

# LC. #05

## ARTICLE INVITÉ



Le Corbusier. "Souvenir Turc Marmara". 1914. Mine, graphite, aquarelle, gouache sur papier à grain, 50x53 cm. FLC 4090b

**The Cat and the Ball of Yarn.**  
**Part II. The Appearance of Life and the Parable of an Oversigned Emblem.**  
*Susanna Caccia Gherardini and Carlo Olmo*

Le Corbusier. Villa Savoye.  
1984. FLC



# THE CAT AND THE BALL OF YARN PART II. THE APPEARANCE OF LIFE AND THE PARABLE OF AN OVERSIGNED EMBLEM

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**Abstract:** This second article covers the years 1980-1987 of the restoration of the Villa Savoye and of the literature on Le Corbusier, after the Fondation Le Corbusier opened to the public in 1970 and it allowed scholars such as Stanislaus von Moos, Gresleri, Carlo Olmo, Tim Benton, Jean-Louis Cohen and many others to study and write about. Another decisive initiative was the publication of the 32 volumes of Garland Le Corbusier, which made access to the drawings even easier. On the other hand, the restoration of the villa, conducted by Yvan Gury, also through innovative choices of investigation and survey on the subject, continued as an extraordinary maintenance work on the villa. The point of arrival that marks, even symbolically, the separation between the two paths is the centenary year, (1987) with a galaxy of initiatives that perhaps also marked the end of a way of discussing between architectural historians. On the other hand, the taking charge of the restoration of the villa by Jean-Louis Véret, who began with a traditional document, which he transformed into an authentic Chinese box, the *Carnet d'identité*, resolutely posed the problem of authority of those who worked on a sursigné building such as the Savoye villa. Not only that, but the article also constitutes a sketch of a *prosography* of the historians who, through Le Corbusier and the Savoye villa, built their legitimacy as historians of modern architecture, in fact.

**Keywords:** *Villa Savoye, Restoration Historiography, Gury/Véret, Reception History, Critics on document and sources*

**Résumé:** Ce deuxième article couvre les années 1980-1987 des événements de la Villa Savoye et de la littérature sur Le Corbusier, après l'ouverture de la Fondation au public en 1970, elle a permis à des universitaires tels que Stanislaus von Moos, Carlo Olmo, Tim Benton, Jean-Louis Cohen et bien d'autres d'étudier et écrire sur Le Corbusier et la villa. Une autre initiative décisive comme la publication des 32 volumes de Garland Le Corbusier, a rendu l'accès aux dessins encore plus facile. D'autre part, la restauration de la villa, menée par Yvan Gury, également à travers des choix novateurs d'investigation et d'enquête sur le sujet, a poursuivi un travail d'entretien extraordinaire de la villa. Le point d'arrivée qui marque, même symboliquement, la séparation entre les deux voies de recherche, est l'année du centenaire, (1987) avec une pléiade d'initiatives qui ont peut-être aussi marqué la fin d'une manière de discuter entre historiens de l'architecture. En revanche, la prise en charge de la restauration de la villa par Jean-Louis Véret, qui a commencé par un document traditionnel, qu'il a transformé en une authentique boîte chinoise, le *Carnet d'identité*, a résolument posé le problème de l'autorité de ceux qui est intervenu sur un immeuble sursigné tel que la villa Savoye. Non seulement cela, mais l'article constitue aussi une esquisse d'une prosographie des historiens qui, à travers Le Corbusier et la villa Savoye, ont construit leur légitimité comme... historiens de l'architecture moderne, en fait.

**Mots-clé:** *Villa Savoye, Historiographie de la Restauration, Gury/Véret, Histoire de la réception, Critique sur le document et les sources.*

**Resumen:** Este segundo artículo cubre los años 1980-1987 de la restauración de la Villa Savoye y de la bibliografía sobre Le Corbusier, después de la apertura de la Fondation Le Corbusier al público en 1970, que permitió a estudiosos como Stanislaus von Moos, Carlo Olmo, Tim Benton, Jean-Louis Cohen y muchos otros estudiar y escribir sobre Le Corbusier y la villa. Otra iniciativa decisiva fue la publicación de los 32 volúmenes de Garland Le Corbusier, que facilitó aún más el acceso a los dibujos. Por otra parte, la restauración de la villa, llevada a cabo por Yvan Gury, también a través de opciones innovadoras de investigación e indagación sobre el tema, ha sido continuada por un extraordinario trabajo de mantenimiento de la villa. El punto de llegada que marca, incluso simbólicamente, la separación entre las dos líneas de investigación es el año del centenario (1987) con una plétora de iniciativas que quizás también marcaron el fin de una forma de discutir entre los historiadores de la arquitectura. Por otra parte, la asunción por parte de Jean-Louis Véret de la responsabilidad de la restauración de la villa, que partió de un documento tradicional, que transformó en una auténtica caja china, el *Carnet d'identité*, planteó decididamente el problema de la autoridad de quienes intervenían en un edificio sobrefirmado como la Villa Savoye. No sólo eso, sino que el artículo constituye también el esbozo de una *prosografía* de los historiadores que, a través de Le Corbusier y de la Villa Savoye, han construido su legitimidad como... historiadores de la arquitectura moderna, de hecho.

**Palabras clave:** *Villa Savoye, Historiografía de la Restauración, Gury/Véret, Historia de la recepción, Crítica del documento y Fuentes.*



**FIG. 1**  
1. Villa Savoye, 1984. FLC

The threads that this second article weaves make us take a few little steps backwards. As in any story that starts to appear like an investigation, time is never linear. Likewise, “evidence,” the central feature of our being scholars and scientists, is not always to be found where we look for it and where we want it to be.

### **Matter takes paper to task**

When Yvan Gury entered the scene, his restoration had to take on a villa that had already been subjected to a *remise en état* and had fallen back into oblivion, to an interpretation of its authenticity that Dubuisson had given it, and to the ambiguity between faithfulness and archeological investigation that the renovation of the villa was to carry along with it until 1986, when the restoration was passed on to Véret. (Fig. 1)

Once the work was finished, the villa was still closed, unprotected, lacking caretaker service, and destined for a new type of “abandonment.” In July 1971, the ministerial office complained: “que certaines peintures intérieure et des plâtreries récemment terminée accusent déjà des signes de dégradation”<sup>1</sup>. They insisted on the urgent need to begin new waterproofing work on the terrace. A second Chinese box, that of Dubuisson, began to reveal what kind of metamorphosis the villa was going through: morphing from icon of the modern to privileged site of a potential archeology of the modern. The first layer, the Chinese box, was Le Corbusier’s project for a new purpose for the villa. The second Chinese box was the transformation of matter. The matter in question was no longer the *villa in blanche*, but the villa colored ocher.

The renovation work that started in the 1960s ended up stretching out almost without any interruption into the 1970s in a circular scansion of time. Then the *travaux d’entretien*<sup>2</sup> were taken over and done by Yvan Gury, *architecte en chef des bâtiments civils et palais nationaux*<sup>3</sup>, the immediate successor of Jean Dubuisson.

Gury’s nomination to take over the first batch of work dates from the first months of 1970<sup>4</sup>. As the September 25 1970 program reveals, the work mainly consisted in the redefinition of the outer pathway, the reopening of the solarium for visitors, and in the canalization and organization of the park<sup>5</sup>. However, the programmed work did not seem to have started until the beginning of 1971. As seen before, the Ministry urged several times that the work be done. It urged Gury to draft a general project about the villa, limited only to the most urgent work in that first phase. The Ministry had sent a letter to the regional conservator earlier, on June 30, which contained an interesting note cataloging the work that had been done up to the time.

The conservator’s answer to the Ministry alluded to the decision to appoint Gury for the restoration work that was to be done in the months to follow. As we could see from the minutes taken during the inspections, Gury had, in any case, been active on the worksite along with his father-in-law, Jean-Baptiste Hourlier, in whose studio he was working<sup>6</sup>. At least in first phases of Gury’s control, Hourlier seemed to have substituted or assisted him in managing the work and had already appeared, almost like a ghost, during the first, complex period of the *remise en état*.

Circularity is indeed an ambiguous concept. As we can gather beginning with the appointment of Besset as executor of Le Corbusier’s legacy, the Villa Savoye was a place of “returns.” Hourlier returned there. He had at first helped Dubuisson during the work on the survey of the villa. Véret returned there. As seen in the book published in 2015, he was present from the time of Ahmenabad, then during the first renovation as an authentic discussant of the work. The businessman Bertocchi returned there as well as did almost all of the historians that dealt with the villa<sup>7</sup>. There was circularity even in the work that was done. All these people all started off from an a-priori premise— i.e., that even a mistake was authentic. They did this by laying the epistemic bases of the circularity – i.e. repetition<sup>8</sup>.

Yvan Gury, *architecte en chef des bâtiments civils et des palais nationaux*, came to his assignment as conservator of the villa after an intense period of work, especially with his father-in-law Hourlier, on educational complexes and HLM buildings in the region of Paris from 1956 to 1963.

The problems that had to be solved were always the same, reiterated, and faced in various installments by all the architects that were assigned there. In fact, Yvan Gury handled the conservation of the building from 1970 until the worksite was handed over to his *confrère* Véret a good 16 years later. It is exactly in the letter of the transmission of materials that there was a summary list of the types of work on the villa, park, and the *loge du jardinier*<sup>9</sup> that was being done in various steps

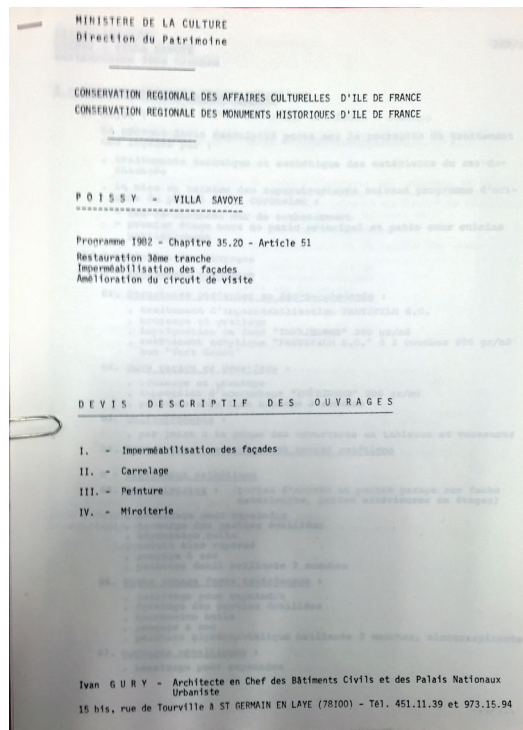
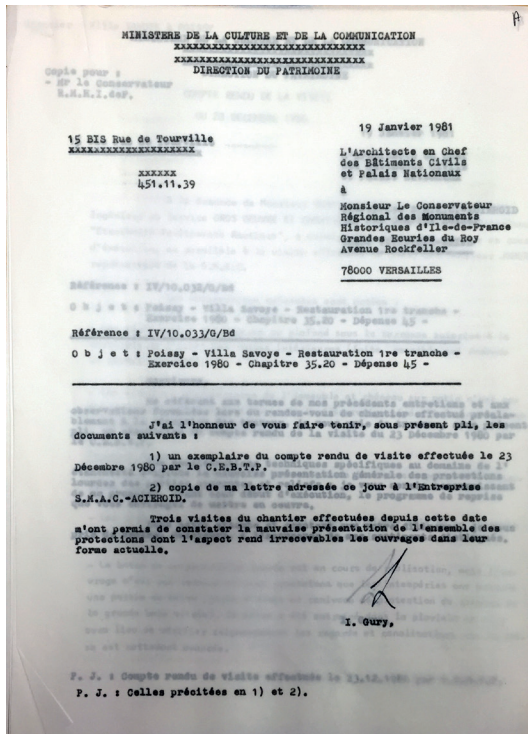
This typewritten letter of transmission informed us that the joint inspection for the turning-over of the villa had been held a few days previously on May 27 1986. This was followed by the turning over of the documents that had been agreed upon. Among these was a series of archival documents relating to the restoration -*liste des intervenants, comptes rendus de chantier, liste de plans, plan de masse, plans des menuiseries extérieures, plans de plomberie, plans d'électricité*- and documents from personal dossiers. We can see how there were axonometric designs, drawings and photographs that had been already transferred from Le Corbusier to Dubuisson. All of these migrated, enriching themselves by more papers in the archive of Véret. Thus there is something added to this circular process of restoration – a quasi-stratigraphic construction of the “dossier,” of the document of the villa. When we read through the dossiers preserved in Gury's archives, the aspect that struck us the most is the repetition of the same types of work: the reworking of the painting (which provoked the arguments with the Fondation about the exact choice of colors), the work of waterproofing, the organization of the outside areas (with the demolition and new planting of various species of trees), the simplification of the water system as well as the recovery of the fixtures, flooring, and plaster work. All this illustrates that there had been no discussion of the a priori premises upon which Gury's *entretien vigilante* were based.

There were types of intervention that stretched on in time, above all those aimed at solving the problem of water infiltration on the roofing and the peeling of paint. This was caused partially by the thermal expansion of materials – reinforced concrete and brick patchwork – a phenomenon that more and more often led to the renovation of the underlying bases. This was a coming together of problems, projects, and interventions that would never have an effect in the *temporalité* of the villa. Meanwhile, the work slowly and inevitably degraded in spite of the fact that important research institutes were called on to help.

A rather precise idea of the state of degradation that the villa was in was, in fact, furnished by a report on the “*causes des désordres observés dans la construction*” prepared by the CEBTP<sup>10</sup>. It is useless to emphasize that the term *désordre* was used and that it was connected to the key word of all these issues: the mistake that should not exist in a work that was iconic (and not only so) and that was legitimized by a myth of a return to the origins. This was a mistake that displaced the actions of Le Corbusier himself, who tried to manipulate the nature of the ruins of the villa. This was a displacement that was revealed by Le Guyader, the busybody neighbor, during the first restoration and in the switch to a scientific approach to the restoration worksite during the second restoration. (Fig. 2)

We can understand the diagnostic investigation commissioned by Gury better by reading the estimate he sent about a year earlier to seek approval from the ministerial offices. Here, there were detailed lists of the items of study requested<sup>11</sup>. The term *désordres* was an invasion of a new word into the already complex vocabulary that went along with the history of the villa's restoration. These *désordres* could be attributed mainly to the infiltration of water and movement in the structure<sup>12</sup>. The report affirmed in the introduction that the investigation assigned to Gury was justified because he needed to clarify what the processes of the degradation were and, above all, to fill gaps in knowledge about the structure of the work connected with the lack of documentation. Yet, this came after the archeological restoration of Dubuisson, and was the second passage that subjected the material to be calibrated according to knowledge and not knowledge to be calibrated according to the material.

In effect, there was a conscious intention to transmit sources and documents, as evidenced in the archive of Dubuisson and in its continuation with his successors. In this way, the architects were forced to work on a kind of originality of the villa that was reconstructed by its own author. This intension forced Gury in some way to start out from the work and not from the papers. Until at least the archive of Jean-Louis Véret, the documents



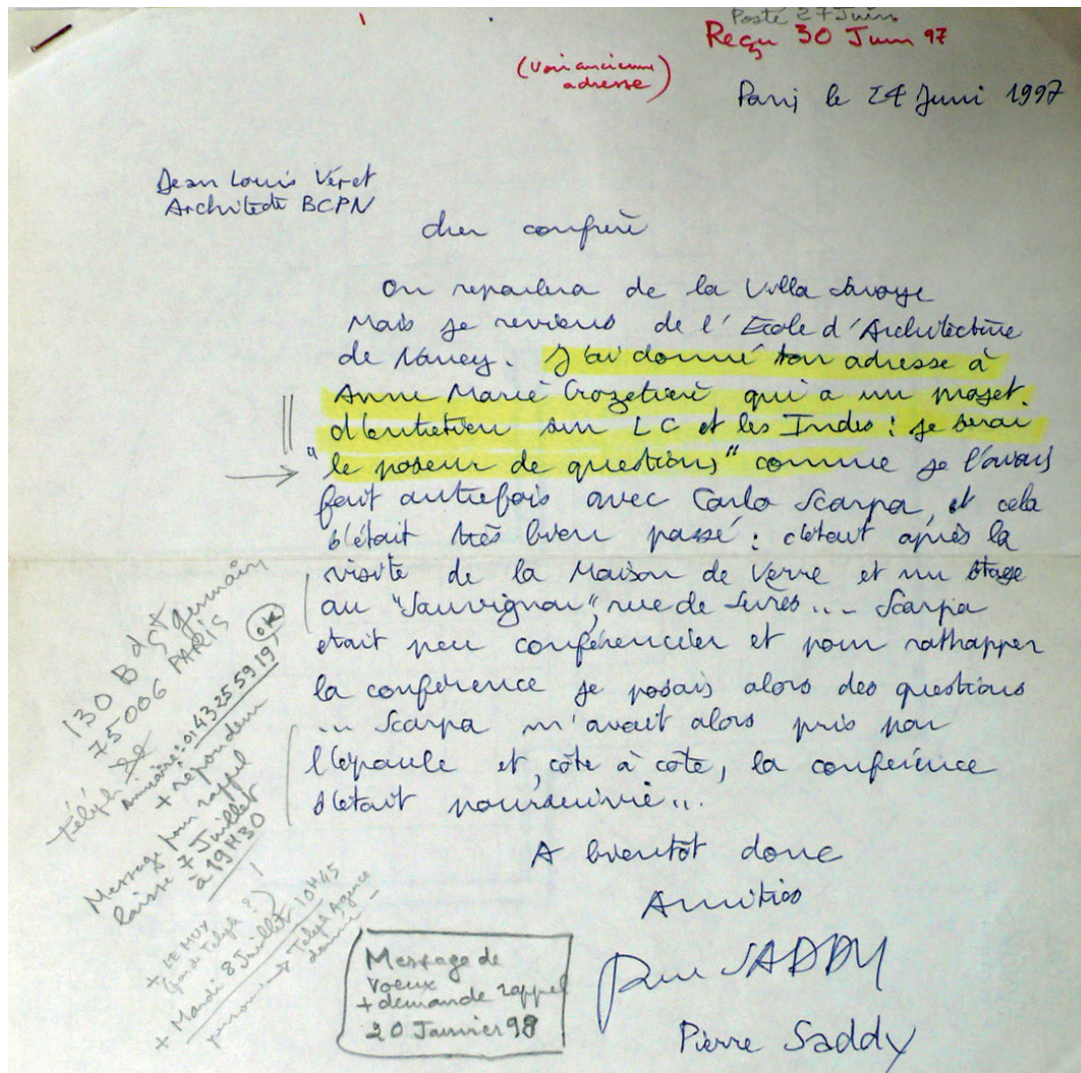
constituted the “fact”<sup>13</sup>. These were the documents which the decisions were based on and which the projects were constructed on. They were really stratifications of papers, a selection that started out from the designs of Le Corbusier’s atelier and passed through various surveys. These included the surveys of Jean Petit, the three students in the École des Beaux-Arts, Gardien and Yvan Gury’s studio as well as the papers drawn up for the *Carnet d’identité* of Véret’s studio, as we will see<sup>14</sup>. In other words, these sources are not just traces of intentions but real factors that building blocks of both the memory and the documentary proof that became the basis for the choices made on the worksite<sup>15</sup>. The report on the *causes des désordres observés* is a source that is essential for understanding the on-going change in the relationship between the architects – and not only them – and the building that was there. (Fig. 3)

The restoration of Villa Savoye took on an exemplary value that derived from the challenge over the values that every restoration brought along with itself and from the relationship *argumentation-proof* and the question of what field this relationship was to be played on. In this restoration project, we can already see ahead to those conflicts over interpretation that broke out right after the forms of reception changed<sup>16</sup> and right after the villa became a paradigm of that *legacy of the whites*<sup>17</sup>. This was something that was to mark the restoration itself, at least from the time that the main problem became that of the villa’s “skin” and hence its polychromy<sup>18</sup>. This is the framework in which a series of diagnostic analyses of the CEBTP<sup>19</sup> can be located, a framework that saw the two protagonists – documents and the historiography – change in an entirely different direction. (Fig. 4)

On the one hand, the new cycle of restoration was to be carried out at a time when new architectural theories and historiographies were emerging. On the other hand, a new methodological line of thinking was coming together in France that was more and more oriented towards a *retour all’origine* according to the tendencies of the *École de Chaillot*<sup>20</sup>. This was an invented tradition that even the *remise en état* guided by Gury was to conform to. (Besides, the invention of tradition was formalized by Hobsbawm and Ranger a few years later)<sup>21</sup>.

