA CONFUSION EST
DEVENUE NOTRE SEUL BIEN

une série de photos sur un rythme
rapide, exprimera l'idée de désordre
et de confusion de notre temps
(dans l'architecture, dans la vie,
ect)

Mais dans la nuit
de notre temps

VOICI,
UNE LUMIERE
A RONCHAMP
la chapelle de N.D. du Haut

ici photos aériennes de Ronchamp.

Voici je fais toutes choses nouvelles (Apocalypse XXI 5)

alors
ici pourrait s'inscrire votre
texte . L.C.

Ensuite les pages qui viennent
s'inscriront dans une sorte de
montée à Ronchamp, au pèlerinage
avec l'arrivée, ensuite la découverte
de la chapelle, le choc puissant.

ceci simplement accompagné de
photos qui suivront la route du
pèlerin, dans la montée
à Ronchamp.

Handwritten notes and sketches in the left margin, including 'Confusion', 'Mais dans la nuit de notre temps', and various scribbles.

2ème partie LUMIERES DE RONCHAMP

et je vis des cieux nouveaux
et une terre nouvelle
(Apocalypse XXI,I)

Ce sont alors les lumières de
Ronchamp qui sont :
la Joie, le Dynamisme, la Communauté,
la Liturgie, la Prière, la Solitude
(dans le sens d'intériorité spirituel-
le).

Handwritten notes: 'Dans la chapelle', 'une sac...', 'par son...', 'magnifique'

Ces parties ne seront exprimées que
par des photos de la chapelle et
de simples phrases d'auteurs différents
écrites spécialement ou reprises dans
certaines oeuvres
(Bernanos, St Exupéry, Malraux, ect..)

3ème partie LA VOIX DE RONCHAMP

Cette partie exprimera simplement
et brièvement le choc ressenti à
Ronchamp par des personnes très
diverses. Et aussi peut être, un
texte d'André Malraux, dans l'esprit
puissant de son oeuvre. Mais ce point
n'est pas encore définitivement
assuré.

4ème partie DOCUMENTS

Cette partie rassemblera d'abord des notes
techniques sur l'oeuvre et des précisions sur
sa réalisation technique. Ensuite des témoi-
gnages divers sur la chapelle, par exemple
de prêtres connaissant Ronchamp dans son
essence même. Ceci répondrait ainsi à ce que
vous me disiez " Non pas des louanges, mais
exprimant la réponse de nature utile qu'ils
ont trouvé dans l'outil de travail que consti-
tue la chapelle de Ronchamp"/
(sous la brutalité des termes ci-dessus, se
trouve une question nettement posée)."

Ainsi cette partie s'envisagerait comme ceci :

CARNET de TRAVAIL texte de Maisonnier ... plans et photos de
chantier

NOTES TECHNIQUES texte bref de Prouteau
et le témoignage simple de Bona

TEMOIGNAGES Textes brefs de :
Chanoine Ledeur, Abbés Ball et Ferry, Père
Cocagnac (Art Sacré) Claudius Petit, Alfred
Canet.

5ème partie

Alors s'inscrirait le texte que vous avez prononcé le jour de
l'inauguration (ci-joint) que j'aimerais manuscrit de votre main.
Pourriez vous faire ceci et le signer sans que cela vous ennuie ?

*ce manuscrit
de votre main
s'inscrirait
à l'origine
de l'ouvrage*

Et je crois que je terminerai sur une photo du toit terrasse de
Marseille et une autre de Ronchamp, vue d'avion, avec cette phrase :

*et l'important
L'essentiel, l'effort
ne devant pas, aboutir*

On peut plaisanter, on peut critiquer,
on peut rire. Et qu'importe après tout
si l'effort ne doit pas aboutir ?
Il aura su exercer foi espérance, amour,
qui eux du moins ne passent pas.

Angelico SURCHAMP.

+
Tout ce plan étant conforme à ce que nous avons vu ensemble
chez vous, lorsque je vous avais parlé de ce cahier.
+

*a recopier si cela
est possible, manuscrit
de votre main*

ADRESSE DE LE CORBUSIER A S.E. Mgr DUBOIS

En bâtissant cette chapelle, j'ai voulu créer un lieu de silence,
de paix, de joie intérieure. Le sentiment du sacré anima notre effort.
Des choses sont sacrées. D'autres ne le sont pas, qu'elles soient
religieuses ou non.

Nos ouvriers et Bona, le contremaître, Maisonnier, de mon atelier,
les ingénieurs et les calculateurs, d'autres ouvriers et des entreprises,
des administrateurs, Savina, ont été les réalisateurs de cette oeuvre
difficile, minutieuse, rude - forte dans les moyens mis en oeuvre, mais
sensible et animée d'une mathématique totale, créatrice de l'espace
indicible.

Quelques signes dispersés, et quelques mots écrits, disent la louange
de la Vierge.

la croix - la croix vraie du supplice - est installée dans cette arche;
le drame chrétien a désormais pris possession du lieu.

Excellence, je vous remets cette chapelle de béton loyal, pétrie de
témérité peut-être, de courage certainement, avec l'espoir qu'elle
trouvera en vous comme en ceux qui monteront sur la colline, un écho
à ce que tous nous y avons inscrit.

*Donner
à l'archevêque
ce cahier
en trois
et photo
de la page 6
à l'archevêque
à l'archevêque*

Paris, le 27 Mai 1957

Monsieur Jean PETIT
Les Cahiers Forces Vives
59, rue de l'Ourcq
P A R I S (XIX^e)

Mon cher Petit,

Inclus publicité Desclées de Brouwer dans l'Architecture d'aujourd'hui. Qui a rédigé cette publicité ? Qui l'a composée ? Prière de me donner des explications.

J'apprends par-dessus le marché, que "on" aurait interdit à Hatje de vendre son livre (le mien) en France.

Venez me voir pour me donner une réponse immédiate.

Cordialement,

LE CORBUSIER

P.J. : 1

E: PUBLISHED DESIGN DOCUMENTS

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N
1	Ronchamp: documents													
2	Texts		Boesiger	Petit	Boesiger	LC	Petit	Boesiger	LC	LC	Petit	Petit	Petit	
3	Date		1953	1955	1955	1955a	1956	1957	1957a	1960b	1961	1965	1970	Totals
4														
5	1950-05-20	Sketch 272 (D17-272)	90-a		74-a						122-a	10		4
6	1950-05-20	Sketch 273 (D17-273)	90-b		74-b					166-a	122-b	11		5
7	1950-06-06	Charcoal Plan (FLC 07470)							89-a					1
8		Elevations 07433							90-a					1
9	1950-06-09	Perspective 313 (E18-313)							90-d		122-d			2
10		Perspective 318 (E18-318)	premier 90-e		premier 74-e						166-b	118, 123- f	17	117 7
11		FLC 07435							89-b					1
12		Perspective 312 (E18-312)	premier 90-d		premier 74-d				90-c	166-c	122-c 123-e	16	117	8
13		Perspective 274 (D17-274)	premier 90-f		premier 74-f				90-c	166-d	123-g	18		6
14	1950-11-22	Plaster model (photos)	15	3	15	4	1	1	3		4			46
15	1950-11-22	FLC 07104	92-a		76-a									2
16	1950-11-22	FLC 07105	90-c	n.p.	74-c	276					129			5
17	1950-11-22	FLC 07106 N section	93-a		77-a									2
18	1950-11-22	FLC 07107 S section	94-b		78-b									2
19	1950-11-22	FLC 07108 E section	92-b		76-b									2
20	1950-11-22	FLC 07109 W section	93-c		77-c									2
21	1950-11-22	FLC 07110 E elev	92-c		76-c									2
22	1950-11-22	FLC 07111 S elev site	94-a		78-a									2
23	1950-11-22	FLC 07112 N elev	93-b		77-b									2
24	1950-11-22	FLC 07113 E elev site	89		73						128			3

E: PUBLISHED DESIGN DOCUMENTS

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N
25	1951-01-04	Sketches 4 Jan 1951	4/1/51 91-a		4/1/51 75-a			premier 17-b		4/1/51 166-e	123-a	15		6
26	1951-01-04	Sketches 4 Jan 1951	4/1/51 91-b		4/1/51 75-b			premier 4/1/51 17-a		4/1/51 166-f	123-b	13		6
27	1951-01-04	Sketches 4 Jan 1951	4/1/51 91-c		4/1/51 75-c					4/1/51 166-g	123-c	12		5
28	1951-01-04	Sketches 4 Jan 1951	4/1/51 91-d		4/1/51 75-d					4/1/51 166-h	123-d	14		5
29		FLC E18-319 (similar)							tenir debout 90-b			tenir debout 19		2
30		FLC 07400 N elev	96-b		80-b							26		3
31		FLC 07323 E section	entrée opposé 97		entrée opposé 81							entrée opposé 28		3
32		FLC 07371 N section	98-a			82						30		3
33		FLC 07163 roof plate							92-b					1
34		FLC 07164 roof plate							92-d					1
35		FLC 07165 roof plate							92-c					1
36		FLC 07338 roof plate							92-a					1
37	1951-12-18	unknown. Construction.	96-a		80-a						plan missing 140	plan 1 etape 21 / 22		4
38		Wire model (photos)	13		7	7	1		2		2			32
39	1952-09-09	FLC 07119 (similar)				83						tête-à- tête 35		2

E: PUBLISHED DESIGN DOCUMENTS

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N
40		Roof model (photos)							I		I			2
41	1953-03-02	FLC 07583 foundation plan							99					1
42	1953-11-22	FLC 07191 axonometric		n.p.			63	25	106		127	25		6
43	1953-12-02	FLC 07187 N section							100		133-b			2
44	1953-12-02	FLC 07188 N section				Fig 137 268			122		134			3
45		FLC 07206 N towers							no dates 101		no dates 135			2
46		FLC 07423 S interior elev						38	96		138			3
47	1954-01-14	FLC 07173 S elev		façade sud n.p.			60		courbes régles 119		132-a			4
48	1954-04-04	FLC 07589 roof detail							95-a					1
49		FLC 07208 S wall section						38						1
50		FLC 07209 S wall plan/sect							98					1
51	1954-06-10	FLC 07587 Roof section							95-b					1
52	1954-06-15	FLC 07481 (similar)						plan ensemb 20	10000 pelerins 103		plan ensemb définitif 130			3
53	1954-06-23	FLC 07148 E elev							Mod partout 118		133-a			2
54	1954-06-27	FLC 07185 N Elev						30	120 125		132-b			4
55	1954-10-10	FLC 07225A door section						40	95					2

E: PUBLISHED DESIGN DOCUMENTS

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N
56		unknown							124					1
57		unknown							124					1
58	1954-11-03	FLC 07250b S door tracés							125					1
59		unknown (Christ en croix)									62	40		2
60	1955-02-01	FLC 07167 Plan				Fig 134, rotated 266		altar to the east 21	tête-à- tête 102		Plan int. 131			4
61	1955-02-09	FLC 07227 Bassin d'eau						29						1
62		unknown. S door sketch							L-C 55 10			L-C 55 42		2
63		unknown. S door ext.							125					1
64		unknown. S door int.							125					1
65	1955-05-19	FLC 07623 (similar)							98					1
66	1956-04-22	FLC K42-604. lune sketch							la lune Chand. 22/4/56, 24			Chand. 22/4/56, 38		2
67		unknown							ronde- bosse 120			ronde- bosse 33		2
68		unknown (07323 tracing)							encore plus bas 121	267		cover 36		4
69		FLC 33266X [FLC 07323]							onde 121			onde 37		2
70		unknown. Mod geometry							26					1
71		Total												244



FIGURE I.01 Chapel Notre-Dame-du-Haut, Ronchamp, October 1944 (AONDH)
The neo-Gothic chapel was severely damaged during the battle of Bourlémont, September-October 1944.

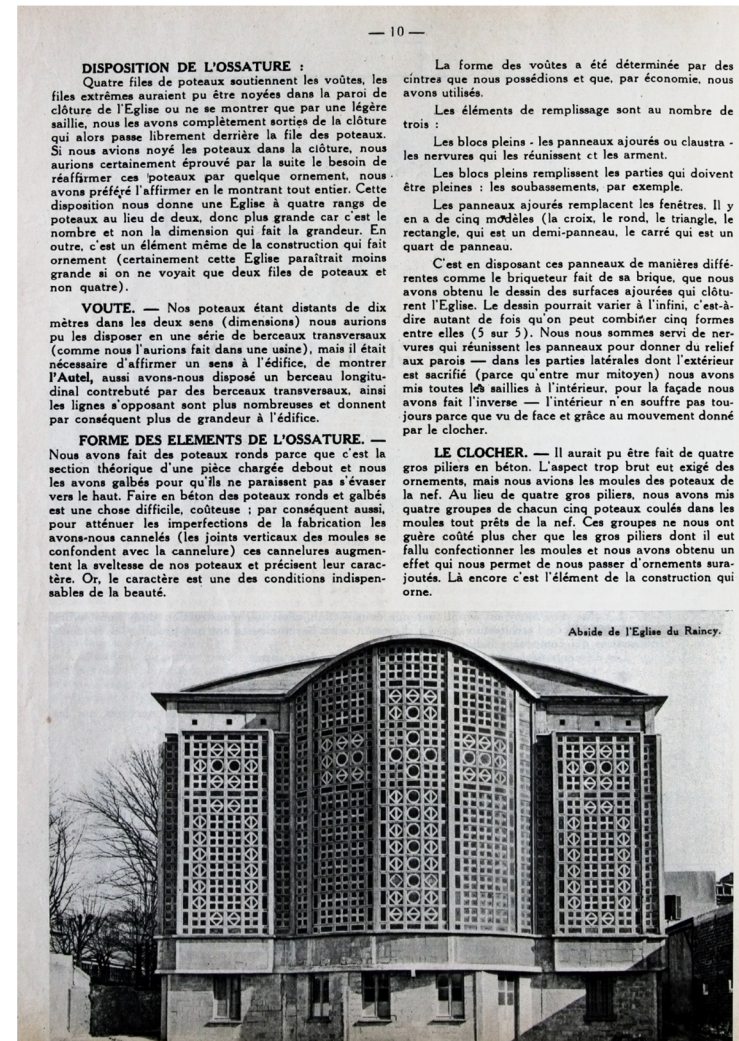
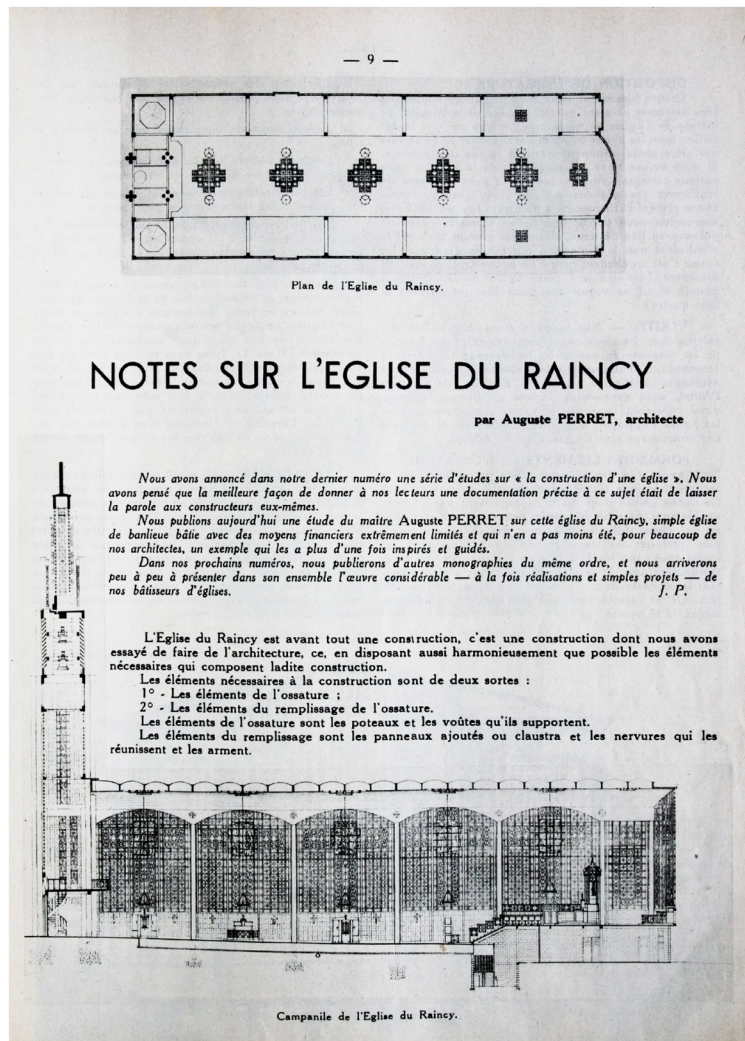


FIGURE I.02 Joseph Prichard, 'Notes sur l'église du Raincy', in *L'Art sacré*, July 1935, n. 4. François Mathey referred to the church as the "Sainte Chapelle of reinforced concrete."

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<http://www.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/memoire/HTML/IVR11/IA94000210/index.htm>

This image has been removed as the copyright is owned by another organisation.
<http://www.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/memoire/HTML/IVR11/IA00129993/index.htm>

FIGURE 1.03 Left: Henri Vidal, Chapelle Bon-Pasteur, Chevilly-Larue (Ile-de-France), 1935-36
Cadre des Chantiers du Cardinal (Photo: Christian Décamps, ADAGP)
Right: Charles Venner, Saint-Jean-Baptiste-du-Plateau, Ivry-sur-Seine (Ile-de-France), 1935
Cadre des Chantiers du Cardinal (Photo: Christian Décamps, ADAGP)



FIGURE I.04 The “renaissance of stained glass in France”
 left: Louis Barillet, J. Le Chevallier, and Th.-G. Hanssen, Notre-Dame de la Trinité, Blois (*L’Art sacré* 1938, n. 36, p. 344)
 center: Marguerite Huré, Saint Francis of Assisi (*L’Art sacré* 1939, n. 42, p. 184)
 right: Jean Hébert-Stevens, Saint Helena (*L’Art sacré* 1938, n. 36, p. 346)

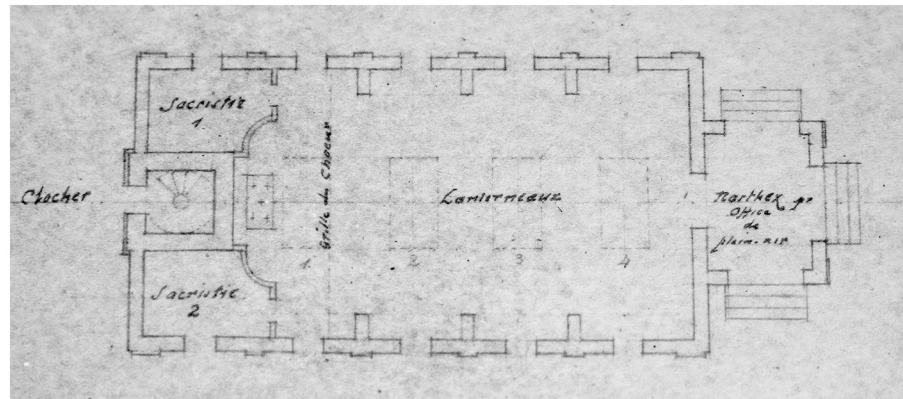
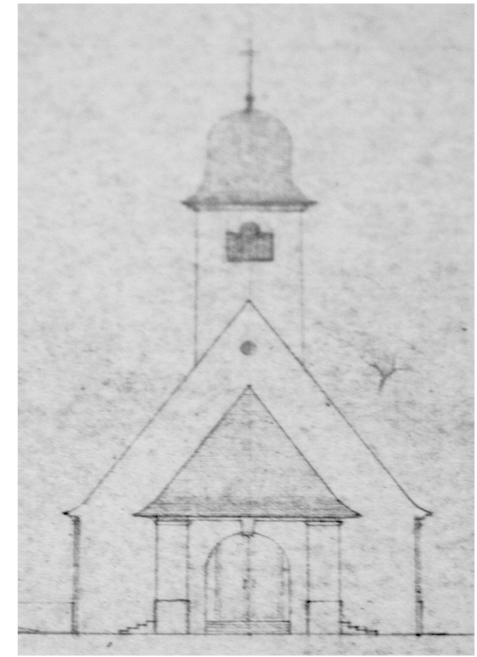
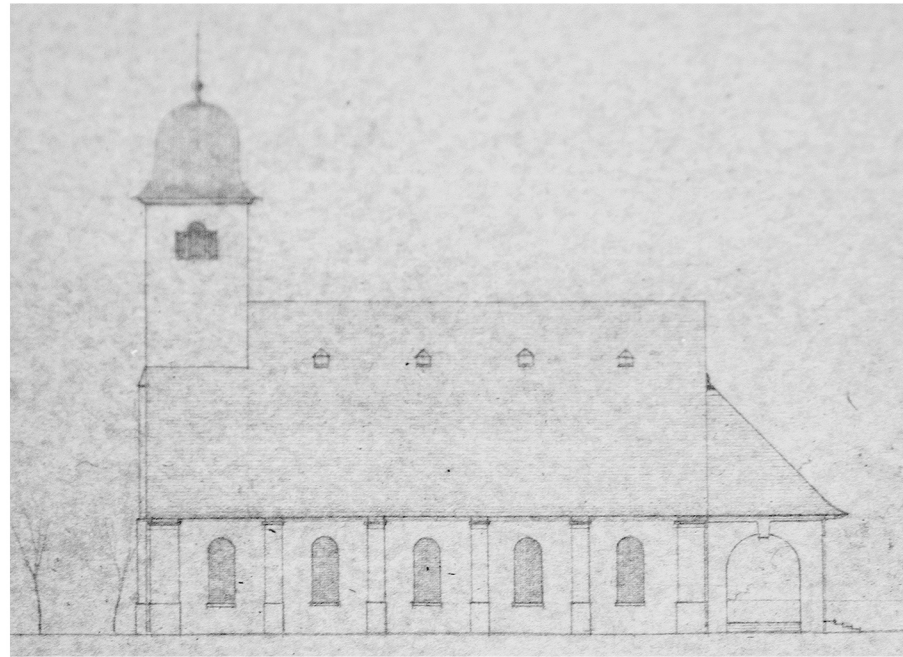
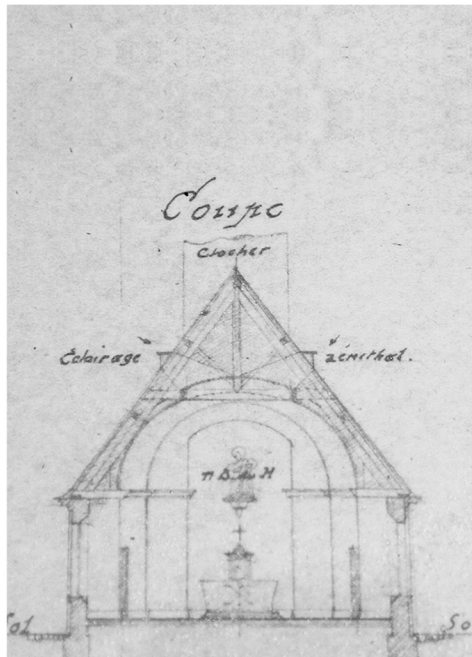


FIGURE I.05 Jean-Charles Moreux, Chapel Notre-Dame-du-Haut, Ronchamp, fourth project, June (?) 1949 (AONDH)



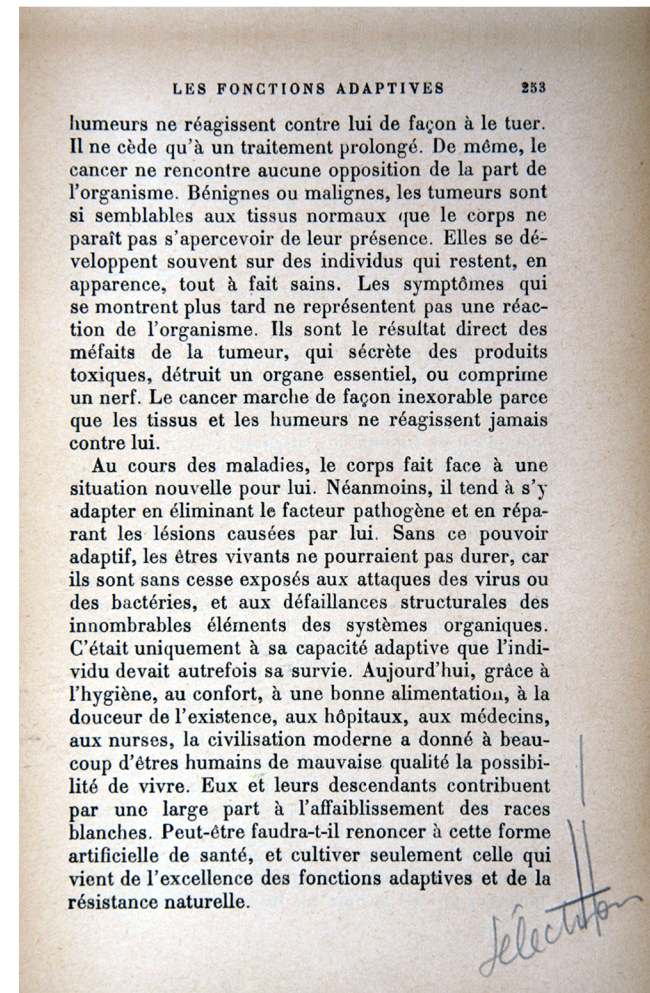
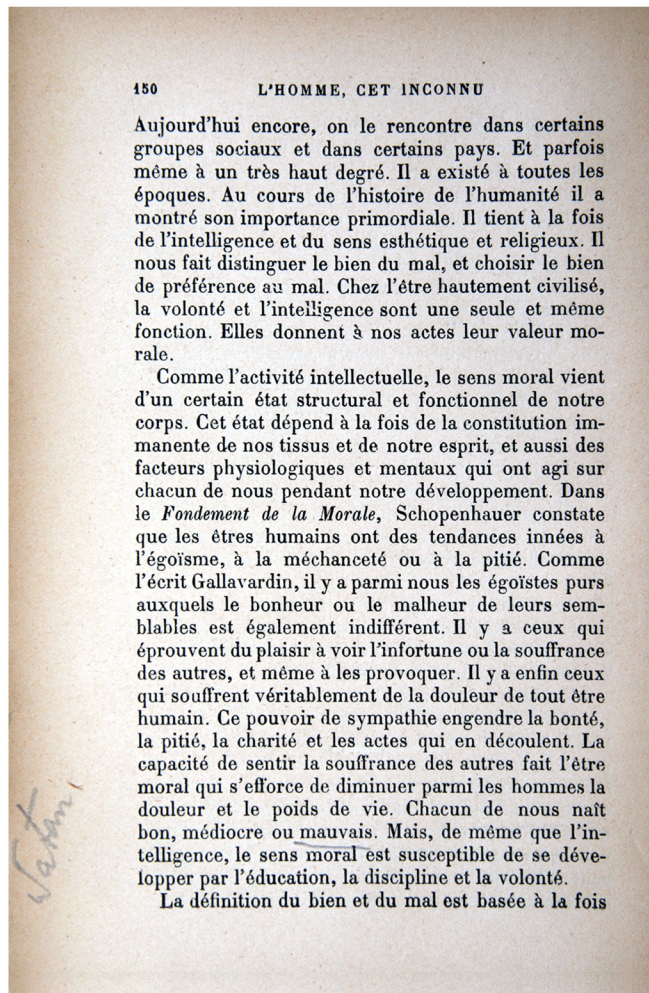
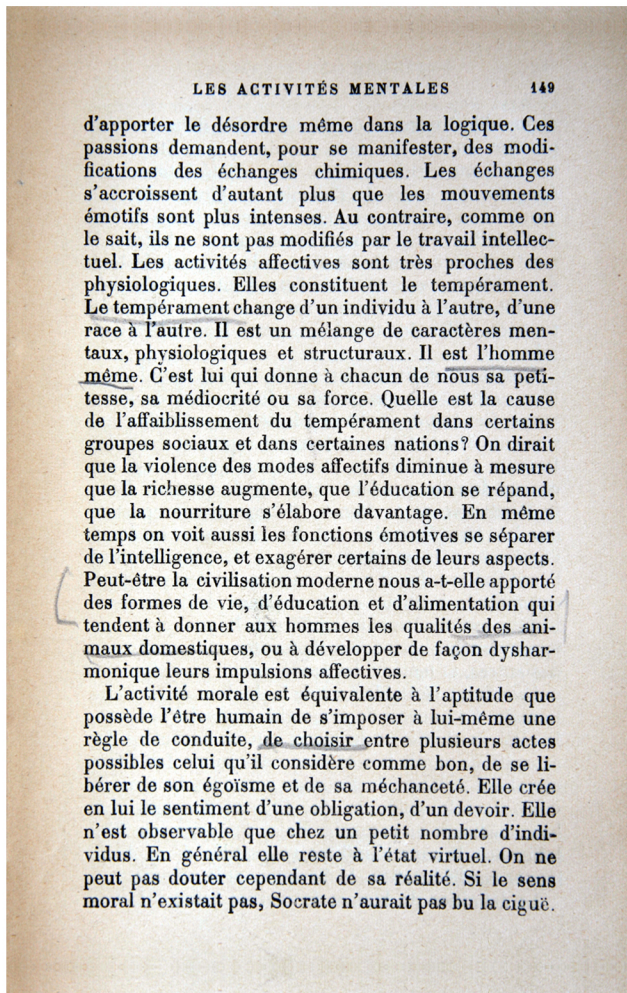


FIGURE 1.06 Alexis Carrel, *L'homme, cet inconnu* (1936: 194-50, 243) with annotations by Le Corbusier. (© FLC-ADAGP)
The architect read the book in the summer of 1936, the summer of 1938, and October of 1950.



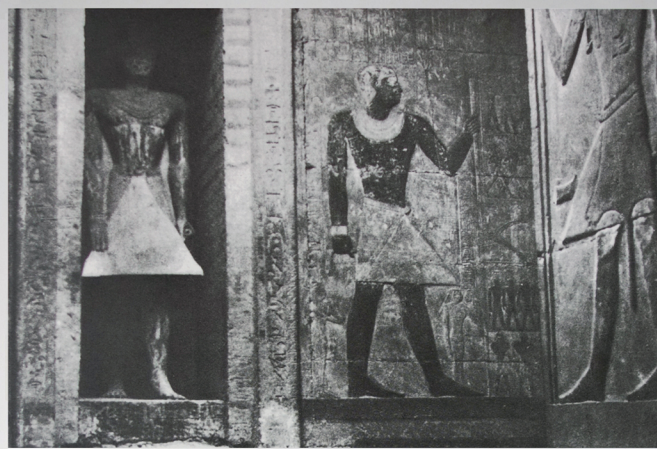
Le Corbusier.

POUR LES YEUX

La tâche assumée par « l'Art Sacré » dans cette tentative d'une renaissance de l'art chrétien en France doit être double : réforme des idées — restauration de la sensibilité visuelle. Sur le premier point il semble que la partie soit à peu près gagnée — à tout le moins auprès de l'élite du clergé. L'expérience montre aujourd'hui que cela ne suffit pas : avec des idées redevenues justes, avec des principes vrais et reconnus pour tels, si le goût resté mauvais, les préférences intimes que, devant les œuvres, dictent finalement les jugements et les choix, resteront mauvaises. La clarté conceptuelle des principes finit par couvrir les pires équivoques. Il faut donc tenir bon, répéter qu'en art ce n'est pas l'intelligence qui juge et discerne, ce sont les sens. Très exactement l'intuition sensible et non pas le raisonnement. En matière d'art

on ne juge pas comme on pense, mais comme on sent. C'est-à-dire comme on est. Or il faut bien admettre que depuis un siècle la sensibilité visuelle en Occident a été progressivement pervertie. Elle l'a été par les produits de l'académisme officiel, par ceux du machinisme, enfin par la prolifération insensée des artistes (médiocres, naturellement). « Non seulement il ne faut pas encourager les Arts, disait Degas, mais il faut les découvrir. » Actuellement on doit reconnaître que tous ou presque tous, nous avons la vue faussée — faussée exactement dans le sens où l'on dit d'un homme qu'il a la voix fausse ou l'oreille fausse. Nous avons donc pensé qu'il était indispensable de consacrer de temps à outre un numéro de l'Art Sacré exclusivement à cette tâche de restauration de la sensibilité visuelle. Fût-ce au détriment de l'exposé des idées. Cette restauration semble devoir impliquer

3



deux choses : une purification et une libération. Purification : par la vue de formes en elles-mêmes très pures. Pureté formelle, beauté des formes en tant que telles, c'est-à-dire indépendamment des sujets ou des intentions. Beauté dont nous devons maintenir qu'elle est, en art, le seul moyen légitime, le seul d'ailleurs qui soit durablement efficace. L'histoire de l'art prouve en effet irrécusablement que, depuis cent cinquante ans, aucune œuvre n'a duré, aucune œuvre n'a tenu que celles où la primauté de la beauté des formes, comme telle a été (consciemment ou inconsciemment) absolue. Absolue, c'est-à-dire sans aucune concession à des fins morales, sociales ou apostoliques extérieures à l'œuvre. Dès que ces concessions interviennent, nous quittons, en effet, le domaine propre de l'art pour celui de la propagande, domaine où les moyens sont essentiellement provisoires. Et l'œuvre, après quelques années, disqualifiée, perd tout pouvoir, alors que de purs rapports de couleurs et de lignes gardent pour toujours cette miraculeuse puissance de purification, d'apaisement ou d'exaltation que leurs auteurs n'avaient même pas cherchée. Car la beauté, de soi et par soi, est déjà un véritable bien : diffusivum sui. Rien qu'à rester sous nos regards, des formes pures feu à peu nous « accordent » (comme on accorde un piano) à leur beauté. Comme une musique, elles nous imposent secrètement leur mesure et leurs rythmes. Voilà pourquoi nous présenterons (p. 3 à 10) des images qui ne seront que de belles images très pures — et, si possible, sans légendes et sans explications. Ceci afin qu'aucune activité rationnelle ne vienne s'interposer dans ce qui doit rester une très simple et très directe intuition sensible. Et aussi parce que les textes juxtaposés aux images nuisent le plus souvent à la beauté de celles-ci et donc diminuent d'autant l'efficacité propre de leur action sur la vue. En second lieu, Libération. Durant ce même dernier siècle — et du fait encore de l'imperialisme académique dans les Ecoles d'art et les milieux officiels (cf. Père Régamey, Art Sacré, oct. 47) les habitudes visuelles du public ont été non seulement perverties, mais encore enfermées, emprisonnées dans des conformismes à prétentions de noblesse, où n'était plus admise qu'une portion très diminuée de la beauté multiple et vivante des êtres. Pour échapper au danger de ces barrières, de ces aillères, nous publierons donc des images empruntées aux réalités matérielles et surtout à l'industrie (p. 20 à 25), nous rappelant que toujours des formes admirables sont nées, sans aucun souci d'art, de la seule rigueur des calculs et d'une saine conception des fonctions et des fins.

M.-A. COUTURIER.

4



Marseille.

Le Corbusier.

Nous ne disons pas que de telles constructions seraient d'admirables églises (et, d'ailleurs, il suffira toujours à l'essentiel du culte chrétien d'une table de bois dans une pauvre chambre), mais nous devons rappeler inlassablement que lorsque les nécessités matérielles ont su provoquer un pareil renouvellement des formes, il est scandaleux que les exigences spirituelles n'aient plus dans nos milieux la force d'en susciter aussi.

23

FIGURE I.07 Marie-Alain Couturier, 'Pour les yeux' (L'Art Sacré n. 5-6, January-February 1950, p. 3-4, 23)

Voici, surgi dans le pays de France, un nouveau signe architectural debout sur les éteules, les meules, les champs et les pâtures, un signe civique: le centre des forces civiles.

Il vient, au XX^e siècle, marquer de son sceau énergique le paysage de France, en Provence, comme en Beauce et en Bretagne ...

Le féodal en ruines sur la colline ou le château, pimpant encore, demeuré vivant.

L'église.

Lui, le nouveau venu, civique et civil. De loin, on le voit marquer le bout de la route.

Sa construction sera l'un des actes éminents du réveil de la terre.

Here, rising up in the French countryside, is a new architectural symbol, standing in the stubble, among the haystacks, the fields and pastures, a civic symbol: a point of focus for civil forces.

It has come, in the 20th century, to make its vigorous mark on the French countryside, in Provence, as in Beauce and Brittany ...

The ruined castle on the hill, and the still-smart château live on.

The church.

This newcomer is both civic and civil.

Building it will be one of the important acts of the awakening world.

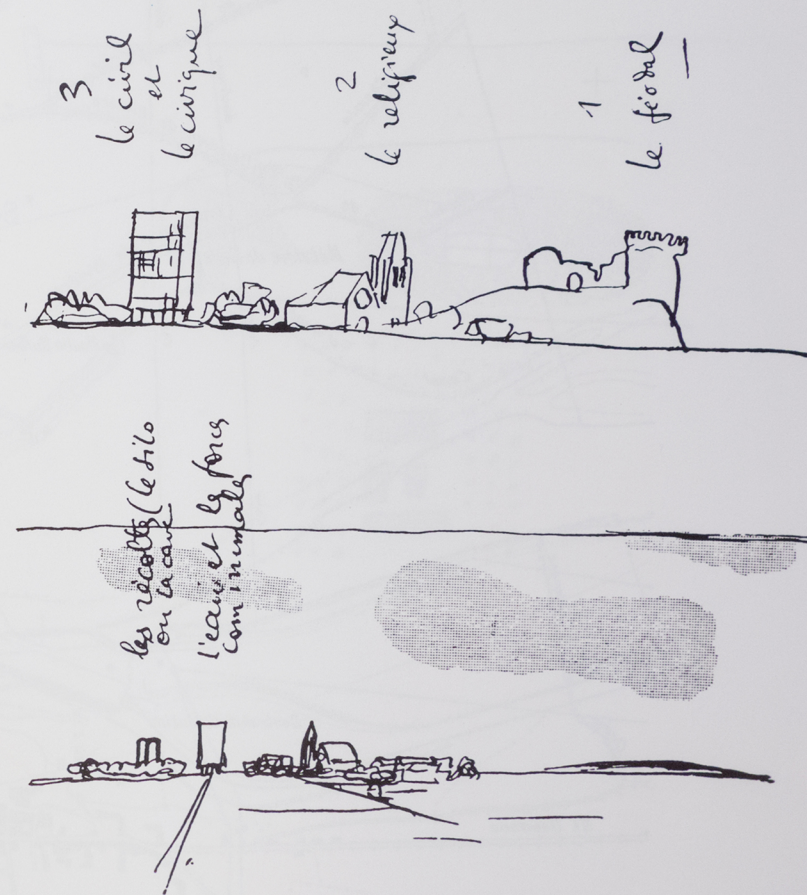


FIGURE 1.08 Le Corbusier, 'Urbanisation de Saint-Gaudens', *Œuvre complète* v. 4, 1938-1946 (Boesiger 1957: 163)

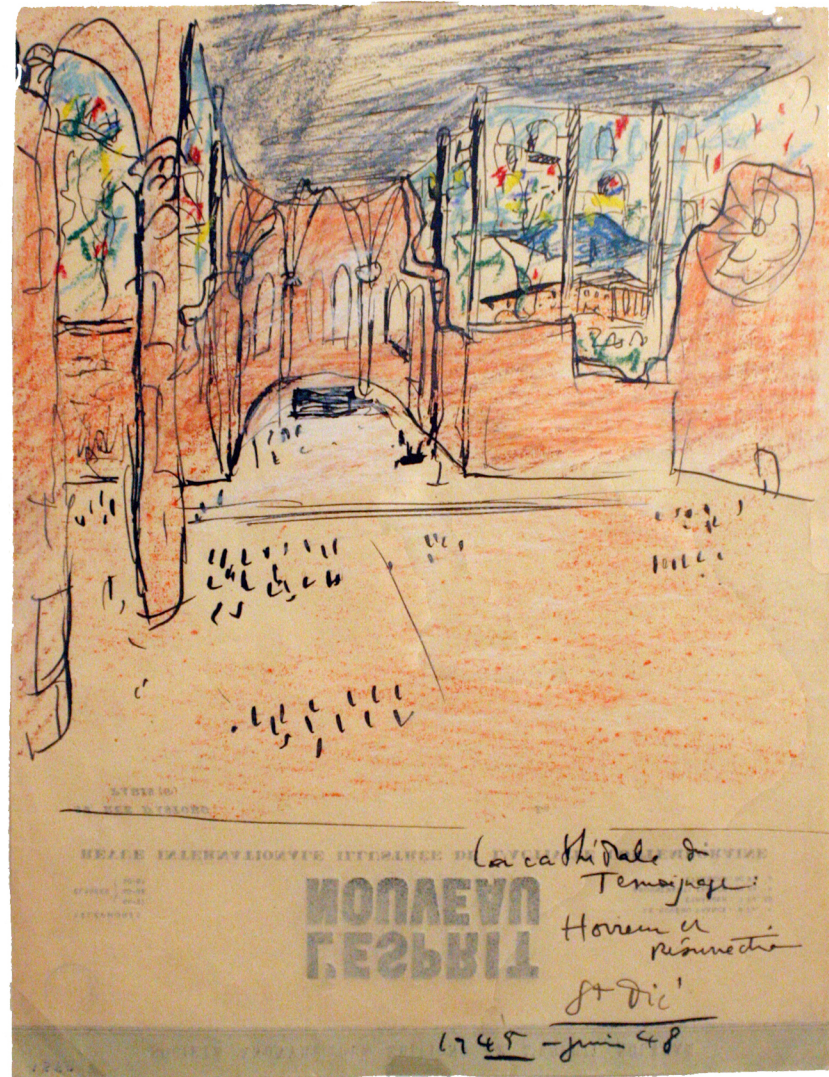
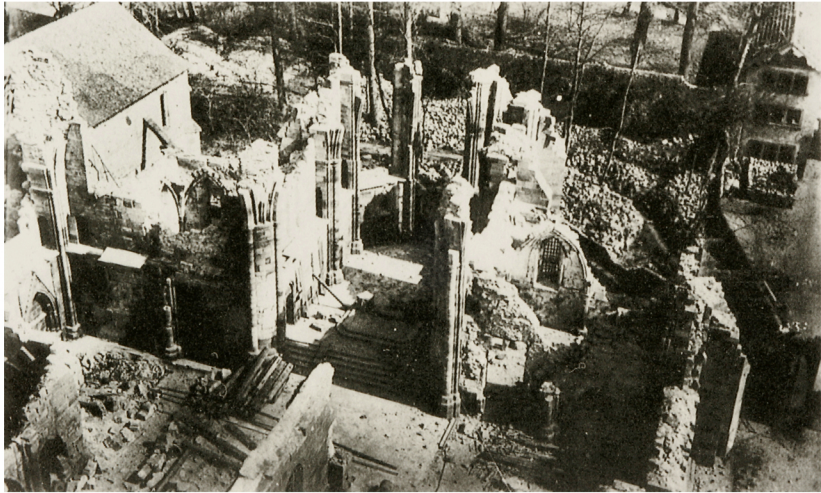
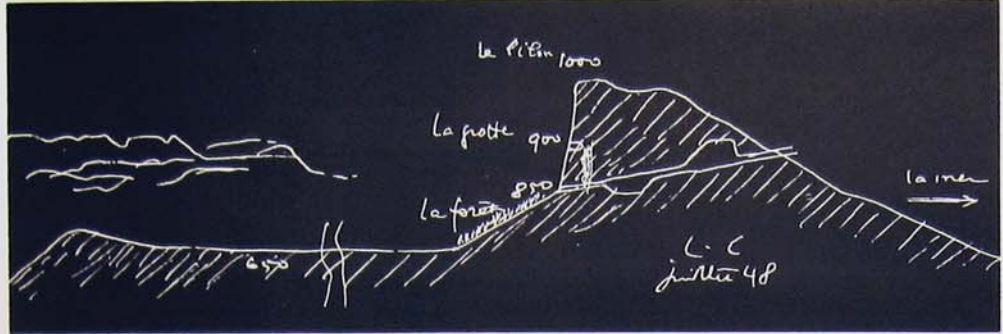
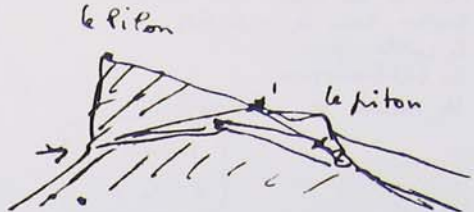


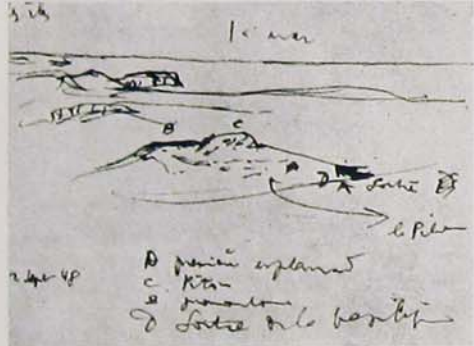
FIGURE I.09 Le Corbusier, Project for the ruins of the Cathedral of Saint-Dié, June 1948
left: Photo of the ruins of the Cathedral of Saint-Dié after the German retreat, c. 1945.
right: 'La cathédrale du témoignage: Horreur et Résurrection. St Dié, 1945 - juin 48' (© FLC-ADAGP)



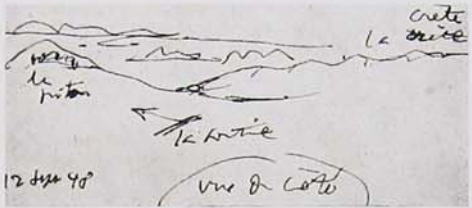
La Basilique ne sera pas extérieure: le paysage demeurera intact



La Basilique sera creusée dans le roc



La sortie, face à la mer



La Basilique s'ouvrira soleil, au sud

CARDINAUX ET ARCHEVÊQUES DE FRANCE CONDAMNENT le projet d'une basilique à la Ste-Baume

PARIS. — L'assemblée des cardinaux et archevêques vient de faire connaître que lors de sa dernière assemblée, elle s'est rangée à l'avis de l'évêque de Fréjus qui a condamné le projet de construction d'une basilique souterraine de la Paix et du Pardon, dans le massif rocheux de la Sainte-Baume, près de la grotte de Sainte-Marie-Madeleine.

« Les cardinaux et archevêques sont unanimes à blâmer cette initiative et désapprouvent tout appel qui serait fait à la générosité des catholiques en faveur de ce projet ».

On sait que cette basilique pour laquelle un comité avait été créé, devait être construite par l'architecte Le Corbusier, avec la collaboration d'artistes contemporains.

Extrait d'un journal

FIGURE 3.01 **Œuvre complète volume 5, 1946-1952, 1st edition** (Boesiger 1953: 30)
 Top and left: Le Corbusier, sketches for a basilica at La Sainte-Baume (Var), France
 Lower right: 'Extract from a newspaper' describing the condemnation of the project by the Cardinals and Archbishops of France.
 The text was first published on 26 April 1949 (Agence France-Presse: CES D-2C76).

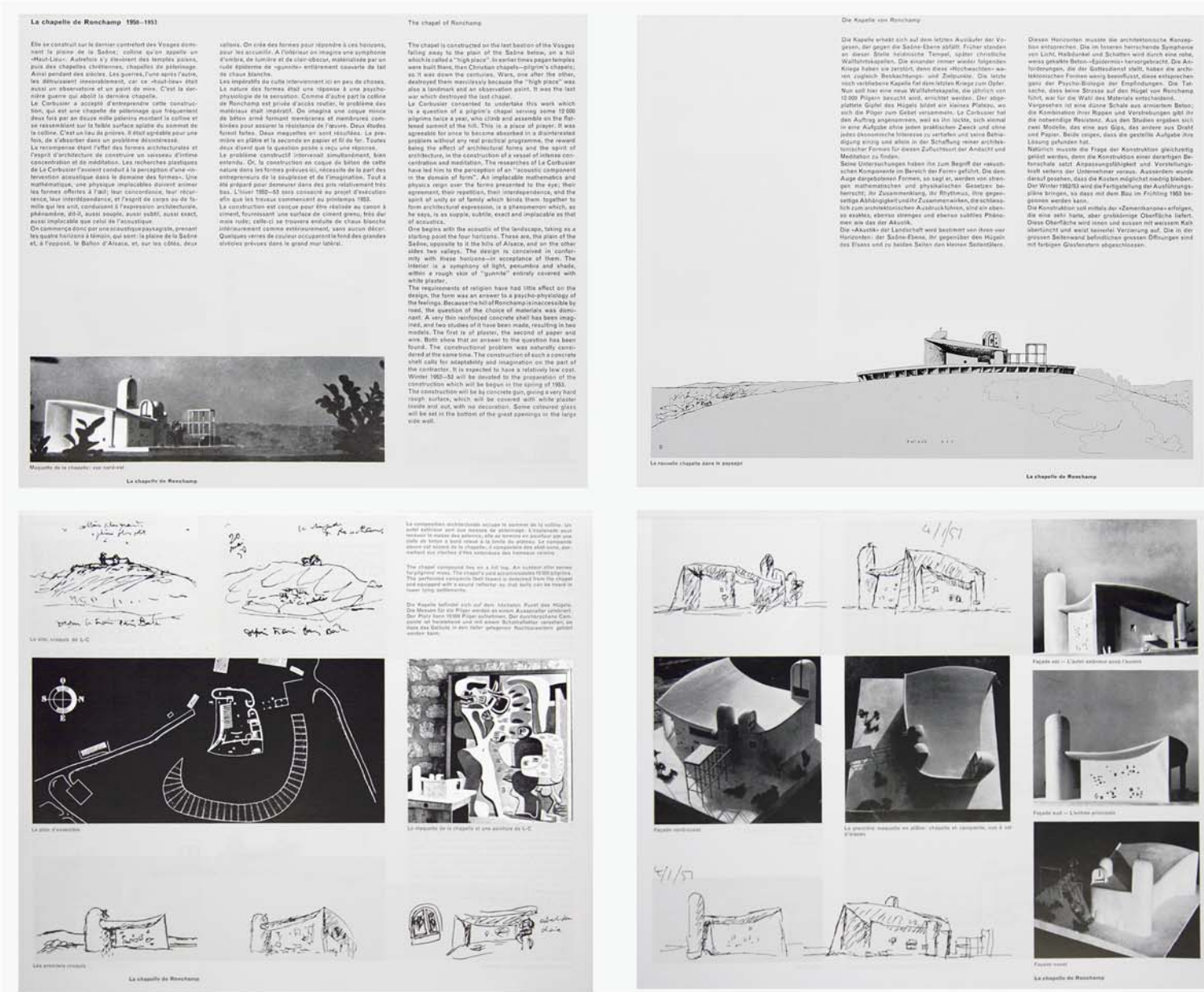


FIGURE 3.02 **Œuvre complète volume 5, 1946-1952, 1st edition (Boesiger 1953: 88-98)**
 The first four pages of the editorial layout with characteristic 3-column format in French, English, and German.
 Presentation of design materials: site sketches, schematic drawings, design drawings, and first plaster model.

