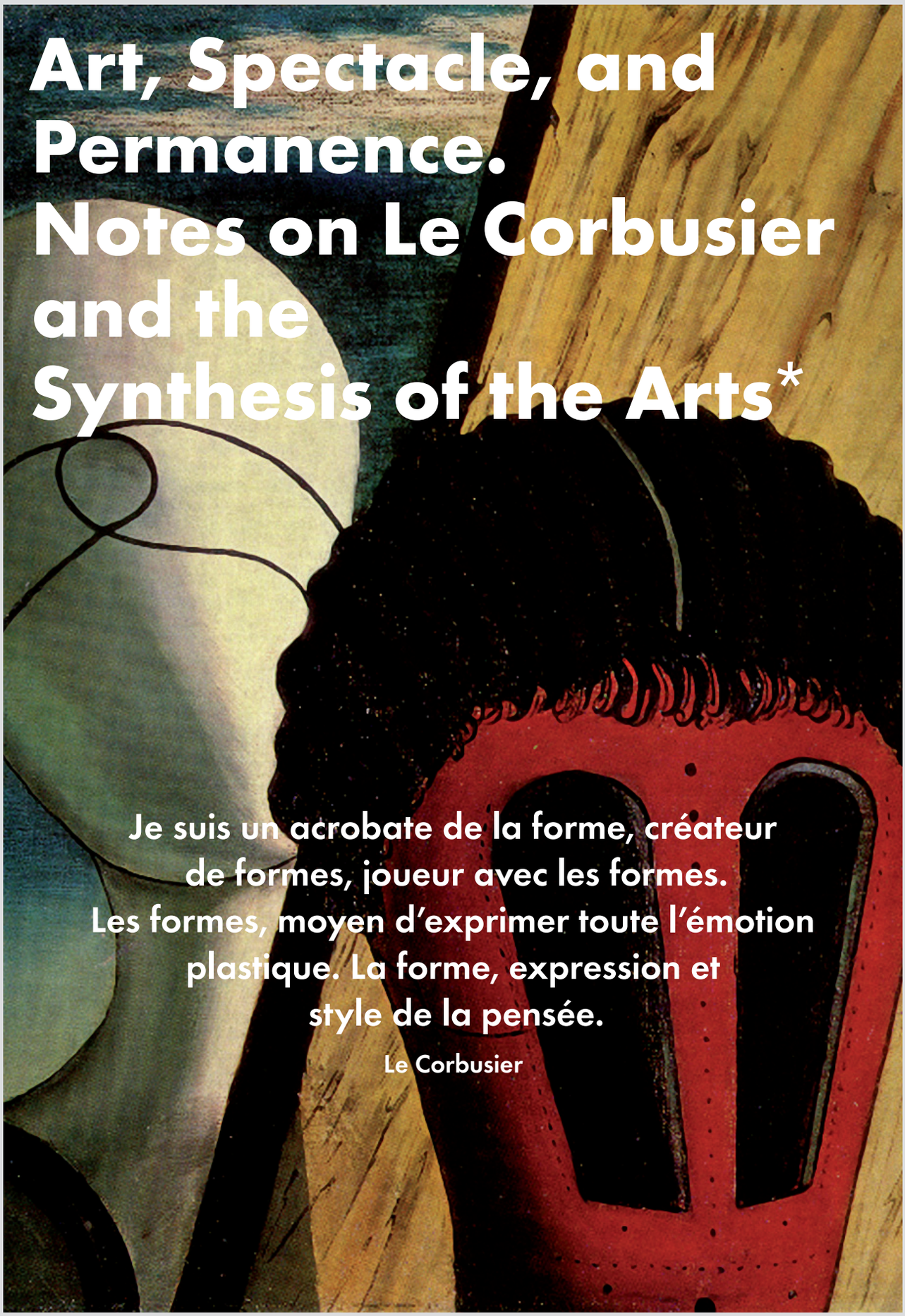
Art, Spectacle, and Permanence. Notes on Le Corbusier and the Synthesis of the Arts*



Je suis un acrobate de la forme, créateur de formes, joueur avec les formes. Les formes, moyen d'exprimer toute l'émotion plastique. La forme, expression et style de la pensée.

Le Corbusier

In the light of contemporary architecture, last century's emblematic 'artist-architect' may appear at once disquietingly prophetic and almost surrealistically antiquarian. This essay explores the hypothesis that Le Corbusier's ultimate passion was the museum, and his ultimate dream that of being assigned a key place in the history of art. Though this may sound simple enough—perhaps trivial—it may help re-organizing a very well-known (but also partly unknown) body of knowledge on the master and to understand better the paradox of the continuing presence in current architectural discussions.