**FIG. 2**  
Lettre I. Gury à Le Conservateur Régional des Monuments Historiques d’Île de France, « sur la mauvaise présentation de l’ensemble de la Villa Savoye ». 19 Janvier 1981. *Fonds Hourlier*, IFA, Paris.

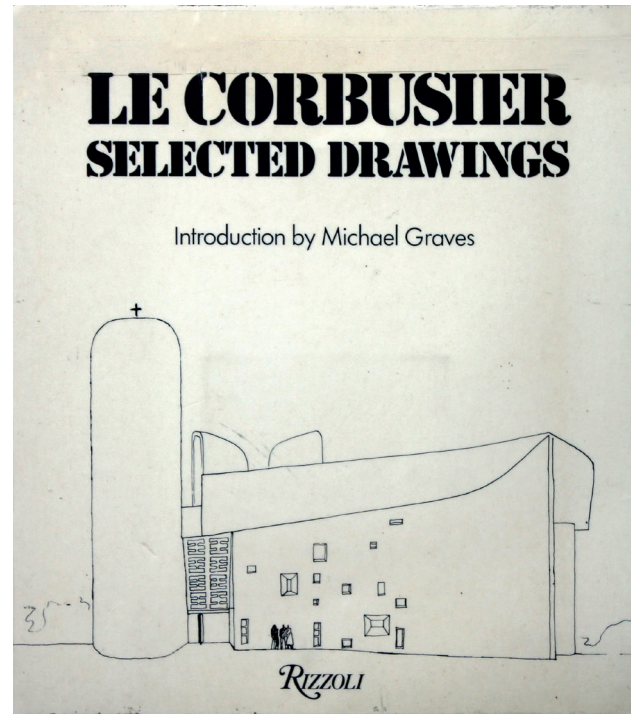
**FIG. 3**  
3.Ivan Gury. « Programme 1982. Restauration 3ème tranche ». 19 Janvier 1981. *Fonds Hourlier*, IFA, Paris



**FIG. 4**  
Lettre de P. Saddy à  
J.L.Véret, 24 juin 1987,  
Fonds Véret. IFA. Paris.

This was the way that restoration projects and partial repairs followed one another. There were those that began in 1983 and went on until 1986. There were the discussions about giving the building a real function that went until the definition of un projet d'adaptation pour l'utilisation comme lieu de réunions et de conférences qui ne sera pas exécuté and, above all, for the remise à neuf des peintures for the occasion of the centennial of Le Corbusier's birth in 1987<sup>22</sup>. In the 1980s Gury made proposals for the réutilisation of the villa and the possible construction of a pavillon de service. His project called for the opening of the complex to the public, potentially making the park available for temporary exhibits, the mounting of a permanent exhibit of the works of Le Corbusier in the spaces of the villa, which would be appropriately re-conceived, the gathering of the archives about Villa Savoye, and the possible organization of meetings and conferences<sup>23</sup>. The work projects that could not help but set off disputes about the choices to be made were those about the "skin" of the villa, disputes mainly among Jean Jenger, then director of the Fondation, Yvan Gury and Christian Pattyn, directeur du Patrimoine<sup>24</sup>. For example, in July 1983, Jean Jenger wrote Pattyn to point out the abominations committed at Villa Savoye during the travaux de remise en état general<sup>25</sup>.





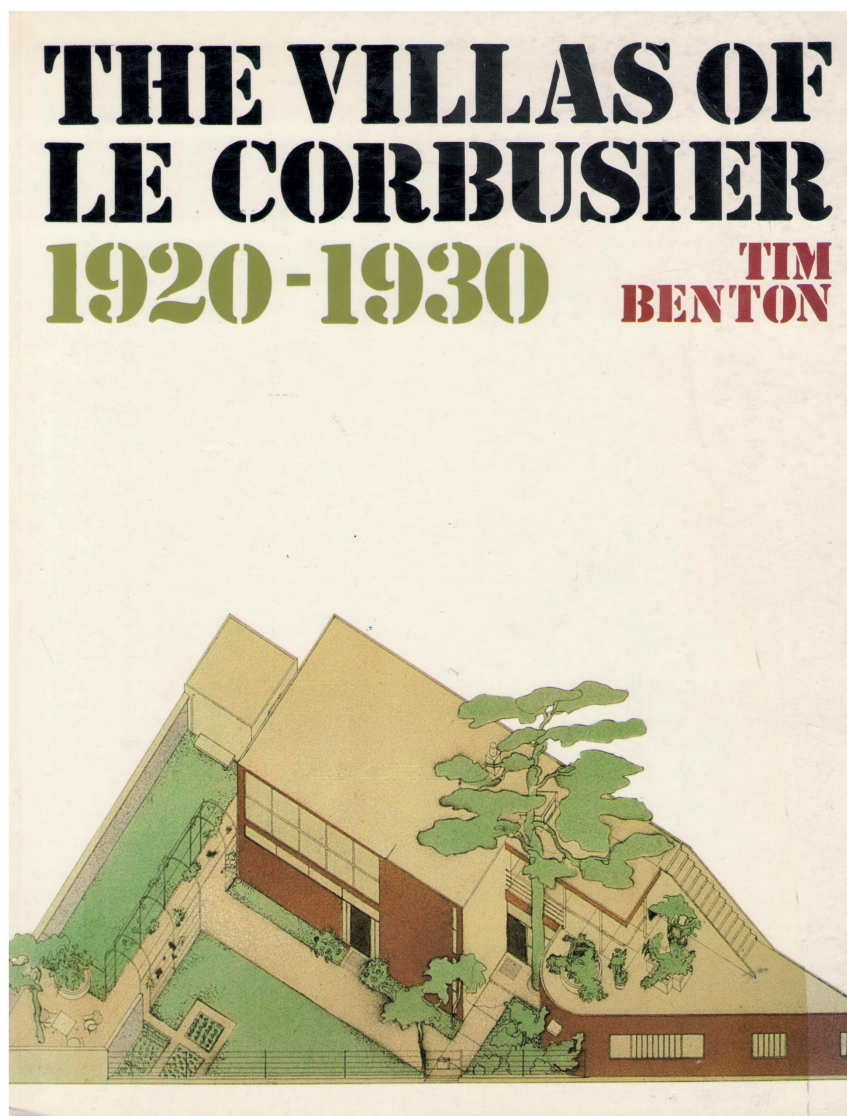
In particular, the *compte rendu* of October 13 1983 (*travaux de remise en état, et suggestion d'utilisation*) clearly brought out the issues at hand: first, all the interventions that were *en opposition flagrante avec l'architecture de Le Corbusier*; second, as always, the choice of *teintes exactes*<sup>26</sup>. The disagreements stretched out to include disagreements over the elements of the finishings, especially disputes over the *Fondation's* request to apply a smooth coating, an *enduit lisse*. This request was rejected mainly because it cost too much and because the patrimony direction chose a larger-grained *enduit*, supposedly with this advantage: "*d'atténuer dans une proportion notable les imperfections des maçonneries*". All the vocabulary of this dispute should be examined. Are there abominations in the restoration proposals? Are there exact colors? Can you smooth over imperfections without intervening in the archetype?

During this period of time, the destination of the villa was identified as that of a "*lieu de visite et d'exposition consacré à Le Corbusier*", also in view of the centennial of Le Corbusier's birth<sup>27</sup>. Meanwhile, the building kept on being struck by its problems and, nevertheless, the image of the *villa-blanche-icon-of-modernity* was the one that kept on being imposed through a kind of reception that was guided through photography, one of the most persuasive tools. Photography<sup>28</sup> was here again the most effective tool for the esthetic patrimonial-ization of the villa, as, besides, it had been used by Le Corbusier in the first canonization of the Villa Savoye in 1930-31<sup>29</sup>.

This was a long process that ended up not scratching the surface, the material facies of Villa Savoye. Nevertheless, in 1986, the facies still remained that of a "*monument abandonné, inaccessible et peu fréquenté*"<sup>30</sup>. In as far as the villa was not "*en mauvais état, la villa n'est jamais dans un état impeccable... semble paradoxalement abandonné*"<sup>31</sup>. And so, again, the beat went on of the circular time of *restoration-ruin-forgetfulness-abandon*, which would open up to the work of the polyhedric Jean Louis Véret<sup>32</sup>. However, what was to happen in and around the villa would take many turns even before Véret would be able to take over and draft a document that would be basic for the history of the villa and also for the construction of the Savoye "fact"<sup>33</sup> – i.e., the *Carnet d'identité*<sup>34</sup> of November 1987.

**FIG. 5**  
A. Wogensky (ed.),  
Introduction Maurice Besset,  
*Le Corbusier Sketchbooks*  
1. 1914-1948, London :  
Thames and Hudson, 1981

**FIG. 6**  
Michael Graves, *Le*  
*Corbusier: selected*  
*drawings*, New York: Rizzoli,  
1981.



***Designs, papers and representations: philology and symbolic barriers***

Why can words generate une *apparence de vie*?<sup>35</sup> The process that turned the villa into an *apparence* was not an easy one and one that wove many levels together. What was being prepared at the beginning of the 1980s was the completion of processes and coming together of values that were outlined in the second half of the 1970s. The first and perhaps most relevant value involved the role of the *Fondation* and the complex issue of design as the almost exclusive document for the history of architecture, and not only contemporary architecture<sup>36</sup>. at the expense of other sources – such as the agendas and the *corrispondances* – that could have helped mitigate the formalism in the reception of the villa<sup>37</sup>. The 32 volumes of the Le Corbusier Archive published 1982-84<sup>38</sup> and the notebooks of sketches that began to be published in 1979 opened the way to a complex line of reasoning that involved historiography and other fields as well.

**FIG. 7**  
Tim Benton, *Les villas de Le Corbusier 1920-1930*.  
Philippe Sers, La Vilette, 1984.

What do the 32 volumes published by Garland represent? In an ironic review, Francesco Passanti presented them as raw material<sup>39</sup>. Certainly, the designs were raw material, those extracted from the microfiches of the *Fondation* and arranged by Roggio Andreini, a collaborator of the Rue de Sévres studio. They were raw material because they made up only one tenth of the documents present and therefore they were de-contextualized because they were in a complex order. The designs from before 1945 were even more complex because they juxtaposed several organizational schemes of the Le Corbusier atelier and these schemes changed over the years<sup>40</sup>. In addition, they included not only Le Corbusier's designs but those of the collaborators who came in and went out of the atelier. Even now these have not been entirely studied<sup>41</sup>. However, the operation was not really as raw as it seemed.

The *Fondation* conducted an operation that could be compared only to those of far-gone historical periods, an operation whose length had few rivals<sup>42</sup>. It legitimated itself not only as an archive but as the owner of Le Corbusier's identity and it did this through writings. Namely, there were a good 18 essays that prefaced more than half of the volumes<sup>43</sup>. The choice of the authors and topics made it clear that Alan Brooks, the curator of the entire project, had a very clear cultural policy in mind. The authors were striking for how old they were, where they came from, and what they represented – i.e. the logic of the legitimization of an institution, the *Fondation*<sup>44</sup>. There was a geography both cultural and geopolitical that was reinforced by the author-topic nexus. Thus, for example, André Wogensky was assigned the *Unité* in Marseilles “as a case study of the project method of Le Corbusier”<sup>45</sup>. Manfredo Tafuri was assigned the city in the works of Le Corbusier<sup>46</sup>. James Stirling wrote on Le Corbusier as domestic architect<sup>47</sup>. Charles Correa was assigned an essay on Chandigarh from the point of view of an Indian architect<sup>48</sup>. Care was taken to make authors and their intellectual biographies correspond with case studies through which they could offer emblematic interpretations as well as academic and geopolitical geographies. Furthermore, this editorial project became clearer, as did the attempt to legitimate and not just enrich the archival patrimony. This happened also through the power of the design in a world strongly marked by authorial iconography<sup>49</sup>.

These were problems that could not be read exclusively inside architectural historiography and inside the nevertheless belated readings of the history of modernity<sup>50</sup>. The return of the document – even more unpublished ones – came out of a perhaps too-late perception in the 1980s that the historiographical panorama was getting more and more complex. There was the historiography that then was called, to be oversimple, that of the *Annales*. Beside this, a budding field of microhistory was taking shape with its refined re-thinking of the document<sup>51</sup>. Meanwhile, the debate that marked the end of *Old New History* closed the season of *new social and economic history*<sup>52</sup>. In reality, making such a massive body of material available expressed a choice that also was historiographical – the choice to make design the source – if not the exclusive source, the primary source – of architectural investigation. This was a choice that was reinforced by the importance that another literary genre was about to assume – the *carnet* (notes or notebook).

Besides, the publication of the *carnet* began in 1981, a genre whose fortunes reach out to the present. André Wogensky and Maurice Besset published the first *carnet*<sup>53</sup> (Fig. 5) while Michael Graves began the publication of a series of designs<sup>54</sup>. The genre of the *carnet* became more and more refined by type – voyages<sup>55</sup> – or by works until now concerning other architects who collaborated on works of Le Corbusier. Starting out from 1977 and, most importantly, from 1984 and then from 1987<sup>56</sup> again, Giuliano Gresleri became the main protagonist in this adventure. He blazed the path both to unpublished material and to the sketches in travel diaries – topoi of artistic historiography that the historiography of modernity had hitherto considered with great diffidence<sup>57</sup>. (Fig. 6)

In reality the *carnets* give the 32 volumes of the Garland Le Corbusier a veritable skeleton key: they transform this “raw material” into a base for the reinforcement of authorship and originality, the two keys essential for explaining the extraordinary fortune that the studies on Le Corbusier had. And how was Villa Savoye approached under this set of circumstances?

Three brief essays marked the incipit of the re-thinking that was going on. Two separate essays, one after the other, should be read together in the *Cahiers de la recherche architecturale*, 12, before the publishing of the Garland series of volumes. They gave us two keys that fixed the points of view on the villa. The first was François Beguin's *New Objects: the villa Savoye*<sup>58</sup>. The second was Peter Eisenman's *Aspects du modernism*<sup>59</sup>. These two brief articles bore

witness to the degree to which the villa had by then become an object that generated studies, a “text” that was totally de-historicized and a theoretical and also calligraphic exercise of an architectural reflection detached from any historiographic or genetic investigation<sup>60</sup>. The third essay was Richard Pommer’s *Revising Modernist History: The Architecture of the 1920s and 1930s*<sup>61</sup>. This essay possessed some sophisticated historiographical thought that was to find its most persuasive argument in Pommer’s *Weissenhof 1927*<sup>62</sup>. The essay made an observation that was essential for anyone who wanted to follow the development of the interpretation of the villa – i.e., the by-then established hyper-realism of the villa. This was the other face of the reductionism that Lawrence Speck talked about. In this panorama, the seventh volume of the *Garland Le Corbusier* was the incipit of a new history.

Its title alone declared its critical choice -*Villa Savoye and other Buildings and projects- 1929-1930*. This choice was radicalized by the essay that introduced the volume, Tim Benton’s *Villa Savoye and the Architect’s Practice*<sup>63</sup>, which should be read in parallel with another essay of his, which was published one year later, *Drawings and Clients: Le Corbusier’s Atelier*<sup>64</sup>.

Tim Benton’s essay was an exercise in writing that incorporated and anticipated interpretations that were to mark the literature on Villa Savoye, even Benton’s own interpretations, for years. His interpretation reconstructed four successive projects, read them genealogically and used Le Corbusier’s texts, especially *Précisions*, as his primary sources. He argued for the uniqueness of the villa in metaphorical terms. For him too, Palladio, Vitruvius, Descartes were three fundamental references<sup>65</sup>. Passing from metaphor to artistic invention – the same act that Le Corbusier suggested – was almost spontaneous, even for the minimal space that Pierre Jeanneret, Albert Frey and Ernst Weissman occupied – i.e., the architects that turned out to have drawn most of the designs of the villa in the *livre noir* of the *Fondation*<sup>66</sup>.

The essay livened up on two topics that were to remain invariable items in the narration of the villa – colors and building defects. Near the end of the essay, Madame Savoye entered the scene as well as the companies involved, the cracks and the mistakes. In the essay, Benton neither questioned the interpretation nor its philological legitimization, not the worksite but the design. As we have seen, Gury had been questioning the sources and proposing to start again from the real material document in order to re-order the “imperfections” and the examples of “disorder” in the documents that he himself had rediscovered. Meanwhile, historiography had been going down the road that originality and authorship had dictated to it. Benton’s essay was an obligatory reference, even in his own biography, and two years later he published a book that he would return to a number of times, *Les villas de Le Corbusier 1920-1930*, where his interrelation of the Villa Savoye did not go through any substantial variations<sup>67</sup>. (Fig. 7).

In *Drawings and Clients: Le Corbusier’s Atelier* (1983), Benton questioned this approach through a historiographical reflection that at first seemed to begin to use observations that came out of the restoration worksite<sup>68</sup>. However, he then legitimized the steps he had taken on his critical pathway with a defense of the investigations on the dating and meaning of the designs or metaphors, a defense that was both ironic and passionate<sup>69</sup>. Here Benton again asked wryly, for example, what was meant by a “Virgilian relation with nature” in relation to Villa Savoye and what Von Moos’s ceremonial metaphor for the architectural promenade meant – a metaphor inside a metaphor.