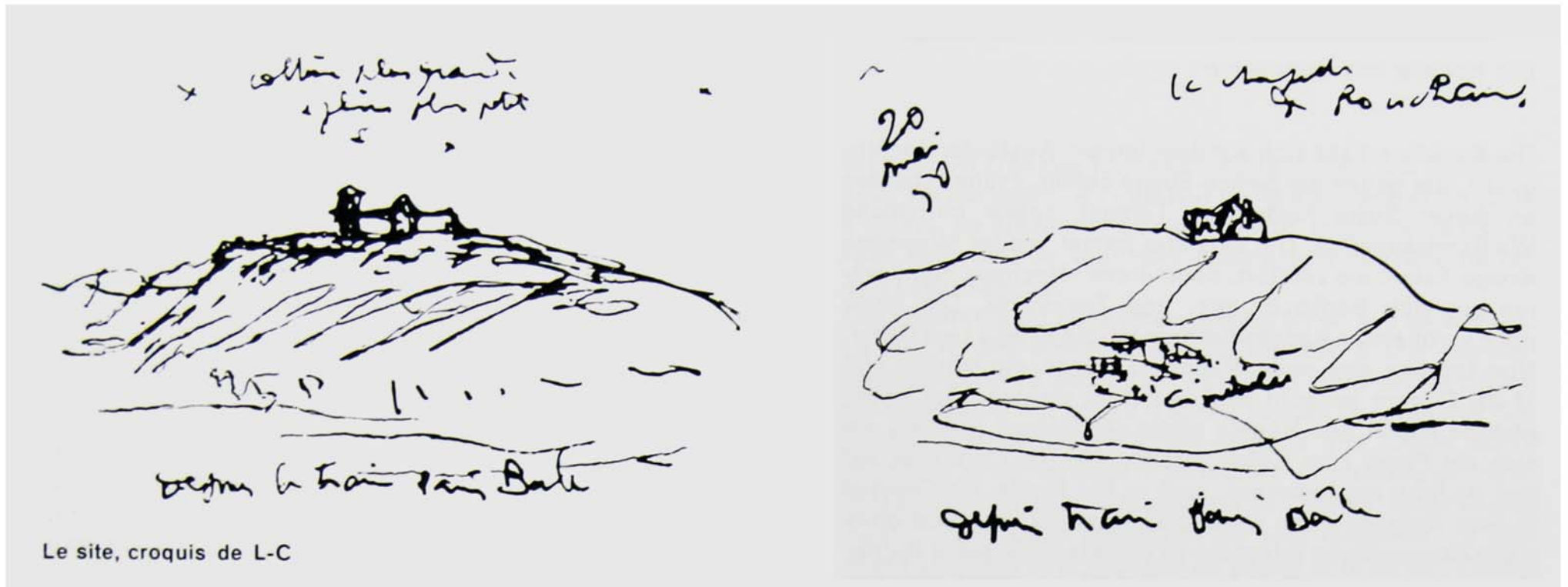


FIGURE 3.03 'The site, sketches by L-C': *Œuvre complète* volume 5, 1946-1952, 1st edition (Boesiger 1953: 90)
 Left: 'colline plus grande / église plus petite / depuis le train Paris Bâle' ['hill too big / church too small / from the train Paris Basel']
 Right: '20 mai 50 / la chapelle de Ronchamp / cimetière / depuis train Paris Bâle' ['20 May 50 / the chapel of Ronchamp / cemetery / from the train Paris Basel']

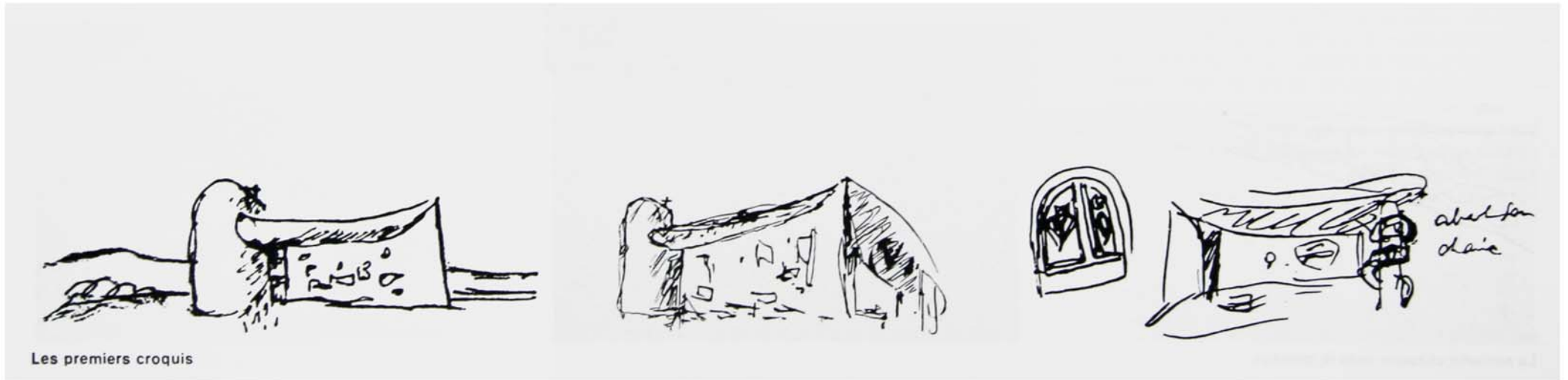
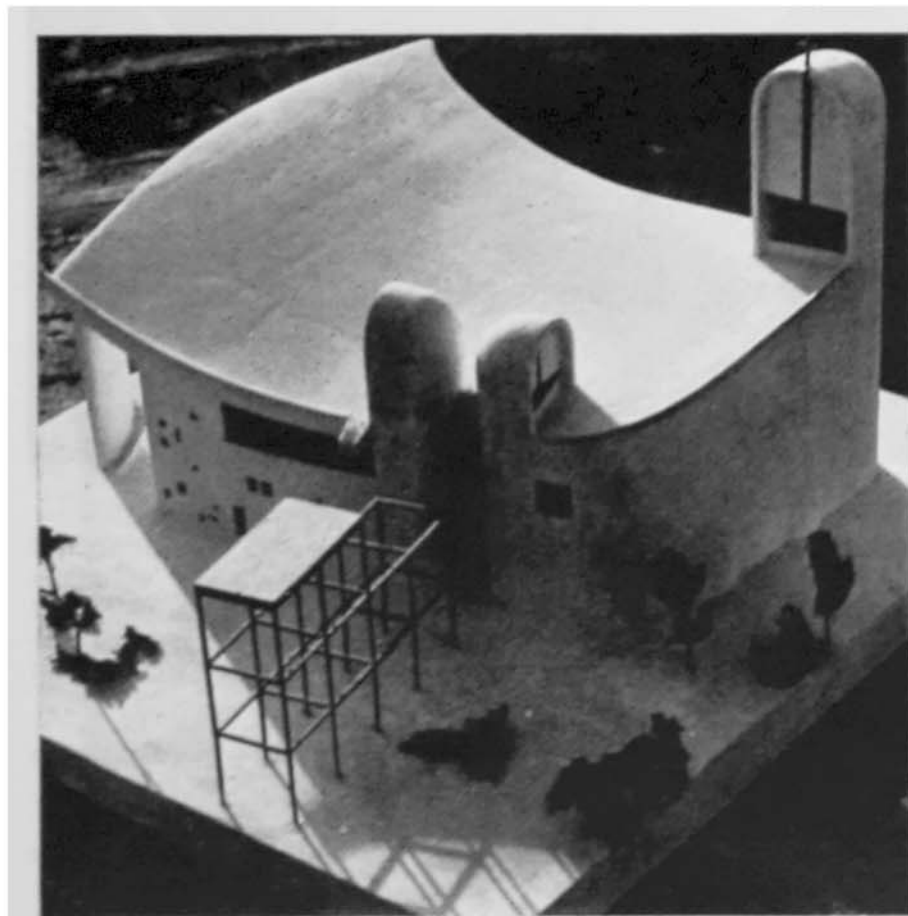
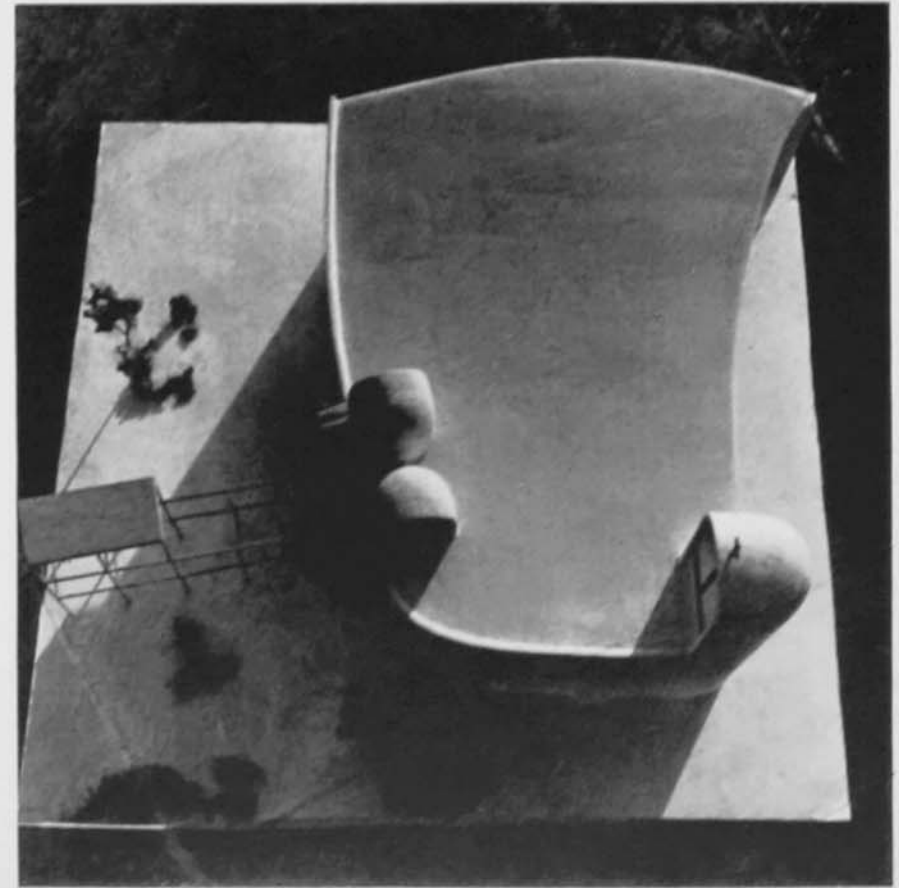


FIGURE 3.04 'The first sketches': *Œuvre complète* volume 5, 1946-1952, 1st edition (Boesiger 1953: 90)
Annotation: 'abat son / chaire'

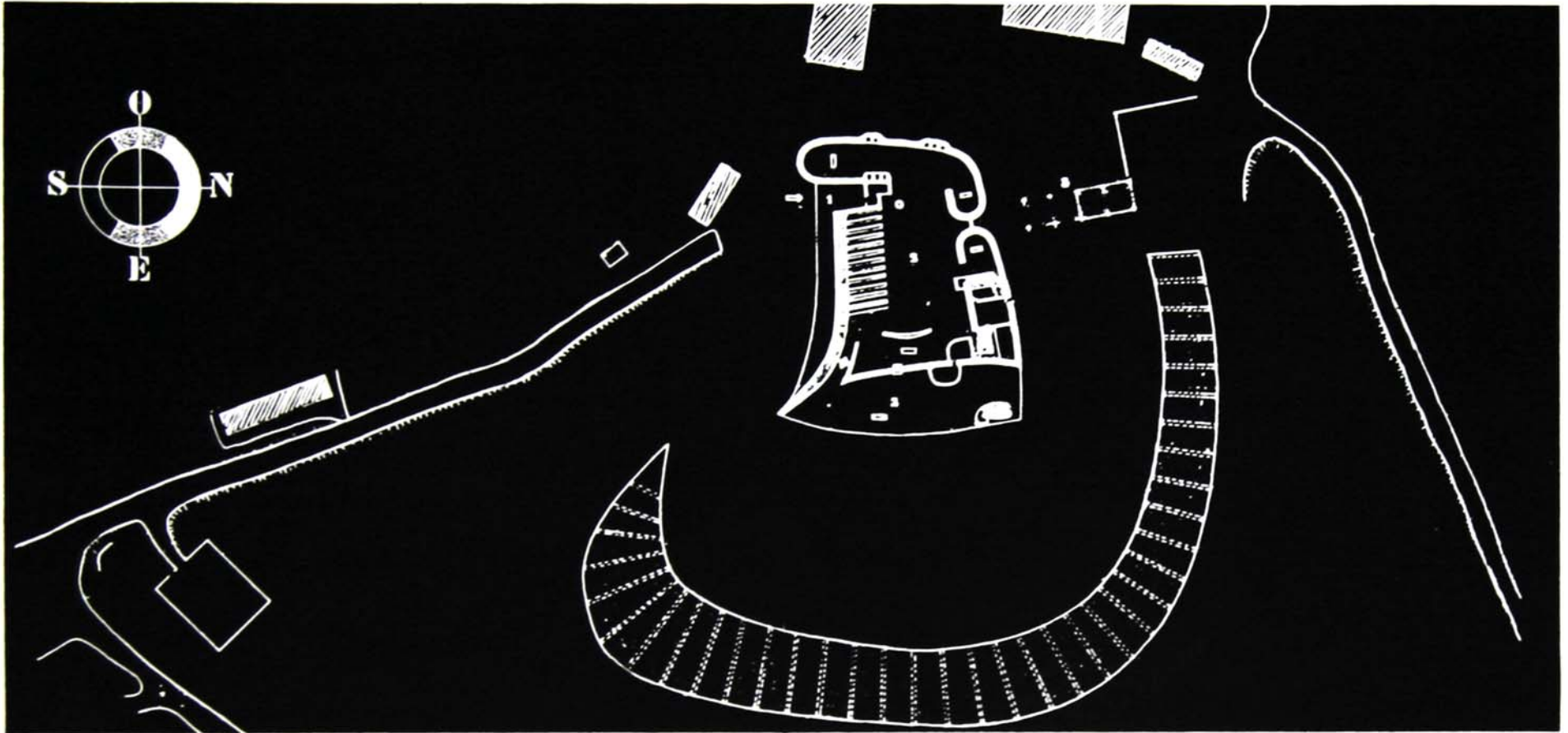


Façade nord-ouest



La première maquette en plâtre: chapelle et campanile, vue à vol d'oiseau

FIGURE 3.05 The plaster model: *Œuvre complète* volume 5, 1946-1952, 1st edition (Boesiger 1953: 91)
Left: 'Northwest facade'
Right: 'The first model in plaster: chapel and campanile, bird's-eye view'



Le plan d'ensemble

FIGURE 3.06 'Site plan': *Œuvre complète* volume 5, 1946-1952, 1st edition (Boesiger 1953: 90)

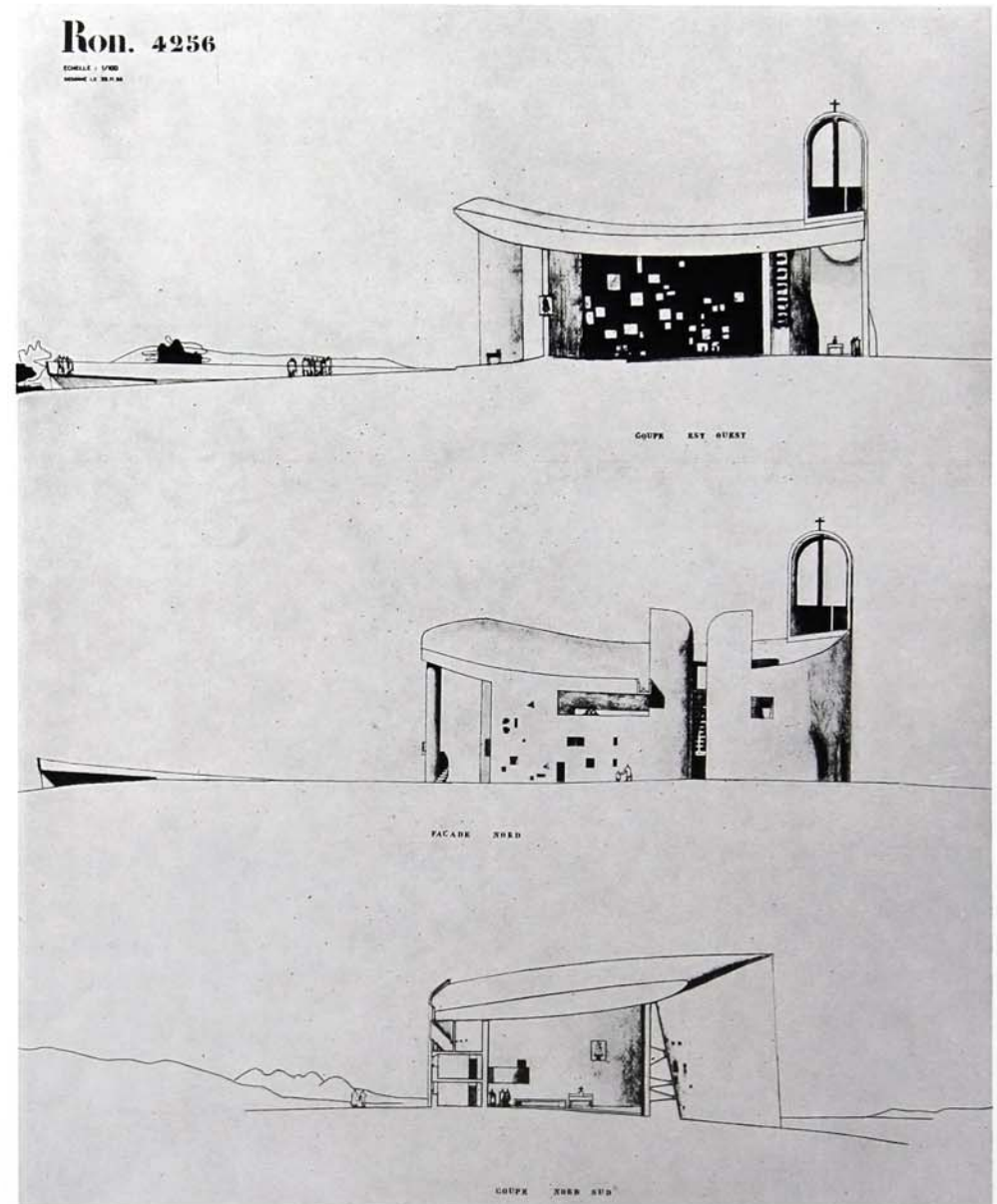
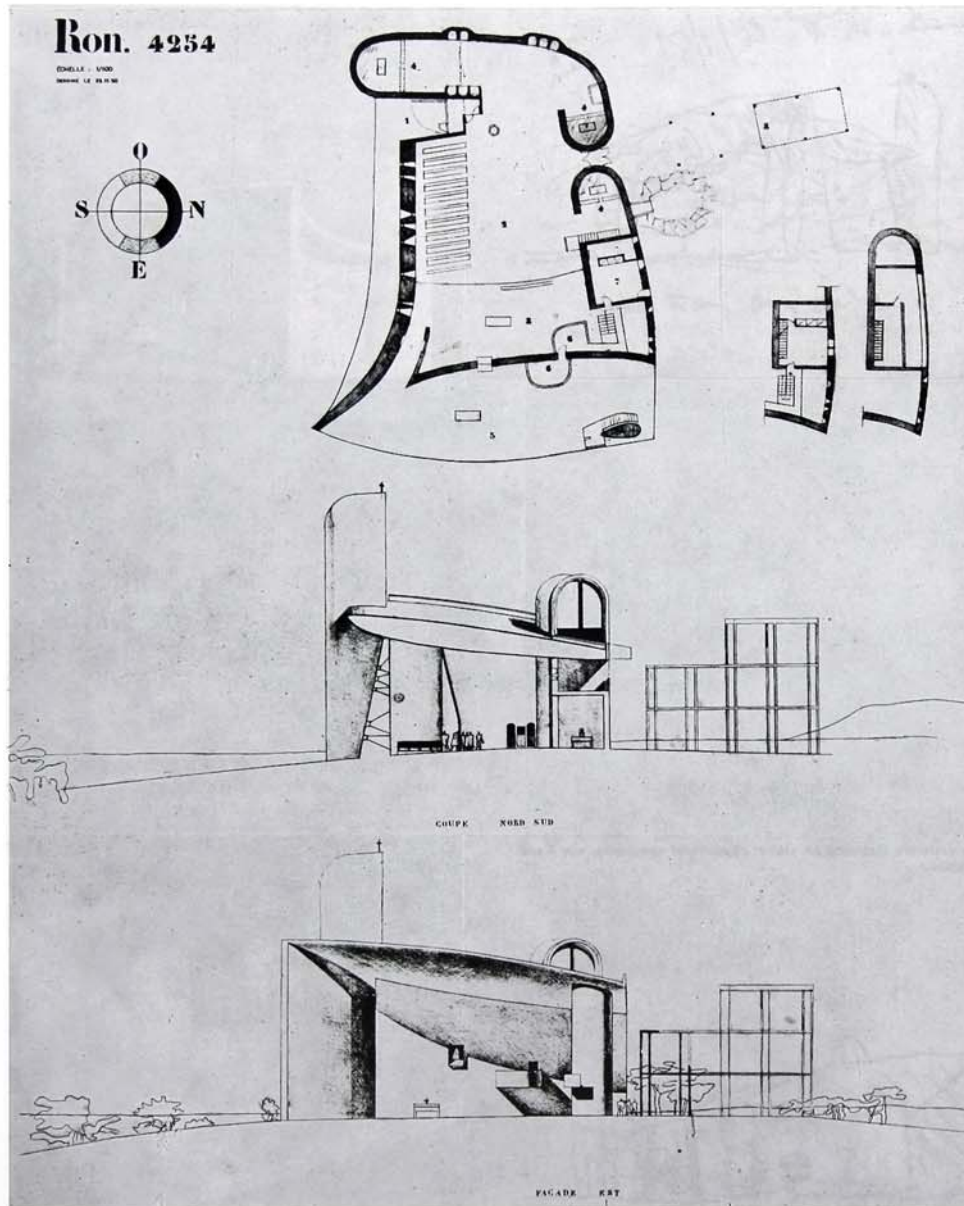
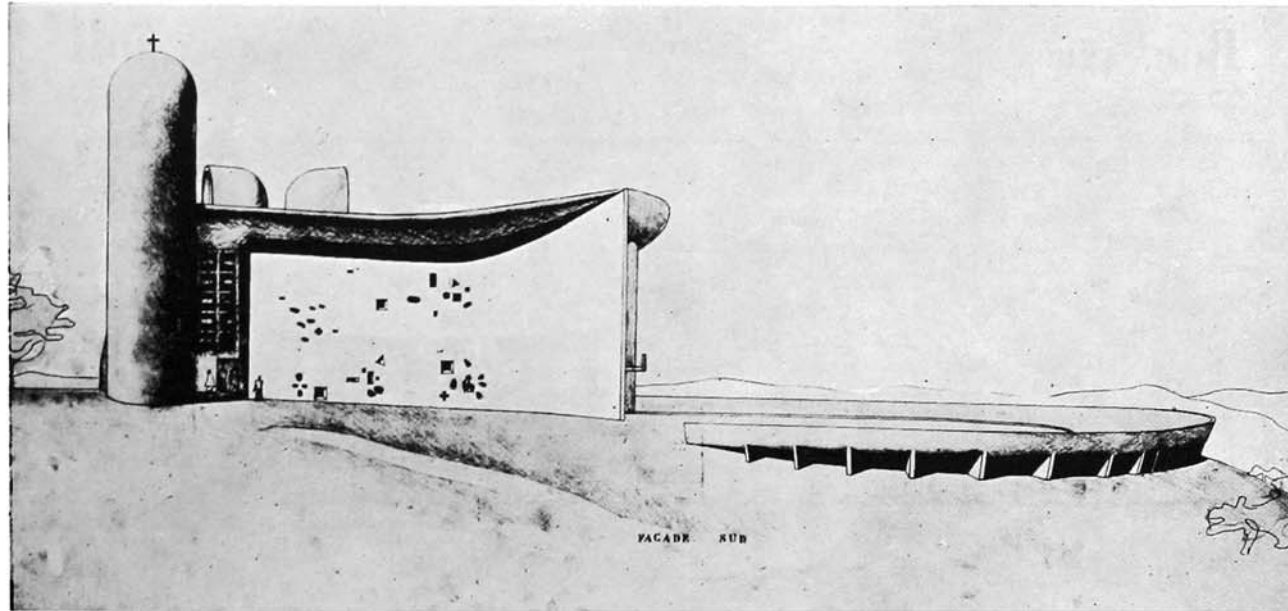
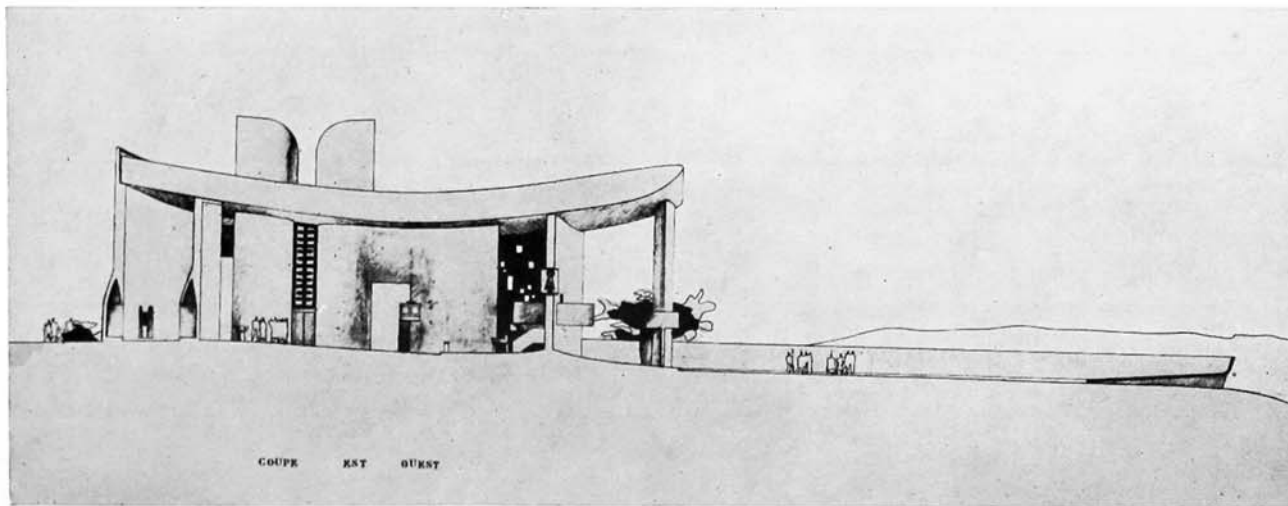


FIGURE 3.07 Drawing sheets 4254 and 4256: *Œuvre complète* volume 5, 1946-1952, 1st edition (Boesiger 1953: 92-3)
 Left: 'Ron. 4254 / Scale 1/100 / Drawn 22.11.50 / Section north-south / Section east'
 Right: 'Ron. 4256 / Scale 1/100 / Drawn 22.11.50 / Section east-west / North facade / Section north-south'

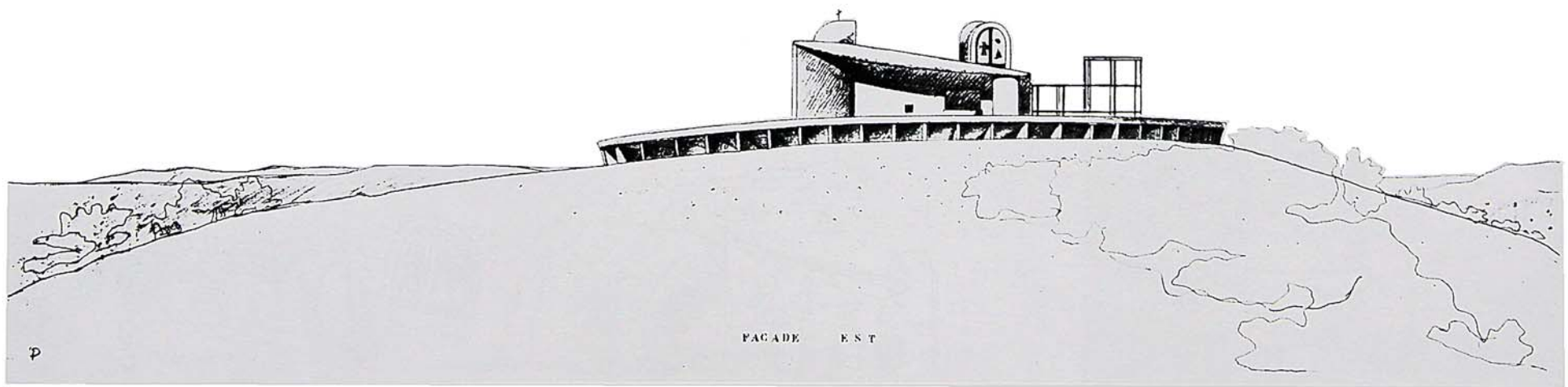


Façade sud — Mur constellé de trous qui s'ouvrent largement à l'intérieur en diffuseur



Coupe est-ouest — La chapelle est construite sur le sol naturel sans nivellement. Les confessionnaux sont aménagés dans les murs

FIGURE 3.08 South facade and East-west Section: *Œuvre complète* volume 5, 1946-1952, 1st edition (Boesiger 1953: 94)
 top 'Wall constellated by openings which open widely upon the interior as diffusers'
 bottom: 'The chapel was constructed upon the natural ground surface without levelling. The confessionals were fit into the walls.'



La nouvelle chapelle dans le paysage

FIGURE 3.09 East facade: *Œuvre complète* volume 5, 1946-1952, 1st edition (Boesiger 1953: 88)
'The new chapel in the landscape.'

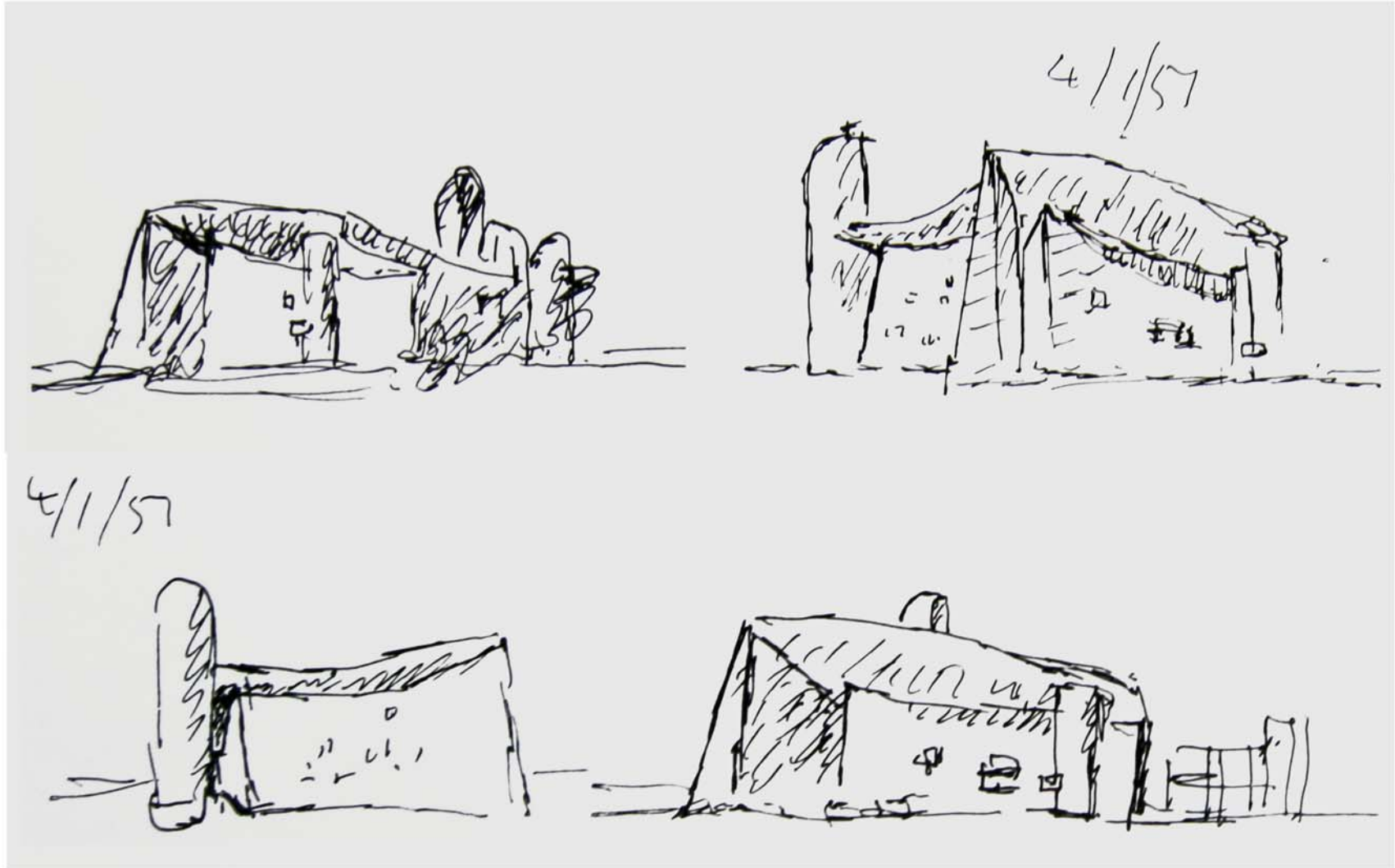
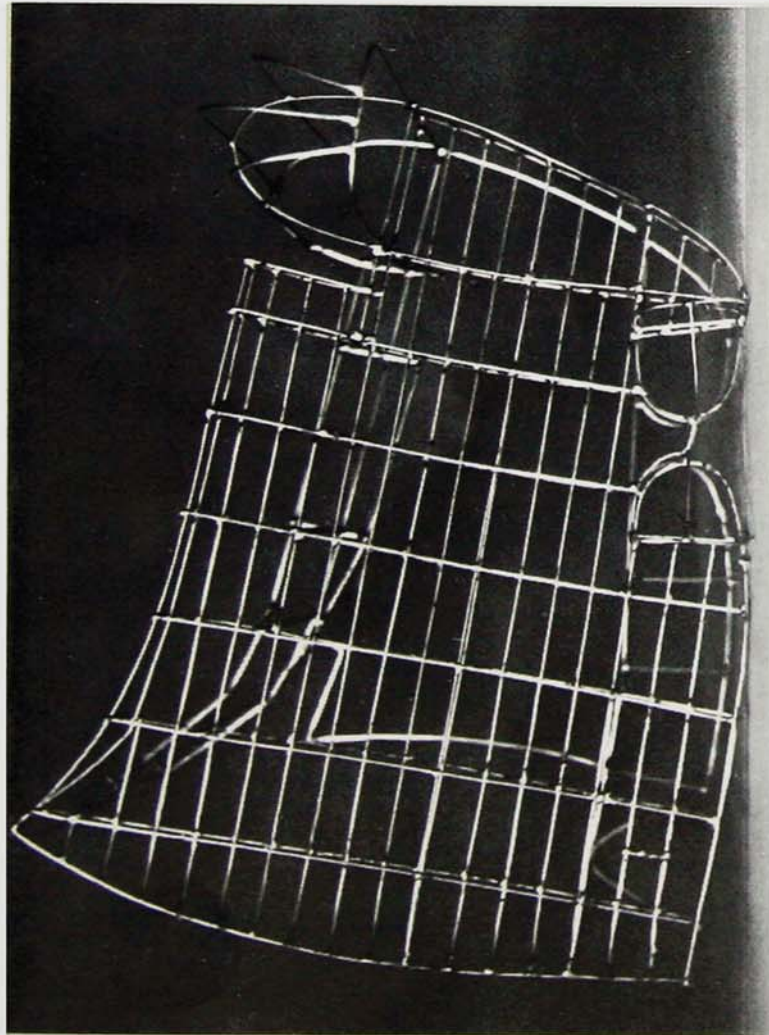
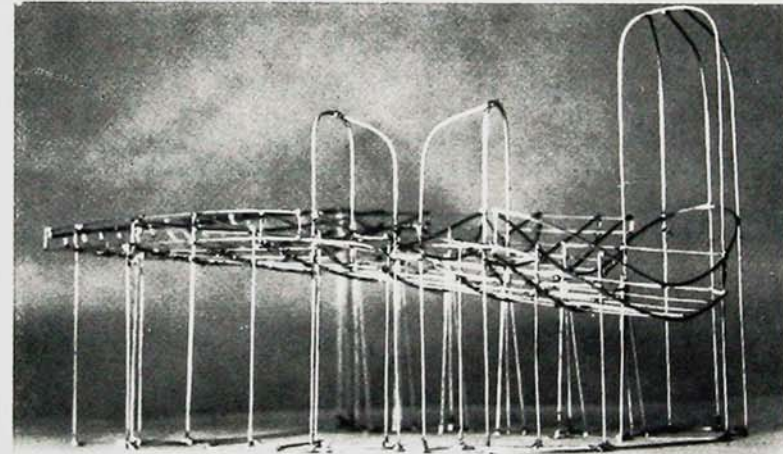


FIGURE 3.10 Untitled elevations: *Œuvre complète* volume 5, 1946-1952, 1st edition (Boesiger 1953: 91)
Dated '4/1/51'

Le second projet. Maquette en fil de fer



Surface réglée de la toiture



Façade nord

La maquette est réalisée en fil de fer d'après les nouvelles épures. Les fils représentent les directrices et les génératrices des surfaces gauches. Une gargouille profilée en «saut de ski» rejette toutes les eaux de pluie du toit dans un bassin au sol.

North elevation. A wire model made after the latest designs. The wires represent the structure of the building.

Nordfassade. Drahtmaquette nach neuesten Zeichnungen. Die Drähte stellen das Konstruktionssystem dar. Ein Wasserspeier leitet das Regenwasser vom Dach in ein Wasserbassin.

FIGURE 3.11 'The second project. Model in iron wire' : *Œuvre complète* volume 5, 1946-1952, 1st edition (Boesiger 1953: 96)
left: 'Ruled surface of the roof'
right: 'North facade'
french caption: 'The model was made in iron wire following the new drawings. The wires represent the directrices and generatrices of the irregular surfaces. A gargouille with the profile of a "ski jump" disperses all of the rainwater from the roof into a basin on the ground,' (Note: the English and German translations differ and are incomplete.)

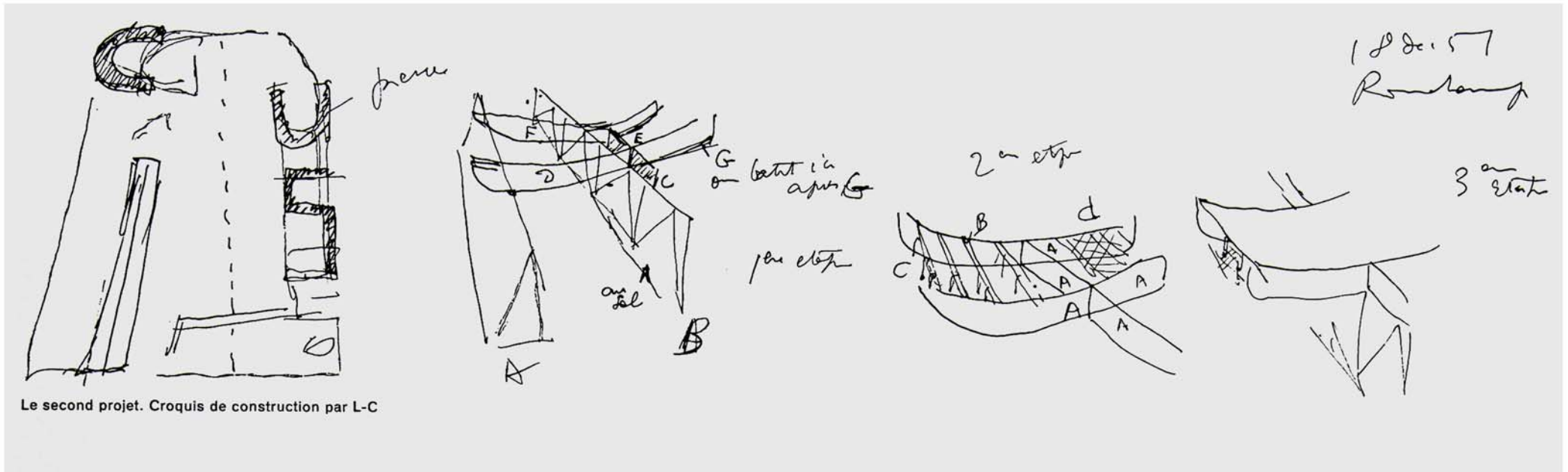


FIGURE 3.12 'The second project. Construction sketches by L-C': *Œuvre complète volume 5, 1946-1952, 1st edition* (Boesiger 1953: 96)

left: 'rubber [expansion joint]'

left center: 'A B C D E F G / This will be built after G / 1st step / on the ground'

right center: '2nd step / A A A A B C D'

right: '18 dec 51 / Ronchamp / 3rd step'

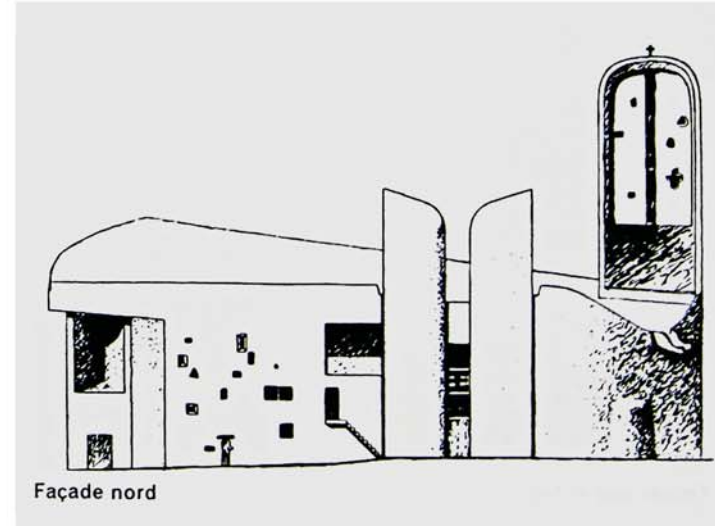
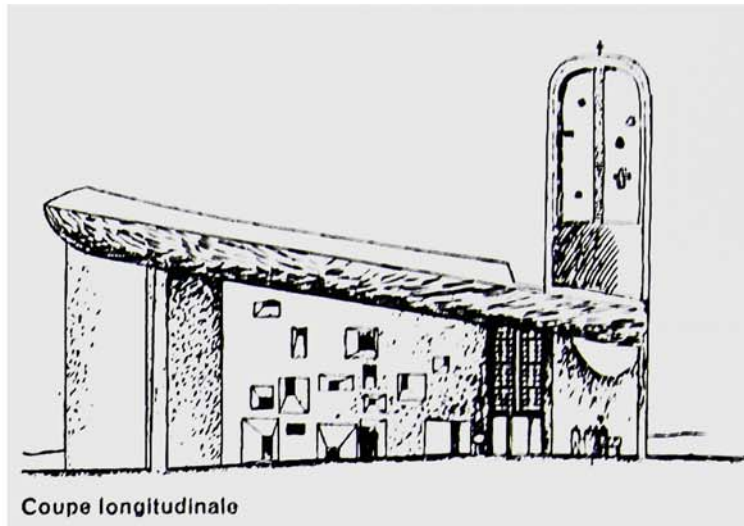
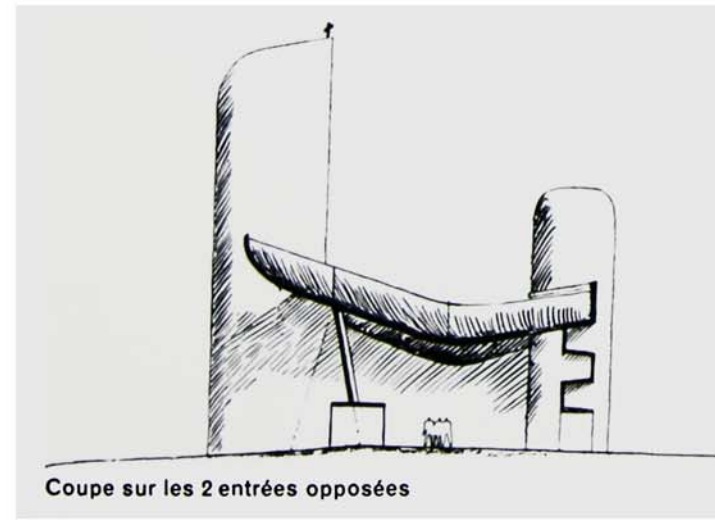
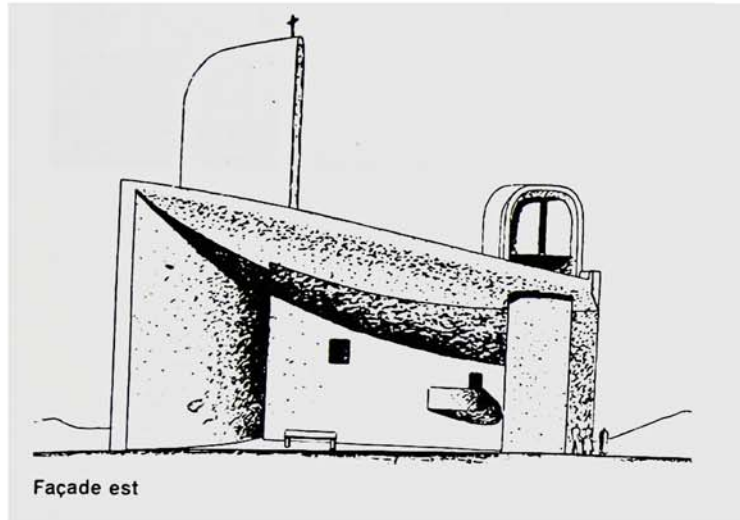


FIGURE 3.13 Undated elevations and sections: *Œuvre complète* volume 5, 1946-1952, 1st edition (Boesiger 1953: 96-8)



FIGURE 3.14 *Œuvre complète* volume 5, 1946-1952, 1st edition mockup (© FLC-ADAGP)
 Early mock-up without captions, showing empty textblocks marked 'f e d'. Compare Figure 3.02

LA CHAPELLE DE RONCHAMP

Elle se construit sur le dernier contrefort des Vosges ^{dominant} ~~tombent sur~~ la plaine de la Saône. Colline qu'on appelle un "Haut-Lieu". Autrefois s'y élevèrent des temples païens, puis des chapelles chrétiennes, chapelles de pèlerinage. Ainsi pendant des siècles. Les guerres, l'une après l'autre, les détruisaient inexorablement, car ce "haut-lieu" était aussi un observatoire et un point de mire. C'est la dernière guerre qui abolit la dernière chapelle.

Le Corbusier a accepté d'entreprendre cette construction ^{qui est} ~~est~~ ^{est} ~~qu'il est question d'~~ une chapelle de pèlerinage ~~qui~~ fréquentée ^{par} deux fois par an 12.000 pèlerins ~~montant la colline~~ et se rassemblant sur la faible surface aplatie du sommet de la colline. C'est un lieu de prières. Il était agréable pour une fois, ~~de se consacrer~~ ^{d'abord} dans un problème désintéressé, sans véritable programme pratique, ^{en serait} La récompense ~~est~~ ^{concurrant} l'effet des formes architecturales, et l'esprit d'architecture ~~de construire~~ ^{interne} un vaisseau d'intense concentration et de méditation. Les recherches plastiques de ~~Le Corbusier~~ ^{L.C.} l'avaient conduit à la perception d'une "intervention ^{de nature} (acoustique dans le domaine des formes)". Une mathématique géométrique, ^{peuvent et doivent animer les} une physique implacable ~~régnent~~ ^{ne} entre les formes offertes à l'oeil; leur concordance, leur récurrence, leur interdépendance, et l'esprit de corps ou de famille qui les ~~fait aider les uns les autres~~ ^{unit} pour conduire à l'expression architecturale, phénomène, dit-il, aussi souple, aussi subtil, aussi exact, aussi implacable que celui de l'acoustique.

On commença donc ^{par} une acoustique paysagiste, prenant les

../...

quatre horizons à témoin, qui sont: la plaine de la Saône et à l'opposé les Ballons d'Alsace; et, sur les côtés, deux vallons. On créa des formes pour répondre à ces horizons, pour les accueillir. A l'intérieur on imagina une symphonie d'ombre de lumière et de clair-obscur matérialisée par un rude épiderme de "gunnite" entièrement couverte de lait de chaux blanche.

Les impératifs du culte interviennent ici en peu de choses. La nature des formes était une réponse à une psycho-physiologie de la sensation. Comme d'autre part, la colline de Ronchamp est privée d'accès routiers, ^{problème} ~~le problème~~ des matériaux était impératif. On imagina une coque mince de béton armé formant membranes et membrures combinées pour assurer la résistance de l'oeuvre. Deux études furent faites. Deux maquettes en sont résultées. La première en plâtre et la seconde en papier et fil de fer. Toutes deux disent que la question posée a reçu une réponse.

Le problème constructif intervenait simultanément, bien entendu. Or la construction en coque de béton de cette nature dans les formes prévues ici nécessite de la part des entrepreneurs une souplesse et de l'imagination. Tout a été préparé pour demeurer dans des prix relativement très bas. L'hiver 1952-53 sera consacré au projet d'exécution afin que les travaux commencent au printemps 53.

La construction est conçue pour être réalisée au canon à ciment, fournissant une surface de ciment grenu, très dur mais ^{rude} ~~grossier~~; celle-ci se trouvera enduite de chaux blanche intérieurement comme extérieurement, sans aucun décor. Quelques ^{verres} ~~verres~~ de couleur occuperont le fond des grandes alvéoles prévues dans le grand mur latéral.

../...

FIGURE 3.15 **Œuvre complète volume 5, Ronchamp manuscript with annotated corrections: main text. March 1953.** (© FLC-ADAGP)
The annotated script does not match the characteristics of Le Corbusier's handwriting.

La Chapelle de Ronchamp

- 27I. La nouvelle chapelle dans le paysage (p. I25)
Ronchamp - Ier projet (p. I26)
279. Le site
273. La composition architecturale occupe le sommet de la colline. ~~La chapelle intérieure est doublée par un autel extérieur. Dans les messes de pèlerinage, l'esplanade peut recevoir des pèlerins, elle est ornée par une dalle de béton à bord relevé construite à la limite du plateau. Le campanile ajouré est séparé de la chapelle. Comporte des abat-sons.~~ *de pèlerins* *de pèlerins* *voient entendues dans* les hameaux voisins.
- 280-281-282. ~~Les premiers~~ Croquis.
- 275 - 274. La première maquette en plâtre: chapelle et campanile.
276. Façade est - L'autel extérieur ~~dans~~ *sous* l'avent
277. Façade sud - L'entrée principale
278. Façade ouest
285. Légende du plan
1 - L'entrée principale
2 - La nef pour 200 personnes. La plus grande partie de l'assistance reste debout.
3 - Le chœur
4 - Trois chapelles surmontées de tours ~~qui permettent~~ *données de* la lumière sur trois orientations différentes.
5 - L'autel extérieur
6 - Tribunes pour les chanteurs
7 - Sacristie
8 - Campanile *une ligne fermée de deux vers; ↙*
286. La surface gauche de la toiture
287. Façade est - Une vierge, relique des anciennes églises ~~est placée dans une boîte en verre~~ *est placée dans une boîte en verre* peut être vue de l'intérieur et de l'extérieur ~~de la chapelle~~
289. Façade nord - ~~Les portiques du campanile orientés vers~~ *est axé sur* la seconde porte de ~~l'église~~ *la chapelle*.
288. Coupe est-ouest - La nef est éclairée par des claustras de verres colorés de dimensions ~~très~~ *très* diverses et ~~sculptés~~ *sculptés* dans le mur
- 29IA. Façade sud - Mur constellé de trous ~~qui pleuvent~~ *qui pleuvent* largement à l'intérieur, ~~en dessous.~~ *diagonale*
sur de vastes embasures
.../... LG

La Chapelle de Ronchamp (suite)

- 29IB. Coupe est-ouest - La Chapelle est construite sur le sol naturel sans ~~nivellement. Les confessionnaux sont aménagés dans les murs~~ *déplacement de terre.*
294. Silhouette de la Chapelle. Acoustique *paysagiste.*
- (p. I33) Ronchamp - second projet
299. Maquette réalisée en fil de fer d'après les nouvelles épures. Les fils représentent les ~~directives~~ *directives* et les génératrices des surfaces gauches. *directives*
300. ~~La maquette~~ *La maquette* est habillée de papier.
301. L'entrée principale
302. Surface réglée de la toiture.
305. La toiture-coque est réalisée par 2 ~~coques~~ *membranes* parallèles distantes de 2m.26. Des membrures minces ~~relient~~ *relient* les deux surfaces transversalement et longitudinalement
307. Coupe longitudinale. La toiture est très inclinée. Le point bas au fond de la chapelle est à 4m.78, le point le plus haut est à 14 m.
309. Coupe sur les 2 entrées opposées.
308. Façade nord. Une gargouille profilée en "saut de ski" rejette toutes les eaux de pluie du toit dans un bassin au sol.
310. Façade est. *ici de la maquette*
- 312-313-314. Le mur fermant le chœur est ~~retiré~~ *retiré* pour montrer l'aspect intérieur de la Chapelle

Nota: Dans cette étude, les dimensions ont été portées au minimum.

FIGURE 3.16 **Œuvre complète volume 5, Ronchamp manuscript with annotated corrections: captions. March 1953.** (© FLC-ADAGP)
The annotated script does not match the characteristics of Le Corbusier's handwriting.




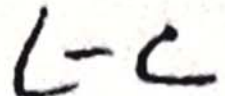


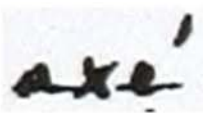
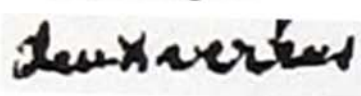



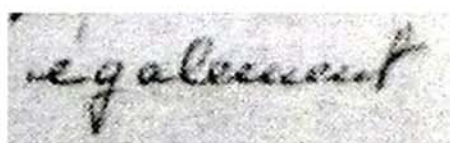
Annotations on Ronchamp manuscript	:	Jeanne Heilbuth's script
uppercase 'D'		
Rendering of 'L-C'		
Calligraphic pen		
Isolated 'x'	 	 
Suffix '-ment'		

FIGURE 3.17 Comparison of Ronchamp manuscript annotations and Jeanne Heilbuth's script
 The examples on the right were taken from letters that Heilbuth annotated within the architectural atelier. (© FLC-ADAGP)

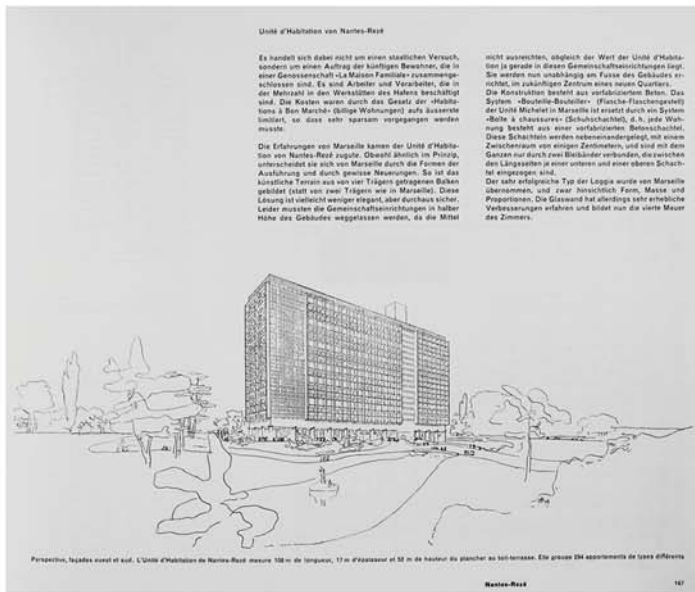
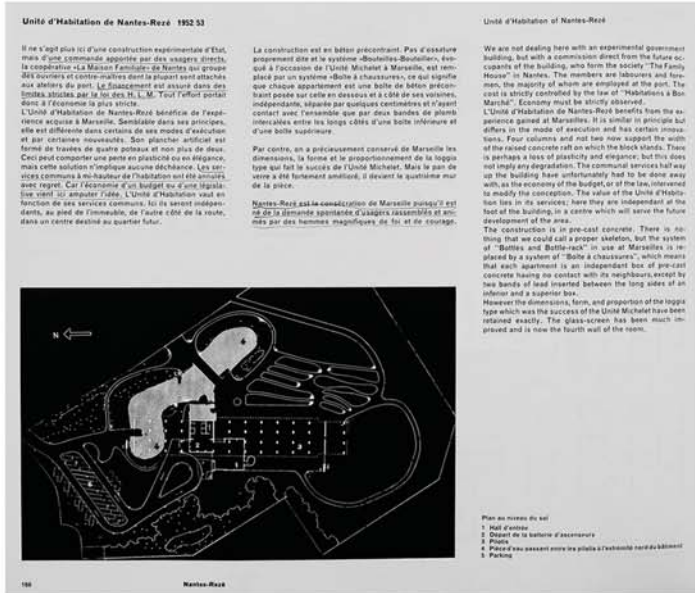


FIGURE 3.18 **Le Corbusier, Œuvre complète v.5** (Boesiger 1953: 166-7) 'Unité d'Habitation de Nantes-Rezé'

Le Corbusier, Architecture du Bonheur (Petit 1955: n.p.) 'L'Unité d'Habitation de Rezé [sic]'
The texts differ; the illustrations and captions are identical.



FIGURE 3.19 The first four publications of Jean Petit's 'Forces Vives', 1952-55.

Far right: *Le Corbusier, Architecture du Bonheur – L'urbanisme est une clef* (Petit 1955)

It is not clear if the term 'Le Corbusier' represents the author or part of the title, which appears in small capitals in the upper right-hand corner. Note the marked change of graphics and layout in comparison with the previous three publications.

Architecte du bonheur

"L'on me dit tant de mal de cet homme, et j'en vois si peu, que je commence à soupçonner qu'il n'ait un mérite importun qui éteigne celui des autres."

LA BRUYÈRE

Parce qu'un rempart d'épaisse bêtise la protège, l'action des médiocres converge spontanément, à tel point qu'elle devient une véritable conspiration, plongeant ses racines profondément dans l'âme de la multitude.

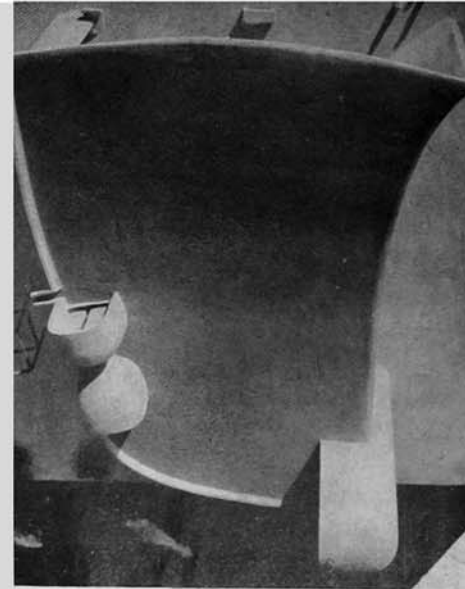
Et comme elle colonie et détruit tout sur son passage, cette insinueuse action!... Au travers d'une fausse culture, avec un cynisme que rien ne déconcerte, tous les sous-produits associés et groupés se dressent d'un seul ressort, contre toute leur vérité et de pureté qui paraît dans la nuit de notre confusion. Avec eux, ceux qui ne pensent pas, mais laissent penser pour eux. Avec eux, ceux qui font ce qui se fait. Avec eux, ceux qui disent ce qui se dit. Avec eux, les gens "comme il faut". Tous les lieux déserts sont réunis!! Et si une grande lumière de vérité les éblouit, leur fiel se déversera...

Comment s'étonner ensuite, qu'un homme qui a toujours dénoncé les beaux parleurs et les tartufes, qui jamais, n'a fait de concessions, ni aux autres, ni à lui-même, qui depuis plus de quarante années a centré un immense travail au service de l'homme, comment s'étonner que ce monsieur qui sait refuser une commande plutôt que de prostituer ses projets, soit la proie de l'anarchie embourgeoisée, qui avec ses faux comportements, ses faux postulats, renie tout esprit de vérité, désaxant l'échelle des valeurs. Comment s'étonner que celui que le monde entier, sauf peut-être la France, reconnaît comme l'un des plus grands architectes de ce temps, soit la proie de perfides colonnies?

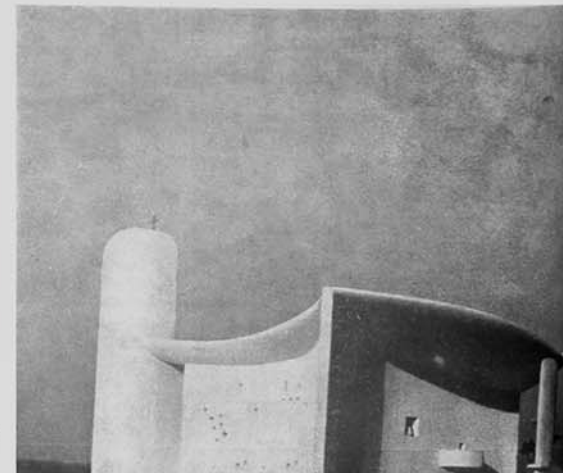
Dès lors, que tous les arguments aient été bons contre Le Corbusier, voilà qui ne sera point pour surprendre... Si par les uns il est accusé de bafouer la famille, de nier la patrie et de déshonorer l'art, il sera pour les autres inhumain, matérialiste et utopique. S'il est fasciste pour *L'Humanité*, petit bourgeois à Moscou, il est bolchéviste pour *La Gazette de Lausanne* de 1933, et, pour *Le Figaro* de 1929, l'action de Le Corbusier n'est seulement qu'une collusion du bolchevisme et du capitalisme.

