FIG. 1
Treviso by Jeanneret.
FLC B2(20)7.

BETWEEN "SILHOUETTE D'UNE VILLE" AND "PATRIOTISME: ANALYZING THOSE CONCEPTIONES IN "LA CONSTRUCTION DES VILLES" THROUGH THE LENS OF GEORGES DE MONTENACH'S "POUR LE VISAGE AIMÉ DE LA PATRIE"

Sayuri Hayakawa and Taji Takahiro

Abstract: This paper delves into Charles-Édouard Jeanneret's inaugural urban study *La Construction des villes*, exploring his pursuit of fostering citizens' 'local patriotism'. While Jeanneret, also known as young Le Corbusier, emphasises the importance of physical urban forms in generating this sentiment, the specific mechanism behind the emergence of local patriotism remains unclear in the manuscript. Our objective is to clarify the uniqueness and historical context of Jeanneret's thoughts on local patriotism by examining its ideological background, particularly the foundation for creating this sentiment. The key concept, the 'silhouette of a city', borrowed from Georges de Montenach, lacks specific examples or forms in Jeanneret's work. Jeanneret argues that visual clarity and its beauty form the basis for local patriotism. This abstraction, excluding the specificity of the place and translating symbolism into visual clarity, foreshadows Le Corbusier's later modernist ideas. Unlike previous interpretations of inhabitants' visual experiences, aligned with pre-modern German-speaking spatial theory, Jeanneret's description of the silhouette of a city externalises the viewing subject, applying a limited scope of the landscape aligning with contemporary French-speaking discussions. The resulting collective consciousness, shared by external observers perceiving a clear silhouette of a city, is conceptualized as local patriotism.

Keywords: *La Construction des villes*, silhouette of a city, Georges de Montenach, local patriotism, landscape.

Résumé : Cet article examine l'étude urbaine inaugurale de Charles-Édouard Jeanneret, La Construction des villes, explorant sa quête pour promouvoir le 'patriotisme' chez les citoyens. Alors que Jeanneret, souligne l'importance des formes urbaines physiques dans la génération de ce sentiment, le mécanisme spécifique derrière l'émergence du patriotisme reste flou dans le manuscrit. Notre objectif est de clarifier l'unicité et le contexte historique des pensées de Jeanneret sur le patriotisme en examinant son contexte idéologique, en particulier les fondements de la création de ce sentiment. Le concept clé, la 'silhouette d'une ville', emprunté à Georges de Montenach, manque d'exemples ou de formes spécifiques dans l'œuvre de Jeanneret. Selon Jeanneret, la clarté visuelle et la beauté constituent la base du patriotisme. Cette abstraction, excluant la spécificité du lieu et traduisant le symbolisme en clarté visuelle, préfigure les idées modernistes de Le Corbusier. Contrairement aux interprétations précédentes des expériences visuelles des habitants, alignées sur la théorie spatiale germanophone prémoderne, la description de Jeanneret de la silhouette d'une ville externalise le sujet regardant, appliquant une portée limitée du paysage en accord avec les discussions francophones contemporaines. La conscience collective résultante, partagée par les observateurs externes percevant une silhouette claire d'une ville, est conceptualisée comme du patriotisme.

Mots clés : La Construction des villes, silhouette d'une ville, Georges de Montenach, patriotisme, paysage.

Resumen: Este artículo examina el estudio inicial sobre la ciudad de Charles-Édouard Jeanneret, *La Construction des villes*, y su esfuerzo por fomentar el 'patriotismo' ciudadano. Aunque Jeanneret destaca la importancia de las formas urbanas para generar este sentimiento, el mecanismo específico que subyace en la aparición del patriotismo local sigue sin estar claro en el manuscrito. Nuestro objetivo es aclarar la singularidad y el contexto histórico de las ideas de Jeanneret sobre el patriotismo, examinando su trasfondo ideológico y los fundamentos para crear este sentimiento. El concepto clave, la 'silueta de una ciudad', tomado de Georges de Montenach, carece de formas o ejemplos específicos en la obra de Jeanneret. Jeanneret argumenta que la claridad visual y la belleza son fundamentales para el patriotismo local. Esta abstracción, excluyendo la especificidad del lugar y traduciendo el simbolismo en claridad visual, prefigura las ideas modernas de Le Corbusier. A diferencia de las interpretaciones anteriores de las experiencias visuales de los habitantes, la descripción que hace Jeanneret de la silueta de una ciudad externaliza al sujeto observador, aplicando un enfoque limitado del paisaje en línea con los debates franceses contemporáneos. La conciencia colectiva resultante, compartida por los observadores externos que perciben una silueta clara de una ciudad, se conceptualiza como patriotismo local.

Palabras clave: La Construction des villes, silueta de una ciudad, Georges de Montenach, patriotismo, paisaje.
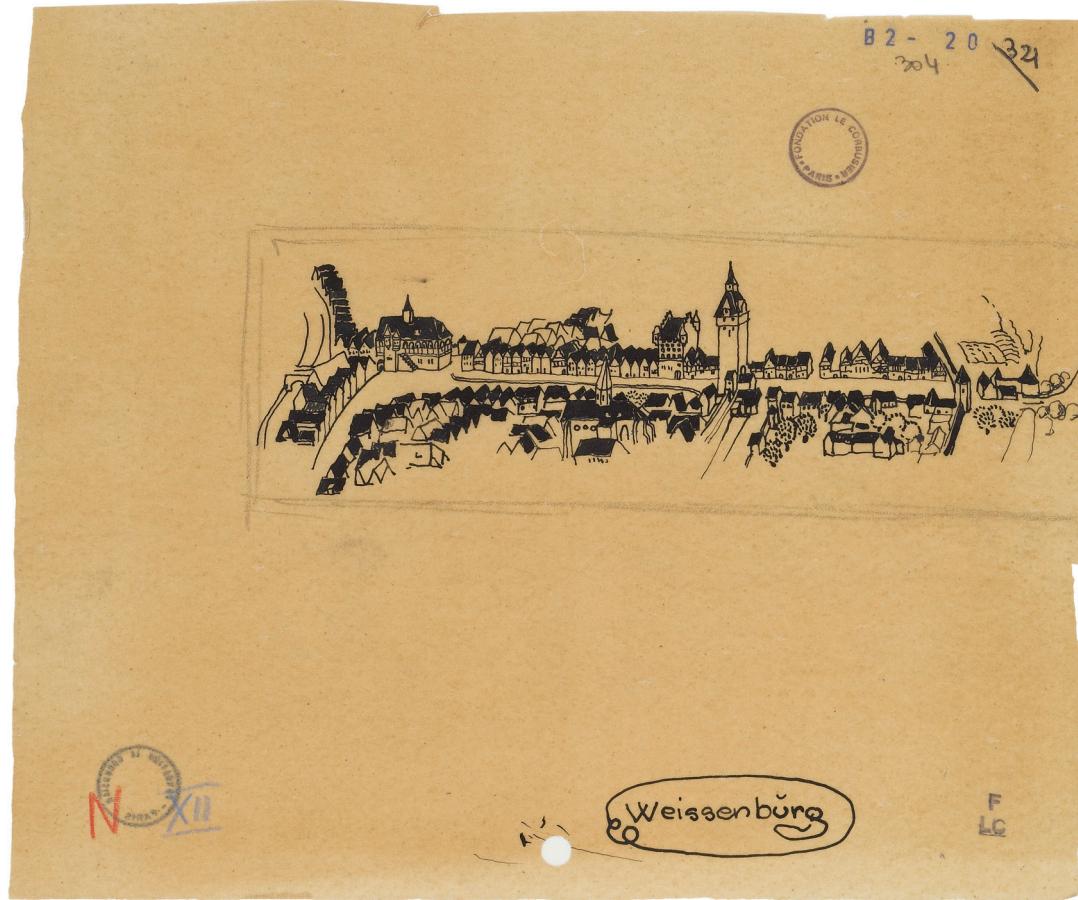
FIG. 2
Weissenburg by Jeanneret (fragment) after Mathäus Merian, Topographia Alsatiae. Frankfurt: Johann Georg Spörlins, 1647. Source: FLC B2(20)304.

