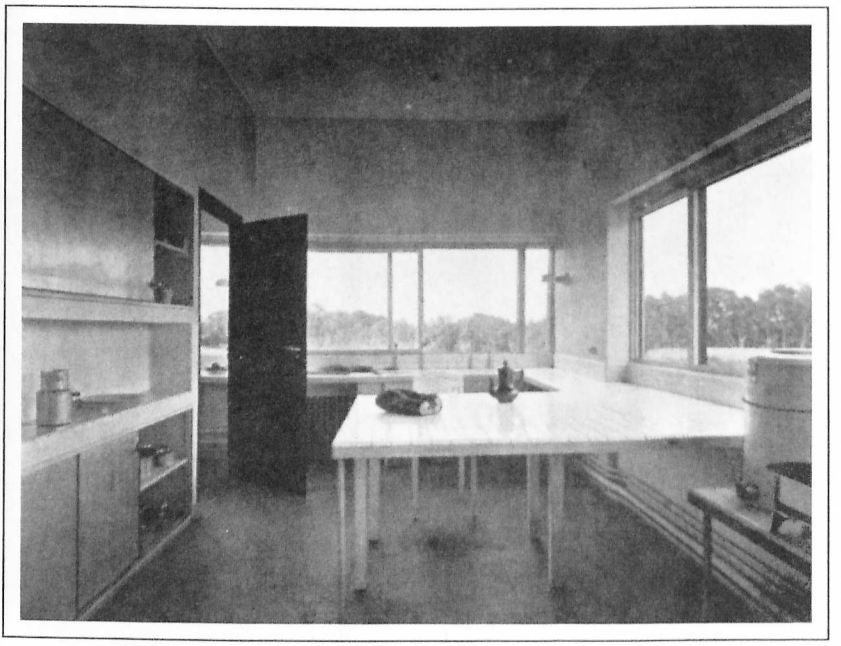
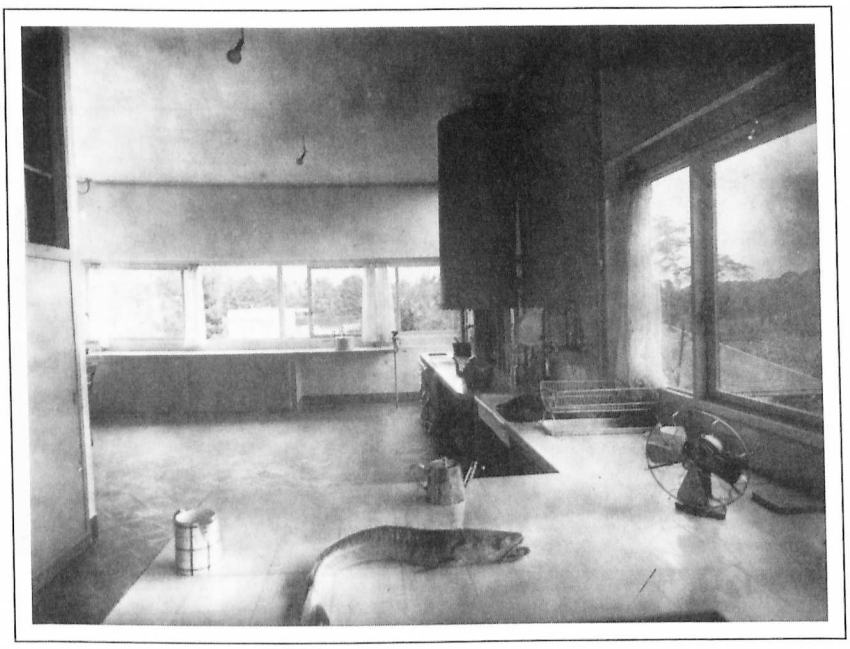

Window

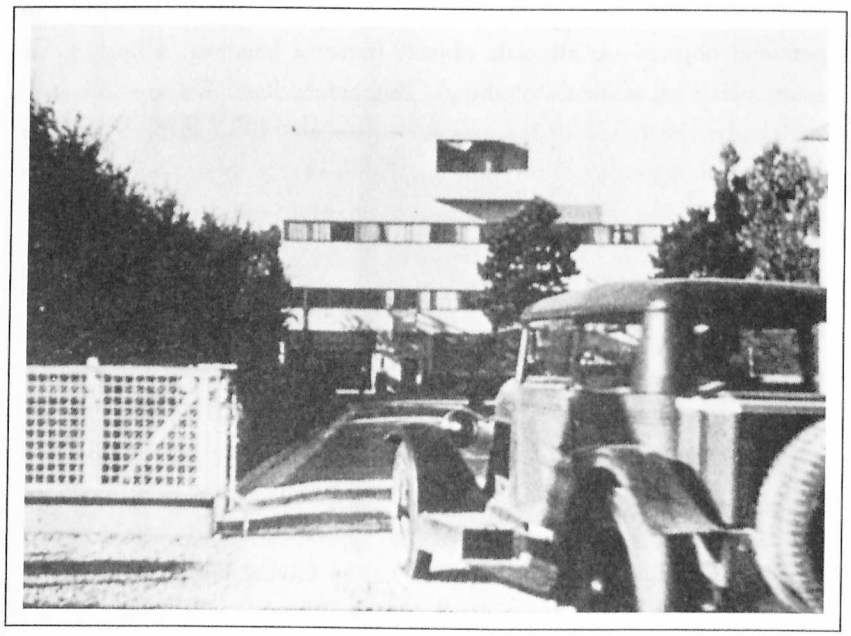
In the houses of Le Corbusier the reverse condition of Loos's interiors may be observed. In photographs windows are never covered with curtains, neither is access to them prevented by means of hampering objects. On the contrary, everything in these houses seems to be disposed in a way that continuously throws the subject toward the periphery of the house. The look is directed to the exterior in such a deliberate manner as to suggest the reading of these houses as frames for a view. Even when actually in an "exterior," in a terrace or in a "roof garden," walls are constructed to frame the landscape, and a view from there to the interior, as in a canonic photograph of Villa Savoye, passes right through it to the framed landscape (so that in fact one can speak about a series of overlapping frames). These frames are given temporality through the *promenade*. Unlike in Adolf Loos's houses, perception here occurs in motion. It is hard to think of oneself in static positions. If the photographs of Loos's interiors give the impression that somebody is about to enter the room, in Le Corbusier's the impression is that somebody was just there, leaving as traces a coat and a hat lying on the table



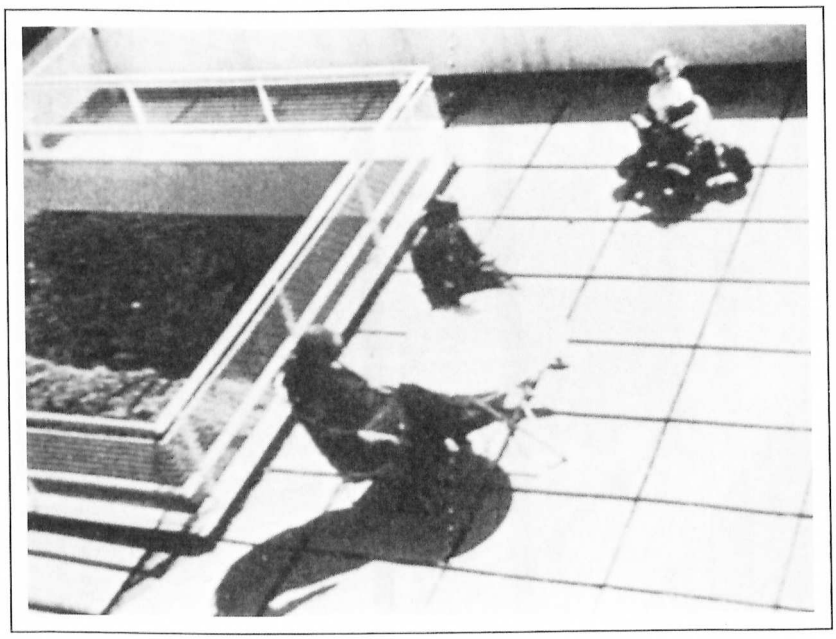
Villa Savoye. The kitchen.



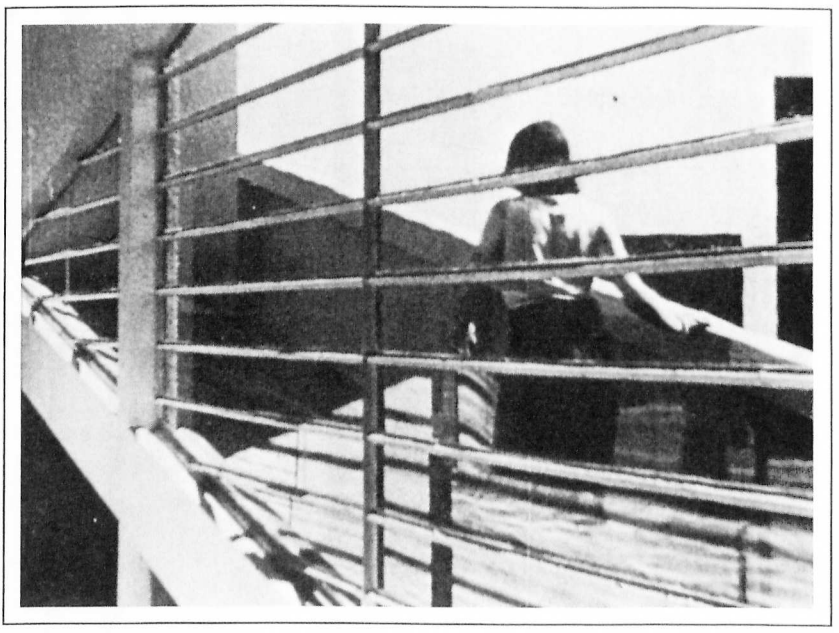
Le Corbusier, Villa à Garches,
1927. The kitchen.



Villa à Garches. Still from
L'Architecture d'aujourd'hui, *1929.*



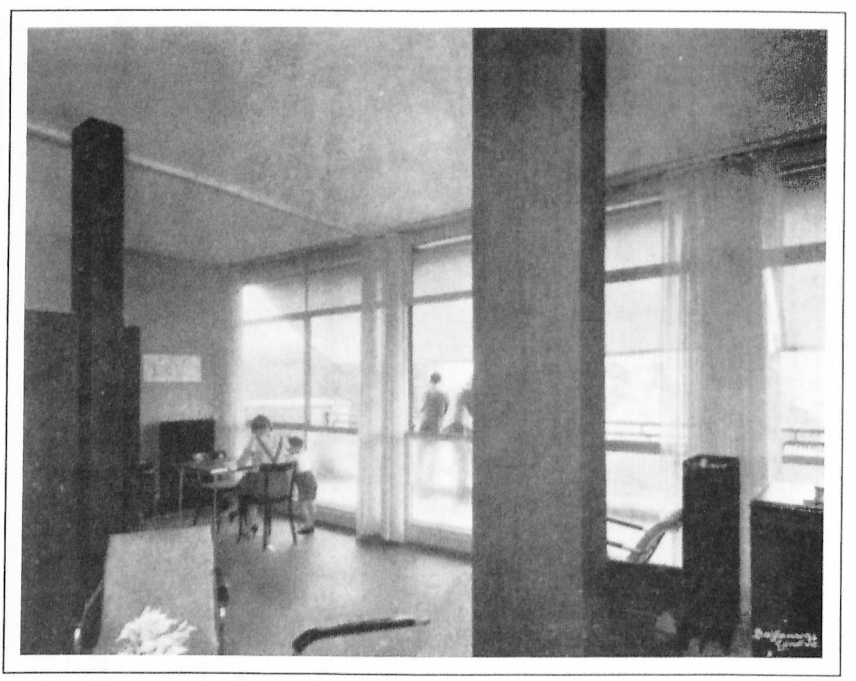
Villa à Garches. Still from
L'Architecture d'aujourd'hui.



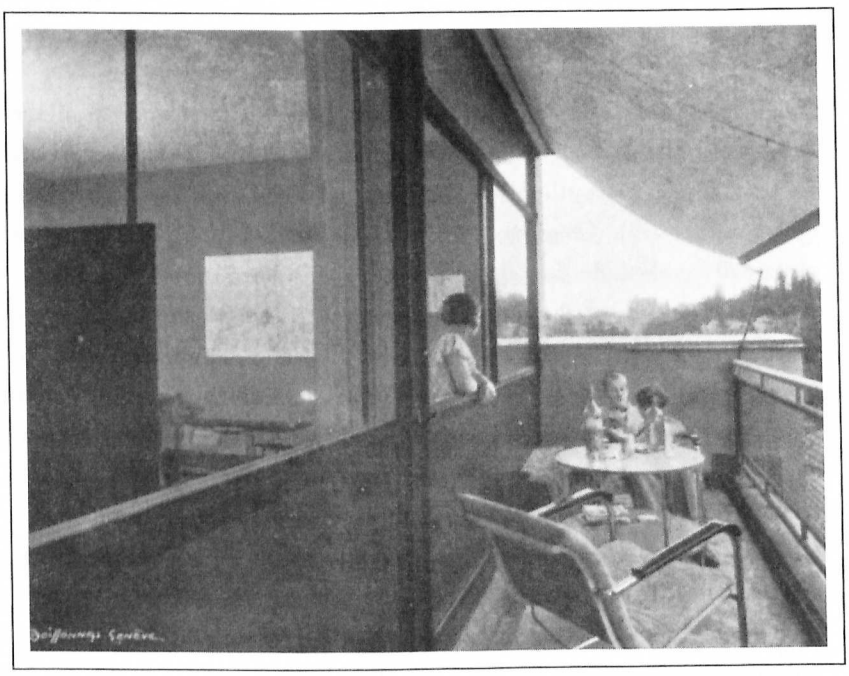
Villa Savoye. Still from **L'Architecture d'aujourd'hui:** *"Une maison ce n'est pas une prison: l'aspect change à chaque pas."*

landscape, and then pans the outside and the inside of the house. And it is there, halfway through the interior, that the woman appears on the screen. She is already inside, already contained by the house, bounded. She opens the door that leads to the terrace and goes up the ramp toward the roof garden, her back to the camera. She is wearing "inside" (informal) clothes and high heels and she holds to the handrail as she goes up, her skirt and hair blowing in the wind. She appears vulnerable. Her body is fragmented, framed not only by the camera but by the house itself, behind bars. She appears to be moving from the inside of the house to the outside, to the roof garden. But this outside is again constructed as an inside, with a wall wrapping the space in which an opening with the proportions of a window frames the landscape. The woman continues walking along the wall, as if protected by it, and as the wall makes a curve to form the solarium, the woman turns too, picks up a chair, and sits down. She would be facing the "interior," the space she has just moved through. But for the camera, which now shows us a general view of the terrace, she has disappeared behind the bushes. That is, just at the moment when she has turned and could face the camera (there is nowhere else to go), she vanishes. She never catches our eye. Here we are literally following somebody, the point of view is that of a voyeur.

We could accumulate more evidence. Few photographs of Le Corbusier's buildings show people in them. But in those few, women always look away from the camera: most of the time they are shot from the back and they almost never occupy the same space as men. Take the photographs of Immeuble Clarté in the *Oeuvre complète*, for example. In one of them, the woman and the child are in the interior, they are shot from the back, facing the wall; the men are on the balcony, looking out, toward the city. In the next shot, the woman, again shot from the back, is leaning against the window to the balcony and looking at the man and the child who are on the balcony. This spatial structure is repeated very often,



Le Corbusier, Immeuble Clarté, Geneva, 1930–1932. View of the interior.



Immeuble Clarté. The terrace.

not only in the photographs but also in the drawings of Le Corbusier's projects. In a drawing of the Wanner project, for example, the woman in the upper floor is leaning against the veranda, looking down to her hero, the boxer, who is occupying the *jardin suspendu*. He looks at his punching bag. And in the drawing "Ferme radieuse," the woman in the kitchen looks over the counter toward the man sitting at the dining room table. He is reading the newspaper. Here again the woman is placed "inside," the man "outside"; the woman looks at the man, the man looks at the "world."

But perhaps no example is more telling than the photocollage of the exhibit of a living room in the Salon d'Automne 1929, including all the "equipment of a dwelling," a project that Le Corbusier realized in collaboration with Charlotte Perriand, whose credit for it has been practically erased. In fact, today we know this furniture as "Le Corbusier's" when some of the pieces, the *siège tournant*, for example, were designed, exhibited, and published by Perriand before she met Le Corbusier.[3] In this image, which Le Corbusier published in the *Oeuvre complète*, Perriand herself is lying on the *chaise-longue*, her head turned away from the camera. More significant, in the original photograph employed in this photocollage (as well as in another photograph in the *Oeuvre complète* that shows the *chaise-longue* in the horizontal position), one can see that the chair has been placed right against the wall. Remarkably, she is facing the wall. She is almost an attachment to the wall. She sees nothing.

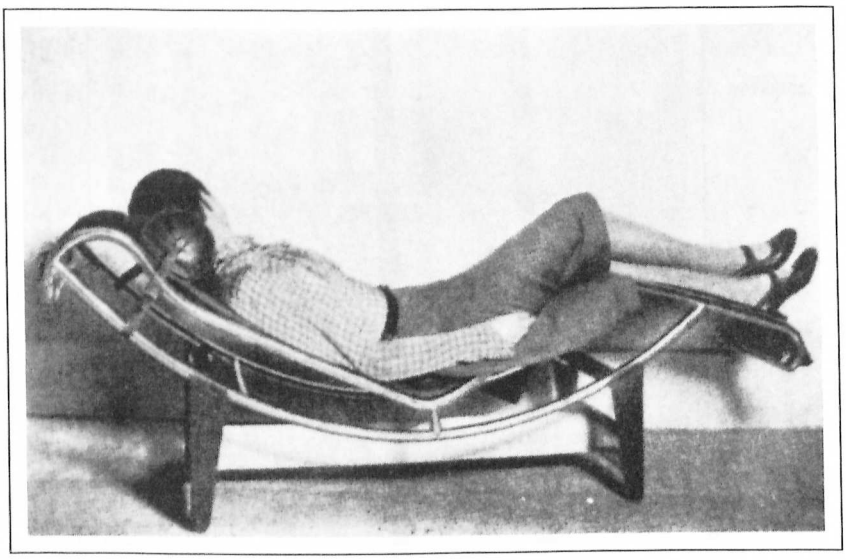
And of course for Le Corbusier, who writes things such as "I exist in life only on condition that I see" (*Précisions*, 1930) or "This is the key: to look . . . to look/observe/see/imagine/invent, create" (1963), and in the last weeks of his life, "I am and I remain an impenitent visual" (*Mise au point*), everything is in the visual.[4] But what does *vision* mean here?