In spite of this, the Villa Savoye remained unique because of the random concatenation that Benton managed to demonstrate among designs, metaphors, and images, which remained, rigidly in this order, his documentary sources<sup>70</sup>.

In 1984, the year when Benton’s book on the Parisian villas was published, Pierre Saddy, another of the protagonists of the reconfiguration of the villa, published an article that was both a montage of words and an interpretations of the villa – *Plan-séquence de la villa Savoye*<sup>71</sup>. This was a guided tour of a Villa Savoye taken almost as a movie location: *l’oeil du spectateur se meut dans un site Le Corbusier*<sup>72</sup>, location as a literary construction that took off from the texts of Le Corbusier. This was an artifice that became more and more literary as the texts themselves became more and more a montage of words taken from writings not about Villa Savoye<sup>73</sup> from 1917 to 1954 and

EXPOSITION : "Six photographes, une architecture,  
La Villa Savoye, Le Corbusier"

MENTION OBLIGATOIRE : Photo : la rampe vue par Yann Morvan

Exposition réalisée par l'ARPA, Action et Recherche Photographique  
en Aquitaine et coproduite par :

- la Délégation aux Arts Plastiques du Ministère de la Culture
- la Direction de l'Architecture du Ministère de l'Urbanisme et du Logement
- la Fondation Le Corbusier
- le Ministère des Relations Extérieures
- le Centre Georges Pompidou, Centre de Création Industrielle

présentée au Festival International du Film d'Architecture (F.I.F. ARC.)  
à l'entrepôt Lainé du 12 au 21 octobre 1984,

et au Centre Georges Pompidou, salle de documentation du C.C.I., du  
7 novembre 1984 au 7 janvier 1985.

hence not contemporary with the project and the construction of the villa.

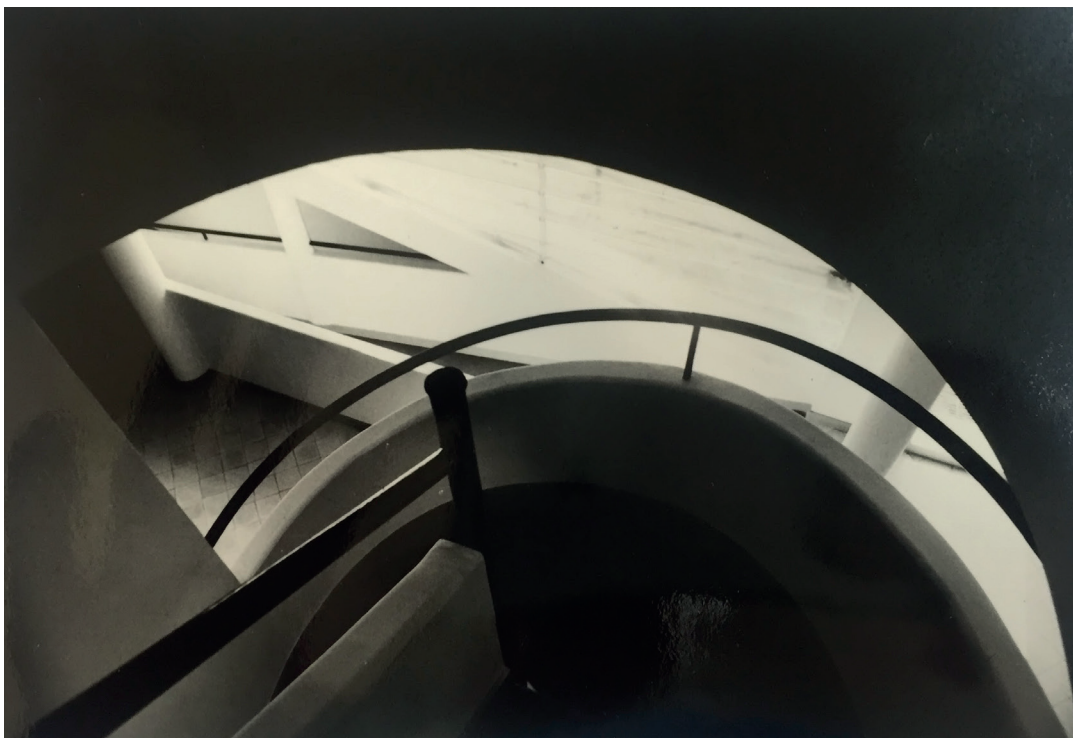
Pierre Saddy constructed a paradigm of modernity by using what he called "*un monument-phare*" and "*une démonstration concrète des idées de la modernité*"<sup>74</sup> as an almost spiritual and narrative exercise. To stay within the Parisian context of those years, this construction was what Paul Ricoeur was to call *la lecture savante* of a text as a trace<sup>75</sup> of a piece of architecture that by then was completely immaterial and served as the plot of an argumentation, or better, a narration<sup>76</sup>. The idea of a transcription using the words of Le Corbusier excerpted from 12 texts written over 36 years rendered more clearly the idea of a canon, which not accidentally materialized into a sequence of key words<sup>77</sup>: *propriété, pilotis, vestibule, rampe, pièces, meubles, cuisine, and toit-solarium*.

Saddy understood that the villa was by-then in a condition where it suffered from a surplus of interpretations. Hence, to tell its story, he had to use a common language – the words of –Le Corbusier– and common cognitive patterns – the key words that Le Corbusier canonized. Doing this, Paddy made the villa even more iconic because the transcription that he performed did not correspond to reality. Instead, his narrative determined and transformed reality<sup>78</sup>. Having done this, Saddy also clarified an essential feature of Le Corbusier's writings: that writing was a *mélange d'histoire*<sup>79</sup> and simplification was an essential part of this choice<sup>80</sup>.

In the note that accompanies his literary operation, Saddy offered us the *nth* story inside a story, which confirmed the mythic-poetic nature of the happenings concerning Villa Savoye. Saddy inserted information that came from his role in the events around the first *remise en état*. Le Corbusier wanted "*un véritable reconstruction, très éloignée d'une reconstruction à l'identique*"<sup>81</sup>. Thus the loving work of Yvan Gury and so many other restorers fascinated with taking care of a symbol passed through a *regressive retour à l'origine* – "regressive" in the Freudian or Lacanian sense, if we may be excused for using this term.

There perhaps may not be two approaches more distant from each other than those of Tim Benton and Pierre Saddy. This demonstrated that the history of the villa was by then in those years terrain up for grabs by conflicting forces, something that only icons were able to push to such extremes. However, there was also another rhetorical exercise that marked this set of circumstances that placed Villa Savoye back into the center of artistic and historiographic experimentation. On October 12 1984 in Bordeaux and later on November 7 at the Beaubourg, the exhibit, *Six photographes, un architecture: la villa Savoye, as said before*<sup>82</sup>. In the preface of the little catalogue, Jean Jenger, President of the *Fondation Le Corbusier*, wrote "*Le bâtiment et le cliché: deux fixités. Et pourtant chacun a sa*

**FIG. 8**  
Exposition: « Six photographes, un architecture: la villa Savoye, Le Corbusier », Bordeaux Entrepôt Lainé 12 - 21 Octobre 1984, Centre Pompidou, *Centre de Création Industrielle* 7 Nov. 1984 - 7 Jan. 1985. Fonds Vêret. IFA. Paris.



dynamique, sa vibration, et l'un et l'autre peuvent s'interpeller et se provoquer"<sup>83</sup>. A little later he explained: "Choisir la Villa Savoye, c'était pousser l'entreprise à son ambition la plus élevée en offrant une architecture dont la grandeur et la force naissent sans complaisance ni facilité, de la simplicité extrême des moyens et de la rigueur absolue des forms"<sup>84</sup>. Batiment and cliché are two words that completed the, by then, already rich vocabulary with which most of that same centennial year was pronounced, a year that started out – not accidentally – with an *Encyclopédie*. (Fig. 8) (Fig. 9)

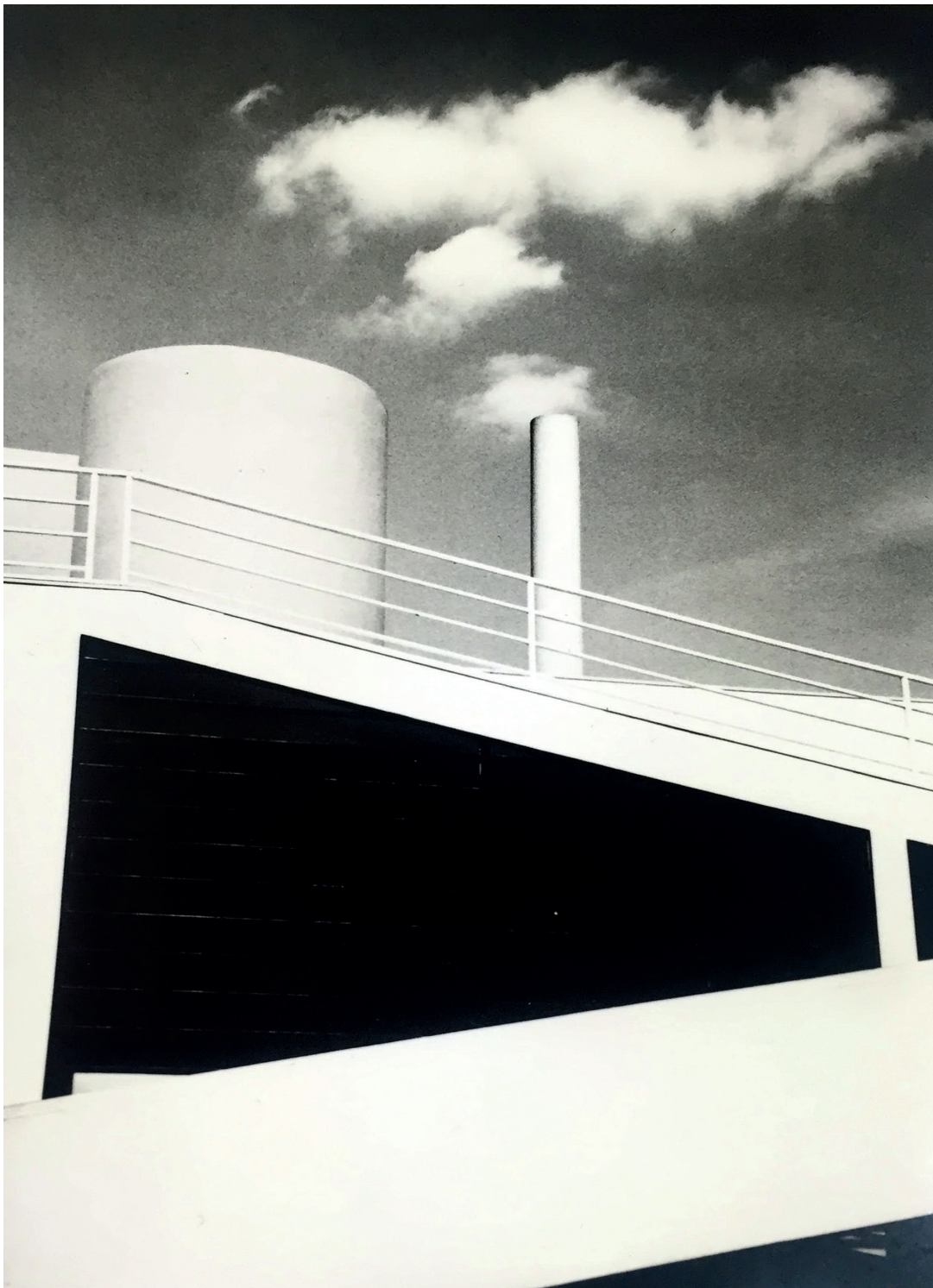
Photography, which had an essential history in both of the *fixités*<sup>85</sup>, was summoned up to articulate the esthetic reception of the Villa. It was, as Jenger wrote, "le regard des autres" that could challenge the fixity that the already rich tradition of its transcription into a canon had sanctioned and reaffirmed, using mainly the metaphor *machinistes* (stagehands) of *Fondation* Secretary General Roger Aujame<sup>86</sup>.

### ***The documents: the Villa as an "individual" and description gets dense again***

There was a philological orgy. If you will, there was the transformation of the architecture-document into a text<sup>87</sup>. Or, if you will, again, there was the philology factory and the identity-laden-obsession factory that came along with it. This orgy bore its first fruit right in 1984, as pure as it was looney – a critical edition of *Vers une Architecture*<sup>88</sup>. The last and perhaps the most structured result<sup>89</sup> of an editorial project that had begun 9 years earlier and of a historiographical context marked by the crossing over of the source seen as a metaphor to be interpreted through writing-and-reading devices<sup>90</sup> and the *usage de la biographie*<sup>91</sup>, as Giovanni Levi would call it a few years later.

*Philologie als Philosophie* was hastily classified as a philosophy of history at the time of the breakthrough that Manfredo Tafuri effected over the 1980s<sup>92</sup>. The role that the document went on to play in a kind of historiography that lived in a context of social and professional usefulness like architecture became a leading role beyond philological exasperation. This cleared the stage for a kind of "applied" history that boldly came back center stage,

**FIG. 9**  
Exposition: « Six photographes, un architecture: la villa Savoye, Le Corbusier »



**FIG. 9**  
Exposition: « Six photographes, un architecture: la villa Savoye, Le Corbusier »

even if it had a completely other meaning, especially in the overflow of studies on patrimonialization and public history<sup>93</sup> over the last few years<sup>94</sup>.

Casting the document in a central role radicalized opposing positions and helped create new symbolic barriers inside architectural historiography. The publication of a critical edition of the most translated text of Le Corbusier in 1983 was an operation that sanctioned the assimilation of architectural historiography with literary historiography – unfortunately something that was not so well known because of the language. This choice was to be broadened, enhanced, and taken up again by Jean Louis Cohen in 2007<sup>95</sup>. It was made on a text that, as Pierre Saddy showed, had been called on to legitimize the project choices of Villa Savoye and that, instead, had nothing to do and would have nothing to do with the complicated discussion over its restoration<sup>96</sup>. It was no accident that the figure that went along with this break was the most intriguing figure in this story, Jean Louis Véret.

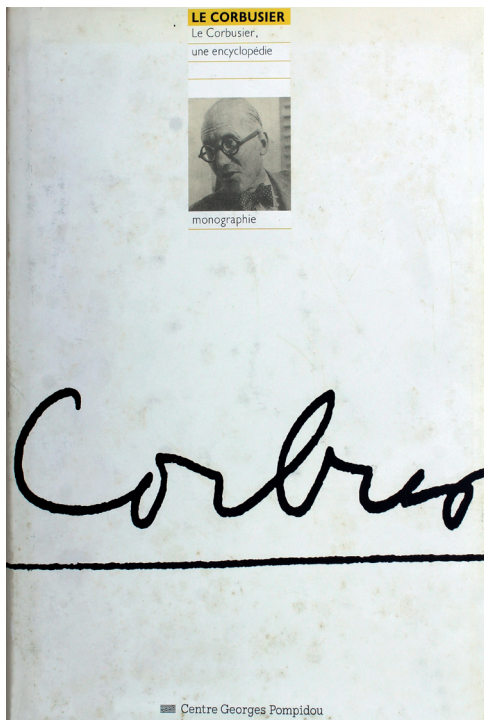
The competition over philology was to open up to another competition, the one already going on over the archives<sup>97</sup>. 1982-83 were the first years when two types of philology, which are also two philosophies of history, clashed head on radically over two critical categories that were more and more in crisis – authenticity and authorship. Authenticity assumed that there were the critics and their certifications. Authorship -originality-assumed that there were authors and their designs. However, the competition also concentrated on one word whose meaning had almost been taken for granted and that had taken on a new strategic value. This word was *place*. Beginning with 1929<sup>98</sup>, it was Le Corbusier who first -from time to time and not always coherently- emphasized the relationship between atopic abstraction and the metaphoric *narration of place*<sup>99</sup>. In this, he anticipated and accompanied Maurice Halbwachs's interpretation of the holy places in Palestine in 1941<sup>100</sup>. This crisscrossing between the classical and the metaphors of nature found two basic references exactly in those years, not accidentally<sup>101</sup>.

The first type of philology came out of the first volume of *Lieux de Mémoire*<sup>102</sup> (1984), which changed the status of the word *place*. Instead of the scene of social events, *place* became the scene of the stratification of signs, clues, and traces. *Place* became a social place with deeply esthetic dimensions<sup>103</sup>. This type of philology unified three words that were found with various shades of meaning in the literature about Villa Savoye: *place*, *monument and symbol*<sup>104</sup>. This was evidence of a surplus of interpretations that were heaped upon the villa, something that already in those years generated a historiographical event that Paul Ricoeur was to call *sursignifié*. What role was a connection between a villa and a space made to play? This was a villa that right in 1987 became an *emblème sursignifié*. This was a space that from time to time was a garden, a piece of cultivated land, a dump, a toy and a piece of landscape, where the villa, in fact, looked out at the space of a piece of property that gradually became smaller and smaller<sup>105</sup>. Was the role of the villa-space connection something that was constructed and wished, estheticizing and literary?

In fact, the *tournant spatiale* of history<sup>106</sup> got going right in those years and left traces that took on more depth when they were applied to the esthetic transcription of Villa Savoye. The first trace was left by the work and the writings of Denis Cosgrove<sup>107</sup>. Cosgrove completed a fundamental passage, even for what was happening to the villa: he gave words other meanings. This re-signification would enable him to create an esthetic model of history that would support the narration of Villa Savoye for years: “*En tant que « place », le paysage joue un rôle clé dans la conceptualisation historique : il ne s’agirait rien moins que du passage de la revendication de la localité à sa relativisation*”<sup>108</sup>. What happened in the passage from the archive to the emblematic value of the villa was possible because its value was relativized by acting on all levels of esthetic transcription – from design to sketch, to photography, which employed esthetic transcription as the literary deconstruction of a place<sup>109</sup>.

A relative canon appears to be a paradox that still presents a second linguistic pathway that could help us understand the meaning of this relativization of the canon. The site upon which the villa was built became a literary place through the process of a *metaphorization* that started in October 1930 conducted by Le Corbusier himself<sup>110</sup>. Thanks to all the narrations about it that twisted in and out with each other from that time, this site really took on the status of a “production of a location” or of a site as a stratification of traces<sup>111</sup>. Here the reference, almost taken for granted, was to the work of another geographer and historian, Arjun Appaduraj, an Indian, and another historian.





Angelo Torre, an Italian from Turin<sup>112</sup>. Nevertheless, Jean Louis V  ret completed a re-signification of the *remise en   tat* that came into play, just as we will see, thus making the Villa Savoye even more *sursignifi  e* and preventing a complete passage from *archive    embl  me*.