La Patrie, la Famille, l'Ordre, la Tradition, etc., sont invoqués tour à tour, alors que seules se dressent pour se défendre, les toutes-puissances de l'Argent et de la Médiocrité qui savent bien que Le Corbusier est contre toute force détenant un pouvoir abusif, que ce soit celle de l'Argent ou de la Politique. Hors de passions partisans, l'œuvre de Le Corbusier n'est ni bourgeoise, ni bolchevique ou fasciste, elle est à l'écart, au-dessus de tout parti. Le Corbusier sait ce qu'il veut, et ce qu'il faut pour cela. Il reste lui-même au travers des perfides attaques de l'académisme.

Inlassablement, Le Corbusier s'est penché sur la condition de ses frères, les hommes. Son œuvre? Elle n'a jamais cessé d'être une lutte pour le bonheur de l'homme.



● La première maquette en plâtre vue à vol d'oiseau.



● L'autel extérieur sous l'auvent.

FIGURE 3.20 *Le Corbusier, Architecture du Bonheur – L'urbanisme est une clef* (Petit 1955: n.p.)

The introductory text is attributed to Jean Petit but does not correspond to his conventional writing style;

the content recalls the prose of Gauthier's *Le Corbusier ou l'architecture au service de l'homme* (1944):

"Le Corbusier is against all forces sustaining an abusive power, be it Money or Politics. Beyond partisan passions, the oeuvre of Le Corbusier is neither bourgeois, nor bolshevist, nor fascist, it is distant from and above all parties."

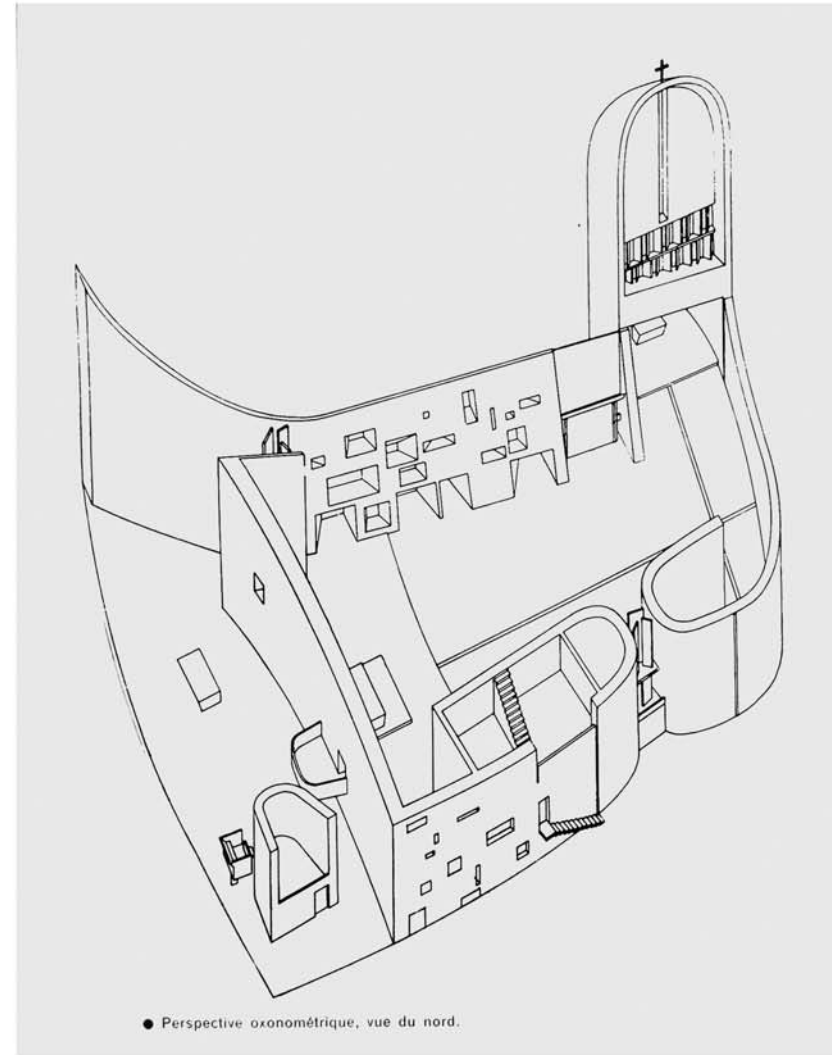
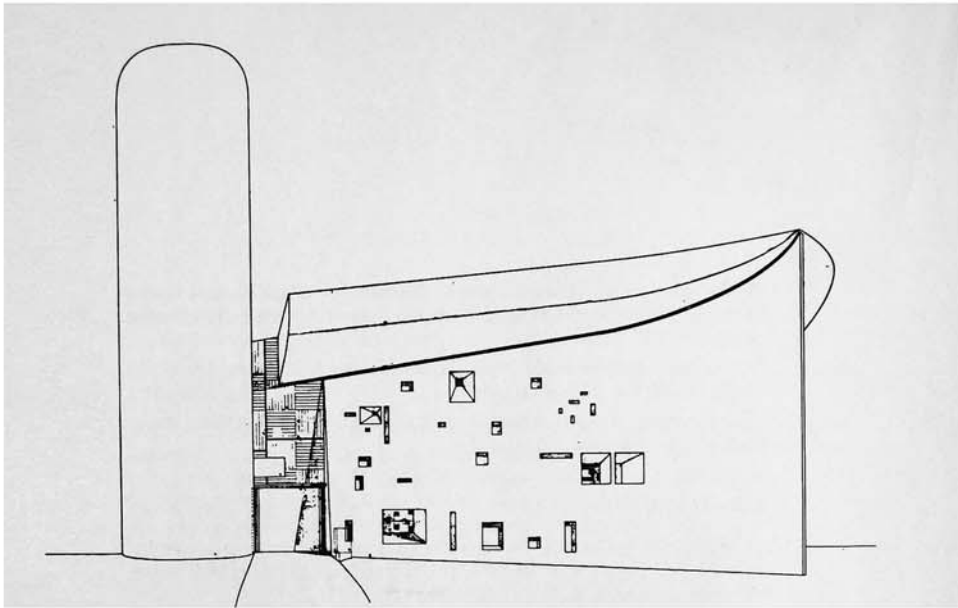


FIGURE 3.21 Illustrations from *Le Corbusier, Architecture du Bonheur – L'urbanisme est une clef* (Petit 1955: n.p.)

left: Working drawing of the south facade.

right: Axonometric section, seen from the north.

Each illustration appeared in print here for the first time.

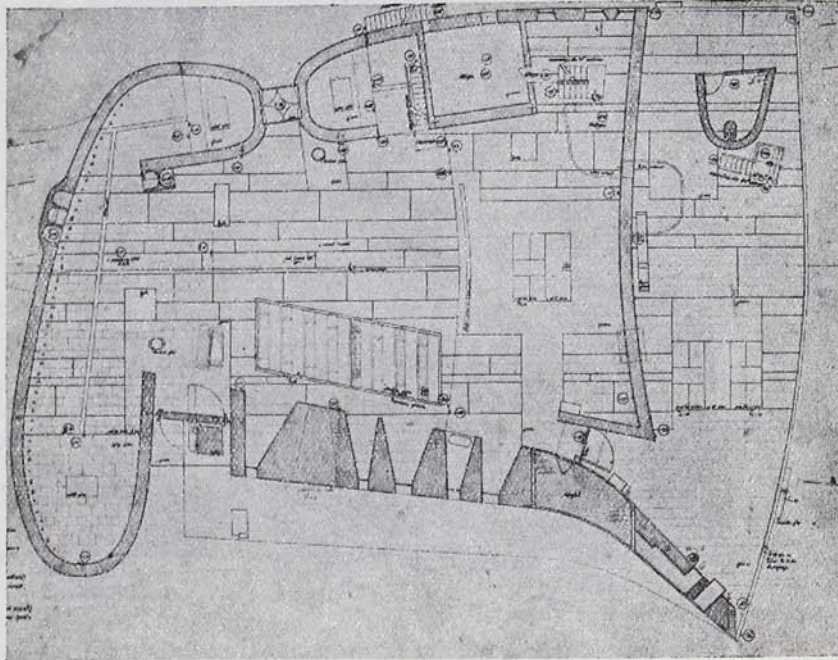


FIG. 134

au sud et au nord. Ces paysages des quatre horizons sont une présence, ce sont les hôtes. C'est à ces quatre horizons que la Chapelle s'adresse par l'effet « d'un phénomène acoustique introduit dans le domaine des formes ». C'est une intimité qui doit s'intégrer en chaque chose, capable de provoquer le rayonnement de l'espace indicible. Tout sera blanc dedans et dehors, mais tout sera vraiment libre, sans contrainte de programme autre qu'un rituel sommaire,

— 266 —

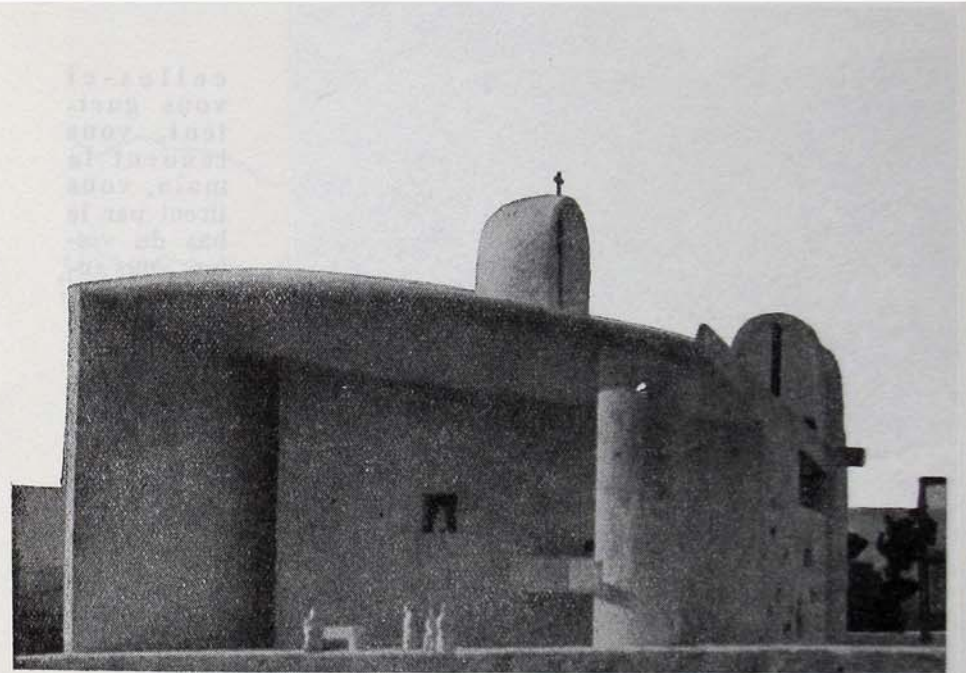


FIG. 135

anoblissant d'ailleurs les données du problème. Tout sera cohérent. Le lyrisme, le phénomène poétique, sont déclenchés par l'invention désintéressée, par l'éclat des rapports, toutes choses étant appuyées sur la mathématique impeccable des combinaisons. C'était un plaisir, ici, de jouer des ressources du Modulor tout en surveillant le jeu du coin de l'œil pour éviter les balourdises. Car

— 267 —

FIGURE 4.01 Illustrations from 'Art libre', in *Modulor 2* (LC 1955: 266-7)

left: André Maisonnier, final version of the Chapel's floorplan, 1 February 1955 (FLC 07167)

right: Photograph of the east elevation of the plaster model, November 1950 (FLC L3-2-12)

Text and captions offer no descriptive analysis of these images.

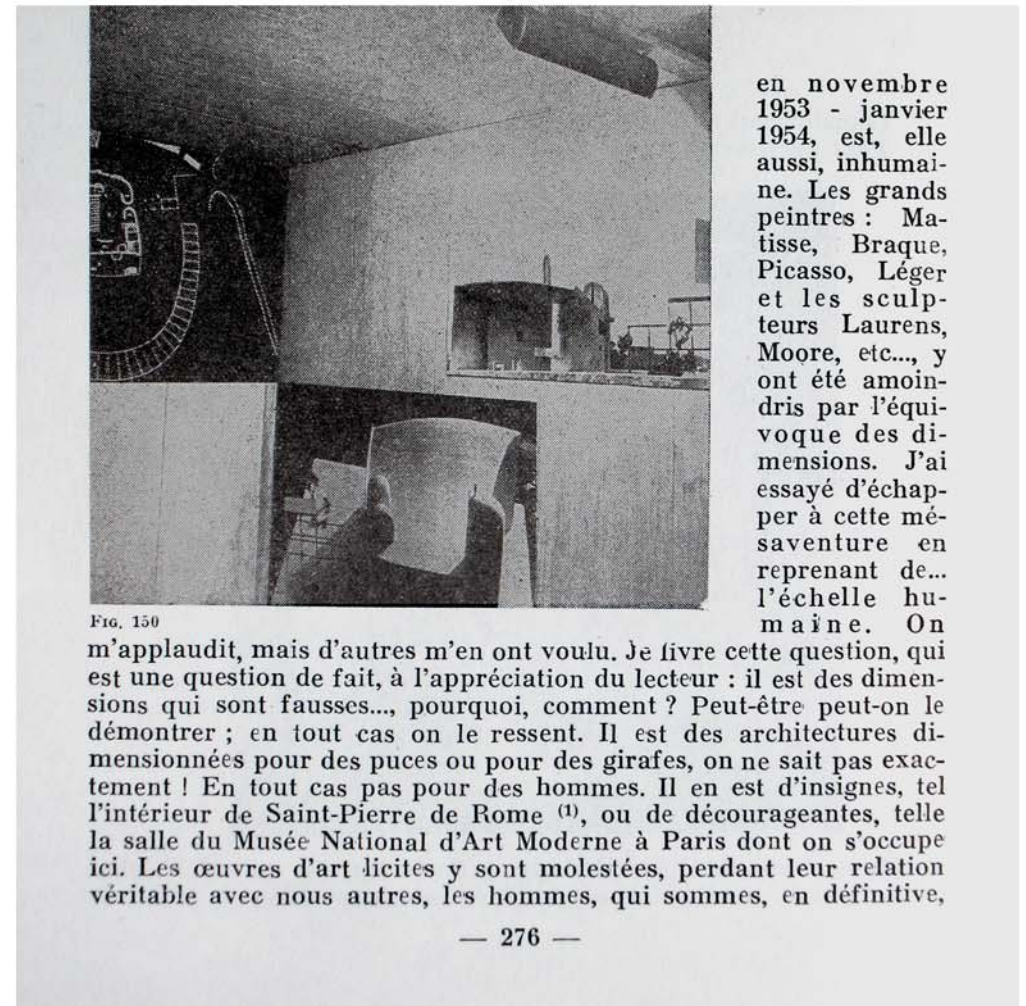
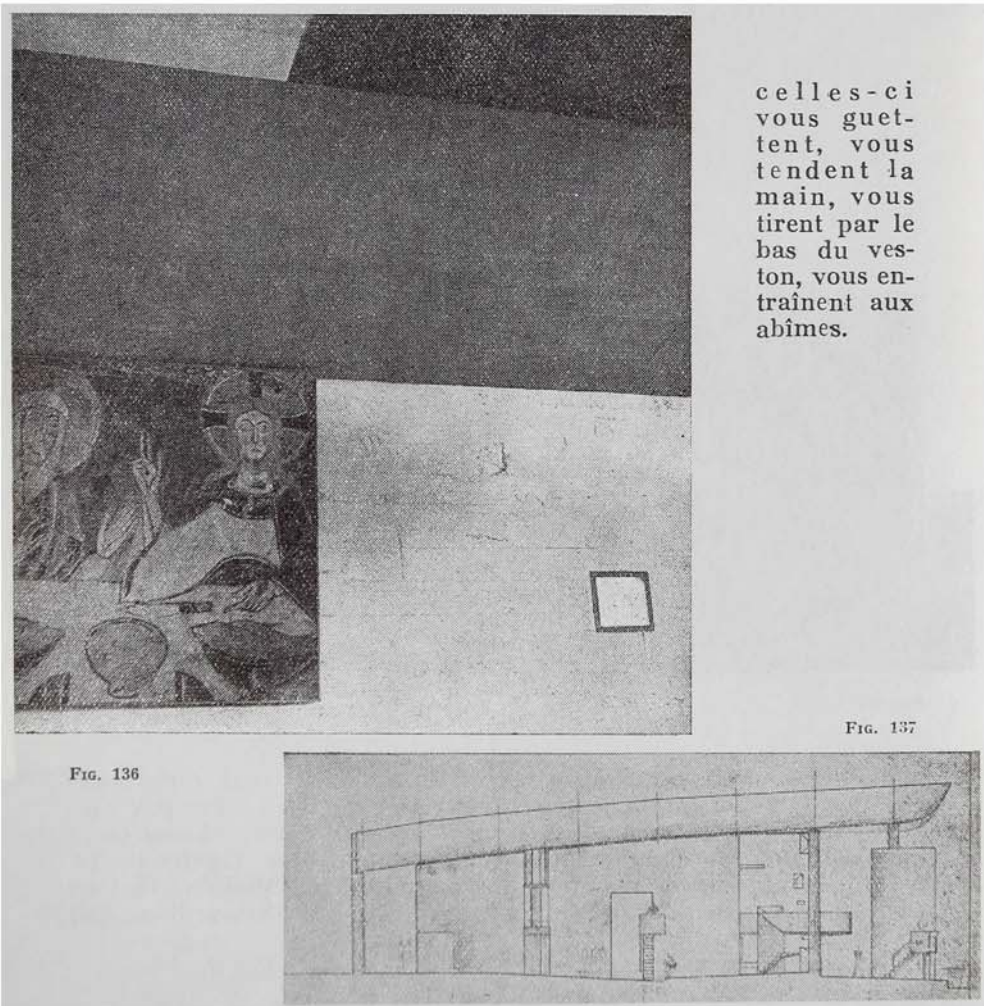


FIGURE 4.02 Illustrations from 'Art libre', in *Modulor 2* (LC 1955: 268, 276)

- left: Interior of the Chapel's dormitory, with an unidentified Romanesque fresco
 André Maisonnier, longitudinal section of the Chapel's interior, 12 December 1953 (FLC 07188)
- right: Photograph of Ronchamp design documents on display at the Museum of Modern Art in Paris, 1953-54
 Text and captions offer no descriptive analysis of the illustrations.



FIG. 136



FIGURE 4.03 Romanesque fresco depicting 'Christ the miracle worker', Brinay, Department of Cher, France, XIIIth century.
left: Detail of figure 136 in *Modulor 2*, showing the photographic reproduction on the dormitory's northern wall. (LC 1955: 268)
right: Pierre Valade, full-scale reproduction of the Brinay fresco at the Palais de Chaillot in Paris, 1943.
The fresco depicts a miracle cited within the Bible, in which Christ is said to have transformed six jars of water into wine.

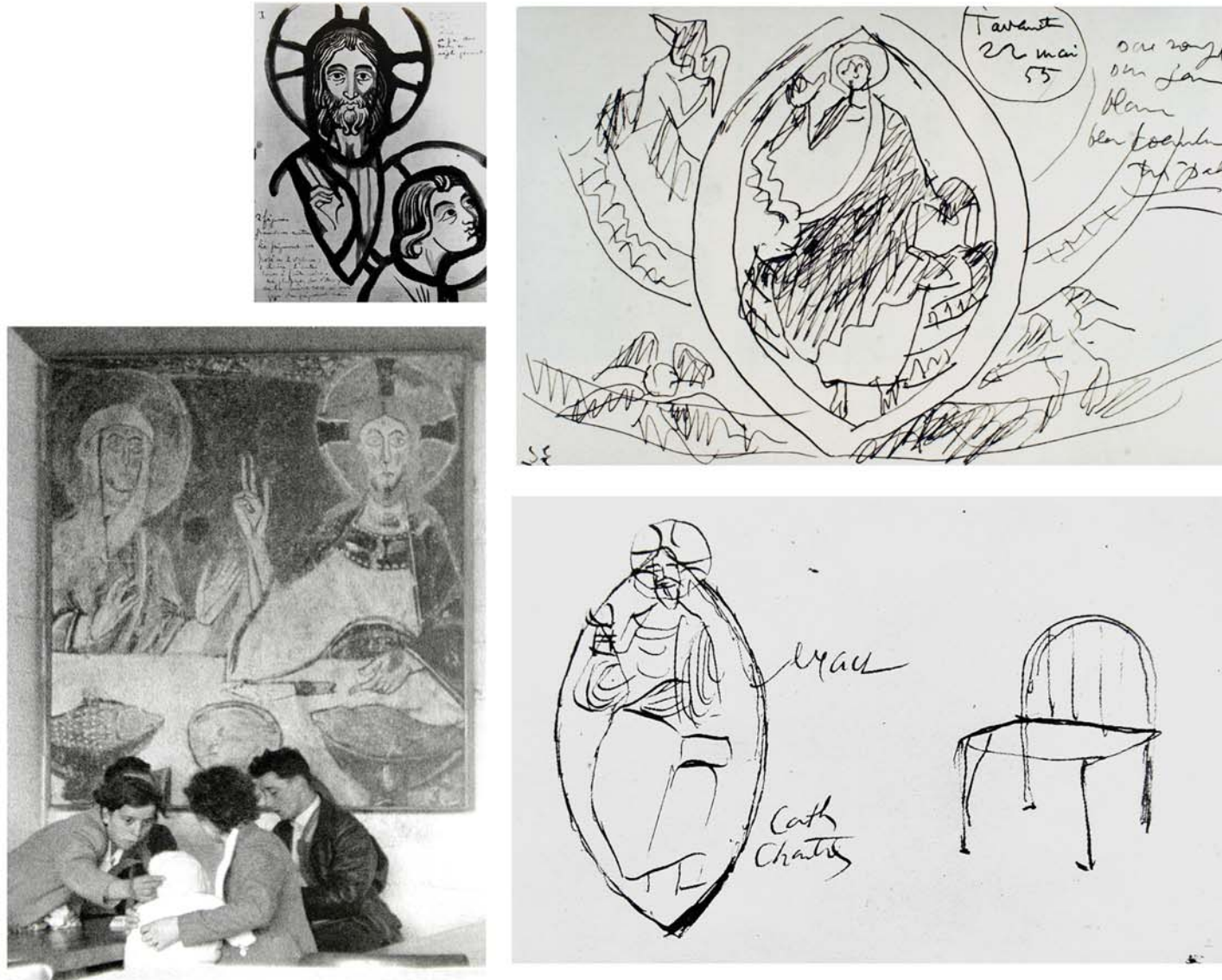


FIGURE 4.04 The Ronchamp dormitory fresco and Le Corbusier's sketches of Christ, 1908-1955 (© FLC-ADAGP)

left top: Ch.-E. Jeanneret, Notre-Dame de Paris, south transept rose, 1908. Private collection (Brooks 1997: 172)

left below: Reproduction of the Brinay fresco, Ronchamp dormitory, photograph from 1950's. (FLC)

right top: Le Corbusier, Church at Tavant, France, 22 May 1955, contemporaneous with the publication of *Modulor 2*. (FLC K40-516)

right below: Le Corbusier, Cathedral of Chartres, tympanum, with accompanying chair (Latin: *cathedra*), undated. (Saddy 1988: 89)

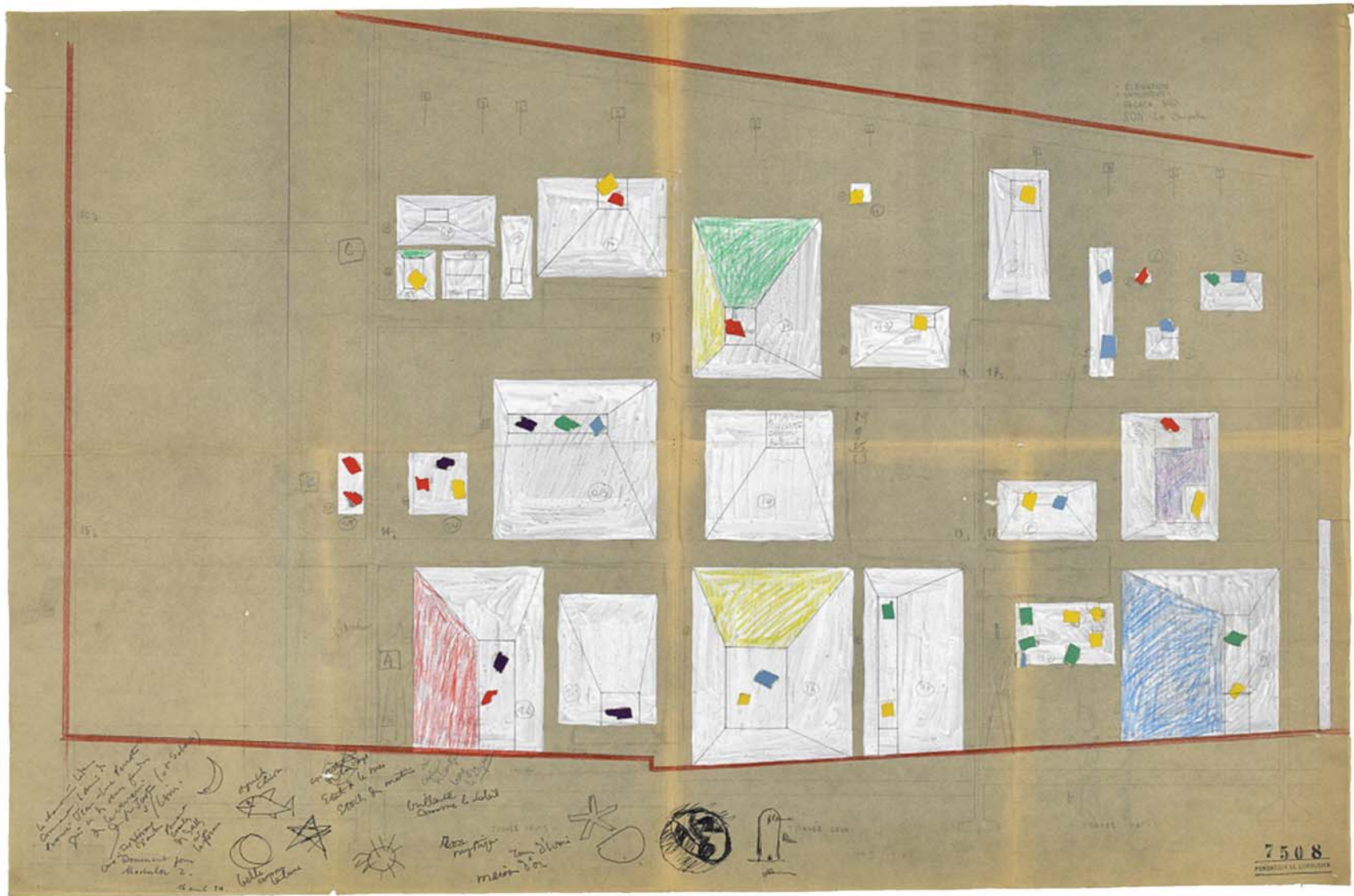


FIGURE 4.05

Le Corbusier, color elevation of the interior of the south wall, Chapel of Ronchamp (FLC 07508)

captions:

Descriptions of window symbols discussed with Canon Ledeur, annotated 'Document pour Modulus 2, 16 April 54'.

The illustration was not included in Modulus 2, in which it was claimed that "all would be white, inside and out." (LC 1955a: 266)



FIGURE 4.06 Architectural precedents of the 'acoustic phenomenon'
top: Le Corbusier, curvilinear housing blocks proposed for Saint-Gaudens (LC 1946a: 9; Boesiger 1946: 162, detail)
"The form of the buildings will respond to the horizons, to the views, and to the sun." (Boesiger 1946: 162)
bottom: André Maisonnier, design sketch for Ronchamp, October 1950 (FLC 07417)
"Forms are created to respond to these horizons, to welcome them." (Boesiger 1953: 88)

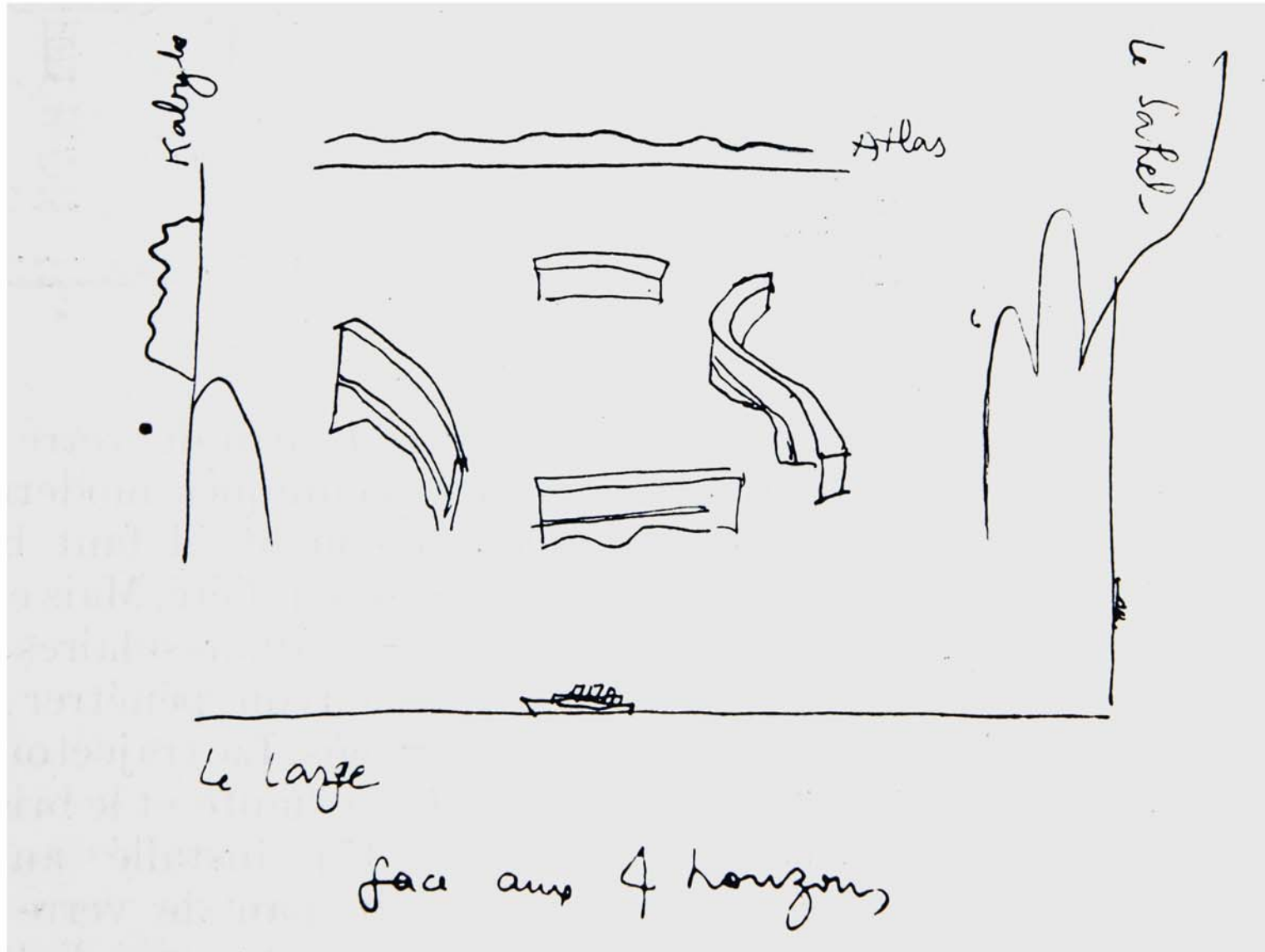


FIGURE 4.07

Architectural precedents of the 'acoustic phenomenon'

Le Corbusier, diagram of the 'response to the 4 horizons, in *L'architecture et l'esprit mathématique*' (1948c: 486)

Schematic rendering of architecture in context: "Kabylia / Atlas / the sun / the open sea / facing the 4 horizons"

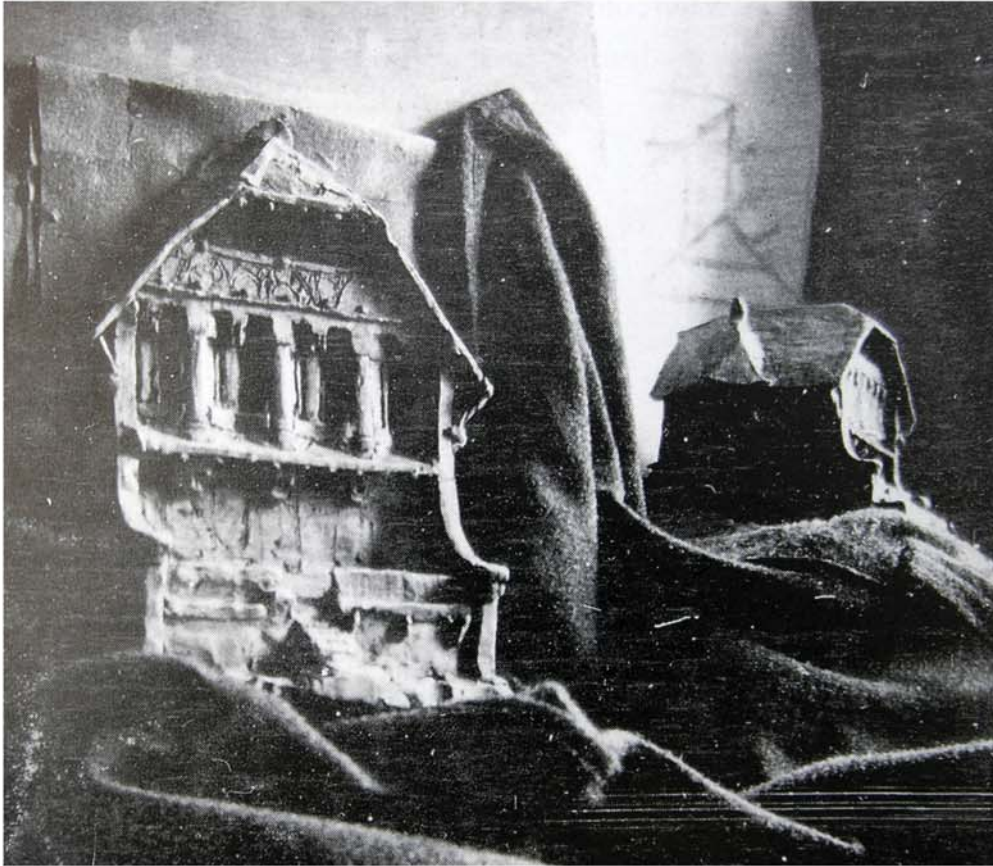


FIGURE 4.08

Le Corbusier: “The teachings of L’Eplattenier ripen”

left: Charles-Édouard Jeanneret, sculpted clay models of the Villa Jaquemet, La Chaux-de-Fonds, Switzerland, c. 1907. (BVCF; Brooks 1997: 139)

right: Charles-Édouard Jeanneret and René Chapallaz, the Villa Jaquemet, c. 1909. (BVCF; Thomson, ed. 2006: 138)

L’Eplattenier taught Jeanneret to create architectural forms with sculptural models made of clay.

La Voix Diocésaine de Besançon

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Communiqués officiels : Quête pour l'Afrique Noire. — Mgr l'Archevêque, chanoine d'honneur de Strasbourg. — Ordination de l'Avent. — La Quinzaine de Mgr l'Archevêque. — Distinctions. — Retraites de chrétienté 1955. — Comptes paroissiaux. — Accusés de réception. — Session du monde ouvrier.

Chronique diocésaine. — Mission du pays de Montbéliard. — Art sacré. — Encyclique *Divini illius magistri*. — Nécrologie. — Bibliographie. — Pèlerinages.

Avis divers. — Table des matières.

Date limite de la remise des copies pour le prochain Numéro :
DIMANCHE 9 JANVIER 1955



Communiqués Officiels

Quête Pontificale de l'Épiphanie pour l'Afrique Noire

Mgr l'Archevêque, qui recommande cette quête prescrite par le Saint-Siège, a reçu du Pro-Directeur Général de la Société Antiesclavagiste de France une lettre dont voici quelques extraits :

« Les événements qui se passent en Afrique montrent l'urgence de la pénétration religieuse sur les territoires de l'Union Française. La mentalité de nos frères noirs évolue rapidement. Il faut christianiser. C'est une nécessité absolue pour la paix et pour la civilisation.

Dans cette tâche capitale, la Société Antiesclavagiste de France est l'auxiliaire indispensable de nos missionnaires. Les rapports annuels que nous ont envoyés les Vicaires et Préfets Apostoliques apportent leur témoignage autorisé auquel s'est ajouté récemment encore celui des personnes responsables des destinées politiques de la France d'Outremer.

Le zèle de leurs Exc. NN. SS. les Archevêques et Evêques de France, la générosité de leurs fidèles, nous ont permis d'aider efficacement les œuvres sociales des missions de nos territoires,

Il fournit en particulier des orientations qui vont permettre de constituer partout des comités paroissiaux au cours du premier trimestre 1955.

Ces comités, où collaboreront clergé et laïcs, vont prendre en charge la préparation de la mission dans chaque paroisse.

La psychologie expliquée par l'histoire

M. Michel Billerey, professeur adjoint à la Faculté des Lettres de Besançon, est Montbéliardais. Il connaît bien la région et en étudie spécialement l'histoire religieuse.

Il s'attache à nous montrer dans cette histoire l'explication du comportement réciproque des catholiques et des protestants de la région. Magnifique exposé qui ne se résume pas et dont, nous l'espérons, la *Voix Diocésaine* donnera un jour des extraits.

Cette conférence se termine par une note d'espoir.

Les antagonismes extérieurs sont en voie de régression, ce qui doit nous inciter à être de plus en plus unis dans la fidélité à l'Église.

Conclusions de Mgr l'Archevêque

S. Exc. Mgr Dubois tire les conclusions de cette journée. Il souligne combien a été fructueux le travail effectué en commun par toutes les paroisses de la région.

Il montre à quelles conditions un travail œcuménique peut être efficace et sans écueils. Seul un théologien averti peut fournir à notre action des informations objectives et des principes solides.

Puis profitant de son passage, Monseigneur prend contact avec la paroisse de Seloncourt et avec les dirigeants des Œuvres.

Le travail continue, la prochaine journée pastorale (8 mars) permettra à quelques commissions pastorales de donner les premiers résultats de leurs recherches. M. P.

L'ART SACRÉ DANS LE MONDE MODERNE ET SES PROBLÈMES

Un article de S. Ém. le Cardinal Costantini

A la suite de plusieurs Semaines religieuses, celle de Paris entre autres, nous faisons écho à l'article de S. Em. le Cardinal Costantini, en citant quelques passages. Le texte complet se trouve dans la Documentation Catholique, N° 1187, 28-11-1954, col. 1525.

Partie négative

Blasphèmes figuratifs. — Certaines figurations sacrées sont des caricatures. L'intention n'est certainement pas de servir la religion, mais d'offenser la piété chrétienne...

Aujourd'hui, on assiste à une nouvelle offensive anticatholique qui utilise la déformation et l'altération dépravée des objets proposés à la vénération des fidèles. L'objectif est de rendre ridicule le culte catholique... On ne veut pas dire que tous les artistes qui déforment ont l'intention d'outrager la religion. On trouve parmi eux des artistes timorés qui sont entraînés par la mode ou même par le besoin...

Certains artistes qui défigurent d'une manière horrible la divine humanité du Christ s'excusent en disant qu'on applique au Christ les expressions bibliques : *vermis et non homo*, etc... Ce sont des expressions hyperboliques et poétiques qui contiennent un fond de vrai plus moral que matériel suivant le genre de la littérature orientale. Même crucifié, Jésus conservait son apparence humaine, alors que certains artistes le représentent sous un aspect dégradé et comme bestial... Dans la Vierge sans péché, il est inconcevable que l'art ait pu tenter d'offenser, même dans l'expression des formes, la dignité de celle qui est pleine de grâce. Les saints sont également devenus un jeu impie de dégradation de ces formes...

Art sacré non figuratif. — Si Jésus se présente comme homme, il est logique de vouloir le voir et adorer dans son humanité. L'art non figuratif nous fait souvenir de l'antique hérésie du docétisme, où se trouvait niée la réalité corporelle du Christ... L'abstrait est une tentative essentiellement antiartistique, l'art est intuition rapide et facile... L'art abstrait est le plus impopulaire ; alors que l'iconographie chrétienne est l'art le plus populaire...

Partie positive

L'égarement de l'art chrétien moderne trouve sa cause la plus profonde dans la désorientation et l'apathie spirituelle de notre époque. Le premier remède sera donc un retour conscient du Christ dans la société et, pour la renaissance de l'art, dans l'âme des artistes. Des hommes sourds et muets en fait de religion ne sauraient parler un langage vivant de l'art religieux...

Caractères et exigences de l'art sacré. — ...L'artiste qui se met à traiter un sujet sacré doit avoir présent à l'esprit le quadruple devoir de l'art sacré :

1. Devoir constructif : le temple chrétien est ...la maison de Dieu et du peuple, non un simple centre de rassemblement pour le déploiement de la liturgie, mais une école pour l'enseignement et l'étude de la catéchèse.

2. Devoir liturgique. ...Offrir des images pour le culte extérieur, lequel aide et stimule l'imagination pour adresser l'acte de vénération, au delà des images, à leurs prototypes mêmes...

3. Devoir catéchistique. ...Pour atteindre ce but, l'art se fait herméneutique, c'est-à-dire explicatif des mystères, historique et narratif, symbolique enfin.

4. Devoir ornemental. ...

L'Église n'est pas opposée à ce qui est moderne, bien mieux, elle le désire parce qu'elle est un organisme vivant ; mais elle veut du moderne raisonnable, non un retour au primitif archaïque et à l'infantilisme des peuples primitifs ou aux dessins rupestres des cavernes. ...Elle veut du moderne digne et décent... Pour le réaliser, l'artiste devra s'inspirer de ce canon fondamental que sont les recommandations de bienséance de l'Instruction du Saint-Office... (1).

Pour la nouvelle architecture des églises. — ...L'église ne doit jamais être assimilable à un édifice profane et c'est pourquoi on doit rejeter ce laïcisme constructif qui désoriente l'âme des fidèles...

(1) D. C. 27-2-52.

FIGURE 4.09

Cardinal Costantini, 'L'Art sacré dans le monde moderne et ses problèmes', 30 December 1954 (ADB)
"The Church... wants a dignified and decent modernism... To achieve this, the artist must be inspired by the fundamental canons, which are the recommendations for decorum in the Instructions of the Holy Office... (27 February 1952)."

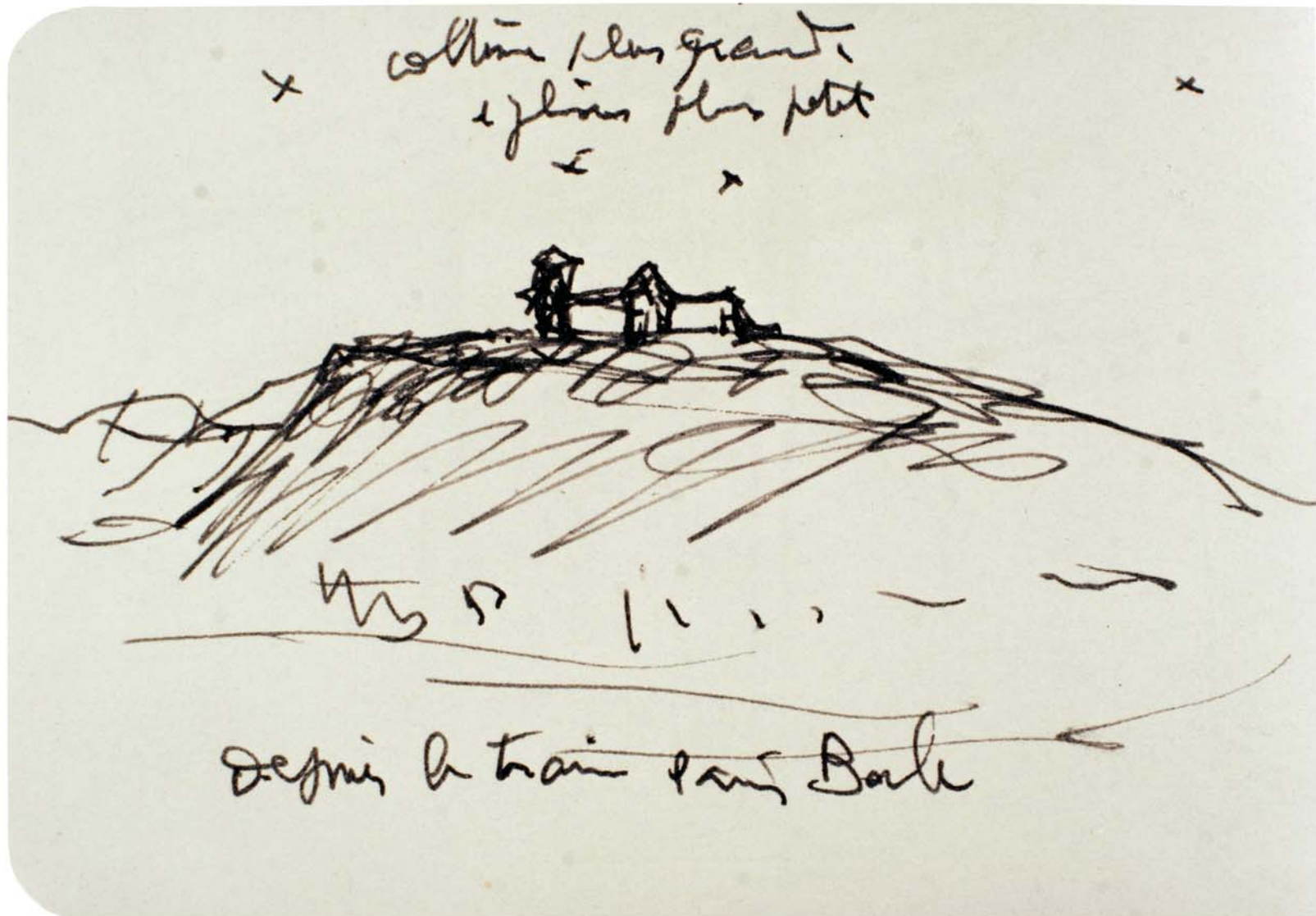


FIGURE 5.01 Le Corbusier, sketch of Ronchamp, Sketchbook D17 272 (© FLC-ADAGP)
'colline plus grande / église plus petite / depuis le train Paris Bâle'
(‘hill too big / church too small / from the train Paris Bâle’)

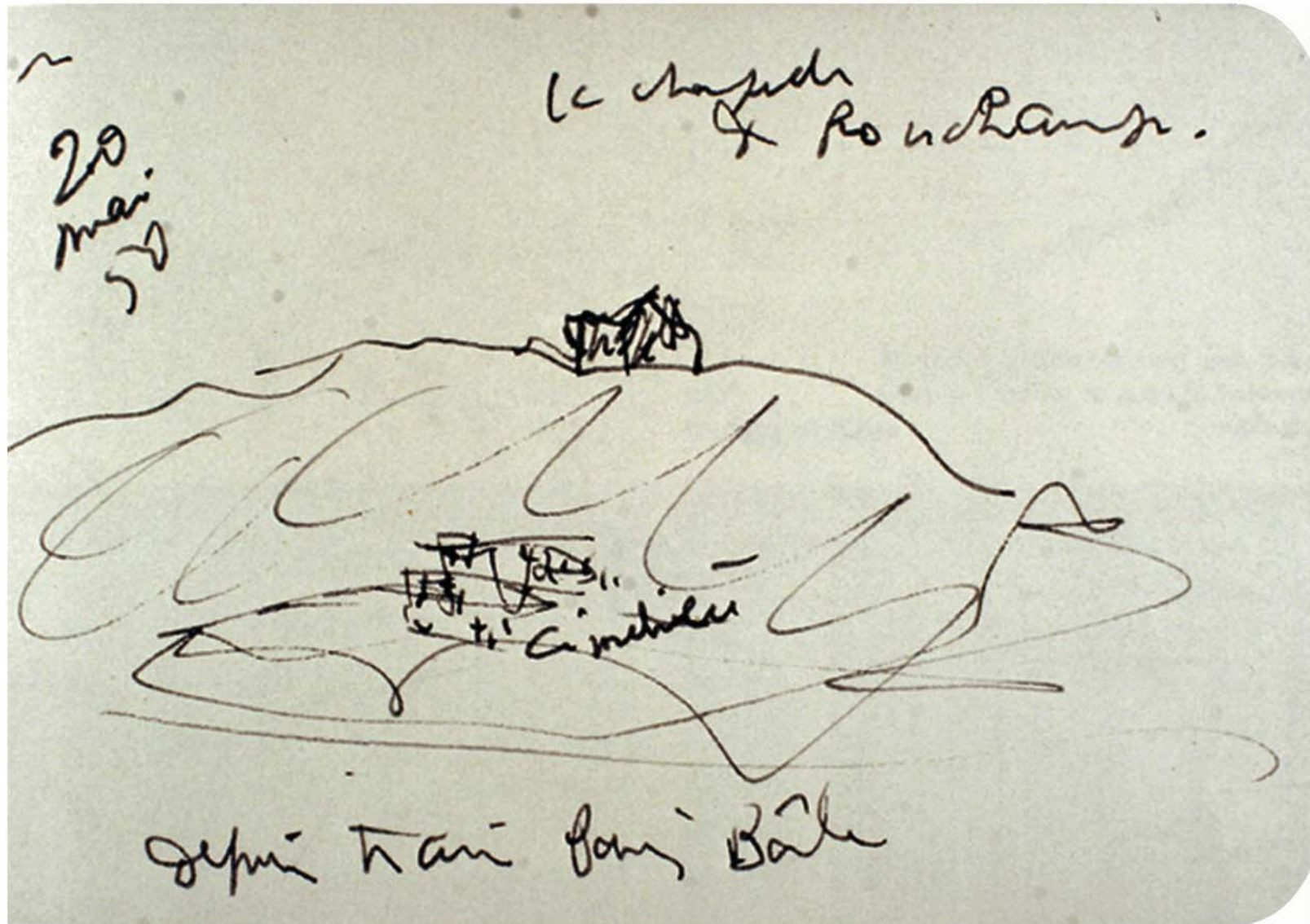


FIGURE 5.02 Le Corbusier, sketch of Ronchamp, Sketchbook D17 273 (© FLC-ADAGP)
'20 mai 50 / la chapelle de Ronchamp / cimetière / depuis train Paris Bâle'
('20 May 50 / the chapel of Ronchamp / cemetery / from the train Paris Bâle')

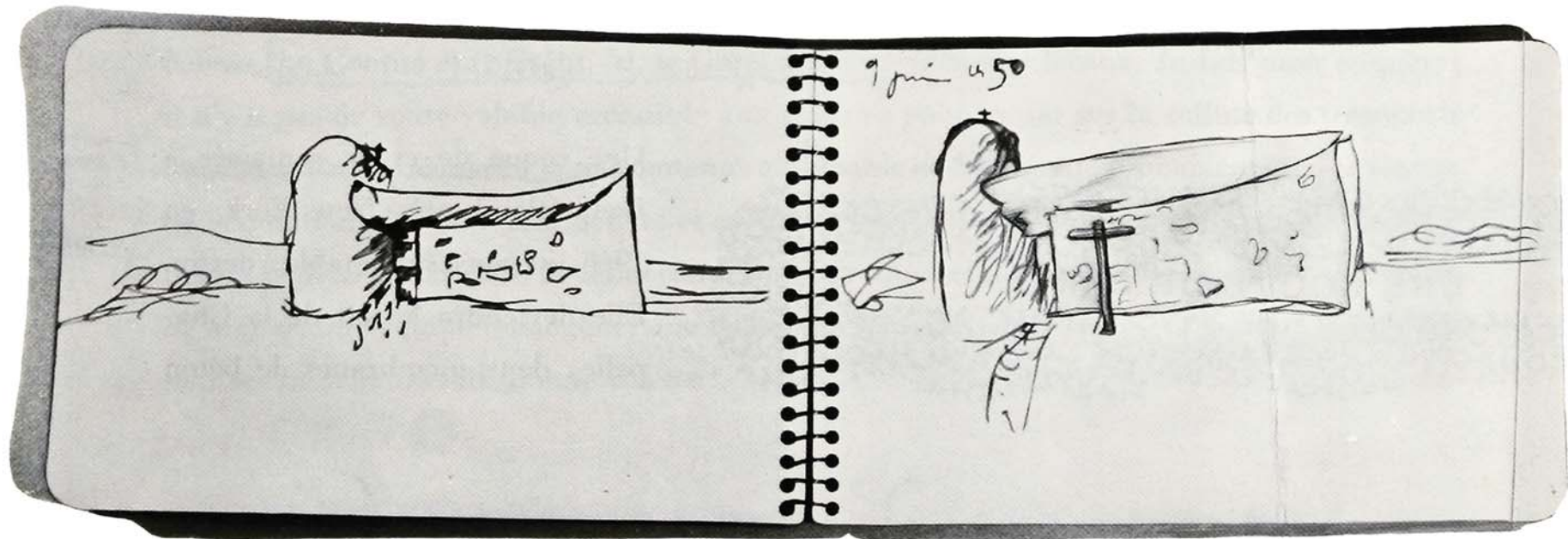


FIGURE 5.03

Sketches of the Chapel of Ronchamp in Sketchbook E18

left: Le Corbusier, Perspective 312, undated (© FLC-ADAGP)

right: Le Corbusier, Perspective 313, 9 June 1950 (© FLC-ADAGP)

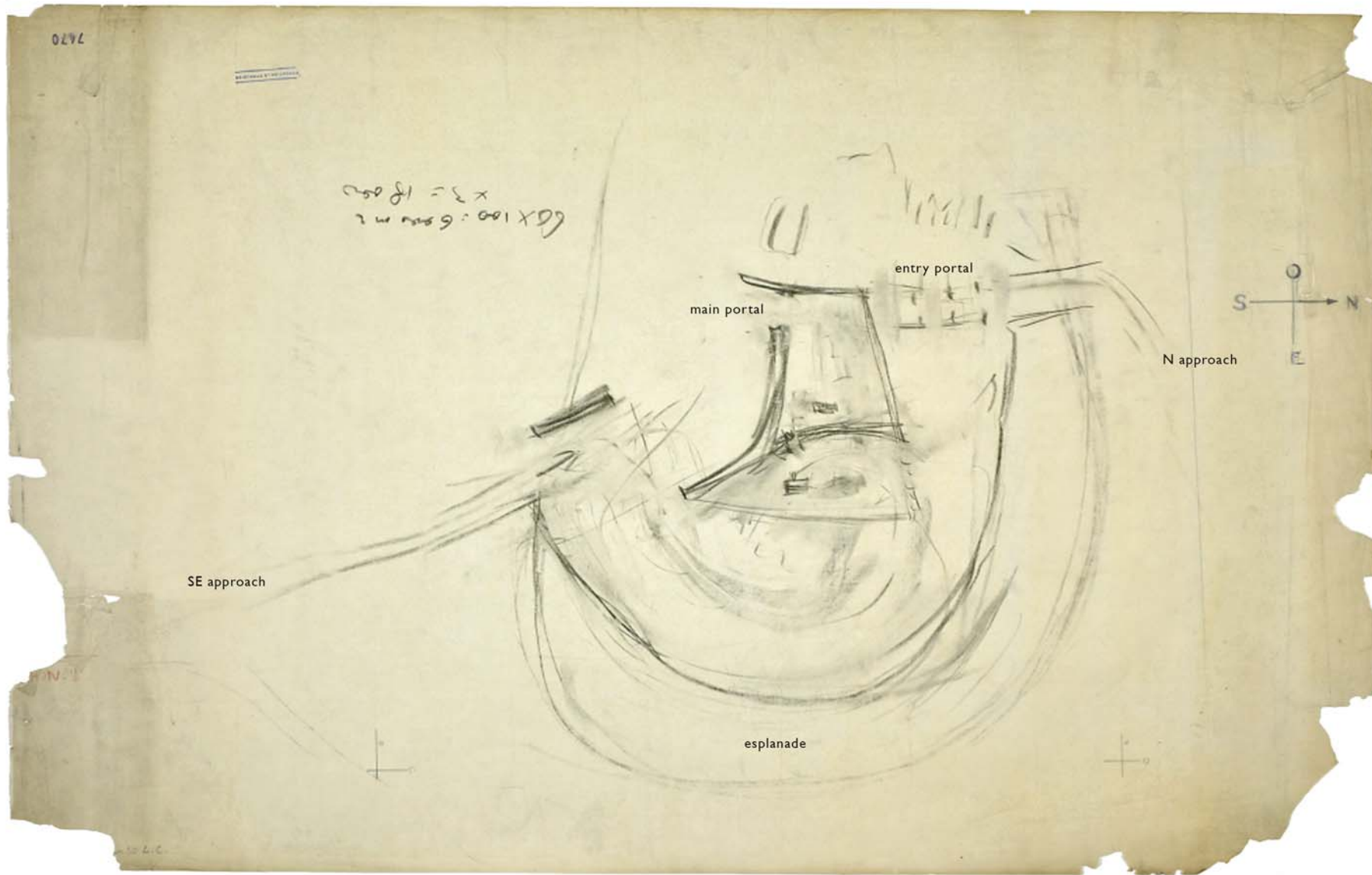


FIGURE 5.04

Le Corbusier, Plan 07470, the 'Charcoal Plan' (© FLC-ADAGP)

'60 x 100 = 6000 m² / x 3 = 18000 / N-S-E-O / 4 / 13 / 12 / 13 / [6 ju]in 50 L.C.'

