

# LC. #10

## ARTICLE INVITÉ



Le Corbusier - Savina.  
*Eau, ciel, terre*. 1954. Bois naturel et polychrome. Bois polychrome  
Dimensions : H : 0,34 m  
x L : 0,58 m x l : 0,20 m.  
Signé J.S-L-C sur la queue, non daté, exécuté en 1954.  
Sculpture FLC 14. Paris.  
Fondation Le Corbusier.

**Jean Badovici's hybrid modernity; the Vézelay houses**  
*Tim Benton*



**FIG. 1**

Eileen Gray and Jean Badovici, Villa E1027, Roquebrune-Cap-Martin, 1927-1929 (Photo Tim Benton).

**FIG. 2**

The Renaudin-Battanchon house from the South East showing the impasse du Crot (Photo Tim Benton).



# JEAN BADOVICI'S HYBRID MODERNITY; THE VÉZELAY HOUSES

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## Introduction

In 1927, the modern movement had exhibited itself as a Europe-wide phenomenon. Architects from Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium, Switzerland and Austria had built an exhibition colony of houses and apartments on the Weissenhof hill, Stuttgart. The clean, geometric forms, flat roofs, cantilevered balconies and large expanses of glass constituted a recognisable style of modern architecture. The young Romanian architect Jean Badovici (1893-1956) was a leading figure in the proselytizing of modern architecture in France. In his journal *L'Architecture Vivante* (1923-1933) he assembled what is now recognised as the canon of modern architecture, including Tony Garnier, Henri Sauvage and the Perret brothers through Frank Lloyd Wright, the Constructivists, *de Stijl*, the Germans and central Europeans. From 1928 he devoted himself to publishing the work of Le Corbusier and Pierre Jeanneret in eight special volumes. In 1927, he was embarking on the construction of Eileen Gray's iconic Modernist villa, E1027, at Roquebrune-Cap-Martin (Figure 1). So it is surprising that when, in the same year, he had a chance to design and build on his own initiative, he did not adopt this Modernist style (Figure 2). Instead he developed what has been described as a 'hybrid modernism', respectful of local buildings and materials but innovative in the development of a modern sense of space. I will argue that he foresaw the return to natural materials of architects like Le Corbusier, Alvar Aalto or Gerrit Rietveld after 1929 or the turn to the vernacular that became increasingly dominant among modern architects in the 1930s. Le Corbusier began on that track only in 1929-1930, with the de Mandrot villa and his Errazuriz project<sup>1</sup>. Le Corbusier's two houses of the 1930s - *Le Sextant* for Albin Peyron and the 'petite maison de weekend' at La Celle Saint Cloud (both 1935) as well as the weekend house project for André Jaoul (1937)- can be interpreted as part of this trend, leading to the post war Jaoul houses and the villa Sarabhai<sup>2</sup>.

My aim is to trace the history of two of the houses that Badovici restored and transformed in the Burgundian city of Vézelay and evaluate their significance in the context of French modern architecture between the wars. The history of the three houses on the rue de la Porte Neuve requires more work. The documents in the Getty Research Institute allow us to know that preliminary work on these began in 1928 but continued sporadically into the 1930s. I have dealt elsewhere with the question of the contribution of Eileen Gray (1878-1976) to the work at Vézelay and will not discuss it again in detail except to consider three drawings that can be attributed to her for the Battanchon-Renaudin house<sup>3</sup>.

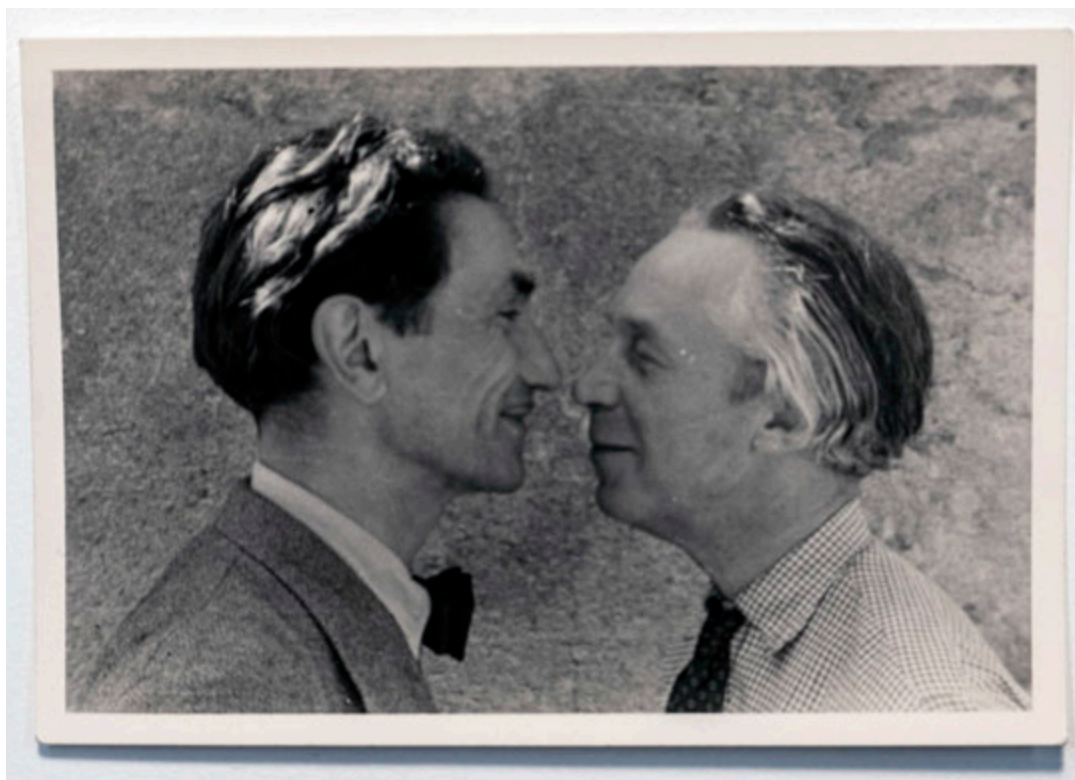
Two rich deposits of documentation about the life and work of the Romanian architect Jean Badovici have yet to be analysed in detail<sup>4</sup>. They permit for the first time a thorough analysis of the houses that Jean Badovici adapted and rebuilt at Vézelay between 1927 and 1935<sup>5</sup>. These include the house rebuilt for Olga Battanchon and Georges Renaudin, Badovici's own house and the adaptation of three houses on the rue de la Porte Neuve. The research reveals the close working relationship between Georges Renaudin, Jean Badovici and the builder Léon Papillon and throws light on the ad hoc processes that were involved<sup>6</sup>.

### The houses adapted by Jean Badovici at Vézelay, 1927-34

A key feature of the Vézelay houses was Badovici's personality as a charming, convivial person who wanted to surround himself with like-minded friends (Figure 4). The obvious affection that linked Yves Renaudin (usually addressed by his second name Georges) and Badovici emerges from several photographs of them larking about together (Figure 4)<sup>7</sup>. Badovici uses exceptionally friendly language in addressing Renaudin: 'petit ange ne t'amuse pas à faire de ...'<sup>8</sup> This when scolding Renaudin for wanting to construct a concrete bench on the terrace of his house.

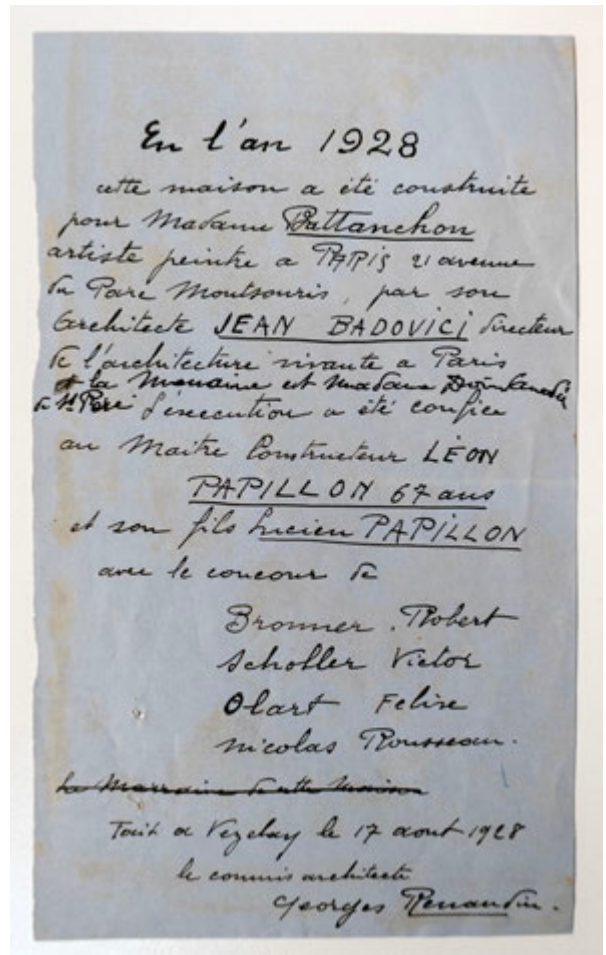
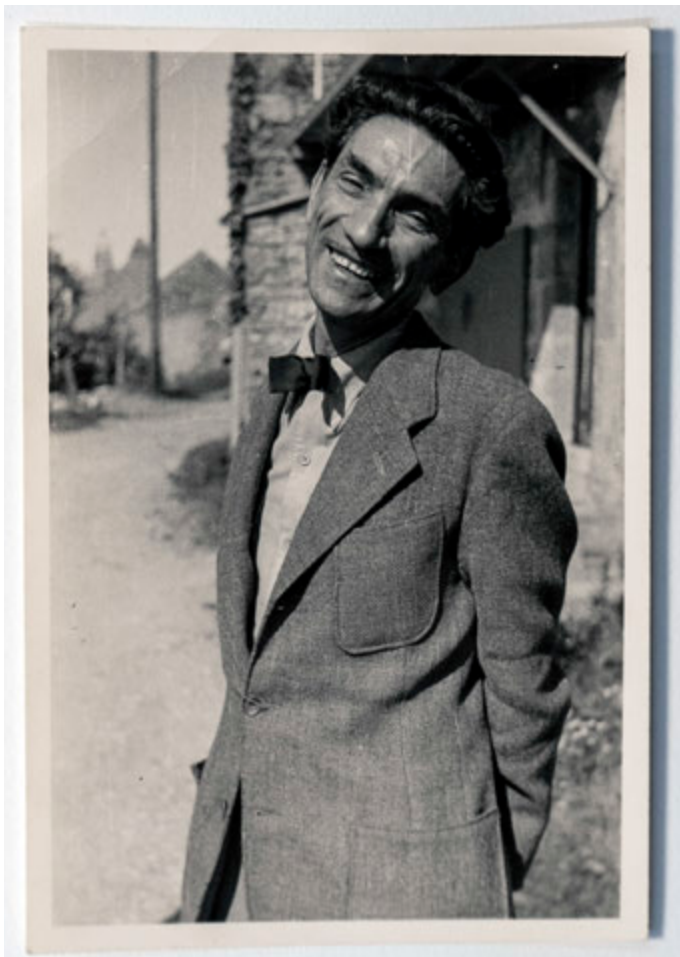
The Vézelay houses have very little to do with Le Corbusier's purist villas of the 1920s or the modernist villa E-1027 designed by Eileen Gray with Badovici's support, and nothing to do with her architectural projects of the 1920s and 1930s<sup>9</sup>. As Cloé Pitiot and Caroline Constant have rightly observed, the work on the Badovici houses at Vézelay probably influenced Gray's 'eclectic modernism' of her later villa *Tempe e Pailla* (1931-1934).

It has been repeatedly asserted that Eileen Gray collaborated with Jean Badovici in the restructuring of these houses<sup>10</sup>. Jennifer Goff, the most thorough of the biographers, goes as far as to say that 'It is now known that three of the houses at Vézelay are attributable to Gray as they have previously been considered a collaborative project between Badovici and Gray'<sup>11</sup>. The belief that Eileen Gray gave Badovici 'financial assistance' in the purchase of these houses may be true but is undocumented<sup>12</sup>. Badovici is recorded as the purchaser of the Vézelay houses as well as the site of E1027, although it is entirely possible that she subsidised these purchases privately<sup>13</sup>. In an interview just before her death, Gray remarked, referring to E1027, 'Well, I put the thing in his name because he said he wanted the place as a refuge...'<sup>14</sup>. There is no mention of Gray in the correspondence between Badovici, Renaudin and the builder Papillon. She did not include the Vézelay houses in the portfolios of her work that



**FIG. 3**  
Badovici and Renaudin  
nose to nose. (Bibliothèque  
Kandinsky).





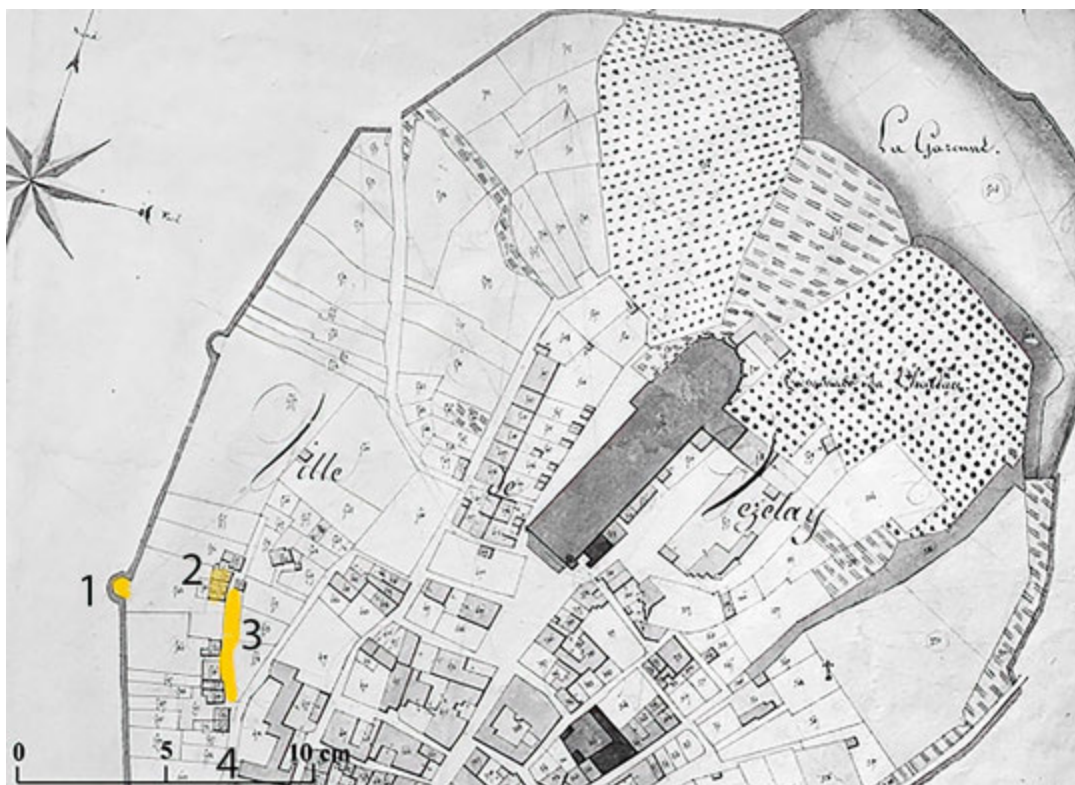
she assembled in the 1950s<sup>15</sup>. She does not appear to have mentioned them to her biographer Peter Adam, who makes no mention of Vézelay in the first edition of his book<sup>16</sup>. On a sheet of blue writing paper, Renaudin documented the inauguration of the house (Figure 5):

'In the year 1928, this house was built for Madame Battanchon, artist-painter in Paris, 21 Avenue du Parc Montsouris, by her architect Jean Badovici, director of *L'architecture Vivante* in Paris, the god-mother is madame Drouin de Saint-Père... Done at Vézelay 17 August 1928.<sup>17</sup>

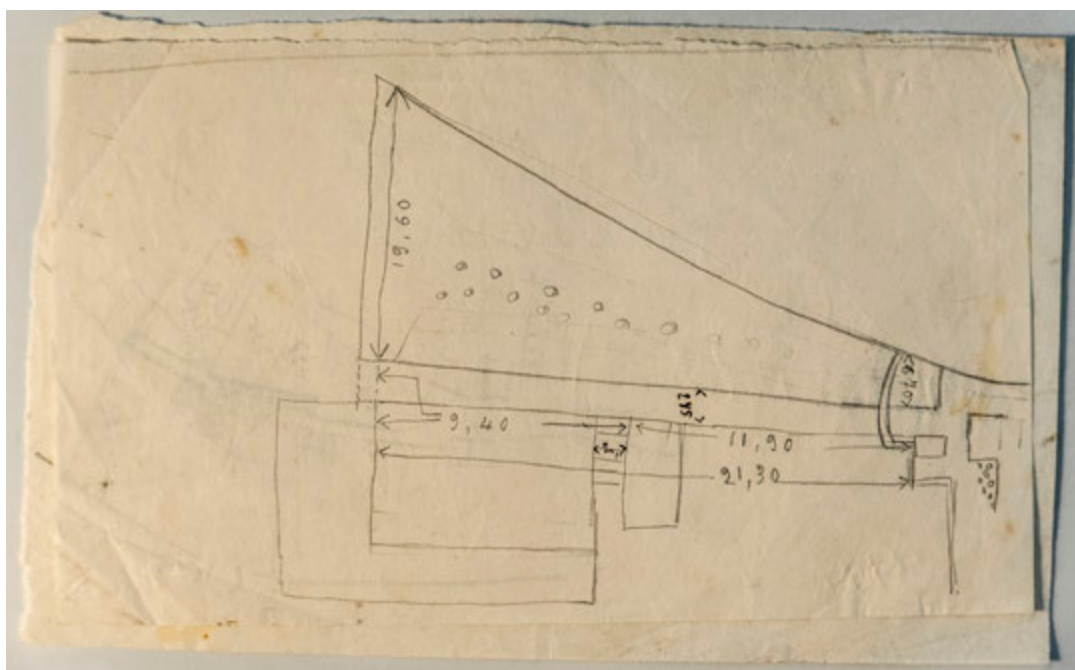
It was Caroline Constant, in her excellent book on Gray's architecture, who first attributed the design of the Vézelay houses to Gray, based on her analysis of three drawings in the Eileen Gray archive at the Victoria and Albert Museum<sup>18</sup>. These drawings are a ground plan of the Renaudin-Battanchon house (Figure 41) and two floor plans for the Badovici house (Figures 74 and 76)<sup>19</sup>. I cannot agree with her attribution, based on the handwriting on the drawings. A detailed analysis of the handwriting was published in December 2023 in the *Journal of Design History*<sup>20</sup>. At its simplest: Gray continued all her life to use the Anglo-Saxon convention of using the period or interpunkt for the decimal divider and the unbarred '7'. There are over thirty other significant differences in the way that Gray and Badovici write letters or numbers. All the drawings that include handwriting for the Renaudin-Battanchon and Badovici houses are either by Badovici or by Renaudin.

**FIG. 4**  
Jean Badovici, standing outside his house at Vézelay, ca. 1931. (Bibliothèque Kandinsky).

**FIG. 5**  
Georges Renaudin, notice of construction of the Battanchon house. (Bibliothèque Kandinsky).



**FIG. 6**  
Vézelay cadastre 1819.  
1: Tour rouge, 2: Houses  
bought by Battanchon; 3 :  
Impasse du Crot; 4: Rue  
du Crot (now called rue de  
l'Argenterie).



**FIG. 7**  
Renaudin?, plan of his  
property. (Bibliothèque  
Kandinsky).

## **Battanchon - Renaudin House, Impasse du Crot, Vézelay**

Jean Badovici's neighbour in Paris, Georges Renaudin, bought two houses in Vézelay with his partner Olga Battanchon in 1926. Her family lived at Saint-Père, at the foot of the spur on which Vézelay is located. The magnificent Romanesque basilica of Sainte-Marie Madeleine had been a stepping off point for the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela. In its heyday, in the 12th and 13th centuries, Vézelay was a key religious centre in France. The first, second and third crusades were preached here. Following the wars of religion, Vézelay fell into decline until Prosper Mérimée engaged Viollet-le-Duc to restore the abbey (1840-1859). The pilgrimage route was restarted, Vézelay began to rediscover its religious importance and the abbey was designated a basilica in 1920. The population continued to decline however and the town remains to this day preserved largely as it was in the eighteenth century. It was Badovici's idea to make Vézelay a centre for artists and writers and, indeed, several important figures purchased houses there, including Romain Rolland, Georges Bataille and Badovici's friend Christian Zervos.

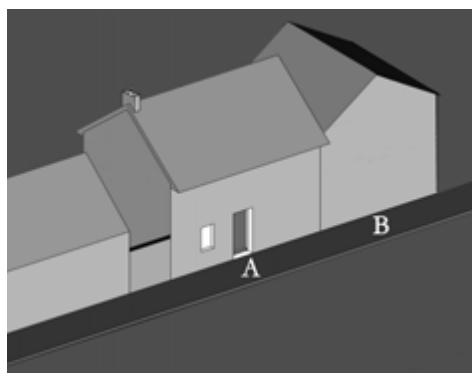
There is considerable documentation about the Renaudin-Battanchon house, but, unfortunately, most of it is undated and much of it is confusing and at times contradictory<sup>21</sup>. In order to understand the transformation of these houses, it is necessary to go into some detail about what existed before. The houses are located on the West side of the impasse du Crot, which was a cul-de-sac that branches off the rue du Crot, which was subsequently renamed rue de l'Argenterie (Figure 6)<sup>22</sup>. The Renaudin-Battanchon plot was referred to as the maison de la Tour Rouge, after a circular tower in the fourteenth century walls. The site sloped down to the West, offering spectacular views over the Burgundian countryside. A sketch plan, probably drawn by Renaudin, shows the triangular patch of ground that rises sharply from the impasse du Crot, below, to the rue de l'Argenterie, above (Figure 7)<sup>23</sup>. This was part of the Renaudin holding.

### **The original houses**

I have reconstructed the original houses, based on sketch plans drawn by Renaudin (Figure 8)<sup>24</sup>. I will refer to these as House A (to the South) and House B (to the North). House A measures 7.20m x 5.60m externally while House B was 5.60m square. The rising ground to the East of the Impasse du Crot is retained by a wall of around 1.50m. In my hypothetical reconstruction (Figure 8), I have included the window and door in House A, which are indicated on Renaudin's plans and survive in part today<sup>25</sup>. You can still identify the houses facing onto the Impasse although Badovici added an additional storey and two monopitch roofs (Figure 2). In the high wall of House B, facing the impasse du Crot, the traces of a triangular gable can be seen, confirming that the original house had a pitched roof running East-West. There is no evidence that a door existed on this side of house B, which is probably due to the fact that its ground floor plan is some 50 centimetres below the level of the Impasse. Entrance to the house was probably on the West side, where the steep slope creates an additional basement storey (Figure 9). Most of the houses in Vézelay are built over cellars cut into the slope and these are no exception. The blue gate opening onto the Impasse opens onto a flight of steps leading down to an arched entrance to the cellar. Both houses had doors on the West side, accessed from steps. The lean-to extension on the South West corner of House A was incorporated into Badovici's design. A third house, to the South, was purchased by Renaudin in 1932 and had only been partially restored in October 1936 when Le Corbusier filmed it (Figure 52). A house further to the South bears a plaque recording its purchase by Bernard Zimmer, an early organiser of *son et lumière* spectacles, in 1933, which he occupied until 1960.

