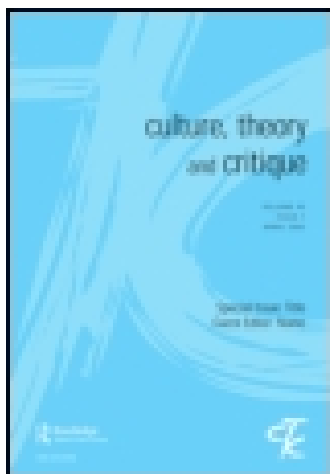


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Battle lines: E.1027

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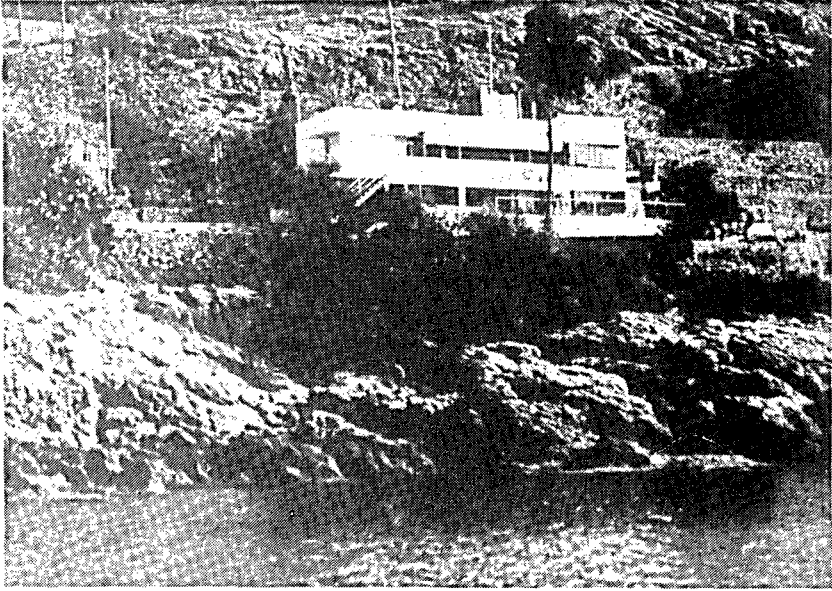
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BATTLE LINES: E.1027

by
BEATRIZ COLOMINA

Anger is perhaps the greatest inspiration in those days when the individual is separated in so many personalities. Suddenly one is all in one piece.

Eileen Gray, 1942



Eileen Gray, E.1027, Roquebrune, Cap Martin, 1926-1929. View from the Sea.
Reproduced courtesy of Pruella Clough

E.1027. A modern white house is perched on the rocks, a hundred feet above the Mediterranean Sea, in a remote place, Roquebrune at Cap Martin. The site is 'inaccessible and not overlooked from anywhere'.¹ No road leads to this house. It was designed and built between 1926 and 1929 by Eileen Gray for Jean Badovici and herself. Gray named the house E.1027: *E* for Eileen, 10 for *J* (the tenth letter of the alphabet), 2 for *B* and 7 for *G*.

¹ Peter Adam, *Eileen Gray: Architect/Designer* (New York, 1987), p.174.

They both lived there most of the summer months, until Gray built her own house in Castellar in 1934. After Badovici's death in 1956, the house was sold to the Swiss architect Marie Louise Schelbert. She found the walls riddled with bullet holes. The house had clearly been the site of considerable violence. In a 1969 letter, she comments on the state of the house: 'Corbu did not want anything repaired and urged me to leave it as it is as a reminder of war'.² But what kind of war? Most obviously, it was World War II. The bullet holes are wounds from the German occupation. But what violence was there to the house before the bullets, and even before the inevitable relationship of modern architecture to the military? And anyway, to start with, what is Le Corbusier doing here? What brings him to this isolated spot, this remote house that will eventually be the site of his own death?