The date (lower left) is inverted with respect to the numerical stamp and annotations (top left), the compass points (right), as well as the annotation in red pencil (lower left) that reads 'RONCH---'.




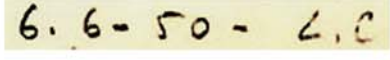
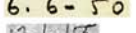
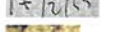
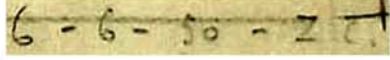











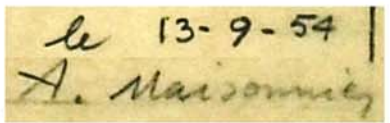

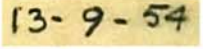



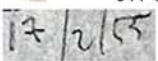






Drawing sheet	Annotated date & drawing attribution	Series	Author	Identifying features	Comparisons	Proposed authors
FLC 07470	Charcoal Plan 		Unknown	'[ju]in': legible 'n' does not match LC (4 June 1958) '5': 270° rounded stroke matches Maisonnier (FLC 07433) 'L.C.': periods, no hyphen, does not match LC (17 Apr 1955)	 	Maisonnier
FLC 07307: Central Door Plan		2	Unknown	Date format w/ hyphens matches Maisonnier (FLC 07204) 'L.C.': periods, no hyphen, does not match LC (17 Apr 1955) '2': matches script of both Maisonnier and Le Corbusier	 	Maisonnier: Date & 'L.C.'
FLC 07311: Three Entry Plan			Unknown	Date format w/ hyphens matches Maisonnier (FLC 07204) 'L.C.': periods, no hyphen, does not match LC (17 Apr 1955)	 	Maisonnier
FLC 07293: Foundation Plan	Number '4' in series of early plans (unsigned, undated)	4	Unknown	'4' round elbow & open top matches LC (FLC 31824x) LC (4 June 1958)		Maisonnier: Date and 'L.C.' Le Corbusier: Series number
FLC 07321: Basin Plan		5	Unknown	Date format w/ hyphens matches Maisonnier (FLC 07204) 'L.C.': periods, no hyphen, does not match LC (17 Apr 1955) '5' series: truncated lower stroke matches LC (FLC 31824x)		Maisonnier: Date and 'L.C.' Le Corbusier: Series number
FLC 07463	Maisonnier Plan 		Maisonnier	 'le': legible characters '50': '5' 270° rounded stroke		
FLC E18-313	Perspective 313 		Le Corbusier	 'juin': last two letters illegible		
FLC 07204	North Stair 		Maisonnier	 'le': legible characters  Date format: hyphenated numerals '54': '4' acute elbow, closed top; '5' 270° arc		
FLC 31824x FLC 07607	20 Oct 1954 17 Feb 1955 		Le Corbusier	 '54': '4' round elbow & open top  Date format: slashed numerals '55': truncated lower stroke		
FLC	17 Apr 1955 		Le Corbusier	 'L-C': arcuated 'L', hyphen, no periods		
FLC	4 June 1958 		Le Corbusier	 'le': illegible characters '4': round elbow and open top 'juin': last two letters illegible		

FIGURE 5.05 Ronchamp drawing set: analysis of annotations (images © FLC-ADAGP)

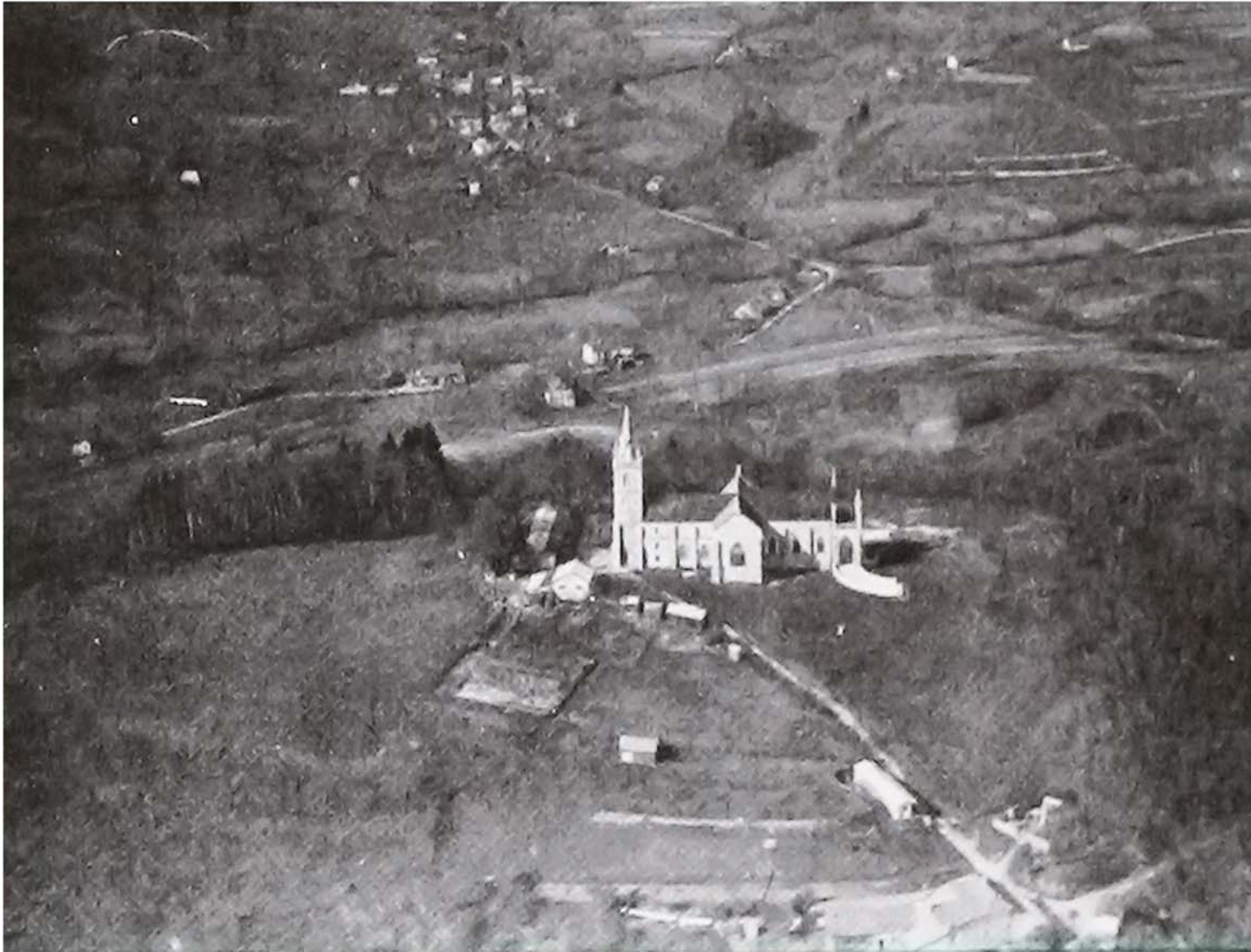


FIGURE 5.06 Hilltop site of Bourlémont above Ronchamp, France, 1930s.
Previous Chapel: surrounding geography, access road, and southeast processional route. (Petit 1961: 113)

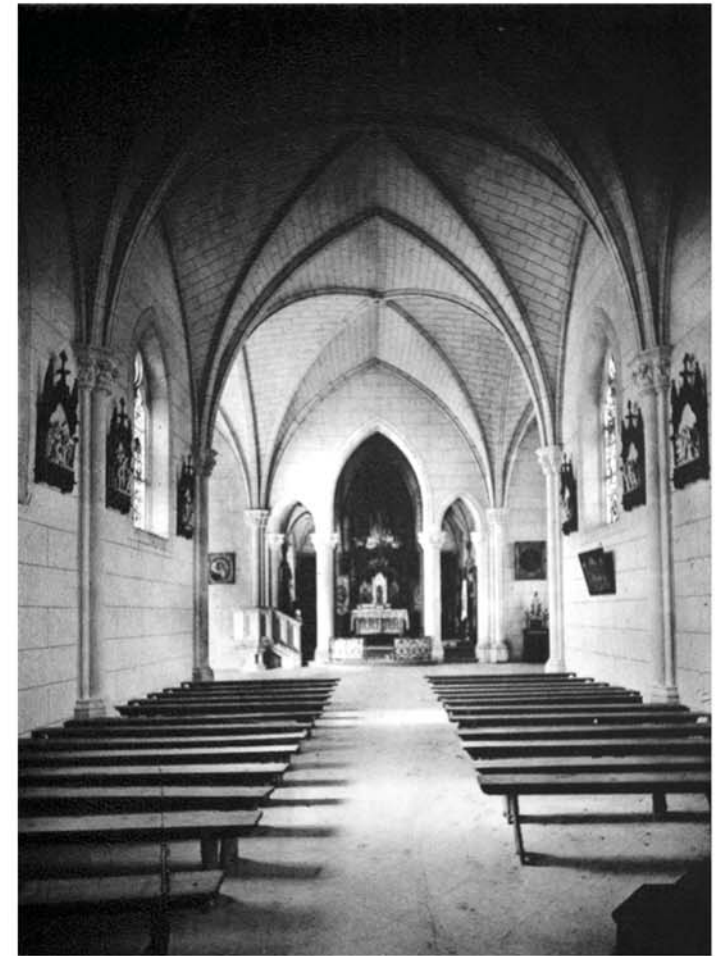
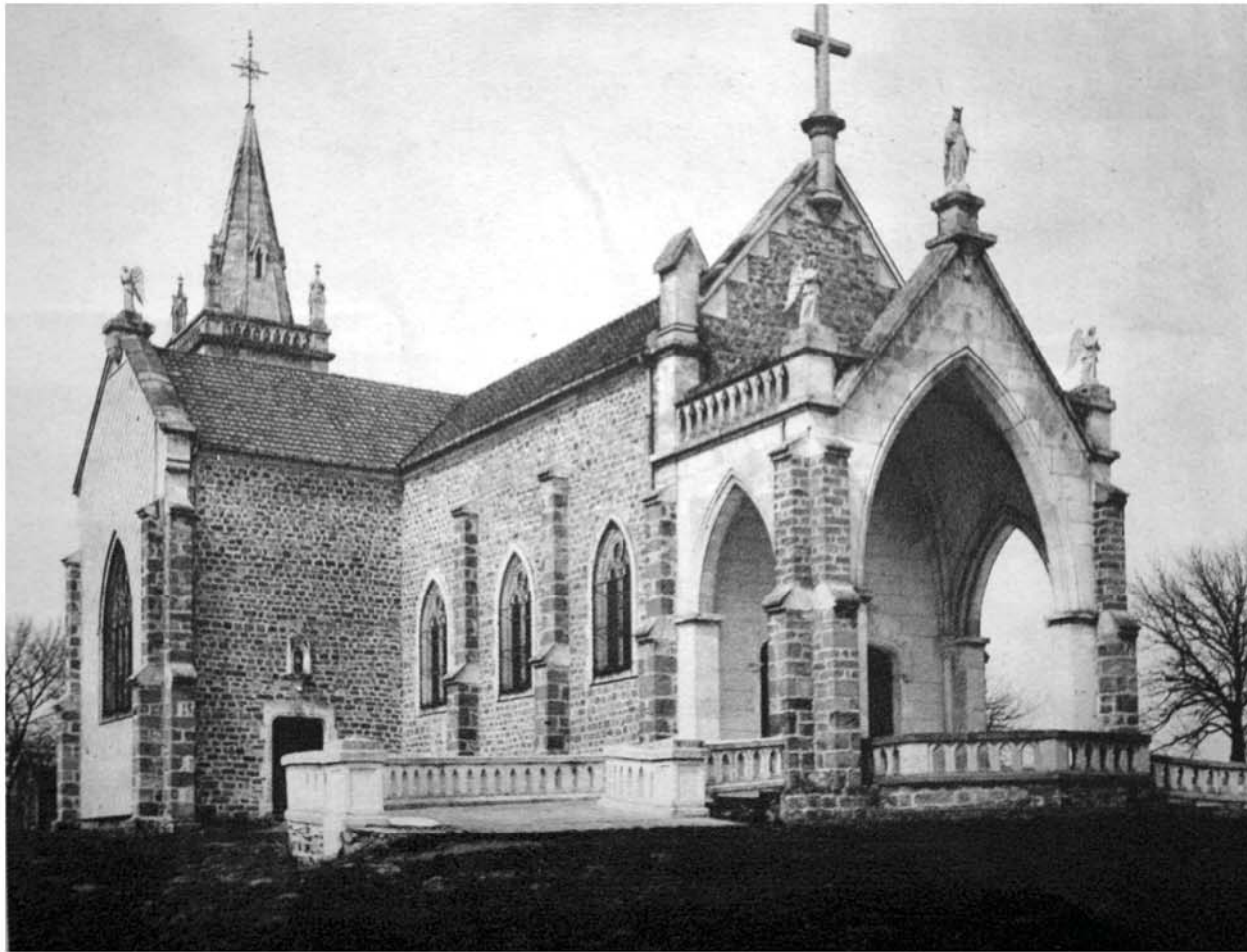


FIGURE 5.07

Notre-Dame-du Haut, Ronchamp, 1936. (*Journal de Notre-Dame-du-Haut*, n. 82, March 1988, p. 35)
The main entry to the chapel was from the east and the internal altar occupied the western end of the nave.

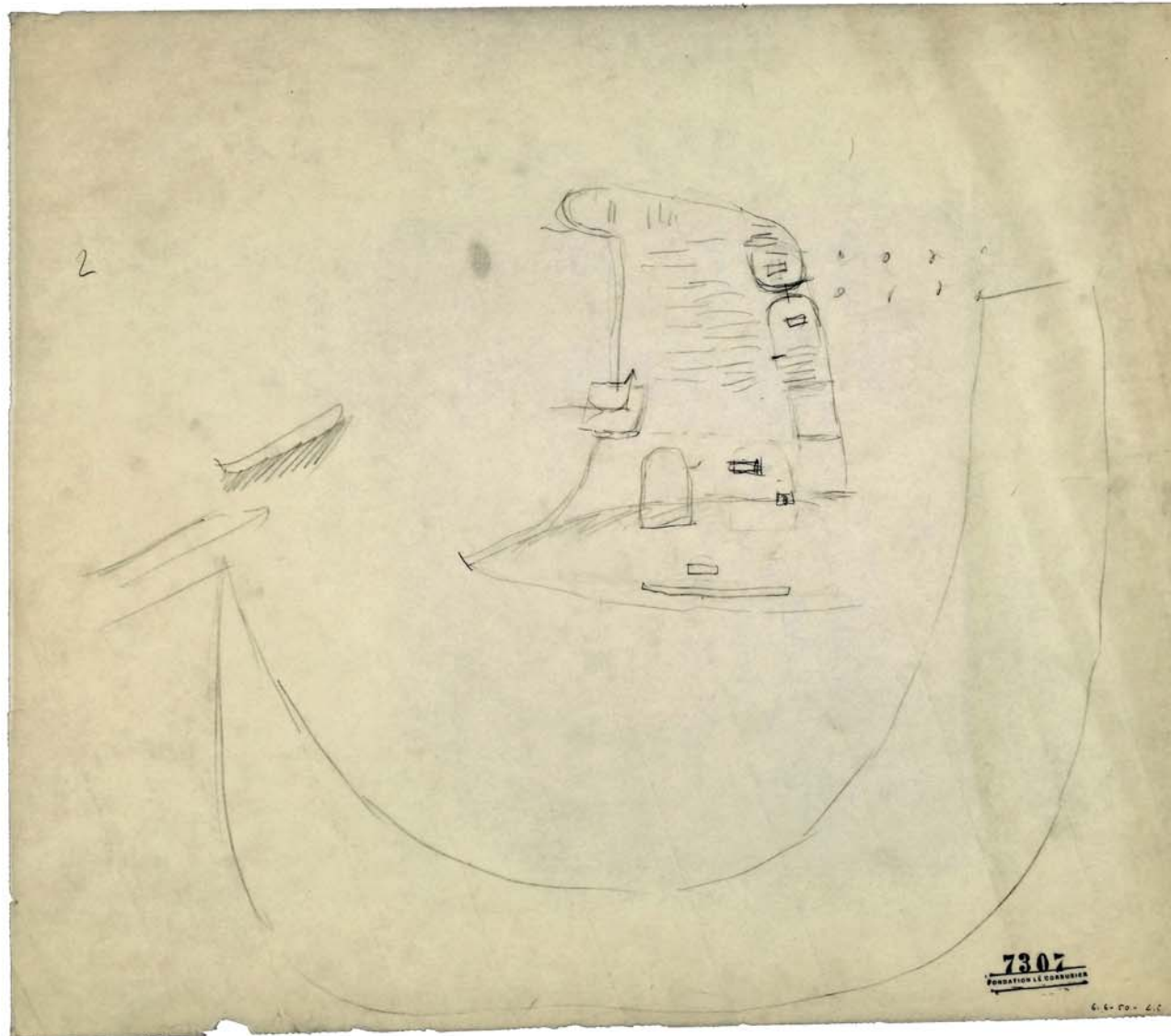


FIGURE 5.08

Le Corbusier, Plan 07307, the 'Central Door Plan' (© FLC-ADAGP)
annotation: '2 / 6-6-50 - L.C.'

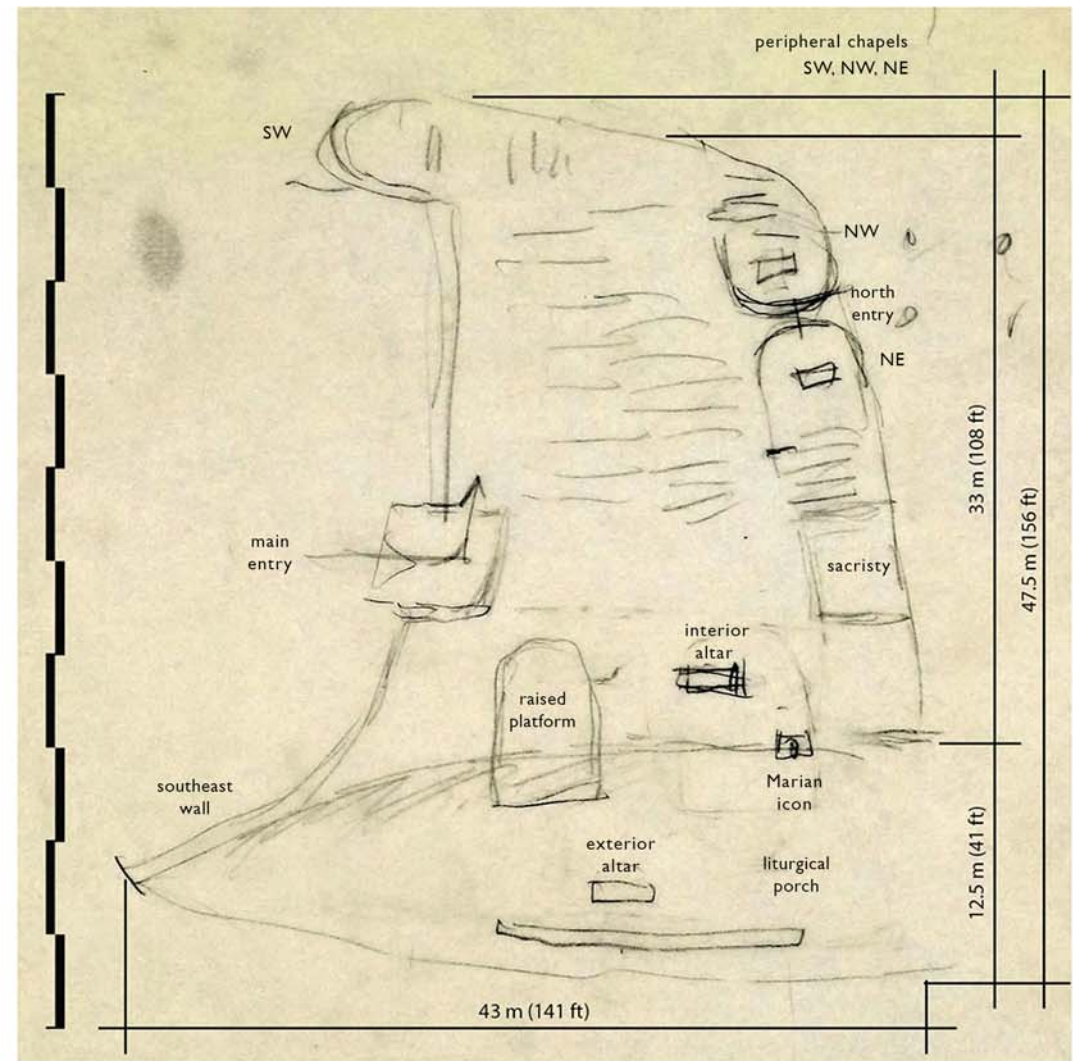
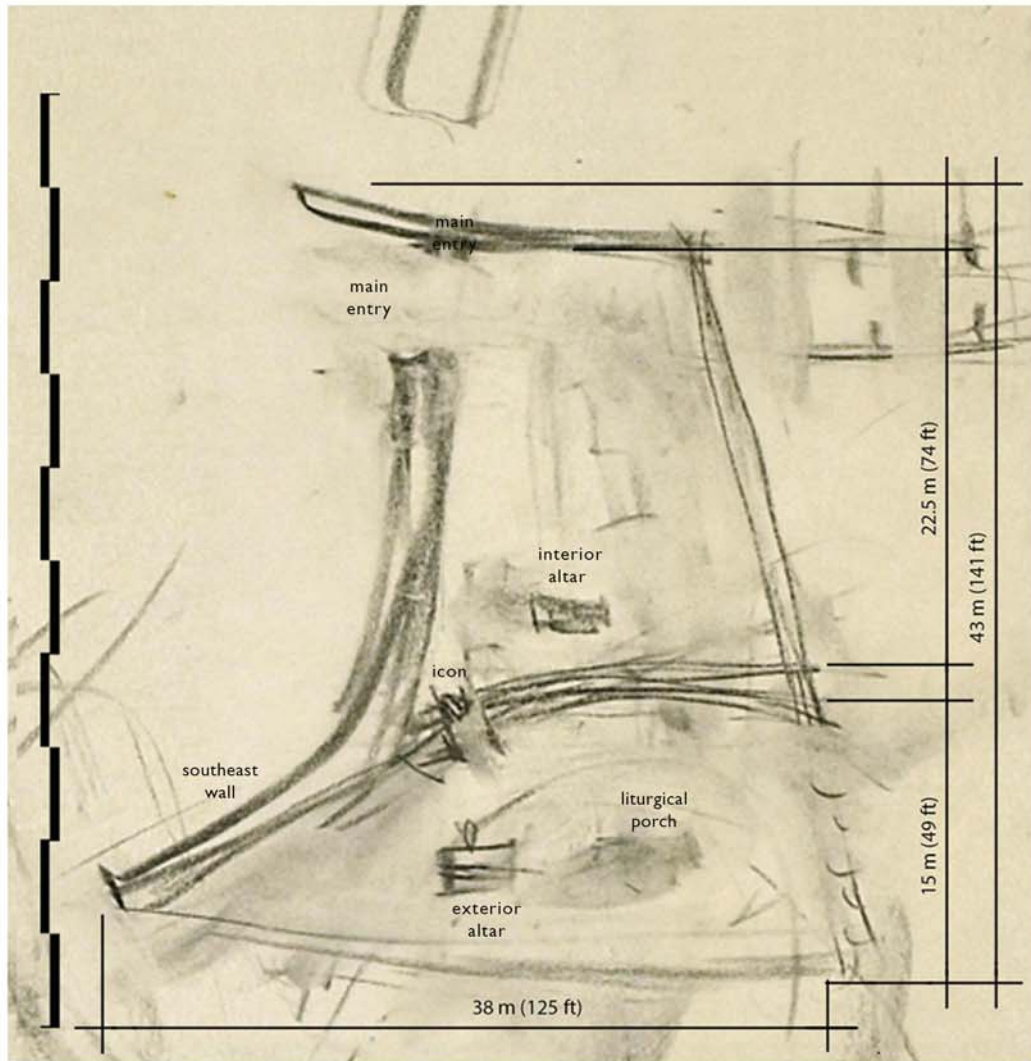


FIGURE 5.09

Left: Le Corbusier, Plan 07470, the 'Charcoal Plan', detail (© FLC-ADAGP)

Right: Le Corbusier, Plan 07307, the 'Central Door Plan', detail (© FLC-ADAGP)



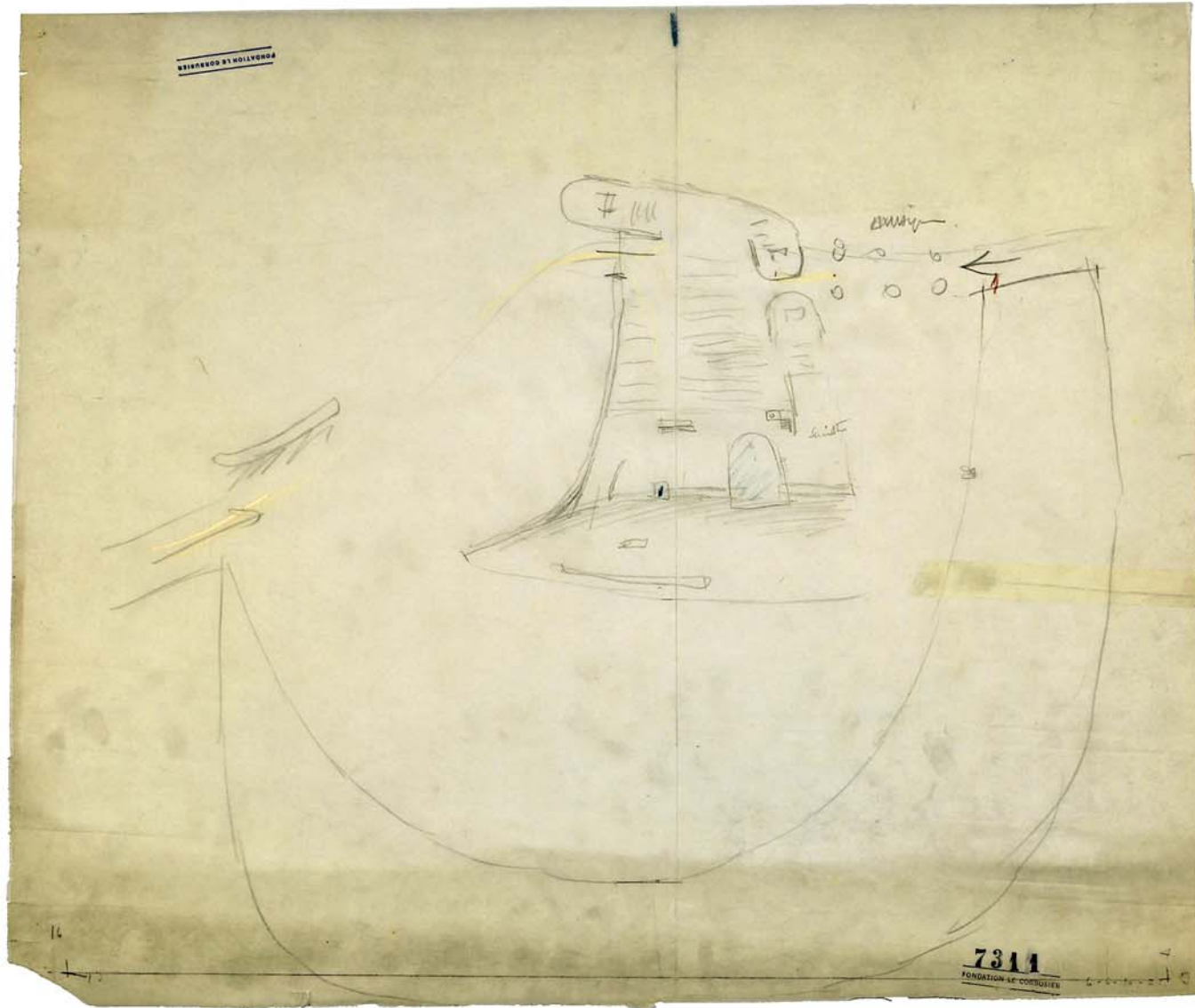


FIGURE 5.10 Le Corbusier, Plan 0731 I, the 'Three Entry Plan' (© FLC-ADAGP)
Annotation: 'musique / sacristie / 6-6-50 - L.C.'

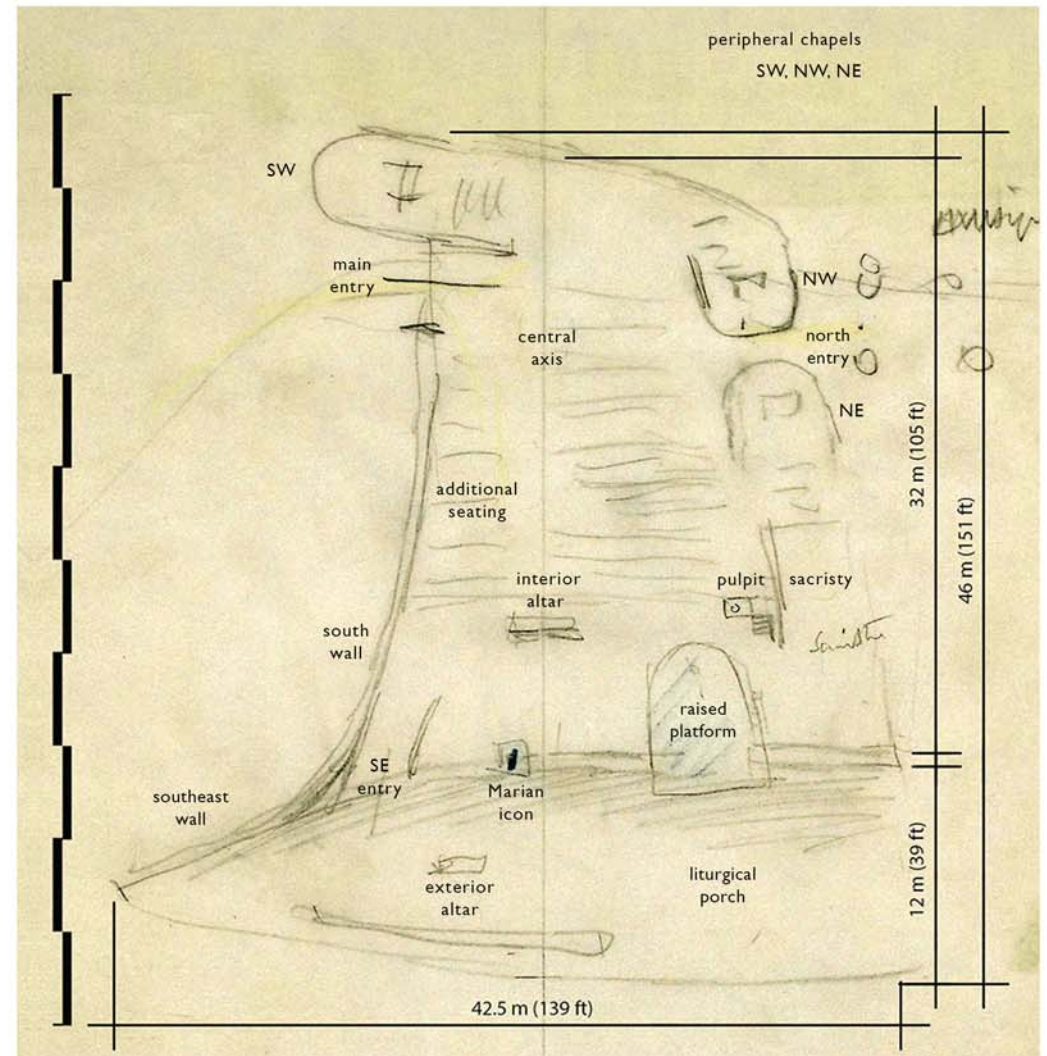
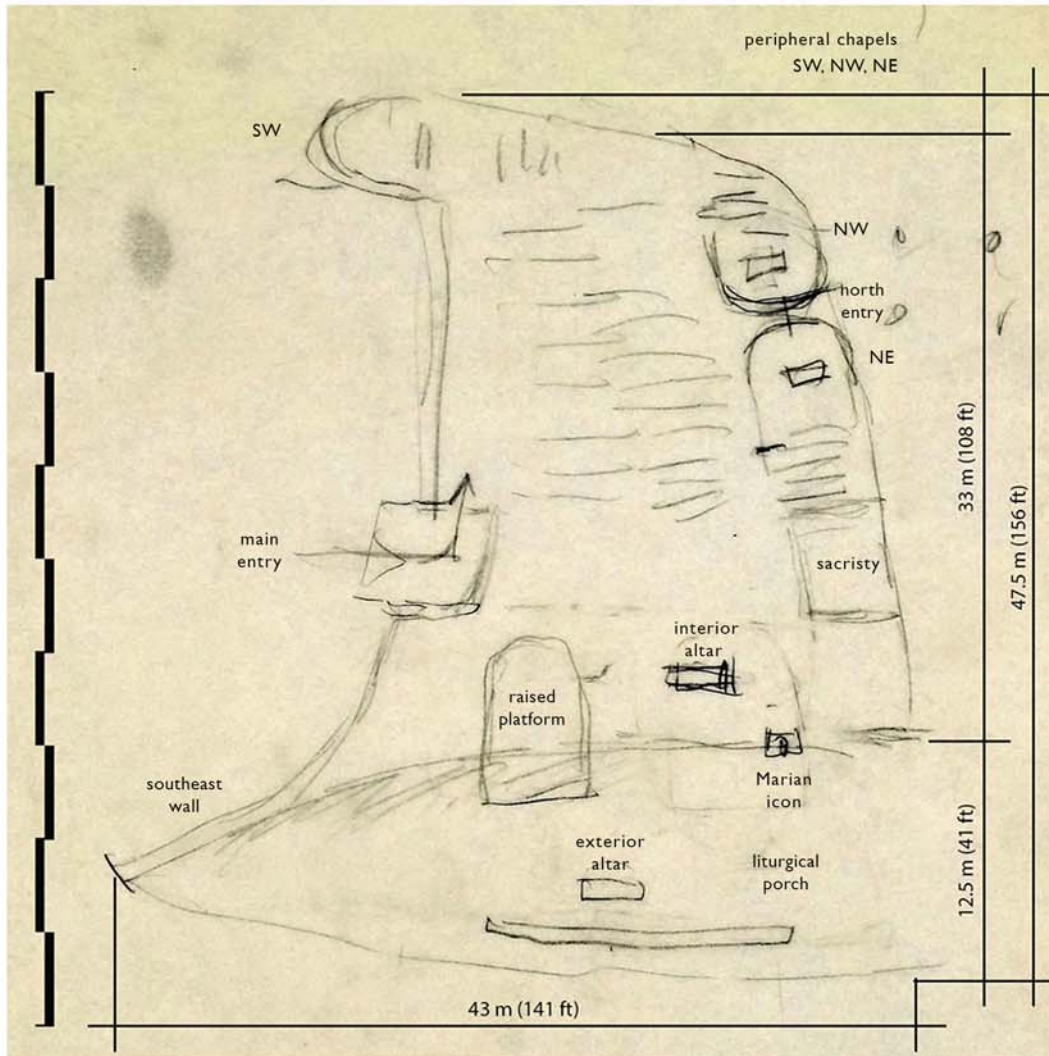


FIGURE 5.11

Left: Le Corbusier, Plan 07307, the 'Central Door Plan', detail (© FLC-ADAGP)
 Right: Le Corbusier, Plan 07311, the 'Three Entry Plan', detail (© FLC-ADAGP)



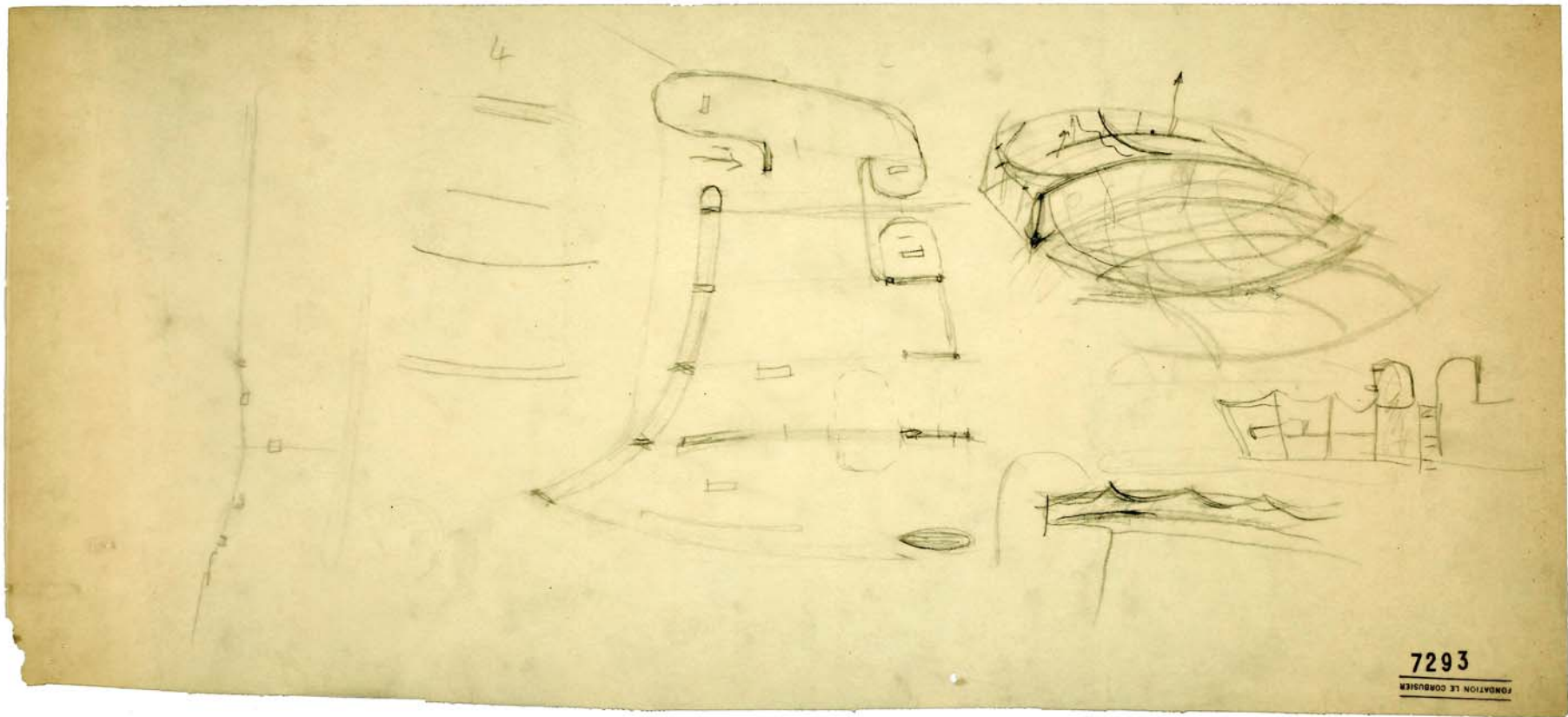


FIGURE 5.12 Le Corbusier, Plan 07293, the 'Foundation Plan' with marginal sketches (© FLC-ADAGP)
Annotation: '4'



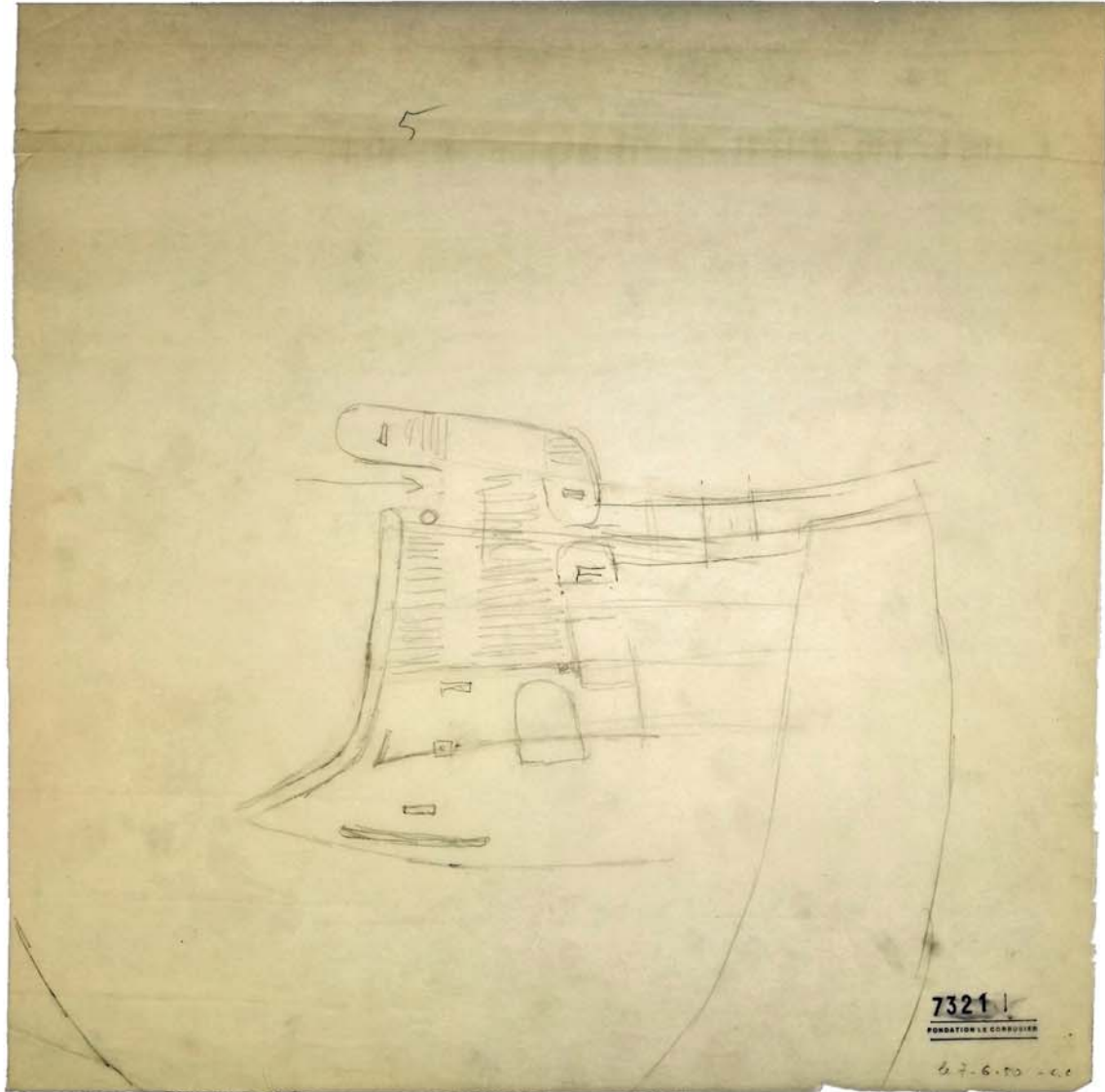


FIGURE 5.13

Le Corbusier, Plan 07321, the 'Basin Plan' (© FLC-ADAGP)
Annotation: '5 / le 7-6-50 - L. C.'

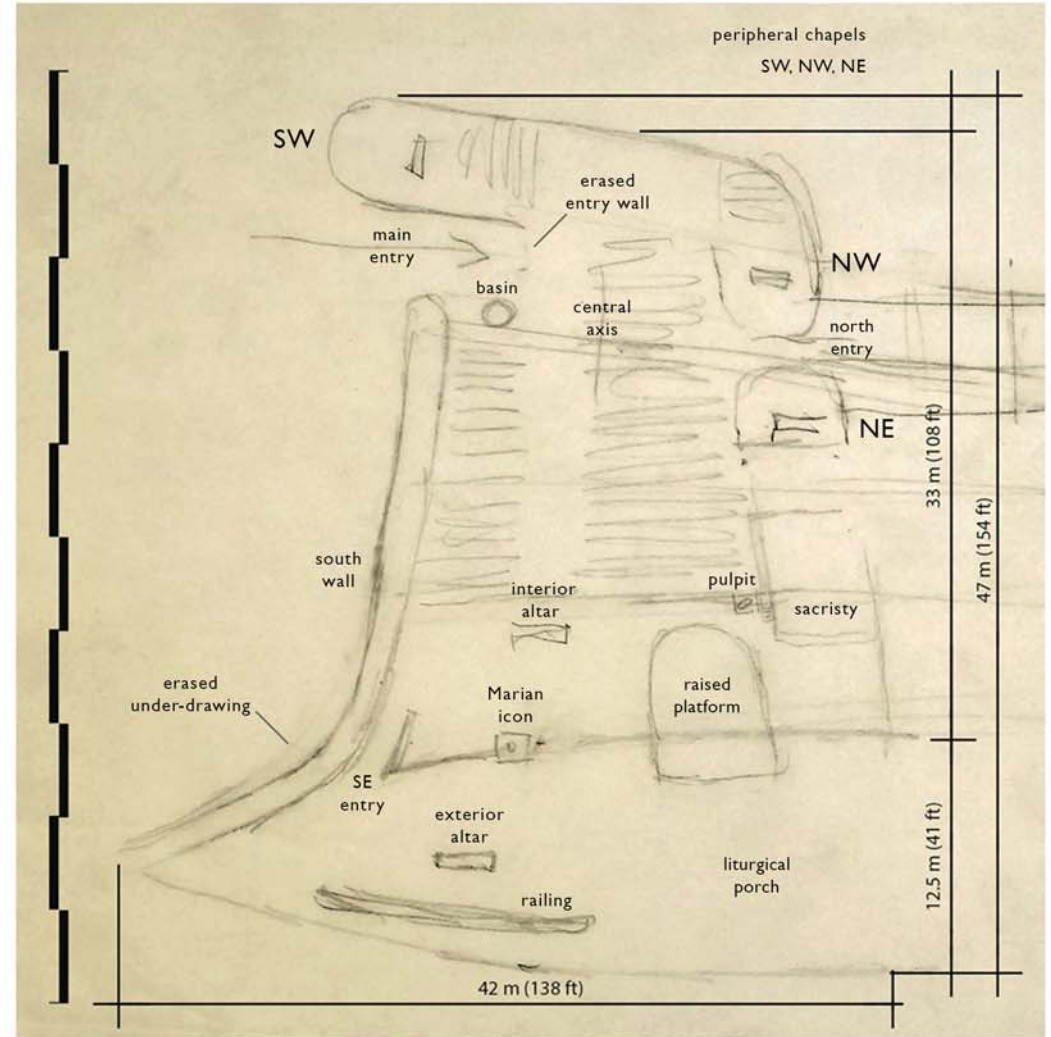
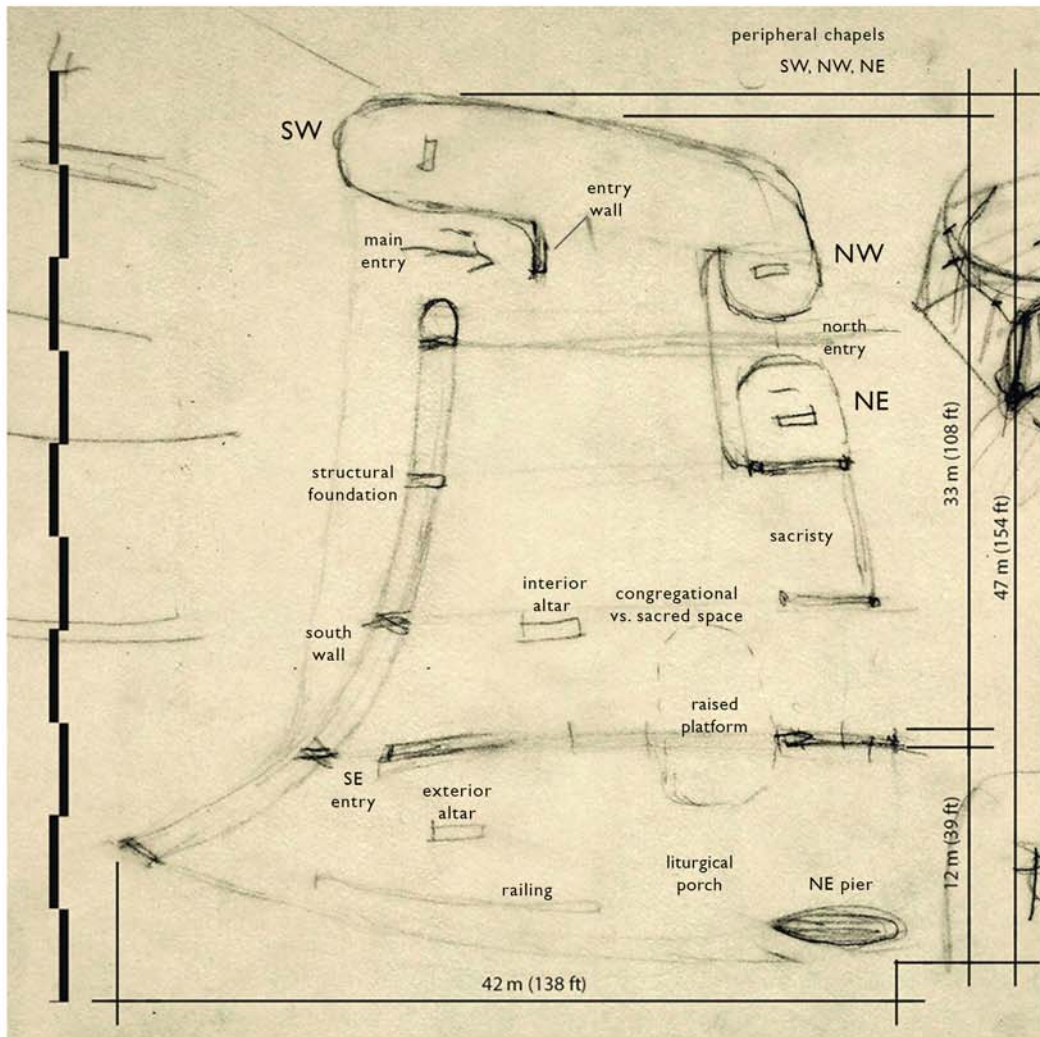


FIGURE 5.14 Left: Le Corbusier, Plan 07293, the 'Foundation Plan', detail (© FLC-ADAGP)
 Right: Le Corbusier, Plan 07321, the 'Basin Plan', detail (© FLC-ADAGP)



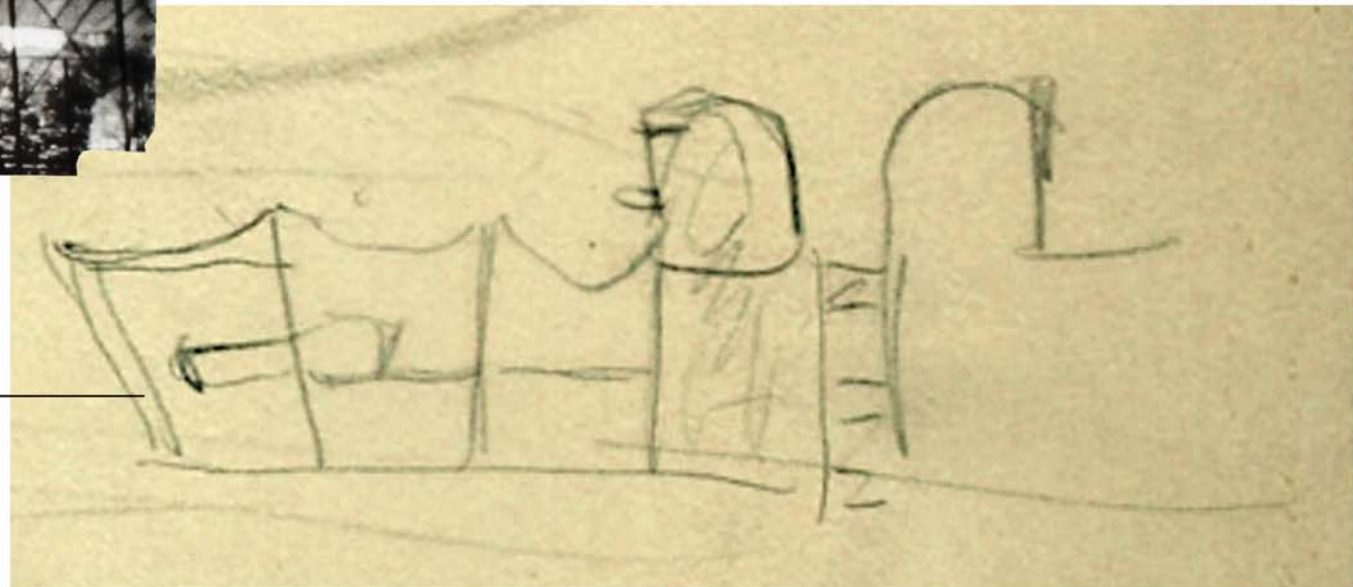
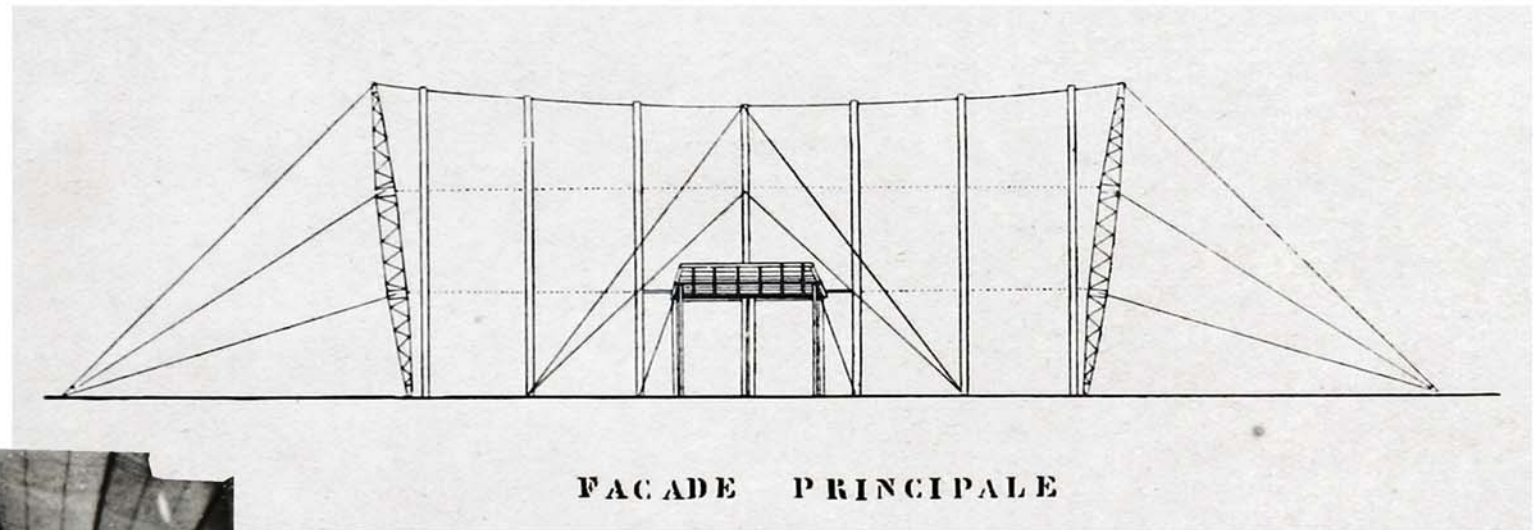


FIGURE 5.15 Top: *Pavillon des temps nouveaux*, elevation (LC 1938: 14)
 Left: *Pavillon des temps nouveaux*, photo of structural member and tent roof (LC 1938: 19)
 Bottom: Le Corbusier, marginal sketch on Plan 07293, the 'Foundation Plan' (© FLC-ADAGP)