There are three un-dimensioned sketch plans, drawn by Renaudin, showing ideas for developing the two houses<sup>26</sup>. On one of these, Renaudin proposed an additional storey and an extension of house B to block the Impasse du Crot (Figure 10). My hypothetical reconstruction shows the proposed garage facing the Impasse and two small windows on the upper floor of houses A and B (Figure 10)<sup>27</sup>. A door to the higher ground on the East side is annotated as a 'porte sur le jardin d'agrément et l'entrée d'honneur'. This drawing also explains that house B would provide 'ta chambre atelier' (your studio bedroom), with a large North window. Indeed, this is where Badovici





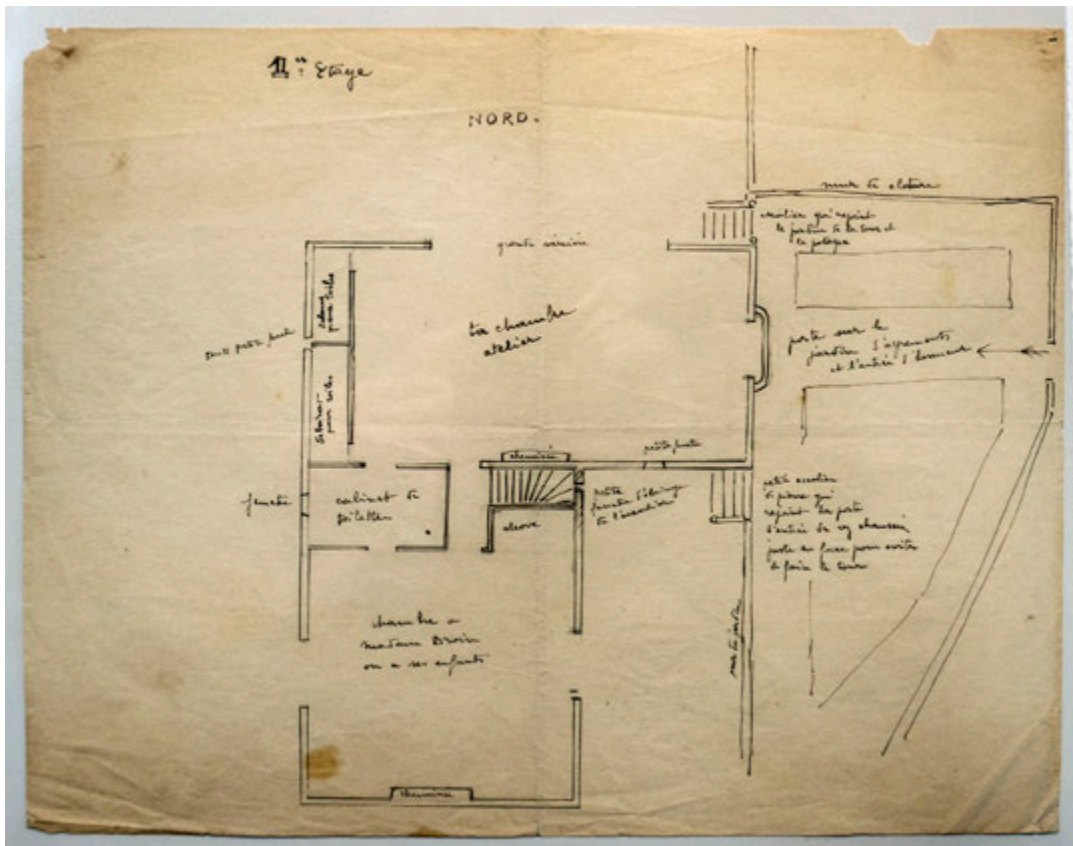
located Olga's studio in the completed building. A room in house A is marked 'chambre de madame Drouin ou ses enfants'. There is a fireplace in the South wall of this room which remains to this day in the finished building. On CP Bado 93 and 92, an entrance is indicated from the impasse du Crot to the house A. This entrance, converted into a window, and another window, remain in the finished house.

Badovici decided to keep the walls of the East part of house B but demolish the rest. An ink drawing by Georges Renaudin, shows house B, with its ivy-encrusted gable facing the impasse du Crot on the right and a chimney on the West gable (Figure 13). It is unclear why house A is not shown. Clearly seen is a massive growth of ivy on the East gable and the rising ground to the right of the Impasse. The Western part of the roof seems to be in poor shape. There follows a sequence of pencil and watercolour drawings showing the demolition of the roof and most of the West part of house B<sup>28</sup>. The drawings are labelled with times: '11 ½ le 17' (11.30 on the 17th), '14h', '4H' (presumably 16.00), '9H' (either 21.00 or 9.00 on the next day) (Figure 14 -Figure 15).



A plan and perspective of House A shows the 3.0m x 2.90m lean-to extension on the West side and window above, both of which were incorporated into the finished building (Figure 16)<sup>29</sup>. On the North wall, which abutted house B, there is a large opening which now connects the two houses. It seems that this sketch was already part of the planning process for combining the two houses.

Two watercolour drawings and a line drawing show a preliminary idea for the Renaudin-Battanchon house (Figure 17)<sup>30</sup>. Part of the walls of house A are indicated, with the fireplace on the South side<sup>31</sup>. There are some anomalies. The ground floor plan seems to ignore the different ground levels of the two houses. The outline of the original House A with the fireplace can be seen, but an additional bedroom is added on the South side, picked out in yellow. This is because the project incorporates the two-metre passage to the South of the Renaudin plot (shown on the left in Figure 2 and Figure 22). The South elevation (on the left) is shown with two windows in what would have been the party wall to the adjoining house to the South. This seems to indicate a lack of awareness of the situation. The proposal is to demolish house B completely and to create a flat-roofed atelier with a roof terrace accessible by an external cantilevered staircase on the side facing the impasse du Crot. These external staircases were used by Le Corbusier in many of his projects of the 1920s, and notably with the 'skyscrapers' at Pessac in 1925-6. Large glazed windows on the North and West sides are indicated. A mezzanine gallery overlooking the studio area is indicated by a dotted line in the plan and can be identified in the first floor plan and section (Figure 18)<sup>32</sup>. The section indicates a staircase rising from House A, on the right, to the studio in house B and then to the mezzanine overlooking the studio. This arrangement ignores the fact that House B was actually two steps lower than House A.



**FIG. 8**  
Reconstruction of the two houses purchased by Georges Renaudin, seen from the East. In grey is the Impasse du Crot (Tim Benton).

**FIG. 9**  
Reconstruction of houses A and B from the West (Tim Benton).

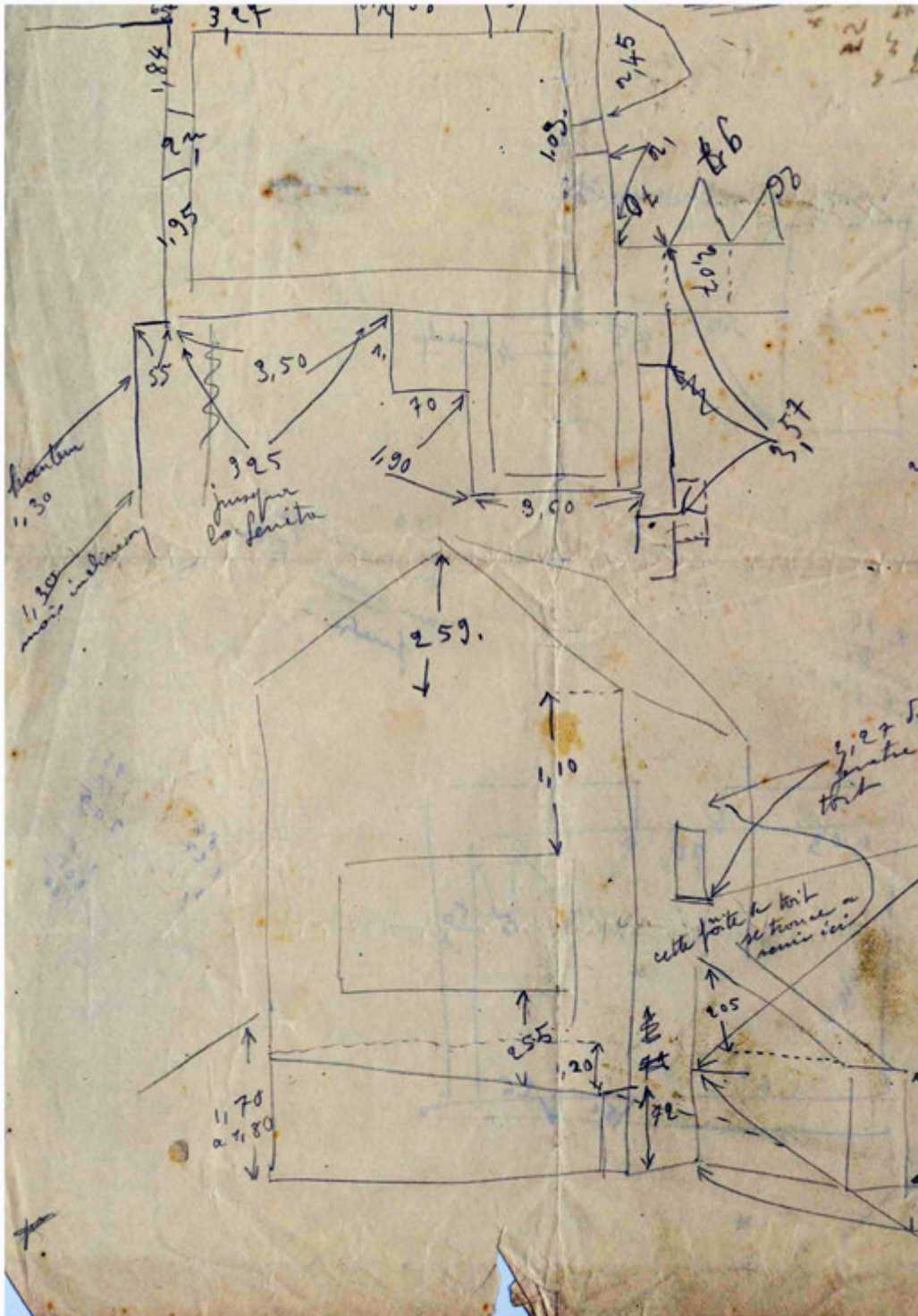
**FIG. 10**  
Reconstruction of Renaudin's projected extension of House B (Tim Benton).

**FIG. 11**  
Typical Vézelay house on split level, with cellars dug into the slope (Photo Tim Benton).

**FIG. 12**  
Renaudin, plan of first floor of two existing houses, with proposed extension to the East (Bibliothèque Kandinsky).







**FIG. 13**  
Georges Renaudin, Pen sketch from the South of house B of existing house, with the rue de Crot on the right (B. Kandinsky).

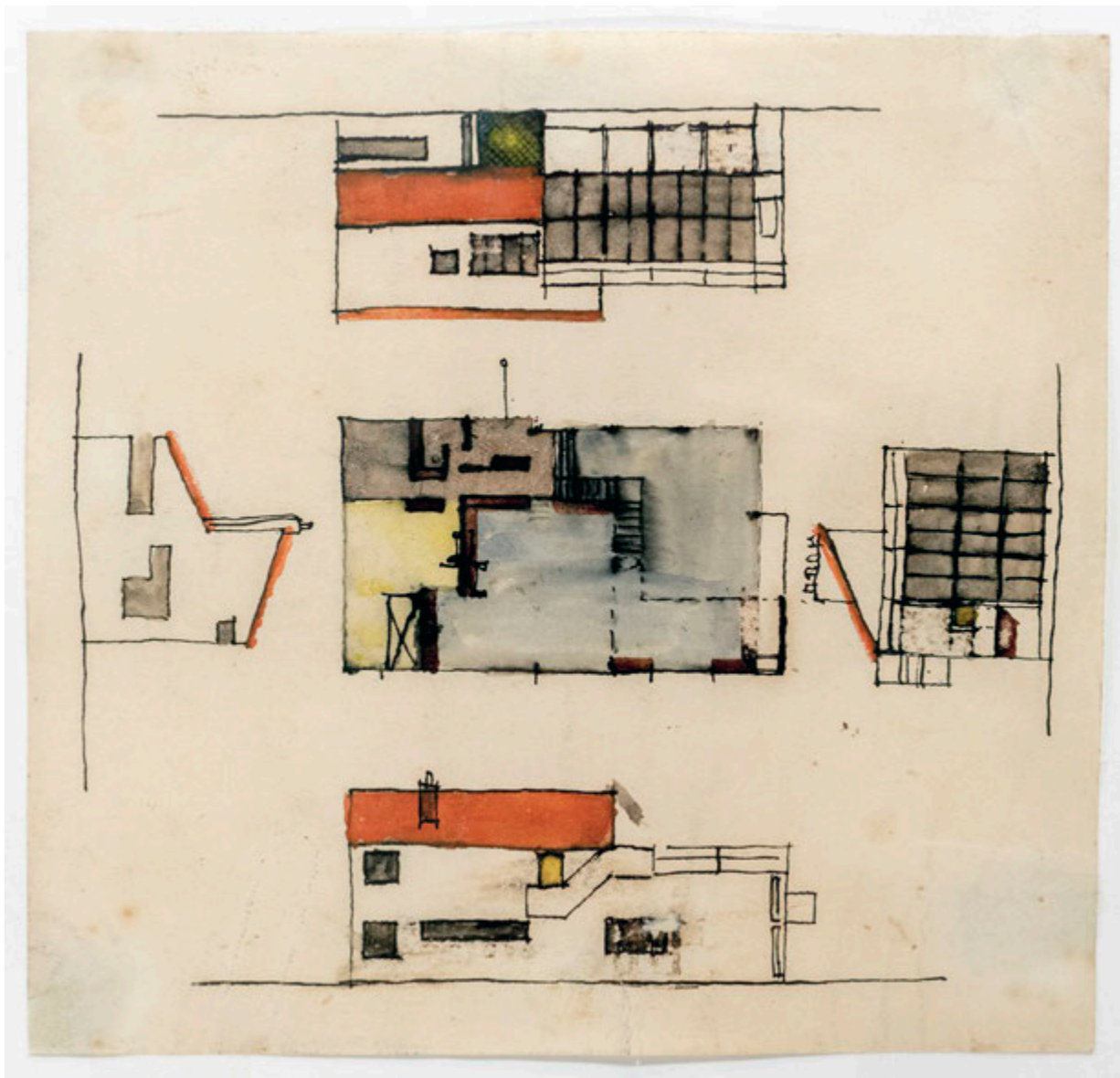
**FIG. 14**  
Georges Renaudin, watercolour sketch of house; note the clump of ivy on the East gable (B. Kandinsky).

**FIG. 15**  
Georges Renaudin, sketch of partial demolition of house B (Bibliothèque Kandinsky).

**FIG. 16**  
Sketch plan and elevation from the North of House A showing the proposed opening in the North wall and the lean-to addition on South West corner (Bibliothèque Kandinsky).

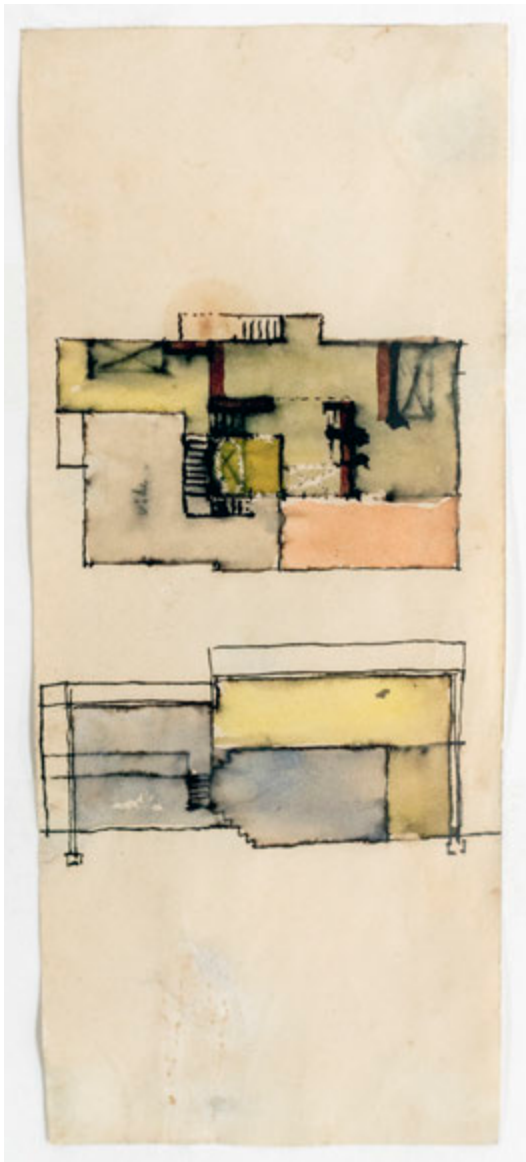


It is significant that these watercolour drawings are more 'modern' than what was built, especially as seen from the Impasse du Crot. They include aspects of the completed project, such as the location of the studio with its mezzanine gallery and the use of monopitch roofs. Caroline Constant, who has written the best book on Eileen Gray's architectural designs, attributes these drawings to Gray and I am inclined to agree with her. The layout of the drawings, with elevations aligned around the four sides of the plan, is a system that Gray frequently used, derived from de Stijl practice<sup>33</sup>. The use of colour calls for comparison with the coloured axonometric of the Moissi villa<sup>34</sup>. The project is clearly a first attempt based on little information about the site and the adjoining buildings. If this attribution is correct, it confirms the fact that Gray and Badovici were discussing their projects and collaborating in some sense. I will show, however, that there is no evidence of Gray's further contribution to the Vézelay houses.



### Badovici's project

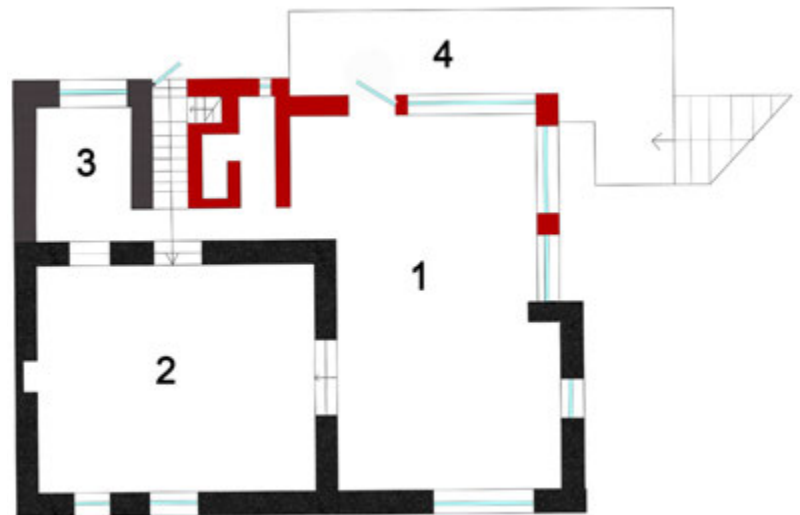
Badovici's approach was to incorporate the stone structure of house A and the eastern half of house B and add a large glazed studio on the North West corner, with a flat roof above it (Figure 19)<sup>35</sup>. The house was extended by 3.10m to the West, wrapping around the walls of house A which were retained. The roof of house A was extended upwards to the West while the East-West ridge of house B has been replaced by a monopitch roof sloping up to the high wall on the East side facing the impasse du Crot (Figure 20). The striking juxtaposition of inclined roofs dominates the perception of the house from the North and West. From the impasse du Crot, the flat-roofed studio addition is invisible (Figure 2). The use of mono-pitched roofs was quite common in Vézelay for small buildings (Figure 21).



**FIG. 17**  
Eileen Gray?, Ground floor plan and elevations of a preliminary project for Renaudin-Battanchon house (MNAM).

**FIG. 18**  
Eileen Gray? First floor plan and section of preliminary project for Renaudin house (MNAM).

**FIG. 19**  
Reconstruction of the upper ground floor as first envisaged, showing new build in red. 1: Part of House B and new build; double height living room and studio; 2: House A, incorporated as bedroom; 3: bathroom; 4: concrete balcony added after 1928 (Tim Benton).

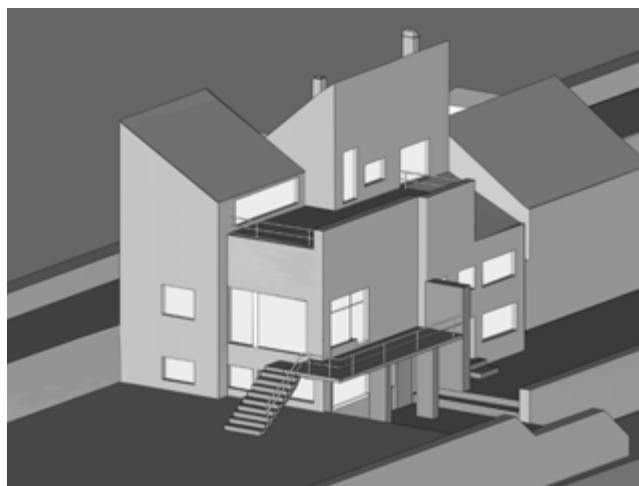


There is only one surviving plan showing the whole structure (Figure 41) and I will argue that this was drawn by Badovici at a late stage in construction. It seems that Badovici and Renaudin proceeded largely by word of mouth and correspondence, adapting and adding onto the existing structures. The surviving sketches mostly record changes in detail.

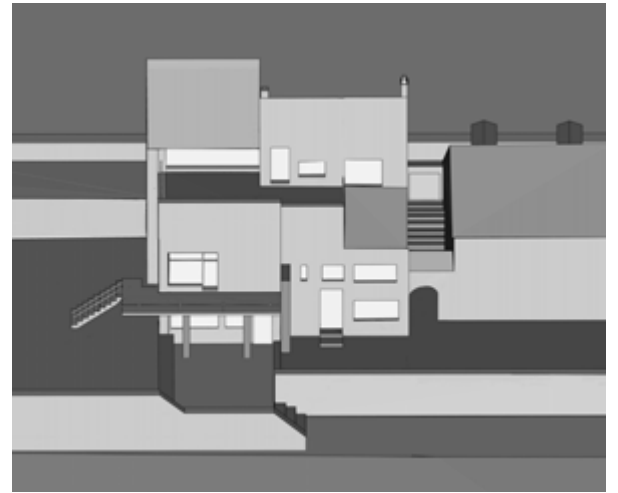
The ground at the West end was dug out and levelled to allow light to the lower ground floor, where Renaudin's studio was located (Figure 20). This meant that the entrances from the West side was over 2m below the level of the impasse du Crot. There was no entrance from the Impasse du Crot. Entry was via the blue gate down some steps to the West front (Figure 22 and Figure 23). Two steps lead up to the main door on the West side which opens onto a staircase leading to the upper ground floor. Two steps on the terrace then lead down to the level of the basement, where a door gives access to Renaudin's studio.

**FIG. 20**  
Reconstruction of the  
Renaudin-Battanchon  
house As first completed in  
1928, from North West (Tim  
Benton).

**FIG. 21**  
Monopitch roof in Vézelay  
(Photo Tim Benton).







**FIG. 22**  
Blue gate to the Impasse du Crot and steps leading down to the West side (Photo Tim Benton).

**FIG. 23**  
Reconstruction of Badovici's project, seen from the West (Tim Benton).

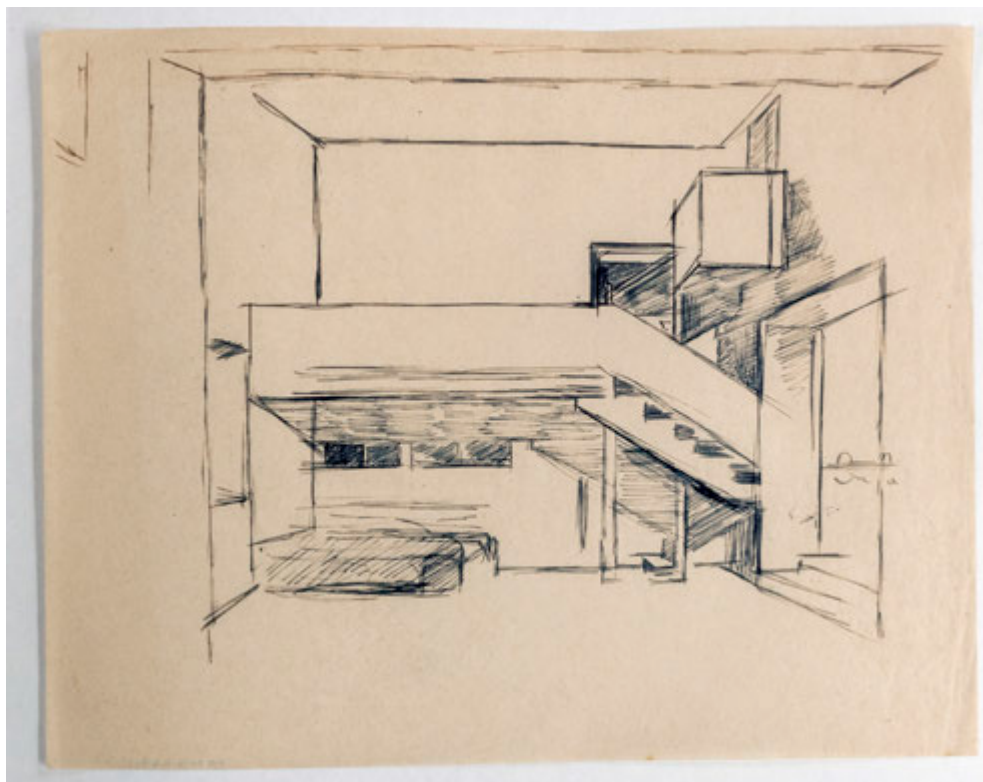
In plan, the staircase from the entry on the West side rises to the bedroom, with the kitchen occupying the existing lean-to extension to House A (Figure 19). The dining-room (the original House A) is two steps higher than the rest of the plan. The external balcony does not seem to have been part of the original scheme and does not appear in this form on the plans or in two photographs of the building in construction (Figure 40 and Figure 51). At some point, the dining room was changed into a bedroom and the kitchen into a bathroom (Figure 41)<sup>36</sup>.