Introduction

Background to the study

La Construction des villes was the first urban study written by Charles-Édouard Jeanneret, the young man who eventually began calling himself Le Corbusier on the advice of his teacher Charles L'Éplattenier. Jeanneret began drafting *La Construction des villes* in 1910 and continued the work until around March 1911, after which he left it unfinished for about four years[1]. Jeanneret completed some re-editing in 1915, but after a breakdown with his mentor, he left the draft unfinished.

Later, in 1922, Le Corbusier presented "Ville Contemporaine", a city planned for three million inhabitants. This modern city plan, with its geometrically arranged skyscrapers, had major impact. As Le Corbusier's first urban study, which expresses the urban ideas of his formative years (the early Jeanneret period) that would eventually lead to such sensational urban planning, *La Construction des villes* is an important draft, left unaccounted for, for many years. Eventually, H. Allen Brooks discovered it and published an overview in 1982[2]. Marc-Albert Émery followed with a more detailed analysis of the draft's formation, sorted the text and illustrations and published a transcription in 1992[3]. More recently, Schnoor discovered a further new draft, which he published in 2008 and then in English in 2020[4]. Schnoor has further elaborated on the writing process, noted a number of Jeanneret's references in the drafting process and closely analysed how the draft reflects those references.
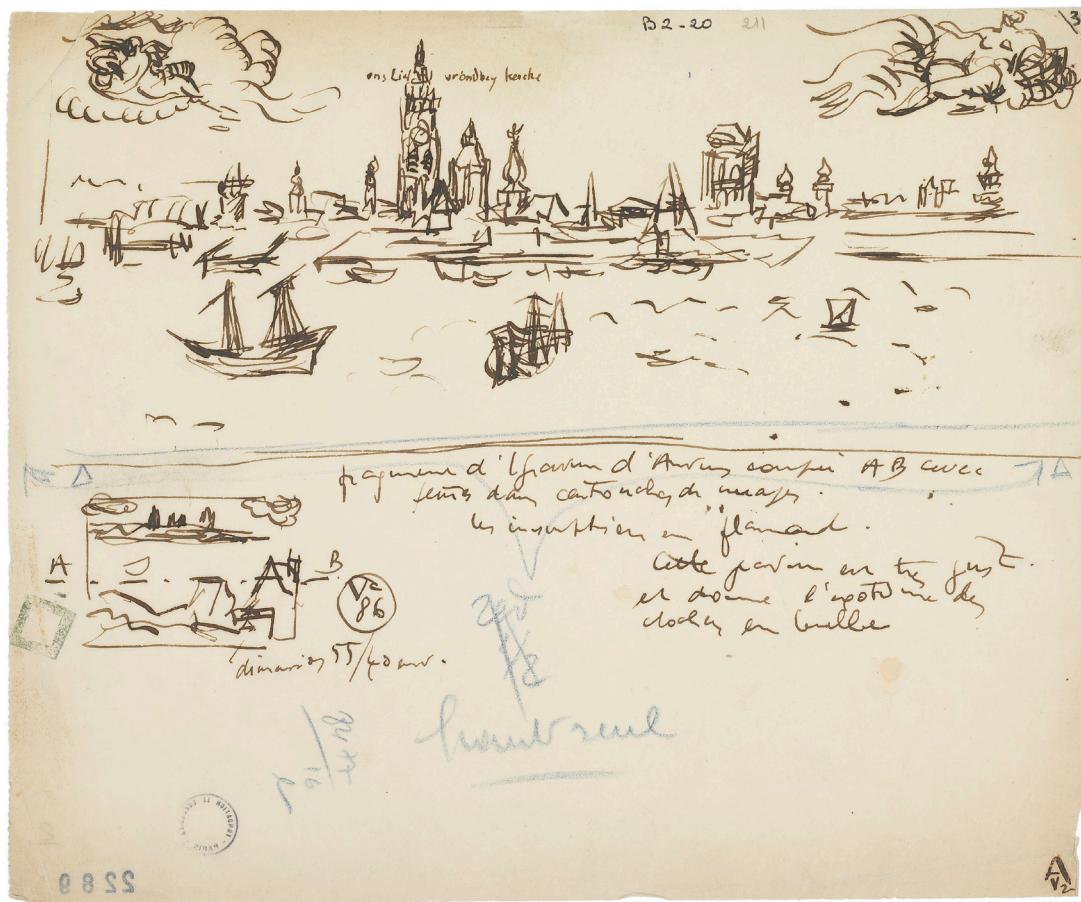
FIG. 2
Anvers by Jeanneret.
FLC B2(20)211.

Knowledge of Jeanneret's writing process and clarification of references have progressed as mentioned above. However, the manuscript itself remains incomplete, with numerous sections lacking systematic descriptions, including cases inserted in a scattered manner. Therefore, gaining comprehensive understanding of the content has not been easy. Nevertheless, through the research of Hayakawa and Taji[5], progress has occurred in elucidating and systematizing the manuscript's content, specifically the design theory of urban elements or 'urban morphology'. Furthermore, Hayakawa and Taji's research has revealed that the ultimate goal of urban morphology theory is creation of 'local patriotism'[6].

However, his early manuscript does not adequately discuss the logic behind local patriotism's emergence from the design theory of physical urban forms such as streets and squares. The mechanism by which 'local patriotism' arises from form is lacking, making it difficult to comprehend even after reading the manuscript.

Objectives and methods of the study

In this paper, we aim to clarify the uniqueness and historical context of Jeanneret's thought on local patriotism by investigating its ideological background, focusing particularly on how he discusses the basis for this sentiment's creation.