By Stanislaus von Moos

THE trend towards the spectacularization of architecture and design as "art" has become a key aspect of today's visual culture. In the light of this situation the architecture of Le Corbusier presents an irritating paradox: depending on one's own prejudice (and on the work under examination) the built legacy of the last century's emblematic 'artist–architect' may appear at once disquietingly prophetic and almost surrealistically antiquarian.

Even an uncompromisingly 'contemporary' work like Saint–Pierre in Firminy, completed by José Oubrerie, a former assistant, forty years after Le Corbusier's death, confirms this condition (figure 2). At first sight, the solid truncated cone in gray concrete that emerges from a quadrangular base, encircled by a ramp that leads up to an abstract *propylon*, strikes the visitor not as a "church" but as a distinctly aesthetic artifice – a piece of *architecture*. As architecture, the building refers to a typological genealogy that is distinctly more Corbusean than religious: while the key idea of the project goes back, ultimately, to an early idea for a church in Le Tremblay, near Paris (1929), the more immediate references are secular. Among them, the Assembly Building at Chandigarh, whose Upper Chamber in the form of a cooling tower and whose Lower Chamber in the form of an inclined pyramid appear to be combined in the Firminy cone, is the most obvious reference.

Further implied in the space and its astral symbolism (circular wholes in the east façade evoke the constellation of Orion) are archetypal reminiscences of tomb and chimney that more than anything else evoke Aldo Rossi's universe, even though the metamorphotic (almost "blob") shape of the cone as such suggests a will to break loose from such Mediterranean predicaments of "permanence".

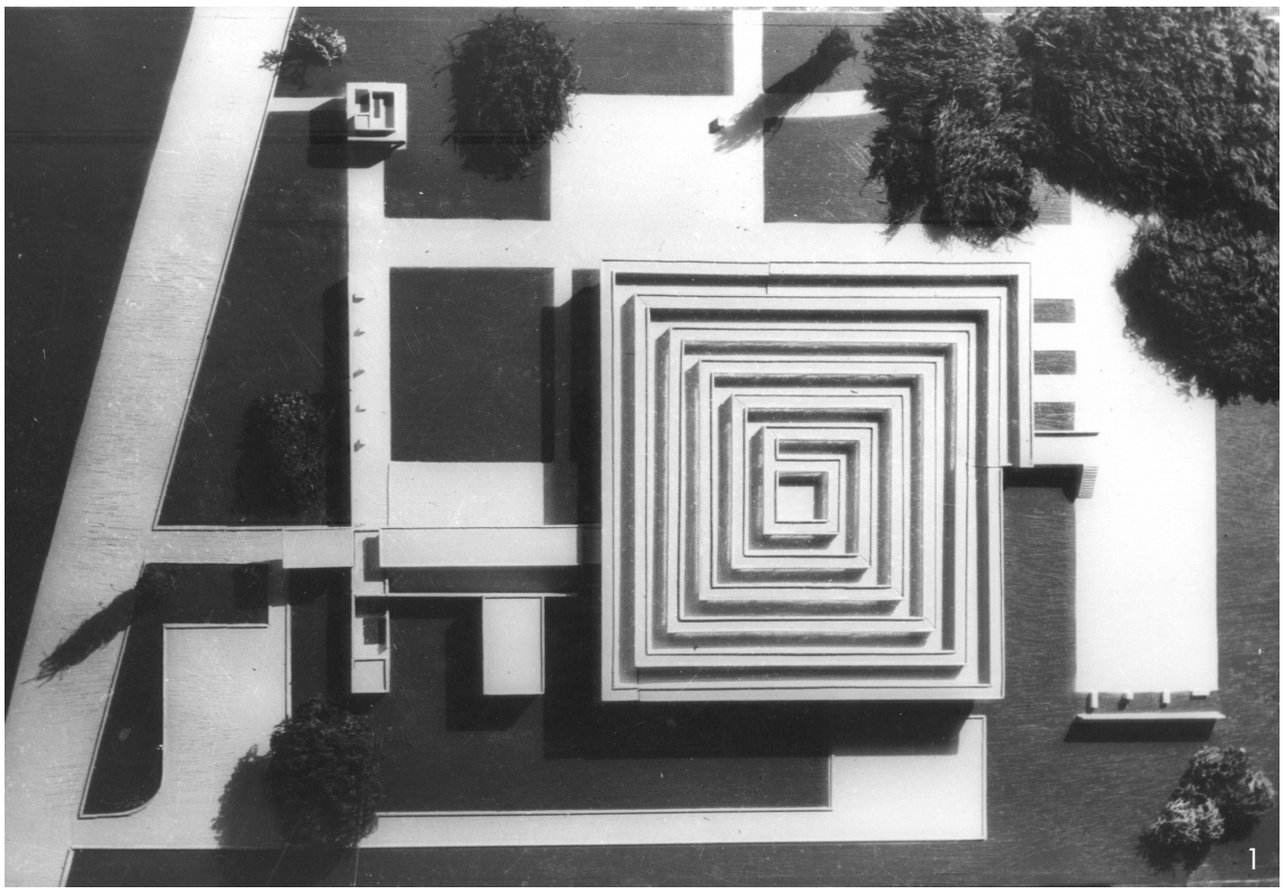
The story of the project can be summarized by saying that the building was designed as a church, yet built as an annex to a museum – in fact, as a branch of the *Musée d'Art Contemporain* in Saint–Étienne. The transaction as such has been described elsewhere and is perhaps of only circumstantial interest. Yet its deeper cultural significance lingers just skin–deep beneath the surface. Silently but irrevocably, the project's original vocation as a religious shrine has been redefined in terms of a secular religion – the cult of the museum, if not, ultimately, of tourism. At some distance of the entrance, Oubrerie has created a pit made of concentrically arranged beams. Is it a coincidence that this piece of garden sculpture in the shape of an inverted ziggurat with its concentrical steps recalls the spiraling 'enfilade' of the *musée à croissance illimitée* that, like "our life on earth . . . never returns upon itself" (figure 1). In fact, a few steps away, the spiral of the access ramp begins as part of a *continuum* of shifting surfaces engaged in an up – and inward – movement that is, ultimately, the spatial key idea of the project.