'As a young man he had travelled in the Balkans and the near East and had made sketches of strange, inaccessible places and scenes. It was perhaps through a natural, anti-romantic reaction of maturity that later, as a Purist, he proposed to paint what was duplicable and near-at-hand.'³ We will have to go back to Le Corbusier's earlier travels, to the 'strange, inaccessible places and scenes' that he had conquered through drawing—at the very least, to Le Corbusier's trip to Algiers in the spring of 1931. First encounter in what would become a long relationship to this city, or in Le Corbusier's words: 'Twelve years of uninterrupted study of Algiers'.⁴ By all accounts, this study began with his drawing of Algerian women. He said later that he had been 'profoundly seduced by a type of woman particularly well-built' of which he made many nude studies.⁵ He also acquired a large collection of coloured postcards representing naked women surrounded by accoutrements from the Oriental bazaar. Jean de Maisonseul (later director of the Musée National des Beaux Arts d'Alger), who as an eighteen-year-old boy had guided Le Corbusier through the Casbah, recalled their tour: 'Our wanderings through the side streets led us at the end of the day to the rue Kataroudji where he [Le Corbusier] was fascinated by the beauty of two young girls, one Spanish and the other Algerian. They brought us up a narrow stairway to their room; there he sketched some nudes on—to my amazement—some schoolbook graph paper with coloured pencils; the sketches of the Spanish girl lying both alone on the bed and beautifully grouped together with the Algerian turned out accurate and realistic; but he said that they were very bad and refused to show them'.⁶ Le Corbusier filled three notebooks of sketches in Algiers that he later claimed were stolen from his Paris atelier. But Ozenfant denied it, saying that Le Corbusier himself either destroyed or hid them, considering them

2 Letter from Marie Louise Schelbert to Stanislaus von Moos, 14 February 1969, as quoted by von Moos, 'Le Corbusier as Painter', *Oppositions* 19–20 (1980), 93.

3 James Thrall Soby, 'Le Corbusier, Muralist', *Interiors* (June 1948), 100.

4 Le Corbusier, *My Work*, translated by James Palmes (London, 1960), p.50.

5 Samir Rafi, 'Le Corbusier et "Les Femmes d'Alger"', *Revue d'histoire et de civilisation du Maghreb* (1968), 51.

6 Letter from Jean de Maisonseul to Samir Rafi, 5 January 1968, as quoted by von Moos, 'Le Corbusier as Painter,' p.89.

a 'secret d'atelier'.⁷ The Algerian sketches and postcards appear to be a rather ordinary instance of the ingrained fetishistic appropriation of women, of the East, of 'the other'. Yet Le Corbusier, as Samir Rafi and Stanislaus von Moos have noted, turned this material into 'preparatory studies for and the basis of a projected monumental figure composition, the plans for which seem to have preoccupied Le Corbusier during many years, if not his entire life'.⁸

From the months immediately following his return from Algiers until his death, Le Corbusier seems to have made hundreds and hundreds of sketches on yellow tracing paper by laying it over the original sketches and retracing the contours of the figures. (Ozenfant believed that Le Corbusier had re-drawn his own sketches with the help of photographs or postcards).⁹ He also exhaustively studied Delacroix's famous painting *Femmes d'Alger*,



Eugène Delacroix, *Femmes d'Alger dans leur appartement*, oil on canvas, 1833. Paris, Louvre.