If we now return to the passage in *Urbanisme* where Le Corbusier refers to Loos's window ("Loos told me one day: 'A cultivated man does not look out of the window; his window is a ground glass; it is there only to let the light in, not to let the gaze pass through'"),[5] we find that he has left us a clue to the enigma in that very passage, when he goes on to say: "Such sentiment [that of Loos with regard to the window] can have an explanation in the congested, disordered city where disorder appears in distressing images; one could even admit the paradox [of a Loosian window] before a sublime natural spectacle, too sublime."[6]

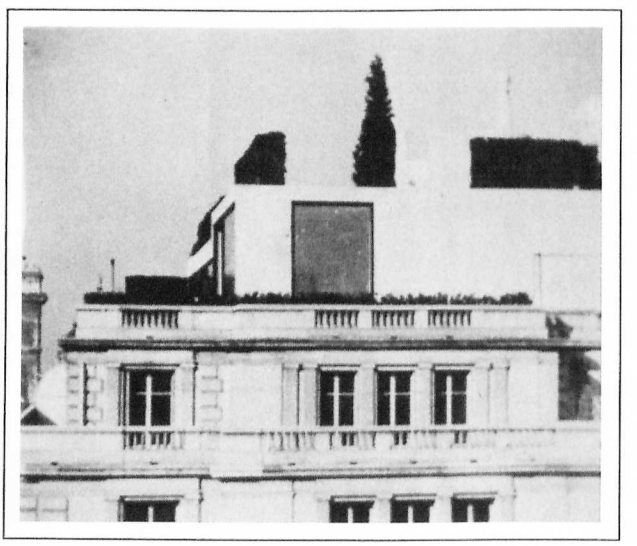
For Le Corbusier the metropolis itself was "too sublime." The look in Le Corbusier's architecture is not that look which would still pretend to contemplate the metropolitan spectacle with the detachment of a nineteenth-century observer before a sublime natural landscape (as in the paintings of Caspar David Friedrich). It is not the look in Hugh Ferriss's drawings of *The Metropolis of Tomorrow*, for example, where a small figure perched on the top of a skyscraper looks down into the bottomless abyss of the canyons of an imaginary city, in the same way that Friedrich's small figures dressed in city clothes look into the unframable spectacle of nature.[7]

In this sense, the penthouse that Le Corbusier did for Charles de Beistegui in an existing building on the Champs-Elysées, Paris (1929–1931), becomes symptomatic. In this house, originally intended not to be inhabited but to receive visitors and to act as a frame for parties ("day parties, night parties," says Le Corbusier), there was no electric lighting. Beistegui wrote: "The candle has recovered all its rights because it is the only one which gives a *living* light."[8] Instead, "electricity, modern power, is invisible, it does not illuminate the dwelling, but activates the doors and moves the walls."[9] Invisible like the "docile servant" that Le Corbusier identifies in *L'Art décoratif d'aujourd'hui* with the "human limb objects" (those "extensions of our limbs" that respond

Charlotte Perriand in the chaise-longue *against the wall. Salon d'Automne 1929.*



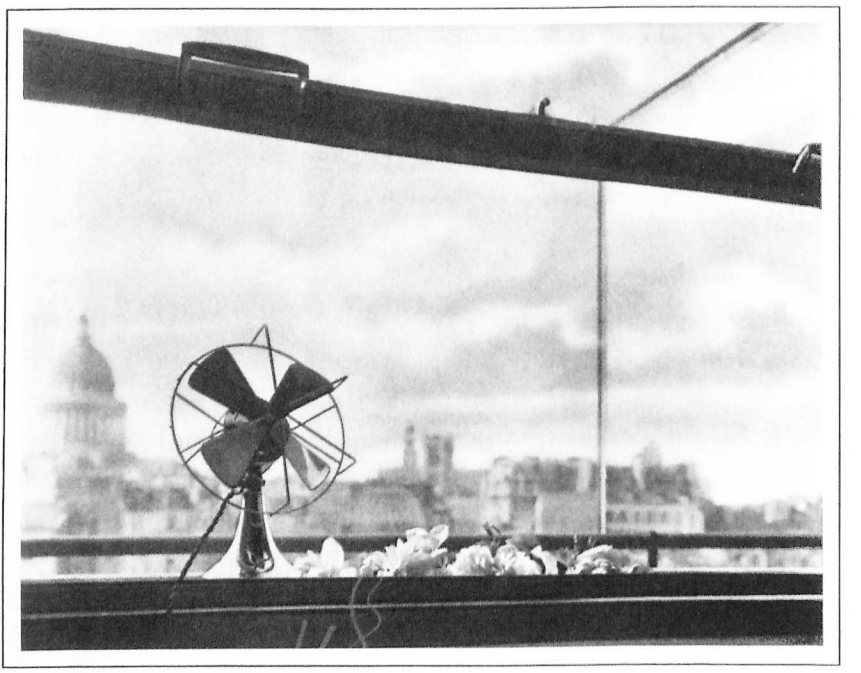
Chaise-longue *in the horizontal position.*



Le Corbusier, Charles de Beistegui apartment, Paris, 1929–1931.

to our "type-needs" [*besoins-types*]), "discreet and self-effacing, in order to leave his master free,"[10] electricity is used *inside* this apartment to slide away partition walls, operate doors, and allow cinematographic projections on the metal screen (which unfolds automatically as the chandelier rises up on pulleys), and *outside,* on the roof terrace, to slide the banks of hedges to frame the view of Paris: "En pressant un bouton électrique, la palissade de verdure s'écarte et Paris apparaît."[11] Electricity is not used here to illuminate, to make *visible,* but as a technology of framing. Doors, walls, hedges, that is to say traditional architectural framing devices, are activated with electric power, but so also are the built-in cinema camera and its projection screen, and when these modern frames are *lit,* the "living" light of the chandelier gives way to another living light, the flickering light of the movie, the "flick."

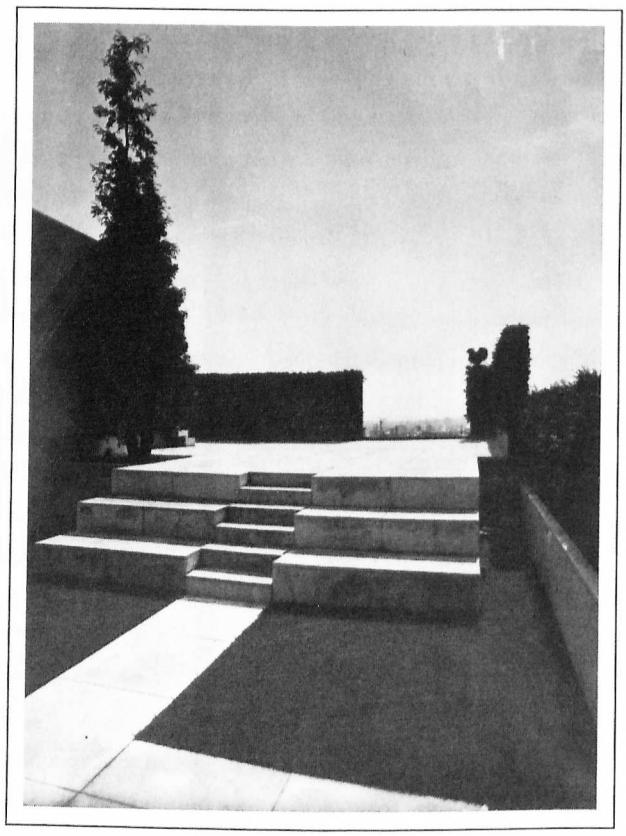
This new "lighting" of the movies displaces traditional forms of enclosure, as electricity had done before it. Around the time that the Beistegui apartment was built, La Compagnie parisienne de distribution d'électricité put out a publicity book, *L'Electricité à la maison,* attempting to gain clients. In this book, electricity is made *visible* through architecture. A series of photographs by André Kertész present views of interiors by contemporary architects, including A. Perret, Chausat, Laprade, and M. Perret. One of them, perhaps the most extraordinary, is a closeup of a "horizontal window" in the terrace (enclosed with glass) of an apartment by Chausat, with a view of Paris outside it and a fan sitting on the sill of the window. The image marks the split between two traditional functions of the window, ventilation and light, now displaced into powered machines, and the modern function of a window, to frame a view. The Beistegui apartment, on the other hand, is a commentary on the new conditions presented by the media. Not only is electricity used here to operate the new media apparatus ("*la T.S.F., le théâtrophone et le pick-up,* which are installed on multiple settings, on the roof garden, the drawing room, the bedroom . . .")[12] but the views from the inside and



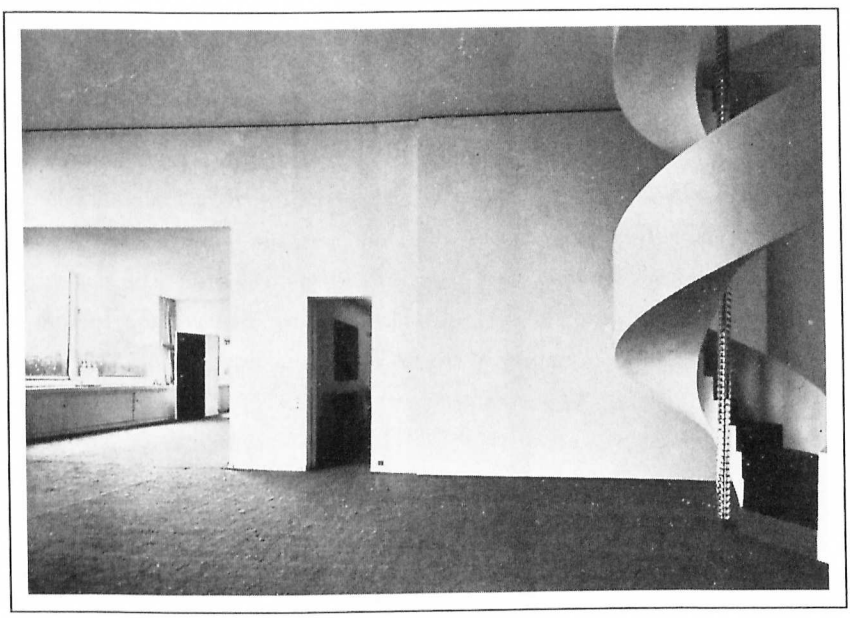
L'Electricité à la maison. ***Chaussat, architect. A. Kertész, photographer.***

outside spaces of the apartment are also technologically controlled: "From this belvedere Paris is visible in all its horizons . . . but the *parti* was to suppress this panoramic view of Paris . . . offering [instead], at precise places, moving views [*perspectives émouvantes*] of four of the things, visible from there, that establish the prestige of Paris: the Arc de Triomphe, the Eiffel Tower, Sacré-Coeur, Notre-Dame." Of the outside spaces, for example, the first landing of the terraces (which are organized in four levels) is enclosed by walls of hedges. From there one discovers, above the stone steps, a view of Notre-Dame isolated from the rest of the city. And on pressing an electrical button, the fence of greenery slowly slips away, revealing Paris. Of the inside spaces, the *salon* has two picture windows (one to the south, on the Eiffel Tower, the other to the east, on Notre-Dame); half of the window to the south moves electrically, opening the view on the big terrace where the Arc de Triomphe appears among trimmed box trees. These are but two of the multiple reframing devices employed in this project. Le Corbusier claimed that the complex mechanical and electrical installations in this apartment had absorbed 4,000 meters of cable, to which Peter Blake could not help commenting that only "a Frenchman in love with modern machinery would ever describe a landscaping project in terms of the length of electric cable required to make it function."[13]

These multiple technologies conspire with traditional architectural elements to problematize the distinctions between *inside* and *outside*. In this penthouse, once the upper level of the terrace is reached, the high walls of the *chambre à ciel ouvert* allow only fragments of the urban skyline to emerge: the tops of the Arc de Triomphe, the Eiffel Tower, Sacré-Coeur. And it is only by remaining inside and making use of the (submarine) periscope camera obscura that it becomes possible to enjoy the metropolitan spectacle. Tafuri has written: "The distance interposed between the penthouse and the Parisian panorama is secured by a technological device, the periscope. An 'innocent' reunification between



Beistegui apartment. Second and third levels of the terrace. The fence of greenery is slipping away, clearing the view of Notre-Dame.



Beistegui apartment. The wall that separates the salon from the dining room slips away electrically.

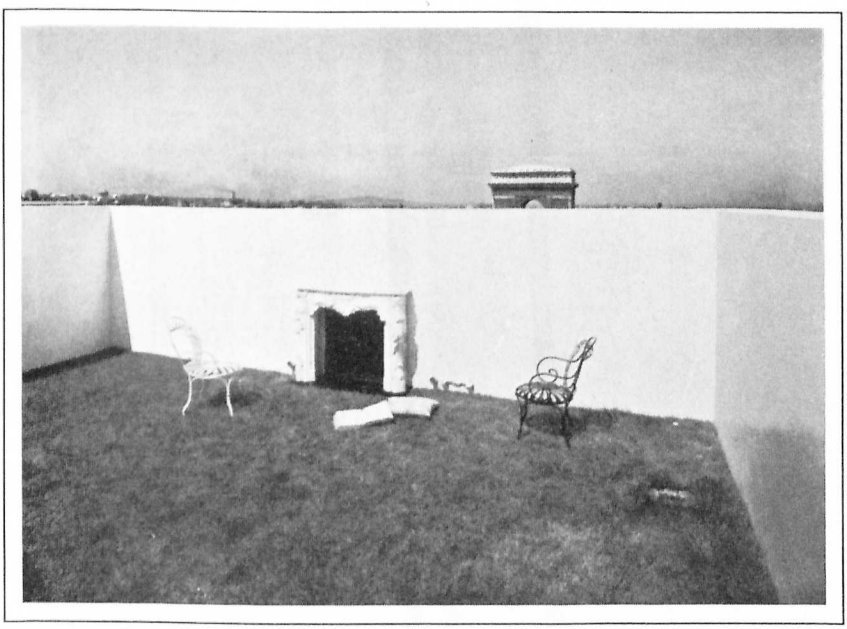
the fragment and the whole is no longer possible; the intervention of artifice is a necessity."[14]

But if this periscope, this primitive form of prosthesis, this "artificial limb," to return to Le Corbusier's concept in *L'Art décoratif d'aujourd'hui*, is *necessary* in the Beistegui apartment (as was also the rest of the *artifice* in this house, the electrically driven framing devices, the other prostheses), it is only because the apartment is *still* located in a nineteenth-century city: it is a penthouse in the Champs-Elysées. In "ideal" urban conditions, the house itself becomes the artifice.

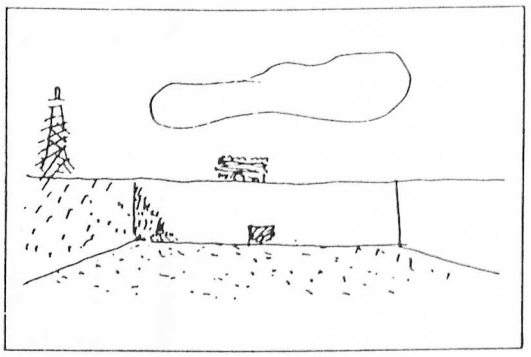
For Le Corbusier the *new* urban conditions are a consequence of the media, which institute a relationship between artifact and nature that makes the "defensiveness" of a Loosian window, of a Loosian system, unnecessary. In *Urbanisme*, in the same passage where he makes reference to Loos's window, Le Corbusier goes on to write: "The horizontal gaze leads far away. . . . From our offices we will get the feeling of being lookouts dominating a world in order. . . . The skyscrapers concentrate everything in themselves: machines for abolishing time and space, telephones, cables, radios."[15] The inward gaze, the gaze turned upon itself, of Loos's interiors becomes with Le Corbusier a gaze of dominion over the exterior world. But why is this gaze horizontal?

The question returns us to the debate between Le Corbusier and Perret over the horizontal window.[16] At one point, Le Corbusier attempts to demonstrate in a quasi-scientific manner that the horizontal window illuminates better. Symptomatically, he relies on a photographer's chart giving times of exposure:

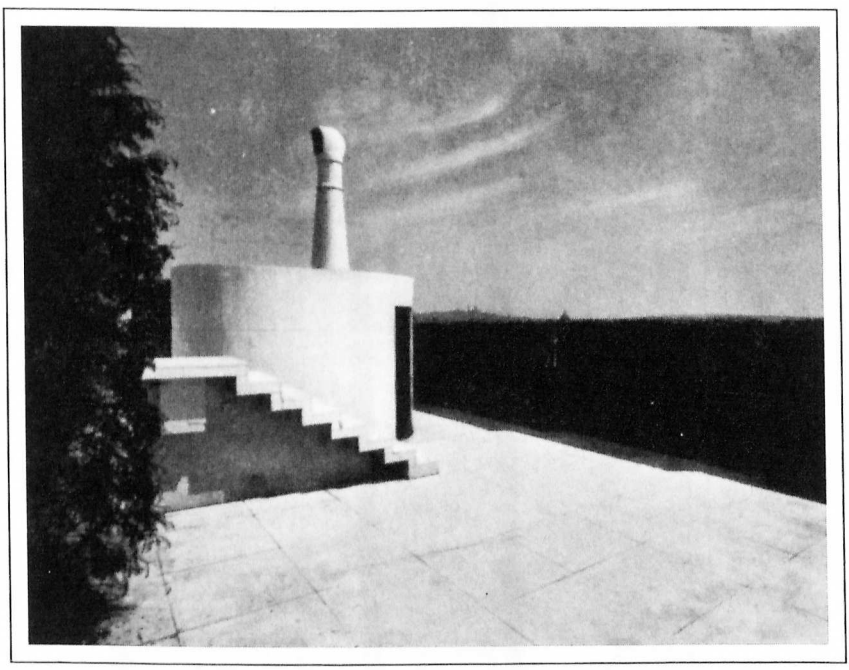
> **I have stated that the horizontal window illuminates better than the vertical window. Those are my observations of the reality. Nevertheless, I have passionate opponents. For example, the following sentence has been**



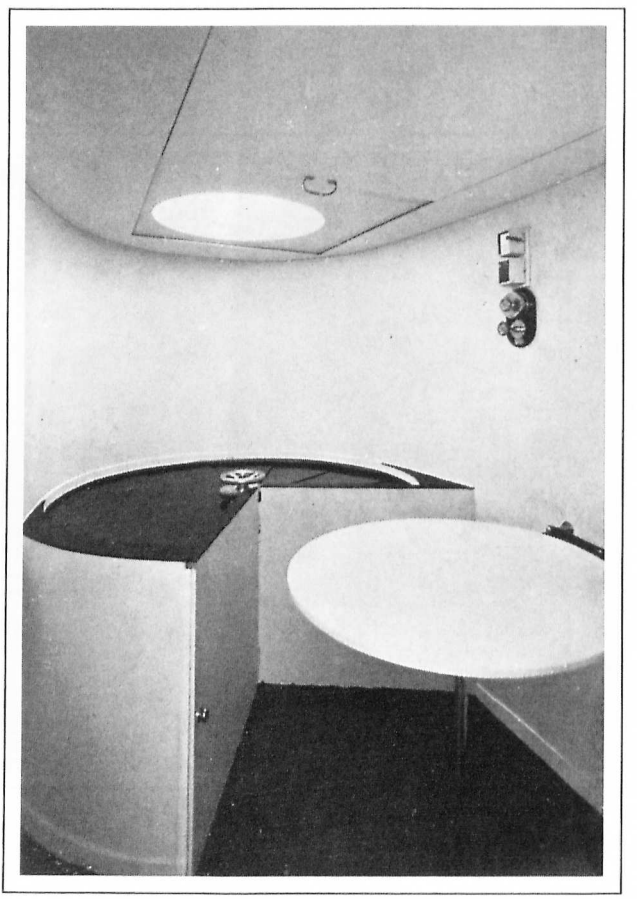
Beistegui apartment. "La chambre à ciel ouvert."



"Pélouse et murs au neuvième étage aux Champs-Elysées."



Beistegui apartment. Terrace with the periscope. "Paris est caché: on ne voit apparaître que quelques-uns des lieux sacrés de Paris: L'Arc de Triomphe, la Tour Eiffel, la perspective des Tuileries et de Notre-Dame, le Sacré-Coeur."



Beistegui apartment. Periscope–camera obscura. Arrival of the stairs that lead from the salon into the third level of the garden, and glass table where the periscope projects the views of Paris. The stairs are covered to remove the light. The table can be lowered to allow the trap door to be opened.

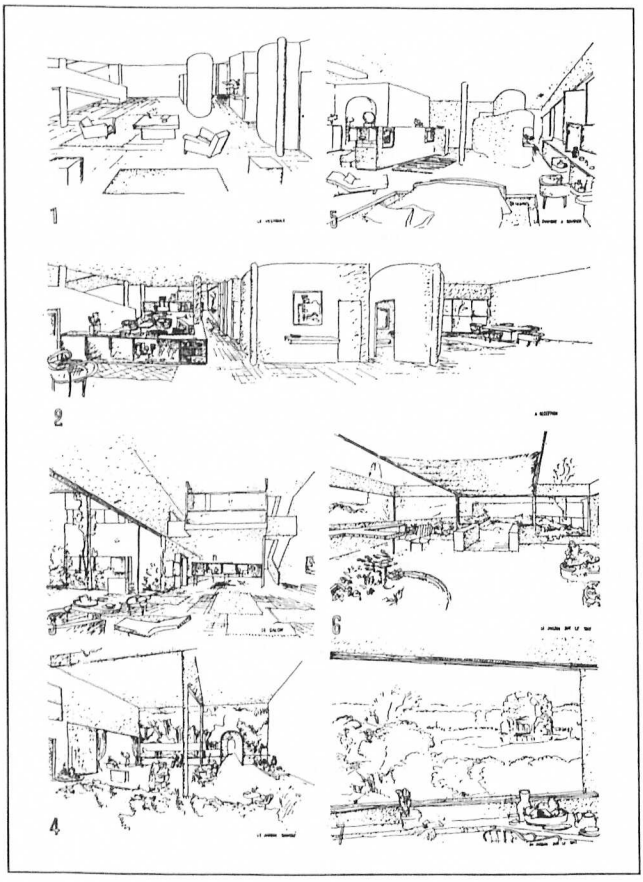
> thrown at me: *"A window is a man, it stands upright!"* This is fine if what you want are "words." But I have discovered recently in a photographer's chart these explicit graphics; I am no longer swimming in the approximations of personal observations. I am facing sensitive photographic film that reacts to light. The table says this: . . . *The photographic plate in a room illuminated with a horizontal window needs to be exposed four times less than in a room illuminated with two vertical windows.* . . . Ladies and gentlemen . . . we have left the Vignolized shores of the Institutes. We are at sea; let us not separate this evening without having taken our bearings. First, architecture: the pilotis carry the weight of the house above the ground, up in the air. *The view of the house is a categorical view, without connection with the ground.*[17]

If for Perret "a window is a man, it stands upright," with Le Corbusier the erected man behind Perret's *porte-fenêtre* has been replaced by a photographic camera. The view is free-floating, "without connection with the ground," or with the man behind the camera (a photographer's analytical chart has replaced "personal observations"). "The view from the house is a *categorical* view." In framing the landscape the house places the landscape into a system of categories. The house is a mechanism for classification. It collects views and, in doing so, classifies them. The house is a system for taking pictures. What determines the nature of the picture is the window. In another passage from the same book the window itself is seen as a camera lens: "When you buy a camera, you are determined to take photographs in the crepuscular winter of Paris, or in the brilliant sands of an oasis; how do you do it? *You use a diaphragm*. Your glass panes, your horizontal windows are all ready to be diaphragmed at will. You will let light in wherever you like."[18]

If the window is a lens, the house itself is a camera pointed at nature. Detached from nature, it is mobile. Just as the camera can be taken from Paris to the desert, the house can be taken from Poissy to Biarritz to Argentina. Again in *Précisions*, Le Corbusier describes Villa Savoye as follows:

> **The house is a box in the air, pierced all around, without interruption, by a *fenêtre en longueur*. . . . The box is in the middle of meadows, dominating the orchard. . . . The simple posts of the ground floor, through a precise disposition, cut up the landscape with a regularity that has the effect of *suppressing any notion of "front" or "back" of the house, of "side" of the house*. . . . The plan is pure, made for the most exact of needs. It is in its right place in the rural landscape of Poissy. But in Biarritz, it would be magnificent. . . . I am going to implant this very house in the beautiful Argentine countryside: we will have twenty houses rising from the high grass of an orchard where cows continue to graze.**[19]

The house is being described in terms of the way it frames the landscape and the effect this framing has on the perception of the house itself by the moving visitor. The house is in the air. It has no front, no back, no side.[20] The house can be in any place. It is *immaterial*. That is, the house is not simply constructed as a material object from which certain views then become possible. The house is no more than a series of views choreographed by the visitor, the way a filmmaker effects the montage of a film. Significantly, Le Corbusier has represented some of his projects, like Villa Meyer and the Guiette house, in the form of a series of sketches grouped together and representing the perception of the house by a moving eye.[21] As has been noted, these drawings suggest film storyboards, each of the images a still.[22]



Le Corbusier, Villa Meyer, Paris,
1925 (second project).

