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Author(s): Kevin D. Murphy
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The Villa Savoye and the Modernist Historic Monument

KEVIN D. MURPHY
Graduate Center, City University of New York, and Brooklyn College

"Every work of art, in fact, tends to develop into a myth. For me museums are places where the works of an earlier epoch which have developed into myths lie sleeping . . . waiting for the day to come when artists will wake them to an active existence." André Malraux had his archaeologist protagonist make this declaration in his early novel *La Voie Royale* (1935).[1] Later, in the late 1950s and 1960s, Malraux would support the preservation of Le Corbusier's Villa Savoye (1928–1931) during his tenure as French minister of culture. As a result of its preservation, the Villa Savoye became a museum, and it served the role that Malraux outlined for the work of art by inspiring architects around the world. In part, the fame of the Villa Savoye resulted from Le Corbusier's own actions on its behalf. If the architect was cavalier about fixing the building's many defects, he tirelessly promoted its aesthetic significance from the time of its original construction through the end of his life. Following the period in which the Villa Savoye deteriorated physically, between about 1938 and 1959, Le Corbusier used his international celebrity to establish the building's central place in his oeuvre and its canonical status in modern architecture. In this cause Le Corbusier was assisted by other modernist architects, museum curators, and historians of the Modern Movement. With its rescue from near ruin in the mid-1960s, the Villa Savoye came to stand as a monument to the first phase of Modernism, which, by the time of the building's preservation, was perceived as a historical phenomenon. Debates about the fate of the Villa Savoye engaged this historical perception of Modernism, and the eventual preservation of the house concretized a view, specific to the mid-1960s, of the avant-garde architecture of the 1920s.

The preservation of the Villa Savoye was also an important event in the reconceptualization of the historic monument in France that took place during the 1960s. While historic monuments had first become the subjects of government-sponsored preservation efforts in the mid nineteenth century, they had almost universally been medieval or Renaissance religious buildings or royal residences. The much discussed deterioration and subsequent restoration of the Villa Savoye helped to broaden the definition of what could constitute a historic monument in postwar France by illustrating how a private residence could take on national, and even international, significance. Further, public support for the Villa Savoye's preservation lent validity to the government's nascent effort to protect early modernist buildings.

The analysis of the process by which the Villa Savoye was established as a monument to early Modernism complements the recent historiographic reworking of the house. This scholarship has counteracted earlier studies that treated the house on a primarily formal level and accepted its iconic status as sacrosanct. Shortly after its completion, Sigfried Giedion asserted the importance of the Villa Savoye as part of Le Corbusier's fundamental reconceptualiztion of the idea of the house and offered a succinct description of the new building at Poissy: "The house is a

cube elevated on pillars [pilotis]. The cube part is not a solid mass; it is hollowed out on both the southeast and southwest sides so that when the sun comes up the light floods the whole interior instead of merely skimming the outer wall. . . . The entrance hall is on the northwest, but in coming in from the road one has to go all around the south side of the house to reach it. Of course there is really no façade and no back or front, since the house is open on every side" (Figure 1).[2] Giedion assured the Villa Savoye a pivotal role in subsequent accounts of the development of Modernism when he described the building in his influential *Space, Time and Architecture* (1941) as having been central to the translation of cubist conceptions of space into the realm of architecture. For Giedion, the Villa Savoye offered an unfolding sequence of spatial experiences that reflected the architect's consciousness of time as a component of the building. Indeed, the spatial qualities of the interior, especially as staged by the sequence of ramps and stairs that ascend through the building, have been studied in detail as expressions of Le Corbusier's concept of the "promenade architecturale." Such complexity in the arrangement of the interior, as well as the curving form of the first-story metal-and-glass wall, and the curved wall of the solarium that recalls the objects represented in the architect's Purist paintings, undercut the ostensible rationalism announced by the pilotis, the metal sash windows, and the white walls. To sort out what Tim Benton describes as a bewildering juxtaposition of "clarity and ambiguity" in the Villa Savoye,[3] Colin Rowe analyzed the building's geometry in an influential article first published in 1947, in which he suggested affinities between the work of Le Corbusier and the villas of Andrea Palladio.[4]

The design process that produced this complex building has since been discussed in detail by Benton, whose reconstruction of the stages Le Corbusier's design went through between 1928 and 1929 is based on a close analysis of surviving drawings and documents. These sources reveal the ways in which the architect misled the clients with respect to the cost of the house and failed to correct its mechanical and structural problems. Not only were the occupants subject to Le Corbusier's misrepresentations and disregard for their comfort, but feminist scholar Beatriz Colomina has also argued that the architect failed to make a space that they could actually inhabit.[5] The scholarship on the Villa Savoye has thus paralleled that of the Modern Movement as a whole: the initial formalist understanding of the building eventually gave way to a more critical view, informed by a fuller understanding of how the design was produced and how the house actually functioned for its users.[6]

In the published presentation of his *Oeuvre complète*, Le Corbusier established the way in which the Villa Savoye would be treated by many subsequent commentators when he wrote, "The house is placed in the middle of a field like an object, without disturbing anything."[7] Many scholars and critics have therefore focused on the isolated object itself, examining its spatial and compositional richness, but hesitating to situate it within the larger historical situation, or to examine its implications for questions beyond those concerning design. Just as the Villa Savoye only lightly touched the landscape beneath it, so the larger world seemed to have impinged little upon this expression of Le Corbusier's singular vision of modern domestic architecture. Recent studies have worked against the isolation of the Villa Savoye. Integral to reconstructing the materialist history of the Villa Savoye and comprehending its ideological underpinnings—processes begun by Benton and Colomina, respectively[8]—is knowing about its material fortunes following the original period of construction. The actual building was replaced in many accounts by Le Corbusier's drawings of it and by the photos published in the *Oeuvre complète* because at many points its deteriorated condition had the potential to undermine the idealist, formalist history that had been constructed for it. The Villa Savoye was not a static representation of Le Corbusier's 1920s aesthetic; instead, the house had an existence as an object that changed over time in response to the political and economic situation, to its altered functions, and to evolving attitudes toward the architect and his work.

The critical moment of the apotheosis of the Villa Savoye as a "lieu de mémoire"—to employ the phrase that historian Pierre Nora has used to describe sites where the history of France is consciously represented[9]—has received little attention. The analysis of how the Villa Savoye was constructed in the architectural and popular literature, and physically restored, is significant for several reasons. First, the villa's critical and material fortunes in the decades after its original construction enhance our understanding of Le Corbusier's intentions regarding domestic architecture. Second, the process by which the Villa Savoye became a museum was a material manifestation of Modernism's historicization from the late 1950s through the mid-1960s. Finally, the transformation of the Villa Savoye into a "site of memory" for early Modernism—a seemingly paradoxical operation—was important for the transformation of the concept of the historic monument in France. Although Nora and other historians have analyzed the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century origins of the government-sponsored program to preserve and restore historic works of architecture as evidence of the nation's past, the twentieth-century inscription of French

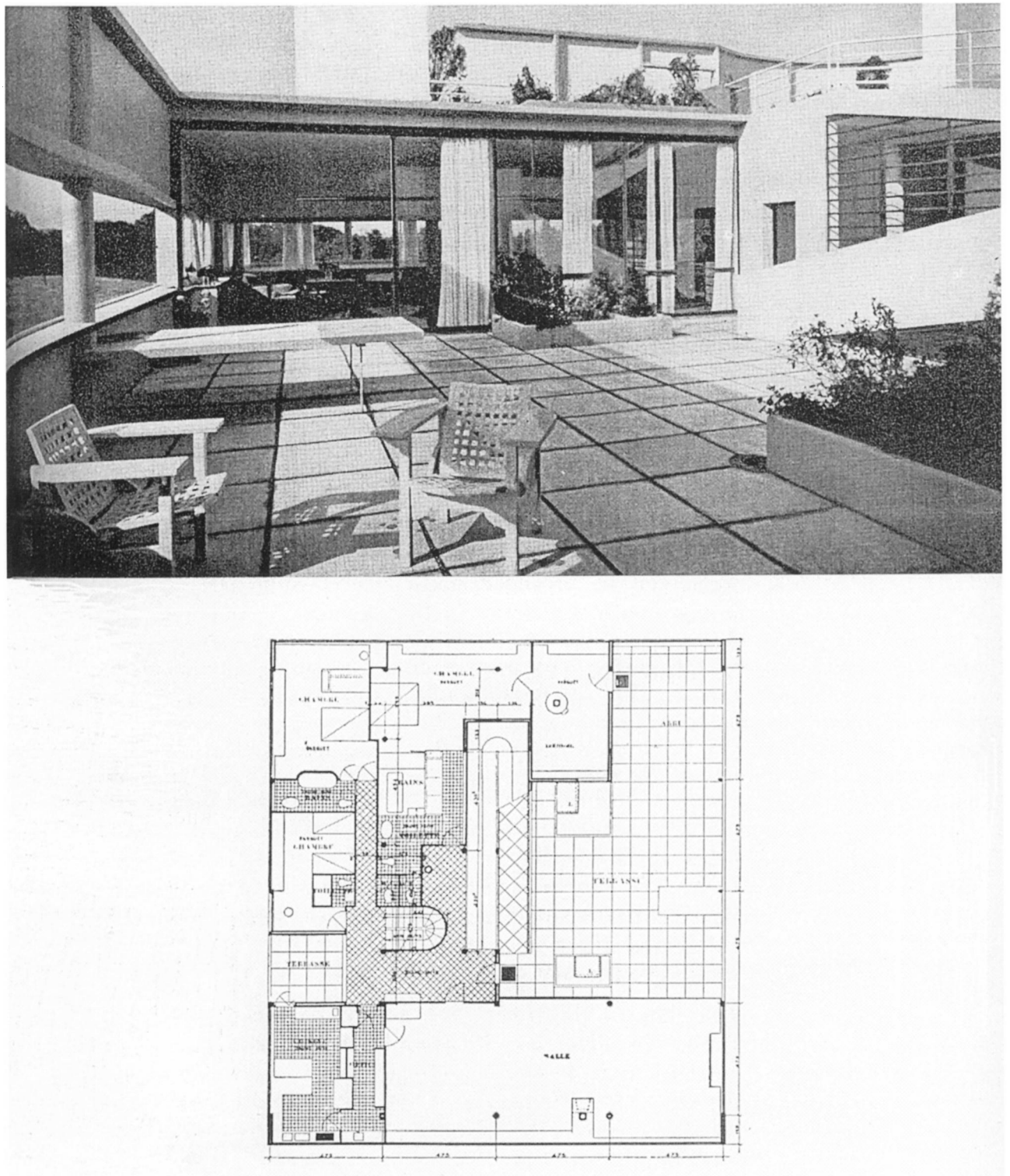


Figure 1 Villa Savoye, from Sigfried Giedion, *Space, Time and Architecture* (1941)

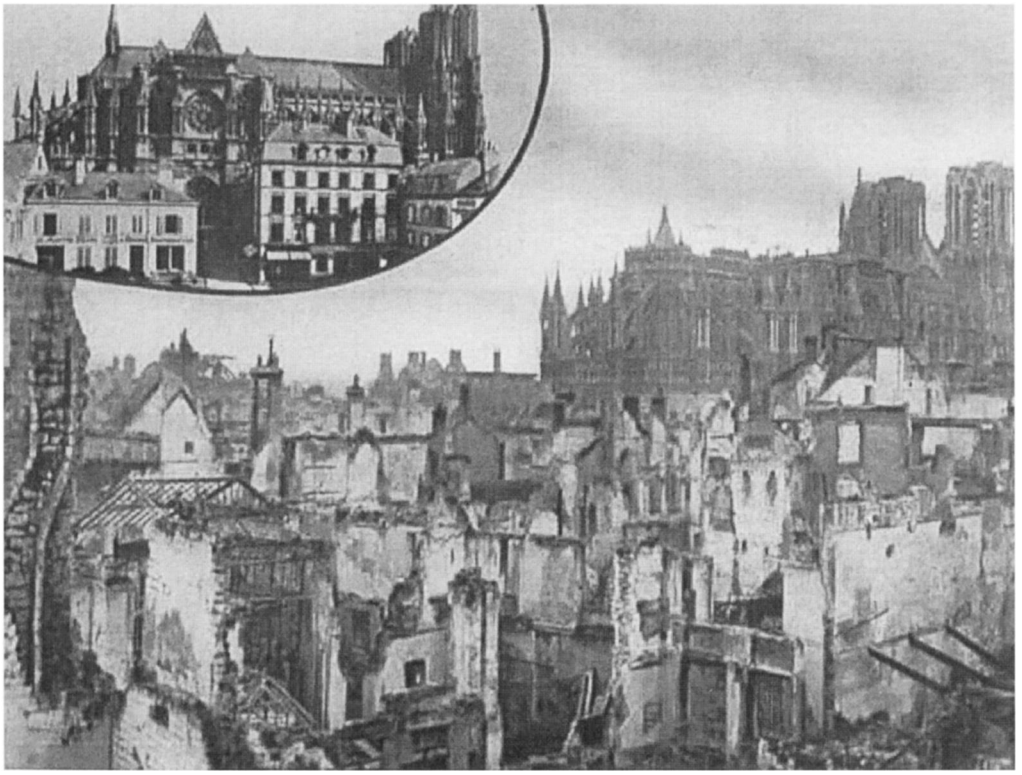


Figure 2 Reims Cathedral, begun 1211, damaged by bombardment in World War I, from *La guerre, documents de la section photographique de l'armée* (1915–1916)

identity into modernist architecture has not been sufficiently addressed. Nora and others have uncovered the ideological underpinnings of restoration efforts that concretized changing conceptions of France as a political and cultural entity in the nineteenth century; the campaign for the Villa Savoye was similarly ideological in that the building came to stand for French political autonomy and cultural attainment in the twentieth century.