“La voie est ouverte    une tout autre histoire: non plus les d  terminants, mais leurs effets; non plus les actions m  moris  es ni m  me comm  mor  es, mais la trace de ces actions et le jeu de ces comm  morations; pas les   v  nements pour eux-m  mes, mais leur construction dans le temps, l’effacement et la r  surgence de leurs significations; non le pass   tel qu’il s’est pass  , mais ses r  emplois successifs; pas la tradition, mais la mani  re dont elle s’est constitu  e et transmis.” This is what Pierre Nora wrote about what was happening around another, much more relevant commemoration that occurred two years later. These were words that were also essential for the history of the villa<sup>113</sup>. The pathway that was traced out here was the construction of *representation*. Exactly in those years, this was what Paul Ricouer called it in *Temps et R  cit*, following the steps of the journal, *Representations*, founded in 1981 and its first articles.

The reflections on history, memory, and the politics of values were moving in certain ways in France and perhaps elsewhere in the 1980s. Unless we now can perceive how all that was happening then, then we will not be able to understand the vicissitudes of a type of architecture that was *sursignifi  e* like Villa Savoye. This kept on being the object of a conflict that, after all, was almost pathetic, a more a more explicit conflict between historians and restorers about and inside the archive. This conflict dragged on to the point that it became the object of an affair that will always remain a splendid example of the obsessive-compulsive disturbance that Straus had studied<sup>114</sup>, disorders in the personalities of actors wrapped up inside a plot that was almost Shakespearean.

Or, instead, we may have been left with the perception like that of a contemporary figure, Mathew Saunders, who understood that the Villa Savoye was going through a process of the *dereliction of monuments*<sup>115</sup>.

**FIG. 10**  
Jacques Lucan (ed.),  
*Le Corbusier. Une  
encyclop  die*, Paris: Ed.  
Beaubourg, 1987

***The centennial year and the Turin conference: the anniversary and the beginning of a crisis for the paradigm***<sup>116</sup>

The centennial year concluded with an exhibit curated by Jacques Lucan and mounted by Bruno Reichlin at the Beaubourg, *Le Corbusier, une encyclopédie*<sup>117</sup>. That year marked both the translation into an exhibit of what had generated the surgnifié dimension of the argument and our contemporary example that was most exemplary of Antoine Liti's thesis on the construction of celebrity<sup>118</sup>. However, we can grasp this ambiguity between a sursignifié architecture and a *celélébrité* of a personality thoroughly only through a meticulous investigation of the centennial year. As François Hartog wrote, "*de préférence aux failles du régime moderne, à saisir ses ratés, à appréhender l'hétérogénéité des temporalités à l'œuvre pour en faire un ressort dramatique et l'occasion d'un questionnement de l'ordre du monde*"<sup>119</sup>.

There is only one way that we can decipher the anachronisms, happenings as time goes by, and shapes of presentism that the centennial year served up to us. Namely, we must see things in the sense of an authentic Ricoeurian *mise en intrigue*. Several of the protagonists of the centennial year passed from recognition to real fame. In the meantime, it was the principle of the authority of the architect-restorers that affirmed itself, an authority that would be called to question only years later when there was a wish to validate their virtual copyright over the restoration as the a function of the work. However, why should we treat an argument so complex that it had not ever been seriously studied before?

The first reason for treating this argument is that the centennial years is the only focus that enables us to gather the connections between the lengthy elaboration, criticism, historiography and philology about Villa Savoye, on the



**FIG. 11**  
Neave Brown,  
Pierre Alain Croset,  
Bruno Reichlin. Seminar  
*Interpretazioni a confronto*,  
25-26 May 1988, Turin,  
Castello del Valentino.

one hand, and, on the other hand, the consolidation of a historiography of the modern that was to use that year as a way to tackle the many critical and methodological issues at hand about the character, Le Corbusier. (Fig. 10)

A creature of Bruno Reichlin, the exhibit toured Europe and the centennial year was concluded with a seminar in Turin that, with a focus not only on Le Corbusier, treated the meaning of *une mise en scene* of a kind of modernity that also was *sursignifiée*. The seminar also treated how this *mise en scene* came to make up one of the contingencies in the history of architectural historiography that set up the modern as something that not only marked the temporal rhythm of the contemporary, but also was an authentic exercise of *histoire problème* that revolved around an issue that by then was central. That is, is the public the author or is the work the author? And, consequently, is the fame the fame of the artistic intention or is the fame the fame of the representation? And it was necessary to flank these interpretations with a more articulated concept of the “thing-bound” fact that was being talked about and that made it problematic to pass from the *archive* directly to the *emblème*. This seems to be something almost to be taken for granted.

For this reason, the history of this year should perhaps be approached from its conclusion in the Turin seminar. It was a year that saw a Le Corbusier *who was sursigné* and got to meet a sudden diaspora. Curated by Pierre-Alain Croset and Carlo Olmo, the seminar had a title that was as explicit as possible about clashing interpretations – *Interpretazioni a confronto*<sup>120</sup>. The seminar went over and summed up the topics that the centennial year touched – *Documentation vs. representation*<sup>121</sup>. (Fig. 11) (Fig. 12)

Rather than going into the substance of the discussions, we should first remember what the politics of anniversaries were in those years<sup>122</sup>. There were, in fact, many levels that interwove in the social practices that crowded the



**FIG. 12**  
Roberto Gabetti, Jean Louis Cohen, Vittorio Gregotti, Seminar *Interpretazioni a confronto*, 25-26 May 1988, Turin, Castello del Valentino.

centennial year; and the forms that the celebrations took, almost obviously, emphasized these social practices. The exhibit that opened at the *Centre Pompidou* October 8 1987 and was also mounted in Turin and Barcelona was accompanied by an *Encyclopédie* with writing from pages 17 to 481 not only by members of the generation that we have seen at work but by others. It was this very set up according to items that sanctioned a judgment that could not be challenged. In any case, this was what the anniversary stimulated<sup>123</sup>, especially for a French-person by adoption. It was almost a piece of liturgical meditation before the incommensurability of the prophet, in this case the prophet of the modern! In the meantime, the setup of the exhibit had the model as its heart. This was even more obvious in Turin. The model was perhaps the only mediation possible between the true, which obviously could not be transported to the exhibit, and the pretended, which the exhibit abounded in – designs, photographs, letters, and pieces of correspondence. All this was there but with, nevertheless, a radical change in the meaning attributed to the model.

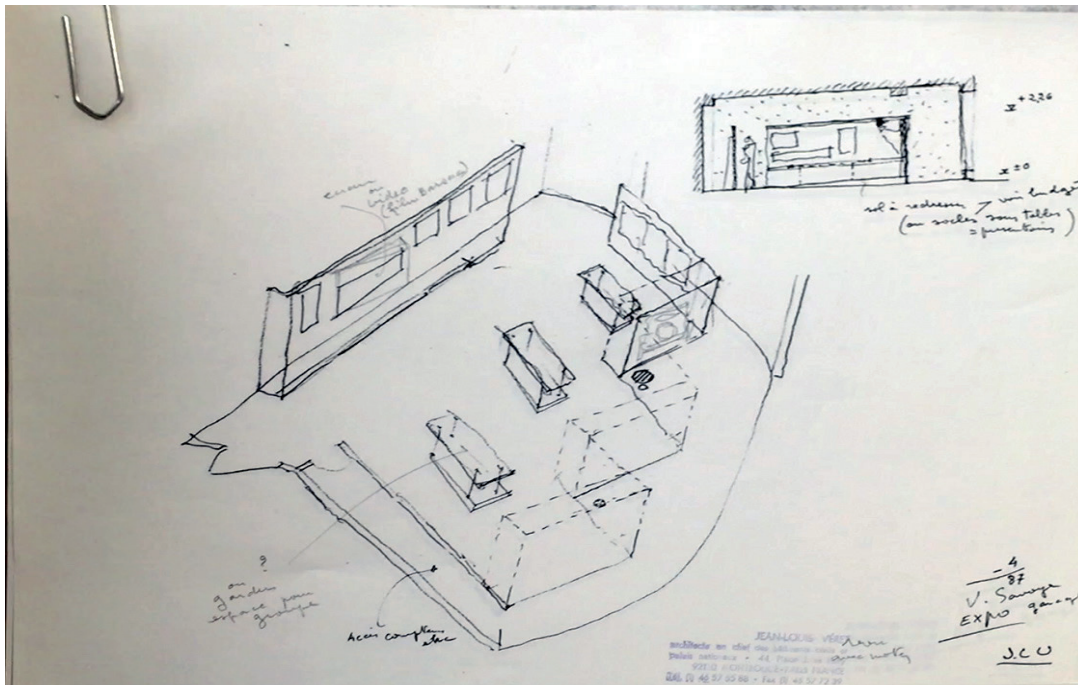
In fact, the exhibit neither ordered nor narrated Le Corbusier's works. It crowded the spaces with models of his pieces of architecture, almost piling them on. The exhibit opened up to a series of pathways – temporal, literary and/or visual – that answered very different horizons of expectations<sup>124</sup>. We should remember that the first Le Corbusier model to enjoy its own history autonomous from his works was the Villa Savoye model exposed in New York in 1932 and then reconstructed after the war and placed at the center of a provocative exhibit entitled *Destruction to Neglect*, curated by Arthur Drexler at the MOMA in 1966, an incunabulum of the restoration of the modern<sup>125</sup>.

However, the centennial year enabled two social practices to take place that otherwise would have been impossible. First, it broadened the range of critics and historians involved to the point of making Le Corbusier and his works a universal patrimony much before their recognition by UNESCO<sup>126</sup>. Second, the year thereby took up the issue of the *l'usage politique de l'histoire*<sup>127</sup> ahead of its time. This was an issue that, if we look closely, came up in the Carnet d'Identité of Villa Savoye, drawn up on the occasion of the long passing over of the control of the villa restoration worksite from Yvan Gury to Jean-Louis Vêret<sup>128</sup>.

The true heart of that so-crowded year was the exhibit inside the work -Le Corbusier inside Le Corbusier- not only because it confirmed the circularity of the narrative about Le Corbusier but also because it was mounted by Vêret himself. This little exhibit opened June 25 1987 and was set up on the ground floor of Villa Savoye<sup>129</sup>. It took up two threads hidden under the history of the villa. First, the proposal to use the villa as a place to mount a representation of the creative process of Charles-Edouard Jeanneret, as could be seen<sup>130</sup>, dated back to 1961. Second, Vêret's *mise en scene* was much more than a simple curation of an exhibit. It was a unique chance for us to understand what stood behind the restoration that Vêret was to take over a few days after then.

Perhaps the most sophisticated political use of history takes place in the unique moment when the representation is inside the work that is being staged. This was what Walter Benjamin reminded us in *Konvult N*, his first folder of notes in the *Passagenwerk/ Convolute N in The Arcades Project*<sup>131</sup>, which he subtitled *On the Theory of Knowledge, Theory of Progress*. This was precisely what happened when a representation was created inside the work that the curator was about to re-restore. This was an incredible play of mirrors whose key words were exactly *knowledge* and *progress* in the Benjaminian sense.

A recording of almost all of the discussions in Turin emerged a few months ago from an archive that had not been catalogued, one in the *Centro Audiovisi della Facoltà di Architettura*, which a young scholar, Alessandra Lancellotti, had begun to catalogue. Beside the almost infinitely problematic nature that a document like this brought up<sup>132</sup>, this is a recording and cannot be proposed to be read as unedited material, as a document, according to a tradition that belonged to another type of history (modern history). Even if it is made public – and, in fact, it has been made public – it is the recoding of a discussion that had its “sources” in the entire body of exhibits, seminars, books and journal articles that proliferated in the centennial year. In other words, this recording has a “non-said” that is even more interesting but implicit and therefore requiring a reading of what was being discussed.

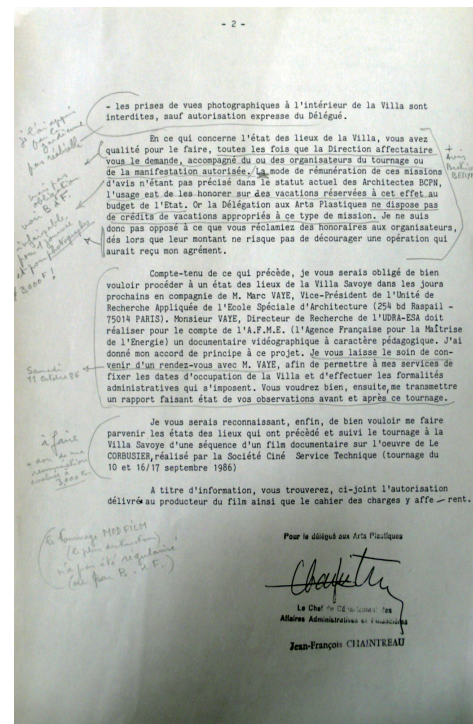
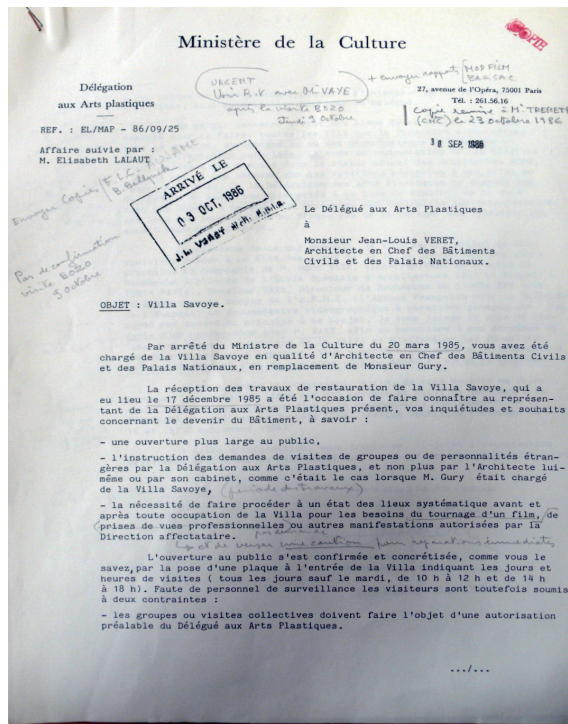


Also in this case, why did Villa Savoye turn out to the *architecture-emblème* of Le Corbusier? We need to take a step forward.

The first *rencontre* of the *Fondation Le Corbusier*, June 16-17 1989<sup>133</sup>, was the only document that attempted to assess the centennial year. The document underlined the centrality of microhistory when faced with a mass of texts whose sequence the *rencontre* tried to preserve, at least in part. In addition, as Claude Prelorenzo, then the secretary of the *Fondation Le Corbusier*, emphasized, this document was issued along with the text of the second meeting, *La conservation de l'oeuvre construite de Le Corbusier*, whose key essay was Bruno Reichlin's, mostly dedicated to Villa Savoye. All this material testified to the way that the passage from narration to conservation of the work -from writing to the restoration worksite- was progressing. Thus this was something that almost overturned the theory of a type of knowledge that was almost exclusively founded on designs, pieces of correspondence and papers. As was seen from 1964-65, it was exactly the restoration of the Villa Savoye that was the pivot and the venue of experimentation and confrontation in a process of the restoration of the modern that was to take on all the colors of the rainbow in a few decades.

However, none of the central topics of this overturning would have had any roots without the Turin conference. An example topic was the *mise en scène* that started out from the project and went through the model to arrive at the restoration worksite just like the celebration of a myth. This was an *éternel retour* with its inevitable shades of meaning, archetypes, and repetitions<sup>134</sup> one that was involved not only with architecture. This was something that took the narration about Le Corbusier away from the overflowing relativisms as well as from the problem of the reception of the work. This was a topic that would develop laboriously but, for Villa Savoye, would be facilitated by the opening of a museum of itself in 1998. It would develop into the contextualization of key words in the interpretation of the villa and all of modernity – *values, style, and order*. The Turin conference marked the passage from history to what we would like to call critical historiography. Meanwhile, the centennial celebration multiplied the *emblèmes* themselves because every exhibit, seminar, journal issue, essay and book had to demonstrate

**FIG. 13**  
Jean-Louis Véret. *Villa Savoye dans le garage*, Dessin, 1987. IFA, Fonds Véret, 242. Inaugurated on June 25, 1987 and curated by Dominique Bozzo, it was proposed as a permanent exhibition on the occasion of Le Corbusier's centenary.



to add an unpublished design (if possible), an unknown interview, an unexpected dialogue, or photograph that reinterpreted something – i.e. the *prodromes* of hermeneutics for hermeneutics. The diaspora of the studies about the villa and Le Corbusier was at the door.

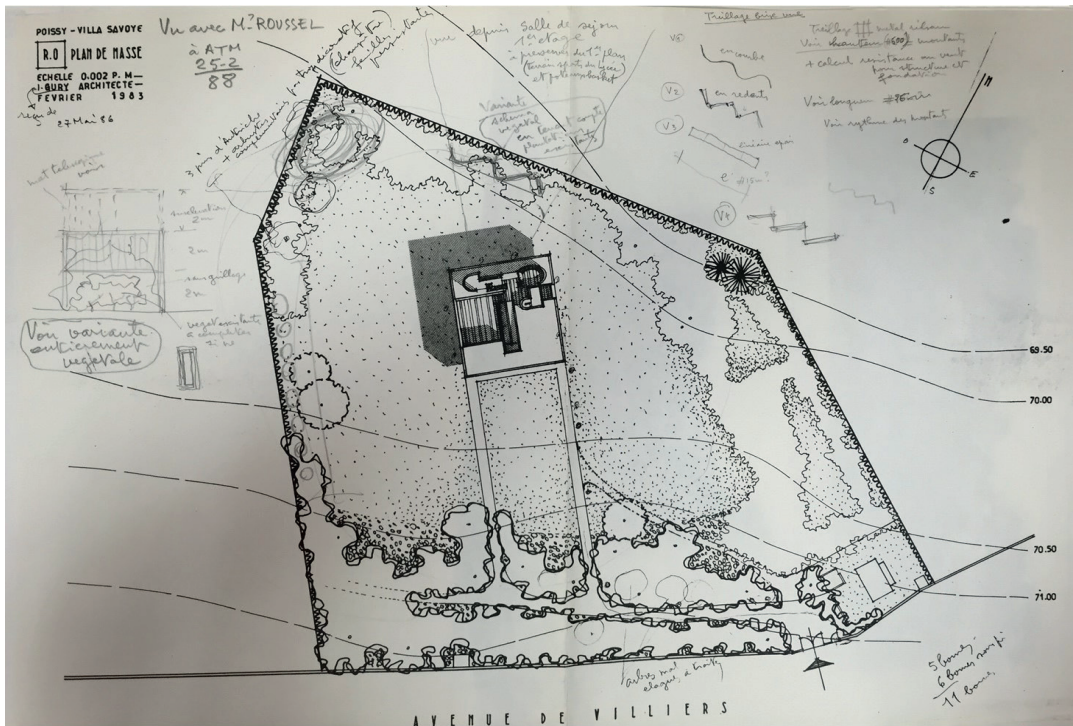
The Turin conference was important as a venue for reflection on Villa Savoye because it helped us make a number of passages explicit – theories, historiographies, documentaries. For example, there were the frantic instances of boring carrot-shaped samples to rediscover the original color and mortar. There were the reinterpretations of the works and authorship bordering on initiation rituals and the attempts at the restoration of the author's examples of architecture. These were passages that otherwise would have remained too implicit and de-contextualized if the conference had not been held. In this case, Jean Starobinski's *Jean-Jacques Rousseau, La transparence et l'obstacle*<sup>135</sup> should perhaps be examined for the interpretation of all this.

