

" Brest Elevated in Words. The Poetics of an Urban Plan in the Age of Enlightenment"

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Yvon Mullier-Plouzennec

BREST ELEVATED IN WORDS

The Poetics of an Urban Plan in the Age of Enlightenment

At the end of the 18th century, the city and arsenal of Brest enjoyed sensational popularity, attracting visitors from all over Europe.¹ This city and port, which were built at considerable speed, rarely left people who stayed there indifferent.² Although its military structures generally made a good impression because of their monumental and functional character, the same could not be said for its civilian spaces which were often disparaged for their lack of hygiene, facilities and taste.³ This situation stemmed primarily from a lack of ambition regarding urban improvements on the part of the municipal authorities. Obliged to deal with the most urgent matters first, due to exponential growth of the population,⁴ the authorities usually took a wait-and-see approach and simply made an additional contribution to projects led by other public authorities.⁵

In the last years of the Ancien Régime, an impressive urban and landscaping plan was devised and swiftly countered by Brest's town councillors. Designed by the Parisian architect Claude Jean-Baptiste Jallier de Savault (1739–1806) and supported by the Minister of the Navy, it envisaged the development of a royal square dedicated to Louis XVI at the site of Brest Castle. The opposition from the mayor and local officials on the grounds of

principle generated a heated written exchange which, in contrast to the authorities' counterarguments, highlighted the practical and symbolic foundations of the proposal in an almost lyrical way. Alongside the practical and financial arguments, various memoranda written by the architect mention the aesthetic, symbolic and poetic rationale which his opponents struggled to discredit. Here, we present the full force of this position, considering it from the perspective of the cultural environment of an artist in the Age of Enlightenment.

A royal square for the largest arsenal in the kingdom

Standing at the gateway to the Atlantic and due to its military character, Brest was one of those cities where fortifications were essential at a time when many cities in the kingdom were razing their old city walls to the ground. The new walled centre and the urban fabric commissioned by Sébastien Le Prestre de Vauban (1633–1707) on 29 October 1694, provided a framework for urban development throughout the following century. The plan, which defined the layout of streets on the left bank of the river, anticipated a rapid growth in the population, which

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On this point, see the articles by Annie Henwood, including, "En Juin 1782, Brest recevait le fils du Tsar...", Les Cahiers de l'Iroise, n° 113, 1982, p. 21–24; "L'empereur Joseph II à la découverte de la marine et de la France de l'Ouest (June 1777)", Annales de Bretagne et des pays de l'Ouest, t. 91, n° 4, 1984. p. 351–368.

On urban growth in Brest in the modern period see Annie Henwood "La ville dans ses murs" in Dieudonné op. cit., p. 56–69.

The harsh judgement of the Marquis Charles de Langeron, commandant of Brest castle, is reported in Patrick Dieudonné (ed.), Brest alias Brest: trois siècles d'urbanisme, Liège, Mardaga, 1992, p. 19; see also Jacques Cambry, Voyage dans le Finistère [...], Paris, Cercle social, 1798, t. 2, p. 129–130.

⁴ Bruno Baron, Élites, pouvoirs et vie municipale à Brest, 1750–1820, PhD thesis, Brest, University of Western Brittany, 2012, p. 107 et seq.

⁵ See Yvon Plouzennec, "Essai sur les promenoirs maritimes à Brest au XVIIIe siècle", in Janine Barrier, Claire Ollagnier, Josiane Sartre (eds.), Les Arts réunis. Études offertes à Daniel Rabreau, Paris, NEL, p. 439–446.

⁶ Philippe Henrat, "L'urbanisme à Brest aux XVIII^e et XVIIII^e siècles", Études d'Histoire maritime, Actes des 107^e-108^e Congrès nationaux des Sociétés savantes (Brest-Grenoble 1982–1983), Paris, CTHS, p. 187–190.