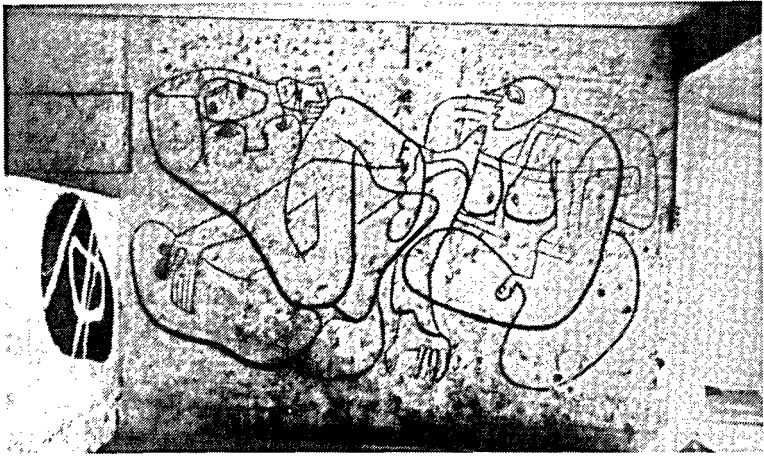
7 From several conversations of both Le Corbusier and Ozenfant with Samir Rafi in 1964. As quoted by Samir Rafi, 'Le Corbusier et "Les Femmes d'Alger"', 51.

8 Von Moos, 'Le Corbusier as Painter', 91.

9 Conversation of Ozenfant with Samir Rafi, 8 June 1964, as quoted by Samir Rafi, 'Le Corbusier et "Les Femmes d'Alger"', 52.

producing a series of sketches of the outlines of the figures in this painting, divested of their 'exotic clothing' and the 'Oriental decor'.¹⁰ Soon the two projects merged: he modified the gestures of the Delacroix figures, gradually making them correspond to the figures in his own sketches. Le Corbusier said that he would have called the final composition *Femmes de la Casbah*.¹¹ In fact, he never finished it. He kept redrawing it. That the drawing and redrawing of these images became a lifetime obsession already indicates that something was at stake. This became even more obvious when in 1963–64, shortly before his death, Le Corbusier, unhappy with the visible ageing of the yellow tracing paper, copied a selection of twenty-six drawings onto transparent paper and symptomatically, for someone who kept everything, burned the rest.¹²

But the process of drawing and redrawing the *Femmes de la Casbah* reached its most intense, if not hysterical, moment when Le Corbusier's studies found their way into a mural that he completed in 1938 in E.1027. Le Corbusier referred to the mural as *Sous les pilotis* or *Graffite à Cap Martin*, and sometimes he also labelled it *Three Women*.¹³ According to



Le Corbusier, *Three Women (Graffite à Cap Martin)*. Mural in Eileen Gray's house E.1017, Roquebrune-Cap Martin, 1938. Reproduced courtesy of the Fondation Le Corbusier

10 Von Moos, 'Le Corbusier as Painter', 93.

11 Rafi, 'Le Corbusier et "Les Femmes d'Alger"', 54–55.

12 Rafi, 'Le Corbusier et "Les Femmes d'Alger"', 60.

13 In *My Work*, Le Corbusier refers to the mural as 'Graffiti at Cap Martin'. Stanislaus von Moos in 'Le Corbusier as Painter' labels the mural 'Three Women (Graffite à Cap Martin)' and Samir Rafi in 'Le Corbusier et "Les Femmes d'Alger"' labels the final composition from which the mural was derived 'Assemblage des trois femmes: composition définitive. Encre de Chine sur papier calque. 49.7 X 64.4 cm. Coll. particulière. Milan'.

Schelbert, Le Corbusier 'explained to his friends that "Badou" [Badovici] was depicted on the right, his friend Eileen Gray on the left; the outline of the head and the hairpiece of the sitting figure in the middle, he claimed, was "the desired child, which was never born"'.¹⁴ This extraordinary scene, a defacement of Gray's architecture, was perhaps even an effacement of her sexuality. For Gray was openly gay, her relationship to Badovici notwithstanding. And insofar as Badovici is here represented as one of the three women, the mural may reveal as much as it conceals. It is clearly a 'theme for a psychiatrist', as Le Corbusier's *Vers une architecture* says of the nightmares with which people invest their houses.¹⁵ Particularly if we also take into account Le Corbusier's obsessive relationship to this house as manifest (and this is only one example of a complex pathology) in his quasi-occupation of the site after World War II, when he built a small wooden shack (the Cabanon) for himself at the very limits of the adjacent property, right behind Gray's house. He occupied and controlled the site by overlooking it, the cabin being little more than an observation platform, a sort of watchdog house. The imposition of this appropriating gaze is even more brutal if we remember that Gray had chosen the site because it was, in Peter Adam's words, 'inaccessible and not overlooked from anywhere'. But the violence of this occupation had already been established when Le Corbusier painted the murals in this house (there were eight altogether) without Gray's permission (she had already moved out). She considered it an act of vandalism; indeed, as Adam put it, 'It was a rape. A fellow architect, a man she admired, had without her consent defaced her design.'¹⁶