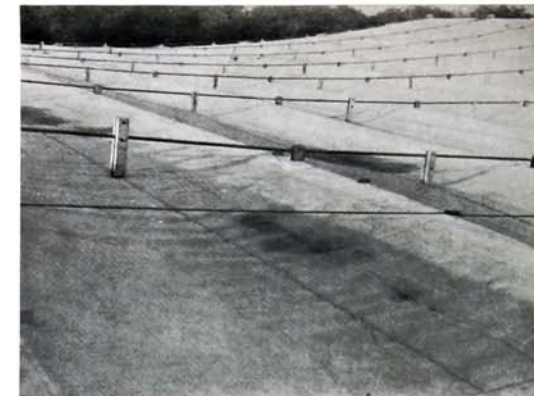
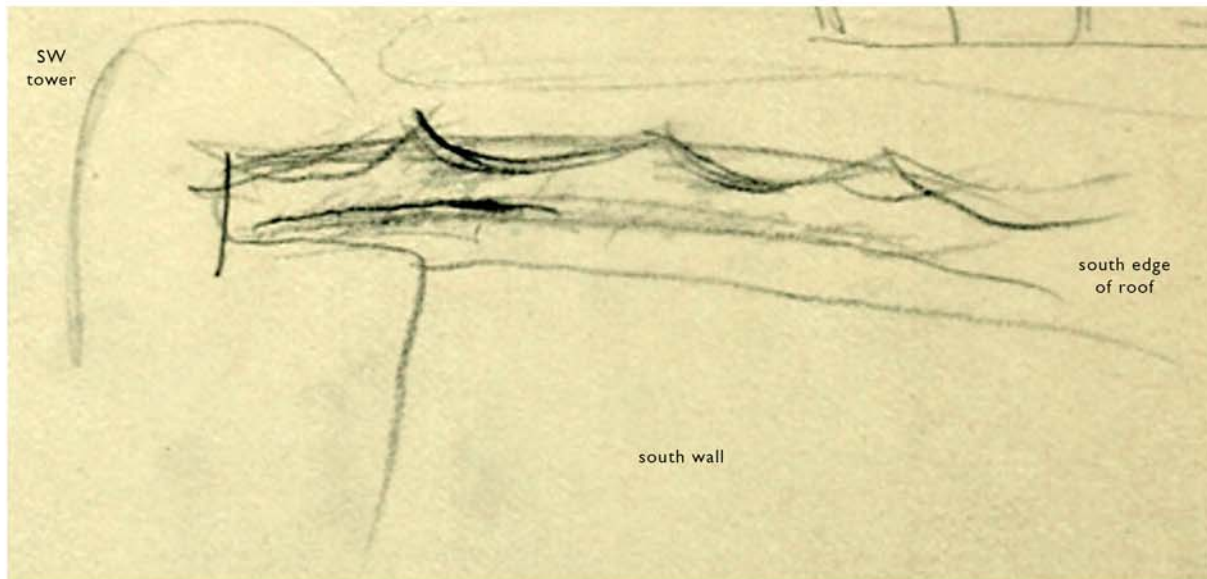


FIGURE 5.16 Top left: *Pavillon des temps nouveaux*, photo of canvas roof, interior (FLC L2 13 134, detail)
Bottom right: *Pavillon des temps nouveaux*, photo of canvas roof, exterior (Bill, ed 1938: 162)
Bottom left: Le Corbusier, marginal sketch on Plan 07293, the 'Foundation Plan' (© FLC-ADAGP)

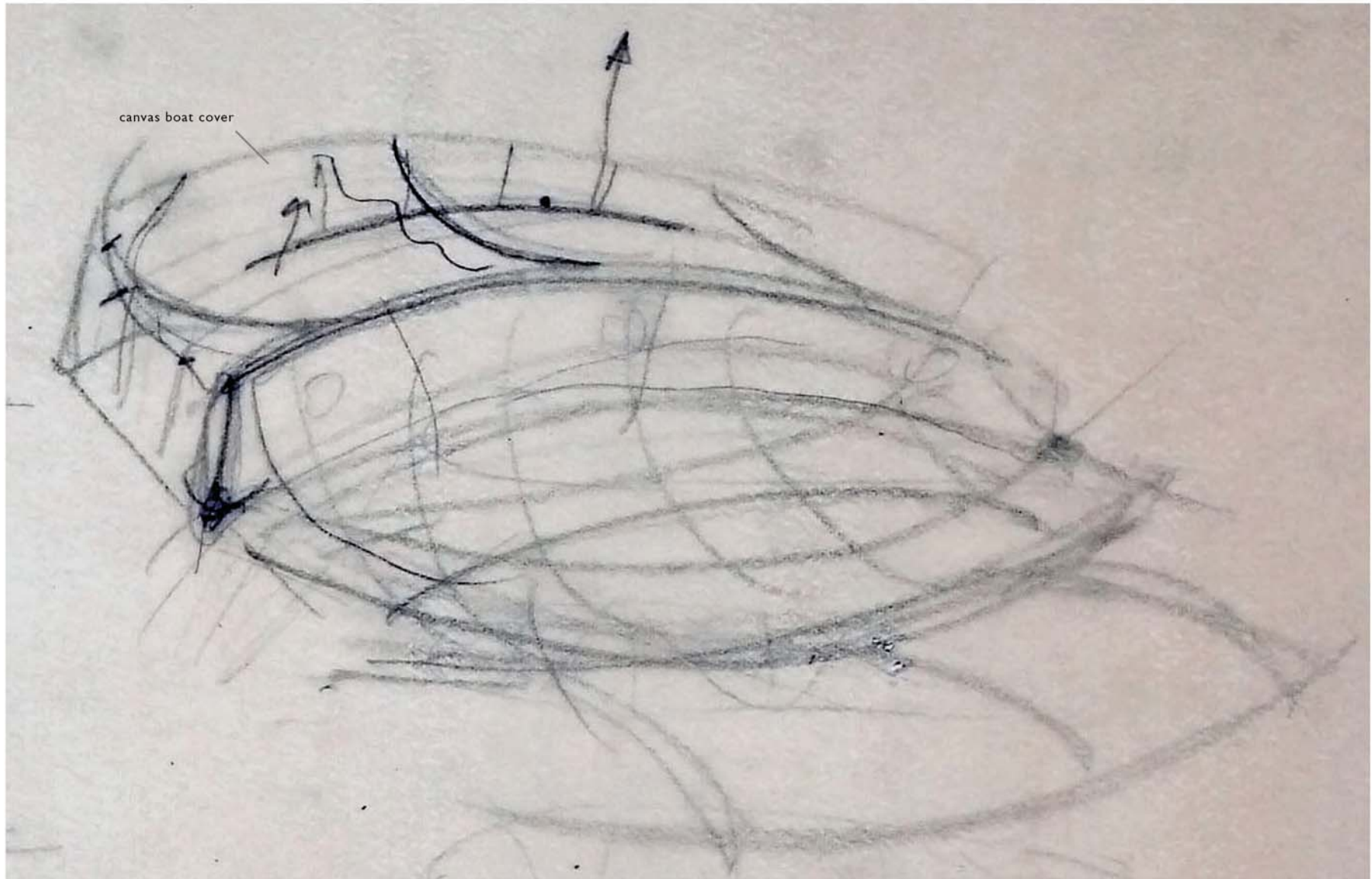


FIGURE 5.17 Le Corbusier, marginal sketch on Plan 07293, the 'Foundation Plan' (© FLC-ADAGP)

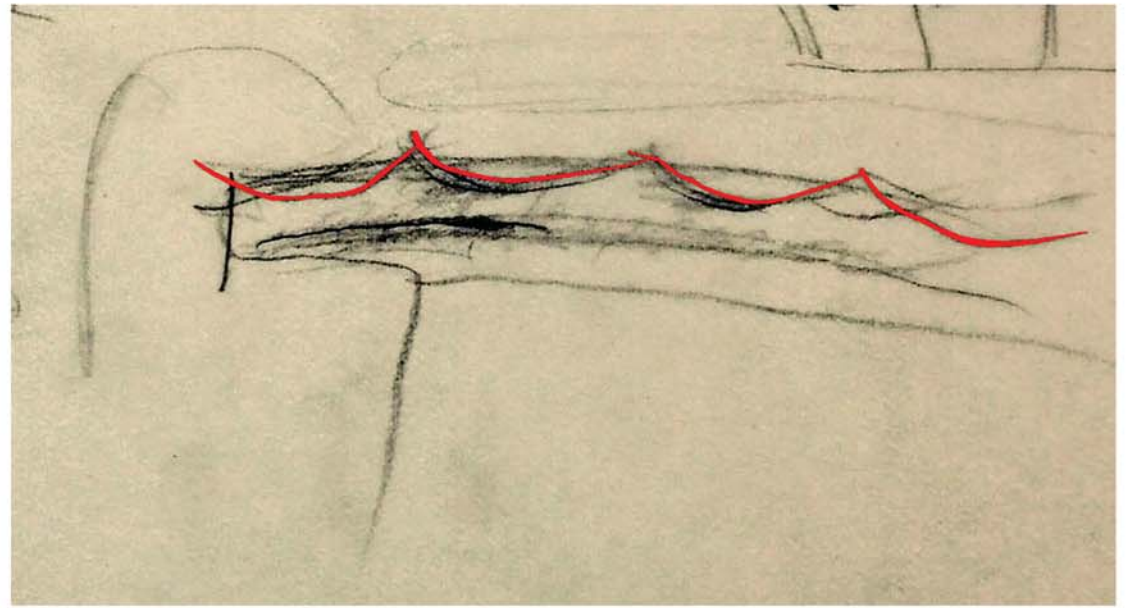
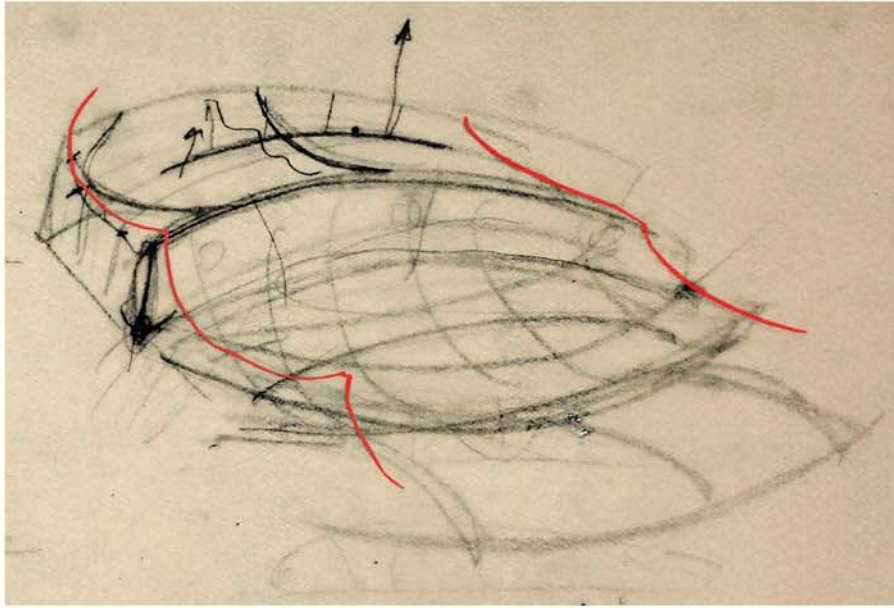


FIGURE 5.18 Le Corbusier, marginal sketches on Plan 07293, the 'Foundation Plan' (© FLC-ADAGP)
Comparison of the profiles of boat covers and tent-like roof forms.
'Rhymed' profiles have been highlighted in red.

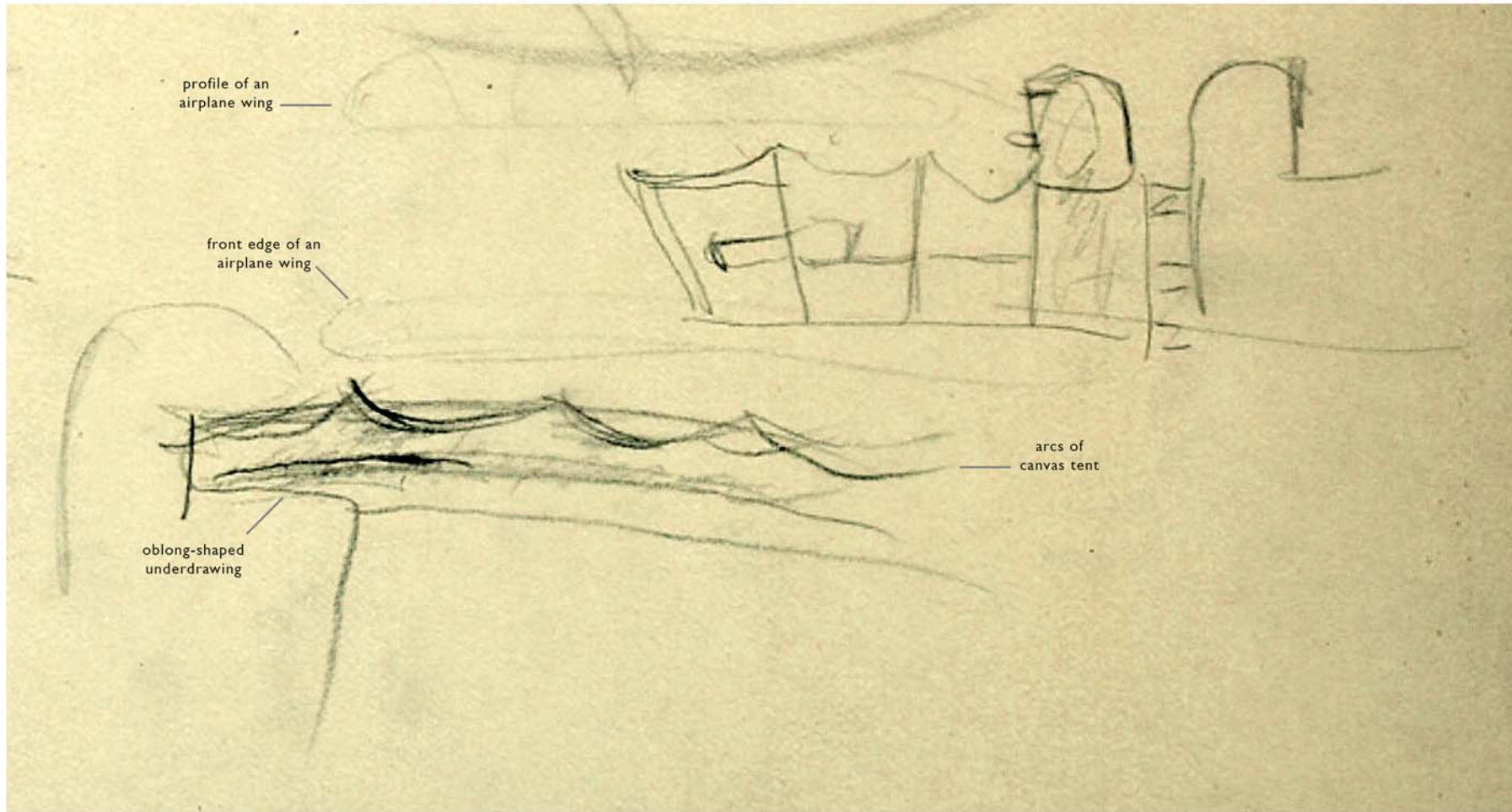


FIGURE 5.19 Le Corbusier, marginal sketches on Plan 07293, the 'Foundation Plan' (© FLC-ADAGP) Provisional solutions for the Chapel's roof: tent forms and the profile of an airplane wing.

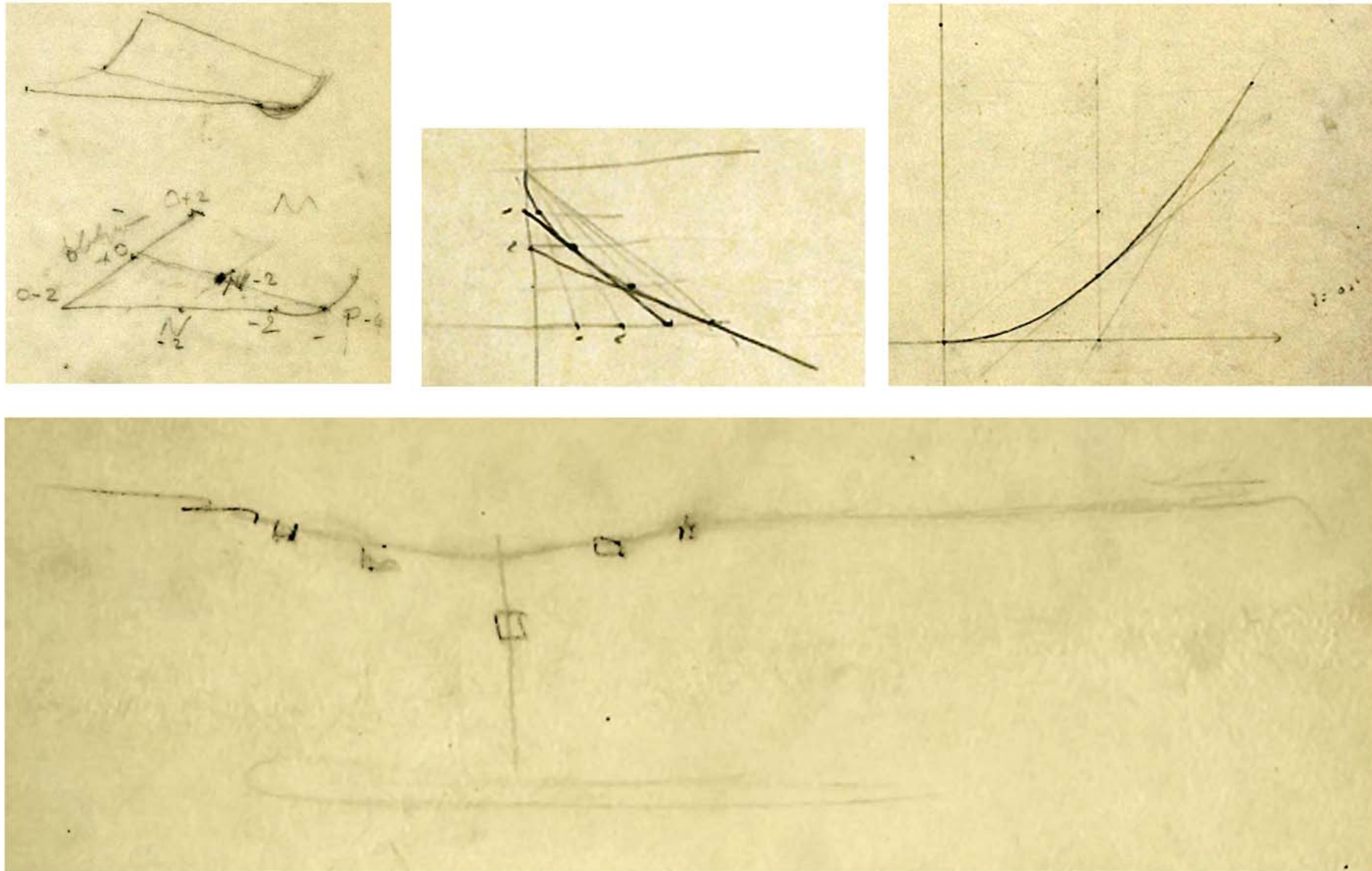


FIGURE 5.20 top: André Maisonnier, ruled-surface roof studies, Plans 07390 & 07306, March (?) 1951 (© FLC-ADAGP)
 bottom: Le Corbusier, sketch of ruled-surface geometry, Plan 07293, the 'Foundation Plan' (© FLC-ADAGP)

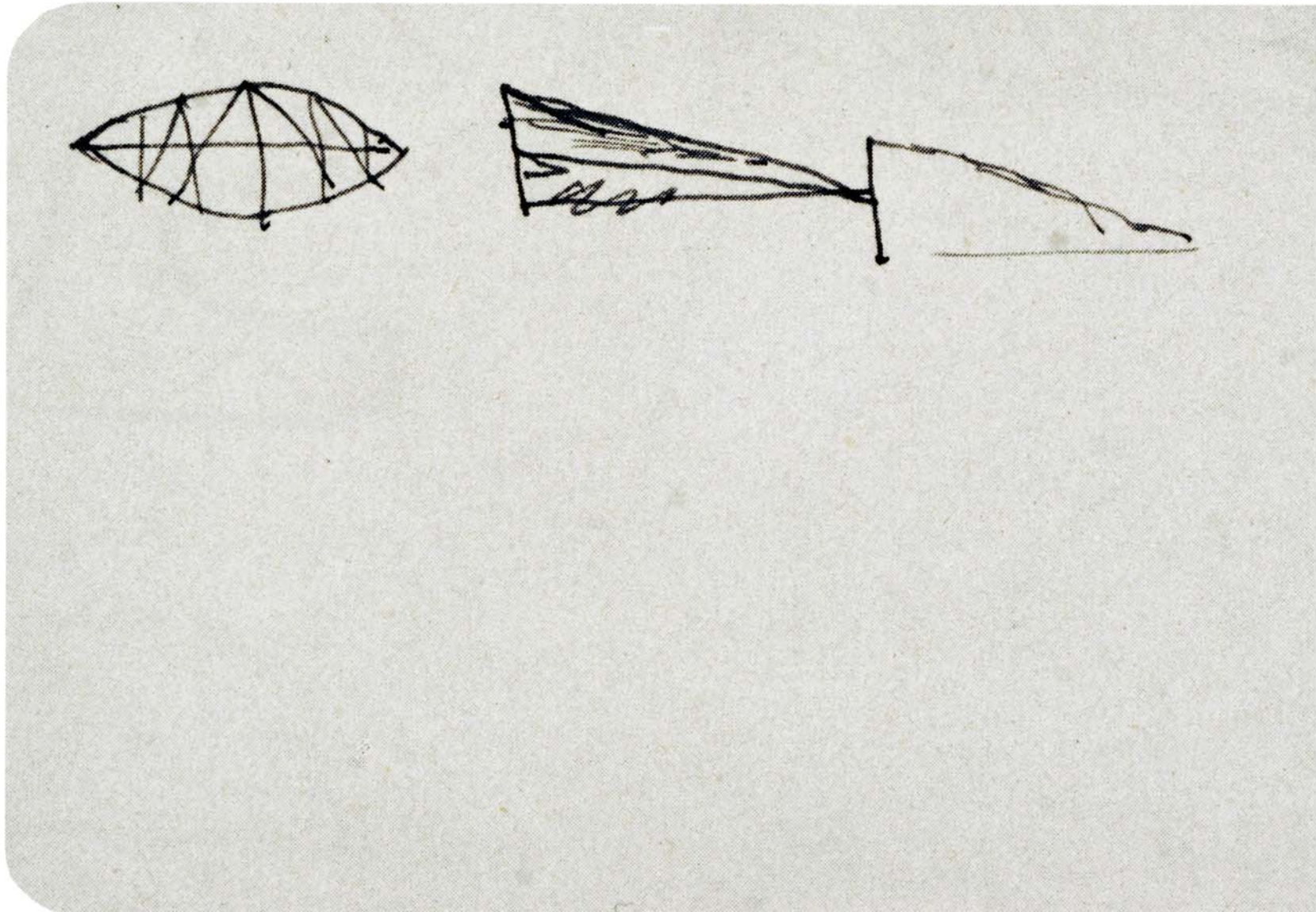


FIGURE 5.21 Le Corbusier, sketch of ruled-surface geometry, Sketchbook D17-275, undated (© FLC-ADAGP)

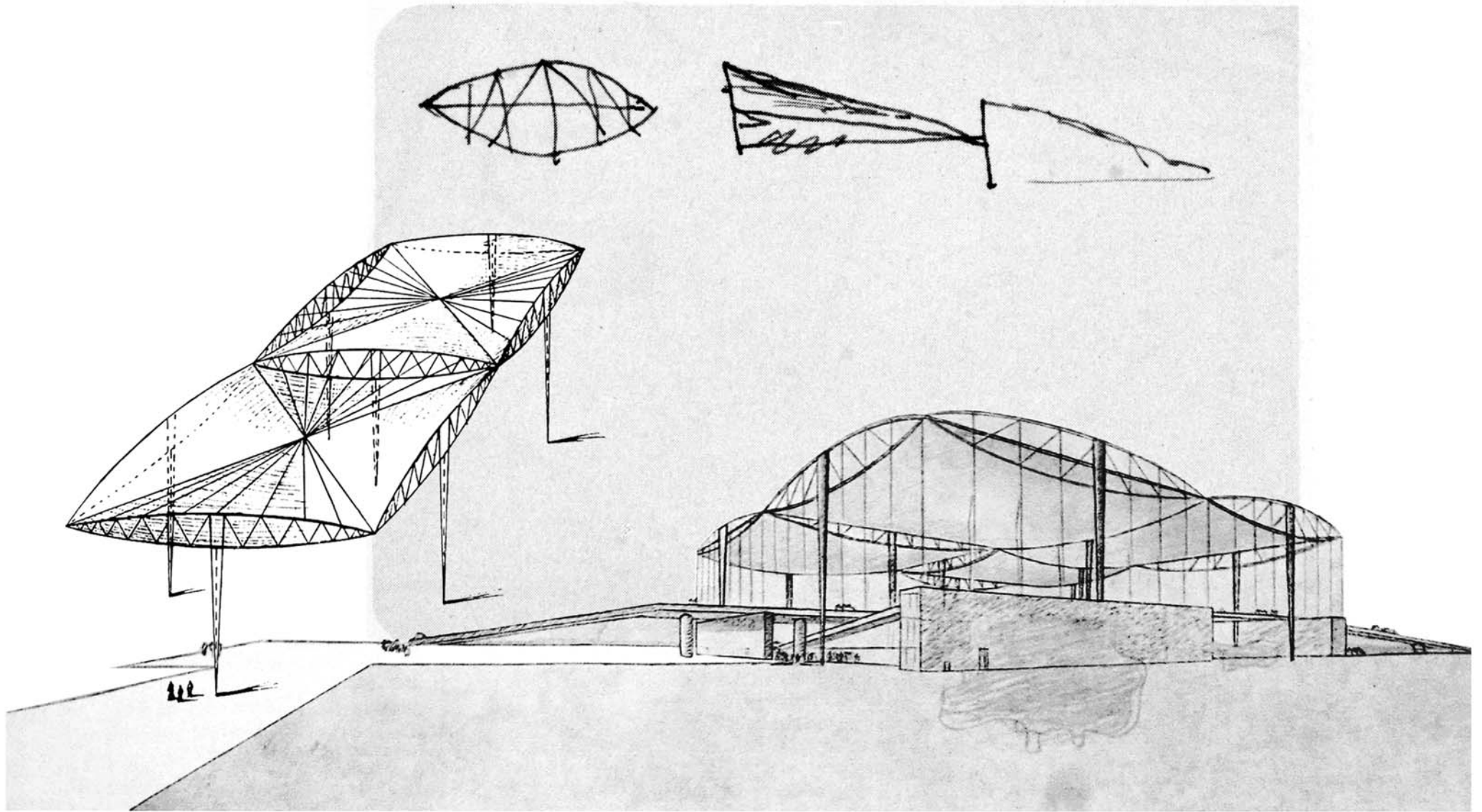


FIGURE 5.22

Top: Le Corbusier, sketch of ruled-surface geometry, Sketchbook D17-275, undated (© FLC-ADAGP)
Bottom: Le Corbusier, axonometric and perspective of a pavilion proposed for Liège, Belgium, 1939
Oeuvre complète volume III, 1934-1938 (Bill, ed. 1938: 172-3)

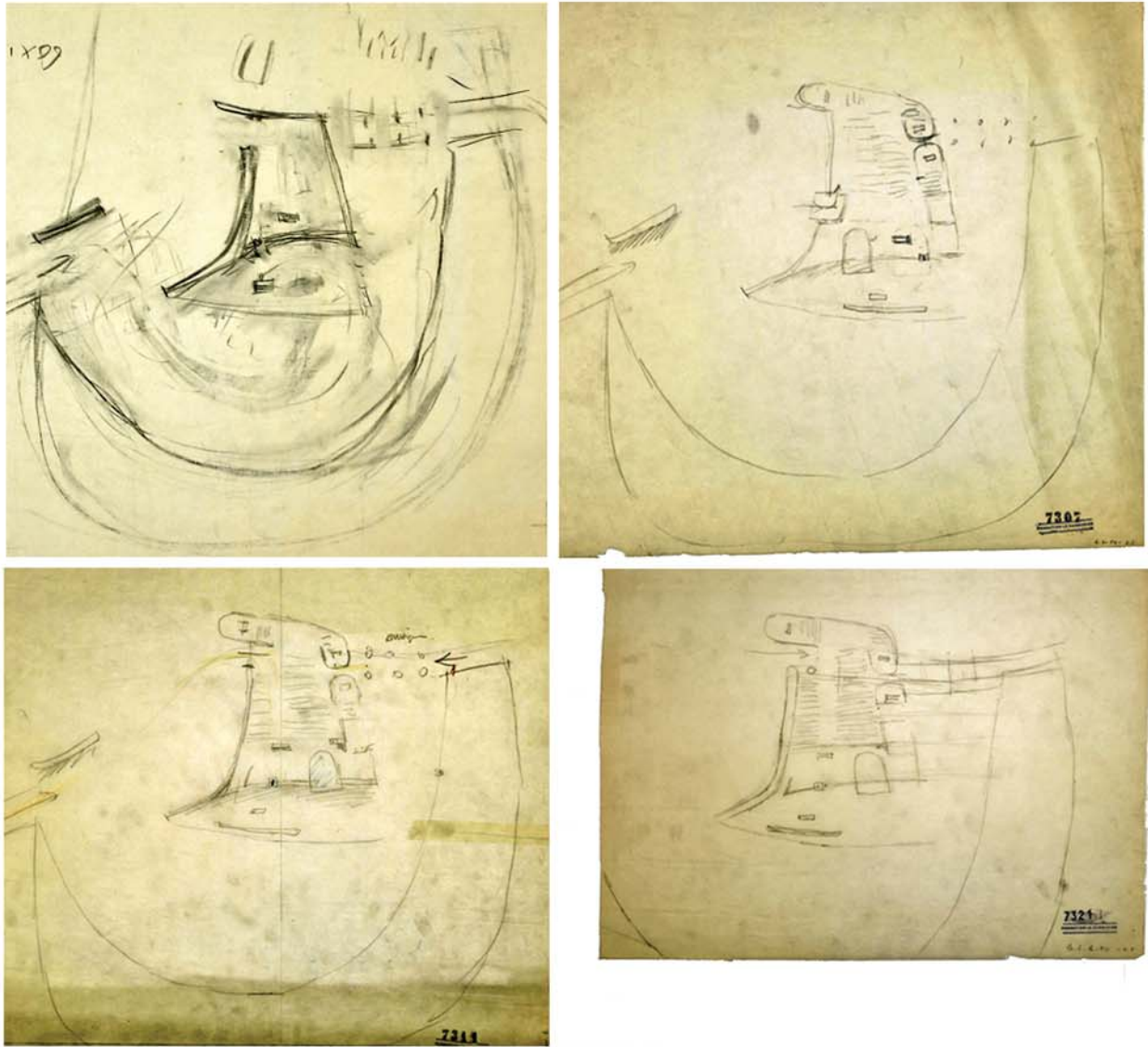


FIGURE 5.23

Le Corbusier Early siteplans for Ronchamp (© FLC-ADAGP)
 Top left: Plan 07470, the 'Charcoal Plan', detail
 Top right: Plan 07307, the 'Central Door Plan'
 Bottom left: Plan 07311, the 'Three Entry Plan'
 Bottom right: Plan 07321, the 'Basin Plan'



FIGURE 5.24

Le Corbusier, Plan 07420, the 'Colored Siteplan' with marginal sketches (© FLC-ADAGP)



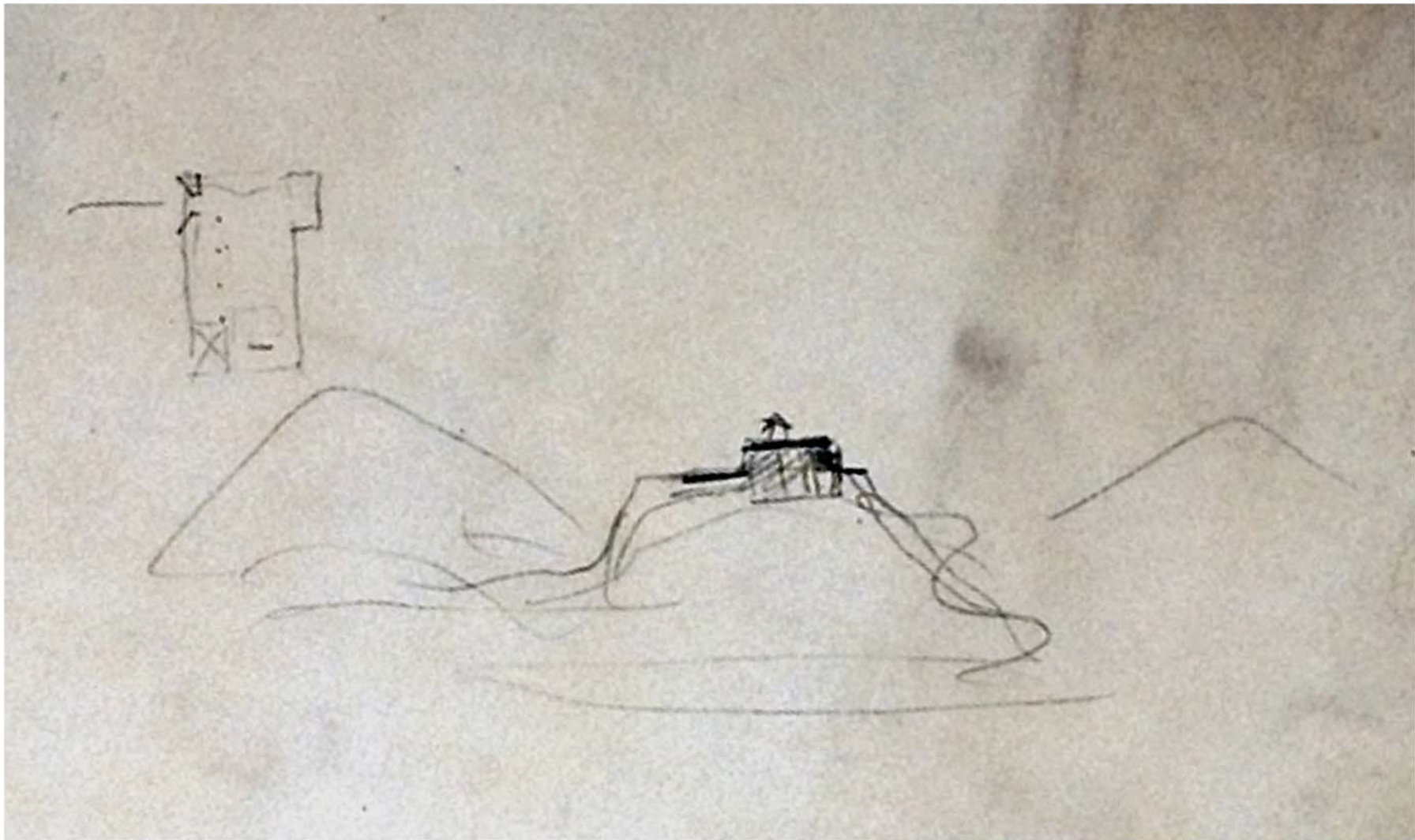


FIGURE 5.25 Le Corbusier, marginal sketches on Plan 07420, the 'Colored Siteplan' (© FLC-ADAGP) Unidentified medieval chapel with transept entry on a hilltop site.

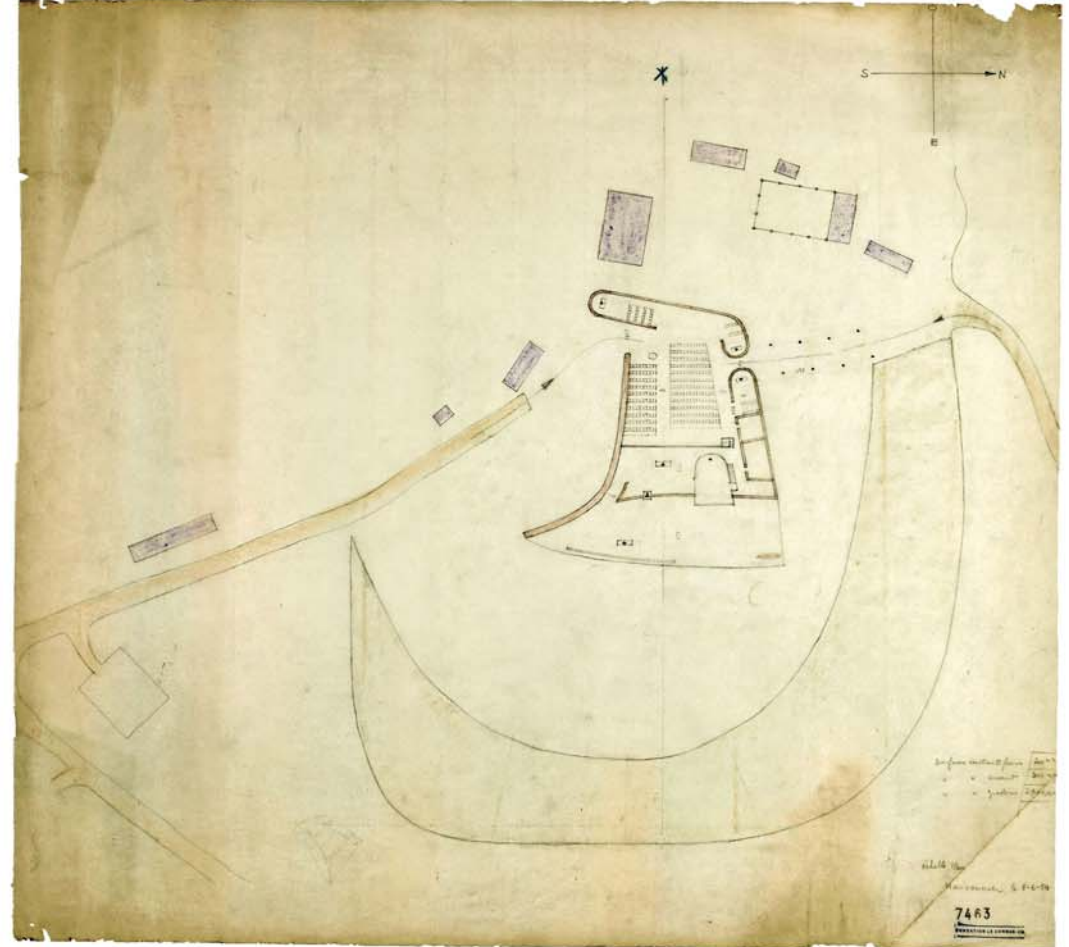
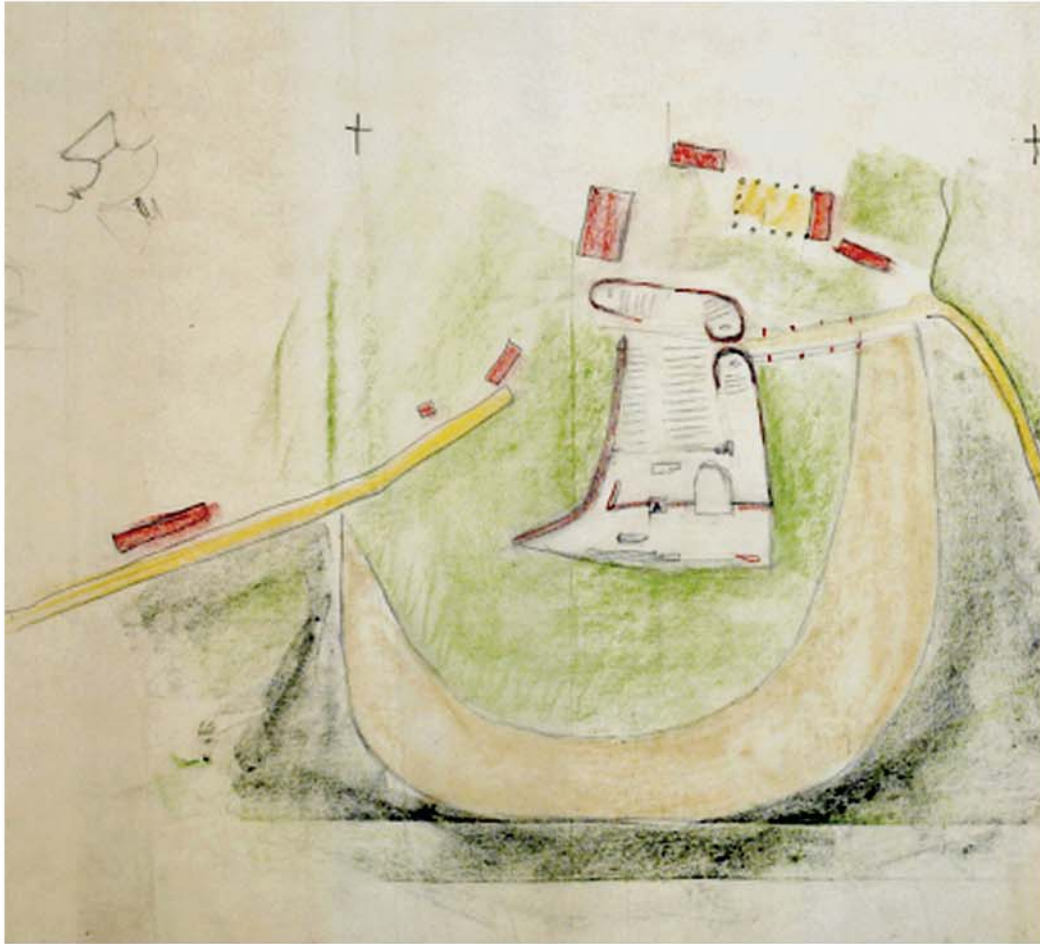


FIGURE 5.26

left:
right:

Le Corbusier, Plan 07420, the 'Colored Siteplan, detail' (© FLC-ADAGP)
 André Maisonnier, Plan 07463, the 'Maisonnier Plan' (© FLC-ADAGP)
 Annotation: 'échelle 1/200 / Maisonnier le 8-6-50'

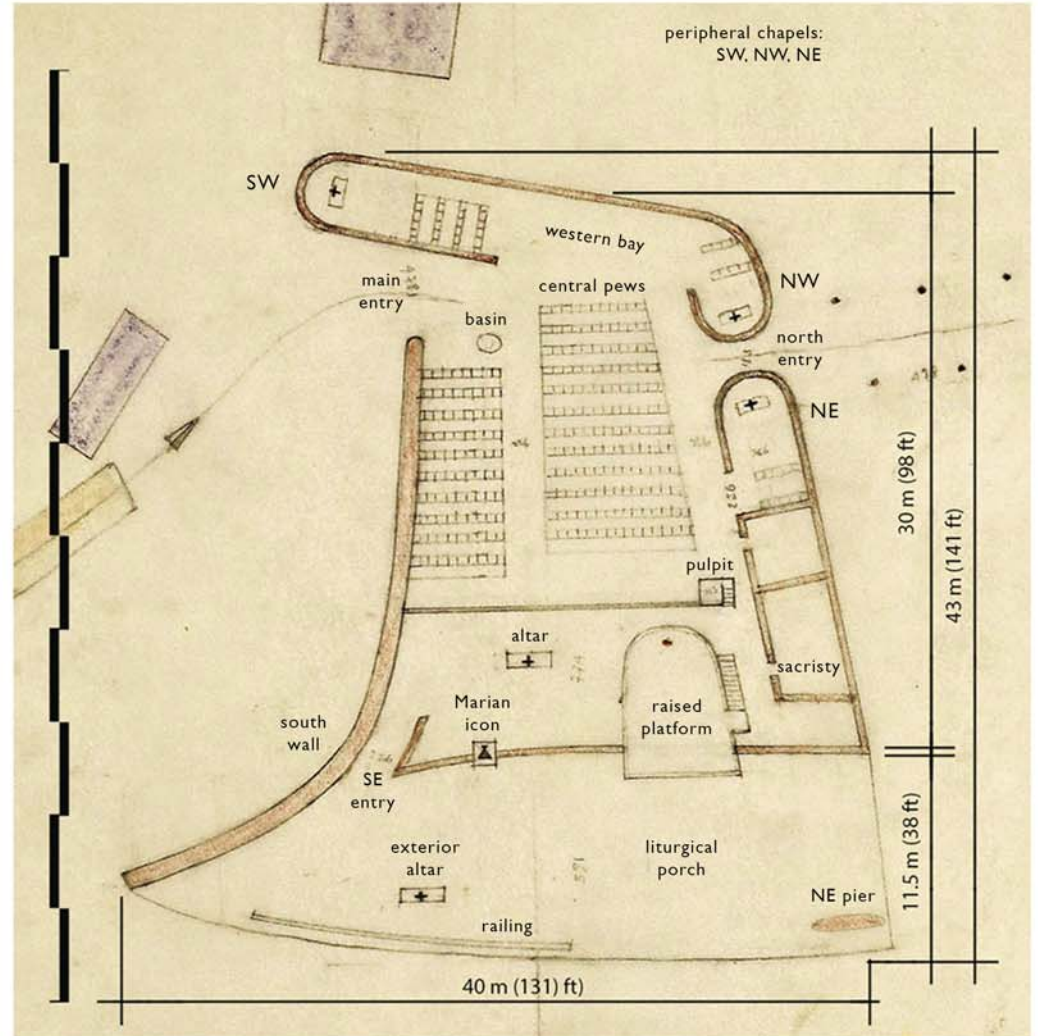
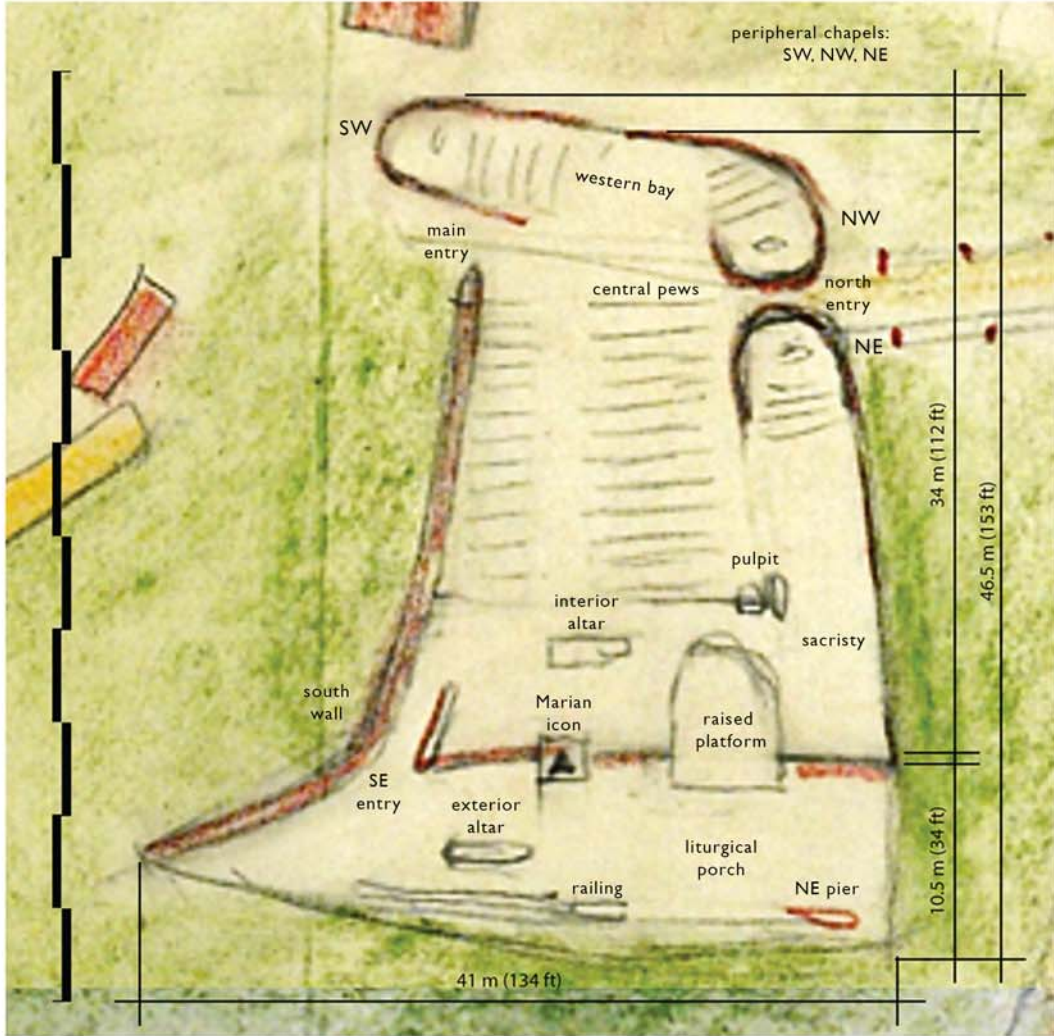


FIGURE 5.27

left:

Le Corbusier, Plan 07420, the 'Colored Siteplan', detail (© FLC-ADAGP)

right:

André Maisonnier, Plan 07463, the 'Maisonnier Plan', detail (© FLC-ADAGP)



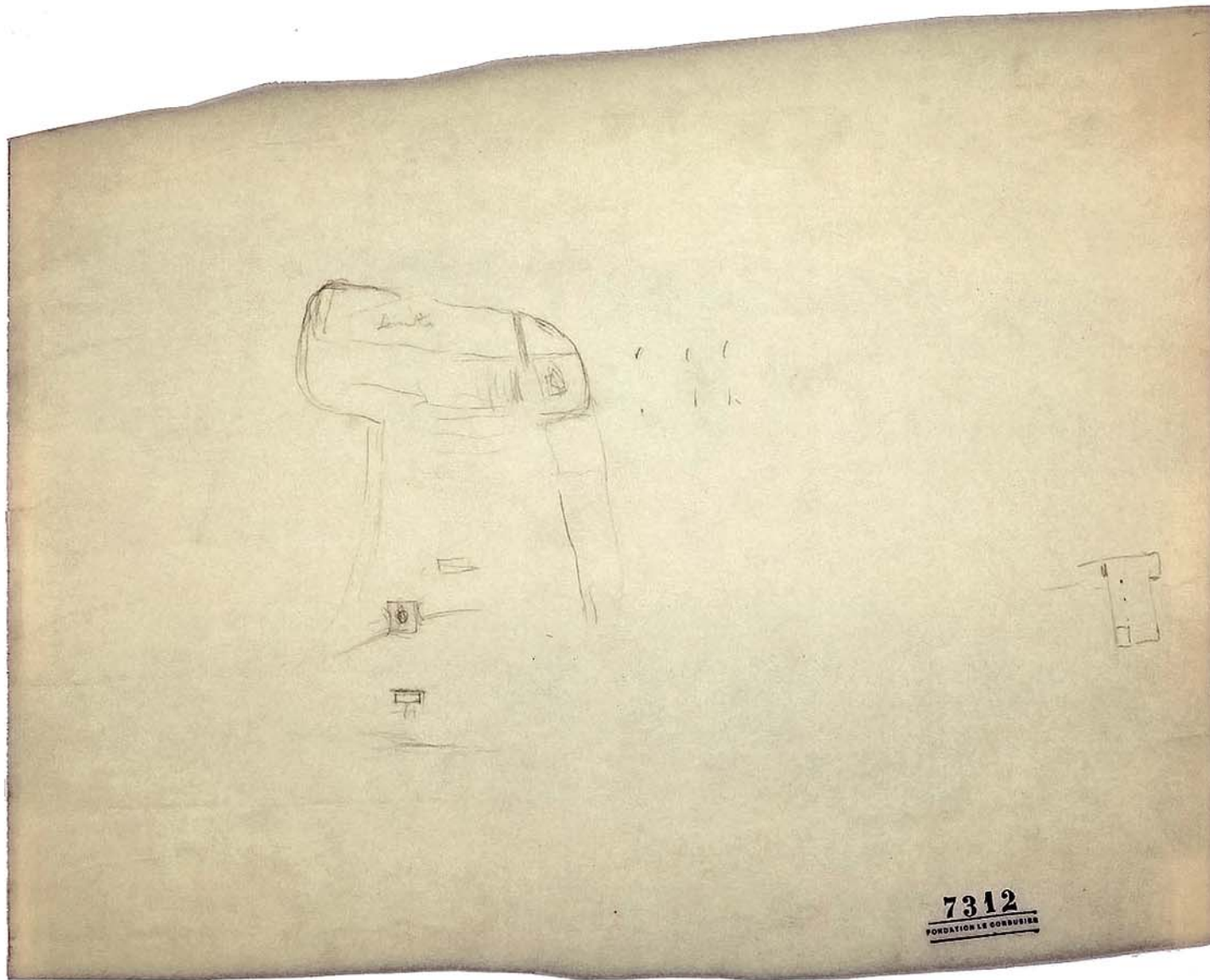


FIGURE 5.28 Le Corbusier, Plan 07312, the 'Sacristy Plan' with marginal sketch of a medieval church (© FLC-ADAGP)
Annotation: 'Sacristie'

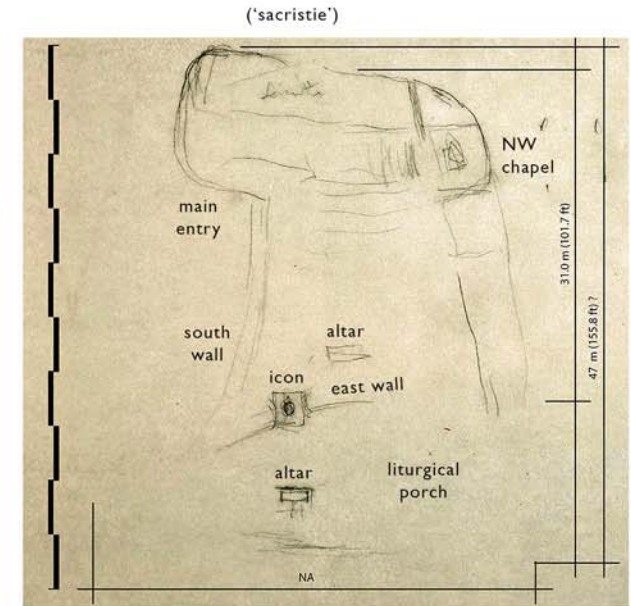
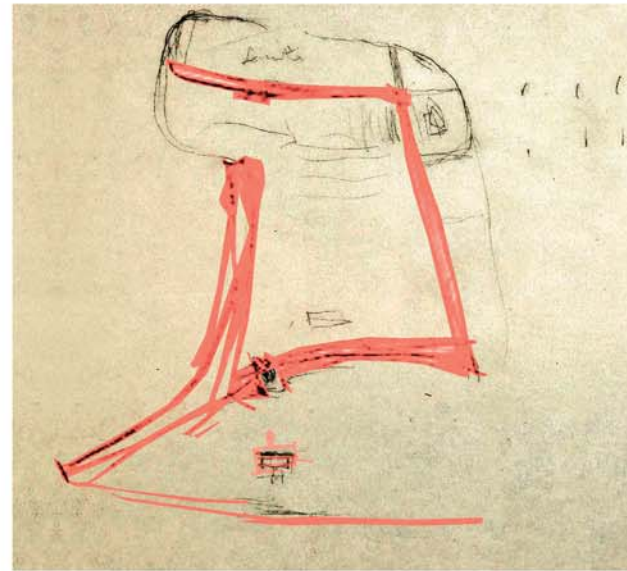
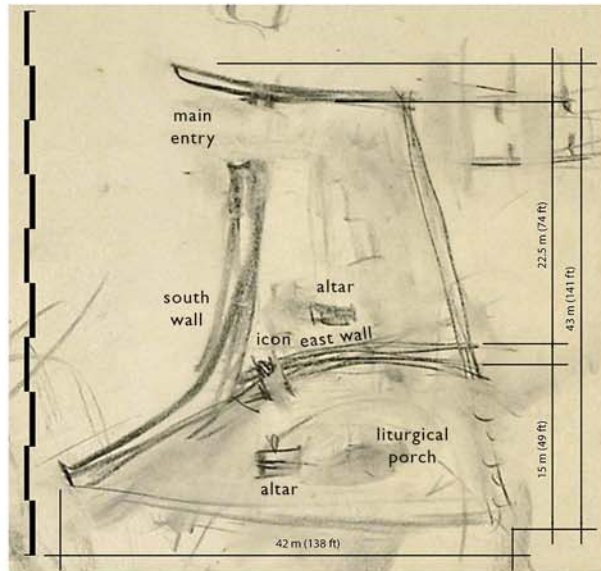