Fig. 1: Camus, Map of Brest and Recouvrance, 1782, source: Paris, BnF, Maps and Plans department.

increased from 2500 residents in 1672 to almost 33,000 in 1790.7

In view of this growth, Brest's town officials had no option but to deal with the most urgent matters first by spending significant sums on maintenance works, paving, water supplies and lighting.⁸ In the absence of adequate resources and preoccupied with the everyday urgencies, the city authorities were incapable of considering any kind of improvement programme before the last years of the Ancien Regime. Indeed, it was not until 28 July 1786, that the *Plan d'alignement des rues & embellissement de la ville de Brest* – drawn up by the civil engineer Pierre-Joachim Besnard (1741–1808) and the architect of Domaine du roi Maury – was approved by the King's Conseil d'État.

This belated effort from the municipal authorities coincided exactly with the emergence of a superb opportunity for an improvement programme in the city. As on 15 May 1785, the King announced his wish to see a statue in his image erected in Brest – a gift the Estates of Brittany (States Provincial) had offered him some months earlier.9 Erecting such a monument necessarily required an architectural and urban programme, to provide an appropriately majestic setting for the royal sculpture. On this specific point, two contradictory positions quickly emerged. On the one hand, the municipal authorities envisaged installing the statue on the Place du Champ-de-Bataille, a former military training ground in the centre of the left bank district which had become a public promenade in the second half of the century. On the other, Charles Eugène Gabriel de La Croix, Maréchal de Castries (1727–1801) - and Minister of the Navy having granted his 'special protection' to the city – believed the statue should be placed at a site near the port or the harbour. (Fig. 2)

This divergence was not limited to a simple disagreement about topography. Underneath, it reflected a deep symbolic dissonance between the beliefs of the officials of Brest and the beliefs of the Minister. The former - who were motivated by concern for saving money – thought that the monument would "add the perfect decorative finish to a square where the main ornament is the residence of the commander of the Navy", and wondered "where else could the statue be more inspiring and lifelike? Where else would it be a more noble and impressive sight?" Far from being innocent, these two rhetorical questions illustrated and glorified the theoretical view that a royal square must be placed in the centre of the city.¹³ In contrast, the Maréchal de Castries believed that "it goes without saying that the castle is the most appropriate site [to receive the monument]. It would look out across the harbour and the entrance to the port which are Brest's most important features".14 Through these words, he expressed his desire to see a royal maritime square, which was not dedicated exclusively to the civilian population in Brest, but also recognised the naval population posted in the arsenal.

A controversial urban plan

To bring his vision to reality, the Maréchal de Castries approached a Paris-based architect and gave him the sensitive task of designing an urban project that would embody this. ¹⁵ The two men met early in the summer of 1785 and the architect travelled to Brest in September of the same year. His visit was positive because at this point,

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⁷ Claude Nières, Les villes de Bretagne au XVIII^e siècle, Rennes, PUR, 2004, p. 33.

⁸ Costs relating to urban development and building represented on average 46.35% of the council's annual budget in the second half of the 18th century (Bruno Baron, Élites, pouvoirs et vie municipale à Brest, 1750–1820, thèse de doctorat, Brest, Université de Bretagne occidentale, 2012, p. 114).

⁹ On the political history of this project, see Yvon Plouzennec, "Quelle place royale pour Brest? Tensions politiques autour du projet de Claude Jean-Baptiste Jallier de Savault", *Histoire urbaine*, vol. 48, n° 1, 2017, p. 155–176.

Alexandre Gady, "Les places royales en France au XVIIIe siècle", in Alexandre Gady, Jean-Marie Pérouse de Montclos (eds.), De l'esprit des villes: Nancy et l'Europe urbaine au siècle des Lumières, 1720–1770, Versailles, Artlys, 2005, p. 63–70.

¹¹ AMMB: BB25, fol. 48(v).

¹² ANF: H1 426, n° 210, Mémoire de la ville de Brest, en demande de la statue de Louis XVI, dédiée à Sa Majesté par les États de Bretagne, en 1784.

¹³ Richard R. Cleary, The Place Royale and Urban Design in the Ancien Régime, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2011, p. 8–9.

¹⁴ ANF: Marine, B3 769.

¹⁵ Yvon Plouzennec, 2017, op. cit.