The description of Villa Savoye in *Précisions* recalls Le Corbusier's account, in the same book, of the process followed in the construction of the *petite maison* on the shores of Lake Geneva:

> **I knew that the region where we wanted to build consisted of 10 to 15 kilometers of hills along the lake. A fixed point: the lake; another, the magnificent view, frontal; another, the south, equally frontal.**
>
> **Should one first have searched for the site and made the plan in accordance with it? That is the usual practice. I thought it was better to make an exact plan, corresponding ideally to the use one hoped from it and determined by the three factors above. This done, to go out with the plan in hand to look for a suitable site.**[23]

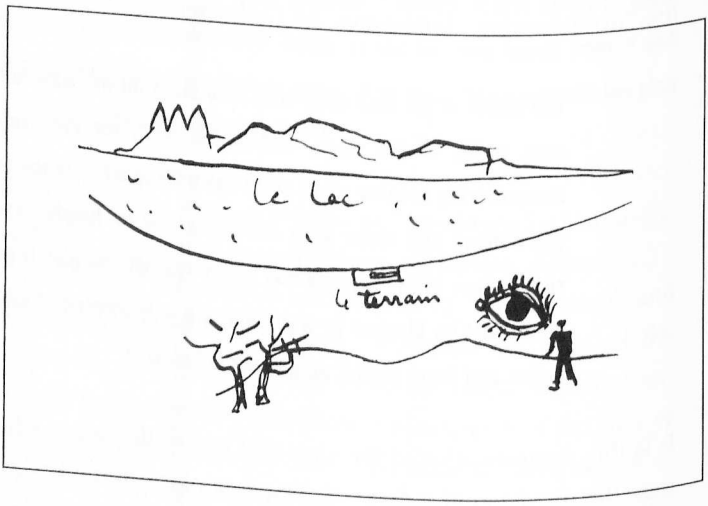
"The key to the problem of modern habitation," continues Le Corbusier, is "to inhabit first . . . placing oneself afterward [*Habiter d'abord. . . . Venir se placer ensuite*]." But what is meant here by "inhabitation" and by "placement"? The "three factors" that "determine the plan" of the house—the lake, the magnificent frontal view, the south, equally frontal—are precisely the factors that determine a photograph of the site, or rather, a photograph taken from the site. "To inhabit" here means to inhabit that picture. Le Corbusier writes: "Architecture *is made in the head,*" then drawn.[24] Only then does one look for the site. But the site is only where the landscape is "taken," framed by a mobile lens. This photo opportunity is at the intersection of the systems of communication that establish that mobility: the railway and the landscape. But even the landscape is here understood as a 10- to 15-kilometer strip, rather than a *place* in the traditional sense. The camera can be set up anywhere along that strip. Geography is now defined by the network of the railway: "The geographical situation confirmed our choice, for at the railway station twenty minutes away trains stop that link up Milan, Zurich,

Amsterdam, Paris, London, Geneva, and Marseilles." Place is now defined by the communication system. It is precisely within this system that the house moves: "1922, 1923 I boarded the Paris-Milan express several times, or the Orient Express (Paris-Ankara). In my pocket was the plan of a house. A plan without a site? The plan of a house in search of a plot of ground? Yes!"[25]

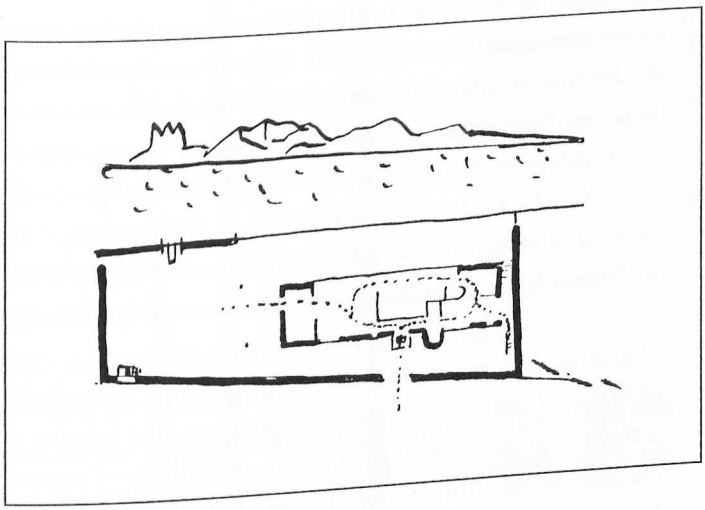
The house is drawn with a picture already in mind. The house is drawn as a frame for that picture. The frame establishes the difference between "seeing" and merely looking. It produces the picture by domesticating the "overpowering" landscape. Le Corbusier writes:

> **The object of the wall seen here is to block off the view to the north and east, partly to the south, and to the west; for the ever-present and overpowering scenery on all sides has a tiring effect in the long run. Have you noticed that *under such conditions one no longer "sees"*? To lend significance to the scenery one has to restrict and give it proportion; the view must be blocked by walls that are only pierced at certain strategic points and there permit an unhindered view.**[26]

It is this domestication of the view that makes the house a house, rather than the provision of a domestic space, a place in the traditional sense. Two drawings published in *Une petite maison* speak about what Le Corbusier means by "placing oneself." In one of them, "On a découvert le terrain," a small human figure appears standing and next to it a big eye, independent of the figure, oriented toward the lake. The plan of the house lies between the eye and the lake: the house is represented as that which lies between the eye and the view. The small figure is almost an accessory. The other drawing, "Le plan est installé," does not show, as the title would indicate, the encounter of the plan with the site, as we traditionally understand it. The site is not in the drawing.



"On a découvert le terrain."
Une petite maison, *1954*.



"Le plan est installé. . . ."
Une petite maison, ***1954.***

Even the curve of the shore of the lake in the other drawing has been erased. The drawing shows the plan of the house, a strip of lake, and a strip of mountains. That is, it shows the plan and above it the view. The "site" is a vertical plane, that of vision. The site is first and foremost a sight.

Of course, there is no "original" object in the new architecture, because the design is not dependent on any specific place. Throughout his writings, Le Corbusier insists on the relative autonomy of architecture and site. Referring again to the *petite maison*, he writes: "Today, the agreement of the ground with the house is no longer a question of site or of immediate context."[27] And in the face of a traditional site in Rio de Janeiro he constructs an "artificial site": "Here you have the idea: here you have *artificial sites*, countless new homes, and as for traffic—the Gordian knot has been severed."[28] All of this, however, does not mean that Le Corbusier's architecture is independent of place. It is the concept of place that has changed. We are talking here about a site that is defined by a sight. A sight can be accommodated in several sites.

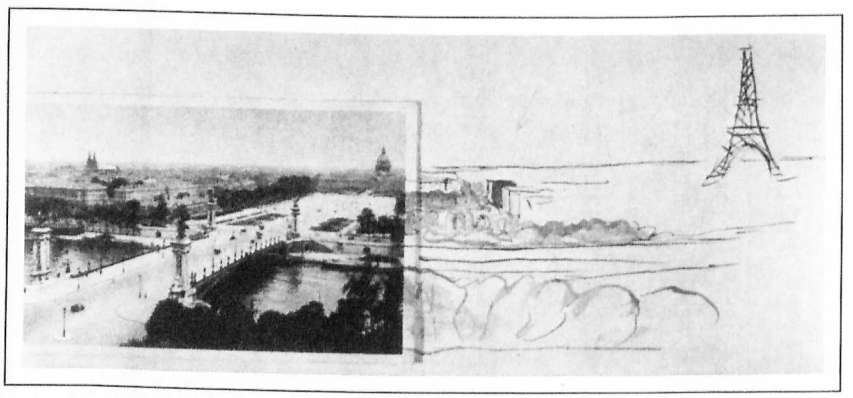
"Property" has moved from the horizontal to the vertical plane, the space of vision. Even in the Beistegui apartment, the primary location (from a traditional point of view), the famous *address*—Champs-Elysées— is completely subordinated by the *view*.[29] In fact, the street cannot even be seen from the apartment. The eye is lifted up but not simply to attain a panorama. If Le Corbusier declines the panoramic view of Paris that the place made possible, "represses" that view, it is only to replace it with a series of precisely constructed and technologically controlled vistas of the city. Moreover these vistas, of the Arc de Triomphe, the Eiffel Tower, Notre-Dame, Sacré-Coeur, etc., coincide precisely with Paris's most touristic sites, with the "icons" of Paris, what Le Corbusier would call the *lieux sacrés de Paris*. The vistas reproduce, in fact, the "reality" of Paris as depicted by contemporary postcards. Indeed Le

Corbusier not only collected postcards but incorporated them into his architectural projects. It is not surprising in that respect to find Le Corbusier producing a drawing of his project for an apartment building in rue Fabert (1935) by pasting a postcard of Paris onto the paper and drawing his proposal on and around it. The city for Le Corbusier is not so much a material reality as a representation, a collage of images. The urban fabric, the public space of the street, has been replaced by a limited set of images (much like a standard set of postcards), which however do not add up to any simple unified whole.

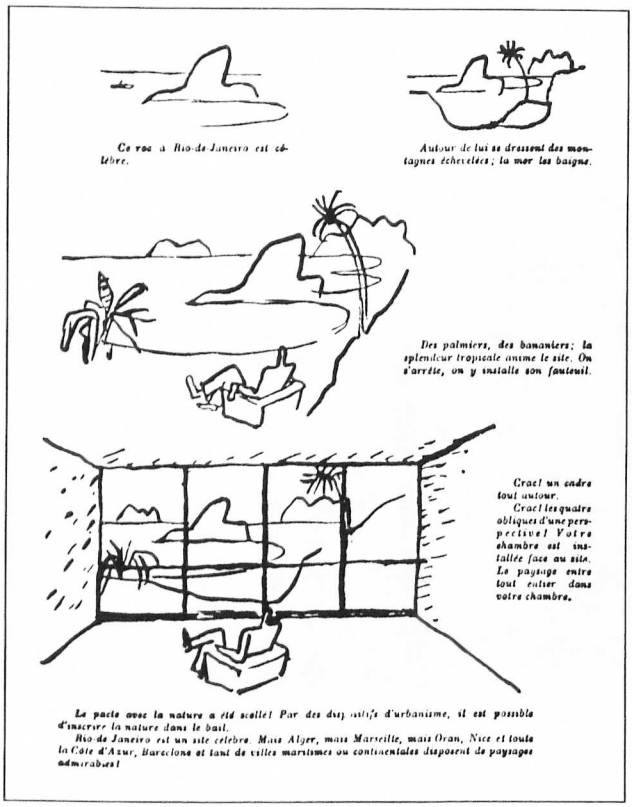
If for Le Corbusier cities are collections of postcards, the window is first and foremost a problem of urbanism. That is why it becomes a central point in every urban proposal of Le Corbusier. In Rio de Janeiro, for example, he developed a series of drawings in vignette that represent the relation between domestic space and spectacle:[30]

> **This rock at Rio de Janeiro is celebrated.**
> **Around it range the tangled mountains, bathed by the sea.**
> **Palms, banana trees; tropical splendor animates the site.**
> **One stops, one installs one's armchair.**
> **Crack! a frame all around. Crack! the four obliques of a perspective. Your room is installed before the site. The whole sea-landscape enters your room.**[31]

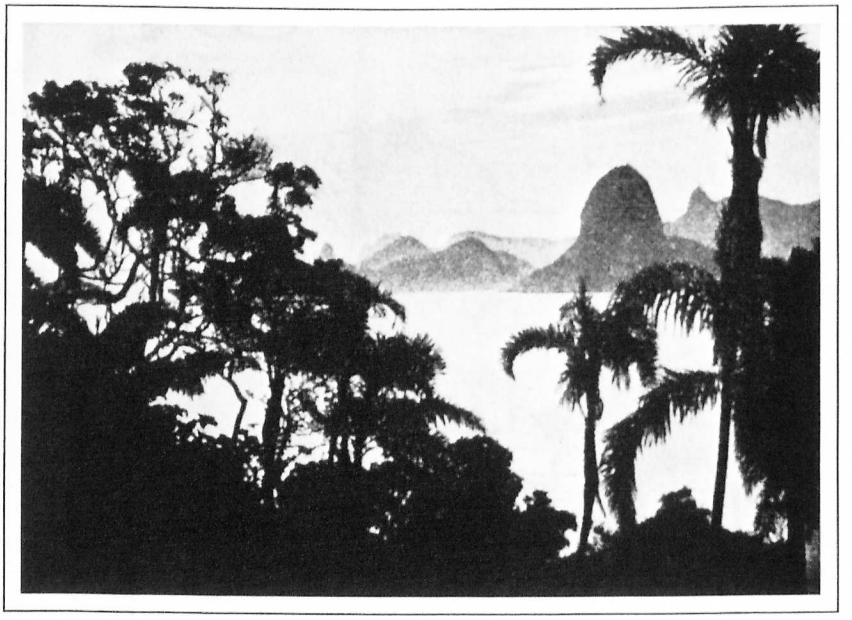
First a famous sight, a postcard, a picture. (And it is not by chance that Le Corbusier has not only drawn this landscape from an actual postcard but has published the postcard alongside the drawings in *La Ville radieuse*.)[32] Then, one inhabits the space in front of that picture, installs an armchair. But this view, this picture, is only constructed at the same time as the house.[33] "Crack! a frame all around. Crack! the four obliques of a perspective." The house is installed *in front of* the site, not *in* the



Le Corbusier, photomontage for the apartment building in rue Fabert.



Rio de Janeiro. The view is constructed at the same time as the house. La Maison des hommes, *1942.*



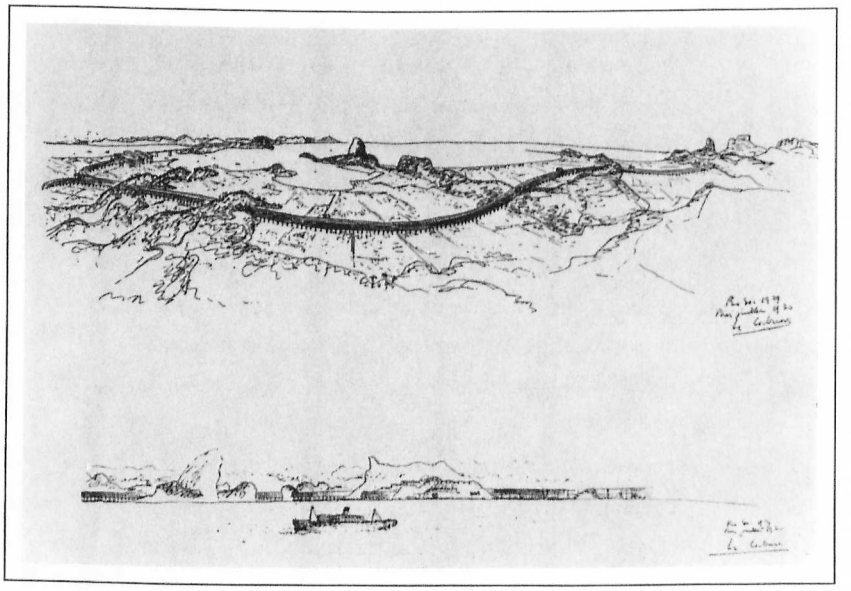
Rio de Janeiro. Postcard view of the famous rock.

site. The house is a frame for a view. The window is a gigantic screen. But then the view *enters* the house, it is literally "inscribed" in the lease: "The pact with nature has been sealed! By means available to town planning it is possible *to enter nature in the lease*. Rio de Janeiro is a celebrated site. But Algiers, Marseilles, Oran, Nice and all the Côte d'Azur, Barcelona, and many maritime and inland towns can boast of admirable landscapes."[34]

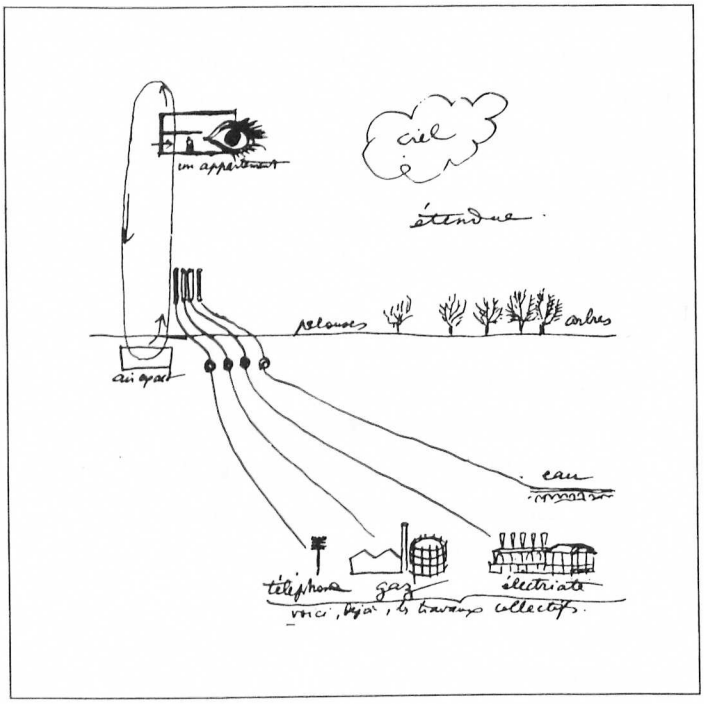
Again, several sites can accommodate this project: different locations, different pictures (like the world of tourism). But also different pictures of the same location. The repetition of units with windows at slightly different angles, different framings, as happens when this cell becomes a unit in the urban project for Rio de Janeiro, a project that consists of a six-kilometer strip of housing units under a highway on pilotis, suggests again the idea of the movie strip, each apartment's window a still. This sense of the movie strip is felt both in the inside and the outside: "Architecture? Nature? Liners enter and see the new and *horizontal city:* it makes the site still more sublime. Just think of this broad *ribbon of light,* at night."[35] The strip of housing is a movie strip, on both sides.

For Le Corbusier, "to inhabit" means to inhabit the camera. But the camera is not a traditional place, it is a system of classification, a kind of filing cabinet. "To inhabit" means to employ that system. Only after this do we have "placing," which is to place the view in the house, to take a picture, to place the view in the filing cabinet, to classify the landscape.

This critical transformation of traditional architectural thinking about place can also be seen in *La Ville radieuse* where a sketch represents the house as a cell with a view. Here an apartment, high up in the air, is presented as a terminal for telephone, gas, electricity, and water. The apartment is also provided with "exact air" (heating and ventilation): "A



Rio de Janeiro. The highway, elevated 100 meters and "launched" from hill to hill above the city. La Ville radieuse, *1933.*



Sketch in La Ville radieuse, *1933.*

window is to give light, not to ventilate! To ventilate we use machines; it is mechanics, it is physics."[36] Whereas Loos's window had split sight from illumination, Le Corbusier's splits ventilation (in his words, *breathing*) from these two forms of "light."[37] Inside the apartment there is a small human figure, and at the window a huge eye looking outside. They do not coincide. The apartment itself is here the artifice between the occupant and the exterior world, a camera (and a breathing machine). The exterior world also becomes artifice; like the air, it has been conditioned, landscaped—it becomes landscape. The apartment defines modern subjectivity with its own eye. The traditional subject can only be the *visitor*, and as such a temporary part of the viewing mechanism. The humanist subject has been displaced.

It is precisely in terms of the *visitor* that Le Corbusier has written about the inhabitant of his houses. For example, about Villa Savoye he writes in *Précisions:*

> **The visitors, till now, turn round and round inside, asking themselves what is happening, understanding with difficulty the reasons for what they see and feel; they don't find anything of what is called a "house." They feel themselves within something entirely new. And . . . they are not bored, I believe!**[38]

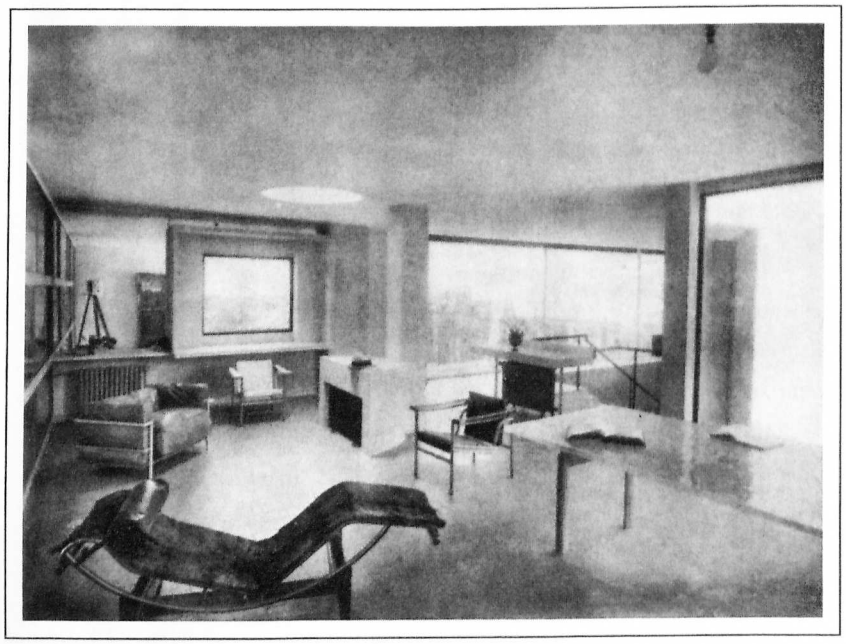
The inhabitants of Le Corbusier's house are displaced, first because they are disoriented. They do not know how to place themselves in relation to this house. It does not look like a "house." Then because the inhabitant is only a "visitor." Unlike the subject of Loos's houses who is both actor and spectator, both involved and detached from the domestic stage, Le Corbusier's subject is detached from the house with the distance of a visitor, a viewer, a photographer, a tourist.