Only slightly modified, the form of the pit could thus be a fitting "logo", both for the morphology of the 'church' as such, its destination as a museum, *and* for Le Corbusier's second nature as a museum architect. But in the end, the symbolism might even apply to the *œuvre* at large and the process by which it has become part, in recent decades, of a frenzy business of preservation, restoration, display and even reconstruction – in fact nothing so much as another potential "museum of unlimited growth".

Exhibition architect?

The term "exhibition artist" has become a useful tool towards an understanding of the cultural dynamics of modern art. It highlights the competitive structure of the art market in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, with its salons, galleries and museums, and suggests that competition, scandal and media scoops have become constituent factors of what we call the "system" of modern art. Though not totally absent in the world of pre–modern court patronage, this system has drawn the artist into a whirlpool of increasingly demanding expectations of self–exposure. It forced him into the posture of the harlequin. It made him become an acrobat.

In his chapter on "Grandville or the World Exhibitions" (in *Paris, Capital of the Nineteenth Century*) Walter Benjamin describes the structures and transparent surfaces of these cathedrals of nineteenth century industrialism and



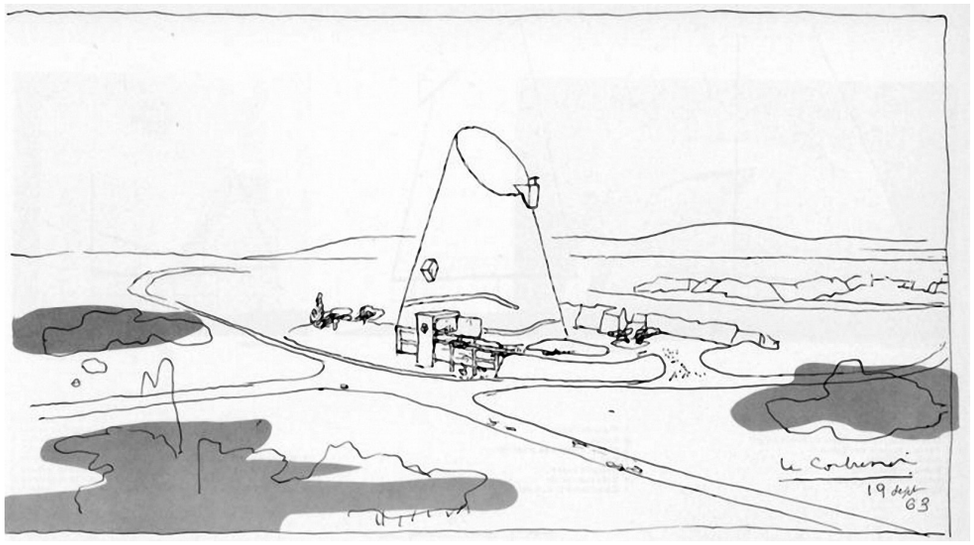


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Figure 1. **Le Corbusier** and **Pierre Jeanneret**, *Musée à croissance illimitée*, Philippeville Algeria, 1939. Model of the project. Photo from Fondation Le Corbusier, Paris.

Figure 2. **Le Corbusier**, Saint-Pierre Church at Firminy, France, 1963.

Figure 3. **Le Corbusier**, "Here academism says: No!" Illustration from Le Corbusier, *La Ville radieuse* (1934).