FIGURE 5.29 left: Le Corbusier, Plan 07470, the 'Charcoal Plan', detail (© FLC-ADAGP)
 center: The Sacristy Plan with graphic overlay of the Charcoal Plan highlighted in red
 right: Le Corbusier, Plan 07312, the 'Sacristy Plan', detail (© FLC-ADAGP)



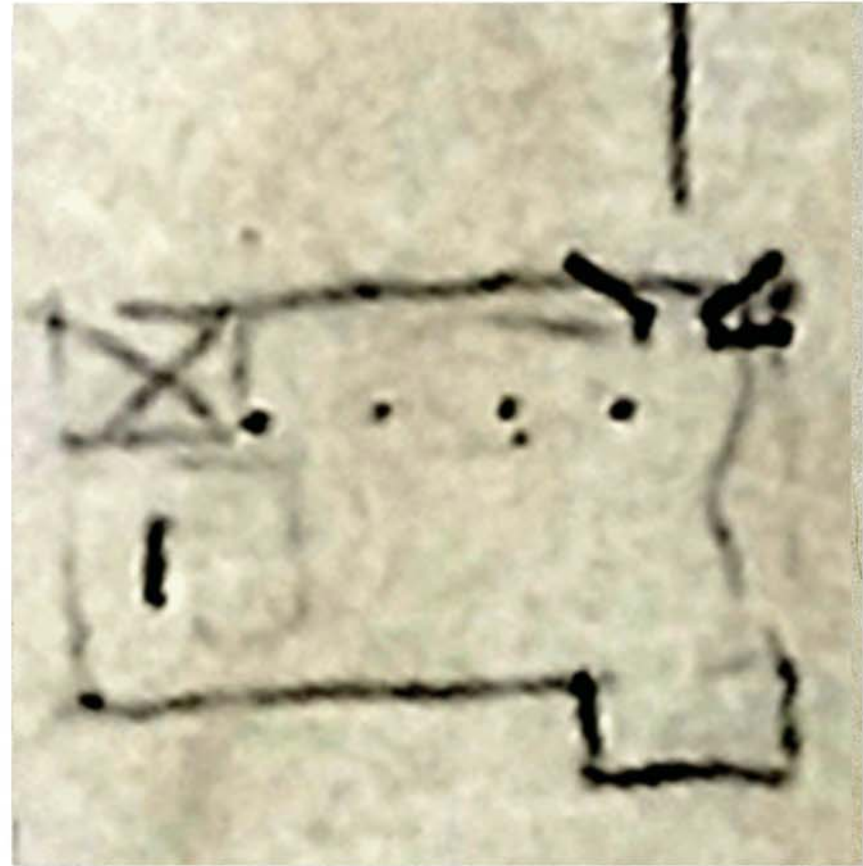
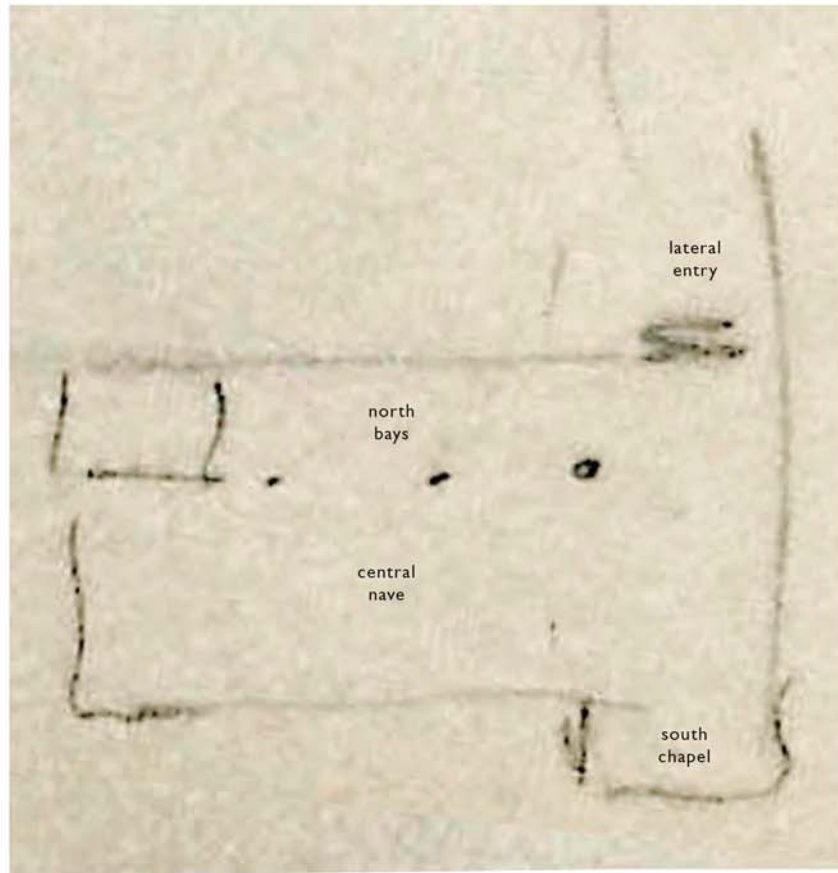


FIGURE 5.30

Le Corbusier
left:
right:

Marginal sketches of a medieval church
Plan 07312, the 'Sacristy Plan', detail (© FLC-ADAGP)
Plan 07420, the 'Colored Siteplan', detail (© FLC-ADAGP)



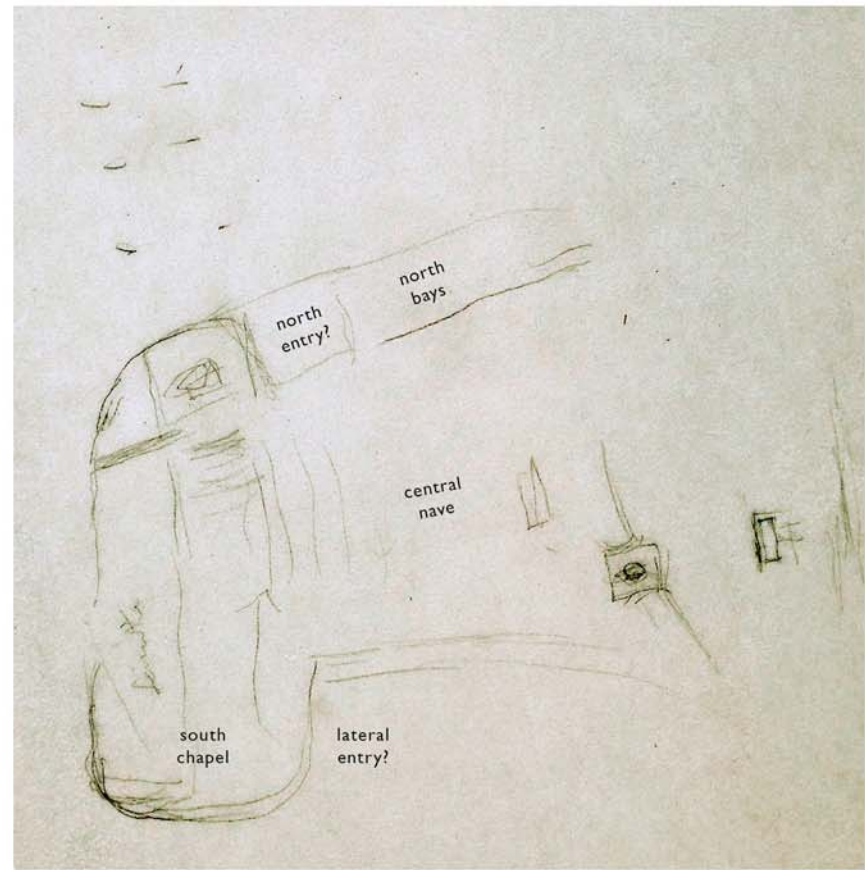
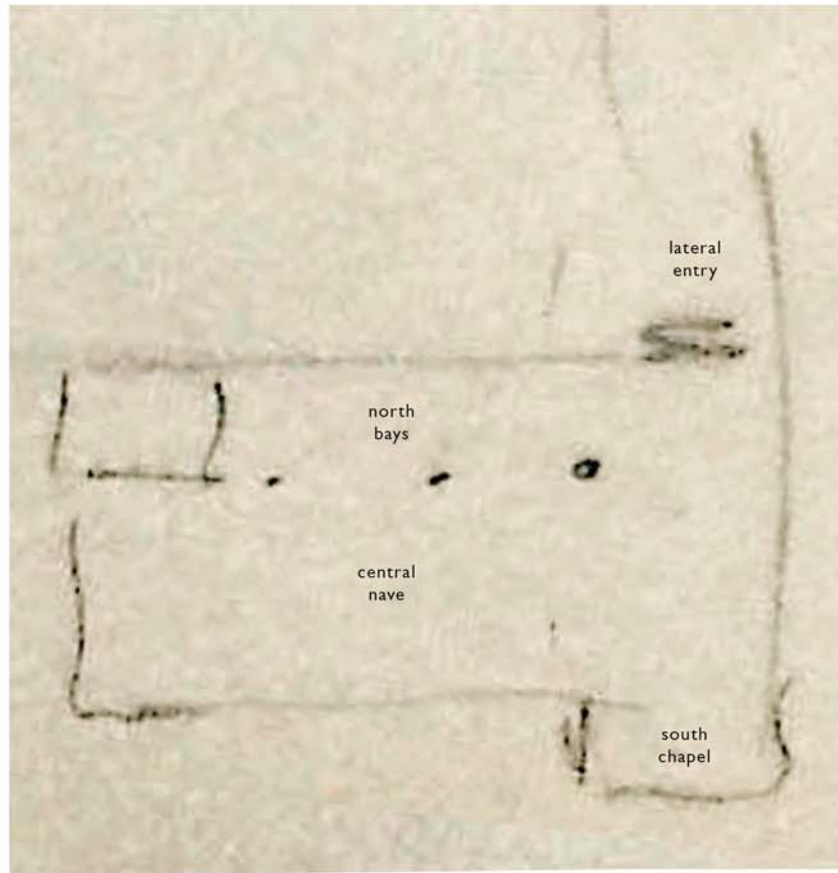


FIGURE 5.31

left:
right:

Le Corbusier, sketch of a medieval church on Plan 07312, 'Sacristy Plan' (© FLC-ADAGP)
 Le Corbusier, plan of Notre Dame-du-Haut, Plan 07312, 'Sacristy Plan' (© FLC-ADAGP)



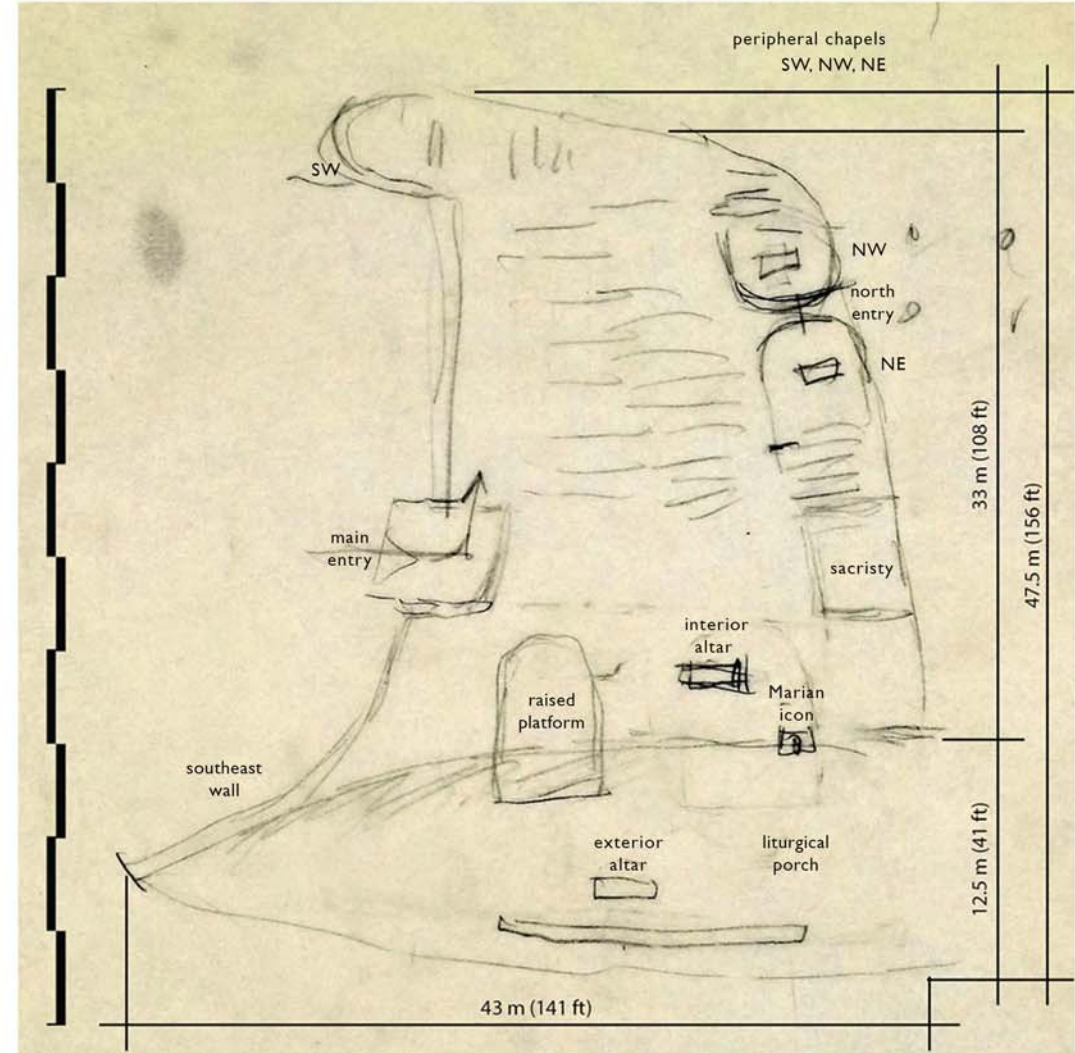
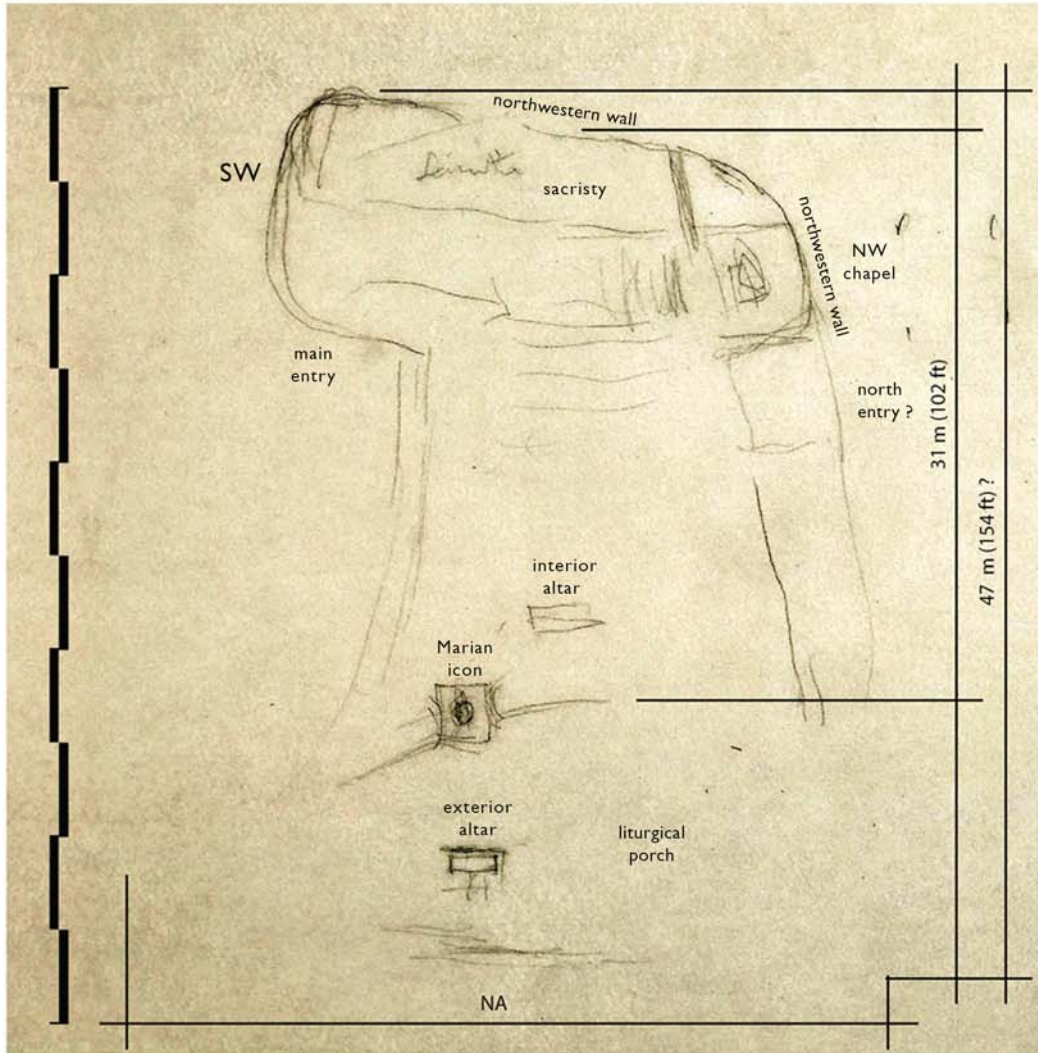
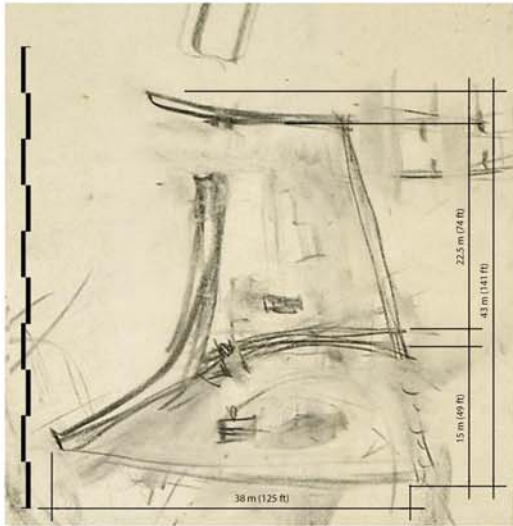


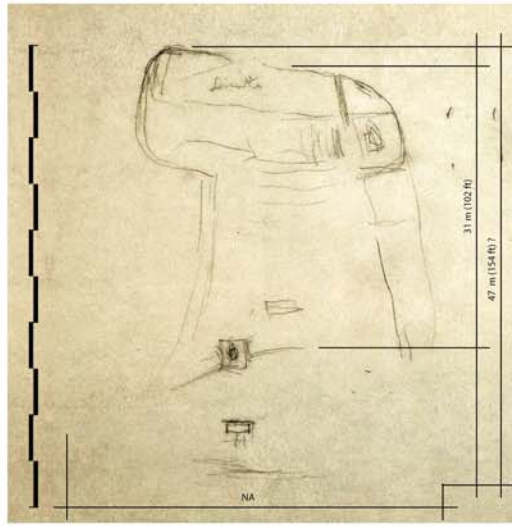
FIGURE 5.32

left: Le Corbusier, Plan 07312, the 'Sacristy Plan', detail (© FLC-ADAGP)
 right: Le Corbusier, Plan 07307, the 'Central Door Plan', detail (© FLC-ADAGP)

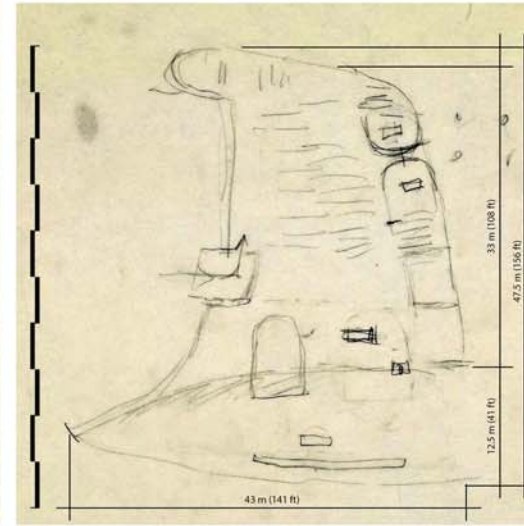




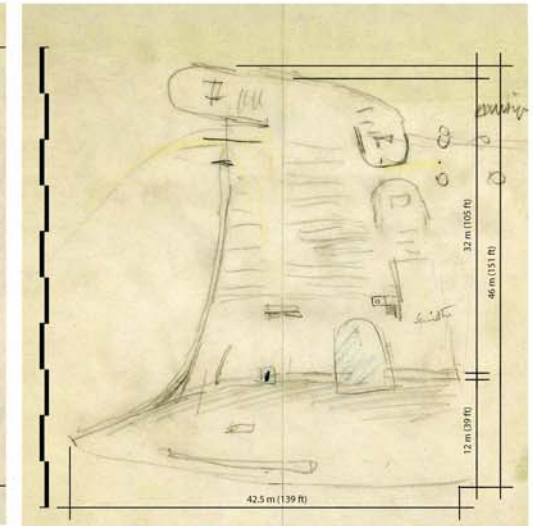
Charcoal Plan (FLC 07470)



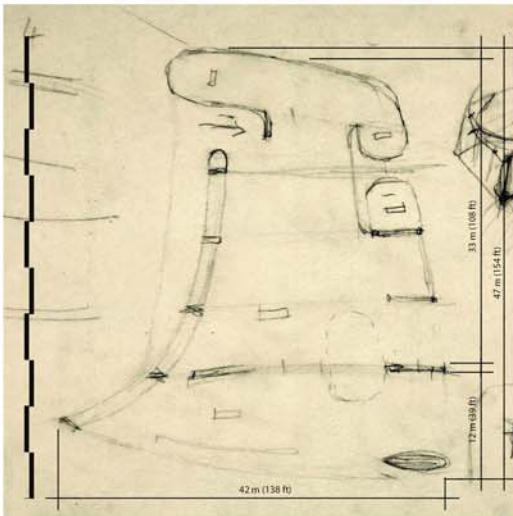
Sacristy Plan (FLC 07312)



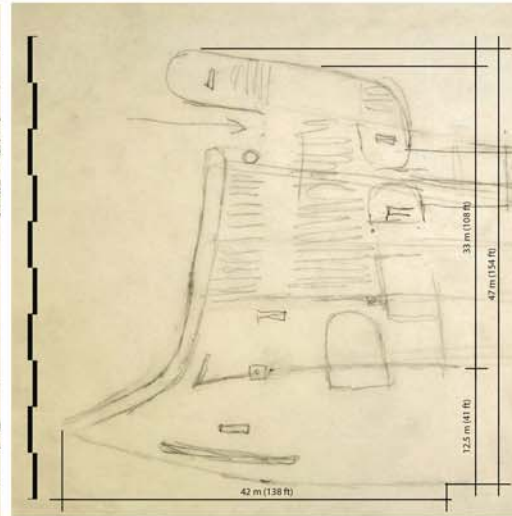
Central Door Plan (FLC 07307)



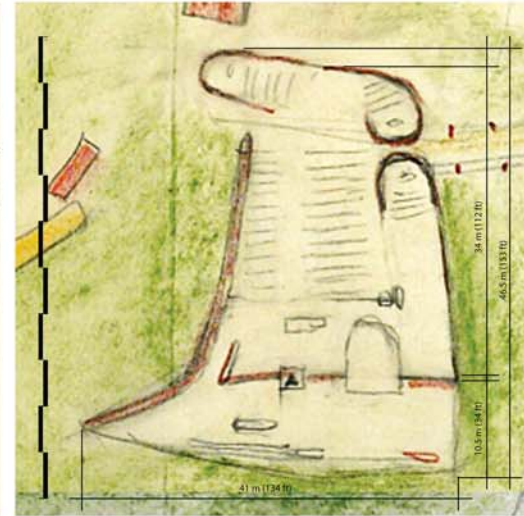
Three Entry Plan (FLC 07311)



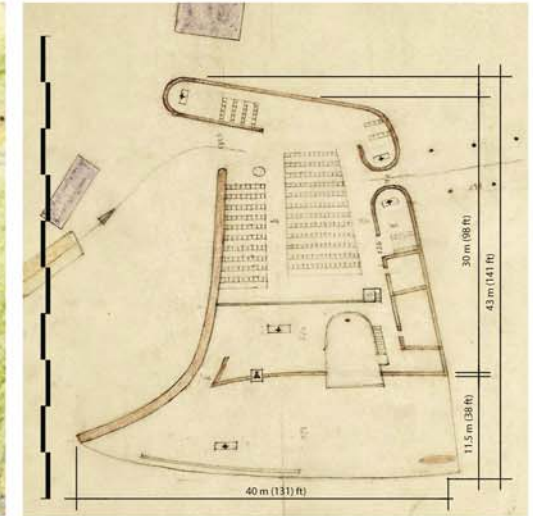
Foundation Plan (FLC 07293)



Basin Plan (FLC 07321)



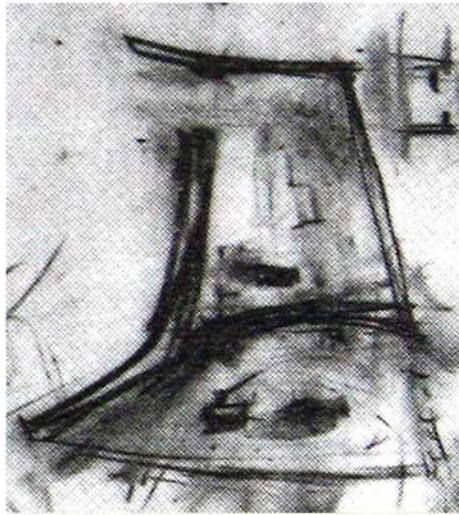
Colored Siteplan (FLC 07420)



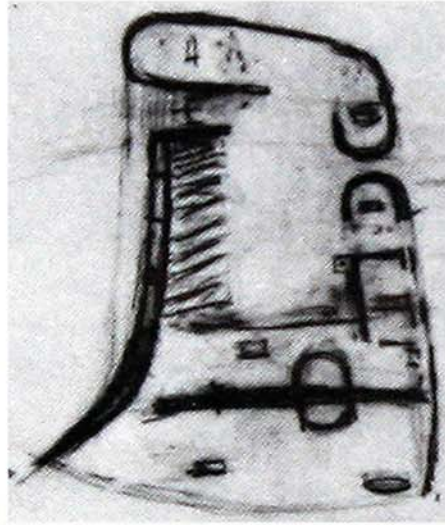
Maisonnier Plan (FLC 07463)

FIGURE 5.33

Le Corbusier and André Maisonnier, early schematic plans, Chapel Notre-Dame-du-Haut, Ronchamp
 Dimensions are approximated to the nearest half-meter, since many of these drawing sheets
 are badly misshapen due to shrinkage; see *Plans, v. 10. 1950-1951*. (LC 2006; © FLC-ADAGP)



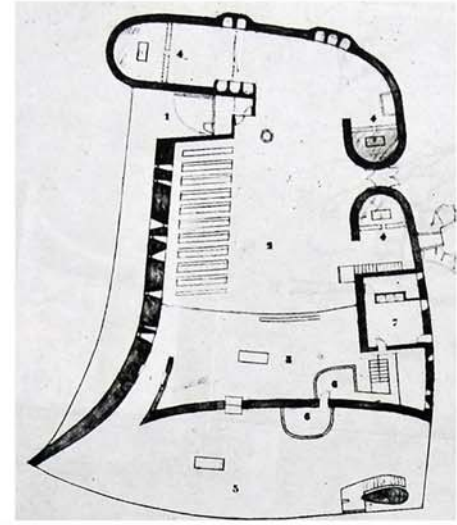
Plan 07470, 6 June 1950 (LC 1957a: 89)



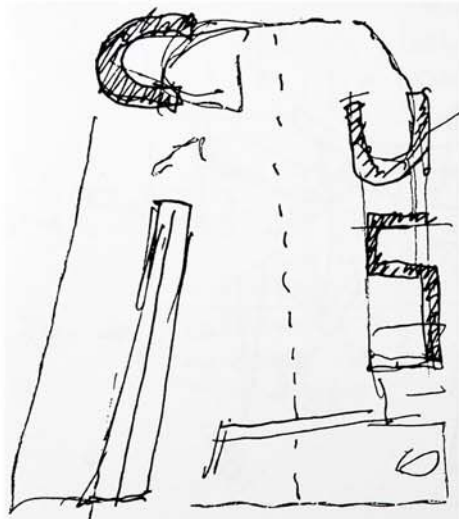
Plan 07435, undated (LC 1957a: 89)



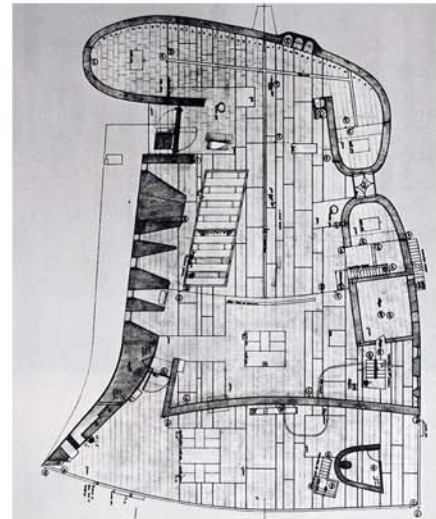
Plan 07105, undated (Boesiger 1953: 90)



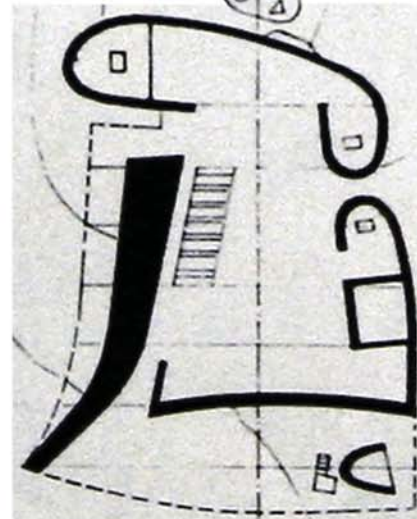
Plan 07104, undated (Boesiger 1953: 92)



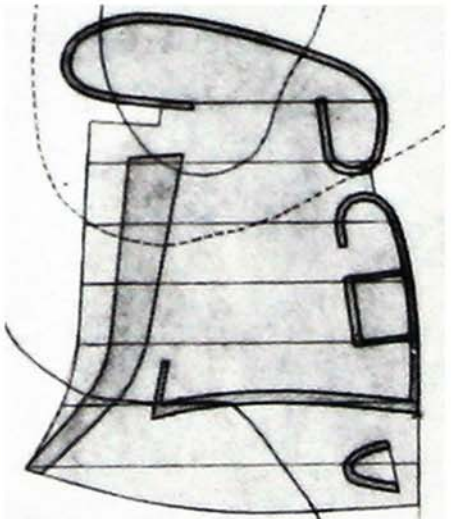
Structural Sketch, 18 Dec 1951 (Boesiger 1953: 96)



Plan 07169A, undated (LC 1955a: 266)



Plan 07481, undated (Boesiger 1957: 20)



Plan 04529, undated (LC 1957a: 103)

FIGURE 6.01

Ronchamp plans in the primary literature, in chronological order of design. From the *Œuvre complète*, volumes 5 and 6 (Boesiger 1953, 1957); *Modulor 2* (LC 1955); *Les carnets de la recherche patiente 2. Ronchamp* (LC 1957a).

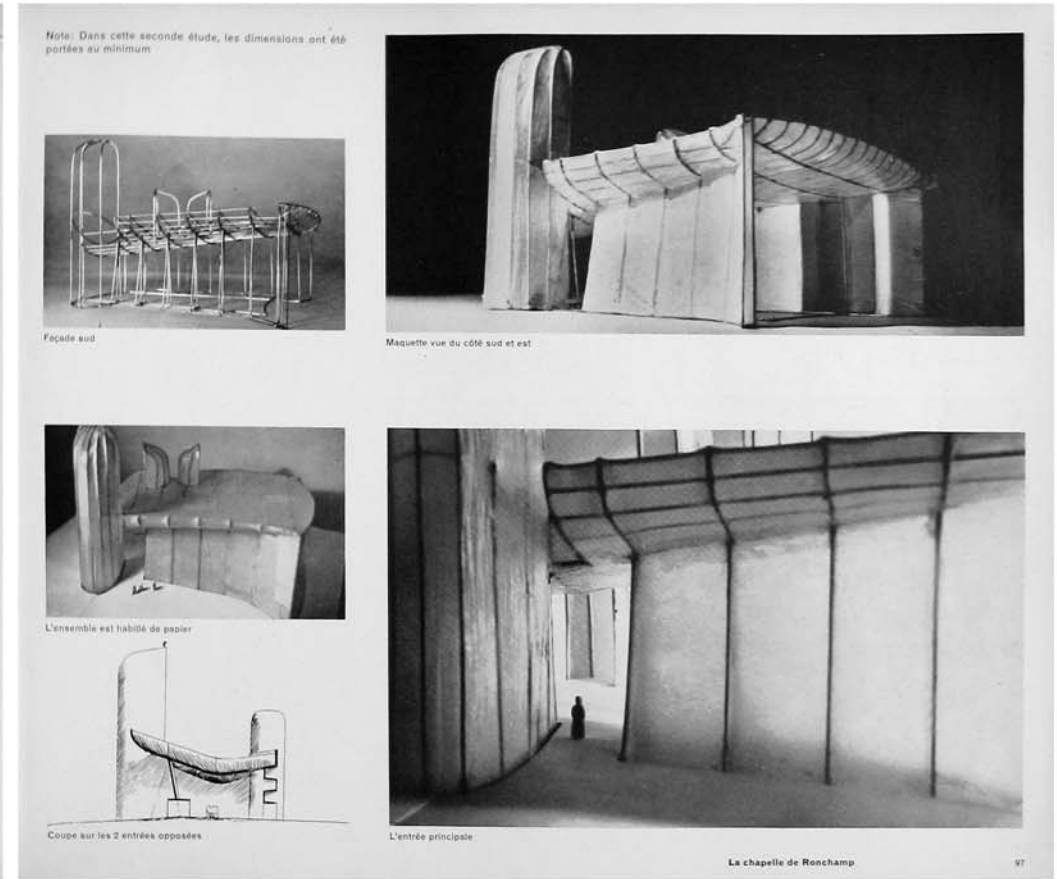
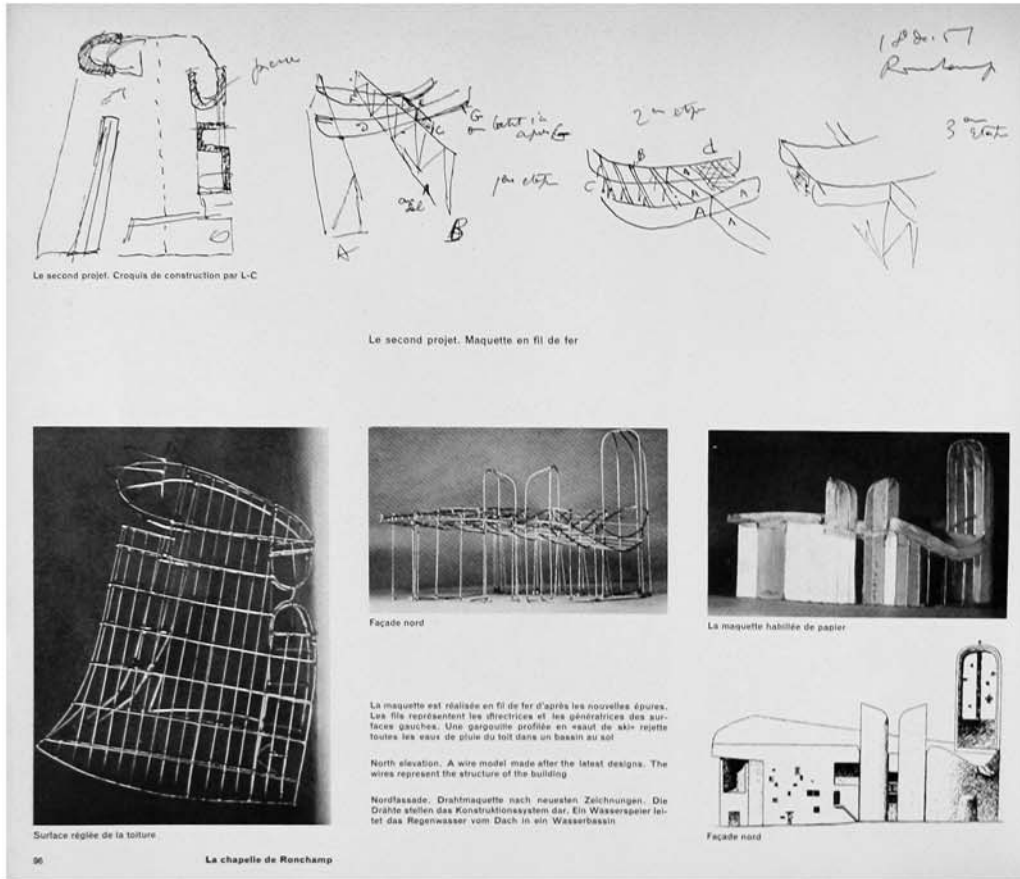


FIGURE 6.03

'La chapelle de Ronchamp, 1950-1953', *Œuvre complète, volume 5*, first edition (Boesiger 1953: 96-7)

- left top: 'The second project. Construction sketch by L-C', 18 Dec 1951
- left middle: 'The second project. Wire model. North facade. The model dressed in paper.'
- left bottom: 'Ruled surface of the roof. North facade.'
- right top: 'Note: in this second study, the dimensions have been brought to a minimum'.

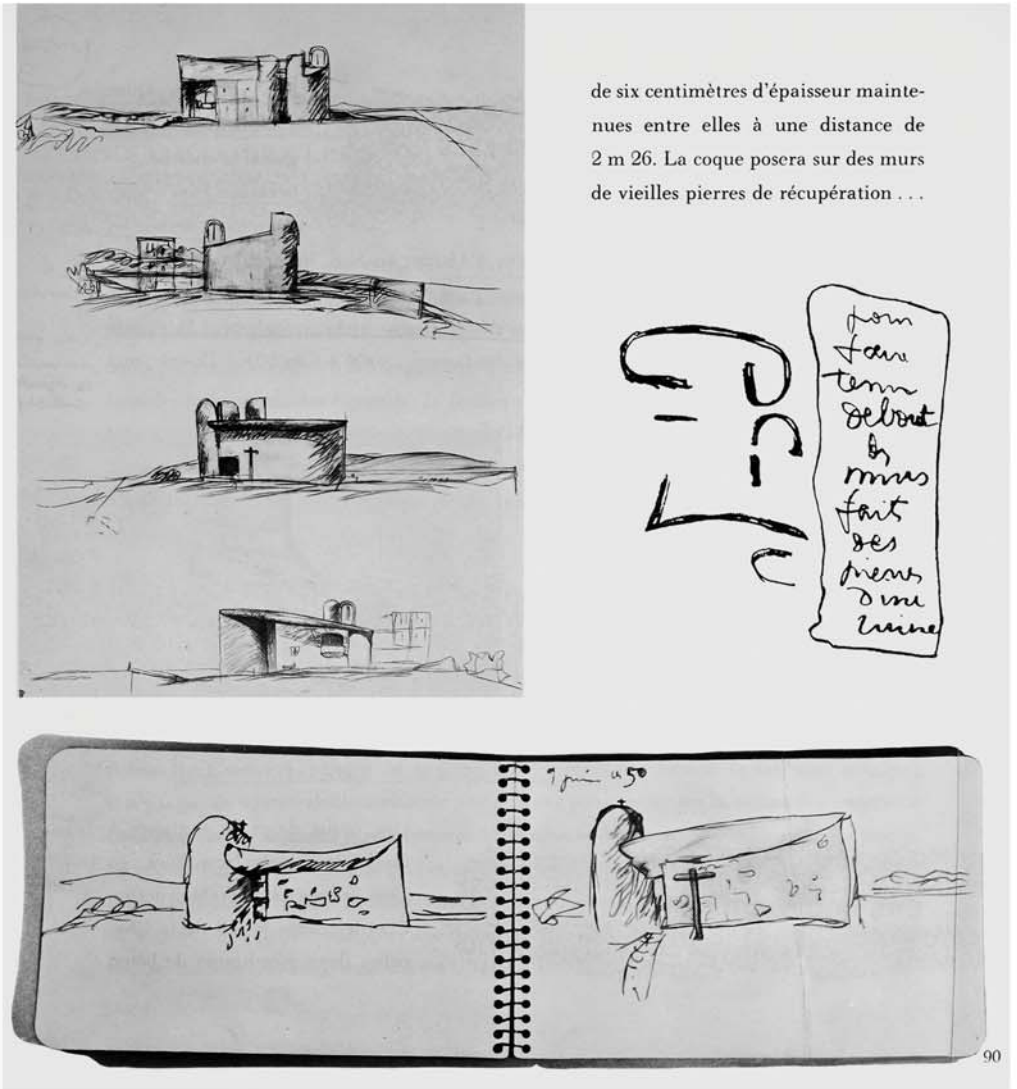
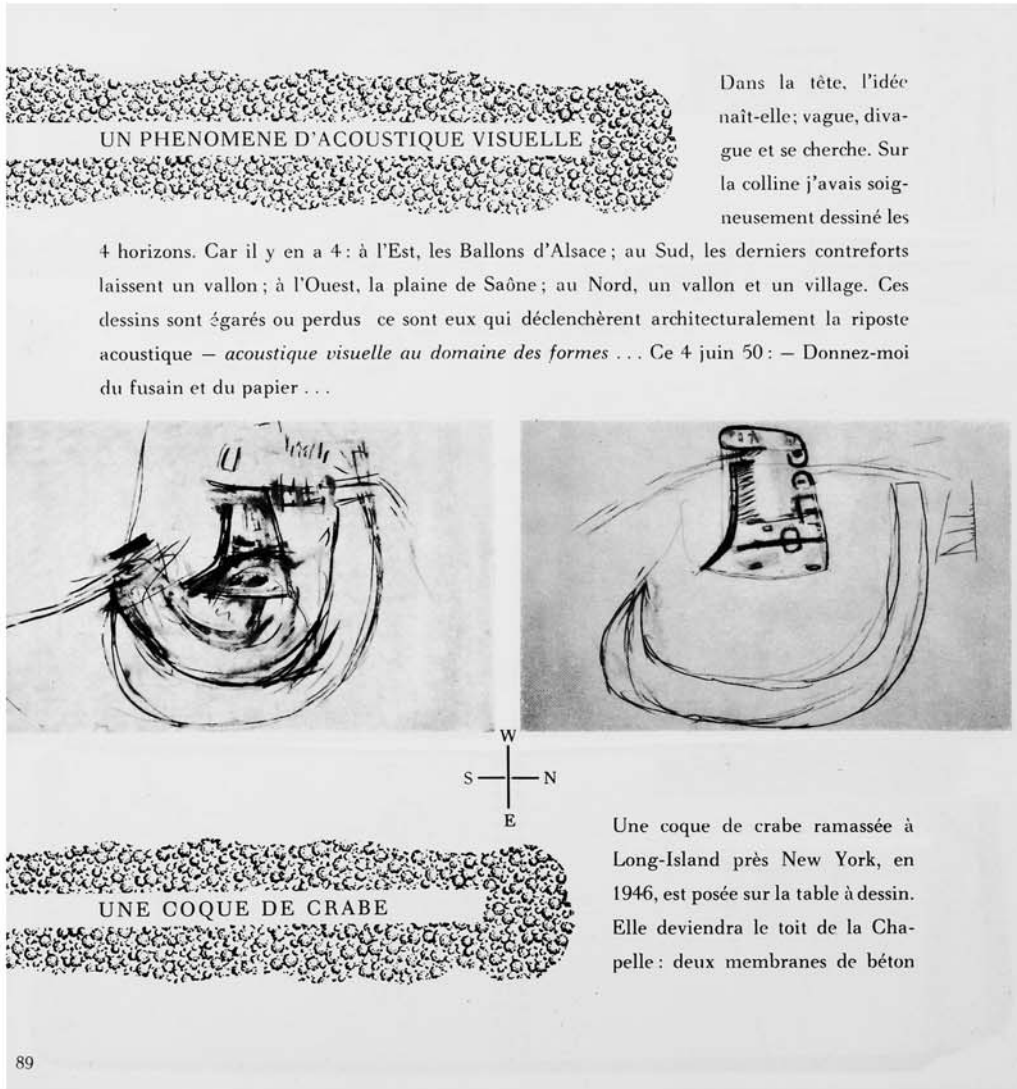


FIGURE 6.04

Le Corbusier, *Les carnets de la recherche patiente 2. Ronchamp* (1957a: 89-90)

left: 'The 4th of June 50: - Give me some charcoal and some paper'

right: '9 June 1950'

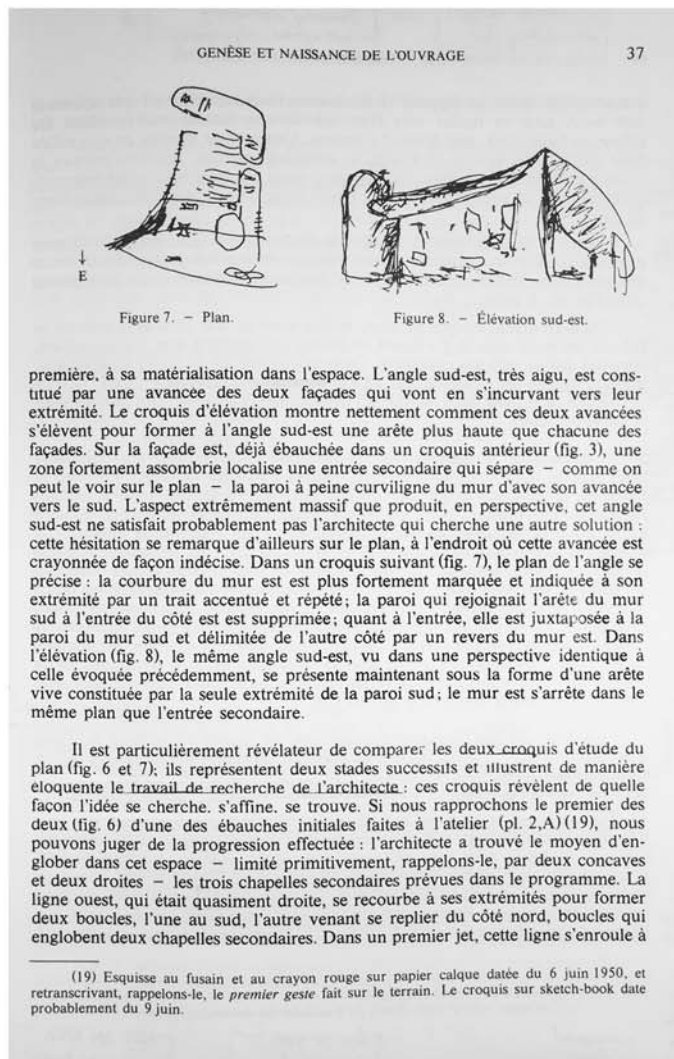
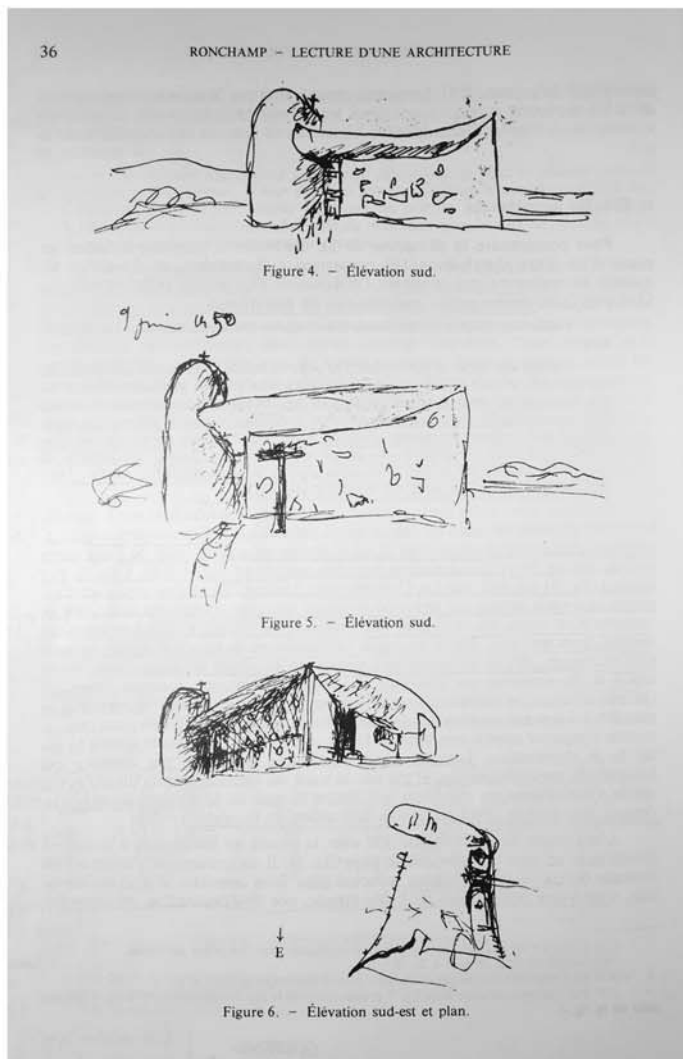


FIGURE 6.05

Danièle Pauly, Ronchamp. *Lecture d'une architecture* (1980: 36-7)
Presentation of unpublished design sketches from Sketchbook E18.

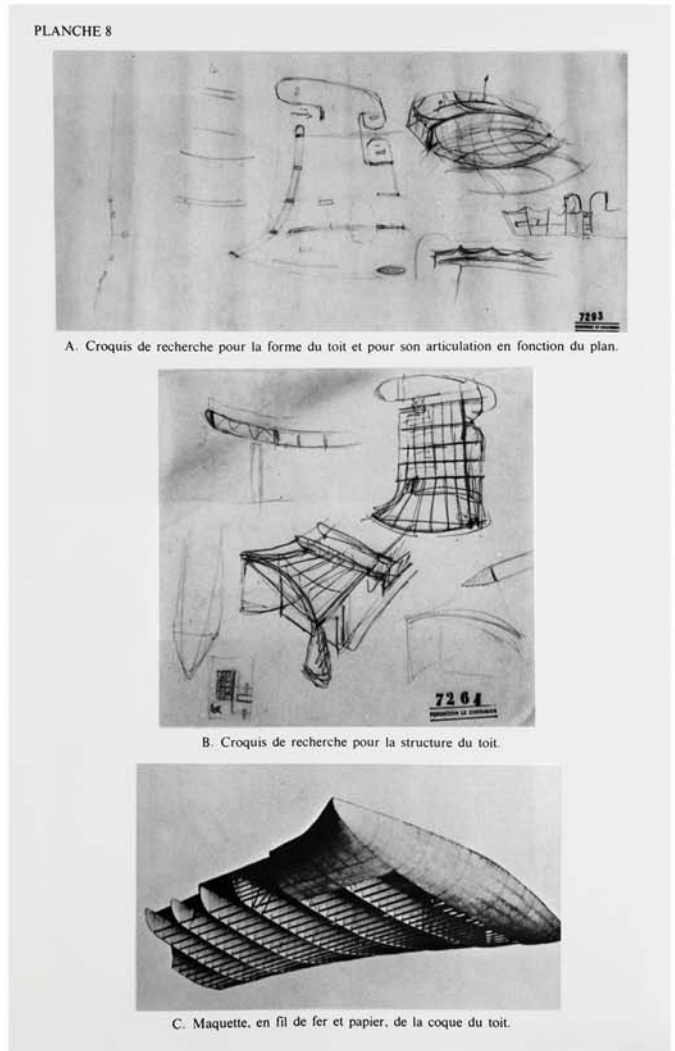
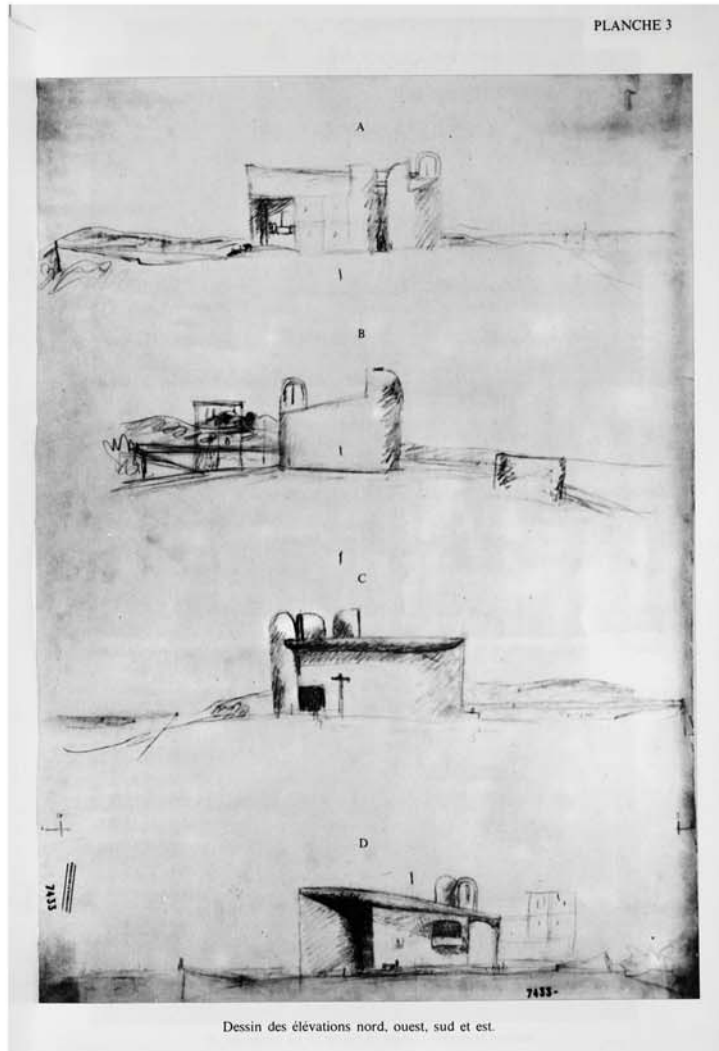
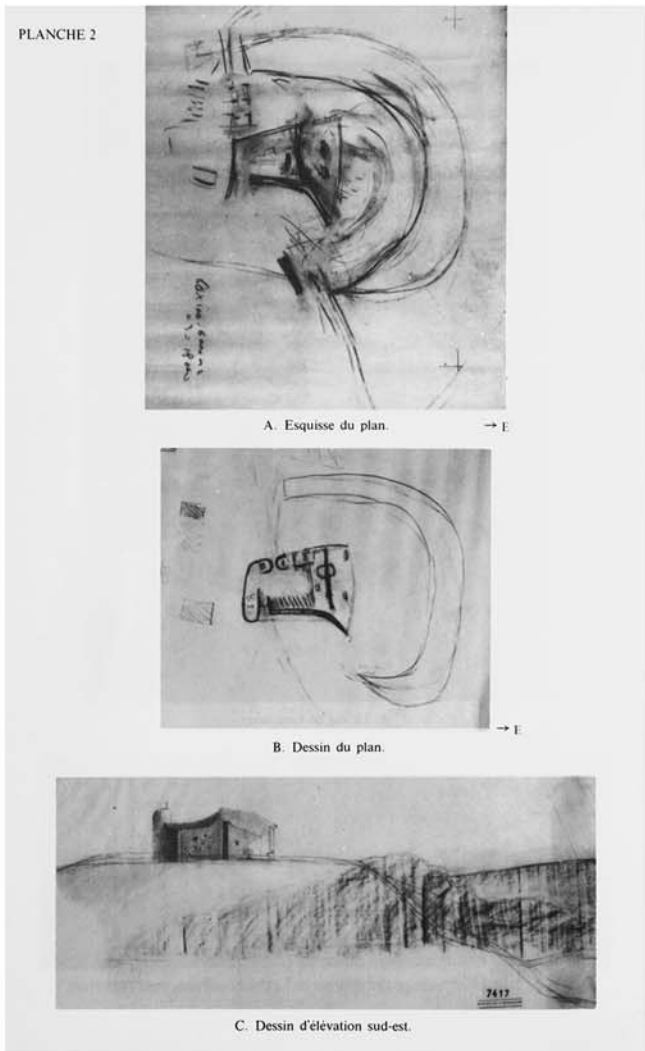


FIGURE 6.06

Danièle Pauly, *Ronchamp. Lecture d'une architecture* (1980: plates 2, 3, 8)
 Design documents for Ronchamp from Le Corbusier's atelier.
 Wooden model of the roof constructed by André Maisonnier.