More specifically, this paper analyses the draft of *La Construction des villes* edited and reprinted by Schnoor[7], providing a bibliographical review to clarify the historical context in which the manuscript and Jeanneret's thought were developed, while also examining drawings by Jeanneret preserved in the Fondation Le Corbusier. First, key concepts in the discussion of the creation of local patriotism are analysed. Second, the sources of reference are investigated. Third, their historical backgrounds are identified. Finally, the uniqueness of Jeanneret's contemporary urban thought is elucidated by comparing it with this historical background.
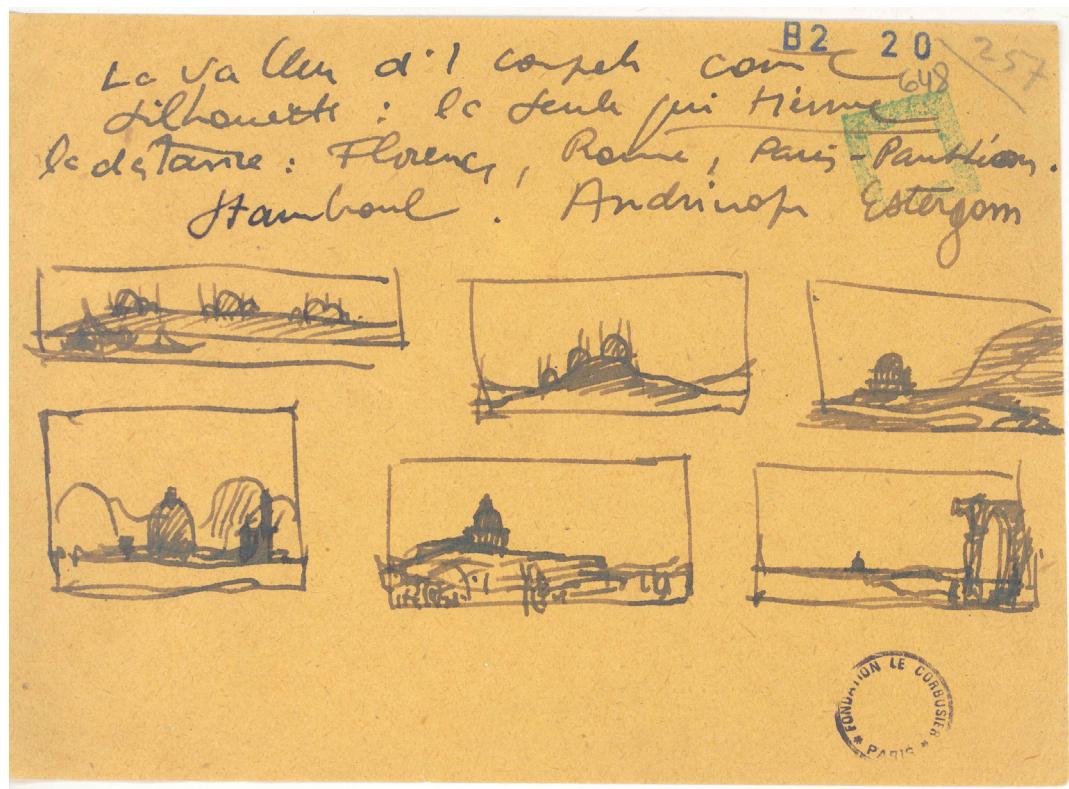
Fostering patriotism through urban perceptions

Description of the *La Construction des villes*

In Schnoor's reconstructed 1910 draft of *La Construction des villes*, the table of contents lists two parts, the first overviewing the city and urban morphology. The second, dedicated to Jeanneret's hometown of La Chaux-de-Fonds, presents a case study of urban morphology as developed in the first part. The description of the creation of 'local patriotism' is particularly interesting in Part I, Chapter 3, "Des Moyens possibles": after discussing a city's entirety as "the *silhouette* of a city"[8], Jeanneret describes a group of buildings gathered on undulating terrain by using such French sculptural terms as "cube", "bloc", and "modelé".

For instance, Jeanneret, likening architecture to sculpture, argues that if the blocks themselves are not beautiful, they are "unable to elicit *Beauty*"[9] and that even if a building is magnificent, when placed "on an ugly pedestal"[10], it "would never generate emotion"[11]. In this way, he connects physical architecture and the assembly of buildings into a city with psychological emotions. He then expresses the hope that beauty can be found in the sculptural mass and that local patriotism can be created.

> "Alors naîtrait enfin en 1 bloc puissant cette beauté, partout admiré ds les villes célèbres: la variété dans l'unité imposante. Les dimensions deviendraient ainsi colossales de ce cube aux multiples fins. La ville aurait de nouveau son acropole, de nouveau sa piazzetta, de nouveau sa Burg, cela __ __ __ __ (...) une ville pourrait être fière d'elle-même. Alors reparaîtrait le vrai patriotisme, celui qui a des racines faites de réalité et non de vieux radotages"[12].

This explanation makes it apparent that the various undulating concrete forms are translated into visual clarity through the idea of the silhouette of a city, which is then regarded as beauty and thus linked to creation of local patriotism[13]. Consequently, the silhouette of a city serves as a key factor in creation of local patriotism—which can be found in a letter to Auguste Perret on 16th August 1914, along with the notion of conflicts within Switzerland comprising several spoken languages, such as Romance and Alemannic German, as Cohen also mentions[14].

As Schnoor notes[15], the expression 'silhouette d'une ville' is taken from the Swiss writer Georges de Montenach's book *Pour le visage aimé de la patrie*[16]. Jeanneret extracts a number of passages from this work, mainly in the chapter 'On Possible Strategies' in the draft—these excerpts remain separate, however—and in the section that Schnoor includes as 'Appendix: Material for Critical Applications II', that is, the draft for the second part 'Critical Applications: La Chaux-de-Fonds'[17]. Between the excerpts, we find Jeanneret's words about the importance of height considerations.

> "I must mention here the quest for a silhouette, which involves designating certain plots for certain buildings, with certain heights to be achieved at all costs"[18].

While acknowledging the value of "little details", he also emphasises the importance of the "general impression" of the silhouette relative to it, again extracting de Montenach's work:

> "One thing which astounds me is that this marvellous collection of interwoven lines, some at right and some at acute angles, a form which I call the silhouette of a city, is given so little consideration nowadays, is studied so insufficiently, championed so poorly.
> [...]
> The aesthetic value of a town or city lies at least as much in the general impression which it gives as in the 1,000 splendid little details there are to discover"[19].

Moreover, as these descriptive passages show, neither in the excerpt from de Montenach nor in Jeanneret's own description does he propose a specific form for the silhouette. Nor does he specify a specific place, shown by the descriptions of places' function in general, for instance, "acropole" and "burg", when discussing creation of local

patriotism. That is, Jeanneret translates the city into an abstract silhouette and he envisages visual clarity, rather than a place's historicity or ethnicity, as the general basis for local patriotism's emergence.