Figure 4. **Le Corbusier** and **Pierre Jeanneret**, Pavillon de l'Esprit Nouveau, Exposition Internationale des Arts Décoratifs, Paris, 1925. Photo from Fondation Le Corbusier, Paris.

capitalism and the ways both the *towuhaboho* of consumer goods and their architectural envelopes have shaped the age's 'exhibition mentality'. Speaking of 'modern architecture', an interest in the world fairs has been part of its mythology for more than seventy–five years. In *Bauen in Frankreich*, the first among Sigfried Giedion's seminal books on modern architecture (and one of Benjamin's source texts), the Eiffel Tower, built for the 1889 World's Fair in Paris, is presented as an immediate predecessor to the modern architecture of the 1920s.

The idea that these "pilgrimage sanctuaries of the fetish merchandise" are a prime workshop of architectural modernity has since remained an *idée fixe* in modernist historiography. Though Le Corbusier has often used the Eiffel Tower as a combined logo of the spirit of modernity and of Paris (figure 3), his work has never really been placed in this context. And yet, even a superficial glance at his work reveals that fairs have been the stage for some of his most extravagant projects. Whenever commissions for fair pavilions came along, they forced him to re–define the rules of the game. However he was not alone in this respect. Bruno Taut had built a glass pavilion and Walter Gropius a model factory at the Werkbund Exhibition in Cologne, in 1914 (which Le Corbusier incidentally visited as a student), and Mies consumed the mystical union of "exhibitionism" and modern architecture with the Barcelona Pavilion at the World's Fair of 1929. Yet no less than the Barcelona Pavilion, the first among Le Corbusier's exhibition buildings, the *Pavillon de L'Esprit Nouveau* at the *Exposition des Arts Décoratifs* in Paris, 1925 is a signal building for modern architecture altogether (figure 4). A similar claim can be made for the *Pavillon des Temps Nouveaux* which was built at the Paris World's Fair, 1937, and thus coincides in time and place with the Pavilion of the Spanish Republic. Not by coincidence, it was another world's fair, Brussels International Exhibition of 1958, that provoked a singularly extravagant variation of long forgotten themes of architectural expressionism, anticipating the neo–expressionist fantasies of the 1990s. As with the *Pavillon des Temps Nouveaux*, the Fair once again served as a trigger for a phenomenal display of imagery: what had been previously stored as a *musée imaginaire* in books was turned into spectacle. By the time the Philips Pavilion opened, Le Corbusier (assisted

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by the composer Yannis Xenakis) had redefined the program in such a way as to appear as the sole author of the operation, filling the aluminum-clad "stomach"-building with an audio-visual spectacle that mixes atomic age science-fiction with the existential anxieties of naked man (figure 5).

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Grand Tourism, Museum, and Mass Culture

Beatriz Colomina has reminded us that modern architecture was first of all a giant media operation – like war. And that, perhaps, Le Corbusier's *Œuvre complète* is more real as a series of books (as a "*boîte-en-valise*", to evoke Duchamp), than as a reality in space and time. Decades earlier, Marshall McLuhan had insisted that, following the dynamic of the "Gutenberg Galaxy", a 'new' medium has no choice but to begin its life cycle by incorporating the form and the contents of the previous one.[1] If McLuhan is right, Le Corbusier's energy as a mass-multiplicator of concepts and forms, was all the more formidable as it was based on an almost boundless live-stock of raw materials pertaining to traditional "art".

It is proverbial that young Charles-Édouard Jeanneret despised architects and cherished the idea of becoming a painter, thoroughly frustrated by the master's verdict "just draw, that's enough." Gaining familiarity with the universe of 'art' had been the prime incentive behind the Grand Tour, the series of voyages undertaken during the formative years (1907-1917). When Le Corbusier visited Florence and Venice in 1907, at the age 20, he not merely experienced as an observer the birth pangs of the by now universal trend towards subjecting art, industry, and ultimately even religion to the logic of tourism, spectacle, and entertainment. As a visitor to these sites, as a collector of objects and postcards, as a commentator of the things seen, he was part of this process – unwillingly, but ingeniously. In such a way, he practiced tourism as an authentic art form, producing sketches, watercolors and photographs of the sites and of museums visited along the way that could easily fill a small museum – and that in fact filled many of his books.

In a McLuhan-ite sense, this stock of imagery only waited to be channeled into other media, architecture being just one of them. Anyone might have predicted that once Jeanneret had ran into Amédée Ozenfant, a painter and a notorious art critic and publicist, the two would found a magazine – which is exactly what happened a few months afterwards. The result was probably the most far-reaching re-conceptualization of architecture and life style as a media operation that was ever undertaken.