### Minerva's jewel box and memory questioned

As always in this almost picaresque story, its actors have already crossed paths and crossed swords. Jean-Louis Véret entered Le Corbusier's studio in the fall of 1952 right after he graduated from the university. After six months in the atelier, for his first period, he had to follow the projects for Ahmedabad – the Millowners' Association Building, the museum, and Villa Sarabhat. After that he was sent to India where he directed the construction of those same projects until 1955<sup>136</sup>. The work in the Paris studio and then in the Indian worksites brought Véret together with another "student" of the Rue de Sévres atelier, Doshi, who found himself near him also in India<sup>137</sup>.

Curiously, Véret's collaboration with Le Corbusier re-emerged many times in his life, as we have outlined in *La Villa Savoye: Icona, rovina, ristaurato (1948-1968)* (Donzelli, 2015), to the extent that he called himself "a musketeer," the *mousquetaire du droit à la ville* and of the conservation of the Villa Savoye<sup>138</sup>. A few months before Véret took over the restoration of Villa Savoye, we can find the interpretation that he was to give to his Le Corbusier

FIG. 14  
Lettre du délégué aux Arts  
Plastiques J.L.Véret, 30  
septembre 1986, Fonds Véret.  
IFA. Paris.

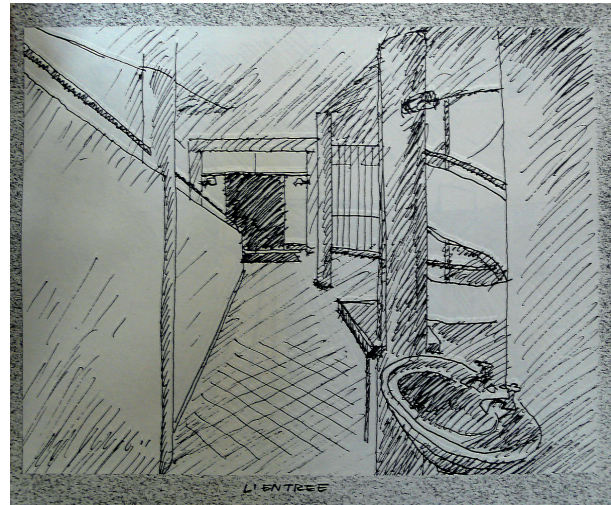


in the exhibit mounted at the ENSBA in 1985 entitled “Architectures en Inde”. That same year Véret proposed the reconstruction of the *Pavillon de l'Esprit Nouveau* at the *Cité de la Musique* in the *Parc de la Vilette* (with Xenakis)<sup>139</sup> and mounted an exhibit about the Villa itself in the centennial year, an exhibit set up in the garage and the quarters of the chauffeurs of MM. Savoye. Therefore Véret not only was trained in the atelier of Le Corbusier, not only took part in the canonization of that same villa<sup>140</sup> (as well have seen), but he also helped consolidate its work and memory. (Fig. 13)

On the other hand, the passage from Gury to Véret confirmed a really unique story. The father-in-law of Gury was Hourlier. It was in Hourlier's archive that the large folder of Gury's restoration of the villa could be found. In addition, Hourlier had been engaged by Dubuisson in the first restoration of the villa<sup>141</sup>. After him, it was Gury, an architect even more bound to the story of Le Corbusier, who took control of the restoration of the villa.

It is hard at this point not to resist the temptation to follow two lines of thought. The first is that memory is really a symbolic pattern destined to insert itself in temporal, topographic and narrative systems that reinterpret the past. This would generate, in this case in reference to Villa Savoye, a system of interpretation that tended towards the universal and that took the role and the place of the reconstruction of the case<sup>142</sup> – i.e., a microhistory almost turned upside down as a *histoire emblème*<sup>143</sup>. The second line of thought is that there is no source and – even less – no document that marked the origin of restoration. For example, there is no survey like the one in the case of Dubuisson. The main source is a document, almost a bureaucratic one: the *Carnet d'Identité*, contained in *boîte 59* at the IFA<sup>144</sup>, the box containing *pièces écrites et iconographiques*. The *boîte* stratifies stories, forms of representation and projects never implemented in a game that is both philological and legitimating. Like every document, the *Carnet* is a historical document, but there are few documents that demonstrate this so blatantly. (Fig. 14)

**FIG. 15**  
Jean-Louis Véret. Project of Plan de Masse received from Ivan Gury on May 27, 1986, redrawn by Véret on February 25, 1988. Handwritten annotations by Véret. Fonds Véret, IFA, Paris.



The Carnet set in order some projects and essential documents of the worksite of Le Corbusier's 1929-31 project, the *Compte rendu* of the June 12 1960 visit by Aujame and several officials to the villa on behalf of Le Corbusier, several worksite documents from afterwards, and the statute of the *comité de sauvegarde de la villa Savoye*. This offered a representation of the debate that broke out around the first restoration, a debate that Le Corbusier played a decisive role in, a representation that seemed to claim its guarantee in its origin in the designs of the Le Corbusier atelier. Then the Carnet contained<sup>145</sup> documents related to Dubuisson's 1965-66 restoration<sup>146</sup>, a copy of the Gury archive including the 1980 *projet de restauration*<sup>147</sup> and the 1979 INSA report. All this laid the basis leading to the choice of a genealogical line of thought for the restoration. More and more visible, Véret would be thus empowered to make interventions that would not have been possible without that genealogy. This was an example of history that was both public and applied<sup>148</sup>.

In fact, the same *boîte* contained the various restoration projects and all the things that happened over time related to them, projects of three generations of architects – Dubuisson, Gury and Véret. All of this referred to a single unit in time and place<sup>149</sup>. More than this, the *boîte* contained the exegesis of these happenings that Véret drew up and left for us. We can assess the break that Véret made with that genealogy and that body of data, data that rarely had been spread out over time in a single restoration, a restoration that appeared to be getting more and more Crocian in Benedetto Croce's sense of "absolute historicism," where history (and the restoration) are always contemporary<sup>150</sup>. Among other things, this was a position that enabled them to "restore" an icon. (Fig. 15)

What we had our hands was a refined chess match where the chess board was designed by Dubuisson and Gury as well as the pieces, but the moves were made by Véret, the co-founder of the Atelier de Montrouge<sup>151</sup>. These moves repositioned the role that Louis Arretche played, whose studio was the origin of the other three members of the Atelier.

The *carnet d'identité* was really the instrument that served to draw up the Ministry's *dossier définitif*<sup>152</sup>, which concluded the long transition from Gury to Véret, which the dossier returned to us<sup>153</sup> with the *documents pour l'élaboration du carnet*<sup>154</sup> through *documents originaux pour l'élaboration du carnet*<sup>155</sup> with the *plans pour Ministère and the dossier définitif du Ministère*<sup>156</sup>. This was almost an auto-da-fé that made us intuit to what degree the passage of control from Gury to Véret had required almost a refoundation of the restoration that can explain why there was such a thorough historicization of a document that was almost bureaucratic. The index of the dossier was more explicit and even more interesting were, arranged in strict order, *le guide pour une programmation pluriennale de l'entretien*<sup>157</sup> and the chrono-programs imagined for the various interventions. (Fig. 16)

**FIG. 16**

J.L.Véret, Dessin pour la Conférence "Autour de la Villa Savoye", 8 janvier 1990, Fonds Véret. IFA. Paris.





The history that is more complex to tell – and not only for the history of architecture – is the history of actions. This nevertheless opens a double terrain for examination. First, what theory can a history of actions refer to when, in this case, the actions include administrative actions and the physical actions of building? Second, beyond the *Carnet*, how can we study the relationships between words and actions when here we have the chance to follow how these words materialize in actual work through consulting the designs and the *proces verbaux*? The first question opens up a historiographical issue that has almost been put aside about the history of an artifact in which the actions often -and much more than once- changed the words. (Fig. 17)

If we go more deeply into these studies of the theory of actions, labyrinths open up, designed according to whether it is a psychologist, a theologian, a sociologist, a social reformer, or a philosopher who designs the theory. Perhaps the most useful passage in our case is the passage, *Pour une science des oeuvres*, from Pierre Bourdieu's *Raisons pratiques sur la théorie de l'action*<sup>158</sup>, especially for the indication that bids us to move from the relation between agent and social field. What gives the action a direction was a relationship between an agent and a historical field. A relationship was able to change over time, but, in our case, it was not able to change in space. Véret was the agent. The historical field was what the *Carnet* defined ever since its first premises. However, the *Carnet* was a document that organized, selected, and structured 58 years of different histories. However, this structure had consequences. On the one hand, the *Carnet* appeared to be an epistemic foundation, a basis upon which the legitimacy was certified of the projects that were eventually being worked out<sup>159</sup>. On the other hand, the *Carnet* appeared to be an archive ouverte whose definition, delimitation, and demarcation was completed by a long process. In this process, the memory was worked on again and again and the story was told of how the restoration originated in Le Corbusier himself and went to him again, all things said and done<sup>160</sup>.

With an apparent paradox, the *Carnet* brought designs and narrations back into the foreground at the moment when the most legitimate of architects nominated by Malraux *Architecte en chef des Batiments Civils et des Palais*

**FIG. 17**  
Jean-Louis Véret. Les preuves photographiques, 1986, Fonds Véret. IFA.



*Nationaux*<sup>161</sup> in 1968 was active on the physical material of the villa and not on telling its story, when he was getting ready to intervene with a series of actions that went beyond the scope of this second essay. If we work on actions and not on designs or writings, then we may possibly understand this set of circumstances: certain architects were the ones who were to restore an icon or, if you will, an academy of modernity. These were the ones who really know how to unite a piece of public history, which goes beyond national history, with a very lofty concept of patrimony. They really left very few traces of their activity of restoration. Besides their life histories, which crossed over with the activities of Le Corbusier, the factor that led to their being chosen was their being very active as public personalities and as architects. (Fig. 18)

In fact, the restoration of the villa thus appeared to be a circular restoration<sup>162</sup>, whose epistemic foundation could always be led back to the designs that Le Corbusier himself chose and sent to Dubuisson as the “Villa Savoye” in 1964<sup>163</sup>. Véret and Le Corbusier as well presented us the villa through designs that layered its own history and legitimated interventions that we can only mention here but that give us back “*une ville Savoye autre*,” which is almost the materialization of the “thought of Lacan.” This was something that led Véret to be accused of de-structuring the villa with his restoration. If we can get away with using this metaphor, the “ego” of the villa is not a definite nucleus, but the product of a “subsequent stratification”<sup>164</sup> and, as such, is subject to continuous re-interpretation. (Fig. 19)

In reality, the *Carnet d'identité* is an authentic para-text<sup>165</sup>. It is structured through various writings -annual forecasts<sup>166</sup> and *correspondances*- primarily with the *Ministère de la culture et de la Communication*. Among his letters, in May 1988, for example, Jean Pual Gooderige again asked Véret for proposals for possible uses of the restored villa<sup>167</sup>. There are also the companies, year by year, and the surveys. For the surveys, there applies a kind of Crocian stratification as long as we think back to the first surveys of the villa in ruins that were made in 1961. Not only this, here is a recurrence of the surveys if we compare them and mark how they are different from each other. For example, we can compare the surveys with that of Gury in 1983. There are designs at the many different

**FIG. 18**  
Villa Savoye. Photography  
Jean-Louis Véret. 1985. IFA,  
Fonds Véret. Paris.



**FIG. 19**  
Villa Savoye. Photography  
Jean-Louis V  ret. 1985. IFA,  
Fonds V  ret. Paris.



**FIG. 20**  
Villa Savoye. Study of  
visuals. Photography Jean-  
Louis Véret. 1988. IFA,  
Fonds Véret. Paris.

stages of planning and execution where various figures intervene – from Rasy, the architect who worked with Véret every day as *architecte assistente* to J. Framcolon, *économiste*<sup>168</sup>. Meanwhile, there are other documents that cover all the years of the restoration and make up its framework, such as the various *état sommaire*, which mark the restoration project from 1988 on<sup>169</sup>. And Véret defended his heterodox restoration project on two important occasions. The first was at Harvard, where he was Visiting Critic in 1978-79. More importantly, the second was in a conference about Villa Savoye held in a course of Professor Bandarin in Venice in 1990<sup>170</sup>. The text of this talk should be compared to the text of his *Autour de la villa Savoye*<sup>171</sup>, a March 1993 talk given a little while before he left the directorship of the restoration. In effect, these two talks went over the process of that counter-restoration that questioned the authorship of a work that by then had been rewritten too many times<sup>172</sup>. It is precisely in his wish for a Villa Savoye autre that Véret demonstrated that he was the most LeCorbusierian of all. In fact, Le Corbusier had wanted *un véritable reconstruction, très éloignée d'une reconstruction à l'identique*.<sup>173</sup> (Fig. 20)

Therefore the *Carnet d'identité* is a para-text that defines as it goes along and virtually pokes fun at Rimbaud's definition in the verse, *Je est un autre*. It does this too in reference to every step of the long stretch of work that we tried to reconstruct here. It is a para-text that helps modify a *régime d'historicité* that would re-order the meanings of every fragment of the villa and of its reception. Is the *Carnet d'identité* a para-text autre in the reading that Lacan gave to Rimbaud verse? Maybe.

### **Postscriptum**

As in the best feuillets in installments or, more contemporarily, the best television series, our readers may be asking themselves what Véret will do in his restoration and what other protagonists the Villa will meet on its way, such as a set contemporaneous contingencies that, right after 1987-88, was to see a problem explode – not any more the problem of pieces of industrial archeology abandoned for centuries in an industrial patrimony that marked a century that was getting shorter and shorter. This is another reason why what not accidentally are called no-longer-used areas make our microhistory of the Villa Savoye a star in a galaxy while the restoration of the modern will very soon become another bit of rhetoric that will very soon have no masters. This will leave the pieces of authorial architecture, first of all Villa Savoye, without even any periodization that it shares with what is modern. On the top of a potential third installment – suspense is the pre-condition for every true historical narration – we should say that this periodization breaks off here because the third restoration of Villa Savoye was done with all the actors on the stage who changed, as if the break implied that there was a different stage and different ties that this action of restoration set up with a context (to take up Bourdieu again), on top of that in the high season of postmodernity. It was a work that was more and more artificial and non-literary with all the *temporalités* that it carried and that it was sought to return to. It had to reckon with an epistemological relativism that postmodernity (and not only) exalted, ending up freezing into itself and that the diaspora of studies on Le Corbusier and the villa would end up with sanctioning as the as the nth form of critical relativism. And it is more and more evident that the villa was living *une apparence de vie*, and the caravan of critics and historians would very soon lose the accumulated value of *un'architecture sursignée*, overwhelmed by what had been the fundamental key of this story – i.e. what the *intrigue*, the plot, adds to time, taking up again Raphael Baroni's reflection on Paul Ricoeur's *Temps et récit*<sup>174</sup> and what we have tried to construct enriches with meanings. (Fig. 21)

The Villa Savoye opened in 1998<sup>175</sup> as a museum of itself, a splendid example of a narcissistic archetype, that aimed to present itself as the authentic Villa Savoye, a paradoxical exaltation of *un'restauration à l'identique* that its author and its main restorer rejected! There could not have been a more Benjaminian conclusion!

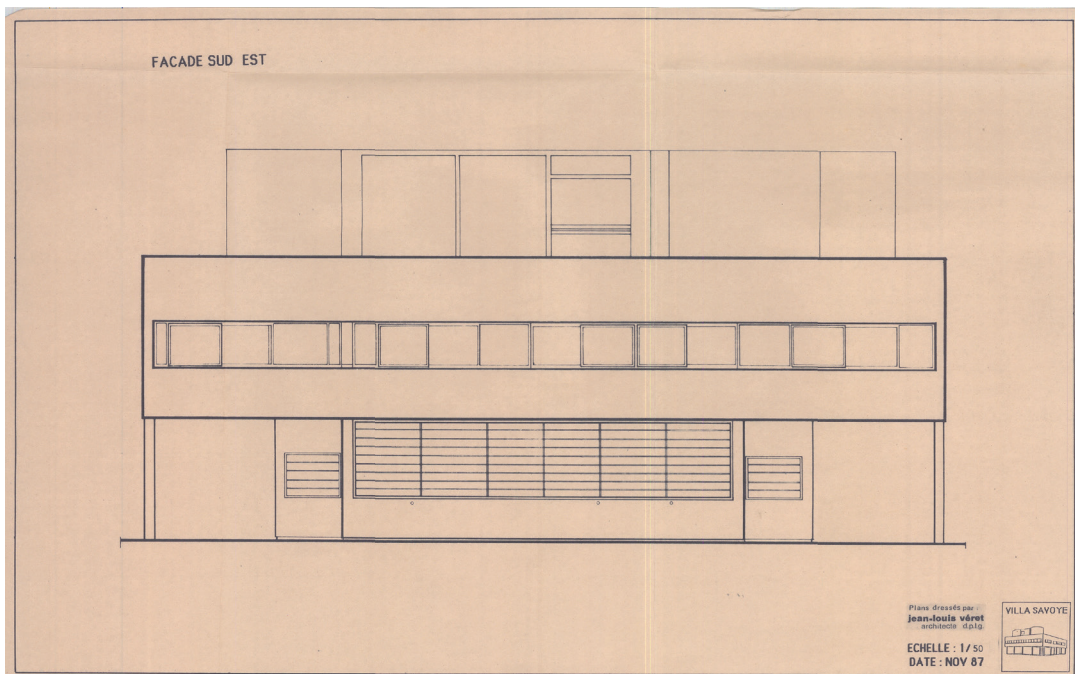
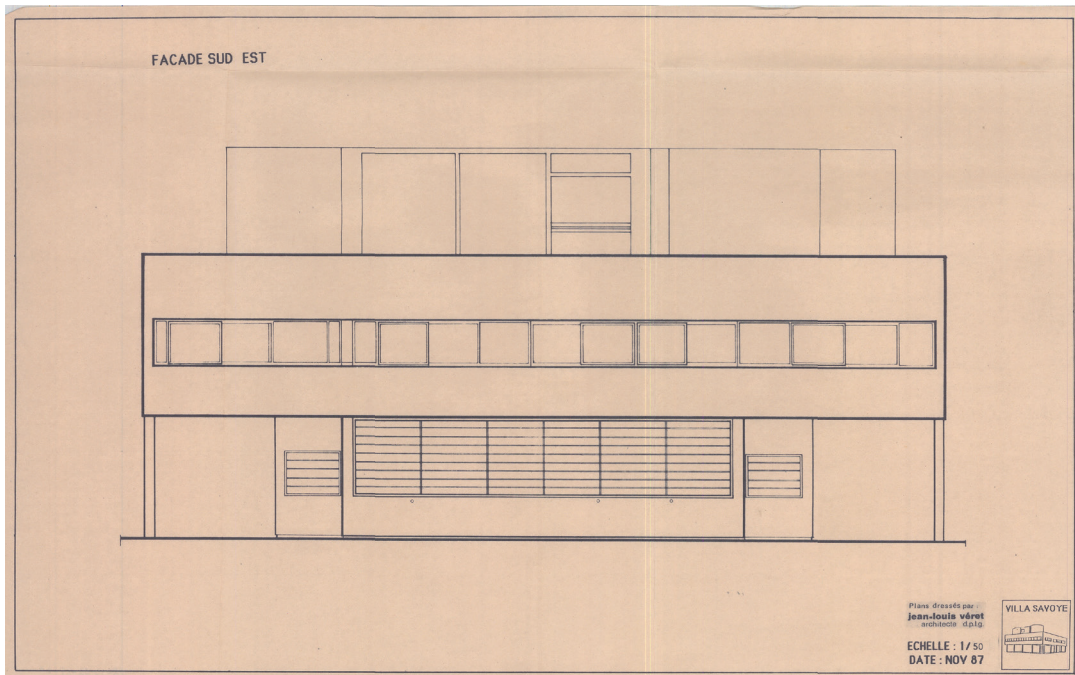
### **Acknowledgements**