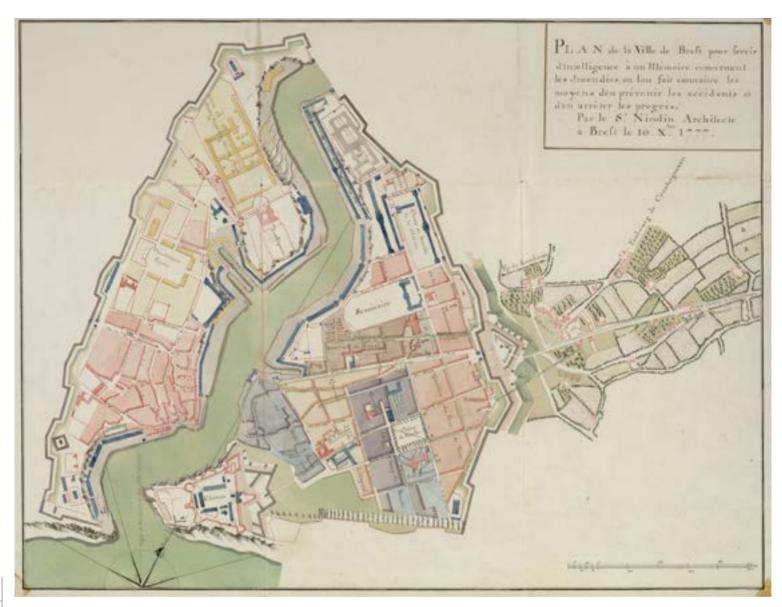


Fig. 2: Nicolin, Map of Brest [...] (detail), 1777, source: Archives municipales et métropolitaines de Brest.

the municipal councillors knew nothing of the Minister of the Navy's ideas and believed that Jallier de Savault had only come to work "with Mr Besnard, the engineer, to draw up the plans and estimated costs for decorative items to be placed in the square where the statue will stand". 16 On his return to Paris, the architect produced an initial plan which included three variants. Each one seemed to strive for compromise between the desires of the Maréchal and the desires of the city authorities. All were sited opposite the harbour but more or less immediately next to the Place

du Champ-de-Bataille (Fig. 3). These consensual proposals were visibly not to the Minister's taste, as this plan was dropped and Jallier de Savault was eventually asked to devise a fourth plan which, this time, fully reflected the Minister's initial desire to see the monument erected at the castle. (Fig. 4)

Brest's municipal officials learned the details of this new plan in February 1786.¹⁷ The following May, the chevalier André de Fautras (1728–1814), the city's emissary to the King's court, showed them a drawing and two memoranda

¹⁶ AMMB: BB25, fol. 48(v).

¹⁷ AMMB: BB25, fol. 80(v).



Fig. 3: Claude Jean-Baptiste Jallier de Savault, Plan of part of Brest showing three proposed locations for the statue of Louis XVI, 1785, source: SHD Vincennes.

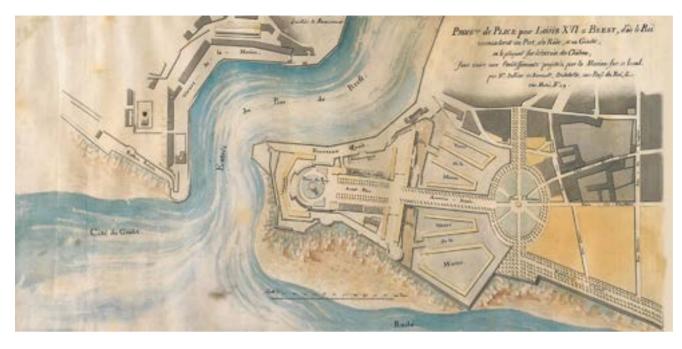
which presented the envisaged improvement programme.¹⁸ Although they felt cheated and categorically opposed the principle of placing the statue so far from the centre of the city, they were not able to produce anything resembling an argument until the autumn and gave no response to the architect or to their emissary. As there was no obvious opposition, the process initiated at Versailles continued its natural course and on 28 May 1786, the King and his council approved Jallier's fourth plan.¹⁹

When the new session of the Estates of Brittany opened in Rennes on 23 October 1786, the municipal council did not have any documents prepared to defend its point of view. It was not until 7 November that the magistrates approved a print run of 400 copies of a memorandum "to be distributed while the Estates were in session". The Mémoire sur l'emplacement le plus propre à recevoir la statue du roi à Brest [...] was printed after this meeting, but because of a legal irregularity, amendments had to be made, delaying distribu-

¹⁸ Brest Historical Defence Service (now SHD-Brest): BR-L 1991 / 51.