The Historic Monument in the Postwar Period

To make the Villa Savoye, the private residence of a family of no especial celebrity, a historic monument meant redefining the criteria by which buildings were deemed worthy of protection. The French government program of inventorying and restoring historic buildings had begun during the revolutionary period, and the administrators and architects affiliated with the commission and service of historic monuments had been concerned predominantly with works from the distant past, that is, from the imperial Roman, medieval, and Renaissance periods. Throughout the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth centuries, the French government restoration program focused on the former châteaux of the royalty and on the Romanesque and Gothic churches and cathedrals that it considered the nation's most significant contributions to the history of Western architecture. Indeed, through the nineteenth century, French national identity had been increasingly tied to medieval architecture. As Françoise Choay observes of historian François Guizot, who established the Commission of Historic Monuments in 1830, "The Gothic remained for him synonymous with a national art."[10] For many mid-nineteenth-century architects and historians, the development of the Gothic style in buildings of the Île-de-France had coincided with, and therefore represented, the emergence of the French nation itself. In the twentieth century, the bombardment of Reims Cathedral and other Gothic monuments by the Germans—which began at the time of their invasion of France through Belgium in March 1914 and continued through the duration of World War I—was thus construed as symbolic of the larger assault on the nation. The extensive international coverage of the "Passion of Reims" helped to galvanize support for the French cause in North America by focusing outrage over German aggression on one of the buildings that represented the nation (Figure 2).[11] The use of medieval architecture to at once embody French identity and to foment outrage over political and military aggression against the nation was therefore well established before the bombings of World War II wrought further destruction to buildings that dated to the Middle Ages.

In the postwar period, some of the political associations that had been made with premodern buildings were extended to certain modern works. Romanesque and

Gothic religious buildings and royal residences did not cease being central to the architectural patrimony,[12] but as the preservation of the Villa Savoye demonstrated, French cultural and political identity could also be invested in the works of modernist architects, even in projects that were not connected with prominent public figures. What the new monuments shared with the older ones was their saliency as examples of internationally recognized architectural styles that France could claim to have originated. From its nineteenth-century beginnings, the French national restoration campaign had succeeded in securing government funding for historic buildings by rallying support for clear illustrations of various styles. The government preservation campaign had focused on what the second inspector general of historic monuments, Prosper Mérimée, called in 1848 "monuments-type," structures that represented larger developments in the history of French architecture. In the twentieth century, the Villa Savoye was championed as an especially significant and pure example of early Modernism that could become part of the patrimony because France had been an important site for the movement's development in the 1920s.

Bernard Toulier has recently argued that despite some initiatives to preserve battlefield constructions in the wake of World War I, a concerted effort to protect twentieth-century buildings in France began only in the 1950s. In 1957, the Théâtre des Champs-Elysées, by Auguste and Gustave Perret (1911–1913) became the first twentieth-century building to be listed as a historic monument on the basis of its aesthetic qualities, rather than for historical reasons, after having been rejected on two previous occasions. Two years later, Toulier argues, the international campaign on behalf of preserving the Villa Savoye, led largely by Americans, drew minister of culture André Malraux's attention to the need to protect twentieth-century buildings. The Villa Savoye thus provided the impetus for a "first wave" of protection for modernist works. Between 1957 and 1963, three different lists were prepared by members of the government architectural services of modern buildings that should be listed as historic monuments. At the same time, administrative steps were taken to make it possible to list contemporary buildings as historic monuments, particularly a decree of 18 April 1961 that expanded the criteria for inscription on the inventory of historic monuments to include twentieth-century examples. Through the mid-1960s, slow progress was made in nominating the identified buildings as historic monuments; for example, of the hundred or so on the 1963 list, approximately half were nominated between 1964 and 1967. As of 1990, 300 twentieth-century buildings (of the 36,000 historic monuments in France) had been listed.[13] In general, the first modernist buildings protected were by well-known architects such as Le Corbusier, the Perrets, and Hector Guimard.[14] During the early years of the government's initiative to preserve such important buildings by recognized modernist architects, the Villa Savoye had been continuously in the public eye. It exemplified the potential for destruction of buildings that represented the beginnings of the Modern Movement in France.

The Villa Savoye in Decline

The need to preserve the Villa Savoye from complete destruction, which became acute by the late 1950s, was the culmination of a process of decay that began almost before the house was completed. As early as 1930, Émilie Savoye began a correspondence with Le Corbusier that continued through 1937 and in which she documented the many defects in her house. For example, on 6 September 1937, Madame Savoye wrote to Le Corbusier: "It's raining in the hall, it's raining in the ramp, and the wall of the garage is absolutely soaked. What's more, it's still raining in my bathroom, which floods every time it rains."[15] The physical problems with the Villa Savoye, especially its extensive and infamous leaks, reportedly moved the owners to give up on living in it as early as 1938, making their "last brief sojourn there in May 1940, before abandoning it definitively."[16] The account of the villa's decline narrated in the wall text of the July 1966 Museum of Modern Art exhibition *Villa Savoye: Destruction by Neglect*, began later, with World War II, when the building "was occupied successively by German and American forces." The former "poured concrete down the toilets" when they left; "when the Americans arrived they shot bullets through the windows. Mme Savoye, widowed and impoverished by the war, moved to a nearby farm." Reportedly, she hoped her grandson would restore the Villa Savoye some day, so she held on to it, and during the "many years Mme Savoye farmed the land," she used the "building as a barn."[17] As *Time* magazine summarized, "the machine for living became a machine for farming."[18] This adaptive reuse, reported *Historic Preservation* magazine in 1959, was necessitated by the villa's derelict condition following the war and by Mme Savoye's disinclination to spend the estimated $80,000 needed to repair it (Figure 3).[19]

Rapid expansion of Poissy in the postwar period produced a need for increased municipal services and placed a premium on undeveloped land, such as the grounds of the Villa Savoye. The government-sponsored decentralization of the automobile industry in the postwar period was largely responsible for the growth of Poissy. An agreement in 1954

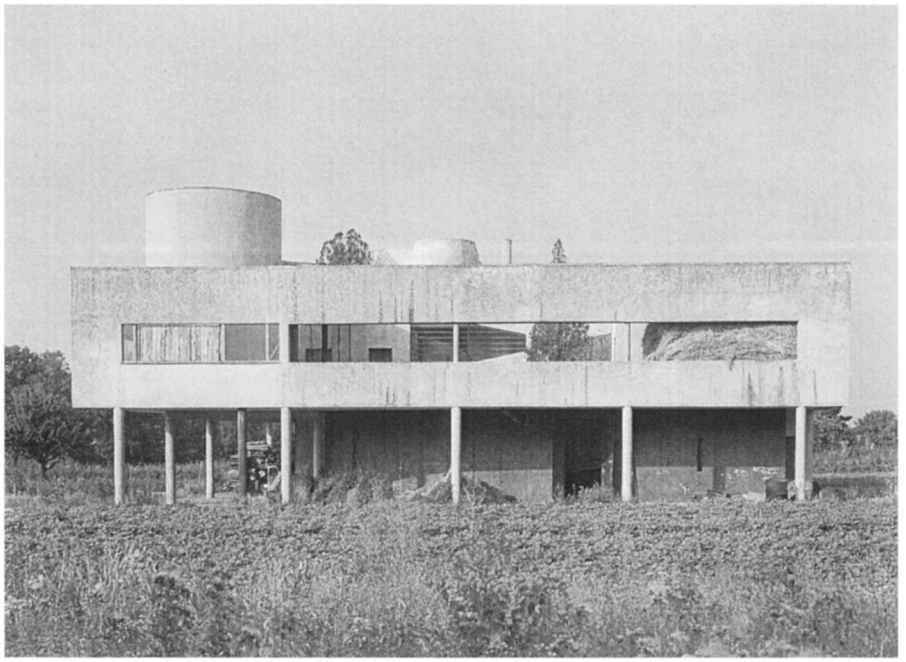


Figure 3 G. E. Kidder Smith, photograph of Villa Savoye, published in *Historic Preservation* 11 (1959): 77

stipulated that the Simca automobile company would transfer much of its production from closer-in suburbs to Poissy and provincial locations. In Poissy, Simca replaced the former Ford plant—damaged by bombing during the war—with a larger, modern facility modeled on American factories. At this time, Simca agreed to build 5,000 units of housing (of which fewer than 4,000 were completed by the mid-1960s) in Poissy and surrounding areas. New tax revenues also funded the construction of a hospital and schools to serve the expanding working-class population.[20]

The town of Poissy held an outdoor fair on the grounds of the Villa Savoye in 1951, and in 1956 it began to eye seriously the seven-hectare property for acquisition. The Savoye family's property contained enough land to accommodate a secondary school that Poissy then planned to build. When Mayor Touhladjian approached Roger Savoye, son of Le Corbusier's clients, Pierre and Émilie, about purchasing the property from his mother, the son resisted, citing her deep attachment to it. At least, Roger Savoye suggested, his mother should be able to hold Les Heures Claires (as the house was sometimes known) for her lifetime, while recognizing that the importance of the lycée building project would eventually lead to the development of the property. Despite the resistance of the Savoye family, the appropriation proceeded in 1958, and the next year the Savoyes were awarded 1,271,875 francs for the property.[21]

The legal transfer of the Villa Savoye only formalized an appropriation that had already begun and was evident in the physical transformation of the house. As architect Édith Aujame observed in a report of 11 June 1960, although the Villa Savoye had been taken as the site of a new secondary school, in fact the house itself had become a "Maison des Jeunes," or youth center. Even before the legal expropriation had actually taken place, Aujame stated, the roof terrace was altered, the ramp to the solarium blocked by a door, window openings masked by new construction, and the original paint scheme lost. Many of these measures were evidently attempts to make the building safe for children, for instance, by putting the solarium off limits. The effect of the alterations, Aujame summarized, "[was] to destroy the aesthetic harmony of the building." This was not, she maintained, the result of "ill will" but of a "total" and "irredeemable incomprehension" on the part of the mayor and youth center director, both of whom she thought should be removed from their positions of responsibility for the building.[22]

Mme Savoye's fondness for the villa, despite its manifest technical problems and derelict condition by the late 1950s, is attested by the fact that she took an immediate interest in its preservation after being informed of the town's appropriation of her property on 24 February 1959. She conveyed the news to Le Corbusier, who on that same day fired off a series of telegrams soliciting help in saving the Villa Savoye. To Sigfried Giedion and José Luis Sert, Le Corbusier telegramed: "URGENCY. SEND FINANCIAL PROPOSITIONS. SAVOYE HOUSE."[23] Pierre Sonrel, president of the Cercle d'Études Architecturales de Paris, contacted both André Malraux, the newly appointed minister of culture, and Perchet, the director-general of architecture in

Malraux's administration, to press for government intervention on behalf of the Villa Savoye. Le Corbusier, however, considered Perchet to be an avowed "enemy" of his architectural ideas. Finally, Le Corbusier appealed to UNESCO for support in the preservation cause.[24]

The responses of Giedion and Sert were decisive. They contacted Malraux, who was to be in Washington, D.C., in April 1959, the Museum of Modern Art in New York, and *Time* magazine. All three would eventually play important roles in the international campaign on behalf of the Villa Savoye. In response to Giedion's request for information on the potential cost of restoring the Villa Savoye and, more important, its projected reuse, Le Corbusier responded by telegram: "One hundred millions. Install Le Corbusier Foundation." The financial estimate was for purchasing the property, Le Corbusier explained in a subsequent letter. He also sketched out a possible role for the Villa Savoye as a research center focusing on "the development of Western architecture from Antiquity to the present by routes other than the academic ones."[25] Later, in 1960, Le Corbusier would propose the Villa Savoye as the headquarters of the Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture. At this early date in its preservation, the central problem of function was thus already raised. The Villa Savoye had served only briefly and imperfectly as a residence. Its only true function had been, and would continue to be, as a demonstration of the architect's aesthetic.