A watercolour sketch by Renaudin explains the internal arrangement (Figure 24 and Figure 25). House A is picked out in green with the dining room visible inside. On the right, the addition on the West side leads to a single storey structure which houses the stairs leading down to the entrance on the West front. On the left, a dog-leg wooden staircase in the corner of the studio, lit by a window, leads to a mezzanine balcony. From here the staircase continues to the door to the bedroom in House A. Underneath the mezzanine is a long, low window which can



**FIG. 24**

Georges Renaudin, perspective watercolour sketch of the studio looking South, with the steps up to the bedroom, the large opening to the dining refigure 320m and the doors to the landing on the stairs leading down to the garden on the West side (MNAM).



**FIG. 25**

Renaudin, perspective of the sleeping area in the studio, with the mezzanine above and steps leading up to Olga's bedroom. The wide opening on the right leads into the dining room (MNAM).





**FIG. 26**  
Maison Renaudin-Battanchon, seen from the Impasse du Crot, showing the low horizontal window illuminating the sleeping area in the studio. The small structure on the right was added later (Photo Tim Benton).



**FIG. 27**  
View of the studio looking towards the mezzanine balcony and staircase leading to Olga Battanchon's bedroom (Photo Tim Benton).

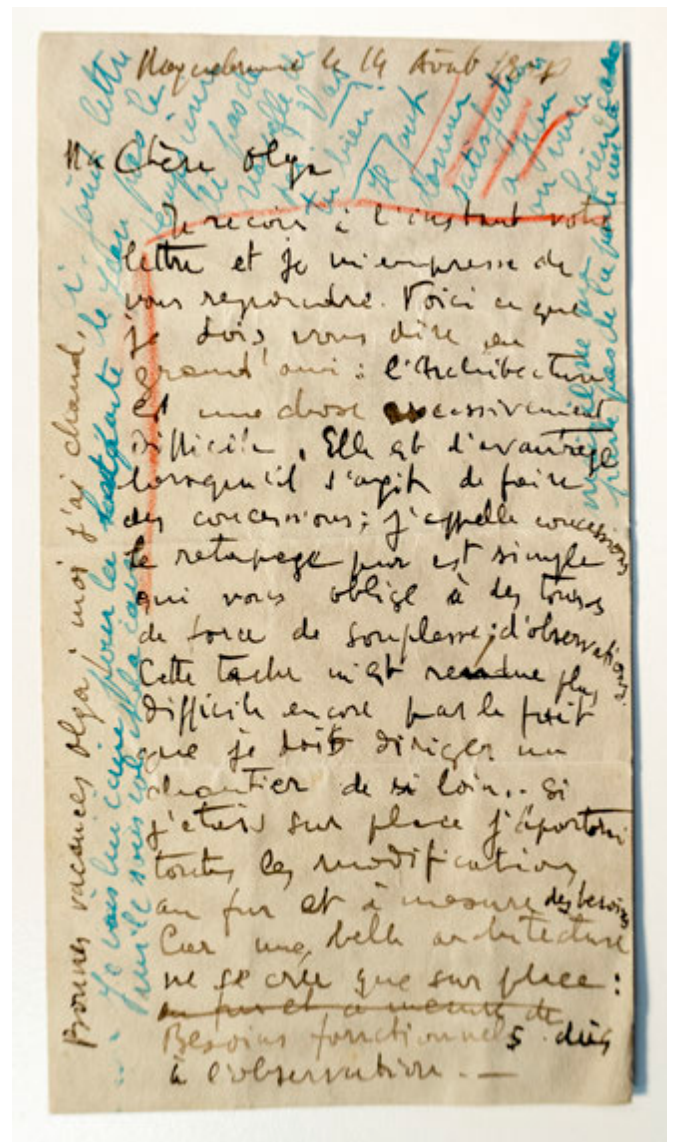
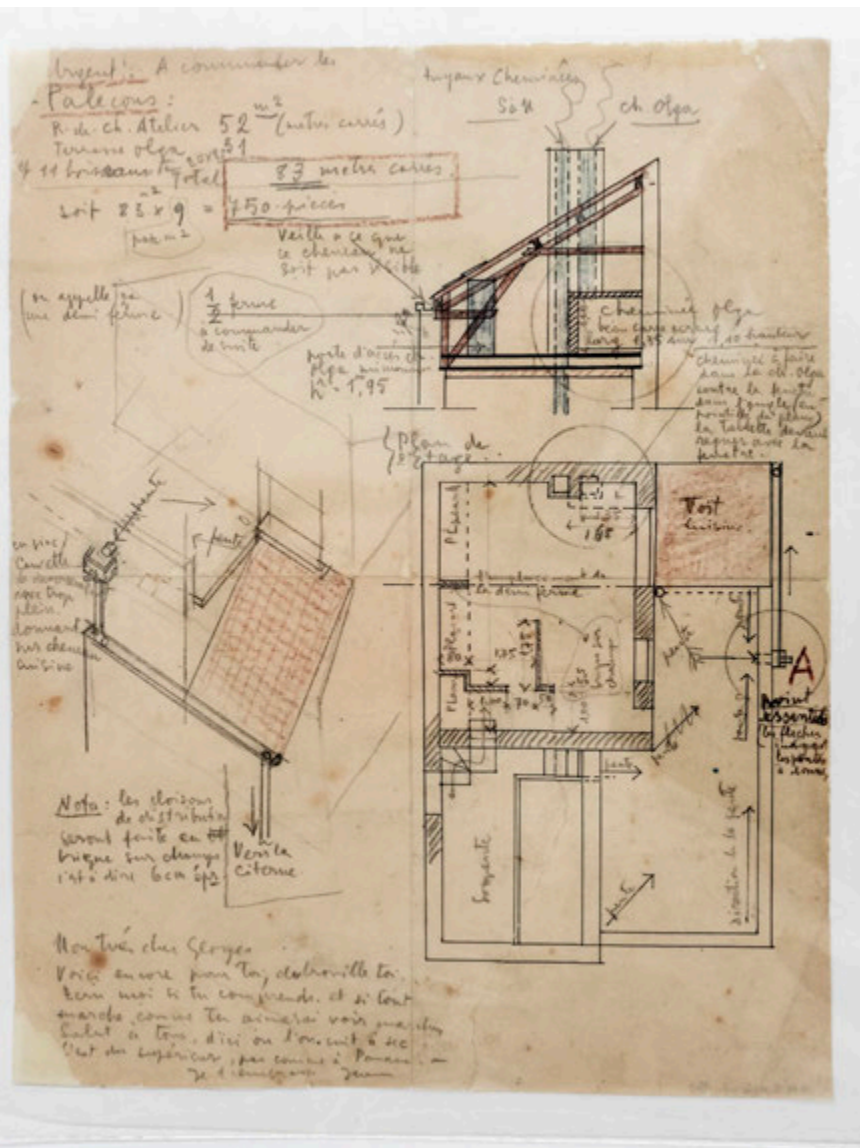
**FIG. 28**  
View of the extension, towards the staircase leading up from the West entrance. The original walls of House A are on the left (Photo Tim Benton).

**FIG. 29**  
Maison Renaudin Ceiling of the studio and clerestory window overlooking the terrace (Photo Tim Benton).





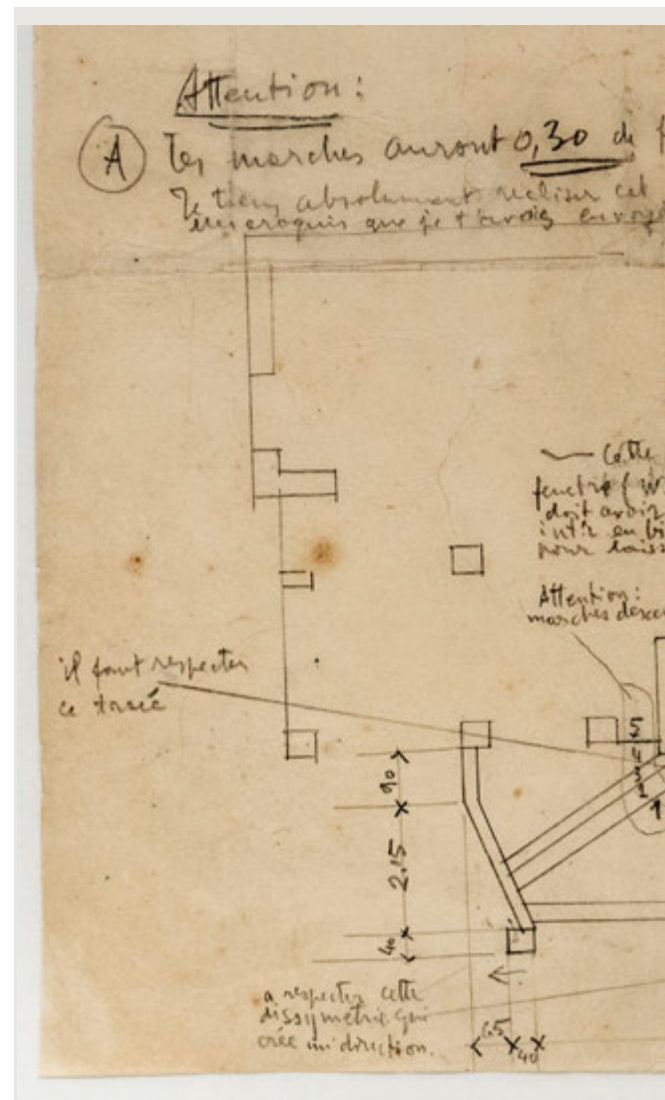
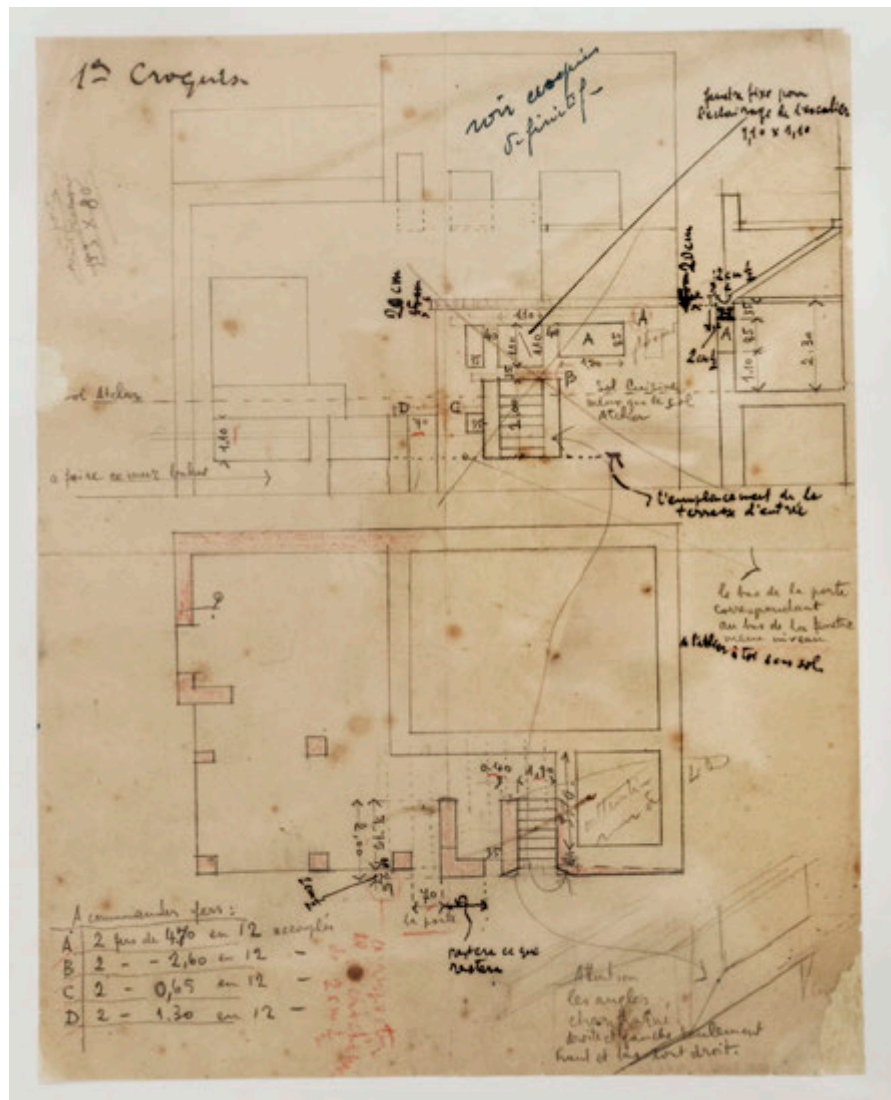




be seen from the Impasse du Crot (Figure 26). A square window above and to the right illuminates the stairs. The ceiling over the mezzanine is raised by a further 1.30 metres above the ceiling of the studio, where the roof slopes up towards the Impasse du Crot (see Figure 31). Today, all this can be identified, along with a fireplace on the right, which was missing in the sketches (Figure 27 and Figure 28). The low wall supporting the West end of the roof and the clerestory window opening onto the flat roof can be seen in Figure 29. The terrace over the roof of the studio can be reached from a door in Olga Battanchon's bedroom (Figure 30).

In section, Badovici used the height of the monopitch roof over house A to create a bedroom. (Figure 32)<sup>37</sup>. He refers to the 'demi-ferme' (half truss) required to complete this extension<sup>38</sup>. The extra height provided the space for Olga's bedroom with windows facing West and a glazed door to the upper terrace. A door was inserted providing





**FIG. 34**  
Badovici, lower ground floor plan and West elevation, Renaudin-Battanchon house '1er croquis', with Badovici's comments (MNAM).

**FIG. 35**  
Badovici, suggestion for arrangement of steps leading up to the main entrance and down to the lower ground floor (MNAM).

access to Olga's bedroom from house B, made possible by the slope of the roof of house B rising to the. Another section through the studio shows this door and the mezzanine balcony that gave access to it East (Figure 31). The low wall supporting the lower end of the roof over house B was pierced by a long clerestory window that created structural difficulties (see below). It also reveals a problem: the floor level of Olga's bedroom was lower than the level of the roof terrace over the studio whose height is indicated here as 4m (with 3.55 and 3.50 crossed out). This was resolved in 1-52 (Figure 32), where the floor of Olga's bedroom has been raised by c. 40 cms, indicated by the two heavy black lines<sup>39</sup>. The lower level remains to this day in the cupboards inserted in the eaves of the roof. There is correspondence about this between Badovici and Renaudin, in which Badovici assures his friend that nothing changes except the height of the bedroom floor<sup>40</sup>. From this letter we learn that the ceiling of the dining room in house A was fixed by the existing structure and that the decision to raise the height of the atelier from 3.50m to 4.0m determined a change to the base of the door onto the roof terrace from Olga's bedroom which in turn dictated raising the height of the floor (cf Figure 32).





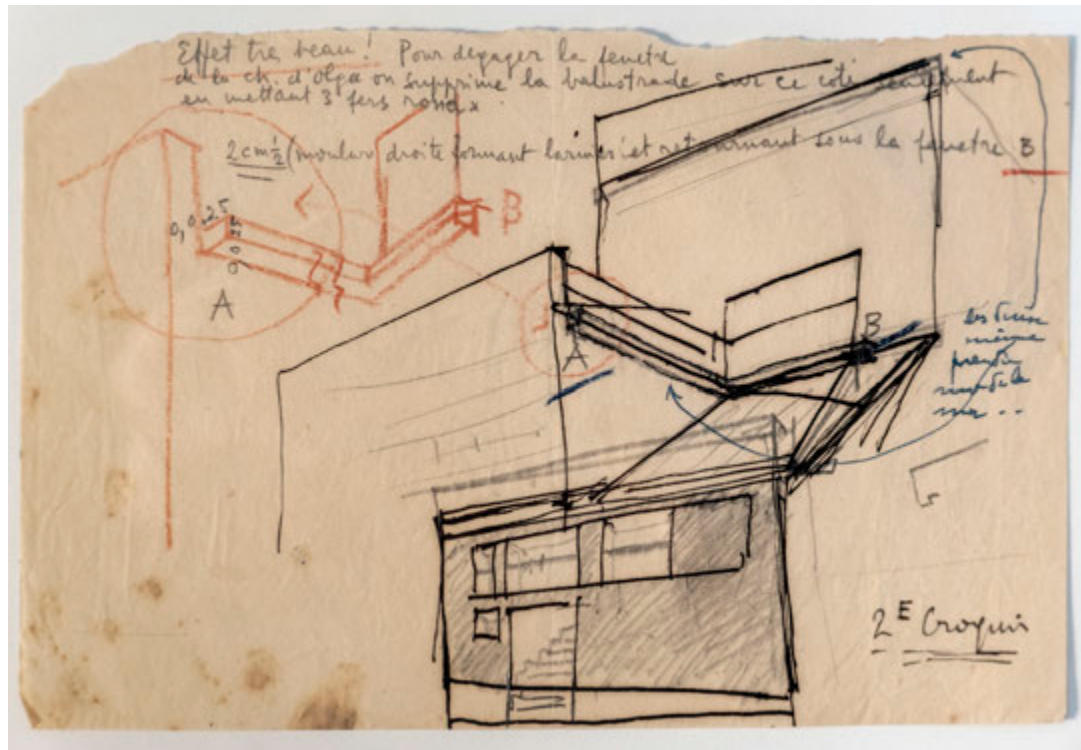
**FIG. 37**  
Badovici, sketch of entrance on West side, showing roof of kitchen and the proposed railing and moulding (MNAM).

notes on ordering steel beams. Badovici notes, ' nous ne pouvons plus rien changer maintenant le dessin sans dégringoler la plastique'<sup>43</sup>. These plans were probably drawn by Badovici, but he says in a note that 'I followed your sketch and drawing and arranged that as well as possible'. In another note (on 46-2) he added: 'following your sketch but with my proportions'<sup>44</sup>. This suggests that Renaudin played a more important role than simply that of supervising construction. The drawing AM-2014-1-46-1 (Figure 34) is labelled by Badovici '1er croquis'. Renaudin added in blue ink 'voir croquis définitif'<sup>45</sup>. Assuming that the elevation is drawn to scale, this gives us a height of 9.90m for the ridge of house B and 11.30m for house A<sup>46</sup>. The datum line is presumably the floor of the lower ground floor, 2.4m below the floor of Olga's studio.

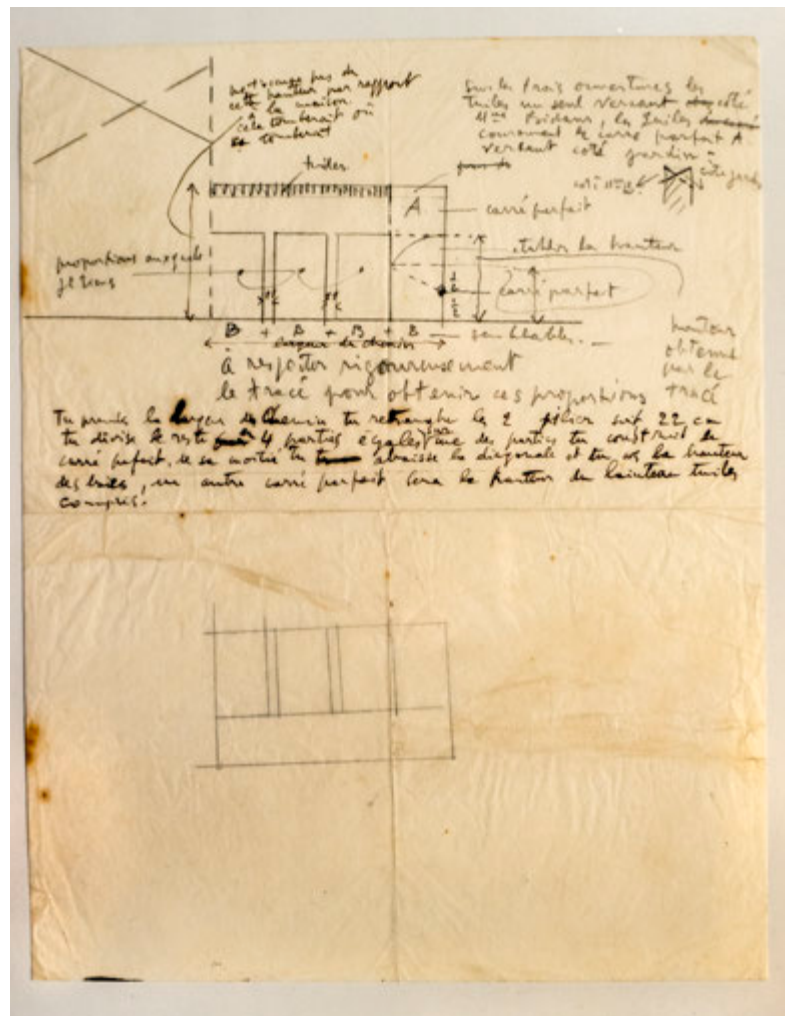
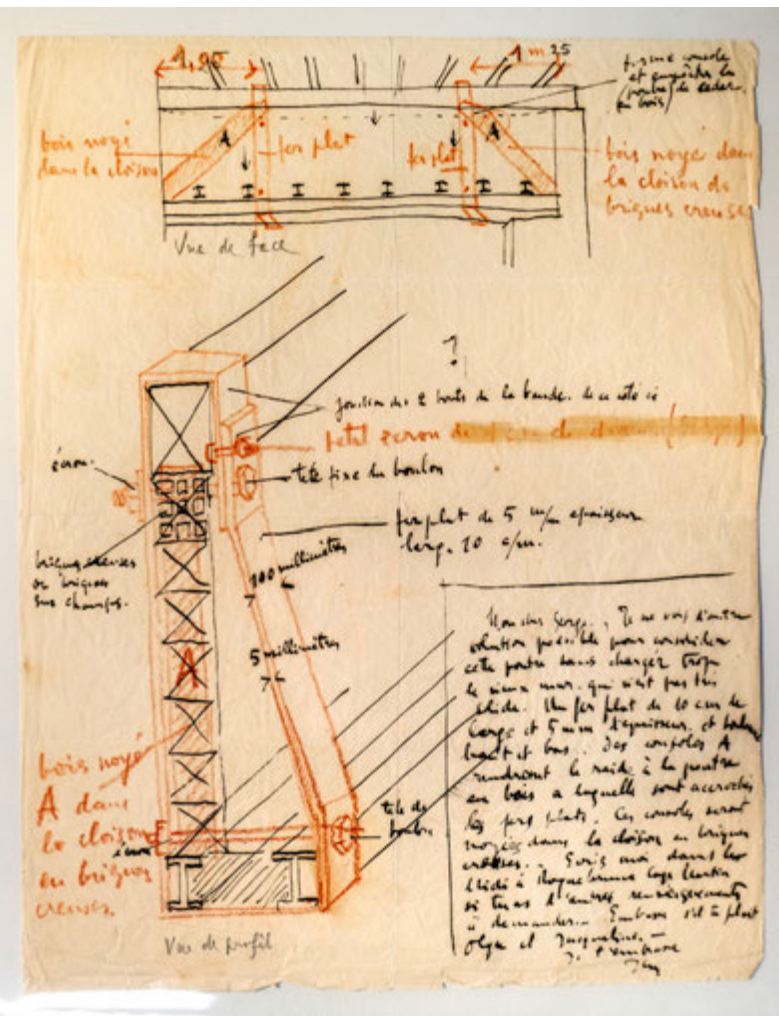
The problem in these plans was how to organise the stairs from the lower ground floor and how to provide access to Renaudin's studio. The plan on 46-1 (Figure 34) of the lower ground floor shows an entrance to the lower studio from the exterior but it seems that the levels were not calculated correctly. On an ingenious plan (Figure 35) Badovici proposed a triangular terrace, with two steps up from the terrace and three steps leading down on the left to the door to Renaudin's studio, while three steps on the right lead up to the front door. Badovici was fond of this Baroque solution, noting: 'Je tiens absolument à réaliser cet escalier qui sera superbe.' In a revised elevation and plan of the upper ground floor, marked 'définitif' (Figure 36), an opening off the entrance stairs would have led down to Renaudin's studio by a cramped dog-leg staircase<sup>47</sup>. This was what was built.