¹⁹ ANF: Cartes et Plans, F14 1021912.

²⁰ AMMB: BB25, fol. 111(r).



← Fig. 4: Claude Jean-Baptiste Jallier de Savault, Unrealized project for a Place Louis XVI, from which the King would control the port, the roadstead and the Goulet by placing it on the grounds of the château, without harming the establishments planned by the Navy on the site, plan, about 1785, Musée des Beaux-Arts de Brest métropole.

→ Fig. 5: Claude Jean-Baptiste Jallier de Savault. Perspective view of the Place Louis XIV project, 1786, pen, wash and watercolours, 325 x 514 mm, Paris, Musée du Louvre.

tion again.²¹ Conscious of the urgency, François Raby (1736-1812), the mayor of Brest and the city's representative at the Estates of Brittany, eventually commissioned a new memorandum from a Rennes-based lawyer, Gohier. This new plea to locate the King's statue at the site of Place du Champ de Bataille was presented to the provincial assembly on 14 December 1786,²² almost one month after Jallier de Savault's plan had received "the unanimous vote of the Estate".²³ Despite this partial victory for the architect, the conclusions of the memorandum from Raby and Gohier were finally accepted following the report from the Commission du Commerce et des Ouvrages Publics.²⁴

It must be said that the prevarications of Brest's municipal councillors in producing their memoranda created unfortunate confusion, forcing Jallier de Savault to produce two written retorts. The first, entitled Réponse de M. [allier de Savault [...], auteur du projet que Sa Majesté a choisi & signé pour l'emplacement de sa statue à Brest [...]

(décembre 1786),²⁵ referred to the memorandum that the council failed to present to the provincial assembly (when it met in November). The second, entitled Observations présentées à nos seigneurs les États de Bretagne, par M. Jallier de Savault [...] (20 janvier 1787),²⁶ was written in Rennes where the architect was staying to be in a better position to counter Raby and Gohier's conclusions. The power of the arguments Jallier de Savault expressed in the first obsolete memorandum and the belated second memorandum did not appear to make any impression on the provincial representatives who decided in favour of the Place du Champ-de-Bataille plan.

The obscured eloquence of the architect

This failure clearly stems from the unfortunate delay in disseminating the arguments and not the eloquence expressed in the architect's retorts. These two texts follow a highly sophisticated structure based on the centuries-old principles of rhetoric. In the memorandum Réponse, the

²¹ SHD-Brest: BR-L 1991 / 52.

²² SHD-Brest: BR-L 1991 / 37.

²³ SHD-Brest: BR-L 1991 / 52.

²⁴ Archives départementales du Finistère: 2C18.

^{25 11} page document printed in Paris at the Imprimerie Polytype (ANF: Marine, B3 780, no 81).

^{26 21} page document printed in Rennes at la Veuve Vatar & de Bruté de Remur (Bibliothèque de Rennes Métropole: inv. 441672).

author begins by legitimising his plan and justifying his stance:

It would appear, given the choice and decision of his Majesty, that Mr Jallier could dispense with responding to the memorandum from Mr Mayor of Brest; but it will be no less gratifying for him to have, before the eyes of the gentlemen of the Estates, the same success at the court of reason and taste.

He therefore cannot hide that he was particularly surprised by Mr Mayor's memorandum as he had flattered himself that his plan had Mr Mayor's approval.

Last May, Mr le chevalier de Fautras [...], who had been appointed to represent the interests of the gentlemen of the city council to the Ministry, sent them [...] Two memoranda with a plan containing an explanation of this project; and at the beginning of June, he advised them that his Majesty, having preferred this project to several others [...] had approved it on the 28th day of May this year.