The objects left as "traces" in the photographs of Le Corbusier's houses confirm this. They tend to be, again, the objects of a visitor (hat, coat, etc.). Never do we find any trace of "domesticity," as traditionally understood.[39] These objects could also be understood as standing for the architect. The hat, coat, glasses are definitely those of Le Corbusier. They play the same role that Le Corbusier plays as an actor in the movie *L'Architecture d'aujourd'hui,* where he passes through the house rather than inhabits it. Even the architect is *estranged* from his work with the distance of a visitor or a movie actor.

In a photograph of the interior of Villa Church, a casually placed hat and two open books on the table announce that somebody has just been there. A window with the traditional proportions of a painting is framed in a way that makes it read also as a screen. In the corner of the room a camera set on a tripod appears. It is the reflection on the mirror of the camera taking the photograph. As viewers of this photograph we are in the position of the photographer, that is, in the position of the camera, because the photographer, like the visitor, has already abandoned the room. (We have been advised to leave.) The subject (the visitor of the house, the photographer, the architect, and even the viewer of this photograph) has already left. The subject in Le Corbusier's house is estranged and displaced from his/her own home.

This estrangement is perhaps not dissimilar to that experienced by the movie actor before the mechanism of the cinematographic camera. In a passage cited by Benjamin, Pirandello has described it as follows:

> **The film actor feels as if in exile—exiled not only from the stage but also from himself. With a vague sense of discomfort he feels inexplicable emptiness: his body loses corporeality, it evaporates, it is deprived of reality, life, voice and the noises caused by its moving about, in order to**



Le Corbusier, Villa Church, Ville d'Avray, 1928–1929.

be changed into a mute image, flickering an instant on the screen, then vanishing into silence.[40]

Theater knows necessarily about emplacement, in the traditional sense. It is always about presence. Both the actor and the spectator are fixed in a continuous space and time, those of the performance. In the shooting of a movie there is no such continuity. The actor's work is split into a series of discontinuous, mountable episodes. The nature of the illusion for the spectator is a result of the montage. As Benjamin puts it: "The stage actor identifies himself with the character of his role. The film actor very often is denied this opportunity. His creation is by no means all of a piece; it is composed of many separate performances."[41]

The subject of Loos's architecture is the stage actor. But while the center of the house is left empty for the performance, we find the subject occupying the threshold of this space. Undermining its boundaries. The subject is split between actor and spectator of its own play. The completeness of the subject dissolves as also does the wall that s/he is occupying.

The subject of Le Corbusier's work is the movie actor, "estranged not only from the scene but from his own person." This moment of estrangement is clearly marked in the drawing of *La Ville radieuse* where the traditional humanist figure, the inhabitant of the house, is made incidental to the camera eye; it comes and goes, it is merely a visitor.

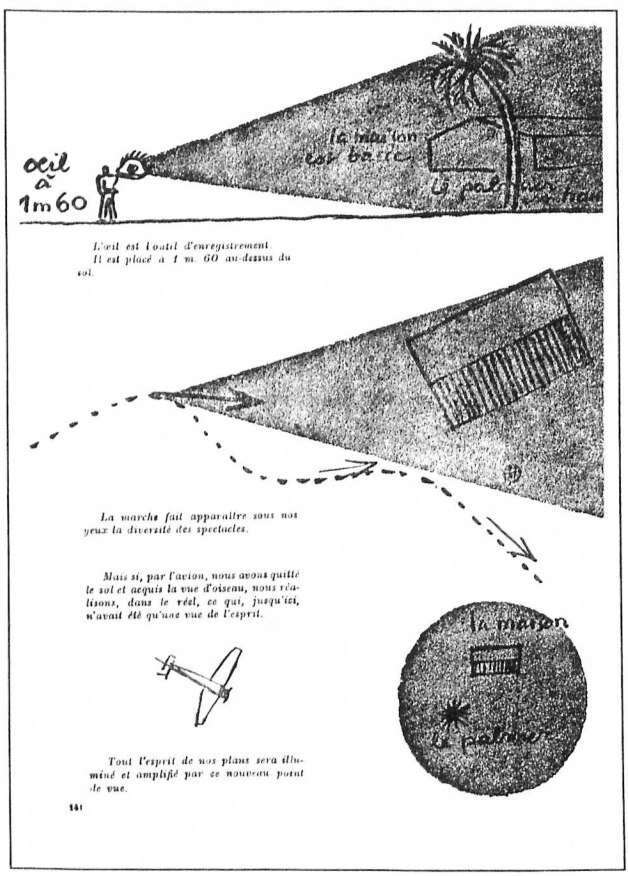
The split between the traditional humanist subject (the inhabitant or the architect) and the eye is the split between looking and seeing, between outside and inside, between landscape and site. In Le Corbusier's drawings, the inhabitant and the person in search of a site are represented as diminutive figures. Suddenly that figure *sees*. A picture is

taken, a large eye, autonomous from the figure, represents that moment. This is precisely the moment of *inhabitation*. This inhabitation is independent from *place* (understood in a traditional sense); it turns the outside into an inside:

> **I perceive that the work we raise is not unique, nor isolated; that the air around it constitutes other surfaces, other grounds, other ceilings, that the harmony that has suddenly stopped me before the rock of Brittany exists, can exist, everywhere else, always. The work is not made only of itself: the outside exists. The outside shuts me in its whole which is like a room.**[42]

"Le dehors est toujours un dedans" (the outside is always an inside) means, among other things, that the "outside" is a picture. And that to inhabit means *to see*. In *La Maison des hommes* there is a drawing of a figure standing and (again), side by side, an independent eye: "Let us not forget that our eye is 5 feet 6 inches above the ground; our eye, this entry door of our architectural perceptions."[43] The eye is a "door" to architecture, and the "door" is, of course, an architectural element, the first form of a "window."[44] Later in the book, "the door" is replaced by media equipment, "the eye is the tool of recording":

> **The eye is a tool of registration. It is placed 5 feet 6 inches above the ground.**
>
> **Walking creates diversity in the spectacle before our eyes.**
>
> **But we have left the ground in an airplane and acquired the eyes of a bird. We see, in actuality, that which hitherto was only seen by the spirit.**[45]



L'œil est l'outil d'enregistrement. Il est placé à 1 m. 60 au-dessus du sol.

La marche fait apparaître sous nos yeux la diversité des spectacles.

Mais si, par l'avion, nous avons quitté le sol et acquis la vue d'oiseau, nous réalisons, dans le réel, ce qui, jusqu'ici, n'avait été qu'une vue de l'esprit.

Tout l'esprit de nos plans sera illuminé et amplifié par ce nouveau point de vue.

161

"L'oeil est l'outil d'enregistrement."
La Maison des hommes, *1942*.

If the eye is a "tool for recording," the window is, for Le Corbusier, first of all communication. He repeatedly superimposes the idea of the "modern" window, the lookout window, the horizontal window, with the reality of the new media: "telephone, cable, radios, . . . machines for abolishing time and space." Control is now in these media. The look that from Le Corbusier's skyscrapers will "dominate a world in order" is neither the look from behind the periscope of Beistegui or the defensive view (turned toward itself) of Loos's interiors. It is a look that "registers" the new reality, a "recording" eye. The whole argument of *Précisions* is set up around the opening description of modernity as mass communication:

> **Mechanization has overwhelmed everything.**
>
> ***Communications:*** **in the past, men organized their undertakings at the scale of their legs: time had a different duration. The idea of the world was its great size, without limits. . . .**
>
> ***Interpenetration:*** **one day Stephenson invented the locomotive. They laughed. And as businessmen—the first captains of industry, who will be the new conquistadors—take it seriously, ask for rights-of-way, Mr. Thiers, the statesman who was leading France, intervenes immediately in Parlement, begging the deputies to keep to serious things. "A railroad could never connect two cities. . . ."**
>
> **Came the telegraph, the telephone, steamships, airplanes, the radio, and now television. A word said in Paris is with you in a fraction of a second! . . . Airplanes go everywhere; their eagle eyes have searched the deserts and penetrated the rain forest. Hastening interpenetration, the railway, the telephone unceasingly run the country into the city, the city into the country. . . .**

> ***The destruction of regional cultures:*** **what was held most sacred has fallen: tradition, the legacy of ancestors, local thinking . . . all is destroyed, annihilated. . . .**
>
> **Whiners curse the disturbing machine. Intelligent active persons think: Let us record while there is still time, in photos, films, or tapes, in books, magazines, the sublime evidence of age-old cultures.**[46]

Le Corbusier's architecture is produced by this kind of engagement with the mass media but, as with Loos, the key to his position is in the end to be found in his statements about fashion. Where for Loos the English suit was the mask necessary to sustain the individual in metropolitan conditions of existence, for Le Corbusier this suit is cumbersome and inefficient. And where Loos contrasts the *dignity* of male British fashion with the *masquerade* of women's, Le Corbusier praises women's fashion over men's because it has undergone *change*, the change of modern time.

> **Woman has preceded us. She has carried out the reform of her dress. She found herself at a dead end: to follow fashion and, then, give up the advantages of modern techniques, of modern life. To give up sport and, a more material problem, be unable to take on the jobs that have made woman a fertile part of contemporary production and enabled her *to earn her own living*. To follow fashion: she could not drive a car; she could not take the subway, or the bus, nor act quickly in her office or her shop. To carry out the daily *construction* of a "toilette": hairdo, shoes, buttoning her dress, she would not have had time to sleep. So, woman cut her hair and her skirts and her sleeves. She goes out bareheaded, barearmed, with her legs free. And she can dress in five minutes. And she is beautiful; she seduces us with the charm of her graces of which the designers have**

admitted taking advantage. The courage, the liveliness, the spirit of invention with which woman has revolutionized her dress are a miracle of modern times. Thank you!

And what about us, men? A dismal state of affairs! In our dress clothes, we look like generals of the Grande Armée and we wear starched collars! We are uncomfortable.[47]

While Loos spoke, you will remember, of the exterior of the house in terms of male fashion, Le Corbusier's comments on fashion are made in the context of the furnishing of the domestic interior. The furniture in style (Louis XIV) should be replaced with *equipment* (standard furniture, in great part derived from office furniture), and this change is assimilated to the change that women have undertaken in their dress. He concedes, however, that there are certain advantages to male dressing: "The English suit we wear had nevertheless succeeded in something important. It had *neutralized* us. It is useful to show a neutral appearance in the city. The dominant sign is no longer ostrich feathers in the hat, it is in the gaze. That's enough."[48]

Except for this last comment, "The dominant sign . . . is in the gaze," Le Corbusier's statement is purely Loosian. But at the same time, it is precisely that *gaze* of which Le Corbusier speaks that marks their differences. For Le Corbusier the interior no longer needs to be defined as a system of defense from the exterior. To say that "the exterior is always an interior" means that the interior is not simply the bounded territory defined by its opposition to the exterior. The exterior is "inscribed" in the dwelling. The window in the age of mass communication provides us with one more flat image. The window is a screen. From there issues the insistence on eliminating every protruding element, "de-

Vignolizing" the window, suppressing the sill: "Mr. Vignola is not concerned with windows, but 'between windows' (pilasters and columns). I de-Vignolize with: 'architecture is lighted floors.'"[49]

Of course, this screen undermines the wall. But here it is not, as in Loos's houses, a *physical* undermining, an *occupation* of the wall, but a *dematerialization* following from the emerging media. The organizing geometry of architecture slips from the perspectival cone of vision, from the humanist eye, to the camera angle. It is precisely in this slippage that modern architecture becomes modern by engaging with the media. Given that the media are so frequently identified with the feminine, it is not surprising to find that this slippage is not neutral in gender terms. Male fashion is uncomfortable but provides the bearer with "the gaze," "the dominant sign." Woman's fashion is practical and modern but turns her into the object of another's gaze: "Modern woman has cut her hair. Our gazes have enjoyed the shape of her legs." A picture. She sees nothing. She is an attachment to a wall that is no longer simply there. Enclosed by a space whose limits are defined by a gaze. If for Le Corbusier the woman is the very figure of modernity, the status of that figure remains troubling.

Notes

Archive

1

Heinrich Kulka, *Adolf Loos, das Werk des Architekten*, with a contribution by Franz Glück (Vienna: Anton Schroll, 1931; rpt. Vienna: Löcker, 1979).

2

Cf. Burkhardt Rukschcio, "Adolf Loos Analyzed: A Study of the Loos Archive in the Albertina Graphic Collection," *Lotus International* 29 (1981), p. 100.

3

H. Allen Brooks, "Foreword," *Le Corbusier*, ed. H. A. Brooks (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), p. ix. This book collects the 15 essays first published in *The Le Corbusier Archive*, ed. H. A. Brooks, 32 vols. (New York: Garland Publishing Co.; Paris: Fondation Le Corbusier, 1982–1984). *Le Corbusier Carnets*, 4 vols. (New York: Architectural History Foundation; Paris: Herscher/Dessain et Tolra, 1981–1982). Giuliano Gresleri, *Le Corbusier, Viaggio in Oriente* (Venice: Marsilio Editori; Paris: Fondation Le Corbusier, 1984).

4

Le Corbusier, une encyclopédie, ed. Jacques Lucan, published on the occasion of the exhibition "L'aventure Le Corbusier" in the Centre Georges Pompidou (Paris: Editions du Centre Pompidou, 1987); 66 authors, 144 articles, 231 entries.

5

Le Corbusier and Pierre Jeanneret, *Oeuvre complète*, ed. Willi Boesiger, 8. vols. (Zurich: Girsberger, 1930ff.); vol. 1, 1910–1929; vol. 2, 1929–1934; vol. 3, (ed. Max Bill) 1934–1938; vol. 4, 1938–1946; vol. 5, 1946–1952; vol. 6, 1952–1957; vol. 7, 1952–1965; vol. 8, 1965–1969.

6

Also on the occasion of his birthday, a Festschrift was published with many contributions from his friends, colleagues, and clients: *Adolf Loos, Festschrift zum 60. Geburtstag am 10.12. 1930* (Vienna: Richard Lanyi, 1930).

7

Ludwig Münz and Gustav Künstler, *Der Architekt Adolf Loos*, with an introduction by Oskar Kokoschka (Vienna and Munich: Verlag Anton Schroll, 1964). English translation: *Adolf Loos: Pioneer of Modern Architecture*, with an introduction by Nikolaus Pevsner and an appreciation by Oskar Kokoschka (London: Thames and Hudson, 1966).

8

Burkhardt Rukschcio and Roland Schachel, *Adolf Loos, Leben und Werk* (Salzburg and Vienna, 1982). While this is not the place for a complete reference list, I should also mention as a documentary milestone the special issue of *Bauforum* edited by Johannes Spalt and Friedrich Kurrent on the occasion of the centennial of Loos's birth in 1970, which includes many unpublished documents and photographs. Specifically on the Adolf Loos house in the Michaelerplatz, there is Hermann Czech and Wolfgang Mistelbauer's *Das Looshaus* (Vienna: Löcker & Wögenstein, 1976). More recent publications include: *Raumplan versus Plan Libre*, ed. Max Risselada (Delft: Delft University Press, 1988), *The Architecture of Adolf Loos: An Arts Council Exhibition* (London: Arts Council of Great Britain, 1985), and *Adolf Loos* (Vienna: Graphische Sammlung Albertina, 1989).

9

Adolf Loos, Leben und Werk, pp. 7–9

10

While this house is normally referred to as Maison Jeanneret, it was entirely paid for by Lotti Raaf, who later married Le Corbusier's brother Albert Jeanneret. See Tim Benton, *The Villas of Le Corbusier 1920–1930* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1987), pp. 46ff., and Russell Walden, "New Light on Le Corbusier's Early Years in Paris: The La Roche-Jeanneret Houses," *The Open Hand: Essays on Le Corbusier*, ed. Russell Walden (Cambridge and London: MIT Press, 1977), pp. 116–161.

11

Letter from Le Corbusier to Madame Savoye, 28 June 1931 (Fondation Le Corbusier).

12

"On entre: le *spectacle* architecturale s'offre de suite au *regard;* on suit un itinéraire et les *perspectives* se développent avec une grande variété; on joue avec l'afflux de la *lumière* éclairant

les murs ou créant des *pénombres*. Les baies ouvrent des perspectives sur l'extérieur où l'on retrouve l'unité architecturale. A l'intérieur, les premiers essais de polychromie, basés sur les réactions spécifiques des couleurs, permettent le '*camouflage architectural*,' c'est-à-dire l'affirmation de certains volumes ou, au contraire, leur effacement. . . . Voici, vivant à nouveau sous nos *yeux modernes*, des événements architecturaux de l'histoire: les pilotis, la fenêtre en longueur, le toit-jardin, la façade de verre." Le Corbusier, *Oeuvre complète*, vol. 1, p. 60 (emphasis added).

13

"L'architecture arabe nous donne un enseignement précieux. Elle s'apprécie *à la marche*, avec le pied; c'est en marchant, en se déplaçant que l'on voit se développer les ordonnances de l'architecture. C'est un principe contraire à l'architecture baroque qui est conçue sur le papier, autour d'un point fixe théorique. Je préfère l'enseignement de l'architecture arabe. Dans cette maison-ci, il s'agit d'une véritable promenade architecturale, offrant des aspects constamment variés, inattendus, parfois étonnants." Le Corbusier, *Oeuvre complète*, vol. 2, p. 24.

14

Le Corbusier's reference to baroque architecture may be a response to Sigfried Giedion, who positively compared Le Corbusier's house for La Roche to a baroque church: "The way in which the cool concrete walls, alive in themselves, are divided, cut up and dispersed in order to allow new room compartmentalizations has only been known, in a wholly different context, in some Baroque chapels." "The New House" (1926), reprinted in *Le Corbusier in Perspective*, ed. Peter Serenyi (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1975), p. 33.

15

Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," in *Illuminations*, ed. with an introduction by Hannah Arendt, trans. Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken Books, 1969), p. 238.

16

Le Corbusier, "Twentieth Century Building and Twentieth Century Living," *The Studio Year Book on Decorative Art* (London, 1930), reprinted in Risselada, *Raumplan versus Plan Libre*, p. 145.

17

It is curious that Le Corbusier's concept of "walls of light" and the idea of space that it implies are closer, in their material reality, to the space of Mies van der Rohe's architecture than to his own. Le Corbusier's horizontal window is still a window, even if it presupposes a "dematerialized" (non-load-bearing) wall. On the other hand, Mies will write (and nothing could be further from his architecture): "I cut openings into walls where I need them for view or illumination." Mies van der Rohe, "Building," *G*, no. 2 (September 1923), p. 1. Translated in Fritz Neumeyer, *The Artless Word: Mies van der Rohe on the Building Art*, trans. Mark Jarzombek (Cambridge and London: MIT Press, 1991), p. 243.

18

Bruno Reichlin, "Le Corbusier vs De Stijl," in *De Stijl et l'architecture en France*, ed. Yve-Alain Bois and Bruno Reichlin (Brussels: Pierre Mardaga, 1985), p. 98. Reichlin is referring here to Steen Eiler Rasmussen, "Le Corbusier—die kommende Baukunst?," *Wasmuths Monatshefte für Baukunst* 10, no. 9 (1926), p. 381.

19

Le Corbusier, "Twentieth Century Building and Twentieth Century Living," p. 146.

20

Barthes goes on to say: "Since the private is not only our goods (falling under the historical laws of property), since it is also the absolute, precious, inalienable site where my image is free (free to abolish itself) . . . I must reconstitute the division of public and private." Roland Barthes, *La Chambre claire* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1980), English translation *Camera Lucida* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1981), p. 98. Translation here slightly different.

21

Friedrich Nietzsche, "On the Uses and Disadvantages of History for Life" (1874), in *Untimely Meditations*, trans. R. J. Hollingdale (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 84.

22

Contemporary dictionaries define being *in public* as being "in public view or access." *Random House Dictionary of the English Language*, unabridged edition (New York: Random House, 1966).

23

Cf. Alice Yaeger Kaplan, "Working in the Archives," *Reading the Archive: On Texts and Institutions*, Yale French Studies no. 77 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), p. 103.

24

Nietzsche, "On the Uses and Disadvantages of History," pp. 78–79. Translation here slightly different.

25

Mark Wigley has theorized that the idea of the house is tied up with the idea of digestion, or rather, with the repression of indigestion. See his article "Postmortem Architecture: The Taste of Derrida," *Perspecta* 23 (1986).

26

Adolf Loos, "Die moderne Siedlung," in *Sämtliche Schriften, Adolf Loos*, vol. 1 (Vienna and Munich: Verlag Herold, 1962), pp. 402ff. Loos uses the word "gentleman" in English in the original text.