On this plan Badovici was proposing to heat Battanchon's studio with a stove attached to the pier on the North side and on another drawing he asked Renaudin to tell the builder Papillon to leave a hole in the ceiling for the flue. In the event, a fireplace was constructed on the other wall in the salon (see Figure 27 and Figure 40).

Another problem addressed was how to organise the relationship between the flat roof of the studio, the pitched roof of the lean-to addition and the window to Battanchon's bedroom (Figure 37). On a sketch labelled '2e croquis'







Badovici proposes a concrete moulding unifying terrace and window and a tubular steel railing to the terrace. In an undated letter he explains: ‘Cela pour dégager la fenêtre de la chambre d’Olga qui est étouffée entre le toit de la cuisine et la balustrade de la terrasse. D’ailleurs l’effet plastique n’est que meilleur’<sup>48</sup>. In this letter Badovici urges Renaudin to have Raynaud order the steel beams indicated on the first croquis (Figure 34)<sup>49</sup>. This suggests that the upper part of House B and the West front had yet to be built.

### Maison Renaudin - Battanchon; building history

Working out the chronology of the Renaudin-Battanchon house is complicated by the fact that most of the documents in the Centre Georges Pompidou (CP) are undated. The building history of the maison Badovici is better documented, however, and since many of the letters between Badovici and the builder Papillon refer to both building sites, we can make some inferences on progress on the Renaudin house. On the face of it, the history is clear. The old houses reused for the maison Renaudin-Battanchon were bought in 1927. As noted previously, on 17 August 1928, Renaudin penned a document apparently celebrating the completion of the house, where he names the mason Léon Papillon, his son Lucien as well as Robert Bronner, Victor Scholler, Felix Olart and Nicolas Rousseau (Figure 5)<sup>50</sup>. It is notable

**FIG. 38**  
Badovici letter to Renaudin proposing a solution to the beam over the clerestory window over the atelier (Bibliothèque Kandinsky).

**FIG. 39**  
Badovici sketch of structure to close off the impasse du Crot, with three arches (Bibliothèque Kandinsky).



that in the surviving records of building work on the Badovici house little or no mention is made of these workmen, apart from Papillon and the joiner Scholler, confirming that most of the Renaudin-Battanchon building records have not survived<sup>51</sup>. If this was a kind of topping out party, it seems that Badovici was not present<sup>52</sup>.

On 30 April 1928, Papillon writes to Olga Battanchon asking for a meeting to carry out a 'piétage de vos travaux ensemble'<sup>53</sup>. He goes on to refer to 'commencer les travaux de terrassement'. I take this to refer to the digging out and levelling of the ground to the West of the house. There is no specific mention of building work in this letter except a reference to the basement and cellar, but he complains about the poor state of the old walls 'qui ne tiennent plus'. This fits with various letters referring to strengthening the walls in association with the big beam over the studio (eg Figure 38). On 26 August 1928 Marcel Beau bills for barbed wire and posts, presumably for fencing off the garden<sup>54</sup>. It is likely that the annotated drawing showing the upper storey of the Renaudin-Battanchon house (Figure 32), was annotated in July or August 1928, since Badovici complains of the heat, much more so than in Paris (Figure 31)<sup>55</sup>. The implication is that he was in Roquebrune-Cap-Martin and this is reinforced by a letter to Olga Battanchon dated 14 August 1928 in which he confirms that he is in Roquebrune and that it is hot (Figure 33)<sup>56</sup>. In this letter he excuses himself for some failing noted by Olga, complaining of the difficulties of working at a distance and dealing with many local constraints. Confirmation that construction was in its later stages in August 1928 is provided by a letter about the steel beam over the big North window in which Badovici mentions the carpenter Tailly<sup>57</sup>. He explains that he is not going to go ahead with the oak parquet for the Badovici house, for which Tailly had presented an exaggeratedly high estimate<sup>58</sup>. Badovici's letter to Tailly rejecting this estimate was dated 8 September 1928<sup>59</sup>.



**FIG. 40**  
Photograph of the  
Battanchon/Renaudin  
house from the North before  
the addition of the large  
cantilevered balcony, winter  
1928-1929 (Bibliothèque  
Kandinsky).



**FIG. 43**  
Maison Renaudin-Battanchon from North, showing the kitchen extension on the left (Photo Tim Benton).



correspondence with Dizien dates from the autumn of 1929 or later. This is also discussed in the letter CP Bado 39 (Figure 38). The beam consisting of twin steel girders had to span the 4.95m of the atelier and in turn support the low end of the monopitch roof over House B. Badovici's solution was to create a rigid beam from two diagonal trusses embedded in hollow brick walls framing the opening, with a substantial steel strap supporting the twin steel girders 1.90m and 1.25m from the ends. In the end a simpler solution was adopted, proposed by the builder Raynaud. If all this was only being discussed in the winter of 1929, the building history would have to be modified. In a letter I date to September 1929 Badovici also refers to Raynaud installing steel reinforcing ties in the stone walls<sup>64</sup>.

A letter from Badovici to Renaudin that I date to early September 1929 refers to the unexecuted project to close off the impasse du Crot with a wall and various ideas for openings (Figure 39)<sup>65</sup>. Although this was never carried out, Badovici devoted a great deal of attention to it. Note the careful instructions about proportions, including a golden section and perfect square. On 14 August 1929 a company called L'Assèchement billed 'Monsieur Battouchon' (sic) at the Hotel du Cheval Blanc for a product called 'Hydrofuge Record "999"'<sup>66</sup>.

It is possible that this was for the terrace-balcony added to the West front of the Renaudin house But it may have been for the terrace over the atelier (Figure 41). A number of undated notes and sketches relate to the laying of the terrace over the roof of the atelier on the Renaudin-Battanchon house And I suggest that these date from the second half of 1929<sup>67</sup>. Among these letters, several include mention of both the Renaudin and Badovici houses. For example, the letter beginning with CP Bado 181 discusses both the floor of Olga's bedroom and the addition of a metal staircase to the rear of the Badovici house. We know that Louis Paccini sent this metal staircase from Roquebrune-Cap-Martin on 11 October 1929 and billed for it on 23 October<sup>68</sup>. In the long letter beginning CP Bado 163 there is discussion of the metal pivot required for the garage door of the Maison Badovici. Badovici asks Renaudin to get Raynaud to send the offending item to Roquebrune-Cap-Martin. Three scraps of paper recording details of metalwork may relate to this.



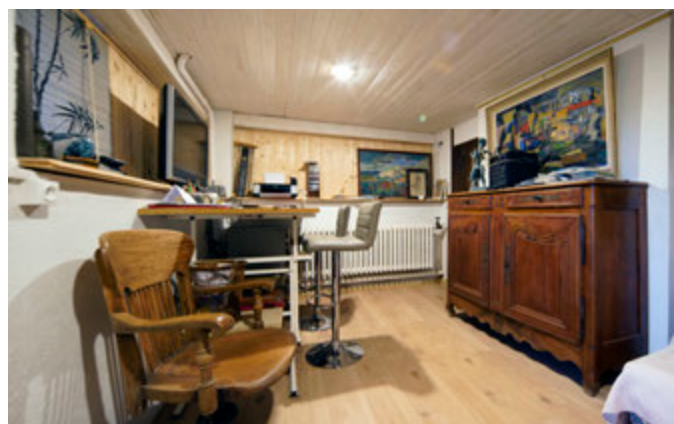
As we shall see, we know that the metal pivot was indeed sent to Roquebrune and that Badovici sent a new pivot from Menton on 21 October 1929<sup>69</sup>. In the same letter Badovici goes on to discuss reinforcing the old walls of House A before continuing to discuss the project to screen off the impasse du Crot. Furthermore, many of these documents refer to chasing up Dizien and Marceau who were working on the Badovici house during 1929. For the moment, we can say that it is likely that the Renaudin-Battanchon house was still in construction in the winter of 1929.

It is clear from the correspondence that Renaudin's role was more than that of a site supervisor, not only of his house but also that of Badovici. Many of Badovici's letters refer to 'your sketch': 'I have followed your sketch with my proportions' (Figure 36)<sup>70</sup>. On another sketch, Badovici opens his remarks with the words 'Effet très beau!' (Figure 37)<sup>71</sup>. Whether this was admiration for his own solution or a response to something Renaudin had proposed is not clear. Most of the discussion between Badovici and Renaudin conserved in the correspondence concerns structural issues. For example, on page 3 of a letter that I date to September 1929 Badovici warns Renaudin that he can take no responsibility for the structure unless Renaudin strengthens the steel beams over the atelier<sup>72</sup>. In another letter he urges Renaudin to strengthen the base of the wall separating the atelier from the dining room<sup>73</sup>.

Renaudin seems to have been concerned about the size of the window over the front door on the West side. He had apparently proposed a very small window 20 x 30cm instead of the 1.10x1.10m window on which Badovici insisted (Figure 36)<sup>74</sup>. Badovici points out that these windows have to light the whole of the upper ground floor, with only the small kitchen window on the West side to help<sup>75</sup>. Badovici continues: 'J'avais la même sensation lorsque je bâtissais la baraque d'ici ; trop d'ouvertures, en cours de construction; j'étais affolé, mais aujourd'hui il y a encore des coins noirs et je voudrais en pratiquer d'autres'. Here he is referring to the construction of E1027, which was completed in 1929. He referred to E1027 as 'la baraque' and there is even a drawing by Eileen Gray with the same term written in her hand<sup>76</sup>. In the same letter Badovici talks about the slopes required on the roof terrace, which are indicated on the AM



**FIG. 44**  
Photograph of the Battanchon/Renaudin house from the North West showing the cantilevered balcony, Spring 1930 or 1931 (Bibliothèque Kandinsky).



**FIG. 45**

Location of the kitchen in the basement (Photo Tim Benton).

**FIG. 46**

North West corner of lower ground storey, underneath the balcony, showing the windows to Renaudin's studio blocked up (Photo Tim Benton).

**FIG. 47**

Location of Renaudin's studio in the basement, showing the blocked up windows (Photo Tim Benton).

**FIG. 48**

Enlarged balcony, widened and extended to meet the new kitchen extension (Photo Tim Benton).

2014-1-52 (Figure 32)<sup>77</sup>. On this drawing Badovici refers to the weather: 'd'ici où on cuit à sec' which indicates both that he was at Roquebrune and that it was probably August.

The sketch plan, attributed to Gray by Caroline Constant (Figure 41), illustrates a state of the house different to the plans we have looked at so far and the photographs of the house in construction (Figure 40)<sup>78</sup>. The photograph shows the large window of Olga's studio and two horizontal windows below, intended to light Renaudin's studio in the lower ground floor. Two windows at the East end of the North wall have since been blocked by the addition of the kitchen (Figure 43). A small balcony was proposed for the West window of the studio. This is also shown in another photograph taken at the same time (Figure 51)<sup>79</sup>. Judging by the lack of foliage in the deciduous trees in these two photographs, they must have been taken in winter or early spring 1929.

The drawing 238-1 (Figure 41) on the other hand shows the addition of a large concrete terrace-balcony with steps down on the North side, which is what we see today<sup>80</sup>. It also features in the film shot by Le Corbusier in October 1936 (Figure 52). The drawing shows part of the balcony sheltered by a 'marquise' (canopy) fitted with glass lenses. In the photograph CP Bado 110 this marquise has turned into a simple glass conservatory (Figure 44). The drawing must date from after 1929 and may even reflect changes made to the plan and West elevation after the purchase of the house on the South side in 1932. On 238-1, the room labelled 'salle à manger' on earlier drawings has become a bedroom and the kitchen has become a bathroom<sup>81</sup>. Badovici sketches some movable screens in the bedroom and the bathroom is detailed in imitation of the one in E1027. The kitchen must have been moved into the cellar, where



traces of it remain today, where we can see the blocked up window on the North side of the house. (Figure 45)<sup>82</sup>. There are some sketches of kitchens in Badovici's hand that may refer to the original organisation of the kitchen<sup>83</sup>. The studio became a living-dining room. Badovici draws a fireplace in the studio and a new organization of the mezzanine, with an 'L' shaped plan that was not carried out. A section and elevation in the Badovici collection at the Getty Research Institute (Figure 42) refers to this, with a spiral staircase next to the fireplace. It is not clear how the mezzanine gallery would have spanned the opening to the bedroom in house A whose soffit is much higher than the mezzanine (Figure 27). A West elevation on the same sheet shows the concrete terrace and marquise as well as an enlargement of the window to Olga's bedroom that was not executed.

Compared to the photograph of the house in construction (Figure 40), the photograph showing the completed balcony (Figure 44) must date from at least a year later, given the growth of ivy.<sup>84</sup> The large balcony clearly took away much of the light from Renaudin's studio on the lower ground floor and these windows have since been completely blocked up (Figure 46). The space intended for Renaudin's studio, with windows on two sides, has become the office of the current owner (Figure 47). At a later stage this balcony was remade and extended towards the new structure enclosing the kitchen and entrance from the Impasse de Crot (Figure 48). Another change was the addition of a guest bedroom

**FIG. 49**  
View from South-West, showing the enlarged window to Olga's bedroom and the guest bedroom on the lower ground floor which was added between 1929 and 1936. (Photo Tim Benton).

**FIG. 50**  
View of West front, showing the guest bedroom and a passage added over the arch connecting the two houses. Note the second window to the guest bedroom, next to the arch, that has been filled in (Photo Tim Benton).





**FIG. 51**  
 Photograph of the Battanchon/Reaudin house from the South-West, winter 1928-1929. Note the house to the right, purchased in 1932 (Bibliothèque Kandinsky).



on the ground floor, to the right of the entrance (Figure 49). This bedroom window had not been inserted in the early photographs (Figure 51) or on the earlier elevations (eg Figure 36) but a pencil addition can be seen on the elevation (Figure 42).

One possible explanation for the change of programme in the house is that in 1932 the adjoining house to the South was purchased, apparently by Renaudin<sup>65</sup>. The original photograph from the South West (Figure 51) shows this house before Badovici's changes made after 1932. Was this used to provide additional accommodation? A connecting corridor between the houses was added by 1936 (Figure 50). When Le Corbusier visited Vézelay in October 1936, armed with his movie camera, he filmed Badovici and Pierre Guegen walking from this house along the West front of Houses A and B, finishing up on the terrace overlooking the beautiful view to the West (Figure 52)<sup>66</sup>. The film sequence is revealing because it shows that Badovici opened up the first floor of the newly purchased house with a large horizontal opening, still unglazed in 1936. This was subsequently partially filled in (Figure 53). A steel stanchion is shown supporting the beam over this window (Figure 52, top left). The sequence also shows the windows to the bedroom on the lower ground floor, underneath the kitchen (top right). One of the windows has since been blocked up. We must assume that this was built at some point between the construction of the concrete balcony (c. 1929?) and 1932.

The photograph CPBado 110 (Figure 44) shows an ivy covered wall blocking off the South end of the balcony. This was the wall shown in the sketch plan 238/1 (Figure 41) supporting one end of the glazed concrete canopy. Le Corbusier's film shows that adjacent to this wall was another room underneath the balcony with a window and door (Figure 52 middle row, centre). This room has since been demolished. I have tried to reconstruct the situation in 1936, following the purchase of the adjoining house and the minor changes (Figure 54). This would have provided a new entrance to Renaudin's studio. I have not been able to get access to the house purchased by Renaudin in 1932 and can only guess what function it would have served.

Apart from the addition of the kitchen on the North side of house B and the changes to the balcony, the Renaudin house remains structurally intact, despite passing through several hands including a period as a guest house. A large part of the functionality of the house today is hidden in the cellars that underpin both houses. The kitchen has been transformed into a workshop, Renaudin's studio into an office and other spaces used for laundry and storage.

**FIG. 52**  
Le Corbusier, stills captured from a film sequence of the Battanchon/Renaudin house, shot in October 1936 (FLC).

### Conclusion

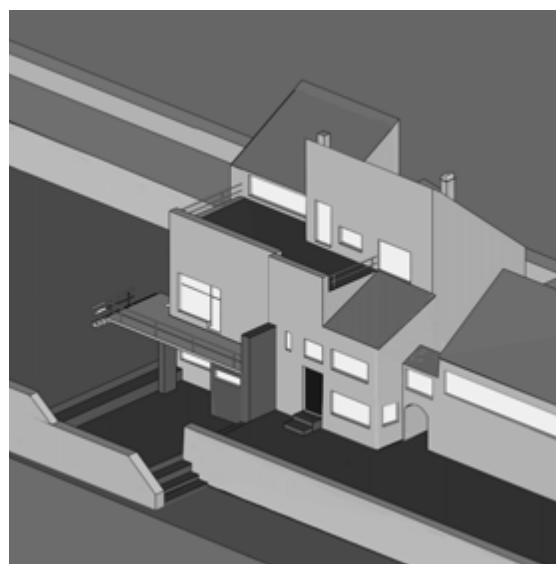
Something must be said about the nature of Badovici's transformation of the two houses A and B. The most significant change is the formal juxtaposition of the two half-trusses; that of house B sloping up towards the impasse while the slightly higher half-truss of house A slopes up towards the West. A further element is the sloping roof of the pre-existing kitchen/bathroom. The dramatic juxtaposition of these two shapes has nothing to do with Le Corbusian Modernism. If anything, it recalls Melnikov's Russian pavilion which was published on the page before the Esprit Nouveau pavilion in the autumn and winter edition of *Architecture Vivante* in 1925 (p.47) or the hall with juxtaposed roof slabs published in the Summer edition of *Architecture Vivante* 1926 (p.10). The play







**FIG. 53**  
House D (on the right), purchased in 1932, showing the window on the first floor opened up by Badovici (Photo Tim Benton).



**FIG. 54**  
Reconstruction of situation in 1936 after purchase of the adjoining house (Tim Benton).

of volumes and spaces is extremely intricate and unusual. An alternative source may be the work of Jan Duiker and Bernard Bijvoet in the Netherlands. Their wooden Suermondt house, Alsmeer of 1924-1925 is very different in many ways but employs a play of monopitch roofs. Badovici published it in 1927 in *L'Architecture Vivante*<sup>87</sup>. Another source, however, as we have shown, was the vernacular architecture of Vézelay, where monopitch roofs were occasionally used (Figure 21). The Renaudin-Battanchon house perfectly expresses the melding of 'l'esprit du lieu' and 'l'esprit du temps'. From the impasse du Crot, nothing disturbs the down to earth stability of the rubble stone walls and small windows. On the West side, facing the view, the house opens up and expresses the modernity of the internal spaces.

If the double height of Olga's studio reflects the Esprit Nouveau Pavilion by Le Corbusier (and the work of many other Modernist architects), the informality and eclecticism of the West side of the house is most original. The

West-facing half-truss expands the size of the first floor bedroom of house A and makes possible the windows and door onto the roof-terrace. The counterbalancing half-truss towards the East on house B allows for the extra height over the mezzanine gallery to install the staircase to the bedroom on the first floor. The combination of these two half-trusses with the flat roof over the studio is extremely ingenious. None of this has anything to do with the pure Modernism of E-1027 but it reflects perhaps the increasing interest in vernacular architecture shown by Le Corbusier after 1928. It may well have influenced Eileen Gray in her adaptation of a traditional stone house on the road to Castellar above Menton (Figure 55). Her re-use of rough stone walling and ingenious adaptation to the existing concrete vats does bare comparison with Badovici's approach. Le Corbusier broke with his Modernist dogma – 'the five points of the new architecture' – in 1929 when he began designing the stone villa de Mandrot. In short, I read the Vézelay buildings as Le Corbusier read them: an astonishingly sensitive creation of modern spaces at a human scale using local materials.

Badovici expressed himself like this: 'Nous travaillons à la "latine". Nous nous adoptons aux temps et aux lieux; c'est la manière française de toujours ; c'est pour cela qu'il y a un style à chaque époque et une histoire de l'art'<sup>88</sup>. This was in response to a letter from Renaudin who had said that 'some Americans' had visited and admired the houses. Badovici is actually trying to argue something rather complex and paradoxical here. To 'adapt to your time' normally meant adopting a modernist position: employing modern technology in architecture in response to the machinist age. 'Adapting to place' was conventionally the slogan of regionalists who argued for a use of local

**FIG. 55**  
Eileen Gray, photograph of her villa Tempe a Pailla, near Castellar, 1930-1934 (Collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum).

**FIG. 56**  
View from the West (Photo Tim Benton).





**FIG. 57**  
 Pierre Jeanneret (?), Four  
 photographs in the Badovici  
 house, 1935 (FLC).



materials and styles of building. The 'manière française de toujours' seems to mean adopting the spirit of the age – a succession of architectural styles – while remaining sensitive to place (and therefore local materials). Badovici spells this out:

Les Américains ne sont pas dans la note (?) du pays: le pays étant sincère [underlined in the original]: les habitants exprimant toujours leurs temps. Pour cela il y a à Vézelay du roman, du gothique, de la renaissance, Louis XIII, Louis XIV etc.... Tu comprends. Être dans la note d'un pays ce n'est pas copier arbitrairement tel style mais être un peu sincère avec son temps et surtout ne pas avoir peur.<sup>89</sup>

Badovici seems to be trying to respond to Adolf Loos's arguments about the hopelessness of trying to create a new style. Loos argues that peasants and craftsmen are always modern because they make things or build homes with their own hands for their own use<sup>90</sup>. They are therefore always of their time. This is what Badovici appears to be indicating by his use of the word 'sincère' and referring to 'habitants' rather than architects. Badovici was not

a competent theorist, although he wrote long texts about architecture and history. What emerges from his writings is a strong sense of what Le Corbusier called the 'juste mesure'. His drawings show that he was not a paper architect. He drew to solve particular problems, often in a rather fanciful way. The formal and spatial effects of his houses seemed to have emerged through discussion and adaptation to the given – the crumbling, cramped stone houses that he opened out into modern spaces.

### Maison Badovici, 10 rue de l'Argenterie

Fairly full documentation of the building history of the Badovici house exists in the Getty Research Institute. We know that Renaudin played an important role in supervising construction, since Badovici frequently thanks him for his work<sup>91</sup>. Le Corbusier expressed his admiration for the Badovici house in his book *La Ville Radieuse* (1935) in language barely equalled in his writing for its effusive praise of another's work. This is how he captioned a set of photographs probably taken by Pierre Jeanneret in 1934 or early 1935 (Figure 57):

Pourquoi cette étonnante ampleur? Pourquoi ce souffle large? ... et cette intimité ? Parce qu'une échelle humaine juste (celle qui est à la vraie dimension de nos gestes) a conditionné chaque chose. Il n'y a plus de vieux ni de moderne. Il y a ce qui est permanent : la juste mesure<sup>92</sup>.

Before trying to reconstruct the design and building history of the Badovici house, we must try to understand what existed before. The rue de l'Argenterie (originally called the rue du Crot) runs North-East/South-West along the North-West flank of the Vézelay spur just inside the walls (Figure 58)<sup>93</sup>. The ground slopes up towards the parallel



**FIG. 58**  
Schematic map of Vézelay, showing (1) Maison Renaudin-Battanchon, (2) Maison Badovici, (3) the three houses on the rue de la Porte Neuve.





rue de l'École. No 10 lies 90 metres to the South of the Renaudin-Battanchon plot. The builder Leon Papillon lived nearby. The adjoining property, to the East, on the rue des Écoles, belonged to the Rougeot family, from whom Badovici purchased a small extension to his rear garden<sup>94</sup>. There is a magnificent view to the West, and several lots on the West side of the street were and remain planted as vineyards. Badovici bought two small houses on the East side of the rue de l'Argenterie<sup>95</sup>. There is no evidence that Eileen Gray funded these purchases but it is of course possible<sup>96</sup>.

Badovici combined into one house two plots squeezed between two larger buildings. The Northern plot ('House A') was transformed into a garage with bathroom and kitchen behind<sup>98</sup>. House B, 3.50m between the walls, included the main entrance and steps leading down to the cellar. They are separated internally by a stone wall (ca.45cm). On a rough sketch (239/13 Figure 59) Badovici noted down the key dimensions of the two houses, showing a total width of 6.23m and between 7.20m and 6.20m in depth. House A had a door 87 centimetres wide that is shown on the elevation as being very tall – 2.55m (Figure 60). A little window to the left, with its sill below the top of the door, suggests that this was a very high and poorly illuminated space. It is likely that House A was a storage space rather than a domestic dwelling. I have tried to reconstruct the original condition of the two houses (Figure 61).

Behind the building was a small courtyard, 5 metres deep. The ground slopes up between the rue de l'Argenterie and the rue de l'École and the ground level of the courtyard was originally much higher than the ground floor of Houses A and B. A door is shown in the wall of the courtyard and it is probable that it belonged originally to the neighbouring property since we know from the builder Papillon that Badovici had purchased the courtyard from the Rougeot family (Figure 62)<sup>99</sup>. It was on this wall that Fernand Léger painted his mural, at Badovici's request, in 1935 (Figure 86). The recessed shape of the blocked off door, picked out with a white motif on a black background, can be seen in Léger's painting, roughly 1.5m above the level of the courtyard (Figure 87 and Figure 88).