With Mr Mayor not having honoured them with any response, Mr Jallier believed that his silence could be a snub but was not a disapproval.

The author then proceeds to develop the argument, taking the words of the municipal authority to demonstrate his points, mischievously and mockingly:

First of all, in appraising the location where Mr Jallier would place the statue and attributing it with the epithets of undeveloped and remote, Mr Mayor, is at present correct; but he knows very well that it will be furbished and inhabited when the funds for the castle have been released, the square cleared and the avenues widened, showing what transformations are possible with skill and creativity.

[...]

[The plan] combining a sense of decency, charm, convenience, and safety, according to Mr Mayor, involves placing the King's statue in the area known in Brest as the Champ de Bataille.

Now, this Champ de Bataille is a long, irregular square surrounded by strangely shaped houses [...], an ungainly theatre facade and tasteless, irregular private residences, and it bears more resemblance to a crossroads than a public square. It is almost impossible to decorate as there are no streets opening onto the centre and from where the statue could be seen.



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Lastly, the King's statue in Brest, a gateway to the ocean, with no reputation for its commerce or industry, and which only exists and enjoys renown because of the Royal Navy, for whom it is a sanctuary, would not be seen either from the sea or by seamen or sailors, and would be imprisoned in an enclosure of houses built in a barbarian style, just like in cities in the interior of the most unfamiliar countries to the Navy!

This section of the text methodically exposes the points of agreement between the two parties and therefore represents the most important stage. The close links between this reasoning and the words he critiques justify the necessity of formulating a new retort following the memorandum written by Gohier and Raby.

After this rational preamble, the architect seeks to influence minds by concluding his argument with a lyrical oratory. This is almost word for word identical in the *Réponse* and *Observations* memoranda.

So, at last, Brest will have a place where one can conveniently enjoy the view of this Goulet [roadstead], a place of general interest, at all times and at any hour of the day. Here, the manoeuvres of squadrons, their changes, everything, through to the movements of the smallest ship, will provide an interesting sight; the most sumptuous and impressive festivals could be held here, at sea and on land, and the beauty of the site will create twice the impression. From here, one will be able to contemplate the magnificent spectacle of a departing fleet, inspired by the view of its king, parading under his eyes, as it were, with the promise that it will come back victorious. And, looking forward to its return, when, intoxicated with joy and glory, the noise of its ships' cannons, the cries of happiness of the sailors and the cheers of the people, it can place the trophies of this triumph at the King's feet! This sacred image of his Majesty rising above the vast crowd

covering the square's amphitheatre evokes to those who can see it the tableau of an adored father amidst his immense family, jostled, surrounded by his children, and receiving the homage of their wishes, their love and their respects!²⁷ (Fig. 5)

The way in which this discourse develops proves that the architect, in some ways, borrowed from the three pillars of the art of rhetoric as defined by Aristotle, namely, ethos, or the author's legitimisation of his objective; logos, or demonstration, and pathos, or the emotional effect sought. In his treaty on this topic, Aristotle expounds that "proofs furnished by the speech are of three kinds. The first kind depends on the personal character of the speaker [ethos]; the second on putting the audience into a certain frame of mind [pathos]; the third on the proof, or apparent proof, provided by the words of the speech itself [logos]".²⁸ In 1749, the Abbé Gibert, one of the professors of rhetoric at the Collège Mazarin, revisited the principle of the ethos-logos-pathos triad in his treatise La Rhétorique ou les Règles de l'Eloquence [Rhetoric or the Rules of Eloquence]. In the first book dedicated to oratorical fabrication, he relies on the thoughts of Aristotle to assert that "there are sound reasons to say that there are three means of persuasion: proofs or arguments, morals, and passions".29

Although there is no specific evidence to suggest Jallier de Savault had read the works of Aristotle or Father Gibert, we do know that his literary knowledge was extensive. When he died, in 1806, 2218 tomes and 1112 booklets were found in his apartment³⁰ – a noticeably sizeable collection compared to the libraries of other architects from his time.³¹ In all likelihood, Jallier de Savault was an avid reader with interests extending well beyond those concerning his position as an architect. This position

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²⁷ Réponse de M. Jallier de Savault [...], décembre 1786 (ANF: Marine, B3 780, n° 81).