***L'Esprit Nouveau* and Life-Style Marketing**

With the concept of the "ready made", i.e. by redefining art as a question of context and display, and thus, ultimately, as a technique of *exhibition*, Marcel Duchamp can be said to have subverted the aesthetic culture of his time. *L'Esprit Nouveau* had no such radicalism on its mind, yet it knew how to exploit the paradigm pragmatically as an editorial technique and how to re-insert it into the everyday. Browsing through the title pages of Le Corbusier's articles in *L'Esprit Nouveau*, one is first of all confronted with materials that echo earlier fascinations with industry, folklore, and high art. Amplified by techniques of journalistic abstraction, slapstick, and slang, these images both exploit, serve and parody the everyday of the marketplace Critics were driven crazy by the visual jargon of these demonstrations

The House as Museum

Given the *Esprit Nouveau's* interest in art and in the culture of museums, it comes as no surprise that Le Corbusier's first important commission in Paris was literally an exhibition building – in fact a home defined as a private museum. As if by chance, this building – i.e. the Maison La Roche-Jeanneret (1923-1924) – today is the home of the institution that preserves and also promotes Le Corbusier's heritage, the Fondation Le Corbusier (figure 6). Thus it is both an exhibit and an archive, a museum and a library as well as an art gallery. Only its original purpose as a house fell by the wayside.

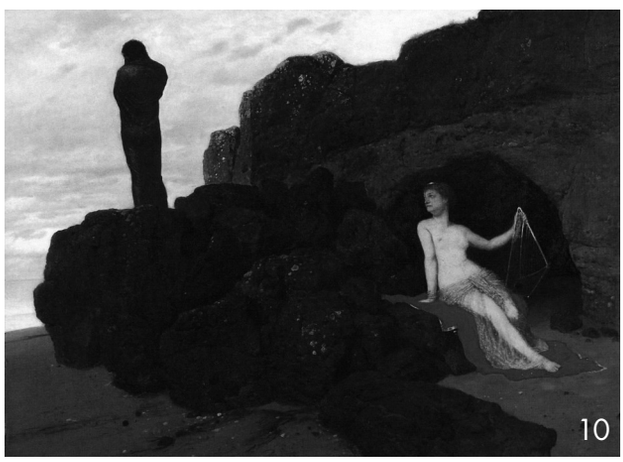
Once La Roche had agreed to let Le Corbusier and Pierre Jeanneret design a house for his collection (which itself had been partly gathered by Le Corbusier and Ozenfant), the ambition was obviously to arrive at something more than a neutral envelope. In fact, with the La

Figure 5. **Le Corbusier**, "*Poème électronique*", Philips Pavilion, Brussels World Fair, 1958.

Figure 6. **Le Corbusier** and **Pierre Jeanneret**, La Roche House, Paris, 1923-1924. View of the gallery wing with paintings by **Ozenfant**, **Picasso** and **Gris** from Raoul La Roche's collection. Photo by Fred Boissonas (Fondation Le Corbusier, Paris).

Figure 7. **Fernand Léger**, "Le Profile" as presented on a wall in Le Corbusier's apartment at Rue Nungesser-et-Coli, c. 1934.

Figure 8. **Giorgio De Chirico**, "Two Masks", oil on canvas, 1916. Private Collection.



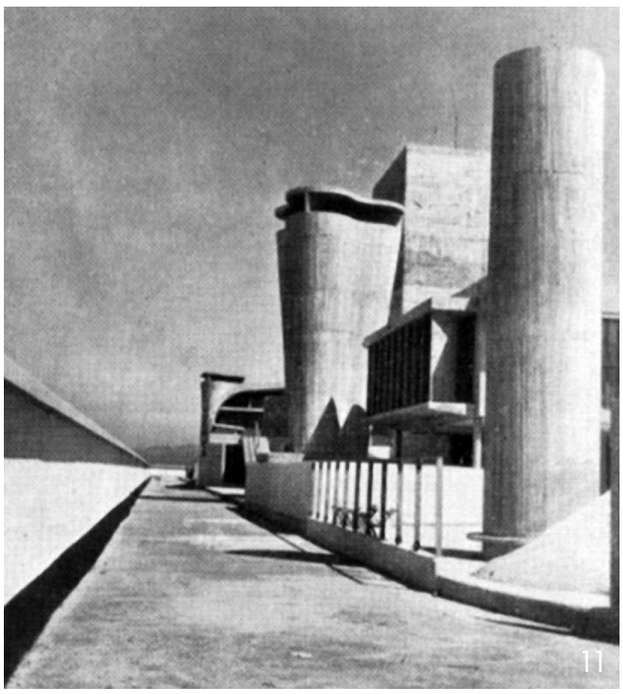


Figure 9. **Le Corbusier** and **Pierre Jeanneret**, Plan Obus for Algiers, 1931–1932.
Original model photograph. Fondation Le Corbusier, Paris.

Figure 10. **Arnold Böcklin**, *Odysseus and Calypso*, 1883. Kunstmuseum Basel.