The defacement of the house went hand in hand with the effacement of Gray as an architect. When Le Corbusier published the murals in his *Oeuvre complète* (1946) and in *L'Architecture d'aujourd'hui* (1948), Gray's house was referred to as 'a house in Cap-Martin'; her name was not even mentioned.¹⁷ Le Corbusier ended up, later on, getting credit for the design of the house and even for some of its furniture.¹⁸ Today the confusion continues, with many writers attributing the house to Badovici alone, or at best, to Badovici

14 Letter from Marie Louise Schelbert to Stanislaus von Moos, 14 February 1969, as quoted by von Moos, 'Le Corbusier as Painter', 93.

15 Le Corbusier, *Vers une architecture* (Paris, 1923), p.196. The passage here referred to is omitted in the English version of this book.

16 Adam, *Eileen Gray*, p.311.

17 See Adam, *Eileen Gray*, pp.334-35. No caption for 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 credited directly to Badovici. The first recognition of Gray as architect since the 1930s came from Joseph Rykwert, 'Un Ommagio a Eileen Gray—Pioniera del Design,' *Domus* 468 (1966), 23-25.

18 For example, in James Thrall Soby's 'Le Corbusier, Muralist', the caption for the murals at Cap Martin reads: 'Murals, interior and exterior, executed in *sgaffito* technique on white plaster, in a house designed by Le Corbusier and P. Jeanneret, Cap Martin, 1938. Still in 1981, in *Casa Vogue* 119 (Milan), the house is described as 'Firmata Eileen Gray-Le Corbusier' ('signed Eileen Gray and Le Corbusier'), and an Eileen Gray sofa as 'pezzo unico di Le Corbusier' ('unique piece by Le Corbusier'), as quoted by Jean Paul Rayon and Brigitte Loye, 'Eileen Gray architetto 1879-1977', *Casabella* 480 (1982), 38-42.

and Gray, and some still suggesting that Le Corbusier had collaborated on the project. Gray's name does not figure, even as footnote, in most histories of modern architecture, including the most recent and ostensibly critical ones.

'What a narrow prison you have built for me over a number of years, and particularly this year through your vanity', Badovici wrote to Le Corbusier in 1949 about the whole episode (in a letter that Adam thinks may have been dictated by Gray herself).¹⁹ Le Corbusier's reply is clearly addressed to Gray: 'You want a statement from me based on my worldwide authority to show—if I correctly understand your innermost thoughts—to demonstrate "the quality of pure and functional architecture" which is manifested by you in the house at Cap Martin, and has been destroyed by my pictorial interventions. OK, you send me some photographic documents of this manipulation of pure functionalism... Also send some documents on Castellar, this U-boat of functionalism; then I will spread this debate in front of the whole world.'²⁰ Now Le Corbusier was threatening to carry the battle from the house into the newspapers and architectural periodicals. But his public position completely contradicted what he had expressed privately. In 1938, the same year he went on to paint the mural *Graffiti à Cap Martin*, Le Corbusier had written a letter to Gray, after spending some days in E. 1027 with Badovici, where he acknowledges not only her sole authorship but also how much he likes the house: 'I am so happy to tell you how much those few days spent in your house have made me appreciate the rare spirit which dictates all the organization, inside and outside, and gives to the modern furniture—the equipment—such dignified form, so charming, so full of spirit'.²¹