27

Almost all the scholarship aimed at documenting Loos's life and work is Austrian. See notes 1, 7, and 8 for references.

28

Jacques Lucan, "Avertissement," *Le Corbusier, une encyclopédie,* p. 4.

29

"Historically the various means of communication have competed with one another," writes Benjamin. Maybe it is for that reason that when I read these lines of Lucan I do not think so much of the space of an *encyclopédie,* after all a nineteenth-century form, as of its modern counterpart, computerized information. And I imagine a system that would have included *everything* as the "true museum" that Le Corbusier speaks about, every article on Le Corbusier, good or bad, scholarly or scandalous (and a system to access that information that would have resembled more a supermarket or even a shopping mall than a library). It is this space of the computer that Le Corbusier seems to anticipate, "to envy," when he endorses with enthusiasm the classification methods represented by the filing cabinet.

30

Jonathan Crary, *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge and London: MIT Press, 1990).

31

Reyner Banham, *A Concrete Atlantis: U.S. Industrial Building and European Modern Architecture* (Cambridge and London: MIT Press, 1986), p. 18.

City

1

Robert Musil, *The Man without Qualities* (New York: Capricorn Books, 1965), p. 12.

2

Wolfgang Schivelbusch in his book *The Railway Journey* (New York: Urizen Books, 1979) compares the world of tourism of the nineteenth century with a department store of landscapes and cities. There is also a novel *The World a Department Store* by Bradford Peck, published by himself in 1900, quoted by Rachel Bowlby in *Just Looking: Consumer Culture in Dreiser, Gissing and Zola* (New York and London: Methuen, 1985), pp. 156–157.

3

"Everything under the same roof" and "fixed price" were the slogans adopted by Aristide Boucicaut for the first department store: the Bon Marché founded by himself in Paris in 1852. "Everything under the same roof" means indifference to "place." In medieval cities, streets have names for what is done in them. "Fixed price" is another form of abstraction. The value of things is no longer dependent on vagaries such as the humor of the merchant at the time of the purchase, the bargaining power of the client, or the time of the day. The distracted perception in the modern city is similar to that in department stores in the way in which buildings pile up and the dazzled state they create. Department stores, on the other hand, create architecture in the disposition of objects. On perception in the big cities see, for example, Ozenfant and Jeanneret, "Formation de l'optique moderne," *L'Esprit nouveau* 21

(1923): "Les modifications du cadre extérieur de notre existence ont réagi profondément, non sur les propriétés fondamentales de notre optique, mais sur l'intensité et la vitesse fonctionnelle de notre vue, sa pénétration, l'extension de sa capacité d'enregistrement, sa tolérance à des spectacles autrefois inconnus (fréquence des images, nouvelles gammes de couleurs en rapports nouveaux dus à l'invention des violentes couleurs chimiques, etc.); il en est de l'éducation de l'oeil comme de celle de l'oreille: un paysan arrivant à Paris est de suite abruti par la multiplicité, l'intensité des bruits qui l'assaillent; il est en même temps comme ébloui par l'apparente cacophonie des images qu'il doit enregistrer avec une vitesse à laquelle il n'est pas entraîné." On perception in department stores see Emile Zola, *Au bonheur des dames* (Paris, 1883), where the disorientation in the department store experienced by the heroine, Denise (a peasant newly arrived in the city), is precisely linked to being lost in a city: "She felt herself lost, she so little in this monster place, in this machine at rest, trembling for fear she should be caught in the movement with which the walls already began to shake. And the thought of the old Elbeuf, black and narrow, increased the immensity of this vast establishment, presenting it to her as bathed in light, *like a city with its monuments, squares and streets,* in which it seemed impossible that she should ever find her way." Emile Zola, *The Ladies' Paradise,* introduction by Kristin Ross (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1992). The models of Zola's department store were, precisely, the Bon Marché, founded in 1852, and the Louvre, founded in 1855. See Kristin Ross's introduction to *The Ladies' Paradise,* where she also points out that the "illogical layout [of department stores] served to increase customers' disorientation—a disoriented or dazzled customer was more prone to impulse buying" (p. viii). About department stores see also Rachel Bowlby's *Just Looking,* a very important work on the development of early consumer culture and its gender and class implications. About American department stores see M. Christine Boyer, *Manhattan Manners: Architecture and Style 1850–1900* (New York: Rizzoli, 1985).

4

Joris Karl Huysmans, *A rebours* (Paris, 1884).

5

Musil, *The Man without Qualities,* p. 4.

6

Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus* (1921), trans. D. F. Pears and B. F. McGuinness, with an introduction by Bertrand Russell (London and Henley: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1974), proposition 4.115, p. 26.

7

Georg Simmel, "Zur Metaphisik des Todes" (1910). Quoted by Manfredo Tafuri in "The Historical Project," *Oppositions* 17 (1979), p. 60.

8

R. M. Rilke, *Die Aufzeichnungen des Malte Laurids Brigge;* English translation *The Notebooks of Malte Laurids Brigge* (New York: Norton, 1964), p. 15. Translation here slightly different.

9

Sigmund Freud, "'Civilized' Sexual Morality and Modern Nervous Illness" (1908), in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud* (London: Hogarth Press, 1953–1974), vol. 9.

10

Karl Kraus, "In dieser grossen Zeit" (1914), translated in *In These Great Times: A Karl Kraus Reader*, ed. Harry Zohn (Manchester: Carcanet, 1984), p. 77.

11

"In the realm of poverty of imagination where people die of spiritual famine without feeling spiritual hunger, where pens are dipped in blood and swords in ink, that which is not thought must be done, but that which is only thought is inutterable." Karl Kraus, *In These Great Times*, p. 71.

12

Hugo von Hofmannsthal, "The Letter of Lord Chandos," originally published in the Berlin newspaper *Der Tag*, 18 and 19 October 1902, with the title "Ein Brief." In Hugo von Hofmannsthal, *Selected Prose*, trans. Mary Hattinger et al., with an introduction by Herman Broch (New York: Pantheon Books, 1952), p. 140.

13

Adolf Loos, "Potemkin City," *Ver Sacrum* (July 1898); English translation in *Spoken into the Void*, trans. Jane O. Newman and John H. Smith (Cambridge and London: MIT Press, 1982), p. 95.

14

Camillo Sitte, *Der Städtebau nach seinen künstlerischen Grundsätzen* (Vienna, 1889); English translation *City Planning According to Artistic Principles*, in George R. Collins and Christiane Crasemann Collins, *Camillo Sitte: The Birth of Modern City Planning* (New York: Rizzoli, 1986), p. 311.

15

Musil, *The Man without Qualities*, p. 3. Translation here slightly different.

16

Ferdinand de Saussure, for example, in his *Cours de linguistique générale* (1916; Paris: Payot, 1972), uses the metaphor of a sheet of paper: "Thought is the front and sound is the back, one cannot cut the front without cutting the back. Likewise in language one can neither cut sound from thought nor thought from sound" (p. 157).

17

Rudolph Schindler, who was a pupil both of the Wagnerschule and of Adolf Loos and who emigrated to America in 1914, wrote: "The distinction between the indoors and the out-of-doors will disappear. The walls will be few, thin and removable. . . . Our house will lose its front-and-back-door aspect." "Care of the Body," *Los Angeles Times*, 2 May 1926, reprinted

in August Sarnitz, *R. M. Schindler, Architect: 1887–1953* (New York: Rizzoli, 1988), pp. 46–47. Moholy-Nagy says in his *The New Vision* (New York, 1947; originally *Von Material zu Architektur,* Munich, 1928): "The new architecture on its highest plane will be called upon to remove the conflict between the organic and artificial, between the open and closed, between the country and city." Theo Van Doesburg, "$-\square+=R_4$," *De Stijl* 6, nos. 6–7 (1924), pp. 91–92: "By the disruption of enclosure [walls] we have abolished the duality between interior and exterior"; van Doesburg, "Tot een beeldende architectuur: de vorm, de plattegrond, ruimte en tijd, symmetrie en herhaling, de kleur, de architectuur als synthese der nieuwe beelding," *De Stijl,* ibid., pp. 78–83: "The new architecture has rendered equal in value 'front' and 'back,' upright, and perhaps also 'upward' and 'downward.'" Frederick Kiesler, pupil and friend of Adolf Loos, takes all of this a step further when he writes: "Let us have no more walls. . . . No walls, no foundations." "Manifest—Vitalbau—Raumstadt—Funktionelle-Architektur," *De Stijl* 6, nos. 10–11 (1924–1925), pp. 141–146.

18

Walter Benjamin, "Karl Kraus" (1931), in *Reflections,* ed. with an introduction by Peter Demetz, trans. Edmund Jephcott (New York: Schocken Books, 1986), p. 239.

19

Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955), p. 39.

20

See Jacques Derrida's reading of Saussure in "The Outside and the Inside," in *Of Grammatology,* trans. Gayatri Spivak (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976), pp. 30–44. Also, Geoff Bennington's reading of Derrida in "Complexity without Contradiction in Architecture," *AA Files* 15 (Summer 1987), pp. 15–18.

21

Saussure, *Cours de linguistique générale,* p. 51. Quoted by Derrida in *Of Grammatology,* p. 35; italics as added by Derrida.

22

Saussure, *Cours de linguistique générale,* p. 45; italics added. It also seems strange that Derrida, who has read this text of Saussure so closely, has not picked up this passage where Saussure most radically seems to undermine his own theory: the terminal division between inside and outside, between writing and speech.

23

Adolf Loos, "Architektur" (1910), in *Sämtliche Schriften, Adolf Loos,* vol. 1 (Vienna and Munich: Verlag Herold, 1962), p. 309. The English translation of this text that I am referring to is the one included in the anthology edited by Tim and Charlotte Benton with Dennis Sharp, *Architecture and Design: 1890–1933, An International Anthology of Original Articles* (New York: Whitney Library of Design, 1975). This was the only available translation at the time I originally made this point in an article for *9H,* in 1982. Since then, the editors of that journal have included a complete translation of "Architecture" by Wilfried Wang in the appendix to

their catalogue *The Architecture of Adolf Loos: An Arts Council Exhibition* (London: Arts Council of Great Britain, 1985), pp. 104–109, that restores the missing fragments. Except where noted, the translations from "Architektur" used in this chapter are my own.

24

Arguably, the extraordinary deletions from the English translations of Saussure and Loos are not innocent either, and represent the particular thinking about, or even phobia about, the relationship between modern media and space by the culture of the ostensibly faithful, neutral translations. But exactly what in Saussure's and Loos's thinking about photography and space forces such lapses? What is it about the intimate, even just about the thinking about the intimate, that cannot be exposed?

25

Camillo Sitte, *City Planning According to Artistic Principles*, p. 311; italics added.

26

Adolf Loos, "Heimatkunst" (1914), in *Sämtliche Schriften, Adolf Loos*, vol. 1, p. 339.

27

Friedrich Nietzsche, "On the Uses and Disadvantages of History for Life" (1874), in *Untimely Meditations*, trans. R. J. Hollingdale (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 78. Translation here slightly different.

28

Musil made a gendered representation of this split when he wrote: "In realizing this, however, Diotima discovered in herself the affliction from which modern man is well known to suffer and which is called civilization. It is a frustrating state of affairs, full of soap, wireless waves, the arrogant symbolic language of mathematical and chemical formulae, economics, experimental research and mankind's inability to live in simple but sublime community. . . . Accordingly civilization meant, for her, everything that her mind could not cope with. And hence too, it had for a long time meant, first and foremost, her husband." *The Man without Qualities*, p. 117.

29

Loos, "Architektur" (1910). Cf. the translation by W. Wang in *The Architecture of Adolf Loos*, p. 108.

30

Georg Simmel, "Fashion," *International Quarterly*, New York (October 1904), p. 130.

31

Adolf Loos, "Ornament und Verbrechen" (1908); English translation as "Ornament and Crime," in *The Architecture of Adolf Loos*, p. 103. Italics added.

32

Adolf Loos, "Die Überflüssigen" (1908), in *Sämtliche Schriften, Adolf Loos*, vol. 1, p. 269.

33

It was Georg Simmel who pointed out, at the beginning of his "Die Grosstadt und das Geistesleben" (1903), that the deepest conflict of modern man (and, one could add, for the same reason the source of all his cultural production) is no longer in the ancient battle with nature (this could be only a metaphor when the limits between city and nature have ceased to exist), but in the one that the individual must fight to affirm the independence and peculiarity of his existence against the immense power of society, in his "resistance to being leveled, swallowed up in the social-technological mechanism." (Trans. as "The Metropolis and Mental Life," in *Georg Simmel, on Individuality and Social Forms*, ed. with an introduction by Donald N. Levine [Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1971], p. 324.)

34

Cf. Hubert Damisch, "L'Autre 'Ich' ou le désir du vide: pour un tombeau d'Adolf Loos," *Critique* 31, nos. 339–340 (August–September 1975), p. 811.

35

Karl Kraus, *Sprüche und Widersprüche* (Munich: Albert Langen, 1909), p. 83.

36

As Janet Wolff has pointed out, the literature of modernity describes the experience of men: "The influential writings of Baudelaire, Simmel, Benjamin and, more recently, Richard Sennett and Marshall Berman, by equating the *modern* with the *public*, thus fail to describe women's experience of modernity." "The Invisible Flâneuse: Women and the Literature of Modernity," *Theory, Culture and Society* 2, no. 3 (1985), pp. 37–48. See also Susan Buck-Morss, "The *Flâneur*, the Sandwichman, and the Whore: The Politics of Loitering," *New German Critique* 39 (Fall 1986), pp. 99–140, where she makes the argument that the most significant female figure of modernity is the whore. In recent years a number of writers have contributed, from different fields, accounts of modernity that focus not just on women's experience of the *private* but on the constructions of gender involved in the very division between public and private. See for example Griselda Pollock, "Modernity and the Spaces of Femininity," in *Vision and Difference* (London and New York: Routledge, Chapman & Hall, 1988), pp. 50–90; Judith Mayne, *Private Novels, Public Films* (Athens and London: University of Georgia Press, 1988); Giuliana Bruno, "Streetwalking around Plato's Cave," *October* 60 (Spring 1992), pp. 111–129. It also should be noted that in architecture, a number of recent studies have contributed to a different vision of modernity, one that is more focused on the transformations of domestic space than of public space. Among them should be mentioned Txatxo Sabater's dissertation on the transformation of the interior of Barcelona with the plan of *Ensanche* of Cerda (a plan traditionally read in purely urbanistic terms): "Primera edad del Ensanche: Arquitectura domestica" (Barcelona, 1989); Georges Teyssot, *The Disease of the Domicile* (forthcoming from MIT Press); and above all Robin Evans's influential articles on the subject, including the much-cited "Figures, Doors and Passages," *Architectural Design* 4 (1978), pp. 267–278.

37

Adolf Loos, "Ornament und Erziehung" (1924), in *Sämtliche Schriften*, vol. 1, pp. 395–396.

38

Loos, "Ornament and Crime," in *The Architecture of Adolf Loos,* p. 100.

39

I am grateful to Todd Palmer for raising this question in a seminar presentation at Princeton University.

40

Adolf Loos, "Underclothes," *Neue Freie Presse* (25 September 1898), translation in *Spoken into the Void,* p. 75. See also "The Leather Goods and Gold- and Silversmith Trades," *Neue Freie Presse* (15 May 1898), translation in *Spoken into the Void,* pp. 7–9.

41

According to Burkhardt Rukschcio, Loos's break with the Secession happened in 1902 when Josef Hoffmann prevented him from doing the interiors for the Ver Sacrum-Zimmer. See B. Rukschcio, "Adolf Loos Analyzed: A Study of the Loos Archive in the Albertina Graphic Collection," *Lotus International* 29 (1981), p. 100, n. 5.

42

Richard Neutra, review of *Adolf Loos: Pioneer of Modern Architecture* by L. Münz and G. Künstler, *Architectural Forum* 125, no. 1 (July–August 1966), p. 89.

43

Adolf Loos, "Foreword to the First Edition," in *Spoken into the Void,* p. 130.

44

Peter Behrens, "The Work of Josef Hoffmann," *Journal of the American Institute of Architects* (October 1924), p. 426.

45

See for example, Adolf Loos, "Die Interieurs in der Rotunde" (1898). English translation "Interiors in the Rotonda," in *Spoken into the Void,* pp. 22–27.

46

Behrens, "The Work of Josef Hoffmann," p. 421.

47

Kraus, "In These Great Times," p. 70.

48

By invented conventions I mean here that they are not socially accepted signs, as linguistic signs or the signs of traditional architecture are. In this sense, the explanation that Behrens feels obliged to give about the "different" in Hoffmann speaks for itself (see following paragraph). In Vienna there was no need for such an explanation, but in a society such as the Anglo-Saxon that had not lost what Loos called "common sense" one had to be given.

49

Behrens, "The Work of Josef Hoffmann," p. 421.

50

Musil, *The Man without Qualities,* pp. 16–17.

51

Aldo Rossi attributes the ostracism Loos suffered as an architect during his life to his "power to irritate": "There is no doubt that these contemporaries of Freud were well aware that 'every joke is a murder.'" Aldo Rossi, introduction to *Spoken into the Void,* trans. Stephen Sartarelli, p. viii.

52

About Josef Hoffmann's career, see Eduard F. Sekler, *Josef Hoffmann: The Architectural Work* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985).

53

Vittoria Girardi, "Josef Hoffmann maestro dimenticato," *L'architettura, cronache e storia* 2, no. 12 (October 1956).

54

On the way, however, something has been lost of what made Loos attractive for the avant-gardes: his destructive character, his relentless taunting of the beaux-arts, arts and crafts, and in general of everything that could be recognized as established and no genuine authority. Loos is of interest today for more than his polemical attitude, for this quality between hermeticism and transparency that is the richness of his message and is also what invites projections. If Aldo Rossi, Kenneth Frampton, José Quetglas, and Massimo Cacciari have something in common when they write about Loos, this is something of what made Loos say to Wittgenstein: "*You are me.*"

55

When I originally wrote about this, for an article in *9H* (1982), Hoffmann was being "recovered" from history by the postmoderns. This turned out to be a passing fashion, while the interest in Loos continues.

56

Adolf Loos, "Architektur" (1910). Here I follow the later English translation by W. Wang in *The Architecture of Adolf Loos,* p. 106, which includes this passage.

57

"Ten years ago, at the time of the Café Museum, Josef Hoffmann, who represented the German Werkbund in Vienna, created the interior for the retail shop of the Apollo Candle Factory at the Hof. The work was praised as an expression of our time. Nobody would be of that opinion today. After a period of ten years we know that this was an error, and in ten years more it will be seen clearly that the present-day works of the same tendency do not have anything in common with the style of our days." Adolf Loos, "Kulturentartung" (1908), in *Sämtliche Schriften,* vol. 1, p. 271. There is an English translation in *The Architecture of Adolf Loos,* p. 99. (Translation here slightly different.)

58
In this sense it is interesting to note the early observation of John Ruskin that the purchase of a photograph of a building "is very nearly the same thing as carrying off the palace itself; every chip or stone and stain is there and of course there is no mistake about proportions." From a letter to his father, Venice, October 7, 1845, in the *Works of John Ruskin* (London: George Allen; New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1903), vol. 3, p. 210, note 2.

59
Adolf Loos, "Von der Sparsamkeit," compiled by Bohuslav Markalous from various conversations with Loos, *Wohnungskultur* 2/3 (1924). English translation "Regarding Economy," trans. Francis R. Jones, in *Raumplan versus Plan Libre: Adolf Loos and Le Corbusier, 1919–1930,* ed. Max Risselada (Delft: Delft University Press, 1988), p. 139.

60
Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1965), p. 4.

61
Adolf Loos, foreword to *Ins Leere gesprochen* (Vienna, 1921). English translation in *Spoken into the Void,* p. 3.

62
Walter Benjamin, "Some Motifs in Baudelaire," in *Illuminations,* ed. with an introduction by Hannah Arendt, trans. Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken Books, 1969), p. 159.

63
McLuhan has noted that this kind of circular reasoning is characteristic of oral societies (*Understanding Media,* p. 26).

64
Susan Sontag, "In Plato's Cave," in *On Photography* (New York: Farras, Straus and Giroux, 1977), p. 4.

65
"What changes must now occur in our way of looking at things, in our notions! Even the elementary concepts of space and time have begun to vacillate. Space is killed by the railways and we are left with time alone. Now you can travel to Orleans in four and half hours and it takes no longer to get to Rouen. Just imagine what will happen when the lines to Belgium and Germany are completed and connected up with their railways! I feel as if the mountains and forest of all countries were advancing on Paris. Even now I can smell the German linden trees." Heinrich Heine, *Lutetia,* cited by Schivelbusch in *The Railway Journey.*

66
Loos, "Architektur" (1910). Cf. the translation by W. Wang in *The Architecture of Adolf Loos,* p. 106.

67

Roland Schachel, notes to Adolf Loos, *Ornamento y Delito, y otros escritos* (Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 1972), p. 241.

68

Indifferent to the place where it is taken, photography destroys *the thing* (the object loses its aura). In Alain Resnais's film *Last Year in Marienbad,* X shows the woman a photograph that he took of her in the park one afternoon during the previous year, but for her this proves nothing. She says: "Anyone could have taken it, anytime, anywhere." He replies: "A garden, any garden. I would have had to show you the white lace spread, the sea of white lace spread where your body. But all bodies look alike, and all white lace, all hotels, all statues, all gardens. [A pause.] But this garden, for me, looked like no other one. Every day I met you here." Only that which cannot be reproduced—neither the figure nor the garden, but that which the garden *is* for someone, as experience—can still be claimed.