International Preservation Campaign

The efforts of Giedion and of architectural photographer G. E. Kidder Smith to galvanize support for preservation of the Villa Savoye resulted in some 250 telegrams to Malraux, many from modernist architects and their supporters in the United States.[26] Most of the letters written by architects on behalf of the preservation campaign used similar arguments. Architect Alfred Roth of Zürich urged Malraux to give the Villa Savoye those protections that were due "un véritable monument historique," and to put it back in good shape to be used.[27] To support what Roth called the "American initiatives" to save the Villa Savoye, Sert mobilized architects, critics, and scholars in the United States and Great Britain, among them William Wurster, Paul Rudolph, Richard Neutra, Douglas Haskell of *Architectural Forum*, J. M. Richards of *Architectural Review*, and Herbert Read of the *Burlington Magazine*. Among the most extensive letters to Malraux preserved from this period is architect Paul Nelson's, dated 10 March 1959. An American, Nelson had studied architecture at the École des Beaux-Arts and lived in Paris intermittently between 1920 and 1957. President of the Washington, D.C., chapter of the American "France–Forever" commission, Nelson claimed France, and particularly the School of Paris, as the "source" of Modernism in art and architecture. For Nelson, the Villa Savoye was not only "a milestone of avant-garde architecture and modern culture," it was also evidence of the "universal" appeal of the School of Paris, which, Nelson argued, had attracted foreigners like Le Corbusier to France. Nelson was even more explicit than Roth in discussing what should be done for the Villa Savoye: "This villa should be kept intact and maintained as an historic monument."[28] After the death of Le Corbusier in 1965, Nelson would publish several articles in French periodicals extolling his importance.[29]

The concept of a modernist building such as the Villa Savoye becoming a historic monument was a novelty in France, and the administration would be slow to accept this expansion of the French national patrimony. No precedent for such action on the part of the Ministry of Culture could be found in France. The only similar cases cited were foreign: Frank Lloyd Wright's Robie House in Chicago, saved by developer William Zeckendorf in 1958, and the Weissenhof seidlungen, which had recently been listed as historic monuments. Paul Nelson employed a type of nationalist argument—one that associated the act of protecting the architectural patrimony with safeguarding the political entity—to support the preservation of the Villa Savoye. The house, Nelson stated, represented the centrality of France to the Modern Movement. Where earlier preservationists had argued that French identity was concretized in medieval architecture, Nelson extended that argument to a modernist building, by arguing the fundamental role played by France in the development of modern art in the twentieth century. When Nelson discussed the international attraction of the School of Paris in a letter to André Malraux, he stated, "That is one reason why we, the avant-gardistes in the cultures of our own countries, will defend to such a degree a strong and independent France."[30] Nelson, who had volunteered with the La Fayette Escadrille, a group of American pilots who flew in support of the French cause prior to the official United States involvement in World War I, here equates a defense of the Villa Savoye with a defense of the French nation itself.[31] The Germans, who had bombed Reims Cathedral over the course of four years, had also contributed to the destruction of the Villa Savoye, a point often made in the architectural press as well as in periodicals with broader readerships. United States forces, it was noted, had likewise contributed to the damage. The frequency with which these charges were repeated in the postwar period suggests that the Villa Savoye was incorporated into a nationalist under-

standing of the architectural patrimony that equated the destruction of buildings that possessed no real functional importance for the national government with political threats to the state.

From the outset of the controversy, it was clear that support—financial and otherwise—would be most forthcoming from the United States. Giedion wrote to Le Corbusier from Harvard on 5 March 1959 informing him that he had "mobilized everyone possible," but demanding to know the price that Poissy had offered for the property since "Americans will not pay in a void!"[32] The mobilization of architects, critics, and historians mainly from abroad nonetheless had an impact on French government attitudes toward the Villa Savoye. By April 1959 an agreement was made between the Ministry of Cultural Affairs and the Ministry of National Education (which had authority over the school building project) preventing the destruction of the house.[33] At the same time, a Comité de Sauvegarde, composed mainly of young architects and urbanists, was also formed with the intention of raising money to restore the Villa Savoye.[34] Its possible use was still a problem. While the committee was clear about its intentions "to assure the preservation, maintenance, and restoration *[remise en état]*" of the Savoye property, its projected use was only vaguely defined as an "international welcome and meeting center."[35] *Architectural Forum* summarized the problem succinctly in a May 1959 article: "When the aroused architectural world heard last month that Le Corbusier's Villa Savoye near Paris would be spared destruction, few had the heart to ask: spared for what? But that is the rude question that will ever lie beneath the polite surface of similar rescue operations." The first (rejected) proposal had been to incorporate the villa into the school complex, the second to make it a "national monument," but this idea was scrapped because French law denied such status to the works of living architects. Finally, it was decided to transform the house into "a memorial research center where the task of scouting and cataloging the major events in the overgrown history of modern architecture could begin."[36] This proposal is of interest because of the way that it links the preservation of the Villa Savoye to the then recent perception that the Modern Movement had become a historical phenomenon.

Perhaps Le Corbusier's supporters were quick to promote the Villa Savoye as a historic monument because, in a sense, that is the only use it had ever really served: as a manifestation of the architect's approach to domestic design. As Tim Benton has persuasively argued, the Villa Savoye was the formal culmination of Le Corbusier's series of rationalist villas of the 1920s,[37] and as William Curtis suggests, the house was "the end of a line for its own creator, who never used white forms, slender *pilotis* and ribbon windows in [the same] way again"; by the early 1930s Le Corbusier was pursuing "new directions philosophically and formally," for instance, with the more organic Villa de Mandrot.[38] The Villa Savoye was more significant for the clear demonstration it offered of Le Corbusier's "Five Points of a New Architecture" (proposed in 1927) than it was as a functioning shelter. Much of the interior was given over to circulation, in the forms of ramps and stairs, and the building served largely as an intricate stage for viewing the surrounding landscape. The space actually dedicated to habitation was plagued with problems from the early 1930s, but the villa's role as a demonstration of Le Corbusier's developing aesthetic was never in question. This point was made repeatedly in the architectural press, which favored saving the Villa Savoye. An article in *Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* called the Villa Savoye a "classic of contemporary architecture" on the basis of its appearance in architectural publications of the previous twenty years. Important critics and historians supported the cause in print, among them André Chastel writing in *Le Monde*, and Nikolaus Pevsner in the *Architectural Review*. Where Paul Nelson had claimed the Villa Savoye as an emblem of French cultural achievement, Pevsner also helped to advance the house as a historic monument on a par with medieval churches and cathedrals by citing the significance of the villa as a pilgrimage destination. As the medieval pilgrimage churches of France had been transformed, in the nineteenth century, into objects of cultural pilgrimage, so the Villa Savoye had become a site where international visitors traveled to witness the development of modern architecture.[39] Indeed, photographs of the Villa Savoye taken during the early 1960s show graffiti left by architecture enthusiasts who had made the pilgrimage to Poissy. On one of the piloti a group of Columbia University architecture students mourned "the death of architecture in France." A French inscription admonished visitors to be "sensitive and intelligent enough to respect and appreciate this marvelous house" (Figure 4).

At the eruption of the controversy over the fate of the Villa Savoye, the architectural world was emphatic in its insistence on the building's value to an understanding of Modernism. Not surprisingly, given the polemics that had surrounded modernist housing in the interwar period,[40] the larger public's opinion on the preservation of Le Corbusier's work was somewhat more mixed. One French daily termed the Villa Savoye a "youthful error" of its architect, and balked at its preservation, given that such action would impede the construction of a badly needed school.[41] Le Corbusier's image of the rationalist modern house, particularly as embodied in the phrase "a machine for living in,"

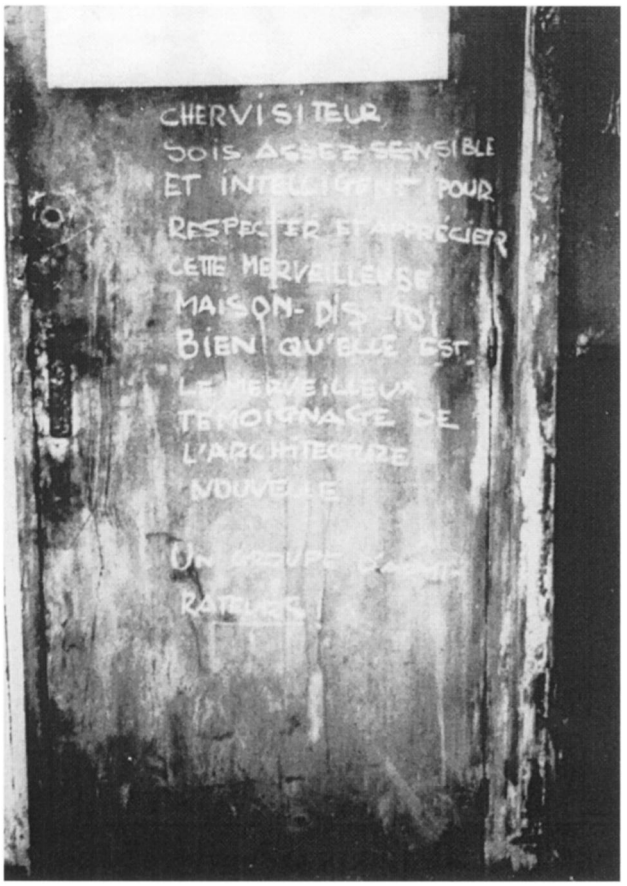


Figure 4 Villa Savoye, French graffiti photographed by Jean-Yves Le Guyader

was brought back into public circulation by the campaign to prevent the demolition of the Villa Savoye. Since the 1930s and Le Corbusier's ideological battle with conservative Gustave Umbdenstock, the equation of the house with the machine had had the potential to imply the mechanization and depersonalization of homelife. The phrase was tied to the Villa Savoye in the late 1950s despite the fact that the house had never been a "machine for living in." However, for both its detractors and supporters, the Villa Savoye was closely connected with the architect's proposals for mass housing and with his rationalist villas of the 1920s. By connecting the decayed villa unambiguously with the 1920s houses, both critics and supporters could more effectively argue for their positions. Skeptics associated the Villa Savoye with a suspiciously mechanistic view of the home, while enthusiasts argued the building's saliency as an example of early Modernism. If, as *Architectural Forum* suggested, a historical assessment of Modernism was beginning, it was then an appropriate moment to identify and preserve key examples of its various phases.

The initial international campaign for the Villa Savoye was important for having established several ways in which the building would continue to be understood. As of the late 1950s, the house was deemed a valuable monument to 1920s Modernism, as defined by Le Corbusier. The Villa Savoye, however, could be seen from this point forward to possess a significance that went beyond the representation of its architect's ideas: the house was henceforth taken as one demonstration not only of Le Corbusier's genius but also of the richness of French culture in a more general sense. The controversial nature of modernist domestic architecture was at this point overwhelmed by the claims made by many architects and critics for the transcendent value of the Villa Savoye as a formal exercise. This argument affected the understanding of the Villa Savoye in two ways. On the one hand, celebrating the Villa Savoye as an expression of a 1920s aesthetic worked to remove it conceptually from the material and historical circumstances of its production. On the other hand, the formalist interpretation of the building served to insert it into a nationalistic history of French architecture, and of French culture more generally. The Villa Savoye had come to be seen as one of France's contributions to world architecture.