Why, then, did Le Corbusier vandalize the very house he loved? Did he think that the murals would enhance it? Certainly not. Le Corbusier had repeatedly stated that the role of the mural in architecture is to 'destroy' the wall, to dematerialize it. In a letter to Vladimir Nekrassov in 1932, he writes: 'I admit the mural not to enhance a wall, but on the contrary, as a means to violently destroy the wall, to remove from it all sense of stability, of weight, etc'.²² The mural for Le Corbusier is a weapon against architecture, a bomb. 'Why then

19 'Quelle réclusion étroite que m'a faite votre vanité depuis quelques années et qu'elle m'a faite plus particulièrement cette année.' Letter from Badovici to Le Corbusier, 30 December 1949, Fondation Le Corbusier, as quoted by Brigitte Loye, *Eileen Gray 1879–1976: Architecture Design* (Paris, 1983), p.86; English translation in Adam, *Eileen Gray*, p.335.

20 'Vous réclamez une mise au point de moi, couverte de mon autorité mondiale, et démontrant—si je comprends le sens profond de votre pensée—"la qualité d'architecture fonctionnelle pure" manifestée par vous dans la maison de Cap Martin et anéantie par mon intervention picturale. D'ac [sic], si vous me fournissez les documents photographiques de cette manipulation fonctionnelle pure....; et quelques documents de Castellar, ce sous-marin de la fonctionnalité: Alors je m'efforcerai d'étaler le débat au monde entier.' Letter from Le Corbusier to Badovici, Fondation Le Corbusier as quoted in Loye, *Eileen Gray 1879–1976*, pp.83–84; English translation in Adam, *Eileen Gray*, pp.335–36.

21 Letter from Le Corbusier to Eileen Gray, Cap Martin, 28 April 1938, as quoted in Adam, *Eileen Gray*, pp.309–10.

22 'J'admets la fresque non pas pour mettre en valeur un mur, mais au contraire comme un moyen pour détruire tumultueusement le mur, lui enlever toute notion de stabilité, de poids, etc'. *Le Corbusier. Le passé à réaction poétique*, exhibition catalogue (Paris, 1988), p.75.

paint on the walls... at the risk of killing architecture?' he asks in the same letter, and then answers: 'It is when one is pursuing another task, that of telling stories'.²³ So what then is the story that he so urgently needs to tell with *Grafitte à Cap Martin*?

We will have to go back once more to Algiers. In fact, Le Corbusier's complimentary letter to Gray, sent from Cap Martin on 28 April 1938, bears the letterhead: *Hôtel Aletti Alger*. Le Corbusier's violation of Gray's house and identity is consistent with his fetishization of Algerian women. One might even argue that the child in this mural reconstitutes the missing (maternal) phallus, whose absence, Freud argues, organizes fetishism. In these terms, the endless drawing and redrawing is the scene of a violent substitution that in Le Corbusier would seem to require the house, domestic space, as prop. Violence is organized around or through the house. In both circumstances (Algiers and Cap Martin) the scene starts with an intrusion, the carefully orchestrated occupation of a house. But the house is in the end effaced (erased from the Algiers drawings, defaced at Cap Martin).

Significantly, Le Corbusier describes drawing itself as the occupation of a 'stranger's house'. In his last book, *Creation is a Patient Search*, he writes: 'By working with our hands, by drawing, we enter the house of a stranger, we are enriched by the experience, we learn'.²⁴ Drawing, as has often been noted, plays a crucial part in Le Corbusier's appropriation of the exterior world. He repeatedly opposes his technique of drawing to photography: 'When one travels and works with visual things—architecture, painting or sculpture—one uses one's eyes and draws, so as to fix deep down in one's experience what is seen. Once the impression has been recorded by the pencil, it stays for good—entered, registered, inscribed. The camera is a tool for idlers, who use a machine to do their seeing for them'.²⁵ Statements such as this have gained Le Corbusier the reputation of having a phobia for the camera—despite the crucial role of photography in his work. But what is the specific relation between photography and drawing in Le Corbusier?