Notably, although not included in the Schnoor version's manuscript, sketches for *La Construction des villes* depict cupolas in various places around the world, including Istanbul, along with notes on silhouettes (Fig.3). This is reminiscent of the description of mosques in Le Corbusier's *Journey to the East*[20].

<u>Description of *Pour le visage aimé de la patrie*</u>

The author of *Pour le visage aimé de la patrie*, de Montenach, is a well-known heritage conservation advocate from Fribourg, Switzerland. His work on heritage preservation is best known for his efforts to praise and apply the German *Heimatschutz* to Switzerland; in 1915, he emphasized the importance of popular aesthetic education and presented an essay titled 'Les Musées régionaux. Contribution à l'étude du problème de l'éducation nationale', advocating for villages and towns themselves to serve social education as 'museums'[21]. He was also a member of 'la Nouvelle Société Helvétique', a conservative organisation formed in 1914 to oppose urbanisation[22].

Pour le visage aimé de la patrie, extracted by Jeanneret in *La Construction des villes*, is a 1908 work by de Montenach. According to Schnoor, however, how Jeanneret accessed the book is unclear, because in 1910, it does not appear to have been available in the library in Munich where Jeanneret was writing[23] .

In the same book, de Montenach attributed weakness of the moral sense to the ugliness of the landscape and discussed a wide range of areas such as architecture, town planning, art history and politics, with a particular focus on aesthetic education[24]. At the time, the magazine *Heimatschutz* printed a positive review about the book's focus on education for aesthetics in the urban landscape[25]. Gubler also identifies the book as de Montenach's advocacy of the Helvetic society's regeneration through a return to the local environment's natural traditions, whereas British, Belgian, and French socialism aimed for the spread of a universally acceptable Art Nouveau[26].

In *Pour le visage aimé de la patrie*, de Montenach, who argues for uplifting national consciousness in this way[27], also refers to the Alps, which have been "for the Swiss people, a land of rejuvenation where they have been refreshed and revitalized" and where their "original virtues are reinvigorated"[28], as a symbol of the Swiss nation.
In de Montenach's book, the description of the silhouette of a city includes many specific examples, whether evaluated positively or negatively. Although no illustrations are used, concrete examples are, for example, the silhouette of a skyscraper formed by turrets and brick kiosks[29], the Matterhorn surrounded by a huge lift[30], and the silhouette of various movements of trees and bushes[31].

Regarding silhouettes, some descriptions emphasise a city's entirety, for instance, a "marvellous collection of interwoven lines […] a form which| call the *silhouette* of a city", extracted by Jeanneret, along with the positive description of emphasis on clarity by rejecting "vague silhouettes in an immense void", that is, empty "vide" space[32].

Other noteworthy statements include comparison of the city to the human body and the landscape (paysage) to a face, such as "muscles" and "artery"[33]:

"Comparing the city to the human body, one will see that the silhouette of a city is the essential element of the urban landscape; the silhouette is the physiognomy, the figure, the overall impression of personality"[34].

Moreover, these metaphors develop into more detailed facial descriptions. For example, landscape elements are compared to facial features such as eyes[35], showing that the landscape, like the human face, changes:

"The ancient street […] is an organism that grows naturally, and its growth makes the city […] Its growth is regular and normal; it changes features, no doubt: 'like a child taking on a man's face, but keeping its resemblance'"[36].

By comparing the city to the human body, de Montenach argues that the silhouette of a city is "the essential element of the urban landscape"[37].

Furthermore, the facial metaphor leads to the book's overall theme, expressed in the title. Ruskin, whom de Montenach quotes at the book's beginning, also compares the landscape to the human face, indicating creation of local patriotism through the landscape's beauty. In the following quotation is the expression from de Montenach's title '*le visage aimé de la patrie*' which he here emphasises with italics.

> "C'est dans la contemplation de certains horizons familiers que l'on trouvera les sources de plusieurs grandes idées qui mènent le monde et par exemple les sources même du patriotisme.
> *Le paysage est le visage aimé de la mère-patrie.* Plus cette vision sera belle, plus on aimera la patrie dont elle est l'image. […] JOHN RUSKIN"[38].

Physiognomic Understanding of Landscape and the Uniqueness of Jeanneret's Philosophy

<u>Landscape protection as national heritage</u>

At the time, had others compared the city to the human face? Next, we review the relationship between physiognomy and the city as background to de Montenach's theory.

Sociology has long used organic analogies. For example, the organic theory of the state views the state as a kind of organism; this analogy's origins can be traced to ancient Greece. The idea of architecture and cities as organisms emerged not only in sociology, but also in geography and biology. In geography, for example, a physiognomic understanding of the landscape emerged.

Physiognomics was originally a method of deciphering the human body's features, especially the face, to determine its owner's character. This concept was most popular from 1775 to 1810, when the Swiss Calvinist pastor Johann Caspar Lavater's (1741–1801) four-volume *Physiognomische Fragmente, zur Beförderung der Menschenkenntniß und Menschenliebe* (1775–1778) was read throughout Europe . Around 1800, physiognomic thinking evolved from Lavater's physiognomy of the human to Alexander von Humboldt's (1769–1859) physiognomic understanding of landscape. Thus, a shift occurred from reading physiognomy to reading landscape[40]. In particular, Humboldt defined the concept of the Naturdenkmal in 1814[41]. This meant that nature soon became an object to be protected.