The First Preservation Efforts

Although Le Corbusier denied having fomented the outcry on behalf of the Villa Savoye, admitting only to having supplied Sert with an eventual use for the building, he in fact took a central role in the project. From the outset, Le Corbusier resisted suggestions that the Villa Savoye be incorporated into the school project and insisted on the preservation of as much of the open space around the building as possible. In planning the school, his original intentions regarding the site were taken seriously, as was his belief that "if the park is removed, all is lost."[42] As early as 1960 he began documenting the alterations that had already been made to the Villa Savoye in anticipation of a future project not just to preserve the building from further destruction but to restore it as well. In April of that year Le Corbusier sent to the Ministry of Culture sketches of the roof terrace illustrating alterations that had been made at that level, labeling one "In red = the new walls [built by] the youth center!! restoration without L.C." (Figures 5–7).[43] From the moment the threat to the Villa Savoye was raised, and the movement to save it begun, Le Corbusier considered himself the logical choice as restoration architect. He wrote to François Gardien, who worked in his office, in June 1961: "It is time to begin the process of taking possession of the Villa Savoye and beginning the work—which I

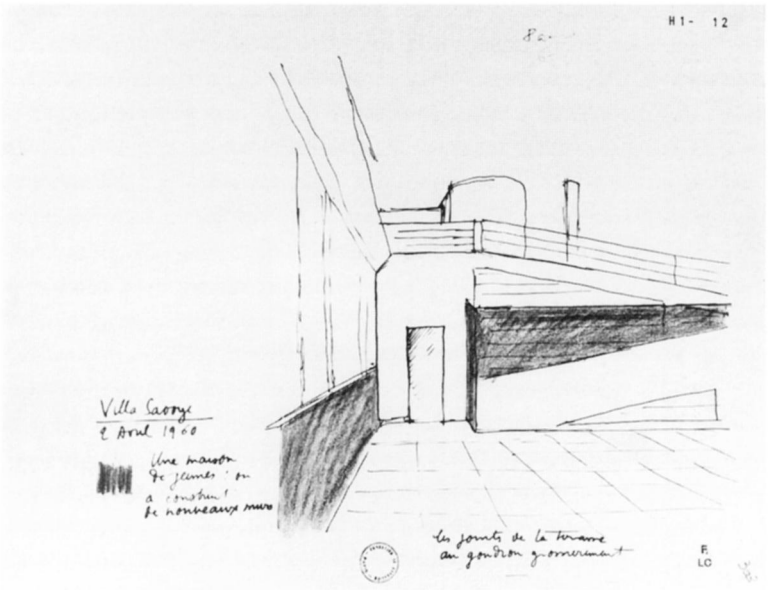


Figure 5 Villa Savoye, Le Corbusier drawing of new walls constructed by the youth center, 2 April 1960

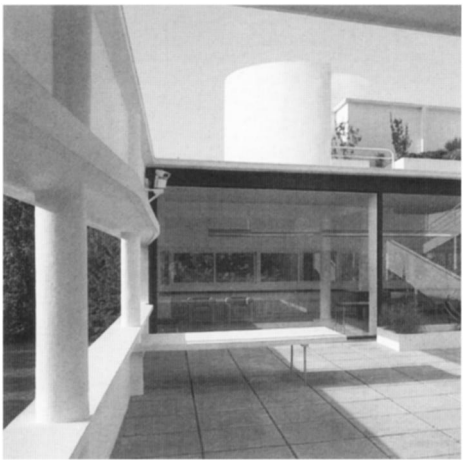
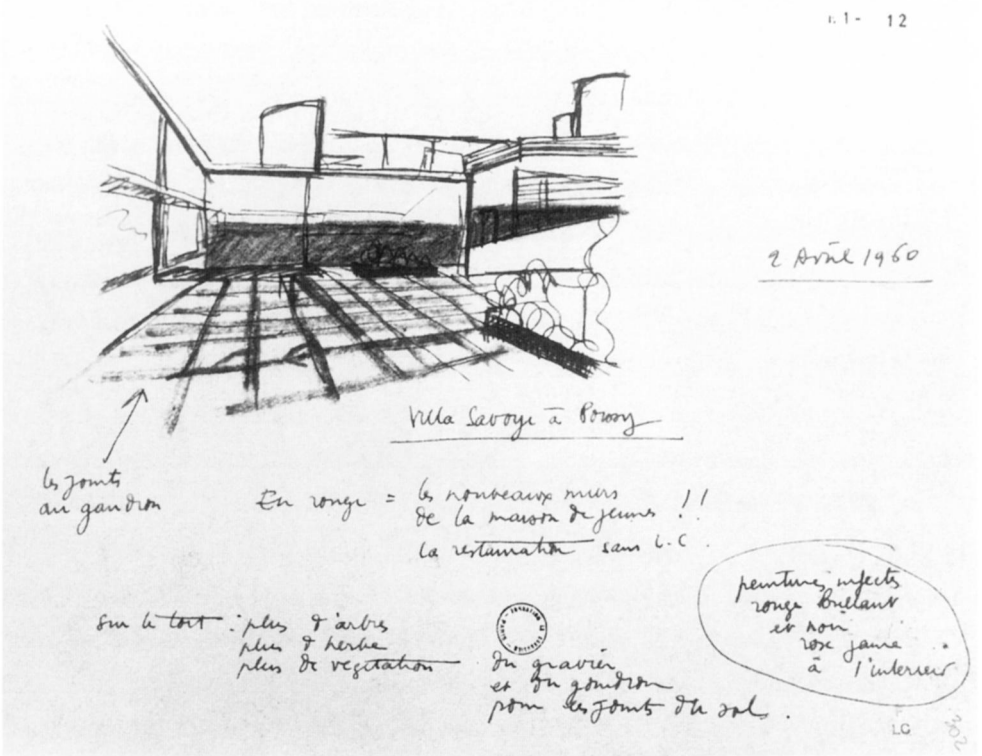


Figure 7 Villa Savoye, view of the same location, following restoration

Figure 6 Villa Savoye, Le Corbusier drawing showing new walls shaded in red, 2 April 1960



will direct—to make it into a sort of Le Corbusier Museum."[44] It was several years before even a partial preservation of the Villa Savoye could begin, due in part to the reluctance of the state to assume responsibility for the project. Malraux allowed Le Corbusier in 1962 to undertake some "very limited [repair] work" on the house, aimed at ensuring that the building would be saved and "assuring its 'symbolic occupation' " by the Ministry of Culture following the eviction of the youth center. However, Malraux placed responsibility for more substantial restoration efforts on the committee formed to save the Villa Savoye and on the Le Corbusier Foundation.[45]

The state soon became more actively engaged in the project, however, when the Villa Savoye was named a *bâtiment civil* in February 1963. The Bureau of the Bâtiments Civils, like that of historic monuments, was under the authority of the director of architecture, who reported to Malraux.[46] While this arrangement put the resources of Maulraux's Ministry of Culture behind anticipated preservation and restoration efforts, it stopped short of giving the Villa Savoye the status of a historic monument, and it made Le Corbusier's involvement in the project difficult. Already, at the end of February 1963, Le Corbusier was becoming anxious about his role in the preservation or restoration effort when he received word from the Ministry of Culture that "the representatives of the Service of the Bâtiments Civils will take responsibility for the completion of repairs." Le Corbusier underlined this point of the letter and put a question mark in the margin.[47] Because the Villa Savoye had become a *bâtiment civil*, it followed that Le Corbusier could only direct the restoration if he were named an architect in the Service of the Bâtiments Civils with specific responsibility for the rehabilitation of his own earlier work. Although Malraux was willing to make a special exception to the mandatory retirement age in the service, which Le Corbusier had already passed, and despite the architect's reminder to Malraux that he had been named an *architecte-en-chef* in the Service of the Bâtiments Civils in 1945,[48] Le Corbusier never directed the restoration.

Bureaucratic barriers were among the considerations that prevented Le Corbusier's taking on the Villa Savoye restoration as chief architect. That assignment went to Jean Dubuisson, president of the Cercle d'Études Architecturales, and an architect in the Service of the Bâtiments Civils. Le Corbusier was made an unpaid adviser to the project, which strained the relationship between the two men. After they had gone to the building together to assess the scope of the work, Le Corbusier accused Dubuisson of having shut him out of the process with "total silence," a response Le Corbusier found neither "amicable" nor "administrative."[49] Dubuisson was likely reluctant to cede too much authority to Le Corbusier. Further, he was probably ensuring that the Villa Savoye would be the subject of a true restoration. Although Le Corbusier claimed to the administration that he wanted to "stick to the truth," "reconstituting exactly the building's original state," in fact he had "imagined a profound modification of the original project" in 1962, according to architect Roger Aujame.[50] Just before his death, Le Corbusier's half dozen responsibilities to the Villa Savoye restoration were specified and included providing the color scheme, making a "fresco" or mural for the interior with photographs and covers of *L'Esprit Nouveau*, and overseeing the reconstruction of the roof terrace and solarium.[51] By defining Le Corbusier's involvement in these narrow terms, the administration made use of the architect's unique knowledge of the building's original condition and made certain that he would not have the opportunity to revise his earlier work. Le Corbusier never carried out even these limited projects, however, since he died just four months after the scope of his work was agreed upon.

A longer list of projects prepared in Le Corbusier's office at about the same time indicates the scope of work that would have been needed to make the Villa Savoye habitable and to give it something of its original appearance. The mechanical systems required replacement, as did many of the window sashes. Further, those alterations that had been made by the youth center had to be reversed. Thus, François Gardien called for removing concrete slabs that had been placed on the terraces and resurfacing them with asphalt and gravel. Restoring the original color scheme was also considered a priority. Important site work was envisioned, in order to re-create as much as possible the original environmental context. Trees were intended to screen out neighboring buildings that intruded upon the bucolic setting, and the site was to be regraded and a new entrance path established.[52] Very little had come of any of these projects by early summer of 1965 when Dubuisson sent a set of restoration proposals, basically following the priorities mentioned above, to Le Corbusier for his review. At the time of the architect's death in August of that year, the Villa Savoye, as a result of decay and alteration, was far from representing his original design intentions, and little actual work had resulted from the public outcry over the building's condition. "Some repairs" had been made, according to Le Corbusier, notably to the windows and doors. No sooner were these fixed, however, than they were again vandalized or the replaced elements carted off by scavengers of building materials.[53]

Just a few months after Le Corbusier's death, Jean-Yves Le Guyader, who lived near the Villa Savoye, sent an album

of photos of the house to André Malraux. Taken from 1962 on, they document the building's derelict condition by the mid-1960s. Le Guyader's captions catalogue the damage while shaming the government for its inaction on behalf of the Villa Savoye. Several images show sections of the exterior wall with its outer surface badly deteriorated—missing, in fact. Le Guyader writes, "This is not the work of demolishers," but of workmen who began the job of repairing the exterior but abandoned the project when the government failed to pay them (Figure 8). The result is shown in a view of abandoned scaffolding along the southwest wall. Le Corbusier had hired the mason Bertocchi to make exterior repairs, but the firm was never paid and the job was abandoned in June 1964.[54] Another 1962 photo in Le Guyader's album clearly shows other alterations made to the southwest façade, where a conventional double door, to serve the youth center, had been inserted into the center of the location of the original garage doors. Le Guyader's photos, which he occasionally contrasts with as-built images of the Villa Savoye, reveal some unsympathetic alterations made on behalf of the youth center. However, the complete lack of maintenance that followed the eviction of the youth center had led to more pervasive decay.[55] The first preservation efforts, far from halting the deterioration of the Villa Savoye, had actually contributed to it by exposing the inner structure of the walls in many locations. The administration's tepid response to the outcry over the Villa Savoye, and official ambivalence over raising Le Corbusier's work to the status of canonical works from the distant past, resulted in further damage to the building fabric.