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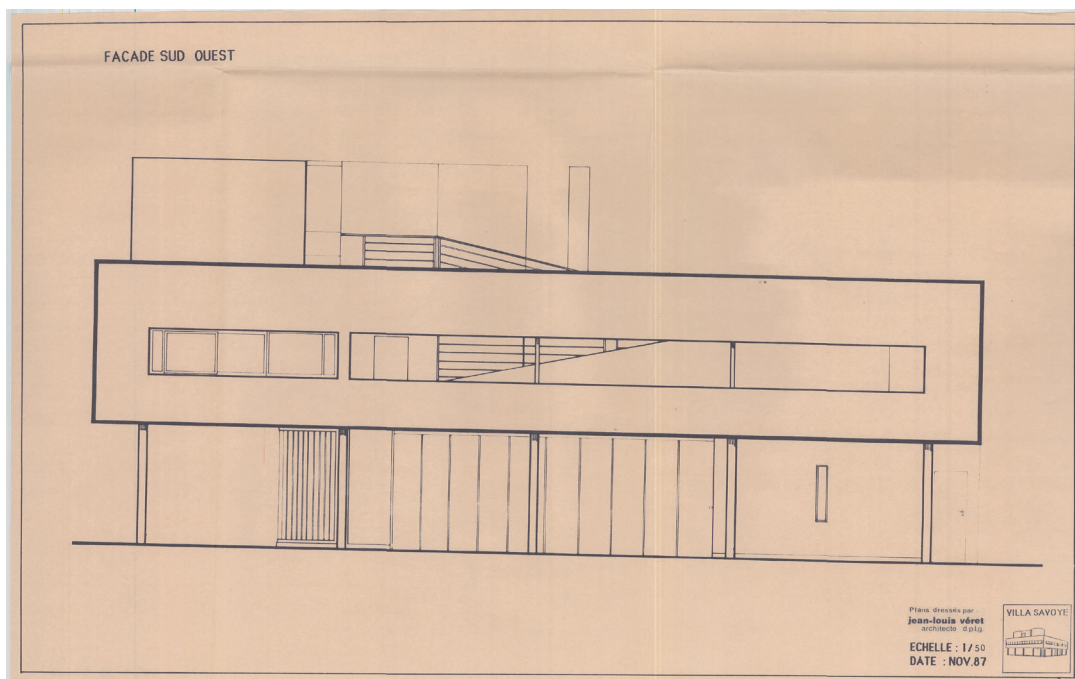
**FIG. 21**  
Villa Savoye. Photography  
Jean-Louis Véret. 1988. IFA,  
Fonds Véret. Paris.

Jean-Louis Véret. Entretien et rénovation, Villa Savoye, Poissy (Yvelines) © Fonds véret. SIAF/Cité de l'architecture et du patrimoine/Archives d'architecture contemporaine. Archive of Carlo Olmo and belonging to this archive.

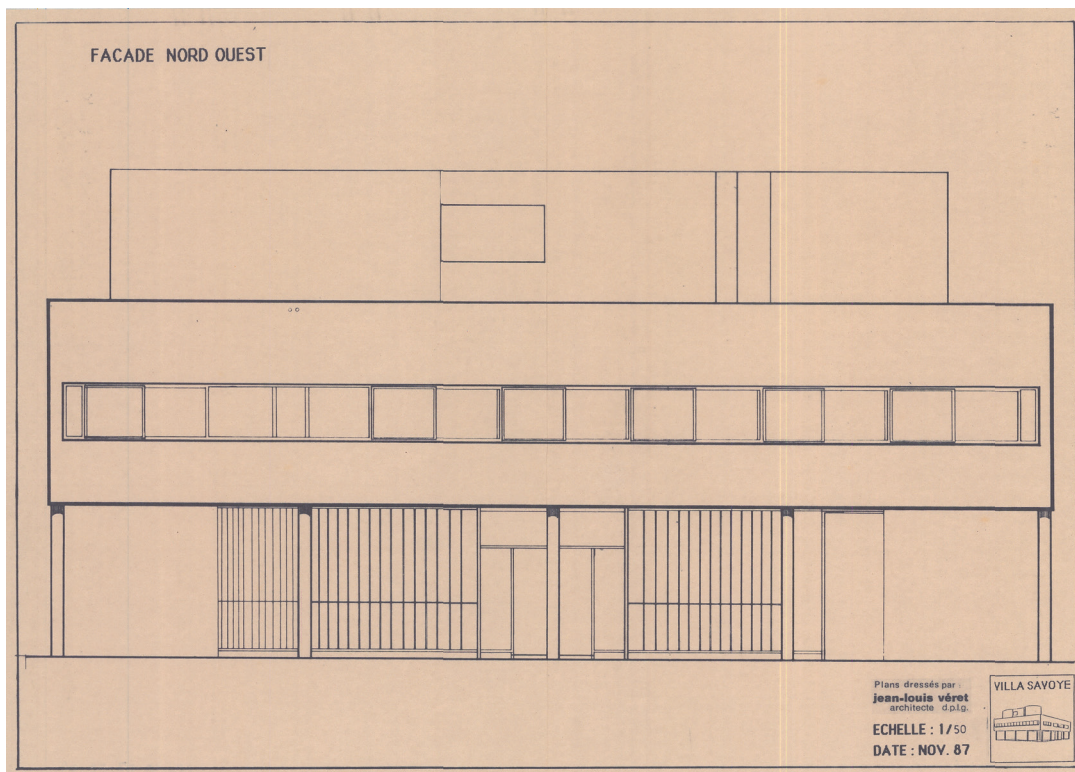


**FIG. 22**  
Élévation de la façade nord-est (éch. 1/50e), novembre 1987. AR-10-03-22-01.

**FIG. 23**  
Élévation de la façade nord-est (éch. 1/50e), novembre 1987. AR-10-03-22-02.

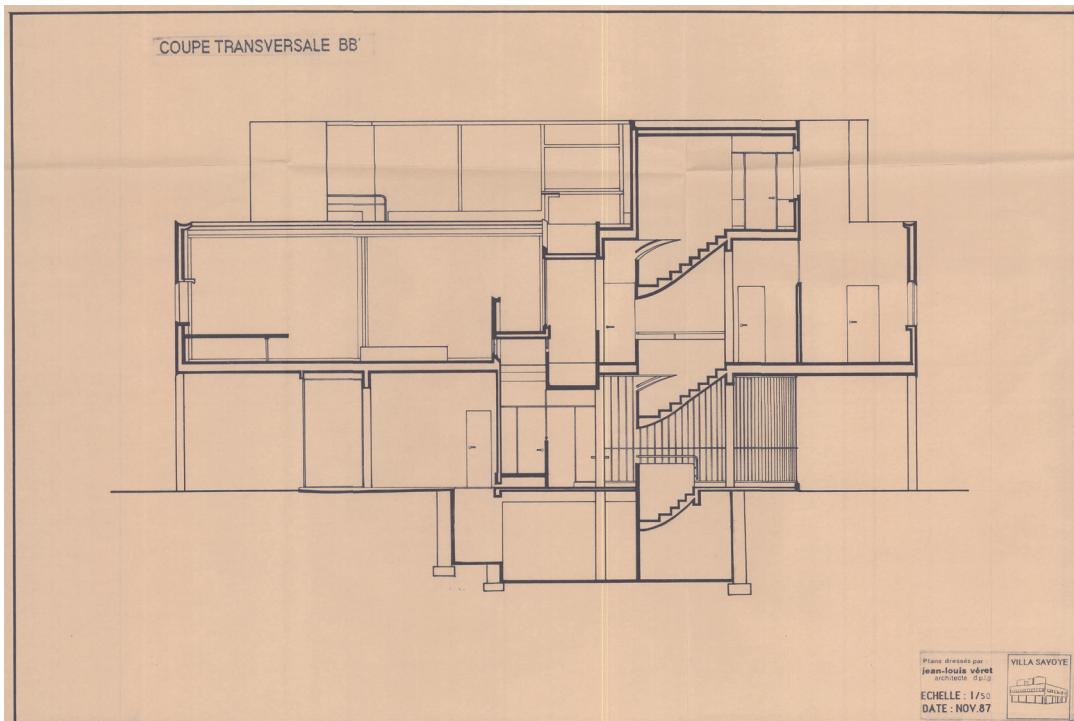
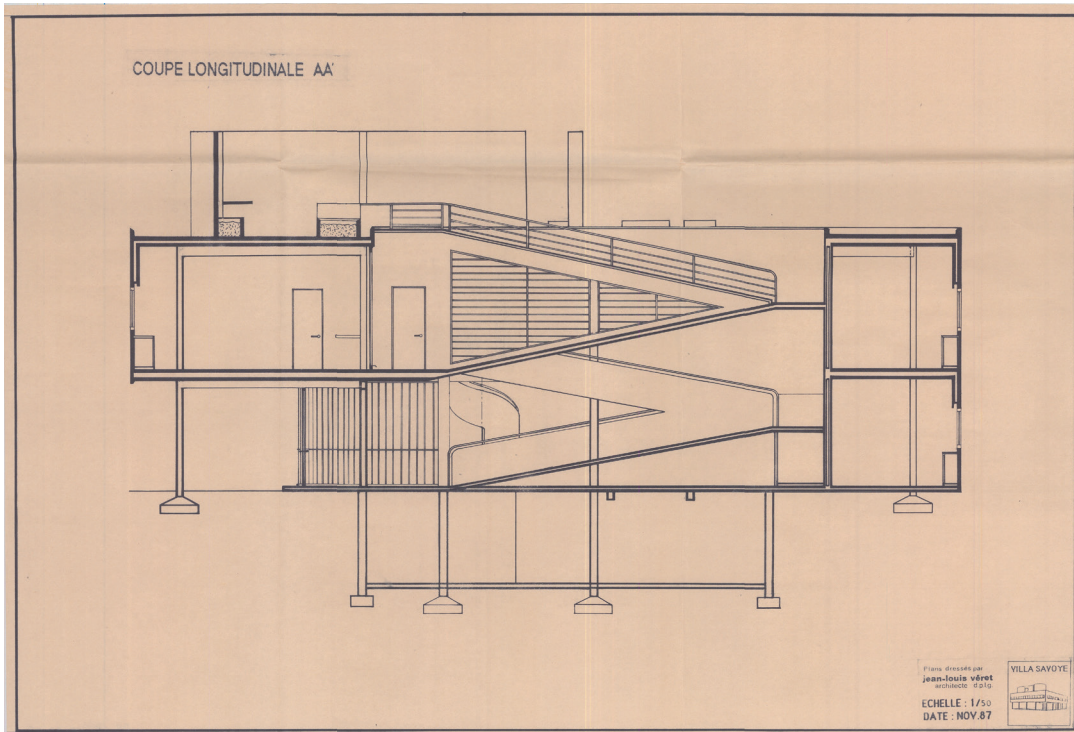


**FIG. 24**  
Élévation de la façade  
sud-ouest (éch. 1/50e),  
novembre 1987. AR-10-03-  
22-03.



**FIG. 25**  
Élévation de la façade  
nord-ouest (éch. 1/50e),  
novembre 1987. AR-10-03-  
22-04.

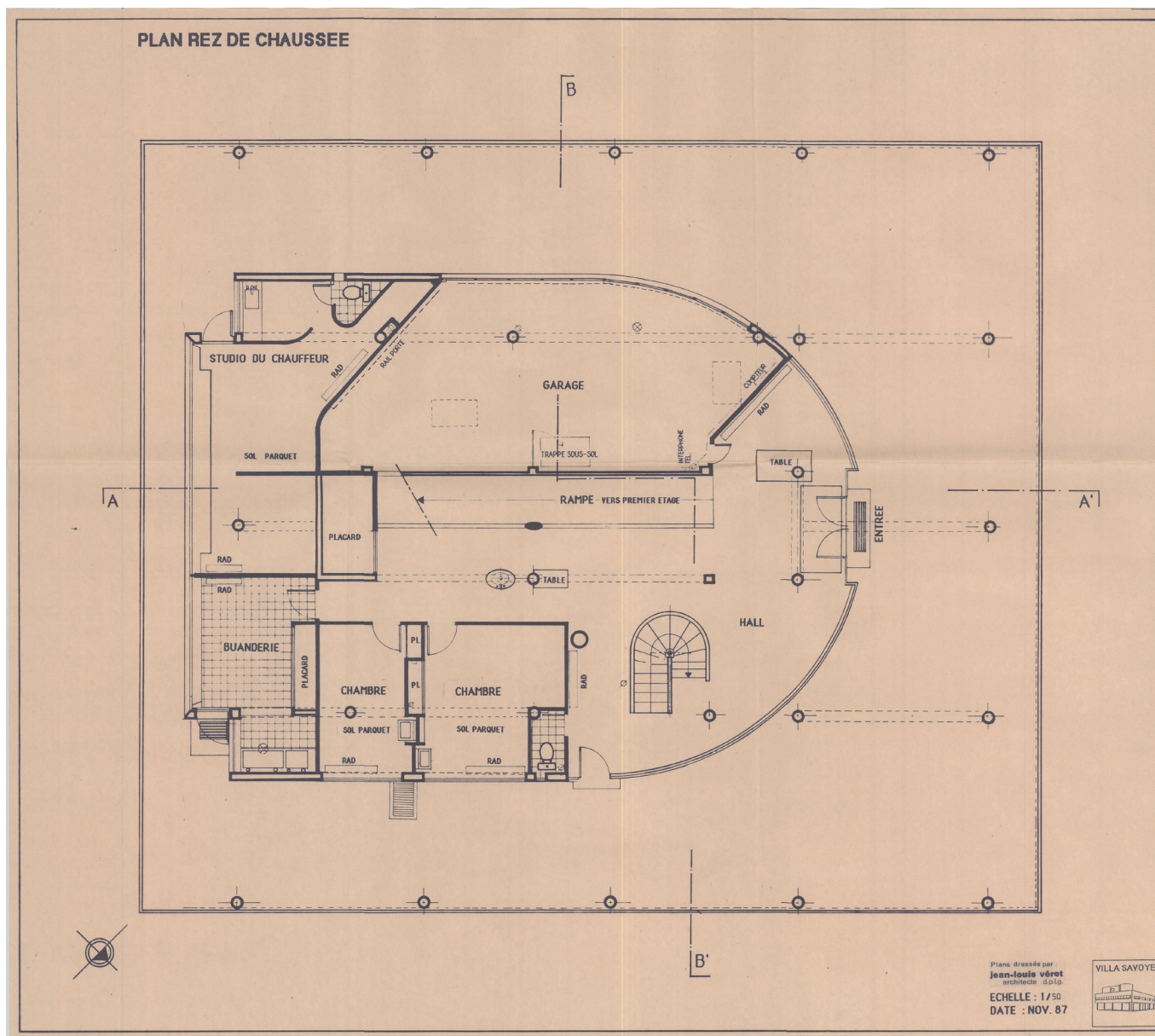




**FIG. 26**  
Coupe longitudinale (éch. 1/50e), novembre 1987. AR-10-03-22-05.

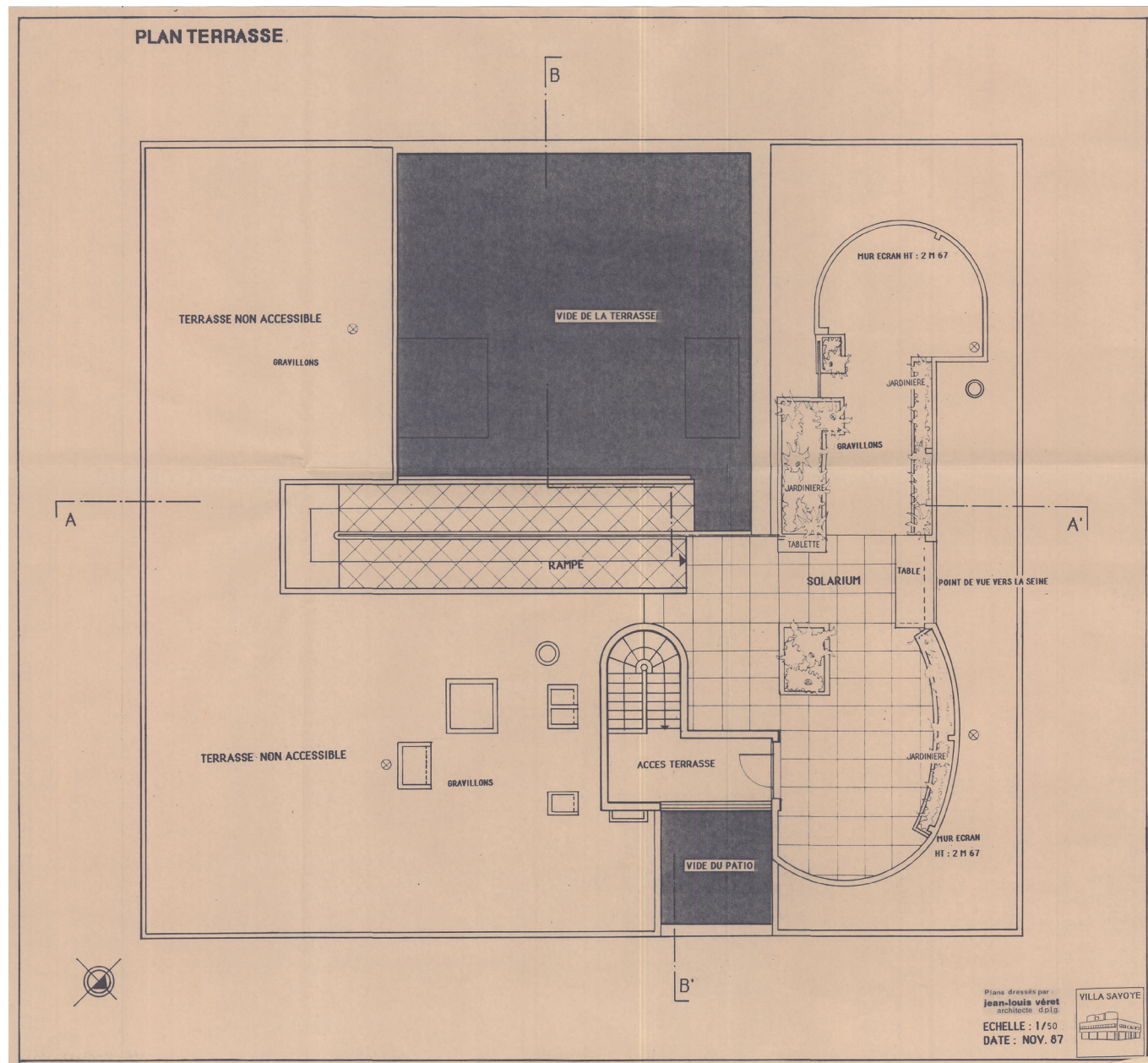
**FIG. 27**  
Coupe transversale (éch. 1/50e), novembre 1987. AR-10-03-22-06.