The sketches of the Algerian women were not only redrawings of live models but also redrawings of postcards. One could even argue that the construction of the Algerian women in French postcards, widely diffused at the time,²⁶ would have informed Le Corbusier's live drawings in the same way that, as Zeynep Çelik notes, Le Corbusier precisely reenacts the images of foreign cities (Istanbul or Algiers, for example) constructed by postcards and tourist guides when he actually enters these cities. In these terms, he not only 'knew what he wanted to see,'²⁷ as Çelik says, but saw what he had already seen (in pictures). He

passé à réaction poétique, exhibition catalogue (Paris, 1988), p.75.

23 'Mais pourquoi a-t-on peint les murs des chapelles au risque de tuer l'architecture? C'est qu'on poursuivait une autre tâche, qui était celle de raconter des histoires.' *Le Corbusier, Le Passé*, p.75.

24 Le Corbusier, *Creation is a Patient Search* (New York, 1960), p.203.

25 Le Corbusier, *Creation is a Patient Search*, p.37.

26 About French postcards of Algerian women circulating between 1900 and 1930 see Malek Alloula, *The Colonial Harem* (Minneapolis, 1986).



"Femmes kabyles," postcard bought by Le Corbusier in Algiers in 1931.
Reproduced courtesy of the Fondation Le Corbusier



Deux Femmes enlacées, v. 1932, crayon et pastel sur carton, 24, 5x32 (FLC 114).
Reproduced courtesy of the Fondation Le Corbusier

'entered' those pictures. He inhabits the photographs. The redrawings of the *Femmes d'Alger* are also more likely to have been realized, as von Moos points out, from postcards and reproductions than from the original painting in the Louvre.²⁸ So what, then, is the specific role of the photographic image as such in the fetishistic scene of the *Femmes de la Casbah* project?

The fetish is 'pure presence', writes Victor Burgin, 'and how many times have I been told that photographs "lack presence", that paintings are to be valued *because of their presence!*'²⁹ This separation between painting and photography organizes the dominant understanding of Le Corbusier's relation to photography. What these accounts seem to ignore is that here the drawing, the handcrafted artistic meditation, is done 'after' the photograph: the art reproduction, the postcard, the photograph.

In fact, the whole mentality of the *Femmes de la Casbah* drawings is photographic. Not only are they made from photographs, they develop according to a repetitive process in which the images are systematically reproduced on transparent paper, the grid of the original graph paper allowing the image to be enlarged to any scale. This photographic sensibility becomes most obvious with the murals at Cap Martin. Traditionally, they have been understood as a paradigm of Le Corbusier the painter, the craftsman detached from mechanical reproduction, an interpretation to which Le Corbusier himself has contributed with the circulation of that famous photograph of him, naked, working at one of the murals. (Do you realize that this is the only nude image of him that we know? That it had to be here, in this scene, is telling.) What is normally omitted is that *Graffite à Cap Martin* was not conceived on the wall itself. Le Corbusier used an electric projector to enlarge the image of a small drawing onto the 2.5 meter by 4.0 meter white wall where he etched the mural in black.