²⁸ Aristote, Rhétorique, Livre I, chapitre 2, § III, 1356a, quoted by Jean-Baptiste Jeangène Vilmer, "Argumentation cartésienne: logos, ethos, pathos", Revue Philosophique de Louvain° 4e série, t. 106, n° 3, 2008, p. 460.

²⁹ Balthasar Gibert, La Rhétorique ou les Règles de l'Eloquence, Paris, 1730, p. 51.

³⁰ ANF: Minutier central des notaires de Paris, Étude LXX, 760. Inventaire après décès du Sr Jallier, 5 nov. – 23 déc. 1806.

Laurence Chevallier, "Trois bibliothèques d'architectes au Siècle des Lumières", Revue française d'histoire du Livre, n° 126–127, 2005–2006, p. 159–176; Annie Charon-Parent, "L'Antiquité dans quelques bibliothèques d'architectes français du XVIIIe siècle", D'une antiquité l'autre: la littérature antique classique dans les bibliothèques du XVe au XIXe siècle, Lyon,: ENS éd., Institut d'histoire du livre, 2006, p. 159–170.

is consistent with the tenets declared by Jacques-François Blondel, founder of the École des Arts and lecturer at the Académie Royale d'Architecture. In his treatise De l'utilité de joindre à l'étude de l'architecture celle des sciences et des arts qui lui sont relatifs, he wrote:

Lastly, we recommend that our trainee architects read. As one of our modern authors said somewhere, reading is one of an honest man's duties. It is necessary to read to educate oneself, to console oneself and to improve oneself

[...]

Without literature, [the architect] is unable to make any progress in his diction which is becoming so essential to be able to confer with the great and the good, scholars and gentlemen. Through the study of literature, the eloquence of la Chaire, le Barreau, even the theatre, will enlighten him on an endless number of topics relevant to his practice, through their aid, he will be able to correspond honourably with rulers, the prelate and magistrates.

[...]

Persuaded that one arrives at the sciences, literature, the arts, via the same path, meditating on the route which men of genius in all genres of talent have followed, he will seize everything relevant to his needs. He will take notes, excerpts, and familiarise himself with the art of writing.³²

As an architect of his time, Jallier de Savault therefore put his literary knowledge to good use, or perhaps we should say his knowledge of poetics, to defend his plans. As Antoinette Nort, has pointed out, in the 18th century, "the notion of poetry extended beyond the sphere of what we understand by this term today". ³³At that time, this word reflected all worthy literary genres. Although the poetic conclusion of Jallier de Savault's *Réponse* and *Observations* stands out, the influence of 'poetic' trends which were in vogue during that era are also clear to see.

From the perspective of form, this paragraph reflects the influence of descriptive poetry – a genre which architects at the end of the century particularly favoured when developing their arguments (this is the case with Ledoux and Boullée).³⁴ This poetic trend flourished under the pen of other poets such as Saint-Lambert (Les Saisons, 1769), Roucher (Les Mois, 1779) and Delille (Les Jardins, 1782). In these texts, the purpose is to "name things, to describe the features of a landscape precisely and to portray them poetically to create a visual description". 35 In the same way, Jallier de Savault's peroration steers our views by painting an imaginary scene that brings his plan to life: "here, the manoeuvres of squadrons [...] the most sumptuous and impressive festivals [...] From here, one will be able to contemplate the magnificent spectacle of a departing fleet, inspired by the view of its king, parading under his eyes, as it were"36.

Here, the structure of the argument has an emotional effect, but by extension it also showcases the architect's extremely picturesque and grandiose project. This bears relation to two similar philosophical trends: the philosophy of sensualism developed, notably, by Condillac in his Traité des Sensations (1754) and the theory of aesthetics and the sublime expounded by Burke in A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful (translated into French in 1765). The architect's words show that by offering a similar character to the purpose of the site, his urban plan was consistent with the tenets of architecture parlante. Moreover, the specific character of this maritime site is designed to offer passers-by a truly sublime panorama. The vastness of the harbour, the rapid variations in light and colour with the passage of time, the infinity of the ocean beyond the Goulet, are just some of the elements likely to arouse feelings of wonder and admiration.