FIG. 4
Breisach by Merian.
Source: Matthius Merian, *Topographia Germaniae, vol. 14: Topographia Alsatiae, &c. Completa, Das ist, Vollkömliche Beschreibung und eygentliche Abbildung der vornehmbsten Städt und Oerther, im Obern und Untern Elsaß, auch den benachbarten Sundgöw, Brißgöw, Graffschafft Mümpelgart, und andern Gegenden* (Frankfurt/Main: Merian Erben, 1663. Reprint: Kassel/Basel: Bärenreiter, 1964.), S. 6.
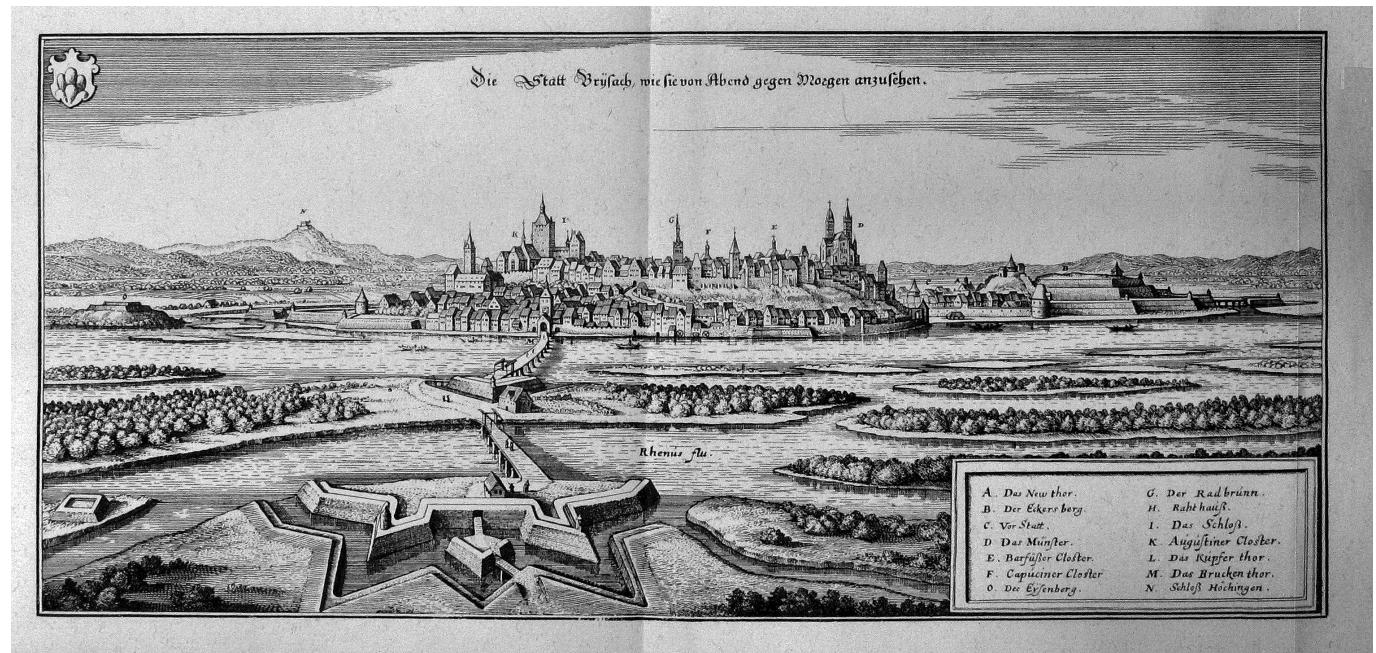
Initially, only historic buildings became objects of legal protection, but by the beginning of the 20th century, landscapes were also formally protected[42]. In the German, French and English-speaking worlds, the aim was to create patriotism through landscapes, and nature conservation organisations also emerged in these countries[43]. In particular, de Montenach, who sympathised with the German *Heimatschutz*, introduced the term in German without translating it into French[44].

In this vein, Ruskin's text on patriotism and faces, which de Montenach included in his book's beginning, was frequently referenced in legislation aimed at protecting landscapes in France, for instance, establishment of the 'loi du 21 avril 1906 organisant la protection des sites et monuments naturels de caractère artistique', known as 'loi Beauquier'[45]. De Montenach is considered to have extended this concept of landscape to the city[46]. In other words, fostering patriotism through aesthetic landscapes was the norm at the time[47]. and it was a time when the object of finding beauty was being extended from nature to the city.

According to Vonau and Walter, the German term 'Naturdenkmal' had a geographical criterion of scarcity judged from the geographical context, even after it was redefined (post Humboldt) by German botanist Hugo Conwenz (1855–1922). In contrast, in France, where 'Naturdenkmal' was accepted as the term 'monument naturel', the geographical criterion disappeared and the definition became more ambiguous than in German; the French term

'monument naturel' was replaced by such words as 'paysage' and 'site', which visually limit natural areas. Vonau, quoting from the 'Société pour la protection des paysages de France', attributes the choice of these pictorial terms to early French environmentalists' visual sensitivity and pictorial sensibility[48]. As such, the treatment of landscape in Germany and France differed slightly.

Moreover, Montenach's writings reflect the French visual perspective on landscape. For example, de Montenach quotes from the essay 'L'art à l'exposition de 1900' (1900) by Robert de la Sizeranne, known for his Ruskin studies, in which he refers to silhouettes of monuments as "la tache heureuse" that provide visual surprises[49]. Elsewhere, de Montenach argues for aesthetic impressions in familiar landscapes, citing the expression "Ouvrons les Yeux" by Swiss architect Guillaume Fatio[50].

De Montenach's physiognomic view of the city does indeed include a geographical perspective. However, de Montenach does not argue for the geographical scarcity on which the German 'Naturdenkmal' was based, but rather quotes the French geographer Jean Brunhes' argument that cities should be seen as "*un fait matériel recouvrant d'une certaine manière une portion du sol terrestre*"[51] and urban physiognomy as a surface phenomenon. Taking this into consideration, then, in envisioning physiognomy as a visible manifestation, de Montanach's philosophy corresponded to the treatment of visual landscapes in French-speaking regions. This is evident in his combination of Ruskin's concept of expressing landscapes (paysage) as faces (visage) and Brunhes' geographical approach to cities as material facts covering the surface of the earth, dealing with the physiognomy of the city as a surface phenomenon.

As Queffélec notes, however, some mountains and hills, for example, la butte de Sion-Vaudémont, already had national symbolic value before the state stepped in to protect the landscape[52]. Many contemporary discourses denouncing the French landscape's transformations referred to Maurice Barrès' novel *La colline inspirée* (1913), which, revolving particularly around this hill, is the story of three monks attempting to revive the hill of Sion[53]. The novel is said to be part of this conception of the landscape, the motherland and nationalism[54]. Indeed, humans have long perceived symbolism in small hills and towering mountains and found value in places.

Historical positioning of Jeanneret's thought

How, then, can Jeanneret's ideas be considered in relation to this social context of landscape? Jeanneret's discussion of the silhouette of a city seems to correspond less to the contemporary nature conservation debates and more to the symbolic value that people have always latently found in mountains. This is because Jeanneret, referring to Matthäus Merian (1593–1650), copied a group of buildings on the Breisach hillside, describing them as "what in the Middle Ages was a spontaneous expression"[55] and noting their "admirable group"[56] (Fig.4 and Fig.5). This was the religious buildings of Breisach, built in the Middle Ages, a city that people had created and read into the place's character long before the debate on landscape protection arose[57]. And these mountains can be said to fulfil all the key points of Jeanneret's description of the silhouette, organised in 2.1 of this paper: entirety, height, and visual clarity[58].

Although Jeanneret also describes landscape protection, he applies the face analogy to architecture rather than to landscape, unlike de Montenach and contemporary French-speaking movements. In conjunction with the new movement for landscape protection, de Montenach spoke of the need for a law to protect not the "national inheritance"[59] but "the streets in a town or city, its squares, its silhouette and the pieces of natural architecture, urban or rural landscapes"[60]. Jeanneret, on the other hand, extracts this description by de Montenach[61], but cites the above as an example of a law protecting "historic monuments"[62] rather than landscapes as "*universal* heritage"[63]. Furthermore, unlike de Montenach and others, the term 'visage' is used for cathedrals and sculptures rather than landscapes[64]. This shows that the *La Construction des villes* employs the analogy of the face, used in discussions of landscape protection in the 20th century, for protection of man-made heritage, which had previously been advocated. We can also infer that urban landscape protection was just budding but not very widespread in the French-speaking world. Indeed, the group 'Pour le développement rationnel et harmonieux de Genève' proposing

urban landscape protection and established by Camille Martin, who translated Camillo Sitte's *Der Städtebau nach seinen künstlerischen Grundsätzen*, extensively referenced by Jeanneret, was founded even later than the re-editing of Jeanneret's manuscript, in 1917[55]. However, because Jeanneret uses the expression "le visage de nos Villes" in *Le Renouveau dans l'architecture* (1914) to discuss the difficulty of creating architecture that reflects Switzerland's regional character, Jeanneret's ideas around 1910 to 1915 partially correspond to the contemporary physiognomic understanding of landscape[66].