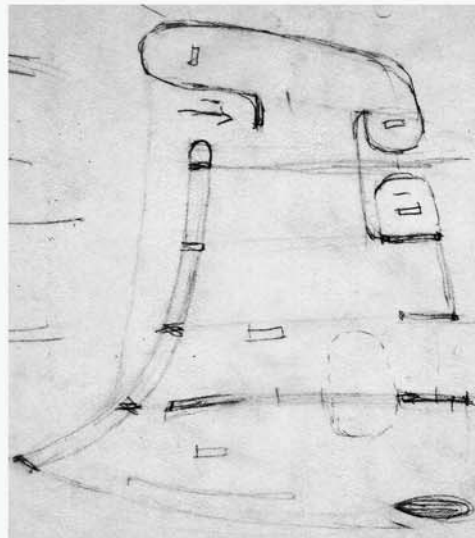
Plan 07470 (1980: plate 2a)



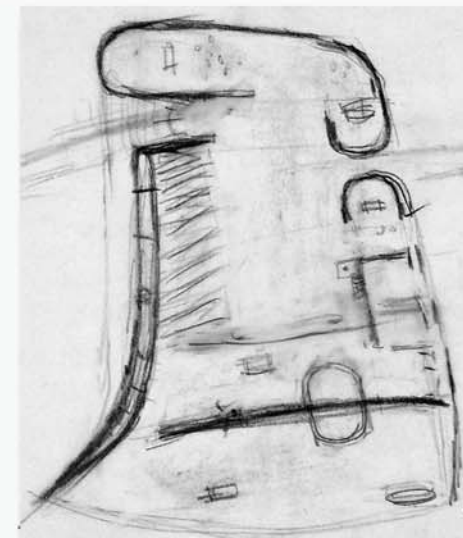
Sketchbook E18-314 (1980: 36)



Sketchbook E18-317 (1980: 37)



Plan 07293 (1980: plate 8a)



Plan 07435 (1980: plate 2b)

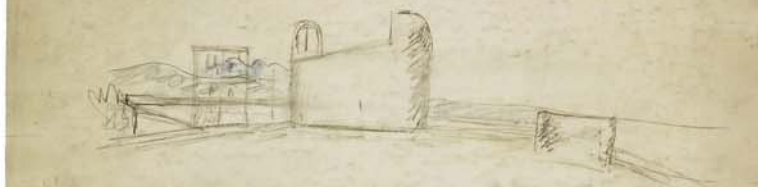
FIGURE 6.07

Danièle Pauly, Ronchamp. *Lecture d'une architecture* (1980)
Proposed sequence of schematic plans for the Chapel of Ronchamp.

North Elevation 07433



West Elevation 07433



South Elevation 07433



East Elevation 07433

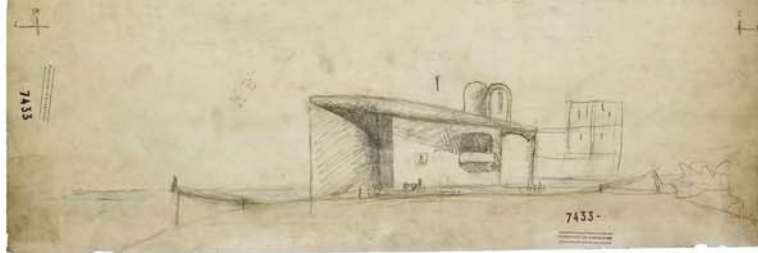


FIGURE 6.08

Le Corbusier, Elevation Set 07433, undated (© FLC-ADAGP)

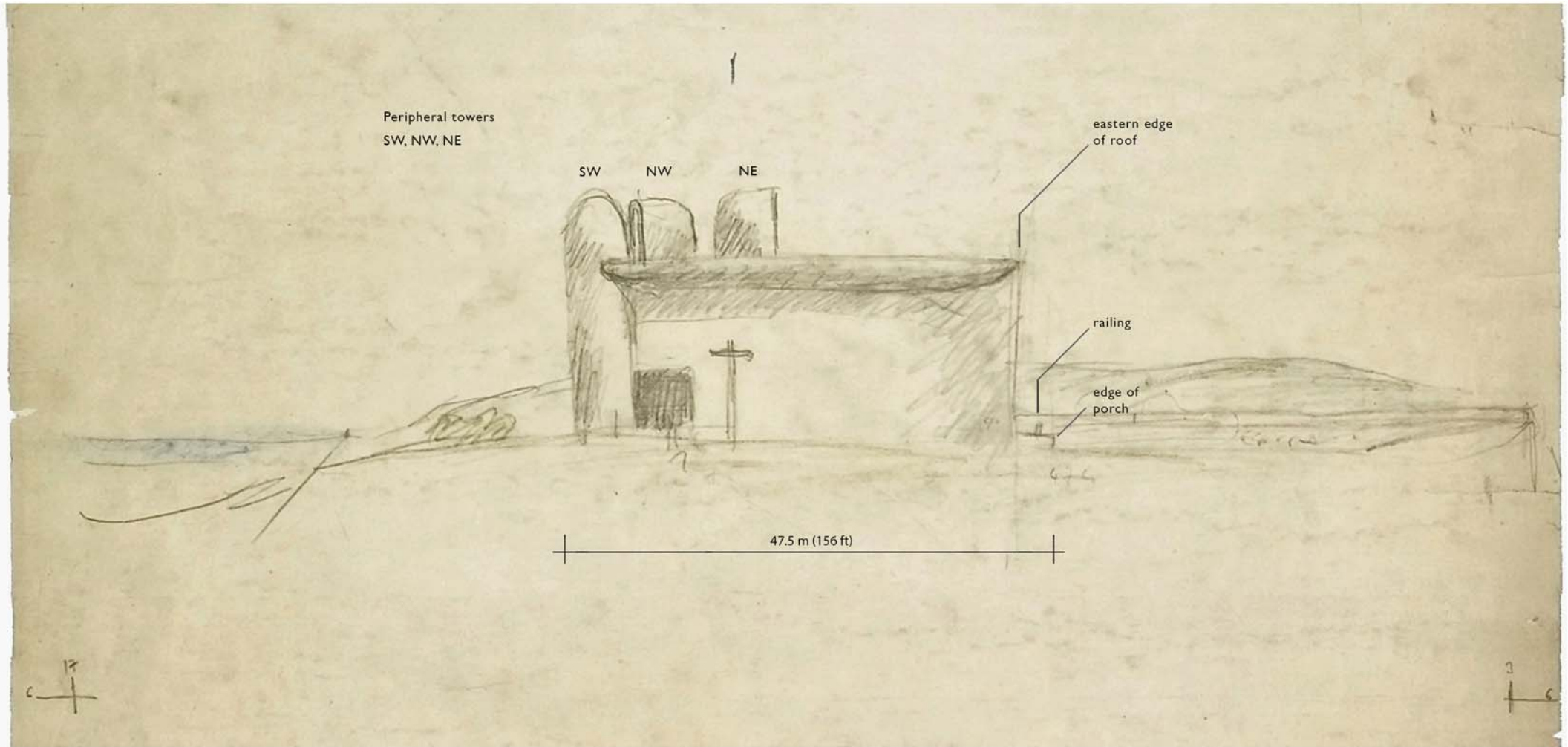


FIGURE 6.09 Le Corbusier, South Elevation 07433, undated (© FLC-ADAGP)
All three towers are shown at the same height; the roof does not extend above the eastern porch.

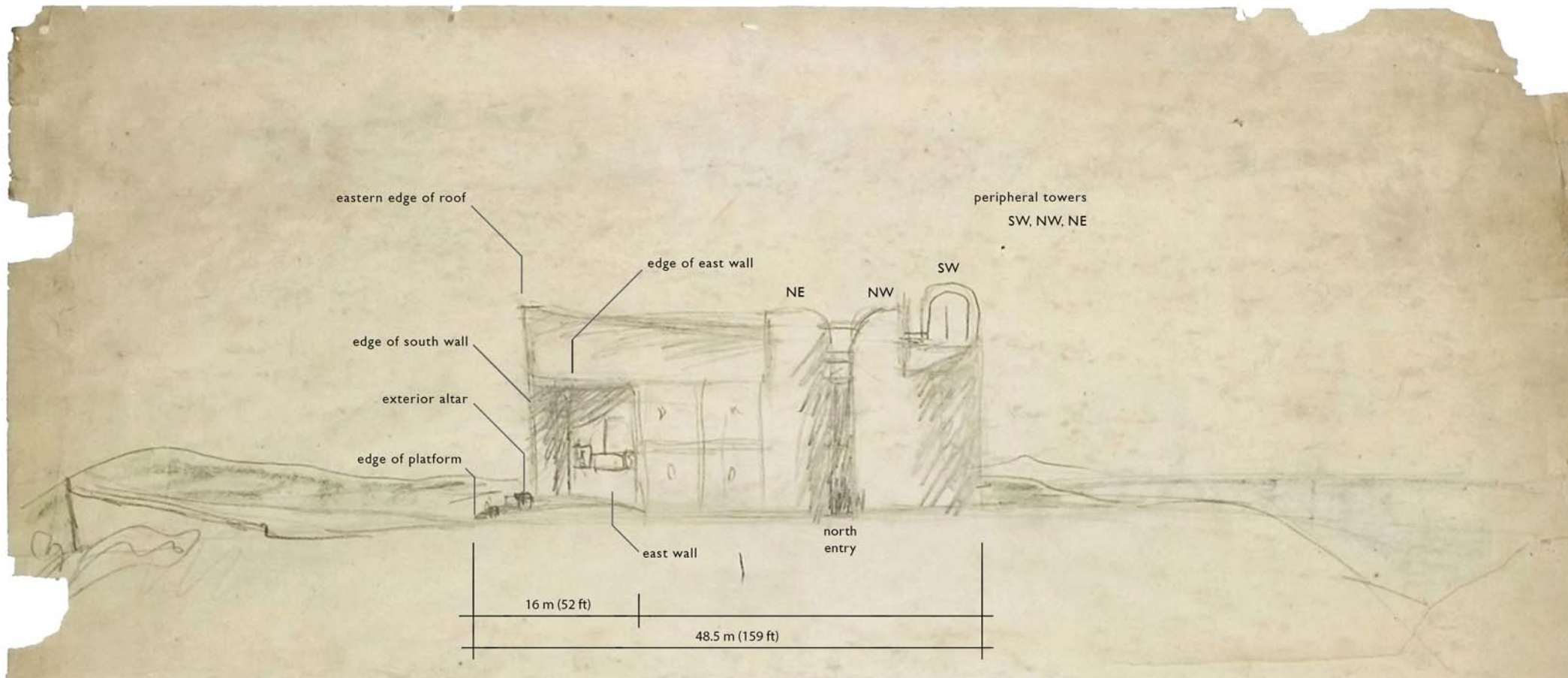


FIGURE 6.10

Le Corbusier, North Elevation 07433, undated (© FLC-ADAGP)

The towers have different heights; the roof is cantilevered and does not extend to the edge of the porch.

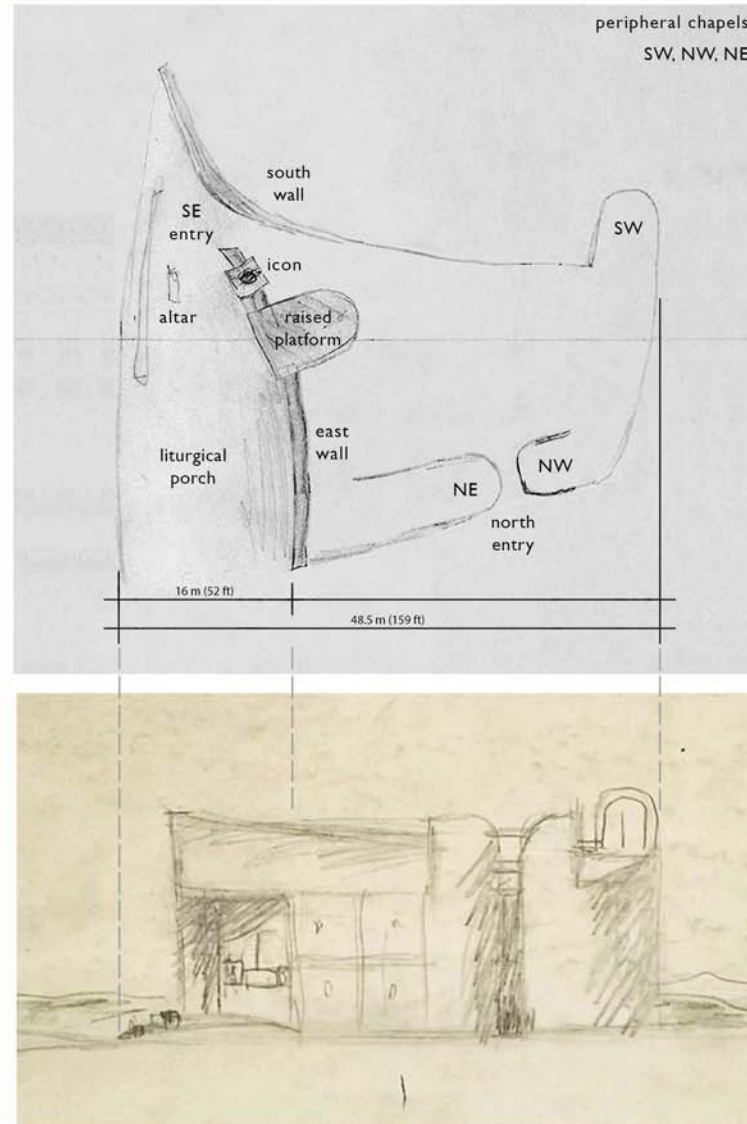


FIGURE 6.11

top: Plan 07433: hypothetical reconstruction
 bottom: Le Corbusier, North Elevation 07433, undated (© FLC-ADAGP)
 The depth of the eastern porch is similar to the Charcoal and Sacristy Plans.

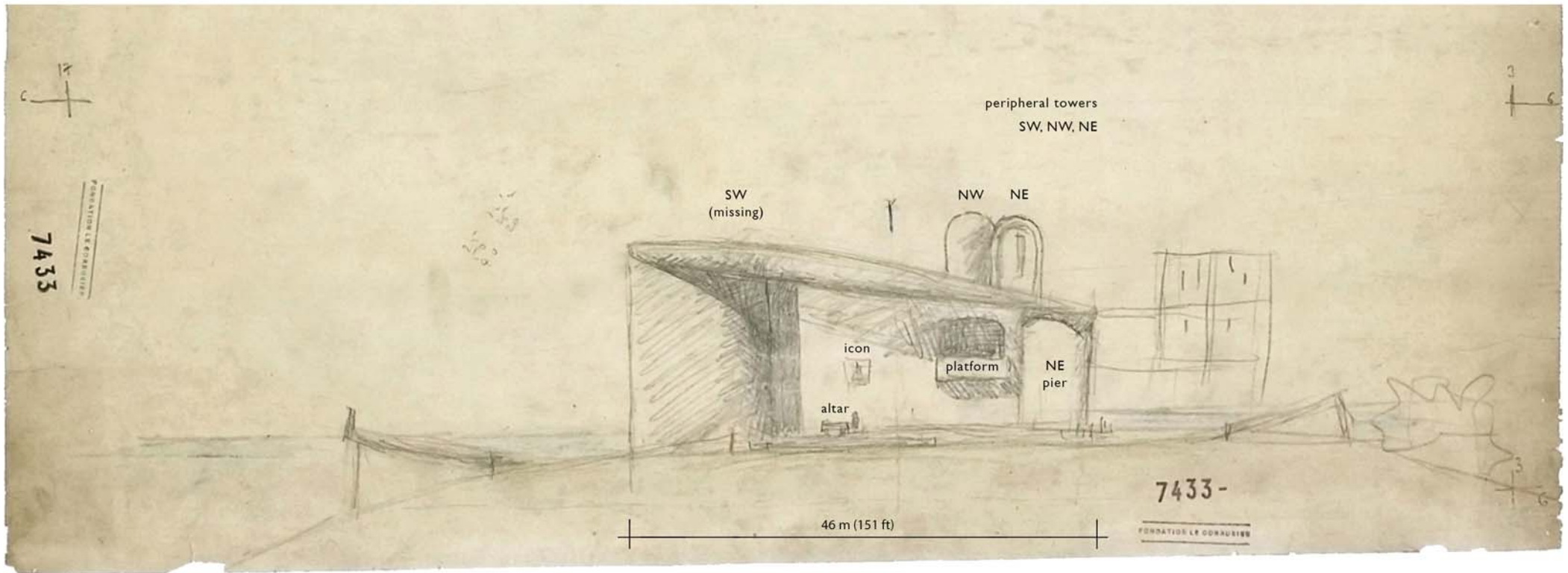


FIGURE 6.12

Le Corbusier, East Elevation 07433, undated (© FLC-ADAGP)

The southwestern tower is not shown; the liturgical program has been altered; the roof is supported by a pier.

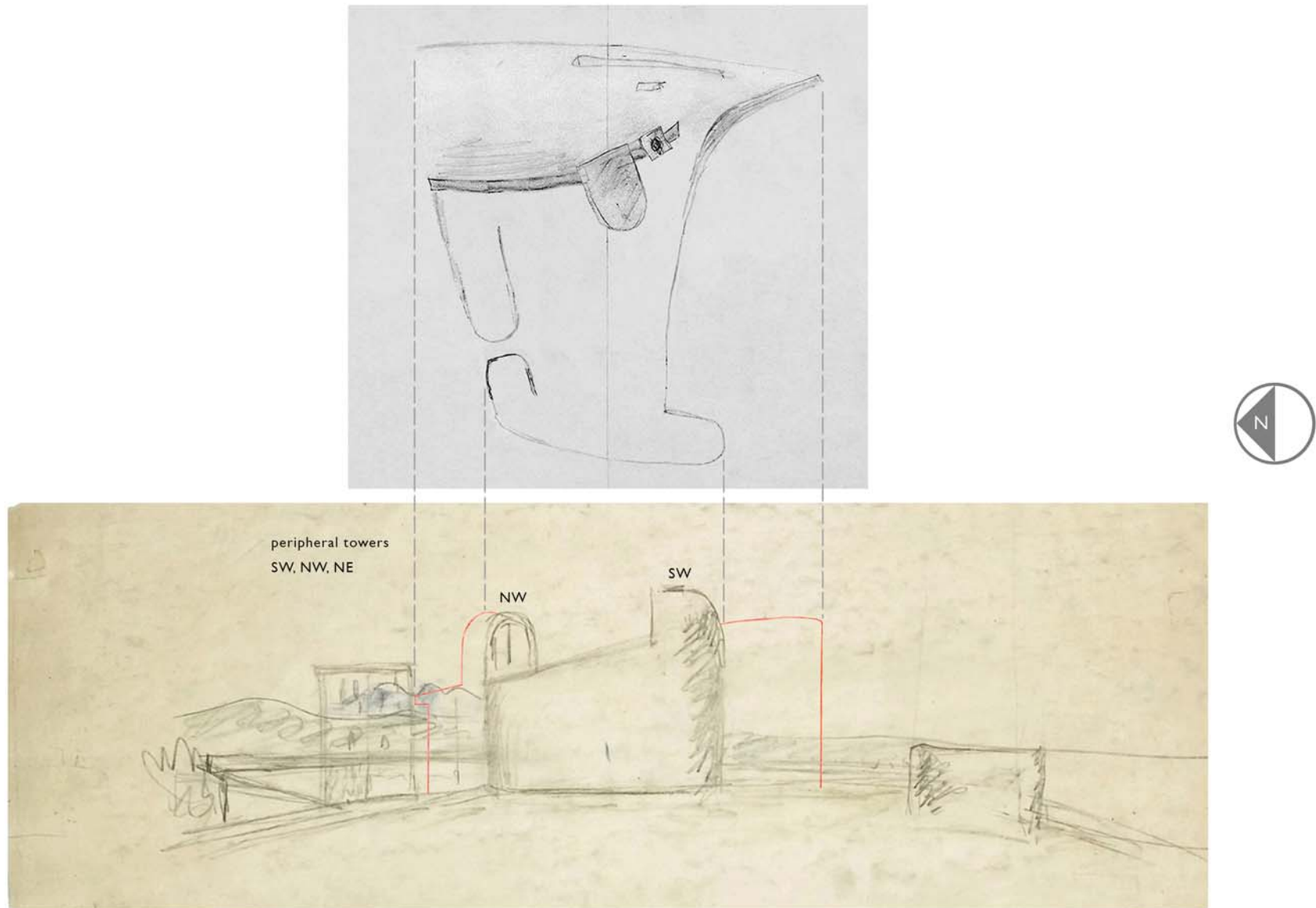


FIGURE 6.13

top:

Plan 07433: hypothetical reconstruction

bottom:

Le Corbusier, West Elevation 07433, undated (© FLC-ADAGP)

The southwestern and northwestern towers are shown at different heights.

The red outline represents a hypothetical reconstruction of the elided portion of the drawing.

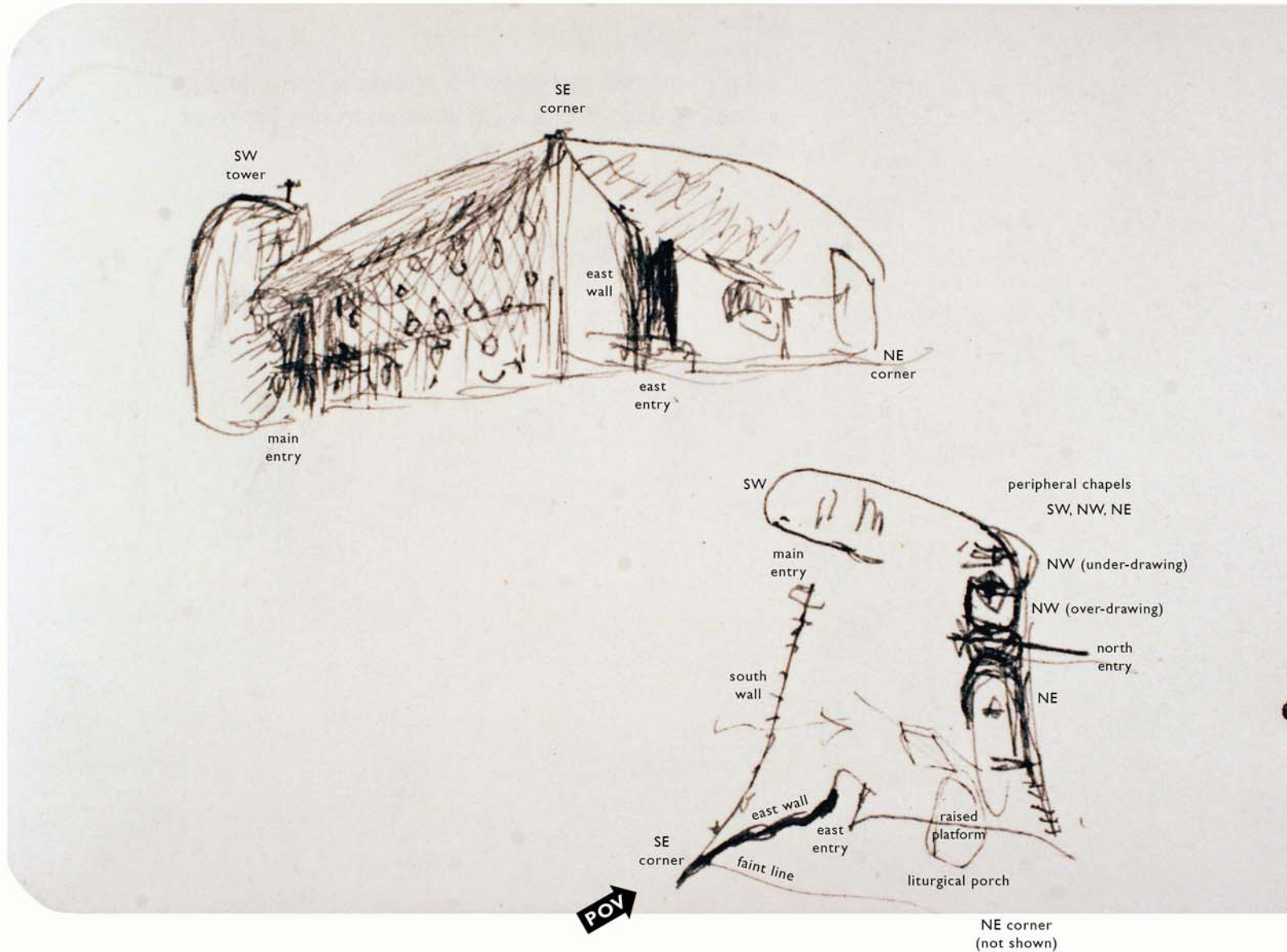


FIGURE 6.14 Plan & Perspective 314: Le Corbusier, Sketchbook E18-314, undated (© FLC-ADAGP)
 Above: Perspective 314: Southeast view with central eastern entry and northeastern pier.
 Below: Plan 314: Peripheral chapels were altered in over-drawing; NE corner falls off the page.
 The arrow represents the approximate point of view of the perspective rendering.

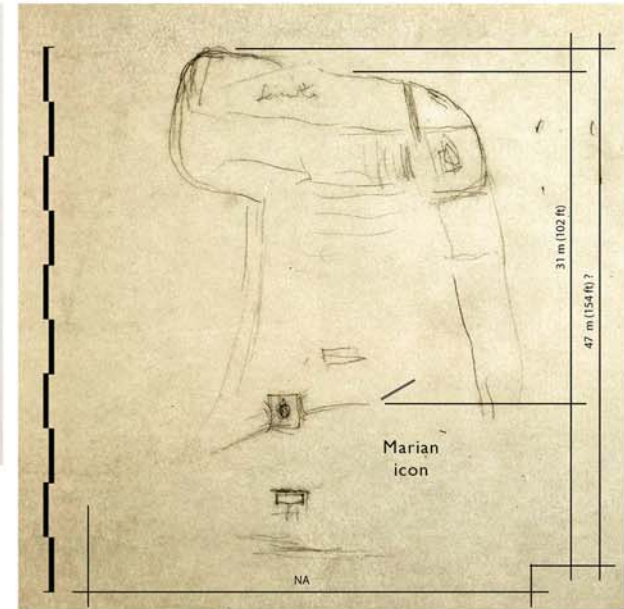
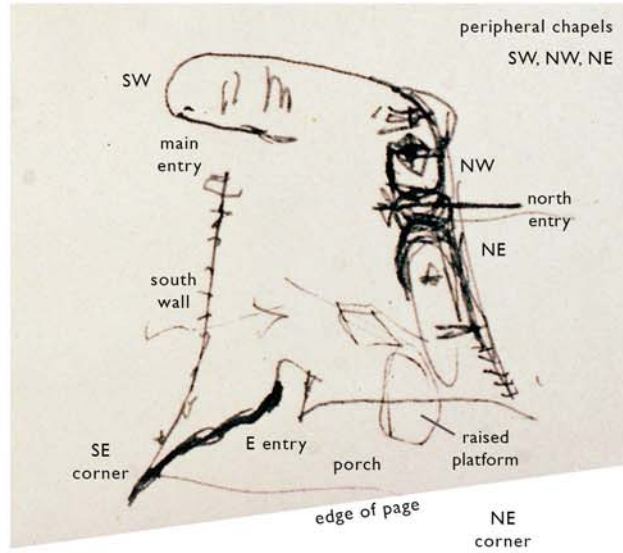
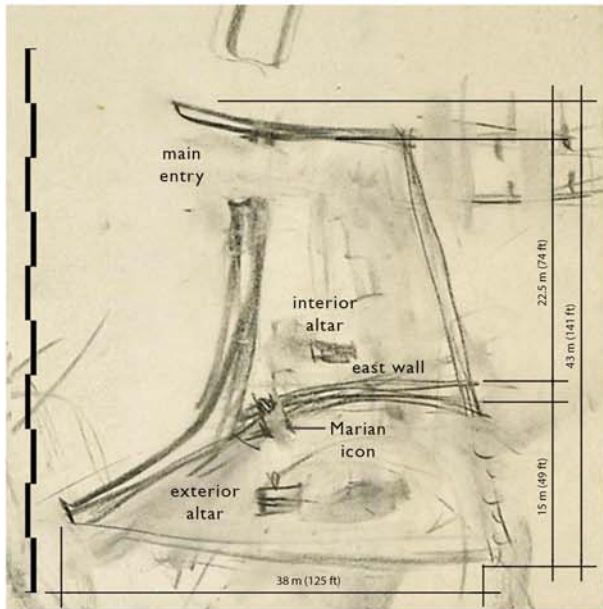


FIGURE 6.15 left: Le Corbusier, Plan 07470, the 'Charcoal Plan', detail (© FLC-ADAGP)
center: Le Corbusier, Plan 314, Sketchbook E18, detail (© FLC-ADAGP)
right: Le Corbusier, Plan 07312, the 'Sacristy Plan', detail (© FLC-ADAGP)



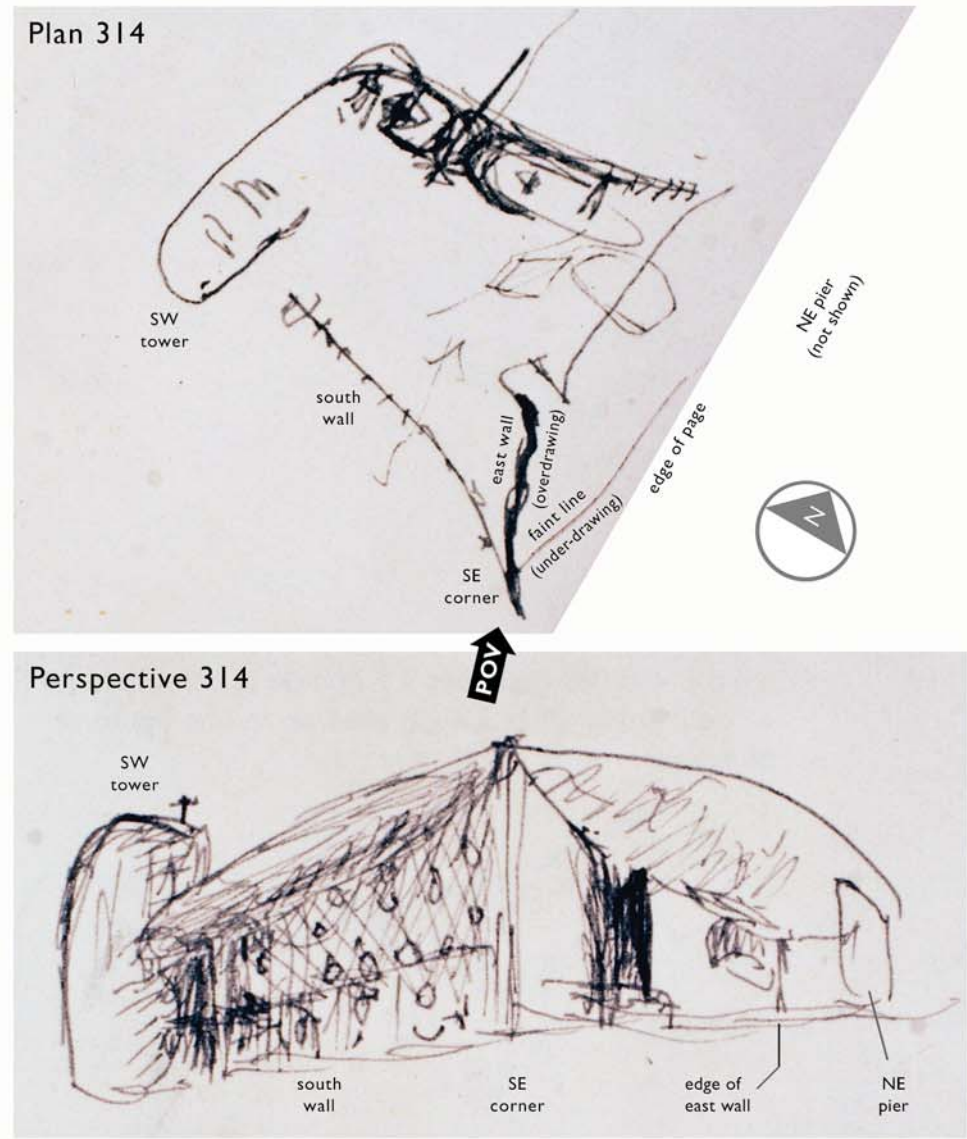
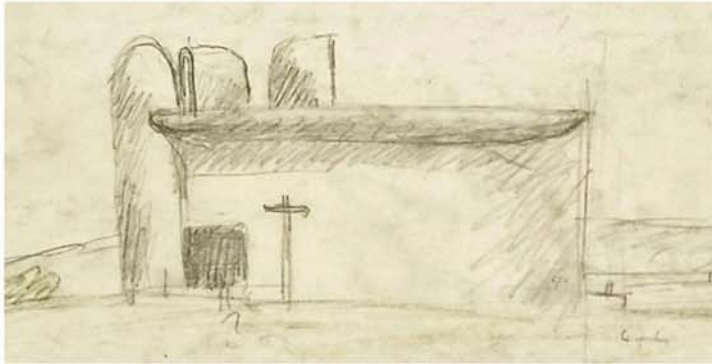
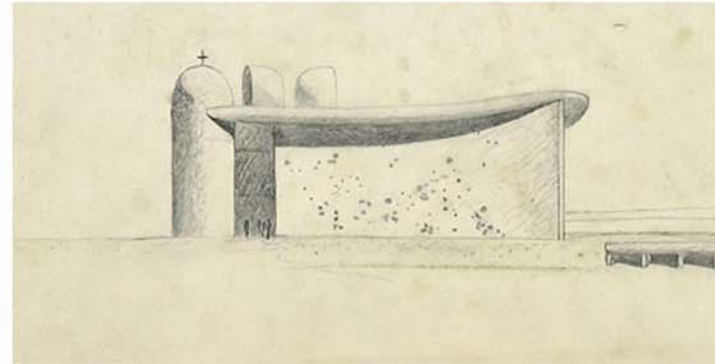


FIGURE 6.16

Le Corbusier, Plan and Perspective 314, Sketchbook E18 (© FLC-ADAGP)
 The massing of the SE corner in Perspective 314 conforms to the under-drawing of Plan 314.
 The northeastern pier shown in Perspective 314 falls off the edge of the page in plan.



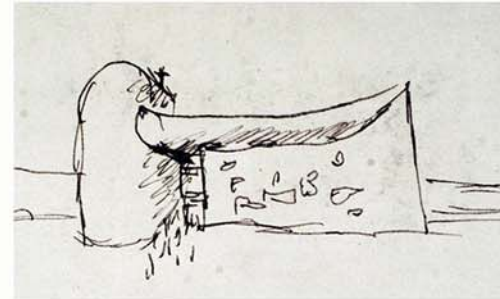
Le Corbusier, South Elevation 07433 (FLC 07433, detail)



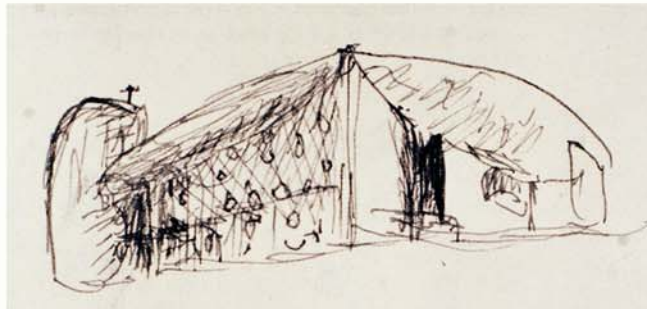
André Maisonnier, South Elevation 07414 (FLC 07414, detail)



LC, Perspective 313 (Sketchbook E18-313)



LC, Perspective 312 (Sketchbook E18-312)



LC, Perspective 314 (Sketchbook E18-314)



LC, Perspective 318 (Sketchbook E18-318)

FIGURE 6.17

Le Corbusier and André Maisonnier, early drawings of the south and southeast facades (© FLC-ADAGP)

top: South Elevations 07433 and 07414 are formally similar but vastly different in scale.

center: Perspectives 313 and 312 scaled according to their respective representation in Sketchbook E18.

bottom: Perspectives 314 and 318 scaled according to their respective representation in Sketchbook E18.

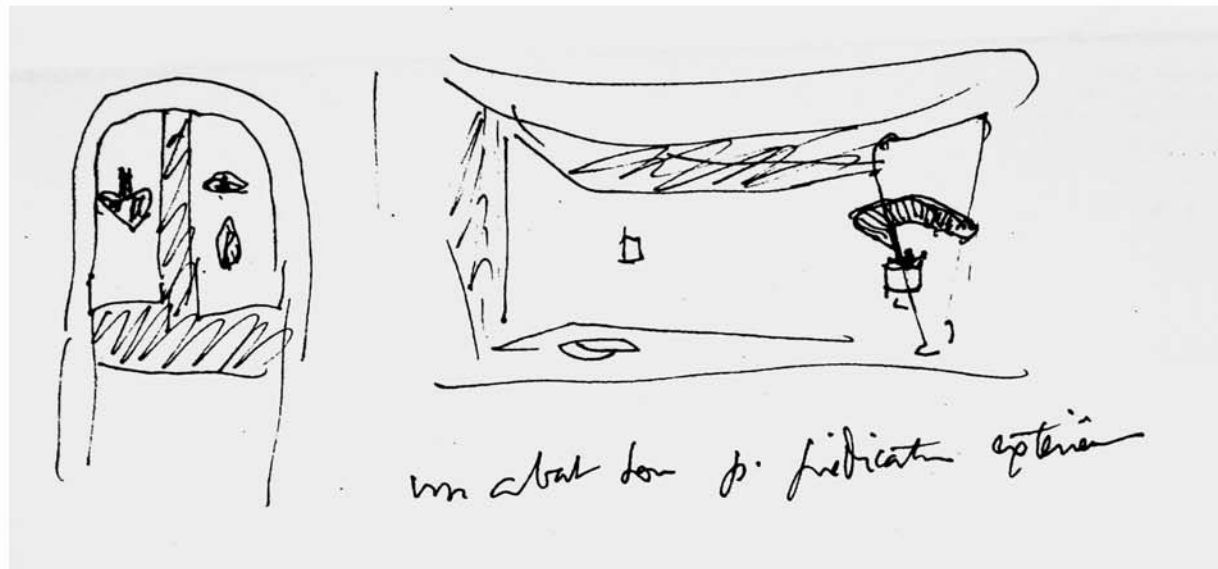
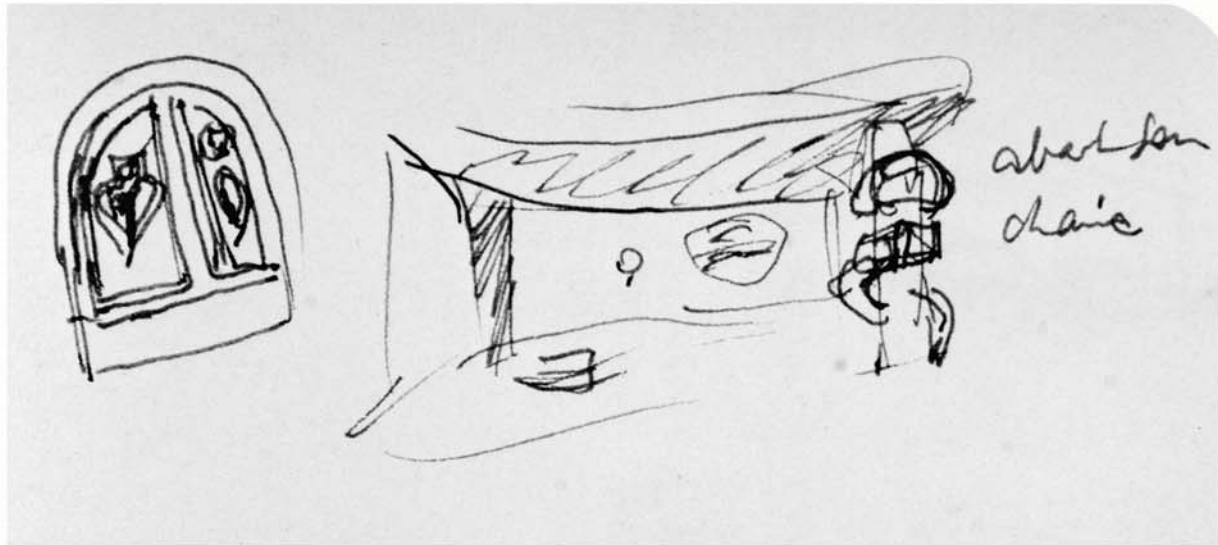


FIGURE 6.18

above: Le Corbusier, Perspective 274 with tower, Sketchbook D17, detail (© FLC-ADAGP)
 'sound reflector / pulpit' (abat son / chaire)

below: Le Corbusier, document for Maisonnier and Wogenscky, 20 October 1950 (FLC Q1-6-110, detail)
 'a sound reflector for exterior predication' (un abat son p[our] predicatn exterieure)

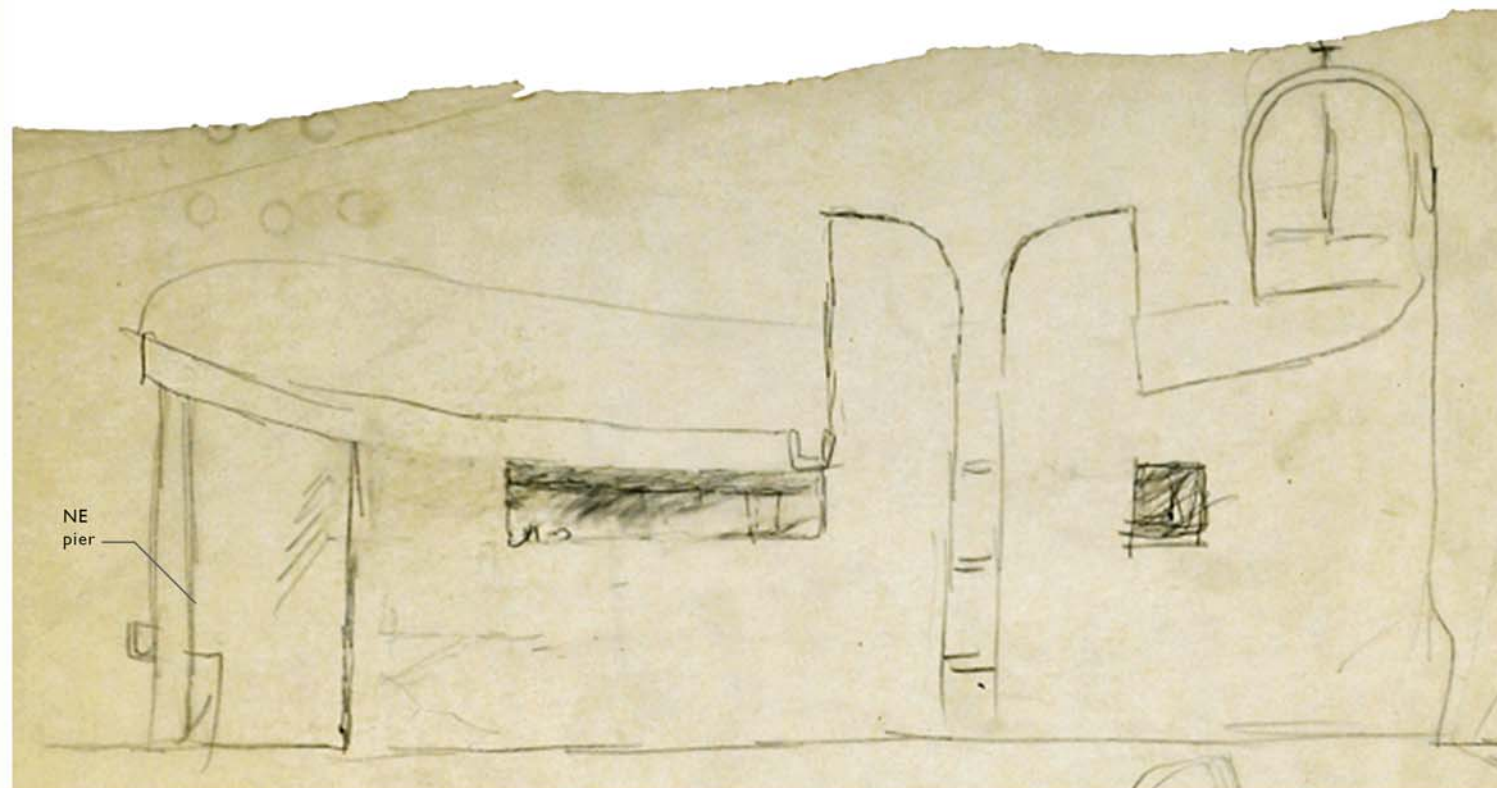
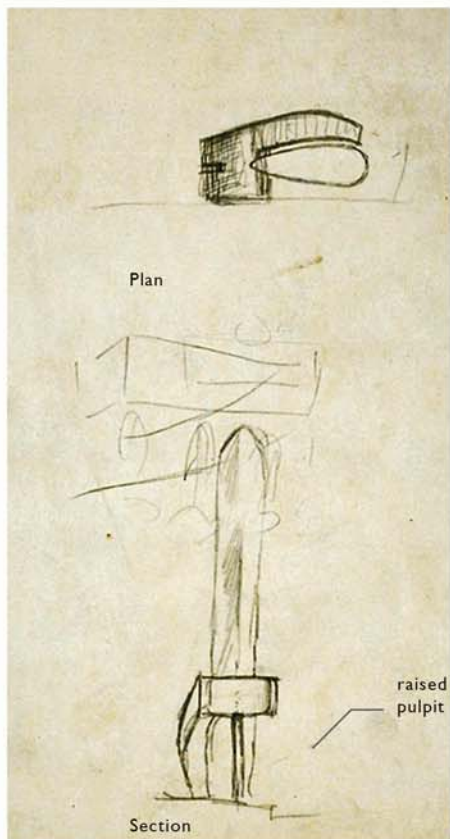


FIGURE 6.19

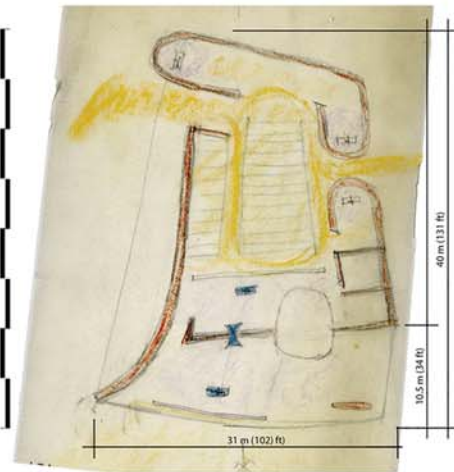
Northeastern pier with raised pulpit, autumn 1950

left: Le Corbusier, plan and sectional view of eastern porch, detail, undated (FLC 07354; © FLC-ADAGP)

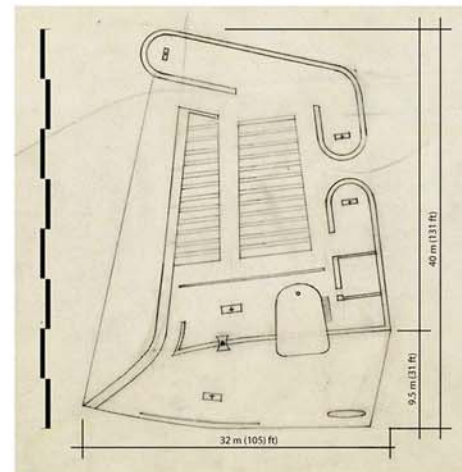
right: Le Corbusier, north elevation, detail, 12 October 1950 (FLC 07277; © FLC-ADAGP)



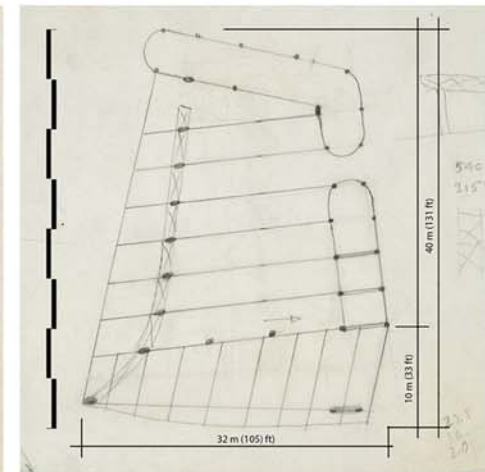
Plan 317 (Sketchbook E18-317)



Reduced LC Plan (FLC 07288)



Reduced Maisonnier Plan (FLC 07389)



Reduced Roof Plan (FLC 07275)

FIGURE 6.20

Phase II: Le Corbusier and André Maisonnier, plans, undated (© FLC-ADAGP)
 Dimensions are approximated to the nearest half-meter, since many of these drawing sheets are badly misshapen due to shrinkage; see *Plans*, v. 10. 1950-1951. (LC 2006)



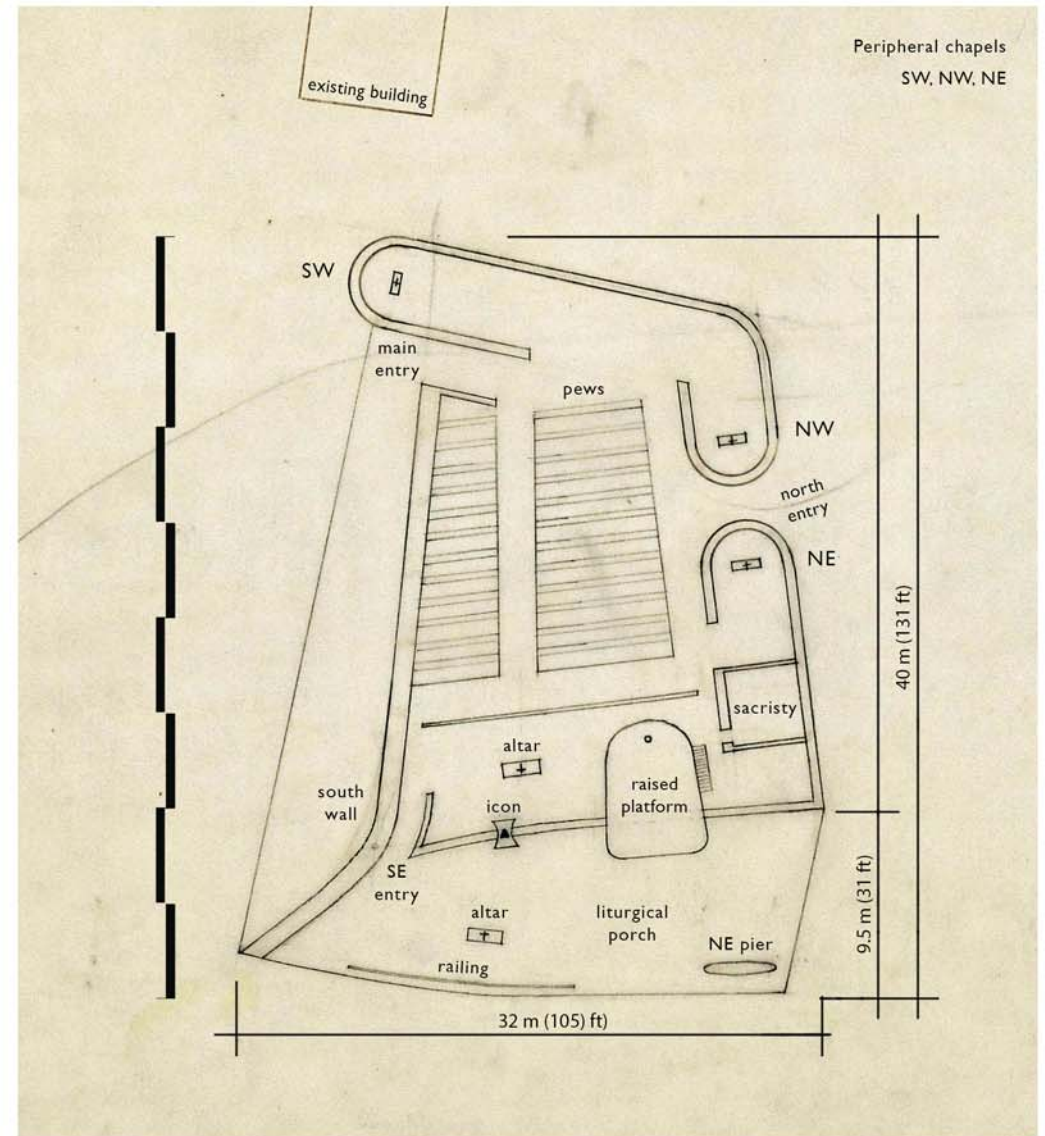
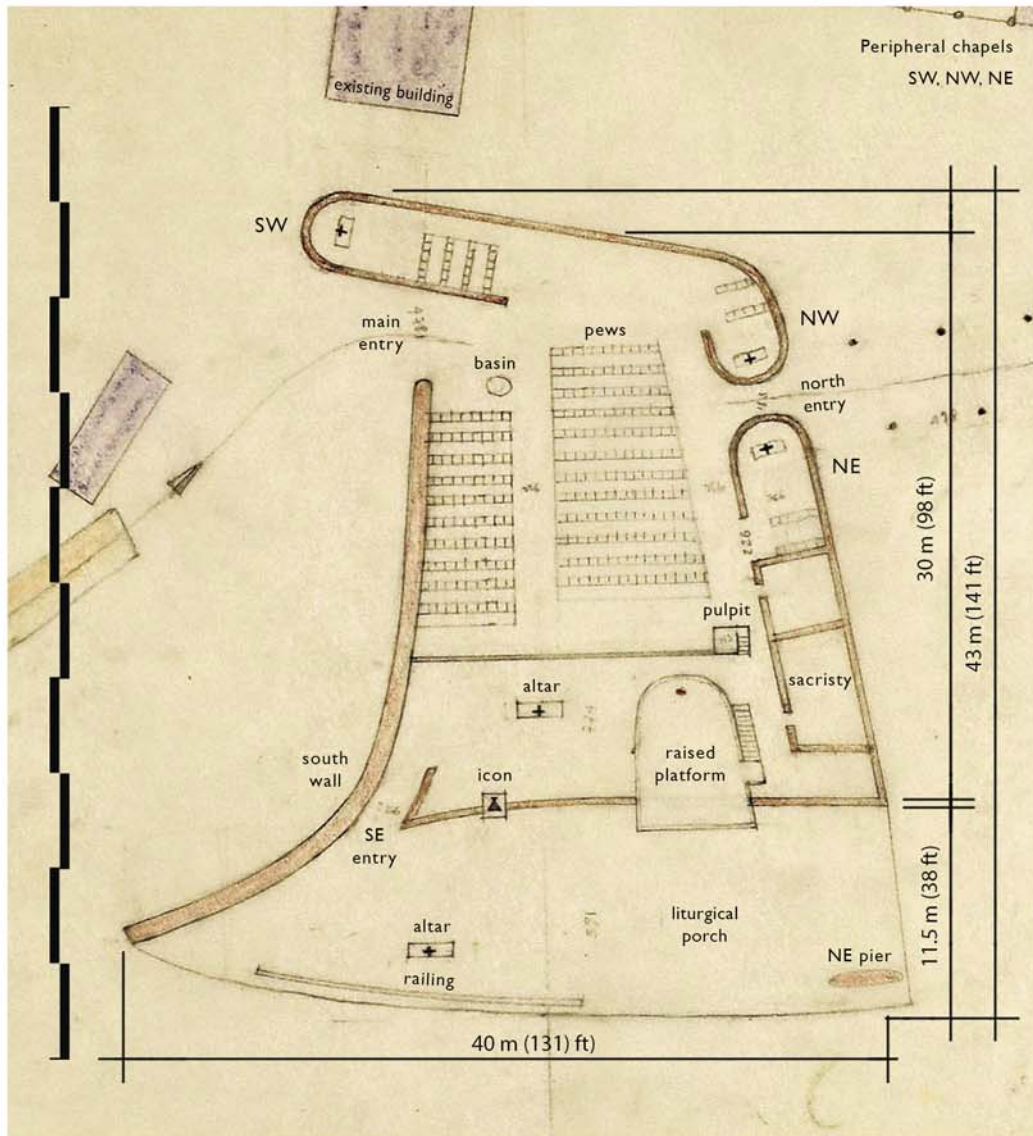


FIGURE 6.21

Phases I & II: Comparison of scale, features, and site positioning

Left: André Maisonnier, Plan 07463, the 'Maisonnier Plan', detail (© FLC-ADAGP)

Right: André Maisonnier, Plan 07389, the 'Reduced Maisonnier Plan', detail (© FLC-ADAGP)

An outline of the existing building has been added to the Reduced version.