69

Camillo Sitte, *City Planning According to Artistic Principles,* p. 311.

70

Walter Benjamin, "A Small History of Photography," in *One Way Street and Other Writings,* trans. Edmund Jephcott and Kingsley Shorter (London: NLB, 1979).

71

"On planes we don't really travel, we just skip time and space. I once went from New York to Berkeley to make a speech. In the morning I left New York and in the morning I got to Berkeley. I made a speech I had made before, and I saw people I knew. The questions I had already heard, and I gave the same answers as before. Then I came home. I did not really travel." Israel Shenker, "As Traveller," *New York Times,* April 1983.

72

Sigfried Giedion, *Space, Time and Architecture* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1941), p. 321.

73

On the atectonic character of Hoffmann's architecture, see Eduard Sekler, "The Stoclet House by Josef Hoffmann," in *Essays in the History of Architecture Presented to Rudolph Wittkower* (London, 1967).

74

Peter Behrens, "The Work of Josef Hoffmann," p. 422.

75

This kind of space is close to that represented by the Japanese Tateokoshi: "There is such a thing in Japanese architecture as the TATEOKOSHI Plan drawing. In this all surfaces of a space are analyzed as if they were floor plans. The theory is that the person examining them will mentally raise the drawings for the walls to their position in the completed rooms and in this way imagine the way the space will look. In Japanese thought, space is composed of

strictly two-dimensional facets. Depth is created by a combination of two-dimensional facets. Time-scales (flows) measure the space between these facets. The basic reason for the use of the word to express both time and space seems to be that the Japanese have understood space as an element formed by the interaction of facets and time." Arata Isozaki, *MA: Space-Time in Japan* (New York: Cooper Hewitt Museum, 1979).

76

Cf. Stanford Anderson, "Peter Behrens and the New Architecture of Germany: 1900–1917," Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, published in part in *Oppositions*, nos. 11, 21, and 23. See especially "Modern Architecture and Industry: Peter Behrens and the Cultural Policy of Historical Determinism," *Oppositions*, no. 11 (1977), p. 56.

77

Behrens "argued that fast trains transport us so rapidly that the effective image of the city is reduced to a silhouette. Similarly, our rapid passage through the city precludes any consideration of building details." Anderson, *Oppositions*, no. 23 (1981), p. 76. See also Peter Behrens, "Einfluss von Zeit- und Raumausnutzung auf moderne Formentwicklung," *Deutscher Werkbund, Jahrbuch* (1914), pp. 7–10. And see also "Über den Zusammenhang des baukünstlerischen Schaffens mit der Technik," Berlin, *Kongress für Aesthetik und Allgemeine Kunstwissenschaft 1913, Bericht* (Stuttgart, 1914), pp. 251–265.

78

Loos, "Regarding Economy," in *Raumplan versus Plan Libre*, p. 139.

79

Ibid., pp. 139–140; italics added.

80

Loos, "Architektur" (1910), p. 308; cf. the translation by W. Wang in *The Architecture of Adolf Loos*, p. 106.

81

Loos, "Ornament und Erziehung" (1924), p. 392.

82

Saussure, *Cours de linguistique générale*, p. 23.

83

Adolf Loos, "Das Prinzip der Bekleidung" (1898), in *Sämtliche Schriften, Adolf Loos*, vol. 1, p. 106. English trans. in *Spoken into the Void*, p. 66; translation here slightly different.

84

Jacob Grimm, from the foreword to his German dictionary, as quoted by Loos in the foreword to *Ins Leere gesprochen* (*Spoken into the Void*, p. 2).

85

Loos, "Architektur" (1910), p. 303. Cf. the translation by W. Wang in *The Architecture of Adolf Loos*, p. 104.

86

Karl Kraus, "Nachts" (1918), in *Adolf Loos, Festschrift zum 60 Geburtstag am 10.12.1930* (Vienna, 1930), p. 27.

87

Massimo Cacciari, "Loos-Wien," in *Oikos, da Loos a Wittgenstein* (Rome, 1975), p. 16.

88

Loos, "Ornament und Erziehung" (1924), p. 395.

89

Adolf Loos, "Glas und Ton," *Neue Freie Presse* (26 June 1898); English translation "Glass and Clay," in *Spoken into the Void*, p. 37.

90

Benjamin, "On Some Motifs in Baudelaire," in *Illuminations*, pp. 160, 156.

91

For Bergson, the structure of memory is decisive for experience: "Experience is indeed a matter of tradition, in collective existence as well as private life. . . . It is, however, not at all Bergson's intention to attach any specific historical label to memory. On the contrary, he rejects any historical determination of memory. He thus manages above all to stay clear of that experience from which his own philosophy evolved, or rather, in reaction to which it arose. It was the inhospitable, blinding age of large-scale industrialism. In shutting out this experience the eye perceives an experience of a complementary nature in the form of its spontaneous after-image, as it were." Proust distinguishes between *mémoire volontaire* and *mémoire involontaire:* "Only what has not been experienced explicitly and consciously, what has not happened to the subject as an experience, can become a component of the *mémoire involontaire*." Freud puts the same question in terms of the relationship between memory and consciousness: "Consciousness comes into being at the site of a memory trace." In other words, for Freud "becoming conscious and leaving a memory trace are processes incompatible with each other." In these terms, "consciousness is protection against stimuli," against "shock." Cited in Walter Benjamin, "On Some Motifs in Baudelaire," in *Illuminations*, pp. 157–161.

92

Loos, "Architektur" (1910), p. 317. Cf. the translation by W. Wang in *The Architecture of Adolf Loos*, p. 108.

93

Loos, "Kulturentartung," in *Sämtliche Schriften*, vol. 1, pp. 267ff. English translation: "Cultural Degeneration," in *The Architecture of Adolf Loos*, p. 98; translation here slightly different.

94

Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," in *Illuminations*, p. 246, note 8.

95

Ibid., p. 225.

96

Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1973), p. 72; Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," p. 223. I cannot now locate the source of the sentence of Argan.

97

Marcia E. Vetrocq, "Rethinking Josef Hoffmann," *Art in America* (April 1983). Vetrocq is praising here "the continuity between Hoffmann's large and small-scale designs."

98

The similarity with Benjamin's formulation is outstanding, for Loos is also comparing architecture with forms of art that have disappeared, and in particular with tragedy: "It could be said that what produced happiness 5,000 years ago does not succeed in doing so today. A tragedy that in another time would have made us shed tears of emotion today only interests us; a joke of another time will hardly make the muscles of our face move. . . . Tragedy stops being represented, the joke is forgotten. The building stands before posterity," etc. Adolf Loos, "Die alte und die neue Richtung in der Baukunst," *Der Architekt,* Vienna (1898).

99

Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," in *Illuminations,* pp. 239–240.

100

Benjamin, "A Small History of Photography," in *One Way Street,* p. 253; translation here slightly different.

101

Walter Benjamin, "Erfahrung und Armut" (1933), in *Gesammelte Schriften* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1972–1988). It should also be noted that in this extraordinary text Benjamin equates Loos with Le Corbusier, while speaking about the new spaces of glass and steel where it is difficult to leave traces: "houses of glass, displaceable and movable, such as the ones that in the meantime Loos and Le Corbusier have built." Houses of glass, displaceable and movable, Loos (let alone Le Corbusier)? Benjamin's comment confirms the suspicion that Loos's houses, still in the thirties, were known only by hearsay. The text of Loos that Benjamin refers to here is probably "Keramika" (1904).

102

Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," in *Illuminations,* p. 250, note 19.

103

Eduardo Cadava, "Words of Light: Theses on the Photography of History," *Diacritics* (Fall–Winter 1992), pp. 108–109. For an analysis of the etymology of the word *experience,* see Roger Munier's response to an inquiry about experience; in *Mise en page,* no. 1 (May 1972), p. 37, cited by Cadava.

104
Benjamin, "Erfahrung und Armut."

105
Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," in *Illuminations*, p. 251, note 21.

106
Karl Kraus, "In These Great Times," in *In These Great Times*, p. 73.

Photography

1
Marie-Odile Briot, "L'Esprit nouveau; son regard sur les sciences," in *Léger et l'esprit moderne*, exhibition catalogue (Paris: Musée d'Art moderne de la ville de Paris, 1982), p. 38.

2
I have borrowed the concept of a "shadow line," *linea d'ombra*, from Franco Rella's literary analogy to Joseph Conrad's novel *The Shadow Line*, proposed in "Immagini e figure del pensiero," *Rassegna* 9 (1982), p. 78.

3
Walter Benjamin, "Short History of Photography," translated by Phil Patton, *Artforum* (February 1977), p. 47.

4
Sigmund Freud, "General Theory of the Neuroses," *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, ed. and trans. James Strachey (London: Hogarth Press, 1953–1974), vol. 16, p. 295.

5
Jonathan Crary, *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1990), pp. 24 and 39.

6
Giuliano Gresleri, *Le Corbusier, Viaggio in Oriente. Gli inediti di Charles-Edouard Jeanneret fotògrafo e scrittore* (Venice: Marsilio Editore; Paris: Fondation Le Corbusier, 1984).

7
Letter of Jean de Maisonseul to Samir Rafi, 5 January 1968. Quoted in Stanislaus von Moos, "Le Corbusier as Painter," *Oppositions* 19–20 (1980), p. 89. According to von Moos, Jean de Maisonseul, later the director of the Musée National des Beaux-Arts in Algiers, was working for the city planner Pierre A. Emery when he was asked to accompany Le Corbusier to the Casbah.

8

See, for example, Malek Alloula, *The Colonial Harem* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986), about French postcards of Algerian women circulating between 1900 and 1930. And also the review of this and related books by Mieke Bal, "The Politics of Citation," *Diacritics* 21, no. 1 (Spring 1991), pp. 25–45.

9

Von Moos, "Le Corbusier as Painter," p. 89. See also Samir Rafi, "Le Corbusier et les femmes d'Alger," *Revue d'histoire et de civilisation du Maghreb*, Algiers (January 1968).

10

Von Moos, "Le Corbusier as Painter," p. 95.

11

"Chacun rêve légitemement à s'abriter et à assurer la sécurité de son logis. Comme c'est impossible dans l'état actuel, ce rêve, considéré comme irréalisable, provoque une véritable hystérie sentimentale; faire sa maison, c'est à peu près comme faire son testament. . . . *Quand je ferai une maison . . . je mettrai ma statue dans le vestibule et mon petit chien Ketty aura son salon. Quand j'aurai mon toit, etc. Thème pour un médicin neurologue.*" Le Corbusier, *Vers une architecture* (Paris: Editions Crès, 1923), p. 196. The English translation omits the passage here italicized.

12

"It was rape. A fellow architect, a man she admired, had without her consent defaced her design." Peter Adam, *Eileen Gray: Architect/Designer* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1987), p. 311.

13

See ibid., pp. 334–335. As Adam points out, no caption of the photographs of the murals published in *L'Architecture d'aujourd'hui* mentions Eileen Gray. In subsequent publications, the house is either simply described as "Maison Badovici" or directly credited to him. In *Casa Vogue* (no. 119, 1981) the house is described as "signed by Eileen Gray and Le Corbusier" and Gray's sofa has become "pezzo unico di Le Corbusier." The first recognition of Gray in architecture since the twenties came from Joseph Rykwert, "Eileen Gray: Pioneer of Design," *Architectural Review* (December 1972), pp. 357–361. But still today Eileen Gray's name does not figure in most histories of modern architecture, including the most recent and, presumably, critical ones.

14

Le Corbusier, *Creation Is a Patient Search* (New York: Frederick Praeger, 1960), p. 203; English translation of *L'Atelier de la recherche patiente* (Paris: Vincent & Fréal, 1960).

15

Ibid., p. 37.

16
Zeynep Çelik, "Le Corbusier, Orientalism, Colonialism," *Assemblage* 17 (1992), p. 61.

17
Victor Burgin, *The End of Art Theory: Criticism and Postmodernity* (Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press International, 1986), p. 44.

18
Ibid., p. 19.

19
Gresleri, *Le Corbusier, Viaggio in Oriente,* p. 141.

20
Le Corbusier, *L'Art décoratif d'aujourd'hui* (Paris: Editions Crès, 1925), pp. 9–11. For the corresponding sketches, see Fondation Le Corbusier A3(6).

21
Roland Barthes, "The Rhetoric of the Image," in *Image-Music-Text,* trans. Stephen Heath (New York: Hill and Wang, 1977), pp. 38–39; original text, "Rhétorique de l'image," *Communications* 1 (1961).

22
Roland Barthes, "The Photographic Message," in *Image-Music-Text,* p. 19; original text, "Le Message photographique," *Communications* 1 (1961).

23
Le Corbusier, *Creation Is a Patient Search,* p. 37.

24
Peter Allison, "Le Corbusier, 'Architect or Revolutionary'? A Reappraisal of Le Corbusier's First Book on Architecture," *AAQ* 3, no. 2 (1971), p. 10.

25
The correspondence between Le Corbusier and Charles L'Eplattenier is in the Fondation Le Corbusier. All quotations here are taken from the letters of 26 February, 29 February, and 2 March 1908. For an extensive commentary on this correspondence, see Mary Patricia May Sekler, *The Early Drawings of Charles-Edouard Jeanneret, 1902–08* (New York: Garland, 1977), esp. pp. 221ff.

26
"Sont fort bien faites, mais que l'effet est pitoyable. Oui, vraiement Perrin et moi avons été renversés de ce que donnait en photographie la belle chose que nous connaissons."

27
"Et nous nous sommes consolés en constatant que de notre stock de photos d'italie, nous n'avions pas une des belles choses architecturales parce que toujours l'effet de ces photographies était dénaturé et offusquant aux yeux de ceux qui avaient vu les originaux."

28
"Voyez l'effet photographique des halls et des chambres à manger (sic!) d'Hoffmann. Que ça a d'unité, que c'est sobre et simple et beau. Examinons de bien de près et analysons: que sont ces chaises? c'est laid, malcommode, barbant et gosse. Ces parois? du gypse tapoté comme il y en a sous les arcades de Padoue. Cette cheminée, un non sense. Et ce dressoir et ces tables et tout? Combien c'est froid, revêche et raide, et comment diable est-ce bâti?"

29
"Le mouvement germain est à la recherche de l'originalité à outrance, en ne s'occupant ni de construction, ni de logique, ni de beauté. *Aucun point d'appui* sur la nature."

30
"Vous nous avez envoyés en Italie pour nous former le goût, aimer ce qui est bâti, ce qui est logique et vous voulez nous obliger à tout ça, parce que des photos font un bel effet sur des revues d'art."

31
Adolf Loos, "Architektur" (1910), in *Sämtliche Schriften,* vol. 1 (Vienna and Munich: Verlag Herold, 1962), pp. 302–318; trans. "Architecture" by Wilfried Wang in *The Architecture of Adolf Loos,* exhibition catalogue (London: Arts Council of Great Britain, 1985), p. 106. It should be noted that an earlier English translation of this famous text omitted this and other relevant passages (see note 23 of chapter 2). On Loos and photography see also chapters 2 and 6 of the present book.

32
Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno, *Dialectic of Enlightenment* (New York: Continuum, 1972), esp. the chapter "The Culture Industry."

33
"Et combien la photographie qui est trompeuse déjà quand elle reproduit des surfaces (tableaux), l'est-elle plus encore lorsqu'elle prétend reproduire des volumes." Julien Caron, "Une villa de Le Corbusier, 1916," *L'Esprit nouveau* 6, p. 693.

34
These "painted" photographs are in the Fondation Le Corbusier, Photothèque L2 (1).

35
Stanislaus von Moos, *Le Corbusier: Elements of a Synthesis* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1979), p. 299.

36
Le Corbusier, *Précisions sur un état présent de l'architecture et de l'urbanisme* (Paris: Editions Crès, 1930), p. 139.

37
I am grateful to Margaret Sobieski for pointing out the "missing" columns of Villa Savoye in a seminar presentation at Columbia University. See Le Corbusier, *Oeuvre complète 1929–1934* (Zurich: Editions Girsberger, 1935), pp. 24–31.

38

Le Corbusier and Pierre Jeanneret, *Oeuvre complète 1910–1929* (Zurich: Editions Girsberger, 1930), pp. 142–144.

39

Colin Rowe has written, "At Garches central focus is consistently broken up, concentration at any one point is disintegrated, and the dismembered fragments of the center become a peripheral dispersion of incident, a serial installation of interest around the extremities of the plan." *The Mathematics of the Ideal Villa and Other Essays* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1977), p. 12. The blind spot of this brilliant analysis—one that reflects a classical conception of representation and photography—is that Rowe dutifully restored the columns to their place on the plan of Villa Stein vis-à-vis that of Palladio's Malcontenta, as though the way in which Garches was presented in the *Oeuvre complète* was merely a "printing error."

40

Fondation Le Corbusier, Photothèque, L1 (10) 1.

41

Fondation Le Corbusier, B2-15.

42

"La Grèce par Byzance, pure création de l'esprit. L'architecture n'est pas que d'ordonnance, de beaux prismes sous la lumière." Le Corbusier, *Vers une architecture* (Paris: Editions Crès, 1923), p. 130. English trans. by Frederick Etchells, *Towards a New Architecture* (New York: Praeger, 1970), pp. 162–163.

43

Von Moos, *Le Corbusier*, p. 299.

44

Manfredo Tafuri rightly notes that "Le Corbusier did not accept the industrial 'new nature' as an external factor and claimed to enter it as 'producer' and not as interpreter." *Theories and History of Architecture* (New York: Harper & Row, 1976), p. 32. (Originally *Teorie e storia dell'architettura*, Rome and Bari: Laterza, 1969.) In distinguishing "interpreters" and "producers," Tafuri follows Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," in *Illuminations* (New York: Schocken, 1968). See also the discussion in chapter 5 below.

45

Among the catalogues in the archives of *L'Esprit nouveau* are those for automobiles by Voisin, Peugeot, Citroën, and Delage; airplanes and seaplanes by Farman and Caproni; trunks and suitcases by Innovation; office furniture by Or'mo, file cabinets by Ronéo; sport and hand traveling bags by Hermès. They include as well a more "extravagant" selection of turbines by the Swiss company Brown Boveri; high-pressure centrifugal ventilators by Rateau; and industrial *outillage* by Clermont Ferrand and Slingsby. The archives also hold department store mail order catalogues from Printemps, Au Bon Marché, and La Samaritaine. See also chapter 4 of this book.

46
Thomas Crow has written that both Clement Greenberg and Adorno "posit the relationship between modernism and mass culture as one of relentless refusal"; and yet "modernism repeatedly makes subversive equations between high and low which dislocate the apparently fixed terms of that hierarchy into new and persuasive configurations, thus calling it into question from within." "Modernism and Mass Culture in the Visual Arts," in *Modernism and Modernity,* ed. Benjamin H. D. Buchloh, Serge Guilbaut, and David Solkin (Halifax, Nova Scotia: The Press of the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design, 1983), p. 251.

47
"Ce livre puise son éloquence dans des moyens nouveaux; ses magnifiques illustrations tiennent à côté du texte un discours parallèle et d'une grande puissance." *Vient de paraître,* publicity brochure for *Vers une architecture*. Fondation Le Corbusier, B2 (15).

48
Stanislaus von Moos, *Le Corbusier,* p. 84. It is also curious to note how, looking at these photographs today, it is the car that appears so "old" while the houses still look "modern."

49
"Cette nouvelle conception du livre . . . permet à l'auteur d'éviter les phrases, les descriptions impuissantes; les faits éclatent sous les yeux du lecteur par la force des images."

50
The same method of thinking the argument through the images is employed for all his books and lectures. For the working material of *Vers une architecture,* see Fondation Le Corbusier, B2 (15).

51
Maxime Collignon, *Le Parténon* and *L'Acropole,* photographs by Frédéric Boissonnas and W. A. Mansel (Paris: Librairie Centrale d'Art et d'Architecture Ancienne, n.d.).

52
Stanford Anderson, "Architectural Research Programmes in the Work of Le Corbusier," *Design Studies* 5, no. 3 (July 1984), pp. 151–158.

53
Bruno Reichlin, "The Pros and Cons of the Horizontal Window," *Daidalos* 13 (1984), pp. 64–78.

54
More precisely, this drawing may have been done when Le Corbusier was in the process of making a *"Special Catalogue L'Esprit Nouveau"* for the Ronéo company. About these catalogues see also chapter 4 of this book.

55
Reichlin, "The Pros and Cons of the Horizontal Window," p. 75.

56

Amédée Ozenfant and Charles-Edouard Jeanneret, *La Peinture moderne* (Paris: Editions Crès, 1925), p. 168.

57

Ferdinand de Saussure, *Course in General Linguistics,* trans. Wade Baskin (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966), p. 120.

58

Rosalind Krauss, "Léger, Le Corbusier and Purism," *Artforum* (April 1972), pp. 52–53.

59

Raoul Bunschoten, "Wor(l)ds of Daniel Libeskind," *AA Files* 10, p. 79.

60

"The photographic plate in a room illuminated with a horizontal window needs to be exposed four times less than in a room illuminated with two vertical windows." Le Corbusier, *Précisions,* p. 57. About this question see also chapter 7 of the present book.