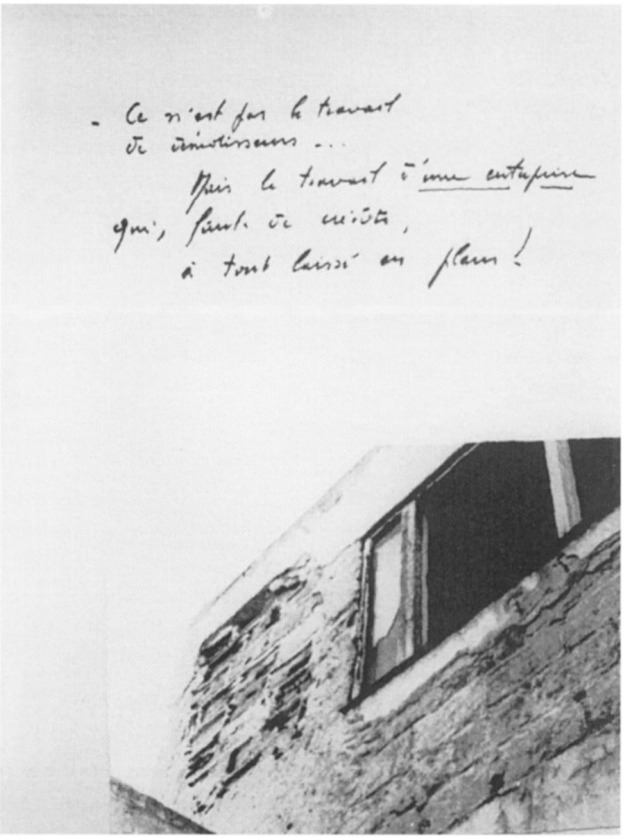


Figure 8 Villa Savoye, photo by Jean-Yves Le Guyader showing masonry deterioration

Life after Death

The death of Le Corbusier occasioned an international reconsideration of his work, as well as a renewed campaign to restore the Villa Savoye that was carried on around the world, most importantly in New York City at the Museum of Modern Art. It was not until nearly a year after Le Corbusier's death that the Villa Savoye was made secure and a substantial budget provided for major repairs.[56] Paradoxically, it was easier for the French state to undertake the restoration after Le Corbusier had died. With its architect deceased, the building was made a historic monument by decree of 16 December 1965, although it was not until the end of 1967 that control over the Villa Savoye was given definitively to the Ministry of Cultural Affairs.[57]

When André Malraux eulogized Le Corbusier in the Cour Carrée of the Louvre on 1 September 1965, he stressed the international outpouring of tributes to the late architect. Sent to his rest with a handful of soil from the Acropolis, Le Corbusier was construed as the architect of "classic" works that took their places in a history of Western architecture with its origins in ancient Greece. Le Corbusier's necrologists in both the architectural and popular presses underscored his signal contributions to modernist architecture, including the Villa Savoye. As Ada Louise Huxtable wrote in the *New York Times*, Le Corbusier was a "Renaissance man who turned the 20th century into a one-man Renaissance." Among his "trend-setting buildings," each of which became "a bomb exploded in architectural circles, with international repercussions," Huxtable counted the "coolly cubistic Villa Savoye."[58]

Architecture and construction periodicals also ran tributes to Le Corbusier after his death in which the Villa Savoye was used to embody his attitudes toward domestic architecture. For example, *Glaces et Verres*, a review founded in 1927 and dedicated to discussing art and construction in glass, illustrated the text of Malraux's obituary with photos of

the architect, his Chapel of Notre-Dame du Haut at Ronchamp (1951–1953), and the Villa Savoye. The latter was intended to illustrate the passage in Malraux's eulogy in which he specifically addressed Le Corbusier's views of domestic architecture and attempted to draw attention away from what some considered the architect's overly rationalist view of the house: "His famous saying: 'A house is a machine for living' does not describe his idea at all. What is more to the point is the following: 'The house ought to be the jewel-case *[l'écrin]* of life.' The machine for happiness."[59] It is noteworthy that Malraux, who was in a position to assist the restoration of the Villa Savoye, at this important moment deliberately softened Le Corbusier's polemical opposition to what he had considered an overwrought and impractical bourgeois domestic architecture. Potential critics of the Villa Savoye restoration may have been convinced by Malraux's words that Le Corbusier had been as concerned with the emotional well-being of the inhabitants of his domestic buildings as he had been with providing what Giedion called their "biological needs." Giedion had emphasized the latter in 1930 as the foundation of Le Corbusier's project to "raise the house on a new constructive base."[60]

Perhaps Malraux's subtle reworking of Le Corbusier's reputation with respect to domestic architecture helped the cause of the Villa Savoye, the sadly deteriorated condition of which became known around the world in 1966 as a result of magazine articles and the MoMA exhibition. The lethargy the French government had demonstrated with respect to the Villa Savoye's restoration would disappear as the building's condition became increasingly well known internationally. In its own "eulogy" for the Villa Savoye, published in the summer of 1966, *Architectural Forum* recalled Malraux's "ringing eulogy" for Le Corbusier in the courtyard of the Louvre, as well as his unfulfilled promise to restore the house in Poissy. The magazine also compared the neglect of the Villa Savoye to efforts then under way to clean the exterior of the Louvre, part of Malraux's popular project to give a new luster to the historic monuments of Paris.[61] This comparison was apt since the preservation and restoration of the Villa Savoye depended upon its being considered a part of the French architectural patrimony on a par with the neoclassical public buildings of the capital.

The preservation of the Villa Savoye grew out of a recognition of its importance not only to the French but to Western culture at large. Among its international champions was the young architect José Rafael Moneo, who in early 1966 recorded in *Arquitectura Madrid* a trip to Poissy where he had found the Villa Savoye in a "lamentable state of abandonment." To dramatize the extent of the decay, the article juxtaposed contemporary photographs of the deteriorated Villa Savoye with pictures of the house in its original pristine condition. Furthermore, Moneo showed the Villa Savoye with the new lycée looming in the background, making the point that the crucial original landscape—in which the house was surrounded by open space—had been permanently compromised.[62] This point was also made in the text of the July 1966 exhibition at MoMA, where curator Arthur Drexler wrote: "Even if it is satisfactorily restored, the Villa Savoye can never again be seen as a pure form in an open landscape, because of the recently built school. . . . [I]f the building can still be saved the students in that school will be able to look out of their windows at a *Monument Historique* that belongs, in a sense, to the whole world."[63]

Even before the *Destruction by Neglect* exhibition of 1966, MoMA had already claimed the Villa Savoye for the world and contributed significantly to assuring its place in the canon of modernist architecture. In 1932, a model and photographs of the house were included in the groundbreaking international exhibition of modern architecture organized by art historian Henry-Russell Hitchcock and architect Philip Johnson, and in 1936 the model was again used in the *Cubism and Abstract Art* exhibition organized by Alfred Barr with the assistance of his entire curatorial staff. In the first exhibition, the Villa Savoye figured in the section "Modern Architects" (Figure 9); in the second show, the Villa Savoye was featured in the section on "Purism."[64] These two exhibitions helped to establish Le Corbusier's place in the group of the most important modernist architects in the world. The Villa Savoye was construed by MoMA as doubly significant: as the work of a canonical architect, and as a salient example of Purism in architecture. Le Corbusier's project of improving the spiritual and physical well-being of "the people of the machine-age civilization" through architecture was "human and universal," and it had been personally promoted by Le Corbusier in the United States in 1935, with a MoMA-sponsored speaking tour in New York and Detroit.[65]

In 1963, Arthur Drexler, director of the architecture and design department at MoMA, devoted an exhibition specifically to the work of Le Corbusier. The design of this exhibition represented a departure from the earlier shows in that it was "made up of scores of color transparencies of the buildings, enlarged and mounted on the fronts of individually lighted boxes . . . arranged in an artful way across the first floor rear of the museum." The exhibition was not a retrospective, but instead focused on "those concrete and masonry buildings . . . with which Corbusier has for the second time shifted the ballast of serious architecture of our time." In other words, the exhibition focused on those primarily postwar buildings in which Le Corbusier had pur-

Figure 9 Installation view of the exhibition *Modern Architecture: International Exhibition*, The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 10 February through 23 March 1932

sued a plastic and sculptural architecture that was quite distinct from the work of his early career. Indeed, in a review of the exhibition, Walter McQuade reflected on the architect's first "heroically allegorical," "pro-machine" phase. For McQuade, this first phase was epitomized by the Villa Savoye. He wrote: "There was but little texture, or even color to [the Villa Savoye]; whiteness, instead, and mask-like windows flatly reflecting the sky. There was no elaboration of detail nor visual depth; the walls seemed stretched tightly over the skeleton, very tense, as if to suggest the dynamism of the motor age. . . . It was high art, a really new kind of architectural expression, a poem of the new industrial day; not a level-minded expression of industrialism."[66] Thus, McQuade hints at the complexity of the Villa Savoye while affirming its pivotal place in Le Corbusier's early career. The architect himself saw the potential of this account (despite its author's misconception about the building's lack of color) since his copy is accompanied by a note in which he writes, "cet article utilisable par agrandissement pour le Musée L-C, Villa Savoye."[67] The note is revealing since it affirms Le Corbusier's concern for both his own memorialization and the preservation of the Villa Savoye. Furthermore, the incident shows the prominent role played by MoMA in garnering support for the preservation project.

Given the importance MoMA had attached to the work of Le Corbusier in previous exhibitions, and to the Villa Savoye in particular, it is not surprising that the museum, specifically Arthur Drexler, would attempt to foment concern for the house after the architect's death. In the 1966 exhibition, the Villa Savoye was represented essentially as it had been in earlier shows, through a model and accompanying large-scale photographs, with one important difference: in *Destruction by Neglect*, the photographs functioned dialectically, contrasting the building's original condition with its decayed 1966 state (Figure 10). The paired images

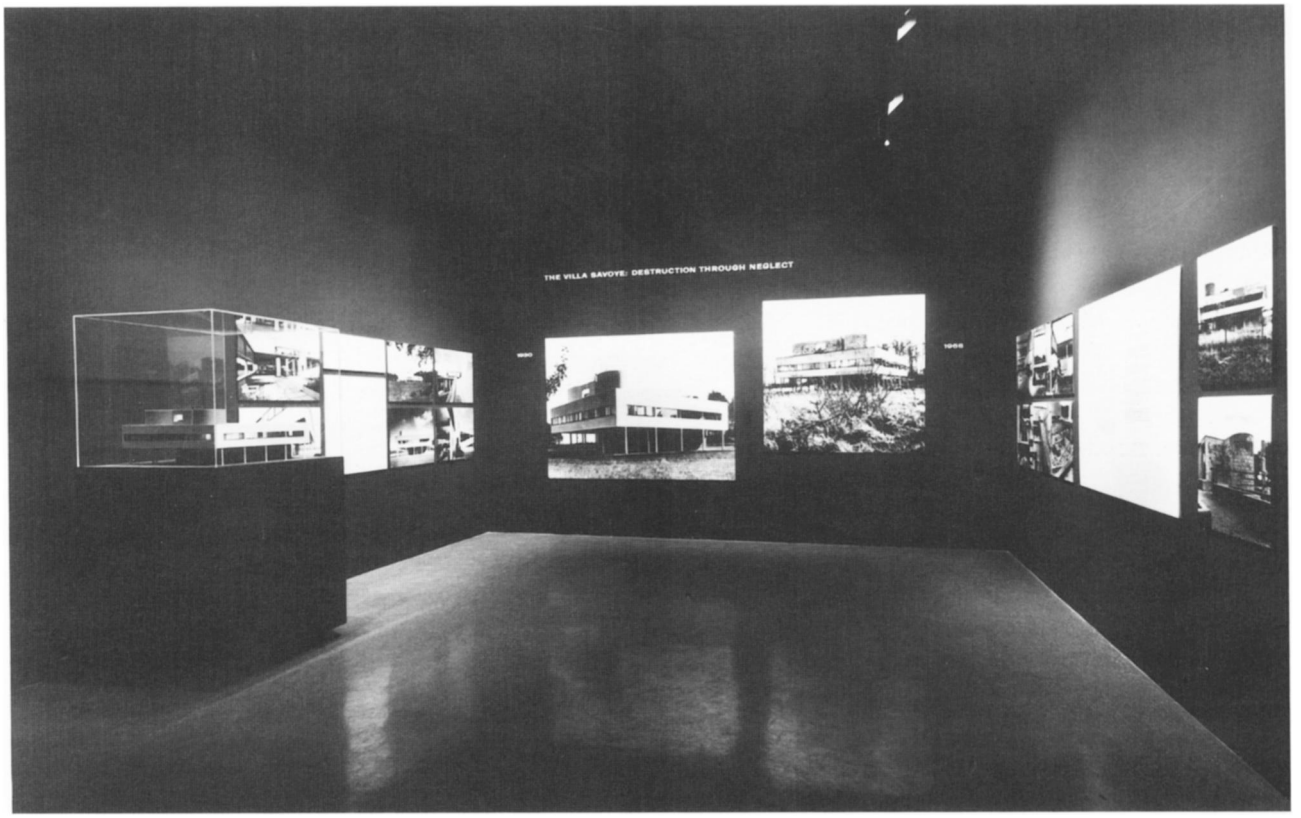


Figure 10 Installation view of the exhibition, *Villa Savoye, Destruction Through Neglect*, The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 2 July through 24 July 1966

helped to spur international concern for the building, but they also simplified the history of the Villa Savoye's construction and decay. There is no indication in the as-built photographs, nor in the text, that the building's physical deterioration had begun in the 1930s, that some of the neglect of maintenance had been attributed to Le Corbusier himself, and that the first preservation efforts had actually compounded the problems.