They say that, in using black, Le Corbusier was thinking about Picasso's *Guernica* of the year before, and that Picasso, in turn, was so impressed with the mural at Cap Martin that it prompted him to do his own versions of the *Femmes d'Alger*. Apparently, Picasso drew Delacroix's painting from memory and was 'frappé' to find out later that the figure that he had painted in the middle, lying down, with her legs crossed, was not in the Delacroix.³⁰ It was, of course, *Graffite à Cap Martin* that he remembered, the reclining crossed-legged women (inviting but inaccessible), Le Corbusier's symptomatic representation of Eileen Gray. But if Le Corbusier's mural had so impressed him, why did Picasso choose not to see the swastika inscribed on the chest of the woman on the right? The swastika

27 Zeynep Çelik, 'Le Corbusier, Orientalism, Colonialism', *Assemblage* 17 (1992), 61.

28 Von Moos, 'Le Corbusier as Painter', p.93.

29 Victor Burgin, 'The Absence of Presence', in *The End of Art Theory: Criticism and Postmodernity* (Atlantic Highlands, N.J., 1986), p.44.

30 Rafi, 'Le Corbusier et les "Femmes d'Alger"', 61.

may be yet one more sign of Le Corbusier's political opportunism. (Remember that the mural was done in 1938.) But the German soldiers, who occupied the house during World War II, may not have seen the swastika either, for this very wall was found riddled with bullet holes, as if it had been the site of some execution.

The mural was a black and white photograph. Le Corbusier's fetish is photographic. After all, photography too has been read in terms of the fetish. Victor Burgin writes: 'Fetishism thus accomplishes that separation of knowledge from belief characteristic of representation; its motive is the unity of the subject. The photograph stands to the subject-viewer as does the fetishized object... We know we see a two-dimensional surface, we believe we look through it into three-dimensional space, we cannot do both at the same time—there is a coming and going between knowledge and belief.'³¹

So if Le Corbusier 'enters the house of a stranger' by drawing, could 'the house' stand in here for the photograph? By drawing he enters the photograph that is itself a stranger's house, occupying and re-territorializing the space, the city, the sexualities of the other by reworking the image. Drawing on and in photography is the instrument of colonization. The entry to the house of a stranger is always a breaking and entering—there being no entry without force no matter how many invitations. Le Corbusier's architecture depends in some way on specific techniques of occupying yet gradually effacing the domestic space of the other.

Like all colonists, Le Corbusier did not think of it as an invasion but as a gift. When recapitulating his life work five years before his death, he symptomatically wrote about Algiers and Cap Martin in the same terms: 'From 1930 L-C devoted twelve years to an uninterrupted study of Algiers and its future... Seven great schemes (seven enormous studies) were prepared *free of charge* during those years.' And later, '1938–39. Eight mural paintings (*free of charge*) in the Badovici and Helen Grey house at Cap Martin'.³² No charge for the discharge. Eileen Gray was outraged; now even her name had been defaced. And renaming is, after all, the first act of colonization. Such gifts can not be returned.

PS. In 1944, the retreating German Army blew up Eileen Gray's apartment in Menton, having vandalized E.1027 and *Tempe à Pailla* (her house in Castellar). She lost everything. Her drawings and plans were used to light fires.

PPS. On 26 August 1965, the endless redrawing of the *Femmes de la Casbah* still unfinished, Le Corbusier went down from E.1027 to the sea and swam to his death.

PPPS. In 1977, a local mason in charge of some work in the house 'mistakenly' demolished the mural *Graffiti*.³³ I like to think that he did so on purpose. Eileen Gray had

31 Victor Burgin, 'Modernism in the Work of Art', *20th Century Studies* 15–16 (1976). Reprinted in *The End of Art Theory*, p.19. See also Stephen Heath, 'Lessons from Brecht', *Screen* 15 (1974), 106.

32 Le Corbusier, *My Work*, pp.50–51. My emphasis.

spent almost three years living on the site in complete isolation, building the house with the masons, having lunch with them every day. Then again, she did the same thing when building her own house at Castellar. The masons knew her well; in fact, they loved her and hated the arrogant Badovici. They understood perfectly what the mural was about. They destroyed it. In so doing, they showed more enlightenment than most critics and historians of architecture.

PPPS. Since then, the mural has been reconstructed in the house on the basis of photographs. It re-emerged from its original medium. The occupation continues.

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