61

In "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," Benjamin studies film techniques as an example of an art in which the reproduction techniques confer a new condition on the artist, the public, and the medium of production. He writes: "In contrast to the magician . . . the surgeon . . . abstains from facing the patient man to man; rather, it is through the operation that he penetrates into him. Magician and surgeon compare to painter and cameraman. The painter maintains in his work a natural distance from reality, the cameraman penetrates deeply into its web. There is a tremendous difference between the pictures they obtain. That of the painter is a total one, that of the cameraman consists of multiple fragments which are assembled under a new law. Thus, for contemporary man the representation of reality by the film is incomparably more significant than that of the painter, since it offers, precisely because of the thoroughgoing permeation of reality with mechanical equipment, an aspect of reality which is free of all equipment. And that is what one is entitled to ask from a work of art." *Illuminations,* pp. 233–234. See also note 44 of this chapter.

62

I am grateful to Kerry Shear for pointing out the paradoxical nature of the Ronéo drawing in a seminar presentation at Columbia University.

63

Le Corbusier, *Almanach d'architecture moderne* (Paris: Editions Crès, 1925).

64

Le Corbusier, *The Decorative Art of Today,* p. 72.

65

Ibid., p. 76n.

Publicity

1

L'Esprit nouveau was published in Paris between 1920 and 1925 by Le Corbusier and the French painter Amédée Ozenfant. Initially the editor of this magazine was the dadaist poet Paul Dermée, but he was dismissed by number 4 amid a polemic among the editorial group that ended up in a court trial. Ozenfant would later write in his memoirs, "Dermée had gotten it into his head to make a dada journal: we eliminated him." The subtitle of the magazine changed significantly coinciding with Dermée's dismissal, from *Revue internationale d'esthétique* to *Revue internationale de l'activité contemporaine*. This change implies a shift from "aesthetics," as a specialized field separate from everyday life, to "contemporary activity," which included not only painting, music, literature, and architecture but also theater, music hall entertainment, sports, cinema, and book design. In relation to Le Corbusier and publicity, see Stanislaus von Moos, *Le Corbusier: Elements of a Synthesis* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1979), and his later article "Standard und Elite: Le Corbusier, die Industrie und der Esprit nouveau," in Tilmann Buddensieg and Henning Rogge, eds., *Die nützliche Künste* (Berlin, 1981), pp. 306–323; *L'Esprit nouveau: Le Corbusier und die Industrie, 1920–1925,* catalogue of an exhibition in Zurich, Berlin, and Strasbourg, ed. Stanislaus von Moos (Berlin: Ernst & Sohn, 1987); Gladys C. Fabre, "L'Esprit moderne dans la peinture figurative—de l'iconographie moderniste au Modernism de conception," *Léger et l'Esprit moderne 1918–1931* (Paris: Musée d'Art Moderne, 1982), pp. 82–143; Françoise Will-Levaillant, "Norme et forme à travers l'esprit nouveau," *Le Retour à l'ordre dans les arts plastiques et l'architecture, 1919–1925* (Université de Saint-Etienne, 1986), pp. 241–276.

2

At the back of this "found object," the child's school notebook, Le Corbusier wrote: "Ceci est imprimé sur les cahiers des écoles de France/C'est la géométrie/La géométrie est notre langage/C'est notre moyen de mesure et d'expression/La géométrie est la base." A fragment of this image was to find its way into "Nature et création" (*L'Esprit nouveau* 19), an article by Ozenfant and Le Corbusier later reprinted in *La Peinture moderne* (1925). The complete image appears again in *Urbanisme* (1925), reproducing the above comment. The illustrations of an article in *The Autocar,* "The Harmony of Outline," were transplanted into *L'Esprit nouveau* in the form of a photo essay called "Evolution des formes de l'automobile" (*L'Esprit nouveau* 13).

3

The content of these books was first published as a series of articles in *L'Esprit nouveau,* with the exception of the chapter "Architecture ou révolution," which was added to *Vers une architecture*. The *Almanach de l'architecture moderne* was supposed to have been number 29 of *L'Esprit nouveau,* an issue entirely devoted to architecture, but it never appeared.

4

There is never only one reading in Le Corbusier's work. The Rateau ventilator can also be interpreted as a spiral, one of the images that obsesses Le Corbusier throughout his life, and that in modern psychology is bound to the process of individuation. The spiral may be seen

as the expression of a path that goes from life to death to life. The renaissance of man (of the architect) is possible through the death of a part of his previous being. "Architecture or Revolution" could from this point of view also be read as initiating a spiritual-cultural rebirth. Without exhausting the complex significance of the spiral, one might also mention the myth of Daedalus, builder of the labyrinth: "According to an old story . . . he will have been capable of passing a thread through the shell of a snail." Karl Kerenyi, *Labyrinth-Studien* (Zurich: Rhein-Verlag, 1950), p. 47.

5

Theo van Doesburg borrowed some images of silos from *L'Esprit nouveau* for publication in *De Stijl* 4 and 6 (1921). Le Corbusier and Ozenfant wrote to van Doesburg reprimanding him for not crediting *L'Esprit nouveau* as the source of the material. The same photographs of the silos reappeared in Kassak and Moholy-Nagy's *Uj Müveszek Könyve* (Vienna; republished in Berlin as *Buch neuer Künstler,* 1922) and afterward in *MA* (nos. 3–6, 1923). See also Fabre, "L'Esprit moderne dans la peinture figurative," pp. 99–100.

6

Reyner Banham, *A Concrete Atlantis: U.S. Industrial Buildings and European Modern Architecture* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1986), p. 11.

7

Cf. Marie-Odile Briot, "L'Esprit Nouveau and Its View of the Sciences," *Léger et l'Esprit moderne,* p. 62.

8

Marius-Ary Leblond, *Galliéni parle* (Paris, 1920), p. 53. Cited by Stephen Kern, *The Culture of Time and Space: 1880–1918* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983), p. 309.

9

The term "machine age" was coined in 1927 with the exhibition organized by the *Little Review* in New York; despite its widespread use, it is hardly an adequate term to characterize the artistic practices of the earlier part of the twentieth century in Europe.

10

"At about the same time that serious artists were discovering in the industrial landscape new religious symbols, businessmen were learning about the power of advertising. To stave off the perils of overproduction, their advertising agencies turned to machine age imagery to stimulate consumption." Alan Trachtenberg, "The Art and Design of the Machine Age," *New York Times Magazine,* 21 September 1986.

11

Reyner Banham, *Theory and Design in the First Machine Age* (New York: Praeger, 1967), p. 221.

12

Le Corbusier-Saugnier, "Les Maisons 'Voisin,'" *L'Esprit nouveau* 2, p. 214. Quoted by Banham, *Theory and Design in the First Machine Age.* Saugnier is the pseudonym used by Ozenfant

when writing about architecture in *L'Esprit nouveau*. As is well known, Le Corbusier is the pseudonym initially chosen by Charles-Edouard Jeanneret for the same purpose.

13

Marie-Odile Briot, "L'Esprit Nouveau and Its View of the Sciences," p. 62.

14

Le Corbusier, *L'Art décoratif d'aujourd'hui* (Paris: Editions Crès, 1925), p. 23.

15

Abraham Moles, in his *Sociodynamique de la culture* (Paris: Mouton, 1968), p. 28, notes: "The role of culture is to provide the individual with a screen of concepts on which he projects his perceptions of the exterior world. This conceptual screen had in traditional culture a rational reticular structure, organized in an almost geometrical fashion . . . we knew how to place new concepts with reference to old ones. Modern culture, mosaic culture, offers us a screen that is like a series of fibers glued together at random. . . . This screen is established by the submersion of the individual in a flux of disparate messages, with no hierarchies of principles: he knows everything about everything; the structure of his thought is extremely reduced." Le Corbusier's constant attempts to classify his knowledge do not exempt his work from this cultural condition described by Moles, but rather make it one of its possible manifestations. The conventionality with which Le Corbusier constructs the table of contents in his books, in an almost nineteenth-century fashion, stands dramatically in opposition to their actual content, which is drawn from all kinds of sources of information and manifested according to the new "visual thinking" strongly indebted to the new condition of printed mass information.

16

Le Corbusier, *L'Art décoratif d'aujourd'hui*, p. 127.

17

Amédée Ozenfant and Charles-Edouard Jeanneret, *La Peinture moderne* (Paris: Editions Crès, 1925), p. i.

18

"The problem I address . . . is not what modernism 'really was,' but rather how it was perceived retrospectively, what dominant values and knowledge it carried, and how it functioned ideologically and culturally after World War II. It is a specific image of modernism that has become the bone of contention for the postmoderns, and that image has to be reconstructed if we want to understand postmodernism's problematic relationship to the modernist tradition and its claims to difference." Andreas Huyssen, "Mapping the Postmodern," *New German Critique* 33 (1984), p. 13. The usual equation of the avant-garde with "modernism" is part of this received view. The "ism" in this sense is particularly telling—it reduces everything to a style. Against this heritage we should indeed try to understand the specificity of the different projects that fall within the modern period—or perform, in Manfredo Tafuri's words, "a thorough investigation of whether it is still legitimate to speak of a Modern Movement as a monolithic

corpus of ideas, poetics and linguistic traditions." Manfredo Tafuri, *Theories and History of Architecture*, trans. Giorgio Verrecchia (New York: Harper & Row, 1980; original ed. Rome and Bari, 1969), p. 2.

19

William A. Camfield, "The Machinist Style of Francis Picabia," *Art Bulletin* (September–December 1966).

20

In a 1966 interview with Otto Hahn, Marcel Duchamp makes explicit not only the relation between Mutt and Mott but, perhaps more important, the difference between the attempt to understand the *Fountain by R. Mutt* within a high art tradition and within mass culture:

O.H. To get back to your Readymades; I thought that R. MUTT, the signature on *Fountain*, was the name of the maker, but in an article by Rosalind Krauss, I read: R. MUTT, a pun on the German, Armut, or poverty. Poverty would completely change the meaning of The Fountain.

M.D. Rosalind Krauss? The redhead? That's not it at all. You can contradict it. Mutt comes from Mott Works, the name of a large sanitary equipment manufacturer. But Mott was too close so I altered it to Mutt, after the daily strip cartoon with "Mutt and Jeff," which appeared at the time and with which everyone was familiar. Thus, from the start there was an interplay of Mutt: a fat little funny guy, and Jeff: a tall, thin man. . . . I wanted any old name. And I added Richard [French slang for moneybags]. That's not a bad name for a *pissotière*. Get it? The opposite of poverty. But not even that much, just R. MUTT.

Otto Hahn, "Passport No. G255300," *Art and Artists* 1, no. 4 (London, July 1966), p. 10. For other interpretations of "R. MUTT" see William A. Camfield, *Marcel Duchamp Fountain* (Houston: The Menil Collection, Houston Fine Art Press, 1989), p. 23, note 21.

21

Peter Bürger, *Theory of the Avant-Garde* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), p. 52. Bürger also remarks how easily Duchamp's gesture is consumed: "It is obvious that this kind of provocation cannot be repeated indefinitely: here, it is the idea that the individual is the subject of artistic creation. Once the signed bottle drier has been accepted as an object that deserves a place in a museum, the provocation no longer provokes, it turns into its opposite. . . . It does not denounce the art market but adapts to it." Manfredo Tafuri also gives priority to the question of the institution (this time, the institution of architecture). He writes, "one can not 'anticipate' a class architecture; what is possible is the introduction of class criticism into architecture. . . . Any attempt to overthrow the institution, the discipline, with the most exasperated rejections or the most paradoxical ironies—let us learn from Dada and Surrealism—is bound to see itself turned into a positive contribution, into a 'constructive' avant-garde, into an ideology all the more positive as it is dramatically critical and self-critical." *Theories and History of Architecture*, note to the second (Italian) edition.

22

Beatrice Wood, *The Blind Man* 2 (1917). *The Blind Man* was a little magazine that had only two issues and was edited by Marcel Duchamp, Beatrice Wood, and H. P. Roché. As Dawn Ades has put it, "it would be reasonable to suppose that its main purpose was to publicize *Fountain*."

23

Cf. Le Corbusier, *L'Art décoratif d'aujourd'hui*, p. 57.

24

Adolf Loos, "Die Überflüssigen" (1908), in *Sämtliche Schriften*, vol. 1, pp. 267–268.

25

Le Corbusier, *L'Art décoratif d'aujourd'hui*, p. 77.

26

Reyner Banham, *Theory and Design in the First Machine Age*, p. 250.

27

Beatrice Wood, *The Blind Man* 2 (1917).

28

Adolf Loos, "Die Plumber," *Neue Freie Presse* (17 July 1898). English translation in *Spoken into the Void*, trans. Jane O. Newman and John H. Smith (Cambridge and London: MIT Press, 1982), p. 46; translation here slightly different.

29

Walter Benjamin, "Karl Kraus," in *Reflections*, ed. with an introduction by Peter Demetz, trans. Edmund Jephcott (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1979), p. 260.

30

Fondation Le Corbusier, A1 (7), 194.

31

Fondation Le Corbusier, A1 (17), 1.

32

Letter of Le Corbusier to Michelin, 3 April 1925, in Fondation Le Corbusier, A2 (13). Cited in Stanislaus von Moos, "Urbanism and Transcultural Exchanges, 1910–1935: A Survey," in H. Allen Brooks, ed., *The Le Corbusier Archive*, vol. 10 (New York: Garland, 1983), p. xiii.

33

Roberto Gabetti and Carlo del Olmo, *Le Corbusier e L'Esprit nouveau* (Turin: Giulio Einaudi, 1975), p. 6. A dossier titled "Demandes et offres d'études de projets et de construction à la suite des visites au Pavillon," Fondation Le Corbusier, A1 (5), contains all these letters.

34

Letter to Ateliers Primavera, in Fondation Le Corbusier, A1 (10).

35
Documents in Fondation Le Corbusier, A1 (18). See also Gabetti and del Olmo, *Le Corbusier e L'Esprit nouveau*, pp. 215–225.

36
Documents in Fondation Le Corbusier, A1 (17), 105.

37
Tafuri, *Theories and History of Architecture*, p. 141.

Museum

1
The exhibition "Modern Architecture: International Exhibition" opened at the Museum of Modern Art on February 10, 1932. It was installed in five rooms at 730 Fifth Avenue, and included models, photos, plans, and drawings mainly from Frank Lloyd Wright, Walter Gropius, Le Corbusier, J. J. P. Oud, Mies van der Rohe, Raymond Hood, Howe & Lescaze, Richard Neutra, and the Bowman Brothers. These architects were the only ones whose works appeared in the catalogue accompanying the show, *Modern Architecture: International Exhibition*, by Henry-Russell Hitchcock, Philip Johnson, and Lewis Mumford (New York: MoMA, Plandome Press, 1932; 5000 copies printed; rpt. New York: Museum of Modern Art and Arno Press, 1969). The exhibition traveled throughout the United States for over seven years. It is usually referred to as "The International Style Exhibition" because of the book *The International Style: Architecture since 1922* (New York: Norton, 1932) by the curators of the show, Henry-Russell Hitchcock and Philip Johnson. The content of the book and the catalogue do not coincide. For additional information see Suzanne Stephens, "Looking Back at Modern Architecture: The International Style Turns Fifty," *Skyline* (February 1982), pp. 18–27, Helen Searing, "International Style: The Crimson Connection," *Progressive Architecture* (February 1982), pp. 89–92, Richard Guy Wilson, "International Style: The MoMA Exhibition," in the same issue, pp. 93–106, and above all the recent book by Terence Riley, *The International Style: Exhibition 15 and the Museum of Modern Art* (New York: Rizzoli and Columbia Books of Architecture, 1992).

2
Philip Johnson, interviewed by Peter Eisenman, *Skyline* (February 1982), p. 15.

3
Hitchcock and Johnson, *The International Style*, pp. 33, viii–ix.

4
Johnson interview, *Skyline*, p. 14.

5
Hitchcock and Johnson, *The International Style*, pp. 80–81.

6

Ibid., pp. 12–13. "New Building for the New Age" includes Saarinen, Mendelsohn, Tengbom, Dudok. . . . "If we have added the Romanesquoid Stuttgart Railway Station, a cubistic house from the rue Mallet-Stevens, a concrete church by the brothers Perret, and the neo-Barocco-Romanesque Town Hall of Stockholm, we will have nearly a complete list of the modern European buildings most familiar . . . and admired by the large majority of American architects." "Poets in Steel" is concerned with skyscrapers: "Romanesque, Mayan, Assyrian, Renaissance, Aztec, Gothic, and specially Modernistic. . . . No wonder that some of us who have been appalled by this chaos turn with the utmost interest and expectancy to the International Style."

7

Riley, *The International Style,* p. 10.

8

Alfred H. Barr, Jr., "Modern Architecture," *The Hound and Horn* 3, no. 3 (April–June 1930), pp. 431–435. Cited in Riley, *The International Style*.

9

Letter of Philip Johnson to Ms. Homer H. Johnson, Berlin, 21 July 1930, Johnson Papers. Cited in Riley, *The International Style*.

10

"Revised Exhibition Proposal," 10 February 1931, in Riley, *The International Style,* appendix 2, p. 219.

11

Letter of Johnson to Bowman Brothers, 22 May 1931, Museum Archives, MoMA, New York. Cited in Riley, *The International Style,* pp. 42, 47.

12

Lewis Mumford, "Housing," in *Modern Architecture: International Exhibition,* pp. 179–184.

13

Alfred H. Barr, preface to *The International Style,* p. 15.

14

Ibid., pp. 15–16.

15

Hitchcock and Johnson, *The International Style,* p. 31.

16

Le Corbusier, *My Work* (London, 1960), p. 51. The lectures given on this tour formed the basis of his book *When the Cathedrals Were White: A Journey to the Country of Timid People* (New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, 1947).

17
Le Corbusier, *L'Art décoratif d'aujourd'hui*, p. 127.

18
André Malraux, "The Museum without Walls," in *The Voices of Silence* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1953).

19
"Lettre de Paris," undated manuscript, Fondation Le Corbusier, A1 (16). The document is part of the *L'Esprit nouveau* archives. The argument is so close to that of *L'Art décoratif d'aujourd'hui* as to suggest a possible 1924–1925 date.

20
Le Corbusier, *L'Art décoratif d'aujourd'hui*, p. 17.

21
André Malraux, "The Museum without Walls," pp. 13–14.

22
Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," in *Illuminations*, ed. with an introduction by Hannah Arendt, trans. Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken Books, 1969), p. 225.

23
"Fresque," *L'Esprit nouveau* 19. The question of the poster (*l'affiche*) will be taken up again in *L'Esprit nouveau* 25, where P. Boulard, alias Le Corbusier, writes in "Actualités": "Le tumulte est dans les rues. Le Bûcheron pavoise au Boulevard Saint-Germain. En dix jours, le cubisme, sur un kilomètre, s'étale et est présenté au populaire." The posters that Le Corbusier was here admiring were those of Cassandre. However, he did not know at the time, or did not acknowledge, their authorship. Instead he wrote to the company the posters were advertising, Le Boucheron, in an effort to obtain a publicity contract for *L'Esprit nouveau*. See letters of 6 and 14 June 1924, in Fondation Le Corbusier, A1 (17). Of course, Cassandre's posters were not "art" for Le Corbusier, but one more instance of the beautiful objects the industrialized everyday life was producing. More about this subject in A.H., "L'Affiche," in *L'Esprit nouveau: Le Corbusier und die Industrie, 1920–1925*, ed. Stanislaus von Moos (Berlin: Ernst & Sohn, 1987), p. 281.

24
"L'art est partout dans la rue qui est le musée du présent et du passé." Le Corbusier, *L'Art décoratif d'aujourd'hui*, p. 189.

25
Ibid., p. 182.

26
Cf. Manfredo Tafuri, *Theories and History of Architecture*, trans. Giorgio Verrecchia (New York: Harper & Row, 1980), p. 32. The passage from Benjamin that Tafuri refers to is "The

Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," p. 233. Tafuri finds in this passage a principle by which to identify the distinctive features of the twentieth-century avant-gardes. It is interesting to note that he includes Marcel Duchamp among those who perpetuate the figure of the artist-magician. *Theories and History of Architecture,* p. 32. See also chapter 3, note 61, above.

27

James Johnson Sweeney, "A Conversation with Marcel Duchamp . . . ," interview at the Philadelphia Museum of Art, constituting the sound track of a 30-minute film made in 1955 by NBC. Quoted in Arturo Schwarz, *The Complete Works of Marcel Duchamp* (New York: Abrams, n.d.), p. 513.

28

Stanislaus von Moos, *Le Corbusier: Elements of a Synthesis* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1979), p. 302.

29

Le Corbusier 1910–1965, edited by W. Boesiger and H. Girsberger (Zurich: Les Editions d'Architecture, 1967), pp. 236–237.

Interior

1

Walter Benjamin, "Paris, Capital of the Nineteenth Century," in *Reflections,* trans. Edmund Jephcott (New York: Schocken Books, 1986), pp. 155–156.

2

"Loos m'affirmait un jour: 'Un homme cultivé ne regarde pas par la fenêtre; sa fenêtre est en verre dépoli; elle n'est là que pour donner de la lumière, non pour laisser passer le regard.'" Le Corbusier, *Urbanisme* (Paris, 1925), p. 174. When this book was published in English under the title *The City of To-morrow and Its Planning,* translated by Frederick Etchells (New York, 1929), the sentence read: "A friend once said to me: 'No intelligent man ever looks out of his window; his window is made of ground glass; its only function is to let in light, not to look out of'" (pp. 185–186). In this translation, Loos's name has been replaced by "a friend." Was Loos "nobody" for Etchells, or is this just another example of the kind of misunderstanding that led to the mistranslation of the title of the book? Perhaps it was Le Corbusier himself who decided to erase Loos's name. Of a different order, but no less symptomatic, is the mistranslation of "laisser passer le regard" (to let the gaze pass through) as "to look out of," as if to resist the idea that the gaze might take on, as it were, a life of its own, independent of the beholder.