**FIG. 28**  
 Plan du rez-de-chaussée  
 (éch. 1/50e), novembre  
 1987. AR-10-03-22-07.





**FIG. 30**  
 Plan de la terrasse (éch.  
 1/50e), novembre 1987. AR-  
 10-03-22-10.



## Authors

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**Carlo Olmo** is professor emeritus of History of Architecture at the Polytechnic of Turin. He has taught in Milan, Paris, London, Boston and Barcelona at various times. He has published over thirty-five books and more than 500 articles. His books include: *Gabetti e Isola* (Allemandi 1983), *Politica e forma* (Vallechi, 1971); with Roberto Gabetti *Le Corbusier e "l'Esprit Nouveau"* (Einaudi 1975), *La città industriale* (Einaudi 1980), and *Alle Radici dell'architettura Moderna* (Einaudi 1989); with Bernard Lepetit *La città e le sue storie* (Einaudi 1995) and the pentalogy *Architettura e Novecento* (2011), *Città e storia* (2014), *Città e democrazia*, (2018), *Progetto e racconto* (2020) and *La Villa Savoye. Icona, rovina e restauro* (2015) with Susanna Caccia, all with Donzelli. He has edited the *Dizionario dell'Architettura* (Allemandi and Treccani) and he has founded and directed *Il Giornale dell'architettura* and collaborated with the most important international magazines.

## Notes

1 Letter of the Regional Conservator to Y. Gury, 6 July 1971. Fonds Hourlier, Boite 4035, «Villa Savoye de 1973 à», IFA, Paris.

2 For this first batch of work and the particulars of the restoration work, see I. Gury, *État sommaire pour les travaux à exécuter à Poissy – Villa Savoye, 1973*. Fonds Hourlier, Boite 4035, «Villa Savoye de 1973 à», IFA, Paris.

3 *Villa Savoye correspondance travaux, comite sauvegarde, restauration, 1928-1965*, FLC. I Materials on Ivan Gury are preserved at the Fonds Hourlier, Boite 4035, 4167, 4227, 4233, IFA, Paris.

4 Letter of I. Gury to the Regional Conservator, 25 June 1970, about the overall state of work to be done on the complex in 1971. Here there is a reference to the "recent nomination" of Gury. Fonds Hourlier, Boite 4035, «Villa Savoye de 1973 à», IFA, Paris.

5 Note, 25 September 1970, Fonds Hourlier, Boite 4035, «Villa Savoye de 1973 à», IFA, Paris.

6 On Jean-Baptiste Hourlier, see C. Parotte, *Jean-Baptiste Hourlier: la reconstruction de Lorient*, Université Paris I, 1994 (mémoire DEA).

7 See, e.g., *Rassegna di Architettura e Urbanistica*, 153 (2017).

8 See G.B. Bocchi, B. Magnoli. *La resilienza dell'antico: La storia alla prova del presente*. Mimesis, 2020.

9 Letter of Gury to Véret, 11 June 1986, Fonds Hourlier, Boite 4227, IFA, Paris.

10 *Recherche des causes des désordres observés dans la construction*, 23 November 1979, Fonds Hourlier, Boite 4227, IFA, Paris.

11 Letter of Gury to the conservator, 15 November 1978, Fonds Hourlier, Boite 4035, «Villa Savoye travaux 1979», IFA, Paris.

12 "Un premier examen de la construction avait permis de constater que les désordres avaient pour origine 2 causes principales : la pénétration de l'eau dans les matériaux ; les mouvements dus, très certainement, aux dilatations différentielles des éléments constitutifs des parois". *Recherche des causes des désordres...*, cit., p. 2. Fonds Hourlier, Boite 4227, IFA, Paris.

13 G. Pomata - S. Cerutti, "Premessa a Fatti. Storia dell'evidenza empirica", in *Quaderni Storici*, 2001, 3, pp. 647-64.

14 IFA, Fondo J.-L. Véret, Boite «Villa Savoye».

15 The concepts of authority and representation have been changing. The most interesting references are literary, see R. Weimann, *Authority and Representation in Early Modern Discourse*, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore 1998 e R. J. Griffin, "Anonymity and Authorship", in *New Literary History*, 1999, 4, pp. 877-95.

16 T. Gough, "Reception Theory of Architecture: Its Pre-History and Afterlife." *Architectural Theory Review* 18.3, 2013, pp. 279-292.

17 P. Deamer, "Structuring Surfaces: The Legacy of the Whites", in *Perspecta*, pp. 90-99.

18 Jan de Heer, *The Architectonic Colors. Polychromy in the Purist Architectural Le Corbusier*, 010 Publishers Rotterdam 2009. Pp. 35ff. and R. Gargiani e A. Rosellini, *Le Corbusier: Beton brut and Ineffable Space* (1940- 1965). *Surface Materials and Psychophysiology of Vision*, Lausanne EPFL Press 2011, pp. 13-15.

19 The CEBT (Centre Experimental de Recherches et d'Etudes du Bâtiment et des Travaux Publics) was founded in 1933, active in the sector of diagnosis in France. In 1997 the center was privatized and took on the name Ginger CEBT. See "Le CEBTP, un logo entre avenir et passé", in *BTP- magazine*, Groupe Cayola, 24 October 2013.

20 T. Contenay, *L'Ecole de Chaillot : Une aventure des savoirs et des pratiques (Architecture & Patrimoine)*, Paris, CENDRES, 2012.

21 E. Hobsbawn & T. Granger, *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge University Press 1983 and its reinterpretation, D. Boschung & A. W. Busch, *Reinventing The Invention of Tradition*, Wilhelm Fink 2015.

22 "Bleu et rose (voire ocre) pour le solarium, vert foncé pour le rez-de-chaussée, marron pour les ports." Work 1985-92 done under the direction of J. L. Véret mainly the structure, étanchéité, chauffage. In reference to the work done on the Villa Savoye for the centennial (1987), the term *dèrestauration* was often used. See F. Hanon, G. Ragot, *Conservation et mise en valeur...*, cit., Vol. II, sez. III, p. 4.

23 I. Gury, Avant-Projet "A", 1983. Fonds Hourlier, Boite 4035, "Villa Savoye travaux", IFA, Paris.

24 For the correspondance, see letter of Roger Aujame to Ivan Gury 16 May 1983; letter of J. Jenger to C. Pattyn 4 July 1983; letter of C. Pattyn to J. Jenger 25.10.1983, in *Villa Savoye Restauration*, FLC.

25 *Un enduit blanche 'au grain discutable...une sorte de cornière métallique couronnant abruptement les parties verticales...des couleurs surprenantes : vert laitue au rez-de-chaussée au lieu du 'vert-gris' de Corbu et brun surprenant sur les superstructures... des garde-corps en métal traité et glace inconvenants à tous égards et au surplus d'une géométrie parfois surprenante.* These observations were supported by an accurate photographic campaign, where these "mistakes" were documented in detail, mistakes that provoked quite a few worries among *certain* *corbusie*. Letter of J. Jenger to C. Pattyn 4 July 1983, in *Villa Savoye Restauration*, FLC.

26 A letter of 27 April 1983 by Gury to Aujame reaffirms that he had referred to the Fondation itself for the *références de toutes les teintes and for the préparation des programmes de restauration intérieure* Fonds Hourlier, Boite 4035, "Villa Savoye travaux 1979", IFA, Paris.

27 *Compte rendu. Villa Savoye : travaux de remise en état, et suggestion d'utilisation*, 13 October 1983, in *Villa Savoye Restauration, Archives vivant*, FLC.

28 J. Noirot, "Regards croisés sur l'architecture: Le Corbusier vu par ses photographes", in *Sociétés et représentations*, 2010, 30, pp. 15-26.

29 F. Zapaarain Hernández, "Le Corbusier: fotografía y difusión. La gestión de la imagen como actitud de vanguardia" in *Revista indexada de textos académicos*, 2015, 4, p. 137.

30 F. Hanon, G. Ragot, *Conservation et mise en valeur...*, cit., Vol. I, sez. I, p. 8.

31 Ibidem.

32 The situation of the villa at the beginning of the 1990s is documented in the *Étude: Conservation et mise en valeur de la villa Savoye*, edited in two parts by F. Hanon & G. Ragot, a document essential for understanding aspects of the building before the restoration work done under the direction of J. L. Véret, cfr. J. L. Véret, "Passé, présents, futurs de la Villa Savoye", in *La conservation de l'Oeuvre construite de le Corbusier*, Rencontres du Juin 1990, Fondation Le Corbusier, Paris 1991, pp.113-117.

33 The construction of the fact – Savoye – is an authentic labyrinth that this study approaches but that would require a

more extensive space. On the constitution of the fact, see n. 108 *Quaderni Storici* 2001

34 IFA, *Ministère de la Culture t de la Communication, Villa Savoye, Le Corbusier e P. Jeaneret, Carnet d'identité*, novembre 1987.

35 François Jullien, *De la vrai vie*, Paris: Ed. l'Observatoire, 2010. Italian translation, Laterza 2021, p. 57ff.

36 Documents and documentality were objects ever since the publication of the text by M. Ferraris, *Documentalità. Perché è necessario lasciar tracce*, Laterza Bari 2009. See. L. Angelone, "La nave di Teseo, la metafisica degli artefatti e la documentalità" in *Rivista di estetica*, 60, 2015, pp. 13-20 & G. Lorini, O. G. Loddio, B. Smith, *Le credenziali: parole, disegni e poteri deontici Credentials: Words, Drawings, and Deontic Powers*, 2020, pp. 59-73.

37 Beginning with the description of the façade, the irony was meant as a reference to the work of Erving Goffman (*La mise en scène de la vie quotidienne. Tome 1. La présentation de soi. (1950)* Paris: Editions de minuit, 1973. *The Presentation of the Self in Everyday Life*. New York: Doubleday, 1959.

38 H. Allen Brooks, *Le Corbusier Archive*, Garland Fondation le Corbusier New York Paris 1982-1984.

39 F. Passanti, in "Art Journal", 2, 1983, pp. 204.

40 T. Benton revealed this in *Drawings and Clients: le Corbusier's atelier*. The most organic study of Le Corbusier's atelier is Judy Loach, *L'atelier Le Corbusier; un centre: methodology in the 1920's*, in *AA Files*, 3, 1983, p. 45-6, the text that precedes the text for Garland.

41 See Judy Loach's articles: "Studio as laboratory" in *The architectural review* n. 1079, January 1987 and "Sein Wille geschehe. Fernand Gardien und die Spätwerke Le Corbusiers" in *Archithese*, September-October 1987 and "L'atelier Le Corbusier: un centre européen d'échanges" in *Monuments historiques*, 180, marzo-aprile 1992, pp.49-52. Period of the atelier on which it returns in 2013, Ilario Leone, *Lo studio di Le Corbusier nel secondo dopoguerra*, doctoral thesis, Torino 2013. In the same period Karen Michels worked on a thesis defended in 1987 based on interviews of ex-collaborators of the atelier, later published in 1989 as *Der Sinn der Unordnung*.

42 Paul O. Rave, *Karl Friedrich Schinkel Lebenswerk, 1936-79*

43 Alan Colquhoun, "The Significance of Le Corbusier"; H. Allen Brooks, "Le Corbusier's Formative Years at La Chaux-Type in the 1920s"; Michael Graves, "Garches to Poissy: The Late 1920s"; Tim Benton, "Villa Savoye"; Kenneth Frampton, "The Designs for the League of Nations, the Centrosoyos, and the Palace of the Soviets"; Reyner Banham, "Multiple Dwelling Types: Immeubles Villas to the Unité"; James Stirling, "Le Corbusier as Domestic Architect"; Jerzy Soltan, "A Personal View of Le Corbusier"; André Wogenscky, "The Unite at Marseilles: A Case History of Le Corbusier's Method of Design"; Danielle Pauly, "Ronchamp"; Jannis Xenakis, "La Tourette"; Peter Serenyi, "The Buildings of India"; Charles Correa, "Chandigarh: An Indian View"; Manfredo Tafuri, "Machine and Memory: The City in the Oeuvre of Le Corbusier"; Stanislaus von Moos, "Urban Plans: 1914-1940"; and Norma Evenson, "Post War Urban Planning: Le Corbusier's Design and His Influence."

44 There are the protagonists of the artistic life of Le Corbusier (like Jerzy Soltan, André Wogenscky, and Jannis Xenakis). Besides,

there are representatives of the "scientific" historiography (like Tim Benton, Stanislaus von Moos, and Danièle Pauly). These historians were not only established ones but were sometimes heads of schools (like Reyner Banham, Manfredo Tafuri and Kenneth Frampton). There were also famous architects called on to comment on specific works of Le Corbusier (like Michael Graves, James Stirling, and Charles Correa).

45 Wogensky's text is based on Chapter V Le Corbusier., *L'unité d'habitation de Marseille*, Le Point, 1950, *Description systématique*, the only essay not written by Le Corbusier.

46 In 1981 a new literary genre began to be published – the  *carnets* – which is continuing today. Giuliano Gresleri was working on a  *carnet* on the 1920s when he passed away.

47 See note 43.

48 See C. Correa Chandigarh, *The View from Benares*.

49 Certainly such a massive publication of designs also signaled the status of a discipline –the history of contemporary architecture- which needed some type of orientation in those years of transition, but also needed more than this alone.

50 C. Olmo, in *Casabella* 619/620, 1995. M. Biraghi, *Progetto di crisi. Manfredo Tafuri e l'architettura contemporanea*, Marinotti, Milano 2005.

51 Jacques Revel, "Microstoria" in Christian Delacroix, François Dosse, Patrick Garcia, Nicolas Offenstadt, *Historiographies, concepts et débats*, Paris: Gallimard, 2010, Folio Histoire, vol. C. Olmo, *Esiste un tempo dell'opera, esiste un tempo dell'autore*. Cit. 529 ff.

52 Lawrence Stone "The Revival of Narrative: Reflections on a New Old History", in *Past & Present*, 85, 1979, p. 3-24. E. J. Hobsbawm, "The Revival of Narrative: Some Comments", in *Past & Present*, 86, 1980, pp.3-8.

53 A. Wogensky (ed.), préface Maurice Besset, *Le Corbusier Carnets*. 1., 1914-1948, Paris: Herscher, 1981.

54 M. Graves, *Le Corbusier: selected drawings*, New York: Rizzoli, 1981.

55 The first is *Voyage d'Orient*, and the first editor is Giuliano Gresleri in 1984; see n. 208.

56 Le Corbusier, *Viaggio in oriente, Gli inediti di Charles Edouard Jeanneret fotografo e scrittore*, Marsilio Padova 1984, begins the publication of the  *carnets* (The first is *Voyage d'Orient*, New York: Rizzoli, 1987).

57 A road that was to be taken even by a journal that apparently was less inclined to move on levels that were almost of collectionism. *Architectural Design* dedicated an issue with 40 designs by Corbusier edited by Alexandre Tsiomis and Liane Lefaivre. It contained some texts by authors who were to be protagonists of the immanent centennial year: A. Tsiomis & L. Lefaivre, "60 Drawings from Le Corbusier villas, public buildings, Ronchamp", in *Architectural Design* 7/8 1985. There are texts by Tim Benton, Daniele Pauly, Kenneth Frampton and P. Serenyi. See the work of Richard Allen Moore, *Le Corbusier: Myth and Meta Architecture: The Late Period (1947-1965)*, (Atlanta: Georgia State University, 1977), *Le Corbusier and mécanique spirituelle*, (Ann Arbor, UMI,

1979) and 'Alchemical and mythical themes in the poem of the Right Angle, 1945-65', *Oppositions*, 19/20, (Winter-Spring 1980), pp. 111-139.

58 F. Beguin, "New Objects: The villa Savoye", in *Cahiers de la Recherche Architecturale*, 12, 1982, pp. 50-57.

59 P. Einsenman, *Aspects du modernisme: La maison Domino, le signe autoreferentiel*, ivi, pp. 58-65.

60 An approach that the journal *Oppositions* had, as is seen in the laboratory. See, eg., E. Holenstein, "Excurses: monofunctionalism in architecture between the wars (Le Corbusier and the Bauhaus)", in *Oppositions*, 24, 1981, pp. 48-65.

61 R. Pommer, "Revisiting Modernist History: The Architecture of the 1920s and 1930s", in *Art Journal*, 2, 1983, p.107.

62 R. Pommer & Christian F. Otto, *Weissenhof and the Modern Movement in Architecture*, University of Chicago Press 1981.

63 T. Benton, "Villa Savoye and the Architect's Practice", in vol. VII, Garland Foundation Le Corbusier, New York Paris 1982.

64 T. Benton, "Drawings and Clients: le Corbusier's Atelier", in *AA Files*, 3, 1983, pp. 42-50.

65 T. Benton, cit. p. 47.

66 FLC, *Livre noir*. Cit.

67 Tim Benton, *Les villas de Le Corbusier 1920-1930* Philippe Sers, La Villette (1984). Three years later the book was re-edited with photographs by Lucien Hervé and 181 designs by Le Corbusier, translated into English. There was a third edition in 2007 with the title *Les villas parisiennes de Le Corbusier* and Pierre Jeanneret, edited by De la Villette with more substantial variations.