The MoMA exhibition text and press releases were soon incorporated into a spate of articles in many countries all decrying the deterioration of the Villa Savoye. Drexler's words, which emphasized the significance of the house to the international Modern Movement, were lifted verbatim by many architectural periodicals. Among these were articles in *Deutsche Bauzeitung*, *Canadian Architect*, and *Domus*, which reflects the international scope of the concern with the Villa Savoye. The journals also often used Drexler's strategy of juxtaposing images of the house in its pristine and deteriorated states to provoke outrage among readers. Most of them also reported on the meeting held in June 1966 between the Ministry of Culture and Sert, André Wogenscky, and other "friends of Le Corbusier" to strategize about how to make the Villa Savoye into a museum of the architect's work. These articles also reported that nothing had come of the meeting, however, which indicates a persistent reticence on the part of the administration to take decisive action.[68]

Despite the anxiety over the future of the Villa Savoye that was provoked by the MoMA exhibition, and the numerous articles on the house that appeared in 1966, it seems that the building had at least been secured by that point. More discussions ensued in 1967 regarding further restoration efforts, specifically window repair and masonry waterproofing.[69] The work undertaken in the mid-1960s, later criticized as "heavy-handed" by an architect who helped to direct the villa's re-restoration during the 1980s, included replastering the interior and restuccoing the exterior. These measures were necessary to repair the exposure of the structure that had been caused by the earlier, abortive attempt to fix the exterior. Resurfacing the walls also entailed repainting. Before his death, Le Corbusier had been responsible for conveying to the restorers the original

paint colors he had used inside and out. With the architect's death, however, the choice of paint colors became a matter of conjecture. At this point, the controversial roof shelter, painted in colors reminiscent of the architect's Purist paintings, was returned to what was believed to have been its original white.[70] A serious effort to re-create Le Corbusier's original color scheme, based on the recollections of various individuals and on paint sampling, was not made until the 1980s, when a second restoration was undertaken in honor of the centennial of the architect's birth.

The Villa Savoye in the History of Modern Architecture

The work undertaken on the Villa Savoye in the 1960s might best be characterized as "preservation." Far from achieving a restoration by returning the building to some approximation of its original condition—which was impossible due to funding limitations, lack of documentation, incursions on the site, and other factors—the project's principal result was to halt further destruction. This modest achievement is nonetheless significant as an indication of the reputation the building enjoyed by the 1960s and of the acceptance of modernist architecture (albeit in a half-hearted way) into the architectural patrimony by the French national government. Furthermore, the effort to rescue the Villa Savoye from ruin and to stabilize it demonstrates the pivotal position in the development of Modernism that had been constructed for the building by the early histories of the movement.

We have already remarked upon the rapidity with which the Villa Savoye was accorded a prominent place in the oeuvre of Le Corbusier and in the Modern Movement as a whole. The writings of Sigfried Giedion from the 1930s onward were important in this regard. In his recent historiographic discussion of the Modern Movement, Panayotis Tournikiotis has examined the writings of many of the most influential commentators on the architecture of the first half of the twentieth century. Tournikiotis argues that Giedion wrote as an advocate of a "new tradition" in architecture that had brought about a reintegration of science and art—split apart by nineteenth-century academic architectural culture—and had transcended earlier trivial stylistic debates. For Giedion, and for those critics and historians who were influenced by him, including Bruno Zevi, the Villa Savoye represented the "fully formed [modern] movement," which had emerged between 1918 and 1933. The common perception of the Villa Savoye as a signal achievement of early Modernism gave way to a more critical view in the 1960s, as a new perspective on Modernism emerged in the writings of Leonardo Benevolo, Reyner Banham, and others. As Tournikiotis observes, Benevolo was the first to illustrate the Villa Savoye and other modernist icons not in as-built photographs but instead "in their modern, neglected state." For Tournikiotis, Benevolo's decision to illustrate the buildings as they existed in the 1950s or 1960s indicates his belief that "there is more value in the *physical* and *social* state of architecture than in the notional character of an unchanging prototype." Both Benevolo and Banham, Tournikiotis argues, viewed the Modern Movement positively but saw it as essentially over, as a subject for historical analysis.[71] The preservation and first partial restoration of the Villa Savoye occurred at this historiographic juncture, at the point at which modernist architecture was coming to be thought of as historical, but before it had been subjected to the extended postmodern critique of the later 1960s and 1970s.

Tournikiotis points out a certain paradox in Banham's *Theory and Design in the First Machine Age* (1960), in which the author "favor[s] the modern movement, but . . . examines it dispassionately, as if it were over and done with, despite the fact that its great masters were still alive."[72] Although Le Corbusier was alive in the early 1960s, his participation in the preservation of the Villa Savoye demonstrates that he nonetheless then saw his own career in the manner that Banham viewed the Modern Movement as a whole. Beginning in 1963, Le Corbusier advocated the protection of some of his early works as historic monuments, and at many points Le Corbusier advocated the preservation of the Villa Savoye as a museum of his own work, looking back on the late 1920s with a certain amount of nostalgia.[73] From the perspective of several decades later, during which he had been involved in more difficult projects, the Villa Savoye represented for Le Corbusier an ideal commission that had been worked out in relative freedom for clients without many preconceptions about their house.[74] Furthermore, the architect's work had changed dramatically in the 1950s, especially with the chapel at Ronchamp. With the sculptural and plastic forms of the chapel and other contemporary buildings, inspired by the massive masonry vernacular architecture of the Mediterranean, Le Corbusier seemed to have repudiated his earlier rationalist work.[75] In the 1950s, Le Corbusier also revisited some of the elements of his earlier buildings, such as pilotis, which reappear as powerful concrete piers at the base of the Unité d'Habitation in Marseilles (1946–1952). The vocabulary of his 1920s houses, which he had advocated as the basis of a new architecture, was thus no longer applicable. The earlier idiom had become historical; it represented an architectural response to modernization that was specific to the 1920s. The idea of preserving the Villa Savoye as a Le Corbusier

museum thus fit with the broader reconsideration of his earlier work in which the architect was engaged through his new designs of the 1950s and 1960s. The Villa Savoye and Le Corbusier's other early works, to adapt Malraux's terms, had become mythic and thus ripe for appropriation by a new generation of architects and by the aging Le Corbusier himself. Late in his life, the architect looked back over his body of work as a historical phenomenon worthy of memorialization in the restored Villa Savoye, where, as he once said, he could represent the development of architecture apart from the despised academic routes.

The movement to preserve the Villa Savoye also coincided with an especially positive moment in the history of its architect's critical reception. Not only was Le Corbusier revered by many architects and students, an attitude evidenced by graffiti on the Villa Savoye, but he was held in high popular esteem as well. *Time* magazine's coverage of Le Corbusier's three-day tour of the United States in the spring of 1961 to receive a gold medal from the American Institute of Architects and an honorary degree from Columbia University provides some impressions of both professional and popular opinions of the man near the end of his life. Philip Johnson, Walter Gropius, and other architects concurred with *Time* that Le Corbusier was "grating but great," and "at 73 the most influential architect alive."[76] Such was the architect's reputation not only in the United States, from where many of the supporters of the Villa Savoye's preservation were drawn, but also throughout the Western world. As Adrian Forty suggests, at the time of his death Le Corbusier was considered in Britain to be "the greatest modern architect" and the "architectural equivalent of Picasso," that is, a pioneering modernist whose work had comprised a series of identifiable and influential phases. This view was supported by the writings of John Summerson, John Berger, and others, published in both the architectural and nonspecialist presses.[77] In France, Le Corbusier was considered a cultural hero, as evidenced by his eulogy at the Louvre, despite the fact that his work had always been controversial with some architects and nonprofessionals alike. If, as Malraux admitted, Le Corbusier had been "so often misunderstood in France" during his lifetime, in death Le Corbusier was treated like a departed statesman. Not only was his memorial attended by government officials, ambassadors, and a large crowd of onlookers, but the nation could follow the proceedings at home through a live television broadcast.[78]

Le Corbusier's reception in the English-speaking world is relevant to understanding the moment of the Villa Savoye's preservation because of the role that British and American architects, historians, and critics played in the movement on behalf of the building. An understanding of French perceptions of Le Corbusier is also germane, not only because some French architects and urbanists contributed to the effort to save the Villa Savoye, but also because the national government itself provided substantial funding for the project. Financial support slackened at the end of the 1960s and may have indicated a growing skepticism regarding modernist architecture and the work of Le Corbusier. Philippe Boudon's 1969 analysis of the architect's Quartiers Modernes Frugès, the workers housing complex in Pessac completed in 1926, was one indication of growing concern in France about the social consequences of his domestic buildings. Boudon's study centered on the ways in which the inhabitants at Pessac had modified the standardized residences. Although Boudon concluded that the buildings actually lent themselves to modification and thus were open to the expression of the individuality of the inhabitant, his project nonetheless indicated a need to respond to the emerging critique of modernist housing solutions as totalizing and oppressive.[79] Indeed, Boudon's conclusion that Pessac was actually susceptible to individualization ran counter to the view propounded by French architects and critics from the late 1960s on, which saw modernist housing, especially large apartment towers, as dehumanizing.

Boudon's study grew out of the "period of doubt" concerning Modernism that Joseph Abram describes as having gripped French architectural culture after 1968 and which led to a questioning of the Athens Charter and of Le Corbusier's positions on housing and urbanism. At this point, the negative social consequences of postwar highrise public housing in France became increasingly apparent. Simultaneously, interest in the academic tradition, which architects like Le Corbusier had supposedly forsaken, was renewed. In the mid-1970s the destruction of Les Halles Centrales in Paris (1855–1857, 1860–1866), the markets constructed of iron and glass to the design of Victor Baltard as part of the modernization of Paris under Napoleon III, ignited a reassessment of nineteenth-century French architecture.[80] The academic tradition, vilified by early-twentieth-century modernists and dismantled in 1968, was recuperated for serious study and reuse by postmodernist architects with the landmark MoMA exhibition of 1975/76, also organized by Drexler.[81] The consequence of a resurgence of interest in academic architecture, and of a less favorable attitude toward Modernism, was a perceptible slackening in the pace of work being undertaken at the Villa Savoye, which had to await the centennial of its architect's birth for the preservation efforts of the mid-1960s to be complemented by a more full-blown restoration.

The period of doubt in the architectural world was

symptomatic of the larger cultural climate in France at the end of the 1960s. Among the many political ramifications of the events of 1968 in France were the resignations in the following year of General de Gaulle as president and of André Malraux as minister of culture. Malraux's resignation brought to an end his campaign to "revitalize national cultural life" in France and to ensure that national government institutions would play central roles in the process of cultural reinvigoration. As Herman Lebovics has recently discussed, Malraux's project had been at once cultural and political. While establishing new cultural institutions within France, he also tried to enhance the nation's international reputation on the basis of its historic contributions to Western culture. This point was made especially with the 1963 tour, brought about by Malraux, of Leonardo Da Vinci's *Mona Lisa* (c. 1503–1505) to the Metropolitan Museum of Art. The loan of a canonical work (albeit by an Italian artist) from the Louvre represented an attempt to assuage the acute Franco-American political tensions that existed at that moment, and to reassert the international stature of France. Lebovics summarizes the objective of Malraux's diverse undertakings as minister of culture: "Malraux and the Foreign Ministry shaped French international cultural policy after decolonization to reclaim French influence by cultural means, venturing France's abundant cultural capital when its political capital had run out."[82] Given Malraux's concern for polishing France's international cultural reputation on the basis of canonical works, it is not surprising that his preservation efforts began in 1960 with the cleaning of the monuments of Paris. Early in his career as minister of culture Malraux also supported the restorations of seven canonical buildings: the Invalides, Reims Cathedral, and the châteaux and palaces of Versailles, the Grand Trianon, Fontainebleau, Chambord, and Vincennes. Reims—which Malraux had studied firsthand—had not been entirely repaired after its bombardment during World War I. Malraux also deeply regretted the further destruction of works of art in bombed churches and cathedrals during World War II, having commented on the losses in *Le musée imaginaire* (1947).[83] Malraux's historic preservation efforts, however, went beyond individual canonical monuments to encompass entire cityscapes: the 1962 "Malraux Law" created "protected sectors" in which historic urban areas would be retained as aesthetically appealing documents of earlier forms of city building.[84]

Malraux's efforts on behalf of twentieth-century buildings were catalyzed by the furor over the decay of the Villa Savoye. Yet Malraux's attitude toward its architect had always been ambivalent. In fact, as Pierre Cabanne—a supporter of Le Corbusier's—pointed out, during his six years in power "Malraux had never commissioned a cubic centimeter [of construction] from Le Corbusier for Paris." Between 1961 and 1962 the architect produced a controversial competition project to replace Victor Laloux's Gare d'Orsay (1898–1900) with a concrete-and-glass tower that never came to fruition. Very near the time of his death, in July 1965, Le Corbusier began work for Malraux's administration on a museum of twentieth-century art to have been located just outside the city, between La Défense and Nanterre. The architect's death later that summer, and Malraux's subsequent fall from power, ended plans for the museum.[85] Personally, as André Holleaux, who worked under Malraux at the Ministry of Culture, reports, Malraux was "more at home with writers and musicians, and particularly painters . . . than with film directors" and architects. On one occasion, Holleaux recalled, Malraux had written him a note asking, "What in God's name is the position with Corbu?"[86] Having been somewhat perplexed by Le Corbusier, Malraux nonetheless recognized the architect's significance to modern architecture in France. The museum of twentieth-century art would have enabled the French government to claim that it had supported a French architect with international standing. Similarly, preserving the Villa Savoye was politically expedient in light of the international outrage that had arisen over its potential loss.