3

The perception of space is produced by its representations; in this sense, built space has no more authority than do drawings, photographs, or descriptions.

4

Ludwig Münz and Gustav Künstler, *Der Architekt Adolf Loos* (Vienna and Munich, 1964), pp. 130–131. English translation: *Adolf Loos, Pioneer of Modern Architecture* (London, 1966), p. 148: "We may call to mind an observation by Adolf Loos, handed down to us by Heinrich Kulka, that the smallness of a theatre box would be unbearable if one could not look out into the large space beyond; hence it was possible to save space, even in the design of small houses, by linking a high main room with a low annexe."

5

Georges Teyssot has noted that "the Bergsonian ideas of the room as a refuge from the world are meant to be conceived as the 'juxtaposition' between claustrophobia and agoraphobia. This dialectic is already found in Rilke." G. Teyssot, "The Disease of the Domicile," *Assemblage* 6 (1988), p. 95.

6

There is also a more direct and more private route to the sitting area, a staircase rising from the entrance of the drawing room.

7

"Under Louis-Philippe the private citizen enters the stage of history. . . . For the private person, living space becomes, for the first time, antithetical to the place of work. The former is constituted by the interior; the office is its complement. The private person who squares his account with reality in his office demands that the interior be maintained in his illusions. This need is all the more pressing since he has no intention of extending his commercial considerations into social ones. In shaping his private environment he represses both. From this spring the phantasmagorias of the interior. For the private individual the private environment represents the universe. In it he gathers remote places and the past. His drawing room is a *box in the world theater*." Walter Benjamin, "Paris, Capital of the Nineteenth Century," in *Reflections*, p. 154. Emphasis added.

8

This calls to mind Freud's paper "A Child Is Being Beaten" (1919), where, as Victor Burgin has written, "the subject is positioned both in the audience *and* on stage—where it is both aggressor *and* aggressed." Victor Burgin, "Geometry and Abjection," *AA Files*, no. 15 (Summer 1987), p. 38. The *mise-en-scène* of Loos's interiors appears to coincide with that of Freud's unconscious. Sigmund Freud, "A Child Is Being Beaten: A Contribution to the Study of the Origin of Sexual Perversions," in *Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud* (London: Hogarth Press, 1953–1974), vol. 17, pp. 175–204. In relation to Freud's paper, see also Jacqueline Rose, *Sexuality in the Field of Vision* (London, 1986), pp. 209–210.

9

Münz and Künstler, *Adolf Loos*, p. 36.

10

See note 7 above. There are no social spaces in the Benjaminian interior. He writes: "In shaping his private environment he [the private person] represses both [commercial and social considerations]." Benjamin's interior is established in opposition to the office. But as Laura Mulvey has noted, "The workplace is no threat to the home. The two maintain each other in a safe, mutually dependent polarisation. The threat comes from elsewhere: . . . the city." Laura Mulvey, "Melodrama Inside and Outside the Home" (1986), in *Visual and Other Pleasures* (London: Macmillan, 1989), p. 70.

11

In a criticism of Benjamin's account of the bourgeois interior, Laura Mulvey writes: "Benjamin does not mention the fact that the private sphere, the domestic, is an essential adjunct to the bourgeois marriage and is thus associated with woman, not simply as female, but as wife and mother. It is the mother who guarantees the privacy of the home by maintaining its respectability, as essential a defence against incursion or curiosity as the encompassing walls of the home itself." Laura Mulvey, "Melodrama Inside and Outside the Home."

12

Münz and Künstler, *Adolf Loos*, p. 149.

13

Jacques Lacan, *The Seminar of Jacques Lacan: Book I, Freud's Papers on Technique 1953–1954*, ed. Jacques-Alain Miller, trans. John Forrester (New York and London: Norton, 1988), p. 215. In this passage Lacan is referring to Jean-Paul Sartre's *Being and Nothingness*.

14

There is an instance of such personification of furniture in one of Loos's most autobiographical texts, "Interiors in the Rotunda" (1898), where he writes: "Every piece of furniture, every thing, every object had a story to tell, a family history." *Spoken into the Void: Collected Essays 1897–1900*, trans. Jane O. Newman and John H. Smith (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1982), p. 24.

15

This photograph has only recently been published. Kulka's monograph (a work in which Loos was involved) presents exactly the same view, the same photograph, but without a human figure. The strange opening in the wall pulls the viewer toward the void, toward the missing actor (a tension that the photographer no doubt felt the need to cover by literally inserting a figure). This tension constructs the subject, as it does in the built-in couch of the raised area of the Moller house, or the window of the *Zimmer der Dame* overlooking the drawing room of the Müller house.

16

Adolf Loos, *Das Andere*, no. 1 (1903), p. 9.

17

Kenneth Frampton, from a lecture at Columbia University, Fall 1986.

18

It should also be noted that this window is an exterior window, as opposed to the other window, which opens into a threshold space.

19

The reflective surface in the rear of the dining room of the Moller house (halfway between an opaque window and a mirror) and the window in the rear of the music room "mirror" each other, not only in their locations and their proportions but even in the way the plants are disposed in two tiers. All of this produces the illusion, in the photograph, that the threshold between these two spaces is virtual—impassable, impenetrable.

20

Letter from Kurt Ungers to Ludwig Münz, quoted in Münz and Künstler, *Adolf Loos*, p. 195. Emphasis added.

21

Christian Metz, "A Note on Two Kinds of Voyeurism," in *The Imaginary Signifier* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1977), p. 96.

22

Adolf Loos, "The Principle of Cladding" (1898), in *Spoken into the Void*, p. 66 (emphasis added). Loos is explicitly referring here to Semper's concept of space as cladding, borrowing even the term "principle of cladding" from Semper. Aside from this instance, the influence of Semper on Loos can be found throughout Loos's theories and could perhaps be traced back to his studies in the Technische Hochschule in Dresden where he was an auditor in 1889–1890. Gottfried Semper taught at this school from 1834 to 1848 and left an influential theoretical legacy.

23

Franco Rella, *Miti e figure del moderno* (Parma: Pratiche Editrice, 1981), p. 13 and note 1. René Descartes, *Correspondance avec Arnauld et Morus*, ed. G. Lewis (Paris, 1933): letter to Hyperaspistes, August 1641.

24

Adolf Loos, "The Principle of Cladding" (1898), in *Spoken into the Void*, p. 66. Compare Semper's statement: "Hanging carpets remained the true walls, the visible boundaries of space. The often solid walls behind them were necessary for reasons that had nothing to do with the creation of space; they were needed for security, for supporting a load, for their permanence, and so on. Wherever the need for these secondary functions did not arise, the carpets remained the original means of separating space. Even where building solid walls became necessary, the latter were only the inner, invisible structure hidden behind the true and legitimate representatives of the wall, the colorful woven carpets." Gottfried Semper, "The Four Elements of Architecture: A Contribution to the Comparative Study of Architecture" (1851), in *Gottfried Semper: The Four Elements of Architecture and Other Writings*, trans. Harry Francis Mallgrave and Wolfgang Herrmann (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 104.

25
José Quetglas, "Lo Placentero," *Carrer de la Ciutat*, nos. 9–10, special issue on Loos (January 1980), p. 2.

26
Adolf Loos, "Architecture" (1910), trans. Wilfried Wang, in *The Architecture of Adolf Loos* (London: Arts Council of Great Britain, 1985), p. 106.

27
See in this respect Loos's use of the word "effect" (*Wirkung*) in other passages. For example in the fragment of "The Principle of Cladding" quoted above, the "effect" is the "sensation" that the space produces in the spectator, the feeling of "homeyness" in a house.

28
Richard Neutra, *Survival through Design* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1954), p. 300.

29
Adolf Loos, "Ornament und Erziehung" (1924), in *Sämtliche Schriften*, vol. 1, p. 392.

30
Adolf Loos, "Architecture," p. 106. Emphasis added.

31
This window, the only "picture" window to appear in Loos's work, points to the difference in his work between architecture in the context of the city and in that of the countryside (the Khuner villa is a country house). This difference is significant not only in terms of architectural language, as often discussed (Gravagnuolo, for example, talks of the differences between the "whitewashed masterpieces"—the Moller and Müller houses—and the Khuner villa, "so vernacular, so anachronistically alpine, so rustic"; see Benedetto Gravagnuolo, *Adolf Loos* [New York: Rizzoli, 1982]), but in terms of the way the house sets itself in relation to the exterior world, the construction of its inside and outside.

32
In the photograph of the dining room of the Moller house, the illusion that the scene is virtual, that the actual view of the dining room is a mirror image of the space from which the view is taken (the music room), thus collapsing both spaces into each other, is produced not only by the way the space is framed by the opening but also by the frame of the photograph itself, where the threshold is made to coincide exactly with the sides of the back wall, making the dining room into a picture inside a picture.

33
"The deepest conflict of modern man is not any longer in the ancient battle with nature, but in the one that the individual must fight to affirm the independence and peculiarity of his existence against the immense power of society, in his resistence to being levelled, swallowed up in the social-technological mechanism." Georg Simmel, "Die Grosstadt und das Geistesleben" (1903), English translation "The Metropolis and Mental Life," in *Georg Simmel: On Individuality and Social Forms*, ed. Donald Levine (Chicago, 1971), p. 324.

34
George Simmel, "Fashion" (1904), in ibid, pp. 313ff.

35
Adolf Loos, "Ornament and Crime" (1908), trans. Wilfried Wang, in *The Architecture of Adolf Loos*, p. 103.

36
Adolf Loos, "Architecture," p. 107.

37
Adolf Loos, "Heimat Kunst" (1914), in *Sämtliche Schriften*, vol. 1, p. 339.

38
One of the ways in which the myth of Loos as an author is sustained is by privileging his writings over other forms of representation. Critics legitimize observations on buildings, drawings, and photographs by the use of written statements by the architect. This practice is problematic at many levels. Critics use words. By privileging words they privilege themselves. They maintain themselves as authors (authorities). This convention is dependent on the classical system of representation, which I am here putting in question.

39
Münz and Künstler, *Adolf Loos*, p. 195.

40
Gravagnuolo, *Adolf Loos*, p. 191. Italics added.

41
Ibid. Italics added.

Window

1
For other interpretations of these photographs of Le Corbusier's villas presented in the *Oeuvre complète*, see Richard Becherer, "Chancing It in the Architecture of Surrealist Mise-en-Scene," *Modulus* 18 (1987), pp. 63–87; Alexander Gorlin, "The Ghost in the Machine: Surrealism in the Work of Le Corbusier," *Perspecta* 18 (1982); José Quetglas, "Viajes alrededor de mi alcoba," *Arquitectura* 264–265 (1987), pp. 111–112; Thomas Schumacher, "Deep Space, Shallow Space," *Architectural Review* (January 1987), pp. 37–42.

2
A copy of this movie is in the Museum of Modern Art, New York. About the movie see J. Ward, "Le Corbusier's Villa Les Terrasses and the International Style," Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1983, and by the same author, "Les Terrasses," *Architectural Review* (March 1985), pp. 64–69. See also Becherer, "Chancing It in the Architecture of Surrealist

Mise-en-Scene." Becherer compares Le Corbusier's movie to Man Ray's *Les Mystères du Château du dé* of 1928, which uses as setting the Villa Noailles by Robert Mallet-Stevens.

3
Mary McLeod, "Charlotte Perriand: Her First Decade as a Designer," *AA Files* 15 (1987), p. 6.

4
Pierre-Alain Crosset, "Eyes Which See," *Casabella* 531–532 (1987), p. 115. Should we remind the reader that Le Corbusier lost the sight of his left eye in 1918: separation of the retina while working at night on the drawing "La Cheminée"? See Le Corbusier, *My Work*, trans. James Palmes (London: Architectural Press, 1960), p. 54.

5
See chapter 6, note 2, above.

6
"Un tel sentiment s'explique dans la ville congestionnée où le désordre apparaît en images affligeantes; on admettrait même le paradoxe en face d'un spectacle natural sublime, trop sublime." Le Corbusier, *Urbanisme* (Paris: Crès, 1925), pp. 174–176.

7
Le Corbusier refers to Hugh Ferriss in his book *La Ville radieuse* (Paris: Vincent, Fréal, 1933), where a collage of images contrasting Hugh Ferriss and the actual New York with the Plan Voisin and Notre-Dame is accompanied by the caption: "The French tradition—Notre Dame and the Plan Voisin ('horizontal' skyscrapers) versus the American line (tumult, bristling, chaos, first explosive state of a new medievalism)." *The Radiant City* (New York: Orion Press, 1986), p. 133.

8
Charles de Beistegui interviewed by Roger Baschet in *Plaisir de France* (March 1936), pp. 26–29. Cited by Pierre Saddy, "Le Corbusier chez les riches: l'appartement Charles de Beistegui," *Architecture, mouvement, continuité*, no. 49 (1979), pp. 57–70. On this apartment, see also "Appartement avec terrasses," *L'Architecte* (October 1932), pp. 102–104.

9
"L'électricité, puissance moderne, est invisible, elle n'éclaire point la demeure, mais actionne les portes et déplace les murailles." Roger Baschet in the interview with Charles de Beistegui, *Plaisir de France* (March 1936).

10
Le Corbusier, *L'Art décoratif d'aujourd'hui* (Paris: Crès, 1925), p. 79.

11
Pierre Saddy, "Le Corbusier e l'Arlecchino," *Rassegna* 3 (1980), p. 27.

12
"Appartement avec terrasses," *L'Architecte* (October 1932).

13

Peter Blake, *The Master Builders: Le Corbusier, Mies van der Rohe, Frank Lloyd Wright* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1961), p. 60.

14

Manfredo Tafuri, "*Machine et mémoire:* The City in the Work of Le Corbusier," in *Le Corbusier*, ed. H. Allen Brooks (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), p. 203.

15

Le Corbusier, *Urbanisme*, p. 176.

16

See also chapter 3 above.

17

Le Corbusier, *Précisions sur un état présent de l'architecture et de l'urbanisme* (Paris: Vincent, Fréal, 1930), pp. 57–58. Emphasis added.

18

Le Corbusier, *Précisions*, pp. 132–133.

19

Ibid., pp. 136–138. Emphasis added.

20

This erasure of the front (despite the insistence of traditional criticism that Le Corbusier's buildings should be understood in terms of their facades) is a central theme of Le Corbusier's writings. For example, about the project for the Palace of Nations in Geneva he wrote: "Alors, me dira-t-on inquiet, vous avez construit des murs autour ou entre vos pilotis afin de ne pas donner l'angoissante sensation de ces gigantesques bâtiments en l'air? Oh, pas du tout! Je montre avec satisfaction ces pilotis qui portent quelque chose, qui se doublent de leur reflet dans l'eau, qui laissent passer la lumière sous les bâtiments *supprimant ainsi toute notion de 'devant' et de 'derrière' de bâtiment*." *Précisions*, p. 49 (emphasis added).

21

Of course, it does not mean that these images represent literally the *itinerary* of the house, as Tim Benton seems to understand when he attempts to reconstruct the *promenade* with the help of a cameraman, and of course does not succeed. See Tim Benton, "Le Corbusier y la promenade architecturale," *Arquitectura* 264–265 (1987), p. 43. The essence of film is the montage, not the linear narrative. About Le Corbusier's relationship with Eisenstein and his thought see Jean-Louis Cohen, *Le Corbusier et la mystique de l'URSS* (Brussels: Pierre Mardaga Editeur, 1987), p. 72

22

Lawrence Wright, *Perspective in Perspective* (London: Routledge and Kegan, 1983), pp. 240–241; Luis Fernandez-Galiano, "La mirada de Le Corbusier: hacia una arquitectura narrativa," *A&V, Monografias de Arquitectura y Vivienda* 9 (1987), p. 32. One should also note the relation

between the form of representation employed in these houses and the way Le Corbusier constructs the manuscripts of his books or the notes for his lectures, where the line of thought can be followed through a string of images representing the ideas. See also chapter 3 above.

23

"Je savais que la région où l'ont voulait construire comportait un secteur de 10 à 15 kilomètres de coteaux bordant le lac. Un point fixe: le lac; un autre, la vue magnifique, frontale; un autre, le sud, frontal également./ Fallait-il tout d'abord rechercher le terrain et faire le plan d'après le terrain? Telle est la méthode courante. J'ai pensé qu'il valait mieux faire un plan exact, idéalement conforme à l'usage qu'on en espérait, déterminé par les trois facteurs déjà énoncés. Ceci fait, partir, plan en poche, à la recherche d'un terrain avantageux." Le Corbusier, *Précisions*, p. 127.

24

Ibid., p. 230.

25

Le Corbusier, *Une petite maison* (Zurich: Editions d'Architecture, 1954), pp. 8, 5.

26

Ibid., pp. 22–23.

27

"Aujourd'hui, la conformité du sol avec la maison n'est plus une question d'assiette ou de contexte immédiat." Le Corbusier and François de Pierrefeu, *La Maison des hommes* (Paris: Plon, 1942), p. 68. It is significant that this and other key passages of this book were omitted in the English translation, *The Home of Man* (London: Architectural Press, 1948).

28

Le Corbusier, *The Radiant City*, p. 224.

29

In *Précisions* he writes (p. 62): "La rue est indépendante de la maison. La rue est indépendante de la maison. Y réfléchir." It must be noted that it is the street that is independent of the house and not the other way around.

30

About the association of the notion of spectacle with that of dwelling, see Hubert Damisch, "Les Tréteaux de la vie moderne," in *Le Corbusier: une encyclopédie* (Paris: Centre Georges Pompidou, 1987), pp. 252–259. See also Bruno Reichlin, "L'Esprit de Paris," *Casabella* 531–532 (1987), pp. 52–63.

31

Le Corbusier and François de Pierrefeu, *The Home of Man*, p. 87.

32

Le Corbusier, *The Radiant City*, pp. 223–225.

33
Cf. Damisch, "Les Tréteaux de la vie moderne," p. 256.

34
Le Corbusier and François de Pierrefeu, *The Home of Man*, p. 87.

35
Le Corbusier, *The Radiant City*, p. 224.

36
Le Corbusier, *Précisions*, p. 56.

37
The etymology of the English word *window* reveals that it combines *wind* and *eye*. As Georges Teyssot has noted, the word combines "an element of the outside and an aspect of inerness. The separation on which dwelling is based is the possibility for a being to install himself" (G. Teyssot, "Water and Gas on All Floors," *Lotus* 44 [1984], p. 90). But in Le Corbusier this installation splits the subject itself, rather than simply the outside from the inside. Installation involves a convoluted geometry that entangles the division between interior and exterior, between the subject and itself. This etymology of *window* is also cited by Ellen Eve Frank in *Literary Architecture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), p. 263.

38
Le Corbusier, *Précisions*, p. 136.

39
It is not a casually placed cup of tea that we find, but an "artistic" arrangement of objects of everyday life, as in the kitchens of Savoye and Garches. We may speak here of "still lifes" more than of domesticity.

40
Luigi Pirandello, *Si gira*, quoted by Walter Benjamin in "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," in *Illuminations* (New York: Schocken Books, 1969), p. 229.

41
Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," p. 230.

42
Le Corbusier, *Précisions*, p. 78.

43
Le Corbusier and François de Pierrefeu, *The Home of Man*, p. 100.

44
Paul Virilio, "The Third Window: An Interview with Paul Virilio," in *Global Television*, ed. Cynthia Schneider and Brian Wallis (New York and Cambridge: Wedge Press and MIT Press, 1988), p. 191.

45
Le Corbusier and François de Pierrefeu, *The Home of Man,* p. 125.

46
"Le machinisme a tout bouleversé:
les communications: auparavant les hommes organisaient leurs entreprises à l'échelle de leurs jambes: Le temps avait une autre durée. La notion de la terre était de grandeur, sans limite. [. . .]
l'interpénétration: un jour Stevenson inventa la locomotive. On rit. Et comme des gens d'affaires prennent cela au sérieux, demandent des concessions, M. Thiers, l'homme d'Etat qui conduisait la France, intervient instamment au Parlement, suppliant les députés de s'occuper d'autres choses plus sérieuses: 'Jamais un chemin de fer [. . .] ne pourra relier deux villes . . .'!
Sont venus le télégraphe, le téléphone, les paquebots, les avions, la T.S.F. et voici la télévision. Un mot lâché de Paris est chez vous en une fraction de seconde! [. . .] Les avions vont partout; leur oeil d'aigle a fouillé le désert et a pénétré la forêt vierge. Précipitant l'interpénétration, le fer, le téléphone font couler sans arrêt la province dans la ville, la ville dans la province . . .
l'anéantissement des cultures régionales: ce que l'on croyait être le plus sacré: la tradition, le patrimoine des ancêtres, la pensée du clocher, [. . .] est tombé [. . .]
Les pleurnicheurs invectivent la machine perturbatrice. Les actifs intelligents pensent: *enregistrons* pendant qu'il est temps encore, par la photo, le cinéma ou le disque, par le livre, le magazine, ces témoignages sublimes des cultures séculaires."
Le Corbusier, *Précisions,* pp. 26–27. English translation from *Precisions: On the Present State of Architecture and City Planning,* trans. Edith Schreiber Aujame (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1991), pp. 25–27.

47
Le Corbusier, *Précisions,* pp. 106–107.

48
Ibid., p. 107.

49
"M. Vignole ne s'occupe pas des fenêtres, mais bien des 'entre-fenêtres' (pilastres ou colonnes). Je dévignolise par: *l'architecture, c'est des planchers éclairés.*" Ibid., p. 53. English translation from *Precisions,* p. 51.

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Index