Figure 11. **Le Corbusier**, Unité d'Habitation, Marseilles, 1947–1953. Roof garden.
Photo by Lucien Hervé; Fondation Le Corbusier, Paris.

Roche House a complicated process of trans–disciplinary cross–pollinations, adaptations and incorporations began to infiltrate Le Corbusier's work as an architect, a process that involved painting as well as sculpture, and that reached considerably beyond the morphological code of purism. In an often quoted letter to his architect, La Roche later described the resulting dilemma, a predicament which could be said to have remained at the heart of museum architecture ever since:

> *Remember the origin of my undertaking: 'La Roche, when one owns as superb a collection of art as yours, one must build a house which is worthy of it.' And my answer: 'Very well, Jeanneret, build me that house.' But, what has happened? The house once finished was so beautiful that when I saw it, I cried out to myself. 'It's almost a crime to put paintings in it.' I put them in anyway. Could I have done anything but? Do I not have certain obligations to my painters, of whom you are one, by the way?*

And he continues:

> *I ordered a 'framework for my collection.' You made me a 'poem of walls'. Which of the two of us has been the most to blame?*

The Select–and–Arrange principle

The La Roche House can be said to have freed the painter in the architect. The morphological analogies between an early floor plan for the La Roche House, drawn in 1923, and a painting like "*Nature morte verticale*", done at about the same time, meet the eye. The nature of its program, the scale, the complicated situation at the end of a cul–de–sac allowed the entire project to be defined in consonance with pictorial themes that range from his own practice as a purist painter to the geometries of *De Stijl*. In its double nature as a fair installation and as part of a virtual *immeuble villa*, the *Pavillon de L'Esprit Nouveau*, in turn, is essentially a box (built 1925). No way to make it look like a guitar! Here, the dialogue

between the arts needed to be organized in terms of a different, and, as it turned out, a more aggressive code. The selection of Léger's "Le Balustre" is no coincidence. In "Le Balustre", Léger has made the tension between object and frame, fragment and organic whole, exhibit and exhibition space the subject of his art. It is the "exhibition value" of the object shown that counts, not its formal complicity with the architectural envelope. Thus exhibited on the empty wall like a quote, "Le Balustre" is an architectural impresa.

Arthur Rüegg has shown how Le Corbusier used the houses and apartments he lived in as a testing ground for the relative techniques of object display.[2] More often than not, however, privacy and publicity overlap or even programmatically coincide – such as when La Roche or the Steins invite the photographer to their house. Or when the architect himself uses his newly built studio space at Rue Nungesser–et–Coli as a showroom for "les arts dits primitifs dans la maison d'aujourd'hui."[3] To select and arrange the art in terms of harmony and contrast, order and surprise is the core of Le Corbusier's installation art. It is also the curatorial principle of composition that connects the world of the painted still life to that of the lived–in home (figure 7).

Synthesis...

'Synthesis' is a key concept in Le Corbusier's system of ideas. The term appears in the opening sentence of the introduction to the first issue of *L'Esprit Nouveau*: "There exists a new spirit: it is a spirit of construction and synthesis guided by a clear concept." "Synthesis" here stands for a way of thinking and, by implication, the spirit of an entire era – and not primarily for the idea of the total work of art, the *Gesamtkunstwerk*, comprising painting and sculpture under the *aegis* of architecture. However, these meanings change over time, revealing entirely different intellectual and visual paradigms, some of them pertaining to Le Corbusier's formative years, including his roots in architectural transcendentalism. If, as Le Corbusier so often suggests in his work as well as in his writing, the task is to bring the physical environment of modern society in harmony with the eternal and universal laws of nature; then the problem is to identify and organize these laws in a way that would make them applicable to all design problems. This Ruskinian project would later lead Le Corbusier into areas of Gestalt psychology, mathematics and the theory of proportions. And it would ultimately culminate in the Modulor system.

It is interesting to note that by the time Le Corbusier's year–long theoretical speculation on systems of proportion was finally codified in the *Modulor* (published 1948), the terms "synthesis" and "unity" were again directed toward the visual arts. In lectures given from 1935 onwards "synthesis" meant bringing together painting and sculpture under the *aegis* of architecture. Yet, rubbing shoulders with other artists was not Le Corbusier's primary interest. Rather, it was the dialogue with his own various selves, i.e. the possible transfers, transactions, reciprocal invigorations and compensations among the artistic practices he had engaged in himself what fascinated most. The process as such had begun with purism. By 1928 already, in Rio, and later with the Plan Obus for Algiers, the "synthesis" by inter–textual resonance had begun to involve urbanism (figure 9). The 1938 exhibition at the Kunsthaus in Zurich had provided the first museum survey of the "*Œuvre plastique*".