Unlike de Montenach, as mentioned previously, Jeanneret did not apply to landscape the facial analogy used in the French-speaking world. Rather, he used the entirety of the silhouette, as identified in 2.1 of this paper, as support and at the same time, excluded specificity of place to discuss visual clarity as beauty, which he regarded as the source of local patriotism. This kind of abstraction, which excludes specificity of place and translates symbolism into visual clarity, can be seen as the germ of modern thought proposing universal spaces.

Previous studies have shown that Jeanneret's dominant attitude in the urban morphology of the *La Construction des villes* was to criticise empty ('vide') spaces and to positively evaluate visual closure[67]. In this light, in the *La Construction des villes*, both in the urban morphology of the city's component elements and in the silhouette of the city's entirety, visual ambiguity is commonly criticised and clarity is emphasised and highly valued.

What differs between the two is the viewing subjects' positioning and the forms as objects. When Jeanneret discusses visual phenomena in terms of urban elements' scale, he evaluates each element's form by considering such factors as whether the line of sight in a place is obstructed[68]. This suggests the perceiving subject as inherent within the city. In contrast, when discussing an entire city's silhouette, which is a collection of these urban elements, the viewing subject is external, that is, observing from outside the city. This means that in urban morphology, each component focuses on how the subject who inhabits and experiences the place (subject interiority) perceives the form. In contrast, the city's entire silhouette is discussed as an opposing object perceived from a distance (subject exteriority). In other words, while the former discusses the sense of bodily enclosure advocated by Sitte and other pre-modern German-speaking spatial and aesthetic theories influenced by Adolf von Hildebrand, Heinrich Wölfflin, and Wilhelm Worringer[69]—Jeanneret was particularly exposed to the Worringer's *Abstraktion und Einfühlung* (1908) through August Klipstein, a Worringer protégé and a companion of Jeanneret on the Journey to the East[70]—, the latter describes the city's outlines by applying the landscape's limited scope, discussed in the French-speaking world to the city. And the latter, as a character of the visual phenomenon of externalisation the viewing subject, can create a collective consciousness shared by external observers perceiving a clear silhouette of a city—a collective consciousness discussed in the draft as local patriotism.

Worth noting is that in his later years, in discussing the roots of his key term 'organisme', Le Corbusier described the Chartreuse d'Ema, which rises as a mass on a hill, as an organism:

"1907. J'ai 19 ans. Je prends pour la première fois contact avec l'Italie. En pleine Toscane, la Chartreuse d'Ema couronnant une colline laisse voir les créneaux formés par chacune des cellules de moines à pic sur un immense mur de château fort. […] pour résoudre une grande part des problèmes humains, il faut disposer de lieux et de locaux. Et c'est de l'architecture et de l'urbanisme. La Chartreuse d'Ema était un lieu; et les locaux étaient présents, aménagés selon la plus belle biologie architecturale. La Chartreuse d'Ema est un organisme. Ce term 'organisme' avait pris naissance dans ma conscience"[71].

In this context, the concept silhouette of a city, referring to a city's entire mass comprised of morphological urban elements, may be seen as an evolutionary step from the notion of 'organisme', a concept originated in 1907 and pivotal throughout Le Corbusier's life, as evidenced by the anatomical drawings in the appendix of Urbanisme (1925), in which he likens the city to a human body[72].

Conclusion

This paper posited the silhouette of a city as key to creation of the ultimate goal of local patriotism in the *La Construction des villes* and conducted a survey of its referents and historical background. Based on the findings, the originality of Jeanneret's urban thought was clarified and historically relativised. At the time in Europe, where state intervention in nature conservation was underway, the beauty of landscapes was considered effective in creating patriotism. De Montenach, in whose work Jeanneret found the idea of a city's silhouette, also followed this line of thought, comparing the landscape to the human face and describing specific examples of silhouettes. Compared to de Montenach, Jeanneret supported consideration of the city silhouette's entirety and height but did not propose specific examples or forms. Too, he only partially used physiognomic understanding of landscape. Jeanneret was applying the contemporary idea that 'local patriotism is born out of beauty' to the city rather than the concept of nature conservation. In doing so, he argued for a place's beauty and visual clarity as bases for creation of local patriotism. This paper argues that the kind of abstraction excluding specificity of place and translating symbolism to visual clarity was the germ of modern thought. In *La Construction des villes*, the design theory of urban morphological elements proposes visual phenomena and the sense of enclosure of the subject who inhabits and experiences the place, corresponding to the pre-modern German-speaking spatial theory. In contrast, as this paper shows, in the description of the silhouette of a city, the viewing subject is external and a method of perceiving a limited range of landscapes, corresponding to the time's French-speaking discussions, was applied to the city. The collective consciousness shared by multiple viewing subjects from outside the city—viewing a clear city silhouette—was conceptualized as local patriotism.

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Notes

1 Marc-Albert Émery ed. *La construction des ville: genèse et devenir d'un ouvrage écrit de 1910 à 1915 et laissé inachevé par Charles Edouard Jeanneret-Gris dit Le Corbusier* (Lausanne: l'Age d'homme, 1992); Marc-Albert Émery, "Urbanism : Premières réflections : le manuscrit inédit de «La Construction des villes»", in *Le Corbusier, une encyclopédie*, ed. Jacques Lucan (Paris: Editions du Centre Pompidou, 1987), 432-435; Christoph Schnoor. *Le Corbusier's Practical Aesthetic of the City The treatise 'La Construction des villes' of 1910/11* (Abingdon: Oxon, New York: Routledge, 2020). Émery considers that Jeanneret stopped the manuscript writing work around November 1910, while Schnoor regards that Jeanneret ended the work for the manuscript in March 1911 when he quit working with Behrens.

2 H. Allen Brooks, "Jeanneret and Sitte. Le Corbusier's Earliest Ideas on Urban Design", in *In Search of Modern Architecture: A tribute to Henry Russell Hitchcock,* ed. Helen Searing (New York: Architectural History Foundation, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1982), 278-297.

3 Émery, *La construction des villes.*

4 Schnoor, *Practical Aesthetic*; Christoph Schnoor, *La Construction des villes. Le Corbusiers erstes städtebauliches Traktat von 1910/11* (Zurich: gta Verlag, 2008).