It is perhaps an overstatement to claim, as other scholars have, that "it was André Malraux who saved" or "rescued" the Villa Savoye.[87] Although his administration did eventually participate in the preservation effort, close examination of the process reveals ambivalence toward the building, and toward modernist architecture more generally, on the parts of Malraux and the Ministry of Culture. His cultural policy was based on the idea of using canonical works—paintings, sculptures, and buildings—to enhance French prestige internationally. The death of Le Corbusier in 1965 was therefore crucial to the preservation process, not only because the event sparked renewed calls to restore the Villa Savoye, but also because it became the opportunity to raise the architect to canonical status. With the death of Le Corbusier, and the international affirmation of his greatness that ensued, it became acceptable to save and eventually to restore one of his crucial early works because the Villa Savoye could be understood as part of France's contribution to world architecture. As Malraux stated in defense of one of his cultural initiatives, the most important responsibility of a government agency concerned with culture was to explain to any French child "what France is, what France has meant in the world, and what France has given to the world."[88] In 1965 it was clear that France could claim Le Corbusier's aesthetic, especially as embodied in early modernist works that

had achieved the status of history, as one of its major contributions of the twentieth century.

An Undomestic Historic House

Making the Villa Savoye a historic monument represented a tacit endorsement of Le Corbusier's work as a house designer. The modernist reinvention of domestic architecture—at the scales of both the private house and mass housing—had nevertheless been at the center of architectural polemics from the 1930s on. Beatriz Colomina has shown how at the Villa Savoye Le Corbusier self-consciously dispensed with traditional notions of "domesticity" and habitation, as he made clear in *Précisions* where he described the visitors to the house who "turn round and round in the interior, asking themselves what is happening, understanding with difficulties the reasons for what they see and feel; they do not find anything of what is called a 'house.' They feel themselves in something entirely new. And . . . I do not think they are bored."[89] The "something entirely new," as Colomina would have it, is a house that serves primarily as a frame for viewing the landscape beyond it. As a consequence of this reconceptualization of domestic space, the notion of the "traditional humanist subject" is displaced by Le Corbusier's concept of the visitor—conceived of by the architect as male—for whom the act of viewing the house, its female occupants, and its surroundings is paramount.

Because the act of looking predominated in Le Corbusier's conception of the Villa Savoye, the Savoyes as occupants in the accepted sense were displaced by their architect's notion of the house's function, and by his sense of the building's importance in his own life's work. Jean-Louis Veret, who became architect for the restoration in 1985, concludes that the Villa Savoye has three functions: "as a manifesto, a museum, [and] a cultural object." Although Veret acknowledges the public taste for historic house museums, he concludes that the Villa Savoye could never become one: "it would be artificial to confer on this place the character of a habitation that it practically never had."[90] From the beginning, the Villa Savoye was only incidentally a residence, and only ostensibly for the use of the clients. As early as September 1937, Émilie Savoye wrote to the architect that "there always seems to be someone in your office to send me visitors, if not to reply to my letters."[91] The domestic concerns of the Savoyes were thus forgotten as Le Corbusier used the Villa Savoye to demonstrate his own aesthetic position for the benefit of visiting admirers and potential clients. The architect, his office staff, and acolytes literally "occupied"—to use Colomina's term—the domestic space of the Savoyes, who eventually abandoned it.

The long decline of the Villa Savoye confirms that Le Corbusier's reinvention of the house was largely an aesthetic operation, despite his claims of functionalism. Even its preservers struggled to find a use for the Villa Savoye. While the house had originally been conceived primarily as a platform for viewing the surrounding landscape, with its preservation and eventual restoration the Villa Savoye itself became the spectacle. As such, the building came to operate in the way that all historic monuments do, as objects to be seen and to be reflected upon. As a report on a 1913 preservation law stated, monuments "can only fulfill their function under the condition of being viewed."[92] The process of viewing is crucial for it triggers contemplation of both the immediate design problem and the place of the single object in a larger history of culture.

The Villa Savoye could be considered to contribute to an understanding of the monumental history of France due to a reevaluation of when buildings could be viewed as important French products. The international controversy over the potential loss of the Villa Savoye catalyzed the reconsideration of French monuments that made early modernist works seem to be on a par with the accepted masterpieces of earlier periods. In the 1960s, several developments combined to bring about the inclusion of 1920s Modernism, and specifically the Villa Savoye, in the nationalistic history of French architecture that had already been constructed, beginning in the nineteenth century. Le Corbusier's built work and statements from the decade suggest that he was thinking of his own career historically at this time and thus agitated for the preservation of one of its key monuments. A number of the Modern Movement's major chroniclers also began to think of the movement in similarly historical terms in the postwar period. By the mid-1960s, the part of French cultural identity that was based on architecture of international significance had been transformed. Not only were cathedrals, churches, and châteaux the "lieux de mémoire" where Frenchness could be defined, but even a private house that had never functioned well as a residence could be considered an aesthetic exercise that substantiated France's claim to artistic preeminence in the twentieth century.

Notes

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1. Translated as *The Royal Way* (1935); quoted in E. H. Gombrich, "André Malraux and the Crisis of Expressionism," *Burlington Magazine* 46 (1954): 375.

2. S[igfried] Giedion, "Le Corbusier et l'architecture contemporaine," *Cahiers d'Art* 4 (1930): 212. This description reappears in Giedion's *Space, Time and Architecture, the Growth of a New Tradition* (1941); 3rd ed. (Cambridge, Mass., 1956), 518, from which the translation is taken.

3. Tim Benton, "Six Houses" in *Le Corbusier, Architect of the Century*, exhibition catalogue ([London], 1987), 63–64; Tim Benton, "Villa Savoye and the Architects' Practice," in *Le Corbusier. Villa Savoye and Other Buildings and Projects, 1929–1930* (New York and London, 1984), ix–xxii. For a chronological account of the building's history, including the restorations, see Jacques Sbriglio, *Le Corbusier: La Villa Savoye / The Villa Savoye* (Paris and Basel, 1999).

4. Colin Rowe, "The Mathematics of the Ideal Villa: Palladio and Le Corbusier Compared," *Architectural Review* 101 (1947): 101–104; reprinted in Colin Rowe, *The Mathematics of the Ideal Villa and Other Essays* (Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1976), 1–27.

5. Beatriz Colomina, "The Split Wall: Domestic Voyeurism," in Beatriz Colomina, ed., *Sexuality and Space* (New York, 1992). See also Beatriz Colomina, *Privacy and Publicity: Modern Architecture as Mass Media* (Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1994).

6. Alice Friedman's *Women and the Making of the Modern House* (New York, 1998) is exemplary of recent feminist scholarship that considers the success of modern domestic architecture from a functional point of view.

7. Le Corbusier, *Le Corbusier et Pierre Jeanneret, oeuvre complète de 1929–1934* (1935), 4th ed. (Zurich, 1946), 24.

8. Although not directly related to the Villa Savoye, Brian Brace Taylor's, *Le Corbusier, The City of Refuge, Paris 1929/33* (Chicago and London, 1987) is an important materialist study that considers the ideological foundations of one of the architect's residential projects of the same period.

9. Pierre Nora, ed., *Les lieux de mémoire*, 7 vols. (Paris, 1984–1992); idem, "Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de Mémoire*," trans. Marc Roudebush, *Representations* 26 (1989): 7–25. Also see the review of the English edition of *Les lieux de mémoire* by Hélène Lipstadt in the *JSAH* 58 (1999): 243–245, which evaluates the relevance of the project for architectural history.

10. Françoise Choay, *L'allégorie du patrimoine* (Paris, 1992), 98.

11. Many U.S. architecture critics and historians covered the bombardment of France. See, for example, Barr Ferree, "War Books of the Cathedrals I: Reims," *Architectural Record* 43 (1918): 90, and Ralph Adams Cram, "Reims Cathedral," *Yale Review*, n.s. 8 (1918): 34–53. Medieval architectural historian Arthur Kingsley Porter also published extensively on the destruction of Reims, as my student Martin Perschler has discussed in his unpublished paper "Arthur Kingley Porter, Reims Cathedral, and the War," University of Virginia Architectural History Symposium, 1997.

12. The continuing significance in the twentieth century of the types of monuments first protected in the nineteenth is addressed by Françoise Bercé in *Des monuments historiques au patrimoine: du xviiie siècle à nos jours, ou, "Les égarements du coeur et de l'esprit"* (Paris, 2000).

13. Jean-Marc Blanchecotte, "Les Bâtiments de Le Corbusier dans les Hauts-de-Seine, conservation et restauration au xxe siècle," in *La conservation de l'oeuvre construite de Le Corbusier* (Paris, c. 1990), 29.

14. The first work by Le Corbusier to be listed was the Unité d'Habitation in Marseilles in 1964; Bernard Toulier, *Architecture et patrimoine du xxe siècle en France* (Paris, 1999), 19–23.

15. Quoted in Benton, "Villa Savoye and the Architects' Practice," xix.

16. Olivier Siou, "Les Heures Claires, histoire de la Villa Savoye," *Chronos* 19 (1988–1989): 8.

17. Arthur Drexler, *Villa Savoye: Destruction by Neglect*, 2–24 July 1966, wall label, Museum of Modern Art, New York, 66.12.1. I would like to thank Bevin Howard for her assistance in researching this exhibition.

18. "Stompin on the Savoie," *Time*, 23 March 1959, p. 54.

19. "Machine for Living," *Historic Preservation* 11 (1959): 77–78.

20. Jean-Louis Loubet, *Citroën, Peugeot, Renault et les autres: histoire des stratégies d'entreprises* (Boulogne-Billancourt, 1999), 29, 74–76.

21. Siou, "Les Heures Claires," 8–9.

22. Édith Aujame, "Compte rendu de la visite à la Villa Savoye le 11 juin 1960," Fondation Le Corbusier (hereafter FLC) H1–12-305.

23. Le Corbusier to Giedion, 24 February 1959, FLC H1-12-181.

24. Le Corbusier to Giedion, 25 February 1959, FLC H1-12-182. La Direction de l'Architecture was transferred to Malraux's ministry on 3 February 1959; see "Chronologie générale," in Augustin Girard and Geneviève Gentil, eds., *Les affaires culturelles au temps d'André Maulraux* ([Paris], 1996), 466.

25. The architect described a center ". . . ayant pour but de recherches en Occident l'acheminement architectural de l'antiquité à nos jours par des démarches autres que des démarches académiques"; Le Corbusier to Giedion, 11 March 1959, FLC H1-12-188.

26. The number comes from Le Corbusier's letter to Sonrel, 11 March 1960, FLC H1-12-299. Kidder Smith's photo of the decayed Villa Savoye illustrated the article "Machine for Living." In addition to his role in the telegram campaign, Kidder Smith is also credited with having persuaded William Zeckendorf to contribute money for the preservation of the Robie House; Herbert Muschamp, "G. E. Kidder Smith, 83, Historian Who Wrote About Architecture," obituary, *New York Times*, 26 October 1997, sect. 1, p. 37, col. 5. I am grateful to the Kidder Smith family for helping me to locate the photograph reproduced here as Figure 3.