The placement of a giant mural called "*Femme et Coquillage*" at the end of the architect's studio at 35 Rue de Sèvres, in 1948, was thus a mere consecration of a trend that had indeed begun two decades earlier. From now on, the morphological transactions between architecture, painting and sculpture can be considered as Le Corbusier's trade mark, so that in the fourth volume of the *Œuvre complète*, covering the war years (1938–1946), painting and sculpture are for the first time included as part of the work.

...and Cannibalism

A large collection of statements and programmatic utterances have paved the way ever since:

> *Il n'y a pas de sculpteurs seuls, peintres seuls, d'architectes seuls. L'événement plastique s'accomplit dans une forme une au service de la poésie.*

Or:

> *Je suis un acrobate de la forme, créateur de formes, joueur avec les formes. Les formes, moyen d'exprimer toute l'émotion plastique. La forme, expression et style de la pensée.* (1953).

And, developing further the theme of the acrobat:

> *Un acrobate n'est pas un pantin. Il consacre son existence à une activité par laquelle, en danger de mort permanent, il réalise des gestes hors série, aux limites de la difficulté, et dans la rigueur de l'exactitude, de la ponctualité... quitte à se rompre le cou, à se briser les os, à s'assommer.*[4] (1958)

Oscillating between shop–talk and poetic metaphor, such statements refer to varying situations and interests and therefore resist a kind of rationalization that would make them applicable as recipes. Their purpose, primarily, is to elevate and to mystify.

Architecture, autobiography, myth

The roof terrace of the Unité d'Habitation in Marseilles and the Ronchamp Chapel illustrate best what was at stake. The long pre-history of the Unité d'Habitation in utopian thought includes the archetype of the monastery as re-defined by Charles Fourier in the early nineteenth century. We do not know if Le Corbusier was familiar with the bird's eye view of Phalanstère proposed by Victor Considérant in 1841 that defines the roof of the "palais socétaire dédié à l'humanité" as a wide-open terrace. It is hardly a coincidence, however, that the *Unité* follows an analogous agenda: the number of inhabitants – approximately 1,60 – and the principle of the *rue galerie* located half way up the building appear to be directly taken over from Fourier.

Of course, what strikes more than the analogy of the program is the formal difference between the two projects. Compared to Considérant's vision of a totally empty surface defined solely by its parapet, Le Corbusier's concept looks confused. Much of that effect results from the structural and functional possibilities of a slab-shaped, multistory reinforced concrete housing block. Inevitably, the battery of ventilation shafts and elevator tower take up a considerable part of the roof space. Since the program further demanded a concrete box containing a kindergarten, a small labyrinth and a pool for the children as well as a *gymnasium* and a small open-air stage, the overall effect could only be messy.

Yet this "mess" is arguably one of the most moving sites of modern architecture (figure 11). Architecture, one would assume, is no medium for autobiographical reflection. The shape of a ventilation shaft, the casing of an elevator engine, a *gymnasium* or a child care center should be pretty much determined by their functions. None such appears to be the case here. Why do the ventilation towers emerge from box-shaped *podiums* in a way that makes them look like pieces of sculpture standing on their bases? Why do the conical ventilator shafts look like trunks of trees turned upside down, ending with a small slid from where one might ultimately get the panorama view that the parapet forbids us to take (or should one read them as gigantic false legs, as leftovers from an encounter of mythical *manichini* that have long disappeared)?

Seen genealogically, the prime reference for the ventilator shafts is most likely the curious periscope on the Beistégui roof terrace (all the more so, since the high walls that cut away the foreground also refer to that project). As to the *gymnasium* with its structurally 'unnecessary' keel. An archaizing reference to the high tech romanticism of the Ocean Liner which is in many ways the conceptual key to the Unité? A memory of the fishermen's barges at Arcachon, or of the ship that carried Ulysses, perhaps Le Corbusier's alter ego, across the Aegean sea, cut to half and turned turtle? At the edge of the architectural still life of the roof terrace stands a single chimney, 'fluted' with the profile of narrow shuttering boards and thus defined as an archaic column.

Gratuitous speculations? Le Corbusier's antiquarian interests are well known. No less than 29 (twenty-nine!) illustrations showing the Parthenon had been included in *Vers une architecture* (1923). In 1955, he began working on a cycle of illustrations for the *Iliad*, taking a paperback edition of the *Iliad* with illustrations by John Flaxman as a point of departure. Subsequently, some of the drawings were erased or at least partly covered and made invisible by his own representations of the events sung by Homer. "Not a single sign of life. Homer is assassinated," is all he has to say of Flaxman's drawings.

The first page depicts the muse who sings the anger of Achilles. In Flaxman's work, the muse sits politely, wrapped up in her *peplos*, across from the blind Homer who is playing the lyre, as she is too. But Homer sits at the feet of a grave stele, designated by its helmet as that of Achilles. Le Corbusier shows the muse naked, her thighs open, crouching on a big rock and singing her lamentation with her head thrown back. The yellow stone on which she sits relates to self-portraits that depict Le Corbusier as a rock.