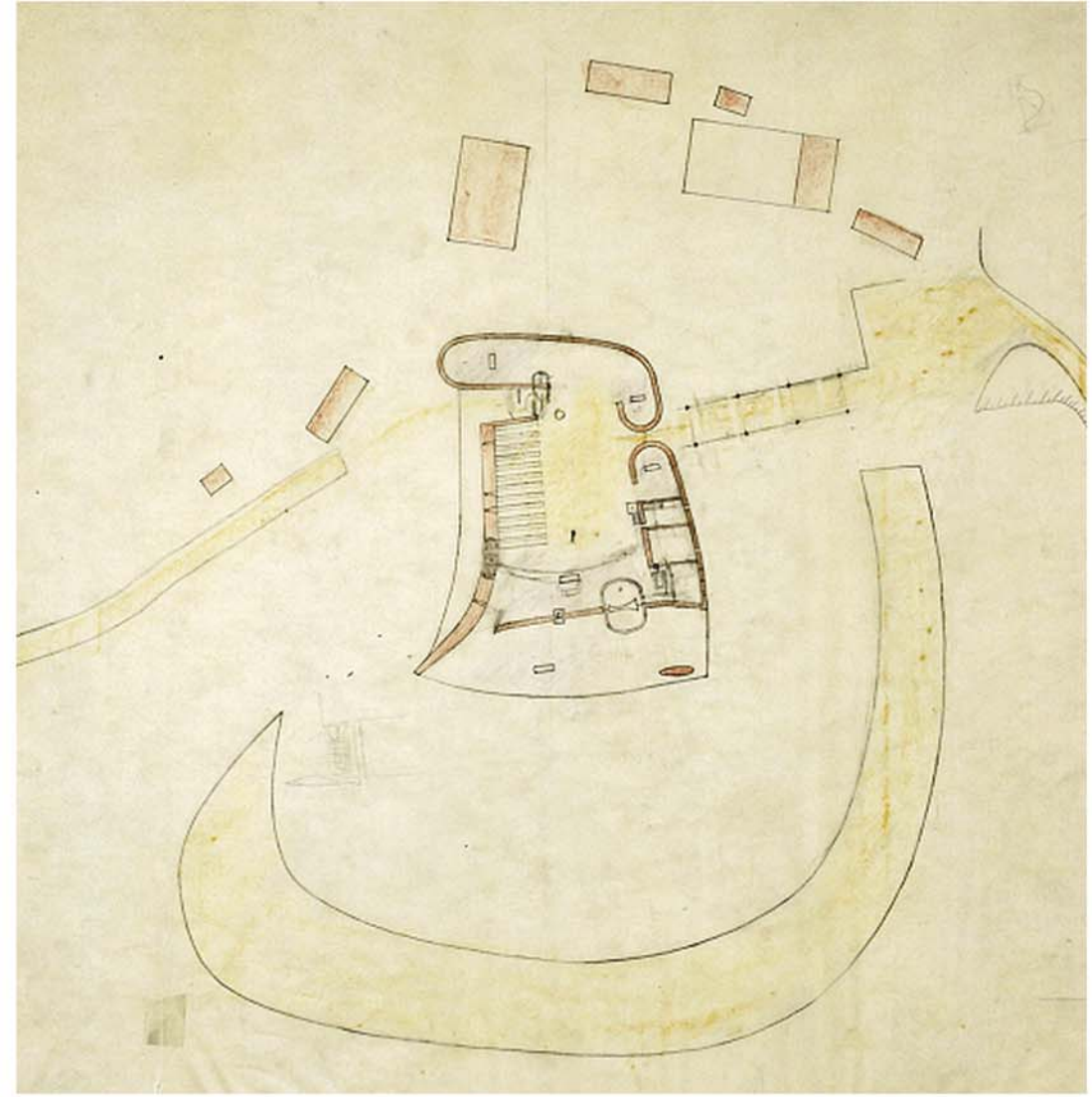


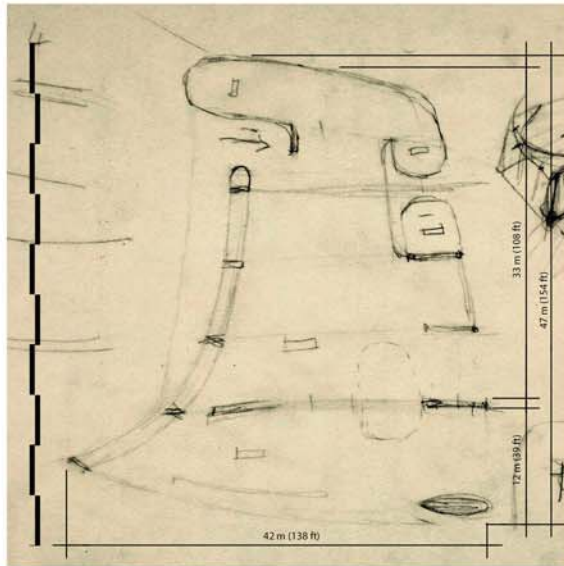
FIGURE 6.22

Phase III:
left:
right:

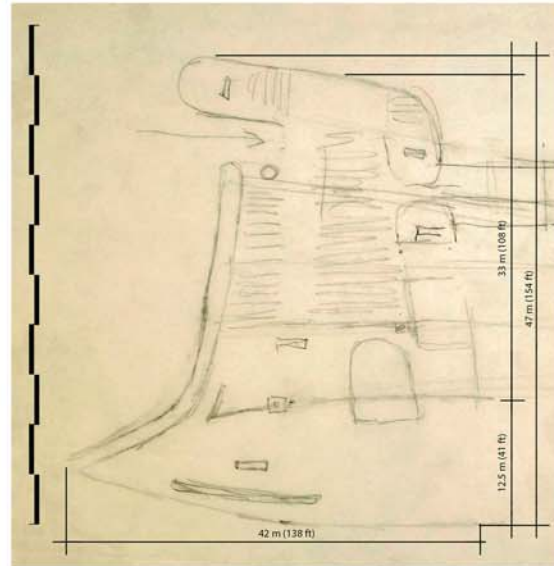
Le Corbusier and André Maisonnier, siteplans
Le Corbusier, Plan 07435, detail (© FLC-ADAGP)
André Maisonnier, Plan 07432, detail (© FLC-ADAGP)

The sanctuary boundary is curvilinear and the western wall lacks confessional booths.

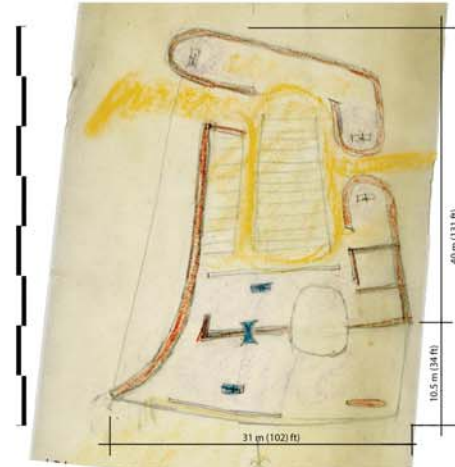




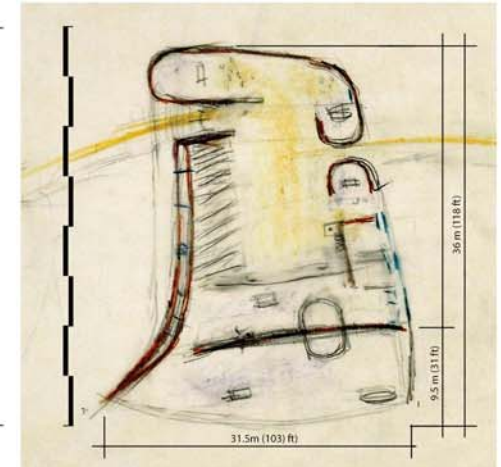
Phase I: LC, Foundation Plan (FLC 07470)



Phase I: LC, Basin Plan (FLC 07321)



Phase II: Reduced LC Plan (FLC 07288)



Phase III: LC, Plan 07435 (FLC 07435)

FIGURE 6.23

Phase I-III: Comparison of scale and features
 far right: Le Corbusier, Plan 07435, detail (© FLC-ADAGP)
 This plan incorporates many features from previous iterations.
 Note the dramatic reduction in scale after Phase I of design work.



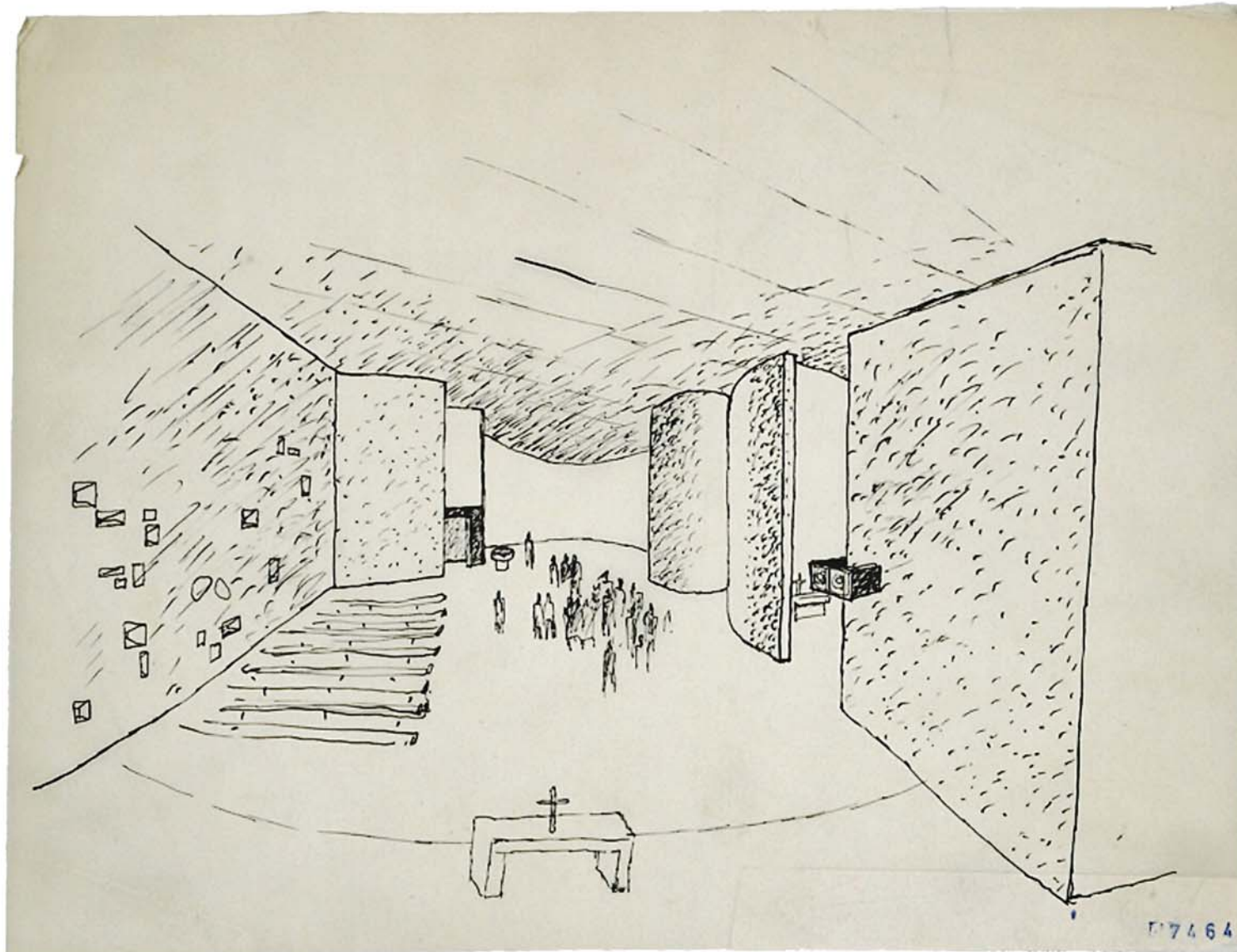
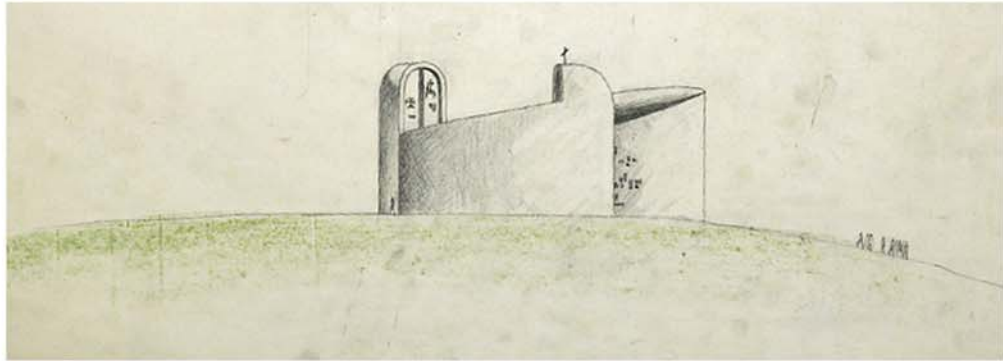


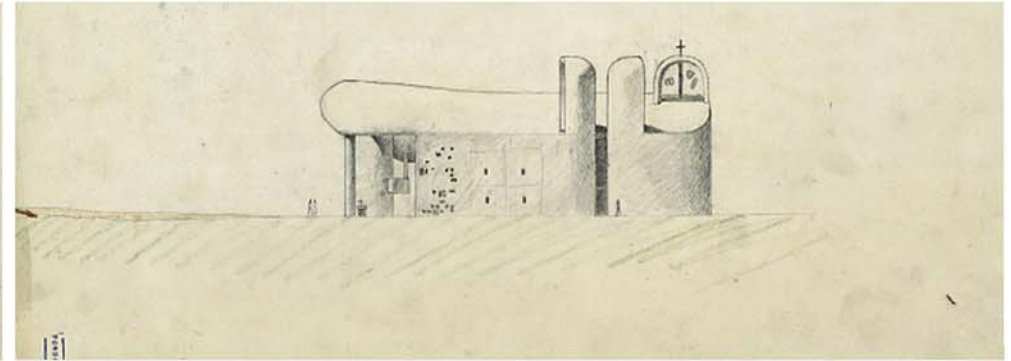
FIGURE 6.24

Phase III: André Maisonnier, Interior Perspective 07464, undated (© FLC-ADAGP)

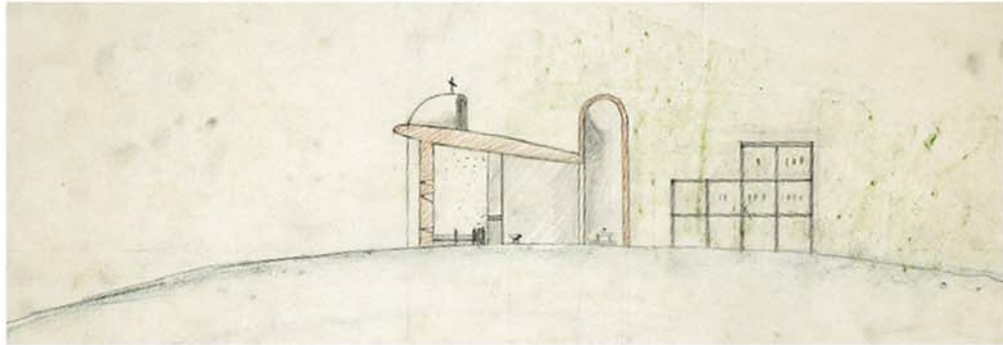
The boundary of the sanctuary is curvilinear; the western wall does not yet contain confessional booths.



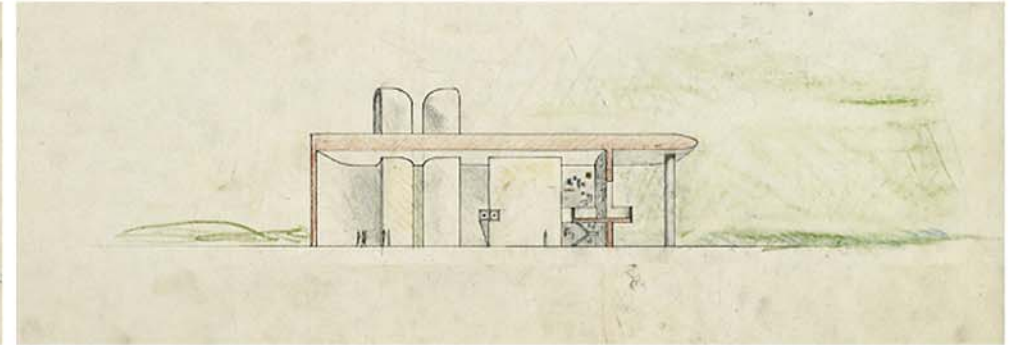
West Elevation 07412



North Elevation 07414



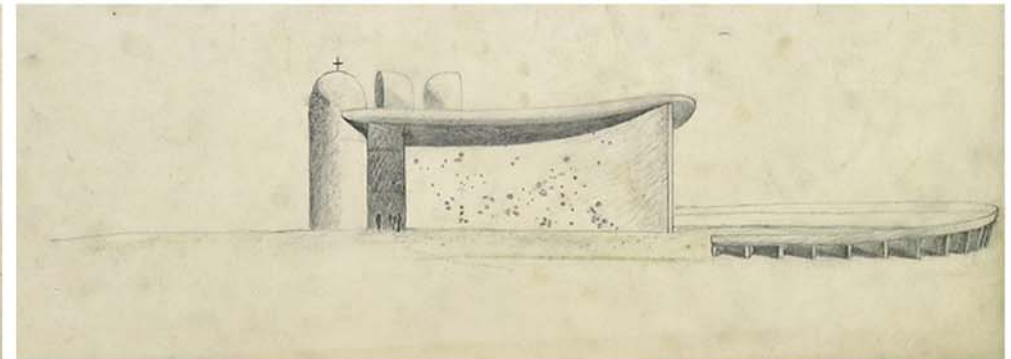
West Section 07412



North Section 07414



East Elevation 07412



South Elevation 07414

FIGURE 6.25

Phase III: André Maisonnier, Elevations and Sections 07412 and 07414, undated (© FLC-ADAGP)
Drawing sheets 07412-07414 are the earliest complete set of elevations and sections in the Ronchamp archive. These renderings were probably produced for a presentation given to the Dominican patrons in late June 1950.

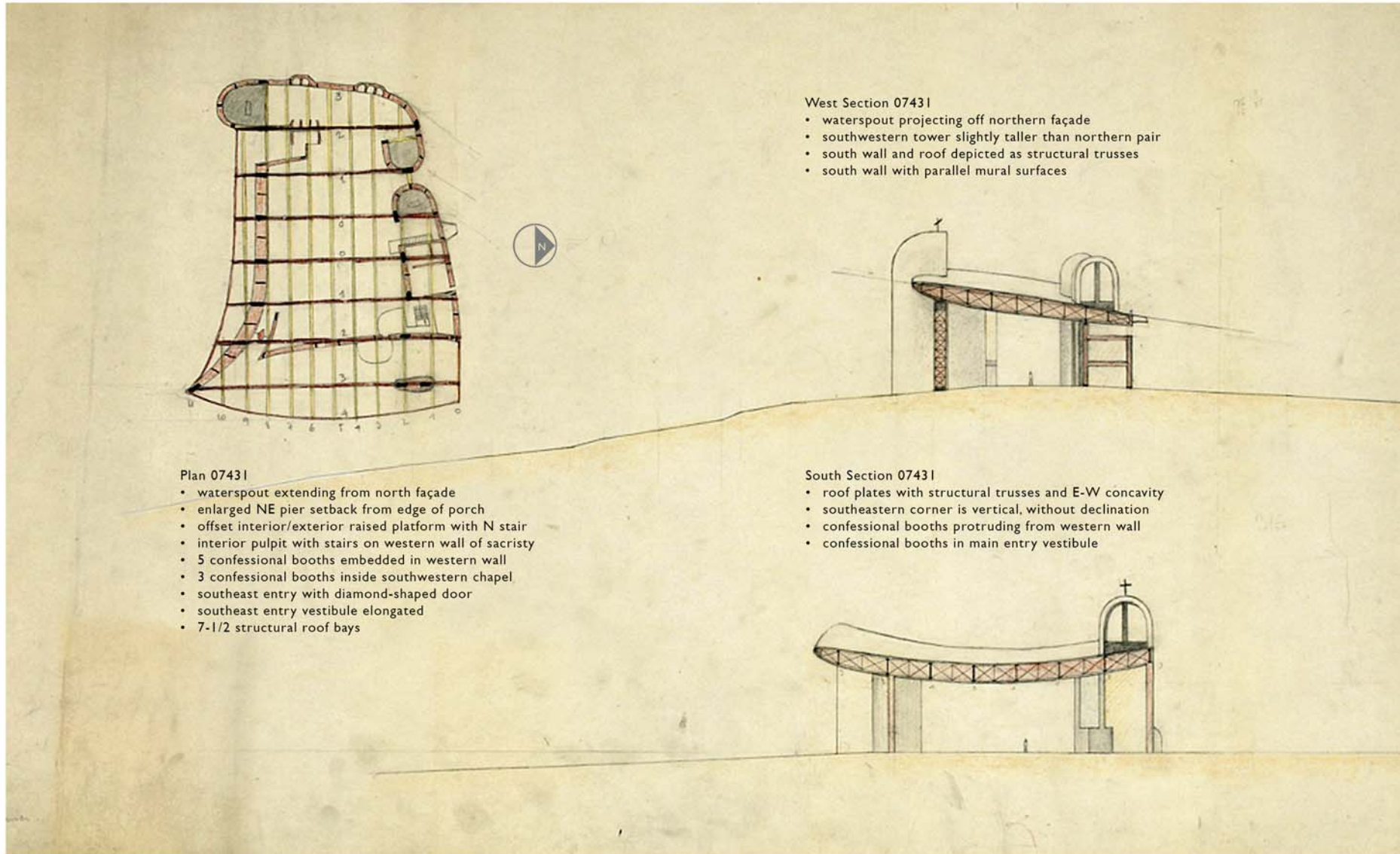


FIGURE 6.26

Phase IV: André Maisonnier, Structural Studies 07431, annotated 'le 19 juillet 50' (© FLC-ADAGP)
 Plan 07431 is based on Plan 07432, adding several new features such as the protruding confessional booths.
 South Section 07431 provides the earliest datable evidence of east-west roof concavity.

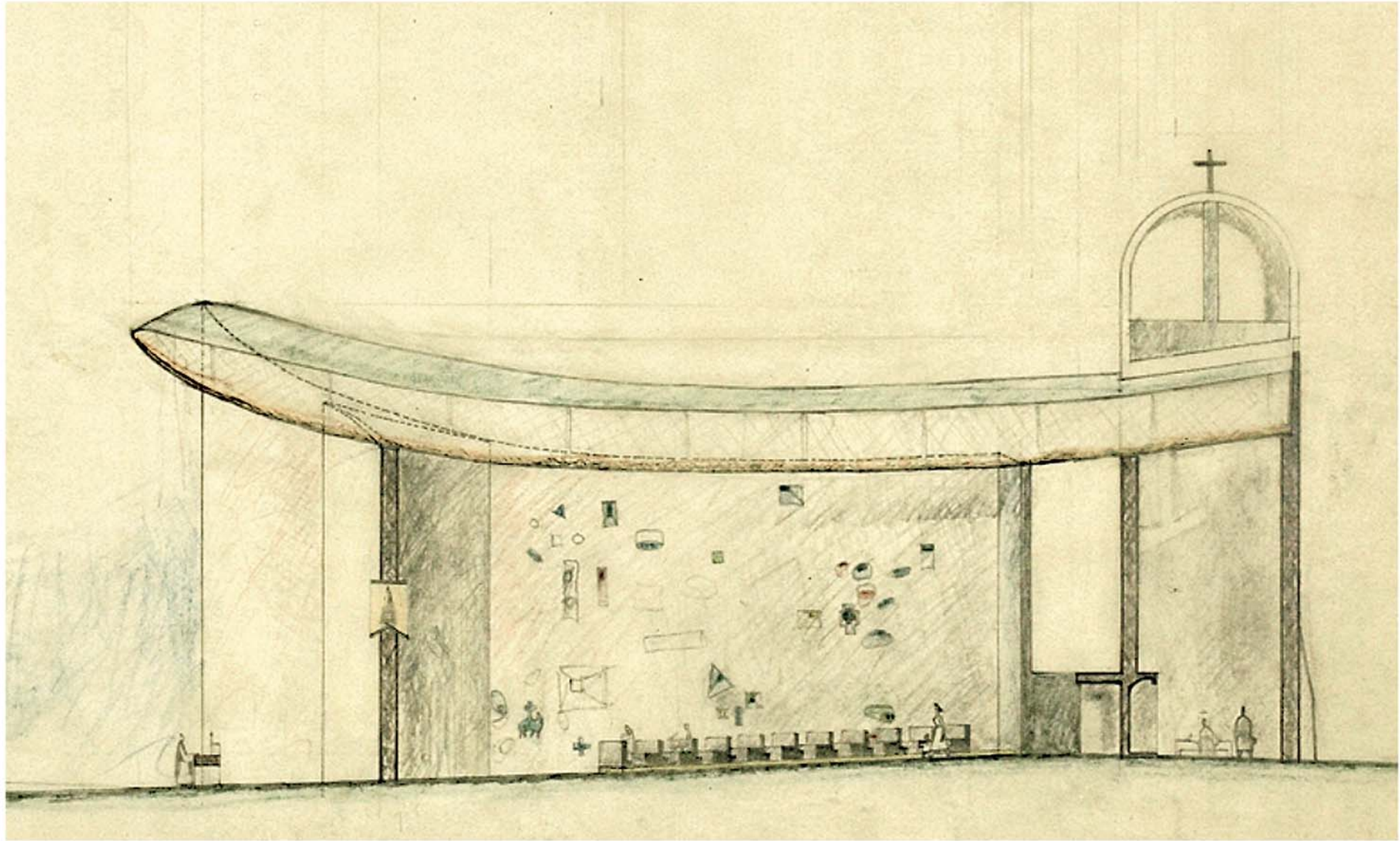


FIGURE 6.27

Phase IV: André Maisonnier, South Section 07474, detail, undated (© FLC-ADAGP)

The southwestern tower was repeatedly raised and lowered during this stage of design.

Confessional booths are shown at the base of the tower; schematic fenestration is shown on the south wall.

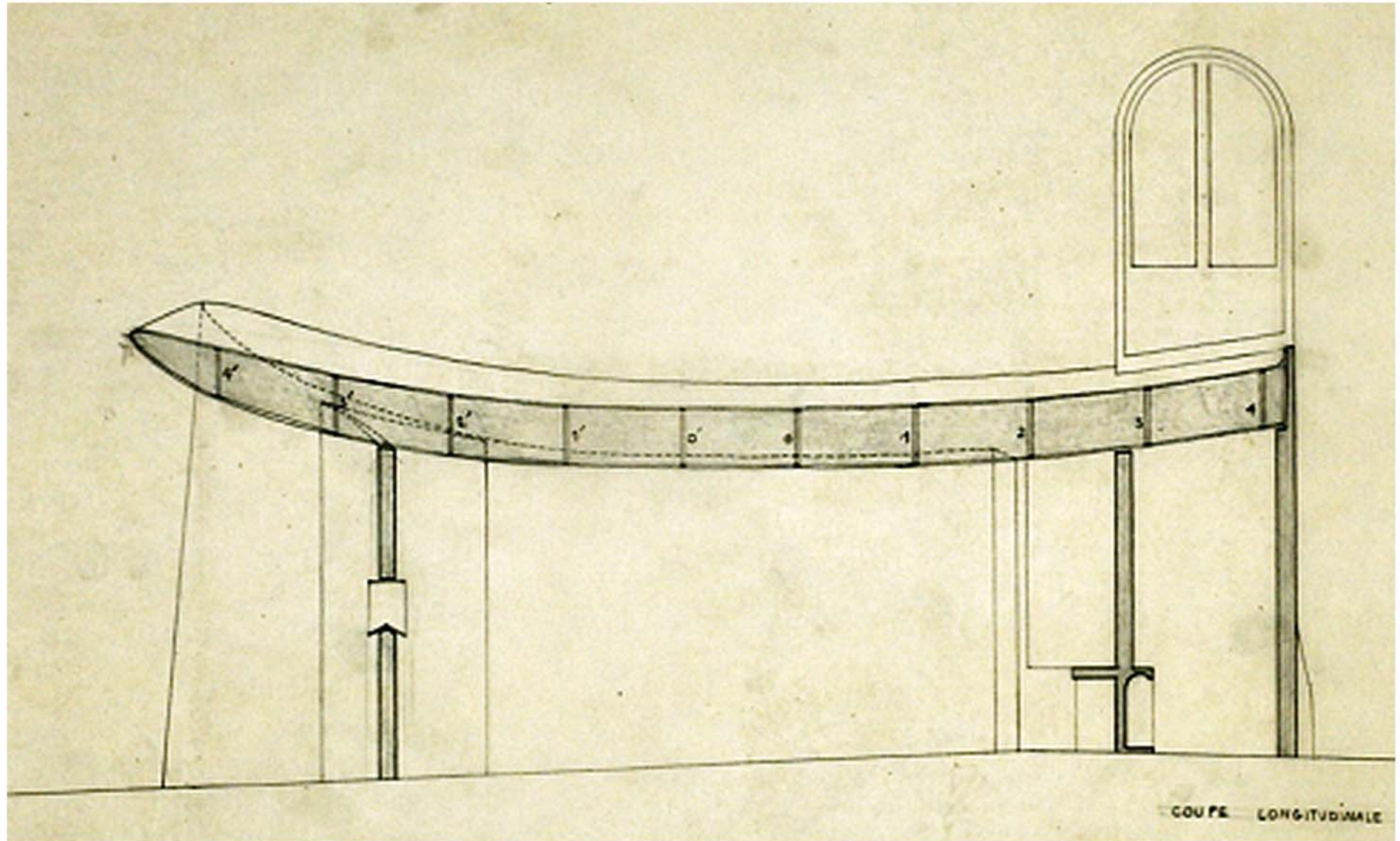


FIGURE 6.28

Phase IV: André Maisonnier, South Section 07116, detail, 30 October 1950 (© FLC-ADAGP)
The southwestern tower is tall; the southeastern corner is shown with inward declination.
Note the complex projective geometry of the warped plane between the lower roof plate and the walls.

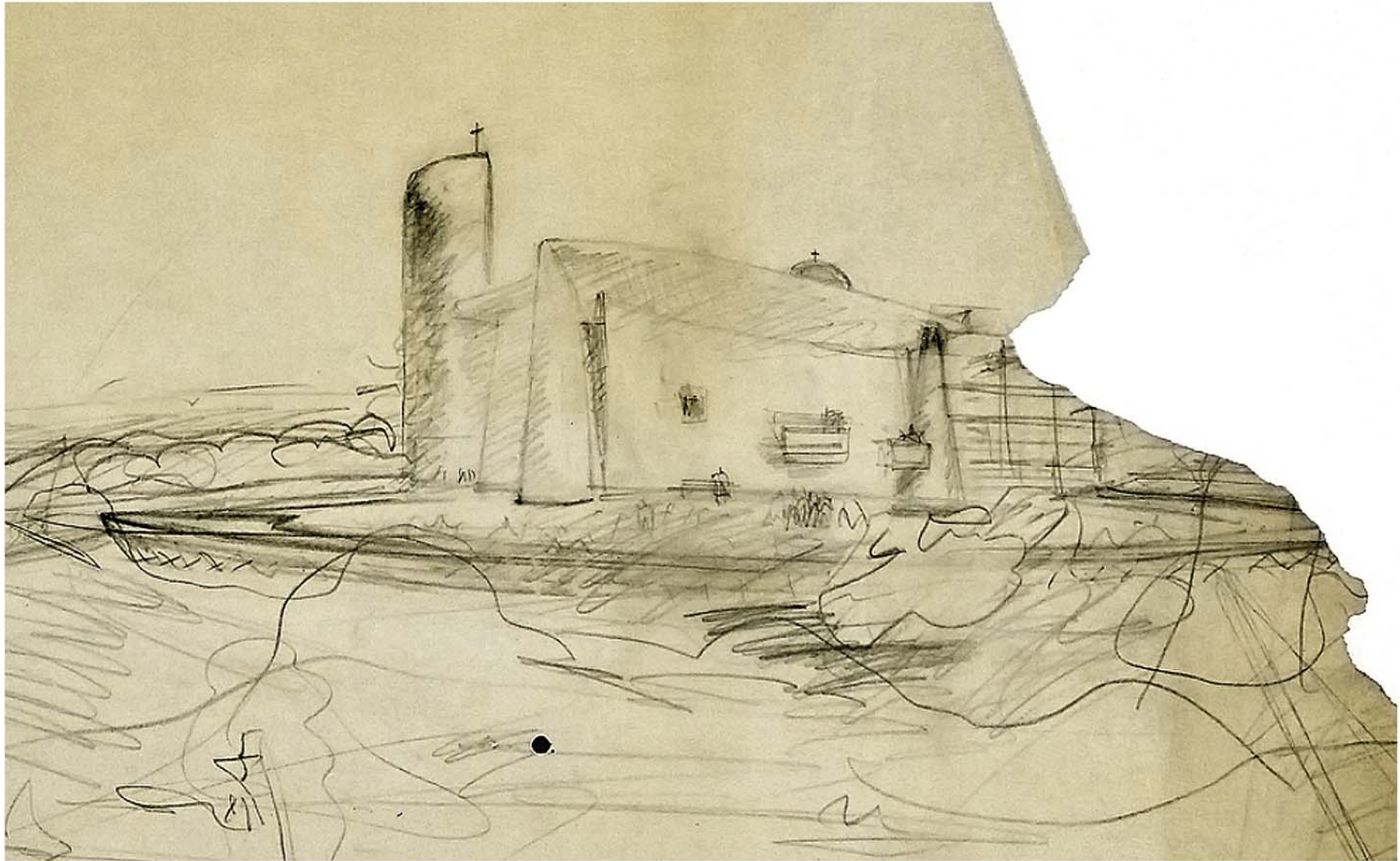


FIGURE 6.29

Phase IV: André Maisonnier, Exterior Perspective 07407, detail, undated (© FLC-ADAGP)
The southeast corner is shown with inward declination; the northeastern pier is cone-shaped.

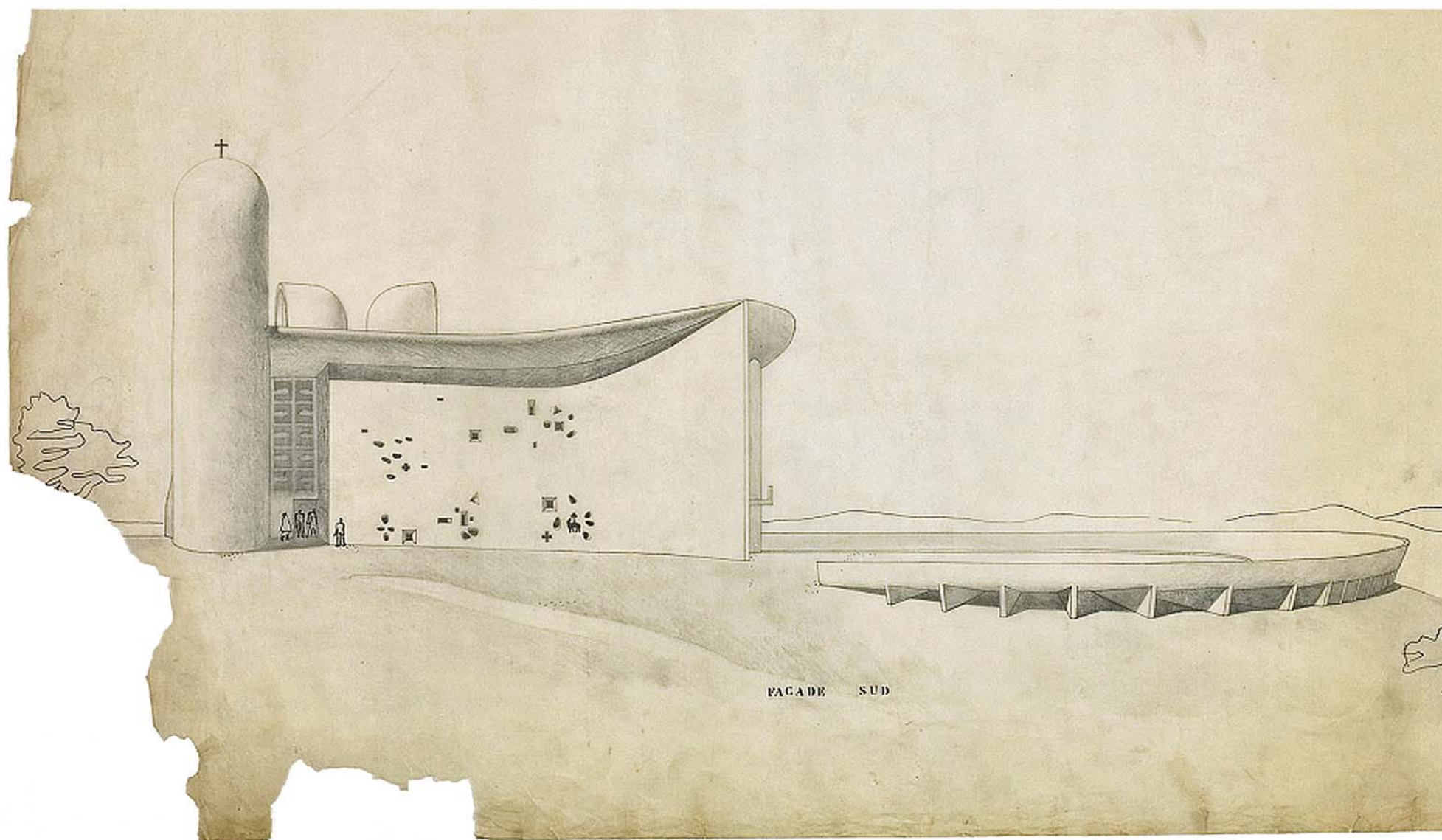


FIGURE 6.30

Phase IV: André Maisonnier, South Elevation 07111, detail, 22 November 1950 (© FLC-ADAGP)
Part of a complete drawing set presented to the Dominican patrons in November 1950 and January 1951.
The concrete esplanade creates visual separation from the landscape and highlights the distant horizon.

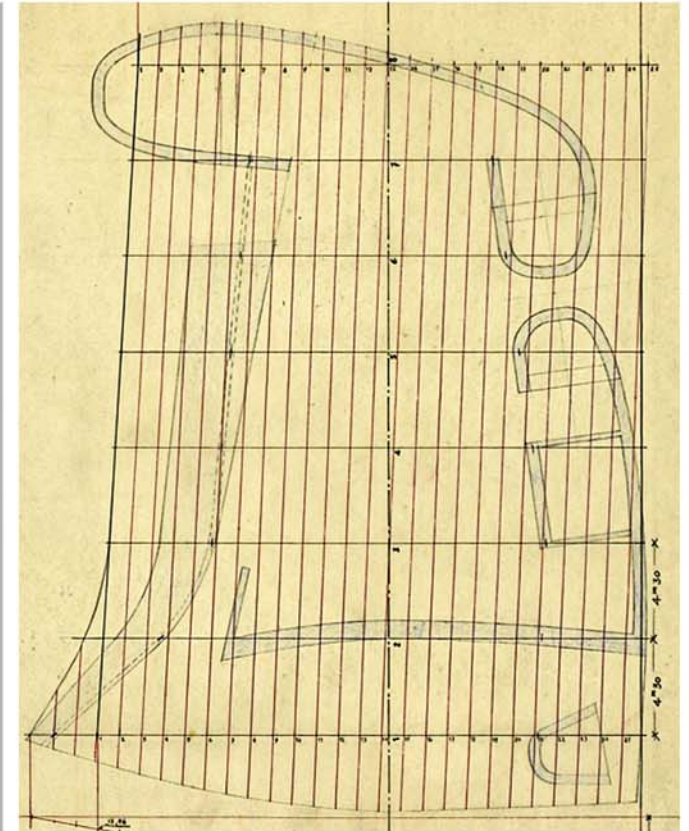
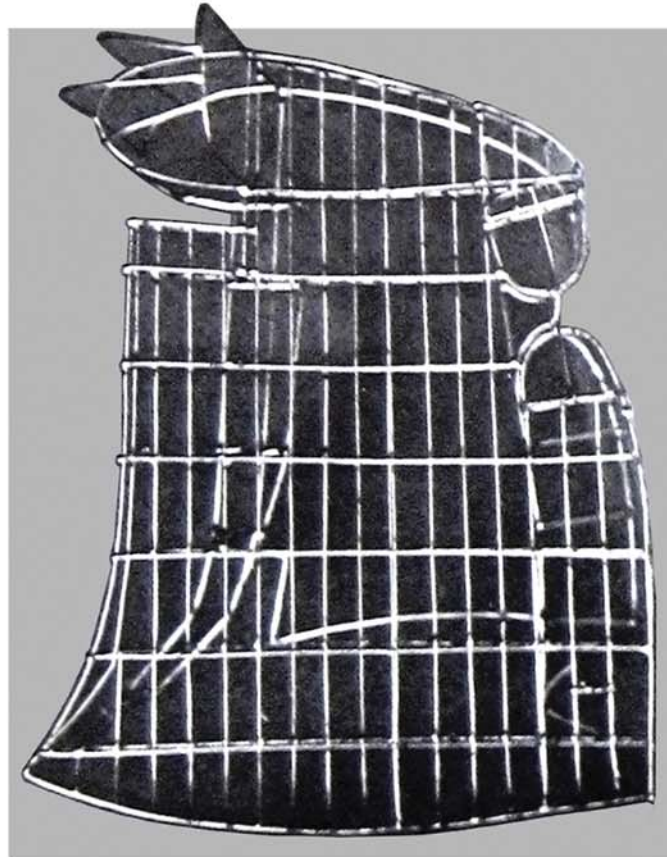
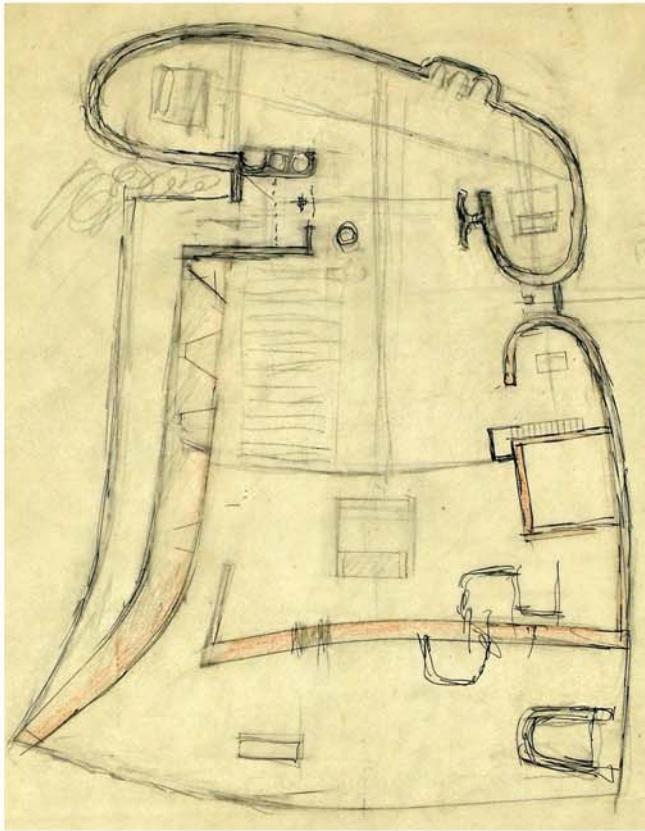
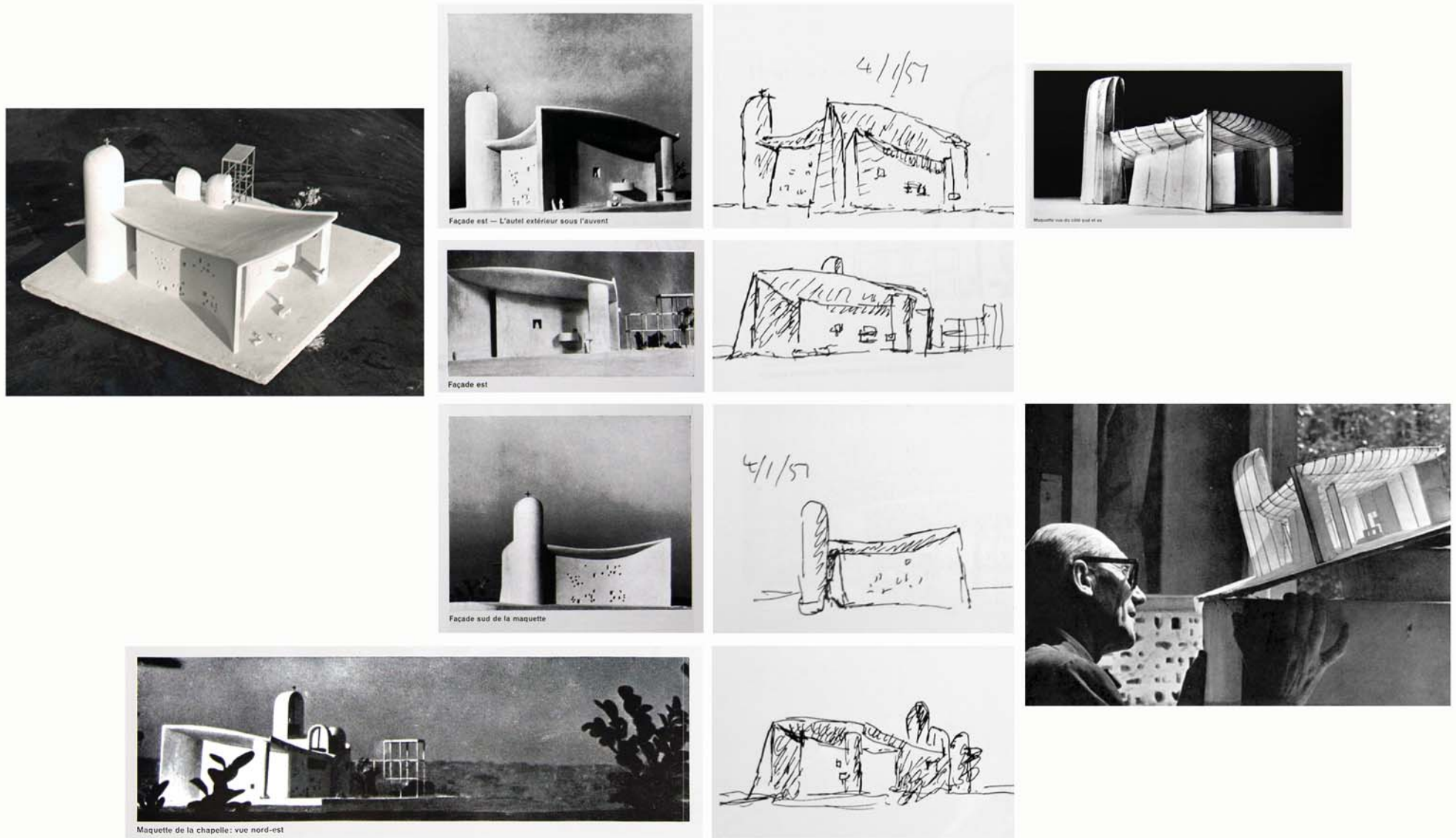


FIGURE 6.31

Phase V:
left:
center:
right:

Transformation of the ground plan; new model in paper and wire.
Le Corbusier, Plan 07415, detail, 31 January 1951 (© FLC-ADAGP)
André Maisonnier, Structural model, February 1951 (Boesiger 1953: 96)
André Maisonnier, Roof Plan 07473, detail, 31 March 1951 (© FLC-ADAGP)



Photos of the plaster model, November 1950, *Œuvre complète* v. 5, pp. 88-98

LC, design sketches, 4 January 1951

Paper & wire model, Feb 1951, *Œuvre complète*, p. 97

FIGURE 6.32

Phases IV & V: Le Corbusier and André Maisonnier, models and sketches

left: André Maisonnier, plaster model, November 1950 (FLC L3-211-001; © FLC-ADAGP)

center: Le Corbusier, sketches after the plaster model, 4 January 1951 (Boesiger 1953: 91)

right: André Maisonnier, paper and wire model, February 1951 (FLC L3-2-1; © FLC-ADAGP)



Pas une minute je n'ai eu l'idée de faire objet d'étonnement. Ma préparation ? Une sympathie pour autrui, pour inconnu, et une vie qui s'est écoulée dans les brutalités de l'existence, les méchancetés, l'égoïsme, les lâchetés, les trivialités mais aussi tant de gentillesse, de bonté, de courage, d'élan, de sourire, de soleil, de ciel. Et un choix résultant : le goût, le besoin du vrai. Ronchamp ? Contact avec un site, situation dans un lieu, éloquence du lieu, parole adressée au lieu. Aux quatre horizons.

20

La Chapelle ? Un vase de silence, de douceur.

Un désir : oui ! par le langage de l'architecture atteindre aux sentiments ici évoqués.

Oui, de l'architecture seule. Car l'architecture est la synthèse des arts majeurs. L'architecture est forme, volumes, couleur, acoustique, musique.

Trois temps à cette aventure :

1° S'intégrer dans le site ;

2° Naissance « spontanée » (après incubation) de la totalité de l'ouvrage, en une fois, d'un coup ;

3° La lente exécution des dessins, du dessein, des plans et de la construction même ;

et

4° L'ouvrage achevé, la vie est impliquée dans l'œuvre, totalement engagée dans une synthèse des sentiments et des moyens matériels de réalisation.

Il me reste encore une idée pour parachever Ronchamp : c'est que la musique vienne (sans auditeur, s'il le fallait même), la musique automatique émanant de la chapelle à des heures régulières et s'adressant, au dedans comme au dehors, à l'auditeur inconnu éventuel.

LE CORBUSIER

21

FIGURE 6.33

Le Corbusier, untitled, in *La Chapelle Notre Dame du Haut, Ronchamp*. *Le Corbusier* (Petit 1956: 20-1)

PUBLICATIONS BY CHARLES-ÉDOUARD JEANNERET-GRIS, dit LE CORBUSIER

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ABBREVIATIONS

AAS	Acta Apostolicae Sedis, Vatican
ACA	Assemblée des Cardinaux et Archevêques, France
ADB	Archives diocésaines de Besançon
Albert	Albert Jeanneret (1886-1973), Le Corbusier's brother
AN	Archives Nationales, Paris
AONDH	Association de l'Œuvre de Notre-Dame du Haut, Ronchamp
AS	L'Art Sacré
ASCORAL	Assemblée de constructeurs pour une rénovation architecturale
CIAM	Congrès internationaux d'architecture moderne
CAM	Centre d'archives Maritain, Kolbsheim
CDAS	Commission diocésaine d'art sacré
CDL	Comité départemental de libération
CEHCI	Comité d'études de l'habitation et de la construction immobilière
CEHUP	Comité d'études de l'habitation et d'urbanisme de Paris
CEPU	Centre d'études préparatoires de l'urbanisme
CES	Centre d'études du Saulchoir, Paris
CFLN	Comité français de la libération nationale
CNR	Conseil national de la Résistance
CPL	Centre Pastoral Liturgique
ESS	Europe Saint-Siège
FFEPH	Fondation française pour l'étude des problèmes humains
FFI	Forces françaises de l'intérieur
FLC	Fondation Le Corbusier, Paris
GPRF	Gouvernement provisoire de la République française
INED	Institut national d'études démographiques, Paris
JNDH	Journal de Notre-Dame du Haut
JO	Journal officiel
JORF	Journal officiel de la République française
LC	Le Corbusier (1887-1965)
Marguerite	Marguerite Tjader Harris (1901-1986), Le Corbusier's mistress
Marie	Marie Charlotte Amélie Jeanneret-Perret (1860-1960), Le Corbusier's mother
MOMA	Museum of Modern Art, New York
MRP	Mouvement républicain populaire
NARA	National Archives and Records Administration
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
OKW	Oberkommando der Wehrmacht
OMGUS	Office of Military Government, United States
PSF	Parti social français
STO	Service du travail obligatoire
Yvonne	Yvonne Gallis (1892-1957), Le Corbusier's wife

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Marguerite Huré, Saint Francis of Assisi (AS n. 42, 1939, p. 184)
Jean Hébert-Stevens, Saint Helena (AS n. 36, 1938, p. 346)
- 1.05 Jean-Charles Moreux, Chapel Notre-Dame-du Haut, Ronchamp, 1949 (© AONDH)
- 1.06 Alexis Carrel, *L'homme, cet inconnu*, 1936, pp. 194-50, 243 (© FLC-ADAGP)
- 1.07 Marie-Alain Couturier, 'Pour les yeux' (AS n. 5-6, Jan-Feb 1950, p. 3-4, 23)
- 1.08 LC, 'Urbanisation de Saint-Gaudens', *OC v. 4, 1938-1946* (Boesiger 1957: 163, © de Gruyter)
- 1.09 LC, Project for Cathedral of Saint-Dié, June 1948 (© FLC-ADAGP)
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- 3.01 'La Chapelle de Ronchamp', *OC v. 5, 1946-1952, 1st ed.* (Boesiger 1953: 30, © de Gruyter)
- 3.02 'La Chapelle de Ronchamp', *OC v. 5, 1946-1952, 1st ed.* (Boesiger 1953: 88-98, © de Gruyter)
- 3.03 'La Chapelle de Ronchamp', *OC v. 5, 1946-1952, 1st ed.* (Boesiger 1953: 90, © de Gruyter)
- 3.04 'La Chapelle de Ronchamp', *OC v. 5, 1946-1952, 1st ed.* (Boesiger 1953: 90, © de Gruyter)
- 3.05 'La Chapelle de Ronchamp', *OC v. 5, 1946-1952, 1st ed.* (Boesiger 1953: 91, © de Gruyter)
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- 3.07 'La Chapelle de Ronchamp', *OC v. 5, 1946-1952, 1st ed.* (Boesiger 1953: 92-3, © de Gruyter)
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- 3.09 'La Chapelle de Ronchamp', *OC v. 5, 1946-1952, 1st ed.* (Boesiger 1953: 88, © de Gruyter)
- 3.10 'La Chapelle de Ronchamp', *OC v. 5, 1946-1952, 1st ed.* (Boesiger 1953: 91, © de Gruyter)
- 3.11 'La Chapelle de Ronchamp', *OC v. 5, 1946-1952, 1st ed.* (Boesiger 1953: 96, © de Gruyter)
- 3.12 'La Chapelle de Ronchamp', *OC v. 5, 1946-1952, 1st ed.* (Boesiger 1953: 96, © de Gruyter)
- 3.13 'La Chapelle de Ronchamp', *OC v. 5, 1946-1952, 1st ed.* (Boesiger 1953: 96-8, © de Gruyter)
- 3.14 'La Chapelle de Ronchamp', *OC v. 5, 1946-1952, 1st ed.*, mock-up (© FLC-ADAGP)
- 3.15 'La Chapelle de Ronchamp', manuscript, March 1953 (FLC A3-7-176, © FLC-ADAGP)
- 3.16 'La Chapelle de Ronchamp', manuscript, March 1953 (FLC A3-7-176, © FLC-ADAGP)
- 3.17 Jeanne Heilbuth's script, examples (sources © FLC-ADAGP)
- 3.18 'Unité d'Habitation de Nantes-Rezé', *OC v. 5, 1946-1952* (Boesiger 1953: 166-7, © de Gruyter)
'L'Unité d'Habitation de Rezé', *Le Corbusier, Architecture du Bonheur* (Petit 1955: n.p.)
- 3.19 *Forces Vives*, covers of the first four editions (Petit 1952-55)
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- 4.03 *Modulor 2* (LC 1955a: 268, © de Gruyter)
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- 4.09 Costantini, 'L'Art sacré' (*La Voix diocésaine de Besançon*, 30 Dec 1954, pp. 489-90)
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- 6.06 Danièle Pauly, *Ronchamp. Lecture d'une architecture* (Pauly 1980: plates 2, 3, 8, © Éditions Ophrys)
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- 6.33 LC, untitled, *La Chapelle Notre Dame du Haut, Ronchamp* (Petit 1956: 20-1)