27. Alfred Roth to André Malraux, 9 March 1959, FLC H1-12-191. In the same year, Roth published "Le Corbusier's 'Villa Savoye' ist gerettet," *Werk* 46 (1959): 111–113.

28. Nelson wrote of the Villa Savoye as "une borne plantée en avant-garde de l'architecture et de la culture moderne" and urged that "cette Villa soit gardée intacte et pérpetrée [*sic*] comme un monument historique"; Nelson to Malraux, 10 March 1959, FLC H1-12-198. Nelson's claims here echo somewhat Giedion's discussion of the significance of Paris in *Space, Time and Architecture*, in which he wrote: "Young people of talent—whether Spanish like Picasso, or Swiss like Le Corbusier—found their inspiration in Paris, in the union of their powers with the artistic tradition of that city. The vitality of French culture served to the advantage of the whole world" (p. 430).

29. For example, Nelson contributed the article "Corbu, c'était un géant" to *Paris-Normandie*, 30 August 1965, and "Un bruleur d'étapes" to *Les lettres françaises* 1095 (1965): 13.

30. Nelson to Malraux, 10 March 1959, FLC H1-12-198.

31. See Terence Riley and Joseph Abram, eds., *The Filter of Reason, Work of Paul Nelson* (New York, 1990).

32. Giedion to Le Corbusier, 5 March 1959, FLC H1-12-185.

33. This arrangement was not formalized until 23 October 1961, according to Dominique Bozo, "Note à l'attention du Ministre de la Culture," 11 May 1987; Bibliothèque et Archives du Patrimoine (hereafter ADP) 81/78/520 Carton 113.

34. The original members (with occupations and ages when indicated in the statutes) were: Roger Aujame (architect, 37), Vladimir Bodiansky (engineer, 33), Daniel Chanut (urbanist, 32), Nadine Effront (49), Joseph Flom (architect, 32), Anatole Kopp (architect, 40), Guy Lagneau (architect, 43), Charlotte Perriand ("décoratrice," 47), Jean-Claude Petitdemange (urbanist, 29), Jean Preveral (urbanist, 83), Henri Quillé (urbanist, 30), Pierre Rir-

gulet (architect, 31), Jean Renaudie (architect, 34), Édith Schreiber-Aujame (architect-urbanist, 40), Gérard Thurnauer (architect, 33), Jean-Louis Veret (architect, 32); statutes of the Comité de Sauvegarde de la Villa Savoye, FLC H1-12-240.

35. See FLC H1-12-231/232.

36. "L'Affaire Savoye," *Architectural Forum* 110 (1959): 107.

37. Benton, "Villa Savoye and the Architects' Practice," ix–xi (see n. 3).

38. William J. R. Curtis, *Le Corbusier: Ideas and Forms* (London,1986), 98. On the change in Le Corbusier's aesthetic, see Romy Golan, *Modernity and Nostalgia, Art and Politics in France Between the Wars* (New Haven and London, 1995), 74–75.

39. André Chastel's article appeared in the 27 March 1959 issue of *Le Monde*, Pevsner's in the March 1959 issue of *Architectural Review*. See "La pénible affaire de la Villa Savoye," *Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* 82 (1959): vii.

40. One of the critics with whom Le Corbusier was involved in polemical debate over the place of Modernism in domestic design during the 1930s was conservative architect Gustave Umbdenstock. Umbdenstock wrote that the house was "à l'abri de certains influences par trop modernistes" and the "sauvegarde supérieure de l'esprit de famille"; Gustave Umbdenstock, "Le défense des métiers de main des artistes et des artisans français" [1932], excerpted in Le Corbusier, *Croisade, ou le crépuscule des académies* (Paris, 1933), 82–83.

41. The criticism of Le Corbusier's work from an unnamed newspaper is paraphrased in "La pénible affaire," vii.

42. Quoted in a letter from Le Corbusier's secretary to Mlle. Caglion, secretary to André Malraux, 8 April 1959, FLC H1-12-229.

43. Le Corbusier to Bernard Anthonioz, 11 April 1960, FLC H1-12-301. Anthonioz was a member of Malraux's cabinet from 1959, and head of the Service de la création artistique (1962–1979); see Bernard Anthonioz, "Le pari de la création contemporaine," and "Hommage de Pierre Moinot à Bernard Anthonioz," both in Girard and Gentil, eds., *Les affaires culturelles* (see n. 24).

44. "Il est temps de s'occuper de mettre en route la prise de possession de la Villa Savoye et d'entreprendre les travaux—que je dirigerai,—pour en faire un genre de Musée Le Corbusier"; Le Corbusier, "Note à l'attention de Gardien," 1 June 1961, FLC.

45. Le Corbusier to M. Bertocchi [contractor], 5 September 1962, with extracts of a letter from Malraux to Le Corbusier of 3 September 1962, FLC H1-12-275.

46. See Annexe 10, "Organigrammes," in Girard and Gentil, eds., *Les affaires culturelles*, 456.

47. J. Barrot, Ministry of Cultural Affairs, 22 February 1963, FLC H1-12-281.

48. Malraux to Le Corbusier, 3 September 1962, FLC H1-12-308, and Le Corbusier's response, 5 September 1962, FLC H1-12-310.

49. Le Corbusier to Jean Dubuisson, 12 November 1963, FLC H1-12-284, and Le Corbusier to Dubuisson, n.d., FLC H1-12-295.

50. Le Corbusier to Max Querrize (director of architecture in the Ministry of Culture), 10 November 1964, FLC H1-12-290.

51. Le Corbusier, "Note concernant la Villa Savoye," 12 May 1965, FLC H1-12-291.

52. François Gardien, "État des lieux—Descriptif sommaire pour la remise en État," [1964?], FLC H1-12-312.

53. Le Corbusier to Malraux, 3 June 1965, FLC H1-12-296.

54. Bertocchi to Le Corbusier, 23 May 1965, FLC H1-12-323, and Antoine Bernard (Ministry of Cultural Affairs) to Le Corbusier, 30 June 1965, FLC H1-12-237.

55. James Stirling compared the deteriorated conditions of the Villa Stein at Garches and the Villa Savoye in 1955: "As with the still deserted Poissy, the deterioration at Garches was only skin-deep; paint decay, broken glass and slight cracks in the rendering; there has been no deterioration to the structure nor any waterproofing failure"; James Stirling, "Garches to Jaoul," in Carlo Palazzolo and Riccardo Vio, eds., *In the Footsteps of Le Corbusier* (New York, 1991), 81. The essay was first published as "Garches to Jaoul: Le Corbusier as Domestic Architect in 1927 and 1953," *Architectural Review* 118 (1955): 145–151.

56. The budget, made available in April 1966, was 223,000 francs; Antoine Bernard to Maurice Besset (FLC), 4 July 1966 (received), FLC U1-15-263.

57. Bozo, "Note."

58. Ada Louise Huxtable, "Architectural Giant," *New York Times*, 28 August 1965, p. 18.

59. Marcel Lods, "Le Corbusier," *Glaces et Verres* 194 (1965): 2–8. Malraux's eulogy is reprinted here and in the English translation quoted above in Le Corbusier, *Oeuvres complètes*, 5th ed. (1995), 188–190.

60. S. Giedion, "Le Corbusier et l'architecture contemporaine," 210 (see n. 2).

61. "Footnote," *Architectural Forum* 125 (1966): 98–99.

62. J[osé] Rafael Moneo, "Una visita a Poissy," *Arquitectura Madrid* 7 (1965): 35–41.

63. Drexler, *Villa Savoye: Destruction by Neglect*, wall label (see n. 17).

64. Mary Anne Staniszewski, *The Power of Display, A History of Exhibition Installations at the Museum of Modern Art* (Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1998), 74–75, 194–195.

65. Tim Benton, "The Era of Great Projects," in *Le Corbusier, Architect of the Century*, 168 (see n. 3).

66. Walter McQuade, "Architecture," *The Nation*, 16 February 1963, clipping in the FLC, H1-12-312.

67. Undated note in the hand of Le Corbusier, FLC H1-12-311.

68. See, for example, "Salvation of the Savoye," *Progressive Architecture* 47 (1966): 73; "Tragedy at Poissy, 'Glory shines brightest through outrage,' " *Canadian Architect* 11 (1966): 59–60; "La Villa Savoye di Le Corbusier: Come era e come e," *Domus* 441 (1966): 5; "Die Villa Savoye im Museum of Modern Art," *Deutsche Bauzeitung* 10 (1966): 821.

69. Antoine Bernard, Ministère d'État, Affaires Culturelles, to Maurice Besset, Fondation Le Corbusier, 4 July 1966; François Gardien, "Villa 'Savoye', Compte rendu de la réunion sur place du jeudi 13 avril 1967"; FLC U1-15-114.

70. Jean-Louis Veret, "Passé, présents, futurs de la Villa Savoye," in *La conservation de l'oeuvre construite de Le Corbusier* (Paris, c.1990), 114; Martin Filler, "Le Corbusier's True Colors," *House and Garden* 159 (1981): 175–176, 222–226; Siou, "Les Heures Claires," 10 (see n. 16).

71. Panayotis Tournikiotis, *The Historiography of Modern Architecture* (Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1999), 25, 45–47, 105–109, 148–152, emphasis present in the original.

72. Ibid., 151.

73. Toulier, *Architecture et patrimoine*, 22 (see n. 14).

74. Tim Benton, *The Villas of Le Corbusier, 1920–1930: with photographs in the Lucien Hervé collection* (New Haven and London, 1987).

75. James Stirling, "Ronchamp: Le Corbusier's Chapel and the Crisis of Rationalism," *Architectural Review* 119 (1956): 155–161; reprinted in Peter Serenyi, ed., *Le Corbusier in Perspective* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1975), 64–67.

76. "Le Corbusier," *Time*, 5 May 1961.

77. Adrian Forty, "Le Corbusier's British Reputation," *Le Corbusier, Architect of the Century*, 39 (see n. 3).

78. "L'hommage de Paris et du gouvernement à Charles Le Corbusier," *Le Monde*, 3 September 1965, p. 6.

79. Philippe Boudon, *Lived-in Architecture, Le Corbusier's Pessac Revisited*

(1969), trans. Gerald Onn (Cambridge, Mass., 1972).
80. Joseph Abram, "Political Will and the Cultural Identity Crisis in Late-Twentieth-Century French Architecture," in *Premises, Invested Spaces in Visual Arts, Architecture, & Design from France: 1958–1998*, exhibition catalogue (New York, 1998), 334–342. Abram here points out the historical significance of Boudon's study.
81. *The Architecture of the École des Beaux-Arts*, Museum of Modern Art, New York, 29 October 1975–4 January 1976.
82. Herman Lebovics, *Mona Lisa's Escort, André Malraux and the Reinvention of French Culture* (Ithaca and London, 1999), ix–xii, 1–26; quotation p. 7.
83. Malraux writes, "L'amateur d'alors [referring the period prior to 1900] connut les toiles comme nous avons connu les mosaïques et les vitraux jusqu'à la guerre de 1940 . . ."; *Le musée imaginaire* (1947); 3rd ed. (Paris, 1965), 11; Lebovics, *Mona Lisa's Escort*, 105.
84. André Holleaux, "The Administration of Culture," trans. Robert Speaight, in Martine de Courcel, ed., *Malraux, Life and Work* (London, 1976); Choay, *L'allégorie du patrimoine*, 173–174 (see n. 10).
85. Pierre Cabanne, *Le pouvoir culturel sous la Ve République* (Paris, 1981), 70–73, 92–95.
86. Holleaux, "Administration of Culture," 93.
87. Tim Benton, "Historic Architecture: Le Corbusier's Villa Savoye, Monument of the Modern Movement at Poissy," *Architectural Digest*, May 1986, pp. 182–187, 232; and Filler, "Le Corbusier's True Colors," 222 (see n. 70).
88. Parliamentary address of André Malraux (1963), quoted in Janine Mossuz, *André Malraux et le gaullisme* (Paris, 1970), 169 fn.
89. Le Corbusier, *Précisions sur un état présent de l'architecture et de l'urbanisme* (Paris, 1930), 57–58, quoted in translation in Colomina, "The Split Wall," 123.
90. Veret, "Passé, présents, futurs de la Villa Savoye," 115–116 (see n. 70).
91. Émilie Savoye to Le Corbusier, 7 September 1937; quoted in Benton, "Villa Savoye and the Architects' Practice," xix (see n. 3).
92. Quoted in Paul Léon, *La vie des monuments français, destruction, restauration* (Paris, 1951), 351–353.

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