Whereas here he appears to identify with Achilles, elsewhere in the *Iliad* the architect turns to Sarpedon, Zeus's son. Flaxman shows the dead hero being returned above the clouds to his homeland by Hypnos and Thanatos, the gods of Sleep and Death. Alluding to some academic honors just received in New York, Le Corbusier notes: "1961, 30 April + return from N York, Gold Medal + Dr.H.C., Human letters." In such way, Homer is chosen as the platform for a reckoning with neoclassicism while also offering a somewhat self-indulgent perspective upon his own destiny as a hero of modernity.

At the moment when the dissolution and re-arrangement of ancient disciplinary boundaries that used to define painting and sculpture in their relation to architecture has become an accepted fact, the sculpture garden on the roof terrace of the Unité sends out a disquieting message, both highly personal and potentially universal. "Born in furor" (as Gérard Monnier aptly put it),[5] the building seems imbued with archaic myths, restituted through the force of desire and destiny: storm is in the air, and a smell of blood and vengeance – not unlike in many of Arnold Böcklin's paintings (and what would the *pittura metafisica* be without Böcklin? (figures 8, 10) Yet, even though the bio-morphic geometries of the roof terrace still reverberate with ancient memories, there is obviously

no simple key to decipher them. Barge, column, stage, the organoid form of a tree trunk that embodies a memory of human form: like in Le Corbusier's painting, it is the layering of forms as such, their 'automatic' interaction in time and space, "devoid of any visible link" that creates the mystery and the crude poetry of the situation.

What arguably strikes even more from a present viewpoint than the richness and complexity of the interdisciplinary transactions and resonances displayed in the Unité and – perhaps even more so in the Ronchamp Chapel – is the fact that they so clearly stop short of the post-modern "blob". Even compared to the architectural dreams of expressionism, the "free style" of Notre-Dame-du-Haut remains controlled by a set of criteria that define it as distinctly architectural: i.e. grounded in notions like wall, window, roof, and symmetry. The Chapel as a whole may echo the sculpture of Gabo and Pevsner, and its south façade does look distinctly Mondrianesque. Yet, the specificity of the artistic disciplines involved is respected: architecture (in its dialog with the hill and as revealed by the hovering roof), painting (the stained glass, the enamel door), sculpture (the crucifix, the seventeenth-century Madonna): everything is emphasized as belonging to the tradition of its genre. Were his performance not tied in such a way to archetypal notions of 'earthwork' and 'roofwork', e.g. to established, indeed Semperian categories of the art of building, the geste hors série might have cost the acrobat's neck.

*Revised version of a talk given at the Residencia de Estudiantes, Madrid, in 2009. I am grateful to Horacio Torrent for his editorial suggestions regarding the present essay, and to the Residencia de Estudiantes for the occasion to reconsider some earlier ideas on Le Corbusier and the 'Synthesis of the Arts', and in particular those exposed with the necessary bibliographical references in *Le Corbusier. Elements of a Synthesis*, revised and enlarged edition (Rotterdam: 010 Publishers, 2009), 264-321; and in my introduction to Alexander von Vegesack and Mateo Kries (eds.), *Le Corbusier. The Art of Architecture* (exhibition catalog), (Weil am Rhein: Vitra Design Museum, 2007), 61-99. Among recent studies of the 'Synthesis of the Arts' in general see in particular Joan Ockman, "A Plastic Epic: The Synthesis of the Arts Discourse in France in the Mid-Twentieth Century," in Eeva-Llisa Pelkonen and Esa Laaksonen (eds.), *Architecture + Art: New Visions, New Strategies* (Helsinki: Alvar Aalto Academy, 2007), 30:61; and Romy Golan, *Muralnomad. The Paradox of Wall-Painting*, Europe, 1927-1965 (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 2009). For the broader implications of the 'exhibitionary syndrome' in terms of twentieth century architecture see Beatriz Colomina, "The Exhibitionist House," in Richard Koshalek and Elizabeth A.T. Smith (eds.), *At the End of the Century: One Hundred Years of Architecture* (Los Angeles: Museum of Contemporary Art; New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1998), 126-165.

Notes

1 Marshall McLuhan, *The Gutenberg Galaxy* (Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 1962).

2 In an essay published in Alexander von Vegesack and Mateo Kries (eds.), *Le Corbusier: The Art of Architecture* (Weil am Rhein: Vitra Design Museum, 2007).

3 "So-called primitive arts in the house of today."

4 Le Corbusier, *Textes et Planches* (Paris: Vincent Fréal, 1960).

5 Gérard Monnier, *Les Unités d'habitation en France* (Paris: Belin, 2002).

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