5 Sayuri Hayakawa and Takahiro Taji, "Theory of Urban Morphology in 'La Construction des villes' by Charles-Édouard Jeanneret (Part 1): Parti of City Blocks", *Journal of Architecture and Planning (Transactions of AIJ)* 86, no. 781 (2021): 1123-33; Hayakawa and Taji, "Theory of Urban Morphology in 'La Construction des villes' by Charles-Édouard Jeanneret (Part 2): Parti of Streets", *Journal of Architecture and Planning (Transactions of AIJ)* 86, no. 790 (2021): 2779-90; Hayakawa and Taji, "Theory of Urban Morphology in 'La Construction des villes' by Charles-Édouard Jeanneret (Part 3): Parti of Squares", *Journal of Architecture and Planning (Transactions of AIJ)* 88, no. 810 (2023): 2404-13.

6 Sayuri Hayakawa and Takahiro Taji, "Charles-Édouard Jeanneret's Local Patriotism in La Construction des villes and Erneuerungsbewegung in Germany", *Les Cahiers de la recherche architecturale, urbaine et paysagère*, no. 11 (2021), doi : 10.4000/craup.6988

7 Schnoor, *Practical Aesthetic*; Schnoor, *La Construction des villes*.

8 Schnoor, *Practical Aesthetic,* 411. Emphasis not only by de Montenach also by Jeanneret. In this paper, we quote Jeanneret's text in English from Schnoor's *Practical Aesthetic,* except when a specific idea requires citing in the original French from Schnoor's *La Construction des villes*.

9 Schnoor, *Practical Aesthetic,* 416. Emphasis by Jeanneret.

10 Schnoor, *Practical Aesthetic*, 416.

11 Schnoor, *Practical Aesthetic,* 416.

12 Schnoor, *La Construction des villes*, 476-7. See Schnoor, *Practical Aesthetic*, 186, 189, where it is noted that examples like "acropole" trace back to Theodor Fischer's lecture on "Stadterweiterungsfragen" (1903). However, Schnoor also mentions uncertainty regarding Jeanneret's awareness of Fischer's discussions while working on the chapter "Des Moyens possibles", containing the quoted text.

13 Émery, *La construction des villes*, 151-2. According to Émery, immediately following the aforementioned text, Jeanneret makes notes referencing Sitte's critique of urban layouts neglecting artistic values, suggesting that city officials might consider investing in aesthetics to cultivate local patriotism—original German 'Heimatsgefühl' or 'Lokalpatriotismus'. See Camillo Sitte, *Der Städtebau nach seinen künstlerischen Grundsätzen* (1889; repr., Base; Boston; *Berlin*: Birkhäuser, 1909), 148-149.

14 Le Corbusier, *Lettres à Auguste Perret,* ed. Marie Jeanne Dumont (Paris: Linteau, 2003), 113-6. Jean-Louis Cohen, *France ou Allemagne? Un livre inécrit de Le Corbusier* (Paris: Éditions de la Maison des sciences de l'homme, 2009), 12.

15 Schnoor, *Practical Aesthetic.*

16 Georges de Montenach. *Pour le visage aimé de la patrie. Ouvrage de propagande esthétique et sociale* (Lausanne: Sack-Reymond, 1908).

17 Schnoor, *Practical Aesthetic;* Schnoor, *La Construction des villes.*

18 Schnoor, *Practical Aesthetic,* 411.

19 Schnoor, *Practical Aesthetic,* 411; De Montenach, *Pour le visage aimé de la patrie*, 188. Emphasis not only by de Montenach also by Jeanneret.

20 Le Corbusier, *Journey to the East,* ed. Ivan Zaknic, trans. Nicole Pertuiset (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1987), 72, 83.

21 Georges de Montenach, *Les Musées regionaux. Contribution à l'etude du probleme de l'education nationale* (Fribourg: Imprimerie de L'oeuvre de Saint-Paul, 1915), 18.

22 Claire-Lise Debluë, "Économie de guerre et popularisation des savoirs en Suisse autour de 1917", *Revue d'Allemagne et des pays de langue allemande* 49, no. 2 (2017): 423-446.

23 Schnoor, *Practical Aesthetic,* 47.

24 Such moral education through beauty aligns with *Kunsterziehungsbewegung* (German art education movement), exemplified by Paul Schultze-Naumburg, who paired good and bad building and landscape examples in his work *Kurturarbeiten* to enlighten readers. See Hayakawa and Taji, "Charles-Édouard Jeanneret's Local Patriotism".

25 Edouard Diricq, "Pour le visage aimé de la patrie", *Heimatschutz* 4 (1909): 81-82.

26 Jacques Gubler, *Nationalisme et internationalisme dans l'architecture moderne de la Suisse* (Lausanne: Éditions L'Age d'homme, 1975).

27 De Montenach, *Pour le visage aimé de la patrie,* 466.

28 De Montenach, *Pour le visage aimé de la patrie,* 115. In this paper, the English translations from the book are provided by the first author.

29 De Montenach, *Pour le visage aimé de la patrie*, 426.

30 De Montenach, *Pour le visage aimé de la patrie*, 23.

31 De Montenach, *Pour le visage aimé de la patrie,* 294.

32 Schnoor, *Practical Aesthetic,* 411; De Montenach, *Pour le visage aimé de la patrie*, 352.

33 De Montenach, *Pour le visage aimé de la patrie*, 189.

34 De Montenach, *Pour le visage aimé de la patrie*, 189.

35 De Montenach, *Pour le visage aimé de la patrie*, 13.

36 De Montenach, *Pour le visage aimé de la patrie*, 306.

37 De Montenach, *Pour le visage aimé de la patrie*, 189.

38 De Montenach, *Pour le visage aimé de la patrie*, IV.

39 Masahiko Yamano, *Die Entstehung der deutschen Landschaftslehre* (Tokyo: Kokon Shoin, 1998), 46-47.

40 Yamano, *Die Entstehung der deutschen Landschaftslehre*, 49.

41 François Walter, "Les échelles d'un imaginaire paysager européen dans l'histoire", in *Le paysage Un projet politique*, dir. Mario Bédard (Québec: Presses de l'Université du Québec, 2009), 45-70. The concept of *Naturdenkmal* defined by Humboldt referred to natural objects (glacial erratic, caves, fossil deposits, standing stones, hundred-year-old trees, etc.) and remarkable site (rock formations, cliffs, waterfalls, etc.).

42 Walter,"Les échelles". Sabine Nemec-Piguet, "La protection du patrimoine à Genève. Mise en place et évolution du système légal", in *Patrimoine genevois : état des lieux*, ed. Leïla, el-Wakil (Gollion: InFolio, 2007), 29-56, see especially 52.