I have not found any measured plans of the house in its completed form. An elevation drawing shows the façade continued up to the level of the ridge, turning the attic into a full second storey with a flat roof accessed by an

**FIG. 59**

Badovici, sketch plan of pre-existing buildings on the site of his house; House A on the left, house B on the right (Collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum, 239/13, detail).

**FIG. 60**

Badovici, sketch elevation of pre-existing buildings on the site of his house (Collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum, 239/13, detail).

**FIG. 61**

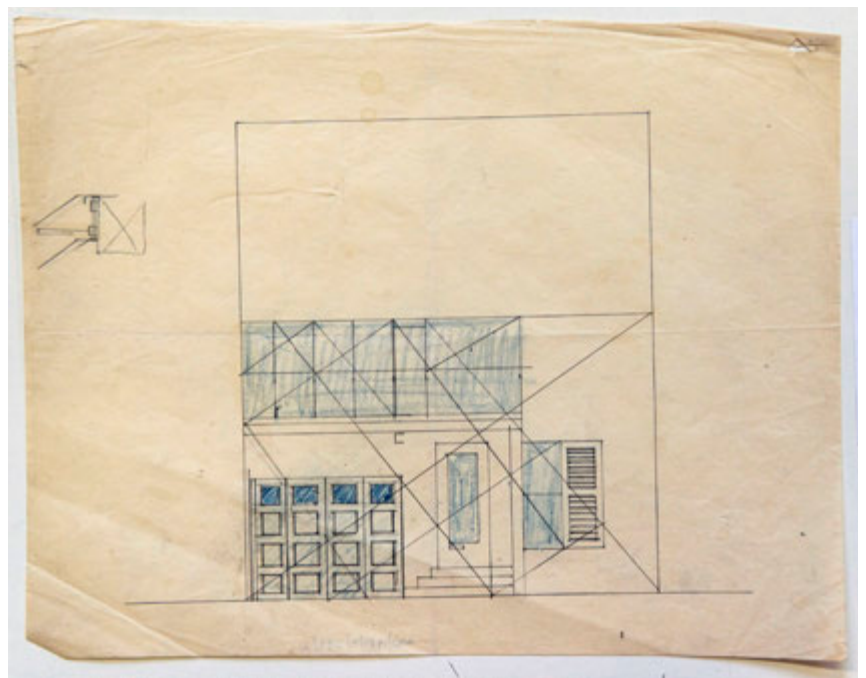
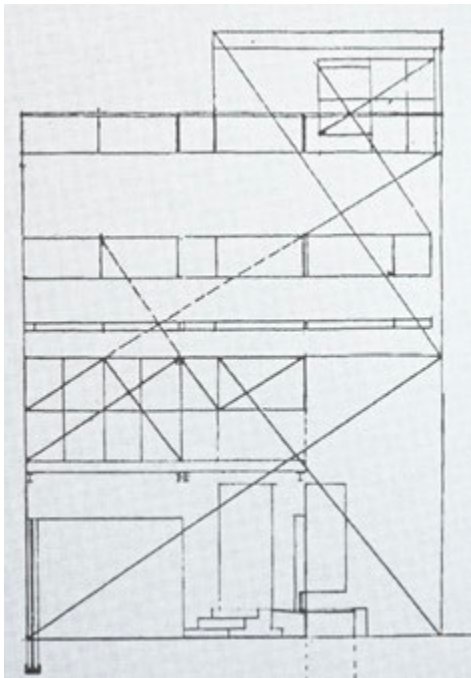
Reconstruction of the two houses bought by Badovici on the rue de l'Argenterie, from West (Tim Benton).

**FIG. 62**

Reconstruction of the houses bought by Badovici, from the North-East (Tim Benton).

**FIG. 63**

Badovici, three storey elevation, Badovici house (Eileen Gray Archive, National Museum of Ireland).





**FIG. 64**

Badovici, alternative façade elevation, Badovici house (Collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum 239/2).

**FIG. 65**

Maison Badovici, rue de l'Argenterie, Vézelay (Photo Tim Benton).

**FIG. 66**

Badovici house, undated photograph (Renaud Barrès collection).



additional structure (Figure 63). This modern project was discarded for a more discreet solution. A measured elevation drawing, at a scale of 1:50, shows an elevation c. 8.95m wide and 8.09m high, with a sizeable roof space (Figure 64)<sup>100</sup>. This corresponds to what was built, except that Badovici added a large triangular dormer illuminating the attic (Figure 65 and Figure 66). Badovici covered these elevations with *tracés régulateurs* in the Le Corbusier manner but they seem to have played no further role in the design.

The triangular projection on the street front consists of plastered brick with one window facing the street and one facing the side wall (Figure 65). The mason Léon Papillon refers to constructing a 'mansarde' on 16 June 1929 and expresses concern that he may run out of bricks<sup>101</sup>. The painter and glazier Marceau billed for two windows in the 'grenier' (0.88x0.66) as well as a third pane of glass 0.75x0.66m<sup>102</sup>. On 20 April 1929 the carpenter Francois Rasse refers to an agreement to provide the wood for this dormer window and to make good the old timbers of the roof<sup>103</sup>. An undated photograph in Renaud Barrès's collection shows the house with this extension of the attic (Figure 66)<sup>104</sup>. The house is covered by a creeper and this must have been intended from the start because the balcony on the street side has a tubular construction forming a pergola, no doubt intended to support a covering of vine leaves. This tubular steel pergola is similar to the one on the balcony of E-1027, although there are no indications that Badovici proposed to install canvas screens as Eileen Gray had done. This pergola has been replaced by a simple railing to the balcony.

On the garden front a similar solution is adopted to extend the roof space. The ridge is extended along the wall of the adjoining house on the South side, with a descent towards the North side (Figure 67 and Figure 68). This creates a triangular projection on the garden façade in which a door can still be seen, now converted into a window. This door allowed access to the attic by an external metal staircase. This external steel staircase is sketched into a plan of the first floor and suggests that it extended from ground level to the attic (Figure 77 and

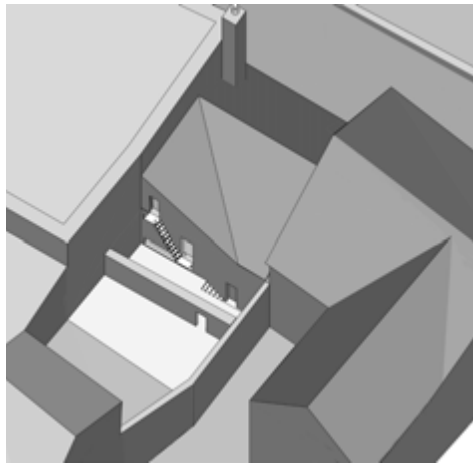
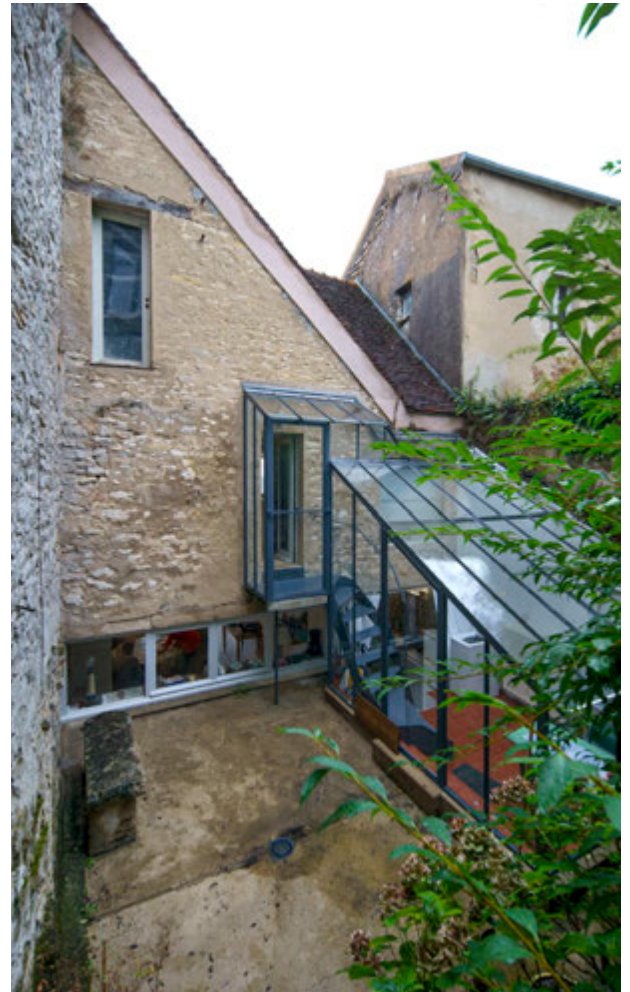


Figure 69). This steel staircase, complete with two cast iron landings, was supplied by Louis Paccini from the Carnolès district of Roquebrune-Cap-Martin and despatched on 2 January 1930<sup>105</sup>. The steel supports for the staircase, embedded in the wall, can still be seen. The painter and glazier Marceau billed for glazing the door to the attic (1.60 x 0.45) as well as the door to kitchen (1.61x0.43) some time in 1930<sup>106</sup>. The door allowed access to a roof-space approximately 3.30m high under the ridge. The staircase has been removed and there are currently no steps to the roof space.

House B was built over a cellar, with access from the street via steps leading down to it next to the entrance. This cellar ran as far as the courtyard at the back of the house with access from there. On one of the preliminary floor plans (239/11 Figure 70) a section is provided through the floor levels indicating that, in addition to the steps leading up to the front door, a further three steps inside the main living space would have led to a total height difference of 85 centimetres between the front and back of house A. The yard was higher still; three steps are indicated rising from the level of the kitchen, protected by a retaining wall, so we can assume that the yard was at least 1.4m higher than the front of the house. On the plan 239/11 (Figure 70), five steps are shown leading up from the garage to the kitchen area at the back of house B<sup>107</sup>.

**FIG. 67**  
View of Badovici house from the East, showing the ridge and the extension to the roof (Photo Tim Benton).

**FIG. 68**  
Maison Badovici from the garden side, showing the original door to the roof space (Photo Tim Benton).

**FIG. 68**  
Reconstruction of the resolution of the East side Badovici house, showing the steel staircase to the attic and the steps leading down from the courtyard to the ground floor plan of the house (Tim Benton).

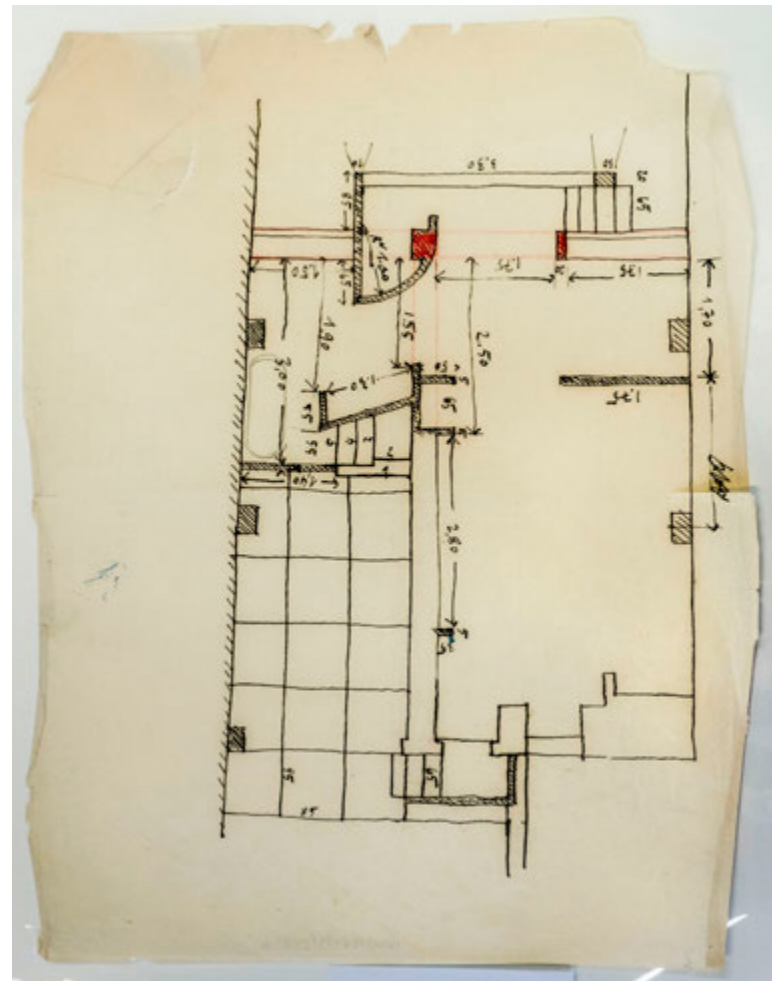
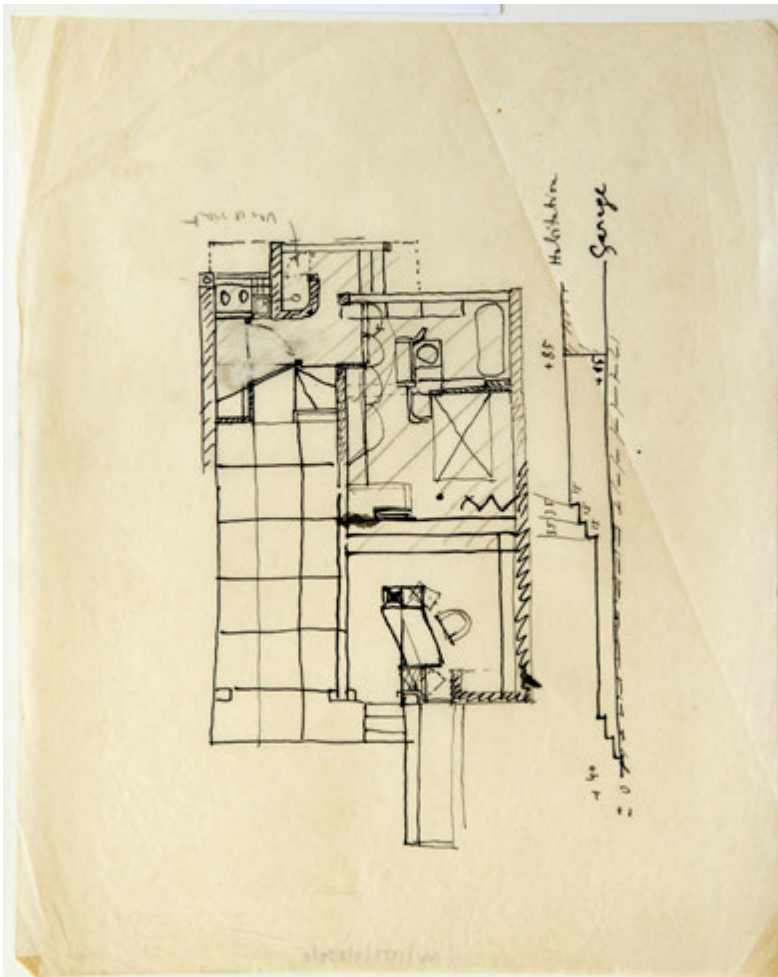
**FIG. 70**  
Badovici, preliminary plan and part section, Badovici house (Collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum 239/11).

The steps inside the living area do not appear in other plans and it seems that considerable levelling of the floor took place in House B. Today, only one step separates the garage from the living room, and the level of the kitchen has been lowered to meet that of house A (239/11, Figure 84). Is interesting because it shows a self-contained apartment consisting of study/living room, bedroom, bathroom and kitchen. No stairs to the upper floor are shown.

**FIG. 71**  
Badovici, preliminary plan of Badovici house (Collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum 239/10).

On another preliminary plan (239/10 Figure 71) the floor of House B has been levelled, requiring five steps up to the front door, five steps up from the garage to the kitchen/bathroom and five steps from the kitchen to the yard. Once again, no stairs to the upper floor are shown and we must assume that the plan represents a bed-sitting room, kitchen and bathroom. The fact that this plan includes numerous dimensions suggests that it came early in the design process. In two other plans, different ways of handling the change of level between the garage and the kitchen and bathroom behind were explored<sup>108</sup>.

Correspondence with Papillon records considerable work digging out the courtyard, until the workmen reached the vault of the cellar in February 1928 and could proceed no further<sup>109</sup>. The main work clearing out the cellar in Badovici's house took place in the Spring of 1928. On 13 May 1928, Papillon refers to work in Badovici's cellar: 'Pour la cave nous avons encore une surprise elle est plus d'un mètre plus profonds [sic] que le garage et très gênant pour l'escalier'<sup>101</sup>.



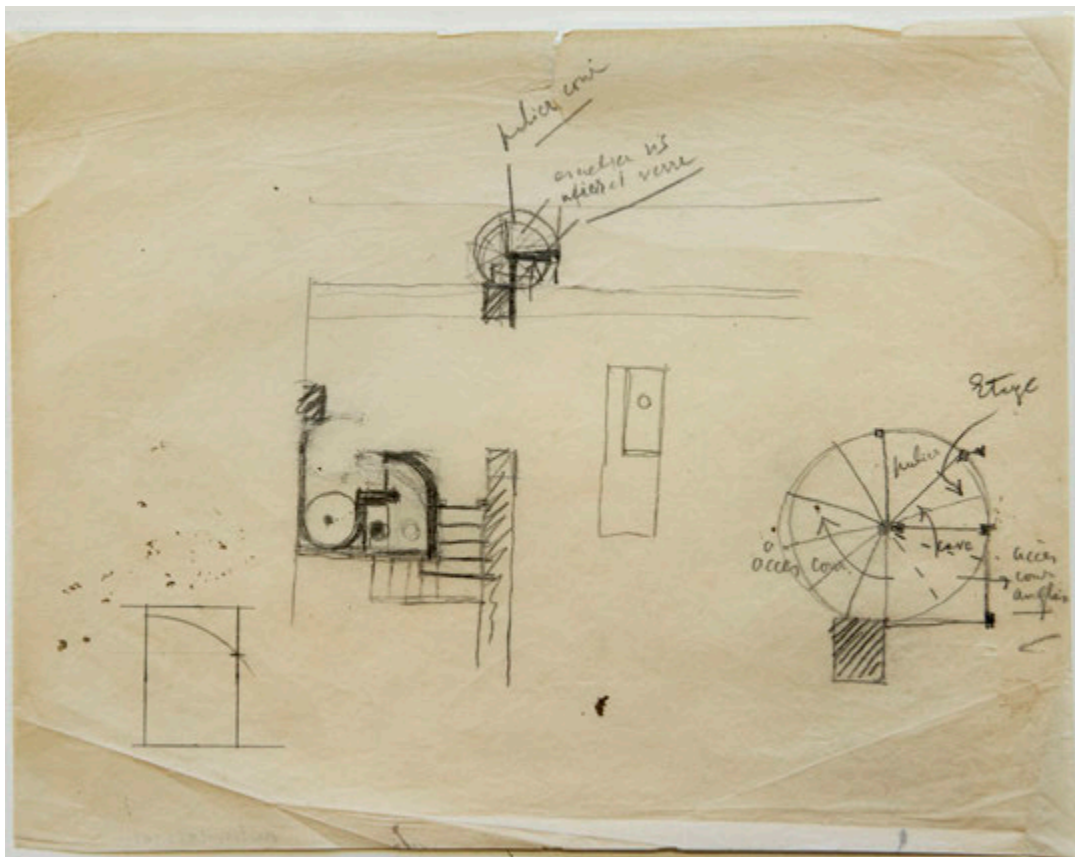


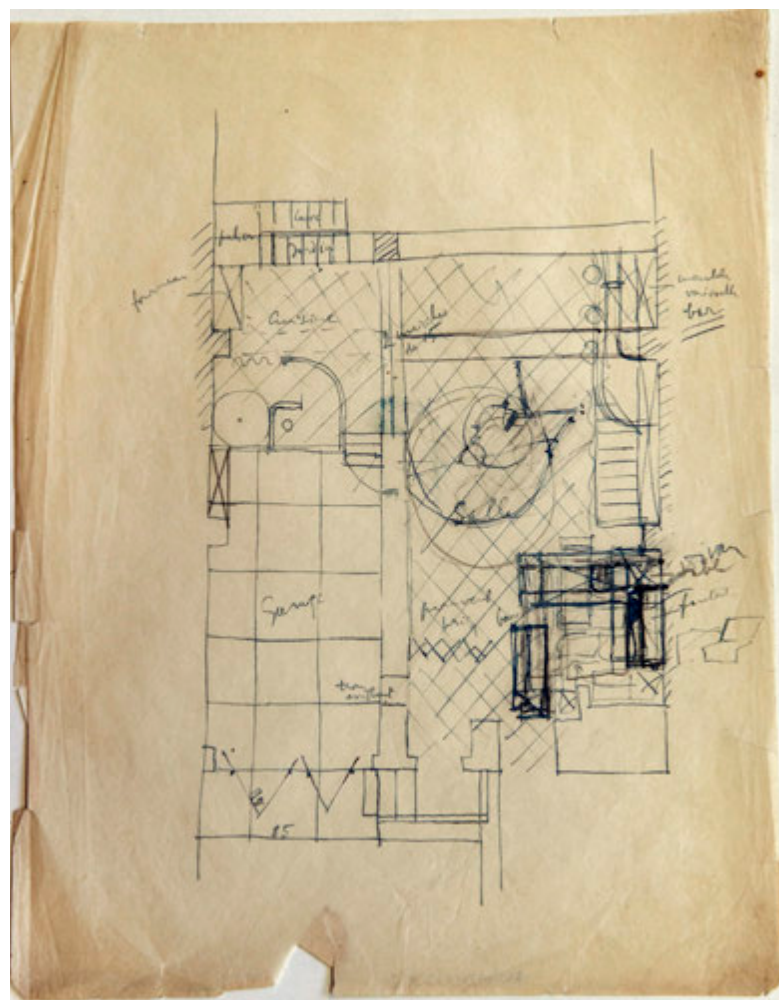
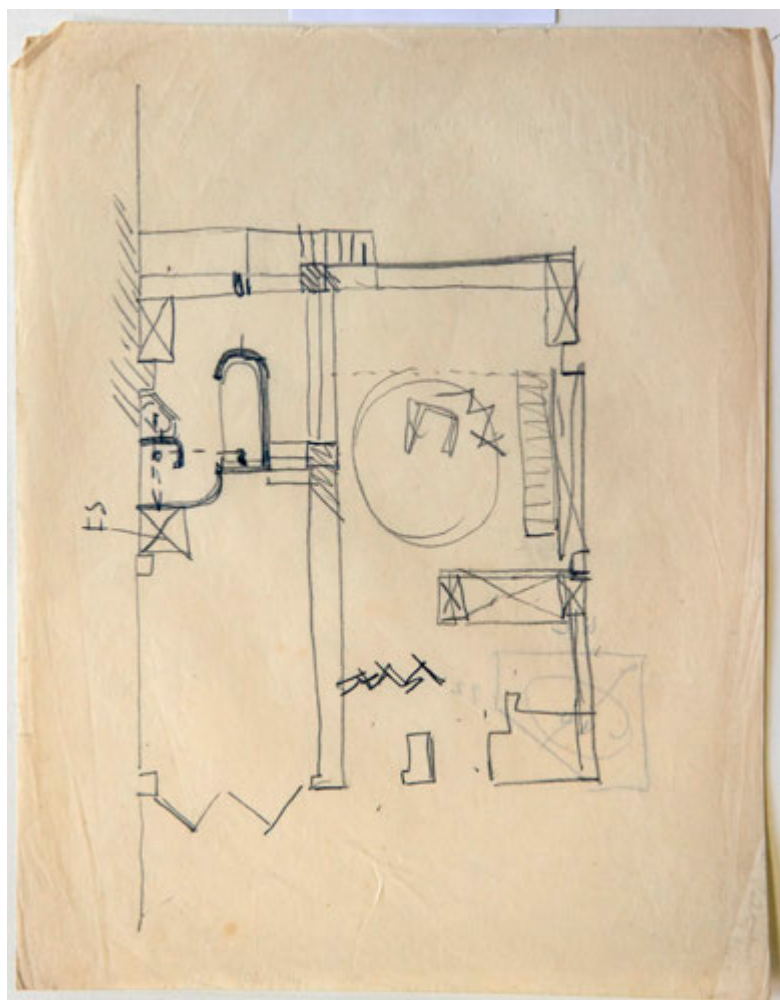
This refers to the problem of providing steps down to the cellar in the back yard. Papillon complains that the spoils from this levelling took too long to remove, obstructing his work<sup>111</sup>. Even so, the lowered courtyard was higher than the floor level of the living area, requiring six steps up from the door in the kitchen and ensuring that the long window in House B is raised c.1.50m from the floor (Figure 81). This also explains the very thick wall underneath the window, required for insulation<sup>112</sup>. Subsequently, a small area of the courtyard in front of the kitchen has been lowered to the ground floor level, while the part to the South, in front of the long window, remains at the level of the window cill (Figure 68).