^{32 |}acques-François Blondel, De l'utilité de joindre à l'étude de l'architecture celle des sciences et des arts qui lui sont relatifs, Paris, chez Desaint, 1771, p. 39–41.

³³ ob. ci

³⁴ Antoinette Nort [33], § 20 et suivants [www.fabula.org/lht/18/nort.html].

³⁵ op. cit.

³⁶ Réponse de M. Jallier de Savault [...], décembre 1786 (ANF: Marine, B3 780, n° 81).

Despite all his rhetorical skill, Jallier de Savault never managed to bring his grandiose plan to reality. After the Estates of Brittany had voted against his proposal, ministers decided to bend to the will of the Province. With the departure of the Maréchal de Castries in June 1787, this ambitious plan lost its ardent advocate, and the architect lost his biggest champion. In spring 1788, the commander of the Navy announced that "Mr de Jallier's project would be highly incompatible with planned works which are necessary for supplies" and abandoned the idea of a royal square at the entrance to the port of Brest once and for all. Such was the unfortunate outcome of a theoretical project which controversially, and for a time, elevated Brest to the realms of the sublime through the might of a pen.

Résumé

À la fin de l'année 1786, une joute verbale au sujet d'un projet d'embellissement urbain s'engage entre l'architecte parisien Claude Jean-Baptiste Jallier de Savault (1739–1806) et les autorités municipales de la ville de Brest. Issue d'un désaccord quant à l'emplacement le plus propre à recevoir un monument sculpté dédié à Louis XVI, cette controverse donne lieu à la rédaction de plusieurs mémoires visant à prouver la supériorité des vues de chacune des parties. À l'instar d'autres architectes de son temps, Jallier de Savault use de l'art oratoire avec une grande aisance et organise son discours de manière méthodique, alternant légitimation, argumentation et émotion. Les deux imprimés qu'il rédige pour défendre son projet en décembre 1786 et janvier 1787 font apparaître un riche panel d'effets rhétoriques dont certains sont empreints de subtiles accents poétiques. Malgré l'échec de son dessein, sacrifié sur l'autel de la conciliation politique, l'artiste parvient ainsi, le temps de cette controverse, à sublimer la cité du Ponant par la force de sa plume.

Zusammenfassung

Ende 1786 kam es zwischen dem Pariser Architekten Claude Jean-Baptiste Jallier de Savault (1739-1806) und der Stadtverwaltung von Brest zu einem verbalen Schlagabtausch über ein städtisches Verschönerungsprojekt. Da man sich nicht einig war, wo ein Denkmal für Ludwig XVI. am besten platziert werden sollte, wurden mehrere Memoranden verfasst, um die Überlegenheit der Ansichten beider Seiten zu beweisen. Wie andere Architekten seiner Zeit nutzte Jallier de Savault die Kunst der Rede mit großer Leichtigkeit und organisierte seinen Vortrag methodisch, wobei er zwischen Legitimation, Argumenten und Emotionen wechselte. Die beiden Druckschriften, die er im Dezember 1786 und Januar 1787 zur Verteidigung seines Projekts verfasste, zeigen eine reiche Palette an rhetorischen Effekten, von denen einige subtile poetische Anklänge aufweisen. Trotz des Scheiterns seines Projekts, das auf dem Altar der politischen Versöhnung geopfert wurde, gelang es dem Künstler während dieser Kontroverse, die Stadt am Ponant durch die Kraft seiner Feder zu sublimieren.

³⁷ Lettres du comte d'Hector à M. de la Luzerne, 31 mars – 16 avril 1788 (ANF, Marine, D2 27, fol. 304–305).

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Amandine Diener Patrick Dieudonné Hans-Georg Lippert Sonia de Puineuf Kerstin Zaschke Helena Zemánková (eds.)

THELEM **2024**

This publication marks the completion of the Res Urbanae project which was carried out between 2022 and 2024 by four European partners and co-funded by the Europe Creative Programme.

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