68 Tim Benton used the most ferocious irony against *Popperism* in history (the focus of his reflections was on what could be proven) and against contextualism (explanations through social, cultural and professional contexts). Tim Benton, cit., pp.42-44.

69 The most interesting cue is that about the designs of the ramp of Villa Savoye, which turned out to be presented to the client in October 1928. They appeared in the first volume of *Oeuvres Complètes* but they were still absent as designs in April 1929.

70 Tim Benton gave evidence of his authentic passion for the relationship between photography and design in Le Corbusier.

71 P. Saddy, *Plan-séquence de la villa Savoye*, cit.

72 The use of the term "site" is very interesting, historically dated in France, but was put back in circulation historiographically right in those years.

73 The texts are *Le Voyage d'Orient, Vers une Architecture, l'Art décoratif d'Aujourd'hui, lettre a Mme Meyer, Urbanisme, Oeuvres Complètes vol I & II, Précisions*, Revue l'Architecte, lettre au professeur Feutter, *La Maison des Hommes* and *Une petite maison*.

74 P. Saddy, cit, p.15.

- 75 Paul Ricoeur, "Qu'est-ce qu'un texte?", in *Du texte à l'action, Essais d'herméneutique II*, Seuil, 1986, p. 156; "What is a text?", in *Hermeneutics and the Human Sciences* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2016).
- 76 Walter Benjamin, "Il narratore. Considerazioni sull'opera di Nicola Leskov", in *Angelus Novus*, Einaudi, Torino 1955, p. 235 & 241. The Storyteller. (New York: New York Review of Books Classics).
- 77 A. Torre, Luoghi, cit, p.14. The syntagma -production of a locality- was discussed following the line of the text of A. Appaduraj. *Modernità in polvere*, cit.
- 78 Jerome Bruner, "La costruzione narrativa della 'realtà'", in M. Ammaniti & D.N. Stern, *Rappresentazioni e narrazioni*, Roma-Bari: Laterza, 1991.
- 79 L. Piettre, *Se meler d'histoire: Conseils et jugements de l'action politique dans l'histoire- jugement, chez Guillaume du Bellay, Martin du Bellay, Monluc et Montaigne*, in *These*, soutenue le 11-12-2017 sous la direction di Francis Goet. His topic belonged to Mario Luzi's reflections ever since *L'idea simbolista* (1959).
- 80 See: François Lyotard, *La condizione postmoderna*, Milano: Feltrinelli, 1981, p. 24; *The Postmodern Condition* (Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P).
- 81 P. Saddy, cit, p.16.
- 82 *Six photographes, un architecture: la villa Savoye*, Bordeaux Entrepot Laine du 12 au 21 octobre 1984, Centre Pompidou, *Centre de Création Industrielle* 7 Nov. 1984 - 7 Jan. 1985.
- 83 *Six Photographes...*cit, p. IX.
- 84 Ibidem.
- 85 Arnaud Dercelles, "Le Corbusier e le figure elementari. Una lezione di metodologia cognitiva", in *Per Le Corbusier. Corbu dopo Corbu 2015-1965*, Roma, 2016, pp.255-265.
- 86 R. Aujame, *Villa Savoye à Poissy*, cit, "Depuis le hall d'entrée du rez-de-chaussée, on entame une promenade architecturale, chère à Le Corbusier, par le moyen d'une rampe pièce maitresse du projet conduisant à l'étage principal." Aujame gave a really rigid reading of Le Corbusier's project. He used the expression, *marche montante* to summarize the main piece of the project. The 6 photos exactly interpreted this disassembly of the unity of the work.
- 87 To avoid this risk, we should embed the document in a framework of actions and intentions; see: G.M. Spiegel, History, "Historicism and Social Logic of the Test in the Middle Ages" in *Speculum*, 5, 1990, pp. 63-5.
- 88 Giovanni Maria Lupo & Paola Paschetto, critical edition of *Vers une Architecture*, 2 vols, Torino: Bottega D'Erasmus, 1984.
- 89 The project originated with *Le Corbusier e l'Esprit Nouveau* and included a facsimile reprint with prefaces of the various texts of the 1920s.
- 90 A. Torre, "Comunità e località" in (ed.) P. Lanaro, *Microstoria. A venticinque anni da L'Eredità immateriale*, Franco Angeli 2011, p, 33.
- 91 G. Levi, "Les usages de la biographie", in *Annales ESS*, 6, 1989, pp. 1323-1336.
- 92 M. Tafuri, *La Sfera e il labirinto*, Torino: Einaudi 1980, p.27 & M. Biraghi, cit., p.61.
- 93 C. Olmo, "Tra usage politique du passé e patrimonializzazione iperealista", in *Città e Storia*, 11/2016, pp-123-139.
- 94 A. Torre, cit., pp.31-32.
- 95 Le Corbusier, *Toward an Architecture*, (ed. Jean Louis Cohen), Getty Research Institute, 2007.
- 96 B. Reichlin, *Le Corbusier à l'épreuve de sa restauration*, in *Ibidem*, XIX rencontre de La Fondation Le Corbusier Paris 16-18 April 2015.
- 97 See IFA Fonds Houllier e Fonds Vêret.
- 98 J. Quetglas, *Les Heures Claires*, cit., p. 125 ff.
- 99 Anthony Vidler offered a fascinating interpretation of this exchange of meanings in "Diagram of Diagrams: Abstraction and Modern Representation", in *Representations*, 72, 2000, pp. 1-20
- 100 J-P. Cléro, *Retour sur les symboles in "Halbwachs et l'espace fictionnel de la ville"*, in M. Halbwachs, *La topographie légendaire des évangiles en Terre sainte*, Paris : Presses Universitaires de France, 2008, pp- 67-69.
- 101 There is an article by Rudolf Arnheim that can help us orient ourselves to the discussions of those years: "The Symbolism of Centric and Linear Composition", in *Perspecta*, 20, 1983, pp. 139-146, here discussing the Villa Savoye itself.
- 102 P. Nora (ed.) *Lieux de la Mémoire*. Tome 1. Paris 1984.
- 103 F. Vercellone, *Il futuro dell'immagine*, Bologna: Il Mulino, 2017.
- 104 The path of this interpretation was marked out by Jean Strobinski, by Jaques Derrida and by the hermeneutics of differences, beginning with J. Derrida, *La Parole soufflée* (1965), in *L'écriture et la différence*, Seuil 1967 pp. 254ff. and J. Starobinski, *La Relation critique*, Gallimard, 2001, p.17ff; *Writing and Difference* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978), pp. 169 ff.
- 105 The Savoye property measured 12... originally and was reduced gradually to today's...
- 106 A. Torre, "Un tournat spatiale de l'histoire, Paysages, regards, ressources", in *Annales HSS*, 5, 2008, pp.1127-1144. Torre proposed a reinterpretation of the Symposium at the German Historical Institute, 19 2, 2004, in *GHI Bulletin*, 35, 2004.
- 107 Denis Cosgrove, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape*, London/Sidney, Croom Helm, 1984; Stephen Daniels & Denis E. Cosgrove (dir.), *The Iconography of Landscape: Essays on the Symbolic Representation, Design and Use of Past Environments*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1988; Denis E. Cosgrove, *Apollo's Eye : A Cartographic Genealogy of the Earth in the Western Imagination*, London/Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001; Denis E. Cosgrove et Geoff Petts (dir.), *Water, Engineering and Landscape: Water Control and Landscape Transformation in the Modern Period*, London/New York: Belhaven Press, 1990.



108 A. Torre, cit., p. 1128

109 J. Starobinski, cit., p.21.

110 E. Melandri, *La linea e il circolo*, (1968), reprint Quodlibet Macerata, 2001; Yannis Tsiomis took up this topic again in "Le Corbusier, L'art décoratif d'aujourd'hui et la loi du ripolin", in M. Boucharenc e C. Leroy (eds.) *L'Année 1925. L'esprit d'une époque*, Presses universitaires de Paris Nanterre, 2012, pp. 63-79.

111 A. Torre, "Premessa", in *Quaderni storici*, 1, 2000, p. 3-10.

112 Besides this, the most interesting texts are *Modernity at Large*, Minnesota University Press 1996 and articles like 2001 "The Globalization of Archaeology and Heritage: A Discussion with Arjun Appadurai," in *Journal of Social Archaeology*, 1, 2001, pp. 35-49.

113 Pierre Nora, "Comment on écrit l'histoire de France?", in *Les Lieux de mémoire, Les France*, tome III, vol. 1, 1993, p. 24.

114 Erwin Straus, Sull'ossessione. *Uno studio clinico e metodologico* (1948), tr. it. Fioriti Roma 2006; *On Obsession: A Clinical and Methodological Study* (New York: Nervous and Mental Disease Monographs; Johnson reprint, 1968).

115 M. Saunders, "The Interwar Listeners", in *Thirties Society Journal*, 2, 1982, p. 2.

116 Obviously the reference is to Agata Christie's *The Mousetrap* and its plot.

117 L. Lucan (ed.), *Le Corbusier. Une encyclopédie*, Paris : Ed. Beaubourg, 1987.

118 A. Lilti reconstructed the years after the publishing of his text, *Figures publiques. L'invention de la célébrité* (1750-1850), Paris: Fayard, 2014. In the journal, *Terrains/Théories*, dedicated to *Théorie de l'estime sociale*, Lilti's approach appears in the essay, *Autour de Figures Publiques. L'invention de la célébrité* (1750-1850): mécanisme de la célébrité et estime sociale, 4/2016.

119 F. Hartog, cit., p.197.

120 What better explanation of *histoire problème* could there be than *Interpretazioni a confronto*, 25-26 May 1988, Turin, Castello del Valentino. The meeting went over and summed up the topics that the centennial year took up. These are the general discussants: Neave Brown, Bruno Reichlin & Pierre-Alain Croset; *Iconology vs Microhistory* (Jean-Louis Cohen, Stanislaus von Moos, & Carlo Olmo); *Written story vs visual story* (Paolo Fossati, Bruno Pedretti, & Giorgio Ciucci); *Tradition vs folklore* (Giuliano Gresleri, Pierre Saddy, & Jacques Gubler); *Le Corbusier and post-war Italian architectural culture* (Roberto Gabetti, Vittorio Gregotti, Paolo Portoghesi, Gino Valle & Jean-Louis Cohen); *Le Corbusier and the absent topics* (Werner Oechslin, Stan Andersonm, Roger Aujame, Danièle Pauly, Martina Colli, Philippe Duboy, G.M.Lupo, & Dario Matteoni); *Introduction and Conclusion* (Carlo Olmo & Pierre-Alain Croset). In an more synthetic form, the first meeting of the Fondation le Corbusier took on the same task. Its Acts, published 3 years after, had writings by Jean Jenger, Giuliano Gresleri, Mogens Kustrup, Tim Bentom, Jean Louis Cohen, Carlo Olmo & Claude Prelorenzo.

121 *Centenaire Le Corbusier, Bilan e perspectives*, in *Les rencontres de la Fondation Le Corbusier*, Paris 1991.

122 There is an immense literature on this, beginning with F. Furet, *Penser la révolution française*, Paris: Gallimard, 1978, Mona Ozouf, "Peut-on commémorer la révolution française" in *Débat*, 26, septembre 1983, reprint in *La Commémoration* Paris: Folio, 1990, pp. 9-33; M. Agulhon, *Faut-il avoir peur de 1989?*, in *Le Débat*, reprint ibidem, pp. 34-57, Patrick Garcia, *Le Bicentenaire de la Révolution Française. Pratiques sociales d'une Commémoration*, Paris: CNRS, 2000, p. 84ff, Michel Vovelle (ed.), *L'image de la révolution française*, Pergamon Press, 4 vols. 1989 and, more in general, Bernard Cottret & Lauric Henneton (eds), *Du bon usage des commémorations. Histoire, mémoire et identité, XVI-XXI siècle*, Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2010, Carlo Olmo, "Le metamorfosi dell'anniversario", in *Architettura e Novecento*, Roma : Donzelli 2010.

123 Michel Winock, *1789, l'année sans pareille*, Paris: Orban, 1988.

124 The venue of the exhibit -the two raised galleries of the Promotrice in Turin- was almost the physical demonstration of this.

125 Caccia Gherardini, C. Olmo, *Le Corbusier e La villa Savoye*.

126 The exhibit reached Tokyo, Harvard, South America and all of Europe.

127 Francois Hartog & Jacques Revel (eds), *Les usages politiques du passé*, Paris: ED EHESS, 2001 and, in particular, G. Levi, *Le passé lointain. Sur l'usage politique de l'histoire*, ivi, p. 25-38.

128 See note.

129 IFA, *Rélations*, D-A-P. Villa Savoye, Expo dans garage. 18 June, recorded 25 June. This was presented to underline the importance of the little exhibits, a *Proposition d'exposition permanent organisée pour le centenaire de Le Corbusier par la délégation des Arts Plastiques*.

130 IFA, Fonds Vêret, 242. The exhibit catalogue entitled *Villa Savoye dans le garage* is almost ironical about the celebrationism of 1987 and is edited by Dominique Bozo and accompanied by a presentation of the exhibit.

131 Walter Benjamin, *Passagenwerk*, Ital. trans. Torino: Einaudi, 2010; *The Arcades Project*, trans. Howard Eiland & Kevin McLaughlin, Cambridge, MA. & London: Belknap Press, 1999.

132 Some of the problems are the customs of the language and allusion that were very clear then and now incomprehensible. The audience had problems paying of attention in discussions that lasted two days, sometimes perched on stools, cooped up in a hall that was entirely insufficient. The audience could listen but not look at images and, even less, focus on power point presentations.

133 *Centenaire Le Corbusier. Bilan et perspective*, Fondation le Corbusier, was published 2 years later in 1991.

134 An obvious reference to Mircea Eliade and his *Le mythe de l'éternel retour: Archêpes et répêtes, 1949; The Myth of the Eternal Return* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1954; 2005).

- 135 J. Starobinski, *Jean-Jacques Rousseau. La transparence et l'obstacle*, Paris: Plon, 1958; *Jean-Jacques Rousseau: Transparency and Obstruction* (Chicago: U of Chicago Press, 1988).
- 136 On Villa Sarabhai, see Susan Ubbelohde, "The Dance of a Summer Day: Le Corbusier's Sarabhai House in Ahmedabad", in *Traditional Dwelling and Settlements Review*, 2, 2003, pp. 658ff; M. Bonaiti, *Le Corbusier in India. Villa Sarabhai, Ahmedabad 1951-1956*, Milano: Electa 2021.
- 137 FLC, *Livre noir*, nn.5059. 5065-5069.
- 138 IFA, Fonds Véret, 241. It is interesting that this self-definition preceded the publication of H. Léfèvre, *Le Droit à la ville* in 1968, a basic piece of evidence of a cultural climate that constituted an authentic and academy of broadened modernity. See C. Olmo, "Accademia invisibile della modernità", in *Le Corbusier e la villa Savoye*, cit., p. 195.
- 139 FLC, ivi, Boite 233.
- 140 S, Caccia & C. Olmo, cit.
- 141 Christian De Vito "History without Scale: The Micro-Spatial Perspective", in *Past and Present*, 2019, supplement 14.
- 142 G. Namer, Postface a *Cadres sociaux de la mémoire*, Paris: Albin Michel, 1994, p.325.
- 143 The passage was as delicate as ever. It was taken up several times in Giovanni Levi's often-quoted article on *histoire totale*. On the process of "canonization" of the Villa Savoye, see C. Olmo, in cit., *Anacronismi, citazioni e controfigure: la scena del restauro*, in cit., p.169ff.
- 144 The  *carnet* was distributed at the IFA in in several locations, Fonds Véret 241, 232.3 & 59 with the box, *boîte de photos* at 305.
- 145 IFA, Fonds Véret, 232b3.
- 146 IVI.
- 147 IFA, Fonds Véret, 232b1
- 148 A. Torre, "Public History e Patrimoine: due casi di storia applicata", in *Quaderni Storici*, 150, 015, pp.629-660.
- 149 FLC, ivi, boîte 125/11, 125/12.
- 150 B. Croce, *Teoria e storia della storiografia*, Laterza, 1917; *Theory and History of Historiography* (Los Angeles: HardPress, 2012).
- 151 The archives of the *Atelier de Montrouge* are still at the IFA, 162 IFA. Arretche was to have other key roles in other Parisian goings-on, firstly in the APUR, the *Atelier Parisien d'Urbanisme*; his possible influence on the Villa Savoye restoration has never been investigated.
- 152 The  *carnet*, also at IFA was distributed in various locations, Fonds Véret, 241 IFA. 232.3 & 59, with the *boîte de photos* at 305.
- 153 IFA, Fonds Véret, 232.0.
- 154 IFA, Fonds Véret, 232.1.
- 155 IFA, Fonds Véret, 232.2.2.
- 156 IFA, Fonds Véret, 232.4
- 157 *Carnet*, p. 17.
- 158 P. Bourdieu, *Raison pratiques. Sur la théorie de l'action*, Paris: Ed. du Seuil, 1994.
- 159 A. Giordani, *Teoria della fondazione epistemica*, Milano: F. Angeli, 2002.
- 160 W. Wieland, "La Fisica di Aristotele: studi sulla fondazione della scienza della natura e sui fondamenti linguistici della ricerca dei principi in Aristotele", in *La fisica di Aristotele*, Torino: Rosenberg & Sellier, 2018, pp. 1-396.
- 161 IFA; Fonds Véret, cit.
- 162 S. Caccia Gherardini, "Un restauro circolare: la villa Savoye, 1970-1986", in *Rassegna di architettura e di urbanistica*, 3, 2017, pp. 79-87.
- 163 S: Caccia & C. Olmo, cit., p.
- 164 J. Lacan, *Seminario II*, (Torino: Einaudi). Also useful the interpretation of Mario Luzi of Rimbaud in *L'archimie du verbe*.
- 165 G. Genette, *Palimpsestes: la littérature au second degré*, Paris: Seuil, 1981; *Palimpsests: Literature in the Second Degree* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997).
- 166 IFA, Fonds Véret, *ibidem*.
- 167 IFA, Fonds Véret 242, 27 May 1988.
- 168 IFA, Fonds Véret, *ibidem*.
- 169 IFA, Fonds Véret, Villa Savoye, *Precisions travaux 1988*, "état sommaire", 242.
- 170 IFA, Fonds Véret, Villa Savoye, the Documents folder also contains the photos that accompany the conference.
- 171 This paper seems to have been written first in March 1993 and then taken up again in March 1993.
- 172 IFA, Boite A,1993.
- 173 See note 79.
- 174 In *Poétique*, 163, 20110.
- 175 N. Marconi, "La riapertura al pubblico della villa Savoye a Poissy", in *Rassegna di architettura e urbanistica*, 94. 1998, p. 85ff.