The first effort to plan for a shower and WC can be seen on 239/5 (Figure 72)<sup>113</sup>. On this plan, Badovici also experiments with an external metal and glass spiral staircase linking the cellar, ground floor and first floor<sup>114</sup>. There is also access to the courtyard, three steps up from the 'palier'. This suggests that the courtyard of house B was lower than that of house A, as is the case today. The spiral staircase suggests that the final solution, of cutting through the ceiling of house B and providing access by a ladder, had not yet been found but that the first floor was going to be used for bedrooms.

This is the solution in 239/3 and 239/4 (Figure 73 Figure 74). The sketch plan 239/4 indicates three steps leading down from House B to the bathroom in House A. A bedroom has been created to the right of the entrance. The arrangement of the bathroom is closer to what was built than the more detailed plan 239/3. The kitchen and bathroom on 239/3 and 239/6 (Figure 72) proposed a simple shower and WC. To make space for a WC and bathtub, a curving extension into the space of the garage was proposed in two sketches 239/4 and 239/7 (Figure

**FIG. 72**  
Badovici, preliminary plan of bathroom (Collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum 239/5).





73). Papillon refers to the bathtub partially blocking access to the WC<sup>115</sup>. There is a bill of 21 June 1929 from the Parisian 'ingénieur sanitaire Marcel Arnault' for a 'baignoire fonte et émaillée 1.30m' along with a wood-fired water heater<sup>116</sup>. That this is what was constructed can be demonstrated from the detailed invoice by the painter and glazier Marceau. He refers to the curved wall next to the kitchen and another curved wall facing the garage<sup>117</sup>. This bathtub is missing from the sketch plan 239-3 (Figure 74), indicating that this was not the final version of the plan.

**FIG. 73**

Badovici, sketch of ground floor plan of Badovici house (Collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum 239/4).

**FIG. 74**

Sketch plan of ground floor of Badovici house, Vézelay (Collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum 239/3).

On 239/3 and 239/4 Badovici indicates a system for closing the garage that involved four large doors pivoting on rails in concertina fashion (Figure 73). The metalworker Louis Paccini sent the metal parts for these doors from Menton to Sermizelles in March 1929<sup>118</sup>. Dizien complained that the metal pivots did not work and Badovici wrote to Renaudin with a sketch of an improved pivot<sup>119</sup>. A revised account for supplying pieces for the garage doors was sent by Paccini on 12 November 1929. A photograph of Badovici and Renaudin shows the garage closed by two large doors, apparently side-hung (Figure 75). In the absence of accounts for the construction of E-1027, it is plausible to suppose that Louis Paccini also supplied the concertina windows for E-1027 late in 1928 or early in 1929.

Marceau's invoice is also helpful in working out other details of the ground floor plan that are unclear in the drawings. For example, there was a bedroom to the right of the front door that measured approximately 2.20 x 3.07m, although part of the space was taken up by a large traditional fireplace in the South West corner. On the sketch plan 239/3 (Figure 74) the arrangement of this bedroom was still being worked out. It is probable that the room was not closed off on the North side. Marceau mentions the folding screen sketched in on both 239/4 and 239/3 which may have allowed the bedroom to occupy the full width of the living area at night time<sup>120</sup>. We will return to this screen below. Marceau's account makes clear that all the external doors included large glazed panels, to improve internal illumination. For example, the door to the attic was dimensioned at 1.80x0.66 with a glazed panel measuring 1.33x0.44<sup>121</sup>. The front door measured 1.95 x 0.84 with the same glazed panel<sup>122</sup>.

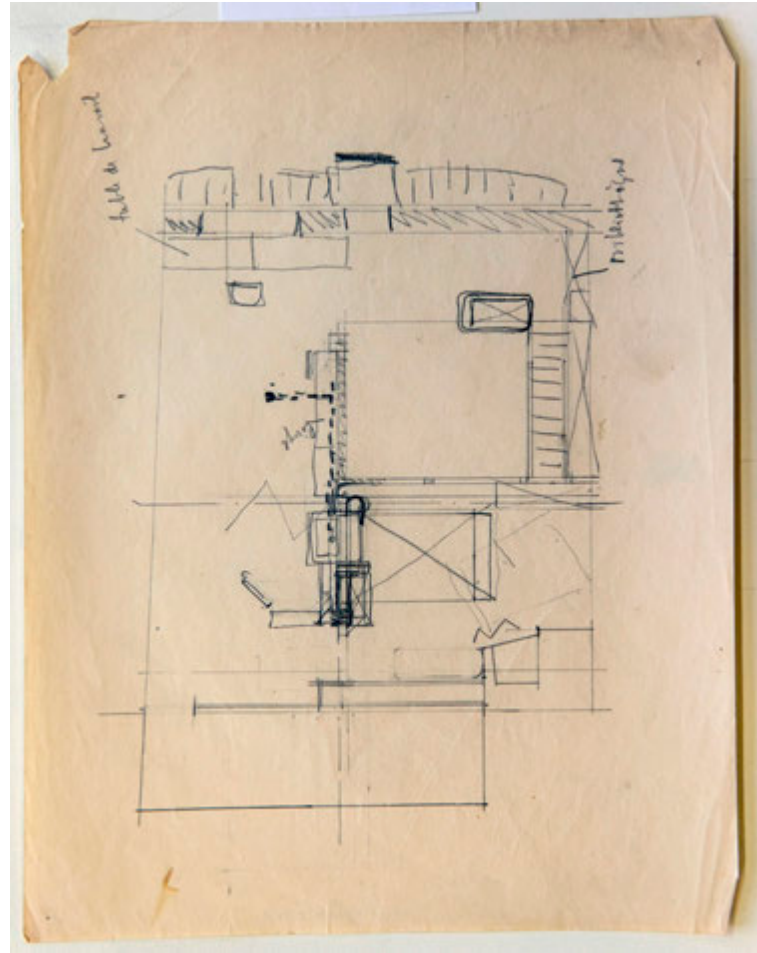
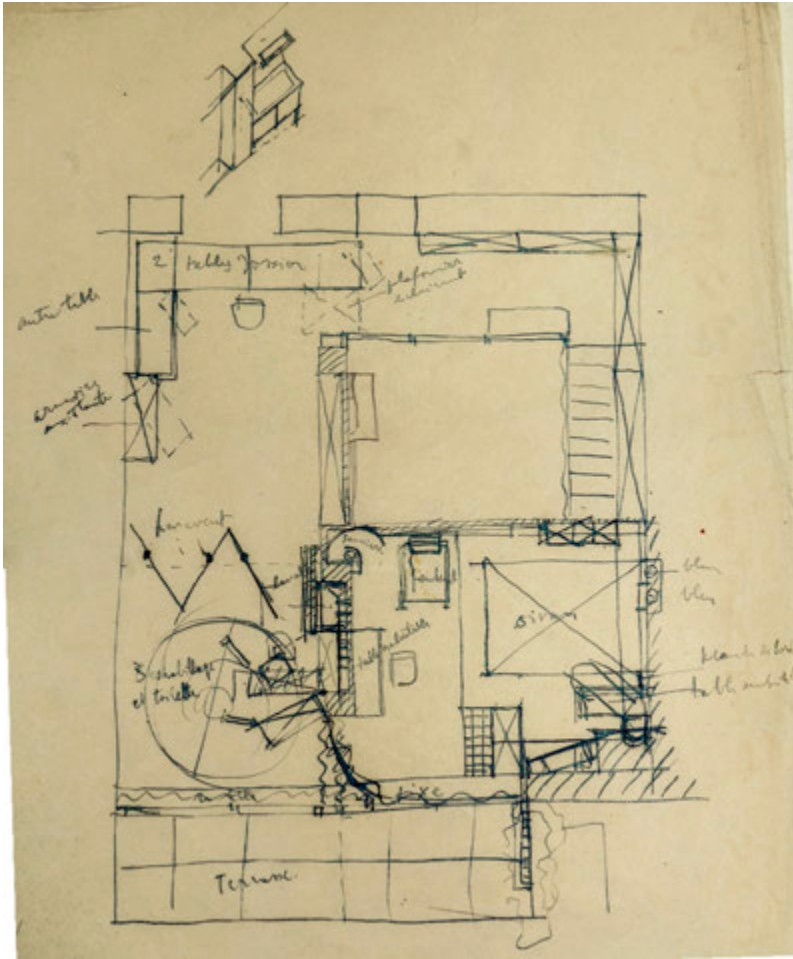
Only two plans of the first floor have survived, along with two detailed studies of the bedroom fireplace. The two plans - 239/8 (Figure 76) and 239/9 (Figure 77) – differ mainly in the arrangement of the bedroom and dressing room on the street front. According to the painter Marceau, the bedroom measured 3.63 x 2.66m (minus the rebate formed by the fireplace)<sup>123</sup>. Judging from the photographs, 239/9 is closer to what was carried out. Most of the fixed furniture sketched in on 239/8 was not executed. The folding desk ('table rebatable') was replaced by an antique table and there are no signs of the pivoting fitment in the dressing room.

It seems that most of the first floor, with the exception of the bedroom, was maintained as open space with curtains and screens as the only enclosures (note the photographs Figure 57 and Figure 82). Both sketch plans include a large folding screen ('paravent') which is probably visible, folded back, in Figure 82. 239/9 details the double glazing on the half of the big window facing the bedroom. There are two detailed plans and elevations (239/16 and 17) of a fireplace in the bedroom to be attached to the flue from the fireplace below. This does not exist today but the double chimney flue suggests that it was constructed.



**FIG. 75**  
Photograph of Georges Renaudin and Jean Badovici outside Badovici's house (Bibliothèque Kandinsky).





A reconstruction of the floor plans as built is hazardous, due to the lack of final drawings and the contradictory measurements on the various sketch plans (Figure 78 and Figure 79). I have made assumptions, based on 239/9, about the steel staircase and the steps up to the courtyard that may not be valid. Some sketch drawings of details in the final stages of design do exist. 243/13 gives the dimensions of three of the windows: the window facing onto the 'cour Rougeot', the big picture window facing the street (both on the first floor) and the long horizontal window to the courtyard on the ground floor<sup>124</sup>. Sketches on both sides of a sheet of tracing paper give dimensions of the East wall of the kitchen ('mur cuisine Rougeot'), facing the courtyard and measurements of the pillar<sup>125</sup>.

**FIG. 76**  
Jean Badovici, Sketch plan of first floor of Badovici house, Vézelay (Collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum 239/8).

The photographs of the interior probably taken by Pierre Jeanneret in 1934 or early 1935 shows the horizontal window (c. 3.40m long) as well as a thickening of the wall on the left which is not indicated on any plan (Figure 80). Note that Le Corbusier removed from this photograph not only Tiggie Ghika arranging a vase of flowers but also a white globe light suspended from the beams by the window, in his book *La Ville Radieuse*. On the upper floor, the door leading to the steel staircase can be seen. The curtains on the left, indicated in several plans, coincide with the three shallow steps leading down to the kitchen and bathroom.

**FIG. 77**  
Badovici plan of first floor of Badovici house (Collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum 239/9).

Two staged photographs of Badovici and Renaudin in animated conversation next to the horizontal window to the courtyard reveals various changes (Figure 81). The thick wall under the horizontal window has been lined with plywood,

probably to improve insulation, and various objects have appeared on the sill of the window. A cupboard on the right takes the place of the bar indicated on 239/3. This indicates that these photographs, perhaps taken by Madeleine Goisot, followed one or two years after those of Pierre Jeanneret (1934-5). The modest table and Breuer tubular steel armchairs constitute the dining room, although other arrangements could be made for reception of guests. Most of the beams were cleaned up and varnished in a tint chosen by Badovici, but Marceau explains that some were faced in plaster. These may have been those near the front door which Marceau explains were unlike the others, having been stained black by the smoke of the fireplace.

The simple wooden tables evident in these photographs are probably the ones annotated by Badovici as 'tables Jossier' (239/8 Figure 76). Jossier was the owner of the Hotel du Cheval Blanc, just outside the gate to the city, and a number of bills for wine and lodging have survived. On one of his bills, Jossier notes: 'reste en compte les deux tables'<sup>126</sup>. This suggests that Badovici bought two tables from Jossier and it is these, perhaps, that can be seen in Figure 81.

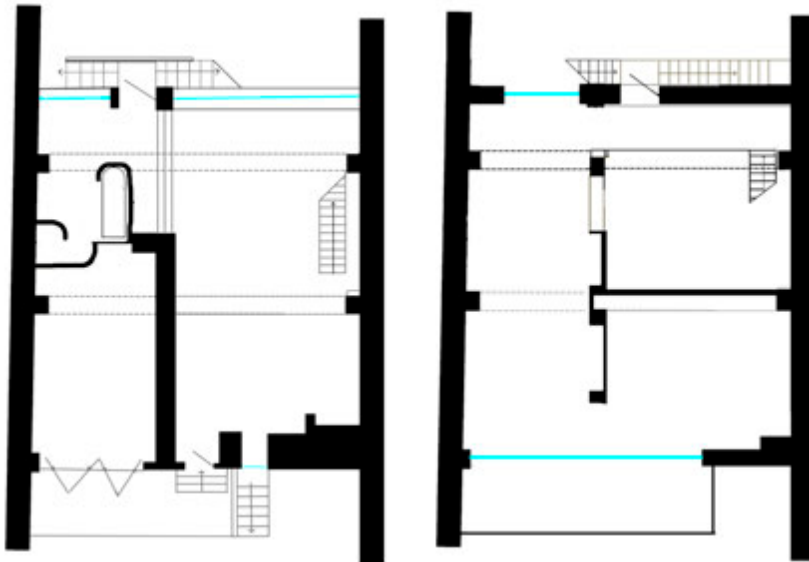
It is notable that only one piece of furniture known to have been designed by Eileen Gray is visible in these photographs. This is the white painted inclined circular table that was in the living room of E-1027 (Figure 82). It is likely that Badovici brought this with him from E-1027 since we know that the sequence of photographs in the Bibliothèque Kandinsky were taken after 1934. The Marcel Breuer tubular steel chairs were ordered in July 1931 and delivered on 1 August<sup>127</sup>. The armchairs were the so-called colonial armchairs, used by the British overseas. They had a simple wooden frame and leather straps for the arm rests. Le Corbusier admired these and copied some of the features, such as the leather straps, in the tubular steel 'chaise au dos basculant' designed with Charlotte Perriand and Pierre Jeanneret in 1928. Unlike the chaise au dos basculant, the colonial armchairs are very low, which accorded with the low ceiling heights throughout the house (Figure 82). The rest of the furniture seems to have been picked up piecemeal. What can be seen of the cupboards are also functional and simple. All this militates against Eileen Gray having played a major role in the interior design of the house.

We do not know what the screens shown as partitioning the dressing room on 239/8 looked like (Figure 76). On the other hand, the 'paravent briques' sketched in on 239/3 is documented (Figure 74). The carpenter Dizien made the wooden bricks and the painter Marceau billed 5.60frs for painting a 'paravent 40 planchettes (2 faces) 0.33 x 0.22 x 2 x 40' and a further '10

**FIG. 78**  
Reconstruction of the ground floor plan, Badovici house, as built (Tim Benton).

**FIG. 79**  
Reconstruction of first floor plan, Badovici house, as built (Tim Benton).

**FIG. 80**  
Pierre Jeanneret?, Badovici house showing the steep ladder to the upper floor and Tiggy Ghyka arranging flowers (FLC).





**FIG. 81**  
Badovici and Renaudin  
in front of the horizontal  
window to the courtyard,  
Badovici bouse (Bibliothèque  
Kandinsky).

**FIG. 82**  
Georges Renaudin in a  
colonial armchair in front of  
the big window. Bibliothèque  
Kandinsky (Bado 1-4).





planchettes (2 faces) 0.22 x 0.19 x 2 x 10<sup>128</sup>. This must be for a 9x5 version of one of Eileen Gray's brick screens. In a 9 x 5 panel screen, every other brick in the first and fifth columns are half-bricks: 22 centimetres high by 19 centimetres wide. Of the nine rows of bricks, five include 4 full size bricks (0.22 x 0.33 cm) while four consist of five full bricks. This explains Marceau's mention of 10 half-bricks and 40 full bricks. Philippe Garner refers to a 'prototype' screen (9x5 panel) in stained wood acquired from Badovici's estate which was exhibited in the Eileen Gray exhibition at the Centre Georges Pompidou in 2013, where it was listed in the collection of the Galerie Valois (Figure 83)<sup>129</sup>. He describes this as a 'prototype' and dates it to 1919. It is clear, however, that the screen was made in August 1929 by Dizien, billed on 30 April and varnished by Marceau<sup>130</sup>. Marceau includes the screen in a section headed '1 couche glacis' that included the front door, which we know was varnished (Figure 75) and went on to list the exterior door on the first floor and the door to the attic, both of which were probably varnished. The screen would have measured 1.98m in height by 1.60m wide, fully extended, although in practical terms it would not have exceeded 1.20m in width. It would have completely blocked off the bedroom. There is no evidence that Gray 'designed' this particular piece, but rather that it was a simple and rather crude copy of the basic principle of her brick screens. Gray did design the details and many of the pieces of furniture for Badovici's new apartment in the rue Chateaubriand in Paris in 1930 or 1931<sup>131</sup>.

For someone as sociable as Badovici, it is worth asking how many people could be accommodated in this small house. It is likely that prestigious visitors would have stayed at Jossier's inn Le Cheval Blanc although there are no records of Badovici paying the bill. There are two bedrooms in the house and an iron bed is visible in the area referred to as the 'dressing room'. Almost certainly, additional accommodation was provided in the attic.

**FIG. 83**  
Eileen Gray, prototype black stained screen (Galerie Valois) (Photo Tim Benton).

**FIG. 84**  
Maison Badovici, showing the garage converted into living room. Note the step up to the space in house A (Photo Tim Benton).

**FIG. 85**  
Maison Badovici original bedroom, on the right, and dining room after closure of the ceiling (Photo Tim Benton).



**FIG. 86**  
Reconstruction of Badovici house showing location of Léger mural painting (Tim Benton).

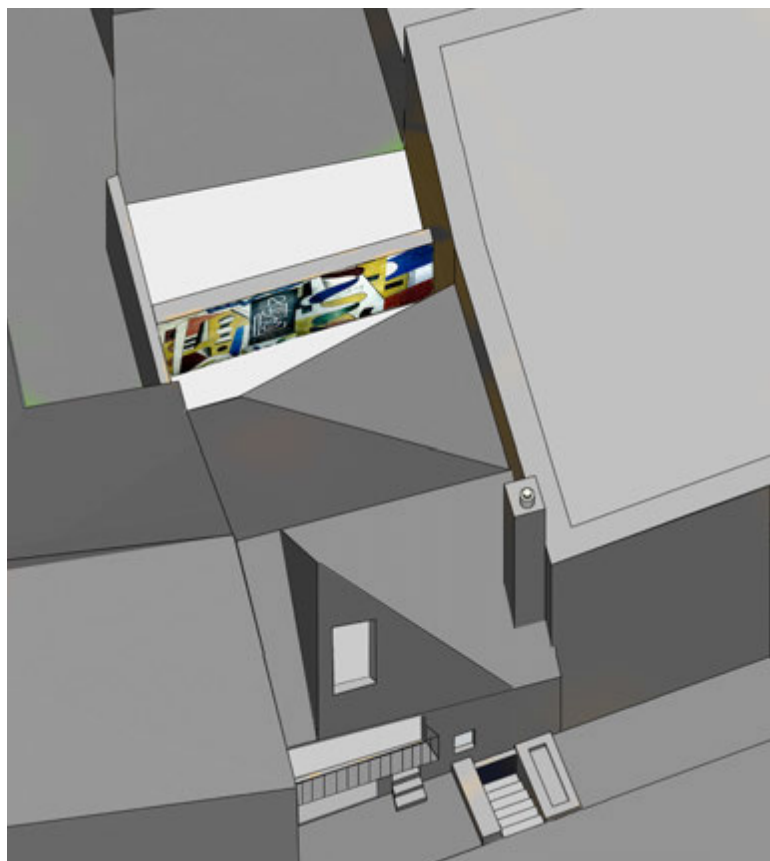
**FIG. 87**  
Detail of Fernand Léger's mural painting on the wall of the courtyard behind Badovici's house (1935), showing the blocked up door, painted black (Musée Christian Zervos, Photo Tim Benton).

The house has been altered in various ways<sup>132</sup>. On the exterior, the tubular steel railings and pergola on the balcony have been replaced by a steel railing. The thin steel frame of the picture window has been replaced in aluminium. (Figure 65). On the ground floor, the door and window to the bedroom are original, as are the steps down to the cellar. In the interior, the garage of house A has been recovered as a living room and a large opening made in the dividing wall (Figure 84). The opening to the first floor in the ceiling has been filled in and the staircase removed (Figure 85). As explained earlier, access to the first floor is from a new steel staircase in the yard, protected by a conservatory (Figure 68). The long horizontal window on the ground floor opening to the yard remains but the steel has been replaced by wooden framing. On the upper floor, the area recovered from the open space in Badovici's scheme has been converted into a second bedroom and cupboard space (Figure 91).

Following Fernand Léger's mural painting on the wall of the courtyard (Figure 87 and Figure 88), Badovici invited Le Corbusier to paint a mural on the wall facing the empty space over the living room (Figure 89 and Figure 90). On 4 April 1936, Le Corbusier told his mother.

I have four days at Easter to go to Vézelay to paint two walls. Twice the area of your wall in the living room. An unpaid commission, obviously ! This is how one can create one's work these days. I am delighted to attack these walls<sup>133</sup>.

Badovici explained that the painting was well sited because you had to turn your head to see it (Figure 90). Applying a figurative painting to the walls of a house ran counter to all Le Corbusier's arguments in the 1930s, when he had explained that the only role for colour in an interior was in the polychromatic treatment of walls<sup>134</sup>.



## Badovici house: Building history

The histories of the Badovici and Renaudin houses are intertwined. Several documents in Renaudin's hand generally dealing with his own house, also refer to ordering 'fers' (steel beams) 'pour Jean' (Badovici). We have seen that a set of steel girders were delivered by Raynaud on 10 April 1928<sup>135</sup>. Other documents refer to materials 'owed to Jean', suggesting that surplus materials from the Renaudin site were sent over to Badovici's site<sup>136</sup>. There is a reference to a man and horse working in Badovici's cellar in a letter that also refers to the structure of the big window of the Battanchon studio<sup>137</sup>. We know from the effusive thanks Badovici bestows on his friend that Georges Renaudin helped out a lot on the construction of his house.

We know that the properties were acquired in 1927 and that the Badovici house was probably inhabited by 1931<sup>139</sup>. We have no dated documentation about building work in 1927 apart from a bill for 1,500 bricks and 1,100 ceramic tiles which is undated except for the year and a note from Papillon referring to work completed between 23 December 1927 and 30 January 1928. It is likely that the latter was the first transaction with Papillon, because he lists unloading materials, and there is no total carried over from previous bills. A set of bills record work charged by Léon Papillon between December 1927 and April 1931, with a further bill covering work done in March and April 1932<sup>140</sup>. Papillon refers on these bills to 'temps passé chez Monsieur Badovici Jean' which indicates that they refer to work on Badovici's house. The set, which is nearly complete, accounts for 3,488 hours of work, at a rate that varies from 3.50frs/hour in 1928 to 3.90 frs/hour in 1931. Papillon includes on these bills payments to other workmen and various building materials. Surprisingly, Papillon does not bill for stone, only brick, cement, Portland cement, lime and sand. This suggests that any repairs to the stone walls were made from spoils of the partial demolition of Renaudin House B. The total charge recorded on these bills was 19,091.70 frs. Most of the payments on account were made in the form of bank transfers by Badovici from Paris. In addition, there were payments by Badovici to carpenters, roofers, plumbers, electricians and so on. A rough indication of the costs of the operation is as follows.