43 In France, the 'Société pour la Protection des Paysage de la France' was established in 1901. In Germany, the 'Bund Heimatschutz' was founded in 1904 and in Switzerland the 'Ligue pour la conservation de la Suisse pittoresque' in 1905. See also references below: Alain Corbin, "Naissance de la politique du paysage en France", *Revue des Deux Mondes*, (March 2002): 9-13; Bernard Barraqué, *Le paysage et l'administration*, (Paris: Ministère de l'environnement, 1985.)

44 De Montenach, *Pour le visage aimé de la patrie*, 466. See also Hans Ulrich Jost and Monique Pavillon, *Les avant-gardes réactionnaires: la naissance de la nouvelle droite en Suisse, 1890-1914* (Lausanne: Editions d'en bas, 1992), 138. Jost and Pavillon highlight 'le Village suisse' at the 1896 and 1914 Suisse National Expositions as embodying the image held by de Montenach—a conservative Catholic—and others, and evaluate it as a place that units the Catholic right and *Heimatschutz.*

45 Arlette Auduc, "La difficile question des paysages" (Communication publiée dans les actes du colloque Droit et pratiques du patrimoine culturel immobilier. De la connaissance à la gestion locale, Université Jean-Moulin, Lyon III, 2008); Barraqué, Le paysage et l'administration; Corbin, "Naissance de la politique du paysage en France"; Christian-Noël Queffélec, "Sites inspirés," in *Pour mémoire hors série octobre 2011. Comité d'histoire. La loi de 1930 à l'épreuve du temps : les sites, atouts pour les territoires. Actes de la journée d'études du 29 novembre 2010,* (2011): 102-127; Yvette Veyret and Anne Le Maître, "Réflexions sur le paysage : paysage et patrimoine historique. Quelques fonctions du paysage," *L'information géographique* 60, no. 5 (1996): 177-83; Walter,"Les échelles". For example, according to Notteboom, the expression 'le visage aimé de la patrie' is frequently quoted by members of the Commission, such as president Charles Lagasse de Locht who attributes the quote to Ruskin, in *Bulletin des commissions royales d'art et d'archéologie*, 1911, 197. See Bruno Notteboom, "From monument to landscape and back again", *Strates* 13 (2007), doi: https://doi.org/10.4000/strates.5673. However, according to Walter, while the expression 'visage aimé de la patrie' was frequently cited in early 20th-century Europe, it remains unclear in what context Ruskin originally used the phrase.

46 Walter, "Les échelles".

47 Veyret and Le Maître, "Réflexions sur le paysage".

48 Elsa Vonau, "Le paysage et ses lectures: le mouvement de protection de la nature en France et en Allemagne au début du siècle", in *Réinventer les campagnes en Allemagne: Paysage, patrimoine et développement rural*, ed. G. Lacquement, K. M. Born, and B. v. Hirschhausen, (Lyon: ENS Éditions, 2013), 29-42, doi: https://doi.org/10.4000/books.enseditions.4597

49 De Montenach, *Pour le visage aimé de la patrie*,188.

50 De Montenach, *Pour le visage aimé de la patrie*, 31. Jeanneret also mentions the following work of the same name by Fatio in his manuscript: Guillaume Fatio, Ouvrons les Yeux! Voyage esthétique à travers la Suisse (Geneva: Atar, 1904.)

51 De Montenach, *Pour le visage aimé de la patrie*, 131. Emphasis by de Montenach. De Montenach quotes from Brunhes' work *Le Boulevard, comme fait de géographie urbaine.*

52 Queffélec, "Sites inspirés".

53 Veyret and Le Maître, "Réflexions sur le paysage"; Queffélec, "Sites inspirés".

54 Veyret and Le Maître, "Réflexions sur le paysage".

55 Schnoor, *Practical Aesthetic*, 407, 410.

56 Schnoor, *Practical Aesthetic*, 407, 410.

57 Matthius Merian, *Topographia Germaniae, vol. 14: Topographia Alsatiae, &c. Completa, Das ist, Vollkömliche Beschreibung und eygentliche Abbildung der vornehmbsten Städt und Oerther, im Obern und Untern Elsaß, auch den benachbarten Sundgöw, Brißgöw, Graffschafft Mümpelgart, und andern Gegenden* (Frankfurt/Main: Merian Erben, 1663. Reprint: Kassel/Basel: Bärenreiter, 1964.) The legend of the same drawing by Merian shows religious buildings such as *Das Münster.*

58 This consciousness of entirety, height, and visual clarity appears to align with Fischer's example in "Stadterweiterungsfragen", such as Komburg and Mainberg.

59 Schnoor, *Practical Aesthetic*, 337; De Montenach, *Pour le visage aimé de la patrie*, 119.

60 Schnoor, *Practical Aesthetic*, 337; De Montenach, *Pour le visage aimé de la patrie*, 119.

61 Note that the excerpts by Jeanneret are taken from de Montenach's text with some abbreviations.

62 Schnoor, *Practical Aesthetic*, 337.

63 Schnoor, *Practical Aesthetic*, 336. Emphasis by Jeanneret.

64 Schnoor, *La Construction des villes*, 356, 357.

65 Nemec-Piguet, "La protection du patrimoine à Genève". Martin founded the group to raise the question of what architectural and natural heritage should be preserved.

66 Charles-Édouard Jeanneret, "Le Renouveau dans l'architecture", *L'Œuvre: Organe officiel de la Fedration des Architects Suisses et de l'Association Suisse romande de l'Art et de l'Industrie* 2 (1914): 33-37, quoted in Émery, *La construction des ville:* 186-89.

67 See also the relationship between Jeanneret's morphological theory and German spatial theory, pointed out in the following references: Schnoor, *Practical Aesthetic*; Rabaça, "Ordering Code and Mediating Machine"; Hayakawa and Taji, "Theory of Urban Morphology (Part 1)"; Hayakawa and Taji, "Theory of Urban Morphology (Part 2)"; Hayakawa and Taji, "Theory of Urban Morphology (Part 3)"; Hayakawa and Taji, "Charles-Édouard Jeanneret's Local Patriotism".

68 Hayakawa and Taji, "Theory of Urban Morphology (Part 1)"; Hayakawa and Taji, "Theory of Urban Morphology (Part 2)"; Hayakawa and Taji, "Theory of Urban Morphology (Part 3)".

69 See note 67 and Schnoor, *Practical Aesthetic,* 237. As Schnoor notes, in *La Construction des villes,* Jeanneret does not mention Hildebrand and others mentioned above.

70 Schnoor, *Practical Aesthetic,* 237; H. Allen Brooks, *Le Corbusier's Formative Years: Charles-Edouard Jeanneret at La Chaux-de-Fonds* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press,1997), 256. Both Brooks and Schnoor observed that Klipstein introduced *Abstraktion und Einfühlung* introduced to Jeanneret during their Journey.

71 Le Corbusier, "Unités d'habitation de grandeur conforme", avril 1957. FLC A(3)1, quoted in Lucan, *Le Corbusier, une encyclopédie*, 123.

72 Le Corbusier, *Urbanisme* (Paris: Crés, 1925).