Papillon	Léon Papillon, his son Lucien and between three and four workmen	GRI 1894, 1953, 1978, 2037-8, 2040-1, 2043-4, 2047, 2049, 2081	19,092
Marceau	Painter and glazier	2,551 Bill for work done in 1930, 6/2/1931 (GRI 1828-1851). JB asks for final bill c. 29/10/1929? (GRI 3816)	3,801
Louis Paccini	Metalworker	Work sent from Menton January to November 1929 (GRI 1852-1855) Probably incomplete	10,604
Rasse	Carpenter/roofer	May 1928 to June 1929 (GRI 1859-1863)	1,447.40
Raynaud	Maréchalerie.	Fers, windows etc 1928-30, bill 1 May 1930 (GRI 2081-2084) recepisse for 2,006.15 (GRI 3815)	3,975
Perrier	Wooden blinds	Estimate addressed to Badovici at Roquebrune-Cap Martin 29 April 1929 (GRI 1868) 1,216; Bill 26 June 1929 (GRI 1874)	1216
			40,135 frs

These accounts are certainly incomplete and do not include many small bills for transportation from the railway station at Sermizelles to Vézelay.

The documentation allows us a clear picture of the chronology of events. An intriguing source is provided by a number of bills by Georges Jossier, owner of the Cheval Blanc Hotel. These bills typically list litres of wine consumed by Léon Papillon or other workmen, but also record one or more nights spent, presumably by Badovici. Tantalizingly, the days of the month are given, but not the years. I have dated these, with more or less confidence, based on comparison with documentary references. Lists of days worked by Papillon's men provide the first





**FIG. 88**  
Fernand Léger painting  
the mural (Musée Christian  
Zervos).



**FIG. 89**  
Le Corbusier painting his  
mural in Badovici's house,  
1936 (FLC).

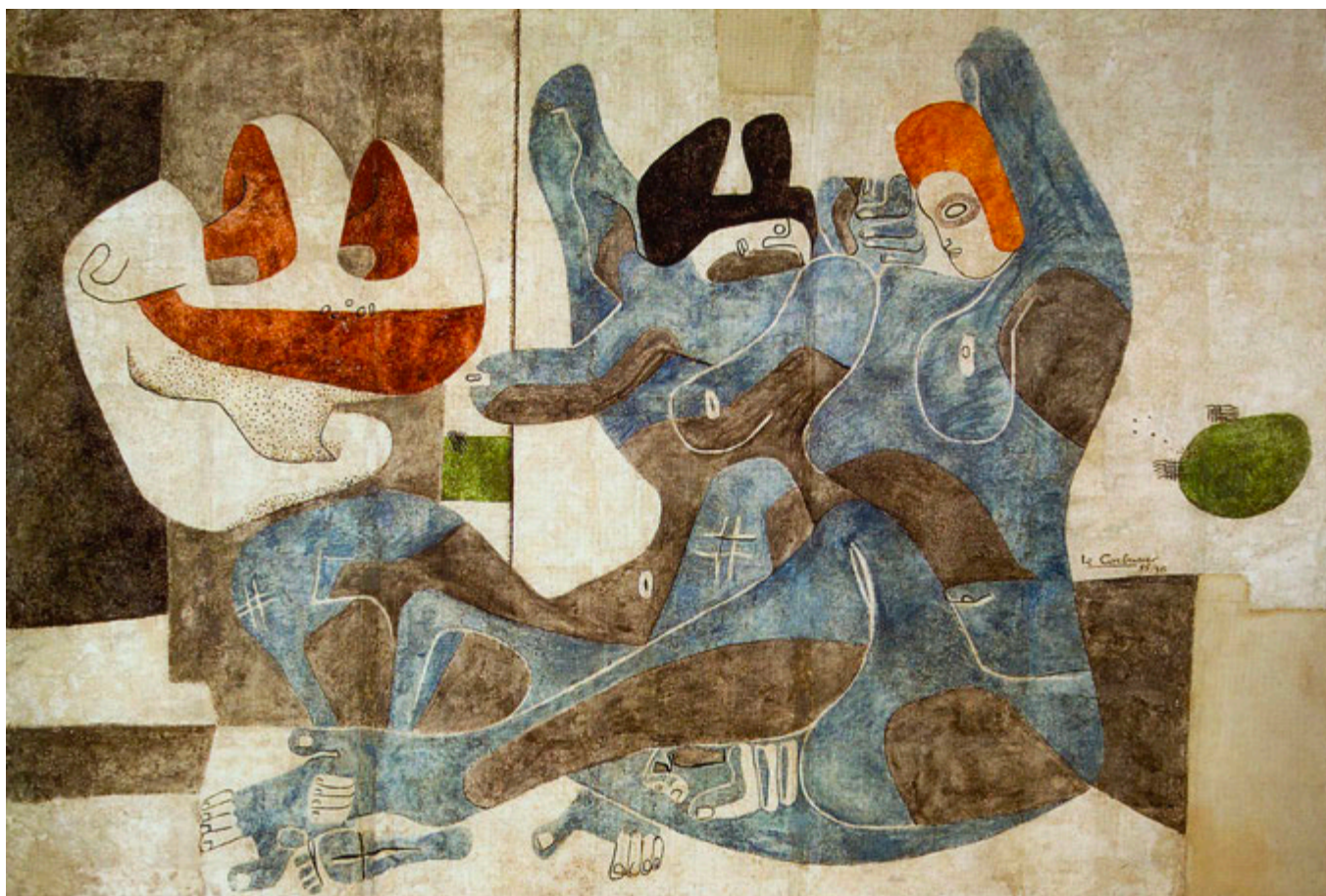
set of clues, since it can be assumed that wine was not provided on days when they were not on the job. To take the example of GRI 1885, this check lists wine consumed on 25-27 January and 8-14 March. Papillon lists men working on 25, 26, and 27 January and 8, 9, 11, 12, 13 and 14 March 1928<sup>141</sup>. Jossier records wine being consumed on the same days. On Monday 9th April Jossier records a 'pension complet' followed by breakfast and lunch on the 10th. This indicates that Badovici spent the night of the 9th of April and left after lunch on the 10th which was a Tuesday. In a letter of Saturday 7 April 1928 Léon Papillon asks to meet him next Tuesday<sup>142</sup>. Next Tuesday was 10 April 1928.

Another clue to dating the Jossier bills is that the days when wine was offered to the workmen typically did not fall on a Sunday. For example, on Jossier's bill GRI 1886, wine was served on Friday, Saturday and Monday December 1928, but not on Sunday. Exceptionally, Jossier includes the date 11 March 1928, which was a Sunday, but it turns out that this was one of only two occasions when Papillon bills for two hours work on that day<sup>143</sup>. Although the Jossier bills do not have dates, some are printed with '192...' indicating that the year was in the 1920s and some with '193...'. Although a Hotel keeper might reuse 1920s forms in the first months of 1930, it is inconceivable that '193' forms would be used before 1930. The style of the checks also changes after 1929.

Based on clues of this kind, I have assembled a list of Badovici's probable visits to Vézelay between 1928 and 1930. These bills almost always describe a single pension and a single person eating the meals. An exception is

the pension GRI 1886 that I date to 12-13 January 1929 where '2 complets' and '2 petits dej[euner] et 2 grand dej[euner]' are listed. Although these visits probably concerned work on his own house, they may also be relevant for work on the Renaudin-Battanchon house. All these Jossier bills include one or more days full pension. On other occasions, when a full pension is not recorded, Badovici may have stayed with Renaudin.

Period covered by the Jossier bill	Pension (Badovici staying at the Hotel du Cheval Blanc)	Ref	Evidence
4 January-10 April 1929	Monday 9- Tuesday 10 April 1928	GRI 1885	Papillon's letter of 7/4/1928 asking for a meeting (GRI 1794); close match to working days (GRI 2037 and 2041)
7 - 28 February 1928	Tuesday 26 – Thursday 28 February 1928	GRI 1878	Hypothetical: Overlaps with 1885; 1929 would introduce a Sunday
17 – 21 April 1928	Tuesday 17 – Saturday 21 April 1928	GRI 1884	Uncertain, could be 1929
20 June – 1 July 1928	Friday 29 June – Sunday 1 July 1928	GRI 1883	Close match to days worked (CP Bado 127)
30 November – 13 January 1928-1929	Saturday 12 – Sunday 13 January 1929	GRI 1886	Close match to working days (GRI 2043)
13 May – 5 June 1929	Friday 31 May – Wednesday 5 June 1929	GRI 1881	Close match to working days (GRI 2044)
6 June – 15 July 1929	Thursday 4 – Tuesday 16 July 1929	GRI 2051 and 2052	Close match to working days (GRI 2047-2048)
17 July – 9 August 1929	Thursday 8 -Friday 9 August 1929	GRI 1880	Close match to working days (2049)
1 – 6 September 1929	Sunday 1 – Friday 6 September 1929	GRI 1882	Hypothetical: no documentary references but fits into the sequence
22 August – 20 September 1929	Wednesday 18 – Friday 20 September 1929	GRI 1879	Badovici undated letter to Renaudin saying he will come around 18 September (CP Bado 142)
6 – 31 January 1930	Tuesday 28 - Friday 31 January 1930	GRI 1877	The '192...' form is used. 'mercredi' written on the bill against 29 January. Matches working days GRI 2049
3 – 6 February 1930	Monday 3 – Thursday 6 February 1930	GRI 2012	Form has '193...' and second style Could be for later years.
28 February – 13 April 1930	Friday 11 – Sunday 13 April 1930	GRI 1876	Form has '193...' and second style. Close match to Papillon working days GRI 1894
29 April – 1 May 1930	Tuesday 29 April – Thursday 1 May 1930	GRI 1929	Form has '193..' and second style
27 February – 18 April 1931	Friday 10 – Saturday 18 April 1931	GRI 1977	Close match to Papillon working days GRI 1978
12 March – 30 April 1932	No pension; Badovici staying in his house?	GRI 2027	Close match to Papillon working days GRI 1953



**FIG. 90**  
Le Corbusier mural painting  
on the wall overlooking the  
double height space, 1936  
(Photo Tim Benton).

From the Papillon and Jossier records, we get an overall picture of work on the Badovici house. Beginning in December 1927, work proceeded in January, paused in February and continued steadily with a few breaks until March 1930, with a few more days worked in May and June. In November 1930 work began again in earnest until 31 March. Some or all of this work was related to the houses in the rue de la Porte Neuve, on which desultory work began in 1928. From February to April 1932 there was more work by Papillon, including clearing Badovici's vineyard but perhaps also some other work<sup>144</sup>. Jossier's bill for these months mentions Tissier, Toulon and Bronner (?), whose names do not appear on earlier accounts for Badovici's house and I will argue that this was for work on the rue de la Porte Neuve houses.

In January and February 1928, much of the work involved digging out the small courtyard at the back of the house. On 14 February Papillon reported that work had been interrupted because they had found a vault underneath the courtyard, spanning the wall of his house and the wall separating his courtyard from the Rougeot property. By 7 April, Papillon was at work levelling the garage and had built the little partition wall at the end<sup>145</sup>. The piers intended to support the beams had been constructed. The work on both houses was dangerous, because of the state of the old rubble stone walls. Badovici took out insurance with the company La Prevoyance in February 1928 and renewed it a few months later<sup>146</sup>. On 7 April Papillon did indeed announce that part of the wall at the back of the house had collapsed and wanted Badovici's help urgently<sup>147</sup>. This accounts for Badovici's stay at Le Cheval Blanc on 9 and 10 April 1928.



From an account submitted by Raynaud in May 1930, it seems that he was already supplying steel girders on 10 April 1928<sup>148</sup>. These were all twinned beams held together by bolts. He mentions the long beam in the wall facing the courtyard and the beam over the garage doors as well as several other beams over doors and lintels<sup>149</sup>. He also mentions the 'mansarde', which is the triangular roof extension on the street front and the 'grande baie du premier devant' which I take to be the large glazed aperture on the first floor. A sketch with the dimensions of four of the windows exists in Badovici's hand<sup>150</sup>. On 30 April 1928 Papillon wants Badovici to say on which side he should place the door to the courtyard<sup>151</sup>. He also mentions the roof. He complained about the quantity of spoils from the levelling of the houses and courtyard which was obstructing his work. On 7 May Papillon billed for 486 hours of work, or 1701frs, covering the 25 days following 10 April<sup>152</sup>. By 13 May 1928 Papillon is already working on the roof and is worried about not having enough tiles<sup>153</sup>. This probably refers to the extension of the roof on the East side. The carpenter has been at work and the rafters have been installed in the attic<sup>154</sup>. He is still at work trying to clear out the courtyard and dispose of the spoils. On 11 June Rasse bills for demolishing old beams; this could refer to opening up the ceiling to create the double height space in the Badovici house<sup>155</sup>. Papillon refers to the 'charpentier' (carpenter) having 'descendu les poutres hier' in advance of the arrival of Scholler, the 'menuisier' (joiner)<sup>156</sup>. Papillon also says that he demolished the floor, presumably referring again to the opening. From May-June 1928, the joiner Scholler billed for 122 hours work and Papillon billed for 407 hours, indicating that work was hotting up<sup>157</sup>. On 3 July Papillon refers to the purchase of 5,000 tiles, presumably for the roof<sup>158</sup>. On 8 September 1928 Badovici writes to the carpenter Tailly to say that his bill was far too high and that he wanted him to stop work straight away on the laying of parquet flooring and to abandon the project of a wooden staircase<sup>159</sup>. He said that he would replace the staircase with an 'échelle de meunier ordinaire' and resort to pine parquet for the upper floor. Badovici makes clear that he is referring to 'ma maison de Vézelay'. From my analysis of the Jossier bills, Badovici probably stayed over in Vézelay between 18 and 20 September 1928 and met Tailly to settle up the account for the work done to date<sup>160</sup>. Badovici visited Vézelay on 12 and 13 January 1929 but on 13 February he is sending 2 crates of metal windows from E-1027 at Roquebrune-Cap-Martin to Papillon<sup>161</sup>. These were supplied by Louis Paccini in Carnoles, a suburb of Roquebrune-Cap-Martin and billed by him on 8 March 1929<sup>162</sup>. The main item was 'Fourniture de chassis pour vitrages avec portes et fenêtres' Poids 190 kilos' and this could well be the big window on the street side, which did indeed have a door and some opening windows.

The carpenter Dizien, who had taken over from Tailly, submitted an invoice for laying parquet and fitting doors in April 1929 although the work dragged on<sup>163</sup>. It is in this estimate that he lists the 'escalier dit échelle de meunier' which is the staircase to the upper level in the living room of the Badovici house<sup>164</sup>. On 20 April 1929 François Rasse bills for installing the dormer window in the attic<sup>165</sup>. On 29 April 1929 the Établissements Perrier firm tendered for a set of five of their patent Model B folding shutters, presumably for the large window to the balcony. It seems that work had stalled on the house because Papillon wrote on 13 May 1929 saying that not much had been done and there were draughts everywhere. Papillon blamed delays by the glazier Marceau and the carpenter Dizien. He hoped Badovici would come soon; I estimate that Badovici did visit between 31 May and 1 June 1929. A page of notes by Renaudin probably records discussions at this meeting<sup>166</sup>. By 16 June, Papillon could report that Dizien was working on the parquet and that the shutters of the doors and windows were ready<sup>167</sup>.

On 21 June 1929 Marcel Arnault bills for a bathtub, wood-fired water heater, wash basin, glass shelf, WC and enamel bidet with folding base and other bathroom fittings<sup>168</sup>. On 11 July 1929 the Entreprise Alsacienne de Force et Lumière, Avallon was offering an estimate for installing the electricity<sup>169</sup>. On 9 August 1929 Badovici was presented with the first of his gas bills<sup>170</sup>. On 2 October 1929 the painter Marceau is tendering for plasterwork and painting<sup>171</sup>. On 21 October 1929 Servet bills for plumbing, including the septic tank and internal and external pipework and on 20 January 1930 bills for plumbing the bathroom and wash basin on the first floor<sup>172</sup>.

On 16 November 1929 Louis Paccini bills for the 35mm tubular railing and pergola of the balcony as well as the handrail of the staircase and mezzanine<sup>173</sup>. On 28 November three packages of metalwork weighing 473kgs are sent by rail from Menton to Sermizelles, presumably containing this material but Papillon claimed on 12 January 1930 that he had not received them, presumably because they were still at Sermizelles<sup>174</sup>. On 17 January Badovici received an invoice for a compressed air water pump - a Henrydraulic - for the impressive price of 4,350 frs<sup>175</sup>.

**FIG. 91** Maison Badovici, bedroom on the first floor recovered from the open space in Badovici's plan. The wall on the right has been opened up. The facing wall is where Le Corbusier painted his mural in 1936 (Photo Tim Benton).

On 5 February 1930, Marceau claimed that the glazing would be finished tomorrow 'if weather permits' but on 14 February 1930 Papillon reports that Marceau was still at work. Dezien's final account is dated 1 May 1930<sup>176</sup>. On 23 October 1930 G. Pierrard, a neighbour of Badovici's in Paris in the rue Denfert Rochereau, sent a desk to Vézelay, so the house was being furnished at this time<sup>177</sup>. On 31 December 1930, Badovici writes a registered letter from Roquebrune urging Marceau to submit his final account and finish the job; some metal elements were rusting and some of the plywood doors had rotted<sup>178</sup>. It seems therefore as if the Badovici house was substantially finished by the winter of 1930 and it is a little surprising that Badovici spent a whole week at Le Cheval Blanc in April 1931<sup>179</sup>.

Badovici was clearly spending long periods at Roquebrune-Cap-Martin, before and after the construction of the villa E-1027. His use of craftsmen located in or near Roquebrune provides some clues about the workmen who built E-1027, for which detailed accounts have not survived, probably because Eileen Gray paid the bills and her records were lost or destroyed.. A list of Badovici's correspondence from Roquebrune-Cap-Martin is revealing.



18 June 1928	Transportation of door and rails from RCM	GRI 1858
ca August 1928	Badovici to Renaudin; B says he is 'cuit à sec' (therefore probably at RCM in the summer)	CP Bado 140
ca. August 1928	Badovici to Renaudin; Badovici at RCM parapet /railings	CP Bado 176
ca. August 1928	Badovici to Renaudin; Badovici will be at RCM on Sunday	CP Bado 171
14 August 1928	Badovici to Renaudin from RCM	CP Bado 160
29 April 1929	Perrier to Badovici at RCM	GRI 1868
ca August 1929	Badovici to Renaudin (Calendrite insulation for the balcony) Send drawings to RCM	img-Y29121632
22 October 1929	Transportation Badovici, from railway station Menton to Sermizelles	GRI 1910
Ca October 1929	Badovici to Renaudin. Had been in Cannes for two days, returned to RCM (pivot Dizien)	CP Bado 151
31 December 1930	Badovici at RCM to Marceau	GRI 1836
2 January 1931	Receipt stamped at RCM	GRI 1835

This presence of Badovici at Roquebrune supports the hypothesis that he played a significant role in supervising construction on E1027. The Vézelay building records also provide some evidence about the workmen that might have been employed on E1027.

## Conclusion

These two buildings are not as spectacular as the Villa Savoye, the Villa Tugendhat or indeed the Villa by the sea E1027. But their genesis reveals a sensitivity to time and place and close working relationship with local craftsmen that appear relevant today. Perhaps, like Le Corbusier, Badovici realised that Modernism had become a style by 1929 but I believe that his modus operandi at Vézelay reflected his character, as someone who valued his friendship with Georges Renaudin and his respect for Léon Papillon and the other artisans. In unpublished notes for an article on Tony Garnier in *L'Architecture Vivante* in 1925, Badovici expresses his characteristic mix of romanticism and realism.

La mentalité d'aujourd'hui dépréciant l'art en la réduisant à une pure question de forme sans vouloir attribuer à l'art le caractère mystique d'autrefois, nous nous proposons de rechercher non pas comme l'affirment les philosophes et les artistes d'aujourd'hui, dans un "jeu" de couleurs ou de sonorités mais dans la vie même; l'art a donc le sérieux de la vie. Tout ce qui glisse sur l'être sans le pénétrer, tout ce qui laisse froid, c'est à dire tout ce qui n'atteint pas jusqu'à la vie même demeure étranger au beau. Le but le plus haut de l'art c'est de faire battre le cœur humain, et le cœur étant le centre même de la vie, l'art doit se trouver mêlé à toute existence morale ou matérielle de l'humanité<sup>180</sup>.

This critique of formalism would be reiterated in the dialogue he printed in the 1929 special edition of *L'Architecture Vivante* dedicated to E1027. I find in the Vézelay houses a similar blending of sentiment and practicality focused on the lived experience of daily existence.



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Notes

1 This project began in 1929 as an exercise in the use of prefabricated steel parts and developed into a ragstone building integrated into the site (Benton, Tim. 2011. "The Villa de Mandrot and the place of the imagination". In *Massilia*, edited by Michel Richard, 92-105. Marseilles: Editions Imbernon)

2 Benton, Tim. 2010. "Le Corbusier e il vernacolare: Le Sextant a Les Mathes 1935". In *Le Case per artisti sull'Isola Comacina*, edited by Andrea Canziani, 22-43. Como: NodoLibri and Benton, Tim. 2003. "The petite maison de

weekend and the Parisian suburbs". In *Le Corbusier and the architecture of reinvention*, edited by Mohsen Mostafavi, 118-139. London: AA Publishing. For the Jaoul houses see Maniaque, Caroline. *Le Corbusier Et Les Maisons Jaoul; Projets Et Fabrique*. Paris: Picard, 2005.

3 Benton, Tim "Eileen Gray and Badovici at Vézelay", *Journal of Design History*, December 2023, 36. 4. 340-360.

4 The Badovici archive at the Getty Research Institute (GRI) consists of over a thousand items catalogued under 880412. They were obtained from the owner of the Badovici house. When I consulted these, in the winter of 2016-2017, the documents were divided temporarily into folders and subfolders, for the most part unlabelled. Individual documents were not numbered. To identify individual documents I have used my own photographic numbers (GRI 0000). For a first essay based on this material, see Tim Benton, "E-1027 and the Drôle De Guerre," *AA files* 74 (2017): 123-54.

The Badovici archive at the Centre Georges Pompidou (CP) consists of two collections obtained from Olga Battanchon's daughter Jacqueline whom I interviewed: unnumbered pages of correspondence, sketches and receipts concerning the building work at Vézelay archived in four folders (Bado1 – Bado4) in the Bibliothèque Kandinsky and a group of numbered drawings filed with the architecture drawings under AM-2014-1. I refer to the former as 'CP Bado 000', the digits being a sequential number of my photographs. Some of the drawings were missing when I took the photographs and these are referred to by the Pompidou digital image reference (eg CP Y29122104).

The Eileen Gray collection at the V&A Archive (V&A) includes drawings, letters and photographs acquired from Gray's niece Prunella Clough. Included in this material are some sketches by Badovici. Each group of documents, and most individual documents, have a class mark. The rights belong to the National Museum of Ireland in Dublin where there is an important Eileen Gray archive of drawings, photographs and documents.

5 A discussion of these houses is included in Brulé, C. and E. Emina-Gaspard. *De la colline de Vézelay au cap Martin : Eileen Gray, Jean Badovici, Le Corbusier : une architecture inspirée.* (Montacher-Villegardin: Le Charmoiset), 2020.

6 Renaudin's given name was Yves, but he changed it to Georges to avoid confusion with a painter namesake.

7 CP Bado 102.

8 CP Bado 183.

9 Caroline Constant has analysed these in her book and in the catalogue of the Eileen Gray exhibition at the Bard Graduate Centre (Caroline Constant, *Eileen Gray*) (London: Phaidon, 2000) and Pitiot, C. and N. Stritzler-Levine. *Eileen Gray.* (New York: Bard Graduate Center), 2020, pp. 235-245.

10 Caroline Constant, *Eileen Gray* (London: Phaidon, 2000), pp.79-87. Jean-François Archier does not support this hypothesis (Jean-François Archier, "Jean Badovici: Une Histoire Confisquée," in Eileen Gray, ed. Cloé Pitiot (Paris: Editions du Centre Georges Pompidou, 2013), 88-93.)

11 Jennifer Goff, *Eileen Gray Her Work and Her World* (Sallins, Co. Kildare, Ireland: Irish Academic Press, 2015), p. 258.

12 Constant, *Eileen Gray.* p.79

13 The three plots constituting the Badovici house on the rue de l'Argenterie were bought by Badovici on 1 August, 30 September and 5 October 1927 (Derouet, Christian. 2015. *Le Corbusier à Vézelay.* Vézelay: Musée Zervos, Fondation Le Corbusier, p.7). The purchase of the Massolin site at Roquebrune-Cap-Martin on which E-1027 was constructed clearly cites Jean Badovici as the purchaser (Conservatoire des hypothèques de Nice, 2eme Bureau, Deed no 67, vol 140, no 86). These deeds of sale are cited in Rachel Stella, "Where the Paper Trail Leads," in *E.1027 Eileen Gray in Collaboration with Jean Badovici*, ed. Wilfried Wang and Peter Adam (Tubingen: Wasmuth, 2017), 92-99. Rachel Stella has also located the deeds of sale of Gray's purchase of the properties on which her second house Tempe a Pailla was built, and there is in the GRI a draft receipt, in Badovici's hand, which records the payment of cheque No 10.976 from Gray's bank at Menton, to the value of 40,000 francs to Monsieur Blancard for his properties at Belvasse [sic]. Tempe a Pailla is located on the site known as Bellevesasse, (GRI Box 6 TB neg 2499).

14 Eileen Gray, interview with Andrew Hodgkinson, November 17 1973, quoted in Pitiot and Stritzler Levine, *op.cit.*, p.169.

15 Eileen Gray archive, National Museum of Ireland (NMEIG), 20091119\_Arch\_Port\_1\_25 and ff.

16 Adam, Peter. *Eileen Gray: architect/designer.* (New York: H.N. Abrams), 1987.

17 CP Y29121703. Madame Drouin was a close family friend of the Battanchons.

18 Constant, C. *Eileen Gray.* (London: Phaidon), 2000.

19 AAD 1980/9/239/3 and 8 to be discussed in a subsequent article.

20 Tim Benton, "Eileen Gray and Jean Badovici at Vézelay", *Journal of Design History* 36, no. 4 (2023): 340-60. This analysis was based on the analysis of the allographs of letters in 3,800 words drawn from autograph documents and a selection of drawings. An allograph refer to how a scriptor constructs a letter.

21 CP Bado 55, 60, 80 etc. The Bibliothèque Kandinsky possesses over a hundred sketches, photographs and letters relating to the Battanchon/Renaudin and Badovici houses, organised in four folders Bado1- Bado 4. The sheets in these folders are un-numbered so I will fall back on my photograph numbers for identification. A collection of drawings from the same accession is housed in the Drawings Collection, numbered AM-2014-1-43 to 56.

22 See also the site plan CP Bado (4) which shows the breakdown of the plots more clearly.

23 Another sketch, showing a different arrangement of houses is on CP Bado 4.

24 Eg CP Bado 73 which details a house with internal dimensions 6.17m x 4.70m.

25 See CP Bado 92-94.

26 CP Bado 92-94. Bado 92 is the ground plan relating to Bado 93, showing a door and window opening to the Impasse du Croc.

27 The garage is indicated on Bado 93 as an alternative to "a petite chambre pour le soir seulement".

28 CP Bado 53, 78, 79, 80.

29 CP Y29101545. This reference is to the Centre Pompidou photographic number; the drawing was not in the folders when I photographed them. Renaudin also drew several sketches of house A, with dimensions, but unfortunately these measurements are inconsistent CP Bado 17, 26, 73 and 77 and a perspective sketch, CP Bado 81, which appears to be a view from the impasse du Croc of both houses.

30 AM 2014-1-43 and 44. There is also a line drawing version of 43 CP Y29122104.

31 The addition of a kitchen on the North side of House B provides the current entrance to the house.

32 AM 2014-1-44.

33 Eg AAD-1980-9-188-20. It is also true that Badovici sometimes used this system eg his sketches for a house GRI 3976 or design for an exhibition room GRI 3984.

34 AAD 1980-9-171-1.

35 My reconstruction (Figure 15) is based on dimensions of house A on CP Bado 77 and house B on CP Bado 17 (see below). Assuming a thickness of 40-50cm for the stone walls, these calculations give us a combined structure with a frontage of between 12.50m and 12.90m on the impasse du Croc, extending some 7.0m to the West for house B and around 5.60m for house A. This matches the current structure.

36 Until Badovici's sketch plan AAD 1980-9-238 all the plans and perspectives refer to a dining room and kitchen, with Olga's bedroom located in the attic of House A.

37 See also CP Bado 15, which has slightly9 different dimensions and includes a layout of steel beams.

38 AM 2014-1-52. "1/2 ferme à commander de suite".

39 The effects of raising this floor level are discussed in an undated letter from Badovici to Renaudin (CP Bado 175). Nothing changes in the West façade, only the ceiling of Olga's bedroom needs to be raised.

40 CP Bado 179. From the verso of this letter, it is clear that the structure of the upper part of House A exists but that the half truss extending the space has yet to be built.

41 AM 2014-1-46-2.

42 2014-1-46-1, 46-2 and 56 and CP Bado 37 and 44.

43 CP Bado 37.

- 44 "J'ai suivi ton croquis et ton désir et j'ai arrangé cela de mon mieux" and "d'après ton croquis avec mes proportions".
- 45 This probably refers to AM 2014-1-46-2 (Figure 32) which Badovici has annotated "définitif" in brown crayon.
- 46 A drawing of the North elevation gives the height of the East wall of House B as 7.25m (AM 2014-1-47-4).
- 47 A plan of the lower level (CP Bado 37) indicates five steps down to the lower atelier, and also a door cut into the basement of House A to give access to the cellar.
- 48 CP Bado 176. In this letter he explains that he is leaving for Roquebrune Cap Martin that evening and that Renaudin should write to him there. He also adds details about the kitchen and the door to Renaudin's atelier in the basement.
- 49 Unfortunately, we don't know when these were ordered. A complication is that Raynaud was also supplying steel beams for the Badovici house. An account by Raynaud submitted on 1 May 1930 lists steel beams ordered between 10 April 1928 and 19 July 1929 (GRI 2081-2084). Unfortunately, the orders are listed in kilos, rather than the dimensions of the beams, and the work is clearly identified with the Badovici house.
- 50 CP Bado 168.
- 51 Bronner is mentioned in Papillon's bill for March-April 1932.
- 52 There is no record of him staying at the Hotel du Cheval Blanc on this date, but he may have been hosted by Renaudin and Battanchon.
- 53 GRI 1796. The word "pietage", if indeed I have correctly transcribed it, normally refers to measurement with a pipette.
- 54 CP Bado 135
- 55 "D'ici où l'on cuit à sec. C'est du supérieur, pas comme à Panam". (AM 2014-1-52).
- 56 CP Bado 160.
- 57 CP Bado 065.
- 58 GRI 2060 and 2063-2065.
- 59 GRI 2056. The final point made by Badovici in this letter reads: "Déclaration Mairie?". This seems to be the building permission that was only delivered in February 1930 (GRI 1812).
- 60 GRI 1981.
- 61 Price list Céramique de l'Yonne, 20 August 1928 (CP Bado 122 and 123).
- 62 On 21 September 1928 an order was made with Chatey for 830 paleçons 50x20, 1,000 "briques pleines brutes". and 250 bricks with 6 holes measuring 16x22x6. Manuscript note (CP Bado 141). G. Chatey "Tuilerie mécanique" was located at Lucy-le-Bois.
- 63 CP Bado 125. Notes in Renaudin's hand on the back of this letter refer to Olga and to "terre réfractaire", which was probably associated with the fireplace in Olga's bedroom. A printed price list of bricks and tiles by the Céramique de l'Yonne issued on 20 August 1928 was annotated with mention of Olga's bedroom.
- 64 "Je suis navré que tu n'as pas encore posé les colliers ou les tiges... on risque d'avoir un fêchissement" (CP Bado 142-143, page 143). The date of this letter may be indicated by Badovici's statement that he hopes to be in Vézelay on 18 September; one of Jossier's bills that matches dated work by Papillon in the autumn 1929 includes Badovici staying between 18 and 20 September (GRI 1879).
- 65 Badovici refers to visiting around 18 September, and my analysis of the accounts of the hotelier Jossier suggests that this was 1929 (cf CP Bado 142 and the Jossier bill GRI 1879). I discuss these bills in the second part of this study.
- 66 CP Bado 139.
- 67 See also the letters CP Bado 185-6 and the long letter CP Bado 181-3, 154-5 and 152-3, CP Bado 169-170, CP Bado 163,162,167,166,165, CP Bado 171,172.
- 68 GRI 1853.
- 69 Receipt for rail transportation from Menton to Sermizelles (GRI 1910).
- 70 "D'après ton croquis avec mes proportions" (AM 2014-1-46-2).
- 71 CP Bado 001.
- 72 C Bado 142-144 (see note 62).
- 73 CP Bado 167. This letter begins with commenting on an unexecuted project to close off the impasse du Crot and will be discussed below.
- 74 This is the window 1.10m square on the West side of the house above the front door (AM-2014-1-46-2).
- 75 Badovici undated letter to Renaudin (CP Bado147)
- 76 Eileen Gray, plan of maid's room, E1027, inscribed "Chambre de bonne Baraque" (AAD 1980-9-188-43)
- 77 An undated note by Renaudin refers to these 83m2 of paleçons and 11 boisseux 20 x 25 (CP Bado 133). A note in an unknown hand lists 830 paleçons and 1000 bricks and some boisseux ordered on 21 September 1928 "faite à Lucy le Bois" (CP Bado 141) Another long undated note by Renaudin seems to record the discussion between him and Badovici when he was in Vézelay (CP Bado 140). If my dating of the Jossier bills are correct, Badovici stayed at the Hotel du cheval Blanc between 29 June and 1 July 1928 (GRI 1883) He also mentions cloisons en brique in Olga's bedroom. On Badovici's letter CP Bado 142 he refers to consolidating the steel beams before placing the paleçons. I date this letter to sometime in September 1929, because of my assumption that he visited on 18-20 September 1929 (GRI 1879). The paleçons ordered by Papillon had still not arrived on 17 October (Letter from G. Chatey to Papillon 17/10/1928 (CP Bado 125).
- 78 V&A AAD/1980/9/238/1.
- 79 CP Bado 118.
- 80 When the kitchen extension was added on the North side, the balcony was extended to meet it.
- 81 Eg Badovici's letter CP Bado 167.
- 82 The house was for a time converted into a hotel and the kitchen in the basement was linked to the upper floor by a dumb-waiter, traces of which still exist. The kitchen is now a workshop.
- 83 Eg GRI 4019.
- 84 CP Bado 110.
- 85 According to an article by Cyril Brulé on the website of the amisdeVézelay.com, the purchaser was Badovici.
- 86 Benton, Tim. *LC foto: Le Corbusier: secret photographer*. Baden, London: Lars Müller, Springer distributor, 2013, pp. 336-345. I had not then identified these sequences with the Renaudin house.
- 87 *L'Architecture Vivante*, Spring-Summer 1927, plate 30. Published as "Maison a StomMeerpolder, 1924".
- 88 Undated letter to Georges Renaudin (probably autumn 1929) (CP Bado 181-183).
- 89 *Ibid.* Badovici often invents words or phrases. "Être dans la note du pays" seems to imply "being in touch" or "being true to".
- 90 Two key Loos texts were published in journals edited by Le Corbusier and Badovici: Loos, Adolf. 1920. "Ornement et Crime". *L'Esprit Nouveau* 2:159-168 And Loos, Adolf. 1923. "L'Architecture et le style moderne". *L'Architecture Vivante* 1 (1):26-34.
- 91 Undated letter from Badovici to Renaudin : "Je te remercie de tout mon cœur de tout ce que tu fais pour moi" (CP Bado 036).
- 92 Le Corbusier. 1935. *La ville radieuse éléments d'une doctrine d'urbanisme pour l'équipement de la civilisation machiniste*, Collection de l'équipement de la civilisation machiniste. Boulogne (Seine): Éd. de l'Architecture d'aujourd'hui. Pp. 53-55.
- 93 Again, for simplicity I will describe the plans as if oriented North-South.



- 94 Badovici later adopted the eighteen year old Mireille Rougeot as his mistress in 1945.
- 95 The purchase of these lots was on 1 August, 30 September and 5 October 1927 (Derouet, Christian. 2015. *Le Corbusier à Vézelay*. Vézelay: Musée Zervos, Fondation Le Corbusier, p.7).
- 96 See note 13.
- 97 These measurements are taken from the building today. They differ slightly from Badovici's plans.
- 98 The width measured here does not match that of the elevation drawings (6.23m versus 6.98m). The dimensions on the first floor are 6.60m wide on the street side and 6.88m long, within the walls.
- 99 Papillon explained that Badovici had bought a small courtyard separated by a wall from the part that Rougeot had retained (Papillon to Badovici 14 February 1928 GRI (GRI 1791)). Another workman, Dizien, refers to M. Rougeot's wall as being next to the garage, so Rougeot's property may have been the large house on the North side (Dizien to Badovici, 16 August 1929 (GRI 1961)). I do not know whether this person was related to the eighteen year old Mireille Rougeot who became Badovici's full-time companion after 1946. Rougeot is a popular name in Burgundy; the organic aligot wines from the Rougeot vineyards have a well deserved reputation. I am grateful to Cyril Brulé for confirming that the Rougeot family owned a property on the rue de l'École abutting Badovici's.
- 100 AAD 1980-9-239/2. AAD 1980-9-239/1 is a variant. This attic is mentioned in the deed of sale of 22 July 1960, when Badovici's house was sold at auction (See Christian Derouet, *op.cit.* p. 7).
- 101 Papillon to Badovici 16 June 1929 (GRI Box 4).
- 102 Marceau account 6 February 1931 (GRI Box 4 [1849]).
- 103 Rasse to Badovici 20 April 1929 (GRI Box 4 [1861]).
- 104 This photograph was published in Pitiot, Cloé, and Nina Stritzler-levine. 2020. *Eileen Gray*. edited by Bard Graduate Center. New York: Bard Graduate Center, Fig. 11.3.
- 105 Louis Paccini refers to this in three invoices, of 1 September and 16 November 1929 and 2 January 1930.
- 106 Marceau account 6 February 1931 for the year 1930 (GRI Box 4) [1849]. These glazed doors measured 1.80 x 0.64 and were varnished. (GRI 1848). The whole account covers 26 pages (GRI 1838-1851).
- 107 These five steps are shown more clearly in AAD 1980-9-239/15 and /10.
- 108 On 239/15 there are 5 steps in a spiral arrangement, whereas on 239/5 they are straight. 239/15 is precisely drawn and dimensioned and has a similar arrangement to 239/10 and 239/11/.
- 109 Papillon to Badovici 14 February 1928 (GRI 1791).
- 110 GRI 1798.
- 111 Papillon to Badovici 13 May 1928, saying he was fully occupied with the digging out of the courtyard and hampered by the spoils, which had not been removed (GRI 1798). He also explained that he could not dig any deeper because of the vaults of the cellar.
- 112 The wall with Léger's painting was later removed to enlarge the back yard. ""
- 113 Other plans detailing the curving walls of the bathroom include 239/6, with shower and WC and 239/7, with WC and bath tub. On this plan a curving wall is shown projecting into the garage.
- 114 Badovici made sketches of an ingenious structure for a spiral staircase with suspended treads, but it is not clear whether they belong to this project (244/28 recto and verso).
- 115 "Je crains bien que vous soyez gêné pour avoir accès dans les cabinets ; la baignoire bouche bien la porte". Papillon to Badovici 16 June 1929 (GRI Box 4).
- 116 Marcel Arnault to Badovici 21 June 1929 (GRI Box 4). His bill also mentions a portable bidet with folding base and a chair for the bathtub. Arnault's address was 67 Boulevard Raspail.
- 117 Marceau to Badovici 6/2/1931 referring to the year 1930 (GRI Box 4) mentions painting the "cloison cintrée s/baignoire".
- 118 Paccini account sent to Badovici 8 March 1929 (GRI 1855).
- 119 Badovici to Renaudin (CP Bado 162).
- 120 Ref Marceau mention of screens.
- 121 Marceau 1848.
- 122 Marceau 1847.
- 123 Marceau to Badovici, 6/2/1931 (GRI box 4).
- 124 AAD 1980-9-243-13.
- 125 AAD 1980-9-14 and 14verso.
- 126 GRI 1885. I date this with reasonable confidence to January 1928.
- 127 A Thonet bill of 29 July 1931 records the sale of these chairs for 222frs (GRI 2521) and a receipt for delivery of 51 kilos of metal chairs from Thonet (rue de Montoënis) by rail to Papillon is dated 1 August 1931 (GRI 1925).
- 128 Badovici to Renaudin undated letter refers to Dizien making "les briques du paravent" and Dizien assured Badovici that "je vous livrerai les 50 briques pour le paravent, tranqulisez-vous a ce sujet. Ca sera fait lorsque vous viendrez" (GRI 1961 16 August 1929). Marceau to Badovici, 6/2/1931 (GRI box 4) [1848].
- 129 Pitiot, (2013) *Eileen Gray*, p. 148 and Pitiot, (2020) *Eileen Gray*, p.264. IN the 2013 catalogue, the screen is dated to 1919.
- 130 Dizien's letter saying he will make the 50 bricks for the screen is dated 16 August 1929 (GRI 1961) and the account of 30 April 1930 (GRI 1957). Marceau's account was only delivered and settled on 6 February 1931 (GRI 1838-1850).
- 131 See Pitiot, C., (2020), *Eileen Gray*, pp. 172-175 and Constant, C., (2000) *Eileen Gray*, pp. 133-137
- 132 The house was apparently owned by Gilles Stassart whose large collection of Badovici documents was purchased by the Getty Research Institute. In 2012, Mary McGuckian photographed a sign promoting 'Maison Bado Table d'hôte sur réservation' listing Gille Stassart's website attached to the wall of the Maison Badovici.
- 133 Le Corbusier to his mother 4 April 1936, Jornod collection (N., J. P. Jornod and Le Corbusier (2005) *op.cit.*, p. 153). The mural was removed from the wall and is now in private hands.
- 134 For a developed treatment of this theme, see Benton, T. *The painter Le Corbusier : Eileen Gray's villa e1027 and le cabanon*. (Boston: Birkhäuser), 2023.
- 135 Raynaud account GRI 2081-2084.
- 136 Eg CP Bado (11) lists bricks, steel beams
- 137 Undated letter (probably before September 1928), Badovici to Renaudin, CP Bado 64.
- 138 The Jossier bill GRI 1977 includes the last record of Badovici staying at the Hôtel du Cheval Blanc between 10 and 18 April 1931.
- 139 Paul Lachaume, of Chatel-Censoir bill for 1,465 frs, marked "annulé" (GRI 1942) and undated note by Papillon recording work between 23 December 1927 and 30 January 1928 (GRI 2037).
- 140 GRI 1894, 1953, 1978, 2037-8, 2040-1, 2043-4, 2047, 2049, 2081.
- 141 GRI 2037.
- 142 GRI 1794.
- 143 GRI 2041.
- 144 The bill is headed "défrichage de la vigne et du verger" but other items are included : "4 pains de cire" (for polishing the parquet?), "1 cadenas" (a chain for the property?) and some money paid to Lissier for sawing wood.
- 145 GRI 1794.

146 GRI 2067 La Prevoyance policy number 162323 (479.20frs); this was paid on 20 February (GRI 2068).

147 GRI 1794.

148 Raynaud account of work in 1928 and 1929, settled on 1 May 1930 (GRI 2081-2084). The main deliveries of beams were on 10 and 26 April (1,610frs), but a subsequent delivery on 24 July (295frs) was followed by much smaller sums until July 1929. This account includes assembling and installing lintels over windows and doors, supplying the garage doors, a 'veranda sur cour', enlarging the window in the 'mansarde' and so on. A receipt for 2006.15frs is dated 7 May 1928 (GRI 3815). An undated letter from Renaudin lists steel beams for the Badovici house (GRI 3813-3814).

149 On 18 June 1928 Badovici sent a package from Menton, near Roquebrune-Cap-Martin to Sermizelles (the railway station for Vézelay) weighing 60 kilos with rails and metalwork for a sliding door (GRI 1858). The garage door had four panels that apparently opened in concertina fashion (Figure 60). On 10 April 1929 the carpenter Dizien bills for "1 porte garage pleine en chêne à quatre vantaux" (GRI 1965). We have already seen that Dizien said that the metal pivot supplied by Raynaud did not work and that Badovici sent a new one from Roquebrune on 22 October 1929 (GRI 1910).

150 AAD 1980-9-243/13.

151 GRI 1797.

152 Papillon account (7 May 1928) of hours worked from 10 April to 5 May 1928 (GRI 2040).

153 Papillon letter to Badovici (13 May 1928) (GRI 1798).

154 On 26 May the carpenter François Rasse bills for "chevrons" and "lattes".

155 Francis Rasse account of 11 June 1928 (paid on 28 June), including items from 28 May (GRI 1862)

156 Papillon to Badovici 12 June 1928 (GRI 1802). In French the word "charpentier" indicates someone who works with architectural wooden elements (beams, roofs) rather than a "menuisier" (joiner) who works on window and door frames, parquet flooring and similar work.

157 Scholler account dated 30 June 1928 (122 ½ hours at 3 francs = 367.50frs) covering 29 May to 22 June (GRI 1948) Papillon account covering the period 7 May – 23 June (407 hours = 1,424 francs) (GRI 2038)

158 Papillon to Badovici, 03 July 1928 (GRI 1803). He said he would store these tiles in Scholler's house.

159 GRI 2056. The estimate in question was a typed list adding to 16,688frs (GRI2063-2065). Included in this list was an oak staircase and oak parquet on the upper floor.

160 Joseph Taily submitted an account on 13 September acknowledging the receipt of 5,000 frs and claiming an additional 3,500 frs (GRI 2059). On 14 October 1928 he accepted 2,775.48 frs as final settlement of work done to date (GRI 2058).

161 Receipt for rail transport from "Jean Badovici architecte E1027" to Leon Papillon. The content was "2 caisses fenetres metalliques ouvrees" weighing 250 kilos (GRI 1857).

162 The total was 2,811frs but Badovici added in orange crayon: Porte de garage 650 (GRI 1856).

163 GRI 1965.

164 "1 escalier dit echelle de meunier chêne limons de 40cm marches de 35cm, largeur escalier 0.40m environ 10 marches a 25frs" (GRI 1965) On 14 August 1929 Dizien told Badovici that he would have seen the doors and staircase newly installed (GRI 1967) and two days later reported further progress (GRI 1961).

165 GRI 1860. Another bill by Rasse for installing the "mansarde" is dated 1 June 1929 (GRI 1859).

166 CP Bado 34. On this sheet Renaudin refers to adjustments to be made to the WC and prompts to Dizien to install the shelves for the library and make the wooden "bricks" for the screen in the bedroom (see below). Marceau was to paint the door to the attic after the mason had installed it with a lintel of twinned steel beams.

167 Papillon to Badovici (GRI 1809).

168 GRI 1889, paid on 17 July 1929. On 5 February 1930 the painter Marceau admitted to having broken this WC, giving as an excuse "l'encroisement actuel de cette vaste piece". Marceau to Badovici, 5 February 1930 (GRI 1822). He offered to replace it and one was supplied by Marcel Arnault (bill 28 February 1930 (GRI 1975). Papillon said that it had arrived on 19 February 1930 (GRI 1815).

169 GRI 1952 Signed by C.J. Schol? A receipt for 1,345 frs for this work is dated 31 July 1929 (GRI 1951).

170 Société Fusion des Gaz bill "chauffage", for "pose du compteur", branchement' and an advance on consumption, 9 August 1929 (GRI 2054). Badovici settled this account on 29 January 1930 (GRI 2053).

171 GRI 1820.

172 GRI 1985-6 and GRI 1987-8.

173 GRI 1854. Paccini also mentions a mysterious "cagibi avec verrière à coupes divers en fer carré cornière de fer en «1», 2 hublots, 2 portes, 2 fenêtres 1 chassis". This store room or greenhouse might have been intended for the courtyard or for Badovici's vineyard. Paccini submits an account on 2 January 1930 which mentions specifically the metal staircase and handrail (GRI 1852).

174 Letter from Papillon to Badovici recounting delays in the work of Dezien, Marceau and Servet. "Cher monsieur Jean ne croyez pas que l'on vous lâchez (sic) ; tous les jours nous parlons de vous à la maison. Je voudrais bien vos travaux soient terminés" (GRI 1810).

175 Edmond Henry invoice 17 January 1930 (GRI 1937) and the company brochure (GRI 1938-1941). These pumps were used to raise and put pressure on water in wells or public mains. Edmond Henry was a Parisian firm based 19 rue du Poteau, 18eme and the pump had to be sent by rail (GRI 1932). Unfortunately the "charettier" broke the pump in transit from Sermizelles (Papillon to Badovici 1 February 1930 (GRI 1934). A new one was sent from Paris on 25 February 1930 (GRI 1899).

176 GRI 1957.

177 GRI 1876. On 10 February 1931, Y Le Gall sent fitments for a desk (GRI 2021).

178 GRI1836-1837. Marceau replies on 5 January 1931 (GRI 1830).

179 Jossier bill GRI 1977, that I date to 10-18 April 1931 (see table above).

180 GRI 2580.